



Translating Person, Gender and Number into Naro

Hessel Visser

PGN-markers in Naro
and their impact
on Bible Translation

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To the Naro people

You have a rich language,

and you have enriched my life.

May this study in return enrich you,

and assist in providing you with eternal hope and love.

Qâèse méé tu hâa Nqarim cgoa
(‘be well with God’)

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Part I General introduction

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation and provisional research subject

In the 25 years of his involvement in translating the Bible into Naro, the author of this dissertation came to realise the importance of the PGN-markers (Person-Gender-Number-markers). It started with the discovery, during the phase of language learning, of distinctive ways of saying *we*: it makes a difference whether *we* refers to men only, women only, or a mixed company, but also how many *we* are. Besides, *we* could be either inclusive or exclusive of the addressee. Together with the six “general” forms, this yielded eighteen different kinds of *we*.

This was only the beginning: it appeared that distinctions of number and gender were also present in the second and third person. And gender assignment was observed to work differently from Indo-European languages like Dutch, German and Portuguese. Additionally, different PGN-series could be distinguished, and it became clear that the usual connections in Naro between clauses contain PGN-markers as well, making unusual distinction. All this was enough reason to give extra attention to the elaborate system of PGN-markers and what their presence means for translation. Because in Naro, PGN-markers abound, it is of key importance to analyse them well, and make the right choice in translating their features, so as to avoid misunderstandings when people hear the translated Bible. A desire grew to do an in-depth study into this, leading to a rather general, provisional research subject: study the many PGN-options in Naro and the repercussions of their presence for Bible translation from Greek into Naro.

For doing a relevant study in this area, it is necessary to evaluate what previous study has been done pertaining to such a subject (including a description and analysis of PGNs, translation studies in PGNs, especially in relation to Greek): section 1.2. Subsequently, it needs to be decided what kind of study is most profitable, yielding the main research question (1.3). After evaluating the relevance of the study (1.4), decisions have to be made on the method to follow and the resources to use, with a division in chapters (1.5). This chapter will finally provide an account of the conventions used (1.6).

1.2 Previous studies pertaining to the research target

According to Haacke, an expert in this field, a treatment of PGN-markers is one of the most controversial subjects in the morpho-syntax of Khoë languages.¹ It is necessary to heed this word of caution when embarking on a project such as is undertaken in this dissertation.

¹ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:201.

1. Introduction

Description and analysis of PGNs

Several publications are available about PGNs,² though the analysis of Naro PGNs is in need of refining. The term “PGN” was coined by Hagman³ in 1977, but the markers themselves obviously existed before that time, being described with different terminology. Du Plessis mentions records of Cape Khoekhoe that date back as far as 1626 (with a few basic items) and 1655 (a word list),⁴ but according to Hagman, the first “linguistic description of a Khoisan language” was made in 1717, when Leibnitz discussed a dialect of Cape Hottentot.⁵ This may have included the, perhaps unconscious, mention of PGNs. The publication incorporates a translation of the Lord’s Prayer in Cape Khoekhoe.⁶ A clearer recording of the markers can be found in the late 18th century when Robert Gordon and Francois LeVaillant published “fairly long lists of words, where the gender suffixes are faithfully reflected”.⁷ In the journal of his fourth journey, in 1779, Gordon notes PGN endings for the Namaqua language.⁸ These publications are followed around 1825 by translations of some of the Gospels into Nama, produced by missionaries such as Schmelen and Knudsen.⁹

The first discussions of PGN-markers in Naro are found in Bleek’s publications *The Naron. A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari* (1928),¹⁰ and *Comparative vocabularies of Bushman languages* (1929).¹¹ Further studies that discuss Naro PGNs:

- Maingard, *The central group of click languages of the Kalahari* (1961)¹²
- Kagaya, *A Phonetic Sketch of Naron around Ghanzi* (1978)¹³
- Barnard, *A Nharo Wordlist, with notes on grammar* (1985)¹⁴
- Vossen, *Some observations on nominal gender in Naro* (1986)¹⁵
- Visser, *Personal pronouns in Naro* (paper at Tutzing conference in 1994, unpublished)¹⁶
- Visser, *NARO - English English - NARO Dictionary* (2001⁴)¹⁷

² Glanz 2012 speaks about PNGs, using a different order. Content wise, the PNG shifts which he studied refer to shifts (and incoherence) encountered in the ST in Jeremiah (in Hebrew), while the PGN issues which we will look into deal especially with the RL (Naro), although ch. 5 also discusses more general PGN challenges. Combining PNG shifts (in Jeremiah) with PGN issues (in Naro) must yield multiplied challenges.

³ Hagman 1977:41ff.

⁴ Du Plessis 2018:43.

⁵ See Hagman 1977:1.

⁶ Cf. Du Plessis 2018:43.

⁷ Du Plessis, p.c. 7-6-21. Cf. Du Plessis 2018:61, footnote 16 and 17.

⁸ Du Plessis, p.c. 7-6-21.

⁹ According to Beris 1996:81, Schmelen finished the Four Gospels as early as 1825.

¹⁰ D. F. Bleek 1928.

¹¹ Dorothea F. Bleek 1929.

¹² Maingard 1961.

¹³ Kagaya 1978.

¹⁴ Barnard 1985.

¹⁵ Vossen 1986.

¹⁶ Visser 1994.

¹⁷ Visser 2001b.

1. Introduction

- Haacke, *Naro syntax from the perspective of the desentential hypothesis: the minimal sentence* (2010)¹⁸
- Visser, *Morphology*, in: The Khoesan Languages, 179-206 (2013)¹⁹
- Visser, *Syntax*, in: The Khoesan Languages, 379-394 (2013)²⁰
- Letsholo & Mogara, *Constituent Order and Focus in Naro Language* (2016)²¹
- Kari & Mogara, *The clitic nature of person-gender-number markers in Naro* (2016)²²

Studies in neighbouring Khoesan²³ languages that may have relevance to the analysis of Naro PGNs:

- Eastern Khoesan languages:
 - o Chebanne, *Person, gender and number markings in Eastern Kalahari Khoe. Existence or traces?* (2008)²⁴
 - o Chebanne, *Tsua/Cua/Kua: Linguistic Losses or gains?* (2014)²⁵
- Griqua:
 - o Haacke & Snyman, *Lexical Proximity Of A Xri Corpus To Khoekhoegowab* (2019)²⁶
- ||Gana:
 - o Nakagawa, *Morphology* (1998) [in Japanese]²⁷
 - o Vossen, *||Gana* (2013)²⁸
 - o Leepang, *A survey of pronominal person, gender and number marking in G|ana language* (2015)²⁹
 - o Nakagawa et al., *A G|ui Dictionary* (forthcoming)³⁰
- Khoekhoegowab:
 - o Haacke, *A Nama grammar: the noun-phrase* (1976)³¹
 - o Haacke, *The so-called “personal pronoun” in Nama* (1977)³²
 - o Haacke, *Subject deposition in Nama* (1978)³³
 - o Haacke, *Nama “coreferential copulative sentences” reassessed* (1980)³⁴

¹⁸ W.H.G. Haacke 2010.

¹⁹ Visser 2013a.

²⁰ Visser 2013c.

²¹ Letsholo & Mogara 2016.

²² Kari & Mogara 2016.

²³ See ch. 2 for the use of the term “Khoesan”.

²⁴ Chebanne 2008.

²⁵ Chebanne 2016.

²⁶ W.H.G. Haacke & Snyman 2019.

²⁷ Hirosi Nakagawa 1998.

²⁸ Vossen 2013b.

²⁹ Leepang 2015.

³⁰ Hirosi Nakagawa et al. forthcoming.

³¹ Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976.

³² W.H.G. Haacke 1977.

³³ W.H.G. Haacke 1978.

³⁴ W.H.G. Haacke 1980.

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- Haacke, *Dislocated noun phrases in Khoekhoe* (1992)³⁵
- Haacke, *Compound Noun Phrases in Nama* (1992)³⁶
- Haacke, *Morphology [Namibian Khoekhoe]* (2013)³⁷
- Haacke, *On the manifestation of core arguments in †Akhoe* (2013)³⁸
- Job & Güldemann, *The gender system of Khoekhoeegowab* (2020)³⁹
- Korana:
 - Wuras, *Hottentot grammar in the Korana dialect* (1850)⁴⁰
 - Bleek, *A comparative grammar of South African languages* (1862)⁴¹
 - Engelbrecht, *Studies oor Korannataal* (1928)⁴²
 - Meinhof, *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen* (1930)⁴³
 - Maingard, *Korana folktales: grammar and texts* (1962)⁴⁴
 - Haacke, *Morphology [!Ora]* (2013)⁴⁵
 - Du Plessis, *Kora: a lost Khoisan language of the early Cape and the Gariep* (2018)⁴⁶
- Kwadi:
 - Güldemann, *Reconstruction through ‘de-construction’: The marking of person, gender, and number in the Khoe family and Kwadi* (2004)⁴⁷ [also for Khoe languages]
 - Güldemann, *Kwadi* (2013)⁴⁸
 - Güldemann, *Person–gender–number marking from Proto-Khoe–Kwadi to its descendants: a rejoinder with particular reference to language contact* (2018)⁴⁹
- Kxoe:
 - Köhler, *Grundzüge der Grammatik der Kxoe-Sprache* (1973)⁵⁰
 - Kilian-Hatz & Heine, *On nominal gender marking in Kxoe* (1998)⁵¹
 - Kilian-Hatz, *A grammar of modern Khwe* (2008)⁵²

³⁵ W.H.G. Haacke 1992b.

³⁶ W.H.G. Haacke 1992a.

³⁷ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b.

³⁸ W.H.G. Haacke 2013c.

³⁹ Job & Güldemann 2021.

⁴⁰ Wuras 2016.

⁴¹ W. H. I. Bleek 1862.

⁴² Engelbrecht 1928.

⁴³ Meinhof 1969.

⁴⁴ Maingard 1962.

⁴⁵ W.H.G. Haacke 2013a.

⁴⁶ Du Plessis 2018.

⁴⁷ Güldemann 2004.

⁴⁸ Güldemann 2013a

⁴⁹ Güldemann 2018.

⁵⁰ Köhler 1973a.

⁵¹ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997.

⁵² Kilian-Hatz 2008.

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- Ts'ixa
 - o Fehn, *A Grammar of Ts'ixa (Kalahari Khoe)* (2014)⁵³
- !Xun (incl. Ju'hoansi):
 - o Snyman, *An introduction to the !Xū (!Kung) language* (1974)⁵⁴
 - o Dickens, *English - Ju'hoan and Ju'hoan - English Dictionary* (1994)⁵⁵
 - o Heine & König, *The !Xun language: a dialect grammar of Northern Khoisan* (2015)⁵⁶
- !Ui - Taa languages:
 - o Güldemann, *Die Entlehnung pronominaler Elemente des Khoekhoe aus dem !Ui-Taa* (2002)⁵⁷
 - o Traill, *A !Xóõ dictionary* (2009)⁵⁸
- General:
 - o Traill, *The languages of the Bushmen* (1978)⁵⁹
 - o Westphal, *The click languages of Southern and Eastern Africa* (1971)⁶⁰

An effort to make a comparison between the PGN-systems in the various Khoesan languages was produced by Vossen 1994 and Vossen 1997, while Güldemann 2006 also makes different kinds of comparisons between these languages.

Translational studies dealing with PGNs

With regard to PGNs in translation, some studies were performed:

- Visser, *Explication of application in translation?*⁶¹
- Visser, *Transjuggling pronouns. Translating pronouns in Naro* (2003)⁶²

It appears that not much more than this has been published about this subject. What comes closest is the master's thesis of Khariseb, *Bible Translation and the Development of Khoekhoegowab (KKG) Language* (2006),⁶³ but this does not focus specifically on PGNs.

The lack of publications displays a vacuum in the area of possible research. A thorough description of the differences between Naro and other systems (Greek in particular) is not available yet, and the impact of the presence of PGNs has hardly been studied.

⁵³ Fehn 2014.

⁵⁴ Snyman 1970.

⁵⁵ Dickens 1994.

⁵⁶ Heine & König 2015.

⁵⁷ Güldemann 2002.

⁵⁸ Traill 2009.

⁵⁹ Traill 1978.

⁶⁰ E. Westphal 1971.

⁶¹ Visser 2010a.

⁶² Visser 2003.

⁶³ Khariseb 2006.

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1.3 Theoretical framework and main research question

There are several options for doing a study about the impact of PGN-markers on translation. One could merely provide a linguistic description of the PGN-markers in a certain language and leave the conclusions to translation practitioners. Apart from the fact that such a description is basically available already, a better option would be to add a comparison with Greek and/or Hebrew (as languages in which the Bible was originally written), to make the work for a translator somewhat easier, by presenting the contrasts. Another possibility is, to just list all the possible PGNs in a certain language and do a mathematical count on how often each PGN in a translation into that language occurs. This would expand on the comparison just mentioned, and show researchers the discrepancies between Greek/Hebrew and Naro.

These mainly structural approaches might be of some help to a translator, but would leave her at the mercy of the wind and waves of one's feelings at the time of translating about how to handle the differences between SL and RL. It seemed more fruitful to assist the translator by adding a study into the differences between all PGN-series and what implications these differences may have for translation. In addition, it would be good to indicate strategies to help her decide which of the 23 PGNs, and which of the nine series, should be used when.

One way to do this may start by going through some passages of the Bible and studying in depth which PGN was used where and why. This could yield an exegetical study with a linguistic emphasis. Still another, and better, possibility is to study the use of PGNs, and scrutinise which pragmatic ramifications can be found, in different directions, pertaining to their use. Such a study might yield an overview of factors that determine the choice of when to use which PGN.

The present work has tried to combine several of these possible approaches by presenting 1. a linguistic overview and analysis of the Naro PGNs, in morphology, syntax and discourse, together with 2. a linguistic overview of where elements that contain information about person, gender and number should be searched in Greek (cutting out the Hebrew component, as a matter of limitation of the amount of material). The comparison between these two *linguistic descriptions* should then serve as a basis for bringing to the surface 3. challenges and 4. opportunities for the translator. It is to be expected that the challenges would be mainly *exegetical*, as the exegesis has to provide answers in what the ST is understood to say, but the challenges could be categorised according to different areas that are found. The opportunities provided by the PGNs would consist in clarity that is added in translation, as the translator would have to present information about gender and number to its hearers that is not always clear in the Greek original. Again, exegesis would play an important role in finding the probably intended meaning in the Greek text. The study will serve well if conclusions are drawn with respect to strategies to be followed in translation, so as to make the study valuable for wider circles than just translators in KhoeSan languages. If this is done, it also contains a *translation-theoretical* component.

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The dissertation thus contains a combination of *linguistic description and analysis* on the one hand, and *exegetical* work of hand-picked verses on the other hand, in an effort to reach a categorised overview of issues, together leading to *translational* pieces of advice.

For the linguistic analysis, use is made of Basic Linguistic Theory,⁶⁴ following a descriptive approach. An acquaintance with this theory is assumed for the reading of this dissertation. A text should be viewed at different levels: not just at morpheme, phrase, clause and sentence level,⁶⁵ but also at discourse and even at sociocultural level – it is part of a broader communicative process. Previous analysis has been corrected or refined, for example in the area of tone, definiteness, PGN-series, and gender assignment.

In the exegetical treatment of texts, use will be made of the grammatico-historical method, which is well described by Blomberg: “[It] refers to studying the biblical text (...) in its original historical context, and seeking the meaning its author(s) most likely intended for its original audience(s) or addressees based on the grammar and syntax.”⁶⁶

This does not rule out other approaches,⁶⁷ as it is important to follow a holistic approach in translation.⁶⁸ To mention a few aspects: a text not only has formal, structural, semantic aspects, but also aesthetic and liturgical ones. As the Bible has literary character, attention is to be given to style and beauty.⁶⁹ A multidisciplinary approach is encouraged, taking into consideration linguistics, exegesis, hermeneutics, but also culture. Differences in communication within the text, between the text and its primary audience, between the text and its audiences in different eras, and between the understanding of the exegete-translator and the RL audience should be considered. And we cannot forget the dynamics of the translation project in its community and cultural setting.

The exegetical work is focusing therefore on finding out what the text as we have received it is saying, mainly on the basis of linguistic research, not forgetting the text-critical issues and especially practical applications, as the text is part of an authoritative complex of 66 books in and through which, as christians believe, God wants to speak to people even today.

No attempts have been made to develop a new theory, neither in the linguistic nor in the exegetical or translational components. In all aspects, a translation-theoretical tangent will be perceived.

⁶⁴ See R. M. W. Dixon 2012, R. M. W. Dixon 2014a and R. M. W. Dixon 2014b.

⁶⁵ A discourse (or text) consists of one or more sentences, a sentence of one or more clauses, a clause of one or more phrases, a phrase of one or more words, a word of one or more morphemes, cf. Crystal 2011, s.v. clause. See also below, section 1.6 (“Some basic grammatical terms”).

⁶⁶ Blomberg 2012:27.

⁶⁷ Blomberg 2012:28: “all of the other approaches must build on the historical-critical/ grammatical approach in order to function legitimately”.

⁶⁸ Cf. Wilt 2002a:xii.

⁶⁹ Cf. E. Wendland 2003:179: “the Bible is literature”, and E. R. Wendland 2004, the volume he wrote to support the notion not only that the Bible is literature, but also the consequential idea that translators should be encouraged to have “the literary nature of biblical texts ‘shine through the translation’” (E. Wendland 2003:180). Also see Hargreaves 1993:138: “when the original is beautiful, its beauty must shine through the translation; when it is stylistically ordinary, this must be apparent”.

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Research question

The considerations about the most profitable kind of study narrowed down the original options of research, leading to the following research question to be investigated:

What are the challenges and opportunities that the “PGN-markers” in Naro pose to a translator of the NT, and what translation strategies do they require?

It is noteworthy that the research question starts with the presence of PGN-markers in Naro, and only then looks at the question as to whether information about person, gender and number can be found in the SL (Greek). The RL is central, not only because the PGN-system is interesting, but also because we want to make a translation that communicates the information of the ST in a natural way. After that, questions are being asked about Greek, on the basis of the structure of Naro. The question to ask is not: “How do we translate the Bible into a foreign language?” but rather: “How do we receive the Bible (as “foreign” information, because it is coming from outside) into Naro in a way that communicates naturally in this language?”

1.4 Relevance of the study

This thesis aims to yield a better understanding of the challenges and opportunities that a language offers in the area of Bible translation, and exemplify the interaction between language complexity and exegesis. It is hoped that a major contribution will consist in the further refined description of the morphological and syntactic system of Naro. Naro can be a showcase of languages where gender in the “article” and/or “(pro)noun system” is variable. The description and analysis will contribute to the knowledge of Naro, and partly of neighbouring languages. It will be prudent to glean insights from related languages,⁷⁰ but the description of Naro may conversely also shed some light on the analysis of PGNs in those languages. The dissertation will not cover other morphological and syntactic features of Naro, like the structure of NP and VP, tense/aspect system, verbal extensions and adjectival formatives.

The study will provide an illustration of contrasts in language systems, and a better understanding of challenges in translation. It is further hoped that the dissertation contributes to an enhancing of the quality of Bible translation in Naro and similar languages.

One of the aims of the dissertation is to make clear that the translation into Naro, because of its grammatical possibilities, will ask questions that are not usually asked, which will enrich exegesis, and may even have repercussions on translation in other languages by demonstrating differences in referential meaning content. The purpose is not to give new exegetical insights, but to demonstrate that the borderline between exegesis and translation is moved (forward) by the necessity of answering more questions about what the text may say, because of these structural linguistic possibilities. It will exemplify additional ways of looking at the text that is to be translated.

⁷⁰ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2010:201.

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The point of the discussions in the dissertation is not in the first place to find out which translation option is the best one, but to show that there are many options of translation, and that the language structure of the RL has an impact on the questions to be asked in the text. In that sense, translations in different languages will give more insight into the interpretation of the probable content of the Bible text. At least, the translations give insight into what translators have thought to be the content. The Naro translation experience provides its own unique contribution toward this.

It must be realised that because of the Naro language structure, information will be added to the translation that is not present in the Greek. This is unavoidable – as it is in most translations in most languages. Every language, and every translation therein in its own ways, yields its own additions and subtractions to the content of the original. If this dissertation helps to sensitise readers of this issue, and above all assists in making the right translation choices, the author will be very satisfied.

This study is crucial to the work of Naro translators. They need to make decisions about PGNs in virtually every clause, so it is extremely important for them to be acquainted with the PGN-system, know which options are available in each case, be aware of the impact of PGNs, and receive guidance on how to make a choice.

Bible translators working in other languages should benefit as well from the information and discussions provided in this dissertation. It will add insight into differences between languages, and exemplify how to treat translation issues. The fascinating distinctions in Naro may be of interest to many translators.

Exegetes will be fed with new perspectives, as, in confrontation with the questions presented by Naro, we may find new and unexpected aspects in the Bible text that we were not aware of before, just because of the confrontation with different realities, both culture and language.

The study is relevant for people in general as well. Nida noted the misconception among the general public that primitive people have very simple languages.⁷¹ A confrontation with the intricate Naro PGN-system as given in ch. 3 will once and for all end this distorted view. Nida also presents the wrong belief that there should be a certain one-to-one correspondence between the respective words and categories of different languages.⁷² The comparison between Naro and Greek in ch. 3 and 4 will strongly challenge this belief.

The study will offer a description of interesting features and a better understanding of Naro grammar, and provide a comparison between cultures and languages. Equivalents of PGN-systems in other languages may be seen in a different light. It may also further translation theory, by giving a better insight into translation problems, and pointing to more suitable

⁷¹ Nida 1957:185.

⁷² Nida 1957:185.

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solutions. It is an interesting example of interdisciplinary research: descriptive and comparative linguistics, theology (Bible, NT Greek, Bible translation theory, missiology, African theology), and cultural anthropology.

The possibilities in Naro, like in participant tracking and referential clarity, deserve broader attention, among exegetes in general and the global Bible translation community in particular. It is hoped that this dissertation may function as a catalyst in such a process.

In all, the dissertation attempts to make a contrastive translation-oriented contribution: contrasting Naro and Greek, contrasting translation possibilities of different languages, and, last but not least, contrasting different translation options because of the structural possibilities of Naro.

1.5 Method and division in chapters

In the discussion of the research question, the contours of the study with its method have become clear already: the study will compare P-G-N⁷³ information in Naro and Greek (ch. 3-4), which will be the basis for a discussion of the impact of these differences by looking at challenges (ch. 5-9) and opportunities (ch. 10-11). Because the study is closely linked with the Naro population, it will first provide sociolinguistic information: demographic information and maps, combined with an overview of the culture and world view of the Naro (ch. 2).

In the linguistic description and analysis of Naro PGN-markers (ch. 3) we will introduce the terminology used for them, their morphology (with nine series of syntactic PGN-forms), and their usage (including a discussion whether PGNs indicate definiteness). After supplying syntactic notes, we will also look into discourse functions.

An investigation into the Greek equivalents of PGNs will follow, together with other elements where person, gender and number information may be found (ch. 4: Searching for P-G-N information in Greek).

In the chapters about challenges and opportunities, the path of a translator in approaching a text is followed: knowing the many PGN-options (based on the knowledge gained in ch. 3), a translator will constantly ask questions about the text (written originally in Greek, studied in ch. 4): Which gender is involved? How many people are referred to? Which grammatical person is most advantageous to use? Naro grammar thus confronts exegesis with several questions.

With every decision about a PGN-marker, the translator will, consciously or unconsciously, have to decide whether there is no challenge at all (if all the P-G-N information is clear: this will be the case most of the time) or whether a specific challenge category can be identified, spelled out in ch. 5-9.

Translation theory (ch. 5) reveals challenges with regard to person, gender and number information that occur in all languages. For example, the Greek may use a 1st person where

⁷³ The abbreviation P-G-N (with hyphens) will be used when the features are being discussed as separate items instead of as a conglomerate.

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in fact a 2nd or 3rd person is intended. These challenges are mostly of a general character, as similar questions occur in many if not all languages.

Ch. 6 handles general exegetical challenges, while the remaining three chapters of challenges are more specific. Ch. 7 discusses questions that are related to culture. Sometimes it is the source culture (of the New Testament) that needs to be researched, in other cases the receptor culture raises questions, for example about the effect of using a certain gender in translation.

The chapter on hermeneutics (ch. 8) will discuss three issues: 1. If there is an apparent discrepancy in the use of PGNs between parallel passages, should we harmonise those passages, or should we rather keep the differences? 2. How much room is there for indicating (through PGNs) that the application of certain statements goes beyond the participants in a speech act? 3. How should the use of PGNs in prophecies be handled if it is not clear to whom the fulfilment of a prophecy refers?

Knowledge of Naro discourse rules (ch. 9) will help in finding options in the amount of coding of the NP: in each instance where a reference to a participant is made (e.g “the king” in English), should a full NP be used (“Once there was *a king*”), a defective⁷⁴ NP (“he was *king*”), a pronominal (e.g. “Once there was a king; *he* had a wife”), or a zero reference (“The king stood up and Ø went away”). In Naro, participant reference is also guided by the morphological difference between same cast and switch cast options,⁷⁵ requiring a choice in virtually each clause.

This list of categories is not, and cannot be exhaustive. The challenges mentioned in the different chapters can be seen as case studies of translation issues formed by repercussions of the necessary choice in PGNs for translation. They may lead to a fine-tuning of strategies for translation and thus have an impact on translation theory.

Instead of categorising the challenges in the above way, they could have been simply categorised according to person issues, gender issues and number issues. It is difficult, however, to compartmentalise the different parameters found in the PGN-markers. Since they are combined in the very markers, it is impossible to split up the discussion into the three components. Therefore, the present division was considered most fruitful.

If the search for the right option(s) of using a PGN-marker is performed well, the challenges may actually appear to turn into opportunities. The Naro language structure may lead to a clearer text (10-11). The first chapter (ch. 10, Increased clarity: required choices) discusses choices that are required by the grammar, while the second (ch. 11, Increased clarity: optional choices) looks into choices that are not required but which are available in the grammatical framework of Naro and therefore provide a possibility to more flexibly find translation alternatives. Naro PGN-markers may require more effort from the translators to translate, but less effort from the audience to understand.

⁷⁴ The difference between a full and defective NP is the pre-/absence of a PGN with lexical specification.

⁷⁵ Cf. 3.3.10 and 3.3.11.

1. Introduction

Data collection

The data used in this dissertation were collected during the years of field work among the Naro in Botswana, since 1991. After some years of coordinating the Naro Language Project, in which Naro language study and analysis was done, leading to an orthography, dictionary and grammatical description of the language, the author has also been working as Bible translation consultant, receiving exposure to related language systems. He therefore makes use of the “participant observation” method, by drawing from the vast experience in translating the Bible, in discussions about each verse of the New Testament, in which many challenges were encountered, but also meaningful options observed, many of which are shared in this dissertation.

1.6 Conventions

Orthography

In this dissertation, use will be made of the practical orthography developed for Naro. The IPA notation for clicks and their effluxes corresponds with the orthography in the following way:

	dental		alveolar		palatal		lateral	
plain click	c		q	!	tc	†	x	
click + velar fricative	cg	lx	qg	!x	tcg	†x	xg	x
ejective (click + velar fricative)	cg'	lx'	qg'	!x'	tcg'	†x'	xg'	x'
aspirated click	ch	lh	qh	!h	tch	‡h	xh	h
ejective click	c'	l'	q'	!	tc'	†'	x'	'
voided click	dc	lg	dq	!g	dtc	‡g	dx	g
nasal click	nc	ln	nq	!n	ntc	†n	nx	n

Additionally, [x] is represented by “g”.

PGN-markers are usually spelled disjunctively (e.g. *suu =sa* ‘pot (3fSG)’, but if they do not contain a vowel and thus do not form a separate syllable, they are spelled conjunctively (e.g. *suu=s* ‘pot (3fSG)’).

Numbering

Examples in the dissertation are numbered consecutively with Arabic numbers.⁷⁶ The different PGN-series are indicated with their number preceded by a hyphen, as in “PGN-1”.

⁷⁶ While the numbering of footnotes starts afresh in every chapter, the examples are numbered consecutively throughout the dissertation.

Use of Bible translations

Bible quotations will be from ESVUK if not otherwise specified. Highlighting and/or emphasis in biblical quotations (by way of italics and/or bolding) and additions like “(SG)” and “(PL)” are added by me.

Gender sensitive language

It was not always possible to avoid gender unsensitive language usage. Instead of indicating everywhere that “he or she” might be read (for example by “s/he” and “his/her”), the reader is requested to understand that wherever appropriate, “he” might include “she” as well. In order to honour the female colleagues in the Naro team, who formed the majority over many years, and one of whom has died, “the translator” in this work is being referred to with feminine pronouns.

Reader/hearer

Similarly, instead of giving the option “reader/hearer”, the designation “hearer” was used most of the time, especially when referring to the user of the Naro Bible. With respect to RL texts (which may be written or oral), especially in the Naro context, it must be observed that in many cases, the translation is conveyed to people in oral fashion, as many Naro speakers are not literate. To remind the readers of this fact, the word “readers” was not used often, even though a reasonable number of Naro people can read already.

Some basic grammatical terms

Terms like sentence, clause, phrase, NP and VP will be used regularly. Crystal mentions the example sentence “*The girl arrived after the rain started*”.⁷⁷ It contains two clauses: *the girl arrived*, and *the rain started* (the two clauses are connected by the conjunction *after*). A clause consists of one or more phrases. Phrases are named after the category of the word which is the head of the phrase:

- NP: noun phrase, a group of words headed by a noun (e.g. *the girl*)
- VP: verb phrase, a group of words headed by a verb (e.g. *arrived*)

A full NP (consisting of a nominal plus at least an accompanying modifier, e.g. an article or, for Naro, a PGN-marker) is contrasted with a defective NP (which lacks a modifier).

Glossing

Most of the Naro examples will be glossed morpheme by morpheme. But in some circumstances, especially with longer text, glossing will be done on phrase level. The morphemes will still be shown in the Naro text, with additional relevant information in brackets.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations will be explained in the appendices.

⁷⁷ Crystal 2011, s.v. clause.

2. Sociolinguistic information

2.1 Introduction

Before embarking on our linguistic, translational and exegetical enterprise in the following chapters, the present chapter gives sociolinguistic information about Naro and its speakers. Section 2.2 presents linguistic affiliations for the Naro language; 2.3 describes the cultural characteristics of its speakers; 2.4 gives attention to contacts that the Naro have had with other people in the course of time; 2.5 looks into the resulting transition into a different kind of life; while 2.6 discusses efforts to counteract adverse effects of that transition.

2.2 Linguistic affiliation

The language family of which Naro is a member, Khoe-Kwadi, is often grouped together with two other families: Kx'a and !Ui-Taa.¹ Until recently, these three families together were named “Khoesan” or “Khoisan”,² sub-divided into Northern Khoesan (Kx'a), Central Khoesan (Khoe-Kwadi) and Southern Khoesan (!Ui-Taa). Regularly, the East-African languages Hadza and Sandawe were also included under this term. The most recent terminology will be used, although in some cases, use will be made of this generally known term “Khoesan”.

The tree diagrams below summarise evidence for genetic connections between “Khoesan” languages.³

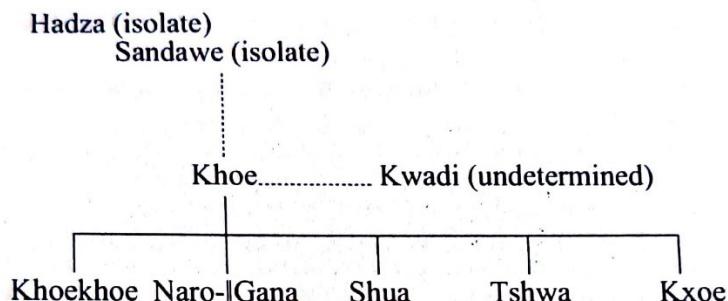


Figure 1: Genetic connections between Hadza, Sandawe, and Khoe-Kwadi languages

¹ Cf. Güldemann 2014, Güldemann & Fehn 2017:2. Also see Witzlack-Makarevich & Nakagawa 2019, esp. 383-388.

² W.H.G. Haacke 2010:201 rightly points out that the term should actually be pronounced and spelled with a long *a*: *Khoesaan*, but this representation did not really root, probably because there was confusion already between *Khoesan* and *Khoisan*. As none of the terms is used widely anymore, the discussion about its spelling has become largely irrelevant. For a further discussion of the term, see Barnard 1992:7.

³ The diagrams were derived from Honken 2013b:23.

2. Sociolinguistic information

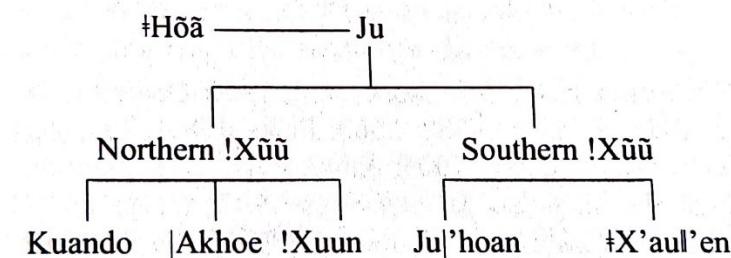


Figure 2: Genetic connections between Kx'a languages

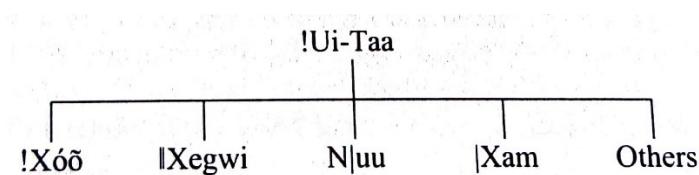


Figure 3: Genetic connections between !Ui-Taa languages

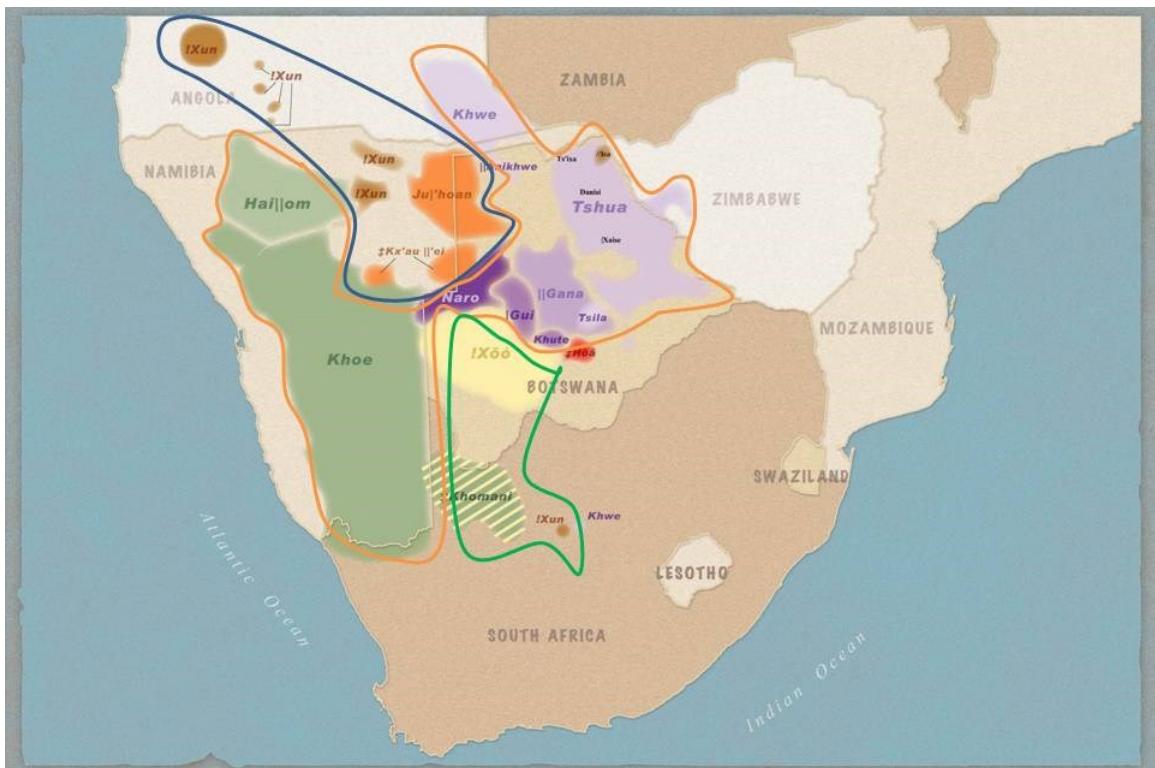


Figure 4: Map Khwe-Kwadi (orange), Kx'a (blue) and !Ui-Taa (green) languages⁴

⁴ Copyright Letloa Trust, made by Strata 360. Language families borders added by Hessel Visser 2021.

2. Sociolinguistic information

To give an impression of the number of speakers of the various languages, see Table 1:⁵

<u>language</u>	<u>number of speakers</u>
!Xun	22000
ǂ'Amkoe	100
Taa	3000
N uu	1
Khoekhogowab	275000
Naro	14000
Gui-ǁGana	3000
Ts'ixa	200
Shua	2000
Tshwa	2000
Khwe-ǁAni	13500
Sandawe	60000
Hadza	1000

Table 1: Estimates of speakers of “Khoe-San” languages

The following figure only shows the Khoe-Kwadi languages in a tree structure, in more detail than Figure 1:

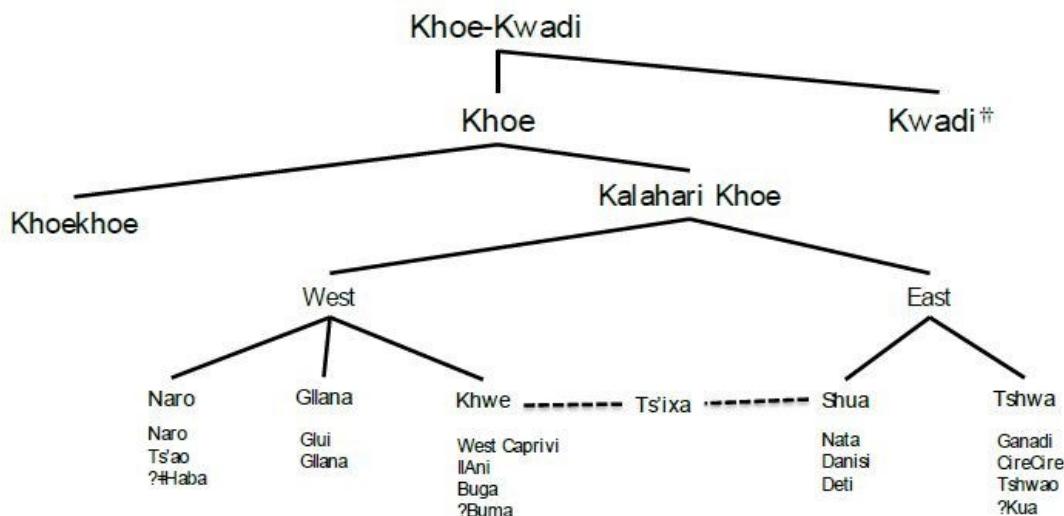


Figure 5: Khoe-Kwadi languages⁶

⁵ The numbers are taken from Brenzinger & Shah forthcoming, ch. 3 (209-313) which they kindly provided. For languages where the estimates had two numbers, the average was taken.

⁶ The diagram was taken from Fehn 2014:11. The two crosses with Kwadi indicate that this language is considered extinct; the question marks indicate some uncertainty about the inclusion of the dialect in the group under which it is mentioned.

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The name *Naro* is sometimes pronounced with aspiration, probably because it is a xenonym.⁷ The spelling *Nharo* is therefore found as well. Three dialectal variations of Naro can be distinguished.⁸ In the north-east, around Kuke, Ts'ao(khoe) is spoken. In the west, around Xanagas and in Namibia, KKG influence is observable. The main dialect is spoken by the people in the central region, in and around Gantsi town.

Estimates (in the past decennia) of the total population of the language group differ from 8,000 to 15,000. Table 2 shows the 2011 census numbers of people in the Ghanzi district speaking *Sesarwa* (the term often –wrongly- used in Botswana for “the language” that San people speak; all San languages are merged this way) at home, together with personal estimates of the percentage of Naro speakers in each village. The total estimate in the Table comes to about 8,500. Together with an assumed 1,000 Naro speakers in Namibia, and in other districts in Botswana, the total number of people speaking Naro as their most preferred language comes to about 10,000. As Naro is one of the languages spoken by a larger San population, it has become the *lingua franca* in the area, so that most speakers of |Gwi and |Gana and many of the Ju'hoansi in Botswana speak Naro as a second language, which may bring the total of speakers to around 15,000.⁹ Several dozens of white and black farmers also speak Naro.

About one third of the population of the Gantsi district spoke “*Sesarwa*” in 2011,¹⁰ which justifies the conclusion that an equal number is San, more or less confirming the numbers given.

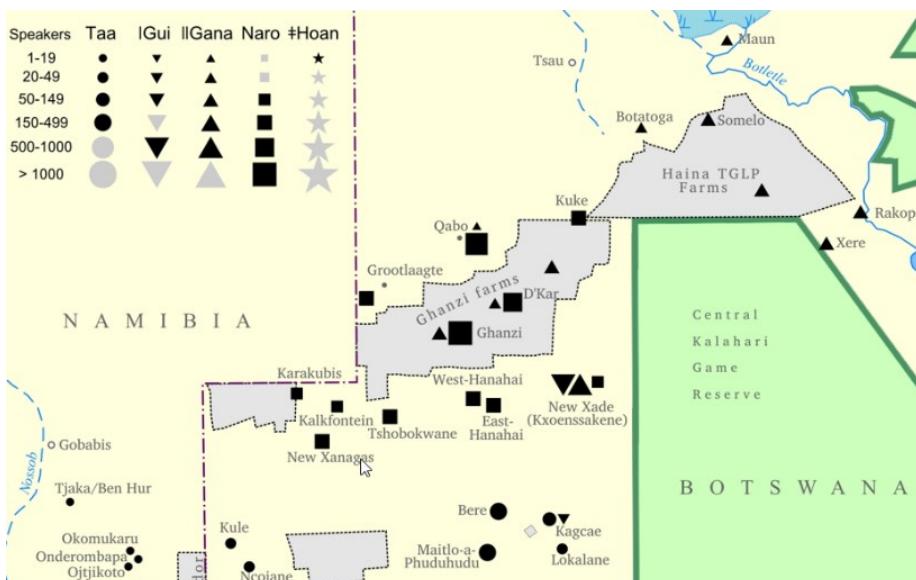


Figure 6: Map of Naro area¹¹

⁷ See Treis 1998:477. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the Naro language, aspiration of the alveolar nasal is not found elsewhere.

⁸ See Treis 1998:475-77 for a discussion of variant names and possibly related languages.

⁹ Table 1 mentions a number of 14,000, based on another estimate.

¹⁰ Numbers from Statistics Botswana 2014:40. $13,418/40,939 = 33\%$

¹¹ Courtesy Brenzinger.

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Villages	Sesarwa	(estimated part speaking) Naro
Ghanzi	2,417	2000
D'kar	1,213	1200
Tsootsha	222	150
Karakubis	177	100
Chobokwane	569	500
West-Hanahai	526	500
Charles Hill	254	100
Makunda	162	70
Kule	148	70
Neojane	197	100
Grootlaagte	878	200
New Xanagas	591	500
East-Hanahai	429	400
Kacgae	370	10
Bere	544	10
Qabo	553	500
New Xade	1106	50
Other	3,016	2000
CKGR	46	5
Total	13,418	8465

Table 2: Sesarwa spoken in villages of Ghanzi district

Language vitality and integration

The Naro language is vital.¹² Children fluently and confidently speak the language, and most communication between parents and children takes place in Naro.¹³ Children are being taught Setswana at the preschool, where several children go when they are about four years old. At primary school, the medium of instruction in the first years is Setswana, to be followed by English from Standard Four. In spite of its vitality, the Naro language is endangered, like all other Khoesan languages, in the light of its size and marginalisation of the population.¹⁴

¹² Cf. Hasselbring et al. 2000:121. Hasselbring & Segatlhe 2000:98 mention Naro first among three languages that show the greatest vitality. Cf. also Visser 1998b.

¹³ See Hasselbring et al. 2000:95-107 for more detailed information on domains of language use in the Ghanzi District, cf. Hasselbring & Segatlhe 2000:82f.

¹⁴ See Jones & Biese 2018:292.

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2.3 Cultural characteristics

The Naro people form one of the San population groups living in southern Africa. The physical surroundings in which the Naro have lived in the past centuries are not inviting. The area has an arid savanna climate with no surface water, except for seasonal pans¹⁵ filling up with rain water between November and April. Over the last century, the Naro territory in Namibia and Botswana has covered an area of around 500 by 200 km, around the Gantsi Farm Block. The greatest concentrations of Naro people are presently found on the Gantsi¹⁶ Ridge:¹⁷ in Gantsi town, D'Kar and some settlements. Other Naro people live on farms in Botswana, and some in resettlement camps and on farms in eastern Namibia (Omaheke district).¹⁸

Culturally speaking, the Khoe-Kwadi language family (see 2.2) comprises both herders (KKG speaking people traditionally belong to these) and hunter-gatherers.¹⁹ The former ones have also been called *Hottentots*,²⁰ while the latter have been called *Bushmen*,²¹ but these terms have received a pejorative connotation in the course of time,²² although some San activists actually prefer the term as recognition of them having been first people coming from “the bush”.²³ In Botswana, the San are often called *Basarwa* (speaking the “Sesarwa language”), a term probably indicating that they do not own cattle.²⁴ As Tswanas highly appreciate farming, not owning cattle is valued negatively. Another term that has been used

¹⁵ So it can be understood that the Naro language did not have a term for *sea*, cf. 11.3.1.

¹⁶ Or Ghanzi, as it is spelled often. The name, derived from Naro *gāe ts'ii* ‘swollen buttocks’, probably refers to abundance due to the reference to fat buttocks (cf. *Steatopygia* n.d.). Cf. *History of settlement in Gaentsii* n.d., note 1.

¹⁷ Andersson & Janson 1997:130: The Ghanzi Ridge “is rich in water and has been the traditional area of the Naro”, cf. Russell & Russell 1979:10.

¹⁸ W. Le Roux & White 2004:166 mention that a Naro band once lived as far north as Tsau in Ngamiland.

¹⁹ Cf. Barnard 1992:7.

²⁰ According to Barnard 1992:9, the term was used in the 17th and 18th century for all KhoeSan peoples, while using the term for herding peoples was common in the 19th and 20th century. However, he advises to avoid the term totally.

²¹ Cf. Barnard 1992:7-11 for comments about the term *Bushman*, a term preferred by Barnard (p. 9).

Whereas the Khoekhoe (“Hottentots”) are relatively uniform in language and culture, the Bushmen are much more diverse in those areas (p. 10). The term derives from the Dutch *Bosjesmannen*, used by the early settlers in the Cape.

²² *Hottentot* may have been pejorative from the beginning, as “[t]he most frequently repeated suggestion (...) is that the word was a spec. use of a formally identical Dutch word meaning ‘stammerer, stutterer’” see “Hottentot” 2021. But also see Barnard 1992:9 for a derivation from a Cape Khoekhoe dance chant, cf. Maingard 1935.

²³ Le Roux, p.c. 7-8-21, referring to Petrus Vaalbooi and Morris Morris. The term *Bushman* also does not seem to be as negative in Namibia, reckoning from the fact that an area was officially called *Boesmanland*.

²⁴ Cf. Kiema 2010:68 and W. Le Roux & White 2004:4. Barnard 1992:8 derives it from Nama *san* and a diminutive *-rwa*. Haacke (p.c. 12-8-21) points out that *twa is a Bantu nominal root, (mostly derisively) referring to hunter-gatherers or non-Bantu. In Botswana the use in class 6/7, **Lesarwa/Masarwa** was explicitly forbidden, as it is derisive.

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is *RADs*, for Remote Area Dwellers,²⁵ a term used in government schemes.²⁶ The Naro term for San is *Ncqakhoe*, lit. ‘red people’. The word *San*, which is widely used, is derived from *saa* ‘gather, glean’²⁷ plus the PGN-marker =n ‘3cPL’, yielding “gathering people” or “those who forage”, which is quite fitting for hunter-gatherers. Even this has been considered derogatory, as the interpretation by some San is that it means “those who *only* forage” implying not herding or not owning possessions, which is perceived as a negative judgement. It was however chosen by regional representatives of all southern African San groups as the least derogatory term.²⁸ Barnard rightly points out that any term used for people of low status can acquire negative connotations.²⁹

The majority of the San peoples have been described to be physically distinguishable from other ethnic groups by several characteristics, although these distinctions are not always the norm and have become a bone of contention. The emphasis in older studies on them having short height, light brown skin and prominent cheekbones is perceived by some San of today as being racist, especially reference to the way the hair of some groups grow in small bushes on their head, which has led to the derogatory term “peppercorn hair”. Trying to find a common physical trait has in fact contributed to their marginalisation. For example, some of the northern groups (especially around the Okavango Delta) are taller and darker and therefore sometimes not considered “real” San, while their physique in many cases is not a result of assimilation with other tribes.

Culturally speaking, the San were quite recently still hunters and gatherers and they made up a very egalitarian society. A film like “The gods must be crazy” may present a too idealistic picture of a San culture, as if there is hardly any conflict present in it, but elements of peacefulness and harmony are surely one of the most valued cultural traits of this now almost extinct hunter-gatherer culture.³⁰

As the San represent the oldest cultures in the world, and until recently were not much influenced by other civilisations, their culture is being considered as reasonably pristine. The striking feature of the many click sounds also resulted in the San having received quite a bit of attention in academic studies. Barnard and Guenther have researched the Naro culture extensively.³¹

²⁵ The designation “remote” is neutral in itself, but at least does not denote intimacy. Cf. W. Le Roux & White 2004:152, esp. note 141.

²⁶ For more on the Remote Area Dweller Programme, see Saugestad 1993 and Saugestad 2001.

²⁷ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 1999:153.

²⁸ At the WIMSA AGM in Windhoek in 1997, see W. Le Roux 2001:191.

²⁹ Barnard 1992:9. See p. 8 for a more extensive discussion (including negative connotations) of the term *San*. Knoetze & Hambira 2018:3-8 also discusses the various terms. Cf. Andersson & Janson 1997:111f. and W. Le Roux & White 2004:4-6.

³⁰ That this peacefulness did not exclude “resistance”, “vigour” and a “spirit of independence” is shown by Guenther 1997 (quotes from p. 134).

³¹ See Barnard 2001:11f. and Barnard 1992:136f. for a short discussion of other ethnographic studies.

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2.4 Contacts

The Naro people, together with other San tribes, were probably the first inhabitants of southern Africa³² and have roamed the region until they were pushed back by Bantu tribes coming in later from the north-east, and by white settlers from the Cape area.³³ Traces of their presence all over southern Africa are found in rock paintings,³⁴ and in the fact that certain Bantu languages have adopted clicks.

Many of the Naro must have lived in isolation as hunters and gatherers. In many cases, it may be assumed that their main contacts were with neighbouring Naro clans, and from time to time with people speaking other Khoesan languages. It is a matter of speculation how much contact there was with Bantu tribes like Tswana and Herero, and which San tribes had most of these contacts.

European travellers to Africa (from around the 16th century) reported finding indigenous tribes like the San, indicating that at least some of the San tribes must have lived in more coastal regions.³⁵ There is no report that makes clear whether there may have been Naro speakers among these tribes who were in contact with white settlers in the Cape since the 17th century. But like other Khoesan speaking tribes, the Naro people were, in the course of time, pushed back into the infertile parts of southern Africa, where whites or Bantu people couldn't live easily: in and around the Kalahari desert. Probably for the last centuries, the Naro people have lived in the northern part of the Kalahari.

The nineteenth and especially the twentieth century have given a worldwide boost in breaking down barriers and enhanced transport and communication possibilities, which also affected the San. At the same time, barriers were created, like the border between Namibia and Botswana around 1900, which divided the Naro population into two. In the 19th century, there was increasing contact³⁶ with Bantu people from the north-east of the area, especially the Tawana from Ngamiland, who declared the eastern part of what now is Gantsi District as their hunting territory. They traded with the San (animal skins, ostrich beads, feathers), but they also took San as slaves and exacted tribute.³⁷

Also, the San have increasingly been in contact with white people. The Gantsi pan almost permanently had water, and was on a main hunting and trading route between Walvisbay and Ngami Lake, which attracted people like Van Zyl, the “first Afrikaner settler in Ghanzi”.³⁸ At the end of the 19th century, white farmers from South Africa were given the

³² Barnard 1978:2. Cf. Andersson & Janson 1997:107f.

³³ See Crawhall 2004:103-107 for the interaction between hunter-gatherers, Khoekhoe herders and Bantu agriculturalists.

³⁴ See, for example, Cooke 1969, Dowson 1992 and Lewis-Williams 1990.

³⁵ See, for example, Goodwin 1952 and Marks 1972.

³⁶ Guenther 1986:36 speaks of “miniature immigration waves” of “black and white settlers” in the second half of the 19th century; see pp. 36-49 and W. Le Roux & White 2004:152-206 for much more information on the history of the San in Botswana, and *History of settlement in Gaentsii* n.d. for the history of Gantsi.

³⁷ Guenther 1986:37 and W. Le Roux & White 2004:162.

³⁸ For Van Zyl (1828-1880), see *Hendrik van Zyl* n.d.-a, *Hendrik van Zyl* n.d.-b and Russell & Russell 1979:10-12.

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opportunity to settle in parts of Bechuanaland, among others in the Gantsi region.³⁹ Initially, the farms were not fenced and the San helped the farmers to survive; there was an almost symbiotic co-existence between the white settlers and the San. More settlers moved in with their animals in the 1920s. Since 1956 (resurvey of farms), all the farm land was combined into one block, greatly restricting the hunting possibilities and the free movement of the San. This also brought the San on the farms into a cash economy and the farmers provided jobs for some of them. Many previously semi-nomadic San became “farm Bushmen”,⁴⁰ which had a huge impact on their culture. In 1966, the Bechuanaland Protectorate became independent from Britain, and became the Republic of Botswana. In the course of time, this also meant a transition from a hunting and gathering life in all freedom, to a life ruled by an unknown government made up from more dominant tribes than themselves.

2.5 Transition to modern life

Gradually, traditional hunting and gathering life underwent many changes. The following lists a few elements of transition.

Instead of the wide veld to move around in, with possibly some tracks here and there, paths were cut by donkey carts and later fourwheel drive trucks. Later, movement restricted by fences and farm roads forced the San into other patterns of movement and having to ask permission to move. The tracks led to roads which gradually connected them with the rest of the world. In the second half of the twentieth century, gravel roads were made, and by the end of the millennium Naro people even saw tarred roads. The wider transport possibilities caused some more privileged San people to make trips to countries like South Africa, and even to other continents, after travel in an aeroplane.⁴¹

Having lived in small bands of around a few dozen persons for all their history,⁴² in the late 1970s life changed drastically for the San, as a campaign to remove any “excess” populations on the farms led to them being concentrated in settlements created by the government. They had to learn how to handle such a concentration of people, in terms of conflict resolution, individual property ownership as well as sharing of resources. An effort to establish an alternative community inside their own territory was undertaken by the Reformed Church Aranos from Namibia, but even this farm, D’Kar, soon grew into a concentration of around 1500 inhabitants.⁴³ Many from the settlements flocked back to the

³⁹ See Russell & Russell 1979:12f. for possible reasons for this permission.

⁴⁰ Cf. Guenther 1979.

⁴¹ A visit to the Netherlands yielded a comment by Morris Morris in 1993 that people there must be very poor, as in a paved city like Amsterdam, there was no soil to be detected.

⁴² D. F. Bleek 1928:4-5 speaks of three to twenty huts. Cf. Barnard 1992:137-141. Guenther 1986:186 describes a size varying from 7 to 31 for bands in /Oaxa (D’Kar) in the 1970s. On p. 171 he mentions the maximum size of 25 to 40 people. Wannenburgh 1979:28 speaks about 40 to 60 people.

⁴³ The *plaas* grew into a village with some 1,000 inhabitants in 1996. An estimated three quarter of these are San. The 2011 census counts 1668 inhabitants (Statistics Botswana 2015:18; Statistics Botswana 2015:20 mentions 1575 speakers).

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small town Gantsi. Another overpopulation of uprooted communities soon changed into being “squatters” on what used to be their own land.

Instead of fetching water from a seasonal pan in the past, or sucking up water from a sipwell or from a hollow tree, to conserve it in an ostrich eggshell,⁴⁴ the government provided the San with boreholes. Instead of making fire by rubbing sticks,⁴⁵ fire is now made with the help of matches, which have to be bought.

Instead of using medicinal properties of plants,⁴⁶ clinics were built and the San were introduced to modern medicines. In a bigger town like Gantsi there is even a small hospital. Unfortunately, sick people were only brought there when sicknesses had progressed so far that people would die there, leaving them the initial reputation that a hospital is a place where you die, being far away from your family, so it is better to stay as far from such a place as possible.

Instead of the traditional education in the veld by the parents and other family members, children were now expected to go to school, mostly severed from their parents at the age of six, and taken to far away boarding schools, for months at a time, to be educated by professionals, and taught in a language they don't know (well) and socialising with pupils from other cultures. Children were introduced to books and the skills of reading and writing,⁴⁷ but separated from their parents, traditional survival techniques and hunting skills and estranged from their own culture, leading to a decreased sense of identity. Many drop out of school, so that they will not have certificates needed for well-paid jobs.⁴⁸

Instead of being self-sufficient by finding all their food in the veld, people now buy their basic supplies (typically mealie flour, tea, sugar and milk) in shops - for which they need money.

Instead of a free life of hunting⁴⁹ and gathering⁵⁰ wherever you wished, one now needed to go to an administrative centre to obtain a licence. Instead of the traditional arrangement of huts, people were suddenly dependent on a landboard to allocate plots, and for issues around work, one had to go to the *Labour* office. This implied that their traditional “own land use management plan” in which “each group was moving inside a specific area only to give the land the opportunity to become “fat” again”⁵¹ was difficult to carry out.

Instead of burying the dead in a skin within a day,⁵² it became custom (and is expected by the authorities) over the last decades to bury people in a coffin, after a stay of several days in a mortuary. This provided the opportunity to wait for family and friends from far

⁴⁴ W. Le Roux & White 2004:160-165. Cf. Wannenburgh 1979:23 and Valiente Noailles 1993:41f.

⁴⁵ See, for example, W. Le Roux & White 2004:89f. and 167.

⁴⁶ See, for example, W. Le Roux & White 2004:113-115.

⁴⁷ It is thus understandable that the Naro language lacks a term for *book*, cf. 11.2.3. Cf. also Hasselbring et al. 2000:107-117 on literacy and use of literature among the Naro and other peoples.

⁴⁸ For the educational situation of San children, see W. Le Roux 2000.

⁴⁹ See Guenther 1986:112-115 and 152-156 and W. Le Roux & White 2004:167-183 about hunting.

⁵⁰ See Guenther 1986:146-152 and W. Le Roux & White 2004:171-175 about gathering.

⁵¹ A. H. Le Roux unpublished:3.

⁵² W. Le Roux & White 2004:128; see 126f. and Guenther 1986:281-284 for more on burial practices.

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away places, but at the same time increased the cost of having all kinds of funeral arrangements.

Instead of telling stories around the fire at the end of the day, and traveling on foot if there was some very important news to share, communicating by phone became an option (since around 1990). And like elsewhere in the world, Internet possibilities widened the horizon of people immensely, so that the whole world is available within a few clicks on a screen.

Instead of a marriage by the consent of all parents involved,⁵³ it now was to be solemnised by the government. And in copying customs from Bantu tribes, people earn respect in society if they are able to work for a bride price and pay for all kinds of practical arrangements like fancy clothes and a big party, making it extremely difficult to marry for the average Naro person. Suddenly most San men are deemed “unmarried” to their common law wives.

These developments created new opportunities, and new wealth. Instead of hunting game, rearing cattle became an option. One could learn this trade while working for a farmer, and some farmers enabled their labourers to accumulate some cattle as part of their payment. In the settlements, people have their own land. The government often provides them with seeds. A few people sell their products. Where communal property was the state of things in San culture, some people now excel above others.

Job possibilities can nowadays be found as a farm worker, shop worker, at a lodge (in tourism: as a waiter, as a guide, or as a dancer, to show tourists the traditional life), or in one of the development projects.⁵⁴ If available, jobs provide money, with which one can buy clothes, furniture, a radio, music player, a TV or even a car. With some savings (often in the form of cows, goats, horses), individuals who excel can build a zinc roof hut, or a more permanent brick house, instead of the traditional hut made of grass, branches, and perhaps the mixture of mud and cow dung. The house, which used to be just a temporary shelter, now becomes a fixture and adds to lack of mobility.

2.6 Counteracting adversities

The developments also carried dangers and threats, besides the issue of losing the old way of life. A life of dependence on money for the exchange of goods developed. Contact with the outside life brought temptations in the misuse of alcohol as well. HIV/AIDS and other sicknesses made their entrance.⁵⁵

⁵³ For habits around “marriage”, see W. Le Roux & White 2004:100-108.

⁵⁴ Guenther 1979:186 summarises the developments among the Naro: “[T]he most basic changes to date have been in the area of economics. Perhaps the most drastic and pervasive ideological shift has been away from the egalitarianism of the hunter toward the pursuit of wealth and social status through the possession of cattle, small stock and money.”

⁵⁵ For further perspectives on contemporary life of the Naro, also see Guenther 1976, Bieselet al. 1989 and Hitchcock 2020.

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Several organisations and individuals have attempted to counteract the adverse effects of the confrontation with the new world. Mission and development work should be mentioned as well as the role of governments.

The following organisations have been instrumental in trying to provide avenues towards stabilizing the fast developments around the San people. Kuru Development Trust (established by the Reformed Church in D'Kar in 1986),⁵⁶ and the Kuru Family of Organisations (managed by Letloa Trust) were started as faith-based activities, but also attracted political involvement. Well-meaning interference, such as the international lobbying organisation Survival International raising awareness of the plight of the San, resulted in sometimes even more marginalisation of the San. Economic, social and cultural development work among the Naro (as well as other San groups) was supported by international donors, especially during the 1995-2004 UN Decade of the Indigenous Peoples. These brought organisations such as SNV (Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers) to support the cause of the San for almost three decades, including DanChurchAid, Danish Volunteer Service, Norwegian Church Aid, USAID, the Kalahari Support Group in the Netherlands, Mennonite Central Committee (USA), the German Evangelische Entwicklungshilfe (EED), etc.

In 1965, the former Rhenish Mission started mission work among the Naro and Ovaherero near Sehitwa under Praeses Hans-Karl Diehl with Pastor Eliphas Eiseb. Eiseb was appointed Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which had emanated from the former Rhenish Mission, and he was assigned to undertake the mission work in Sehitwa by means of visits. An amusing anecdote was that he smuggled letters of exiled Namibians through police checkpoints back to Namibia inside his thermos flask.⁵⁷

The history of the involvement of development projects among the Naro started in 1966, when one of the members of the Aranos congregation in Namibia of “Die Gereformeerde Kerke van Suid-Afrika” donated a farm to his church in order to do mission and development work among the impoverished Naro San community in Botswana. Rev. Andries Kruger stimulated this initiative.⁵⁸ The first missionary posted by Aranos congregation was a Tswana man, Rev. Andries Rampa, who in 1967 was joined by an Afrikaner plaas manager, Dirk Jerling from South Africa. In 1968 Rampa departed and Jerling continued with both development projects as well as the church work. The work by him and his wife Laurika (Pollie) led to the first school for the Naro (as well as a boarding facility for children from as far as Xade in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve). They also started the first preschool, sewing group and tannery. They collaborated with another

⁵⁶ For the impact of Kuru's work with people, see, for example, the testimony in Letloa 2007:3 “In the past the San people were afraid to speak or appear before other people. Kuru has changed our lives, things are better for us today because of the work of our own organisations. Nowadays a San person can speak for him/herself, can stand up and speak freely.”

⁵⁷ Haacke, p.c. 12-8-21.

⁵⁸ According to A. H. Le Roux 1989:10, mission work among the San has only started in the sixties of the 20th century.

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church initiative at New Xanagas, led by Ms. Verena Venter of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, who also established a preschool and a sewing group and later a primary school at Kuke gate, which later grew into Kuke village.

Jerlings' work led to the first Naro Reformed Church, which in 1978 was made independent by the Aranos congregation, who still supported the little congregation of 80 people financially. The farm was handed over to the Naro church council and became the first piece of land legally owned by the people who once owned all the surrounding land. It was therefore seen as a huge advantage and symbolic act towards empowerment of the Naro people. During this time, the D'Kar primary school and boarding school was transferred to the state, together with the section of the land on which the school buildings were erected. The Jerlings retired and in 1982, the Rev. Braam le Roux, married to Willemien, oldest daughter of Dirk Jerling, continued the work in D'Kar, but focusing on San on farms and settlements as well.⁵⁹ The Le Rouxs, also struck by the immense poverty and despair of the now around 250 San people living on the D'Kar Reformed Church's farm, went on with the projects established by the Jerlings as part of the diaconal work of the church. They established a small support network (the Dekar Foundation). Kuru Projects enlarged the tannery and leather workshop and started more preschools on the settlements, in collaboration with the Remote Area Dweller drought relief programme supported by NORAD in the 1980s. The support needed by these preschools led to the formation of the Bokamoso Preschool Programme.

These missionary and development activities have tried to retain as much of the culture as possible, as it is believed that indigenous cultures are an asset of the world's heritage, but also a God-given way to organise their lives.⁶⁰ Income generation and education were the two main focus areas of the early days of community development among the Naro. The many projects strived to empower people in self-reliance and to create a buffer in the transition process.⁶¹ Self-esteem increased through acceptance of the christian message of the equality of all people before God. During the next twenty years, the KDT's projects expanded to other districts. Cultural awareness and celebration of unique San culture, art, dance and music was emphasised in most of the existing projects. A Cultural Training Centre in D'Kar also housed a museum, library and the famous Kuru Art Project. Through an annual dance festival, the San culture gained country-wide and even international attention. A farm was bought by the Dutch government through the Netherlands SNV (Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers) organisation, to help San enter tourism as a means of income, but especially to preserve traditional knowledge and stimulate skills such as tracking, veld food knowledge, etc. to the youth.

Two families were recruited by the D'Kar Church Council to assist with the christian mission: Jan and Beppie Wessels and Hessel and Coby Visser. The Naro Language Project

⁵⁹ W. Le Roux 2001 depicts vivid pictures of life in D'Kar in the time that she and her husband spent there.

⁶⁰ A. H. Le Roux unpublished:4: "it has been the Kuru strategy to establish (...) a cultural component which documents traditional and spiritual values and knowledge".

⁶¹ Letloa 2007:5: "to serve God by bringing change to the poverty and lack of recognition of their people".

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(supervised by the Vissers) described the Naro language and promoted literacy and literature in it, translating the Bible in Naro. The process of documenting their language had a tremendous esteem-boosting effect. The internalised lack of self-worth becomes especially clear against the background of a myth recorded in the 1960s, as told by Naro people about what happened after the world was made by N!eri, the Creator:

“//Gāūwa enviously copied the Creator and, because of his limited power, created caricatures of N!eri's creations: a goat for N!eri's cow; a donkey for N!eri's horse; a black man for N!eri's white man – and a Bushman for N!eri's baboon!”⁶²

Against this heart-breaking manifestation of an inferiority complex held by many San people, it was a relief to hear the testimony of a church elder at the presentation of the Naro dictionary in 1994: “Today we have received a book in our language. Today we know that we are people.”⁶³ It could not be foreseen that the mere publication of the Naro dictionary would mean so much to a Naro person.⁶⁴

Likewise, the publication of the Naro NT⁶⁵ triggered strong positive reactions, during the dedication in November 2012, but also afterwards. A Naro chief testifies not only that the Naro NT “gives us integrity and puts Naro speakers in the map”, but also that it is “easier and time saving to read the word of God (...) in the Naro Bible”, it is “a wonderful thing”.⁶⁶ That the translated NT is being used is clear from the following: when a young man was asked why he was reading the Bible three times a day, he answered that he followed the advice in the introduction to worship God in the morning, afternoon and evening. He apparently had read even the preface to the Naro NT... And a few months after the publication of the NT, a lady asked for help in understanding a verse in the letter to the Hebrews. She had arrived at this 18th book of the NT already in reading it for herself. Other people have underlined many verses in their Bibles. Also, people who receive a weekly Bible verse in Naro on WhatsApp ask for more. And in church services it can be observed that people read the NT in Naro on their smartphone. Especially the recorded version of the Naro NT is being used well. People can be found listening to the NT in Naro when washing their clothes, or doing other chores.

For a long time, a policy of assimilation was deemed necessary for the sake of unity and nation building. Any emphasis on cultural identity and variety of languages was considered to open the door to political discord. But in the course of time, probably also stimulated by the efforts sketched above, the Botswana government became more and more aware of the importance of recognizing the diversity of cultures and especially the uniqueness of the San

⁶² Guenther 1986:232. It becomes clear that //Gāūwa is N!eri's rival and opponent (o.c.:222). Because of //Gāūwa's “evil, destructive and menacing side” (o.c.:224), people have identified with satan (*ibid.*), but he also has a “beneficial” side (o.c.:229). Cf. also footnote 77 in ch. 9.

⁶³ Cf. Visser 2004:65.

⁶⁴ For more examples of empowerment through language documentation, see Batibo 2009 (197-200 specifically about the Naro project).

⁶⁵ NNT.

⁶⁶ Morris, p.c. 21-8-21.

2. Sociolinguistic information

people. Currently the country has evolved towards more acceptance of minority cultures and languages. Although the governing structures and services provided in the government settlements to where the San were moved in the 80s were also perpetuating the assimilation into the dominant Setswana culture, and sedentary life posed huge challenges and contributed largely to the transitioning away from traditional San culture, the government provided a platform for adaptation to a new era, with schooling, health facilities and water provided, as well as the ability to keep livestock and start small businesses.

The following structures have become important in the lives of contemporary San people living in Botswana. Each village (settlement)⁶⁷ is led by a local chief (*kgosi*), represented in the district council by a local councillor. A VDC (Village Development Committee) is taking care of governance matters prescribed by the District Council. Each village has a meeting place (*kgotla*) representing the Traditional Authorities of the House of Chiefs (from which the San incidentally are excluded as a tribe, but may participate, represented by a Tswana regional chief). The *kgotla* is where the population can be heard and/or informed, and where the *kgosi* (chief) is exercising jurisdiction. The two Members of Parliament (MPs) of the Gantsi district represent the whole population in the national parliament.

Recently, the government has brought in a system of Reception Class for the later age of preschool. Still, early childhood education remains mainly by initiative of churches, NGOs or as income generation for individuals. The government Poverty Eradication Programme of the Office of the President established the Ipelegeng programme for job creation, which give people opportunity for a daily fee for work. Here and there entrepreneurs try their hand at small stock, vegetable gardens or even semausos (small vendors). The bigger shops, and especially bottle stores and liquor restaurants, remain in the hands of non-San business people, however.

Where previously Botswana had no policy to cater for the use of traditional languages in schools, the current government has explored avenues for the introduction of some minority languages as medium of instruction. The years of accumulated work by the Naro Language Project has opened the door for Naro to be one of the first languages to become partly or even fully accepted as medium of instruction in the primary school, from 2022.

The history of minority languages in Namibia has been quite different, due to a more open political environment. Namibia acknowledges tribal areas for language groups, community radio stations and media in various minority languages. However, the Naro could hardly benefit from this, due to the insignificant number of Naro speakers in Namibia, which did not justify a separate place in the curriculum. Both governments provide their general services in administration, education,⁶⁸ health, infrastructure, etc.

⁶⁷ See *Managing the Human-wildlife Interface to Sustain the Flow of Agro-ecosystem Services and Prevent Illegal Wildlife Trafficking in the Kgalagadi and Ghanzi Drylands* 2020:15-18 for issues around settlements and their assets.

⁶⁸ For school dropouts in Botswana, Bocodol (now Open University) provides education.

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Unfortunately, the San remain a marginalised population group. The fact that they traditionally have been hunters and gatherers have set them apart in world view as well as in economic status, causing them not to integrate easily into mainstream society. Their beautiful language has actually been an object of derision, and their peaceful demeanour did not help to stand up against being overpowered by neighbouring tribes. Being tucked away in the Kalahari Desert did not help their integration either, and being a small group is not conducive for having an important voice in the political arena (and elsewhere) anyway. Only in recent years a few San have received an educational level higher than secondary school,⁶⁹ and these individuals are unable to meet the demands of their larger extended families. Deep poverty is perpetuated by living on hand-outs. In this context, the fact that marginalised people have the tool of literacy in their own language⁷⁰ might hopefully prove to be one of the most important features of the survival of an ancient culture in modern times.

⁶⁹ Mr. Moapare, speaker of the neighbouring ||Gana language, communicates the following: “[T]he residents of New Xade, including myself, have embraced modern developments, and have used these opportunities to pursue a better life . . . the San have moved from relying on hunting and gathering to more modern forms of livelihoods” and “All societies have transitioned from primitive life to modernity and the San are on the same trajectory of transition. The San are no longer primitive beings. We are farmers, business owners, teachers, professionals, and Michigan State University students.” (Davie, *Sticks*, forthcoming)

⁷⁰ Which is a tool for integration rather than separation, cf. Visser 2000:196, 200, 202.

Part II Analysis

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3.1 Introduction

After introducing the concept of PGN-marker and its place in the Naro language (3.1) this chapter will, in a synchronic approach, consecutively look at the parameters (3.2) and morphology (3.3) of PGNs, their syntactic (3.4) and discourse (3.5) roles, concluding with a discussion of terminology around PGNs (3.6) and final remarks (3.7).

PGN-markers are grammatical elements that function, in various syntactic contexts, to indicate person, gender and number of a referent. The term PGN was coined by Hagman¹ for Khoekhoe and is used widely in the field of KhoeSan² linguistics, as it summarises its function well.³ In Naro, PGNs encode three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), three genders (masculine, feminine, common/neuter) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural).

Naro is a West Kalahari Kho language that is part of the Khoë branch of the Khoë-Kwadi family, one of the language families known for the presence of clicks. It is a suffixing language of a predominantly isolating type.⁴ Word classes found in Naro are verbs, nouns, PGN-markers,⁵ adjectives, adverbs, TAM-markers, postpositions, conjunctions and interjections. Neither verbs nor nominals are inflected. Person, gender and number, integrated in the PGN-marker, are structural properties of the NP, not of the VP. A word class “articles” is not found, and neither is the word class “pronouns” as being separate from PGNs. Insofar as articles and pronouns can be identified, these are subsumed under PGN-markers. PGN-markers, TAM-markers, postpositions and conjunctions form closed classes, while verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and interjections are open classes.

To introduce the PGN-marker, some examples will be presented, also in comparison with related elements in English, as this language is known to the reader. In English, several strategies may be employed to refer to a participant in a discourse. For a male participant, one may use pronouns like *he*, *him*, *his*, or employ an NP like *John*, *a/the man*, *the carpenter*. In Naro, there are three options for referring to 3rd person masculine singular: =m, =me and =ba. They are used in distinct syntactic environments, as exemplified in:

- (1) khóè =ba⁶ ‘a/the man’
 person =PGN

¹ Hagman 1977:41ff., speaking about “pgn suffix”.

² See ch. 2.2 for a broader discussion of “KhoeSan” languages.

³ PGNs are called gender suffix by Köhler 1973a:40; Köhler 1973b:190 [“Genussuffix”]). In Köhler 1962 he speaks of *Genusformantien* of the noun (534) and of *Genusformen* of the personal pronoun (536). Vossen calls PGNs gender-number suffixes (see Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:65). For Naro at least, the person component should be added, as was done initially by Hagman. Also see section 3.6.3.

⁴ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141 for KKG.

⁵ Nouns are taken to consist of a stem only, not of “stem + PGN”.

⁶ The PGN, which attaches to a preceding word or phrase, is written disjunctively (if non-syllabic) for the following reasons. 1. Conjunctive writing would give the impression that the PGN is attached to stems

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

- (2) *Thama* =ba ‘Thama’ (a proper name)
 Thama =PGN
- (3) *ga=ba*⁷ ‘that one, he’
 DEF=PGN
- (4) =m ‘he (subjectival)’
 PGN
- (5) a =ba a ‘and he (same subject)’
 and PGN and
- (6) *me* ‘but he (change in cast)⁸
 PGN

The PGN-marker may surface differently in different syntactic contexts, but in the above examples it provides the same information: 3rd person, masculine gender and singular number. As the one morpheme indicates three parameters simultaneously (person, gender and number) it is called “**P**erson – **G**ender – **N**umber-marker”: PGN-marker, or just “PGN”. Section 3.3 will provide an in-depth discussion of all possible PGN-morphs;⁹ see the appendix for a summary overview of all forms in different series.

As is common practice, the rendering of PGNs will be presented in the “P-G-N” order: person first (1, 2 or 3), then gender (m, f or c, in lower case letters) and lastly number (SG, DU or PL, in CAPS).¹⁰

with different functions: sometimes to a noun, but at other times to a verb or another part of the sentence. The fact that it may attach to different grammatical elements shows the independence from the (phonological) “host”. 2. The PGN is not perceived to be a suffix (which would be written conjunctively), but as a clitic (which may or may not be written conjunctively, see for example, *the* in English, which can be seen as a clitic). 3. Clitics (which PGNs are) are not morphologically part of the preceding word. 4. The PGN may be considered a unit which can meaningfully stand on its own. 5. A PGN like PGN-3 (see below) is cliticised at the end of an NP, and as such often attached to a noun, as in

khóè =ba ‘man’

‘person’ =3mSG’

However, PGNs may also be attached to other elements if they occur NP-finally, e.g. an adjective, as in

khóè=m cg’áré =ba ‘small man’

person=3mSG:4 small =3mSG:3

The decision about dis- or conjunctive writing is partly arbitrary, which happens often with respect to word boundaries. That is why in KKG, the choice could be for conjunctive writing, see footnote 117.

⁷ In the word *ga=ba*, =ba ‘=3mSG’ is written conjunctively: 1. to distinguish *ga-* from *ga* (cf. 3.3.5.3); 2. because *ga-* is semantically largely empty (cf. note 158); 3. If *gaba* were written disjunctively, the similar constructions for the inclusive 1DU and 1PL (*gata* ‘1cPL’, etc.) would also be written disjunctively, and consecutively, the exclusive counterparts with *si-* (*sita* ‘1cPL:EXCL’, etc.) as well, leading to another confusing homonym *si* which already carries two meanings (‘2fSG’ and ‘=3fSG:7’).

⁸ See 3.3.10 and 3.3.11 for the concepts of (same and switch) cast.

⁹ Also see Table 4 on p. 41 for an overview of PGN possibilities.

¹⁰ The *Leipzig Glossing Rules* n.d. describe capitals for grammatical formatives as common usage, and a separation of person and number by a period when they co-occur (which would lead to “3M.SG” for example), but offer an alternative in Rule 5A for languages in which number and gender markers are very frequent. The application of this alternative will be used in this work.

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- | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| (7) | <i>khóè</i> | = <i>ba</i> | 'the/a man' |
| | person | =3mSG | |
| (8) | <i>khóè</i> | = <i>sa</i> | 'the/a woman' |
| | person | =3fSG | |
| (9) | <i>khóè</i> | = <i>ta</i> | 'we people' |
| | person | =1cPL | |
| (10) | <i>khóè</i> | = <i>xae</i> | 'we men' |
| | person | =1mPL | |
| (11) | <i>khóè</i> | = <i>ne</i> | '(the) people' |
| | person | =3cPL | |

PGNs are enclitic¹¹ formatives. They cliticise to elements of the NP, but they can also be attached to other hosts, depending on factors that will be outlined below.¹² The host may for example be a VP¹³ (12) or a locative or temporal phrase (13):

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (12) | <i>bóò=m</i> | <i>ko</i> | 'he is looking' | |
| | see=3mSG | DUR | | |
| (13) | <i>ncēeska=m</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>bóò</i> | 'now he is looking' |
| | now=3mSG | DUR | see | |

Being enclitics, they are phonologically dependent on a preceding element.¹⁴ As PGNs encode person, gender and number, they resemble pronouns and articles in non-Khoe language systems, but they should not be confused as such.¹⁵ Their function goes beyond that of pronouns and articles, as they may also mark concord (PGN-4, see 3.3.6), and may have a function in connecting clauses (see 3.3.10 for PGN-8 and 3.3.11 for PGN-9). For a more elaborate discussion on terminology around PGNs, see 3.6.

3.2 The parameters of PGNs

3.2.1 Person, Gender, Number

Of the three parameters mentioned, the category *person* is probably least disputed.¹⁶ First person indicates (a group of at least) the speaker, second person indicates the addressee(s)

¹¹ In the literature, this word is used rather than *postclitic*.

¹² In the two examples, the reason is that this particular kind of PGN always follows the initial slot of the clause.

¹³ Because of this, one might be tempted to speak of “inflection” and/or “conjugation”, but inverted sentences show that PGNs are not part of the VP.

¹⁴ Crystal 2011, s.v. clitic. That clitic elements like PGNs *follow* the head noun and other modifiers is typical for OV languages.

¹⁵ In this dissertation, the fact that PGNs may function “like” articles and/or pronouns will sometimes be mentioned. This should not indicate their correspondence, but rather their difference.

¹⁶ The general usage of numbering of person is followed. With Cysouw 2003:6, “[t]he use of numbers should not be interpreted as a sign of inherent ranking of the categories (cf. Greenberg 1993).”

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

(plus possibly other referents), third person indicates (a group of referents who are) neither speaker nor addressee.¹⁷

The category *number* does not pose real problems either. Naro distinguishes single referents (singular: SG), groups of two referents (dual: DU) and groups of three or more referents (plural: PL). But these numbers may, in some contexts, be used in a non-literal way and refer to qualities rather than number, see 3.2.4. In what is called =3cSG we find some ambiguity with regard to number, so it can be interpreted to be either SG or PL:

- (14) *ncēe gúù-a=n* ‘this thing / these things’
this thing-JUNC=3cSG

For convenience this PGN is labeled =3cSG.¹⁸

The use of the dual is more specifically confined to “two (only)”, while the plural may be more general: “three or more”. In a non-specific case of number the plural would be used.¹⁹ Cross-linguistically, the presence of the dual in Khoesan languages is quite unique.²⁰

With regard to *gender*, there are several issues. In fact, we could speak of noun class instead of gender. Corbett²¹ indeed regards the distinction between gender systems and noun class systems as an artificial one.²² The main difference consists in the number of classes: in a “gender system”, only two or three genders are typically distinguished, while in a “noun class system”, we may easily find ten different classes.²³ We will follow the usual terminology and speak of *gender*.²⁴

¹⁷ Cf. section 3.3.5.2, and R. M. W Dixon 2014b:189f.

¹⁸ This is also done because the PGN-series (1-9) for this PGN follow the behaviour of the 3cSG morphs.

¹⁹ KKG has a use of the plural with “two” meaning ‘both, all two available’, e.g. *!gam †gaedi !kha ra !gâ* (‘listen with both ears’) (Haacke, p.c. 26-9-19). For Naro such a use was not found yet. Cf. Haacke, p.c. 12-3-15: “In Khoekhoe the use of the Dual is diminishing among the young.”

²⁰ Creissels 2000:247: “In Africa, a three-way number set-up (singular/dual/plural) for both nouns and pronouns exists only in the central and northern branches of the Khoisan phylum. In the other language families of Africa, dual is extremely rare, and always restricted to pronouns.” See Güldemann 2004:282 for criticism on Creissels with regard to the Ju|hoansi language, which may make the use of the dual in Khoe languages even more unique.

²¹ Corbett 1991:5. Cf. Honken 2016:238 for !Xõó. Cf. also Payne 1997:107: “If there is to be a distinction between gender and noun class systems...” He describes Indo-European languages as having noun class systems, 108.

²² R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:180 finds it “unhelpful” to use “the label ‘gender’ to refer to all kinds of noun classes”.

²³ Corbett 1991:44: “generally between ten and twenty” (speaking about Bantu languages). In Swahili (a Bantu language), there are noun classes for human beings (class I), inanimate objects (II), trees and plants (III), abstract nouns (VI), etc. Cf. Lyons 1968:286.

²⁴ Aikhenvald 2012:33 distinguishes natural, social and linguistic gender. Linguistic (or grammatical) gender is based on sex in as far as “[t]he class that includes most words referring to females is called “feminine”; similarly for males and “masculine.” Gender classes are typically defined by their male and female members, but may extend beyond these.” (p. 34)

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Naro distinguishes between three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine and neuter/common.²⁵ Use will be made of these traditional terms, even though for inanimates they scarcely match the content of the natural gender distinction.²⁶ There are several factors that play a role in determining whether masculine, feminine or common gender should be assigned to a noun. For animate referents, Naro uses the biological gender. Abstract nouns tend to be feminine in Naro:²⁷

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------|---------|
| (15) <i>tseegu</i> | =sa | 'truth' |
| truth | =3fSG | |
| (16) <i>ncàmku</i> | =sa | 'love' |
| love | =3fSG | |

But abstract nouns may also be neuter:

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------|---------|
| (17) <i>tseegu</i> | =ne | 'truth' |
| truth | =3cSG | |
| (18) <i>ncàmku</i> | =ne | 'love' |
| love | =3cSG | |

For inanimate entities, shape, strength and size play an important role.²⁸ If the shape is roundish, the grammatical gender will usually be feminine, but if the shape is more rectangular, the grammatical gender will more likely be masculine. Strong things tend to be viewed as “masculine”, versus weak things being considered “feminine”. Though objects of a large size tend to be masculine and smaller objects feminine,²⁹ shape seems to be more important than size and strength: for example, a stick (however small it is) is considered masculine, while a tree is usually considered feminine.³⁰

In neighbouring languages, we find similar patterns. For KKG, Haacke writes: “In inanimate nouns masculine nouns tend to signify relatively large or elongated objects, while feminine nouns tend to signify relatively small, shorter, concentric or roundish objects.”³¹ For the Khwedam³² language, Kilian-Hatz and Heine state: “Masculine PGN’s tend to refer to long, tall, narrow, pointed, big, and strong items, while feminine PGN’s tend to be

²⁵ Most use will be made of the term *common* as referring to masculine and feminine referents together, but this is obviously restricted to the use in dual and plural. Cf. Köhler 1962:532.

²⁶ Cf. Crystal 2011, s.v. gender.

²⁷ Cf. Saul 2017:75.

²⁸ For similar observations in Papua New Guinean languages, see Aikhenvald 2012:35: “Certain correlations of L-gender choice with shape and size are widespread among languages of the Sepik region of Papua New Guinea.” She gives an overview of several languages in the world where this phenomenon is found, esp. Table 8 on p. 66.

²⁹ D. F. Bleek 1928:53: “Anything particularly strong, or tall and slender, is masculine; anything small and weak, or round, is feminine.”

³⁰ D. F. Bleek 1928:53: “*hi* ‘any plant’, *hiba* ‘a tree’ and *hija* ‘a broad low bush’.”

³¹ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:142.

³² This language is being referred to by different names: Kxoe, Khwe, or Khwedam (lit. ‘Khwe language’). The names are used interchangeably in the literature, but we will use *Khwe* as much as possible, while we will reserve the (*de facto* identical) *Khoe* for the family.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

associated with small, short, round, fat, broad, and weak items”.³³ They quote the example *ngú* ‘house’:³⁴ while *ngú.mà* (3:M:SG) is a ‘big house’ or a ‘rectangular house’, *ngú.hè* (3:F:SG) is a ‘small house’ or a ‘round hut’.³⁵ For Ts'ixa, Fehn has established a prominence hierarchy along which gender is commonly assigned:

Natural gender > Importance > Shape > Size³⁶

By and large, the same hierarchy is applicable to Naro as well. The parameter “importance” may be questioned though. For example, talking about sun and moon, it is obvious that the sun is more important than the moon. Lacking natural gender, one would then expect that according to the hierarchy, the sun would be masculine, and the moon feminine,³⁷ but the opposite happens in Naro. Apparently, shape (the sun being round and the moon regularly being seen as non-round) takes priority over importance.³⁸

For the third gender, we will mainly use the designation “common”, even though for singular, “neuter” would be more appropriate, as “common” refers to the collective³⁹ aspect of a combination of masculine and feminine referents and should in principle be reserved for use in dual and plural, while “neuter” indicates a gender that is either masculine or feminine by being non-specific. In contexts where this is necessary, the term “neuter” will be used. In Naro, common/neuter gender is used for non-specific or unknown gender or for generic references.⁴⁰ Besides, the common PGN =*ne* (and its variant =*n*) is unmarked in that it may either be singular or plural.

3.2.2 Gender variability

It is significant to note that the gender of words in Naro is not invariable, but is assigned in context. In the section heading, we deliberately use “variability” instead of the commonly used “assignment” (a term which we will still use), to underline that a noun does not “have” a particular gender but rather “receives” a gender. This is different from (for example) many

³³ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:86.

³⁴ The quote comes from Köhler 1973a:41.

³⁵ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:86.

³⁶ Fehn 2014:66.

³⁷ According to Table 38 in Fehn 2014:66, higher importance is related to masculine gender. Cf. footnote 62.

³⁸ Cf. Aikhenvald 2012:49, who makes the following observation for some languages in Papua New Guinea: “The sun is feminine because it is round. However, if the sun is really hot, it is referred to with the masculine gender to reflect the intensity of its rays”.

³⁹ Cf. Silberbauer 1981:126f. who uses the term ‘agglomerative’.

⁴⁰ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:142 for KKG. Barnard 1985:14: “as in Nama, the ‘common’ gender may also function as an indefinite or indeterminant one (cf. Hagman 1977:24)”. Cf. also Fehn 2014:65. In Naro as well, there seems to be a tendency toward an indefinite meaning for common/neuter gender.

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Indo-European languages where gender of nouns is constant.⁴¹ For example, a word like *voiture* in French is always feminine and thus receives the article *la*.⁴² But in Naro, the gender information varies according to what a speaker wants to indicate about the entity.⁴³ In some way it is comparable to the class distinctions in Bantu languages, where class assignment is much more flexible than gender assignment in European languages.⁴⁴

A Naro word like *khóè* ‘person’ may receive a masculine or a feminine PGN-marker, thus giving additional information, indicating whether it refers to ‘man’ (*khóè =ba*, with *=ba* ‘=3mSG’) or ‘woman’ (*khóè =sa*, with *=sa* ‘=3fSG’). And it can also refer to ‘people’, when still another PGN-marker (*=ne* ‘=3cPL’) is used. The Naro word *hìi* which could be glossed ‘wooden object’ may receive the extra information ‘round’ (feminine gender, *hìi =sa*) and thus get the meaning ‘tree’, or it may receive the information ‘long’ (masculine gender, *hìi ba*) and thus mean ‘stick’.

In some sense, PGN information is partly comparable to masculine and feminine endings in certain languages, e.g. in Dutch *koning* – *koningin* ‘king – queen’. In Naro, *x'aiga =ba* is equivalent to ‘king’ while *x'aiga =sa* is equivalent to ‘queen’.⁴⁵ A similar example comes from Portuguese: *amigo* – *amiga* ‘(male) friend – (female) friend’. Or gender endings in French, as in *vieux* – *vieille* ‘old (m) – old (f)’. The pair “lion – lioness” finds its counterpart in Naro as *gàm =ba* ‘lion =3mSG’ - *gàm =sa* ‘lion =3fSG’.

Table 3 presents the gender of frequently used nouns.⁴⁶ The Table shows that most of the 39 nouns that are presented are variable in gender. Obviously, many nouns take a preferred gender. But the fact that for some 80% of high frequency words, an alternative gender was also used, shows that gender assignment is very flexible in Naro.

⁴¹ The gender of some nouns in these languages seems to fluctuate, e.g. in German: *der See* ‘the lake’ (masculine article) vs. *die See* ‘the sea’ (feminine article). In this case, one may perhaps speak of one noun being assigned different genders in different contexts. Other nouns having different gender and resultant different meaning are clearly homonyms, cf. Lyons 1968:287 who mentions *le mousse* ‘the cabin boy’ and *la mousse* ‘the moss’ in French. This situation is clearly different from that in Naro.

⁴² Although in the course of time, gender of words may change, cf. Figaro, *Ces mots*. But then, the new gender is still not considered variable.

⁴³ Cf. Fehn 2014:65. It is “[d]epending on the implications a speaker wants to make”.

⁴⁴ For example, in Setswana *mo-* indicates personality (*Motswana* ‘a Tswana person’), *se-* indicates language (*Setswana* ‘Tswana language’), *bo-* indicating an area or country (*Botswana* ‘Tswana area’).

⁴⁵ This could be an argument for conjunctive writing: *x'aigaba* ‘king’ and *x'aigasa* ‘queen’. However, the combination *x'aigakhara* ‘king and queen’ would not fit well in such an argument, unless “king and queen” were seen as a unit. It seems more appropriate to separate the noun (*x'aiga*) from the *additional* information *khara* ‘=3cDU’, telling the hearer that the speaker refers to two referents (DU), in 3rd person, in common gender (so man plus woman).

⁴⁶ The frequency is taken from Naro Nxara n.d., the Naro magazine published by the Naro Language Project.

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<u>noun</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>c/n</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>c/n</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>c/n</u>
bī ‘milk’	0	0	2	kubi ‘cup’	6	5	0	tc'ää ‘wind’	7	2	10
cám ‘sun’	127	72	47	kuri ‘year’	518	8	33	tc'ee ‘thought’	17	7	18
cau ‘manner’	7	15	46	mari ‘money’	0	3	35	tcgái ‘eye’	0	0	7
c'ee ‘fire’	0	11	32	ncōo ‘fight’	0	4	13	tcgāya ‘flat thing’	2	212	20
cgàa ‘flesh’	4	0	0	nqōó ‘world’	490	25	12	tc'ubi ‘egg’	4	23	64
cg'ōè ‘name’	11	2	34	nquu ‘hut’	46	23	27	tcúú ‘head’	0	3	3
dào ‘path’	107	14	24	ntcùú ‘night’	4	2	8	tēè ‘question’	6	14	1
gúù ‘thing’	26	874	61	nxoe ‘moon’	522	0	6	thōò ‘pain’	2	7	10
hìi ‘tree’	5	33	46	qgáí ‘cloth’	3	3	37	tshàu ‘hand’	2	2	0
kg'ōè ‘life’	0	42	69	qgáí ‘place’	45	47	25	túú ‘rain’	0	86	62
kg'ui ‘word’	35	133	59	qgáí ‘coldness’	1	69	21	x'aé ‘time’	144	3	34
khóè ‘person’	253	29	760	qgarì ‘alcohol’	13	1	19	x'áé ‘home’	44	0	30
kóné ‘car’	3	18	3	qhàò ‘family’	5	86	8	x'ái ‘sign’	0	19	2

Table 3: Noun gender found in Naro texts

Barnard⁴⁷ mentions *tshàa* ‘water’ as an example of a word having different meanings dependent on its gender: “*tshàa ne* (common gender plural,⁴⁸ here denoting fluidity) means ‘water’, *tshàa sa* (fem. sg.) means ‘pool’ or ‘pond’, and *tshàa ba* (masc. sg.) means ‘borehole’.”⁴⁹

It is not always easy to express the Naro gender content in other languages. It may be necessary to use adjectives. For example, *túú =sa* ‘rain =3fSG’ (“female rain”) may be expressed by ‘a heavy/abundant rain’, while another kind of rain may be referred to with *túú =ba* ‘rain =3mSG’ (lit. “male rain” > “fierce rain”).⁵⁰ Similarly, for the translation of *nquu =sa* ‘hut =3fSG’ one might use: “roundish hut”, while *nquu =ba* ‘hut =3mSG’ could be translated “square hut” – partly depending on the context.

⁴⁷ Barnard 1988:222. The spelling of the examples (Barnard used *tsa* and writes conjunctively) is adapted to the Naro orthography. For more information on the Naro orthography, see Visser & Visser 1997, *Minutes of NARO Orthography Workshop held in D'Kar, 21-22 October 1997* 1997 and Visser 2001a. Also, italics are used instead of bolding.

⁴⁸ The PGN *ne* is used both for =3cSG and for =3cPL so the interpretation of *tshàa ne* is ambiguous: ‘water’ or ‘waters’.

⁴⁹ Also see Barnard 1985:13-15, and Vossen 1986:387.

⁵⁰ According to an informant, the difference between *túú =ba* ‘male rain’ and *túú =sa* ‘female rain’ is, that *túú =ba* is *xgóà* ‘angry, fierce, dangerous’, while a *túú =sa* is *nqoo-nqoosa* ‘silent’ (Abancõ, p.c. 6-12-19).

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Other Naro nouns may have a fairly constant PGN-marker: they usually receive the same “extra information” and may therefore surface with their typical gender. This may be because the noun contains characteristics that require speaking about the entity in that way, for example using feminine if something is round, or using masculine for *nxeo* ‘moon’, probably because the typical shape of the moon is not round.⁵¹ But, as Fehn indicates for Ts’ixa: “even in these rather stable cases, exceptions are possible, e.g., to place particular emphasis on the referent, or to make an insult.”⁵²

In gender assignment, a two-way movement is thus recognisable: 1. information is coming “from” the referent and thus leads to the use of a certain PGN-marker, and 2. information is added “to” the referent. The first path may be dominant for Naro (resulting in entities receiving a certain gender quite systematically), but the assignment of gender is part of conveying basic information as envisaged by the speaker, based on shape, strength and size, and thus quite flexible.

Many researchers have observed this flexibility. Bleek already recognised this: “The masculine and feminine endings may be given to all noun roots, and their meaning is thereby altered.”⁵³ According to Barnard, “[m]any words are optionally either masculine or feminine”.⁵⁴ And again “[t]here is (...) no absolute, monothetic distinction between gender usages, and individuals differ in their preferences, depending on which attributes they choose to emphasize.”⁵⁵

Widlock concludes the same for *Hailom*: “[W]herever the shape is changeable speakers make the nouns drift from one class to the other”,⁵⁶ and “[a]location of gender also at times exhibits the intentions and inclinations of speakers.”⁵⁷ Vossen mentions “Abhängigkeit von der gewünschten Bedeutung” and concludes: “Die Wahl des Genus-Numerus-Suffixes richtet sich nach den semantischen Bedingungen.”⁵⁸ The same is apparently true for Ts’ixa, as Fehn writes: “Gender assignment with [-human] referents is flexible insofar as masculine and feminine PGNs in Ts’ixa display certain semantic properties. Depending on the implications a speaker wants to make, most referents may be assigned either masculine or feminine gender.”⁵⁹

⁵¹ Cf. Fehn 2014:65: “[T]he gender of some nouns appears to be more stable than that of others.”

⁵² Fehn 2014:66.

⁵³ D. F. Bleek 1928:53.

⁵⁴ Barnard 1985:14.

⁵⁵ Barnard 1986:70. Cf. Mogara 2013:17: “a noun is further specified by adding a marker providing more information about semantic characteristics of the referent expressed by the noun, especially information on the gender, number and personal deixis of the referent.”

⁵⁶ Widlock 2013:158.

⁵⁷ Widlock 2013:159.

⁵⁸ Vossen 1997:162. Cf. Vossen & Schladt 2013:170: “[T]he speaker's choice of the PGN may be arbitrary or semantically conditioned.” Of these two options, the second may be the best way to describe the “flexibility”. We are arguing that the gender assignment mainly happens in context. Cf. Letsholo & Mogara 2016:3, describing Vossen 1986: “nominal gender marking in Naro is to a large extent regulated by semantic concepts that are based on binary distinctions.”

⁵⁹ Fehn 2014:65. This seems inconsistent though with p. 59: “Nouns in Ts’ixa are characterised by possessing inherent grammatical gender.”

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In view of the evidence, it is better not to speak of “gender manipulation” in the case of Naro,⁶⁰ as this term presupposes a (reasonably) fixed gender that can be tweaked if one so desires. For Naro, we cannot speak about an inherent gender that a noun “belongs to”.⁶¹ Gender assignment in Naro varies according to the features or properties that the speaker wants to indicate or communicate.⁶² All this makes gender assignment in Naro a very dynamic phenomenon, which is quite different from systems in many other languages, where gender tends to be much more static.

3.2.3 Definiteness and specificity?

Because PGN-markers in some functions resemble (definite) articles in other languages, and because several researchers in neighbouring languages have analysed PGN-markers as such, we need to look into definiteness and specificity - two features which are probably not part of PGN content in Naro.

An entity is said to be *definite* if the speaker may assume that the addressee is able to identify it easily.⁶³ In the sentence “*The king* went home”, the king can be identified (from the context) and is said to be definite, while “*a king*” would be indefinite.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Güldemann 2013b:28. Güldemann 2006:113 speaks of “lexically fixed gender” for the Tuu languages, and of “a clear tendency for a lexeme to have a default gender” for Khoekhoe. Job & Güldemann 2021, § 3.1.5 speak of “multiple-gender nouns”, but this is not necessary if the presented analysis is adopted. They themselves admit that “numerous Khoekhoe nouns can indeed be used in all three genders”. It is thus also unnecessary to speak of a “restricted number of genuine neuter nouns” – because in our view, nouns are “genuinely” not of a certain gender.

⁶¹ It is not clear whether R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:43 is speaking in absolute terms when he states that “[g]ender is an inherent feature of the noun” or whether he is referring to Latin there. In R. M. W. Dixon 2014b:54, he claims that “each noun is likely to have a fixed value from the [noun class or gender, HV] system” and “this is an inherent property of the noun”. For Naro, gender rather seems to be a referential feature.

⁶² Audring 2011, § 1.5 first describes the usual system: “[W]e expect that if a language has grammatical gender (...) each noun has only one invariable gender value.” But what follows applies to Naro: “Divergences from this ideal can be sporadic or systematic. In sporadic cases, we find individual nouns varying in the agreements they trigger. (...) Especially interesting are more systematic cases of variation, where the gender of nouns can be *manipulated by the speaker* [italics added]. For example, in languages that associate certain genders with size, high value, or importance, it may be possible to upgrade or downgrade a person or object by placing it into another gender.” (It would be better not to speak of “upgrade or downgrade” because of the implied value connected to it – although it is left to the reader to decide which gender is “up” or “down”.)

⁶³ Other analysts also speak of determinedness (e.g. Krámský 2016:16-18, 22), accessibility (Epstein 2001:338) or indeed identifiability (Himmelmann 1997:103). As the term “identifiable” in itself is too general, one should rather add “easily”. Himmelmann speaks about “prinzipiell identifizierbar”, which does not really help. Payne 1997:264 explains “something is treated as identifiable if its referent is *explicit enough* for the speaker’s current purposes.”

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The second feature is *specificity*.⁶⁴ An entity is said to be specific if there is a reference to a particular entity.⁶⁵ Compare:

- (19) There's a **certain word** that I can never remember. [-def, +spec]
- (20) Think of a **word**, any word. [-def, -spec]

In (19), “a certain word” is indefinite [-def] because the word is not identified. At the same time, it is specific [+spec], as it is about a *particular* word. In (20) however, “a word” is both indefinite [-def] *and* non-specific [-spec].⁶⁶ Even [+def] referents may be [-spec]. Compare:

- (21) I'm looking for **the manager**, Ms Lee. [+def, +spec]
- (22) I'm looking for **the manager**, whoever that may be. [+def, -spec]

In contrast with the analysis of some researchers for other Khoe languages,⁶⁷ functions of definiteness and specificity cannot as yet be established for Naro PGN-markers.⁶⁸ The Naro PGN-markers should not be interpreted like the English definite article. Example:

- | | | | |
|------|-------|-------|---------------|
| (23) | cóá | =ba | ‘(a/the) boy’ |
| | child | =3mSG | |

In this phrase, the PGN-marker =ba ‘=3mSG’ modifies *cóá* ‘child’. Unlike an article in English, it does not indicate definiteness, but merely indicates that someone is speaking ‘about’ (person) ‘one’ (number) child that is ‘masculine’ (gender). We can only find out about (in-)definiteness and (non-)specificity in context.

A text example of a PGN-marker *not* marking definiteness is shown in (24),⁶⁹ where a PGN-marker is used while the reference is surely indefinite (‘being *the* example’ would not fit in the context):

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------|----------------------------------|
| (24) | x'ái=s | ii-se | ‘being an example’ [-def] |
| | sign=3fSG | be-ADV | |

One mechanism that Naro can use to make an NP *indefinite* is by adding the modifier *c'ēe* ‘a certain/other’, as in:

⁶⁴ This is also called “objectively referential” (see, for example, Payne 1997:264) but we consider the term *specificity* to be clearer.

⁶⁵ Frantz 1970, § 2.1: “When establishing a discourse referent, the speaker may: 1. have a particular referent or referents in mind for a noun or noun phrase he uses; 2. he may simply intend reference to at least one of the usual denotata for that noun or noun phrase, but to no particular one(s); or 3. he may wish to refer to the generic class of denotata for that noun or noun phrase. We will term these three types of reference specific, non-specific, and generic, respectively”.

⁶⁶ Examples taken from *Specificity (linguistics)* n.d..

⁶⁷ See below about Kilian-Hatz and Fehn.

⁶⁸ Further study is necessary to find out how Naro distinguishes between definiteness and indefiniteness. The fact that Naro PGNs do not indicate definiteness is in line with De Mulder & Carlier 2011:1 (quoting Dryer): “articles would be attested in only one third of the languages of the world. Only 8% would have both a definite and an indefinite article.” It may be concluded from this fact that “definiteness is by no means exclusively expressed by articles” (*ibid.*). Cf. also R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:160. The fact that PGNs do not indicate definiteness is one confirmation of the differences between PGNs and articles.

⁶⁹ August 7c.

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- (25) *c'ẽe=m* *cóá =ba* ‘a boy’
 one/a=3mSG child =3mSG

The PGN-markers used here are not to be interpreted as *definite* articles.

A mechanism which makes an NP *definite* is the addition of a demonstrative⁷⁰ like *ncẽe* ‘this’ or *gaa* ‘the mentioned one’.⁷¹

If a PGN-marker indicated definiteness, it could hardly be used when introducing a participant (which is indefinite at the stage of introduction in a discourse). It might be expected in such cases, that efforts be undertaken to modify the NP so as to make it indefinite. However, when introducing characters in a folk tale, the regular PGN-markers are used, as in:

- (26) *xg'ao=s* *khóè =sa* *hàna* ‘once there was a woman’⁷²
 REMPST=3fSG [person =3fSG] be
 [-def +spec]

The example again demonstrates that PGNs do not indicate definiteness - at least not always and not automatically.

Further text analysis⁷³ shows that a simple NP with lexical specification (consisting of a noun + PGN) occurs with all combinations [+/-def, +/-spec], so again one cannot say that the PGN indicates definiteness or specificity. Establishing the features [+/-def] and [+/-spec] for NPs is a matter of analysis, not of overt marking, so there is a subjective element in this, but the conclusion seems warranted that PGNs do not mark either of the two features.

On the positive side, it can be concluded from the same (limited) analysis that when a *modifier* is used, the feature [+spec] is found, so the use of modifiers can be one of the strategies to make an NP specific,⁷⁴ as in:

- (27) *si c'ẽe=Ø* *cám=Ø* *ka* *máá* ‘on a certain day she said’⁷⁵
 3fSGone/a=3cSG day=3cSG ABL⁷⁶ say
 [-def +spec]

⁷⁰ Following Saul 2017:124: “the deictic features and the qualitative features of demonstratives give them the properties to be definite, contrastive, exclusive and inclusive when referring to various entities in an on-going discourse”.

⁷¹ Cf. (78) and (79). In fact, it is believed for many languages that “definite articles as well as 3rd person pronouns historically derive from (are grammaticalized) from demonstratives.” (Himmelmann 1996:206).

⁷² Tsilane 1a.

⁷³ Not presented here.

⁷⁴ That this does not always apply is evident from situations where a modifier like the indefinite numeral ‘some’ is used.

⁷⁵ Tsilane 2a.

⁷⁶ *ka* is tentatively glossed as ABL in the absence of a term that covers all meanings.

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Even though in analysed texts most NPs with PGNs were [+spec], we cannot conclude that PGNs *indicate* specificity, as [-spec] NPs with PGNs were also found.

In the description of some other Khoe languages, perhaps following the example of European languages, the term “definiteness” has been used when talking about PGN-markers. For example, Kilian-Hatz writes: “ZERO-marking, in contrast, encodes indefiniteness. (...) [T]here is a crucial distinction between ZERO-marking and PGN-marking in Khwe, which corresponds to the grammatical categories indefinite vs. definite. Whereas the PGN-suffixes in Khwe are used like the definite article in English with specific nouns, unspecific and generic nouns which take an indefinite article in English are ZERO-marked in Khwe.”⁷⁷ Kilian-Hatz seems to see definiteness as meaning “marked by a PGN-suffix”,⁷⁸ or it indeed may be that Khwe PGNs function quite differently from the ones in Naro in this respect.

A second way of speaking about the presence of PGN-markers may be the term “articulation”. Kilian-Hatz & Heine: “In Kxoe, nouns used with pgn's would correspond to GREENBERG's articulated forms and nouns without pgn's to GREENBERG's non-articulated forms.”⁷⁹ Again, the term “articulated” may just mean ‘occurring with an “article” (or a morpheme that looks like it, like a PGN)’. Crystal⁸⁰ does not mention this possibility, but it seems that Greenberg is talking about “articulation” this way⁸¹ – which is a fair possibility in the diachronic reconstruction of languages. But for the analysis of PGN-markers, this term is too ambiguous. For Naro, it would equate PGNs too closely with articles.

Thirdly, Fehn holds (for Ts'ixa) that PGNs “act as specific articles.”⁸² She describes a three stage development:⁸³ 1. personal pronouns, 2. articles (according to her, Ts'ixa and Kxoe reached this stage) and 3. noun markers (Naro and Khoekhoe reached this stage). As the PGNs for Ts'ixa are analysed as articles, she can assert that PGNs “may be interpreted as articles that distinguish *specific* (marked) from *nonspecific* (unmarked) nominal

⁷⁷ Kilian-Hatz 2008:42f.

⁷⁸ E.g. Kilian-Hatz 2008:69.

⁷⁹ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:76.

⁸⁰ Crystal 2011, s.v. *articulation* and *article*.

⁸¹ As in Greenberg et al. 1978:253: “There must be at least one construction in which common nouns regularly appear in their non-articulated forms so that all common nouns have two contrasting forms, one with and one without the article.” He apparently speaks about articulation as relating to *form*, not to *function* in this context.

⁸² Fehn 2014:62. Later however, she speaks of “definite noun phrase” (63). And then again (75): “The choice of which strategy to use depends on the grammatical *definiteness* of the nominal head, i.e., whether the NP is marked by a PGN clitic,...” (italics added). This could indicate that she sees the PGN functioning as making the NP definite. Or she may have confused “definite” and “specific”. In Fehn & Phiri 2018:113 she makes a distinction between obligatory nominal marking as in Nama and Naro and the function of PGNs as a specific article. For Naro and Khoekhoe, she agrees that “PGNs are indeed not specific articles” and would even “advocate for no longer using the term PGN for the article-like noun markers found in Khwe and Ts'ixa” (Fehn, p.c. 29-6-2020). But the resemblances between the (admittedly diverse) languages are too broad to relinquish this term for Khwe and Ts'ixa.

⁸³ Fehn 2013:17 (implicitly).

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referents.” And also: “PGN marking does not depend on whether the referent is identifiable to both speaker and hearer, but on whether it is identifiable *in principle*. This includes use in contexts in which the referent may not be identifiable to the hearer at a given point in time, e.g., when a new participant is introduced.”⁸⁴

These approaches seem to confuse PGNs too much with articles, at least in application to Naro, and probably expect too much definiteness and/or specificity to be found in PGNs. Haacke has rightly demonstrated, at least for KKG, that it is not the PGN-markers, but the “articles” (which we call DC[definiteness-clusivity]-markers, see 3.3.5.3) that indicate definiteness.⁸⁵ Our conclusion hitherto can only be that definiteness and specificity cannot be established in Naro as a function of the PGN-markers.⁸⁶

3.2.4 Non-standard use of PGNs: number and person

PGNs may be used that are different from the expected ones, following the distinctions outlined above. This section focuses on non-standard uses of *person* and *number*, the following section (3.2.5) on non-standard uses of *gender*.

1. A higher *number* (PL but also DU) for a SG referent (as in (28)) may be used to express respect, or politeness: “how are you (DU/PL)?” may mean ‘how are you (SG:respect)?’⁸⁷

- (28) tsaa =tsi mda ‘where are you (mSG)’ > ‘how are you (mSG)?’
2mSG =2mSG where

- (29) ga=xao mda ‘where are you (mPL)’ > ‘how are you (mSG:respect)?’
DEF=2mPL where

- (30) ga=tsao mda ‘where are you (mDU)’ > ‘how are you (mSG:respect)?’
DEF=2mDU where

2. When addressing somebody, the use of the 3rd *person* instead of an expected 2nd person may also indicate respect and deference:

- (31) Xguka =sa méé=s tcgái
Xguka =3fSG may/must=3fSG be OK
'may Xguka do well' > 'I hope you (Xguka) are doing well'

⁸⁴ Fehn 2014:74. The helpfulness of the distinction (from Himmelmann) between “identifiability” and “identifiability in principle” must be questioned, see footnote 63.

⁸⁵ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:214: “[T]he above roots, which I dubbed (definite) *articles* because of their emphasizing and definitising function (...) can co-occur with any PGN.”

⁸⁶ Krámský 2016:29 rightly calls for caution when comparing elements in non-Indo-European languages with articles: “We must be very cautious here so that we may not regard as article something that designates, for example, gender, number, or person or some other category.”

⁸⁷ A similar claim is made by Leepang 2015:121 for Igana: “Certain PGN markers convey honorific value. (...) The PGN markers given are used to create social distance between young people and elders. They are furthermore used to show social distance between the in-laws.”

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3. When speaking about oneself, one may use the 3rd person instead of 1st person, as in

- (32) Cukuri =me e ‘he/it is Cukuri’ > ‘I am Cukuri’
Cukuri =3mSG COP

This may be done in the context of reminding the addressee of the speaker’s name. The different grammatical person may be chosen to create some distance, in order to give the impression that someone is introducing the person and thus be more indirect. It has a joking effect.

4. In advance of a discussion of gender: combinations of crossing both person and gender and number boundaries are also found. In the following example, 3rd person is used instead of 2nd person, PL is used instead of SG, and common gender is used instead of the masculine gender, all at once:⁸⁸

- (33) ga=ne ko tcgái
DEF=3cPL DUR be OK

‘how are they (=3cPL)’ > ‘how are you?’ (“you” may indicate 2mSG/DU/PL, or 2fSG/DU/PL, or 2cPL – all indicating respect’)

Even though the greeting asks about ‘them’ (literally speaking), the intended meaning is to ask about the well-being of the addressee(s), be it one or more people. This greeting may be addressed to either males or females, or to a mixed group, either in dual or in plural. Using such a form that addresses a person in an indirect instead of a direct way creates distance, and thus strengthens the measure of respect. Note that the *common* plural is used, even though the addressed may be a single *male or female*. This increases the distance even further.

A similar situation is found in the following example:

- (34) còrè =i ko ‘it/one is praying’ > ‘we/they are praying’
pray =3cSG DUR

For one reason or another, the speaker may have wanted to create some distance, in an attempt, perhaps, to implicitly request the addressee to be silent and not interrupt. This is done by modifying all three features: 3rd person instead of 1st, SG number instead of PL, and neuter gender (indicating neither masculine nor feminine in SG: ‘it’) for a group of males and females.⁸⁹

3.2.5 Non-standard use of PGNs: gender

In 3.2.2, the use of the genders (indicated in Table 3) has been explained. But while the factors of sex, importance, shape, strength and size play an important role in the assignment

⁸⁸ This is in some ways comparable to the German *Sie* ‘3PL’, which is also used for the honorific 2nd person SG/PL, cf. *Höflichkeitsform* n.d..

⁸⁹ See also section 3.2.1 on common gender.

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of gender on an individual basis, there are additional factors that play a role, factors that may override the mentioned ones. In this section we will discuss the non-standard use of gender to indicate a generic referent, generality and specificity, a group of mixed or unknown gender, collectivity and mass, metonymic association, and conveying an opinion.

1. Indicating a generic referent

With a generic referent, a reference is being made to “a whole class of entities”⁹⁰. Or a reference is made to either a male or a female, depending on the circumstances.⁹¹ In English, “s/he” can be used in such cases. If one wants to indicate generic usage in Naro, there are a few possible mechanisms to choose from. One such mechanism is to use the masculine form, in either SG or PL. Example:⁹²

- (35) *Gaam dis kg'ui =sa c'úùa hääm khóè=ba gaam dis qhàòs di kg'òòan c'úùa hää. not.know man his tribe's customs not.knowing*

‘A **man** who does not know his language doesn't know the customs of his tribe.’ >

‘A **person** who does not know his/her language doesn't know the customs of his/her tribe.’

The standard meaning of *khóè =ba* would have been ‘man’ (‘male person’), but here it is used for ‘person’ (in general). The feminine equivalent can only mean ‘woman’.⁹³

A second option to indicate the generic “someone” is using *tsi* ‘2mSG’, comparable to such a use of ‘you’ in English.⁹⁴ An interesting example for Naro:⁹⁵

- (36) *tsi ko cám q'oro kg'áà a cúím cám-q'oo koe i nxääkg'aiga síí ábà x'aèa =tsi tcää it then go your(=2mSG).birth.time enter ‘you’ (2mSG) are drinking it two times per day, until **your** (2mSG) time of delivery comes’*

The text starts off with talking about “a pregnant woman” (so feminine, in 3rd person), but a change is made to using *second* person *masculine*. The statement is about taking HIV related medication for pregnant women, but still, the masculine form for “you” is used.

A third mechanism to indicate a more generic meaning is the use of common gender, =3cPL (e.g. *khóè =ne* ‘person =3cPL’). The use of *khóèan* (‘person =3cSG’) is even more generic than *khóè =ne*, as in Mt. 5:11,

⁹⁰ Crystal 2011, s.v. generic. He provides the example “**The bat** is an interesting creature”.

⁹¹ Cf. also *Generic you* n.d.: “**generic you, impersonal you, or indefinite you** is the use of the pronoun *you* to refer to an unspecified person.”

⁹² Fritz 2007. It may be that *gaam di-* ‘his’ should have actually been spelled *gam di-*.

⁹³ Cf. Vossen 1986:382.

⁹⁴ For example, “Brushing your teeth is healthy” (example taken from *Generic you* n.d.). An example from Dutch: *Daar kun je lekker eten* ‘over there, one (lit. ‘you’) can eat delicious food’.

⁹⁵ Fritz 2004.

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- (37) *ncēè khóè-a=n* *ko* *ncoi* *=tu u* ‘when people ridicule you’
 if person-JUNC=3cSG DUR ridicule =2CPL

2. Indicating generality – specificity

Besides indicating generic usage, the gender component in PGNs may be used to indicate the contrast “specific” vs. “general”. In this usage, the masculine form is often more specific,⁹⁶ while the feminine and neuter/common forms are more general.

An example is the use of PGNs with *cám*. Compare:

- (38) *cám* *=sa* ‘sun’
 sun *=3fSG*
- (39) *cám* *=ba* ‘sun-m > day’
 sun *=3mSG*
- (40) *cám* *=xu* ‘days’ [these days, certain days]
 sun *3mPL*
- (41) *cám* *=zi* ‘suns’ > ‘days’ [in general]
 sun *=3fPL*
- (42) *cám-a* *=ne* ‘days’ [in general]
 sun-JUNC *=3cPL*

The word *cám* when combined with *=sa* ‘=3fSG’ means ‘sun,’ but with *=ba* ‘=3mSG’ it means ‘day’. To indicate ‘days’, one would thus expect *cám* with *=xu* (‘=3mPL’). However, in certain contexts, *cám =zi* (with *=3fPL*, so lit. ‘suns’) may also mean ‘days’ (where 3mPL would be expected). The masculine form is used when the meaning is more specific (*cám =xu* ‘these [certain] days’), while the feminine form is more general, e.g. in *qgàisa =zi* *cám =zi* ‘cold days’.

This distinction may impact the translation. For example, in Gen. 1:16 (“and God made the two great lights — the greater light to rule the *day* and the lesser light to rule the night”) to translate “the day” the team chose to use *q'uu-a=n* ‘(next) day-JUNC=3cSG’, giving a more general meaning for ‘day’ than the masculine *q'uum* ‘(next) day=3mSG’. And in Ps. 98:4 (“make a joyful noise to the LORD, all *the earth*”), the common form for “the earth” (*nqōókg'ai*) was used in the phrase “all the earth” to make it more general. The masculine *nqōómkg'ai* would be more specific, perhaps referring to a certain “earth/land” or “country”.

In summary:

<u>intended meaning</u>	<u>gender preferably used</u>
generic	m, or c
more general	f, or c
more specific	m

⁹⁶ It should be kept in mind though, that PGNs as such do not indicate specificity, see 3.2.3.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3. Indicating a group of mixed or unknown gender

Different patterns emerge if a group consists of both masculine and feminine referents. Groups of animals are usually marked by the PGN for feminine plural,⁹⁷ e.g.

- (43) *ghòè* =zi ‘cows (f)’ or ‘cattle (c)’
head of cattle =3fPL

- (44) *dùù* =zi ‘eland cows (f)’ or ‘elands (c)’
eland =3fPL

This is true if it is not immediately visible whether a herd consists of both males and females, and even in situations when male animals are visibly around.

If one does not know whether there are males and/or females in a group being addressed, the Naro tend to use the common gender, so =*tu* ‘2cPL’. Using =*xao* ‘2mPL’ would be much more restrictive than =*tu*, in the sense that it will raise the impression that only men are present, or that only the males were addressed.

4. Indicating collectivity and mass

Vossen notes that Barnard is right in his “observation that masc.sg. nouns often turn out to become fem. in the plural and that, therefore, the fem. pl. would semantically be neutral”.⁹⁸ Vossen however suggests that this “could perhaps be described more accurately in terms of semantic oppositions such a SINGULARITY vs. PLURALITY and SINGULARITY vs. COLLECTIVITY or MASS CONCEPTION.”⁹⁹ He also observes the polarity “in the frequent alternation between fem.sg. and fem.pl.”¹⁰⁰ He mentions the following examples of body parts where this polarity between mSG and fPL plays a role:

- (45) *c'òò=ba* ‘a single hair’ *c'òò=zi* ‘hair(s)’
(46) *tcee=ba* ‘ear’ *tcee=zi* ‘ears’
(47) *dqàne=ba* ‘chin’ *dqàne=zi* ‘chins’
(48) *dxàí=ba* ‘cheek’ *dxàí=zi* ‘cheeks’

It is to be agreed with Vossen that the feminine gender plays a role in indicating collectivity and mass. PGNs that are fPL can be used for “designating uncountable items or things which would usually not be counted”:¹⁰¹ *hìi-coa* =zi ‘plants’; *cgùri* =zi ‘seeds’; *tc'òo* =zi ‘food’. On the other hand, fSG PGNs are used with (semantically defined) mass nouns: *dène=sa* ‘bee swarm’; *tsharà=sa* ‘dust’; *ts'óó=sa* ‘rotten stuff’; *túú=sa* ‘rain’, *dcāa=sa* ‘grass’; *tcòà=sa* ‘mud’.

⁹⁷ As in Ts'ixa (and other languages), quote from Fehn 2014:67.

⁹⁸ Vossen 1986:375.

⁹⁹ Vossen 1986:375.

¹⁰⁰ Vossen 1986:377.

¹⁰¹ Vossen 1986:377.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

5. Metonymic association?

Barnard¹⁰² also cautiously brings forward the notion of “metonymic association”, where “it would seem to be the feminine form which has the primary meaning.” Some examples are:¹⁰³

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (49) <i>tshàa =sa</i> ‘pan, water in a pan’ | <i>tshàa =ba</i> ‘borehole’ | <i>tshàa =ne</i> ‘water’ |
| (50) <i>bîi =sa</i> ‘breast’ | | <i>bîi =ne</i> ‘milk’ |
| (51) <i>tâbe =sa</i> ‘salt pan’ | | <i>tâbe =ne</i> ‘salt’ |
| (52) <i>cám =sa</i> ‘sun’ | <i>cám =ba</i> ‘day’ | |

It may be asked however, whether “milk” is called *bîi* because it comes from the *bîi* ‘breast’, or whether a breast is called *bîi* because it produces *bîi* ‘milk’? Vossen writes that his findings “differ from Barnard’s” and that “no generalizations can as yet be ventured.”¹⁰⁴ As far as our present discussion is concerned, metonymic association cannot be adduced as an important factor in the assignment of gender.

6. Conveying an opinion

Because the assignment of gender is so flexible, it is possible to use the PGNs creatively. It may be that the speaker is aware of features of an entity that call for a specific gender, but deliberately uses another gender. The speaker can convey various different attitudes by doing this, for example emphasis and playfulness,¹⁰⁵ but also contempt.¹⁰⁶ This creative usage of gender is not applied by unnaturally forcing possibilities on certain structures (as would be the case if gender assignment were more invariable), but is a matter of just making use of the natural possibilities inherent in the language. In a similar way, new meanings may be created, as in changing the gender from neuter *tshàa =ne* ‘water’ to masculine *tshàa =ba* to create a meaning like ‘sea, lake, river’ or even ‘borehole’ as mentioned above. See section 11.3 for how this feature is employed in translation.

¹⁰² Barnard 1986:69.

¹⁰³ Using the Naro orthography. The examples of the first three nouns come from Barnard.

¹⁰⁴ Vossen 1986:387f. Neither can Barnard’s claim that “in some such cases, notably where a Naro word is applied to newly-introduced Western items such as matches or tents, it would seem to be the feminine form which has the primary meaning” be confirmed by Vossen or by the present author.

¹⁰⁵ Fehn 2014:66. It seems that not many Naro speakers adapt gender of nouns consciously.

¹⁰⁶ Also see Kilian-Hatz 2008:42 on changing the grammatical gender of a person, which would be pejorative. Aikhenvald 2012:53–56 also mentions the factor of humans being downgraded to inanimates, besides joking behaviour and gender manipulation.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3.3 Morphology of PGNs

3.3.1 Basic forms

In Table 4, the basic¹⁰⁷ morphs of the Naro PGNs are given. The three genders *m* (masculine), *f* (feminine) and *c* (common/neuter) are presented three times in the headings, under singular, dual and plural, respectively, while on the vertical axis, the three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd) are given.

	SG			DU			PL		
	m	f	c	m	f	c	m	f	c
1		<i>r</i> (<i>te, ra</i>) ¹⁰⁸		<i>tsam</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>kham</i>	<i>xae</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ta</i>
2	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>		<i>tsao</i>	<i>sao</i> ¹⁰⁹	<i>khao</i>	<i>xao</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>tu</i>
3	<i>m</i> (<i>me, ba</i>)	<i>s</i> (<i>si, sa</i>)	<i>i</i> (<i>ne, n</i>)	<i>tsara</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>khara</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>ne</i>

Table 4: Basic PGN-morphs in Naro

In spite of the fact that the PGN-markers form a closed class, it is somewhat difficult to count them. A count for example depends on whether *sao* is taken as one or two morphs. Also, people may disagree on whether the PGNs in the different series (e.g. =*m*, =*me* and =*ba* for =3mSG) are counted as one or more. A conservative count will come to 23 PGNs.

The symmetry is noteworthy,¹¹⁰ especially in the dual forms: 1DU forms all end in *-am*, 2DU forms all end in *-ao*, 3DU forms all end in *-ara*. All masculine dual forms start with *ts-*, all feminine dual forms start with *s-*, while all common dual forms start with *kh-*. And all masculine plural forms start with *x-* [l-].

In an attempt to analyse their formative elements, the first¹¹¹ part of the PGN could denote *gender* (*b-*, *tsa-* and *xa-* [l*a-*] for masculine, *sa-/z-* for feminine, and *kh-/t-/n-* for common gender). The second part of the PGN presents an ambivalent picture. It could denote *number*¹¹² (forms with *-ra* indicate DU,¹¹³ and some forms with *-u*¹¹⁴ are only used

¹⁰⁷ It is somewhat arbitrary to decide which morphs are basic. The following forms also occur:
1SG: *ra*, *te* (the morphs *tii* '1SG', *tsaa* '2mSG' and *saa* '2fSG' have a status different from PGNs; they actually evolved into pronominal lexemes, see 3.3.5.4).

=3mSG: *ba* and *me* (Barnard 1985:16 records *mi* for =3mSG. As there is no phonological distinction in Naro between *i* and *e* when nasalized, or used next to a nasal, *mi* (Barnard) and *me* (Visser) are the same.)

=3fSG: *sa* and *si*

=3cSG: *Ø*, *-n* and *ne*

Also, the tone of the morphs may vary. All this will be discussed below in more detail.

¹⁰⁸ 1mSG and 1fSG constitute the same morpheme.

¹⁰⁹ 2fDU and =2fPL constitute the same morpheme.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Vossen 1997:377: "Das System erweist sich als ausgewogen symmetrisch."

¹¹¹ J. C. Winter 1981:364 hypothesizes three parts in his personal pronoun (of which the PGN is a part), denoting respectively person, gender and number. The prefix (first part) will be discussed separately (see 3.3.5.3). Winter's second part is the first part in our analysis, his third is our second.

¹¹² The position taken by Winter.

¹¹³ Cf. Leepang 2015:83 for lGana: "Duality is marked by the suffix *-rè* attached to the singular pronominal PGN markers."

¹¹⁴ Cf. Leepang 2015:84.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

in PL). But it may well be argued that the second part rather denotes *person*: -(a)o for 2nd person. This analysis may have some value, especially for reconstructing Khoe proto-forms,¹¹⁵ but it remains hypothetical. Also, as in so many cases, information with regard to grammatical systems can be “fused into a single suffix”.¹¹⁶

All PGNs are bound pronominal forms in the sense that they cliticise to a preceding element. In Naro, PGNs are written disjunctively,¹¹⁷ unless they consist of a single consonant (-r ‘1SG’, -m ‘=3mSG’, -s ‘=3fSG’, -n ‘=3cSG’),¹¹⁸ but this is obviously based on orthographical decisions so it does not indicate the relationship to preceding words:

- (53) *bóò=r* *ko* ‘I am looking’
 look=1SG DUR
- (54) *bóò =ta* *ko* ‘we are looking’
 look=1cPL DUR

In the course of Naro studies, different morphs have been recorded for Naro PGN-markers. They are probably just local variations. Table 5 shows an overview of morphs as presented by some researchers.¹¹⁹

	SINGULAR					DUAL					PLURAL				
	Bl	M	K	Ba	V	Bl	M	K	Ba	V	Bl	M	K	Ba	V
MASC.	.ba	.b	.ba	.ba	.ba	.tʃara	.karo	.tsara	.tsara	.tsara	.tʃi	.kwe	.llkua	.llkua	.llua
		.ba				.tʃəra	.tsera			.dzara	.dʒi	.kwa			.llua
											.llkwa		.dʒi		
FEM.	.sa	.s	.sa	.sa	.sa	.ʃara	.sera	.sara	.sara	.sara	.si		.dzi	.dzi	.dzi
	.se	.sa				.ʃəra	.ʃera								
		.ʃ													
		.ʃa													
COMM.						.khara		.khoara	.khara	.khoara	.ne	.n	.na	.na	.na
											.ni	.na		.ne	.ni
											.n			.n	
													.an		
														.ane	

Table 5: Naro PGN-morphs as presented by other researchers

¹¹⁵ A reconstruction for proto-Khoe has been undertaken in Vossen 1997:349. Cf. also Güldemann 2004. On p. 272 he discusses Winter’s analysis.

¹¹⁶ R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:144. Cf. also 46: “a number of disparate categories (such as gender, number, and case) being accorded portmanteau realization”.

¹¹⁷ Cf. for KKG Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:32: “in the official orthography free N^ds (...) are spelt disjunctively if they form a syllable (by means of a vowel, but not a nasal consonant), and conjunctively if they do not form a syllable by means of a vowel”. Cf. footnote 6.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Letsholo & Mogara 2016:7 “Once they are truncated, they need a host to attach to since they no longer constitute independent words phonologically.”

¹¹⁹ As given by Vossen 1986:376. Note that Vossen only presented the 3rd person. The following abbreviations are used: Bl = D. F. Bleek 1928:52; M = Maingard 1961:120; K = Köhler 1962:534; Ba = Barnard 1985; V = Vossen, field notes.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3.3.2 Nine series of syntactic forms

In different syntactic contexts, different morphs of the basic PGNs are found.¹²⁰ This section discusses those different PGN-morphs and the contexts and functions in which they are used.¹²¹ All the different morphosyntactic paradigms of PGNs in Naro are presented in the appendix “Naro PGN-morphs and their functions”.

The nine¹²² syntactic functions are¹²³:

1. subjectival PGN
2. copular PGN
3. NP-final PGN
4. concord PGN
5. PGN preceding postposition
6. associative PGN
7. objectival PGN
8. PGN in same cast clause connection
9. PGN in different cast clause connection

For Kxoe, Köhler distinguishes only two forms: the *Subjektendung* (subject suffix) and the *verbundene Form* (joint form).¹²⁴ And for KKG, Haacke also distinguishes only two series.¹²⁵ Because in Naro, most PGNs have similar or even identical forms in their respective functions between the different series, it could be argued that the different series be considered variants, and that it might be possible to reduce the nine series identified for Naro to two basic series as well. However, the morphs for particular members (esp. 1SG and 3SG) show so much variance between them that it is not possible to derive them following a simple phonological rule (for example, from *ra* to *te* in 1SG). The distinctions in the given series serve to identify the different forms and their uses. Table 6 will present the 1SG, 3cSG and 3mSG morphs by way of example, in order to give some overview of the different PGN possibilities. These three were also chosen to show that the different series call for nine series. For example, it could be concluded from the column with 1SG, that PGN-1, 4 and -5 (*r*) could be regarded as one and the same morph, but a comparison with 3cSG will reveal that for that PGN, the morphs in series 1, 4 and 5 require an analysis

¹²⁰ Cf. Vossen 1986:375: “suffixes which can vary formally according to syntactical structure or phonological environment.”

¹²¹ Also see Visser 2013a:185-187 for additional examples.

¹²² An irrealis morph, as discussed by Ono 2006, is not attested for Naro.

¹²³ We have attempted to retain the same order as in Visser 2001b:238 but needed to do some re-ordering, partly because of a refined analysis:

PGN-4 is now PGN-7.

PGN-7 amalgamated with PGN-3.

PGN-8 has now become PGN-4 (so that this is adjacent to the related PGN-3).

The morphs PGN-8 and -9, used in clause connections, were added.

The headings were adapted as well.

¹²⁴ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:65.

¹²⁵ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141. See more about this in footnote 199.

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as three different series. The categorisation of all syntactically different PGNs as separate series is also useful in indicating the function of each PGN.

PGN #	function	1SG	3cSG	3mSG	Naro (3mSG)	English
1	subjectival	<i>r</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>bóòm ko</i>	he is looking
2	copular	<i>ra (a)</i>	<i>Ø (V)</i>	<i>me (e)</i>	<i>qãè me e</i>	he is good
3	NP-final	<i>ra</i>	<i>ne, n</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>khóè ba</i>	a/the man
4	concord	<i>r</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>qãèm khóè ba</i>	a/the good man
5	preceding postposition	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>khóèm cgoa</i>	with a/the man
6	associative (possessive)	<i>tè</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>bà</i>	<i>cg'òèa ba</i>	his name
7	objectival	<i>te</i>	V	<i>me</i>	<i>bóò mes ko</i>	she is seeing him
8	same cast clause connective	<i>a ra a</i>	<i>a i a</i>	<i>a ba a</i>	<i>a ba a</i>	and he
9	different cast clause connective	<i>ra</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	but he

Table 6: Naro PGN-morphs in 1SG/3cSG/3mSG and their functions

In the appendix, the different combinations of person, gender and number are given on the vertical axis, while on the horizontal axis, the nine syntactic contexts are presented. The different syntactic functions of the PGN-morphs have been named after the column in which they are put, so the PGN-markers with the function mentioned in column 1 are designated PGN-1, those of column 2 are PGN-2, etc.

For convenience, the morphs for the PGN-1 paradigm will be given in the following section. Wherever necessary, the PGN type will (by its number) be added to the PGN meaning after a colon (e.g. =3mSG:1 for PGN-1).

After having shown all the various forms, an attempt at further analysis will be undertaken, in 3.3.13.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3.3.3 PGN-1: subjectival

	SG			DU			PL			
	m	f	c	m	f	c	m	f	c	example cPL
1	<i>r, ra</i>			<i>tsam</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>kham</i>	<i>xae</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bóò ta ko</i> ‘we are looking’
2	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>		<i>tsao</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>khao</i>	<i>xao</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>bóò tu ko</i> ‘you are looking’
3	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tsara</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>khara</i>	<i>xu</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>bóò ne ko</i> ‘they are looking’

Table 7: PGN-1 morphs¹²⁶

The subjectival PGN indicates a pronominal subject. It replaces a lexically specified subject NP if that is absent (as in (70) and (56)) or dislocated (as in (57)). See 3.4 for rules with respect to the order of constituents. If it occurs, it is found cliticising to the initial slot of a sentence. Examples:

- (55) *bóò=m* *ko* ‘he is looking’
 look=3mSG:1 DUR
- (56) *piri =zi=m* *ko* *bóò* ‘he is seeing the goats’
 goat=3fSG:3=3mSG:1 DUR see
- (57) *piri =zi=m* *ko* *cóá =ba* *bóò* ‘the boy is seeing the goats’
 goat=3fPL=3mSG:1 DUR child =3mSG see

PGN-1 is also used in subordinate clauses.¹²⁷ If the main clause is seen as filling the initial slot,¹²⁸ PGN-1 is still found in its position following that:

- (58) [*bírí =me*] [=m *hàà*] ‘tell him to come’
 tell =3mSG:7 =3mSG:1 come
 [main clause] [subordinate clause]
 [initial slot] PGN-1 V

3.3.4 PGN-2: copular

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	examples
<i>ra a</i>	<i>tsi i</i>	<i>si i</i>	<i>me e</i>	<i>si i</i>	<i>Ø V</i>	3mSG <i>khóè me e</i> ‘he is a man’
						3cSG <i>tshàa a</i> ‘it is water’

Table 8: PGN-2 morphs (SG only)¹²⁹

¹²⁶ The dual and plural PGN morphs are basically the same in the nine series, so for the following series, only the SG morphs will be presented.

¹²⁷ The existence of a separate “set of pronoun forms in subordinate clauses has also been attested in other Kalahari Khoe languages”, see Fehn & Phiri 2018:112.

¹²⁸ See section 3.4.2 for a discussion of the initial slot and constituents that can take that position.

¹²⁹ Cf. note 126.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

The copular PGN, like PGN-1, indicates a pronominal subject, but it is used in copular sentences, cliticising to an NP.¹³⁰ Whereas in English, the copula may be a linking verb like *to be* (e.g. “he *is* a carpenter”), in Naro the copula is formed by a particle consisting of the repetition of the last phonological element of the PGN which it follows.¹³¹ From a comparison with KKG, it may be concluded that the basic form of this particle with its allophones is *a*,¹³² assimilating to the previous phoneme. The PGN indicates the subject.

The copula may indicate identity (59), but also attribution (60) or possession. It may also relate a complement clause. Examples of simplex copular sentences:

- (59) *khóè =me e* ‘he is a person/man’
 person =3mSG:2 COP
 COMP SBJ COP
- (60) *qāè =me e* ‘he is good’
 good =3mSG:2 COP
 COMP SBJ COP

Example of a more complicated copular sentence:

- (61) *khóè =ba qāè =me e* ‘the man is good’
 person =3mSG:3 good =3mSG:2 COP
 SBJ COMP COP

The above examples express present tense. Past and future tense modify (60) as follows:

- (62) *qāè =me e kò ii* ‘he was good’
 good =3mSG:2 COP PST be
- (63) *qāè =me e gha ii* ‘he will be good’
 good =3mSG:2 COP FUT be

For 3cSG, consisting of a zero morph, PGN-2 shows up as repetition of the last phoneme of the previous word:

- (64) *qāè =Ø e¹³³* ‘it is good’
 good =3cSG:2 COP
- (65) *tshúù =Ø u* ‘it is bad’
 bad =3cSG:2 COP

The last phoneme may be *m* as well:

- (66) *gàm =Ø m* ‘it is a lion’
 lion =3cSG:2 COP

¹³⁰ A copular sentence in Naro is a sentence in which subject and complement are linked by a copula.

¹³¹ Also see Barnard 1985:17, following Vossen. W.H.G. Haacke 2010:220 describes it as “a variable morpheme displaying sonorant harmony”.

¹³² In KKG, this is the present stative aspect marker, cf. Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:34.

¹³³ The nasalisation on this morpheme (copied from the last phoneme, which phonologically has nasalisation, even though it is written on the first vowel) is not indicated in the orthography.

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Note the difference with the structurally similar

- (67) *gàm =me e* ‘it is a (male) lion’
 lion =3mSG:2 COP

The only difference is in the indication of gender. In (66) the meaning is generic.

3.3.5 PGN-3: NP-final

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
<i>ra</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ne, n</i>	<i>khóè ba 'a/the man'</i>

Table 9: PGN-3 morphs (SG only)

PGN-3 requires a broader discussion than the other PGN-series. After showing its general function and combinations with several lexical elements (3.3.5.1), which justifies a separate discussion about 1st and 2nd person being combined with nouns (3.3.5.2), attention will be given to the combinations with *ga-* and *si-* (3.3.5.3), while the forms *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa* are a sub-type of the latter (3.3.5.4). A treatment of the vocative closes the discussion (3.3.5.5).

3.3.5.1. Function

PGN-3 is used ending a nominal phrase with lexical specification (LS), either in nominative, accusative or dative. This implies that in Naro, PGNs do not mark lexically specified NPs as subject or object, in other words:¹³⁴ S_{LS} and O_{LS} are not morphologically distinguished. This is unlike what is found in neighbouring languages like ||Gana,¹³⁵ Ts'ixa¹³⁶ and Khwe¹³⁷ which exhibit a distinction between nominative and oblique case.¹³⁸ In Naro, these interphrasal relationships can only be derived from syntactic and semantic considerations.

¹³⁴ Cf. Vossen 1997:174/275, note 8, mentioning .'à or .à: “In den Sprachen Naro (...) habe ich keine Hinweise auf das Vorhandensein eines solchen Morphems gefunden.” D. F. Bleek 1928:53 asserts the same: “There are no endings in the dative and accusative cases”. Cf. Letsholo & Mogara 2016:6: “Naro (...) makes no distinction between the subjective and oblique gender markers.” For Naro, oblique forms cannot be distinguished as such.

¹³⁵ Leepang 2015, § 4.2.1 (esp. p. 69) and Letsholo & Saul 2015:232.

¹³⁶ Fehn 2014:64 describes two PGN-series: ‘I’ for PGNs that are “used for the subject of the clause” but “also attach to dependent nominal referents”, while “[t]he second group (labelled ‘II’) attaches to the direct object of the verb phrase”, but they “also mark predicate nouns in non-verbal phrases, as well as appositions.”

¹³⁷ Kilian-Hatz 2008:59. She mentions the morpheme à as often marking the direct object of a transitive verb.

¹³⁸ In KKG, the -a case marker marks the oblique case. It is not an accusative/object case marker, but it marks every core argument other than the subject in a declarative sentence, “that is, subjects of questions, deposed subjects and objects” (W.H.G. Haacke 2006:112).

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

1. PGN-3 terminates the entire NP, irrespective of what the last constituent is, and cliticises to the final LS element of the NP. As such, it may also appear, for example, at the end of a (pronominally used) relative clause, and is also an indicator that the NP is terminated.¹³⁹ The unmarked form of an NP is its occurrence with PGN-3.¹⁴⁰ Example:

- (68) *cóá =ba* '(the/a) male child = boy'
 child =3mSG:3

In *cóá =ba* '(the/a) male child', the PGN-3 marker *=ba* '=3mSG' modifies, and adds information to, *cóá* 'child'. Rather than indicating definiteness or a grammatical relation,¹⁴¹ the PGN *=ba* indicates that the 'child' is male (hence 'boy'), that one is *referring to* the child (3rd person), and that it is only *one* boy (SG). Additionally, PGN-3 indicates that the NP is terminated.

Kilian-Hatz and Heine¹⁴² mention several contexts for Kxoe where nouns are *unlikely* to be associated with PGN's:

- (i) non-human nouns in non-specific and generic use (animal names)
- (ii) proper nouns (including personal names and place names)
- (iii) the noun */x'ón* 'name'
- (iv) nouns in existential or equative predications
- (v) indefinite forms

Naro does not follow the pattern described for Kxoe. For animals, *=zi* '=3fPL' is often used - unlike (i). Proper nouns are usually accompanied by a PGN - unlike (ii). The Naro word for 'name' *cg'ðè* also goes together with a PGN - unlike (iii). Nouns in existential or equative predications also usually have PGNs - unlike (iv). "Indefinite forms", if they can be identified at all,¹⁴³ may well have an accompanying PGN - unlike (v) - and may have been made indefinite by the addition of *c'ëe* 'a (certain)'.

2. PGN-3 requires LS. If the LS is missing, PGN-1 or -2 will be used for subjects, and PGN-7 for objects. The LS will often be a noun (stem), but it can also be an adjective, or a relative clause or a possessive phrase. In such cases the adjective or clause is nominalised. The following examples serve to contrast the use of an adjective used as a predicate (with the copular PGN-2 (69)), and its nominalised use (with PGN-3 (70)):

¹³⁹ The *-a* occurring in 3SG (*ba, sa*) in Naro might be related to *-a* in KKG, which also only occurs phrase-finally, cf. Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:46 (footnote 9), 115. But differently from KKG, *-a* always occurs in =3mSG:3 and =3fSG:3, so not only in contexts similar to "oblique" ones in KKG. If it occurs after the other PGNs it has a different function, e.g. presentational.

¹⁴⁰ Also see Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:66 for Kxoe: "it would in fact be most economical to treat a noun with pgn as basic, that is, as the expected case, and account for lack of pgn by means of special rules."

¹⁴¹ See 3.2.3.

¹⁴² Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:66-68. In 68-71 they mention some factors for Kxoe that may guide a speaker in deciding whether or not to use the PGN-marker.

¹⁴³ Cf. 3.2.3. It is better to speak of an NP with indefinite meaning.

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- (69) *tshúù* =*me* *e* ‘he is bad’
 bad =3mSG:2 COP
- (70) *tshúù* =*ba* ‘the (male) bad one’
 bad =3mSG:3

3. In phrases with a compound NP, each nominal is followed by a PGN-3, but in addition, the NP usually contains phrase-finally a combined PGN as well: the final PGN includes all referents of the conjunct. The P-G-N information of this combined PGN reflects the sum total of the P-G-N information of the referents:¹⁴⁴

- (71) [*khoè* =*sa*] *hēé* *naka* [*cóá* =*sa*] *hēéthēé* [=*sara*]
 person =3fSG also and child =3fSG also =3fDU
 [LS1] [LS2] [PGN with total number]
- ‘the woman and the girl’

4. The PGN-marker may also indicate an associative plural,¹⁴⁵ which partially evades translation:

- (72) [*Thama* =*xu*] *ko* *hàà*
 Thama =3mPL DUR come
 [NPs]

‘Thama-they are coming’ > ‘Thama and his (male) companions¹⁴⁶ are coming’

- (73) [*Botswana* =*ne*] [=*khara*] *ko* *hàà* *bóò*
 Botswana =3cPL =3cDU DUR come see
 [NP_o] [NPs]

‘they (=3cDU) are coming to see Botswana-them’ > ‘they (=3cDU) are coming to see Botswana people’

5. An interesting use of PGN-3 is its function in indicating what could be seen as a complement clause in English. This clause is treated as an object with LS, yielding an NP structure (including a PGN). Only the PGN =*sa* ‘=3fSG’ is utilised for this:

- (74) [*bóò=r* *ko*] [*Thama* =*ba* *ko* *qōò* =*sa*]
 see=1SG DUR Thama =3mSG DUR go =3fSG>‘that’
 [main clause] [complement clause, treated as object NP]
 VP S_{PGN} O_{NP}

‘I see **that** Thama is going’

¹⁴⁴ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 1992a, and Güldemann 2006:115, who speaks of “inclusory pronouns”.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Daniel & Moravcsik 2013: “Associative plural constructions consist of a noun X (typically of human reference, usually a person's name or a kin term) and some other material, most often an affix, a clitic, or a word. The meaning of the construction is 'X and other people associated with X'.” Cf. also R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:158, and Payne 1997:99 (“a group of people, including one salient person”). The term *associative* in this context should be distinguished from its use in PGN-6.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Thama hulle* in Afrikaans. One of the differences is, that in Afrikaans, the companions need not be males only. In Naro this would be indicated by using a different PGN, cf. 11.5.1.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

3.3.5.2. 1st and 2nd person

Besides 3rd person, the PGN in Naro may indicate 1st or 2nd person, compare (75) and (76):

- (75) [cóá =ba] ko bóò ‘the boy is looking’
 [child =3mSG] DUR see
 [NP]

- (76) [cóá =xae] ko bóò ‘we boys are looking’
 [child 1mPL] DUR look
 [NP]

Syntactically, there is no difference between sentences (75) and (76): the PGN-markers have exactly the same function in the two sentences, namely indicating the person, gender and number of “child” (and that the NP is terminated). However, the structure of the English translation differs considerably. The PGN-markers may *seem* to function like an article or pronoun in the respective sentences (hence the translation), but they are neither article nor pronoun.¹⁴⁷

The same, but now with the associative plural, is shown by (77) which is a modification of (73):

- (77) [Botswana =ta] [khara] ko hàà bóò
 [Botswana =1cPL] =3cDU DUR come see
 [NP_o] [NP_s]

‘they (3cDU) are coming to see Botswana-us’¹⁴⁸

> ‘they (3cDU) are coming to see us Botswana people’

This, together with (76), shows how differently the PGN-marker functions from the article and pronoun in English. (76) and (77) show that Naro nouns may combine with PGN-3 in 1st and 2nd person. It may generally be true that 3rd person pronouns “are semantically and syntactically quite different from 1st and 2nd persons, and that the main function of 3rd person pronouns is to substitute for a full NP”.¹⁴⁹ But Khoekhoe languages seem to challenge the sharp distinction, as both 3rd and 1st/2nd person PGNs can be combined with nouns. The Khoekhoe languages seem to be unique in this regard.¹⁵⁰

For the repercussions of this on the noun classification system, see section 3.6.2 (“noun class markers?”) and 3.6.3. Section 11.6.6 will show some implications for translation into Naro.

¹⁴⁷ See section 3.3.5.2 for more discussion on this issue.

¹⁴⁸ Said by a Naro person about people coming on holiday to Botswana. He easily switched from (73) to (77).

¹⁴⁹ R. M. W Dixon 2014b:247.

¹⁵⁰ Köhler 1962:536: “Das Zentralkhoisan stellt unter den Sprachen Afrikas die einzige Sprachgruppe dar, die das Genusssystem des Nomen konsequent auf das Pronomen überträgt und über die Pronomina der 3. Person hinaus die Unterscheidung von Maskulinum, Femininum and Commune auch bei der 1. and 2. Person Dual und Plural durchführt.”

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3.3.5.3. Combination with Definiteness-Clusivity-markers

The LS required by PGN-3 may also be the plain demonstrative base *gaa* [xaa] ‘DEM6’, or *ga-* [xa-],¹⁵¹ which might be a reduced form of this *gaa*, yielding pronominalised demonstratives:

- (78) *gaa* =ba ‘that (male) one’
DEM6 =3mSG:3
- (79) *ga=ba* ‘he’
DEF=3mSG:3

Where an NP is lexically specified as *ga-*, this indicates definiteness, and often some prominence¹⁵² being given to the referent, for example if a contrast is being indicated. In a clause like (80) the form *gaba*¹⁵³ ‘he’ may give prominence to the fact that it is ‘he’ who sees (and not someone else):¹⁵⁴

- (80) *ga=ba* ko bōō ‘he is looking’
DEF=3mSG DUR look

PGN-3-markers may combine with *ga-* [xa-]¹⁵⁵, while 1st person non-singulars may combine with *si-*, as in

- (81) *ga=kham* ‘we (1cDU:INCL)’
INCL=1cDU:3
- (82) *si=kham* ‘we (1cDU:EXCL)’
EXCL=1cDU:3
- (83) *ga=ba* ‘he’
INCL=3mSG:3
- (84) * *si=ba*
EXCL=3mSG:3

The DC-marker *ga-* is to be distinguished from the intensifier *ga*. As *ga* and *ga-* have distinct functions, they can be used together, as in

¹⁵¹ *ga-* will be glossed as DEF (definitiser), but with 1st person it additionally denotes inclusivity, so there it will be glossed “INCL”.

¹⁵² D. F. Bleek 1928:55 and Barnard 1985:15ff. called the forms emphatic forms, and Visser 2001b:238 put these PGN-markers under the heading “emphasized person”. The forms can still be called “emphasized” as they usually denote some prominence, but they are not to be considered as PGNs, as *ga-* is not a (part of a) PGN.

¹⁵³ In the orthography this may show up with an acute accent (*gabá*) to distinguish the word from *gàba* ‘dish, bowl’, its homonym with the same tonal pattern *gàba* ‘earn, get’, and *gabà* ‘but’.

¹⁵⁴ One explanation of the prominence of *gaba* is, that its position clause-initially (which is the main focus position, see 3.4) causes it to appear in this form, as PGNs on their own cannot start a clause and thus require some LS to serve as host. Since there is no elaborate lexical information available, the function of host is provided by the lexically empty *ga-*. That these forms may also occur elsewhere in the clause, as in *bóóm ko gaba* ‘he is looking’, can be explained by viewing *gaba* ‘he’ as being in apposition.

¹⁵⁵ These morphemes are written conjunctively with the PGNs, even though the PGNs are written disjunctively with other elements. The lexeme *ga-* needs to be distinguished from *ga* (without hyphen) anyway, see below.

3. Analysis of Naro PGNs

- (85) [ga=kham] *ga* *a* ‘it is indeed us’
 DEF=1cDU:3 INTENS V
 [NP]

The elements *ga-* and *si-* are not easy to analyse, but a comparison with similar elements in neighbouring languages can help. It was noted above that *ga-* [*xa-*] may be a shortened form of the DEM6 *gaa* [*xaa*] which is analysed as an ‘anaphoric reference marker’. This resembles the morpheme *xàa* found in Khwe, which Kilian-Hatz also describes as “a demonstrative base”.¹⁵⁶ She distinguishes three complementary demonstratives that are used as base: the unmarked default form *xàa*, the marked discourse-referential *á* ('the afore-mentioned'), and *i* which is used to contrast the referent and other participants.

In KKG, as many as four comparable elements are found (*ti*, *si*, *sa* and *||i*). Haacke rectifies the view that these elements are pronoun roots/stems used to form the “full” form of the pronoun with the PGN-marker, the latter of which is taken to be the reduced version of the pronoun.¹⁵⁷ These four lexemes do not indicate 1st/2nd/3rd person, which can easily be seen from the fact that *sa* occurs with 1st as well as 2nd person. Haacke speaks of “relative lexical emptiness”¹⁵⁸ of these elements and calls them “articles”¹⁵⁹ as they denote “definiteness”¹⁶⁰ and “communicatory status”.¹⁶¹ This communicatory status can best be explained in a feature analysis which categorizes according to +/- definite, +/- speaker, +/- human, +/- singular, +/- addressee, and +/- discussed. Haacke presents the following overview:¹⁶²

<i>ti</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i> i</i>
+definite	+definite	+definite	+definite
+speaker	+speaker	+addressee	+discussed
+human	-addressee	+human	
+singular	+human		
	-singular		

The Naro elements *ga-* [*xa-*] and *si-* might be relics of this system, but this needs further investigation. KKG *sa* ‘+addressee’,¹⁶³ which has the broadest use in KKG, then has become *ga-*

¹⁵⁶ Kilian-Hatz 2008:171. Cf. Güldemann 2006:112, and Güldemann 2018:3 who speaks of a “3rd-person pronoun base” (but see footnote 3 in Güldemann 2004:259 for a disclaimer on the term). The distinction between “demonstrative” base and “pronoun” base originates in a different use of the genitive: the former speaks of the content character of the base, the latter indicates where the base is used. In Güldemann 2004:256 he speaks of a demonstrative stem *ha* in Kwadi.

¹⁵⁷ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:145. Cf. also W.H.G. Haacke 2010:212 and 220. Cf. Köhler 1962:536 speaking about pronouns occurring in “*Vollform*” and “*Kurzform*”. Haacke argues that if “these structures are indeed “pronouns”, then Nama has 49 pronouns, a fact that may seem quite unlikely”, W.H.G. Haacke 1977:49.

¹⁵⁸ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:209. Cf. p. 213 “they escape direct translation”.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 1977:56: “For the want of a better term”. Also see note 282. In W.H.G. Haacke 2010:208 he also speaks of “so-called “pronoun stem””.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. also W.H.G. Haacke 2010:208 “definiteness, occasionally also a referential denotation, and, in any case, emphasis.”

¹⁶¹ W.H.G. Haacke 1977:56. Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:145f. and Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:75.

¹⁶² Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:146.

¹⁶³ Güldemann 2006:112 traces *sa* back to Proto-Khoe “encoding the addressee”.

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in Naro, covering even ‘-addressee’ in some cases. *ti* resembles the pronominalised form *tii* in Naro,¹⁶⁴ *si* has retained its use as marker of exclusivity,¹⁶⁵ while *||i*¹⁶⁶ may never have been adopted by Naro. Factually, only two “articles”, *ga-* and *si-* in Naro, have remained.¹⁶⁷ The difference between the two shows up most clearly in the inclusive/exclusive contrast in the first person dual and plural: the forms with *ga-* [*xa-*] denote inclusivity, while those with *si-* indicate exclusivity.¹⁶⁸

It is to be observed that *si-* has a different distribution from that of *ga-*: while *ga-* may be used with virtually *all* PGNs¹⁶⁹ (except for 1SG and 2SG, where we find pronominalised lexemes instead, see below), *si-* is only found in 1DU and 1PL forms, with the meaning components [+speaker(s)] and [-addressee(s)], yielding ‘exclusive we’.¹⁷⁰

The idea that *ga-* [*xa-*] might be related to *sa-* in KKG seems to be confirmed by Barnard, who records Naro forms with *sa-*, as alternatives for *ga-* in 2nd person dual and plural.¹⁷¹ This form may be a dialectal variation (he writes about some forms that “these are used particularly in eastern areas”)¹⁷², but this is reminiscent of *sa* in KKG. The historical development (which may have traversed in either direction) may have gone through Ts'aokhoe: KKG *sa-* <-> Ts'aokhoe *sa-* <-> Naro *ga-* [*xa-*]. The following observations by Barnard¹⁷³ for Naro also remind of what is found in KKG: “[*tírá*] is sometimes pronounced *sírá*”; “*sírá* may be shortened to *sí*”; “*tsá.tsí* is often heard as *sá.tsí* or *sá.tsá*”; “[t]he short alternative for *sa.tsáó*, etc. is *sa*, and for *xa.tsárá*, etc. is *xaa*”.

As the designation “article” is confusing, and because in Naro, *ga-/si-* indicate definiteness and clusivity,¹⁷⁴ we call the *ga-/si-* morphemes “DC-markers”: a devised term, comparable to “PGN-markers”, in which “D” stands for “definiteness” (first, as it appears to be the main function) and “C” for “clusivity”.

¹⁶⁴ There is a difference between the “article” *ti* (with High – Double High tone) and the possessive *ti* (with Double high tone), see Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:124, cf. p. 130 note 12.

¹⁶⁵ Güldemann 2006:112 mentions a 1st person exclusive pronoun **si* in Proto-Tuu.

¹⁶⁶ According to Güldemann 2006:112, this element was borrowed from !Ui into Khoekhoe. Also see his discussion in Güldemann 2002:53-58.

¹⁶⁷ Köhler 1962:538 shows at least three DC-markers for Naro: *sí-* in 1DU/PL, *sá-* in 2DU/PL and *gá-* [*xá-*] in 3DU/PL. He also records *i-* for both 1DU/PL and 2DU/PL for Ts'aokhoe, which reminds of KKG *||i*.

¹⁶⁸ Possible functions of clusivity like “friendly respect”, “common knowledge and interest” and/or the use of honorifics (as mentioned in Reiling & Swellengrebel 1993, ad Lk. 1:1) have not yet been established for Naro.

¹⁶⁹ Which is not surprising, as it is basically a demonstrative.

¹⁷⁰ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:213. Speaking for other languages in general, Cysouw 2003:84 asserts that “[i]n almost all cases, the exclusive ‘we’ is marked by the same morpheme that is used for the first person singular.” This may be confirmed in Naro if *si-* is interpreted as derived from *tii*. Interestingly, Barnard 1985:17 attests the presence of *sírá* next to *tírá*, see below.

¹⁷¹ Barnard 1985:16. Cf. also Vossen 1997:239: “In der 2. Person Dual und Plural kommt in meinen Daten neben *xà* alternativ *sà* vor, das in Köhler (S.538f) – allerdings hochtonig – und Barnard (loc. cit.) durchgängig aufscheint.” In the data of the central Naro dialect, these forms with *sa-* have not shown up.

¹⁷² If the use of these forms is a KKG influence, one would rather expect them in western areas, so this is difficult to explain. Ts'aokhoe is an eastern dialect of Naro.

¹⁷³ Barnard 1985:17.

¹⁷⁴ Clusivity is “a grammatical distinction between inclusive and exclusive first-person pronouns and verbal morphology” (*Clusivity* n.d.).

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xuku [|uku]

There is one lexical element in Naro (-*xuku* ‘as a family’) that deserves a short discussion here, because it combines with the DC-markers *ga-* and *si-* and with PGNs as well:

- (86) *si-xuku* =ta ncāa ko qōò ‘we were going as a family’
EXCL-as.a.family =1cPL RECPST DUR go

At first sight, *xuku* seems to be related to the PGN *xu* ‘3mPL’, as it contains the phoneme combination *xu* as part of the lexeme. However, it is derived from *xōòku* ‘parent-RECP’.¹⁷⁵

- (87) *ga-xuku* =xu ‘they (e.g. a man and his sons)’
DEF-as.a.family =3mPL
- (88) *si-xuku* =se ‘we:EXCL (e.g. woman and daughters)’
EXCL-as.a.family =1fPL
- (89) *ga-xuku* =se ‘we:INCL (e.g. woman and daughters)’
INCL-as.a.family =1fPL
- (90) *ga-xuku* =sam ‘we:INCL (e.g. woman and daughter)’
INCL-as.a.family =1fDU

Other “words that refer to relatedness” (eg. *qōeku* ‘relate as older and younger sibling/cousin’, *tsgōoku* ‘relate as grandparent and grandchild’, *q'ōòku* ‘relate as owner and owned’)¹⁷⁶ follow the same pattern:

- (91) *ga-tsgōoku* =tsam
INCL-related as *tsgōo* =1mDU
‘we:INCL (e.g. grandfather and grandson)’
- (92) *si-tsgōoku* =tsam
EXCL-related as *tsgōo* =1mDU
‘we:EXCL (e.g. grandfather and grandson)’
- (93) *ga-q'ōòku* =tsam
INCL-related as boss and servant =1mDU
‘we:INCL boss and servant’
- (94) *si-tsgōoku* =tsam
EXCL-related as *tsgōo* =1mDU
‘we:EXCL boss and servant’

As the examples show, *xuku* in some way behaves like a PGN in that it combines with *ga-* and *si-*, but it is usually followed by a PGN, so it is not a PGN but should rather be viewed as a lexeme. The element may also combine with a noun:

- (95) *khōè xuku* =xu ‘a man and his sons’
person as.a.family =3mPL
- (96) *khōè xuku* =ne ncāa ko qōò ‘they were going as a family’
person as.a.family =3cPL RECPST DUR go

¹⁷⁵ Saul, p.c. 14-6-21.

¹⁷⁶ Saul, p.c. 14-6-21.

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3.3.5.4. Status of *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa*

To lexically specify the PGNs for 1st and 2nd person SG (and to give them prominence), instead of adding the expected morpheme *ga-* [xa-] to the respective PGNs, as would be the case in the ungrammatical (and therefore untranslatable) (97), three distinct morphemes are used: *tii* ‘1SG’, *tsaa* ‘2mSG’ and *saa* ‘2fSG’,¹⁷⁷ as in (98) and (99):

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------------|
| (97) | * <i>ga=ra</i> | <i>ga</i> | = <i>ra</i> | <i>a</i> | |
| | DEF=1SG:3 | INTENS | 1SG:2 | COP | |
| (98) | <i>tii</i> | <i>ga</i> | = <i>ra</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘it is indeed I’ |
| | (<i>ga-</i> + 1SG:3) | INTENS | 1SG:2 | COP | |
| (99) | <i>tsaa</i> | <i>ga</i> | = <i>tsi</i> | <i>i</i> | ‘it is indeed you’ |
| | (<i>ga-</i> + 2mSG:3) | INTENS | 2mSG:2 | COP | |

These forms are to be seen as an amalgamation of a DC-marker (perhaps *ga-* [xa-],)¹⁷⁸ and PGN-marker, so they constitute free pronominalised forms. Their syntactic distribution is confined to first/second person (PGNs) respectively. They behave differently from PGNs: while PGNs cliticise to preceding elements, *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa* are independent lexemes, and can be combined with a PGN:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-------------|----------|-------------------|
| (100) | <i>tii</i> | = <i>ra</i> | <i>a</i> | ‘I am the one’ |
| | 1SG(3) | 1SG:2 | COP | |
| (101) | <i>ga=kham</i> | <i>kham</i> | <i>m</i> | ‘we are the ones’ |
| | INCL=1cDU:3 | 1cDU:2 | COP | |

They very much resemble pronouns,¹⁷⁹ but the best option may be to call them pronominalised DC-markers.

3.3.5.5. Combination with vocative

PGN-3 is used when forming the vocative, consisting of the added –è ‘VOC’.¹⁸⁰ As is always the case with PGN-3, this construction needs lexical specification and is found NP-finally. This LS may be a noun:

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| (102) | <i>khòè</i> | = <i>xao-è</i> | ‘hey men!’ |
| | person | 2mPL:3-VOC | |

¹⁷⁷ Vossen 1997:239 lists **tí**, **sí**, **tsá**, **sá** and **xà** together, as “pronominale Elemente”.

¹⁷⁸ Although this is not visible in the morpheme – for 1SG it might as well be the exclusive *si-*.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Letsholo & Mogara 2016:8 “*Tii* is a full pronoun”. They further claim that “the choice between *tii*/ *ra*, *tsa/tsi* and *saa/si* is determined by the information status of the pronoun” (*ibid.*), but it is rather the syntactic position that determines the choice.

¹⁸⁰ The vocative could be called a separate PGN-series, but the number of series should not be expanded unnecessarily. Also, the series would be limited to 2nd person, making it an odd series. However, it could easily be argued that the vocative is to be treated as a *case* morpheme, see 3.3.13.

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The PGN-marker + VOC may also be added to *a-*,¹⁸¹ as in:

- (103) *a=xao-è* ‘hey you (mPL)!’
 (DEM)=2mPL:3-VOC

If PGN-3 contains the vowel *-i*, this assimilates to *-è*:

- (104) *a(=tsi-è >)=tsè-è* ‘hey you!’
 (DEM)=2mSG:3-VOC
- (105) *khóè (=tsi-è >) tse-è* ‘hey man!’
 person =2mSG:3-VOC

An adjective (and other lexical categories) can also serve as LS:

- (106) *qãè (=tsi-è >)=tsè-è* ‘you good one!’
 good =2mSG:3-VOC

3.3.6 PGN-4: concord

As PGN-4 does not occur in an NP without PGN-3, the morphs are presented together in a Table:

	1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
PGN-3 (NP-final)	<i>ra</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ne, n</i>	<i>khóè ba</i> ‘a/the man’
PGN-4 (concord)	<i>r</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>Ø</i>	<i>qãèm khóè ba</i> ‘a/the good man’

Table 10: PGN-3 and PGN-4 morphs (SG only)

If modifiers are added to the noun, all separate elements (be it adjectives, numerals, demonstratives, possessives, relative clauses or nominalised finite verbs)¹⁸² are accompanied by PGN-4. Because these PGN-markers are governed by the main PGN-marker (PGN-3), these PGN-markers are called concord markers.¹⁸³ The unmarked structure of the NP is as follows:

- NP → modifier PGN-4 noun PGN-3
- (107) *qãè =m cóá =ba* ‘a/the good boy’
 good =3mSG:4 child =3mSG:3

Like PGN-3, PGN-4 is used in a nominal phrase with LS. But while PGN-3 is the morph that terminates the NP, PGN-4 cliticises to the non-final constituents. In other words, it is not the word class (nominal or modifier) that determines whether the PGN will be of

¹⁸¹ Barnard 1985:19 calls it “attention-getting”. Kilian-Hatz 2008:174 describes a demonstrative base *a-* in Khwe.

¹⁸² cf. Vossen & Schladt 2013:169.

¹⁸³ Another option would have been to call them agreement markers, cf. Crystal 2011, s.v. agreement and concord.

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paradigm 3 or 4, but the position of the element in the phrase. The unmarked position of the noun is at the end of the NP (before PGN-3, which terminates the entire NP).

The difference between PGN-3 and PGN-4 is not always visible. Except for 1SG and 3SG, the PGN-morphs are the same. In the following two examples, the first PGN-marker is a PGN-4 and the second a PGN-3:

- (108) [qāè] =**xu** [cóá] =**xu** ‘(the) good boys’
 good =3mPL:4 child =3mPL:3
 [ADJ] PGN-4 [HEAD] PGN-3
- (109) [qāè] =**zi** [cóá] =**zi** ‘(the) good girls’
 good =3fPL:4 child =3fPL:3
 [ADJ] PGN-4 [HEAD] PGN-3

As indicated, it is not only adnominals that are followed by PGN-4 markers: in cases where the noun precedes an adnominal, the noun receives the PGN-4 marker, while the adnominal (as the final element in the NP) is followed by the PGN-3 marker:

- (110) [cóá]=**m** [qāè] =**ba** ‘(the) good boy’
 child=3mSG:4 good =3mSG:3
 [HEAD] PGN-4 [ADJ] PGN-3

This marked position (with a modifier following the head) indicates prominence for the element that is put NP-finally.¹⁸⁴

3.3.7 PGN-5: preceding a postposition

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
(tii)	(tsaa)	(saa)	m	s	n	gam cgoa ‘with him’

Table 11: PGN-5 morphs (SG only)

If a PGN precedes a postposition, it will be a PGN-5. The (obligatorily) lexically specified NP to which this PGN cliticises may be a noun, a nominalised modifier, a relative clause, or a DC-marker (*ga-* or *si-*).

¹⁸⁴ Barnard 1985:13 thinks that the adjective is “perhaps best considered an apposition here”. Cf. Fehn 2014:68: “Modifiers may precede their heads or follow them as an apposition.” Also see Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:232. This is a reasonable option, but here the analysis is preferred that considers NPs with a head in final position as unmarked. If the “marked” construction would be analysed as an appositional one, it is to be expected that for each phrase in apposition, the PGN-3 marker would appear, as in *cóá ba*, *qāè ba* ‘the boy, the good one’. Also, it seems more appropriate to translate *cóám qāè ba* with ‘the góód boy’ than with ‘the boy, the good one’. This analysis is more in line with the rather free word order in Naro as well.

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Example of PGN-5 with a noun:

- (111) *khóè=m cgoa* ‘with a/the man’
 person=3mSG:5 with

Example of PGN-5 with a relative clause:

- (112) *[ncēe=r ko bóò]=m koe* ‘at this one that I see’
 DEM1=1SG DUR see=3mSG:5 LOC
 [relative clause] PGN-5

Example of PGN-5 with a DC-marker:

- (113) *ga=m cgoa* ‘with him’
 DEF=3mSG:5 with
- (114) *ga=kham cgoa* ‘with us (m+f, DU, INCL)’
 INCL=1cDU:5 with
- (115) *si=kham cgoa* ‘with us (m+f, DU, EXCL)’
 EXCL=1cDU:5 with

Clusivity is only obligatorily indicated with 1st person non-singular PGN-5 constructions in NPs¹⁸⁵ without LS.

The construction with the general possessive¹⁸⁶ morpheme *di* follows the same pattern:

- (116) *[khóè=m di]=m [cóá] =ba* ‘a/the man's son’
 person=3mSG:5 POSS=3mSG:4 child =3mSG:3
 [MODIFIER] PGN-4 [HEAD] PGN-3

Note that the PGNs *=m* with *khóè* and *=m* with *di* in (116) do not have the same function, even though they surface in a similar fashion. A comparison of (116) with (117) reveals their difference:¹⁸⁷ PGN-5 (*=m* after *khóè* ‘person’) shows the P-G-N features of the possessor (the person is male, 3rd person, SG, so ‘man’), while PGN-4 (*-m* after *di*) agrees with ‘child’, the possessee (hence the use of PL in (117)).

¹⁸⁵ Speaking about the NP which is followed by PGN-5. (118) contains an NP but this is not the NP which is followed by PGN-5.

¹⁸⁶ As the possessive may function to indicate several other relations, it may alternatively be called *genitive*, *Relationskasus* (as in Vossen 1997:174f.), or *Assoziationspartikel* (Vossen, ibid., citing Hagman). Cf. Payne 1997, § 5.6. Some examples: *saos ncēem kurim di sa* ‘the winter of this year’ (‘related to this year’), *saoan di qgáian* ‘winter clothes’ (related to winter), *skole di ne cóá ne* (not “possession”), *Xadi di ne khóè ne* ‘the people of Xade (living there), *Dtcoaga di tcēe-tcēe ne* ‘the noise of D’Kar’ (happening there), *boloan di zi xg’ae zi* ‘football clubs’ (‘clubs that play with a ball’), *x’áé-coam Gantsi di ba* ‘village in Gantsi district’ (location).

¹⁸⁷ So that example (116) and (117) in fact contain three different PGN-markers.

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(117) [khóè=	<i>m</i>	<i>di</i>	= xu	[cóá]	= <i>xu</i>	‘a/the man's sons’
person=3mSG:5	POSS	3mPL:4		child	3mPL:3	
[MODIFIER]		PGN-4		[HEAD]	PGN-3	

The noun (in the example *khóè* ‘person’) may be replaced by a DC-marker (as it is a lexeme):

(118) <i>ga=m</i>	<i>di=m</i>	<i>cóá</i>	= <i>ba</i>	‘his son’
DEF=3mSG:5	POSS=3mSG:4	child	=3mSG:3	

In the overview of PGNs (in the appendix), the lexical formative *ga-* (in brackets) is shown to indicate the formation of pronominal forms.

That the possessive construction with *di* ‘POSS’ is lumped together in a structure with postpositions is encountered frequently in languages.¹⁸⁸ It should be noted however that the formally identical PGN-5 structure is deployed differently: a possessive qualifies nouns, while a postpositional phrase modifies verbs.

The pronominalised lexemes *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa* again have a separate status. Instead of morphs with the expected PGN-5s **gara*, **gatsi* and **gasi*, the amalgamated forms *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa* show up. Example:

(119) <i>tsaa</i>	<i>cgoa</i>	‘with you (m)’
2mSG:5	with	

The combination of these three pronominalised lexemes with *di* ‘POSS’ causes some morphophonemic changes: they surface with only one vowel,¹⁸⁹ and cause the postposition *di* to surface as *-ri*:¹⁹⁰

- tii + di* → *tiri* ‘my’
- tsaa + di* → *tsari* ‘your (m)’
- saa + di* → *sari* ‘your (f)’

Example:

(120) = ti-ri=m	<i>cóá</i>	= <i>ba</i>	‘my son’
=1SG:5-POSS=3mSG:4	child	=3mSG:3	

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:46: “[m]any languages organize their surface morphology (...) with a number of rather different markers being combined into a single surface system (as case and genitive are in languages such as Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit). These surface-structure associations have little consequence for underlying grammatical organization.” Cf. Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:135 (note 45) for KKG: possessive *di* may not be a “traditional” postposition, but “may perhaps be considered to be a postposition as well”.

¹⁸⁹ Not only orthographically.

¹⁹⁰ With intervocalic lenition of the alveolar plosive. This is in line with what happens in CVCV structures in Naro, where [d] occurs in root-initial position and [r] in root-medial position, see Visser 1998a:122 and Visser 2013b:62. Cf. Hiroshi Nakagawa 2006:114.

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The possessive construction with *di* is sometimes shortened to a form without *di*. In such cases, *tii*, *tsaa* and *saa* surface with two vowels again.¹⁹¹

3.3.8 PGN-6: associative

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
<i>te</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ne, n</i>	<i>cg'ōea ba</i> 'his name'

Table 12: PGN-6 morphs (SG only)

In the associative construction, indicating possession, PGN-6 is used. In this construction, a noun is followed by a juncture *-a*, and then by the PGN-marker as a clitic. In formula:

NP with PGN-6 → N-a PGN-6¹⁹²
HEAD-JUNC DEPENDENT

PGN-6 (the dependent) indicates the possessor, while N stands for the possessee (the head). Example:

- (121) *cóá-a* =*ba* 'his child(ren)'
 child-JUNC =3mSG:6
- (122) *cóá-a* =*te* 'my child(ren)'
 child-JUNC =1SG:6

Note that in this construction, the gender and number of the *possessee* is not indicated, only the P-G-N information provided by the PGN of the *possessor*. Therefore, there are several translation possibilities. Example (121) could refer to 'his son', 'his daughter', 'his sons', 'his daughters' or 'his children'. This restriction makes the use of this PGN an avenue for being very specific about the possessor and very unspecific about the possessee.

The difference in meaning between the possessive construction (with PGN-5) given earlier and the associative construction using PGN-6 is not entirely clear. There is a tendency to use PGN-6 in inalienable possessive constructions, as in:

- (123) *tcúú-a* =*te* 'my head'
 head-JUNC =1SG:6

¹⁹¹ These forms possibly surface with a different tone, as in KKG (see W.H.G. Haacke & Eiseb 2002, s.v. *ti¹* and *ti²*). More study on this is needed.

¹⁹² This construction resembles the associative construction in Khoekhoe and related languages (see W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:146f., 156, 161). But in Naro, it only occurs with a PGN indicating the possessor, not with a full NP. The Khwe construction described by Kilian-Hatz 2008:184f. as "enclitic possessive pronoun" is quite similar to the Naro one, though in Khwe, *-i-* is used instead of *-a*.

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- (124) *cg'õè-a* =te ‘my name’
name-JUNC =1SG:6

However, the same construction can also be used in examples like

- (125) *x'áé-a* =te ‘my yard’
yard-JUNC =1SG:6

which does not have an exclusively inalienable meaning.¹⁹³ And conversely, inalienable possession may also be expressed with a general possessive construction,¹⁹⁴ as in

- (126) *ti-ri* x'õà ‘my arm’
1SG:5-POSS arm

The PGN-6 morphs resemble those of PGN-3. The most obvious difference shows up in 1SG: PGN-3 =*ra* vs. PGN-6 =*te*. However, the tone of PGN-3 and PGN-6 forms is also different. The tone on PGN-3 is dependent on the tone of the previous word (see 3.3.12), while the tone on PGN-6 is always low. The decisive difference between PGN-3 and PGN-6, apart from their function, is established by the presence of *-a*:

- (127) *cóá* =ba ‘boy’
child =3mSG:3
- (128) *cóá-a* =ba ‘his child/children’
child-JUNC =3mSG:6

In (127), the PGN-marker indicates the person, gender and number of the lexically specified element, while in (128), the PGN-marker refers to the possessor.

3.3.9 PGN-7: objectival

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
<i>te</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>si</i>	V	<i>bóò mes ko</i> ‘she sees him’

Table 13: PGN-7 morphs (SG only)

Naro utilises a separate objectival form to indicate when a PGN is used as an object: PGN-7. Example:

- (129) *bóò =me=m* ko ‘he is seeing him’
see =3mSG:7=3mSG:1 DUR

¹⁹³ This is in line with Fehn 2014:114: “the data shows no clear alienability split”.

¹⁹⁴ Another option for analysis may be the binary opposition between a-possession and o-possession found in most Polynesian languages, as evaluated by Kieviet 2017. The associative construction could be a case of a-possession which is “used when the possessor is dominant and/or active in relation to the possessee” (298). Or the construction with PGN-6 could be a marked possessive construction.

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Two PGNs are used here: the subjectival *=m* ‘he’ (PGN-1) and the objectival *=me* ‘him’ (PGN-7).¹⁹⁵ The pronominal object always cliticises to a verb, cf. also (130).

- (130) *cóá =sa ko bóò =me* ‘the girl is seeing him’
 child =3FSG:3 DUR see =3mSG-7

PGN-7 is a pronominal form only; it is not used to denote objectival forms in an NP with LS. In neighbouring languages like ||Gana,¹⁹⁶ Ts'ixa,¹⁹⁷ Khwe¹⁹⁸ and KKG¹⁹⁹ we also find objectival PGNs.²⁰⁰

Beside these object forms, which he calls “non-emphatic”, Barnard lists a different series of objectival forms,²⁰¹ in which most of the forms are followed by ‘*a*, or ‘*o* or ‘*m*.²⁰² All of these are high-toned.²⁰³ During the research for this dissertation, only examples of low-toned objectival forms followed by repetition of the last phone could be found:

- (131) *igabaga =tsi ko bóò =tà à* ‘but you are seeing us (cPL)’
 but =2mSG DUR see 1cPL V
- (132) *igabaga =tsi ko bóò =xàè è* ‘but you are seeing us (mPL)’
 but =2mSG DUR see 1mPLV
- (133) *igabaga =tsi ko bóò =tsàmì mì* ‘but you are seeing us (mDU)’
 but =2mSG DUR see 1mDU V

The low tone is also found after verbs with MM, ML and LM tonal pattern:

- (134) *igabaga =tsi ko tcii =tsàmì mì* ‘but you are seeing us (mDU)’
 but =2mSG DUR see 1mDU V

It may be that in some dialectal variations of Naro, the distinction is present.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁵ It is interesting that the morph for =3mSG:7 (object) is the same as =3mSG:2 (where it indicates a subject). This might tempt someone to hypothesize some lost ergativity pattern. The connection becomes even stronger if one includes =3mSG:9 (subject of different cast connection) in the discussion.

¹⁹⁶ Leepang 2015:49-53. Cf. Letsholo & Saul 2015:232.

¹⁹⁷ Fehn 2014:62 (for 3rd person).

¹⁹⁸ Kilian-Hatz 2008:172.

¹⁹⁹ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:209. Lexically specified objects in KKG are marked with the basic (subjectival) PGN followed by the oblique case marker *a*. Cf. also W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141, speaking of two paradigms. Also see 3.3.2 in this chapter.

²⁰⁰ See 3.3.5.1 for the absence in Naro of separate objectival forms in NPs with LS.

²⁰¹ Barnard 1985:16.

²⁰² Barnard quotes “Vossen (pers. comm.)”. These data were also published: Vossen 1997:240.

²⁰³ Vossen 1997:233 cites Köhler 1962:536f., and speaks about “Differenzierung von Subjekt- und Objektformen durch Ton oder andere morphologische Mittel.” In our observations, subject and object are not distinguished by tone.

²⁰⁴ The forms seem to be related to the “optional accusative case marking” discussed in McGregor 2018, although in Naro, the marking is not restricted to (‘*a*’).

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3.3.10 PGN-8: same cast clause connective

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
a ra a	a tsi a	a si a	a ba a	a sa a	a ia	a ba a ko bòò 'and he is looking'

Table 14: PGN-8 morphs (SG only)

The last two PGN-forms to be discussed are used to connect clauses: the “same cast clause connective” (PGN-8) and the “different cast clause connective” (PGN-9). PGN-8 connects clauses in which the cast (in a discourse) basically remains the same. With this PGN-marker, the subject of the clause is always the same as the subject in the previous clause. The function could therefore have been called “same *subject* clause connection”,²⁰⁵ but the subject can also be the same in the “different cast clause connection”, so the term ‘cast’ is used instead of ‘subject’.²⁰⁶ The system constitutes a kind of “switch reference” system, with the caveat that even though it mainly surfaces in referential (dis)continuity, it may also express temporal or spatial (dis)continuity.²⁰⁷

Most nuclear forms of PGN-8 resemble PGN-3. The only exception is the PGN-marker for ‘=3cSG’, where *i* is used instead of =ne.

Strictly speaking, PGN-8 is not the connective, but is *part* of the connective: it is put in between two *a*’s, e.g., *a =ba a* for ‘=3mSG’, and *a =sa a* for ‘=3fSG’. The *a* could be glossed separately as ‘and’, but the second *a* is difficult to explain as a connection, so the whole construction is rather to be seen as a unit.²⁰⁸ Example:²⁰⁹

- (135) *a =ba a kabise a =ba a hàà a =ba a nxáè*
 =3mSG:8 return =3mSG:8 come =3mSG:8 sing
 ‘and he came back and he came and he sang’

In all three clauses of the example, the subject is the same, and there is no major break between the clauses: the cast remains unchanged, so PGN-8 is used.

²⁰⁵ R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:174, uses this terminology for what is apparently the same phenomenon, which he calls “switch-reference”. By the way, this marking does not occur on the verb as such but on the PGN-marker (that also functions in connectives), so this marking happens differently from what Dixon mentions as “typically on the verb”.

²⁰⁶ See Levinsohn 2017a:31-34 for the use of “cast”. In the “same cast” option, there is usually (a lot of) continuity in time and agent, in a “switch cast” there is at least some discontinuity in these factors.

²⁰⁷ van Gijn 2019:7 also mentions agentivity and reality status (dis)continuity, plus continuance or shift out of a cohesive sequence of events, the last of which may well apply to the Naro system. The first two could not be established as part of the system yet.

²⁰⁸ Strictly speaking, PGN-8 consists only of the nuclear PGN, although it cannot be disconnected from the accompanying *a*’s. In the overview, these PGNs are presented together with *a ... a*. And for brevity, the whole construction will be referred to as PGN-8. The second *a* could also be interpreted as a juncture.

²⁰⁹ Tsilane 12a-c.

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3.3.11 PGN-9: different cast clause connective

1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example 3mSG
ra	tsi	si	me	si	i	me bòò 'but he is looking'

Table 15: PGN-9 morphs (SG only)

PGN-9 is used in the *different cast* clause connection. It consists of a morph that in most cases resembles that of PGN-2 (copular PGN). The only exception is =3cSG, where PGN-9 is *i* again, as in PGN-8.

While PGN-8 is framed between two *a*'s, which relates the construction to the conjunction *a* 'and' and thus seems to make it a merger of a conjunction + PGN, PGN-9 consists of a PGN-marker only. This appears to contradict the fact that PGNs do not start a clause,²¹⁰ which is reason for postulating an additional zero morph to make PGN-9 appear to occur with a conjunction as well. In PGN-9, this original conjunction (if it was ever there) seems to have been deleted, leaving its function as contrastive conjunction. Another option of analysis might be to consider clauses starting with PGN-9 as subordinate clauses, but no structural differences can be pointed out with clauses that start with PGN-8. Therefore, the postulated zero morpheme for PGN-9 is most plausible.

PGN-9 indicates that there is a (smaller or bigger) change or transition between two sentences, in practice recurrently resulting in the introduction of a new paragraph. The most usual transition is that of change in subject. As indicated in the example,²¹¹ the change may lead to a translation with 'but'.

- (136) **Me** ko Q'oa =ba hàà a Qgao=m koe
 =3mSG:9 DUR Hare =3mSG come and Hippo=3mSG LOC
 tcáràku-a=n dtcárà. **Me** Qgao =ba máá....
 friendship-JUNC=3cSG request =3mSG:9 Hippo =3mSG say
- '(But) Hare came and requested friendship from Hippo. But Hippo said...'

PGN-9 may also be used when the subject is the same. In such a case it may be that a new episode is starting, or some other major change is occurring. An example of this is found in Tsilane 2a (straight after the setting²¹²):

- (137) **=Si** c'ee cám̄ ka máá
 =3fSG:9 some day ABL say
 'one day she said'

In comparison with the conjunction *a* 'and', which usually shows a close chronological connection or even simultaneous events, PGN-8 and -9 often indicate at least a slight progress between the described events. See section 3.5.2 for a more detailed discussion.

²¹⁰ See section 3.4.2 for a discussion of the initial slot and constituents that can take that position.

²¹¹ Q'oa 2b-3a.

²¹² In the setting, another participant is mentioned, in a non-subject role. This may be the main reason for using PGN-9 instead of PGN-8 in this case.

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3.3.12 Tonal behaviour of PGNs

Tone on PGNs is dependent on the tone of the preceding element.²¹³ The **basic rule** for tones on PGNs is that the tone is H after a lexical item with tonal melodies MM, ML or LM,²¹⁴ and L after lexical items with tonal melodies HH, HL, LH and LL. The common factor in the first three tonal patterns is that they contain mid tone. Whether the ML tonal melody is called ML or HM²¹⁵ is a matter of interpretation. In this context, a good case could be made for the analysis as HM (in order to ease the rule, which would then be: “PGNs following mid tone are high-toned”). But phonetically speaking this tonal pattern can hardly be called HM. Nakagawa²¹⁶ speaks about /M/-including vs. /M/-lacking pairs.

Tone on PGN-1 follows the basic rule, with the addition that if it follows another PGN (usually PGN-3), the tone is always non-H. Tone on PGN-3, -4 and -5 follows the basic rule.

Tone on PGN-2 and -7 also follows the basic rule, but H tone seems to be lowered to M (and LL is followed by M). Tone on PGN-6 is always L. The following examples show the basic rule with PGN-3.

Examples with MM, LM and ML, resulting in H tone:

- (138) *suu=bá* ‘pot’
- (139) *hii=bá* ‘stick’
- (140) *tcgoà=bá* ‘elephant’

Examples with HH, HL, LL or LH, resulting in L tone:

- (141) *cóá=bà* ‘boy’
- (142) *gúù=bà* ‘thing’
- (143) *ghòè=bà* ‘cow’
- (144) *bòó=bà* ‘axe’

The tonal changes indicated here show that the PGN forms a prosodic unit with the accompanying word. As the tone on PGNs is predictable, it is not normally represented in the orthography, and is done here for the sake of clarity.

²¹³ For Naro, three register tonemes are distinguished: H(igh), M(id) and L(ow), written in the orthography with acute accent (H) and grave accent (L). Seven tonal melodies are established: HH, HL, MM, ML, LH, LM, LL. Cf. also Visser 2013d:98 about Naro tones in general and Visser 1995:70-72 for tones on PGNs.

²¹⁴ The common factor in these tonal patterns is that they contain mid tone. Whether the ML tonal melody is called ML or HM (so Hiroshi Nakagawa 2006:50 et passim for |Gui) is a matter of interpretation. In this context, a good case could be made for the analysis as HM (in order to ease the rule, which would then be: “PGNs following mid tone are high-toned”). But phonetically speaking this tonal pattern can hardly be called HM. Nakagawa speaks about /M/-including vs. /M/-lacking pairs, e.g. Hiroshi Nakagawa 2006:63.

²¹⁵ So Hiroshi Nakagawa 2006:50 et passim for |Gui.

²¹⁶ For example, Hiroshi Nakagawa 2006:63.

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3.3.13 Analysis of PGN-morphs

When we survey the whole array of PGN morphs from an analytical viewpoint, PGN-1 may be considered as the nuclear PGN: the PGNs of the other series are derived from this (if they are not identical with it).

PGN-2 contains the (nuclear) PGN accompanied by a copula particle (which is not part of the PGN). It is unclear why the PGN in 3SG received a (probably) underlying vowel *-i* (e.g. *=me* ‘=3mSG:2’ from *=m* ‘=3mSG:1’, *=si* ‘=3fSG:2’ from *=s* ‘=3fSG:1’).²¹⁷

PGN-3 has the additional formative element *-a*²¹⁸ in *=ra* ‘1SG’, *=ba* ‘=3mSG’²¹⁹ and *=sa* ‘=3fSG’ (but it shows up in none of the other PGNs) and surfaces as *=ne* in =3cSG.

PGN-4 is the nuclear PGN-1, with the caveat that it is elided in =3cSG.²²⁰

PGN-5 is also the nuclear PGN, heading a pronominalisation of *ga-* [xa-]. Only 1SG and 2SG are affected morphophonologically instead of the pronominalisation with *ga-* [xa-]. This construction serves all lexically specified NPs that serve as possessives or adverbial clauses.

PGN-6 follows the PGN-3 pattern (but consistently with low tone), except for 1SG where *=tè* is used instead of the expected *=ra*.

PGN-7 is the nuclear PGN where a latent *-i* emerges in the singular.²²¹

PGN-8 (with *a ... a*, which may well be correlated with the conjunction *a* ‘and’) mainly contains the PGN-3 morph (with the additional *-a* in *=ba* ‘=3mSG’ and *=sa* ‘=3fSG’), but in =3cSG uses the nuclear PGN *i*.

PGN-9 appears to be based on PGN-2, except again for =3cSG *i*.

The differences presented are quite limited, but on the basis of the SG morphs (esp. =3mSG and =1SG),²²² and on the basis of their uses in different syntactic environments, it is justified to distinguish several series (1-9) of PGNs in Naro. We might speak of distribution of usage of PGNs.

There is no nominative-oblique polarity that shows up in the PGNs of lexically specified NPs, and no consistent additions to the nuclear PGN-forms are found,²²³ but it does present

²¹⁷ Cf. footnote 221. Güldemann 2004 assumes that *-i* rather than *-a* is part of Proto-Kalahari-Khoe (for example, see Table 22). Cf. footnote 221.

²¹⁸ Perhaps this *-a* is a cognate of *-a* in KKG which occurs as an addition to the nominal phrase and is called oblique marker, cf. footnote 138. As such it would be considered as an addition to the PGN, not part of it. It may originally have been a stative marker, perhaps related to *-a* ‘PF’ which is still used in Naro. But we also find the occurrence of *-a* in presentative statements and *-a* for expressing emphasis (in NPs before the PGN). These uses come closer to a possible origin of *-a* in PGN-3. It occurs in that function with all PGNs, not only with 1SG and 3SG.

²¹⁹ Affected by a morphophonological change: *=m* ‘=3mSG:1’ became *=ba* ‘=3mSG:3’.

²²⁰ This might possibly indicate a diachronic process of PGN-loss.

²²¹ Like in KKG and other Khoe languages. As in KKG, this is a nuclear form, indicating the object function (as such, it contrasts with the subjective PGN-1 marker). Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2013c:72f. for *-i* in Naro and some other languages.

²²² In DU and PL, the differences between the series are restricted to some tone differences.

²²³ If the PGN-system consisted of =3mSG alone, one could perhaps move towards a 3-way distinction (=ba, =m and =me?), but even these three “basic forms” would be difficult to categorise.

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itself in some pronominal forms like PGN-7 in 1SG (=*te*) and 3SG (=*me*, =*si*), indicating dative/accusative pronominal forms. These few forms do point to a case system, although it plays a very modest role in the grammar of Naro.²²⁴

It is not impossible to speak of vocative as a separate case (consisting in the addition of –*è* to the PGN). A genitive could perhaps also be identified, consisting of the addition *di* ‘POSS’, but this “genitive” does not play a syntactic role on a level higher than between NPs, and it would yield a host of other “cases”, because formally, postpositions²²⁵ are used in constructions with the very same structure, namely “noun + PGN-5 + postposition”.²²⁶

The PGN-system factually only shows person, gender and number information, and only in a very limited way (in 1SG and 3SG) does it indicate some syntactic relations. Elements which are *added* to the PGN indicate case or some other grammatical function.

3.4 Syntactic notes about PGNs

It was unavoidable that notes on syntax would already have been made in the morphological section. For example, PGN-1 is used for indicating the subject and follows the initial slot, PGN-2 is used in copular sentences, PGN-3 is only used with lexical specification and occurs phrase-finally, PGN-7 is used for (indirect) objects without lexical specification, PGN-8 and PGN-9 are used in connective constructions.

In this section, it will be indicated whether and how the different PGN-morphs relate to phrases and clauses (3.4.1). Then, syntactic constraints will be presented (3.4.2). In (3.4.3) special attention will be given to the role of PGNs in indicating the subject in clauses with marked order. PGNs in some other morphosyntactic contexts like questions (3.4.4) and negative statements (3.4.5) will finally be looked into.

3.4.1 Relationship of PGN with phrase and clause

PGN-morphs in the different series indicate relationships on different levels: interclausal, interphrasal and intraphrasal. PGN-8 and -9 mark *interclausal* relationships: they form part of connectives, and as such they connect clauses. PGN-8 marks a connection between clauses that present a continuation in cast, while PGN-9 identifies a change in cast between clauses.²²⁷

²²⁴ Also see the discussion in 3.6.2. For a possible case system in KKG, cf. Wilfrid H. G. Haacke 1976:271.

²²⁵ E.g. *ka* ‘by’ (ablative?), *cgoa* ‘with’ (comitative?), *qāá q'oo koe* ‘after’ (kind of temporal), and different “locatives”: *kg'ai* ‘at’, *koe* ‘at, in’, *za* ‘in, at’, *q'oo koe* ‘in’, *qāá koe* ‘behind’, *qāé* ‘near’, *q'óá* ‘opposite’, *xg'aeku* ‘between’.

²²⁶ Besides, these “cases” would not change the noun as such, but only the PGN-marker. However, even though traditionally this argument plays a role, this is not a condition for an element to be a case marker (cf. Payne 1997:101).

²²⁷ Being analysed as *part of* the conjunction, PGN-8 and -9 strictly speaking do not function on an interclausal level, although one needs to assume a zero morpheme that is connected to PGN-9 in order to yield this analysis, cf. 3.3.10. But formally speaking, PGN-9 does function on interclausal level.

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PGN-1, -2 and -7 mark *interphrasal* relationships: of one phrase to the other phrases in a sentence. PGN-1 indicates an NP as subject: this NP may either be a non-lexically specified subject, or a displaced lexically specified subject NP with which PGN-1 agrees in person, gender and number. PGN-2 indicates the relationship of a subject to a complement in a copular clause. PGN-7 marks a non-lexically specified NP as object.

PGN-3 has a double function. On the one hand, it marks the end of an NP with LS and can thus partly be viewed as having an *intraphrasal* function. But as it marks the end of the NP, it also relates with other phrases, so it mainly functions on an *interphrasal* level.

PGN-4, -5 and -6 mark *intraphrasal* relationships: they indicate the status of the preceding element in the phrase. PGN-4 marks the preceding element as agreeing with the other elements of an NP. PGN-5 indicates the presence of a possessive or postposition that follows.²²⁸ PGN-6 marks the possessor in an associative NP.²²⁹

Morphemes that may follow on the final PGN of a lexically specified NP are postpositions for adverbial clauses and agents, vocative *-e*, and *di* for possessive NPs (but *di* only functions within a larger NP, showing the relationship of possessee to possessor). The morphophonological changes which these additions may cause are described in 3.3.

3.4.2 Syntactic constraints

In Naro sentences, there is a great deal of flexibility in terms of the positioning of constituents.²³⁰ There are some syntactic constraints, however.

1. A grammatical formative (viz. PGN²³¹ and TAM²³²) cannot start a sentence.²³³ As PGNs are clitics, this is to be expected.

(145)	* =m	ko	bóð ²³⁴
	=3mSG	DUR	look

(146)	*	ko	bóð=m
		DUR	look=3mSG

2. The initial slot (represented by Δ) of a Naro sentence has to be filled by a constituent with a lexical head – for example, a noun, a verb, an adverb(ial clause) or a conjunction.

²²⁸ In the case of *di* ‘POSS’, the NP will continue (so the function of *di* is *intraphrasal*, like the PGN). A postposition like *cgoa* ‘with’, *ka* ‘by, with regard to, at, etc.’ and *koe* ‘in, at’ marks an *interphrasal* relationship, but the PGN still marks the *intraphrasal* relationship, cf. also 3.3.7.

²²⁹ Such an NP partly concerns an *interphrasal* relationship, as possessor and possessee each make up an NP. But they also form a larger NP together, and within that NP the relationship is *intraphrasal*.

²³⁰ Visser 2013c:379. See that publication also for a broader discussion of Naro syntax.

²³¹ PGN-8 and -9 are always found in the initial slot, though. They are therefore analysed as being a *part of a conjunction*, which may start a clause, see 3.3.10.

²³² The elements *ncāa* ‘just now, earlier today or yesterday’, *thuu* ‘earlier (usually not much longer than a week)’ and *xg’ao* ‘remote past’ are adverbs, not TAMs, and can fill the initial slot.

²³³ As in KKG, see W.H.G. Haacke 2006:107 and W.H.G. Haacke 2010:205. The conclusions of Letsholo & Mogara 2016:16 confirm this as well.

²³⁴ The grammatical version of (145) and (146) is found in (147).

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The initial slot may also be filled by a clause:

- (149) [*tcii* =*me*] [= *m* *hàà*]
 call =3mSG;7 =3mSG;1 come
 [main clause] [subordinate clause]
 ‘call him (so that) he comes’.

[main clause] [subord.]

In (149) and (150), the main clause (command clause) is filling the initial slot, which

3. In a sentence with primary arguments that are *not lexically specified*, the order is always VOS.²³⁵ The order of such constituents also has a function in distinguishing direct and indirect object. Both are represented by PGN-7, but if two PGN-7's follow each other, the first one refers to an indirect object.

V	(IO)	(O)	S	TAM
verb	PGN-7	PGN-7	PGN-1	TAM

Example of verb with subject and object:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----------------|-----|--------------------|
| (151) | bóò | =si=m | ko | 'he is seeing her' |
| | see | =3fSG:7=3mSG:1 | DUR | |
| | V | S | TAM | |

Example of verb with subject, direct object and indirect object:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| (152) <i>máà =tsi</i> | <i>=si=r</i> | <i>ko</i> | 'I am giving it to you' |
| give =2mSG:7 | =3fSG:7=1SG:1 | DUR | |
| V IO | O S | TAM | |

4. When the durative marker *ko* or the future tense marker *gha* [ga] occurs in the sentence, this TAM is placed after PGN-1,²³⁶ see examples (147) - (152).

²³⁵ W.H.G. Haacke 2006:112 takes the position of the predicate/VP as being held by the TAM, irrespective of the verb, which would yield an OSV structure, as in (151).

²³⁶ Cf. Güldemann et al. 2018, discussing the existence of “Clause-second Particles” (see title, et passim) in several languages in the Kalahari Basin.

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5. The unmarked order of sentences with all primary arguments *lexically specified* is SOV.²³⁷ By default, therefore, the initial slot is filled by the LS subject:

S_{LS} (with PGN-3)	TAM	O_{LS} (with PGN-3)	V	
(153) [cóá =ba]	ko	[piri =zi]	bóó	'the boy is seeing the goats'
[child =3mSG:3]	DUR	[goat =3fPL:3]	see	
S	TAM	O	V	

PGNs ending lexically specified NPs are of type PGN-3.

6. If the lexically specified subject NP is moved from its default position in the initial slot, its corresponding PGN-1 appears after the initial slot, in the Wackernagel position.²³⁸ As a sentence cannot commence with a grammatical formative like PGN-1, the sentence must be restructured:

(154)	*Δ [=m]	ko	[piri =zi]	bóó
	=3mSG:1	DUR	goat =3fPL:3	see
Δ	S_{PGN}	TAM	O	V

It needs to be filled by one of the other lexical constituents; in this case either the verb (155) or the object (156):

(155)	bóó=m	ko	[piri =zi]	'he is seeing the goats'
	see =3mSG:3	DUR	[goat =3fPL:3]	
	V	S_{PGN}	TAM	O
	Δ			
(156)	[piri =zi]=m	ko	bóó	'he is seeing the goats '
	[goat =3fPL:3]=3mSG:3	DUR	see	
	O	S_{PGN}	TAM	V
	Δ			

7. The initial slot is the primary focus slot:²³⁹ it is occupied by focused constituents.²⁴⁰ The following sentences give the best answers to the question stated, showing that the information sought is put in the initial slot.

Answer to “what is the boy seeing?”²⁴¹

²³⁷ W.H.G. Haacke 2006:125 defends that KKG (and “presumably (...) other Central KhoeSan languages (...) as well” are SVO languages. Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2010:212. In our analysis, the position of the VP is taken by the verb, yielding the SOV order. Cf. R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:74f. about the marginal interest for basic linguistic theory of word order typologies.

²³⁸ According to *Wackernagel's* law, certain unstressed enclitic sentential particles are placed in syntactic second position, cf. *Jacob Wackernagel* n.d..

²³⁹ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2006:214, and Güldemann 2006:119: “One salient function of the prefield is to host pragmatically sensitive constituents such as contrastive or assertive foci, topics and subject topics”.

²⁴⁰ Letsholo & Mogara 2016 have adequately shown this. Also see W.H.G. Haacke 2010:224.

²⁴¹ Even the question word itself is usually found in the initial slot of *wh*-questions.

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(157) <i>piri =zi=m</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>cóá =ba</i>	<i>bóò</i>	‘the boy is seeing the goats’
goat=3fPL=3mSG:1	DUR	child =3mSG	see	
O _{LS}	S _{PGN}	TAM	S _{LS}	V

Answer to “what is the boy doing?”

(158) <i>bóò=m</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>cóá =ba</i>	<i>piri =zi</i>	‘the boy is seeing the goats’
see=3mSG:1	DUR	child 3mSG	goat 3fPL	
V	S _{PGN}	TAM	S _{LS}	O _{LS}

Answer to “who is seeing the goats?”

(159) <i>cóá =ba</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>piri =zi</i>	<i>bóò</i>	‘the boy is seeing the goats’
child =3mSG	DUR	goat 3fPL	see	
S _{LS}	TAM	O _{LS}	V	

The usual strategy to focalise a constituent is therefore by fronting it into the initial slot.

3.4.3 Role of PGN-1 in the order of constituents

PGN-1 plays an important role in the flexibility of the order of constituents.²⁴² As indicated, the order of constituents normally indicates subject and object. The presence of a PGN-1 marker in a sentence indicates that the lexical specification of the subject is either dislocated or absent. PGN-1 thus plays a crucial role in identifying the subject in clauses with a non-LS or dislocated subject. In sentence (160), the *order* of constituents (together with the absence of PGN-1) indicates the subject: the unmarked order is SOV, so the first NP (*cóá ba* ‘boy’) is the subject in this case.

(160) [<i>cóá =ba</i>]	<i>ko</i>	[<i>piri =zi</i>]	<i>bóò</i>	‘the boy is seeing the goats’
boy	DUR	goats	see	
S _{LS}	TAM	O _{LS}	V	

To make the *goats* subject instead of object, the default option will be to put them in initial position, as in (161):

(161) [<i>piri =zi</i>]	<i>ko</i>	[<i>cóá =ba</i>]	<i>bóò</i>	‘the goats are seeing the boy’
goats	DUR	boy	see	
S _{LS}	TAM	O _{LS}	V	

Another option to make the goats subject of (160) is to add the PGN-1 of “goats” to the sentence, as in (162):

(162) [<i>cóá =ba</i>]	<i>=zi</i>	<i>ko</i>	[<i>piri =zi</i>]	<i>bóò</i>	‘the goats are seeing the boy ’
boy	=3fPL:1	DUR	goats	see	
O _{LS}	S _{PGN}	TAM	S _{LS}	V	

²⁴² Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2006:108: “The subject-PGN is the peg around which Khoekhoe syntax is structured grammatically.”

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The presence of PGN-1 *zi* ‘3fPL’ indicates that a lexically specified subject is not in its default position (in the initial slot), in this case *piri zi* ‘goats’. Instead of *piri zi* ‘goats’, the object *cóá ba* ‘boy’ is found in the initial slot, so this constituent must be in focus.

The mechanism in Naro to make clear that the boy is still the subject is *to have the PGN-1-marker*. The PGN-1-marker is the only difference between (160) and (162). The presence of PGN-marker =*zi* (indicating the subject) indicates that the LS subject is either absent or dislocated, so that *cóá =ba* cannot be the subject and must thus be the object. The presence of the PGN-1-marker thus has an important function.

If two lexically specified NPs with the same PGN parameters (e.g. both =3mSG) were to follow PGN-1, the subject of the sentence would become ambiguous:

- (163) *bóò=m ko [cóá =ba] [piri=ba]*
 see=3mSG:1 DUR boy goat
 ‘the goat is seeing the boy’ or ‘the boy is seeing the goat’

The first option would be to consider the first SLS to be the subject, as the dislocated subject normally goes into the first slot available in the predicate.

3.4.4 PGNs with interrogatives

PGN-markers may be followed by –à, depending on whether a clause is declarative or interrogative. A question is usually indicated by the addition of (low-toned, not indicated in the orthography) –à to the subject PGN-marker (1, 2 or 3). The presence of this –à ‘INT’ may impact on the form of the PGN-markers.²⁴³ The main morphophonological change occurs in the 3rd person singular masculine: -*m* plus *a* becomes =*bà*.²⁴⁴ The dual and plural forms just add –à to the PGN-marker in questions. Table 16 presents an overview of how –*a* influences the PGN-1-marker:

	1	2m	2f	3m	3f	3c	example (3mSG)
in statement	- <i>r</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	- <i>m</i>	- <i>s</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>bóòm ko</i> ‘he is looking’
in question	<i>rà</i>	<i>tsià</i>	<i>sià</i>	<i>bà</i>	<i>sà</i>	<i>ià</i>	<i>bóò bà ko</i> ‘is he looking?’

Table 16: PGN-1 in statement and question (SG only)

Example:

- (164) *qôò=m ko* ‘he is going’
 go=3mSG:1 DUR

²⁴³ So it is not (an additional form of) the PGN that changes a statement into a question, but the presence of an added –*a* (with its morphophonological consequences).

²⁴⁴ This probably has to do with retention of syllable/mora structure: *-mb is not allowed in Naro. If a vowel (-*a*) provides a syllable peak, the *m* is deleted as redundant; if there is no additional mora, *m* provides a syllable peak and *b* is elided.

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- (165) *qõò =ba* *ko* ‘is he going?’
 go =3mSG:INT DUR

For 1SG, both the morph *-r* and *ra* may be used in statements. The only difference between a statement and a question in such cases is a difference in tone. In a question, tone on the PGN seems to be on the same level as the tone on *ko*, while in statements, tone on the PGN is higher than in a question. (This needs further research.)

- (166) *qõò =ra* *ko* ‘am I going?’
 go =1SG DUR
- (167) *qõò =rá* *ko* ‘I am going’
 go =1SG DUR

Table 17 presents the changes induced by a question in the case of PGN-2 and PGN-3:

		1SG	2mSG	2fSG	3mSG	3fSG	3cSG	example
in statement	PGN-2	<i>ra (a)</i>	<i>tsi (i)</i>	<i>si (i)</i>	<i>me (e)</i>	<i>si (i)</i>	(V)	<i>qãè me e</i> ‘he is good’
in statement	PGN-3	<i>ra</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>qãè ba</i> ‘a good one’
in question	PGN-2/3	<i>raà</i>	<i>tsià</i>	<i>sià</i>	<i>baà</i>	<i>saà</i>	(V) <i>à / neà</i>	<i>qãè baà</i> ‘is he good?’

Table 17: PGN-2 and -3 in statement and question (SG only)

Examples:

- (168) *qãè =ra* *a* ‘I am good’
 good 1SG:2 COP
- (169) *qãè =ra-a*²⁴⁵ ‘am I good?’
 good 1SG:2-INT
- (170) *qãè =me* *e* ‘he is good’
 good =3mSG:2 COP
- (171) *qãè =ba-a* ‘is he good?’
 good =3mSG:2-INT
- (172) *qãè=m* *khóè =me* *e* ‘he is a good person/man’
 good=3mSG:4 person =3mSG:2 COP
- (173) *qãè=m* *khóè =ba-a* ‘is he a good person/man?’
 good=3mSG:4 person =3mSG:2-INT
- (174) *qãè Ø e* ‘it is good’
 good =3cSG:2 COP
- (175) *qãè Ø e-a* ‘is it good?’
 good =3cSG:2 COP-INT

²⁴⁵ The *a* in (168) is pronounced with a glottal stop, so the difference is very clear.

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3.4.5 PGNs with negation

In negative statements, PGNs may also be followed by (low-toned) *-à*, in combination with the NEG marker *tama* ‘not’.

In a negated indicative statement (like the negation of (164) in (176)), PGN-1 is used with *-à* (which is tentatively interpreted as intensifier):

- (176) *qōò tama =ba-à* ‘he is not going’
go NEG =3mSG:3-INTENS

- (177) *qōò tama =tsi-à* ‘you are not going’
go NEG =2mSG:3-INTENS

In the negated future however (with *tite* ‘NEG.FUT’), *-a* is not used:

- (178) *qōò=m tite* ‘he will not go’
go=3mSG:1 NEG.FUT

PGNs may indicate fine differences in nuance. In a negated predicative sentence, PGN-3 may be used with *-a*:

- (179) *qāè =tsi i* ‘you are good’
good 2mSG:2 V

- (180) *qāè tama =tsi-à* ‘you are not good’
good NEG 2mSG:3-INTENS

However, the same sentence may also be negated with PGN-4 (and without *-a*), yielding a nominal meaning:²⁴⁶

- (181) *qāè =tsi tama =tsi i* ‘you are not a good one’
good =2mSG:4 NEG =2mSG:2 COP

- (182) *qāè=m tama =me e* ‘he is not a good one’
good=3mSG:4 NEG =3mSG:2 COP

Negated interrogatives are constructed like negated indicatives, but probably²⁴⁷ with high tone on the PGN:

- (183) *qōò tama =tsi-à* ‘are you not going?’
go NEG =2mSG:3-INT

²⁴⁶ According to Saul (p.c. 28-11-19), sentence (180) may refer to a person's character or behaviour, where he is seen personally as a bad person. Or it could be in his appearance that he is not appealing. Thirdly, it could be that he is unwell or medically unfit health wise.

²⁴⁷ This needs further research.

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3.5 Functions of PGNs in discourse

As Naro makes extensive use of PGN-markers, it is to be expected that this will have an impact on discourse matters. The obvious area to be mentioned is participant reference (3.5.1), after which we will look into PGNs functioning in connectives (3.5.2).

3.5.1 Participant reference

To *introduce* a participant,²⁴⁸ a lexically specified NP is used, practically always²⁴⁹ consisting of a noun plus its accompanying PGN-marker. Example:

- (184) *xg'ao=s khóè =sa hàna*
REMPST=3fSG person =3fSG be
'once there was a woman'

For *further* reference, Naro has different options.

- a) A *zero* form may be used. In subsequent clauses, Naro very often does *not* mention the subject at all. Example:²⁵⁰

- (185) *[a=ba a síí qàe-qae Qgao=ba] [a =Ø máá]*
=3mSG:8 go fool Hippo and =Ø say
[clause with explicit subject] [subsequent clause with zero form]
'[and he went to fool Hippo], [and Ø said]'

- b) The *same cast* clause connective (with PGN-8) can be used. This same cast clause connective is the unmarked way for further referring to participants in a subject role. Example:²⁵¹

- (186) *[a=ba a máá: "..." téme] [a=ba a síí qàe-qae Qgao=ba]*
=3mSG:8 say (quote) QUOT [=3mSG:8 go fool Hippo]
'[and he said "..."], [and he went to fool Hippo]'

- c) The *different cast* clause connective (with PGN-9) may be used. Example:²⁵²

- (187) *[a síí qàe-qae Tcgoà=ba] [a máá "..." téme] [me qõò]*
and go fool Elephant and say (quote) QUOT =3mSG:9 go
'[and he went to fool Elephant] [and said] [and/but he went]'

²⁴⁸ Participants are “characters which play some kind of active role in the story”, Nicolle 2017:22. Also see 9.2 for more on participant reference.

²⁴⁹ Theoretically speaking, it is possible to introduce a participant in alternative ways, like with a relative clause (e.g. “the one we are looking for”).

²⁵⁰ Q'oa 11ab.

²⁵¹ Q'oa 11ab.

²⁵² Q'oa 12a.

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In the context, Hare (the subject) fools Hippo and Elephant by telling them to hold a rope which they must pull. In the example, Hare has just told Hippo and Elephant to hold the rope. When *me* ‘3mSG’ (still referring to Hare as subject) is used, Hare is at the point of starting the contest by whistling, which makes a transition to a new phase (or cast) in the story. This PGN-9 form is the unmarked way for referring to a participant when a switch is made to another participant. In the case where the subject does not change, however, as in this example, use of this form marks another change in cast; cf. 3.3.11.

- d) The noun can be used on its own (so marked by the *absence* of a PGN-marker).²⁵³
Example:²⁵⁴

(188)	<i>Eē=m</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>Q'ōa=Ø</i>	<i>xāó</i>	<i>ka</i>
	when=3mSG:1	DUR	Hare Ø	whistle	IRR
‘when Hare was whistling’					

It still needs more study to find out exactly what the significance is of the presence of an NP without its usual PGN-marker.

- e) Only a PGN-marker can be used. This can be done in different ways:

- i. a subject form can be used: either the subjectival PGN-1 (189),²⁵⁵ or the copular PGN-2 (190)²⁵⁶:

(189)	<i>(ne)=s</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>hāà</i>	‘(then) she was coming’
	(then)=3fSG:1	DUR	come	

(190)	<i>qāè</i>	<i>=tsi</i>	<i>khōè</i>	<i>=tsi</i>	<i>i</i>
	good	=2mSG:4	person	=2mSG:2	V
‘you are a good person’ (PGN-4 is also used, agreeing with the PGN-2 marker)					

- ii. an object form (PGN-7) can be used, e.g.²⁵⁷

(191)	<i>ta=m</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>bīrī</i>	<i>=me</i>	<i>Qgao-a</i>
	thus=3mSG:1	how	tell	=3mSG:7Hippo- <i>a</i> ²⁵⁸	
‘thus Hippo told him ’					

These three uses are grammatically conditioned, but the speaker always has the option of modifying the text in such a way that another of the three PGN types (subjectival, copular, objectival) is used.

²⁵³ So the PGN is not obligatory, as Fehn & Phiri 2018:107 and Letsholo & Mogara 2016:7 claim for Naro. Not having the PGN is unusual though, so as a rule, one will find PGNs being used in elicited sentences.

²⁵⁴ Q'oa 13a.

²⁵⁵ Tsilane 5b.

²⁵⁶ Q'oa 15c.

²⁵⁷ Q'oa 6n.

²⁵⁸ It is not clear how to interpret this *-a*. It seems to be used as a short form of *ba*.

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f) A pronominalised DC-marker (DEF + PGN-3) can be used.²⁵⁹

- (192) *Me ga=ba qgóé a dibi*
 =3mSG:9 DEF=3mSG:3 run and go back
 ‘but **he** ran and went back’

g) The full NP can be used again, e.g.²⁶⁰

- (193) *Me ko Q'oa =ba máá*
 =3mSG:9 DUR Hare =3mSG say

‘And **Hare** said’.

This is a highly marked²⁶¹ use, giving prominence to the participant. It may be used for re-introduction of a participant.²⁶² Hare is brought forward as the central character in the story.

3.5.2 Connectives

PGN-8 and PGN-9 clause connection forms do not only have a function in participant reference (and as connectives), but these PGN-forms also play an important role in indicating whether the cast is the same or different.

The clause connective with PGN-8 is found very often and indicates a continuation in cast. Its use may be contrasted with the connective *a* ‘and’, possibly²⁶³ the default way of coordinating clauses to describe successive events performed by the same subject.

The connective *a* ‘and’ is used for close chronological connection:

- (194) {*Me ko [Q'oa =ba] hàà}*} {*a [Qgao=m koe]*} *tcáràku-a=n dtcàrà*
 =3mSG:9 DUR Hare come and at Hippo friendship request
 ‘{and Hare came} {and requested friendship from Hippo}²⁶⁴

It may indicate simultaneous events:

- (195) {[*ntcùú-a=n q'oo koe*] [*xàì-a ntcõe*] } {*a ko kóm*}
 in darkness hide-JUNC sit and DUR listen
 ‘{(he) sat, hiding in darkness} {and was listening}²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ Example from T. C. Morris 2000. It was not possible to find an example of pronominal DC-marker being used without a connective PGN.

²⁶⁰ Q'oa 4a.

²⁶¹ This being “marked” refers to its use in *discourse*. Morphologically speaking, the full NP (so with PGN) is the *unmarked* form.

²⁶² Cf. 9.2.1.

²⁶³ A count in different texts reveals about the same frequency of *a* ‘and’ and the construction with PGN-8, so that it is difficult to say which of the two is the default one.

²⁶⁴ Q'oa 2b-3a.

²⁶⁵ Tama 12cd.

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As such, it may introduce the performative verb (e.g. *máá* ‘to say’), which may also be interpreted as a simultaneous event, including possible restatement and/or amplification (here indicated by the participle in English):

- (196) {*a*=*ba a* *síí* *qàe-qae* [Qgao=*ba*] } {*a* *máád*}
=3mSG:8 go fool Hippo *a* say
{he went to fool hippo} {say^{ing}}²⁶⁶

It regularly occurs in a series of verb repetition, indicating intensity:

- (197) {*tsara* *kò* [Qgao-*a* =*tsara Tcgoa-a* =*tsara*] *tshoa-tshoa*} {*a* *xhàiku*} {*a* *xhàiku*}
2mDU PST Hippo and Elephant begin and pull and pull
{hippo and elephant started} {and pulled} {and pulled}²⁶⁷

PGN-8 is used in similar circumstances, but usually a slightly less tight chronological connection is found in comparison with *a*. In other words, PGN-8 may slightly slow down the continuation of events, see example (135).

PGN-9 is used in contexts where a switch is indicated: usually a switch in subject alone, otherwise one in the broader cast. PGN-9 may therefore be used in contexts with a countering relation (in other languages, ‘but’ may be used). See examples (136) and (137).

3.6 PGNs: terminology

In this section, some terminological issues will be dealt with. We will first discuss whether PGNs are clitics or suffixes (3.6.1). Secondly, the nature of the PGN will be discussed: is it a pronoun, an article, a case marker, or a noun class marker? (3.6.2) Thirdly, section (3.6.3) will look into the question as to where PGNs should be treated in a grammatical description.

3.6.1 Clitics or suffixes?

Linguists have been discussing whether PGNs should be seen as *clitics* or as *suffixes*.²⁶⁸ Following Crystal, we define a clitic as “a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being phonologically dependent”²⁶⁹ (e.g. I’m, he’s; articles in English are sometimes referred to as clitics), while a suffix is “an affix which is added following a root or stem”²⁷⁰ (e.g. -ize, -tion, -ed, -ing). The main difference is whether

²⁶⁶ Q’oa 11ab.

²⁶⁷ Q’oa 13b-d.

²⁶⁸ Haacke observes that “[t]he pivotal differences in treatment usually arise on whether the person-gender-number markers (PGN) are considered to be suffixes or (clitical) pronouns.” (W.H.G. Haacke 2010:201). See 3.6.2 for more elaboration on this.

²⁶⁹ Crystal 2011, s.v. clitic.

²⁷⁰ Crystal 2011, s.v. suffix.

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a morpheme can be seen as a separate grammatical²⁷¹ word. If so, the term *clitic* is to be used rather than *suffix*. Haacke,²⁷² and Kari and Mogara²⁷³ follow this line.

Hagman,²⁷⁴ Vossen,²⁷⁵ Kagaya,²⁷⁶ Kilian-Hatz and Heine²⁷⁷ however use the term *suffix*.²⁷⁸ Doing this does not need to be a problem as such, as PGNs can be “added following a root or stem”,²⁷⁹ so in this sense they fit the definition given by Crystal. But as the examples in Crystal (-ize, -tion, -ed, -ing) show, suffixes are all added to a root or stem and *cannot* be seen as a separate word. As in Naro, PGNs may be seen as separate words (even though they are dependent on a preceding element as host), the term *clitic* is more appropriate than *suffix*. They are called *enclitics* because they depend upon a preceding word.²⁸⁰

3.6.2 Nature of the PGN

Due to the complex nature of PGNs, in the course of time different analyses have been given of PGNs and their relation to other elements, leading to the use of different terminology. In this section, several analyses about their nature will be briefly discussed.

Pronouns?

For KKG, Haacke considers the PGN to be the “true pronoun”²⁸¹ but wants to avoid the term pronoun “because of the confusion in the literature”.²⁸² At first, he used the term *nominal designant*²⁸³ for PGNs, which focused more on its function, but since around 2000 he prefers to use the more general term PGN.²⁸⁴ Kilian-Hatz and Heine take a similar position: “pgn's do not only resemble personal pronouns, rather they *are* personal pronouns in some of their uses.”²⁸⁵ It is important to notice the qualification “in some of their uses”,

²⁷¹ R. M. W Dixon 2014b:20: the term clitic is “typically used of something which is a grammatical word, but not a phonological word in its own right.”

²⁷² W.H.G. Haacke 1978:16: the PGN is “traditionally misinterpreted as a suffix” – (but) “is a clitic formative.”

²⁷³ Mogara 2014 sometimes talked about suffixes (e.g. on p. 3), but otherwise about clitics (e.g. on p. 5). In 2016, she came to the conclusion that they are clitics, taking as a crucial argument the separability of PGNs from the NPs they co-reference: Kari & Mogara 2016:139 et passim. Cf. also Kari 2017 (esp. 121).

²⁷⁴ Hagman 1977:41ff.: “pgn suffix”.

²⁷⁵ Distinguishing between a “Vollform” (referring to a “pronominal base plus suffix”) and a “Kurzform” (the PGN-suffix on its own), see Vossen 1997:232. Cf. Vossen 1986:375: “number-gender suffixes”.

²⁷⁶ Kagaya 1978:49.

²⁷⁷ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:86f.: “[Haacke's claim is] hard to substantiate if applied to Kxoe”.

²⁷⁸ Some researchers use both terms, e.g. Vossen & Schladt 2013:169: “enclitics (“suffixes”)”.

²⁷⁹ Crystal 2011, s.v. suffix.

²⁸⁰ Crystal 2011, s.v. clitic. Cf. Fehn 2014:63.

²⁸¹ W.H.G. Haacke 2010:209.

²⁸² W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141. In this contribution, he does not even have a section “pronouns”.

²⁸³ W.H.G. Haacke 1977:43.

²⁸⁴ Cf. W.H.G. Haacke 2010:209 “PGN (called *nominal designant* in my earlier writings)”.

²⁸⁵ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:81f. Cf. also Meinhof 1969:32ff. who speaks about PGNs as “Pronominalstämme”. But others call the preceding *lexeme* “Pronominalstamm” (e.g. Planert 1900:9f.), which shows the confusion.

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as the use of PGNs as concord markers (PGN-4) for example shows that not all uses of PGNs correspond with calling them pronouns. They talk about “functions of pgn's as nominal suffixes, more precisely of personal pronouns used as nominal specifiers.”²⁸⁶

Of the nine PGN-series identified for Naro, PGN-1 and -7 most resemble the use of pronouns, followed by PGN-2, -5, -6, -8 and -9. It would be awkward however to call PGNs pronouns, especially if they are used together with nouns: why should an item which can be used to substitute a noun (which is typical for a pronoun²⁸⁷) be used not *instead of* the noun but *together with* the noun? Even though some uses of the PGNs resemble those of pronouns, this does not justify calling all PGNs pronouns.

Articles?

Fehn seems to support the view that (at least for Ts'ixa) PGNs are *articles*: PGNs are “not pronouns or obligatory noun class markers but specific articles”.²⁸⁸ However, even though PGNs (in Naro) can sometimes be *translated* as articles, more often they will *not* be translated as such. For example, PGNs used to indicate concord (PGN-4) do not function as articles. The function of PGN-3 comes closest to that of “article”, but the functions of PGNs are much broader than those of articles alone.²⁸⁹

Noun class marker?

We have already seen (3.2.1) that PGNs form part of a noun class system, called gender system in this work, following traditional terminology as the term PGN (with “G” for gender) was already coined. In that sense, PGNs can be seen as noun class markers. As analysed above, three genders or classes are distinguished for Naro: “masculine”, “feminine” and “neuter/common”. Natural gender is applied to animates, whereas inanimates are assigned gender according to extralinguistic criteria such as shape/size. Köhler²⁹⁰ already suggested establishing noun classes for Kxoe, and Widlock²⁹¹ also mentions classes.

There are differences between noun classes and PGNs, however. Vossen²⁹² questions the analysis as noun classes, because in several Khoe languages PGNs are not used obligatorily,²⁹³ if they occur at all. For Naro, this argument hardly counts because nearly every occurrence of nouns happens with PGNs.

Another objection by Vossen is the fact that nearly every noun may take on any gender, dependent on the desired meaning. And indeed, in contrast to many European languages

²⁸⁶ Kilian-Hatz & Heine 1997:85.

²⁸⁷ Crystal 2011, s.v. pronoun.

²⁸⁸ Fehn 2014:59. See section 3.2.3 above for a discussion of specificity.

²⁸⁹ See footnote 68 for an argument against viewing PGNs as articles relating to definiteness.

²⁹⁰ Köhler 1981:508.

²⁹¹ Widlock 2013:158.

²⁹² Vossen 1997:162.

²⁹³ In Naro, PGNs are not really obligatory, although their absence is very uncommon, see above, 3.3.5.1. Cf. also Vossen & Schladt 2013:172 for the Kxoe subgroup.

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for example, Naro nouns are not categorised as if they belonged to only one class.²⁹⁴ The noun class information of a noun is dependent on the qualities that speakers ascribe to it, so a switch between genders can easily be made in Naro, in order to indicate a different meaning component.²⁹⁵ But this argument would also disqualify a characterisation of the PGN-system as a gender system. The fact is, that Naro, and other Khoe languages, exhibit a noun class system in which the “class” is not inherently given but extremely flexible. In fact, this feature makes Naro fit better in the category of a noun class system as in Bantu than in a gender system like many European languages, as in Bantu, a noun may be combined with different class markers and thus carry different meanings.

An important difference between PGNs and noun class markers is, that PGNs in Khoe languages also mark person (beside gender and number) and are therefore used for 1st and 2nd person as well, while noun classes in other languages are restricted to 3rd person.²⁹⁶ To accommodate an analysis as noun class markers, this feature should then be taken as an extension of the (noun class) system.²⁹⁷ But as indicated, there is no problem to call PGNs noun class markers.

Case affixes?

For Sandawe, an isolated click language in Tanzania, Eaton²⁹⁸ indicates that PGNs are called *case affixes* in some circumstances by Kagaya.²⁹⁹ Fehn speaks of case marking in Ts'ixa: “the demonstrative receives both a PGN and case marking according to the NPs syntactic role.”³⁰⁰ But the quote suggests that for Ts'ixa, case marking is *not* a function of the PGN itself, but something *additional*.

One might argue that in Naro, the nine PGN-series reflect nine *cases*.³⁰¹ But it is the syntactic environment that determines which PGN-series is being used (see 3.3.9 above), rather than the PGN-series showing a case function, so the conclusion that PGN-series *determine* the syntactic function of accompanying elements cannot be corroborated. Therefore, the different series do not show too many different case forms (only in 1SG and 3SG).³⁰² Some PGN combinations show stronger traces of suspected “cases” (e.g. 1SG: -r

²⁹⁴ In this sense they resemble Bantu noun class markers, which can modify the meaning of a root by its noun class prefix. There are remarkable differences, however. For example, whereas Bantu noun classes do not distinguish masculine and feminine (cf. Lyons 1968:286.), Naro noun classes do.

²⁹⁵ See the section on gender assignment, 3.2.2.

²⁹⁶ Cf. note 150.

²⁹⁷ With Foley 1986:79, it is to be expected that it is in the third person pronoun that a noun classification system will appear, if at any place in the language. It is of interest that in the Naro PGN-marker, the gender information is combined with that of person, so that all persons (including 1st and 2nd) are closely linked to the classification system, cf. section 3.3.5.2.

²⁹⁸ Eaton 2002:94, note 34.

²⁹⁹ Kagaya 1990:5.

³⁰⁰ Fehn 2014:100.

³⁰¹ One might defend that we should call our PGN-series PGNCs, adding the “C” (case) component. But at least for Naro, the case component, at least formally, is of too little importance to justify this.

³⁰² An additional argument against the analysis of the nine series as cases is, that the “cases” do not all indicate functions of the NP in the clause, which would be a requirement in Basic Linguistic Theory (cf. R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:43 and 45). For example, PGN-4 only marks concord within the NP. The presence

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for “nominative” and *te* for accusative, cf. also =3mSG =*m* and =*me*, respectively), which leads to our hypothesis of a case system,³⁰³ though most PGNs do not exhibit such cases.

Conclusion

For a more balanced approach, it is necessary to distinguish between the PGNs in the respective series. PGN-1, -2, -6 and -7 resemble pronouns, PGN-3 in some ways resembles articles in other language systems, PGN-3, -4 and -5 resemble noun class markers (again, especially used in 3rd person), while PGN-8 and -9 in fact resemble connective words. To bring all these functions together is seemingly impossible. The best we can do is to view PGNs as elements in their own right, and summarise them, not as pronouns or articles or noun class markers or case affixes, but as grammatical elements that function, in various syntactic contexts, to indicate person, gender and number.

3.6.3 Treatment: under (pro-)nouns?

In several treatments,³⁰⁴ PGNs are being discussed both under “the noun” (namely where the PGN resembles an article) and under “the pronoun” (where the PGN resembles a pronoun). Vossen justifies this by referring to the traditional distinctions.³⁰⁵

It is imperative, however, to base our analysis on the characteristics of PGNs themselves, not on their resemblance to articles, pronouns or noun class markers in other systems. A treatment that is done partly under nouns and partly under pronouns gives the impression that the PGNs are viewed from a European point of view, in which “articles” (belonging to nouns) and “pronouns” are separate elements. Looking at PGNs from a fresh and unbiased point of view, they should be treated as a system in itself. In the treatment though, it must be indicated how the PGN functions in specific domains.

A treatment should include 1st and 2nd person PGNs.³⁰⁶ Usually, these are left out of the

of *-a* in *ba* ‘3mSG’ and in *sa* ‘3fSG’ may be related to the oblique marker *-a* in KKG, which is also analysed as a case marker there, cf. footnote 138. But in Naro, this *-a* does not occur in the other PGNs.
³⁰³ Cf. 3.3.13.

³⁰⁴ For example, Kilian-Hatz 2008 (§ 3.1.2 under “Nouns”, and § 3.3.1.1 under “Personal pronouns”), Vossen & Schladt 2013, Vossen 2013b, and Vossen 2013a (in all these, PGNs are treated under “Nouns” and under “Pronouns”, see § 3.2.4.2/3, 3.2.6.1/2, 3.2.7.1/2), Güldemann 2013a (under “Pronouns” and “Nouns”, § 3.5.1/2), Honken 2013a (under “Nouns” and “Pronouns”, § 3.4.1/2), Widlock 2013 (under “Nouns”, § 3.2.3.1 and under “Verbs”, § 3.2.3.7).

³⁰⁵ “Die Behandlung folgt (...) der traditionellen Differenzierung der Wortkategorien Nomen, Verb und Pronomen” (Vossen 1997:341).

³⁰⁶ Treatment of 1st and 2nd person PGNs with nominals are found for at least the following languages: KKG (W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141), !Ora (W.H.G. Haacke 2013a:151f.) and Hailom (Widlock 2013:158). Most other KhoeSan languages treated in Vossen 2013c only mention 1st and 2nd person PGNs under “pronouns”: Kxoe (171); !Gana subgroup (207); Shua subgroup (216); Tshwa subgroup (228f); Taa (235), !Xam (242) and Eastern #Hoan (251). Kilian-Hatz 2008:40ff. indicates the use of 1st and 2nd person PGNs with nominals though.

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discussion³⁰⁷ when PGNs are discussed under the NP (or noun).³⁰⁸ This may be done because nouns are considered³⁰⁹ to be inherently in 3rd person and therefore, the 1st and 2nd person PGNs are not supposed to co-occur with nouns. It may be pointed out that 1st and 2nd person PGNs do not resemble “articles” in other languages, which are also normally a matter of 3rd person reference. But morphologically and syntactically, the 1st and 2nd person PGNs function in exactly the same manner as the 3rd person PGNs.³¹⁰ If they were not an integral part of the system, then the “P” would not be justified in the term “PGN”.³¹¹

If it is decided to treat PGNs under other systems, a treatment under the NP³¹² makes more sense than treating them under the “noun”, as PGNs (for example PGN-3 and PGN-4) may be part of and even govern the nominal phrase.³¹³ Even though they are often cliticised to nouns, they are not part of the noun. If necessary, the PGN-markers may be mentioned again under the pronominal system, as long as it is remembered and made clear that PGNs are not the same as “pronouns”.³¹⁴

3.7 Concluding remarks

PGN-markers occur so frequently in Naro that it is of cardinal importance to analyse them extensively and to learn to handle them in the right way. This underscores the importance of the subject of this dissertation. Having been confronted with the fascinatingly rich Naro system of PGN-markers in this chapter, one can only conclude that the presence and functions of PGN-markers will offer daunting *challenges* for translators of any text into Naro, as they constantly need to be aware of the person, gender and number of referents. At the same time, the presence of so many PGN-markers also creates *possibilities* for the NT translator, as many more distinctions can be made than in Greek. In order to appreciate the differences between Naro and Greek, and to bring forward the challenges and possibilities of translation from Greek into Naro in the subsequent chapters, the following chapter will first investigate the Greek systems of expressing person, gender and number information.

³⁰⁷ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b:141 (“Khoekhoe categorizes nouns according to first, second and third person”) is a positive exception.

³⁰⁸ Or because they do not exist in the language, of course. Fehn 2013:2: “Ts’ixa only has PGN-markers for the 3rd person.”

³⁰⁹ It is unclear whether this is seen as a universal, cf. section 3.3.5.2.

³¹⁰ Kilian-Hatz 2008:41. She gives examples of the “rarely used PGN-suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person” indicating that “the forms of the 1st and 2nd person are restricted to nouns referring to humans” (40). True as this may be (speakers and addressees are only humans, or personified creatures), the forms of 1st and 2nd person behave in exactly the same way as 3rd person forms, so there is every reason to treat them equally.

³¹¹ Vossen 2013b.

³¹² Haacke’s treatment (W.H.G. Haacke 2013b and W.H.G. Haacke 2013a) comes closest to this approach, although he treats PGNs separately (not under the NP). Also see Barnard 1985:13ff.

³¹³ Even in a language like KKG, where PGNs are obligatory, the PGNs deserve a separate treatment. The fact that PGNs (in all Khoe languages) cliticise to nouns may have confused researchers, so that the PGNs were considered as part of the noun. But a PGN like PGN-3 governs the entire NP, with all its modifiers and head.

³¹⁴ W.H.G. Haacke 2013b is consistent, not having a section on “pronouns”.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we looked at the morphology and syntax of PGN-markers in the RL under discussion, Naro. Because in this dissertation we are researching the challenges and opportunities which the Naro PGN-markers pose to a Bible translator translating from Greek, we need to look into the differences in structure between Naro and Greek in the area of person, gender and number. When translating, we need to find out where in the SL (Greek) we can access that information.

In the present chapter, we will note that there is no system in Greek comparable to the PGN-system in Naro. At first sight, it may seem that P-G-N¹ information can be found in the Greek articles, perhaps in combination with its pronouns, but we will need to look into more elements in Greek to obtain the necessary information. In order to have a better understanding of those elements, this chapter will start with a wide perspective, by looking at word classes in general and how they correspond between languages (4.2). We will then zoom in on Greek and study which word classes give us the P-G-N information (4.3). A comparison of the differences between Naro and Greek (4.4) will lead us to an appreciation of the challenges and opportunities which a Naro Bible translator faces, that are to be worked out in the subsequent chapters (4.5).

4.2 P-G-N correspondences between languages

This section will explore ways in which language systems express person, gender and number. We will first look into word classes in languages and (non-)correspondence between those classes (4.2.1), then contemplate consequences of discrepancies between word classes for translation (4.2.2), discuss features related to P-G-N information, as those features are often amalgamated with other information, (4.2.3), to conclude with the question where we should search for P-G-N information (4.2.4).

4.2.1 Word classes and their (non-)correspondence between languages

Around eight major word classes² in the world's languages are distinguished: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, interjections, and conjunctions. In some classifications, participles and articles are separately listed, and one may add demonstratives³ as well - which would make ten or eleven classes.⁴

¹ For "P-G-N", see ch. 1, footnote 73.

² Or *parts of speech*, cf. Bolinger & Sears 1990:84.

³ Cf. R. M. W Dixon 2014b:59.

⁴ Crystal 1997:91. Nida 1947:15, holds that eight classes (as found in Indo-European languages) is "an exceptionally high number of types of words" and states that some languages have only three classes: nouns, verbs and particles.

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However, these word classes do not just “exist” in languages: they are made by man - since the Stoics, people invented categories in language. We still use many of their categories of words – and they are helpful indeed. But as they are the result of the analysis of users of languages and researchers,⁵ and tailored to a particular language, they will vary across languages, so when making comparisons, we need to take this into consideration.

On top of the fact that grammatical categories do not “exist”, we must also bear in mind that the distinctions that are made are not always clear-cut, simply because of language structures. Sapir⁶ claimed for example that in some languages, the *noun* information (the information that is given in many languages in the form of a noun, or NP) is included in the *verb*, so that a distinction like between noun and verb does not make too much sense in those languages.⁷ Although this has not remained undisputed,⁸ we should at least not assume that other languages express similar content in similar forms. Likewise, we should not suggest that a pronoun is always to be translated by a pronoun, or an article by an article, or a verb by a verb.⁹

In language comparisons within a language family, it was no problem initially to start off with the assumption that a certain word class in language A would be mirrored by a certain class in language B. In the history of linguistic research however, it was gradually found that language systems are quite divergent. Whereas for a long time, many grammars were written in the mold of Latin, it became more and more clear that some languages did not fit this mold at all. Especially after the discovery of Amerindian languages in Northern America, linguistics needed to develop new ways of describing languages.

With regard to PGN-related morphemes like pronouns, we thus find languages of which English speaking people may have the impression that certain features are missing. Nida¹⁰ gives an example of Mazatec, in which the same expression may mean ‘they hit him’, ‘they hit them’, ‘he hit them’, and ‘he hit him’. One may conclude that this language is hopelessly

⁵ When Bolinger & Sears 1990:81ff. discuss word classes, they firmly state: “[N]ouns and verbs are universal and adjectives are nearly so” (81). And: “[M]ost classes (...) exist in the language and in the mind of speakers.” (84) Whether nouns and verbs exist in the mind of speakers in all languages may be questioned, but R. M. W Dixon 2014b:37-61 has clearly demonstrated that nouns and verbs are universal – even though it is not equally clear in all languages.

⁶ Sapir 1921:157-9. However, he also states: “no language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb”, p.119; cf. the discussion in Foley 1999:198f.

⁷ Also see Sapir 1921:133f. for an example of a Nootka word *inikw-ihl* of which the “radical element *inikw-* ‘fire’ is really as much of a verbal as of a nominal term.”

⁸ See R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:111 about Nootka and this issue. It remains a fact that in some languages, there is a tendency not to show the noun-verb opposition in the root, so that many words can only be distinguished for nominal or verbal character by a thorough study of the accompanying elements so that it is “hard to tell” (R. M. W Dixon 2014b:58) the difference between a noun and a verb. Sapir 1921:119 speaks of an “elusive” nature of the distinction.

⁹ See Nida 1947:246ff. for some interesting examples. On p. 16 he underlines that “actions or states which in one language may be nouns are treated as verbs in another language”. Cf. Dixon, who admits that “a concept which is realized through a noun in one language may be coded as a verb in another” and “it is *not* possible to decide which class a word belongs to in a given language solely on the basis of its meaning.” (R. M. W Dixon 2014b:38 and 40).

¹⁰ Nida 1947:251ff.

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barbarian and that translation is extremely difficult. But it depends on which perspectives one uses. A Mazatec speaker needs to indicate the number of entities only once,¹¹ so a Mazatec will regard English as most clumsy. In a similar way, a Naro speaker may regard English a hopeless set of barbarisms, because English lacks the many P-G-N distinctions that Naro has.

4.2.2 Implications for translation

Following the developments in the history of linguistics, translation theory has felt the necessity of adaptation as well. In the beginning of translation history, it was still possible to make a reasonably communicative translation by combining the equivalents of words that were found in the RL in basically the same order, and using similar elements, as in the SL. This could be done because the languages in which texts were translated had a structure that was similar to the SL. But over the course of time, translators were confronted with languages that were more and more “unwilling to speak” in the forms of the SLs Hebrew and Greek, which were very different in form from these newly studied languages.

Following the discoveries in language research, it became more and more necessary to allow structures in translation to be quite different from each other. Models were developed in which an intermediate step was formulated for the process of translation. In this step, *meaning* was distinguished from *structure*. Instead of transferring structure A immediately into structure B, so that word classes from A were mirrored in B (see Figure 7), structure A was subjected to an abstraction process in which the meaning was distilled from the structure, after which this meaning was deposited in structure B – that could look totally different from structure A, but which would yield the same meaning.

Figure 7 represents the first model, in which much structural equivalence is found. The straightforward process of translation is expressed by one straight arrow, while the two similar forms visualise that the structure of the translation is comparable to the structure of the ST.



Figure 7: Translation with much structural equivalence

Figure 8 works out the alternative way of translating by an abstraction process where the meaning of the text is extracted (depicted by a more complicated zigzag line) from the text into a “cloud” of meaning, which “condensates” into the translation. It becomes clear that the form (structure) of the translation is different from the original.

¹¹ Nida 1947:251.

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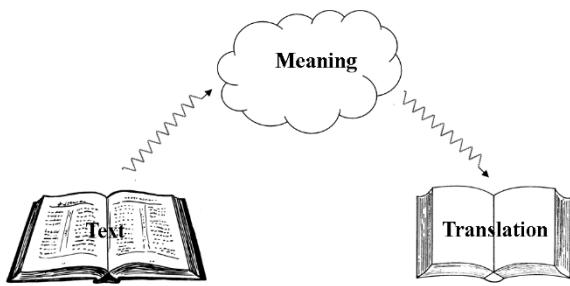


Figure 8: Translation with focus on meaning equivalence

Nida mentions an instance of a translation problem related to our subject in which pronouns must be changed to nouns, and vice versa.¹² An article must surely not always be translated by an article (if present in the language anyway). It may be possible or even necessary to translate the information contained in an article with a pronoun, or in other ways. Crystal¹³ also demonstrates that articles may need to be translated quite differently from one language into another. He mentions an overview of translation shifts when French texts were translated into English, and shows that the French definite article *le / la / l' / les* was translated by English *the* in only 64.6 %, while *un* was translated by English *a* by 70.2 %.¹⁴

One implication of all this is that to make a meaningful translation, we are not looking for equivalent forms but for pieces of meaning, so as to express the right conglomerate of information in the right structures.

4.2.3 P-G-N and related parameters

This section will contrast information about person, gender and number with related parameters, and/or information often found together or even amalgamated with such information. These parameters are recurrently discussed under the heading “pronominal systems”,¹⁵ but as we shall see, these features may be found elsewhere in the language as well. P-G-N information permeates the whole language system.

P-G-N and related parameters may be categorised according to a matrix of features that include¹⁶ person, gender / noun class, number, case, relational distance, clusivity, definiteness and minimal membership. In the following, these features will be briefly elaborated, using English examples wherever possible. Languages usually have different distinctions in different areas, so in several cases, examples from other languages will be used. The purpose of these paragraphs is not to make a typological comparison, but to show some cross-connections between systems in the light of terminology.

¹² Nida 1947:267.

¹³ Crystal 1997:349.

¹⁴ Crystal 1997:349 quotes “R. Huddleston, in J. Catford, 1965, p. 81.”

¹⁵ For the discussion in this section, use is made of an overview by Nida 1947, with some modifications. The overview also reflects insights from Bolinger & Sears 1990:81f. Nida 1947:265: “[T]here is almost no category in the language which may not be paralleled by the pronoun, for these are words which substitute for other words.”

¹⁶ The list of features is not exhaustive.

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Person¹⁷

Traditionally, grammarians distinguish first, second and third person. These persons were discussed for the Naro context in 3.2.1. Beside these, a fourth-person contrast is found, e.g. in some Amerindian languages. This refers to “non-identical animate third persons in a particular context”:¹⁸ if a first man is referred to, and then another man, different morphs are deployed. Another way to describe fourth person is ‘obviative’. The different cast clause connective in Naro (see 3.3.11) is in fact similar to this.

Gender / noun class

In many languages, different pronouns and/or articles, or other morphemes, are used to indicate gender of the referent. Often, a distinction in masculine, feminine and neuter¹⁹ is found (as in English: *he*, *she*, *it*). These morphemes are gender markers, or noun class markers, marking lexical items as belonging to the same semantic class.²⁰ Calling this feature “noun class” instead of “gender” might actually do more justice to the great diversity that is being found in the world’s languages.²¹ In our discussion of Naro, the term “gender” was maintained as it is commonly used, and because it is part of the construct “PGN-marker” as well.

We must expect arbitrary classifications in all languages.²² For example, the English word *she* can be used not only for female persons, but also for entities as a *school* and a *ship*, or an abstract term like *virtue*.²³ For Jul’hoansi, a language that neighbours Naro, Honken lists five possible genders.²⁴ Some languages (for example Bantu) may distinguish fifteen or more different classes, depending upon such factors as the size, shape, animacy, value, social position or status, supernatural power, age, colour, movability.²⁵ In Naro, the distinction of shape and size of the antecedents coincides with the gender distinction (cf. the mentioned *hìi ba* ‘long wooden object > stick’ vs. *hìi sa* ‘round wooden object’ > ‘tree’).²⁶

¹⁷ Nida 1947:265 used “distance from the speaker” instead of this far more usual *person* distinction, probably because he had discovered that in several languages (like Tagalog), this distinction does not work like in English and therefore he needed a broader covering term. At the same time, he also covered other “distance” features like the inclusive – exclusive distinction, and distance by honorific use of pronouns. It is preferable to separate these two features and follow the traditional “person” designation, to which the “distance” feature is added separately, see under 4.2.3.

¹⁸ Crystal 1997:92. Cf. also Nida 1947:255.

¹⁹ Cf. R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:155. For Naro, the term *common* is chosen, see 3.2.2.

²⁰ Crystal 2011, s.v. classifier. Cf. R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:155: “There is always some semantic basis to the allocation of nouns to gender classes (...) and always also some exceptions.”

²¹ Cf. *Gender vs. Noun Class: same or different?* n.d.

²² Nida 1947:266.

²³ Lakoff 1987 has captured this in the title of “Women, Fire and Dangerous Things”. Numerous interesting classifications exist, see, for example, van den Berg 1989: 112f. for 12 classifiers in Muna (Indonesia).

²⁴ Honken 2016:242. He concludes toward a pure semantic system, 255. The gender system of another neighbouring language, !Xõó, is “much more complex”, see 246-255.

²⁵ From Nida 1947:270 and Crystal 2011, s.v. classifier, using different lists.

²⁶ Cf. 3.2.2.

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Number

In most languages, a distinction is made between singular and plural number, as in English: *I* vs. *we*; cf. *he* vs. *they* (but for the 2nd person *you*, English does not distinguish between singular and plural). Additionally, languages may also have a dual and even a trial²⁷ or paucal.²⁸ Several languages have a dual. Naro for example uses *tsam* for ‘we (two men)’ but *xae* for ‘we (three or more men)’. When translated into English, *tsam* can be left undertranslated (by ‘we’) or one can add the word *both*: ‘we both, both of us’.²⁹

Case

There is a whole lot of *cases* or *pronominal inflections*³⁰ that can be distinguished in languages: subjective or nominative (either transitive or intransitive),³¹ objective (direct or indirect, also called accusative and dative, respectively), possessive, vocative, genitive, partitive, allative, ablative, locative, instrumental, comitative,³² agentive, additive, or emphatic.³³

Relational distance

Relational distance of the antecedents from the speaker³⁴ is a feature that shows how far or how close the speaker feels to referents. It is displayed in systems of familiar and polite pronouns that are part of an honorific system.³⁵ The meaning of pronoun forms may range from colloquial to very formal, as in French *tu/vous*, German *du/Sie*. They may be called T-forms and V-forms, respectively, from Latin *tu* and *vos*.³⁶ Another kind of relational distance is found in some Australian languages, where the use of pronouns depends on belonging to certain generation levels, and/or being related through male or female kinsmen.³⁷

²⁷ See, for example, Crystal 1997:92 for a Melanesian language on Aneityum Island. Cf. Lyons 1968:283 for Fijian and a few other languages.

²⁸ For example, Foley 1986:72, and R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:10 and 158, according to whom “paucal is much more common than trial”. Cysouw 2003:296 mentions a possible quadral.

²⁹ Which may still be undertranslated, as it does not express that *we* refers to men only. But usually this is clear from the context. In translation from English into Naro it plays an important role though.

³⁰ Robert M.W. Dixon 1972:7.

³¹ Robert M.W. Dixon 1972:7; cf. also 358.

³² Bolinger & Sears 1990:82, note 3 mentions *accompaniment*, as expressed in reflexives (*myself, themselves*, etc.) and interrogatives (*who, whom, whose*, etc.).

³³ Cf. Crystal 1997:93; R. M. W. Dixon 2014b:7 and Bolinger & Sears 1990:83.

³⁴ This distinction was used by Nida 1947:265, but the word “relational” was added here to make clear that it does not refer to physical distance. See note 17.

³⁵ Crystal 1997:99: “different levels of politeness are expressed, according to the mutual status of the participants”.

³⁶ Cf. Ellingworth 2002, who examines the use of familiar and polite forms in several common language translations.

³⁷ See R. M. W. Dixon 2014b:5.

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Clusivity

Clusivity indicates the contrast between “inclusive” and “exclusive”: if the addressee is included in *we*, the inclusive form is used, while if the addressee is not included in *we*, the exclusive form is used. In Bahasa Indonesia, *kita* means ‘we (including the person addressed)’, while *kami* means ‘we (excluding the person addressed)’.³⁸ Cf. Naro *gata* ‘1cPL:INCL’ vs. *sita* ‘1cPL:EXCL’.

Definiteness³⁹

In several languages, information about gender and number is integrated in one morpheme (often the article) which may also play a role in indicating definiteness. Although “there is usually some way of indicating that an NP has an identifiable referent”,⁴⁰ (in-)definiteness is not something that is always anchored in morphology.⁴¹ It is often a secondary feature that is linked to the presence or absence of a modifier.⁴² It “can be understood at a discourse-pragmatic level, indicated by other than dedicated markers”⁴³

This fact makes it difficult to deal with definiteness. To translators from a European background, the presence of a PGN-marker in a Naro translation may seem to indicate that an article in the ST, with its definiteness, has been translated. But PGN-markers in Naro in fact do not express definiteness, so in translation, definiteness needs to be handled with caution. In languages where the article (or noun class marker) gives information about the noun class (e.g., in Bantu languages), it may much less have the function of definiteness marker.

Minimal membership

When Foley discusses the system of pronouns in Tagalog,⁴⁴ he proposes the feature of *minimal membership* and defends a three-way distinction for pronouns in that language: he uses the three axes of S (whether the Speaker is included or not), A (whether Addressee is included or not) and M (Minimal membership: whether or not the pronoun refers to a group that equals the minimal number of individuals for the combination of features). This feature does not play a role in discussing PGNs.

³⁸ Echols & Shadily 1983, s.v. *kita* and *kami*.

³⁹ Also see the discussion in 3.2.3.

⁴⁰ R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:161.

⁴¹ Payne 1997:103 mentions Farsi where articles “mark identifiability only for direct objects” so this distinction “is not morphologically manifested for noun phrases in any other syntactic role”.

⁴² Definiteness is often found “on the basis of inferential pragmatics and referential assumptions”, Courtz unpublished.

⁴³ Cf. King 2019:5.

⁴⁴ Foley 1999:109-112.

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Looking at Naro with these features in mind, we notice that it distinguishes nearly all of these. Just a few examples:⁴⁵

1. Person: *ta* ‘we’, *tu* ‘you’, *ne* ‘they’.
2. Gender / noun class (shape and size): *ba* [+long, +big]; *sa* [+round]. Focusing more on biological gender in 1st person: *tsam* ‘1mDU’, *sam* ‘1fDU’, *kham* ‘1cDU’.
3. Number: *tsi* ‘2mSG’, *tsao* ‘2mDU’, *xao* ‘2mPL’.
4. Case: *-m* ‘he-subject’, *gabá* ‘he-emphatic’, *me* ‘he-object (=him)’, *gam* ‘he-postpositional’, *tseè* ‘you-vocative’.
5. Relational distance: using PL instead of SG for showing respect.
6. Clusivity: *sikham* ‘1cDU:EXCL’, *gakham* ‘1cDU:INCL’.

As all the features are so much interrelated, we cannot avoid giving attention to them, even though strictly speaking, the PGN-markers do not provide all these various pieces of information. It is important to have mentioned these related features, so as to position the P-G-N information well. In the translation options that will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, we will come across most of these features. But as we are dealing with PGN-markers, we will focus our attention more specifically on the P-G-N information.

4.2.4 Where to search for P-G-N information

We have seen that the information that we need for a structure like the PGN-markers in the RL, may be encoded in the SL in a totally different form. We may even find it in many different morphemes, be it in the pronoun, article, verbal conjugation system, nominal declension system, or elsewhere: in the whole cloud of meaning. So we approach the SL by searching for this information, extract it and boil all bits and pieces together in the pot of the PGN-marker, from which it comes out in another form: the information “condensates” in PGN-markers in Naro.

In this process, the question is where we get all the pieces of information that we need for an appropriate expression in the PGN-marker. We need to keep our eyes open for unexpected places where we can find P-G-N information.⁴⁶ We might actually also deduce and extract information from the whole discourse, as it may happen that the different elements do not provide enough information about a certain feature that is required. For example, we may need to study the text to find out how many participants are being referred to by a pronoun, as the pronoun itself does not contain information about duality or plurality – but the context may give an idea. In every single case, we need to find out where the P-G-N information is expressed.

⁴⁵ Note that several of these are a combination of a PGN-marker together with another morpheme – showing that the features are not restricted to the PGN-markers, but closely linked to them and thus good to be taken into consideration. See ch. 3 for more elaboration on the examples.

⁴⁶ Cf. Nida 1947:266: “Translators tend to make as many mistakes in the handling of pronouns as in any syntactic feature in a language. (...) They assume that wherever a pronoun occurs in the English or the Greek or Hebrew, the native language can also employ a pronoun. Nothing should be further from the truth.”

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In search of P-G-N information, we therefore will not limit ourselves to one word class like the article or pronoun, but preferably should search in the whole language system of the SL, especially because P-G-N information covers such a wide spectrum. In the following, we will research the most common structures in which P-G-N information is encoded in Greek, and study some similarities and differences between PGN-markers in Naro and such morphemes in Greek.

4.3 P-G-N information in Greek

We now turn our attention specifically to Greek, a member of the Indo-European language family. This family stretches from east-central Asia (including Persia and India, hence “Indo-”) to west-central Europe. It comprises several branches: Indian (with Sanskrit), Greek, Italic, Teutonic (with English, Dutch and German), Slavic (with Russian), Celtic (with Irish and Welsh) and Iranian (with Persian).⁴⁷ This dissertation focuses on the Greek of the NT, also called *Koine* Greek, vs. Classical and Modern Greek.⁴⁸

In this section, we will briefly summarise the Greek systems where most of the P-G-N information can be found: the pronoun system, the article, the verbal conjugation and the nominal declension⁴⁹ – as far as they contain P-G-N information. It is impossible and unnecessary to describe the system in full; only representative samples will be presented.⁵⁰ The discussion of every element where P-G-N information may be found will be introduced with a brief summary of the main features, followed by a Table with examples of the element, and concluded by a list of differences and correspondences with PGN-markers.

4.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are referring expressions which, at least for the 3rd person, can be defined as grammatical words which may substitute for an NP.⁵¹ In *the man went home*, the NP *the man* may be substituted by a pronoun like *he*. Consequently, NPs in most languages are seen as 3rd person entities. For Naro, even though 1st and 2nd person pronouns cannot be said to substitutes for an NP, an NP is not automatically to be viewed as being in 3rd person but may also be in 1st or 2nd person.

In different languages, pronouns contain different amounts of information. Pronouns in some languages, like Naro, contain information about number and gender, while this information is not given in various other languages. Even though a pronoun generally

⁴⁷ See Dana & Mantey 1993:1-4.

⁴⁸ Cf. Horrocks 2014 on the history of the language, esp. 75-90 on Koine.

⁴⁹ This traditional nomenclature is used as it is often found in the grammatical descriptions of grammar.

⁵⁰ Use will be made of W. D. Mounce 2009:334-349. Examples of works that describe the Greek grammar extensively are Kühner 1966 and Kühner & Gerth 1898, Moulton 2020 and Wallace 1996.

⁵¹ According to R. M. W Dixon 2014b:190, it is basically an “alternative to a noun in filling an argument slot in clause structure”. On p. 247 he speaks about substitution for “a full NP”. Crystal 2011, s.v. pronoun, also contends that it can be used to substitute for an NP or single noun. Instead of holding that pronouns may substitute for a noun as such, it is better to say that a pronoun may substitute for an NP as a whole. (In English, the first view might lead to replacements such as “the he” for “the man”).

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contains less information than the entity it refers to, it may interestingly contain information that is not found in the NP. If, for example, *she* is used instead of *the horse*, the extra information of ‘being feminine’ is given. This may be relevant for translation into Naro: the gender information (in English) is not found in the NP, but only in the pronoun.

The fact that pronouns substitute for NPs makes pronouns a condensed category,⁵² replacing the more elaborate category which they refer to. For example, if *it* (pronoun) is used instead of *the horse* (NP), it is obvious that *it* as such contains less information than *the horse*.

Pronouns are *referring expressions*. A big difference with NPs is that they may shift in reference quite a bit. The nominal phrase *Amy* usually refers to the same Amy throughout a discourse. However, pronouns can easily shift in reference: if Amy speaks to Christa, *I* refers to Amy and *you* to Christa. But if the speech act is reversed, the reference of *I* and *you* changes as well.⁵³ In pronouns, deixis⁵⁴ (social deixis to be precise)⁵⁵ plays an important role, as the meaning is relative to the situation.

Greek pronouns⁵⁶ give information about:

- person (e.g. ἡμεῖς 1DU/PL, ὑμεῖς 2DU/PL)
- gender (only in third person: αὐτός ‘3mSG’ vs. αὐτή ‘3fSG’)
- number (ἐγώ 1SG, ἡμεῖς 1DU/PL)
- case: nominative (main function: indicating subject), genitive (possessive), dative (indirect object, beneficiary) and accusative (direct object).

		1 st person	2 nd person		1 st person	2 nd person
nom	SG	ἐγώ	σύ	PL	ἡμεῖς	ὑμεῖς
gen	SG	ἐμοῦ (μου)	σοῦ	PL	ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν
dat	SG	ἐμοί (μοι)	σοί	PL	ἡμῖν	ὑμῖν
acc	SG	ἐμέ (με)	σέ	PL	ἡμᾶς	ὑμᾶς

Table 18: Pronouns in Greek⁵⁷

⁵² Lexically speaking, one may claim that it is depleted of (lexical) information, but it still contains information, that is why it is called “condensed”.

⁵³ According to Foley 1986:65f., pronouns are “*shifting referring expressions*” - in contrast to nouns, which are *constant* referring expressions. This is only true in a relative sense, though. In Foley’s example, *Harry* is only a “unique individual” in certain contexts. But obviously, pronouns are shifting in reference on a much larger scale than names and nouns.

⁵⁴ Crystal 2011, s.v. deixis: “features of LANGUAGE which refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the SITUATION within which an UTTERANCE takes place, whose MEANING is thus relative to that situation.”

⁵⁵ Crystal 2011, s.v. deixis: social deixis is “the encoding of social distinctions that relate to PARTICIPANT ROLES (speaker – addressee, etc.), as encountered in such matters as PRONOUNS (...)"

⁵⁶ There are in fact many types of pronoun, e.g. personal (*I, you, me*), possessive (*my, mine*) and demonstrative pronouns (*this, that*), cf. Foley 1986:66. Cf. also Payne 1997:44-46. But we restrict ourselves mainly to personal pronouns.

⁵⁷ The 3rd person pronoun is not part of Table 18 as it has a slightly different status.

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Greek pronouns resemble the Naro PGN-markers substantially (as both give information about gender and number), so it is important to keep an eye on the pronouns to find P-G-N information. However, Greek pronouns are used much less than PGN-markers in Naro. So they are not always available as a source of P-G-N information. They are often only used to indicate emphasis (e.g. contrast).

4.3.2 Articles

Articles form a subclass of *determiners* (or *modifiers*) which display a primary role in differentiating the uses of nouns. A distinction is usually made into definite and indefinite types.⁵⁸ Some languages (like Latin and Russian) do not possess articles, other languages only have a definite article.⁵⁹ Greek has a definite article, but does not formally have an indefinite article.⁶⁰ The indefinite pronoun *tις* can *function* as such. Levinsohn holds that articles “are called definite only if there is also an overt indefinite article in the language.”⁶¹ We here follow the general nomenclature.

Possible functions of articles in Indo-European languages are to indicate definiteness, serve emphasis, be a topic marker, and have referential meaning.⁶² Among the regular uses of the article in Greek are: denoting individuals, denoting previous reference, and generic use.⁶³ The Greek article may also be used to convey identity, while the anarthrous⁶⁴ construction may be used to convey quality.⁶⁵

The articles in Greek give information about:

- gender (e.g. ὁ [masculine] vs. ἡ [feminine] vs. τό [neuter])
- number (e.g. ὁ [SG] vs. οἱ [PL])
- case (Greek, like German, has a *declension* of the articles⁶⁶).

⁵⁸ Crystal 2011, s.v. article.

⁵⁹ Cf. Crystal 2011, s.v. article. He talks about “many” languages not having an article system. Cf. Nida 1947:270.

⁶⁰ English and Dutch have an indefinite article, even if it is only one: *a* and *een* respectively. German has got two (*ein* for masculine and neuter, and *eine* for feminine). French distinguishes *un* (m) and *une* (f), Portuguese *um* (m) and *uma* (f).

⁶¹ Levinsohn 2017a:140 note 195. In Levinsohn 2000:518, note 170, he cites Porter for a similar stand.

⁶² van den Berg 1989:98.

⁶³ Dana & Mantey 1993:141ff. See pp. 135ff. for a discussion of the origin, function, etc. of the article.

⁶⁴ The term *anarthrous* is used for an NP without article. The opposite is *arthrous*.

⁶⁵ Dana & Mantey 1993:149.

⁶⁶ This phenomenon is not found in English, Dutch, French, etc., although in older versions of Dutch the article was inflected.

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		m	f	n		m	f	n
nom	SG	ó	ή	τό	PL	oí	αί	τά
gen	SG	τοῦ	τῆς	τοῦ	PL	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν
dat	SG	τῷ	τῇ	τῷ	PL	τοῖς	ταῑς	τοῖς
acc	SG	τόν	τήν	τό	PL	τούς	τάς	τά

Table 19: Definite articles in Greek

		m/f	n		m/f	n
nom	SG	τις	τι	PL	τινές	τινά
gen	SG	τινός	τινός	PL	τινών	τινών
dat	SG	τινί	τινί	PL	τισί(ν)	τισί(ν)
acc	SG	τινά	τι	PL	τινάς	τινά

Table 20: Indefinite “articles” in Greek

Contrary to PGN-markers in Naro, Greek articles do not give information about grammatical (1st, 2nd or 3rd) person. The presence of a PGN-marker should not be equated with the Greek article in the sense that it would indicate definiteness.

4.3.3 Comparison of pronouns, articles and PGN-markers

P-G-N information may be found in many different morphemes in Greek, but articles and pronouns in Greek very closely resemble the PGN-system in Naro, so that they are an important source for the information sought. That is why it is good to make a quick comparison between the three.

Very generally speaking, the relationships between PGN-markers, Greek articles and Greek pronouns may be put into graphics as follows:

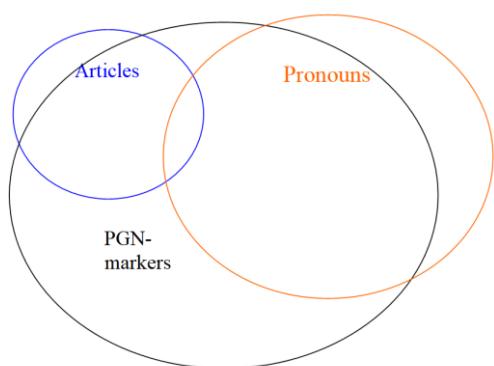


Figure 9: Relationships between PGN-markers (Naro), articles and pronouns (Greek)

Some features shown by this figure:

- there are usually more pronouns than articles in a language like Greek
- pronouns and articles ordinarily do not overlap very much
- the functions of PGN-markers (in Naro) cover most of the functions of pronouns and articles (in Greek)

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

In several ways, articles and pronouns display similarities. The main similarity is that in several languages, both contain P-G-N (and case) information. Much of the variety in pronominal systems is also found with articles.

The relationship between articles and pronouns, which is obscured in the morphology of many languages,⁶⁷ is very visible in Naro, where in most instances it is not possible to see a difference in form between PGN-markers that function like articles and PGN-markers that function like pronouns. So what has diverged in other languages, is found together in Naro in many ways.

One of the clearest differences between articles and pronouns is, that articles function at phrase level (they modify the noun or NP), while pronouns function at clause level (a pronoun can substitute for an NP, so may be one of the arguments in a clause, for example as subject of a verb).

In Naro, the PGN-markers may function at both phrase and clause level: a PGN-3 modifies a noun (as in *khóè ba* ‘(a/the) man’), while a PGN-1 functions as subject (as in *bóò=m ko* ‘he sees’). It is true that with some P-G-N combinations, the PGN-markers appear in different forms (esp. in 3SG, distinguishing forms like *-m*, *me*, *ba* for masculine, *-s*, *si*, *sa* for feminine and *i*, \emptyset , *ne* for common), but in most cases, it is not possible to see a difference in form (e.g. *tsam* for all 1mDU varieties).

In some languages, articles may resemble pronouns in their morphology. For example, in Portuguese, the masculine article *o* in *o homem* ‘the man’ shows up again as objective pronoun (e.g. *ela o comprará* ‘she will buy it’). But in languages like English, this similarity is not visible (it is hard to see the correspondence between *the* and *he*).

4.3.4 Verbal system

In the verbal system, Greek gives information about:

- person (e.g. *-ω* ‘1SG’, *-εις* ‘2SG’, *-ει* ‘3SG’). It distinguishes 3 persons.⁶⁸
- number (e.g. *-ω* ‘1SG’, *-ομεν* ‘1PL’). It distinguishes SG vs. PL.

As opposed to the PGN in Naro, the Greek verbal conjugation does not provide information about gender.

⁶⁷ Lyons 1968:279 complains that the traditional separation of the ‘articles’, the ‘personal pronouns’ and the ‘demonstrative pronouns’ obscures the relationships between these. Naro may actually assist in elucidating these relationships.

⁶⁸ In English, one hardly finds conjugation. A remnant is only found in the third person, where *-s* is being added to a verb, e.g. he runs.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

	present	imperfect	future
1SG	λύω	ἔλυον	λύσω
2SG	λύεις	ἔλυες	λύσεις
3SG	λύει	ἔλυε(v)	λύσει
1PL	λύομεν	ἔλυομεν	λύσομεν
2PL	λύετε	ἔλυετε	λύσετε
2PL	λύουσι(v)	ἔλυον	λύσουσι(v)

Table 21: Verbal conjugation, active indicative for thematic conjugation

In Naro, the verb has no inflection system for indicating person or number. This information is given in the PGN-markers of NPs.

4.3.5 Nominal system

Greek nominal phrases provide information about:

- gender (e.g. -ος [masculine] vs. -ή [feminine] vs. -ον [neuter]). Three genders are distinguished. Some nouns have a “masculine” ending but are in fact feminine, e.g. ἡ ὁδὸς ‘the way’.
- number, with an opposition between SG and PL (e.g. -ος [SG], -οι [PL]).
- case: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative are indicated, as with the pronouns and articles. On nouns, Greek also may use a vocative.

All parts of the Greek NP may indicate this information: both nouns and modifiers like articles and adjectives, including participles. Table 22 provides examples of nouns.

	first declension		second declension	
	ώρα	γραφή	λόγος	ἔργον
nom SG	ώρα	γραφή	λόγος	ἔργον
gen SG	ώρας	γραφῆς	λόγου	ἔργου
dat SG	ώρᾳ	γραφῇ	λόγῳ	ἔργῳ
acc SG	ώραν	γραφήν	λόγον	ἔργον
voc SG	ώρα	γραφή	λόγε	ἔργον
nom PL	ώραι	γραφαί	λόγοι	ἔργα
gen PL	ώρῶν	γραφῶν	λόγων	ἔργων
dat PL	ώραις	γραφαῖς	λόγοις	ἔργοις
acc PL	ώρας	γραφάς	λόγους	ἔργα

Table 22: Greek nouns: first and second declension

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

4.3.6 Number system

Greek uses the binary opposition singularity vs. plurality for giving number information. Contrary to Naro, Greek does not indicate DU:⁶⁹ DU is subsumed under PL. This has the implication that if DU is used in Naro translation, one must make sure that duality is indicated in the ST in some way, as the presence of the DU makes the 'DU' meaning very specific.⁷⁰ It does not need to be overtly expressed but may also be part of information gathered from the discourse.

The number information may be further specified in numerals: εἰς ‘one’,⁷¹ δύο ‘two’, etc. The forms for "one" indicate gender and case. Some forms for "two", "three" and "four" indicate case, but no gender.⁷²

	m	f	n
nom SG	εἷς	μία	ἕν
gen SG	ἐνός	μιᾶς	ἐνός
dat SG	ἐνί	μιᾶ	ἐνί
acc SG	ἐνα	μιᾶν	ἐν

Table 23: Greek numeral “one”

4.3.7 Semantics

Greek words may contain information about gender as part of the meaning of a word by itself, e.g. ἄνηρ ‘man’, γυνή ‘woman’. This is in contrast to Naro *khoe* ‘person’, which only “becomes” male or female by the addition of a PGN-marker. However, Naro may also express gender information in nouns, for example in names: e.g. *Thama* is only used for males, *Casa* only for females. And like Greek, Naro also has words that are gender-specific, like *dxæe-coa* ‘girl’, *ái* ‘my mother’ and *abo* ‘my father’.

4.3.8 Discourse

Articles and pronouns are subject to restrictions in their occurrence. It is often discourse factors that determine where they are used, and these factors are usually language specific. The following short example may suffice to exemplify this. A story may start as follows:

“Once there was *a* king. *The* king had *a* wife. One day *he* said to *her*...”

In these three clauses, the king has been referred to in three different ways: “*a* king”, “*the* king” and “*he*”. For English speaking people it is clear that these three cannot be swapped. One cannot say: “Once there was *he*. *The* king had a wife. One day *a* king said to *her*...”

⁶⁹ Blass et al. 2001, § 2.2.a: “der Dual verschwindet”. Cf. Porter 2005:73 note 1.

⁷⁰ Cf. also 3.2.2.

⁷¹ Bolinger & Sears 1990:93 indicates that *one* may be used in languages as “indefinite pronoun”. This option must at least be reckoned with.

⁷² Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 63 and 247.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

But for Naro speaking people, it is rather difficult to learn the rules behind the correct usage of these references in English, just because they work differently in Naro.

In English, the introduction of a participant takes place with an indefinite article (“*a* king”). In subsequent references, a pronoun may be used, or an NP. If an NP is being used, the definite article is utilised instead of the indefinite article (*the* king). Using a definite article in the introduction of a participant (in English) implies that the participant has been identified already – for example by pointing at a participant.⁷³

As the use of Naro PGN-markers focuses much more on the sharing of P-G-N information and not on indicating definiteness, the usage of a PGN-marker is not prohibited but rather encouraged when introducing a participant. When translating from Naro to English, it is easy to make mistakes in this respect.⁷⁴

When translating from Greek to Naro, the translator should keep an eye on these factors. To learn this, she should check the translation for naturalness: what is the most natural (and clear) way of presenting the participants? This implies that the translation should *not* slavishly follow the presence or absence of an article in the SL, or of a pronoun. Subsequently, the rules of usage of PGN-markers (or articles) should be studied. Only in a third phase, can the translator start “playing” with these rules.

4.4 P-G-N differences between Naro and Greek

This section will summarise the P-G-N content of different word classes in Greek, to see what each word class may yield regarding person, gender and number (4.4.1). After that, in a reverse perspective, a summary will be given for each of the three parameters, to see where each piece of information may be found (4.4.2). Tables will be provided with comparisons between Naro and Greek. For clarity’s sake, English has been added. Latin is displayed too as it played an important role in the study of Greek.

4.4.1 Summary 1: Word classes in Greek and their P-G-N content

The first Table 24) presents the P-G-N content of the article, pronoun, nominal and verbal systems.⁷⁵ The second Table 25) summarises the first one. For the sake of comparison, the Naro PGN-markers have been considered to function like articles and pronouns, respectively.

⁷³ Levinsohn 2017a, § 9.2.4

⁷⁴ For example, a Naro person learning English may say “I want apple”, or “I want *the* apple” when the correct form would be “I want *an* apple”.

⁷⁵ In the tables, the following conventions are used:

- round brackets () indicate that the bracketed items are examples.
- square brackets [] indicate that the bracketed items are only partly represented in the language. For example, with pronouns in English, only in some cases (*he/she/it*) gender is distinguished.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

	English	Latin	Greek	Naro
articles	[number] (<i>a</i>)	--	gender (δέ, ή), number (δέ, οι)	person gender number
pronouns	person (<i>I, you, he</i>); [gender] (<i>he, she, it</i>); number (<i>I, we</i>)	person (<i>ego, tu, ille</i>); [gender] (<i>ille, illa</i>); number (<i>ego, nos</i>)	person (έγώ, σὺ, αὐτός); [gender] (αὐτός, -ή); number (έγώ, ήμεῖς)	person (ra/tsi), gender (tsi, si), number (ra, tsam, xae)
nouns	number (<i>day, -s</i>)	gender (-us, -a); number (-us, -i)	gender (-ος, -ή); number (-ος, -οι)	-- ⁷⁶ (but PGN info is found with nouns)
adjectives	--	gender (-us, -a); number (-us, -i)	gender (-ος, -ή); number (-ος, -οι)	-- (but PGN info is found with adjectives)
verbs	[person] (<i>run, runs</i>); [number] (<i>runs, run</i>)	person (<i>laudo, -as</i>); number (<i>laudo, -amus</i>)	person (λύω, -εις, -ει); number (λύω, -ομεν)	--

Table 24: P-G-N content of articles / pronouns / nouns / verbs

	English	Latin	Greek	Naro
articles	--	--	g n	p g n
pronouns	p [g] n	p [g] n	p [g] n	p g n
nouns	n	g n	g n	(p g n)
adjectives	--	g n	g n	(p g n)
verbs	[p] [n]	p n	p n	--

Table 25: P-G-N content of articles / pronouns / nouns / verbs (summary)

(p = information on person; g = information on gender; n = information on number)

From the Tables, it can be seen that English puts very little information about person, gender and number into its articles (only in *a* indicating SG), nouns (only SG/PL indicated) and verbs (just some *person* in 3SG). The person information is represented best. Number does not seem to be that relevant (SG/PL not always marked), gender is hardly represented (only in 3SG). Had the Bible been written in English, the job of translation into Naro would be even harder than when translating from Greek, as English hardly distinguishes P-G-N information.

⁷⁶ See section 4.3.7 for semantic content of certain nouns containing gender information.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

Latin has gender information on nouns, and the verb system distinguishes number. The pronoun (if used) can help as well in finding P-G-N information. Compared to Latin, Greek is communicating a good deal of gender and number information in its articles and nouns. Its pronouns mainly provide person and number information but the 3rd person also gives gender information. Verbs in Greek disclose information about person and number again.

Naro gives the information on person, gender and number all the time, concentrated in its PGN-markers. It is not found on verbs. In a clause like *bóð=m ko* ‘he sees’, the PGN-marker =m ‘3mSG’, though written conjunctively, is separate from the verb. It just follows the initial slot of the clause, which happens to be a verb in this case.

4.4.2 Summary 2: Where P-G-N content can be found in Greek texts

In this section, the overview is reversed in order to see where we can find each piece of information. Again, the first Table 26) contains examples, whereas the second one (Table 27) gives a summary of the first one.

	English	Greek	Naro
information about person	pronouns (<i>I, you, he</i>)	pronouns (<i>ἐγώ, σὺ, αὐτός</i>); verbs (<i>λύω, -εις, -ει</i>)	PGN-markers (<i>ra, tsi, -m; tsam, tsao, tsara</i>)
information about gender	[pronouns] (<i>he, she</i>)	articles (<i>ό, ή</i>); nouns (-ος, -ή); [pronouns] (<i>αὐτός, αὐτή</i>)	PGN-markers (<i>tsi, si; tsam, sam, kham</i>)
information about number	nouns (<i>day, days</i>), [number] (<i>a</i>)	articles (<i>ό, οι</i>); nouns (<i>ἀδελφός, -οι</i>); pronouns (<i>ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς</i>); verbs (<i>λύω, -ομεν</i>)	PGN-markers (<i>ra, tsam, xae</i>)

Table 26: Where to find P-G-N information

	English	Greek
information about person	pn [v]	pn v
information about gender	[pn]	a [pn] n
information about number	n [a]	a n pn v

Table 27: Where to find P-G-N information (summary)

a = article; n = noun; pn = pronoun; v = verb

It becomes clear that the information that is concentrated and integrated in the PGN-markers in Naro is scattered over different systems in Greek.

4. Searching for P-G-N information in Greek

Person

- Both Naro and Greek distinguish 1st, 2nd and 3rd person. In Naro, the person feature is integrated in the PGN-marker, while in Greek, it is found in the pronouns and on the verb.

Gender

- Both Naro and Greek distinguish masculine and feminine. In Naro, the designation m and f is often linked to shape and size and is variable, which makes gender assignment a matter that follows different strategies in many ways. As there are many discrepancies between Greek and Naro in the area of gender, the information contained in the Greek articles and nouns is often not sufficient.
- Both Naro and Greek distinguish neuter gender. In dual and plural, the Naro gender is called common (or collective), as it usually designates the presence of both “masculine” and “feminine” entities.
- In Greek, gender information is mainly found in the articles and in the nouns, and partly in 3rd person pronouns. It is missing in the other pronouns and in verb forms (except participles).

Number

- Number information is found in Greek articles, nouns, pronouns and verbs. However, while in Naro a threefold distinction is found: SG, DU and PL, in Greek we only find a binary opposition of SG vs. PL: the DU-PL distinction is lacking in Greek. So in spite of the abundance of places where number information can be found, it is not sufficient to decide about the difference between dual and plural, except of course where a numeral is present.

Case

- Greek provides much more case information than Naro. It is found in the articles, nouns and pronouns. Naro does not give the information about case in the basic PGN-marker.⁷⁷

Besides scrutinising articles, nouns, pronouns and verbs, one might find P-G-N information in the whole discourse, including the semantics of individual words.

4.5 Resulting challenges and opportunities

We studied the PGN-markers in Naro in ch. 3, and in ch. 4 we researched how we can scrutinise Greek texts for the P-G-N information that needs to be contained in PGN-markers when translating into Naro. Whereas Naro concentrates this information in the PGN-markers, it is found in different elements in Greek, so that in translation one must look holistically to attain to the information needed for using the right PGN-markers.

The challenges in translation from Greek to Naro are to be expected firstly in the area of gender, then of number and thirdly of person. Greek texts will generally make clear which

⁷⁷ The case morphemes indicating possessive and vocative case (and other postpositional cases) *follow* the PGN-marker and are thus separate morphemes.

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grammatical *person* is to be used, but as it does not distinguish between dual and plural, questions will rise in the area of *number*. Reasonably much *gender* information is provided in Greek, but the systems differ widely, so many issues will need to be addressed.

As we are looking for content in Greek that is not provided directly, we need to be aware of the danger of putting more into the text than is there.⁷⁸ This should be avoided at all cost. We are only allowed to work with the information for which we have good exegetical support. Of course, it makes a huge difference whether information is put into a text wilfully, or one is *forced* by a language to make explicit some information that is difficult to find but that is needed for a natural and meaningful translation.⁷⁹ Translators will need to receive and apply wisdom in striking the right balance.

In the Naro translation praxis over the past years, many instances are found where it is not easy to find the appropriate PGN-marker. In the following chapters, many of these examples are shared, divided into categories: translation-theoretical challenges (ch. 5, pertaining to “usual” challenges, arising from the SL, so that they in fact apply to most languages), general exegetical challenges (ch. 6), challenges related to culture (ch. 7), hermeneutics (ch. 8), and discourse (ch. 9). Besides challenges, the PGN-markers also provide opportunities. These are laid down in ch. 10 and 11.

⁷⁸ Instead of exegesis, we would then speak of eisegesis: “attempt to read into a text more than is actually there”, De Waard & Nida 1986:65.

⁷⁹ “[I]t is certainly dangerous to (...) introduce more into a text than it contains” (De Waard & Nida 1986:65).

Part III Challenges for Bible translation

5. Translation-theoretical challenges

5.1 Introduction

Having scrutinised the structures and content of the Naro PGN-markers (ch. 3), and how and where we may find the P-G-N information in Greek texts that we need to translate into Naro (ch. 4), we will now discuss questions concerning satisfactorily transferring the P-G-N information from Greek into Naro.

Naro needs more P-G-N information than the Greek structures usually provide, so it raises many questions, especially with respect to gender and number. But the Greek text itself often raises exegetical questions in this area as well, since grammatical forms are sometimes used with an apparent non-literal meaning. These general challenges with regard to P-G-N information have to do with communicational difficulties presented by the text. For example, the ST uses a singular, while the intended meaning is (probably) a plural (number), or the ST uses a masculine pronoun, while actually, women are included (gender), or a 1st person is used while 2nd person is the intended meaning (person). Issues like these occur in most languages. In English, a doctor might say to a client: “How are *we* today?”¹ It is pragmatically clear that he is not referring to himself. In translation, the question comes up whether this will communicate well to hearers of another language. Of course, it must be evaluated why this discrepancy is found in the ST.

As these questions are raised by the Greek text, they are to be handled when translating P-G-N information in *all* languages, including Naro. They are addressed in this separate chapter so as to elucidate the difference between these *general* challenges springing from a *non-literal* use of P-G-N elements in the ST (ch. 5), and the challenges *specifically* raised by the Naro language, based on the *literal* meaning of PGN-markers (ch. 6-9). The questions in this chapter relate to higher level translation-theoretical decisions.

The way these general questions are answered partly depends on the possibilities that languages (both SL and RL) offer. These possibilities are not restricted to grammatical aspects only, but have pragmatic aspects as well, so they need to be seen in the perspective of language use in their cultures. It may be for example, that the Greek grammar as such does not allow a third person to be understood as a first person, but that pragmatically, Greek texts use nouns or pronouns in such ways in certain situations (e.g. Mt. 9:6 “the Son of Man (3mSG) *has* authority”, which may be understood as “*I*, the Son of Man, *have* authority”).²

The question then arises whether the receptor culture also permits such non-literal uses. If it does not, it is to be expected that the translation will change the P-G-N element (for example, the pronoun) accordingly. If the RL does allow for such uses, the pronoun probably does not need to be changed in such contexts, although the adaptation should still

¹ Taken from Crystal 1997:93.

² For further discussion, see 5.3.1.

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be thoroughly evaluated, and the factors that play a role in these decisions should be put forward.

The disparity between form and meaning in Greek texts calls for a discussion about the translation-theoretical framework in which this task is being carried out (5.2). After that, we will present challenges that are related to *person* (5.3), *gender* (5.4), *number* (5.5) and generic information (5.6), to finally draw conclusions from what is gleaned in this chapter (5.7).

5.2 Translation theories and P-G-N mismatches

In translation, changes need to be made. Over the course of time, there have been different opinions about which changes may be made, depending on the purpose of the translation. An important factor in considerations about translating P-G-N information is the translation brief,³ and the translation theory that is followed.

For many centuries, translators usually followed the principle of what is called *formal equivalence*: a translation should follow the forms of the ST as much as possible.⁴ Even within the context of the formal-equivalent tradition, there are different ways in which a text can be translated literally, dependent on what formal aspects of the source have priority for the commissioners. An interlinear translation follows the original text word by word and glosses each word. In the Buber tradition of literalism, the form level below the word (the morphemes) had high priority because it is thought that the audible repetition of Hebrew roots is significant, but repeated function words (such as Hebrew conjunctions and linkers translated as “and”) had a very low priority. In Reformation literalism, however, the Hebrew roots were not a key aspect of the form of the Hebrew Bible, but the order and word class of words was kept constant if at all possible. Adding words without a direct source word to justify it was avoided, or dealt with in italics.

During the twentieth century, when the study of languages rapidly accelerated, and differences between the SL and new RLs became so big that a different approach was required, translation theory became focused on the *meaning* of texts (cf. 4.2.2). The principle of *dynamic equivalence* was formulated. In this theory, translators would strive toward “a translation in which the message of the original text has been transported into the receptor language in such a way that the RESPONSE of the RECEPTOR is essentially that of the original receptors.”⁵

Over the course of time, it was seen that a correction to the dynamic equivalence approach was needed. It was understood as “emphasizing the psychological impact of a translation and diminishing the importance of fidelity to the source text”.⁶ In 1986, De

³ A translation brief is a “[d]efinition of the communicative purpose for which the translation is needed”, providing information about intended target-text functions, addressees, medium, place, time, etc. (Nord 2018:134; cf. 29f. and 56-58).

⁴ See, for example, Ryken 2009:19. Beekman & Callow 1974:22 add “even though it may sound awkward”.

⁵ Nida & Taber 2003:200, emphasis kept.

⁶ A. O. Mojola & Wendland 2003:9.

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Waard and Nida replaced the label with *functional* equivalence. Its goal was “to employ a functionally equivalent set of forms which in so far as possible will match the meaning of the original source-language text”.⁷

De Waard and Nida⁸ at the time summarised four basic theories (or approaches) of translation:

- philological (focusing on the literary character of the ST rather than on the receptors),
- linguistic (focusing on the differences in linguistic structure between SL and RL, where translation involves a series of rules of correspondence but not dealing adequately with underlying semantic relationships),
- communicative (focusing on the extent to which the meaning of the ST is transmitted to receptors, but not sufficient for understanding on all levels of discourse and in the relationship of language and culture),
- sociosemiotic (emphasising the close relationship between social behavior and language use, which is more embracing).

They rightly encouraged the employment of different techniques, to which they added that this should not be done eclectically, but holistically.

Towards the end of the 20th century, Skopos approaches⁹ became influential.¹⁰ Having seen that there are different ways in which a text can be translated literally (against the formal-equivalent approach) and that it is difficult to establish “the” intended meaning of a text (against the dynamic-equivalent approach), these functionalist approaches do not want to prescribe how translation should be done, but focus on the desires of the commissioners (or “clients” or “initiators” of the translation)¹¹: what do readers and publishers want a translation to be like? What is the purpose of a translation? Instead of “the theory” telling a translator how to translate, it describes the network of stakeholders of a translation, and how those stakeholders negotiate in order to come to expectations of how the translation should be. Translators need to listen to their clients about the way of translation, and will have to negotiate with these clients.¹² The decided upon details are laid down in a translation brief.

⁷ De Waard & Nida 1986:36. They emphasised that it was “not designed to suggest anything essentially different” (De Waard & Nida 1986:vii-viii). In spite of this, many writers supporting a functional equivalence approach do not accept much of the basis of dynamic equivalence anymore, cf. A. O. Mojola & Wendland 2003:9.

⁸ De Waard & Nida 1986:182-185.

⁹ “The” Skopos theory does not exist, so we speak of *approaches*.

¹⁰ See Nord 2018 for an introduction to Skopos approaches.

¹¹ Nord 2018:2.

¹² Nord 2018:108, 116.

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A benefit of these approaches is that they underline the difficulty of finding “the” meaning of a text.¹³ At the same time, this can be taken into the extreme by saying that “the” meaning does not exist, or that it is not possible to come even close to the intended meaning.¹⁴ It is only in a minority of cases where interpreters are at a real loss about what an author intended. In this context, De Vries wisely speaks about “intersubjective consensus in the scholarly community”, which is different from objective knowledge.¹⁵

Further, Skopos theory makes clear that there is not “one right approach”, or even several “right approaches”, and that it is important to consider the wishes of the commissioners of a Bible translation. The translation goals are decided upon by the stakeholders, not by a theory. Skopos approaches view translation as a sociological activity, and as such are descriptive rather than prescriptive. This focus on description, pointing out various options of translation styles, may be their strength and weakness at the same time: it relaxes the translator in making clear that there are many avenues that may be walked in translation. But at the same time, it gives the impression that all is possible and all is permissible, as long as one listens to the commissioners.¹⁶ There should at least be interaction between the commissioners, translators and the audience, to evaluate whether the chosen approach is fruitful.

Above all, while Skopos approaches focus on “the target-language setting for determining the manner and style of translation”,¹⁷ it is crucial not to forget the communication functions of the SL text. Especially when translating an authoritative book as the Bible, translators cannot just direct their attention to the desires of the audience, but have a responsibility to obey the apparent desires of the Bible writers.¹⁸ Nord applies a correction to Skopos theory by pointing out that translator should “respect the sender’s individual communicative intentions”.¹⁹ She would like to see a “function-plus-loyalty model”.²⁰ It would have been preferable though if she had put loyalty to the original authors first, especially in the context of Bible translation.²¹ Within such parameters, Skopos approaches can be most valuable.

¹³ It needs to be questioned whether proponents of dynamic equivalence were convinced that they were able to find “the meaning”. When they were speaking about translating “the meaning”, it is unfair to assume that they herewith communicated this knowledge.

¹⁴ Cf. the correction on this view by De Vries 2017:249: “biblical scholars may reach an informed intersubjective consensus on what possible and probable readings of a given text are”.

¹⁵ De Vries 2017:266.

¹⁶ Skopos approaches indicate that as long as a translation obeys a specific *Skopos*, it is “justifiable” for functionalism, cf. for example Nord 2018:50. According to Reiss and Vermeer, “the end justifies the means” (Nord 2018:28).

¹⁷ A. O. Mojola & Wendland 2003:14.

¹⁸ De Vries 2017:275: “Loyalty to the ancient writers and their cultural background and cultural practices should always constrain the room within which translators perform their job as mediators.” Cf. p. 264.

¹⁹ Nord 2018:116.

²⁰ Nord 2018:100.

²¹ Nord 2018:117 only mentions them as the last party. In the light of the “dethronement” of the source text (Nord 2018:25), having become “just one of the various sources of information used by the translator” (Nord 2018:26), it must be difficult to give the original authors and their text the primary role.

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For the questions that the Naro PGN-system poses, the translation theory that a team follows only partly impacts the decisions. Even where the formal structure of a verse remains the same in translation (when translating in a formal-equivalent way), translation into Naro requires thorough consideration of all possible options with regard to person, gender and number. Ambiguity with respect to these features (of *all* participants in a sentence) is difficult to retain in Naro. In this respect it hardly makes a difference whether one translates in a formal-equivalent or functional-equivalent fashion, as will become evident in the coming chapters.

However, for the questions raised in this chapter, it makes a big difference which translation theory is followed. If certain P-G-N information in Greek is interpreted as having a meaning that is deviating from the regular one (e.g., a singular having a plural meaning), a formal-equivalent translation will try to transfer the structural information, with its regular meaning, while a functional-equivalent translation will strongly consider using a form that reflects the intended meaning. The upcoming discussions will follow the latter approach, as it is widely accepted nowadays that a translation tries to communicate as clearly as possible.

In the practice of a Bible translation consultant, who usually assists several translation projects with different translation briefs, the main question is not which Bible translation theory he will follow. It is, rather, more fruitful to indicate the pros and cons of the followed strategy and the translation options in particular. If necessary, he may express a preference. In the upcoming sections, issues regarding P-G-N information are brought forward, and practical strategies are sought to help the team and the consultant.

5.3 Person mismatches

In this section, attention is given to challenges with regard to the use of *person*. A pronoun, or other morpheme expressing a *person* feature, may have a *person* sense that pragmatically deviates from the lexically encoded (“literal”) one. When a teacher says to her pupils: “Let’s be quiet, shall *we*?” first person *we* is used, but the intended meaning is second person *you*. And when a woman brings back three-year-old Jane to her home, the woman may say to Jane’s mother: “*We* couldn’t find mother, so *we* cried. But *we* are all right now.” Here, both person and number are mixed up: the 1PL *we* actually refers to the child being returned to its mother, so 3SG.²²

It is not easy to exactly pinpoint the reason why we find switches in pronoun use. There may be a component of courtesy,²³ but it seems better to find a subconscious reason in the

²² This could also be interpreted as first person SG, taking the utterance as being spoken by the lady but intending to represent the child. In which case it is only a matter of number, not of person, but having the additional problem of how to translate the representation (on top of how to express the empathy that is indicated by the change of person and number).

²³ Bolinger & Sears 1990:214. They also mention the use of *we* as a “way of avoiding the threat of *you*” but that element is not always present. Another reason for using 3rd person instead of 1st person may be the complexity of the switch between the meaning of “I” and “you” (see e.g. *Waarom praat papa over zichzelf in de derde persoon?* 2019), but this element may be restricted to children in their first years.

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wish to express empathy: the woman feels so much for Jane that she includes herself to the extent of identifying herself with her, leading to the use of *we*. There is a mitigating effect by speaking more indirectly.

In the earlier case of the doctor saying *we*, he might be avoiding to speak directly about the person in question by making an inclusive statement. It may indicate a togetherness, an empathetic way of including oneself, and carrying the pain of possible sickness together.²⁴ Another example, which is related, but of a different kind, is using the sentence “*you can’t do that*” in the sense of ‘one can’t do that’, ‘that can’t be done’.²⁵ In this case, 2SG (or 2PL) is used in a generic sense.

Such usages of pronouns raise questions for translation. It should be evaluated how the utterance will communicate in a RL if the pronoun is translated literally. Also, the intended meaning needs to be researched, in order to find out whether we will miss some part of it if we translate with another pronoun, and if so, how to compensate for such a loss.

Beekman and Callow argue that the semantic device of using the 3rd person when referring to the first and second person does not seem to be widely used in languages, and can therefore easily be misunderstood. In such cases, therefore, translations often choose to translate with the intended person.²⁶ In this section, we will discuss 3rd person with a 1st person meaning (5.3.1), and with a 2nd person meaning (5.3.2). Theoretically, one might also expect 2nd person forms with 1st and 3rd person sense, and 1st person with 2nd and 3rd person sense, but these instances do not seem to appear very often.

5.3.1 3rd person with a 1st person meaning

A speaker’s use of 3rd person forms to refer to himself is quite common in the NT.²⁷ We may distinguish²⁸ three broad groups: Jesus speaking about Himself, authors about themselves, and others about themselves. The best known example is probably Jesus’ own use of the title “Son of man” to refer to Himself. In translation, it may be necessary to add the first person pronoun “I” when Jesus uses titles when referring to Himself: also with *Son of God, the Son, and the Christ*. In the case of an author speaking about himself, a translator may find it necessary to add the 1st person, as in Rom. 1:1, which in Greek is put in 3rd person (Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, ...) but which could be translated as “I (am) Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus”. An example of the third group is found in Jn. 7:48 (“Have *any of the authorities or the Pharisees* believed in Him?”). Most languages²⁹ require a translation

²⁴ Another example is found in what could be said to a dog: “Shall *we* close this door?” This wants to include the dog in the “conversation”, to indicate a togetherness; it does not say that the dog and the speaker are going to close the door together.

²⁵ The above examples were mainly drawn from Pike 1966, via Beekman & Callow 1974:106.

²⁶ Cf. Beekman & Callow 1974:107: “English is obviously similar to Greek in its flexible use of pronouns. It must not be assumed that other languages are also.”

²⁷ Cf. Beekman & Callow 1974:113. Also see Beekman 1963.

²⁸ With Beekman & Callow 1974:114-116.

²⁹ Some Khoe languages (including Naro) are apparently exceptional by allowing 1st and 2nd person.

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with the added *we* to make clear that the speakers actually talk about themselves, or at least about persons belonging to the same group.³⁰ See also Acts 2:9-11,27; 4:29; Rom. 9:4f.

In Naro, an additional (and interesting) grammatical consideration may be of import in this respect: in Naro, other than in the majority of languages, nouns are not inherently found in 3rd person. In a clause like “The Son of Man has come to serve” (Mt. 20:28), Naro may use a 1st person PGN (which would be equivalent to English “Son-I of Man have come”) to indicate that He was in fact talking about Himself.³¹

In these instances, the intended “I” or “we” are used in an indirect sense. One could say that it is about “me as seen via someone else”. The reason for this avoidance behaviour may vary. For example, Jesus may not have wanted to speak too directly of Himself as the divine being, or He may have wanted to reveal Himself only gradually. Elements like these have to be taken into account when changing the person feature of a pronoun. A translator must be aware of the fact that this addition changes some dynamics of the text. An inquiry must then be made, with every translation option, of what message is conveyed by the option. For example, when using “I, Son of man,” the *cryptic* factor would be absent, which was reason for the Naro translation not to use this option.³²

5.3.2 3rd person with a 2nd person meaning

Most of the occurrences of a 3rd person form being used to refer to the 2nd person, i.e. the person addressed, are found in the New Testament letters. The letters are addressed to a person (e.g. Timothy, see 1 Tim. 1:2) or a group (e.g. “the church... at Corinth”, 1 Cor. 1:2). Paul addresses these people directly, but he does not use the 2nd person in the verses referred to. This style was normal letter-writing style for Greek, and it may be acceptable and intelligible in some languages. However, if this form is misunderstood in a RL, a pronoun like “you” needs to be added in order to identify the recipients.³³

In 1 Cor. 1:2 (“To the church of God that is in Corinth, to those sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints”), for example, the Naro translation says: “We (mDU) write this letter to the church of God in Corinth. Because of Jesus Christ, *you* were made God’s people, and *you* were called by God that *you* would be holy like Him.”³⁴ The first part, saying “to the church of God” could also have been put in 2nd person (as in “to *you*, the church of God”), but in that case, another addition would have been necessary, like “to *you*, [who are/form] the church of God”, so the 3rd person was kept here. The partial misunderstanding that the use of the 3rd person might give rise to is, however, compensated by the use of the 2nd person in the subsequent part of the verse.

³⁰ Beekman & Callow 1974:116. NLT04 adds *us*: ““Is there a single one of *us* rulers or Pharisees who believes in him?””

³¹ In English, this would be done by adding the *pronoun I* (I, the Son of Man...), while in Naro this is done by the PGN, which in this case would resemble a 1st person *article* (which doesn’t exist in English).

³² See 11.6.1 for further discussion on this topic.

³³ Cf. Beekman & Callow 1974:113.

³⁴ In Naro: *Jeso Krestem domka tu Nqarim di tu khóè tu kíriùèa, a tu a Nqarim ka tciièa Gam khama tu gha ma tcom-tcomsa ii ka.*

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In Lk. 1, we find two more examples which clearly show that miscommunication may occur when the pronouns are just left as they are. In Lk. 1:43 (“why is this granted to me that *the mother of my Lord* should come to me?”) and 1:45 (“blessed is *she* who believed that there would be a fulfilment of what was spoken to her”), the reader may get the impression that Elizabeth speaks not about Mary but about someone else, especially after vs. 42, where the 2nd person is used. So it may be necessary to insert a 2nd person pronoun in 43 and 45.³⁵ The principle to apply is, gauging whether a translation communicates well or not.

Caution must be applied, however, in replacing one grammatical person by another. It may not be needed in all languages anyway, and the change may have implications that we are not aware of. It should always be considered that the form that was chosen in the Greek was used for a reason, even though we do not exactly know which one. As so often, we lose some of the meaning by translating, whether we translate with 3rd person or with 2nd person.

The example that follows in Beekman and Callow’s exposition especially calls for such alertness. They say that occasionally, in the body of the letter, individuals are addressed in the 3rd person, like in Philp. 4:2 “I entreat *Euodia* and I entreat *Syntyche* to agree in the Lord.” They therefore suggest to use a vocative, as that would be clearer in many languages. Also, they want to avoid that people may think that Euodia and Syntyche were not members of the church of Philippi.³⁶ However, the distortion created by this option may be worse than the possible higher clarity that can be attained. Reading this verse with *you* instead of *they*, the impression may be raised that the letter (partly) was written to Euodia and Syntyche, so that some people may think that they were actually leaders in the church,³⁷ especially in combination with v. 3 (see below).

Furthermore, there is no danger that they may be seen as outsiders, as the context makes it sufficiently clear that they are part of the church. Why would people outside the church be encouraged to be of the same mind in the Lord? Paul will have had a reason to address people in the 3rd person. If it were merely Greek epistolary style in this verse, then it will be perfectly acceptable to adapt the formula according to what is usual in the RL. But in Philp. 4:2, Paul’s encouragement may even be stronger if Euodia and Syntyche are addressed in an indirect way.

Moreover, we need to note the change of the connection with v. 3 that would follow with this translation option: in that verse, Paul addresses his “companion”³⁸ directly. Addressing Euodia and Syntyche directly as well would put them on the same level with his

³⁵ At least in v. 45, it is far from clear from the context that Mary is being referred to, so the need is most urgent. In v. 43, the context could make clear that the reference is to the addressee.

³⁶ Beekman & Callow 1974:113.

³⁷ Hawthorne 2015, a.l. alludes to a possible leadership: “Their differences may have had to do with church leadership and which of the two women was to have the greater voice and influence within the church” but he admits that “[n]othing is known about these two women”. It seems wise to follow O’Brien 1991, a.l. in stating that they were “active members of the congregation”.

³⁸ See Hawthorne 2015, a.l.; Fee 1995b, a.l. and O’Brien 1991, a.l. for different views on this “companion”.

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“companion”. One can hardly adapt these references without changing the gist of the text. We should evaluate possible implications of suggested changes, and weigh what message a translation option might convey.

5.4 Gender mismatches

The following *gender* challenges in Bible translation will be discussed in the upcoming sections: gender mismatches between words in the SL and the words used in the RL (5.4.1); and gender neutrality:³⁹ a word used in the SL refers to one biological gender (usually the male one), while it is felt that the *meaning* actually includes the other biological gender (5.4.2).

5.4.1 Gender mismatches between SL to RL

The first issue has never been a point of dispute and is in fact no challenge, so it is only mentioned here for completeness. It was recognised from the beginning of translation practice that the gender of words is language specific and does not need to be transferred from one language to another.⁴⁰ It is therefore no problem if masculine words are rendered with feminine words, and vice versa, as long as the RL requires a certain gender in its natural language use. Even in Greek itself it is no problem if Jesus says: “ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα” (‘I am the door’, Jn. 10:9), where a feminine word “door” is used (as a metaphor) for a male person.

Likewise, in translation into a RL, it is generally accepted to use words of feminine gender for masculine words in the SL, and vice versa. For example, Jn. 1:1 ‘Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος ‘in the beginning (f in Greek) was the word (m in Greek)’ was translated into Portuguese with the opposite genders: “**N**o princípio (m) era **a** Palavra (f)”,⁴¹ so “beginning” has become masculine, and “word” feminine. French is similar: “**A**u commencement (m) était **la** Parole (f)”:⁴² again, m and f were used instead of f and m, respectively. In German however, we find a neuter for “word”: “**I**m (m) Anfang war **das** Wort (n)”.⁴³ All this shows that noun classes (or genders) to which a word belongs are being transferred to another class without a problem. If this were not done, the result would be a very unnatural translation.

The only challenge in Naro is, that the gender of words is not static. One should, however, not draw the conclusion from this that the gender from the Greek NP could be copied onto the Naro NP, as gender obviously carries meaning. It must be carefully evaluated in each case which gender is most fitting.⁴⁴

³⁹ Instead of gender-neutral, the terms *gender-inclusive* or *egalitarian* may also be used, depending on the intended meaning and the context.

⁴⁰ Except in some strict interlinear translation practices.

⁴¹ BPT.

⁴² NBS.

⁴³ LU1545.

⁴⁴ See for some examples, 11.2 and 11.3.

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5.4.2 Gender neutrality

The second issue is a much bigger challenge: how do we translate texts in which masculine gender was used in the SL, while it is felt that women may have been, or were probably included in the author's mind? For example, in Ps. 1:1 "Blessed is the *man*", the question is to be raised whether it is allowed, preferable or even mandatory to eliminate the word *man* and replace it by "person", "one", or a plural pronoun "they" (because these are gender-neutral words in English)? Or if Paul writes "brothers", could that be translated with "brothers and sisters"?

This issue of gender neutrality cannot be satisfactorily addressed within the boundaries of this dissertation. It is just mentioned to show how wide spread the issue of translating P-G-N information is. We will make some quite general observations only, taking the word "brothers" as an example.⁴⁵

In the context of formal-equivalence, if a text would contain a masculine personal pronoun, the translator would preferably use a masculine pronoun as well. Following a functional-equivalence approach, focusing more on meaning, opens the door for options like using morphemes of common gender (if available in the language), or the use of "brothers and sisters" instead of "brothers". In formal-equivalent translating, the issue was hardly existent,⁴⁶ while since the 20th century the question was raised loudly.

A full discussion of the issue would need to indicate the nature, extent, implications and impact of the problem. The *nature* of the problem may be defined as a disparity between what is said (the use of a word that explicitly refers to *men*) and what is (probably) meant (women may be implicitly meant).⁴⁷ With the *extent* of the problem, different categories of reference could be listed. Part of the list could be the generic use of "he", possibly other masculine pronouns, and the use of nouns like "brothers" that *might* include "sisters". Naturally, in different contexts, different meanings may be found. A possible *implication* of the problem is that, depending on the choice in translation, readers will draw different conclusions about the stand of the Bible (which indicates God's attitude) toward men and women. The *impact* of the problem should also be described, as the issue existentially affects women and men.⁴⁸ It influences us in our view of God, our treatment of fellow

⁴⁵ For a discussion on the subject, the following publications could serve as an initial orientation: Carson 1998; *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 2006; Poythress & Grudem 2000; Strauss 1998; Strauss 2010. Also see the website *Gender-Neutral Bible Versions* n.d. A. Mojola 2018 provides an article that challenges the role of patriarchalism in translation. The discussion could even be extended to avoiding gender stereotyping, cf. Anneke A. De Vries 1998.

⁴⁶ However, a word of caution is necessary: even a formal-equivalent translation has to ask what a word means. In different contexts, different shades of meaning show up. So if one wants to translate reproducing the form, she must still research the meanings of words, and choose the right rendering according to the context.

⁴⁷ We could also identify modern developments like feminism as a separate factor. Strictly speaking though, that is not part of the nature of the problem. The matter is in fact an exegetical question of all times: to what extent are women included when apparently men are addressed? Darell L. Bock 2005:170 fruitfully distinguishes between "ideological gender-sensitive renderings" (seeking to "degenderize" the Bible) and "translational gender-sensitive renderings" (making clear the gender scope of passages).

⁴⁸ Zagano 2020: "Too many women are being insulted. Too many female lives are at risk."

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humans, and our view of history. Because the position of women has an effect on all mankind, it has rightly been an issue for heated debate.

After indicating these important aspects of the issue, one needs to formulate strategies in order to try and come to solutions. It may very well be that the general principles of accuracy, clarity and naturalness in translation should be applied, taking into consideration different aspects of those principles.

Under *accuracy*, it should be researched what was probably meant and intended by the different authors in different contexts: can we find out whether Paul also had the *sisters* in mind when he wrote certain parts of his epistles? By the way, this aspect includes *historical accuracy* as well: the translation should reflect the historical situation.⁴⁹ For this, one should study the first century world view of the church with regard to women. It also includes making a comparison between Greek passages, inside and outside the NT, for example where “brothers” is used, versus passages where sisters are mentioned explicitly (if at all).⁵⁰

Secondly, with respect to *clarity*, it should be researched how this principle can be put into practice: if the author had men and women in mind, that should come out *clearly*.

Thirdly, the study should look into aspects of *naturalness*. For this aspect, RL possibilities in grammar and discourse structure have to be taken into account. Reference to participants should be natural and hence not draw too much attention. Sociolinguistics should not be forgotten either: ideas should be expressed in a way that a certain community would express them. Although the content may be considered to *be* awkward by a certain society, it should not *sound* awkward (it should not be *presented* in an awkward way).⁵¹ The impressions that are raised by the different translation possibilities among people in different languages and different cultures need to be studied.

Poetic considerations (in the case of Psalms, for example) could be part of naturalness: which translation options are poetically suitable in the RL? One of the characteristics of poetry is compactness. So it can be understood that the poet writing Psalm 1 did not say “blessed are the men and women...”, but that he has chosen “man” for reasons of brevity.⁵² In fact, it may be that the Hebrew **בָּנִים** ‘man’ practically functions as the English word for the more general ‘person’. It is therefore logical that instead of mentioning both sexes, a gender-neutral approach is followed in a RL: “blessed is the *person*”. Although this may

⁴⁹ Ogden 2003:170: “attempting to represent the ancient cultures”. Cf. L. De Vries 2017:249: “there are grave dangers of domesticating or ‘taming’ the Bible in ways which are disloyal to the writers of the ancient texts and disloyal to the cultural worlds with which their writings are interwoven”, giving the translation of the Greek πατέρων ‘father’ with ‘father-mother’ as example.

⁵⁰ The difference in functional markedness (cf. R. M. W. Dixon 2014a:240) between ἀδελφός and ἀδελφή needs to be studied. It is quite likely that ἀδελφός is the unmarked form for referring to siblings, so that when referring to brothers and sisters, the plural of ἀδελφός can be used.

⁵¹ In other words, naturalness relates to form, not to content. Content may be unnatural for an audience, but this content should be communicated in a most natural form.

⁵² One might also argue about the use of the SG, which may partly be another instance of practical considerations to be short.

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actually sound impersonal. A better option may be “blessed are the *people*”⁵³ or “blessed is the *one*”.⁵⁴ The RL should be researched for its potentiality, also in the area of poetry.

A very important consideration to be studied is, whether Paul, and others, did indeed have the sisters in mind when they wrote “brothers”. In the light of several passages, it can easily be defended that the sisters were important to the NT writers, and that they were definitely not excluded.⁵⁵ It should further be studied though, why they were mentioned so little, as that is undoubtedly an element in the discussion. In producing translations, this sociological factor must play a role, as we should not make translations that are anachronistic: they should give an accurate picture of societal views that spring up from the text. Readers should not be unpleasantly surprised at a certain stage by the fact that the picture which emerges from the original text is quite different from what they have gathered from their translation.

Although Paul may have been influenced by the culture of his days (like we are all influenced by our culture), it must also be realised that he had a different source of world view: everything in his life was made subject to Christ. From this perspective, he wrote to slaves in a way that put dynamite under the institution of slavery (e.g. Col. 3:11).⁵⁶ Likewise, he wrote to women, and about women, in a way that was principally different from what his culture prescribed.⁵⁷ At the same time, it must be observed that, even though Paul differed radically from the Graeco-Roman culture of his days, and had very positive things to say about the status of women, he upheld differences between men and women, some of them being obvious, some of them perhaps difficult to accept, some of them being misinterpreted.

It must be clear that, even though Paul does view women with the highest regard, he also gives prominence to men. Thus, he will not always address women separately. That may have been because of the practice in his days. If Paul had lived in our days, he might well have adjusted to “brothers and sisters”, or to “ladies and gentlemen”, for that matter.⁵⁸ But requiring Paul to speak to his first century audience with 21st century manners would lead to a distortion of historical facts and of our view of biblical culture.

Another factor that needs to be taken into consideration is the extent to which adaptations can be made in a missionary situation. Part of the argument could be, that we should not, in any culture, present a Bible text that gives the impression of hostility toward women, and that we should therefore make explicit as much as possible where women might be implicitly meant. Again, this should be done in such a way that the culture in question will

⁵³ As for example CEVUK uses (but in a different clause: “God blesses those people”).

⁵⁴ E.g. in NIV11UK.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Marshall 2004. For further discussion, cf. Marlowe 2004.

⁵⁶ Paul’s treatment of Onesimus is also telling, see, for example, Philm. 1:16.

⁵⁷ In this context we should also note the “difference between being male-oriented or male-centred and being exclusive of females”, Marshall 2004:306.

⁵⁸ It must be clear that with “ladies and gentlemen”, the family component of the address is dearly missing.

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not be terribly surprised if they find out that women are introduced in the text by the translators without a firm basis. A culture should also learn that the NT has its setting in first century society, where women were not mentioned if not necessary, and that their position was different from what may have been expected.

This missionary argument may in fact also be applicable to western society: on the one hand, it may be necessary to point out to modern western readers that the Bible does not contain alleged hostility toward women, but on the other hand, the Bible that is given to them must also still present an honest and accurate historical picture in the sense that women did not get as much attention as they get in modern society.⁵⁹

In the discussion, different translation options can be put forward, with a discussion of the possible implications of each. Beside 1. the literal option (“brothers”), one can think of 2. adding footnotes explaining about the sisters in NT times, 3. adding “and sisters” in italics or gray (to indicate that these words were added by the translators as it was felt that the sisters were implicit in the text), 4. adding “and sisters” in the text (without indicating that these words were not part of the original), or 5. using words like “siblings”, or another term which is gender-neutral.

The following parameters could be mentioned as part of some practical advice, saying that it is good to be gender-inclusive in the following cases:

1. where it is clear that the Bible text has a reference to both men and women (taking into consideration that it may be that the sisters were not mentioned for a reason; this has to be studied),
2. if the RL does not allow for inclusion of women in a literal translation of that text, and
3. if it is easy in the RL to indicate that the reference is a general one. In other words, if the addition “and sisters” does not attract too much attention in that language.

With regard to application to Naro, in the case of translating the address “brothers”, we have been able to include the sisters by just changing the PGN-marker used with the word for “(younger) siblings”⁶⁰ (or “brothers/ sisters” - which is just one word in Naro). Of the three main options for this PGN-marker: *xao* (2mPL), *sao* (2fPL) and *tu* (2cPL), it is obvious that the second one is not applicable, while the third one is a very natural general word to indicate ‘you’ in PL. The first one, *xao*, would probably be regarded as very (or at least quite) restrictive, giving the strong impression that *only* men were addressed, excluding the women - so that the choice is actually easy. This is such a minor change that it does not draw too much attention, while it still indicates that the sisters are being addressed as well. Which looks like an elegant solution.

⁵⁹ We should make sure that, by making the sisters explicit in the text, we do not run the risk of being accused of a modern paternalism, in the sense that we say that the “uninformed people” are not able to read the text as it stands, and will interpret it wrongly if not assisted by our additions and adaptations in translation.

⁶⁰ The Naro word is *qõe* – which in fact even includes younger cousins.

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5.5 Number mismatches

Number mismatches are present if one knows how many people were referred to, but this number differs from the number given in the text. As we only consider the SL here, we need not add the dual, so there are basically two options: SG instead of PL, or vice versa. We will subsequently discuss the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person SG for the corresponding PL, to be followed by 1st and 3rd person in PL for the corresponding SG. Clear examples of this phenomenon is not encountered with 2nd person PL.⁶¹

5.5.1 1st person SG with a PL meaning

We occasionally find a use of the 1SG in Paul's letters which may be interpreted in the direction of a plural (*we*), for example Philp. 4:13, “I can do all things through him who strengthens *me*”. Beekman and Callow argue that in some languages, “the pronominal system is such that when a statement is made, for example, in first person, it is implied and understood that the statement *cannot* be true of anyone else.”⁶² In such languages, the pronoun “I” in this verse would indicate a contrast between the great apostle Paul and the poor reader: *Paul* could do everything, but the reader cannot. In such cases, it is said to be better to adapt the translation and perhaps use “we” instead of “I”.

This needs to be questioned, however. If a language uses “I” in the described way, it would be very difficult to communicate. It is difficult to imagine that there are languages in which a statement made in the first person SG *cannot* be true of others. For example, if one says “I am going to the city”, that by no means implies that somebody else *cannot* go to the city at the same time. If the mentioned phenomenon would occur in a language, one would at least expect that there are other ways of using “I” as well, which do not limit the speaker in such a strict way.⁶³

Moreover, even though it is justified that this statement by Paul is being applied by many, it can only be rightly understood in context if it is used in the SG. It is not only spoken “in the middle of a passage dealing with his personal experience”,⁶⁴ but it is also *meant* to be understood as a personal experience - which does not preclude but lays the basis for an application into many people’s lives. If one translates “I” with “we” here, the basic message is obscured. In fact, the SG meaning (based on the SG form used in the SL) makes more sense in its context than the suggested PL (which is more a derived, applied meaning).

Another example discussed by Beekman and Callow is Gal. 2:19-21, where a literal “I” might be misinterpreted as if the text refers to Paul only. This verse is being applied often,

⁶¹ Beekman & Callow 1974:112.

⁶² Beekman & Callow 1974:108.

⁶³ Beekman 1965c mentions such languages. At the end of the article he states: “Nor has it been established that other contexts may not entirely remove the implied meaning imputed to persons not specifically referred to.” It is indeed to be expected that the system is indeed not as rigorous as described. Instead of “anyone else”, the exclusion is probably restricted to certain persons in the communication event.

⁶⁴ Beekman & Callow 1974:108.

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and rightly so, but the question is whether Paul meant it to be a personal statement (which can be applied by others, as in Philp. 4:13), or that he made a general statement using personal language. A wide spectrum of opinions is represented in the commentaries, spanning from the view that these verses apply to Paul alone,⁶⁵ through the view that Paul describes a general experience of Christians but putting himself into prominence,⁶⁶ to the view that writes “as the prototypical example of what applies to all Pauline Christians.”⁶⁷

As there is no clear agreement that the “I” in these verses should be seen as referring to “Paul and his audience”, it will be erroneous to unequivocally advise translators to use PL instead of SG. Only if it is found that people misinterpret the use of “I” in the sense that it can only be applied to Paul, the suggested translation options should be considered.

At the end of this section we cannot reap a big harvest of clear examples where this change of number is necessary. The “I” in the discussed verses *may* have a meaning that is somewhat broader than the literal one, and indeed this meaning is rather the PL one (“we”) than a generic one (a person, anybody). So if a literal rendering is misunderstood, a change to the PL may be the first option to consider. But at the same time, it has become clear that one should be very cautious in making this change.

According to Beekman and Callow, the desired effect of using 1SG instead of 1PL is “to make Paul himself a vivid and typical example of what is true of all believers, or, alternatively, what should not be true of any believer.”⁶⁸ Other exegetes and grammarians speak of⁶⁹ a “representative” singular⁷⁰, a “supra-individual first person”⁷¹, or use the term “typical”⁷² and “exemplary”⁷³. If Paul is indeed an example here, it is not essential to use “we” instead of “I”. Doing that might actually decrease its exemplifying value.

5.5.2 2nd person SG with a PL meaning

The 2SG may sometimes be intended to have a 2PL meaning. A well-known example of this is found in the Ten Commandments, where the singular injunction “You shall not steal” is addressed to all Israelites. Moses is often found speaking to Israel in the SG where

⁶⁵ Alford 1976, ad 2:18, cf. Burton 1971, ad 2:18.

⁶⁶ Eadie 2018, ad 2:18; cf. Lenski 1937, ad 2:18. Longenecker 1990, ad 2:19 takes it as “gnomic, referring to all who by an act of personal commitment (“faith”) have based their hopes on Christ,” although “there also reverberates in Paul’s words his own intense personal feeling”, Longenecker 1990, ad 2:20.

⁶⁷ Betz 1989, ad 2:18. Martyn 2008, ad 2:18, holds that “Paul uses the first person singular pronoun to reveal the identity of the eschatological human being whom God is creating in Christ.” It is noteworthy that in his exposition on 2:20, he explains that “Paul presents himself as the paradigm of this human being.” It would be more in line with biblical views to mention Christ as this paradigm.

⁶⁸ Beekman & Callow 1974:108.

⁶⁹ The list is taken from Beekman & Callow 1974:108, note 3.

⁷⁰ Robertson 1934:678.

⁷¹ Herman N. Ridderbos 1961:102.

⁷² Lofthouse 1955:73.

⁷³ Stauffer 1935:355, line 3 (“exemplifizierende Bedeutung”).

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apparently a PL can be understood, e.g. in Deut. 6-8. This command cannot be limited to one person.⁷⁴

In translation, it must be decided whether to use SG or PL. The first option will be to try the use of SG and to evaluate how that communicates. The success of this largely depends on the RL and its sociolinguistics. It may be true that in many languages, “the plural is more natural for general commands such as these,”⁷⁵ but it should not be forgotten that the commandments have a very personal drive. Therefore, the SG should not be swapped for the PL too soon. The only circumstance that would force the use of a PL instead of the SG is when the SG confuses the readers. This will be the case if this collective use of the second person SG is not found in the RL.

In Rev. 2 and 3, where seven letters of the risen Christ are presented to the “angels”⁷⁶ of seven churches, the *you* that is used in these letters is grammatically SG, but pragmatically it can be understood as PL. According to Munger, there is “corporate identity between the angel and the church, with the singular “angel” referring both to the church as a whole and to each person in it.”⁷⁷

Maier⁷⁸ mentions three good reasons why the seven letters may well have been intended for the whole congregation.⁷⁹ First, the call in the letters “He who has an ear, let him hear...” (2:7, etc.), and secondly the promise “To the one who conquers I will grant ...” (2:7 etc.) point to a plurality of hearers: probably the whole church. Thirdly, the formula “...what the Spirit says to the churches” (2:7, etc.) makes clear that the whole congregation is being addressed, although culminating in the leader.⁸⁰ Osborne also mentions that in 1:1-2, “the Apocalypse is sent from God through Christ to an angel and then to John to give to the churches. Thus the angel has the basic biblical function of “messenger” to the church.”⁸¹

All these arguments together make much sense, so it may be easier for understanding such passages if the SG pronoun in the ST is translated with a PL in the RL. It must be realised, however, that when choosing this option, the exegetical work is not only done for the readers, but also taken away from them. Using the SG is also defensible, as it underlines the personal application of the letters.⁸² On the other hand, if hearers understand the letter

⁷⁴ For the possibility to see this SG as a generic one, see the discussion under 5.6.

⁷⁵ Beekman & Callow 1974:109. In modern Dutch, the opposite is true, as the SG imperative is used nearly exclusively while the PL sounds unnatural.

⁷⁶ Whoever this may refer to. Fee 2010:24 mentions “pastor,” “bishop,” “angel,” or some other kind of special messenger as some of the interpretations given. For the line of thought in this section it is not necessary to decide on this.

⁷⁷ Munger 1998:206.

⁷⁸ Maier 2014, ad 2:1. He holds that the “angel” refers to bishops.

⁷⁹ The issue that the use of a SG could be misinterpreted as referring to the pastor only is being discussed in 9.3.2.

⁸⁰ Maier 2014, ad Rev. 2:1.

⁸¹ Osborne 2002:110. He also mentions that the angel is “corporately identified with the city, so the letter is sent to the Ephesian church as a whole via the angel”. It is necessary though to make a sharper distinction between the city and the congregation in the city. Boxall 2006, ad 2:2-3 just states “the Ephesian angel, and those whom he represents”.

⁸² An extra argument for retaining the SG is, that with the use of a PL throughout the letters, the contrast between 2:18-20 (where SG is used), and 2:23-25 (PL) is obscured.

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as applying only to the “angel” of the congregation, it will be better to choose the PL. If this is done, it may be profitable if the reader will at least have access to the original wording through its mention in a footnote.

Beekman and Callow present Mt. 6 as another example of the use of 2SG for 2PL where a whole group is being addressed.⁸³ In this didactic passage, in the Sermon on the Mount, spoken to the disciples, SG and PL are actually found alternating a number of times: PL in vv. 1, 5, 7-16, and SG in 2-4, 6 and 17. According to them, “[s]uch variation just is not permissible in all languages, and the plural has to be used throughout”.⁸⁴ Newman and Stine also hold that this alternation between SG and PL “is apparently of no exegetical significance”.⁸⁵

However, we should not so easily assume that alternation has no significance. In Mt. 6, the PL seems to be used in general statements, introducing a new topic (vss. 1, 5, 16, and perhaps 7), while the SG seems to be used in making a practical or personal application (vss. 2-4, 6, 17).⁸⁶ At first sight, vv. 7-15 do not seem to fit this pattern, but it may be that by using plurals, Jesus indicated that the Lord’s Prayer is meant to be prayed by a group (which is also reflected in the plurals used in the prayer itself). An interesting implication of this view of *conscious* alternation between SG and PL might be that Jesus addresses two different issues in vss. 5f. and 7ff. These nuances will be lost if only one form of “you” is used.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it must be evaluated how the alternation communicates to the audience, and this largely depends on the RL.

Other instances where the SG is possibly used for a PL are: Mt. 7:3-5, Rom. 12:20f, 13:3f, 1 Cor. 4:7 and Gal. 4:7, 6:1. Beekman and Callow argue that “the switch to the singular is for rhetorical effect, and not because only one person is now being addressed.”⁸⁸ But we should never forget that the use of a SG may well point to and underline the personal touch of the imperative. Taking Rom. 12:20 (“if your enemy is hungry, feed him”) as an example, the text loses much of its personal meaning if this would be translated in a PL form. Paul’s use of the SG underlines the individual significance of the general command, which in fact makes the whole passage have a personal application. Also, in Gal. 4:7 (“So you are no longer a slave, but a son, and if a son, then an heir through God.”), an adaptation to plurality (involving various changes, as the words “slave”, “son” and “heir” would all need to be made PL) will deprive the reader of being confronted with his personal change in status. If the use of the SG leads to confusion, an alternative option to retain the personal element may be to say “*each of you* is no longer a slave, but a son, etc.”

⁸³ Beekman & Callow 1974:109.

⁸⁴ Beekman & Callow 1974:109.

⁸⁵ Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992, ad Mt. 6:5, in the influential Handbook series that is used by many translators.

⁸⁶ Buth 1993:446 seems to agree with this: “Matthew (...) was following a strategy of “particular application””. McKerras 1988:56 points to the fact that “Jesus gave his commands in the style of the Ten Commandments”. It is true that for most quotes of the OT in Mt. 5, the SG is used, but the discouragement to sound a trumpet when one gives (for example) does not fit very well in such commands.

⁸⁷ As is suggested by Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992, ad Mt. 6:5.

⁸⁸ Beekman & Callow 1974:109.

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5.5.3 3rd person SG with a PL meaning

The last challenge with the use of a SG instead of a PL to be examined is its occurrence in the *third* person. This is often less obvious than with the first and second persons.

The smallest challenge in this regard is formed by collective nouns, “in which a distinct plurality of items is referred to with a substantive singular in form”.⁸⁹ Even in Greek, both SG and PL verbs may accompany such nouns, as in Lk. 1:21 (**ἵνι** [SG] ὁ λαὸς **προσδοκῶν** [SG] τὸν Ζεχαρίαν καὶ **ἐθαύμαζον** [PL] ‘the people [SG in Greek] were waiting [2x SG] for Zechariah, and they [PL] were wondering’).⁹⁰ As the example displays, languages often have their own way of handling collective nouns, so they usually do not pose a problem. The same is true of distributive singulars, as in Eph. 6:14 (περιζωσάμενοι τὴν **όσφυν** ὑμῶν ‘having girded your loins with truth’ (RSV)), where ‘loins’ is such a distributive⁹¹ SG in Greek (while “your” is PL).

1 Tim. 2:15 is another instance where the SG and PL are used together: “*she* will be saved through childbearing—if *they* (PL)⁹² continue in faith and love and holiness, with self-control.” *She* and *they* both refer to women.⁹³ Arichea and Hatton⁹⁴ understand the PL in a generic way and can therefore suggest a translation in SG for both. Several modern translations choose to use two plurals.⁹⁵ Either way will communicate well.⁹⁶

In the examples above, we found SG nouns combined with PL verbs or pronouns. It is also possible to find a collective plural without a verb (in Greek), in which it is not clear that there is a discrepancy in number. An example is found in Rom. 3:1 “Then what advantage [has] the Jew?”⁹⁷

5.5.4 1st person PL with a SG meaning

We now turn our attention to the opposite issue: the PL is used, but a SG may be meant. For example, “we” is used, but the speaker (e.g. Jesus) or author (e.g. Paul, John) may refer to himself only. In order to put this discussion in a broader perspective, it is suitable to

⁸⁹ Porter 2005:74.

⁹⁰ See for some more examples Wallace 1996:400f.

⁹¹ Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 140.

⁹² The Textus Receptus has got SG in both cases.

⁹³ Pieter H. R. Van Houwelingen 2009:82 leaves open the possibility that men are included in the 3PL (which would indicate a unique situation in which males may or may not be included; usually it is the inclusion of females that is in question). He also discusses the option that Adam and Eve might be the subject (which would lead to 3cDU in Naro).

⁹⁴ Arichea & Hatton 1995, a.l.

⁹⁵ Cases like this interestingly show that the gain made by textual criticism (in establishing the probably original text with the PL instead of the SG in Textus Receptus) is sometimes annihilated by modern translations (in choosing for a translation which in fact reflects the majority text).

⁹⁶ The issue largely depends on the exegesis of 1 Tim. 2:15. For example, if 3SG is interpreted as referring to Eve (as found in GWN), and **τεκνογονία** as referring to the birth of the “Child” (for a discussion, see G. W. Knight 1992), it obviously cannot be rendered with 3PL. See Pieter H. R. Van Houwelingen 2009:79-83 for different exegetical options.

⁹⁷ See Blass et al. 2001, § 139.

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consider the wider spectrum of 1PL meaning possibilities. Table 28 presents such an overview.⁹⁸

literal or not	incl/excl	possible oppositions	meaning	referents included beside the speaker	possible translation in Naro
literal	inclusive	DU / PL m / f / c	sociative PL	addressees and others	all six Naro forms, with or without <i>ga-</i>
				all addressees	all six Naro forms, with or without <i>ga-</i>
				part of addressees	all six Naro forms, with or without <i>ga-</i>
	exclusive	DU / PL m / f / c	ministerial PL	people who <i>are</i> with speaker	all six Naro forms, with or without <i>si-</i>
				people who <i>work</i> with speaker	(<i>si</i>)xae
literal?	(inclusive)		literary = editorial = author's PL	(possibly the addressees in general)	<i>ti</i> i, <i>tsi</i> , (<i>ga</i>)ta
non-literal	inclusive		generic PL	anybody	<i>tsi</i> , <i>gaba</i> (see 5.6)
	exclusive		majesty PL	none	<i>ti</i> i, (<i>si</i>)xae, ((<i>si</i>)ta?)
			epistolary PL	none	<i>ti</i> i, (<i>si</i>)xae, ((<i>si</i>)ta?)

Table 28: Possible meanings of “we”

⁹⁸ Researchers divide the possible meanings of 1PL in different manners. Wallace 1996:394-99 distinguishes the exclusive, inclusive and epistolary or editorial “we” options, as does Nida 1947:256f. Wallace also mentions the literary PL but considers this as an inclusive *we* (footnote 7). Vegge 2008:376 distinguishes four uses of “we” by Paul: a PL *sociativus* where addressee is included, a PL *sociativus* where a group of addressees is included, a literary PL and a “we” that includes people who are, and/or work, with Paul. Garland 1999:74 distinguishes 5 usages of “we” in 2 Cor., adding the authorial one to Vegge’s four.

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The possible meanings of 1PL forms are divided into literal and non-literal ones. The INCL-EXCL, DU-PL, and m-f-c oppositions form sub-divisions of the literal meaning options.⁹⁹ The inclusive meaning there is often called *sociative PL*. This is further sub-divided into one where the inclusion concerns the addressee(s) in general, one where the inclusion concerns a particular group amongst the addressees, and thirdly one where addressees plus others¹⁰⁰ are included. The exclusive meaning refers to people who are, and/or work, with Paul.¹⁰¹ These two may be subsumed under the heading *ministerial PL*.¹⁰²

The INCL-EXCL polarity is found in the non-literal meanings as well. The generic meaning of 1PL can be earmarked as inclusive and will be discussed separately in section 5.6, as genericity is not limited to 1PL. Three other kinds of non-literal use of 1PL with mainly SG meaning¹⁰³ can be distinguished, and will be discussed in the present section: 1. majesty PL (or royal PL); 2. epistolary PL; 3. literary PL (or *pluralis auctoris*, or *pluralis rhetoricus*, or *pluralis modestiae*).

Some grammarians combine the second and third kind (*epistolary* and *literary we*). Or the same term is defined in different directions: sometimes the *pluralis auctoris* is said “to refer to both himself and the audience”,¹⁰⁴ so in an *inclusive* way, but according to others “to refer to the author himself, especially in formal texts”,¹⁰⁵ so in an *exclusive* way. This confusion is understandable, because in fact, the terminology is not clear: both *epistolary* and *literary* tend to refer to something written, and both could theoretically, when applied to our plurals, be coined in the sense of the other. And speaking of an “author” does not specify whether it is his intention to speak about himself only (EXCL) or to involve the audience (INCL). It is, however, necessary to distinguish the two plurals.¹⁰⁶ While an epistolary PL is here defined as an *exclusive* kind of “we” (e.g. “we write to you”, in the sense of ‘I write to you’, so referring to the author alone), a literary PL is an *inclusive* kind of “we”, in which an author intends to maximally involve the audience¹⁰⁷ (e.g. “we will discuss...”, meaning ‘I will discuss, but I want to involve you’).¹⁰⁸

We will briefly discuss the mentioned non-literal options for 1PL, and then look into some example verses where different interpretations are possible, in order to see the differences more clearly, and in order to evaluate how such plurals should be translated.

⁹⁹ These will be further discussed in subsequent chapters.

¹⁰⁰ Carrez 1980 points out that “we” also may refer to all christians, which goes beyond the addressees in, for example, Corinth. In Acts 4:12, “we” includes all humans.

¹⁰¹ “[J]oint authorship of letters” may be indicated (see Aune 2003, s.v. First-person plural), but should rather be considered as a sub-division of people who are with Paul.

¹⁰² See e.g. Mumme 2016:120.

¹⁰³ Or *nosism*, as this phenomenon is also called - from the Latin *nos*, “we” – “the practice of using the pronoun “we” to refer to oneself when expressing a personal opinion” (cf. Weiner & Simpson 1991: 1945).

¹⁰⁴ *Pluralis auctoris* n.d.-a

¹⁰⁵ *Pluralis auctoris* n.d.-b.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Wallace 1996:394 note 7.

¹⁰⁷ See Blass et al. 2001, § 280: “Der Schreibende (oder Redende) zieht damit die Leser (oder Hörer) in eine Gemeinschaft mit seinem eigenen Tun”.

¹⁰⁸ See below for a discussion about the question whether the literary PL is a literal or a non-literal one.

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1. Majesty PL

A majesty PL (*pluralis maiestatis*), also called *pluralis excellentiae*, is “the use of a plural word to refer honorifically to a single person or entity.”¹⁰⁹ In the Bible, the phenomenon as such occurs regularly, especially in nouns, but a majesty 1PL is not easy to pinpoint. However, in some verses it is possible to interpret the 1PL form in this direction, as perhaps in Gen. 1:26 where God¹¹⁰ says “Let *us* make man in *our* image”.

For God, it is obvious that a majesty PL is most fitting. For a king or queen we are used to the phenomenon as well, and for an apostle, it would not be unsuitable: in the Bible, apostles have great authority. This use of “we” might underline his authority. But in using 1PL, an apostle may alternatively well have intended to refer, not only to himself, but to others as well. The latter case would be more natural. In fact, there is no pressing reason to assume the use of a majesty PL in the NT epistles.

2. Epistolary PL

With an epistolary PL, an author is referring to himself.¹¹¹ This PL is to be distinguished from the *ministerial* PL (referring to people who are with, or work with, the author). There are not many clear examples of epistolary PLs in Paul’s epistles. Comparing the letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians, which resemble each other in many ways, we find parallel verses where Colossians uses PL while Ephesians uses SG. At first sight, the PL in Col. 1:3 (*we always thank God*) might be explained as an *epistolary PL* (especially in the light of its parallel in Eph. 1:15f.: “I do not cease to give thanks”), but if we consider that Col. 1:1 mentions Timothy as co-writer, it is clear that the PL can easily be accounted for, making it a *ministerial PL*.¹¹²

The most convincing example in the NT of an epistolary PL is probably Rom. 1:5, where Paul asserts “*we* have received grace and apostleship”. Although it is not impossible that with these words he refers to the other apostles, the addition “to bring about the obedience of faith (...) among all the nations” restricts the circle of possibilities, as “Paul alone was the apostle to the Gentiles”.¹¹³ Gal. 1:8f. (“But even if *we* or an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel contrary to the one *we* preached to you, let him be accursed. As *we* have said before, so now *I* say again”) is a reasonable candidate for the epistolary PL as well.¹¹⁴ But generally speaking, we must conclude that this PL is not common.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Also called the ‘plural of respect’, the ‘honorific plural’, the ‘plural of excellence’, or the ‘plural of intensity’, see Beckman 2013. Cf. Gesenius et al. 1910, § 124g-1 and Waltke 1990, § 7.4.3.

¹¹⁰ Even the employment of a PL for God (אֱלֹהִים, cf. 5.5.5 and note 143) in combination with a SG verb form (יֹאמֶר ‘He said’) underlines that the reality of God’s majesty is difficult to describe in human language.

¹¹¹ Cf. Wallace 1996:394.

¹¹² Blass et al. 2001, § 280.1.

¹¹³ Wallace 1996:395.

¹¹⁴ Longenecker 1990, ad 1:8 (p.17): “*he* gave his converts while with them *personally* and which *he* is now repeating”; cf. Arichea & Nida 1976, ad 1:8 holds that *we* refers “probably to Paul alone”.

¹¹⁵ Wallace 1996:394. He mentions some verses as “(relatively) clear examples”: 2 Cor. 10:11,13 and Rom. 1:5, with 2 Cor. 10:12, 14, 15; 13:4, 6-9 as other possible candidates for this PL, while 11:6, 12, 21 are “more doubtful”. Lofthouse 1955:73 holds that Paul, whenever using *we*, “was thinking of himself as

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3. Literary PL

The literary PL is also called an editorial or an author's PL. An author avoids the use of "I" and uses "we" instead. The literary PL is quite ambivalent: on the one hand, it may indeed be interpreted as 1SG, on the other hand, the intention might be to involve the audience. It is also called the *pluralis modestiae* because it is perceived that the author or speaker puts himself in the background.¹¹⁶ It is not only to be distinguished from the epistolary PL (see above), but also from the *sociative* PL. Whereas the sociative one *factually* includes the audience, the literary PL only does it *virtually*.¹¹⁷ Therefore, calling this PL a *sociative* one confuses the usage too much with the three which were thus distinguished already under the literal "inclusive we".¹¹⁸ In fact, the term *sociative* could also be used to refer to people who are with Paul (in other words, "we" in an *exclusive* sense) so that would make the confusion complete, being used for five different senses.

The content of this literary PL may indeed, as one of the alternative terms for it indicates, have its background in the intention of an author or speaker of putting himself in the background: modesty.¹¹⁹ Another view is that the intention is to avoid a direct confrontation with the audience.¹²⁰ This might be true in some cases, but speaking about confrontation seems to suggest a conflict, which is unnecessary to uphold as background of the literary PL. A third option is that the literary PL is "the practice common in mathematical and scientific literature of referring to a generic third person by *we* (instead of *one* or the informal *you*)".¹²¹ This may be valid in some contexts, but in using the literary PL, more is at stake than just replacing *one* or *you*. And obviously, it may be applied more widely than just scientific literature.¹²² The most attractive view is that with the literary PL, a speaker wants to involve the hearers maximally. Rather than just saying "I", he positions himself with the audience, creating a sense of togetherness.¹²³ This indeed may show modesty, creates some genericity, and avoids confrontation (so those elements are part of the meaning) but focuses positively on the synergy that results from being put together.

one of a number", so he does not find epistolary plurals in Paul's letters: "there is always a discernible reason for the use of 'I' or 'We' ".

¹¹⁶ It is interesting that what appears as the same surface phenomenon (1PL), can have opposite pragmatic effects: a *pluralis modestiae* seems to decrease someone's status, while a *pluralis maiestatis* increases it.

¹¹⁷ Streett 2011:124 calls this editorial *we* a "rhetorical *pluralis sociativus*".

¹¹⁸ In some way, it must be conceded, the audience is included in a literary plural, so that the term *sociativus* is not inappropriate, but the primary focus is on the speaker's opinion. The fact that he is *trying* to involve his audience in some way should not be confused with a *real* involvement.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Stauffer 1935:354, line 9-11: "Es ist der Stil des feinen Mannes, der mit seiner Person und seinen Privatangelegenheiten moeglichst im Hintergrunde bleiben will."

¹²⁰ Cf. Haverkate 1984:85.

¹²¹ *Nosism* n.d..

¹²² *Nosism* n.d. mentions an editorial "we", in which an editorial columnist in a newspaper or so takes "the role of a spokesperson: either for the media institution that employs them, or more generally on behalf of the party or body of citizens who agree with the commentary." As it resembles the literary "we" extensively, it is fruitful to conflate the two.

¹²³ Wallace 1996:397 note 11 speaks of politeness.

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The ambivalence of the literary PL makes it difficult to say whether the literary PL is a literal or a non-literal use of the PL. If indeed an author intends to say “I” but wants to conceal this in some way, it would exhibit a case of *non-literal* use (1PL instead of 1SG). However, if authors have a genuine desire to maximally involve their audience, it can as well be called a *literal* use of “we” (as the addressees are being included in some ways). Because of this ambiguity, it is also hard to know whether it should be called an *inclusive* or an *exclusive* PL. Even though the literary PL seems to focus on the speaker and might therefore be labelled *exclusive*, it actually intends to create a stronger link with the audience, which makes it in fact an *inclusive* kind of PL. In Table 28, this use is therefore indicated with a question mark and parentheses. It is a borderline case between a literal and non-literal “we”, but it seems best to discuss it in this section of non-literal meanings. The possibility to interpret it as non-literal opens the way for translating it with 1SG.

An example of this literary PL is found in Jesus’ words in Mk. 4:30 Πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν ‘With what can *we* compare (the kingdom)?’ In these words, the use of “we” in some way comes close to a SG. At the same time, Jesus probably used a PL in order to involve His hearers maximally. A translation with “I” will definitely obscure this factor. Only if the audience in some languages misunderstand this, it may call for an adaptation in translation.

Paul may be making use of this kind of PL when he writes Τί (οὖν) ἐροῦμεν ‘what shall *we* say?’ in Rom. 3:5 a.o.¹²⁴, a rhetorical question use to advance his argument¹²⁵ in which he involves his readers.

In practice, it is not easy to find out which PL is meant. Each context has to be studied carefully,¹²⁶ as the following examples will show.

It should be obvious that in clauses like “we write to you”, a literary PL is out of the question, as the author cannot have involved his audience in the writing. But it is often difficult to determine the difference between a ministerial and an epistolary PL. If Paul writes “we tell you...” or “we pray for you”, he may refer to himself and co-workers: in that case, we is a ministerial one. However, if he does not intend to refer to others but just to himself, it must be an epistolary PL. We will need to decide from the context which PL is meant.¹²⁷ An epistolary PL may be suspected when an author easily switches between singular to PL.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Also Rom. 4:1, 6:1, 7:7, 8:31, 9:14,30. Cf. Barclay M. Newman & Nida 1994, ad 4:1 “editorial we”.

¹²⁵ Moo 1996:539.

¹²⁶ Cf. Porter 2005:76.

¹²⁷ Commentators may easily differ in opinion. Whereas Omanson & Ellington 1993, ad 1:0 (section 1. “Epistolary Plural”) consider 1 Thess. 3:1 as an example “beyond question” for such a PL, Ellingworth & Nida 1976, (under 3.1-5) consider it “perfectly possible for the first “we” in verse 1 to mean Paul, Silas, and Timothy”. P. H. R. Van Houwelingen 2011:101 rightly argues for the latter as well (cf. also pp. 18-23), while Ellingworth & Nida 1976 (ad 3:1) make clear that one should carefully distinguish between DU and PL, INCL and EXCL.

¹²⁸ Wallace 1996:394. Turner 1963:28: “sing. and pl. alternate as capriciously in Paul as in contemporary letters.”

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The main question in a translation context is, what to do in the cases when one has the strong impression that an author in fact meant “I” when he wrote “we”. The main principle in answering this question is, that “I” should be used only when there is a tendency in a certain language or culture to misunderstand “we”, in whatever way.¹²⁹

Translating “I” instead of “we” may impact the audience in their understanding of verses where this option is applied. Beekman and Callow mention several possible reasons for the use of “we” by Paul: he might have felt a desire to avoid the imputation to him of negative attitudes such as arrogance.¹³⁰ However, if Paul had these reasons for using “we” instead of “I”, it must be noticed that by translating “I” for “we”, the very problems that Paul wanted to avoid may in fact be introduced, as he apparently does not include his audience. So we must carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages of using either option. Avoiding confusion is the bottom-line in weighing alternative translation options. But this is not a strategy with clear-cut answers. The method used to avoid confusion on one side may give rise to confusion on another side.

Another factor in deciding whether to translate “I” or “we” is, as always, the context. It may be that γράφομεν ἡμεῖς ‘we write’ in 1 Jn. 1:4 and γράφω ‘I write’ in 1 Jn. 2:1 basically has the same meaning,¹³¹ and may thus be translated in the same way, but we should not forget that the PL in 1 Jn. 1:4 is triggered by what John wrote in the previous verses about what he, together with the other apostles, had experienced of the Life that was revealed. In such a context he may as well continue with “we”, and a translation with “I” might actually confuse. On the other hand, after having said “*my little children*” (2:1), it is expected that John will continue in the SG. This context factor must be taken into consideration as well, and it may play a similar role in the RL.¹³²

The usage of SG and PL in 1 John (John uses PL in 1 Jn. 1:1-10, SG in 1 Jn. 2:1, and then immediately PL again) seems to be indicative of the fact that different uses may follow each other rapidly, and that it is not easy to know exactly how they are distinguished. It shows all the more that we should not so easily vary in translation what is one form in the original – unless it apparently causes confusion and/or if the RL requires to distinguish.

It is interesting that in Naro, different renderings were given for “we” in 1 John. Verse 1:1 starts off with *ta* ‘1cPL’: “which [namely the Word of life, Jesus] *we* have heard, and which *we* have seen with our eyes”. This indeed could be a general inclusive *we* (including the audience), although a ministerial *we* could be easily defended, especially as John probably wrote around half a century after the events described so that the audience may not feel very included in them. In Naro, the *xae* ‘1mPL’ in 1:2 emphasises this ministerial meaning (“*we* have seen it, and testify to it and proclaim”). This is even underlined in 1:3a by the addition of the exclusive *si-* in *sixae* ‘1mPL:EXCL’: “*we* proclaim also to you”. In the same verse, Naro has to switch to 1cPL *ta* where it speaks about “*our* fellowship with

¹²⁹ See Beekman & Callow 1974:110f., and Beekman 1965b for more elaborate guidelines.

¹³⁰ Beekman 1965b.

¹³¹ Blass et al. 2001, § 280 point 3 mention this example.

¹³² See Stott 1987: 26-34 for a broader discussion about “The author as an eye-witness”.

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the Father”, which of course is not limited to the apostles but is extended to the believers (women included in Naro). In 1:4, *we* is exclusive: “*we* are writing these things”. Even though the apostolic eyewitnesses were referred to in the preceding verses, which might bring a ministerial PL to mind, it is obvious that those cannot be included in the writing, since they probably have passed away already, which rules out this option. And as we have put the majesty PL on a sideline for the NT, it might very well be an epistolary PL.¹³³ Alternatively, it should be called a *solidarity PL*,¹³⁴ or a *representative one*.¹³⁵

One might discuss the justification of the following 1mPL (“so that *our* joy may be complete”), especially in the light of the variant in several manuscripts where “*your*” (ὑμῶν) is used instead of “*our*” (ἡμῶν), which is a valid argument to use a more inclusive rendering which 1cPL definitely will provide in this context, especially in the light of the immediately preceding 1mPL *xae* in the same sentence.

1:5 continues the theme of what the apostles have seen and are writing, which calls for *xae* ‘1mPL’, while 1:6f. continues with the fellowship so *ta* ‘1cPL’ is used again. However, the conditional element in vv. 6-10 introduces a more generic element into *we*, e.g. 1:8 “If *we* say *we* have no sin, *we* deceive ourselves” (this may include the apostles, but a translation with the 1mPL *xae* would strongly distort the meaning). Naro still uses 1cPL here, but if a language group would misunderstand this, another generic rendering is defensible, e.g. “If *one* says *s/he* has no sin...” or “if *people* say *they* have no sin...”. Of course, the use of 1PL brings home the condition even more strongly (because it includes John himself and the audience more directly than in the general “someone”), so if possible, a translator will attempt to keep this more personal touch. The more general version of this condition is also found in 1 Jn. 2:4f, where Naro indeed uses ‘if *someone*’ (*ncēè c'ēem khōèm ...*) and ‘*whoever...*’ (*diim wéém*).

It seems that for Naro, the switch from *xae* ‘1mPL’ and *ta* ‘1cPL’ to 1SG (*tiri* ‘my’ for μου and *-r ko góá* ‘I write’ for γράφω) does not form an impediment for understanding who is being referred to.

It must be assumed that an author may not always have intentionally used “*we*” vs. “*I*”, let alone that he was aware of the different nuances that he wanted to convey. It must be concluded from the discussion that it is hard to find convincing examples where 1PL is used with a pure SG meaning. There is usually some more to it than what can be “repaired” by using the SG instead of the PL. Occasionally, these shades of meaning can be conveyed in translation, often they cannot. We must always take into consideration that a certain shade of meaning that is expressed in the original by a certain number (SG or PL) may get lost when translating it by its opposite number. If a literal translation leads to misunderstanding for most of the speakers of a language, giving an alternative translation should naturally be

¹³³ So Smith 1983, a.l.: “It is equivalent to the singular form γράφω ‘I write’ in 2:1.”

¹³⁴ Cf. Smalley 1984:14: “the writer, in solidarity with all the representatives of orthodoxy in the church”.

¹³⁵ See e.g. Haas et al. 1994, a.l.; Burdick 1985, a.l. and Marshall 1978a, a.l. Cf. also Stauffer 1935:353: “Hier spricht einer im Namen von Vielen, mit denen er sich eins Weiss in Glaube und Erkenntnis”.

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strongly considered. But it must not lead to other problems. Alternatives should be put under careful scrutiny.

5.5.5 3rd person PL with a SG meaning

Focusing our attention now on PL forms in 3rd person that may have a SG meaning, we need to look beyond pronominal forms, because we also find nouns in the same fashion. This section therefore comprises 1. *pluralia tantum*, 2. words that are usually mentioned in the PL but mostly have a SG meaning, and 3. morphemes that normally have a PL meaning but in context pragmatically have a strong SG sense.

The clearest and easiest instances of plurals with a SG sense are formed by *pluralia tantum*: words that *always* appear in PL but have a SG sense,¹³⁶ and are therefore translated by SG forms (depending on the language, of course). English examples of *pluralia tantum* are *spectacles*, *binoculars* and *trousers* – translated into Dutch for example with SG forms (*bril*, *verrekijker*, *broek*). Some of these may “refer to several events (e.g. *athletics*, *news*)”,¹³⁷ or they may have some PL aspect as can be seen in the examples (e.g., *spectacles* have two pieces of glass) but in other languages may be perceived as a SG (*spectacles* “are” one object). An example of a *plurale tantum* is the Greek PL form Ἱεροσόλυμα for Jerusalem, and מַיִם ‘water’ in Hebrew.¹³⁸ Because by definition, *pluralia tantum* always have a SG sense, they do not create a challenge in translation. They are just mentioned here for completeness, and to put our discussion in perspective.

Secondly, there are PL forms in Greek that *usually* have a SG sense but not always. An example is οὐρανός/-οί ‘heaven/-s’. It is often necessary to translate οὐρανοί ‘heavens’ with the SG ‘heaven’. According to Louw and Nida, the term is used in either SG or PL “without distinction in meaning”.¹³⁹ The plural number may be influenced by the Hebrew מַיִם ‘heavens’ which only occurs in PL.¹⁴⁰ The PL may be a relic of the idea that several celestial regions are distinguished, of which God’s dwelling place is the highest.¹⁴¹ This notion is lost when only the SG is used in translation, so one must evaluate whether this loss weighs up against the unnaturalness of using the PL in languages that usually do not use the PL for “heaven”. However, naturalness is only to be abandoned in extreme cases.

¹³⁶ Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 141.

¹³⁷ Crystal 1997:93.

¹³⁸ In some contexts, מַיִם apparently has a PL meaning, but most of the time, the SG sense was intended. Cf. note 140. Interestingly, the Setswana *metsi* ‘water’ is PL in its origin as well.

¹³⁹ Louw & Nida 1996, 1.5.

¹⁴⁰ See Gesenius et al. 1910, § 88.2: מַיִם water and מַיִם heaven are “apparently dual-forms (but really plural)”. Lettinga 2012, § 24n explains the forms as plurals of weak roots with *yod* as third radical” (Lettinga 1972, § 24o still spoke of a “pseudo-dualis”). Jouon & Muraoka 1996, § 91f (“abnormal plural”) consider these forms as plurale tantum (§ 90f), but Gesenius et al. 1910 do not, cf. § 124f, note 4.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Gesenius et al. 1910, § 124.1: “the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points”. Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 141, note 4: “im eigentlichen Sinn der Sgl. herrscht, ausser wo nach juedischer Auffassung mehrere Himmel unterschieden werden”.

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This brings us into the issue that when hearing a translation, the audience is not only confronted with the primary message of the text as such, but also with all kind of secondary elements that come with it. In the plurality of “heavens” for example, a different world view is trickling through in the text. The question is, in each instance, how important this element is. It seems that for most uses, this notion is not an essential one. Still, we do not want to withhold these nuances from the audience, but it may be necessary to gauge in which phase, and how,¹⁴² people should be confronted with these elements. It may be too overwhelming for a people group that has not been confronted with many other cultures different from their own if all these elements are introduced all at once, so that they get totally confused. At the same time, we should be aware of the fact that people from such cultures may feel misled if they find out that certain elements have been filtered out of the translation, even if that was for good reasons.

It also needs to be investigated, to what extent the plurality of the word מֶלֶשׁ indeed indicates this world view. Another option is to interpret it as a PL of *intensity*: the concept of “heaven” or “sky” is so overwhelming that one tends to speak of it in the PL – in which case the notion of “regions” in the “heavens” is absent and needs no translation anyway. This is apparently true of the PL word אלֹהִים, which is translated in many languages with a SG, and even in Hebrew itself combined with verbs and attributes in SG, showing that the idea of the PL is not that the authors of the Bible books thought of several gods.¹⁴³ It would actually be worth the effort to search for options to compensate for the loss of this notion in translation.

Another example of an occasionally used PL form with SG sense is formed by the Greek words “east” and “west”, as in ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ‘from east and west’. In most languages, these forms will be translated with SG forms. In Greek, “east” interestingly is also found in SG (ἀνατολή), for example in Mt. 2:2. In such cases, it must be considered that it can be the nominal form of the verb ἀνατέλλω, which means ‘to come up, to move upward, to rise’,¹⁴⁴ so that the noun here might mean ‘(its) rising’.¹⁴⁵ Assuming that the star followed the usual movements of the bodies in the sky, it must have moved from east to west, so the interpretation of ἀνατολή as referring to the inception of the visibility of the star is logical indeed. However, with this interpretation, αὐτοῦ could be expected after ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ in Mt. 2:9 (‘in its rising’). As it stands now, it is more probable that it means ‘in the east’.¹⁴⁶ In spite of the fact that it remains intriguing that in Greek, a PL is used in v. 1 and a SG in v. 2 and v. 9, there is not much of a contrast between the SG and the PL form

¹⁴² Beside presenting it as a translation option (which may be done in a footnote), one may think of putting it in a glossary, or just mention it when teaching, or in secondary literature.

¹⁴³ See Gesenius et al. 1910, § 124g and 132h. Cf. also note 110.

¹⁴⁴ Louw & Nida 1996, 15.104.

¹⁴⁵ Allen 1965, a.l.: “It is difficult not to suppose that ἀνατολή [rising] here is a technical astronomical expression denoting the beginning of the particular phenomenon expressed here by ἀστήρ [star].”

¹⁴⁶ The only remaining question then is, whether this statement refers to the star or to the men. Considering that a star is moving from east to west every night, so that the men may have seen the star both in east and west, it must refer to the men themselves: “we have seen the star (when we were) in the east.”

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that would motivate a difference in translation: both may be translated the same (most often as a SG).

Still other examples of occasionally used PL forms with SG meaning are ἐκ δεξιῶν ‘on the right’ and ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ‘on the left’, e.g. Mt. 20:21; τὰ μέρη ‘the parts’ (PL) but also ‘region’ or ‘district’ (SG), as in Mt. 2:22;¹⁴⁷ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ‘the Feast of Dedication’ Jn. 10:22; γενέσια ‘birthday feast’ Mt. 14:6.¹⁴⁸

Besides these “*pluralia tantum*”-like words, we thirdly find instances of PL morphemes where *only sometimes* a SG meaning is at stake.

In Mt. 2:20, an angel tells Joseph that “*those* (...) are dead”, apparently referring to Herod who died (which was related in v. 19). According to Turner, this is an allusive plural¹⁴⁹ which is “normal Greek, but late”. Wallace handles this issue under the *Categorical* or *Generalizing Plural* and believes that the PL is used here “to draw the focus away from the particular actor and onto the action.”¹⁵⁰ If this is true, the question of to whom the pronoun refers becomes less important - but the translator must still know what to do with the pronoun.¹⁵¹ Notwithstanding this possibility, Barnes¹⁵² points out that “it may refer to Herod and his son Antipater. He was of the same cruel disposition as his father, and was put to death by his father about five days before his own death.” If this is true, we better leave the PL a PL (to be interpreted as a dual) here.¹⁵³

Mt. 27:44 is brought forward¹⁵⁴ as another example where a SG interpretation is at least possible. It says that on the cross, the robbers (PL) reviled Jesus. But according to a parallel passage (Lk. 23:39-43) the one robber did and the other did not. To solve this possible inconsistency, some interpret the PL in Mt. 27:44 as a SG.¹⁵⁵ We must ask though on which grounds this can be done, and whether it justifies a translation with SG. According to Barnes, the evangelists “for the sake of brevity (...) often attribute to many what is said or done by single persons”.¹⁵⁶ However, the assumed issue is not as problematic as it seems. As becomes clear from the events, first both the robbers reviled Jesus (this is expressed in Mt. 27:44), but afterwards one robber repents (see Lk. 23:39-43). So it is not necessary to translate Mt. 27:44 with a SG.

¹⁴⁷ Also see Jn. 21:6, where the PL τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη apparently has a SG meaning ‘the right side’ (of the ship). It seems that μέρη is assumed in the constructions with “right (side)” and “left (side)”.

¹⁴⁸ See more examples in Blass et al. 2001, § 141.

¹⁴⁹ Turner 1963:7.

¹⁵⁰ Wallace 1996:404.

¹⁵¹ France 2007:90 solves the issue by finding an allusion to Ex. 4:19, where also a PL is found.

¹⁵² Barnes & Cobbin 1978, a.l.

¹⁵³ Translators into Naro would want to make use of this information and attempt to employ a dual, but this would raise more questions than it would answer, as the antecedent Antipater is missing. If we were sure that the information given by Barnes were referred to in Mt. 2:20, one reasonable translation option would be “Herod and his son have died”. At present, the more general common PL is used.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. by Wallace 1996:405.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Beekman & Callow 1974:112.

¹⁵⁶ Barnes & Cobbin 1978, a.l. He quotes Mk. 7:17 with Mt. 15:15; Mk. 5:31 with Lk. 8:45; and Lk. 9:13 with Jn. 6:8-9.

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Another case is the word ὅρκους ‘oaths’ in Mk. 6:26 (and Mt. 14:9). It is remarkable that KJV translates with a SG: “for his oath’s sake”. Blass and Debrunner¹⁵⁷ and Bauer¹⁵⁸ also assert that the PL basically has got a SG meaning. However, it is not unequivocally clear that the SG meaning is the right one. The NT data that are mentioned rather point to a (literal) PL meaning. Herod probably had sworn with more than one statement, or over and over again.¹⁵⁹ This is why many translations still use the PL. And it is also in line with πολλά in Mk. 6:23 ὥμοσεν αὐτῇ πολλά, lit. ‘he swore her *many*'.¹⁶⁰ At the same time it must be said that the PL does not need to be understood in the pure PL sense: ὅρκους probably refers to *one* basic oath (so SG), but this oath was reiterated several times or in different forms (in that sense it is PL). It might even refer to the strength with which it was given (which is why we could again speak of a PL of intensity). So, if translators feel that they should translate with a SG, they have reasonable support, but they should be aware of the fact that there is more to it than just singularity. If the SG sense is chosen in translation, a qualifier may be added, so for example “repeated oath” or “strong oath”.

The mentioned cases show that translators should not interfere with the text more than necessary. If they are not sure about a certain interpretation, they should present the data to the readers as purely as possible, so that they can decide for themselves what the text may have intended. In fact, we must conclude that except for *pluralia tantum* and *pluralia tantum-like* words, we do not find convincing instances of constructions where 3rd PL has 3rd SG meaning.

5.6 Challenges concerning generic meaning

Challenges with respect to P-G-N information may be integrated in a more complex challenge concerning both person and number. This is experienced in questions around generic meaning,¹⁶¹ the phenomenon where morphemes express a non-literal meaning that is “shared by, typical of, or relating to a whole group of similar things”,¹⁶² which in our case implies that the meaning is not limited to the person and number which the morpheme expresses literally, but that it applies to any person (individually or collectively).

It is regularly found that a pronominally used morpheme has a generic meaning. When translating, it is important to be conscious of such a non-literal meaning. As will be seen, generic meaning may be expressed by different (if not all) grammatical persons and numbers, not only in the SL but also in the RL. The discussion includes passives, the subject of which may have a specific person and number reference but which may conceal the agent and are therefore perfect candidates for expressing more generic meanings. Translators may

¹⁵⁷ Blass et al. 2001, § 142: “zur Bezeichnung konkreter Erscheinungsformen.”

¹⁵⁸ Bauer 1971, s.v. ὅρκος: “Pl., auch wenn es sich im Grunde nur um einen Eid handelt.”

¹⁵⁹ Earle & Clarke 1967, a.l.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Vincent 1990, ad Mt. 14:9 who also talks about “*repeated oaths*”.

¹⁶¹ Gender may be part of the complex challenge in some situations, for example where the generic meaning applies to only men or only women, but this is unusual, so it is left out of the discussion.

¹⁶² *Generic* n.d.

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want to keep this information in the back of their minds in order to own a fuller gamut of translation options in expressing generic meaning. In this section, forms in SG and PL, and in 1st, 2nd and 3rd person with a generic meaning will be exemplified.

5.6.1 Singular

1st person SG

Paul in his epistles may sometimes use the 1st person SG not to denote himself but to extend a more general statement.¹⁶³ For example, in Rom. 3:7 (“if through *my* lie God’s truth abounds to his glory, why am *I* still being condemned as a sinner?”), it would be absurd to take the “I” literally.¹⁶⁴ It would give the impression that Paul has lied, is lying or will be lying. The statement only makes sense if Paul puts this into the mouth of his opponent¹⁶⁵ and if “I” expresses a generic meaning (e.g. “if through *someone’s* lie...”). At the same time, it should be considered that the generic meaning on its own does not necessarily do justice to all elements in the context, so a careful choice should be made from the options for translating genericity in the RL. In Naro for example, “But some people might say: ...” was added to the text.¹⁶⁶

Another example where a literal translation with “I” needs to be critically evaluated is 1 Cor. 10:29b-30: “For why should *my* liberty be determined by someone else’s conscience? If *I* partake with thankfulness, why am *I* denounced because of that for which *I* give thanks?” Here as well, it is more profitable to take 1SG as a general “I”. Apparently, the use of “I” here was not considered a problem for the Naro hearers and readers, as 1SG was used in the translation. The same applies to many other translations, as it is difficult to find a translation that does not use “I” and “my”.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps the double use of the emphatic ἐγώ ‘I’ in v. 30 contributes to this. Another factor that plays a role is the fact that, contrary to Rom. 3:7, a literal understanding of 1SG in these verses will not hurt the understanding of the text too much. A translator will need to keep an eye on how the audience of the RL will understand such verses. As soon as signals are received that the audience is confused, an alternative is to be considered.

1 Cor. 13:1-3 repeats “I” several times, e.g. in v. 1: “If *I* speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, *I* am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal.” In these three verses, the issue of the possible meaning of “I” is intermingled with the hypothetical status of the conditions that Paul is uttering, so that the question is to be asked “whether the conditions

¹⁶³ Beekman & Callow 1974:108 discuss Rom. 3:7, 1 Cor. 10:29f, and 1 Cor. 13:1-3. These verses may be the clearest examples of texts where a 1SG has a PL meaning, but there is more to the texts than an adaptation to just plurality will satisfy, as we shall see.

¹⁶⁴ H. Ridderbos 1959, a.l.: “uiteraard in representerende zin bedoeld” and “ieder mens persoonlijk”.

¹⁶⁵ “Paul applies to himself “what really applied to his opponents”” (Sanday & Headlam 1896:74).

¹⁶⁶ Perhaps following the suggestion in Barclay M. Newman & Nida 1994, a.l.

¹⁶⁷ BGT, part of 28-30 (which were all taken together) uses 2PL and 3PL: “Stel dat *jullie* dat vlees dan toch eten, en God ervoor danken. Dan zal die ander denken: *Die christenen* doen wat *ze* zelf willen, *ze* trekken zich van niemand iets aan. En dan zal hij slechte dingen gaan vertellen over *jullie* en over God.”

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are likely to be fulfilled”.¹⁶⁸ Did Paul give away everything (v. 3a)? At least he has not given his body to be burned (v. 3b). Because of the hypothetical content of the conditions, the 1SG is automatically drawn into a broader horizon of meaning, where “I” can be more readily be understood as “(some)one”: “If it should happen that *one*....” ”¹⁶⁹ Another option is the use of a generic “you”, as in BGT.¹⁷⁰

It is interesting that in nearly all examples, the “I” is connected to *ei* ‘if’. It may be that in many languages, this connection indicates a more hypothetical status, so that the involvement of “I” will not necessarily be perceived as negative. Nonetheless, an evaluation of the possible confusion is more than justified.¹⁷¹

2nd person SG

To start with a well-known example: the Ten Commandments are given in 2SG. It is evident however, that the SG injunction “You shall not steal” is addressed to all Israelites – and it is being applied to all mankind. This could be an instance of generic use: ‘*one* should not steal,’ or ‘no-one should steal’. At the same time, it is clear that such a translation in English would miss the personal directness of 2SG.

1 Cor. 4:7 could also be mentioned in this respect: “What do *you* have that *you* did not receive?” The pronoun “you” (SG) surely does not relate to only one person in the congregation so must rather be interpreted as referring to “any one of you”.¹⁷² At the same time, in the light of the previous verse: “one man over against another” it can be easily seen that Paul intends a personal application for each.

The generic usage of 2SG is found in many languages, but sometimes need to be re-expressed, for example with “one”: “*one* can do it like this”.¹⁷³ The generic meaning is to be assumed in Mt. 4:7, where Jesus said to the devil: “Again it is written, ‘*You* shall not put the Lord *your* God to the test.’ ” Beekman and Callow argue that in some languages, the command is simply understood as addressed to the devil, but not to anyone else.¹⁷⁴ In such cases, using the PL alternative may be considered, or the impersonal “one”.

A related but still different way of using the 2nd SG is found in Paul’s epistles where he applies the typical *diatribe* style,¹⁷⁵ as in Rom. 2 (e.g. v. 17 “if *you* call yourself a Jew and

¹⁶⁸ Ellingworth & Hatton 1995, ad v. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Ellingworth & Hatton 1995, ad v. 1.

¹⁷⁰ “Als *je* geen liefde hebt voor anderen, zijn *je* woorden zinloos.”

¹⁷¹ For a discussion of a further example, Gal. 2:18 (For if *I* build up again those things that *I* have destroyed, *I* prove myself (to be) a transgressor), see Wallace 1996:391.

¹⁷² Ellingworth & Hatton 1995, a.l.

¹⁷³ Someone like Wallace does not find the generic use of 2SG in Greek: “In the Greek NT there is, most likely, no indefinite second person as there is in modern colloquial English” (Wallace 1996:392).

However, the exemplifications make clear that some instances of 2SG at least come close to it.

¹⁷⁴ Beekman & Callow 1974:109.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Foerster 1968:253-255 and 231. It should be noted that “there is a difference between pagan diatribes, (...) directed against a present individual, and Christian diatribes (...) in which the speaker seeks to persuade an audience by debating an imaginary opponent” (*Diatribe* n.d.).

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rely on the law”).¹⁷⁶ The use of this device has to do with the vivid and recurrently dialogic character of Paul’s style.¹⁷⁷ If these verses are translated with a SG, these verses could be misunderstood as if Paul is addressing a certain individual. If this is a problem, it can be solved by either using the PL¹⁷⁸ or by adding an explanatory phrase, like using a vocative (for example, using “Jew” found in Rom. 2:17 to make the reference clear).

3rd person SG¹⁷⁹

The use of 3SG may be generic as well: it may be “used to refer to all those who fulfil some particular condition or to whom some qualifying statement applies.”¹⁸⁰ For example, in Jn. 5:24 (RSV) Jesus says: “*he* who hears my word and believes (...) has eternal life; *he* does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life.” And in Rom. 4:8 (RSV) Paul quotes David saying: “[B]lessed is *the man* against whom the Lord will not reckon *his* sin.” In these cases, the words “*he who...*” and “*the man...*” do not refer to one person, but to *all* that are characterised as such, all who fulfil the condition. This is also called the “collective (general) singular”.¹⁸¹

In such cases, one again needs to decide which communicates better: the SG or the PL (as in Jn. 5:24 in GNBUK: “*those* who hear my words...”). Or a more general option can be chosen, as in Jn. 5:24 in ESV: “*whoever* hears my word...”

5.6.2 Plural

1st person PL

1PL may also be used in a generic sense. Lithgow,¹⁸² when giving examples for English, mentions the sentence “*We* all can do it like this” as a possible equivalent for “*You* can do it like this”, “*People* can do it like this” or “*One* can do it like this”. Wilde¹⁸³ mentions 2 Cor. 5:10 “we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ” as an example of an impersonal 1PL, referring to all humans.

There are exhortations in which Paul uses *we* in a quite general sense, including himself and the addressees, but where an even wider (even generic) application is possible, as in “*we* must not indulge in sexual immorality” in 1 Cor. 10:8. When retaining “*we*” in the translation, it is good to consider that occasionally an injunction may carry negative implications as to past conduct. Beekman and Callow mention the objection of a language

¹⁷⁶ Other examples are Rom. 9:19f; 10:6-9; 14; 1 Cor. 7:16,21,27,28. It is often difficult to distinguish whom Paul actually addresses: part of the addressees of his letter, or an imaginary audience?

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 281, note 3.

¹⁷⁸ Beekman and Callow’s word of caution should be heeded, though: in Rom. 2, if “*you* (PL)” is used, “this gives the impression that Paul is addressing the believers at Rome, whereas it is generally agreed that chapter 2 is particularly directed to the Jews”, Beekman & Callow 1974:109.

¹⁷⁹ In several ways, this issue touches on the one of gender neutrality as well, as gender-neutral translation will often be applied to generic statements, see 5.4.2.

¹⁸⁰ Beekman & Callow 1974:110.

¹⁸¹ Blass et al. 2001, § 139.

¹⁸² Lithgow 1967.

¹⁸³ Wilde 2020:240.

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helper with the use of “we” in the example given: “*We* must not indulge in sexual immorality” was felt to imply that Paul had committed fornication, or was in imminent danger of doing so. Beekman and Callow write that in this type of situation, *you* (PL) can be used, or an indefinite construction such as “none of us”. In the first option, the element of “Paul standing in as much need of exhortation as they themselves”¹⁸⁴ is absent, which would make this option less desirable. Besides, the use of *we* instead of *you* can also have the function (consciously or unconsciously) of mitigating the potency of an exhortation.¹⁸⁵ So the second option is preferable.

2nd person PL

With respect to a generic usage of 2PL, Lithgow¹⁸⁶ points out that in 1 Cor. 5:11 “*You* [PL] should not eat with such a person”, in the Muyuw language a literal rendering would be understood as “*You* should not eat (but I may do so)” and suggests a translation with inclusive *we*: “*We* (inclusive) should not eat with such persons”. This is one way to express the generic meaning that is related here. Another option could be “*One* should not eat with such persons.”

3rd person PL

A 3PL usually refers to mentioned antecedents, but it is also possible that it refers to a more generic meaning. This latter option is also called an impersonal PL.¹⁸⁷ An example is found in Acts 3:2 “whom *they* laid daily at the gate of the temple”,¹⁸⁸ and in Mt. 1:23 “*they* shall call his name Immanuel”.¹⁸⁹ NIV still uses the active construction here, but GNBUK (“he will be called”) and REB89 modified it to a passive, apparently to avoid the subject “they”.

Lk. 12:20 (lit. “this night *they require* your soul of you”) was changed to passive even in the KJV (“this night thy soul *shall be required* of thee”). By translating it this way, it remains at least clear that some agent is at work. GNBUK pushes the implied subject (whoever that may be) to the background by rendering “you will have to give up your life” (someone might still find the notion of “give up *to people / someone*”), while CEVUK (“tonight you will die”) totally rules out the idea of some agent behind the death.

If a language does not have passive constructions, Beekman suggests to supply an indefinite subject in these examples (e.g. *someone* or *people*).¹⁹⁰ It is evident that with all

¹⁸⁴ Beekman & Callow 1974:116.

¹⁸⁵ See Levinsohn 2017b:83 (§ 7.2.1): “Exhortations in Greek may be in second person (most potent), first person (less potent) or third person (least potent).”

¹⁸⁶ Lithgow 1967.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Turner 1963:292. S. Thompson 2005:18, speaks of “third person plural active verbs with indefinite subject”; Blass et al. 2001, § 130.1 of “[d]as unbestimmte Subjekt” and “die subjektlose 3. Pl”. Wallace 1996:402 uses “Indefinite Plural”.

¹⁸⁸ Beekman 1965a, § 1.6 suggests that the verb here can be rendered passively. This was followed in, for example, NIV84.

¹⁸⁹ Beekman 1965a, § 1.6 rightly states that no antecedent is intended, but mistakenly wrote that in the King James version this phrase is rendered passively.

¹⁹⁰ Beekman 1965a, § 1.6.

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changes, care must be taken to keep the original content. Beekman notes for example, that in Lk. 12:20, the subject to be supplied is God who is “neither impersonal nor plural”.¹⁹¹

5.6.3 Passive

Passives form an alternate way of expressing a generic meaning. Rom. 10:10 καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται ‘for with the heart *it is believed...*’ is a good example of that generic use. Many languages require the addition of a personal subject in this verse:¹⁹² “*man believeth*” (KJV), “*one believes*” (ESVUK), “*it is with your heart that you believe*” (NIV84), “*it is by our faith that we...*” (GNBUK), “*if you truly believe this*” (CEVUK), “*when they believe*” (EASY). Another option is that the verb is nominalised: “*faith in the heart*” (REB89).

In the Naro language, the passive is used widely,¹⁹³ but in this verse, it was chosen to translate the passive voice with an active one, with *ta* ‘1cPL’ as subject. Interestingly though, the phrase εἰς δικαιοσύνην ‘to righteousness’ was translated with a passive, requiring the same subject:

(198) tcáó-a	=ta	cgoa	=ta	ko	dtcòm,
heart-JUNC	=1cPLwith	1cPL	DUR	believe	
a	=ta	a	ko	tchàno-kagu-è	
and	=1cPL	and	DUR	right-CAUS-PASS	

‘with *our hearts we believe, and we are caused to be righteous*’

The passive voice in Mt. 7:2 μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν ‘it will be measured to you’ seems to raise less difficulties for English translations, as many of them kept the passive (Naro retained it as well), although some made the change to active voice and therefore have added a personal subject, as in “he [God] will apply to you the same rules” (GNBUK).

5.6.4 Rendering a generic meaning

In this section, we found quite a few ways in which a generic meaning was expressed in Greek: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3PL and passives. Seeing that all these may have a generic meaning theoretically makes them all alternate options for rendering a generic meaning in the RL. However, each option has its own extra shade of meaning, as we have seen.

Different options to translate this generic meaning are exemplified¹⁹⁴ in the translation of Lk. 14:35 where it is said of the salt that lost its taste: ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό ‘they throw it out’. While KJV adds *men* (CEVUK *people*): “men cast it out”, and ESVUK uses the passive: “It is thrown away”, EASY employs the generic *you*: “You would just throw it

¹⁹¹ Wallace 1996:402: “Sometimes the indefinite plural is a circumlocution for naming God as subject” (quoting Zerwick & Smith 1963:1).

¹⁹² It is interesting that Barclay M. Newman & Nida 1994, a.l. say that the form “literally” (!) means “one believes” – even though “one” cannot be found.

¹⁹³ Cf. footnote 51 in ch. 9.

¹⁹⁴ Also see Rom. 10:10 in the previous section.

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away". Some languages have the option of an impersonal 3rd person, as in Dutch (*men*, e.g. HSV "men gooit het weg"), French (*on*, e.g. FCR18 "on le jette dehors") and German (*man*, LU1912 "man wird's wegwerfen"). In translation praxis, it can be useful to be aware of all the options mentioned. In each case of a generic meaning where a literal translation of a certain morpheme causes confusion, it must be researched which of the mentioned alternatives will serve best to render that generic P-G-N information into the RL.

5.7 Observations and strategies

This chapter started the investigation into challenges caused by P-G-N information in translation. At the end of this and the following chapters, observations will be summarised, and strategies for translation will be formulated.

Observations

The challenges which were discussed here find their root in the SL text and are therefore so general that they occur in all languages, including Naro (the subsequent chapters will focus specifically on Naro-related challenges). They are based on mismatches between the literal use of morphs relating to person, gender or number and their pragmatic use.

Many possible switches (from SL to RL) in person, gender or number have received our attention. In the part about *person* mismatches, it was observed that a 3rd person element might sometimes have a 1st person meaning, or a 2nd person meaning. Other person mismatches were difficult to find.

Gender mismatches between languages, on the level of gender assignment of nouns, are usually not considered a problem. Gender choices are very much language specific, and do not cause great issues. As Naro gender assignment is flexible, it will be noticed in the following chapters that extra attention should be given to the choices made for Naro. Gender neutrality, though, is an issue that needs attention all the time. On the one hand, the translation must be loyal to the original writers and world view, on the other hand, the text in the RL should try to express that women are included, wherever appropriate. The dilemma is not easy to solve.

Number mismatches were found for nearly every person: 1SG, 2SG and 3SG may have a meaning in their PL counterpart, and vice versa. Especially in 1PL, several possible meanings were distinguished, which should stimulate extra vigilance in translation.

In many P-G-N options, generic meaning possibilities were discovered. In exegesis and translation, this calls for a lot of care. The many possibilities also give rise to a broad spectrum of options to choose from when translating.

In the discussions in this chapter, rather than choosing a specific line of Bible translation theory, we wanted to look into translation options and point out implications of each option in specific circumstances. This fits well with the work of a Bible translation consultant who works with teams using different approaches, and with a theory like the Skopos one, which refers a translator to the desires of the stakeholders, so that our approach is open to differing

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ways of translating. At the same time, by indicating pros and cons, translators do receive guidance in the translation work.

Strategies

It may be necessary to express the intended (non-literal) meaning of a P-G-N element in the RL. The following guidelines may be of import in considering such a change.

- A transformation in PGN-markers should be applied when there is a tendency in a certain language or culture to misunderstand, in whatever way, the literal meaning of the original P-G-N element. Avoiding confusion is the bottom-line in weighing alternative translation options. This is not a strategy with clear-cut answers, though. The confusion that is avoided on one side may give rise to confusion on another side.
- An inquiry must be made, with every translation option, of what message is conveyed by the option. The advantages and disadvantages of each option must be carefully weighed.

When evaluating translation options in the RL for a certain P-G-N feature in the SL, four steps may be distinguished:

1. Find the meaning of a morph which indicates person, gender and/or number information in the SL text. This requires thorough exegetical work. It is not always easy to notice that a form in the SL has a meaning that is different from the one expected (the literal one), as we so often interpret a form well unconsciously, without realising that we have applied a shift in meaning in our mind. One indication that a P-G-N feature in the SL has a meaning that is different from the one expected on the basis of its form may be the possible miscommunication that is yielded by the literal option in a RL. What is going on can be very diverse: the literal meaning may need to be broadened (from “masculine only” to including women; or applying a SG to a plurality); or narrowed down (from a group (PL) to one person (SG)); or a change in person needs to be made in order to understand the right meaning (for example, understanding 1st person for 3rd person).
2. Assess the intended effect of using the form that was used in the SL. Possible intentions are: making a text more vivid and strong, being less direct to avoid confrontation, claiming authority, or showing humility - just to mention a few possibilities found in this chapter. We should not forget that these intentions may well have been unconscious ones, but this does not mitigate their reality.

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3. Evaluate whether the RL may have the ability to reach the same effect with the same means. We should be aware that “what is a vivid rhetorical device in Greek may only prove (...) to be misleading”¹⁹⁵ in the RL. Readers may interpret SG and PL just in their literal senses. If confusion arises indeed, it will be good to gauge the quality (content) and quantity (measure) of the miscommunication of the literal translation option. Even if it does not convey a wrong sense, we must ascertain that it is the most natural way to reach a certain intended effect in the RL.

4. Seek alternative ways in the RL to reach the intended effect, for example, by making a switch (in either person, gender and/or number, and/or in voice), by using emphatic forms, or any other appropriate rhetorical device of the language.¹⁹⁶ With these, it is vital to gauge possible unintended side-effects of the changes that are tried out. We have seen several times in this chapter, that where suggestions were made for a non-literal translation, elements of the meaning were actually lost, so, as always, caution should be applied.

Having come to the end of this chapter, in which we have discovered general challenges in translating P-G-N information in all languages (challenges that were raised by exegesis of texts in the SL), we are now in a position to better evaluate challenges in the area of person, gender and number that are specific for Naro with its distinctions in those areas.

¹⁹⁵ Beekman & Callow 1974:107.

¹⁹⁶ Beekman & Callow 1974:107f.

6. General exegetical challenges

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5, we considered translation-theoretical challenges regarding person, gender and number which arise from issues in the SL (Greek) and therefore are relevant for translation into *all* languages. In this and subsequent chapters we investigate specific challenges posed to translation by the presence of PGN-markers in Naro as the RL. The challenges are divided into four categories. The present chapter deals with *general exegetical* challenges, while the following chapters will consider challenges that can be categorised as *cultural* (ch. 7), *hermeneutical* (ch. 8) and *discourse-analytical* (ch. 9).

As a matter of general introduction, we will first discuss the correspondences and differences between the Greek and Naro PGN and clusivity systems, including a list of PGN possibilities that Naro offers for each of the Greek pronominal categories (6.2), and explore the interplay of exegesis and translation (6.3). We will then discuss exegetical challenges that mainly concern gender and number, divided according to the 1st (6.4), 2nd (6.5) and 3rd person (6.6). There are many places in the NT where there is a potential PGN problem in translating from Greek to Naro, therefore we will only examine representative examples.

6.2 PGN translation possibilities in Naro

When considering possible categories of confusion in the use of PGNs, we are dealing with the three features: person, gender and number. As Naro distinguishes three persons, three genders and three numbers, theoretically there are $3 \times 3 \times 3 = 27$ categories of possible confusion. However, as Greek and Naro both distinguish the same three grammatical persons, the *person* category generally does not create problems. Therefore, the 27 categories of possible confusion are limited to 3 (genders) \times 3 (numbers) = 9. Because the *person* feature remains constant, the examples in this chapter are organised according to person: they will be discussed for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person respectively.

With respect to *number*, Naro (other than Greek) distinguishes between dual and plural, so when translating into Naro, a translator will regularly need to decide whether two or more people are addressed: for example, when Jesus is talking to His disciples, we must decide whether He addresses two of them, or more. As singularity will not provide an issue, this implies that instead of three number options, there are only two options to discuss, which reduces the options to two, so we are left with 3 (genders) \times 2 (numbers) = 6 categories to be discussed within each grammatical person. In practice, the number of confusing categories is further limited, so each section will exhibit a different number of sub-sections.

In Greek, articles, nouns and 3rd person pronouns carry information about *gender*, which is at least helpful in translation. However, nouns, articles and pronouns are not always available in the Greek text, so that we are often left with the verb form only – which does not specify whether the subject is male or female or neuter. Also, 1st and 2nd person

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pronouns do not indicate gender. When translating into Naro, we will therefore need to ask whether a plural referent consists of men and/or women, for example in situations where Jesus' disciples are together with other people, or where Jesus may have spoken to the (male) disciples, but intended to include a wider group of men and women (not present) in His “you” with which He addressed them.¹

The possible confusions arising from the gender and number options make it necessary to ask questions all the time with respect to how many people are referred to, and of which gender: to whom does *we / you / they* refer? To two or more? To men and/or women? In the 2nd person singular, Naro distinguishes between masculine and feminine. In the 3rd person, we find the additional neuter gender as well.

In total we have five sets of pronominal forms to discuss: 1non-SG,² 2SG, 2non-SG, 3SG and 3non-SG, shown in Table 29 in boxes. Greek only indicates which set is being referred to (for example, the set of 1st person non-SG: *we*) but usually does not distinguish between the members of the set.³ Because Naro does distinguish these, a decision must be made each time as to which element of the set is to be used in Naro. In the sets below, the basic⁴ forms of the PGN-markers are represented. As clusivity options are closely related to the PGN-system, they will receive some attention as well.

		SG	DU	PL	DU-INCL	DU-EXCL	PL-INCL	PL-EXCL
1	m	ra		tsam	xae	gatsam	sitsam	gaxae
	f	ra		sam	se	gasam	sisam	gase
	c	--		kham	ta	gakham	sikham	gata
2	m	tsi		tsao	xao			
	f	si		sao ⁵	sao			
	c	--		khao	tu			
3	m	-m		tsara	xu			
	f	-s		sara	zi			
	c	i/-n/ne		khara	ne			

Table 29: Naro sets of pronominal forms that are expressed with the same morpheme in Greek

All the PGN-markers in the set of the non-SG 1st person may occur in inclusive and exclusive pro-forms (indicated by the box with a fine line). Generally speaking, the simple

¹ See ch. 8 on hermeneutical issues.

² Naro does not differentiate between m and f in 1SG (see 3.3.1), so there is no challenge in this area.

³ As said, Greek articles, nouns and 3rd person pronouns carry information about gender.

⁴ Cf. Table 4 in ch. 1. In different grammatical contexts, the surface forms may differ.

⁵ The Naro PGNs for 2fDU and 2fPL are homophonic (both *sao*), so one could say that the “2nd person (non-SG)” set consists of five options.

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form of the dual or plural may be used, but in some grammatical contexts, namely where these PGNs are combined with a possessive or postposition, a choice must be made to use either the inclusive (with *ga-* added to the PGN-marker) or the exclusive form (with *si-*).⁶ In those circumstances, the exegete must decide which of these two options should be used. Theoretically then, the translator into Naro has eighteen options from which to choose, to express the referent of any Greek 1PL form.

Assistance for finding the right PGN in each case is limited. There are some publications that give some guidance with regard to the question whether *we* is to be interpreted as inclusive or exclusive,⁷ but the questions provided by Naro yield a daunting task for which help is hardly available.

A different kind of problem for the translator arises from the ambiguity of the pronominal form *ne/-n*, which may be interpreted as either 3cSG or 3cPL. In this case, rather than Naro having *more* options than Greek, resulting in disambiguation in the translated text, Naro has *fewer* options than Greek, leading to ambiguity in the translated text. An example of this comes from Gen. 1, where the Naro translation uses *x'áà=n* (light=3c) twice: once where the referent in the ST is singular, and once where it is plural: in Gen. 1:3 (“let there be light”), it indicates ‘light’ generically. However, a more specific interpretation by the hearer is also possible (*lights*), so that a hearer might understand the clause as meaning ‘let there be lights [PL]’. This latter interpretation is intended in Gen. 1:14, where the context makes clear that *x'áàn* must refer to specific ‘lights’, as it refers to the sun, moon and stars. In spite of all its PGN possibilities then, Naro is not able to distinguish between all possible nuances.⁸

Naro uses some PGN-markers as forms of respectful address. Such honorific usages do not feature in the Naro translation, however, so they are not treated in this study.

6.3 Exegesis, translation and languages

This chapter discusses the general exegetical challenges raised by the presence of PGN-markers in Naro. Exegesis is the process of exploring the meaning of a text.⁹ Because a text always contains elements that could have been elaborated further,¹⁰ questions about what a text wants to say are always there.

⁶ See 3.3.7 (PGN-5).

⁷ For example, SIL International Translation Department 1999, and Filbeck 1994. Other publications discuss problem verses in this respect, e.g. Kijne 1966 for 1 and 2 Corinthians.

⁸ In Gen. 1:16, *x'áà khara* ‘lights (3cDU)’ was used, referring to sun and moon. Obviously, the common gender here is not used in a generic way, but in a collective sense.

⁹ What the *text* means is usually the same as what the *author* wanted to communicate, but the *sensus auctoris* is mediated through the text, and as we have a more objective basis for research in the text, exegesis usually focuses on that. Cf. Spencer 2012:48.

¹⁰ Cf. Boas 1911:43 “in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed”.

6. General exegetical challenges

Translation renders a text from a SL into a RL. Usually, a translator will want to do this accurately, clearly and naturally.¹¹ As part of translating accurately, the translator generally wants to give the new audience a helpful tool for deciding independently about the probable meaning of a text, so it will aim to keep many of the exegetical options open. It will not want to make explicit probable implicatures in the ST in a way that excludes alternative probable implicatures in the ST, but at the same time, it also will seek to prevent understandings of the translation that the ST does not intend. If a certain meaning in the SL is (reasonably) obvious, it is better to disambiguate the options and make the probable meaning clear in the translation.

Many exegetical possibilities are not resolved in translation but are simply transferred from SL to RL, so they basically remain the same issues. But each RL forces different decisions about the exegesis of the SL text, depending on the various features of that language.¹² In some languages, there may be questions about which respect forms the authors might have used if they had spoken the RL. In other languages, the direction of movements needs to be studied, as the verb system in those languages requires such information. In one language, it may not make any difference in translation whether the exegesis points in the direction of a dual or a plural, while in another language (like Naro) it is very important. So the work of translation raises specific exegetical issues. Many exegetical issues have been discussed in the past already, but the confrontation with other languages raises additional questions. Where the features of SL and RL differ (as in our case: different particulars of gender and number), translators are obliged to make adaptations that influence the exegesis made by the hearer. The more the RL differs from the SL, the more exegesis the translators will need to do.

For example, in *εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα* ‘for we saw his star’ (Mt. 2:2), the 1PL (“we”) raises the same exegetical questions in English as it does in Greek, as the range of possible meanings of “we” in English is almost identical to the range of possible meanings of the equivalent Greek morphemes that represent 1PL. The exegetical questions of the precise referent of “we” (e.g. how many, male or female or mixed, including the hearer and/or others or not) does not need to be decided for translation into English, as the questions that may face the hearer of the English translation will be basically the same as the questions

¹¹ This depends on the translation brief. An interlinear translation for example will not aim for a clear and natural communication – which actually implies that the accuracy will suffer as well, at least above word level.

¹² We are talking here mainly about the exegesis of the text in the SL. Another level of exegesis is the exegesis of the text in Naro. On that level, the hearer also tries to find the meaning of the original text, but then as mediated by the Naro language. The outcomes of the exegetical process on this second level has repercussions on the translation, as it gives a tool for comparing what one gathers from the Naro text with what one gathers from the Greek. If the translation gives rise to conclusions that cannot be corroborated by conclusions drawn from the Greek text, the translation should be changed.

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which may face the hearer of the Greek ST. So there is no exegetical decision with respect to the Greek 1PL that will affect the translation into English.¹³

However, as there are at least six different translation options for the Greek 1PL in Naro (and as there is no *general* word for it, covering all six functions), the Naro translator cannot automatically transfer the Greek 1PL into the RL. She has to decide on the referent of 1PL and express that in the translation – so those exegetical choices become part of the translated text. If one reads a text in English, he may ask “who is meant by this *we*?” But if one reads a text in Naro, the possible referents of *we* have been significantly reduced (by the selection of one of at least six options), so the question is a long way towards being answered.¹⁴ Because of this, reading translations in different languages gives insight into how differing questions are answered, depending on the features of those languages.

In this way, the features of each RL shape the questions that the translator must ask and answer of the ST. Every RL requires, and every translation creates, a different borderline between exegesis and translation. The more a RL differs from the SL, the more exegetical work the translator will have to do. Bringing together two languages, one must be aware of the specific challenges that the RL – in relation to the SL – poses to the translator. For translation of Greek into Naro, the general exegetical challenges may be divided into the requirement to specify number (DU/PL), and the requirement to specify gender (m/f/c). This will be elaborated in the following discussions about challenges in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person.

6.4 Challenges within the 1st person

This section will discuss gender (all sub-sections), number (6.4.2 and 6.4.3) and clusivity (6.4.4) challenges within the 1st person.

6.4.1 Gender (*we* may believe, Mk. 15:32)

Naro confronts us with an ambiguity with the 1st person in Mk. 15:32. In this account of the crucifixion of Jesus, we read:

“³¹So also the chief priests with the scribes mocked him to one another, saying, ‘He saved others; he cannot save himself. ³²Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross that *we* may see and believe.’ ”

At first sight, *we* seems to refer only to the chief priests and the scribes that are mentioned in v. 31: they challenge Jesus, if He really is the Messiah, to come from the cross, “so that *we* (xae ‘1mPL’) might believe”. The words πρὸς ἄλλήλους (NIV ‘among themselves’) favour this interpretation.

¹³ In some cases, especially where hearers may experience confusion, a translator will decide to help the hearers by making clear which option is meant. For example, if the word *they* can be interpreted in various ways in context, translators might disambiguate.

¹⁴ There is still a possibility that questions about the content of 1PL remain - at an even more specific level. Several of such questions were handled in ch. 5 (see esp. 5.5.4 and 5.6.2).

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However, it is also possible that the leaders are referring to themselves *together with the crowd*. By using the common PGN *ta* ‘1cPL’, the leaders would have influenced the crowd even more strongly: if Jesus at least could exhibit some power, then *they and the crowd* would believe. In the light of the whole confrontation between the leaders and Jesus, the leaders, had they spoken Naro, might well have used the common 1PL to exacerbate their mockery toward Jesus; not only the leaders, but the whole crowd has forsaken him.

There is still an argument against the use of the common PGN. In the male-dominant society of the period, they might have used the masculine PGN (*xae* ‘1mPL’) anyway, referring to themselves as chief priests and scribes as well as the Israelite males, as being (in their eyes) the most important section of society. In any case, there were probably not many women around the cross.

However, present-day hearers will not naturally understand that the masculine PGN includes all the men standing around. This would be much clearer if the common PGN *ta* ‘1cPL’ were used. Therefore, in spite of the strong indicators for using a male-only PGN, we may choose the *common one*¹⁵ – and in fact, this is the one used in the Naro translation.

6.4.2 Number and gender - 1 (*our* brother and sister, Phlm. 1:1)

Other examples of ambiguity within the 1st person are found in Phlm. 1:1-2, where Paul uses 1PL a few times:

Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Φιλήμονι τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ συνεργῷ **ἡμῶν**² καὶ Ἀπφίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ Ἀρχίππῳ τῷ συστρατιώτῃ **ἡμῶν**

‘Paul, a prisoner for Christ Jesus, and Timothy **our** brother, to Philemon **our** beloved fellow worker ²and Apphia **our** sister and Archippus **our** fellow soldier, and the church in your house.’¹⁶

In Naro, 1PL appears five times in these verses, while the Greek text has **ἡμῶν** ‘our’ only twice. The first reason for this abundance of 1PL markers is that the Naro translation team preferred a more explanatory introduction of the author(s) of the letter. Instead of “Paul … and Timothy … to Philemon and …”, our Naro translation has

- (199) *Paulo =ra a (...) a (...) Timoteo=m cgoa hāa, =tsam ko*
Paul =1SG COP and Timothy=3mSG with be =2mDU DUR
ncēe=s tcgāya =sa góá máá =tsi
this=3sSG letter =3sSG write to =2mSG
'I am Paul ... I am with Timothy ... We write to Philemon...'

In such an introduction, Naro requires a PGN-marker to explicate the grammatical person of the subject, so in this case *I* and *we* had to be inserted.¹⁷ This first occurrence of

¹⁵ The common PGN is general enough that it does not require a Naro hearer to think that women *must* be included.

¹⁶ The discussion of the two “our”s is split into two sections for practical reasons.

¹⁷ It was also necessary to insert a copula construction (*Paulo ra a* ‘I am Paul’), and a verb (*góá máá* ‘write to’).

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1PL in these verses needs no discussion: it must be about Paul and Timothy, so *tsam* ‘1mDU’ was used: “we (two men) write to you”.

Secondly, two of the 1PL-markers in the Naro version of this text stem from the fact that it is difficult to say ‘**the** brother’ and ‘**the** sister’: it must be indicated *whose* brother or sister one is talking about. The most likely interpretation here is ‘our’ brother/sister (see below). This means that the Naro equivalent for “our” occurs four times in these verses. In all these four cases, we need to make a decision about their reference, at least with respect to number and gender. They will be discussed consecutively. In each case, three of the six grammatical options for translating the 1PL into Naro are possible:¹⁸

- *tsam* ‘1mDU’ for Paul plus one other companion
- *xae* ‘1mPL’ for Paul plus more than one companion
- *ta* ‘1cPL’ for Paul plus his addressees and/or others

The first decision is about Timothy as ὁ ἀδελφός ‘the brother’, which in Naro requires a family member to relate to. Translating ‘*my* brother’ would be possible, but in Greek one might have expected μοῦ ‘my’, if this were the intended meaning. The article ὁ ‘the’ indicates a more general reference, and/or that the identity of the brother is knowledge that is shared between the writer and the addressee,¹⁹ which makes the translation ‘*our*’ brother more plausible. The most reasonable interpretation is that Paul would use *ta* ‘1cPL’ to refer to the ‘fellowship of all believers’.²⁰

In addition to the PGN-marker, Naro requires a choice here between the inclusive and the exclusive pro-form. As there is no question about whether or not the addressees are included in this fellowship, the inclusive pro-form was used, which indicates that Timothy is the brother of ‘us – men and women, including you addressees’ (*gata* ‘1cPL:INCL’).

The second time we need to decide on the translation of “our” is for the reference to the main addressee of the letter, Philemon, who is explicitly mentioned as *our* fellow worker. The Greek 2PL genitive here might indicate that Philemon is a fellow worker in relation to:

1. Paul (a majestic plural, which might result in the use of the singular *tiri* ‘my’)
2. Paul and Timothy (indicated by *tsam* ‘1mDU’)
3. Paul with other male workers in God’s Kingdom (requiring *xae* ‘1mPL’)
4. Paul plus other workers in God’s Kingdom, both male and female (*ta* ‘1cPL’).

The majestic plural is not a feasible option in such a personal letter to Philemon;²¹ Paul would rather have used ‘my’ to refer to himself. Also, having just mentioned Timothy, it would be most peculiar if Paul did not mean to include Timothy in the “we” of “*our brother*”. This makes the second option (*tsam* ‘1mDU’) a reasonable one: Philemon is described as *Paul and Timothy*’s fellow worker. The third option (*xae* ‘1mPL’) may indicate

¹⁸ The pragmatically possible *ra* ‘1SG’ is an additional option if Paul means “I”.

¹⁹ Cf. Epstein 2001:337; also see 3.2.3.

²⁰ Still 2011:164 believes that the label indicates Timothy’s status as a fellow believer, although “it may also indicate his involvement as a Pauline coworker.” Cf. J. A. Knight 1985:271: “in the family of faith”.

²¹ If it is anywhere in the pauline epistles, see 5.5.4, #2.

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preachers or pastors, as functions that were fulfilled only by males. This interpretation would mean that Philemon belongs to this group. However, we do not get the impression that Philemon is associated with church leaders. Rather, the fourth option (male and female workers) would apply in that case, as a general reference to persons who in some area or another function as workers in God’s Kingdom. Paul could mean that Philemon is a “fellow worker” in the sense that he stands out among christians by his service to others by encouraging them, and that by opening up his house he is active in the mission in some way.²²

However, as there is no strong evidence to see a reference to a specific group, “our” probably refers to Paul and Timothy only as they have just been mentioned, so we translate it with *tsam* ‘1mDU’. Because of the possessive construction, a choice also had to be made between the inclusive and exclusive form. As Philemon is addressed, he cannot be included in the word “our” here, so we had to use the exclusive form *sitsam* ‘1mDU:EXCL’.²³

The third time that we come across the word “our” is comparable to the second instance: Apphia is called “the sister” just as Timothy was called “the brother”. The most plausible option is to use the same PGN-marker in both cases: *ta* ‘1cPL’, indicating that Apphia is the sister of both the authors and the addressee of the letter, and in fact, of all christians. Other alternatives would be misleading: if the mDU were used, it might lead hearers to think that Apphia was Paul and Timothy’s *biological* sister, implying also that Paul and Timothy were biological brothers as well. The same would be true if using a masculine *plural* (which could be understood as including Philemon in the “family”). So the best option is to use the common plural *gatá* ‘1cPL:INCL’, meaning that Apphia is part of the big family of people who are children of God the Father.

The fourth instance of “our” in these verses is the most complicated, and deserves a separate treatment, in the next section.

6.4.3 Number and gender - 2 (*our* fellow soldier, Phlm. 1:2)

The letter is also addressed to “Archippus *our* fellow soldier”. In the phrase “our fellow soldier”, two PGN-markers are used in Naro: the first indicates the gender of “soldier”, the second concerns the content of “our”. The latter one is the main focus of discussion here, as it relates to the 1st person, but the former issue has a bearing on the latter, so we will consider the following questions in turn: 1. the meaning and gender of the word “soldier”, 2. the way the genitive case is used, and 3. the group that “our” refers to.

²² Eckeck n.d., a.l. is probably right in limiting the “missionary” activity of Philemon to opening his home for the congregation.

²³ An example of a similar text where researchers differ about clusivity is found in Rom. 16:9 where Urbanus is called “*our* fellow worker”. John 1976:239 holds that the *exclusive we* is meant here, while SIL International Translation Department 1999 views it as *inclusive*. The Naro rendering uses *gatá* ‘1cPL:INCL’.

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1. The gender and meaning of “soldier”

The *gender* of the word “soldier” is determined by the gender of the person who is a soldier, which is obvious here: Archippus is a man, so we use the masculine PGN-marker. Theoretically, some nouns in Naro might require a PGN-marker of a certain gender, independently of the fact whether the referent were male or female, but this is not the case with the Naro word for soldier.

The *meaning* of the term “soldier” raises some issues though. If it were to be interpreted literally, Archippus might be seen as serving in an army. If that is the right interpretation there would be various options for the PGN-marker to refer to this group:

1. *sitsam* ‘1mDU:EXCL’: Paul and Timothy
2. *gatsam* ‘1mDU:INCL’: Paul and Philemon
3. *sixae* ‘1mPL:EXCL’: Paul and a group of soldiers
4. *gaxae* ‘1mPL:INCL’: Paul and other soldiers, including Philemon.²⁴

This literal understanding of “soldier” is however ruled out by the fact that Paul calls Archippus *συστρατιώτης*, a *fellow soldier*: we simply do not have any evidence of Paul having been a soldier in a literal sense. The metaphorical interpretation is therefore more probable: Archippus is *compared* to a soldier, which indicates that he is a person who “fights” for the gospel, and who is committed to his task and lives a life of discipline.²⁵ This metaphor can be further interpreted in different ways.

The soldier metaphor could refer to someone as being militant and aggressive. But this option is unlikely because as a “fellow-soldier” himself, Paul would then be characterising himself equally as pugnacious, which he would be unlikely to do. The metaphor could secondly also be explained as referring to someone as a christian, as every believer is seen as a kind of soldier.²⁶ The word “our” would then refer to a wide group of people (Paul and other christians), so we would use *gata* ‘1cPL:INCL’. However, it would then be strange that only Archippus is called “fellow soldier,” as the same could indeed be said of Philemon and Apphia.

The fact that of the three addressees only Archippus is called a soldier, suggests a more specific meaning. This is in line with Col. 4:17 where Archippus is told: “See to it that you complete the work you have received in the Lord” (NIV84). The word for “work” that is used in the Greek is *διακονία*, a term that is often used in the technical sense of a ministry in the church.²⁷ Some interpreters want to limit Archippus’ ministry to the collection and delivery of money,²⁸ but there is no evidence for such limitation.²⁹ It seems better, therefore, to understand the soldier metaphor as referring to Archippus as someone who, like a soldier,

²⁴ If there were female soldiers in that time, the common plural forms would need to be considered as well.

²⁵ Cf. Bratcher & Nida 1993: a.l.: “in a figurative sense of one who “fights” for the Christian cause (...).”

²⁶ Several Bible verses speak of a fight in the christian life, e.g. 1 Tim. 6:12, and Eph. 6:11-17 even speaks about christians wearing an armour. Cf. also the song “Onward christian soldiers”.

²⁷ Cf. Beyer 1933:88.

²⁸ So for example S. C. Winter 1987:2.

²⁹ Barth & Blanke 2000:257. Other interpretations that reduce the content too much are found in Lohmeyer 1956, a.l. (leader of the congregation, cf. Bauernfeind 1964:711); Wilson 2005, a.l. (it is a “term of honour”) and Still 2011:165 (“courageous, sacrificial service”).

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is part of the “army” of God’s servants, with a particular role or responsibility in the work of the gospel. He may have had an official, more permanent, role or position in one of the churches, c.q. in Colossae.³⁰ The warrior metaphor may well still be alive, though we must not stress warlike behaviour too much.³¹ Paul sometimes characterised pastoral ministry as a “fight”, and it often involves suffering, distress and dangers,³² so that would fit the characterisation of a soldier.

2. The way the genitive is used

The interpretation of “soldier” influences the meaning of the genitive “our”. For example, if “soldier” were meant in a literal way, the genitive “our” could have a kind of possessive meaning. Taking a contemporary example, if a man in a local church happened to be a soldier in the national army, we could say that he is “our soldier”, as part of *our* congregation. This would lead to the use of *ta ‘1cPL’* for “our”.

But seeing that “soldier” can hardly be interpreted other than figuratively, and also that Archippus is called *fellow soldier*, the genitive in “our” may be labeled a partitive genitive³³: Archippus is *part of* the group of figurative soldiers, together with Paul. For the Naro translation, this implies that the gender of “our” will reflect the gender of the group of soldiers, and not, for example, the gender of the congregation.

3. The group that “our” refers to

In considering the group that Archippus is part of, the prefix συ(v)- in συστρατιώτη ‘fellow soldier’ is important. This not only restricts the meaning of “soldier” (see above), but it also restricts the reference of “our”. Being a ‘fellow soldier’, having a specific task in the congregation, puts Archippus together with preachers of the gospel, which would most naturally lead to the use of a dual, because Paul and Timothy are also such ‘soldiers’ in God’s army.³⁴ Theoretically, Archippus could also be seen as the fellow soldier of all men that fight for the gospel (*xae ‘1mPL’*), but this option would lead the hearers to wonder who Paul may be including along with himself and Timothy. Using *tsam ‘1mDU’* makes it plain to the hearers that Paul and Timothy are meant.

We conclude that in these two verses, “we/our” is to be translated in three different ways: *tsam ‘1mDU’* (“we, Paul and Timothy, write to you”), *sitsam ‘1mDU:EXCL’* (Philemon is “our fellow

³⁰ See, for example, G. H. P. Thompson 1967, a.l.; Rupprecht 1978, a.l.; Oesterley 1961, a.l.; Dibelius & Conzelmann 1972, a.l.; and Lenski 1946c. Bird 2009:134: “He probably was the primary fill-in pastor in Colossae given Epaphras’s absence.”

³¹ Rightly opposed by Dunn 1996, a.l. Cf. J. A. Knight 1985:271: “he was under orders and under discipline”.

³² Cf. Ollrog 1979:77; Martin 1982, a.l., and Wengst 2005, a.l. The latter stresses the passive side in the sense that the soldier undergoes opposition.

³³ Cf. Blass et al. 2001, § 164; Wallace 1996:84.

³⁴ Wright 1986, a.l. calls Archippus “a partner in Paul’s work”, without mentioning Timothy. It seems more suitable, however, to include Timothy as well. Barth & Blanke 2000:257 too easily assume that “our” refers to Paul, Timothy, Philemon and Apphia.

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worker”, Archippus “*our* fellow soldier”: referring to Paul and Timothy again, in an exclusive sense); and *gatá* ‘1cPL:INCL’ (Timothy and Apphia are *our* brother and sister: referring to men and women, including the addressees). Each instance of the pronominal form required its own exegetical study. If our exegetical conclusions are sound, the Naro audience will benefit by gaining an understanding that contains more details than the Greek offers.

6.4.4 Clusivity (*we* have Abraham as *our* father, Mt. 3:9)

Exegetical challenges pertinent to the 1st person are also raised by the matter of clusivity. Naro, like various other languages, allows the speaker to include or exclude the addressee(s) in the first person plural by grammatical means alone. Clusivity is only expressed if the grammar requires them, or if we want to make unambiguously clear that either an inclusive or an exclusive interpretation is preferred.³⁵ Mt. 3:9 is a verse where both the gender and the question of clusivity may be discussed, as will be done subsequently in this section. In this verse, John the Baptist says to Pharisees and Sadducees:

“And do not presume to say to yourselves, ‘*We* have Abraham as *our* father’, for I tell you, God is able from these stones to raise up children for Abraham.”

1. Gender (*we* have Abraham...)

The words “*we* have Abraham as *our* father” are put in the mouth of the Pharisees and Sadducees by John the Baptist. He tells them not to use their descent from Abraham as a reason to think that they will escape God’s judgment. The background of John’s reproach is the fact that descending from Abraham gave the people of Israel the privilege of being part of the covenant that was made by the LORD with Abraham and his offspring.³⁶ Some people in Israel misused this idea, taking it as an assurance of their eternal destiny. However, John makes clear that being part of the covenant (expressed in ‘*we* have Abraham as *our* father’) is not a guarantee in itself, but that it must be accompanied by a life of bringing forth fruits that God requires. For the Naro translation, the question must be asked, whether the Pharisees and Sadducees would have thought of themselves only (using *xae* ‘1mPL’),³⁷ or whether they would have included the people of Israel in general (using *ta* ‘1cPL’).³⁸

³⁵ This situation is quite different from languages where a choice between inclusive and exclusive *we* is required in *every* instance. Pickett & Cowan 1962 did a pioneering study in this area. Together with the more recent and extensive SIL International Translation Department 1999, they provide an overview of all verses in the NT where a clusivity choice needs to be made, with alternatives and problematic cases.

Pickett, Velma B. 1964 formulates five analytical questions to assist in making the choice.

³⁶ Carson 2017, a.l.: “descent from Abraham (...) supported the notion that Israel was chosen because it was choice and that the merits of the patriarchs would suffice for their descendants”. Also see Strack & Billerbeck 1969:117: the merits earned by Abraham formed a treasure from which every Israelite could draw to complete his partial righteousness.

³⁷ As far as we know, Pharisees and Sadducees were males, so the first option to be considered is the plural masculine one: *xae* (1mPL).

³⁸ Whether it was a *real* objection (John may have heard that they reasoned this way) or a *possible* objection (in this case he formulates an objection based on his assumptions about them) cannot be decided on the basis of the text, and does not make a difference for the translation.

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Using *ta* ‘1cPL’ may well have reflected the general way of thinking of the people: “*We* – the people of Israel – are children of Abraham (and included in the covenant with God).” It may be that John refers here to public statements made by the Pharisees, etc., in which they claimed that the descendants of Abraham were God’s chosen people. Also, by using a common *we*, they may have tried to influence the crowd to form a block against John: “How dare you say that *we* (Pharisees, etc., and also common people) need repentance? *We* are children of Abraham!”

However, the use of *xae* ‘1mPL’ is the first option that comes to mind, because the Pharisees and Sadducees are the ones addressed. Also, the Pharisees, etc. believed that they, because of their strict observance of the Mosaic laws, were much better than the ordinary people.³⁹ Another reason for not using *ta* ‘1cPL’ is that this form would gain undue prominence in the context of the multitude of masculine forms used in this pericope. This can easily be seen if we look at the gender references in the translation of vv. 7-9:

“But when he saw many (m) Pharisees (m) and Sadducees (m) coming (m) to be (m) baptized by him, he said to them (m): “You (m) snake children! Who warned you (m) to flee (m) from the coming wrath? ⁸Then you (m) must do good things, showing that you (m) have repented. ⁹And do (m) not say to yourselves, ‘**We (c)** have Abraham as **our (c)** father.’ ”

An objection to using the masculine PGN-marker may be the fact that in the parallel passage in Luke 3:7f., John speaks the same words to the *crowds* instead of the Pharisees, etc. coming to him. On the one hand, this might be a reason to use the common PGN in Mt. 3 as well, but on the other hand, it is good to show the difference between the different texts.⁴⁰ In fact, it is possible to interpret the statement with the masculine PGN as referring to the Pharisees, etc. themselves, but with the idea that they represented the whole body of Israel. So even if *xae* (1mPL) is used, the people around them may still be in view. The reasons given are sufficient arguments for the choice of *xae* ‘1mPL’.

2. Clusivity (...as *our* father)

The other question to be discussed in the phrase “*We* have Abraham as *our* father” is the clusivity of the word *our*. This choice is required by the grammar.⁴¹ The question here is whether the Pharisees (in John’s understanding) would have included *him* in their being descendants of Abraham or not. Translating inclusively would mean ‘We have Abraham as

³⁹ See, for example, Jn. 7:49.

⁴⁰ The issue of how to handle PGN-markers in parallel texts will be further elaborated in ch. 8.

⁴¹ In the discussion of *we*, clusivity was not mentioned as the grammar did not require it, but it is an option. If a choice is made to indicate clusivity in the translation, the same arguments as for *our* apply. Even if the inclusion is only expressed explicitly in the second part (*our* father), the inclusive translation of the second part would extend its meaning to the first part (*we* have).

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our father (*including* you John).⁴² Translating exclusively would mean ‘We have Abraham as our father (*excluding* you John)’.

In the first case, they would have meant something like: “John, *you and we*, we belong to Israel, as both *you and we* are descendants of Abraham, which gives *you and us* the privilege of being part of the covenant and belonging to God. So why do you think it is necessary to be baptized?” This option is not impossible, but in the context of opposition it is not the most logical one.

In the second option, the fact that the Pharisees, etc. claim to belong to God’s people is prominent, while no claim, to say the least, is made about others. This option may subtly indicate that the Pharisees think that they belong to God’s people, while others (like John) do not: ‘Abraham is *our* father (not yours).⁴³ This is what is indicated in the Naro translation, by using the exclusive pronominal form: ‘We (*xae* ‘1mPL’) have Abraham, *our* (*sixae* ‘1mPL:EXCL’) grandfather’.⁴⁴ This would imply a “sociological excommunication”⁴⁵ and is the option that best communicates the dynamics of the context.

6.5 Challenges within the 2nd person

The main difficulty in relation to the 2nd person in Naro Bible translation may be that of gender-inclusiveness of “you” in the NT epistles, which was discussed in ch. 5. We stated there that it was decided to use the 2nd person common plural for the addressees.⁴⁶ In this present section, we discuss some other issues in relation to gender, both in the singular (6.5.1) and in the plural (6.5.2). In theory, there could have been adaptations in the Naro translation on the basis of the fact that in Naro, honorific avoidance terminology is sometimes employed for respectfully addressing a person, but such adaptations could not be found; neither were issues in the *number* distinction (dual/plural) within the 2nd person.

6.5.1 Gender - SG (*you*, daughter of Zion, Jn. 12:15)

As is to be expected, confusion in the *singular* between 2nd person masculine and feminine occurs very rarely, as the gender of the addressee is usually clear from the context. In Jn. 12:15 “Fear not, daughter of Zion,” the gender of the addressee is quite clear; the question is how to translate the metaphorical term “daughter of Zion”. In these words, the city of Jerusalem is being addressed. In the Greek, the city (including its population, addressed as one person) is regarded as a daughter, but in other languages it may be necessary to translate in a different way, for example, with “you people of Zion”, where a common 2nd person

⁴² Some translations, e.g. GNBUK and CEVUK, rule out this exegetical option by turning the quotation into indirect speech and thus changing *our* to *your*: “saying that Abraham is your ancestor” (GNBUK). Naro can disambiguate because of its INCL-EXCL distinction, so the use of indirect speech is not needed.

⁴³ De Waard & Nida 1986:134 propose a similar treatment with respect to the Pharisees in their confrontation with Jesus in Jn. 8 (esp. v. 33 and v. 39). They also point out that “in Hebrew (...) being a descendant of someone has much more sociological than biological meaning.”

⁴⁴ Naro: *Abrahama ba xae úúa, sixae ka tsgōose ba*.

⁴⁵ De Waard & Nida 1986:134.

⁴⁶ See 5.4.2.

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plural is used. In Naro however, the “daughter” image was kept so that there was no gender issue:

(200)	Sione	di	=si	cóá	=si	[>se]	-è
	Zion	POSS	=2fSG	child	=2fSG	VOC	
‘(you) daughter of Zion’							

6.5.2 Gender - PL (how many loaves do you have, Mk. 6:38)

In Mk. 6, we are confronted with a question about the 2nd person plural. In that chapter, we find Jesus in the desert, together with a large crowd of people whom He has been teaching all day. Late in the afternoon, a concern about food becomes acute, so the disciples tell Jesus: “Send them away to go into the surrounding countryside and villages and buy themselves something to eat” (6:36). In the discussion that follows, Jesus tells the disciples: “*You* give them something to eat.” It is obvious here that Jesus refers to His disciples: *you* (disciples) is in contrast with *them* (the crowd). In v. 38 however (“How many loaves do *you* have?”), *you* is ambiguous.

At first sight, it may seem that *you* again refers to the disciples: *they* must have some bread with *them*, and perhaps *they* can share that with the crowd. But the connection with the following words, “Go and see”, raises the possibility that the pronoun *you* (in Greek) may refer to the disciples *together with the crowd*. Although these words “go and see” on their own could be interpreted as calling for a search among the disciples themselves, it is much more likely that Jesus directs them to search among the crowd. If Jesus’ intention was that the disciples should find out how many loaves they themselves had, He probably would not have added the words “go and see”, because they could have simply asked each other how many loaves they themselves had. Rather, the words “go and see” suggest that the disciples are to search among the crowd to find out whether they have bread with them.⁴⁷ This interpretation highlights the greatness of the miracle that Jesus performs: after the disciples checked *with the whole crowd* how much bread there was, they found only five loaves of bread.

If the disciples themselves already had five loaves of bread between them, we might assume that in the whole crowd, there would have been many more loaves. Sharing these may at least have given some relief to the crowd. In this interpretation, suggested by Schweitzer,⁴⁸ Jesus’ miracle is so downplayed as to be no miracle at all, the idea being that the example of the disciples led to the rest of the crowd sharing their bread with each other. Alternatively, it must be held that it is miraculous that people started sharing their food. But the text points in another direction. There was no possibility whatsoever of feeding everyone in the crowd with just the five loaves that could be found among them all. The people were utterly dependent on Jesus. Although our intention should not be to make the

⁴⁷ See for this interpretation Crofts 2007, a.l. and Lenski 1946b, a.l.

⁴⁸ Cited by Gnilka 1978:264. Schweitzer 1951:53 was cited, describing the position found in Paulus 1828.

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miracle greater than it was,⁴⁹ reading the text carefully indicates that it *was* a great miracle. The translation of the pronoun can help the reader to realise how few loaves there were, not just with the disciples, but with the whole crowd.

The parallel passages in the other synoptic gospels neither confirm nor disqualify our conclusion. Mt. 14:17 (“We have only five loaves here and two fish”) could give the impression that it was the disciples who had the bread and fish with them, as could Lk. 9:13. This understanding is not necessary however, and in fact Mk. 6 makes it unlikely. The account from Jn. 6:9 informs us that the bread and fish *did* come from the crowd: “There is a boy here who has five barley loaves and two fish.”⁵⁰

Finally, even if the bread came from the crowd, it still might not be necessary to translate *you* with a common PGN. It could be argued that Jesus meant “how many loaves do you [masculine - the twelve] have,” anticipating their search and subsequent collection of bread from the crowd. For the sake of clarity, however, it would be better to indicate that the bread comes from the crowd, so here we prefer the common PGN (*tu* ‘2cPL’).

In the similar event where Jesus multiplied food (Mk. 8:1-10 and its parallel Mt. 15:32-39), the situation looks very much the same. However, the text there does not say that the disciples were sent into the crowd to find out how much food there was. Jesus did not send them to search the crowd, but simply said “...do you have...” and the disciples are presented as answering straight away (cf. Mk. 8:5). It is not impossible that, again, they found these among the people in the crowd, but the text does not indicate this. For this reason, the PGN to be used there is the masculine one (*xao* ‘2mPL’).

6.6 Challenges within the 3rd person

In this section we will turn our attention to the 3rd person. If a singular subject is not mentioned explicitly, it can be ambiguous in Greek whether *he*, *she* or *it* is meant.⁵¹ In theory, therefore, we may expect difficulties in the translation of some 3rd person singular references - but we have not yet found such difficulties. We do find exegetical challenges in the non-singular, with respect both to number and to gender. Section 6.6.1 discusses an issue involving both features, while 6.6.2 and 6.6.3 look into verses where the gender is confusing.

⁴⁹ The text itself is clear enough about the miracle: “he looked up to heaven and said a blessing and broke the loaves and gave them to the disciples to set before the people” (v. 40). Verse 42 records that “all ate and were satisfied”, and v. 43 says that there were even twelve basketfuls full of broken pieces of bread and fish left over.

⁵⁰ Of course it doesn’t prove that the disciples have gone through the whole crowd, but it is not probable that they stopped their search for food immediately after they found the boy. Jesus had commanded to find out how many loaves there were, not to find any piece of bread.

⁵¹ This is a question that occurs in many other languages, so it could also have been mentioned in the previous chapter.

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6.6.1 Number and gender (the church sent *them*, Acts 15:2-4)

At the end of Acts 14, we find Paul and Barnabas in Antioch, having returned from their first missionary journey. They have “reported all that God had done through them and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles” (Acts 14:27 NIV11UK). They stay in Antioch for a long time (v. 28). Then in 15:1, we read of some⁵² that came down from Judea to Antioch and were teaching the brothers that it was necessary to be circumcised to be saved. This was contrary to what Paul and Barnabas had preached during their journey, in the course of which many (uncircumcised) non-Jews had come to faith. It was decided that a delegation would be sent to Jerusalem, so that the apostles and the elders could settle the matter. The delegation consisted of Paul and Barnabas, together with *some others*.

The translation into Naro of these “others” leads to some exegetical questions. We need to know 1. whether there were women among “the others” (gender), 2. whether they were two or more (dual or plural), and 3. in which of the references to the group is the focus on Paul and Barnabas (which would favour the dual) and in which the focus is on the whole group (which would require using the plural).

The Greek is of little help in resolving the question as to whether the group included women. Verse 2 simply says: τινας ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν ‘some others (m) out of *them* (gender not specified)’. As the masculine gender may include women, this is not decisive. The word *them* probably refers back to τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς in v. 1. This term, like τινας ἄλλους, gives little indication of the gender of those to whom it refers, as the masculine form (usually translated ‘brothers’) can include sisters as well.

Moving away from the grammar of the text, to its cultural background, the only consideration that we should take into account is, that in the socio-cultural setting of those days, men were regarded as the carriers of authority, so even if “the others” included sisters, the sisters might not have been mentioned explicitly. Rather, it can safely be assumed that the delegation would have consisted of men only, also because of practical reasons during the trip.⁵³ So we used a masculine PGN-marker for these “others”.

The second issue is about the *number*, we do not know how many brothers went with Paul and Barnabas. If they were two, the PGN-marker *tsara* ‘3mDU’ would be used. But as we do not know how many they were, it is better to use the more general *xu* ‘3mPL’.

The company as a whole consists of more than three men⁵⁴ and is thus now referred to with *xu* ‘3mPL’: “The church sent them (*xu*) on their way, and as they (*xu*) traveled...”

⁵² It is not clear from the Greek whether this is a mixed company or men only. We assumed that it was men only (as do many translations, e.g. KJV “certain men”, ESV “some men,”) so for Naro we used the “male only” PGN-option. Other translations leave the gender open, e.g. NIV11UK “certain people”.

⁵³ It is interesting that NIV84 makes a switch between v. 1 and v. 2: in v. 1, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς is translated “brothers” (perhaps because of the context of circumcision, as only men were circumcised), while in v. 2, τινας ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν ‘some others out of them’ is translated “some other believers” (avoiding the gender question). NIV11UK (which has a greater focus on using gender-neutral language) has “believers” in both verses.

⁵⁴ In fact, the effect of using *xu* for “the others” is that in Naro, the company consists of at least five men.

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However, when we come to the end of v. 4, we read “*they reported everything God had done through them*”. The last “through them” is a clear reference to Paul and Barnabas. Exactly the same clause is used in Acts 14:27, where it refers to these two: ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν μετ’ αὐτῶν ‘everything God had done through *them*’.

This raises the third question: whether the previous instances of *they* in vv. 3f. refer to the whole company, or to Paul and Barnabas only; or to be more specific, which instances refer to Paul and Barnabas, and which instances refer to the whole company? At some point in this text (in Naro) there will be a switch from *xu* ‘3mPL’ to *tsara* ‘3mDU’. But at which point?

In translation a choice often has to be made between two options, where both options are valid. Choosing either option will often lead to losing some information from the ST. This loss cannot be avoided completely, but the translator will want to reduce the loss as much as possible.

In these verses, the issue is not easy to decide. It seems best to make the switch from plural to dual fairly early in these verses, to indicate that Paul and Barnabas were the main characters.⁵⁵ Surely, these two were the main spokespersons, so when the envoys are referred to as speaking, *tsara* ‘3mDU’ may be the best form to use. On the other hand, where the envoys are referred to as travelling, *xu* ‘3mPL’ is the form to be used. The translation would then read as follows:

(201)	=Si	kò	[kereke sa]	[tséea tcg'óó]	=xu,	=xu	ko
	=3fSG	PST	church	send.out	=3mPL	=3mPL	DUR
			[Finikia koe hēé naka Samaria koe hēéthēé]		tcāà,	=tsara	nxāe,
			[in Phoenicia and Samaria]			enter =3mDU	tell
	nta	=ne	ma	[tāá zi qhàò zi di ne]	[Nqarim koe]	[kabisea hāa]	sa.
	how=3cPL	how	people of other tribes]		[to God]	[returned]	that
	[Ncēe tchōà nea]	kò	[wèé ne dtcòm-kg'ao ne]	kúrú	=ne		
	[this news]	PST	[all believers]		make=3cPL		
	[kaisase qāè-tcao].	⁴Eē	=xu	ko	[Jerusalema koe]	tcāà	ka
	[very happy]	As	=3mPL	DUR	[in Jerusalem]	enter IRR	
	=xu	kò	[kereke sa hēé naka x'áè úú-kg'ao xu hēé naka kaia xu ka hēéthēé]				
	=3mPL	PST	[by the church and the apostles and the elders]				
	[qāèse hāàkagué].						
	[welcomed]						
	=Tsara	kò	[ēem Nqari ba gatsara koe kúrúa hāa zi gúù zi wèé zi]		nxāe.		
	=3mDUPST		[all things that God had done in them-3mDU]		tell		

‘The church sent them (*xu*) on their way, and as they (*xu*) traveled through Phoenicia and Samaria, they (*tsara*) told how the Gentiles had been converted. This news made all the brothers very glad. ⁴When they (*xu*) came to Jerusalem, they (*xu*) were welcomed by the

⁵⁵ Keener 2014:2225 seems to indicate that there is a focus on Paul and Barnabas throughout the section.

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church and the apostles and elders, to whom they (*tsara*) reported everything God had done through them (*tsara*).’

The 3mDU *tsara* could also be used at the beginning of v. 4. This could be defended on the basis of the fact that Paul and Barnabas were the main characters. However, this is not the preferable option, because it may sound as if only Paul and Barnabas arrived in Jerusalem, having left the others behind at some point.

6.6.2 Gender confusion - 1 (*they* are virgins, Rev. 14)

The previous section discussed some translation problems around 3rd person with reasonably straightforward solutions. Sometimes, however, it is very difficult to determine from the text which PGN-marker must be used. It may even be necessary to use different PGN-markers for the same referent in the same text (where the Naro hearer would expect to find just one PGN-marker used). There is such a case in Rev. 14.

In Rev. 14:1, we read about a group of 144,000 people, who are further described in vv. 3-5. To translate this paragraph into Naro we do not need to know exactly who makes up this group, but we do need to know whether it is all male, all female, or mixed. The Greek grammar does not indicate the gender of the people who make up the group. The feminine form ἔχουσαι 'having' (14:1) agrees in gender with the feminine noun χιλιάδες 'thousands', which would remain feminine even if the group to which it referred consisted entirely of males. In 14:3-5, the words in the phrases οἱ ἡγορασμένοι 'who had been redeemed', οὗτοί 'these' and ἄμωμοι 'blameless' are all masculine. In Greek the masculine plural may refer to a mixed group. It cannot, however, refer only to females, and so we can discount that possibility. The only other reference to gender in this group is found in 7:3,⁵⁶ by the phrase τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν 'the servants of our God' which is also masculine.

To decide the gender of the 144,000 then, we must explore what is said about them. They are “servants of our God” (7:3), they receive a seal on their foreheads (7:3f.), they have “His name and His Father's name written on their foreheads” (14:1), and they were able to “learn that song” (14:3, the song is mentioned in the same verse). Finally, in 14:4f. we read that they are “those who did not defile themselves with women, for they kept themselves pure. They follow the Lamb wherever he goes. They were purchased from among men and offered as firstfruits to God and the Lamb. No lie was found in their mouths; they are blameless.” (NIV84)

In the phrase “purchased from among men”, the word ἀνθρώπων (translated ‘men’ in NIV84) is not conclusive as it can mean ‘people, humans’, not necessarily only males. ‘Men’ is a translation that is acceptable for English, but translating with whatever is the common word for plural males is to be discouraged in other languages.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Rev. 7:4-8 makes clear that this refers to 144,000 (12 times 12,000).

⁵⁷ NIV11UK has changed this to “mankind”, cf. ESV.

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The same verse states that they “did not defile themselves with women” (NIV). All this seems to refer to men, but it is very likely figurative language.⁵⁸ The immediately following phrase παρθένοι γάρ εἰστιν ‘for they are virgins’ also strongly points in that direction. The word virgin is normally used for females, but if the word here referred to women, that would seem to clash with the fact that they (as virgins) did not defile themselves with women. The simplest solution is indeed to understand the description as figurative language, as is so common in the book of Revelation. First, παρθένοι “is occasionally used of men who have not had intercourse with women”.⁵⁹ Secondly, on many occasions throughout the OT, the nation of Israel (consisting of men and women) is spoken of as a virgin: 2 Kgs. 19:21, Lam. 2:13, Jer. 18:13, Amos 5:2. The figure is also used in the NT, e.g. in 2 Cor. 11:2 “I promised you to one husband, to Christ, so that I might present you as a pure virgin to Him” (NIV84).⁶⁰ So the 144,000 here can then be seen as the bride of Christ (cf. 21:9). Just as a bride is expected to remain pure (a virgin) until the wedding day, these servants of God have kept themselves pure by not defiling themselves.

Having concluded that we are faced with figurative language here, in which the 144,000 is a group of both men and women, we now face the question of how to handle this in translation into Naro.⁶¹ A translation which follows the figurative language closely leads to problems. In 14:4, “It is *these* who have not defiled themselves with women” would be translated with a masculine PGN-marker. But in the clause that immediately follows, “for *they* are virgins” a feminine PGN-marker would be used. This contradiction would probably⁶² lead hearers to incorrectly interpret “they” as referring to the women in v. 4a (those with whom the 144,000 have not defiled themselves). The most satisfactory solution here is to interpretively translate “they are virgins” as “they kept themselves pure”. Alternatively, an interpretive translation could transform the metaphor into a simile, as in “they have kept themselves as pure as virgins”.⁶³

To indicate in Naro that this figurative language refers to men and women together, the clauses that precede and follow will contain *common* PGN-markers instead of masculine ones. This may still result in some minor confusion, which is the lowest price that can be paid in this complicated matter.

If using *common* PGN-markers would not yield a right understanding, one could also give an interpretive translation for the first part. “Those who did not defile themselves with women” might then be translated more generally as “these people did not have illicit sexual

⁵⁸ See, for example, Arnold 2002, a.l.: “A figurative interpretation is preferred: The virgins are believers of either sex, who have not defiled themselves through spiritual fornication.” Cf. Kistemaker 2001, a.l.; Beale 1999, a.l. and Keener 2009, a.l.

⁵⁹ R. H. Mounce 1997, a.l., note 6.

⁶⁰ Cf. R. H. Mounce 1997, a.l.

⁶¹ The problem of Rev. 14:3f. is not unique to Naro: in most languages, a transition from “not defiling with women” to “they are virgins” would be problematic. In Naro, the extra challenge lies in the need to employ PGN-markers, which adds to the contrast of this transition.

⁶² The level of probability also depends on the discourse features used between the two clauses.

⁶³ So for example NLT04.

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relations,” or more abstractly as “these people kept themselves pure”.⁶⁴ Such a translation does, however, diminish the powerful imagery of the original.⁶⁵ In summary, the suggested Naro translation reads as follows⁶⁶:

- (202) ⁴[Ncēe =xu] [ēe kò táá khóè zi cgoa xóé xu] [khóè =xu] [u],
 [these =3mPL] [men who did not lie with women]-3mPL [men=3mPL] COP
 [q'ano iise xu] kò [qgóósea hāa] khama.
 [pure-3mPL] PST [kept themselves] because
 [Ghùu-coa ba] [=ne] kò [wéé qgáian ēem ko qōò koe] xùri.
 [lamb] [=3cPL] PST [everywhere he goes] follow
 [Khóè ne xg'aeku koe] [=ne] kò [x'ámá tcg'òóèa hāa],
 [among people] =3cPL PST [were bought out]
 [tc'āà di tc'áróan Nqarim di] [iise] [naka Ghùu-coam dian hēéthēé e].
 [firstfruits of God] being [and of the Lamb]
⁵[Gane di kg'áman koe] =i kò [cúí tshúù-ntcōa ga] táá hòòè,
 [in their (3cPL) mouths] =3cSG PST [even one lie] NEG found
 [kákà chìbi] =ne e kò ii khama.
 [without sin] =3cPL COP PST be because

‘These (m) are the ones (m) who have not lain with women, because they (m) have kept themselves pure. They (m+f) follow the Lamb wherever it goes. They (m+f) have been bought from among people, as the firstfruits of God and of the Lamb. In their (m+f) mouth no lie is found.’

6.6.3 Gender confusion - 2 (blessed are *those*, Mt. 5:1-12)

Another instance of gender ambiguity is found in Mt. 5 (the Beatitudes): is Jesus speaking to His twelve disciples, or to the whole crowd? This text involves both 2nd and 3rd person, because both the author and Jesus refers to people (3rd person) and Jesus also *addresses* people (2nd person). We find the 3rd person in vss. 1-10 (“Seeing the *crowds*, he went up on the mountain, and when he sat down, his *disciples* came to him. And he opened his mouth and taught *them*, saying: ³“Blessed are *the poor* in spirit...”), and the 2nd person in vss. 11f. (“Blessed are *you*...”).

The first reference ([Jesus] seeing the crowds) is not problematic: it is natural that the crowd would include both men and women.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Cf. CEV “All these are pure virgins.” The collocation ‘pure virgins’ would give rise to further questions in Naro, so an option could be say “All these are pure.”

⁶⁵ One might object that “virgins” (which is not translated literally in the first option) is also one of the pieces of imagery that should not be removed, but in Naro, the word is difficult to translate in any case. (We translated other instances of ‘virgin’ with a description: *dxàe-coas qanega xóé cgoaè tama sa* ‘a girl who was not yet slept with’). Generally speaking, it is better to leave the imagery intact as much as possible.

⁶⁶ To facilitate reading and analysis, the text is presented phrase by phrase, with the significant PGNs indicated.

⁶⁷ In sections about the feeding of the 4,000 and 5,000 it is explicitly stated “besides women and children” (e.g. Mt. 14:21). Such information might be implicit in our passage.

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The second reference is more difficult. “His *disciples* came to Him” may refer to the smaller circle of male disciples, but it may also refer to a broader circle of followers. The choice is arbitrary, because no further clue is given. Generally speaking however, the first interpretation option for “οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ” would be to think of His (male) disciples, even though so far Matthew has only shown four specific disciples of Jesus (4:18-22).⁶⁸ One argument for this is that v. 1 suggests a contrast between “the crowds” and “His disciples”. The Naro translation uses the ‘males only’ PGN-marker here. This option still leaves open the possibility of seeing a broader group than Jesus' closest followers.

Then the question arises: whom did Jesus teach in the verses that follow? In Naro, a choice must be made in v. 2 (“...taught *them*”) between the *common* PGN-marker (*ne* ‘3cPL’) and the masculine PGN-marker (*xu* ‘3mPL’). Some may assume that Jesus addressed the whole crowd, but according to v. 1 the *crowds* were left behind while Jesus went up the mountain, where the *disciples* came to Him. This gives the impression that the group of disciples was smaller than the whole crowd. The syntax of the sentence is also relevant here: οἱ μαθηταὶ is the nearest potential antecedent of αὐτοὺς, and for this reason, the most likely one. The conclusion is thus justified that Jesus directed His speech primarily to the disciples rather than to the crowd, even though in the course of the “sermon”,⁶⁹ other people are also addressed. This also yields the most natural transition in Naro from v. 1 (His disciples-male, *xu* ‘3mPL’) to v. 2 (them-male, *xu* ‘3mPL’).⁷⁰

Even if Jesus primarily spoke to His male disciples, the content of what He said has broader validity. A smooth transition is guaranteed again because of the use of the 3rd person in v. 3: “Blessed are *the poor* in spirit...”⁷¹ There is no doubt that this refers not only to the male disciples, but to people in general who are poor in spirit as followers of Jesus. This immediately solves the question of which PGN-marker to use. The best option is the common one, referring to both men and women (*ne* ‘3cPL’).

The major issue comes in v. 11, where a switch occurs from 3rd person to 2nd person. It is most likely that the people addressed in v. 11 are basically the same as those referred to in vv. 3-10,⁷² so we use a common plural (*tu* ‘2cPL’).

In Naro, this results in a slight conflict with v. 2, where we assumed that Jesus addressed the (male) disciples. How can He speak to males only (according to the speech introducer)

⁶⁸ The reference could be understood as being to the group of twelve disciples as the readers knew them. Matthew probably ordered his material thematically anyway, so that is not an unreasonable option.

⁶⁹ As it is usually called, as in “sermon on the mount”.

⁷⁰ Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992, a.l., also try to avoid broadening the reference to include the crowd. Cf. L. Morris 1992, a.l.: “This does not mean that no one other than disciples heard Jesus’ teaching, only that it was addressed primarily to people committed to him.”

⁷¹ The use of 2nd person (e.g. “Blessed are *you* poor”) would have made the transition more problematic. See below for this issue in v. 11.

⁷² Many commentators indicate (implicitly) that the same people are being referred to, seeing v. 11 as elaboration of v. 10 (Lloyd-Jones 1960; Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992; France 2007; Hagner 1993), as an explanation (Plummer 1953), as a continuation in theme (Davies & Allison 1988; Hendriksen 1982), as an intensification (L. Morris 1992), as an expansion (R. H. Mounce 2008), as a repetition, amplification, and personalisation of 5:10 (Blomberg 1992), or as an application of 5:10 (Carson 2017; Hill 1972; Grosheide 1954:70).

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and still indicate that more people, also women, are included? In fact, this apparent conflict underlines the splendid possibilities of Naro, having different PGN-markers at its disposal. By means of the switch from masculine to common PGN-markers, the Naro translation can indicate that Jesus, in His address, looks beyond the twelve disciples at the crowd of people following Him.

One could object that the content of vv. 11f. is about insults and persecution, which might be seen as more applicable to the twelve disciples than to the other followers of Jesus. However, we know from church history, starting with Acts, that the disciples (then having become apostles) and the other members of the church, both men and women, were subject to persecutions.⁷³

Again, we see that a challenge (an apparent clash in the use of PGN-markers) can become an opportunity: the use of different PGN-markers may subtly bring out nuances in Naro which are not present on the surface of the SL text (nor in most translations).

6.7 Observations and strategies

Observations

Naro, with its complex system of PGN-markers, may make the task of the translator quite difficult. This chapter has revealed exegetical challenges around the use of PGN-markers in translation. At the same time, particular opportunities show up, which the diversity of PGN-markers in Naro offers to the translator, especially in relation to gender and number. For Naro hearers, more than in other languages, the PGN-options can make it easier to understand the text: the chosen PGN-marker can make it plain to the hearer, who is referred to or who is addressed, if the translator has chosen competently. Because of the Naro PGN-system, fine nuances and contrasts can be brought out in translation, and new perspectives can be unveiled. It can specifically distinguish referents, and intensify certain areas of meaning (e.g. the degree of the rejection of Jesus by the leaders who renounced Him at the cross, cf. 6.4.1; the miraculous character of Jesus' multiplication of the loaves, as in 6.5.2). The choice of PGN-marker may also guide the audience in understanding that an utterance applies not only to the direct addressees but also to a broader audience. It may indicate a switch from one group to another; or highlight an expansion or reduction of the group referred to or addressed. These, and other opportunities will be spelled out further in ch. 10 and 11.

A further observation from this chapter on general exegetical challenges is that translation must always be based on a thorough exegesis of the text. In this context it must be emphasised that the questions that a translator will bring to the text are partly determined by the structure of the RL. Differences between SL and RL require more exegetical work than when simply reading a text in the SL. With respect to Naro, the dual-plural distinction, the gender options and the inclusive-exclusive distinction require extra research. The need

⁷³ See, for example, Acts 8:3.

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to choose between PGN-markers in Naro leads to a better insight into the text, especially for the translator, because she needs to think through questions that otherwise may not be asked, in relation to the possible implications of using different PGN-markers.

The system of PGN-markers in Naro also has various possible implications for the hearers of the translation. An incorrect use of PGN-markers may mislead them. Because the use of the PGN-markers will guide and sensitise the hearer's understanding, the translator should carefully evaluate the positive and negative implications of each option and select that option which best communicates the meaning of the text. In the light of the near omnipresence of PGN-markers in the Naro text, it is sometimes very difficult to determine which PGN-marker should be used. The PGN-system surely adds to the challenges for the translator, but makes it fulfilling at the same time.

Because translation into Naro requires us to specify the person, gender or number of a referent more precisely than in the ST, a choice often has to be made between two options, even though both may be valid. There may even be cases in which the semantic range of two (or more) Naro PGN-markers together would most adequately represent the meaning of the ST reference. Because Naro requires us to choose between PGN-markers, we may end up with places where the translation does not reflect what the author had in mind and/or lose some information of the text in this area.⁷⁴ This cannot be avoided, but great care must be taken to minimise this information loss. Alternative possibilities may be mentioned in a footnote.

Strategies

Based on our findings, we propose the following strategies for selecting PGN-markers:

- One needs to establish the theoretical (all grammatically possible) and practical (possibly fitting in the context) options for understanding the gender and number of the group that is referred to.
- The choice of PGN-markers is related to the exegesis and other translation possibilities in the context. In order to determine which option is best, it is necessary to look at the verb forms, pronouns, nouns and articles, but also the immediate (one or two verses) and broader context, and evaluate which factors affect the interpretation. Some examples of what needs to be established are:
 - o whether the head noun of a reference that requires a PGN-marker is meant literally or metaphorically (as in 6.4.3), and if the latter, what is the meaning of the metaphor;
 - o the implications of an affix being used in the head noun, as in συν- in συνεργῷ ‘fellow worker’ and συστρατιώτῃ ‘fellow soldier’, see 6.4.3: it may provide an important signal for a restriction of the meaning;
 - o the semantic relation between participants that the genitive case expresses, as in 6.4.3.

⁷⁴ This happens in all translation and communication, cf. De Waard & Nida 1986:42, but this is an area that in Naro requires extra care.

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- If making a choice between pro-forms with PGN-markers is not necessary, we should rather not make it. In Naro, we use inclusive and exclusive forms only:
 - o if the grammar requires it
 - o if we want to make unambiguously clear that either an inclusive or an exclusive interpretation is preferred.
- In some exceptional cases it may be necessary to alternate PGN-markers for one and the same referent.
 - o This may happen if the referent is described with terms that have different grammatical genders, e.g. in figurative language.
 - o Alternating PGN-markers when referring to one and the same referent should generally be avoided, but may, on occasion, be the best option. In these cases, the confusion that could result from alternating PGN-markers should be minimised.
- If there are possibly conflicting exegetical options in parallel passages, one should first assume that the passages clarify each other. But each passage should be viewed in its own context to see what is the most natural way to exegete and translate the words under consideration.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ The chapter on hermeneutical challenges will consider this further.

7. Cultural challenges

7.1 Introduction

In translation, it is important to take into consideration both the source and receptor cultures. If the translation of a text will be misunderstood because of certain cultural components, it should be modified. For example, it says in Hos. 1:5 “I will break the bow of Israel.” As the Naro people used to be hunters and are thus very familiar with bows, it could be expected that they will understand such a verse well. However, in this verse, “the bow” probably refers to military power,¹ but a bow is hardly used by the Naro for attacking enemies. Instead, it is used mainly for killing *animals*. Because of this, the statement in Hosea may be interpreted by Naro people in the sense of not being able to get food anymore. Such a cultural difference may impact the communicative value of the translation.

Another example comes from Mt. 6:17 “when you fast, put oil on your head and wash your face”. Culturally, if somebody puts oil on his head, Naro people may think that person is swearing, so the translation was adapted to say *tcgáìuse nxúìa* ‘smear yourself with oil’. This communicates the idea of caring for the body.

This chapter will discuss verses where knowledge of sociological information (of the source text and/or of the receptor text) has to do with person, gender and/or number and thus has an impact on the translation of texts into Naro. We will subsequently look at Acts 16:19f. (section 7.2), Acts 18:3 (7.3), and Mt. 20:13 (7.4), and conclude with a summary of observations made (7.5).

7.2 The rulers and magistrates in Philippi (Acts 16:19f.)

7.2.1 Introduction

In Acts 16, we find the apostle Paul and Silas on their second missionary journey, coming to Philippi. As they travel through this city, a slave girl possessed by a spirit follows them for many days, shouting. This leads to a confrontation, in which Paul tells the spirit to leave her. When the spirit departs, the slave girl’s owners drag Paul and Silas before the rulers and magistrates. The last part of these events is worded as follows in Acts 16:19f.: “But when her owners saw that their hope of gain was gone, they seized Paul and Silas and dragged them into the marketplace before **the rulers**. And when they had brought them to **the magistrates**, they said, ‘These men are Jews, and they are disturbing our city.’” There are some issues with the rulers (*ἄρχοντες*) and the magistrates (*στρατηγοί*) that come to light in the Naro translation:

1. Their gender and number: were any of them women so that we need to use a common PGN-marker? And can we just assume that there were at least three rulers and magistrates so that we can use the plural? (7.2.2)

¹ As NLT04 translates: “I will break its [Israel's, HV] military power.”

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2. The relationship between the ἄρχοντες in v. 19 and the στρατηγοί in v. 20: are they the same people referred to in different ways, or are they two different groups of people? Should a different PGN-marker be used for the ἄρχοντες and for the στρατηγοί? (7.2.3)

7.2.2 Gender and number of ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί

The first question is easy to answer, as Acts 16 is situated in Philippi, a Roman colony. In Roman colonies, settlements of Roman veterans, the Roman administrative system was used.² In that system, only men were rulers. Women could not even vote, let alone play a role in any magistracy.³ For our translation in Naro, this means that we have to use masculine PGN-markers for both rulers and magistrates.

Secondly, it is relevant to know for Naro whether there were two or more ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί, so as to determine whether to use a dual or a plural respectively. One may be inclined to assume that there were at least three rulers and magistrates. To form a more comprehensive picture, we will consider the terms used for both groups, recommending in each case the best translation of the accompanying PGN-marker in Naro.

To start with the ἄρχοντες, the term ἄρχων is fairly general and could be used to describe administrative positions such as magistrates, governors or consuls.⁴ In the NT, it was used for all kinds of Jewish and gentile officials.⁵ From the use of this term alone, we cannot conclude how many there were. Because it is such a general term, the first option in translation would be to use the plural.

The term στρατηγός, used ten times in Luke and Acts, designates a military leader, commander or general. It could be used for the commander of the temple guard (Lk. 22:52). In Hellenistic terminology, the title was used for officials of provinces or cities, and could be utilised as a translation for the Roman term *Praetor* or to designate the ruling *Duoviri*.⁶ The latter term literally means ‘two men’ and is used as a technical term for two officials in a Roman colony who were to keep public order and could hear cases. They had the right to inflict punishment.⁷

There has been some discussion about whether the term στρατηγοί was the appropriate term to use in Acts 16. Arndt and Gingrich state that this “title was not quite officially correct, since these men were properly termed ‘duoviri,’ but it occurs several times in inscriptions as a popular designation for them.”⁸ The problem was probably that it was

² Cf. Foerster 1968:186f.

³ *Roman Women in Politics* n.d.: “Roman women could not vote, and so did not have a political voice. They could not enter the Senate, nor could they hold magistracies.” Also see *The Role of Women in the Roman World* n.d.: “That women were regarded as inferior in legal terms seems clear.”

⁴ Tajra 1989:9.

⁵ Tajra 1989:9f. Cf. Bauer 1971, s.v. στρατηγός.

⁶ Gill n.d. mentions the possibility that the στρατηγοί were ten men, the Decuriones. He quotes Harpocration who says that every year “ten στρατηγοί, magistrates” were chosen. Following the latest publications, this view may be safely dismissed.

⁷ Cf. Tajra 1989:10f.

⁸ Arndt et al. 2000:778.

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difficult to translate the Latin *Duoviri* into Greek. We may well assume that Luke used the Greek term that was closest in meaning.⁹ The term στρατηγός at least seems to have been the correct equivalent for *Praetor*, a term which was also employed as a courtesy title for *duoviri*,¹⁰ which is a reason why some *duoviri* also used it for themselves.¹¹ στρατηγοί was the most common way to translate *duoviri*.¹²

For this reason, it is preferable, and, in fact, imperative, to choose the masculine dual in the Naro translation for translating στρατηγοί in Acts 16 in order to be historically and culturally correct.

7.2.3 Relationship between ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί

A remaining question is, whether the ἄρχοντες in v. 19 and the στρατηγοί may have been the same people in this passage (thus two males), or whether they are different people (which opens up the possibility of using plural).

1. The ἄρχοντες are the same as the στρατηγοί

Various publications hold that the ἄρχοντες in v. 19 and the στρατηγοί in v. 20 are the same persons.¹³ If this line of thought is pursued, v. 20a is effectively a repetition of v. 19b: the owners of the slave girl “dragged Paul and Silas to the *rulers*” and in so doing they “brought them before the *magistrates*”.¹⁴ The verb used in v. 20 may then indicate some progression in the line of events, but it basically exhibits one act of taking Paul and Silas before the ἄρχοντες, who are also called στρατηγοί. All variants of this first position would suggest a use of dual in both verses.

This viewpoint is attractive in some way, as it no longer begs the question of how the ἄρχοντες and the στρατηγοί differ. It is not impossible to equate the ἄρχοντες and the στρατηγοί. As we have seen above, the term ἄρχων is a quite general one and could be used as a more generic term for στρατηγός.¹⁵ But the opinion has its shortcomings. Why would Luke use two different terms to refer to the same people? An unsuspecting reader will easily get the impression that the two terms refer to different groups. If Luke wanted to indicate that they are the same group, why not use one of the terms, leave out v. 20a and just continue

⁹ Culver 2009:224 (note), and Sherwin-White 2004:92f. Cf. Keener 2014:2468 and Keener 2015, a.l.

¹⁰ Ramsay 1904:218. Cf. also Bruce 1988 and Marshall 1980. The στρατηγοί should not be confused with the *praetores* (Schnabel 2012, a.l., footnote 816).

¹¹ Cf. Bromiley 1979, s.v. Philippi.

¹² So Barrett 1998.

¹³ For example: Darrell L. Bock 2007; Witherington 1997:496; Neudorfer 1996; Marshall 1980; and Grosheide 1942. Keener 2014:2468 seems to identify the leaders of 16:19 with the ones of 16:20, but he uses the word “represent” and “presumably”, which both seem to indicate some uncertainty, which would warrant a broader discussion.

¹⁴ Ramsay & Atchley 1899; and Barrett 1998.

¹⁵ See, for example, Ramsay & Atchley 1899:114f: “we may understand that ἄρχων is the more general term, meaning ‘member of the supreme board,’ while στρατηγοί was the more exact and precise designation of the board by its official title.”

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the sentence started in v. 19 with καὶ εἶπαν? Barrett rightly states that this option would constitute a “pointless repetition”.¹⁶

Ramsay hypothesises that Luke did not know which of the two words to choose: “It is unquestionable that these two clauses are two variants, one of more literary and Greek character, the second, presumably, more technical. Luke had not decided between them, and the existence of both in the text is a proof that the book was not in its final form.”¹⁷ He thinks that it was “quite possible for a Greek writer like Luke to hesitate whether he should use ἄρχοντες or στρατηγοί for the chief magistrates of a colonia ; and so evidently Luke did.”¹⁸ But this hypothesis is far-fetched and questionable. First, there is no good reason why we should assume that the book of Acts still had to be edited. And second, in the text, both clauses cannot just be used interchangeably. The discourse actually flows well. If Luke had left two options to choose from in the text, they would look more similar. In fact, the word καὶ is used, indicating that the two clauses are not two options for Luke to write, but that he was already connecting the two. Moreover, the word αὐτοὺς is used in v. 20 instead of τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σιλᾶν, also showing a normal flow in discourse. It is entirely possible to make sense of what Luke was writing without any such assumptions.¹⁹

2. The ἄρχοντες are different from the στρατηγοί

The second viewpoint, namely that the ἄρχοντες are *not* the same group as the στρατηγοί, is rooted in the apparent awkwardness of using different words for the same group of people.²⁰ This is an important argument, leading to the assumption that the text indeed speaks of two different groups.

When speaking of two “different” groups, there are two options. The two groups may have been mutually exclusive, so none of the στρατηγοί belonged to the ἄρχοντες, or, secondly, the two groups were different in size and composition, but may still overlap. The second option would imply that the ἄρχοντες (v. 19) consisted of the στρατηγοί plus others.²¹ In both cases, Paul and Silas were first brought to the ἄρχοντες (which then can be expressed with something like ‘the leading people’),²² after which, perhaps at the request of those ἄρχοντες, the case was handled by the two στρατηγοί. In the first option, the

¹⁶ Objections could be raised that “such repetitious variation is a Lucan characteristic” (Barrett 1998). But the use of two different words in one and the same sentence should rather lead us to seeking a different solution.

¹⁷ Ramsay & Atchley 1899:115.

¹⁸ Ramsay & Atchley 1899:115.

¹⁹ With regard to translation, it is to be expected that Ramsay would leave the text as it is, and not conflate the two clauses himself (as he hypothesises Luke wanted to have done).

²⁰ In this we can agree with Ramsay & Atchley 1899:115, where he says that “it is hardly possible to use both [namely ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί, HV] in one sentence to designate the same persons.”

²¹ Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges n.d. adheres to this view: “rulers (...) signifies ‘the authorities,’ the special members thereof being indicated by the next verse.”

²² So Barrett 1998, a.l.

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ἀρχοντες sent Paul and Silas to the στρατηγοι as a separate entity,²³ while the second option implies that the two στρατηγοι were part of the ἀρχοντες, who referred the case to the two as their representatives.²⁴ Perhaps the group of ἀρχοντες (v. 19) consists of στρατηγοι (v. 20) plus ραβδούχοι²⁵ (v. 35). So the στρατηγοι may have been a subset of the ἀρχοντες.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to answer the question in this section: both options are possible. It would not be inapposite if a translation would leave this matter ambiguous.

7.2.4 Translation in Naro

What has become clear is that the ἀρχοντες and στρατηγοι are all males, that there were two στρατηγοι (resulting in the use of mDU) and that it is likely that the number of ἀρχοντες is more than two (yielding a plural). The only question that remains is, what the Naro hearers will understand from the PGNs that are used. Especially in cases where there is doubt about the exegesis, and where options seem to be equally plausible, it is good to evaluate the probable reactions of the audience to the different formal options in the RL – which may, at times, lead to a slightly different view on the translation of the text.

The translation suggested at present sounds as follows: “when her owners (mPL) saw that their (mPL) hope of gain was gone, they (mPL) seized Paul and Silas (mDU) and dragged them (mDU) into the market-place before the rulers (mPL). ²⁰And when they (mPL) had brought them (mDU) to the magistrates (mDU), they (mPL) said, ‘These men (mDU) are Jews (mDU), and they (mDU) are disturbing our city.’ ”

From such a translation, Naro hearers will understand that there are at least three rulers to whom Paul and Silas were brought, and that they are then taken to two magistrates.²⁶ In this translation, the last two options discussed will both be possible: most hearers will probably perceive that the two groups of leaders are totally different (the first option), but it is still possible that hearers will understand that the two leaders in v. 20 form part of the leadership in v.19 (the second option). This is exactly what we want, following the exegetical choices given above. By the way, the possibility that the translation is ambiguous is not a problem in itself, as the Greek here is ambiguous as well. But it is preferable to reduce the amount of ambiguity in translation.

The only disadvantage of this translation might be that it precludes an understanding that is followed by several commentators, namely the opinion that the leaders of v. 19 are the same as those of v. 20. However, a translation does not need to be ambiguous enough so as

²³ This possibility seems to be brought forward by Jacquier 1926, mentioned by Grosheide 1942: “hij vermoedt, dat misschien twee daden zijn bedoeld: 1) een brengen naar de plaatselijke overheid op de markt; 2) een leiden naar de Romeinsche strategen.”

²⁴ See, for this option, van Eck 2003, as he wrote: “...voor “de autoriteiten”. Daarna worden ze bij hun eigenlijke namen “strategen”, “roedendragers” (35.38) genoemd.”

²⁵ ραβδούχοι (GNBUK “police officers”) are Roman *lictors*. They were attendants of *duoviri*, carrying out their orders (Tajra 1989:11). They had the power to arrest and to inflict punishment (Tajra 1989:12, cf. Culver 2009:224.) There were more than two lictors, so the masculine plural is used.

²⁶ In the published Naro translation, different terms were used for the Greek words in vv. 19 and 20. The terms in the translation suggested above do not give a back-translation of those terms. The terms just reflect that hearers will observe a difference, both in term and in number.

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to make all exegetical options possible. It should rather promote the option that is supported by sound exegetical research with sufficient argumentation.

The only issue that arises in using the masculine plural in v. 19 is, that it might become unclear to whom this PGN-marker refers in v. 20, as the same PGN-marker (*xu* ‘3mPL’) is used for the “owners of the slave girl”²⁷ and for the “rulers”. Just as in many English translations (e.g. ESV “when *they* had brought them to the magistrates”), “they” (*xu* ‘3mPL’) may refer to the rulers, or to the owners of the girl.²⁸ If possible, we should try to avoid this confusion. But in fact, the Naro distinction between “same cast” and “switch cast” is helpful here and may mitigate the possible confusion mentioned: if necessary, a syntactic construction can be chosen that allows the translation to indicate that the same subject (the owners of the slave girl) or a different subject (the leaders) continues in v. 20. The Naro PGN-system solves this problem as well.

7.3 Was Priscilla into tent-making? (Acts 18:3)

7.3.1 Introduction

The previous section clarified that knowledge of the political situation, as part of the cultural setting, has an impact on the translation into Naro. We will here look into another example of cultural knowledge having a bearing on the translation of PGN-markers in Naro.

Acts 18:3 depicts Paul as coming to Corinth, Greece. There he found a Jew named Aquila, who had “recently come from Italy with his wife Priscilla” (v. 2). Paul went to them “and because *he* was of the *same* trade he stayed with them and worked, for *they* were tentmakers by trade.” With respect to PGN-markers, there are a few issues that need consideration:

1. The subject in “διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον εἶναι” (‘because of being same trade’): was it Paul or Aquila? For translation purposes, it may also be relevant to consider the related question of whom the subject is being compared to: “who” was of the same trade “with whom”?
2. The subject in “ἡσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ” (‘because *they* were σκηνοποιοὶ by trade’). The following options, each leading to a different translation in Naro, will be discussed:
 - a. Paul and Aquila (mDU, *tsara* in Naro)
 - b. Aquila and Priscilla (cDU, *khara* in Naro)
 - c. All three (cPL, *ne* in Naro)

In order to make a decision, we need to study clues from the Greek and the context of who was meant in each case (7.3.2), the meaning of σκηνοποιός (7.3.3) and the probability of Priscilla being a σκηνοποιός (7.3.4).

²⁷ Which might actually justify a separate discussion in itself: were the owners two or more? Were they male plus female?

²⁸ In fact, even the Greek is not decisive in this issue either.

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7.3.2 Indications from Greek and context

We will first consider what the Greek text actually says, and what it does not say. We will consider the possible subjects in “διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον εἶναι” and those of “ἥσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοῖ”, to be followed by a text-critical discussion.

Subjects in “διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον εἶναι”

Looking from an English grammatical perspective, in the words “because of **being** of the same trade (he stayed with them)”, the underlying subject might theoretically be one of six options. With all options, the first clause may be reworded to the structure “as (Paul/Aquila/Priscilla) was/were of the same trade”, with the Naro PGN-information for each option in brackets:

- a. Paul (*ba* ‘3mSG’)
- b. Aquila (*ba* ‘3mSG’)
- c. Priscilla (*sa* ‘3fSG’)
- d. Aquila and Priscilla (*khara* ‘3cDU’)
- e. Aquila and Paul (*tsara* ‘3mDU’)
- f. all three (*ne* ‘3cPL’)

At first sight, the Greek seems to rule out the last four options, as it uses the mSG form in ὁμότεχνον.²⁹ This would leave a choice between Paul and Aquila. Theoretically, both options are possible, but as the preceding προσῆλθεν and following ἔμενεν can only be interpreted as referring to Paul,³⁰ the most plausible option is to take Paul as the subject.

From a broader translation perspective however, most of the possibilities (a-f) may still be considered, as the subject (probably Paul) is being compared with one or two of the others.³¹ The part “όμο-” in ὁμότεχνον may in any case include Aquila and/or Priscilla as participant, and we could make one or both explicit in translation. A translation pursuing this option should first consider whether Paul shared his trade with Aquila only, or with both Aquila and Priscilla. The Greek is not conclusive here.

This is reflected in various translations, following different approaches. Most formal equivalent translations make the subject explicit,³² most often by using SG (“he”).³³ Other translations often conflate the first (“and because he was of the same trade”) and the last clause (“for they were tent-makers by trade”) of the verse, so it is difficult to know how

²⁹ Meyer & Gloag 2010 points out that “Luke might also have written διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνος εἶναι (Kühner & Gerth 1992:352).” If Luke had had more than one person in mind as the primary subject, the Greek would then have used the plural ὁμότεχνους (or ὁμότεχνοι, following Kühner).

³⁰ Meyer & Gloag 2010, a.l.: “see on the omission of the pronoun, where it is of itself evident from the preceding noun, Kühner, § 852 b, and ad Xen. Mem. i. 2. 49.”

³¹ Louw & Nida 1996, 42.52 (“because *they were* of the same craft”, italics added) give room for the DU/PL interpretation.

³² ABP is one translation that leaves the subject of the first clause implicit: “And because of being the same trade”. And only LITV indicates that “he” is an addition to the text: “because *he* was of the same trade.”

³³ E.g. in ESV “and because he was of the same trade.” As the following clause (ἔμενεν παρ’ αὐτοῖς) clearly has Paul as subject, this will usually be understood as referring to Paul (and not to Aquila).

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they view the subject of the first clause.³⁴ Of the translations that separate the first and the last clause, so that the subject of the first clause is visible, some use a plural subject: ‘the profession of Paul and theirs was the same’³⁵ and thus indicate that Aquila and Priscilla are seen as tent-makers. Others limit the compared subject of “being of the same trade” to Aquila.³⁶ Most of these avenues are reasonable options. For Naro, the question of how to translate “they” is pressing, as a choice has to be made between m, m+f, DU and PL. In order to answer this question, we will need to look at the plausibility of Priscilla having been in the trade (see below).

Subject of “ἢσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοί”

For the possible subjects of ἢσαν in “ἢσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ” ‘*they* were tent-makers by trade’, the Greek does not constrain or expand these possibilities. The construction may be interpreted as DU or PL - and σκηνοποιοί being a grammatically masculine form does not preclude the inclusion of a woman.³⁷ Three possible options are envisaged:

- a. Paul and Aquila (mDU)
- b. Aquila and Priscilla (cDU)
- c. Paul, Aquila and Priscilla (cPL)

Looking at the context, the first option that comes to mind and should be strongly considered is that “they” refers to Aquila and Priscilla,³⁸ though this is not unequivocally clear. If a woman would not usually be seen as a σκηνοποιός, the reader may well have understood that the subject of “ἢσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοί” must have been Aquila and Paul, not Aquila and Priscilla. For this reason we will delve further into the meaning of σκηνοποιός. But we will first briefly consider a text-critical argument.

A text-critical argument

The art of textual criticism may be employed to find out about early interpretations.³⁹ It is interesting in this regard that instead of the preceding singular verb ἤργαζετο ‘he worked’, some manuscripts use a plural.⁴⁰ In such a case, this could result in the reading “he stayed with them, and *they* worked, for they were tent-makers.” Whereas the reading “and he

³⁴ For example, NBV takes Aquila and Priscilla as the subject but adds Paul as well: “omdat ze hetzelfde ambacht uitoefenden als hij – ze waren leerbewerker van beroep –” (also see BGT).

³⁵ Back-translation of NTLH “*a profissão de Paulo e a deles era a mesma.*” TfTP is most explicit: “*Eles dois ... Paulo também... com eles ... todos três.*”

³⁶ For example GNBBL: “omdat hij evenals Aquila het vak van tentenmaker uitoefende”.

³⁷ As in the case of ἀδελφοί, “there is some evidence from ancient sources that the masculine *plural* forms of the noun could in some contexts have a gender-neutral sense” (Marlowe 2004). See Bauer 1971, s.v. ἀδελφός for the sources. Cf. note 50 in ch. 5. However, Marlowe adds: “the masculine plural forms were normally used in a masculine sense. Smyth 1920, § 1055 mentions “When the persons are of different gender, the masculine prevails” – but this is about adjectives agreeing with two or more substantives.

³⁸ Meyer & Gloag 2010, talks about “the two married persons” as subject of ἢσαν and does not even discuss other options.

³⁹ See, for example, Elliott 2012:23: “textual criticism (...) can expose early exegesis.”

⁴⁰ ἤργαζοντο ‘they worked’. Bruce 1990 mentions “^w* B cop^{sah.codd bo}” as having this reading.

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“worked” might draw a contrast between “him” and the following “they (were tent-makers)”, in which case “they” might more naturally refer to Aquila and *Priscilla*, the reading “and they worked” would more smoothly fit in with “they” referring to Aquila and *Paul* – in both this verb and the following one.

The evidence for accepting this reading is weak, but the reading does indicate that in the mind of some copyists, Paul could have been included in the subject of ἡσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοί. One must be cautious though: with both variants, all options remain open. Nonetheless, with the variant that uses the plural, there seems to be less contrast between Paul and “they”.

7.3.3 Meaning of σκηνοποιός

We now turn our attention to the possible meanings of the term σκηνοποιός, in order to have a better insight into the cultural issues. Views about the meaning of σκηνοποιός fall into three main categories: ‘weaver of goat’s hair cloth’, ‘maker of tents’ (of goat’s hair, or of leather), and ‘leather-worker’.

In some older commentaries and translations, we find the view that σκηνοποιός refers to a weaver,⁴¹ especially one of goat’s hair cloth. This cloth could then, of course, be used for making tents but may also have had other applications.⁴² This view would easily accommodate Priscilla’s involvement, as a job frequently carried out by women.⁴³ However, this option is considered outdated.⁴⁴ Weaving requires a more settled life, in view of the equipment needed,⁴⁵ and being a weaver could be unacceptable for Paul as a rabbi.⁴⁶

Some publications defend the meaning of σκηνοποιός as a maker⁴⁷ of tents, following the etymology of the word. This view is found as early as Chrysostom.⁴⁸ Various commentaries, especially in the 19th century, take this view, and it is still in use today.⁴⁹ The idea may comprise, either the sale of complete tents, or of materials that the buyer could use for making a tent.⁵⁰ The publications that see Paul and others as tent-makers have

⁴¹ Michaelis 1964, note 10 mentions Luther’s translation *Teppichmacher*.

⁴² Ellicott 1905: “The material was one used for the sails of ships and for tents.”

⁴³ Keener 2014:2723 “Work in textiles was traditionally ideal women’s work.” Cf. p. 2734 “it was considered shameful for men to weave cloth”.

⁴⁴ Cf. Michaelis 1964:396:1f.

⁴⁵ Cf. Meyer & Gloag 2010.

⁴⁶ For example Ollrog 1979:26, note 106: “...weil die Weberei dem strengen Juden als anruechiges Gewerbe galt.”

⁴⁷ Michaelis 1964:395:2ff. indicates that ποιέω may refer to the erecting of tents as such, versus the production of tents. At the same time, he does not exclude the possible meaning of tent-maker. It should be obvious that one can hardly make a business out of erecting tents.

⁴⁸ Cf. Spence & Exell 1909: “Tent-makers; σκηνοποιοί, which is paraphrased by σκηνοράφοι, tent-stitchers or tailors, by Chrysostom and Theodoret.”

⁴⁹ Louw & Nida 1996, 7.10 has “one who makes tents as an occupation – ‘tentmaker.’ ”

⁵⁰ Cf. Bauer 1971, s.v. σκηνοποιός: “die Bestandteile eines Zeltes od. dieses selbst handwerksmässig herstellen.”

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different views about the materials that were used. Many tend towards goat's hair,⁵¹ but others are sure that the tents were made of skins that were sewn together.⁵²

Thirdly, there is the, classic view⁵³ that σκηνοποιός has an extended meaning of 'leather-worker'.⁵⁴ The main reason is that, for being a tent-maker Paul would need to travel with cumbersome equipment.⁵⁵

Assessing all options and positions for the meaning of σκηνοποιός,⁵⁶ 'weaver' may be excluded. The meaning 'tent-maker' (especially from leather) is possible, but the idea of 'leather-worker' in a general sense looks even more plausible. This may have included handling skins for making tents. The argument of the required equipment that may have been too heavy to carry around is important to take into account. For Naro, the meaning 'leather-worker' is to be recommended as the basis for the translation. In the Naro context, hunters know to work with skins, so this option even fits the receptor culture.

7.3.4 Probability of Priscilla being a σκηνοποιός

The possibility and probability of Priscilla being a σκηνοποιός or not has not received much attention in research. Apparently, people have either assumed that she was *not* a σκηνοποιός or that she *was* one. Most commentaries do not discuss that explicitly.⁵⁷ The Naro language, however, forces us to look into this question, because in the translation we need to know whether Aquila and Priscilla (cDU), or Aquila and Paul (mDU), or all three (cPL), have been σκηνοποιοί. We will look into the two options: of Priscilla *not* being a σκηνοποιός, and of her *being* one.

First, some publications apparently assume that Priscilla was *not* a σκηνοποιός. They may merely mention "the work of Aquila and Paul"⁵⁸, implicitly indicating that Priscilla was not involved.⁵⁹ Few arguments are set out to support this opinion. One comment

⁵¹ Also called *cilicium* after the *Cilicia* province where Paul was born, cf. Jamieson et al. 1997 and Schaff 1879

⁵² So for example Poole 1803.

⁵³ Meyer & Gloag 2010, a.l. mentions Origen. Michaelis 1964:396:11f. speaks about "Patristische Zeugnisse."

⁵⁴ Bruce 1990, a.l. makes a comparison with 'saddler,' which has a wider sense than 'maker of saddles'.

⁵⁵ Grosheide 1942, a.l.: het bedrijf van tentenmaker vraagt "een vrij omvangrijke outillage. (...) Veel aantrekkelijks heeft daarom de meening, die σκηνοποιός gelijkstelt met σκυτοτόμος, riemensnijder, lederwerker, zadelmaker." Cf. Marshall 1980; Lake et al. 1965, a.l., and Moffatt 1935, a.l. Also Hock 2008:10: "Paul made tents from leather, not to mention other leather products". Cf. Michaelis 1964:396:8f.: "Lederarbeiter oder Sattler."

⁵⁶ Some other views (either supported or just mentioned by the sources) are quoted here for interest's sake: making hangings or curtains, used at theatres [Gill n.d. also mentions palaces, and stately rooms]; umbrella-maker (Earle & Clarke 1967, a.l.); upholsterer; maker of art-instruments; landscape painter (Nicoll 1983, a.l.); maker of horses' trappings (Gill n.d.).

⁵⁷ Some commentaries make explicit what their assumption is but they do not discuss other options.

⁵⁸ Schaff 1879, a.l. Cf. Michaelis 1964:395:22f. ("...können Subjekt (...) sehr wohl nur Paulus und Aquila sein.") – although Michaelis mentions the cooperation of Priscilla as a possibility.

⁵⁹ Grosheide 1942, a.l. "Aquila, die hetzelfde bedrijf uitoefende als Paulus." Cf. also Ollrog 1979:26: "Aquila war Handwerker und damit Geschaeftsmann. Der Zufall brachte es mit sich, dass er das gleiche Handwerk ausuebte wie Paulus: Zeltmacher."

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suggests that Priscilla cannot have been involved, as contact with women would render a profession dishonourable.⁶⁰

Some commentaries at least discuss the issue and mention alternative options.⁶¹ But most have not been very explicit about possible objections against Priscilla having been a tent-maker. It may be that the job was considered too demanding for a woman? Or perhaps, if a σκηνοποιός was usually male, it would have been inappropriate for a woman to be a σκηνοποιός because of the contact with the (mainly male) customers? Or, it may just have been a matter of traditional division of labour between men and women in society, so that there may have been a cultural taboo relating to the job being done by women. One of the Naro translators found it evident that Priscilla cannot have been referred to as tent-maker or leather-worker: “in the old days women were not doing those kinds of jobs of craftwork.”⁶²

Secondly, other publications include Priscilla in the job.⁶³ This interpretation fits in the context of the other five times that Aquila and Priscilla are mentioned in the NT. On most occasions, Priscilla is mentioned first, making her more prominent than Aquila.⁶⁴

It may be that readers (including commentators) are heavily influenced by their perception of the Greco-Roman culture, and perhaps also by their views on inclusivity of women. In modern times, people will have fewer objections to seeing Priscilla as tent-maker,⁶⁵ or at least have no problem in mentioning Priscilla as having this trade.⁶⁶ But in the light of the difficulty of the work and the general preconceptions of 1st century Greco-Roman society, it may rather be suspected that her primacy in their work together related to their ministerial work, not to the occupation that they may have done together. The contexts in which Priscilla is mentioned first also point in that direction (esp. Acts 18:26).

⁶⁰ Brouwer 1950, note a.l.: Paul must have been “[t]entenmaker, niet wever: dit een oneerbaar beroep, wegens aanraking met vrouwen.”

⁶¹ Barrett 1998, a.l.: “he and Aquila were both σκηνοποιοί. This is probably the right way to take the plural noun; but Taylor (...) thinks it refers to husband and wife.”

⁶² Serame, p.c. 24-7-19.

⁶³ Even older works, e.g. Hawker n.d., and Henry 2009. Bauer 1971, s.v. σκηνοποιός mentions both Aquila and Priscilla in the context of their job (“Beruf”), but later on just talks about “die Zunftgenossen Aquila u. Pls,” which seems to be inconsistent. Haenchen 1971:538 just mentions “their workshop”. Keener 2014:2713-4 mentions arguments showing that it is surely not impossible that Priscilla may be included in “*their* trade”, but it is too easily assumed that “their” refers to Priscilla and Aquila; in the light of Keener’s lengthy discussions, one would expect a treatise about the number and gender of the pronoun.

⁶⁴ *The Tentmaker Priscilla (Acts 18)* n.d.: “This wasn’t simply a matter of courtesy in the first century; it indicated her primacy in their work together.”

⁶⁵ *The Tentmaker Priscilla (Acts 18)* n.d.: “Priscilla is often thought of as a tentmaker, but clearly she was many other things in her lifetime too (...) [I]n Priscilla we see that women too are multitalented, multifaceted, and capable of working in a variety of different environments.”

⁶⁶ Bruce 1988, a.l.: “Priscilla and Aquila came to Corinth to pursue their trade there.” Robertson 2003:61: “Probably Aquila and Priscilla had opened a shop and they took Paul in as a partner in the business.” Cf. Darrell L. Bock 2007; Witherington 1997:545, Marshall 1980, a.l.

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7.3.5 Conclusion and translation in Naro

Purely looking at the Greek text, we get the impression that both Aquila and Priscilla may have been σκηνοποιοί. Aquila and Priscilla probably would have worked together anyway. Priscilla is often listed first in texts where she and Aquila are both mentioned, raising the strong possibility that Priscilla was usually more in the foreground than Aquila and thus supporting her inclusion in “they”. It may be that Aquila did the harder parts of the job, but if Priscilla was at all involved in the work, there is reason to call them tent-makers together.

However, as soon as one reads the text with the perspective that only men were σκηνοποιοί, the text can easily be read as talking about Aquila and Paul as such. From a cultural perspective, it is questionable whether Priscilla would be called σκηνοποιός in the Greco-Roman world. So in our case, the options are not equally viable. In the light of this socio-cultural context, Luke probably did not have Aquila and Priscilla in mind as the subject of ἡσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ, but Paul and Aquila.

In the Naro translation, we still made the choice to use cDU for “they,” so that the readers will understand this as referring to Aquila and Priscilla. In the light of the above, it is preferable to use the masculine dual in a possible revision of the translation. In the case of Aquila and Priscilla in Acts 18, it may be interesting for people’s societal views to mention the alternative in a footnote, but this is not really necessary.

7.4 Who agreed: *you* or *we*? (Mt. 20:13)

7.4.1 Introduction: considering receptor culture

In Bible translation, our primary source of information is the Bible, so when we look at the impact of culture on the use of PGN-markers in translation, we mainly focus on biblical culture. In the two examples above, we have seen that knowledge of the source culture is important for translation. But the exegetical conclusions must “land” somewhere, namely in the receptor culture. And we should be aware that cultural mismatches may occur in the communication of a message: we may think that we have done our job once we have transferred information linguistically, but in order to communicate well, certain content may need cultural adaptation as well, in order to be understood well by the receptor audience. This may involve additional linguistic transformations. So in this last part of this chapter, we will focus on the importance of knowing the receiving culture. It is definitely important to gauge the possible responses of the audience. If the audience in the receiving culture would be likely to misunderstand information in the text, we need to search for alternative translation options.

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7.4.2 Issue and suggested solution

Mt. 20:13 provides an example where a PGN-marker has been adapted in the Naro translation in order to communicate well culturally.⁶⁷ This verse is part of the parable of the workers in the vineyard, in which a landowner hires men in his vineyard at different times through the day. At the end of the day, he pays them all the same amount. The men that have worked the whole day complain about this, after which the landowner says to one of them: “Didn’t you agree to work for a denarius?”

In the discussion about the draft translation in Naro, this 2SG PGN-marker caused some reasonably strong reactions in our team members. It was pointed out that in Naro culture, the *you*-wording would sound as if the landowner had *forced* him to agree.⁶⁸ If this were the case, the worker had in fact not really agreed, so that this translation (using 2SG) would actually indicate the opposite of what the landowner tried to say, and so be very wrong.

The background of this reaction is not exactly clear. The most probable explanation is, that in the version “you (SG) have agreed with me”, the “agreement” by the worker can be understood as just a (passive) acceptance of the proposal (or offer), and that no negotiations were possible. Which is obviously contrary to what the landowner wanted to communicate. The problem in this option may be either caused by the meaning of the verb *dtcòm* (meaning more ‘to accept’ than ‘to agree’),⁶⁹ or by the use of the PGN *tsi* ‘2mSG’ (which might be too direct).

To solve the issue that was raised, the team came up with an alternative translation option. It was felt more natural to use the 1DU PGN-marker: “Didn’t we agree...” One could object that in using “we”, there is less emphasis on the fact that the worker himself (*you* SG) had agreed on a certain payment. The latter element is what the owner of the vineyard surely wanted to make clear.

7.4.3 Evaluation of the alternative

When trying to solve the issue, one of the most basic principles in translation had to be applied, namely that if a translation option leads to misunderstanding, whether on the basis of cultural assumptions or otherwise, alternatives must be sought to facilitate meaningful communication. Of course, alternatives must be evaluated for their quality. One should, as always, look at relevant exegetical data. Also, possible implications of an alternative must

⁶⁷ Other examples of cultural adaptation in this parable (but not related to P-G-N issues) are ἀμπελών ‘vineyard’ (v. 1, translated as *kg’om xhárà* ‘berry garden’); δηνάριον ‘denarius’ (v. 2, translated with its context by *cáman di maria nem gha ko suruta xu sa* ‘that he would pay them day’s money’). The time indications were sometimes replaced by modern time ways of indicating time, e.g. περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ‘around the third hour’ with *9 di x’āè ka* ‘at 9 o’clock’, but in vv. 5 and 6 we managed to use more local equivalents, like *koaba ka* ‘at day time/noon and *dqoà tcgai ka* (difficult to translate – it amounts to the time around 15h00’, Saul, p.c. 29-8-19).

⁶⁸ This was confirmed by Serame, p.c. 29-9-20.

⁶⁹ This also depends on which verb form is used: the plain verb (*dtcòm* ‘accept, agree’) or a derivation like *dtcòmku* ‘agree with each other’ which underlines the reciprocal aspect. In the translation, *dtcòmku* is used both in v. 2 and in v. 13.

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be weighed (e.g., how the text will sound in the whole discourse). In the evaluation, language specifics – both of the SL and of the RL - must be taken into account as well. One issue that requires attention is what is said about the agreement. We'll look into 1. the meaning of συμφωνέω, 2. its subject, 3. prepositions used and 4. the time period concerned.

1. The agreement

In v. 2, it says “after agreeing (συμφωνήσας) with the labourers for a denarius a day...” Taken literally, the meaning of συμφωνέω is ‘sound together’. The verb may be used of things, in which case it may mean ‘fit together (e.g. of cloth, Lk. 5:36), correspond with, match’. Used with people, it may mean ‘be of one mind, make an agreement with, agree’.⁷⁰ Louw and Nida add the idea of a joint decision.⁷¹ There seems to be an element of discussion, or at least the possibility of accepting the offer or not. We should not read too much into this “agreement” though, as if the situation would in one way or the other be comparable to negotiations in present day northern societies. Morris rightly states: “There would probably have been no difficulty in negotiating such a deal, for it meant normal pay for normal work.”⁷²

2. The subject

The meaning of the word συμφωνέω in Mt. 20 leads to distinguishing two parties (two subjects, pragmatically speaking). On the one hand, the proposal of the payment of one denarius clearly originated with the landowner (the main subject). But on the other hand, the word συμφωνέω indicates that the worker from his side accepted the proposal.⁷³ This worker may (at the time of contention) have been the spokesman of the group,⁷⁴ or the most aggressive one in the group.

In v. 2 (συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν ‘after agreeing with the labourers for a denarius a day’), the grammatical subject of the agreement is the landowner, so one might conclude that he is in the centre of the attention. However, he is not the only one mentioned: he agrees “with the workers” - so they are involved in some way. At least they accept the offer.

A difference with v. 13 (οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησάς μοι; ‘Did you not agree with me for a denarius?’) is, that in v. 13 the *worker* is the subject. This difference should not be over-emphasised. In both cases there is a kind of agreement *with each other*. Verse 2

⁷⁰ Friberg et al. 2001, s.v. συμφωνέω.

⁷¹ Louw & Nida 1996, 31.15: “to come to an agreement with, often implying a type of joint decision - to agree with, agreement.”

⁷² L. Morris 1992, ad v. 2. Neither should we make too much of the etymologically related word in English, as if the worker came into “symphony” with the landowner. That would communicate too much enthusiasm on the part of the worker.

⁷³ The presence of an agreement that is mentioned may actually point to the kindness of the landowner, as in those times it was quite usual that a landowner could just set the salary, without any discussion or agreement.

⁷⁴ McNeile 1980, a.l.: “The householder replied to the ringleader who had voiced their complaint.” Cf. Meyer et al. 1983, a.l. “One, as representing the whole.”

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emphasises the landowner probably making the suggestion of payment, while in v. 13 the fact that the worker agreed with the proposal is in focus.

3. Prepositions

We find a slight difference in construction between v. 2 and v. 13 in the use of prepositions. In v. 2, the preposition συμ- (assimilated form of συν ‘with’) is used in combination with μετὰ (συμφωνήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν ‘having agreed-with [συν] with [μετὰ] the workers’), while in v. 13, συν is used in combination with the dative (συνεφώνησάς μοι ‘you agreed-with [συν] with [dative] me’). The construction with μετὰ may focus more on the company,⁷⁵ while the dative may focus on the person of the landowner and the hoped for cordial agreement with him, though we should not make too much of this difference. Most important is the fact of the agreement.

4. Time period

The last difference is the mention of τὴν ἡμέραν in v. 2, which is left out in v. 13. But this difference can easily be understood from the difference in context. In the beginning of the parable, it is important to mention that the agreed on payment was on a *per day* basis. This is essential to set up the contrast with the other workers that were hired later in the day – so that they worked only part of the day, while they still received the full day’s wages.

In v. 13, however, the landowner focuses on the payment that was agreed on. The worker wanted to focus on the disparity in hours worked, but the landowner wanted to get the worker’s focus back to the original agreement.⁷⁶ He could have explicitly mentioned the “per day” basis, but that would distract attention away from his gracious goodness to the others⁷⁷ who could now also feed their families.

7.4.4 Translation in Naro

Having looked at the SL, we now turn our attention to the RL, Naro. We first look at the Naro options for *you* and subsequently at the options for *we*.

In Naro, seven theoretical renderings are available for the English *you* in v. 13: two in singular (*tsi* ‘2mSG’ and *si* ‘2fSG’), and five varieties in dual and plural, so Naro can make the subject much clearer than English does.⁷⁸ As the Greek text uses SG, these seven possibilities are diminished to

⁷⁵ Bauer 1971, s.v. μετὰ: “I. örtl. (...) in Gesellschaft von jmdm. (...) II.d. Gemeinschaft bezeichnend, innerhalb deren etw. geschieht.” Louw & Nida 1996, 89.108: “a marker of an associative relation, usually with the implication of being in the company of - with, in the company of, together with.”

⁷⁶ L. Morris 1992, a.l.: “When a man makes a solemn agreement and keeps to his side of the bargain, there should be no thought of injustice. This man had made a legal agreement with his workmen; they would work for a day, and he would pay them a denarius.”

⁷⁷ L. Morris 1992, a.l.: “The fact that he chose to be generous to other people gave these men no new rights. Their discontent was due to envy, not to the overlooking of any of their rights.”

⁷⁸ In spite of the fact that the landowner addresses the worker with the singular “friend”, the “you” that is used in most English translations may theoretically be understood as a plural. In Naro this is not possible, unless the 2mSG is taken as a general “you,” see 3.2.5.

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two. And the context makes clear that *tsi* ‘2mSG’ is intended: the landowner speaks to one of the (male) workers.

But instead of using *you*, the suggestion of the team was to use the translation *we*. There are six different options for translating *we* (not mentioning the inclusive and exclusive possibilities), so that the Naro translation will be unmistakably clear about who is meant. In practice, the choice is between *xae* ‘1mPL’ and *tsam* ‘1mDU’, as only males are involved. The plural PGN-marker *xae* would imply “I, the landowner, and (at least two of you, workers,” while the dual *tsam* restricts the discussion to the landowner and the worker.

The possibility of using the 1mPL opens up an interesting trait of interpretation. Saying “didn’t we (*xae* ‘1mPL’) agree...” brings the other workers in focus, which may be an extra argument for the worker to withdraw his complaint. If he feels that he is the only plaintiff, against *all* other parties to the agreement, he may be quicker to give in. However, as the Greek text uses 2SG, this option would not fit the exegesis as a suitable one.⁷⁹ The only feasible option left is *tsam* ‘1mDU’, which makes clear that the conversation is with only one of the workers. The Naro distinctions definitely help to accept the *we* option as an alternative for *you*. In other languages, some confusion might arise when using *we*: it might be understood as referring to a discussion with the whole group. But when using the dual, it is clear that one plaintiff is singled out.

Finally, if we apply any transformation in our translation, we should gauge the probable impact on the audience of the suggested rendering over the original.⁸⁰ One might think that by saying *we*, the emphasis would move slightly from the worker who has agreed (on his own, as the Greek uses 2SG), to the landowner-together-with-the-worker who have come to an agreement (as Naro uses 1DU). But this may actually not be a bad move. There is certainly some emphasis in Greek on the fact that the worker actively agreed with the proposal, but he was not the only agent in the agreement.

The construction in Greek, in fact, justifies the switch from the second person to the first person, because the landowner is mentioned in the construction συνεφόνησάς μοι anyway. Expressing “you with me” easily yields a PGN-marker that communicates “we”. In that sense, the alternative option can hardly be called an adaptation, even though it must be admitted that there is slightly more emphasis on the “you” in Greek. But the use of “we” in the translation is probably closer to the original communication than some translations that do not even mention “with me”.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Theoretically speaking, it is not impossible: drawing in one (the landowner) or more people (the landowner plus the other workers) in the change from “you” to “we” doesn’t seem like a big addition. But it does change the focus of the text – as being discussed.

⁸⁰ One way to evaluate possible implications is gauging what a preacher might be led to in a sermon on the basis of the alternative wording of the text.

⁸¹ E.g. NIV11UK “Didn’t you agree to work for a denarius?”; GNBUK “you agreed to do a day’s work for one silver coin.” REB89 “You agreed on the usual wage for the day, did you not?” NLT204 “Didn’t you agree to work all day for the usual wage?” EASY “You agreed to work for one day and to receive one silver coin.” OL “Não aceitaste trabalhar o dia inteiro por uma moeda?”

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Our conclusion is that the alternative option that was chosen for Naro, namely using the 1mDU PGN-marker, is a most valid one and will communicate well. In the light of the challenge that the literal translation (with 2mSG) would present, it is even preferable.

7.5 Observations and strategies

In this chapter we looked at the impact of cultural aspects on the translation of P-G-N features. The cultural background of words and texts may make quite a difference in our translation praxis. Therefore, both the culture of the ST and the culture of the present recipients must be studied and considered. A translation may need adaptation in order to communicate the intended message appropriately. In translation we aim for a historically accurate rendering, giving a true description of all aspects, including cultural ones, but at the same time employing a translation that sounds natural and communicates in a culturally relevant way.

The following strategies can be formulated with regard to cultural factors in the choice of PGN-markers:

- Take both original and receiving culture into account, as much as possible.
 - o Study the cultural background of the Greek text. This is necessary to understand what is said, and may have quite an impact on the choice of words in Naro, including the PGN-markers.
 - o Study the culture of the recipients. This is important to identify how people may understand, or misunderstand, a translation of a text that comes from a distant time and culture. A translation that does not take these matters into account may distort the originally intended message and thus lead to miscommunication.
- If a translation option leads to misunderstanding, whether on the basis of cultural assumptions or otherwise, alternatives must be sought to facilitate right communication.
 - o If we apply any transformation in our translation, the alternative(s) must be evaluated for their quality and impact.
 - o Look at possible implications of the options:
 - How will the text sound in the whole discourse?
 - What will people pick up from the text in a literal translation?
 - What will people understand from the text if the alternative translation option is used?
 - How will people's understanding in either case differ from that of the original listeners?
 - o Listen carefully to translation teams and reviewers, and pick up signals of miscommunication.

Footnotes

It may be, in spite of diligent study and consideration of all available information, that it remains difficult to choose between options. This brings us to the question of how and when to confront the audience with alternative translation options. A common strategy to inform the audience is to use footnotes. The following strategies are to be considered:

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- As footnotes are distracting, the audience should not be overloaded with information in footnotes. Their number and size should be kept to a minimum.
 - o As a rule of thumb, we should probably limit footnotes to information that is relevant to the average reader.
 - o This implies that translators have to gauge how relevant or interesting (for example for one's theology or even societal views) an alternative translation option is for the intended readers.
 - o It mainly depends on the translation brief, what kind of information appears in footnotes and how often.
- If one chooses a translation option with the knowledge that an alternative option is against his own views and it is as viable as the one chosen, he should account for that in a footnote. If different translation options are equally viable, and we do not add a footnote with the alternative, we should use the option in the text that least coincides with our own views.⁸² We should not push our own viewpoint but rather be very cautious if we are aware of different options.

Receptor culture: accommodate or confront?

A broader issue in the context of cultural challenges with respect to translation is, how far the receptor culture may be taken into account in decisions about translating. If exegetical data does not lead to a clear-cut answer, there is some danger that the receptor culture will guide the decisions, consciously or unconsciously. When reading Acts 18 for example, people might find it strange to find a female tent-maker. In such cases, should we *accommodate* the audience as much as possible, or should we *confront* the audience as much as possible? The answer depends quite a bit on the situation, and on the translation brief.

- Generally speaking, it will be good to show that the Bible comes from a different culture and time.
- On the other hand, we should not antagonise, or puzzle people unnecessarily.
- We should present a picture that is as historically accurate as possible, even if the receiving culture has values that are different from the ones underlying the data presented in the text.
- If the cultural data does not point in a certain exegetical direction, the way to go is to follow the impression that the Greek evokes.
- Only if all exegetical data is not conclusive, may a translator allow the receiving culture to partly influence the translation options.
 - o We must, however, be aware of the dangers of this avenue and constantly evaluate if the chosen option corresponds with biblical culture.
 - o We should definitely not try to accommodate the receiving culture as much as possible in our translation work.

⁸² De Vries 2017 discusses “the Theory and Practice of Intercultural Mediation” by translators and gives several examples of situations where translators have a hard time doing so.

8. Hermeneutical challenges

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at hermeneutical challenges. Hermeneutics is the “art of understanding and of making oneself understood”¹ and includes “the study of the methodological principles of interpretation (as of the Bible)”.² As such, it is concerned with issues that arise when dealing with texts, but not texts exclusively,³ and includes one’s presuppositions, methods and purpose in handling the Bible.⁴

Hermeneutics is the basis for exegesis (or interpretation).⁵ Exegesis is the actual interpreting of texts, while in hermeneutics, this process is scrutinised, “asking critically what exactly we are doing when we read, understand, or apply texts. Hermeneutics explores the conditions and criteria that operate to try to ensure responsible, valid, fruitful, or appropriate interpretation.”⁶ This implies that hermeneutics is looking beyond rules. It concerns what happens in and to us when we interpret phenomena.⁷

Having a focus on translation, we are thus on tricky ground in this chapter, as the discussion involves application as well. The task of a translator essentially commences with and pursues interpretation, while we leave the application to the preacher.⁸ However, the questions that are raised by translation into Naro touch on this area as well, so we cannot ignore the topic. And in fact, it is fruitful to discuss it, to raise awareness of the risks involved. After all, we are not just *doing* translation, but also talking *about* translation, reflecting on best practices – which is a totally justified hermeneutical practice, and to be encouraged.

But still, especially in this chapter, the challenge will be to maintain the distinction between exegesis and hermeneutics: to discuss questions which are strongly related to hermeneutics, but at the same time to formulate strategies which do not allow the translation that is based on them to trespass from the exegetical into the hermeneutical domain. For example, in the case of possible applications of a text (as discussed in 8.2), the strategies should strictly point out that the translation must not try to make applications that are not intended in the text itself. If *in* the translation *itself* there is any application to be made in

¹ *Hermeneutics* n.d..

² Merriam-Webster 2016, s.v. *Hermeneutic* [26-5-2020].

³ M. Westphal 2012:71: “[P]hilosophical hermeneutics is not restricted to interpreting texts. (...) [I]t extends interpretation to the writing of history (Dilthey), to nonliterary works of art (Gadamer), to meaningful action (Ricoeur) and to the entire domain of human understanding (Heidegger).” Also see George 2021: “meaningful human actions and the products of such actions, most importantly texts.”

⁴ Cf. Roloff 1977:259.

⁵ Porter & Stovell 2012:9, note 3: “Some scholars use interpretation and hermeneutics interchangeably (...) while others differentiate between exegesis, interpretation and hermeneutics.” Like Porter and Stovell, on the same page, we also do not distinguish between exegesis and interpretation.

⁶ Thiselton 2009:4.

⁷ Cf. Gadamer 2014:xx-xxi. M. Westphal 2012:71: “In other words, the question is: what is going on, often behind our backs, when we interpret texts and other phenomena?”

⁸ In agreement with De Waard & Nida 1986:40.

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the lives of the audience, that application should be based on the exegesis, not on a desire to involve the modern audience in the text – which would be mixing hermeneutics and exegesis.

Interestingly, we actually may become part of the “hermeneutic circle” in these matters as well. In this circle, “two elements of guiding presuppositions and guided interpretations mutually condition each other”.⁹ We may indeed find ourselves explicitly within this circle at a certain stage, because if we discover that the text actually speaks about us, we become part of the text and thus can partly evaluate whether the interpretation is appropriate. But even if that happens, we are called in this chapter to stand at a distance, however involved we may become.

In this chapter, only the following hermeneutical issues will be considered, as they touch upon questions raised by the Naro PGN-system: first, issues with respect to a possible broader application of certain propositions (8.2), secondly with respect to fulfilment of prophecies (8.3), and thirdly with respect to parallel passages (8.4). All these may have an impact on the use of PGN-markers.

8.2 Broader application¹⁰

Besides scrutinising the *interpretation* of a text, hermeneutics is also engaged in its possible *application*. A text may be addressed to one person, but appropriated and/or applied by another person. The boundaries of legitimate appropriation of a text constitute an important hermeneutical issue. In this section, we will discuss the implications of this issue with respect to the use of PGN-markers and attempt to find out whether a text may apply to an audience that is wider than the participants present in the text.

If there are options in a language which specify to whom a certain command, promise or other proposition applies, a translator has to ponder these issues. In Naro, because of the multiple options in PGN-markers, this is an issue in various texts. We will subsequently look into intentions of speakers and possible applications of their texts, generally speaking and in the Bible (8.2.1), exophoric references in relation to linguistic and hermeneutical inclusion (8.2.2), and conclude with a discussion of two examples (8.2.3 and 8.2.4).

8.2.1 Intentions of speakers, and possible applications

In interpreting a text, it is a basic assumption and an important hermeneutical principle that the communication happens between the speaker and his audience: a speaker addresses his hearer(s) in the speech act. In a conversation described in a written text, this audience will be the ones mentioned (or presupposed) in the text, and not others. The challenge in this section is that we will focus on an audience that is not present and may not have been mentioned in the communication.

⁹ M. Westphal 2012:72.

¹⁰ Partial content of this section was presented earlier, see Visser 2010a.

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A right application of a text is greatly dependent on the intention of the speaker. If Mary asks John to “Please close the door”, and if not John, but Jim closes the door, Jim has appropriated the request and carried it out. Mary’s intention may be divided into two parts: 1. she wanted the door to be closed, and 2. she wanted John to do this. If Jim closes the door, part (1) of the Mary’s intention is fulfilled, but not part (2).

In the mentioned case, basically only one person can close the door. But other requests may be carried out by more than one person, for example, if Mary asks John “Raise your hand”. It may happen that both John and Jim raise their hands. Mary’s two intentions are fulfilled, but an additional person has appropriated the request. One may ask all kinds of questions about this, e.g. “Was it clear from the context that Mary specifically wanted John (perhaps by facing him) to raise his hand?” In English, the request “Raise your hand” does not specify SG or PL (or DU). But even if the language were clear by using a SG, does the request exclude others? If that was Mary’s intention, she should have been more specific. There is a whole gamut of possibilities relating to intentions and ways of expressing for whom a specific statement is meant.

A third option is exemplified in Mary saying to John, “Let’s save the planet”. The underlying *we* in the proposal could be meant as a dual, as if Mary and John were going to save the planet, and this is certainly an option in some contexts, for example if Mary and/or John are a kind of superhero character in some tale. But it might as well be interpreted as generic, indicating that Mary and John, together with others – possibly even all humans – may work on saving the planet.¹¹ In that option, the reference is partially exophoric: it is partly made to people outside the speech act. So a speaker may *explicitly* or *implicitly* include others. In the latter case, one can conclude from the (often extralinguistic) context of the utterance that other people are included.

In the Bible, we likewise find differing application intentions. The letters of Paul to Timothy and Titus are each intended for them personally, the one to Philemon is intended for Philemon and a small circle around him. Epistles to congregations are addressed to a whole church, although some may have been intended for use in more than one church.¹² A trace of this can be found in Col. 4:16 “And when this letter has been read among you, have it also read in the church of the Laodiceans; and see that you also read the letter from Laodicea.” The gospel of Luke was written for Theophilus,¹³ but Mark’s and John’s gospels may have been written for a broader audience. James wrote to “the twelve tribes in the Dispersion”¹⁴ and Peter directed his first epistle to “those who are elect exiles of the

¹¹ Wilde 2020:237 calls this use of 1PL “reference impersonals”, following Siewierska 2011.

¹² The epistle to the Ephesians may be an example of this, see Zuntz 1953:228 n.1; Bruce 1984, a.l.

¹³ Lk. 1:3.

¹⁴ Jas. 1:1.

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Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia”:¹⁵ a large area. So there is a large divergence in scope in the Bible.

Most of the time, Bible texts do not refer to a possible later audience, though the author would doubtless have encouraged an application of his text by anybody who would interact with it. For example, Paul has written epistles to specific churches, but would not have minded if they were used by others. The “pastoral” letters can indubitably be applied to others, especially pastors. And it is difficult to believe that Luke would have restricted the use of his gospel to his one addressee.

The Bible contains claims (for example, in 2 Tim. 3:16) that it has applications far beyond the first audience. This may sometimes be clarified within the text: several statements are directed to “all people” who fulfil a certain condition, e.g. “all who are thirsty”.¹⁶ We also find texts in the Bible where a speaker or author intentionally communicates with *anybody* who hears. There are psalms that explicitly mention all mankind and even directly address all people of the earth, as in “Clap your hands, all peoples!”¹⁷ and “Sing to the LORD, all the earth!”¹⁸ And in some verses, the Bible makes a general claim, as in “everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved”.¹⁹ Finally, in the gospels, Jesus made statements that apply very broadly.

That this possibility of broad application was picked up very early on is attested by Tertullian: “in writing to a certain church the apostle is writing to all.”²⁰ The Muratorian canon similarly states that “the blessed Paul (...) wrote to seven churches only by name (...) one church is known to be dispersed throughout the whole globe of the earth. For John also, while he wrote (...) to seven churches, nevertheless speaks to all.”²¹

Even though the different Bible writers may not originally have had intentions of universal application in all their propositions, it was soon perceived that these publications had authoritative value and could be applied in many circumstances by many people. But application of these works was still dependent on a process of interpretation in which the original context, with the original intentions, was normative. This is an important hermeneutical principle. And it touches the area of hermeneutics in which the relationship between a text and the reader is being reflected upon.

Application of *any* text may occur when conclusions are drawn from it – conclusions which may be unintended, and even unwanted, by the author. In the case of the Bible, it is common for a reader to learn something from a verse and to then apply it in his or her life.

¹⁵ 1 Pet. 1:1. P. H. R. Van Houwelingen 2010:34-38 underlines that this epistle is a circular one, and makes clear that it is worthwhile to be read even after many centuries, also on the basis of 5:14 “all of you who are in Christ” (p. 44).

¹⁶ As in Is. 55:1, speaking to an audience with a specific type of thirst.

¹⁷ Ps. 47:1.

¹⁸ Ps. 96:1.

¹⁹ Rom. 10:13, quoting Joel 2:32.

²⁰ Taken from Lincoln 1990:4.

²¹ Taken from Lincoln 1990:4.

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In order to be applied, different texts require different levels of processing effort.²² One text may have a more obvious application to the reader, another text may only be applied after quite a bit of studying.

When a modern hearer applies God's Word to his life, he must make a clear distinction between his situation and the situation of the text that he is reading.²³ The Bible speaks to us *through* the historical situation in the text. But at the same time, it is important to be aware that the text is not merely giving historical information, in order to gratify our curiosity or to teach us certain facts: the Bible wants to positively transform us through all that it contains.²⁴ In the Bible, God speaks to us and places a link between what was happening in the text, and our lives in the present. However, it is hardly ever justified to make a direct application from the text (which was written for readers a few thousand years ago) to our situation nowadays. The reader should always ask first what the text had to say to the first hearers and readers, and only after a deduction process in which he derives general principles from the text content can he make the application from those principles to the situation today.

With regard to the issue of choosing PGN-markers, the original context is decisive: even if a text could be *applied* by others, the text (and its PGNs) should always reflect, as accurately as possible, what the original text intended. We are not allowed to *create* the application in the text. The task of a Bible translator is restricted to presenting the content of the text. Many words in the Bible *can* be applied. But the question here is whether a text *should* be applied. This question can only be answered by finding the intention of the speaker.

8.2.2 Exophoric references

In reading and translating the NT, communication can be distinguished in three possible frames.²⁵ First, in the events that are described there may be conversations: communication within the text (e.g., Jesus with His disciples). Secondly, the communication between the author of a book and his direct audience (e.g., Luke writing to Theophilus). And thirdly, the

²² Not to speak of different levels of processing efforts in *understanding* texts, which typically comes before the application – though the application may play a role in the process of understanding itself.

²³ One must always evaluate this carefully. For example, if someone reads a pronouncement of judgment in the Bible, most people will assume that this is not meant for them. In the same way, one cannot automatically assume that a promise is meant directly for him. One must always take the historical situation into account.

²⁴ See, for example, 2 Tim. 3:16f., quoted earlier: "All Scripture is breathed out by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work." (NIV84) Cf. also Rom. 15:4 "For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that through endurance and through the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope."

²⁵ We are not speaking here of possible frames that *influence* our communication. For some of those, see, for example, Wilt 2002b, esp. 27-58, and 74-77 for graphic representations. For an example of working with such frames, see Berman 2014.

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“listening in” of the broader audience (either in Greek or in a translation) into the second and via this frame to the first frame.²⁶

The question in this section about broader application is, whether audiences in the third frame may be “present” in some way in the mind of speakers in the first (and possibly second) frame. If so, the next question will be, to what extent a translator is allowed (or obliged) to use PGNs that implicitly indicate that a speaker additionally had more people in mind than the ones directly present. If this is the case, it has an impact on the translation of these verses, especially where the audience that is indirectly addressed is of a different composition with respect to gender and number than the people directly addressed. For example, the first hearers of a conversation on frame #1 may have been men only, while in the mind of the speaker, other people (perhaps including the present readers) may have been included. Jesus may have given His disciples directions which may have a broader application than they themselves will experience.

There are texts in the Bible where exophoric references are made, for example, where a pronoun is used generically: where *we* refers to “we humans”, where *they* refers to “mankind” and *you* to “*you plus others*”. This “*you*” could be called a kind of “inclusive you”²⁷ or perhaps rather an “extended you”. In these cases, it is not only justified but mandatory to consider translating with a *common* PGN.²⁸ In every context where unmentioned participants are suspected, one must be able to clearly state the reasons for these conclusions.

The existence of exophoric references indicates that the distinction between a linguistic inclusion (speaking about referents in an utterance)²⁹ and a hermeneutical inclusion (including anybody who interacts with a certain text) is not totally clear-cut. In some cases, the choice between different PGNs *does* involve a (linguistic!) inclusion even of modern readers, inclusion, that is, in the intended audience in the speaker’s mind: for example, believing modern readers as part of the worldwide community of believers that Jesus may (or must) have had in mind in certain of his statements. The inclusion is still called linguistic, but as it affects the application, it has hermeneutical implications.

In Acts 4:12 we find a rather straightforward example of such a linguistic inclusion with hermeneutical implications. When Peter states “there is no other name under heaven given

²⁶ We may even partition this third frame into the one where the translators do the listening in, and the one where the audience of the translation receives communication, as dependent as this audience is on the understanding of the translator as part of the tertiary communication. We could even think of a fifth frame, in which the divine Author of the Bible is communicating with people – but this is not even a different frame but one that permeates all other frames.

²⁷ Lyons 1968:277 calls this ‘exclusive’, but it may be more appropriate to call it ‘inclusive’, in order to reflect the fact that others are *included*. The use in which only present hearers are referred to would then be called ‘exclusive’, because others are excluded.

²⁸ Or any of the other options to translate a generic pronoun, as mentioned in 5.6.

²⁹ Nida 1947:257 uses these contrastive labels when discussing a slightly different kind of inclusion. In a restricted sense, linguistic inclusion only refers to addressees being included in the non-singular first person, as discussed in the clusivity issues in this dissertation. Over here it is used in the wider sense.

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to mankind by which *we* must be saved”,³⁰ it is beyond question that he does not refer only to himself and John (which would require *tsam* ‘1mDU’ in Naro), nor does he just include the Jewish Council (which would yield a *xae* ‘1mPL’, as the Council consisted of males only). He clearly speaks of everybody that is part of humankind, which means that *ta* ‘1cPL’ is to be used.³¹ The hermeneutical application thus surfaces in the text.

The example of Acts 1:8 “*you* will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on *you*; and *you* will be my witnesses” is less straightforward. Would Jesus have used the “male only” PGN *xao* ‘2mPL’, or the PGN that includes women *tu* ‘2cPL’? In the last version of our translation, we have chosen *xao* (males only), but in a previous version we had *tu*, and both have their advantages and disadvantages. The direct context pleads for *xao*, and readers can apply it to their own situation. But Jesus may well have indicated that the Holy Spirit would also come down on others (including women).³²

On this cutting edge between linguistics and hermeneutics, it is important to maintain our focus on linguistics as the basis – whatever the hermeneutical implications it may have. We cannot exceed the limits imposed by our principles of exegesis – but if there is good exegetical support for an option that facilitates a hermeneutical application, that option is to be preferred.

We will now study some example texts, and develop strategies to evaluate whether the exegetical support for an option that advocates the inclusion of unmentioned participants is sound or not. These strategies should help us answer the question whether we can leave it to the readers to make an application or whether we could lead readers into a more direct application by using a broader PGN.

8.2.3 This is My body given for *you* (Lk. 22:19f.)

A quite obvious strategy to start with can be formulated as follows:

- Start with the historical situation.
 - o Establish who was present and reflect that as much as possible in the translation.

When Jesus handed out bread and wine to the disciples in Lk. 22, He spoke His famous words that are still used when Holy Communion is being administered: “This is My body given for *you* … This cup is the new covenant in My blood, which is poured out for *you*.³³ Discussions about these statements have understandably focused on the meaning of the

³⁰ NIV11UK.

³¹ Instead of referring to speakers + addressees + others, *we* could also be interpreted as a generic *we* (cf. 5.5.4), which may yield a translation like “anyone” (CEVUK) (also see NBV “de mens”, HET “de mensen”). In both cases, the application is broader than the participants present.

³² Other factors, like *church view*, may play a role in making the decision as well: if the translator has been brought up in a hierarchical atmosphere, she might tend to choose *xao*.

³³ Lk. 22:19f.

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reality character of the word *is*,³⁴ rather than on the meaning of the word *you*.³⁵ But in our context, we need to ask the hermeneutical³⁶ question whether Jesus was only thinking of His disciples when He spoke these words, or of other people as well. Obviously, the words *can* be applied (and they *are* applied in every Communion service),³⁷ but did Jesus *intend* that? If so, that should be reflected in using the common PGN for *you* (*tu* ‘2cPL’) in translation. If not, we have to use the masculine PGN (*xao* ‘2mPL’).

At first sight, focusing on the historical situation would suggest that the masculine PGN should be used, as Jesus’ first recipients were His male disciples. We may not give words a wider scope (in translation or elsewhere) than originally intended. This is true with respect to the first church (the first audience that was listening in, and that may even have had a part to play in the tradition of the words). It is also true with respect to the modern audience: we must not change words spoken to a first century audience to make them more applicable to us.

We must go one level deeper, though. Participants in a conversation can talk about people that are not present. Or a speaker may additionally have others in mind when speaking to his audience, even when using “you”. In many instances, the difference between “you to whom I am speaking” and “you plus others” will not show up in translation, because the conditioning features are the same, for example, if both the audience and the extended audience have the same division of gender and number. This is the case when in the two groups, all are males and there are more than two. However, if a group of men is addressed but a broader group of people, including women, is in the mind of the speaker, he may well use a different PGN. At least, this is true for Naro.

So had Jesus spoken Naro, which word would He have used in Lk. 22? Did Jesus have other people in mind in any way when speaking these words? Did Jesus mean to say that He would give His life (symbolised by the bread and wine) only for the eleven disciples? In answer to these questions, it is in line with biblical thought to believe that Jesus intended to give His life for others as well,³⁸ so there is every reason to indicate in the translation that more people were included in the *you* than only the (male) disciples. The way to do that in Naro is using a common PGN *tu* ‘2cPL’.

However, as hearers ponder these words, it may strike them as odd that the common PL is used in translation. They might think that the translators have made a mistake, as Jesus

³⁴ See, for example, Genderen & Velema 1993:729-732 and van ’t Spijker et al. 1980, *passim*. Cf. Berkhof 1973:383.

³⁵ The main discussion about the words “for you” has been whether they originally belong to the saying or not. For the arguments against, see Jeremias 1966:166-68; in favor, see the discussion in Marshall 2010:46-51.

³⁶ It is also an exegetical question, but in the light of the questions about possible applications, the exegetical question becomes hermeneutical as well.

³⁷ The question whether that is legitimate is not to be discussed here, although our discussion will impact that issue. The question is whether modern day readers can be put into the *translation* by using a common PGN in Naro.

³⁸ Mk. 10:45 “the Son of Man came (...) to give his life as a ransom for many” – where it is unimaginable that the “many” can be restricted to the twelve disciples.

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is talking to men but uses *you* that includes women. Nonetheless, if they have enough trust in the translation, hearers will be led to conclude that there were either women present at the Last Supper, or that Jesus had a company of mixed gender in mind for whom He gave His life. The PGN-marker used will thus facilitate a thought process in the hearers. Using this common PGN is not a matter of wilfully including a broader audience into the text, but a matter of gauging what would probably have been in the speaker's mind.

There are at least two advantages of this translation option. First, using the masculine PGN *xao* '2mPL' here may sound restrictive, as if Jesus were indicating that He would die only on behalf of the disciples. If His intention were restrictive, that restrictive PGN should of course be used. But if we have any hint that more is intended, the use of *xao* is to be avoided. If the gospel is not restrictive, we should not be either. A second advantage of this option is, that the words can then be transferred straight from the gospel into the liturgy, without any adaptation. As indicated, this should never be used as a reason to translate in this way (because in the translation, we should reflect the historical reality). It is only mentioned here as an advantage.³⁹

A strong argument in favour of this option is the parallel verse in Mk. 14:24.⁴⁰ In this verse, it is clearly revealed that there are more beneficiaries than merely the disciples, because according to Mark, Jesus has said "for many" instead of saying "for you".⁴¹ The reading "for many" may have led to the wording "for you", rather than vice versa, so the former reading may have been original.⁴² What is important for us is the fact that this parallel interprets the words "for you". It clearly indicates that the words "for you" relate to more than the (male) disciples only.⁴³ Whichever words Jesus used, the disciples must have heard something in His words that led them to the understanding that He would die not only for them, but for other people as well.

Had Jesus spoken Naro, and had He used the *common* PGN-marker instead of the masculine PGN-marker, this could have given rise to the different wordings in the various gospels. We may confidently say that it constitutes a translation option that complies well with the requirements of a functional-equivalent translation, as the option stimulates a similar thought process.⁴⁴ In the light of the parallel passages, using a mere masculine PGN would be misleading.

³⁹ We could also think of other consequences of the use of the "masculine only" PGN. For example, in churches with a high view of the church offices, and of the apostles, the idea that we can only receive forgiveness through them might be strengthened. See the following section.

⁴⁰ See 8.4 for a broader discussion of parallel passages.

⁴¹ Fee 2014, ad 11:24 reminds of Isa. 53:12, where the Suffering Servant "bore sin for many" "and thus clearly links the disciples with the "many" others that would participate in the death." The "many" of Mk. 10:45 also resounds here.

⁴² Gundry 1993, a.l., points out that the words "for many" are more Semitic and therefore more original.

⁴³ What it means exactly is another issue that could be debated. The way Lane 1974, a.l. puts it is attractive: "The "many" are the redeemed community who have experienced the remission of their sins in and through Jesus' sacrifice".

⁴⁴ The other alternative is of course to wait until someone studies the parallel passages.

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From the above discussion, it has become clear that it is not enough to just look at the historical situation. We also need to study the possible intentions of a speech participant. This leads to the second strategy:

- Try to find out what and who the speaker would have had in mind, and translate accordingly.
 - o In order to find this out, one needs to do a careful exegesis of the context, including the broader context and parallel passages.

That it is not always easy to find out who the speaker must have had in mind, is shown by the following example. The example will solicit supplementary strategies.

8.2.4 Whatever *you* ask for in prayer (Mk. 11:24)

The second example of a situation where the speaker may have had additional people in mind is found in Mk. 11:24, where Jesus promises: “whatever *you* ask for in prayer, believe that *you* have received it, and it will be *yours*”. In translation, do we use the masculine PGN *xao* ‘2mPL’ and thus confine this promise to Jesus’ twelve disciples, or do we use the common PGN *tu* ‘2cPL’ and disclose to the readers in this way that Jesus had a broader public in mind?

Following the first strategy (focus on the historical situation), we find Jesus with His twelve (male) disciples, which would call for the masculine PGN. But the second strategy asks us to establish who was probably being referred to, to find out whether the application of this text is broader than the circle of people that was present or not.

An argument for the masculine PGN could be the possible context of rebuke in the parallel passage in Mt. 21, but this is dependent on the interpretation of $\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\chi\eta\tau\epsilon$. DSV translates “if you *had* faith...”,⁴⁵ which might be interpreted as a reproach, or as an expression of disappointment.⁴⁶ This would restrict the statement to the disciples, as it is difficult to imagine how a future audience can be reproached. However, most other translations do not use the *irrealis* but the *realis* ‘if you have’. The Greek is not decisive.⁴⁷

For Mk. 11:24, even though the PGNs in the surrounding verses seem to point to the disciples only, it is unmistakable that in the immediate context (v. 23), Jesus applies this truth to a circle outside the disciples: “if *anyone* says to this mountain...”. It would therefore be legitimate, perhaps even required, to use the *common* PGN.

In the Naro translation however, the consequence of this thought was not implemented. It was probably felt that using a common PGN would raise questions in the readers about whom Jesus was talking to. On the other hand, the fact that questions are being raised may

⁴⁵ “Indien gjij geloof hadt...”, cf. HSV. Similarly Barnes & Cobbin 1978, ad 21:21; Grosheide 1954, a.l.

⁴⁶ This would be in line with the rebuke for “little faith” in Mt. 17:20.

⁴⁷ Cases of $\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu$ with subjunctive “are typically used for cases where the probability of the protasis (“you have faith”) is neutral - neither asserted nor denied. If it had been definitely non-factual (“you don’t have faith, but if you did...”) we would expect to find a second class conditional.” (Nicolle, p.c. 19-10-21) Cf. *Analysis of NT Conditionals by book* n.d.

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actually be rewarding, in starting a thought process about Jesus' intentions, and about a possible personal application. At least, such a process was perceived as desirable in Mk. 14. In this and similar instances, when evaluating a situation, we apply a third strategy that has already been applied in the analysis of the previous example, but that we will further elaborate on in this section:

- Consider the effects on readers of using the different possible PGNs.
 - o In the case of a *restrictive* PGN (restricting itself to the people present), we may want to find out:
 - how strongly the restrictive PGN suggests that the reference is to the mentioned people only
 - how easy it is for people to apply a certain truth to themselves.
 - o In the case of using a PGN with *broader* reference (suggesting the inclusion of more people than the ones present), we may ask whether its use:
 - will focus hearers on the question “who was actually present” and thus inhibit understanding
 - will result in an “Aha-Erlebnis”, giving a deeper understanding of the text.

We will further discuss Mk. 11:24 in the light of these questions. Even though it is usually difficult to foretell how people will react, we can at least think through possible – and probable - reactions.

1. Using a restrictive PGN

It is evident that with the masculine PGN, the application to the reader is more difficult than when using the common PGN. In itself, using the masculine PGN does not obstruct the application to others, but the processing effort to reach that goal is higher. In the present case, there are some additional, extratextual, factors to consider that may exacerbate the processing effort.

High church view. The tendency not to personally apply the encouragement under consideration may be strengthened by some ecclesiastical factors. In some churches with a strong emphasis on the clergy (with a so-called “high” church view), the leaders, being seen as in higher status than the regular members, are considered to have access to certain privileges that are not available to the laity. In such circumstances, there is considerable danger that the use of a masculine PGN will lead people to assume that the application of these words of Jesus is restricted to the disciples and consequently, perhaps to the leaders in the church. It is surely not recommended to create or reinforce a distinction between “higher” and “lower” levels of christians.

Spiritual inertia. Or, people may not want to think about questions such as why in their own lives they have not been able to move a mountain, so it is much easier for the congregation to believe that these things were meant for the disciples only. In such

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situations, the use of a masculine PGN in our text may reinforce the natural tendency of people to consider the application as inapplicable to their own lives.

Cessationism. Still another consideration may be, that adherents of cessationism (the view that miracles such as healing and speaking in tongues happened in biblical times but that they ceased after the Bible was completed)⁴⁸ might be tempted to use a restrictive PGN. Such a PGN may then underline that those miracles only happened in the past, and readers need not worry about any possible present-day application. On the other hand, people who focus on miracles might be tempted to use a broader PGN.

Especially when considering factors that are related to the opinions of the translation stakeholders, it is important to be as objective as possible – but if a choice seems arbitrary, this is difficult. Translators can only be encouraged to search their own conscience and to be honest, so that they will not choose a PGN that promotes their own view. If in doubt, it would be better for translators to intentionally correct their own tendencies by choosing a PGN that is not in agreement with their own personal preferences. For example, if someone does not want to emphasise the use of miracles (for whatever reason), there will be a considerable temptation to use the restrictive PGN. It will be good to consider more intentionally the use of a broader PGN in such a situation, as a matter of becoming (more) honest with oneself.

Missionary situation. We also have to reckon with a missionary factor: people who were brought up with Bible knowledge will more easily make a personal application, while people who read a text for the first time (which is typical in a missionary situation) will have much more difficulty in finding the link between the text and their own life. In many places in the world, this question even applies to the pastor: a pastor has not always had the privilege of an advanced education. So will he be able to find the application? Taking this into consideration, it becomes more important to make it easier to find the application, by using a PGN that makes this clear. If the application is not clear from the text, we must assume that it will be hidden for many people.

Low education. Lastly, we look at an educational consideration, namely that making an application depends on the skill and experience of the reader. An “uninformed” reader might not be able to relate the promise to himself. He may just view the text as something from a distant reality, both geographically, temporally and culturally. On the one hand, this distance should definitely be maintained. For making the right applications, being able to distinguish between the Bible text and one’s own situation is crucial. On the other hand, it may be a long process for people to learn that what the disciples were told is often applicable to people who would later become followers of Jesus. The use of certain PGNs may help in this process. If the text indeed gives reason to believe that a broader application is intended (and only in that case), it may be profitable for the uneducated hearer to be assisted in finding that application.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Cessationism versus continuationism* n.d.; *Cessationism* n.d. In the evangelical world, MacArthur has been a proponent of cessationism, versus Piper, Carson and Grudem who adhere to *continuationism*.

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All these considerations make clear that the use of a restrictive PGN in Mk. 11:24 makes it harder for hearers to apply the truth of the verse to themselves. However, the immediate context (v. 23) indicates that the application of these verses is meant for a much broader circle of believers, so the use of a restrictive PGN in v. 24 will just take back the readers to the historical situation about the (male) disciples and apply the general truth to them. So in Mk. 11, the restrictive PGN does not obstruct a broader application.

In Mt. 21 however, the situation is different, as it is not obvious from the context that hearers outside the text can apply the proposition to themselves. From Mk. 11, there is good exegetical support for the use of a common PGN. We will now have to evaluate the use of such a morpheme.

2. Using a PGN with broader reference

If a PGN is used that suggests the inclusion of other people than the ones present, we may expect at least some confusion in some hearers: it might focus hearers on the question of who was actually present. From the context it is clear that only the male disciples are around, but when using a common PGN, Jesus all of a sudden addresses a wider audience. Hearers may wonder if they drew wrong conclusions previously. So using the common PGN *can* inhibit understanding, at least initially.

This perceived negative effect can be evaluated, to a certain extent, by us as outsiders reading the following English back-translation of the Naro text, with the gender information added:

²²Jesus said to them (m), “You (m) must have faith in God! ²³Truly I tell you (m), if anyone says to this mountain, ‘Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,’ if he doesn’t doubt in his heart but believes that what he says will happen, it will be done for him. ²⁴That is why I tell you (m), whatever *you* (m+f) ask for in prayer, believe that *you* (m+f) have received it and it will be *yours* (m+f).

At first sight, making the transition from the masculine PGN to the common PGN may be surprising. But if we take into account that Jesus is making a more general statement in the previous verse, it will be understood that Jesus is intending this truth to be applied by others as well. So it may not sound so strange to include others in the PGN. Hearers will most probably pick up that Jesus is including people who are outside the direct audience, his male disciples. Depending on the level of their understanding, hearers may also pick up that even they themselves are included. So the use of a common PGN may well result in an “Aha-Erlebnis”, giving a deeper understanding of the text.

We have viewed some conflicting considerations. When using a common PGN, hearers may more easily come to the conclusion that these words can be applied to themselves. But it may also cause confusion about who was present. The fact that the context (v. 23) makes it clear that this truth applies to anybody can be used in either direction. On the one hand, it may be argued that the common PGN and the context mutually reinforce the message of

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the passage. On the other hand, people may say that the clarity from the context makes it unnecessary to indicate the broad application in the PGN as well. However, this last argument doesn't apply to the parallel passage in Mt. 21, as it does not contain a more general statement about a wider application, so that the use of a masculine PGN may well inhibit the application by a broader audience.

Putting all arguments together, the choice seems arbitrary. The Naro translation team chose to let Jesus speak to the disciples only. This seems quite appropriate, as it underlines the historical situation, and prevents confusion in the hearers. Also, v. 23 makes the application anyway. But on the other hand, it is exactly this link with v. 23 that justifies the thought that Jesus had a broader application in mind. And even the initial confusion when hearing a common PGN may start a beneficial thought process. Using the common PGN in the parallel passage Mt. 21 as well will help hearers understand even there, that Jesus was aiming at a broader audience.

Whatever decision is taken, it should be clear that the question is *not* how to facilitate the application of a text as much as possible, or to avoid it as much as possible. The main thing is that we should encourage creating a text that expresses what the speaker probably had in mind.

8.3 Fulfilment of prophecies

Another aspect of biblical hermeneutics is the fulfilment of prophecies. When a prophecy is uttered, it may not always be clear to whom the prophecy applies. Such cases may raise difficulties in the Naro language, as any prophecy will always contain one or more PGNs. We will discuss two examples, Lk. 9:27 (8.3.2) and Mk. 13 (8.3.3), but we will first briefly give attention to the nature of prophecy (8.3.1), as that has a bearing on the decisions.

8.3.1 Nature of prophecy

Though prophecies may refer to future events and thus be foretelling,⁴⁹ the main character of prophecies is defined by “forthtelling”: prophets speak in the name of God and bring forth and propagate a message.⁵⁰ Prophecies can thus be quite direct and speak acutely in certain historical situations.⁵¹ In most of the cases, their preaching was very related to current affairs.⁵² Or they can fulminate against social injustice – utterances which surely cannot be characterised by the foretelling of a future event.⁵³

⁴⁹ Louw & Nida 1996, 53.79: “foretelling the future was only a relatively minor aspect of the prophet’s function, though gradually it became more important.”

⁵⁰ Kwakkel 2012:1: “a person who passes or declares the will of the gods to humans”. Cf. also Louw & Nida 1996, 53.79 about NT times: “the focus was upon the inspired utterance proclaimed on behalf of and on the authority of God.”

⁵¹ See, for example, Haggai 1:4. Cf. Kwakkel 2012:5 who emphasizes that “the prophets spoke about the future, but no less about the past and the present”.

⁵² Cf. Oosterhoff 1981:35 (“in de meeste gevallen uitermate actueel”).

⁵³ E.g. Amos 2:6 “They sell (...) the needy for a pair of sandals”. Cf. Oosterhoff 1981:75f.

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Nonetheless, prophecies may sometimes indeed refer to the future.⁵⁴ In such cases there is often a measure of obscurity attached to them, to such an extent that they can be applied to a number of different circumstances. This is the reason why some prophecies cannot be pinned down as referring to a specific time. The fulfilment of those prophecies has aptly been compared to the top of mountains that lie in a row, where a hearer of a prophecy can be likened to someone climbing a mountain, which represents one fulfilment, but as soon as they have reached the top of the mountain, a second mountain top comes into view, and after that there may even be a third one. Or the events that fulfil a certain prophecy can be compared with stars that are located behind each other. They seem to be only one star, but in fact are two, or even three different stars, and may be located lightyears apart.⁵⁵ As it is a regular occurrence for a prophecy to have more than one fulfilment, it may be characterised by some poly-interpretability.

For these reasons, it is preferable in translation not to make the prophecy too specific, and leave it somewhat ambiguous. This can be done by using the PGN with the broadest possible wingspan. In the discussion of the subsequent examples, this will be an important suggestion.

8.3.2 *Some* will not taste death (Lk. 9:27)

In Lk. 9:27, Jesus says: “there are *some* of those standing here who will not taste death before *they* have seen the kingdom of God” (REB89). In Naro, both *some who* and *they* need to be specified with respect to number and gender. If Jesus was referring to (some of) His twelve disciples, the masculine *xu* ‘3mPL’ will be used, or, if it becomes clear that only two of these disciples were meant, the masculine dual *tsara* ‘3mDU’. The other option is that Jesus was speaking about people in the crowd. In that case, the common plural *ne* ‘3cPL’ may be used. Other options (*sara* ‘3fDU’, *zi* ‘3fPL’, *khara* ‘3cDU’) are obviously only theoretical possibilities. In order to answer this question, we need to study the historical situation in which the prophecy was uttered, and its possible fulfilment.

The historical situation is clear from Lk. 9:23, but even more so from the parallel passage in Mk. 8:34, where Jesus addresses the crowds together with His disciples. So we may assume that there are both men and women around. But the prophecy speaks of “some” of those standing here, which introduces a restriction: “some” could refer to either males only or a mixed company, which means that in Naro there are still three options.

Discussing the possible fulfilment is seasoned with challenges. Commentaries go in at least five different directions. Most assume that the fulfilment has come in the subsequent transfiguration described in Lk. 9:28-36⁵⁶ or otherwise in the resurrection and the

⁵⁴ If they do, it is important to take heed of the caution which Chisholm 2010:563 advocates: “it would be a misuse of Scripture to listen to (...) predictive prophecy, without relating it to the central message”. Predictive discourse is not always performative (because unconditional) in function (p. 562) but often dynamic as it transformationally motivates “a positive response to the expository-hortatory discourse that it typically accompanies” and thus to be viewed as conditional (p. 563).

⁵⁵ Cf. Oosterhoff 1981:114.

⁵⁶ Pate 1995, ad Lk. 9:27. Stein 1999, ad Lk. 9:27; Green 1997, ad Lk. 9:27; Nolland 1993a, ad Lk. 9:27.

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outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost⁵⁷ plus the growth of the church mentioned in Acts.⁵⁸ Still others refer to the destruction of Jerusalem,⁵⁹ the second coming of Christ,⁶⁰ or entering the kingdom as disciples (as they would then see a preview of Jesus in His glory).⁶¹ Evans thinks of “powerful deeds of his ministry”, for example exorcisms.⁶² Another interesting view is that some of the crowd, who are not yet disciples, will react positively to the preaching after the Easter events.⁶³ These views all at least rule out the masculine dual option, so we are left with *xu* ‘3mPL’ and *ne* ‘3cPL’.⁶⁴

In order to answer the question, however, it may not be crucial to know when the prophecy was fulfilled. Of course, if it were clear that Jesus meant to say that the three disciples Peter, James and John were the ones who would see the kingdom of God come with power, the use of *xu* ‘3mPL’ would be obvious. But as there is a wide difference of opinion about this, it would be unwise to use such a restrictive PGN.

As we have observed, the nature of prophecy encourages us not to make the prophecy too specific, and leave it somewhat ambiguous. This can be done by using the PGN with the broadest possible wingspan, in our case, *ne* ‘3cPL’. Making use of a PGN that is very specific might not only “give away” the fulfilment by giving too many pointers about it, but also restrict the fulfilment to only one event in future and thus obstruct the ambiguity that may have been intended.⁶⁵

8.3.3 When *you* hear of wars (Mk. 13)

Another prophecy, or rather a series of prophecies, in whose framework a question comes up with respect to PGNs is found in Mk. 13, where Jesus is teaching His disciples about future events. The fact that He is talking just to His male disciples is underscored by v. 3, which states that He is speaking to only four of His disciples. For the translation in Naro, this makes no difference, as Naro does not distinguish between pausal⁶⁶ and plural. In His teaching in this chapter, He addresses the disciples several times with an equivalent of *you*.

⁵⁷ Marshall 1978b, ad Lk. 9:27.

⁵⁸ Hendriksen 1978, ad Lk. 9:27. Cf. also Fitzmyer 1982, ad Lk. 9:27, and Arndt 2000, ad Lk. 9:27.

⁵⁹ Geldenhuys 1971, ad Lk. 9:27.

⁶⁰ Bratcher 1982, ad Lk. 9:27.

⁶¹ Darrell L. Bock 1993, ad Lk. 9:27.

⁶² Evans 2001, ad 9:1.

⁶³ Schürmann 1969:550-51.

⁶⁴ Chilton 1980, assumes that the reference is to Enoch, Elijah and Moses, requiring *xu* ‘3mPL’. Moses 1996:40 rightly points out that “Chilton eliminates ὁδε (...) and thus designates τῶν ἐστηκότων οἵτινες as ‘immortals’” but that “the natural meaning is that Jesus is referring to those in his immediate audience.” Taking the thought of “immortals” further, we might as well view the possibility that only Elijah and Moses (appearing in the following transfiguration) are meant, yielding the masculine dual PGN *tsara* ‘3mDU’, or even that Jesus might have included Himself with Elijah and Moses, in which case He might have used *xae* ‘1mPL’ (‘some, namely *we*: Elijah, Moses and I’).

⁶⁵ The reverse side of this is, that if a prophecy refers to one fulfilment (whenever), a more specific PGN is preferable. This question for example has implications for the translation of the pronoun in Gen. 3:15 (“he shall bruise your head”): does one literally follow the Hebrew *הָנָה* ‘he’ or would the pronoun be brought in line with the gender of “her offspring”?

⁶⁶ Cf. 4.2.3.

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At first sight, the PGN *xao* ‘2mPL’ should be employed for that. But as this is a prophetic speech, it may apply to others as well. So could we emphasise by the use of *tu* ‘2cPL’ that this is a teaching that they must remember and tell others (men and women)?

An example of an utterance from this prophecy that surely does not apply only to the male disciples is “they will deliver *you* over to councils” (Mk. 13:9). Also, in the statement “when *you* hear of wars...” (v. 7), it is appropriate to think of Jesus’ followers in the future, including women. This is in line with the mentioned multiple possible fulfilments of a prophecy, leading to the use of a PGN with broader spectrum of application options.

In fact, the only question for the translators was not *whether* to use *tu* ‘2cPL’, but *where* (in which verse) to start using it. In 13:5 (“Jesus began to say to *them*”) we still need *xu* ‘3mPL’. And in the opening words, straight after this masculine PGN, it would be awkward to switch to *tu* ‘2cPL’ (“See that no one leads *you* astray”) so we still have *xao* ‘2mPL’ there. But after 13:6, where there is no reference to the disciples (“Many will come in My name, saying, ‘I am he!’ and they will lead many astray”), it is not unnatural to make the switch: “And when *you* [*tu* ‘2cPL’] hear of wars...” (v. 7). Throughout the chapter then, this common PL could be used. This makes it much easier for a later audience to understand that the prophecies do not only concern the disciples, but may be fulfilled in the lifetime of later hearers.

8.4 Parallel passages

A third area of hermeneutics where Naro causes challenges is that of the relationship between parallel texts, (probably) relating the same event. First, there may be discrepancies *between* books with respect to participants, which raises questions with regard to PGNs. Section 8.4.1 will compare the account of Mt. 3 (John addresses the crowds) and Lk. 3 (addressing the leaders). Secondly, *within* a book, an author may have brought together events, giving the impression that they happened on the same day, but which according to parallel passages occurred in different time frames. If the participants in these events were different, the question arises which PGNs should be used. The example of Lk. 24 will be discussed in this context (8.4.2). Thirdly, we are confronted here with the issue as to whether we may, or even should, explain certain verses from their (synoptic) parallels. Both challenges raise the question of possible harmonisation, which will be discussed in a separate section (8.4.3).

8.4.1 Crowds and/or Pharisees? (Mt. 3 and Lk. 3)

In ch. 6 we have already encountered John the Baptist in confrontation with the Pharisees and Sadducees. In that context, we discussed whether in the statement “we have Abraham as *our* father”, the 1st person refers to the Pharisees only (*xae* ‘1mPL’), or the Pharisees and the crowds (*ta* ‘1cPL’), or even including John himself (*gaxae* ‘1mPL:INCL’). To some extent, we have already touched on the relationship between the gospels. In the present context, this relationship is at the centre of our attention, as we scrutinise the question as to

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whether John is addressing the *crowds* or the *leaders* when he calls them to repentance. There is a possibility that different redactors (the authors of the various gospels) used the same source for a certain event, but interpreted it differently.

Both in Mt. 3 and Lk. 3, we find crowds coming to John the Baptist. According to Mt. 3:5, “all Judea and all the region about the Jordan were going out to him” and they were baptised, confessing their sins. In Mt. 3 however, Pharisees and Sadducees are present, while these are not found in Lk. 3. In Mt. 3:7, John saw “many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism,” so he said to *them*, “You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?” In Lk. 3:7vv., the Pharisees and Sadducees are not even mentioned, and the same words are uttered toward the *crowds*.

Assuming that there were women in the crowds, there is no real argument as to whether in Naro, the call to repentance was addressed to males only or whether he directed his warnings to women as well, so for translating “you”, *tu* ‘2cPL’ may be used in Lk. 3, while in Mt. 3, the warnings are for the Sadducees and Pharisees only, so *xao* ‘2mPL’ will be used. However, if a translator has learnt from the parallel in Mt. 3 that these warnings are actually meant for the Pharisees and Sadducees, she might be tempted to use this PGN in Lk. 3 as well.

On the other hand, it is good exegetical and translation praxis to take the respective texts as the starting point and to translate according to the information that we find there. We will then leave it to the hearers to contemplate the hermeneutical questions. Only if we can assist our hearers towards a better understanding of what happened, can we employ the information from a parallel text to shed light from there on the situation. It may become clear that a decision to find the line between the two options is sometimes arduous.

In Lk. 3, it would be interfering unjustifiably with the text to specify that in fact, John was not addressing the crowds, but the leaders of the people.⁶⁷ This type of textual adaptation is unacceptable. Luke clearly presents the event as an exchange between John and the crowds⁶⁸ – even though he identifies diverse groups present from v. 10 onwards (10f.: crowds in general, 12f.: tax collectors, 14: soldiers – but no Pharisees).

The lack of exact correspondence between the addressees in Mt. 3 and Lk. 3 does not need to be blown up into a major issue. The Pharisees and Sadducees were the religious leaders of the crowds after all, so a reprimand to them might be understood as affecting the crowds as well.⁶⁹ The call for repentance is not only directed towards the Pharisees but is much broader.⁷⁰ The use of the masculine PGN here, in order to make clear that the warning

⁶⁷ For example, by inserting the words “(he said to) [the leaders of] (the crowds)”.

⁶⁸ Cf. Nolland 1989:146f. “Luke’s broad address for John’s harsh words here is to be preferred to Matthew’s restriction of the words to the Pharisees and Sadducees, though the word ὥχλοις, “crowds,” is probably contributed by Luke.”

⁶⁹ Even though there are warnings in the gospel that are very specifically addressed to the Pharisees, as in Mt. 23.

⁷⁰ As Nolland 1989:148 points out. Speaking about “the *universal* need for repentance” (italics added) might be an over-emphasis, however, as it leaves the need for specific repentance in this context underexposed.

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is meant mainly for the leaders, would lessen the severity of the warning for the people⁷¹ and be inappropriate in the context as presented by Luke.

8.4.2 Which disciples? (Lk. 24 and Acts 1)

Lk. 24 offers a vivid example of a text that may be a compilation of narratives about different occasions. The author may have put together elements from different sources. Lk. 24:33-53 gives the impression of being one section, but may need to be split up into two, or perhaps even three parts. Vv. 33-43 unquestionably belong together, and should perhaps be combined with 44-49. In all likelihood, vv. 50-53 constitute a separate section, see below. While in the Greek, the transition from one passage (based on one source) to the subsequent passage (based on another source) may not raise any issue, the participants in these passages may differ, raising the question whether different PGNs need to be used.

In a study of the participants, in order to get a feel for the possible PGNs to be used, we find three groups in Lk. 24:33: “And *they* (1) found the *eleven* (2) and *those* (3) who were with *them* (2) gathered together”. The first *they* (group 1) refers to the two who had met Jesus on their way to Emmaus.⁷² The *eleven* (and their co-referent *them*, constituting group 2) obviously are the disciples, requiring *xu* ‘3mPL’, while *those* (group 3) that were with them is generally accepted to have included women. In the subsequent verses of Lk. 24, no shift in participants is indicated, so the first option to consider is that the same group of men and women was present throughout the rest of the chapter.⁷³

However, a comparison with Acts 1, the parallel to Lk. 24:45-53 (in fact written by the same author), gives a different impression; while in Lk. 24:50, Jesus leads “them”, seemingly men and women, out to the vicinity of Bethany, from Acts 1 we must conclude that it is only the eleven disciples that are led out. Because of this parallel, we could use *xu* ‘3mPL’, starting from Lk. 24:50. We could in fact start earlier, in v. 44, but that is difficult to decide. Besides the weight of the internal argument of content, some support for this division is also found in the use of δὲ in v. 50, which is a development marker.⁷⁴ Plummer adds the argument that placing vv. 50-53 on the same day would imply that Jesus must have ascended in the dark, which is “incredible”.⁷⁵

An additional reason for taking vv. 50-53 as referring to a different group from the one in the preceding verses is, that the events described in vv. 33-53 are located in markedly

⁷¹ Or it should be understood as excluding the women, which is not a viable avenue either.

⁷² These may have been two men (requiring *tsara* ‘3mPL’ in Naro) but their being a man and woman (requiring *khara* ‘3cPL’) is a reasonable option as well.

⁷³ Nolland 1993b, a.l. views the events as happening “on the eve of Easter Day”, cf. Darrell L. Bock 1993, ad v. 50. Lenski 1946a, a.l. holds that Luke only gave a brief account here as he was going to give more detail about the event and time in Acts.

⁷⁴ Cf. Levinsohn 2000:149: δὲ is “used to introduce information that represents a significant development, as far as the author’s purpose is concerned.” Plummer 1964, ad 50-53 also points out that δὲ “introduces a new occasion”. Also see TNNFR: “Dans le texte grec, ce verset commence par un mot de liaison qui introduit l’événement suivant, qui arrive quarante jours après la section précédente (voir Actes 1.3). On peut le traduire par un mot comme « puis » ou « quelque temps après ».”

⁷⁵ Plummer 1964, a.l.

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different time frames in the parallel passages. The appearance of Jesus to the disciples in which He shows His hands and feet occurs on the day of resurrection (Jn. 20:19-23), while the ascension took place after forty days (Acts 1:3-11, cf. Mk. 16:14 ὅτεπον ‘afterwards’).

In the light of the material shown, there is sufficient exegetical support to indicate that the groups are different. Various translations have added “the disciples” to the text in v. 50, perhaps⁷⁶ to facilitate the interpretation that it was only the eleven disciples that were witnessing the ascension. As indicated, this is an appropriate interpretation.

The other possibility of translating the PGN referring to the group of disciples in Lk. 24 is to take the whole section at face value as one unit. This was implemented in the Naro translation; throughout the whole passage, *ne* ‘3cPL’ was used. Apparently, it was considered better to leave the documents in Lk. 24 and Acts 1 to retain their original flavour.

An additional argument for keeping the common PGN may have been v. 53 “and [they] were continually in the temple blessing God”. In Greek, no pronoun was needed, as the person and number information is contained in the verb forms (*ἥσαν* ‘they were’ and *εὐλογοῦντες* ‘blessing, a PL participle). Many English translations use the pronoun “they”, but this doesn’t indicate gender, contrary to the Naro translation where the non-inclusion of gender and number is not possible. As we know from Acts 1, the reference of these verb forms included women, so this information would lead to the use of *ne* ‘3cPL’. If *xu* ‘3mPL’ were employed in vv. 50-52 to indicate the eleven disciples, the use of *ne* ‘3cPL’ in v. 53 would lead to an unnatural switch between the verses. It would also contradict the gist of the Greek text, where v. 53 is connected to the previous verses with *καὶ* ‘and’ instead of the development marker *δὲ*. Considering that *καὶ* ‘and’ completes a series of five identical conjunctions, it would be unwise to break this sequence.

So in spite of the exegetical support to clarify that vv. 50-52 refer to the eleven, there are some pragmatic reasons for not implementing this possible choice in the translation. The hermeneutical considerations up till now, which encourage maintenance of the original flavour of the texts, contribute towards making this a satisfactory option.

8.4.3 Harmonisation?

Both of these instances are associated with harmonisation, bringing texts in line with each other by ironing out irregularities between them.⁷⁷ Naturally, if there are apparent inconsistencies between parallel passages, issues that are present need to be discussed. However, harmonising Bible texts may do more damage than good, as it decreases the

⁷⁶ “The disciples” can still be understood as referring to a broader group.

⁷⁷ Poythress 2012 does not give a definition of harmonization, though in his introductory chapter he indicates that in his book, he looks at differences between the accounts of the four gospels “with the goal of treating them in harmony with the conviction that the Bible is God’s word”.

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(sometimes brilliant) diversity in reality.⁷⁸ It is preferable to let the gospels speak for themselves, and in this way have them complement each other.⁷⁹

In both of the above examples it was decided that a harmonisation was not justified. Parallel texts, in all their differences, can shed light on each other, so that we have a fuller understanding of what has probably happened. But the question is, which consequences this should have for translation. On the one hand, we may present the raw materials to the hearers so that they will receive different viewpoints on a certain reality – but if this leaves them at a loss while a solution is actually available, the question arises whether it is gracious to do this. On the other hand, the “fuller understanding” that an exegete has gathered from a parallel passage may be employed to serve the present day audience: the information may be applied by the translator to make her translation more transparent.

If an exegetical question can be answered by a parallel text, it will be wise to make use of that information. In Lk. 24 (as in other places), the Naro translator is faced with the question as to who is doing what at which time. If there is no explicit surface discrepancy between two texts, then it is not a matter of harmonising the two texts, but of using information from one text to find the right PGN in the parallel text. So parallel passages can shed light on obscurity in another passage, and in that case, it would be better to utilise the information coming from those extra sources and translate accordingly. Seen from that broader perspective, we will have found one answer to our perpetual PGN questions. In practice, the boundary between harmonisation and using information from parallels may be difficult to indicate. On the one hand, the parallel passage often explains the text that we are studying (so we must adapt accordingly), while on the other hand, we want to see each text in its own right (so we should *not* adapt them).

We may look at a spectrum with four options: exaggerating, maintaining, alleviating or annihilating contrasts. Exaggeration is not a desirable option; we should not go further than the texts in producing contrasts. A translation should not lead to contradictory texts if the texts themselves do not give rise to that. The options at the other end of the spectrum, that of mitigating or even eradicating discrepancies, are attractive, as we should aim to solve issues rather than create them or maintain them. The probable danger lies in a strong desire to harmonise, in which one cannot live with tension. We have to accept that in understanding texts, we will not always come to a satisfactory solution. The most fruitful option probably lies in accepting contrasts that cannot be solved. But if inconsistencies can be solved, there is no good reason to uphold them.

In Lk. 3, it would be interfering drastically with the text to indicate that in fact, John spoke to the Pharisees and Sadducees. It would change the gist of the text in favour of an undesirable harmonisation. In Lk. 24, the switch in PGN-marker might assist the hearer to understand that there is a change in participants, which might indicate a shift in

⁷⁸ Examples of this may be found in Tatian, deliberately altering the text of the NT (Bible differences 2011a), and Lucian of Antioch who wanted to “improve” the gospels (Bible differences 2011b).

⁷⁹ Poythress 2012:32: “[The Gospels] are (...) more ultimate and more reliable accounts of the events of the life of Christ than is any humanly constructed harmonization.”

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circumstances. This possible harmonisation was not implemented however, because of discourse features.

As a line of action, it is fair to assume that the texts complement and explain each other,⁸⁰ and to translate accordingly, preserving contrasts. In parallel passages, the first option would be to assume that the passages shed light on each other. But each issue should be viewed in its own context to see what is the most natural way to translate possibly conflicting interpretations. Especially where it helps the hearers, it would be good to alleviate the issue.

8.5 Observations and strategies

The system of PGN-markers in Naro raises hermeneutical questions. Three important questions have been discussed:

1. The possibility of a broader application, beyond the immediate hearers: should we confine the application of Bible words to them, or should we take into account that hearers in later times may be meant as well?
2. Fulfilment of prophecies: if it is not clear to whom a prophecy applies, which PGN should be used?
3. We may find that parallel passages indicate a discrepancy. Perhaps in one text only men are mentioned, while in another, women are included in the same or similar event. Do we then harmonise the two texts, or do we maintain the perceived inconsistency?

The following paragraphs formulate strategies in the three areas that were discussed.

Broader application

- Start with the historical situation; establish who was present and reflect that as much as possible in the translation.
- Try to find out what and who the speaker would have had in mind, and translate accordingly. In order to find this out, one needs to do a careful exegesis of the context, including the broader context and parallel passages. We must avoid the inclusion of later hearers, if there is no evidence for this.
- Consider the effects on readers of using the different PGNs that are possible.

Fulfilment of prophecies

- It is important to know who was present at the time of uttering the prophecy.
- We should carefully research what and when the expected fulfilment would have been, and who would have been involved in the fulfilment. Was it men only or women as well? How many were they?

⁸⁰ Poythress 2012:32: “the differences between the Gospels are an integral and significant part of the Gospels. The differences are there for a purpose: they help us.”

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- Prophecies should be translated in a way that accurately reflects the intention of the speaker in the text.
- If a prophecy clearly refers to the immediate participants in the speech act, that fact will need to take priority.
- It may be necessary to leave a prophecy somewhat cryptic, so as to enable multiple fulfilments.

Parallel passages

- It is necessary to research the background of the differing texts.
- Texts complement each other. Seeming inconsistencies can be preserved as they may shed extra light on the event.
- Parallel texts can shed light on each other, so that we have a fuller understanding of what is likely to have happened. Seen in that fuller light, we might have to adjust PGN-markers accordingly, especially if it helps hearers to better understand the text.

9. Discourse challenges

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss a last area of challenges: that of discourse issues. In discourse, the attention of the researcher is taken beyond sentence level.¹ At this level, the researcher studies the interaction of all the elements in the text.² To put things in perspective: morphemes make up words, words form phrases, phrases assemble into clauses, clauses build sentences, and sentences create a discourse (or text). Elements that are expected at sentence level may change, be added or disappear when the same sentence is used in a text. For example, the use of tense and aspect partly depends on the position of the sentence in the discourse; the order of constituents in a sentence may be influenced by the surrounding text; and the participant reference may be altered because of the previous references. An example of the latter: it may be that the use of a 2nd person is a better choice than 1st or 3rd person because that fits better with surrounding sentences.

At discourse level, we are engaging with PGNs in a manner that is different from the ones discussed in the previous chapters. Up till now, it was necessary to find out which combination of person, gender and number should be utilised in a specific case, while in this chapter, it is assumed that an answer has been given to that question. The part about translation challenges with respect to PGN *content* basically ended in the previous chapter. The main question that will be discussed here is, which PGN-*series* is to be used in a specific place in the discourse.³ One could object that even these issues have been answered already: if a lexically non-specified PGN has to be put in subject mode, PGN-1 or -2 should be selected. And for an object-PGN, PGN-7 is to be used. However, discourse matters go beyond that and ask, for example, *whether* the referent should be presented as subject or object. In other words, we will examine *when* we should use *which* PGN-series and *why*. These questions are of crucial importance to the translator, so we need strategies as to which way to go.

Some discourse matters are related directly or indirectly to the use of PGNs – which is the reason why they are being discussed here. The areas to mention in this regard are participant reference (as the great majority of references employ a PGN) and the connectives that are used (in Naro, two important connectives make use of a PGN: PGN-8 and -9). As constituent order is only indirectly influenced by PGNs,⁴ and as it constitutes a wide area which would require a lot of attention, this subject is not handled here. In

¹ Floor 2016:1: “Discourse studies is the study of linguistic patterns and functions beyond the sentence”. Cf. Hollenbach & Watters 1995, § 1.2: “The term discourse can apply to any complete and coherent unit of human speech or communication”.

² Many studies have been published lately about the importance of discourse. To mention just a few: Levinsohn 2000; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001; Porter & Reed 1999; Longacre 1996; Nicolle 2017. Hollenbach & Watters 1995 is a concise and practical guide in discourse matters.

³ As the research question includes the different series (*inter alia* comprising subject and object differences), the discussion deserves a place in this dissertation.

⁴ PGNs make it possible to vary the order, but they do not govern the order.

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summary, the chapter shall study the use of Naro PGN-markers as they are impacted by discourse in the following three areas: amount of coding (9.2); choice of person, number and syntactic function (9.3); *same* cast and *different* cast clause connectives (9.4).

9.2 Participant reference: amount of coding

With regard to participant reference⁵, we look into the spectrum of linguistic forms that are being utilised for a referent (especially with regard to the use of PGNs), and in which contexts they are used.⁶ There are several issues to be looked into as being influenced by discourse:

- the amount of coding: for every reference to a participant in a text, it needs to be found out how much coding is most fruitful. There are five options in Naro: making use of a full NP,⁷ a defective NP, a PGN-marker only,⁸ a pronominal demonstrative, or zero reference.⁹ This question relates to the PGN-series to be used.
- which *person* option of the respective gender/number combination is used for a certain referent. For example, in the case of one man, discourse will still offer the options of using *he*, *you* or *I*: the same referent may be discussed (3rd person: *he*) or be introduced in a conversation (addressed, so 2nd person: *you*; or speaking, 1st person: *I*);
- the *number* (SG, PL or DU) used for a referent – now seen from a discourse perspective
- the syntactic function of an NP (whether a subjectival, copular, objectival or other PGN-form is used)
- discourse may even influence surface structures on a *morphological* level (an English example: the choice between *it is* and *it's*).

This section will look into the amount of coding used, while the next section (9.3) will focus on person, number and syntactic function options.

The simple example from ch. 4 may elucidate the impact of participant reference (and consequently, the use of PGNs) in a text:

“Once there was *a king*. *The king* had a wife. One day *he* said to her: *I...*”

⁵ One may distinguish between major and minor participants, see Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119: “Major participants are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation. Major participants typically have a different overall pattern of reference and a different way of being introduced.” Cf. Nicolle 2017:22.

⁶ It is very interesting to study “why referring expressions take the linguistic forms that they do” (Clark 2000:2). Participant reference has a far-reaching impact: Levinsohn 2000:220 mentions “the author’s intentions as to the status of the participants in the story, on whether or not certain events or speeches are highlighted, and on the degree to which successive episodes are associated together”. Unfortunately, they cannot all be discussed here.

⁷ This could be sub-divided into, for example, “proper nouns (i.e., names), simple nouns, nouns with relative clauses or other qualifiers, nouns plus a range of demonstratives” (Leach 2015:48). Runge 2007:30 note 17 lists Ariel’s scale which “seems to list all possibilities for all languages”.

⁸ In Greek, an equivalent of this could be the *person* and *number* information in a verb inflection, which might or might not be accompanied by a pronominal reference.

⁹ Cf. 3.5.1. Levinsohn 2017a:124 gives a similar list for the coding material for 3rd person referents in Koinè Greek.

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In this one line, the participant “king” has been referred to in four different ways: “a king”, “the king”, “he” and “I”, with differing amount of coding: from a full NP to a pronoun. One cannot swap the participant reference without grave consequences. The resulting issues may be partly grammatical: if the first sentence said “Once there was *he*”, this would be unacceptable in normal speech of English. But even a small switch that is grammatically acceptable, for example between *a* and *the*, will impact the text. If one says: “Once there was *a* king. *A* king had a wife. One day *a* king said to her...” the meaning is different (not to say distorted). The second and third sentences are perfectly grammatical, but their cohesion with the text forms a challenge. This is because in English, a new participant is introduced with an indefinite article “a” (*a* king), while in the subsequent references to the participant, the definite article *the* is utilised: *the* king. If another “*a* king” is used, it would refer to *another* (unknown) king.

For translators, and for exegetes in general, it is important to know that “[e]ach language has a system for *introducing* participants, *maintaining* reference to participants, and *reintroducing* participants after an absence.”¹⁰ There are rules at work in the cohesion of texts, so there are implications in the use of varying options. For example, it makes a difference whether one says “he said to *the* wife” or “he said to *a* wife” or “he said to *his* wife”. The first sentence may indicate that he talked to the wife of someone else (“the” shows that she was known, but in English, it would not usually be acceptable to use this clause as referring to his own wife). “He said to *a* wife” may also indicate that he talked to the wife of somebody else, but in this case she was *not* known (it was “*a*” wife); or it might indicate that he had more than one wife, and he was speaking to one of them. The third sentence probably indicates that he spoke to his own wife, but this again depends on the previous sentences of the text: if another man and his wife are mentioned recently, “*his* wife” would refer to *that* man’s wife.

One can easily see from the example that context has indeed many implications for the choice of reference to participants. And vice versa, that the choice of articles (a, the) and pronouns (he, his) has an impact on the understanding of the surrounding discourse. There are several factors that play a role in the amount of coding used to refer to a participant: whether the participant is major or minor, and where in the discourse he is mentioned (including where in a paragraph).¹¹ Ariel has formulated the following accessibility hierarchy, showing the amount of coding material, depending on whether the referents have high or low accessibility (the higher the accessibility of a participant, the higher is the chance that forms high on the list will be used):¹²

¹⁰ Nicolle 2017:22 (italics added).

¹¹ Nicolle 2015:17.

¹² Ariel 1991:449. Levinsohn’s publications on participant reference (e.g. Levinsohn 2017a:, ch. 8 and 9; Levinsohn 2000, ch. 8) show that the amount of coding material is partly dependent on internal discourse factors (also see Nicolle above) and thus makes an important modification to this hierarchy, see, for example, note 14.

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High Accessibility (same participant with same role as in previous clause)

- zero anaphora
- unstressed / bound pronouns (agreement)
- stressed / independent pronouns
- proximal demonstrative (+ modifier)
- distal demonstrative (+ modifier)
- name
- definite description

Low Accessibility (change, reintroduction, new paragraph)

The following sections will first discuss the impact of using a full NP,¹³ being used *inter alia* for introducing participants (9.2.1), accompanied by an excursus about the use of PGN-markers with regard to definiteness (9.2.2). After that, options for continued reference will be looked into: pronominal reference (9.2.3) and zero reference (9.2.4). In each sub-section, we will attempt to contrast the given option with an alternative, so as to indicate the relevance and impact of the choice.

9.2.1 Full NP

In this section, a full NP is defined as an NP in which the lexically specified head is accompanied by a PGN. A full NP is used for the introduction of a participant in a discourse, and for the resumption of a participant, often for reasons of clarity or for emphasis.

When introducing a participant, using a full NP is basically the only option. The NP may be a name, as in Mt. 1:1

(203)	<i>tcgāya=s</i>	<i>Jeso</i>	<i>Kreste=m</i>	<i>di=s</i>	<i>qhàò=s</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>=sa</i>
	book=3fSG	Jesus	Christ=3mSG	POSS=3fSG	family=3fSG	POSS	=3fSG

‘the book of the family of Jesus Christ’

The example also introduces “the book” and “the family”, consisting of nouns with PGNs. As indicated before, the PGN used in a full NP must not be equated with a definite or indefinite article.

A full NP may also be used to reactivate a participant. There are several possible reasons for using the full NP for reactivation: the participant may come back on the stage after a lapse of time, the participant may be emphasised, or it may be necessary to disambiguate two participants.¹⁴

In Mt. 1:18, Jesus is mentioned again, after v. 1, 16 and 17. In Greek (and in Naro), He could have been referred to with a pronoun (or PGN) only (e.g. *He*, *Him*, *His*), but apparently there were reasons to use the full NP. The reason may have been to disambiguate

¹³It is difficult to find defective NPs in the Naro NT, so they will not be investigated here. The analysis about them is still ongoing, cf. 3.5.1 (d).

¹⁴ Levinsohn 2017a:127 mentions the first two factors: “When more coding material is used than the default rules predict, this typically occurs for one of two reasons: a) to mark the beginning of a narrative unit, following a discontinuity, b) to highlight the action or speech concerned.”

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the referent and thus make clear that the author is speaking of Jesus and not of Abraham or David - who are all mentioned in the previous verse. Or the reason may have been to put Him in the centre of the attention. It may be that both factors come into play here.

In Mt. 3:13, Jesus comes back into the narrative, after some passages where Herod, Joseph and John the Baptist were the centre of attention. In fact, Jesus was alluded to in the immediately preceding vv. 3:11f. (where John says: “*he who* is coming after me is mightier than I, *whose* sandals I am not worthy to carry. *He* will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire”, etc.), but in a cryptic way, without overt reference. Therefore, v. 13 could not continue with “and *He...*”, because His role is totally different from that described in the previous verses. As a result, He was referred to by using the full NP ὁ Ἰησοῦς ‘Jesus’. It is assumed here that the full NP was used to reactivate Him.¹⁵ Another factor that plays a role is that a full NP can mark the beginning of a narrative unit.

There may also be translation-technical reasons for using a full NP. In 1:24 for example, Naro uses the full NP *Maria sa* ‘Mary 3fSG:3’ again, while the Greek does not mention Mary with her name. The reason for the difference is that in Greek it communicates well enough to say καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ‘and he took-unto (himself) his wife’,¹⁶ while for Naro it was decided to express the idea of this clause by saying

(204)	a	ba	a	síí	<i>Maria=sa</i>	ga=m	di=s	khóè=s	ii-se	séè
	3mSG:8				go	Mary =3fSG DEF=3mSG POSS=3fSG person=3fSG	be-ADV	take		

‘and he took Mary being his wife’.¹⁷

In this construction with its two objects (“Mary” and “his wife”), and in this place in the discourse, it is more natural to refer to Mary with her name than by saying “her”.

To summarise: a full NP may be used for introducing participants, and for reactivating, highlighting, or disambiguating them.

9.2.2 The use of PGN-3 and (in-)definiteness

Having seen in the previous section that a full NP may be used to introduce a participant, it will be worthwhile to consider the difference between Naro and languages that utilise definite articles, as the PGN-3 used in full NPs in some ways resembles an article, which might lead to wrong conclusions about its impact on discourse matters.

¹⁵ Other theoretical possibilities are that He is assumed to be known by the readers (and reactivated as such), or that this reference makes a link with vv. 11f. (in the sense of “the One whom John prophesied about just now, **that Jesus** came from Galilee”).

¹⁶ In Greek, there is thus only one object ('his wife') and it is clear from the context who is meant.

¹⁷ The word *séè* ‘take’ has also become a technical term for ‘to marry’, so the clause can be translated ‘and he took/married Mary as his wife’ or ‘and he took Mary being his wife’, which more resembles the Greek, but still adds “Mary” explicitly.

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Contrary to Greek, where one of the functions of the definite article may be to express definiteness,¹⁸ it cannot be established for Naro that PGN-3 indicates definiteness. This discrepancy between Greek and Naro is a reason for translators to be alert. This alertness is important for people whose mother tongue is a language where definite articles are used (like many European languages), because they may tend to equate the presence of a PGN-3 marker with definiteness, and assume that all the information of the article in Greek has been translated into Naro when a PGN-3 is being utilised. It is conversely also important for a Naro translator who may assume the same, but on different grounds, namely that the article in Greek has a function that is similar to PGN-3. The example of “the king (and his wife)” reveals the impact of the usage of an (in-)definite article, and implicitly also the relevance of knowing that PGN-3 does not indicate definiteness. In English, “a king” is a full NP, but there is an important distinction between a full NP with indefinite article and a full NP with a definite article. A participant is ordinarily introduced in an NP with an *indefinite* article. In Greek, the equivalent to this is usually an *anarthrous*¹⁹ nominal. In Naro however, a full NP (so a nominal with PGN, which might seem to function like a *definite* article) can be used to introduce a participant. The following five examples from Matthew will clarify the difference between Naro (full NP), English (ESV uses an indefinite article) and Greek (which uses anarthrous nominals):

1:20 κατ' [ϕ] ὡναρ ‘in a dream’

- (205) *sōokuri=s* *q'oo koe* ‘in a/the dream’
 dream=3fSG:5 in LOC

1:21 [ϕ] υἱόν ‘a son’

- (206) *kg'áò=m* *cóá =ba* ‘a/the male child’
 male=3mSG:4 child =3mSG:3

2:6 [ϕ] ἡγούμενος ‘a ruler’

- (207) *tc'áà-cookg'ai* *=ba* ‘a/the leader’
 leader =3mSG:3

2:18 [ϕ] φωνή ‘a voice’

- (208) *dòm* *=ba* ‘a/the voice’
 voice =3mSG:3

The following Table gives an overview of this.

¹⁸ Cf. 4.3.2; Blass et al. 2001, § 252 mainly speaks about “Artikel” (without the adjective *bestimmt* ‘definite’), although he also mentions *indefinite* articles (§ 247.2) and *generic* articles (§ 252 note 4). Cf. Wallace 1996:243 and 209 about “anarthrous nouns” with “definite” force.

¹⁹ If nouns are accompanied by an article they are said to be articular or arthrous. If they occur without an article, they can be said to be anarthrous, cf. Porter 2005:104f.

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<u>language -></u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Naro</u>
article? / PGN ?	anarthrous	indefinite article	PGN-3 or -5
example	[ϕ] φωνή	a voice	dòm ba

Table 30: Use of PGN and article when introducing participants

Naro does have mechanisms to indicate indefiniteness, but they are not utilised often. One way to indicate indefiniteness is to use the neuter, as in Mt. 4:6 *nxɔán koe* ‘at a stone’, with *-n* ‘3cSG-5’. To underline the indefiniteness of a term, Naro may add the modifier *c’ee* ‘a, a certain’ to an NP, as in the following examples from Matthew.

Mt. 3:3 φωνή ‘voice’ (anarthrous)²⁰

(209) <i>c’ee=m</i>	<i>dòm</i>	<i>=ba</i>	‘a voice’
a.certain=3mSG	voice	=3mSG	

Mt. 5:23 τι ‘something’

(210) <i>c’ee=s</i>	<i>gúù</i>	<i>=sa</i>	‘something’
a.certain=3fSG	thing	=3fSG	

Mt. 17:14 ἄνθρωπος ‘person’

(211) <i>c’ee=m</i>	<i>khóè</i>	<i>=ba</i>	‘a man’
a.certain=3mSG	person	=3mSG	

However, the modifier *c’ee* may also have the overtones of ‘other’:

Mt. 4:21 ἄλλονς δύο ἀδελφούς

(212) <i>qõe-ku</i>	<i>=tsara</i>	<i>c’ee</i>	<i>=tsara</i>	‘two other brothers’
sibling-RECP	=3mDU	other	=3mDU	

Mt. 4:25 πέραν

(213) <i>c’ee</i>	<i>xòè</i>	<i>koe</i>	‘on the other side’
other	side	LOC	

C’ee may also occur in a construction like *c’ee ... c’ee* ‘some ... other’ (as in Mt. 13:4-8: some seeds... other seeds). This rarely occurs in the translation to indicate indefiniteness.

On the other hand, Naro may indicate *definiteness* by the use of modifiers, like demonstratives.²¹ Demonstratives like *nc’ee* ‘DEM1’ ('this') may be used, as in Mt. 1:20; or *gaa* ‘DEM6’ ('the mentioned one') in Mt. 2:2:

(214) <i>qanega=m</i>	<i>hää</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>nc’ee</i>	<i>=zi</i>	<i>gúù</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tc’ee-tc’ee</i>
still=3mSG	be	and	DUR	DEM1	3fPL	thing	=3fPL ABL	think	
‘as he was thinking about these things’. ²²									

²⁰ It is unclear why *c’ee* was added, in contrast with 2:18. However, there are other differences in the clause.

²¹ Also see 3.2.3 and 4.3.2.

²² *Nc’ee* ‘this’ functions anaphorically. It should be kept in mind that *nc’ee* may also be used cataphorically.

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- (215) *gaa=m ēe ábà-è-a=m x'aiga=m*
DEM6=3mSG REL bear-PASS-JUNC=3mSG king=3mSG
Juta =ne di =ba ndaa?
Jew =3cPL POSS =3mSG where
‘where is **the** born king of the Jews?’

It must be concluded that definiteness and indefiniteness are coded very differently from Indo-European languages, and the translator should be aware of these differences. It would be wrong to assume that the definiteness of the Greek article is expressed by PGN-3. The impact of this at discourse level should be taken into account.

9.2.3 Pronominal reference

For subsequent reference of a participant, the general option is to utilise a sole PGN,²³ which amounts to using a pronominal reference. This may surface in any of the different PGN-series,²⁴ to be shown in the references to Joseph and Mary in Mt. 1. Joseph, a prominent, if not the main, character in Mt. 1:18-25, surfaces there several times in Naro. He was introduced in v. 16 (as the son of Jacob, but with the addition that he was the husband of Mary, who was the mother of Jesus), and was re-activated in v. 18, via Jesus and Mary ('His [Jesus] mother Mary was engaged to Joseph'). In v. 19, he is mentioned again, with his name and relationship to Mary:

- (216) *ga=s di=m khóè=m Josefa =ba*
DEF=3fSG POSS=3mSG person=3mSG Joseph =3mSG
‘her husband Joseph’²⁵

But for further reference, a pronominal reference is used (or zero reference, see below). Examples:

- (217) *sau-cgaekagu si=m gha khama*
shame 3fSG=3mSG:1 FUT because, as
‘as **he** would shame her’
- (218) *a ba a kò tcáó-a =ba q'oo koe bìrí-se -a hää*
3MSG:8 PST heart-JUNC =3mSG:6 in LOC tell-RECP IMPF
‘and **he** told himself in **his** heart’
- (219) *cg'uri-cg'uri =si tama-se=m gha q'aa cgoa =si =sa*
defile =3fSG NEG-ADV=3mSG:1 FUT separate with =3fSG =3fSG
‘that **he** would separate from her without defiling her’.

²³ This is in line with the use in Greek (and many other languages). Levinsohn 2017a:125 gives five default encoding rules for 3rd person subjects in Koinè Greek, with illustrations from the Prodigal Son. The first three rules show no overt reference other than verb inflection or articular pronoun.

²⁴ Except PGN-3 which requires lexical specification, so that one cannot speak of a “sole” PGN anymore.

²⁵ This resumption serves to make him the main character of the following verses.

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In v. 20, we find an example of the objectival PGN-7:

- (220) *qhúí cgae =me, a bìrí =me*
 appear to =3mSG:7 and tell =3mSG:7
 ‘appeared to **him**, and told **him**’.

In v. 21, we also find him being *addressed*, so 2nd person is used instead of 3rd person:

- (221) *tsi gha cg'õè-a =ba Jeso ta ma tcii*
 2mSG:9FUT name-JUNC =3mSG Jesus thus thus call
 ‘and **you** will call His name Jesus’.

In v. 24, there are several references to Joseph again, mostly pronominal:²⁶

- (222) *Me Josefa =ba tc'oman koe tēe, a ba a*
 3mSG-9 Joseph=3mSG:3 from sleep stand up 3mSG-8
ẽe=m kò ma X'AIGAM dim moengele ba ma
 as=3mSG-1 PST as LORD's angel
x'áè me-a khama ma kúrú. A ba a síí
 command 3mSG:7-PF as as do 3mSG:8 go
Maria=sa ga=m di=s khóè=s ii-se séè.
 Mary=3fSG:3 DEF=3mSG:5 POSS=3fSG person=3fSG:4 be-ADV take

‘And **Joseph** (PGN-9 and -3) stood up from sleep, and **he** (PGN-8) did as the LORD's angel had commanded **him** (PGN-7). And **he** (PGN-8) took Mary as **his** (PGN-5) wife.’

Mary was mentioned in 1:16 with her name, as apparently known (Ιωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας ‘Joseph, the husband of Mary’).²⁷ In 1:18, she is mentioned with her name again, plus a reference as mother of Jesus:

τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας ‘his mother Mary’

- (223) *Ga-m ka xõò=s Maria =sa* ‘His mother Mary’
 DEF=3mSG ABL parent=3fSG Mary =3fSG

In a further reference to Mary, PGN-1 is used in 1:18:

- (224) *ka=s kò bóò-è* ‘(then) **she** was found...’
 IRR=3fSG PST see-PASS

In 1:19, she shows up in two other PGNs:

- (225) *ga=s di=m khóè=m Josefa =ba* ‘her husband Joseph’
 DEF=3fSG:5 POSS=3mSG person=3mSG Joseph =3mSG
 (226) *sau-cgaekagu =si=m gha* ‘he would put **her** to shame’
 shame 3fSG:7=3mSG FUT

²⁶ Parsing is partly done on phrase level here.

²⁷ Mary being mentioned in the construction Ιωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας ‘Joseph, Mary's husband’ could theoretically be explained as her introduction, via Joseph, but it would be more plausible, in that case, if she were mentioned as “Joseph's wife”.

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She also surfaces, slightly more covertly, in 1:18:

- (227) *ẽe =khara qanega xg'ae ta ga hāa ka*
as =3cDU still meet NEG INTENS IMPF IRR
'when they had not met yet'

In this verse, *khara* '3cDU' is used for 'they', indicating one male (Joseph) plus one female (Mary). This shows that a referent may also be included in a dual or plural PGN. On the one hand, the inclusion of a participant in a dual or plural form results in the participant being more obscured than in using a SG,²⁸ but on the other hand, the different Naro options yield much more clarity than a plural form in Greek. In the example, the use of the common dual makes it clear that it speaks of a man and a woman, so Mary is more clearly present than in the SL, where a general plural (which does not indicate that the reference is to only two people, and does not indicate the gender either) is used.

All these pronominal references are thus for continued reference and express the versatility of Naro as they show up in many different forms: not only in many different PGN-series in 3mSG (of which the subjectival, objectival, same cast connective, different cast connective, possessive and associative are represented here), but also as part of 3cDU (they) and in an address (2mSG 'you') – next to the occurrences with full NP and the copular construction.

9.2.4 Zero reference

If, in a discourse, it is clear who is the subject of a certain action, zero reference can be utilised, as in the English example "John went to the city and ϕ bought groceries". In Naro, this strategy is found often.

- (228) *Josefa =ba kò tchàno=m khóè =me e,*
Joseph =3mSG PST straight=3mSG person =3mSG COP
a ϕ kò tc'ẽe tama...
and ϕ PST want NEG

'Joseph was a straight man, and ϕ did not want...' (Mt. 1:19)

A zero reference indicates a close connection between clauses, and often simultaneous actions or states, as in the example.²⁹

To show the possible impact of this option, it is fruitful to compare it with an alternative. If the subject of two adjacent clauses is the same, Naro has two basic options for connecting the clauses: using zero reference (as being discussed, usually with *a* 'and') or using PGN-

²⁸ In the sense of being mentioned separately, as would be the case in, for example, "he and she". In a plural form she would be hidden even more.

²⁹ "Being righteous" and "unwilling to put her to shame" is not just simultaneous: the latter may be a consequence of the former. But the relationship between connected verbs content is often multi-faceted. For different opinions about the relationship between the verbs in this verse, see e.g. Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992, ad v. 19.

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8 (in 3mSG this would surface as *a ba a* ‘and he’).³⁰ The difference between the two was described earlier:³¹ the first option (*a* ‘and’) indicates closely connected events (possibly simultaneous events, restatement and/or amplification), while the second option (PGN-8) points to a slightly less tight chronological connection, possibly slowing down the continuation of events somewhat.

For an example of the difference between the two options we turn to Gal. 2:20:

ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἔαυτὸν ύπὲρ ἐμοῦ

‘I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me **and gave** himself for me’.

For the connection between “who loved me” and “and (who) gave himself for me”, two options may be considered in Naro. If PGN-8 is used, the two verbs are closely connected, but they may be viewed as consecutive events: “He loved me” and (as a following event, or as a consequence) He gave Himself for me. If *a* ‘and’ is used, the two verbs “love” and “give himself” are even more closely connected. One can say that the act of “loving” and “giving himself” was simultaneous: His love was *expressed in* giving Himself, His love was *acting* love. Both options are valid, but the Naro translation chose the second option, as God’s love in Christ has manifested itself supremely in the death of Jesus on the cross (which is referred to in v. 20 in “crucified”):

(229) ³²*ncēe kò ncàm =te-a, a tíí domka máà-se-a =ba*
DEM1 PST love =1SG-PF and 1SG because give-RECP-PF =3mSG
‘who loved me, and (at the same time, expressing this love:) gave Himself because of me’.

It was “love in action”. The difference between the two options can reveal a different level of connectedness between two actions, and consequently a difference in depth. This can, in fact, be used to create new verbal constructions, similar to a hendiadys³³ in other languages.³⁴

³⁰ For the additional PGN-9 option, see below.

³¹ 3.3.10 and 3.3.11.

³² Cf. also 1 Jn. 4:10 and Eph. 5:2, where, by the way, *a ba a* ‘3mSG-8’ was chosen to connect the two thoughts.

³³ A hendiadys is a “figure of speech (...) where two words joined by *and* are used to express a single complex idea” (*Hendiadys* n.d.). It very often concerns a construction instead of noun-plus-adjective, but the term is also used in the case of asyndetic noun + noun (*Hendiadys* 2021). Blass et al. 2001, § 442.9b show a broader application, also of two verbs (as in note 29).

³⁴ In fact, this is what may have happened in the combination of verbs with *a* ‘and’ (plus ϕ) to constructions with the juncture *-a*, giving rise to new meanings, as in *kóma q'ña* (lit. hear and know >) ‘understand’. (For the possible development of *a* ‘and’ to the juncture *-a*, and their difference, see Visser 2010b:178, 180.)

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9.3 Choice of person, number and syntactic function

The previous section discussed the impact of discourse on the amount of coding used for participants, and essentially concentrated on referents in 3rd person and the options within that domain, but discourse may also influence the value of participant reference as to person (9.3.1), number (9.3.2), and syntax (e.g. subject, object: 9.3.3).

9.3.1 Person options

First, discourse considerations may lead to an adaptation in *person* in the translation. For example, as the utterance in Jn. 19:21 βασιλεύς εἰμι ‘I am king’ is a quote, a translator will often ask whether a rendering in direct or indirect speech is most felicitous.³⁵ The slightly broader context may be enough reason to choose a translation using an indirect quote: “This man said *that he is* the King of the Jews”.³⁶ But the wider discourse may also impact the choice. In this verse, using a direct quote would result in a quote within a quote within another quote,³⁷ which requires very good communication skills to keep track of the different levels at each point in the sentence. This may have been an extra reason to use an indirect quote in Naro instead, which means that the participant reference to Jesus in Naro has changed from 1SG (in Greek) to 3mSG.

An interesting example is found in 1 Jn. 2:4 ὁ λέγων ὅτι Ἐγνώκα αὐτὸν ‘one saying “I know Him”’. This direct quote, together with the speech orienter “one”, has been translated into English in at least four different ways: beside the literal rendering (1SG), 1PL “we” was used (“but if *we* claim to know him”),³⁸ but also 3PL “they” (“those who say that *they* know him”)³⁹, while Naro has **he** (3mSG):

- (230) *ncēè c'ēe=m khóè=m kò máá, Nqari*
if a.certain=3mSG person=3mSG PST say God
=ba=m q'anā hāa, témé
=3mSG=3mSG know IMPF QUOT
‘if somebody says (that) **he** knows God’

In fact, 2SG or 2PL are possible as well: “If *you* say *you* know God...”. The broader discourse will help to decide which person is to be used. In our discussion, we need to

³⁵ For possible implications of the use of direct vs. indirect quotes, see, for example, Dooley & Levinsohn 2001, esp. ch. 14.

³⁶ As translated in EASY.

³⁷ “So the chief priests of the Jews said to Pilate,

[1st quote] “Do not write,

[1st quote within quote] ‘The King of the Jews’, but rather,

[2nd quote within quote] ‘This man said,

[quote in quote in quote] I am King of the Jews.’ ””

³⁸ CEVUK.

³⁹ GNBUK.

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distinguish between the person making the statement in v. 4 (“he who says”)⁴⁰, and the subject person within the statement (“I know Him”).⁴¹ As the verses demonstrate a general possibility, making the reference a generic person, we should be open to various options.

At first sight, using “we” is a reasonable option, as that pronominal reference has been used in the previous verse: “by this *we* know that *we* have come to know him, if *we* keep his commandments.” However, John may have made the switch from “we” to “whoever/he” for a reason, so we need to be cautious in ironing out this difference. Considering discourse reasons does not mean that everything should be made uniform. By the switch, John may be clarifying that he is now making a transition to speaking about an (apparently quite real) possibility that *someone* does not, or *some people* do not, keep the commandments. It is surely not to be expected that “we (all)” fall in this category, so “we” is not the first option to be considered.⁴²

As “(some)one” indicates a generic person, other generic options like “you” (SG or PL) are reasonable possibilities as well, although they may result in a stronger contrast between “we” in v. 3 (“**we** have come to know Him”) and “you” in v. 4 (“if **you** say “I know him”), which might obscure the relationship between the two verses as well.⁴³

The continued use of the 3rd person singular in vv. 4-6 argues for strongly considering the use of that person: “*Whoever* says (4) ... but *whoever* keeps (5) ... *whoever* says (6)”.⁴⁴ For Naro, it was decided to use the indirect quote: “that *he* knows God”. In some languages, it may be profitable to use 3PL (they) instead of 3SG. The bottom line is that consistency in the use of persons in all three verses is preferable.⁴⁵

In all cases we have to decide whether to use a direct quote (e.g. “I know Him”) or an indirect one (“that he/they/we/you know(s) Him”). Beside the already mentioned factor of quotes within a quote, a direct quote may cause some additional confusion, as it may be misunderstood as referring to John: “if someone says (that) *I* (John) know Him...”

In all such considerations, it should be kept in mind that one can reason two ways with regard to discourse. On the one hand, the translator might want to bring the two verses in line with each other in order to make the correspondence clear. In that case, the indirect quote will probably be used. But on the other hand, the translator might want to retain the difference in construction in the verses, which would lead to the use of the direct quote in v. 4 and an indirect one in v. 6. For Naro, the first path was chosen. By the way, the Greek

⁴⁰ As in RSV.

⁴¹ In some cases, the discussion will be combined, especially where these two persons are the same (e.g. where a choice was made for an indirect quote).

⁴² As shown in 5.5.4 and 5.6.2, “we” may be interpreted as a generic pronoun. Especially together with a conditional “if”, the use of “we” in v. 4 becomes a feasible option, as in CEVUK, which also added “but” to make the transition between v. 3 and v. 4 clearer.

⁴³ Lalleman 2005:145 mentions the option that the words refer to every human, but prefers to limit the application here to believers (which is more clear in a translation like “if *we* claim” (CEVUK)). In translation, we prefer to leave both options open.

⁴⁴ ὁ λέγων ἐν αὐτῷ μένειν ... ‘whoever says he abides in him’ (v. 6) is, in fact, also a kind of indirect quote.

⁴⁵ In this light, NLT04 may want to try to streamline its translation of the verses.

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construction in v. 6 (literally “the one saying to [φ] remain in Him”) shows that it is also possible not to indicate the person, but leave it implicit. Many factors will affect which *person* option is chosen.

Acts 1:4f. exhibits an instance of a text where an author switches from indirect speech to direct speech in basically the same utterance:

καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς

- (indirect) ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς
- (direct) ἦν ἡκούσατέ μου, ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, νῦν δὲ ἐν πνεύματι βαπτισθήσεσθε ἀγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.

‘And while staying with them he ordered them

- (indirect) not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which [he said]
- (direct) “you heard from me; for John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days from now.” ’

Keeping the original combination of indirect and direct speech requires quite a bit of agility from hearers. For good communication, it is advisable to streamline the quote. This is often done by extending the direct quote to what Jesus has probably said in both verses. These words can quite easily be reconstructed from the text. In this reconstruction, the *person* of the pronominal reference switches, in this case from 3rd⁴⁶ to 2nd person.⁴⁷

9.3.2 Number options

The second adaptation that may be prompted or even required by discourse is in *number* options. We have already seen⁴⁸ that the *number* of a referent may be modified in order to promote enhanced communication. In Christ’s letters to the seven churches (Rev. 2 and 3), it was decided that Nero should use the PL, rather than the SG, as in the Greek. The arguments mentioned for doing this were translation-theoretical considerations that questioned the suitability of a SG. Discourse considerations should be added to these arguments: at a sentence level, and in grammatical terms, it might still be perfectly acceptable to use a SG. But in discourse terms, we should ask how the different parts of the text fit together. And if 2:1 shows that the addressee of the letter is “the angel” (probably to be interpreted as the pastor), the use of a SG in the following verses will most easily be

⁴⁶ Formally speaking, the 3rd person is not used in the indirect quote in Greek, as it contains two infinitives. But the 3rd person of the speech orienter is naturally taken as the subject of the infinitive, as is done, for example, in KJV (“commanded them that *they*...”).

⁴⁷ An interesting question that fits more in the chapter about hermeneutical challenges is the question whether “you” should be translated with a masculine or a common plural. One could, in fact, subsume such a question under discourse as well, as it is related to the larger context which includes Acts 2 where this promise went into fulfilment. But in the present context, the focus is on which *person* should be used.

⁴⁸ In 5.5.

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misunderstood as referring to this pastor, so that the members of the congregation will be excluded from the admonitions in the letters. So the text as a whole virtually demands the use of a PL.

Likewise, in Paul's letter to the Romans, the Greek SG is used in constructions like "*the Jew* and *the Greek*" but this definitely should not be interpreted as referring to one specific⁴⁹ Jewish or Greek⁵⁰ person. The constructions should be seen as referring to Jews and non-Jews in general, so that a rendering in PL number is certainly a viable option.

Even if the context is not considered, there is good reason to avoid the possible miscommunication of the SG. But the context, or discourse, again also plays a role in deciding whether this is done or not. Rom. 1:16 says:

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἔστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι

‘For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to *the Jew* first and also to *the Greek*’

One may argue that the use of SG in the *following* verse, “*The righteous* [SG] shall live by faith”, which accentuates the need for personal faith, would call for the use of a SG in v. 16 as well. But at the same time, it may be argued that the use of a PL fits very well with the plurals used in the previous verses (v. 13 Gentiles, v. 14 Greeks and barbarians).

A decision will therefore greatly depend on what the average Naro person will understand from the use of either SG or PL. The Naro team apparently has viewed the PL as a better option. The personal character of the statements was retained by the use of the SG in v. 17. The wider context therefore leads to a choice which better fits that specific context, and which also balances other factors, in this case the plurality of the Jews and non-Jews on the one hand, and the necessity of personal faith for each individual (all the Jews and non-Jews) on the other hand.

We find the same principle working in the translation of Rom. 2:9f:

θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν,
Ἰουδαίον τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνος· δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ
τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι

‘There will be tribulation and distress for every human being who does evil, *the Jew* first and also *the Greek*, but glory and honour and peace for everyone who does good, *the Jew* first and also *the Greek*.

Whereas Naro has used the PL for the Jews and non-Jews again, this plurality does not diminish the individual character of the previous statements (“every human being”, “everyone”). Again, the discourse balances the two.

⁴⁹ In fact, the Greek does not have the definite article here.

⁵⁰ Or non-Jew, as is the meaning, undoubtedly, cf. Dunn 1988a, ad 1:16.

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9.3.3 Syntactic function options

Thirdly, discourse may also influence the syntactic function of an NP. For example, it may work better to express an implied agent as a subject, or to modify a sentence in such a way that a participant who is presented as the subject in Greek is introduced as an object in Naro. It is often difficult to distinguish whether it is discourse or other considerations which have the greatest impact.

In Jas. 3:7, the subject is “every kind (of animal)” while the agent is “mankind”, whereas the verb “to tame” appears in the passive voice:

πᾶσα γὰρ φύσις θηρίων τε καὶ πτεριῶν, ἐρπετῶν τε καὶ ἐναλίων δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ

‘every kind [subject] of beast and bird, of reptile and sea creature, can be tamed and has been tamed [passive] by mankind’ [agent]

By having the animals as subject (as James wrote it in the Greek) and thus making them the centre of the attention, the contrast with the tongue (in v. 8) is strengthened: “Look at animals. *They* can be tamed by man. But man cannot tame the *tongue*.” On the other hand, the transition from v. 7 to v. 8 would be eased by making “man” the subject in v. 7: “Man can tame animals. But man cannot tame the tongue.” In this way, the contrast is retained. Naro chose this latter option.

Probably, the complexity of the sentence also played a role in this choice. It is generally not problematic in Naro to use the passive,⁵¹ but in Jas. 3:7, the retention of the passive would lead to a complicated sentence, especially in combination with the expression of ability (*can be tamed*), which would be clumsy in Naro. In such circumstances, the best option may be to transform a sentence by changing the syntactic functions of the NPs, so that ‘man’ would then be rendered as the subject.⁵²

In Eph. 3:10, “(the manifold) wisdom (of God)” is the subject:

ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἔξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ πολυποίκιλος **σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ**

‘so that through the church the manifold **wisdom** of God might now be made known to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly places’

There is an indirect object in the clause (“to the rulers and authorities”),⁵³ and a phrase denoting a medium: “**through** the church”. The latter phrase is important for our discussion,

⁵¹ It may even be preferred in some cases, as can be seen in the use of the passive in *tcii-è tsi ko* ‘you are being called’ where an English speaker would expect “So-and-so is calling you”.

⁵² It is also interesting to note that in rendering “mankind”, the Naro translators chose 1st person *khóè ta* ‘we people’ instead of the 3rd person *khóè ne* ‘(the) people’. This is another example of a *person* adaptation.

⁵³ The locative phrase “in the heavenly places” could theoretically be taken as the place where the “making known” is being done, but it is more plausible that it should be taken in combination with “rulers and authorities” (so “rulers and authorities in the heavenly places”). Cf. Barth 1974, a.l.

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which concentrates on the agent and which subsequently will have to determine which part of the sentence should be expressed as the subject: the “wisdom” or the (decided upon) agent.

There is indeed some difference of opinion with regard to the agent of the verb “make known”: is it the church or is it God?⁵⁴ In many languages one needs to know the answer to this question when translating,⁵⁵ and exegetically speaking, it is relevant as well. Several commentaries see the church as the agent; in other words, the church makes known God’s wisdom.⁵⁶ However, most of the commentaries go in the direction of instrumentality of the church and so view God as the ultimate agent.⁵⁷ The latter view has a solid foundation in the normal use of διά (with the genitive) ‘through’.⁵⁸ As the question of agency has quite a few implications in Eph. 3:10, we will dig a little deeper into the verse.

It is hard to imagine how the church (and its members) can play an active role in “informing” the wisdom of God “to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly places”, as it is located on the earth and not in the heavenly realms. Or it could be that Paul sees these principalities behind the structures in the world, and also behind people – in that the world’s structures and people are governed or at least influenced by these principalities.⁵⁹ Seen in that way, preaching to a person will imply a proclamation to the powers that are invisible.

The link to the heavenly beings may have been the reason to use the less common γνωρίζω ‘reveal, make known’. This verb is used only three times in the NT in the context of missionary proclamation.⁶⁰ For *direct* proclamation, words like κηρύσσω ‘publicly proclaim’ or εὐαγγελίζω ‘bring good news’ are more appropriate, so γνωρίζω may point to a more *indirect* proclamation: facts are “made known” to the heavenly authorities, they are not being “preached to”. Viewed that way, the church does not need to be in the “heavenly places”, as the wisdom is made known indirectly. But how?

It could be that the church is being used by God as an object lesson,⁶¹ which He presents to the rulers, etc. in the spiritual world, showing His inscrutable endeavours and

⁵⁴ A third view sees Paul as the (main) agent, cf. Lloyd-Jones 1980, a.l. Bruce 1984, a.l. sees Paul as *indirectly* being God’s instrument.

⁵⁵ In a language like Dutch, the ambiguous word *door* ‘1. by, 2. through’ may suffice as it may indicate the agent (“by”) or the instrument or channel (“through”).

⁵⁶ Thielman 2010, a.l. speaks of the “ethnically unified church” that “makes all this known”. For Yoder Neufeld 2002, the church also seems to be the main agent, see esp. the section on pp. 143-46.

⁵⁷ Explicitly, for example, Arnold 2010, a.l.: “God is the implied direct agent of the verb”. Cf. Johnson 2008, a.l. (“This is the majority view”). It seems that Lincoln 1990, a.l. puts the church as instrument even further in the background, giving it a role merely by its existence which “can be seen as proof to the powers that God is in fact summing up all things in Christ”.

⁵⁸ Blass et al. 2001, § 223 “von Raum, Zeit, Vermittler”. Louw & Nida 1996, 90.4 mention an example (1 Cor. 1:9) where διά is a marker of *causative* agency, but rightly add that it “is somewhat unusual to find διά with the genitive used in [such] a context”.

⁵⁹ For a more direct link between earthly creatures and spiritual realities, cf. Fowl 2012, a.l.: “Paul has already located believers, to some extent, in the heavenly realms. It seems equally likely that the powers in the heavenly realms might also have some direct engagement with the earthly realm.”

⁶⁰ Rom. 16:26, Eph. 6:19, Col. 1:27.

⁶¹ Bruce 1984, a.l. He also mentions the church as God’s “agency (...) for the bringing about of the ultimate reconciliation”, but not for the “making known” as such, it seems.

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accomplishments in the unheard of unification between Jews and Gentiles.⁶²

But as true as this may be, the church, instead of just submitting to this in a passive role, still has an active role to play, at least by maintaining this unity. And as this unity is based on the atoning work in the death of Jesus, the proclamation of this decisive event in world history is definitely part of the “making known” by God, through the church. Also, part of this “making known” is done by upholding the truth of and sharing God’s Word.⁶³ Barth accurately points out that “Paul has verbal proclamations in mind”.⁶⁴ The message always is centred around Christ, as Paul makes clear repeatedly, even in the next verse (“...purpose that he has realized in *Christ Jesus*”) and in v. 8 (“preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of *Christ*”).⁶⁵ All this implies an active role of the church,⁶⁶ even if indicated in the grammar by a modal phrase.

By expressing God as the actor in the translation of Eph. 3:10, the role of the church (as an object lesson, and/or as the instrument) might seem to be put somewhat on a secondary level, but this by no means diminishes the involvement of the church. On the contrary, the church still retains a central place in the economy of God. And by having God as the main agent, the church will actually be empowered in ways beyond imagination.

Taking the church as instrument then, and viewing God as the main agent, the question is left as to how this should be expressed in the Naro discourse of Eph. 3. Looking at the broader context, it appears that in the last part of v. 9, God is the agent in Greek and is also presented in the translation as subject (“God, who created all things”), and the same is true of v. 11 (“This was according to the eternal purpose that *He* has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord”). Even the words “the eternal purpose” contain God as the implicit agent, and in Naro, this was made explicit in a clause with God as subject.⁶⁷ The most appropriate approach there was to streamline the three verses and have God as the subject in all four subsequent clauses: “God who made all things... did this... so that God⁶⁸ now, through the church ... makes known His wisdom ... as He had planned ...” By keeping the same subject, the content of the verse is much more easily communicated.

⁶² So several commentators, see above. Cf. Barth 1974:364: “In her total being, that is, as founded and ruled by the Messiah; as composed of Jews and Gentiles formerly dead in sins and divided in hostility; (...) as a suffering and struggling, poor and yet enriched nation—this way the church *is* God’s display”.

⁶³ In Eph. 6:17, the church is called to use God’s Word as the sword of the Spirit, also in the context of the confrontation with spiritual forces (6:12).

⁶⁴ Barth 1974:364.

⁶⁵ Grammatically speaking, these statements are part of the same sentence, which underlines the connection.

⁶⁶ See Barth 1974:364-66 for more (also political) aspects of this “making known” through and by the church. For example, the church has to be a “sign and proof of a change that affects the institutions and structures, patterns and spans of the bodily and spiritual, social and individual existence of all men” (365).

⁶⁷ *Nqōóm kūriè tamas cookg’ai koem kò ma tc’ëea hää khama* ‘as **He** wanted before the world was even made’.

⁶⁸ As God being the agent was not explicit in Greek, it was indicated in the translation that this is an addition, by using grey font.

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9.4 Cast

After participant reference, the second main issue of this chapter on discourse challenges with respect to Naro PGN-markers is that Naro distinguishes between a *same cast* clause connective (PGN-8) and a *different cast* clause connective (PGN-9),⁶⁹ which means that in every consecutive clause, the translator must know whether the subject and/or cast is the same or different. The first question in deciding whether PGN-8 or PGN-9 should be used is whether the *subject* remains the same or is different. If the subject is different, PGN-9 must be used. If the subject remains the same, however, one must then ask whether the *cast* (situation) changes so much that a PGN-9 must be used.⁷⁰ If the subject *and* the cast remain the same, PGN-8 is used. If the cast changes, PGN-9 is used.

To display the difference between the two connectives, the example of the king could be expanded as follows:

- (231) The king said to his butler, “I am going to town”
- (232) So he went away
- (233) and he made tea

In English, it is unclear whether the king or the butler is the subject of clauses (232) and (233), so in a more natural version of the story, a full NP in clauses (232) and (233) could make clear who did what. However, a Naro version of the same clauses would, because of the presence of PGN-8 or -9, provide more clarity about who is the subject in each case, even without full NPs. If a PGN-8 is used in clause (232), it would indicate that the subject is the same as in clause (231), so it would be the king that went away. Likewise, the presence of PGN-8 in both clause (232) and (233) would indicate that the king went away and then made tea.

If clause (232) contains PGN-8 and clause (233) PGN-9, the king would go away and the butler would make tea. That is to say, in “normal” circumstances. The fact that PGN-9 does not just indicate a switch in subject but a switch in cast complicates the situation. It is even possible that PGN-9 is used (raising the expectation that there is a switch in subject), but that the subject still remains the same. For example, the use of PGN-9 in clause (232) would normally indicate that the subject changes, so it is the butler who goes away. However, it is also possible that the speaker wants to indicate that there is a switch in cast, for example a lapse of time. In such a case, PGN-9 in clause (232) could still refer to the king, but he might go the next day, for example. In such cases, Naro would probably compensate for the ambiguity by making clear who is the subject, for example by adding a full NP.

As can be seen, the function of PGN-8 is straightforward (the same subject continues in the same cast), but PGN-9 is multifunctional. It may indicate a totally different cast, which

⁶⁹ See 3.3.10, 3.3.11, and also 3.5.2.

⁷⁰ These are questions asked by the translator. The hearer will start from the text and (mostly unconsciously) ask what the presence of a PGN-9 signals: a switch in subject, or a general switch in cast.

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usually involves a switch to another subject, but it is also possible that the same subject is involved in a different cast. Because of this disparity between PGN-8 and -9, the discussion in this section will not engage on the two PGN-series consecutively, but it will first concentrate on the easier question whether the *subject* is retained or not between clauses (9.4.1). As PGN-8 is only slightly different from the connective *a* ‘and’, an example of this contrast will be brought forward under this first discussion. Subsequently, we will look at the more complicated issue of whether, between clauses, the *cast* is retained or not (9.4.2). This order will hopefully result in a clearer contrast between the options. Table 31 below presents an overview of the possibilities.

It should be noted that a switch in subject may play out on two levels. On the first level, where the switch between clause subjects includes a difference in person, gender or number (for example, a switch from “he” to “she”), it will be unambiguously clear that there is a switch in subject. In such cases, the PGN-9 for the P-G-N combination concerned will be used. The following discussions will mainly concentrate on the second level, with examples that concern PGNs of the same character, for example two masculine participants, so that it is unclear when the one man is the subject and when the other one is.

	switch subject?	in	switch in cast?	time lapse
connective <i>a</i>	no		no	none or negligible
PGN-8	no		no	some
PGN-9	possibly		yes	substantial

Table 31: Use of connectives in relation to subject/cast switch and time lapse

9.4.1 Retention or switch in subject

The main, and most straightforward, difference between PGN-8 and PGN-9 is in indicating whether the subject of two clauses is the same or not: if it is, then PGN-8 is used, if the subject is different, then PGN-9 is used.

The first example comes from Mt. 2:14 and shows *retention* of the same subject:

(Joseph) rose
and he (*a ba a* ‘3mSG:8’) took the child and his mother by night
and (*a*) departed to Egypt”.⁷¹

As the two actions subsequent to rising were performed by Joseph (same subject), the next clause starts with PGN-8. The last clause could also have started with PGN-8, but because of the close chronological connection, ϕ was used.

⁷¹ Naro: *Me ëem ntcùúm ka tëe, a ba a Cóá ba hëé naka xõò sa hëéthëé séè, a Egepeto koe qõò.*

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A *switch* in subject results in the use of PGN-9, as in Mt. 3:13.

- (234) Me kò Jeso =ba Galilea koe guu
 3mSG:9 PST Jesus =3mSG Galilee LOC leave
‘and Jesus came from Galilee’

In the previous verses, John the Baptist was speaking. But in v. 13, the subject switches from John to Jesus, yielding a PGN-9.⁷²

PGN-8 and -9 may both be used in the same sentence, as can be seen in Mt. 2:14 as well:

- “⁽¹³⁾The angel (...) said: “...”
⁽¹⁴⁾**And he** (*me* ‘3mSG-9’) rose
and he (*a ba a* ‘3mSG-8) took the child...

Verse 14 starts with *me* (PGN-9), because the subject switches from the angel (in the previous verse) to Joseph. As it continues with Joseph, PGN-8 is used in v. 14b, expressing that the subject (Joseph) remains the same.

The translator needs to be constantly aware of retention or switch in subject. Acts 2:42-46 may serve to more extensively exemplify the use of these two PGNs:⁷³

- All the time **they** devoted themselves to the teaching of the apostles and ϕ fellowshipped,
and (8) ate bread, and ϕ prayed.
And (9) all the people were filled with fear
and (9) many amazing things and signs were done by the apostles.
And (9) all the believers were together and ϕ had all in common.
And (8) they sold everything that they owned
and (8) divided as everybody had need.
And (8) they met every day in the temple and ϕ ate bread in their houses...

One can easily see that wherever the subject is the same as in the previous clause, PGN-8 is used, while a switch in subject yields PGN-9. In this way Naro clearly shows both switches in participant, and also coherence between clauses.⁷⁴

⁷² In this case, the subject (Jesus) is lexically specified as well, so that there is no possible confusion anyway.

⁷³ The text is too long to parse. For the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to indicate where PGN-8 and -9 were used. The text forms a free back-translation of the present Naro text. To make the differences in this section more visible, each time PGN-8 or-9 is used, a new line is started, and where PGN-8 or -9 was used is indicated. Zero connectives (which are comparable in function to PGN-8 as they indicate continuation in subject) are indicated by ϕ .

⁷⁴ Another example is found in 1 Cor. 10:2-4 where the Greek refrain of *kai πάντες* ‘and all’ is expressed by the use of PGN-8 three times.

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The difference between PGN-8 and -9 (which can both be translated in English by ‘and they’ in this case)⁷⁵ must obviously be taken into account when translating, as the wrong choice might result in misunderstandings.

In some verses it may be unclear who the referent is. In such cases, an English translation may leave the ambiguity with the reader, but Naro has to make a choice. An easy example of where the Greek text is ambiguous is Mk. 1:12f. The Greek text is not explicit about who went into the desert:

“The Spirit immediately drove him out into the wilderness.
And **he** was in the wilderness...”

This exegetical question is simple to answer as it is clear from the context that it was Jesus, and not the Spirit, who was in the wilderness. However, the Naro translator must ascertain that the right PGN is being used. By employing PGN-9 *me* ‘3mSG’ it becomes clearer that the subject changes from the Spirit to Jesus. This makes the Naro translation more explicit than the Greek - which is not to be deplored.

A slightly less clear example is found in Lk. 4:9:

“And **ϕ** took **him** to Jerusalem
and **ϕ** set **him** on the pinnacle of the temple
and **ϕ** said to **him**”.

The hearer might initially be confused about who is subject and object: Jesus or the devil. In the previous sentence, Jesus was speaking. So if the text continues with “and he”, a hearer might start by thinking that Jesus is the subject, resulting in the exegesis “Jesus took the devil to Jerusalem”. To avoid this possible confusion about the interpretation of “he”, several translations inserted ‘the devil’ as subject.⁷⁶ In Naro, the use of the switch cast option for “and **he** (took him)” makes it probable that there is a switch in subject, so that the first “he” does not refer to Jesus, but to the devil.⁷⁷ The actions that follow (**setting** him on the temple and **saying**) maintain the same subject (the devil) and are thus introduced by the same cast PGN-8 *a ba a* ‘3mSG-8’ or *a* ‘and’ (with zero reference), making the subject unambiguously clear.

Mt. 14:35f. provides an interesting challenge for Naro translators: to whom does each “they” (numbered 1-5) refer?

⁷⁵ To distinguish between the two connectives, it is generally helpful to express PGN-9 in English with ‘but (they)’.

⁷⁶ See, for example, NIV84, GNBUK, REB89.

⁷⁷ As this PGN-9 might also indicate a switch in cast with retention of the same subject (see below), it is not totally unambiguous, which is the reason why the Naro translation added the subject *dxāwa ba* ‘the devil’ to the text. But the use of PGN-9 was obligatory. (For more translation options for *dxāwa*, see Visser 2001b:24.)

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“And when the men of that place recognized him,
they-1 sent word around to all that region
and **they-2** brought to him all who were sick
and **they-3** implored him that
they-4 might only touch the fringe of his garment.
And as many (**they-5**) as touched it were made well.”

They-1 clearly refers to “the men of that place”.⁷⁸ They-2 is ambiguous though. By using a zero connective “and ϕ brought”, ESVUK and RSV give the impression that the subject is the same and that “the men of that place” were thus the ones that brought the sick. It is, however, more plausible that the subject of “brought” was the people who heard from those men. Naro has indicated this by the use of PGN-9.

They-3 raises another question: did the sick people themselves implore Jesus that they might only touch the fringe of his garment, or was it the people who brought them? Many commentaries do not touch upon this (admittedly not the most relevant) issue, but Naro requires an answer, or at least a choice. The commentaries that give some pointers go in different directions: Groff indicates that people begged on behalf of the sick,⁷⁹ others make the sick themselves plead,⁸⁰ still others leave the reference ambiguous by mentioning “they”.⁸¹ Naro chose to use PGN-8 here, indicating that the people who brought the sick implored Jesus on behalf of the sick. It is indeed plausible that many of the sick were not able to come close to Jesus on their own, so they needed assistance in any case.

They-4 must refer to the sick, but this is not made explicit in Naro (it was probably assumed that this was clear from the context).⁸² They-5 also refers to the sick but to a possible sub-group of these (“as many as touched Him”), which is taken as a switch in subject, so PGN-9 was used.

9.4.2 Retention or switch in cast

As noted earlier, a complicating factor in the various distinctions between PGN-8 and -9 is that PGN-9 is not only used to indicate a switch in subject, but may also indicate a switch in *cast* with retention of the *same subject*. In the following example from Jn. 8:1f., the PGN-9 does not indicate a switch in subject, but a switch in cast:

“Jesus went to the Mount of Olives.
²Early in the morning **he**⁸³ came again to the temple”

⁷⁸ Interestingly, the Naro translation has made a switch here from *xu* ‘3mPL’ to *ne* ‘3cPL’, probably to indicate that the women were quickly involved.

⁷⁹ Groff 2016, a.l.: “They begged Jesus to simply allow the sick people to...”

⁸⁰ So Hagner 1993, a.l.: “there were apparently so many people in need of healing that they pressed around him and begged”. Cf. Osborne 2010, a.l.: “sick (...) continue “pleading”.

⁸¹ So L. Morris 1992, a.l.: “When the people came, *they* besought Jesus that they might only touch...” (italics added).

⁸² Formally, the PGN *i* ‘3cSG’ should have been used, in reference to *tciì-khoean* ‘the sick (3cSG)’, but probably *ne* ‘3cPL’ was taken as a *constructio ad sensum*.

⁸³ In Naro, in contrast to English, the connective with PGN-8/9 always takes the initial slot.

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There is a lapse of time between v. 1 and 2, resulting in the use of the switch cast marker PGN-9. The subject (Jesus) is the same, so *a ba a* ‘3mSG-8’ could have been used, but the cast switches so much that it triggered the use of *me* ‘3mSG-9’.

In Mt. 7:8 the situation is a little more complex:

“everyone who asks receives,
and the one who seeks finds,
and to the one who knocks it will be opened”

Two questions are relevant in order to find out whether the “cast” is related and which PGN should therefore be used: 1. How are the activities related? 2. Is this about the same person?

The three verbs are surely related, but different interpretations have been given as to their content, and consequently their relationship. Nolland⁸⁴ rightly criticises interpreters who relate the three verbs “quite generally to an open vulnerability to others”, and points out that God is in the centre of focus. On the other hand, he also wants to correct interpreters who relate the three verbs to prayer only.⁸⁵ But if he still holds that “they become a set of mutually interpreting images of venturing with God”, this can hardly be interpreted other than as referring to prayer – although it might surely include prayers with open eyes, so to speak. The conclusion that the verbs mainly refer to prayer does not imply that the three verbs “refer to the same activity”.⁸⁶ The three Greek verbs refer to different aspects⁸⁷ of prayer: *aitéω* underlines urgent pleading,⁸⁸ *ζητέω* stresses a desire and/or attempts to find or obtain, asking earnestly,⁸⁹ while *κρούω* signals one’s presence to those inside⁹⁰ but also contains an element of insistence in prayer⁹¹ as it involves trying to get access to a place where something sought can be found.⁹²

This “unity in diversity” still does not really give answers to our question about possible differences in cast. To obtain an answer, we now focus on the *subject* of these activities. We could think of three different situations: one in which a person *asks*, another one in which someone *seeks*, and a third one in which someone *knocks*. This possibility could be

⁸⁴ Nolland 2005, a.l.

⁸⁵ Nolland 2005, a.l.: the three images “define an area that is larger and more general than prayer.”

⁸⁶ Hagner 1993, a.l. Cf. H. N. Ridderbos 1987, a.l., speaking about a “three-fold repetition”. Davies & Allison 1988, a.l. take it somewhat more broadly: “seeking and knocking are activities that occur within prayer, and are thus more or less equivalent with asking.” If these views were correct, the Naro translation would probably need to use the conjunction *a* ‘and’, indicating simultaneousness.

⁸⁷ Bratcher 1981, a.l. discovers “a progression from general to particular”, while Hendriksen 1982, a.l. finds “a rising scale of intensity and a cumulative relationship”. Although these views may be too contrived, they do underscore that there are differences.

⁸⁸ cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 33.163.

⁸⁹ cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 25.9, 33.167, 57.59, 13.19.

⁹⁰ cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 19.12.

⁹¹ H. N. Ridderbos 1987, a.l.

⁹² Cf. Bratcher 1981, a.l.

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about one person or about different persons, but in both cases, it would require the use of PGN-9s in Naro, as it would speak about three different casts.

On the other hand, the three options mentioned could provide a kind of parallelism,⁹³ in which they reinforce each other, so that they speak about the same person who is asking, seeking and knocking. This would strengthen the idea of a request which will be answered, regardless of the form in which the request was made. In this train of thought, the use of PGN-8s might be most profitable, to underline the idea of unity.⁹⁴

The broader discourse gives another suggestion: the use of the PL in Greek in the previous verse (*αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν* ‘ask [PL], and it will be given to you [PL]’, etc.)⁹⁵ rules out the purely individualistic interpretation: Jesus is not referring to one person who asks = seeks = knocks, nor to one person who asks at one stage, and seeks on another occasion, and then may knock. The PL suggests different people, probably on different occasions. On top of that, the presence of the generalising “everyone” makes the application as broad as possible.

The Naro translation has chosen to use PGN-9s, which takes the hearer in three possible directions, but these directions are unified by the use of *dìim wèém* ‘whoever’: anyone, in any situation⁹⁶ where he asks, where he seeks, or where he knocks, will be answered.

The choice between PGN-8 and -9 must therefore be integrated in a more holistic approach, in which all elements and factors should be taken into consideration. One can see that translating into Naro requires that one considers all kinds of subtleties, which provide a broader spectrum of possibilities for the exegete.

Finally, the use of a wrong PGN connective will obviously result in a different meaning. Just one additional example to illustrate this from Mt. 19:16-18:

“a man came up to him,

(he) [PGN-8] saying, “Teacher, what good deed must I do to have eternal life?”

And **he** [PGN-9] said to him, “Why do you ask me about what is good? There is only one who is good. If you would enter life, keep the commandments.”

He [PGN-9] said to him, “Which ones?”

Swapping the PGN-8 and -9s could result in a conversation where Jesus is asking the initial question, and all kinds of other miscommunications. In Greek, a hearer must conclude from the content and context who is saying what to whom, but in Naro, the difference between PGN-8 and -9 (if translated well) helps the hearer to follow the exchange. For the translator, the contrastive possibilities require close attention.

⁹³ Cf. note 86.

⁹⁴ One might still consider the option of one person in different situations (casts), leading to the use of PGN-9s.

⁹⁵ The plural is not visible in English, neither in the imperative nor in the use of “you”.

⁹⁶ Hagner 1993, a.l. seems to limit the πᾶς ‘everyone’ of v. 8 to “everyone participating in (viz., receiving) the kingdom reality brought by Jesus”. However, this promise may surely be claimed by people who are outside the kingdom but call on God.

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Applying good exegesis will mean that these questions about switches in cast and subject will already have been asked, consciously or unconsciously. The Naro structure makes the questions even more urgent: it requires an answer, and in that way helps the exegesis. If it is not answered, miscommunication may result. But if done well, enhanced communication may be expected.

9.5 Observations and strategies

This chapter has investigated PGN challenges provided by discourse issues. It has been shown that the broader context of a sentence may impact the structure of that sentence. It may influence the amount of coding of an NP (using a full NP, pronominal reference, zero reference), but also the person, number and syntactic function (e.g. subject, object) of an NP. In addition, the choice between PGN-8 and -9 in Naro forces the translator to constantly pay attention to switches in subject and casts.

Discourse features, especially as there are so many factors to be looked into, are complicated and very interrelated. Giving attention to discourse does not mean that the whole text must follow one pattern, but there is room for a great deal of variety. Coherence is more important than uniformity. If all factors have been carefully considered, and the right choices have been made, this will result in more clarity and naturalness in translation.

The following strategies are important:

- In order to translate well, the whole discourse should be studied.
- Be aware of, and open to all kinds of coding (NP), person, number (PGN) and syntactic options (PGN-series).
 - o The context of a clause or sentence will have an impact on the decision, though the context does not automatically lead to one right answer.
- Be aware of the impact of PGN choices on the rest of the discourse.
 - o If a change is made, evaluate the impact on at least the sentence in which the PGN is used. In the end, re-read the whole section.
- Be aware of how much a cast continues or changes. Study the text carefully in order to know which connection (in which the PGN is the main element) should be used.

Part IV Opportunities for Bible translation

10. Increased clarity: required choices

10.1 Introduction

The numerous PGN-options in Naro necessitate and facilitate the presentation of more specific information to the hearers than the text in Greek or English offers. The necessity creates challenges to the translators because they have to choose between them (part III), but the possibilities also create opportunities to them (part IV). In part III, they had the *burden* of choosing; in part IV, they have the *joy* of choosing. In both cases, a good translation into Naro will present a text that is in several respects clearer than the original. This increased clarity results not from a *choice* to be clearer (as per many functional-equivalent translations), but simply because the structure of the language requires and therefore promotes it.

The difference between part III and IV is only apparent to the translator: in part III, she is struggling with challenges, in part IV, she happily makes use of the opportunities that the Naro language offers. The hearer may simply rejoice in clarity throughout: he experiences the text and is not aware of the translator's challenges. Both in part III and IV, the Naro hearer needs *less* effort in the process of interpretation than a Greek hearer. Where a listener to Greek does not know to which *number* (dual or plural), or to which *gender* (masculine, feminine or common) a pronoun refers, the Naro listener has the advantage of perceiving this information at a first glance.

In several ways, translations will usually *lack* some of the information presented in the original, but the upcoming two chapters will show that translating does not always lead to losing content. On the contrary, translation into Naro often implies receiving *extra* information. In contrast with the adage of the 18th century poet Claudius “*Wer übersetzt, der untersetzt*”,¹ translating into Naro falls into an “*über-*” category rather than “*unter-*”, with respect to the PGN content, so that we might say: *wer übersetzt in Naro untersetzt nicht, sondern über-übersetzt2*

The difference described above has been the criterion for deciding in which chapter a certain phenomenon was to be discussed: if the translator experienced an issue as a *challenge*, it would be discussed in part III, while part IV presents elements in which the Naro language provides *opportunities* to be clearer than the Greek text is. Because of this, exegetical discussions in part IV will be limited.

Several areas will be looked into. But while part III offered a more thematic approach (general-exegetical, cultural, hermeneutical and discourse issues), the areas of part IV will be divided according to more formal criteria. Ch. 10 considers example texts where clarity

¹ See De Waard 1989:4 for the source of this quote coming from Matthias Claudius. It is nearly impossible to translate this pun, but one of its aspects could be rendered ‘whoever translates, under-translates’.

² This might be translated into English as “whoever translates into Naro does not under-translate but over-translates”.

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results from a *required* choice in gender and number, while ch. 11 considers instances of *optional* elements that enhance the quality (clarity, naturalness) of the text.

This chapter will mainly be divided according to the three possible persons: 1st, 2nd and 3rd, as these features remain quite constant in translation from Greek into Naro. Within the section dealing with each person, *number* and *gender* distinctions will be discussed (sections 10.2 until 10.4). Sections 10.5 and 10.6 will cover the increased clarity resulting firstly from Naro's distinct pronominal forms with respect to cast and secondly in the use of gender with names.

10.2 Clarity in 1st person

It has become clear in comparison with Naro, that the Greek pronouns cover a range of meanings that are not overtly expressed. In Naro translation, the particular meaning of a Greek pronoun needs to be specified, making it easier for the readers to understand. This section discusses increased clarity provided in Naro by number and gender options in the 1st person.

Ch. 5 already presented an overview of several content options of the 1st person PL “we”. We turn now to the opportunities, rather than challenges, afforded by Naro to make the translation more lucid with respect to which “we” was meant: *ta* ‘1cPL’, *xae* ‘1mPL’, *se* ‘1cPL’, *kham* ‘1cDU’, *tsam* ‘1mDU’, or *sam* ‘1fDU’. On top of these distinctions, inclusive and exclusive forms of these PGNs may be utilised, some of which are required (to be discussed in this chapter, see 10.2.3) and some of which are optional (to be discussed in ch. 11). Most of the examples brought forward will exemplify transitions between gender and number options that are found in texts, so that contrasts become much more evident than in the Greek text.

10.2.1 Gender: *we* prayed – *we* went into the ship (Acts 21:5f.)

Acts 21 is part of a description of a trip that Paul made. Luke's account is made in the 1st person PL (“we”) from Acts 20:5, apparently because Luke was part of Paul's company.³ This group is exclusively male, so in Naro the PGN *xae* ‘1mPL’ is used most of the time. In 21:3, the company lands in Tyre, where they stay for seven days, so that there is ample opportunity to visit the local believers. In Acts 21:5f. it is time to leave (“*we* departed”⁴), and the church members say goodbye to them. As “we” thus includes both males and females (“with wives and children”) for some time, a switch between two overlapping groups of “we” occurs:

⁵When **our** days there were ended, **we** departed and went on **our** journey, and they all, with wives and children, accompanied **us** until **we** were outside the city. And kneeling down on

³ See Marshall 1980:40 and 46 for the Lucan “we” accounts.

⁴ The verb form ἐξελθόντες ἐπορευόμεθα ‘we departed and went on our journey’ is to be understood as an inchoative, indicating that they were *about* to depart, because it subsequently says that the disciples, “with wives and children” (v. 5) accompanied them (same **we**) – to the ship.

10. Increased clarity: required choices

the beach, **we** prayed⁶ and said farewell to one another. Then **we** went on board the ship, and they returned home.”

In English, it is not immediately obvious which *we* refers to whom. For Naro hearers there is more clarity though: the first three *we*'s (*our* days, *we* departed, *our* journey) refer to the (male) voyagers, so *xae* '1mPL' is employed. The following “kneeling down on the beach, **we** prayed⁵ and said farewell to one another” refers to the whole group, including women, so in Naro a different *we* is used: *ta* '1cPL'. The *we* in “then **we** went on board the ship” is masculine (*xae*) again:

(235)	a	ēe	=ta	ko	tshàa=m-kg'áñ koe	sí'
	and	as	=1cPL	DUR	to waterside	go
	ka	=ta	kò	qúrù-a =ta cgoa	qom̄, a	còrè.
	IRR	=1cPL	PST	with our (1cPL) knees	bow	and pray
	Xae	kò	nxãaska	x'áè	=ne	a skepe=s koe tcāñ
	1mPL	PST	then	say.goodbye	=3cPL	and in the ship enter

‘and when **we** (1cPL) went to the beach, **we** (1cPL) bowed **our** (1cPL) knees and prayed. Then **we** (1mPL) said goodbye and entered the ship’

In Naro, the switch between the different *we*'s is very obvious, giving extra clarity to the hearers.

10.2.2 Number and gender: *ta*, *xae* or *tsam*? (pauline epistles)

Transitions between number and gender combinations abound, so they can exhibit all kinds of contrasts. In the epistles, the Naro team has translated *we* with three different PGNs: *ta* '1cPL', *xae* '1mPL' and *tsam* '1mDU'. Each of these could also be combined with the DC-markers *ga-* or *si-*, making the PGN-options either inclusive or exclusive. Fortunately for the translators, this distinction only needed to be made in a limited number of verses, the constraint being where these PGNs are combined with a possessive or postposition.

Paul's use of “we” in his letters can be interpreted in various ways. He may include the congregation (as is obviously the case in, for example, 1 Cor. 1:3,7,8 “God **our** Father”, “**our** Lord Jesus Christ”), but he may also refer to himself plus some colleagues, either being together with him (Col. 1:3 “**we** ... thank God ... **we** pray for you”)⁶ or just being referred to (e.g. 1 Cor. 3:9: **we** is Paul and Apollos; 1 Cor. 9:4ff.: **we** is Paul and Barnabas).

⁵ Viewed separately, “**we** prayed” could theoretically be translated with *xae* '1mPL', indicating that (one of) the men might have spoken the prayer. However, the directly following “and said farewell to one another” makes it practically impossible to separate the subjects of the two verbs. And in any case, instead of focusing on who was speaking during the prayer, it is appropriate to direct the attention to the fact that all were praying together with the one that was speaking during the prayer.

⁶ Dunn 1996, a.l.: “The plural “we thank” may imply a consciously double authorship (Timothy and Paul”). Bratcher & Nida 1993, a.l. holds it “probable” that “Paul intends to associate with himself (...) Timothy”. However, they add “but also the others of his immediate group”, which would lead to the use of a plural rather than a dual.

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Alternatively, he may refer to himself as part of the apostolic group (probably in 1 Cor. 2:6 “*we* do impart wisdom”⁷ and 9:11 “*we* have sown spiritual things among you”).⁸ In fact, he may also refer to himself alone,⁹ but most of these examples are contentious and hence were discussed in ch. 5. Likewise, there may be cases of *generic we*, but Naro does not distinguish these as separate morphemes so they do not need to be discussed here.¹⁰

In a myriad of cases, there is no exegetical uncertainty about which gender and number are to be used. In such cases, the Naro translation may boldly present the appropriate PGN, and assist the hearer with a clarity that goes beyond that of the Greek text, in the sense that the Greek text does not make that gender and number explicit, while the Naro text does. The listener in Greek needs to deduce from the context which gender and number combination is meant, while the Naro hearer does not need to go through this deductive process.

In Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians, *we* or *our* is used more than 200 times¹¹ – reason enough for proverbial headaches among the Naro translation team that had to decide which *we* was meant every time. In a few contexts, *tsam ‘1mDU’* is used. As Paul writes his second letter to the Corinthians in the presence of Timothy, and even mentions him as co-author (2 Cor. 1:1), the Naro translation makes this explicit where it says:

(236) **tsam** ko ncēe=s tcgāya =sa góá máá
2mDU DUR this=3fSG letter =3fSG write to
‘we [1mDU] are writing this letter to (you)’

In 2 Cor. 12:18 (“Did *we* not act in the same spirit? Did *we* not take the same steps?”), *tsam ‘1mDU’* is also used but from the context it is clear that it refers to Paul and Titus. The Handbook for Bible Translators indicates that it “is probably better translated “he and I” in this context”,¹² an advice followed in GNBUK,¹³ but in Naro, this solution is not needed, as the *tsam ‘1mDU’* option is available:

(237) Cúí=m tc'ēe=m cgoa =**tsam** gáé kò tséé tama?
one=3mSG spirit=3mSG with =1mDU isn't.it? PST work not
Cúí=m dàò =ba =**tsam** gáé kò séè tama?
one=3mSG path =3mSG =1mDU isn't.it? PST take not

‘Did we [2mDU] not work with one mind? Did we [2mDU] not take one path?’

⁷ Ellingworth & Hatton 1995, ad 2:6-16 conclude that *we* in 2:6-16 refers to “Paul and his fellow apostles” or “fellow evangelists”. They use the word “likely” in this context.

⁸ Ellingworth & Hatton 1995, a.l.: “*we* probably means not only Paul and Barnabas, as in verse 6, but the apostles or evangelists generally.”

⁹ See 5.5.4 for a broader discussion.

¹⁰ See esp. 5.6.2 for a discussion of generic *we*.

¹¹ In the Greek text, ἡμεῖς/ἡμᾶς was found 157 times, and 1st person verb forms around 50 times, totalling around 210; a count in the ESVUK revealed 136 times *we*, 52 times *our*, 48 times *us*, totalling 236.

¹² Omanson & Ellington 1993, a.l.

¹³ REB89 makes this clear by using “both”: “Have **we** not **both**...?”

10. Increased clarity: required choices

In 2 Cor. 1, it soon becomes clear that Paul is contrasting himself (and his associates) with the congregation, cf. 1:6 (“if *we* are afflicted, it is for *your* comfort”) and 1:8 (“*we* do not want *you* to be unaware”). In languages with a distinction between inclusive and exclusive *we*, it is evident that at least in some verses of the chapter, the exclusive *we* needs to be utilised. For Naro however, the fact that the Corinthians are not included in the 1st person in these verses does not answer the question which PGN should be used there: one may still choose between *tsam* ‘1mDU’, *xae* ‘1mPL’ but also an exclusive form. Of these options, it is most plausible to use the masculine PL, as Paul usually did his trips in the company of males.¹⁴ Theoretically, the company could have been restricted in this case to Timothy (v. 1), leading to the use of *tsam* ‘1mDU’, but in v. 19, Silvanus is mentioned as well. As *xae* ‘1mPL’ is not as specific as *tsam* ‘1mDU’ would be, it is the safest option. Another option still is to use 1SG, as *we* here may well be interpreted as an epistolary PL. However, even though the latter option is a reasonable one, there is no certainty about this,¹⁵ and an interpretation of *we* as “we, Paul and my companions” would not miss the mark too much.

Of all uses of *we* in the rest of the letter, *xae* ‘1mPL’ is employed most frequently.¹⁶ This is not surprising, as Paul had to defend himself and his coworkers against attacks by so-called “super-apostles” (11:5). In several chapters of 2 Corinthians, he writes about what *we* have proclaimed. 1:19 speaks about this, and 2:14-17 is also full of uses of *xae* ‘1mPL’, which is appropriate in a passage where Paul indicates that *we* are “commissioned by God, in the sight of God we speak [God’s Word] in Christ.” In 2 Cor. 3, Paul continues to speak about his work: “you are a letter from Christ delivered by *us*” (v. 3), where *xae* is suitable again. 2 Cor. 4:1-14 abounds with uses of *xae* also, which is understandable in a context of proclaiming the gospel (v. 1 “having this ministry”; v. 5 “what *we* proclaim is … Jesus”), especially as he also contrasts *we* with *you* (v. 5 “*your* servants”; v. 14 “bring *us* with *you* into His presence”). 2 Cor. 5:11ff. has Paul’s ministry in mind as well (v. 11 “*we* persuade others”; v. 20 “*we* are ambassadors for Christ”) and shows the contrast with the readers again (v. 12 “giving *you* cause to boast about *us*”; v. 20 “*we* implore *you*”). Another concentration of the use of *xae* is found in 6:3-13 where Paul and his companions “commend *ourselves*”. As Paul speaks about the ministry in general, the choice of *xae* ‘1mPL’ vs. *tsam* ‘1mDU’ is the safest option, except in some contexts where it is more likely that he speaks about himself and one more companion.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. 9:5 “Do we not have the right to take along a believing wife” does not imply that Paul was married and/or that he in fact did take along a woman, cf. Thiselton 2000, 682: “Verse 5 does *not* assert that *all* apostles were necessarily married, but simply that they had the “*right*” to be married.”

¹⁵ Omanson & Ellington 1993, Introduction, sub “1. Epistolary plural”: “it is (...) difficult, if not impossible, for interpreters to know when Paul is using the epistolary plural”.

¹⁶ A count reveals 299 times. That *xae* occurs more than the total number of “*we*” in Greek can be explained from the fact that Naro constructions require PGNs more often than Greek constructions do.

10. Increased clarity: required choices

But even though it is clear that the members of the Corinthian congregation are not included¹⁷ most of the time, Paul makes statements, in the midst of all these occurrences of *xae* ‘1mPL’, that not only apply to himself and his coworkers, but to all believers.¹⁸ In 1:3 it is most appropriate to include the readers:

(238)	<i>Nqari=m</i>	<i>ga=tá</i>	<i>di=m</i>	<i>X'aiga=m</i>	<i>Jeso Kreste=m</i>
	God=3mSG	DEF=1cPL	POSS=3mSG	Lord=3mSG	Jesus Christ=3mSG
	<i>ka</i>	<i>Xõò</i>	<i>=ba</i>	<i>méé=m</i>	<i>dqomìm-è</i>
	ABL	father	=3mSG	must=3mSG	praise-PASS

‘may God, the Father of *our* Lord Jesus Christ be praised’

There is good reason to extend this common *ta* ‘1cPL’ to v. 4 as well, as it may refer to a general truth for the believers, although it also makes good sense if the “affliction” is limited to Paul and his companions:¹⁹

ο παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς
ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει...

‘who comforts *us* in all *our* affliction, so that *we* may be able to comfort those who are in any affliction...’

It is clear that Paul is making a transition somewhere in the section, as he writes about “the affliction *we* experienced in Asia” (v. 8), where *we* cannot possibly relate to the Corinthians.²⁰ It is not feasible to identify the exact moment of the transition, as the general truth of v. 4 is so closely connected with the following verses.²¹ The translation team has made the transition from *ta* ‘1cPL’ to *xae* ‘1mPL’ between vv. 4 and 5,²² as vv. 5 and 6 are too closely intertwined to allow a transition in their midst.²³

¹⁷ Cf. Omanson & Ellington 1993, ad v. 6: “Beginning in this verse and continuing through verse 21a, the pronoun *we* does not include the readers.” But also see the Introduction (*ibidem*), where they discuss the issue under “Special Problems in Translating 2 Corinthians”, sub “1. Epistolary Plural”, and state the same about v. 8 instead of v. 6, underscoring the intricacies of the issue.

¹⁸ Filbeck 1994:407 mentions a “rule of thumb” in this regard: if a verse refers to “a general theological principle that was (and is) inclusive of (applicable to) every believer regardless of special gifts (or lack thereof) in Christian service”, the pronoun is considered to be inclusive.

¹⁹ See the discussion in Omanson & Ellington 1993, ad v. 4.

²⁰ Cf. v. 24 (“*we* work with *you* for your joy”), where it is also clear that the congregation is not included in “*we*”.

²¹ Cf. Kijne 1966:176: “One can also reason that what Paul says in 4 and 5 refers to all Christians and that in 6 and 7 this is applied to Paul’s relation to the Corinthians.”

²² Which is one verse before the transition indicated in Omanson & Ellington 1993, who indicate that in vv. 6ff. the readers are not included in the “*we*”, cf. footnote 17.

²³ SIL International Translation Department 1999, a.l. indicates a preference for an exclusive (or epistolary) *we* in vv. 4-6, while Filbeck 1994:405 understands *we* in v. 5 as inclusive. It is enigmatic how Greenlee, *2 Corinthians*, 31, can comment on 2 Cor. 1:3-7 “evidently not we inclusive, because 6,7 is we exclusive”. 1:3 is evidently inclusive, and 1:4 can be interpreted in different ways, so the “because” is inappropriate. Beekman, *Extended* (appendix) marks 2 Cor. 1:4 and 5 as inclusive.

10. Increased clarity: required choices

The above shows that even within a section where nearly all *we*'s are masculine plurals in Naro, one may suddenly observe a common plural *ta* '1cPL'. The same also occurs in v. 20: "That is why it is through him that *we* utter our Amen to God for his glory." Though possible, it is not really appropriate to exclude the addressees from this *we*.²⁴ The same applies to a verse such as 2 Cor. 3:18 "*we* all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image".²⁵

2 Cor. 5:18 provides a clear distinction in the use of *we*:

(239)	<i>Gaa=m ncēe ko Kreste=m koe guu a Ga=m koe</i>
	The One who DUR through Christ and to Him
	<i>xg'ae-xg'ae =ta a, =ta tōōku =ba,</i>
	bring.together =1cPL =1cPL put.together (>have.peace) =3mSG
	<i>a =ba a tséé-a=n máà =xae-a hāa,</i>
	3mSG:8 work give has given to us (1mPL)
	<i>c'ee =ne =xae gha Ga=m cgoa xg'ae-xg'ae =ne tōōku ka.</i>
	others =1mPL FUT with Him bring together 3cPL put.together IRR

'He brought **us** (1cPL) together with Him so that *we* (1cPL) have peace, and He gave **us** (1mPL) the work that *we* (1mPL) would bring (some, other) people together with Him and have peace'

The Naro hearer may not even be aware that there is possible confusion in the SL,²⁶ as he will perceive only that this verse speaks about two different *we*'s.

A similar pattern is found in Paul's epistle to the Colossians. He co-authors the letter with Timothy again, which is the reason why Naro uses *tsam* '1mDU' in vv. 3-4, for example in the translation of "**we** pray for you", where obviously the addressees are excluded from *we*.²⁷

From v. 7, *we* changes from *tsam* '1mDU' to *xae* '1mPL', as the focus shifts from Paul and Timothy to Paul and (all) his companions.²⁸ This *xae* '1mPL' shows up several times in the chapter, especially in vv. 7-12 and 28. In vv. 13f. however, it was necessary to switch to *ta* '1cPL', as the content there required a broader reference: the deliverance of God's

²⁴ Omanson & Ellington 1993, a.l.: "The pronoun we in this verse includes the readers." The same applies to vv. 21b and 22, cf. also John 1976:239.

²⁵ cf. Omanson & Ellington 1993, a.l.

²⁶ Another example comes from Paul's letter to the Thessalonians, where "we" usually refers to Paul, Silvanus and Timothy, but sometimes Timothy is excluded, and sometimes the church is included (e.g. 1:10 ("Jesus who delivers **us** from the wrath to come"), 4:7 ("God has not called **us** for impurity"), cf. 4:14f. (3x), 17 (3x), 5:5f. (4x), 8-10 (8x); 2:1 (2x); the same is likely in 3:4 ("**we** were to suffer affliction"), see P. H. R. Van Houwelingen 2011:18-23 and a.l.

²⁷ In fact, in v. 2 as well ("**we** write this letter"), as the introduction of the letter in Naro was formulated in a way different from Greek. Cf. 6.4.2.

²⁸ See, for example, Bratcher & Nida 1993, ad v. 7 "Paul and his companions".

10. Increased clarity: required choices

people (“we”) can obviously not be restricted to Paul and his companions, but must apply to the members of the congregation:

“He has delivered **us** from the domain of darkness and transferred **us** to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom **we** have redemption, the forgiveness of sins.”

We conclude that in 2 Corinthians and Colossians, the Naro translation distinguishes three different kinds of *we*, which beautifully elucidates the contrasts for the hearers.²⁹

As indicated earlier, there are verses where the rendered text presents a certainty, even though the exegesis is not exactly certain. In such cases, the translator should assess whether it is necessary to mention alternative options in a footnote, as the hearer cannot distinguish between verses with certain and uncertain exegesis. This raises the question, in particular for Naro, of the level of uncertainty at which the reader should be confronted with other options. As the reader should not be confused with irrelevant questions, especially in a missionary situation, this should only be done where the alternative is of significant relevance for the biblical teaching or for the understanding of a passage.

10.2.3 Required clusivity

PGNs require a combination with clusivity markers when PGN-5 is used, which amounts to postpositional constructions like “to us” (*gatá koe / sita koe*), “with us” (*gatá cgoa / sita cgoa*) and possessives like “our” (*gatá di / sita di*). This requirement leads to additional clarity in the Bible translation again, as the hearer will immediately understand whether the addressee is included or not.

Most PGN-elements in Phlm. 1:1 have already been discussed³⁰ so we can now just focus on the contrast that is found there with regard to clusivity. The first example phrase makes clear that Paul is including the readers, namely by using *ga-* ‘INCL’:

(240)	<i>ga=tá</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>qõese</i>	<i>=ba</i>
	INCL=1cPL	ABL	younger sibling	=3mSG
‘our younger brother’				

When Philemon is referenced as “*our* co-worker”,³¹ the word “*our*” is expressed with an exclusive form:

²⁹ For another section where Naro provides more clarity on the reference of *we* in epistles, see ch. 5 (esp. 5.5.4) for a discussion of 1 Jn. 1.

³⁰ See 6.4.2.

³¹ The addition of *tsi* ‘2mSG’ to the embedded sentence “being our co-worker” forms a nice example of the use of 2nd person (instead of 3rd person) with a nominalised sentence.

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- (241) *si=tsam cgoa tséé-kg'ao ii =tsi*
EXCL=1mDU with worker be 2mSG
‘you who are *our* [1mDU:EXCL] co-worker’

Naro makes clear in this way that the addressee is excluded. As the masculine dual indicates that Paul refers to two men: himself and someone else, Timothy as the latest male mentioned is the most plausible candidate for the referent, so that Paul is effectively saying in this short construction: “*you* (Philemon, m) are someone who is working together with *us* (me and Timothy)”.

In Col. 1:7, Paul refers to Epaphras with the words (in genitive because of the preposition ἀπὸ ‘from’) τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν ‘*our* beloved fellow servant’. The possessive *our* requires the addition of a clusivity marker, so either *ga-* ‘INCL’ or *si-* ‘EXCL’. In this case, the content of “*our*” is partly determined by the addition of συν- ‘fellow-’ in συνδούλος ‘fellow servant’. Speaking about servanthood, Paul probably refers to himself as a preacher of the gospel,³² and in the predominantly male context of the NT it is most appropriate to translate with the masculine plural *xae* ‘1mPL’. The clusivity marker to be used is the exclusive one: Paul addresses the congregation, but its members are excluded from “*our*”, because the church and the preacher are separate entities as far as the responsibility of ministry is concerned.

In other aspects, the pastor is part of the church, so the church should be *included*. This becomes clear in, for example, Col. 2:13 where the inclusive, and common, *ga=tá* ‘INCL 1cPL’ is used:

- (242) *a ga=tá di chìbi-a=n wèé ga qgóóá máá =ta-a hää*
and INCL=1cPL POSS sins all INTENS forgive 1cPL-IMPF
‘and forgave us all *our* sins’

Naro is thus able, much more than a multitude of other languages, to indicate when the addressees are included and when they are not. By using both inclusive and exclusive markers, Naro also expresses the difference between the distinctness of the office of a minister of the gospel and the inclusion of the pastor who is part of the congregation and lives by the same fountain of salvation.

10.3 Clarity in 2nd person

This section presents examples with respect to the 2nd person. We have already noted that PGN-markers facilitate the expression of fine nuances in a text. If the PGN-marker that is used differs from what would be expected when considering the addressees, the hearer will consciously or unconsciously start contemplating who is addressed, leading to a deeper understanding of possible implications of the text.

³² Cf. Lenski 1946c, a.l.

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10.3.1 Number between sections: SG *tsi* – PL *tu* (1 Tim. 6:21)

Vis-à-vis English, most languages do a good job in distinguishing “you” (SG) from “you” (PL), demonstrating the importance of not depending solely on English translations as the basis for making a translation.³³ It would be easy, for example, to miss the distinction between the SG *you* in 1 Timothy that is used in most of the letter, and the plural *you* in its very last verse:

Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν.
‘Grace be with *you*.’

As the letter is written to an individual, a translator from English might expect that the SG be used in Greek and thus use the SG in the RL.³⁴ However, Paul uses the PL, and may have had a variety of reasons to do so.³⁵ Whatever the reason, an accurate translation will use the PL. The point here is that Naro is able to, and requires us to make this distinction and thus provide more clarity about the intentions of the SL text than English does.

10.3.2 Gender between sections: m *xao* – c *tu* (Mt. 23)

Mt. 23 is a chapter where seven woes are pronounced over the scribes and Pharisees.³⁶ However, the woes do not start until v. 13. In vv. 1-12, Jesus speaks to “the crowds and to his disciples” (v. 1), introducing the subject and speaking *about* the scribes and Pharisees. According to Newman and Stine, “many translators find it necessary to begin the verse [13] with “Jesus went on to say” or “Jesus then said to the teachers of the Law and the Pharisees””,³⁷ but in Naro this is not necessary. In order to differentiate between the *you*’s, Naro uses two different PGNs: in vv. 2-12, *tu* ‘2cPL’ is used, versus *xao* ‘2mPL’ in the remaining verses.

The choice of using the common PGN is quite clear in vv. 1-7, where “the crowds and (...) His disciples” (v. 1) are addressed:

³³ It would be fruitful in several ways if English translations could distinguish between singular *you* and plural *you*. KJV is one of the few English translations that distinguishes between singular (*thou/thee*) and plural (*ye/you*), cf. Ellington 1999:220. Ellington 1999:221 mentions that “[o]ne New Testament commentator, William Hendriksen, goes as far as to suggest that spaced letters (“y o u ” as opposed to “you”) should be used to distinguish the singular and plural forms of the second person pronoun”.

³⁴ Cf. Ellington 1999:222: “These plural pronouns may also be the cause of some difficulty for translators who are either somewhat careless or too dependent on modern English versions.”

³⁵ See, for example, Ellington 1999:222f. for a discussion about the possible reasons. Pieter H. R. Van Houwelingen 2009:249 adds the possibility that, as Paul concludes his apostolic career with this letter, the plural opens the way for all christians to say ‘amen’ to Paul’s gospel, with which this personal letter would become an open one.

³⁶ See, for example, the section heading in ESVUK.

³⁷ Barclay Moon Newman & Stine 1992, ad v. 13.

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- (243) *ke méé =tu wèé =zi guú =zi ēe =xu*
 so must =2cPL all =3fPL thing =3fPL REL =3mPL
ko bìrí =tu u =zi kúrú
 DUR tell =2cPL =3fPL do
 ‘so **you** (c) must do all things they (m) tell **you** (c)’

The choice is not immediately obvious in vv. 8-12 though, in statements like:

νμεῖς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε, Ταββί·
 ‘but **you** are not to be called rabbi’

At first sight, *you* might refer to the scribes and Pharisees, requiring a masculine PGN *xao* ‘2mPL’. Or the words may be addressed to the male disciples, resulting in the same PGN. The Naro team has chosen to use the common PGN *tu* ‘2cPL’ instead. One reason may have been the more general admonition in v. 9:

καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰς γάρ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐρανίος
 ‘And call no man **your** father on earth, for **you** have one Father, who is in heaven.’

The exhortations in vv. 11f. may also have a more general nature. In context, they seem to be primarily meant for the (male) disciples, but it does not hurt if the general public also takes note:

“The greatest among **you** shall be **your** servant.¹² Whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted.”

It is not to be forgotten, in any case, that the disciples at the time were still exactly that: disciples, learners. They were not leaders yet – something they would become and grow into later. In that sense, they were in the learning phase – together with the crowds.

Another reason for using the common PGN in vv. 1-12 may have been to make the transition to the following verses (13-36) more incisive by the switch from *tu* ‘2cPL’ to *xao* ‘2mPL’. Verse 11 still utilises *tu* ‘2cPL’:

- (244) *ga=tu xg'aeku koe kai-a hää =ba méé=m*
 DEF=2cPL between LOC big-IMPF =3mSG must=3mSG
ga=tu di=m qāà =ba kúrú
 DEF=2cPL POSS=3mSG slave =3mSG become
 ‘the big one among **you** must become **your** slave’

10. Increased clarity: required choices

The following verse (12) contains a generalising statement, without specific reference to 2nd person:³⁸

- (245) *Wèé=m ēe ko kaikagu-se =ba gha cg'áré-cg'are-è,*
 every=3mSG REL DUR exalt.oneself-RECP =3mSG FUT make.small-PASS
 me gha wèé=m ēe ko cg'áré-cg'are-se =ba kaikagu-è
 3mSG FUT all=3mSG REL DUR make.small-RECP =3mSG exalt-PASS
 ‘everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but everyone who humbles himself will be exalted’

After that, the section starting with v. 13 nearly explodes with the use of *xao* ‘2mPL’, making the contrast with the previous paragraphs very clear:

- (246) *igaba haò, cg'âè =i gha ii ga=xao ka, x'âè xgaa-xgaa-kg'ao*
 but EXCLAM ugly 3nSG FUT be DEF=2mPL ABL law teacher
 =xao hêé naka Farasai =xao hêéthêé e, ga=xao nc  e
 =2mPL also and Pharisee =2mPL also DEF=2mPL DEM1
 q  e kh  -a=n khama ko ma k  r  -se =xao!
 good person-JUNC=3cPL like DUR like do-REFL =2mPL
 ‘but hey, how terrible it will be to *you-mPL*, *you-mPL* law-teachers and *you-mPL* Pharisees, *you-mPL* who do (present yourselves) as if *you-mPL* are good people’

The presence of 83 uses of *xao* ‘2mPL’ in vv. 13-36 certainly articulates the contrast, but the main differentiating tool is the distinctive use of the PGNs in the two sections.

The above two examples elucidate contrasts between portions of Bible text. However, a switch from one PGN to another may even occur *within* paragraphs, as will be shown in the subsequent sections.

10.3.3 Number within section: DU *tsao* – PL *xao* (Acts 23:23)

The Naro translation of Acts 23:23, where a tribune gives instructions to two centurions, uses both *tsao* ‘2mDU’ and *xao* ‘2mPL’, to distinguish between what the two centurions (DU), and what the whole group of soldiers (PL) must do. The first instruction is directed to the two centurions only:

Ἐτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους ‘Get ready two hundred soldiers’

- (247) *kg'ónose =tsao naka 200 =xu nc  o-kg'ao =xu sé  *
 prepare =2mDU and 200 =3mPL soldier =3mPL take
 ‘Prepare **yourselfs** (2mDU) and take 200 soldiers’

³⁸ It is stated in 3rd person. The masculine singular is to be understood generically.

10. Increased clarity: required choices

Later in the verse however, the instructions speak of what the whole company of soldiers will have to do:

- (248) *naka =xao Kaesarea koe ncēe=m ntcūú=m ka (...)* qōð
 and =**2mPL** to Caesarea this night go
 ‘and go (**2mPL**) to Caesarea this night’

Had *tsao* ‘2mDU’ been used in the second instruction, it might be understood by Naro hearers that only the two centurions (without the soldiers) had to go to Caesarea. The distinction between dual and plural thus facilitates distinguishing the referents.

10.3.4 Gender within section: m *xao* – c *tu* (Mt. 22:31, Jn. 4:31-38)

A similar case, but now with regard to gender, is found in Mt. 22:31, where Jesus answers some Sadducees:

περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ ρῆθεν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 ‘And as for the resurrection of the dead, have **you** not read what was said to **you** by God...?’

At first sight, it may seem that both cases of *you* refer to the Sadducees, so that a masculine PGN could be used, but after further scrutiny it appears that there is a slight difference between the two. The first *you* does indeed refer to the Sadducees, either to the ones that came to Jesus or to the Sadducees as a group. Even though we do not know exactly how many Sadducees came to Jesus, it is plausible that there were more than two, so *xao* ‘2mPL’ is used in this statement (and *xu* ‘3mPL’ in the previous references in 3rd person).

The second *you*, however, refers to the recipients of the following quote from Ex. 3:6:

“I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob”

Even though the first recipient of this message was Moses, Jesus states that God said it to “*you*”, and uses the plural here. It cannot be labelled wrong to continue the use of *xao* ‘2mPL’, but Naro in its translation has used the common PL here instead of the masculine PL, indicating that the content of the quote was not limited to the Sadducees:

- (249) A *nxárá ta ga =xao gáé hāa,*
 INT read NEG INTENS **2mPL** EXCL IMPF
Nqari=m ga=tu koe nxāe-a hāa =sa?
 God=3mSG DEF=**2cPL** LOC speak-IMPF =3fSG
 ‘Have **you** (2mPL) not read, that God spoke to **you** (2cPL)?’

This serves at least two purposes. The first is that the use of *xao* ‘2mPL’ for the second *you* might give the impression to Naro hearers that the Bible words were intended

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exclusively to the Sadducees as part of the spiritual establishment, while actually, the content of the Bible can be applied³⁹ by anybody, women included. Secondly, the use of *tu* ‘2cPL’ subtly involves the crowds in the conversation. Those crowds are mentioned two verses later (v. 33): “When the crowds heard this, they were astonished at his teaching”.⁴⁰ Naro can assist its hearers in involving the general public in what is sometimes seen as a prerogative of the leaders.

Another example of a gender switch within a section is found in Jn. 4:31-38. In that section, Jesus is speaking to His (male) disciples. They urge him to eat (v. 31), after which encouragement He starts talking about food “that *you* do not know about”. In the section, Naro uses *xao* ‘2mPL’ eight times. However, in Jn. 4:35 Jesus suddenly addresses the disciples with *tu* ‘2cPL’:

οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι Ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; οἶδα λέγω ὑμῖν
 ‘Do *you* not say, “There are yet four months, then comes the harvest”? Look, I tell
you...’

- (250) *Ncēeta =tu gáé ga=tu méé tama: '4 nxoea =nea qau-a hāa,*
 this.way =2cPL isn't.it? DEF=2cPL say NEG 4 months (3cPL) leave-IMPF
=me ko nxāwa x'aè=m tc'oo-a=n méé =i khōá-è
 =3mSG DUR then time=3mSG food-LNK=3nSG must 3nSG cut-PASS
di =ba hāà,' témé tama? Bóò, bìrí =xao o=r ko...
 POSS =3mSG come QUOT NEG look tell =2mPL=1SG DUR

‘Don’t *you* [2cPL] say: “Four months are left, and then the time to harvest the food comes”? Look, I tell *you* [2mPL]...’

The reason for this is, that *you* in the “*tu* sentence” has a wider reference than the surrounding text. In the sentence “Do *you* not say...”, *you* does not only refer to the disciples, but to the general public (even though not present), so that it is more appropriate to use the common PL. When Jesus continues saying “Look, I tell *you*”, Naro uses *xao* ‘2mPL’ again, to make clear that He addresses the disciples only.

10.3.5 Number and gender within section: mDU *tsao* – cPL *tu* (Mt. 20)

A switch in both number and gender may also occur. An example of this is found in Mt. 20:20-23, where “the mother of the **sons** of Zebedee” is coming to Jesus with a request. From v. 21, it becomes clear that she specifically requests about οὗτοι οἱ δύο γιοί μου ‘these two sons of mine’. Two sons of Zebedee are mentioned frequently in the gospel,⁴¹ which obviously does not rule out the possibility that she may have had more sons, but it is logical

³⁹ With the caveat that a hermeneutical procedure must be adhered to, see ch. 8.

⁴⁰ NIV84, taking into account the Greek plural οἱ ὥχλοι ‘the crowds’.

⁴¹ Mt. 4:21, 10:2, 26:37, 27:56, to mention the references in Matthew only.

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to assume that in all references, James and John are meant and not other brothers of theirs, which is the reason that *tsara* ‘3mDU’ was chosen in the translation throughout. In 20:20 (“the mother of the **sons** of Zebedee”), a case could be made of interpreting “sons” as a plural (*xu* ‘3mPL’), but the fact that the article is used (the [identifiable] sons), combined with the fact that she was with “the (two) sons” in the same clause basically rules out this option.

In v. 22 however, Naro requires a choice with respect to 2nd person. Jesus answers the request of the mother and employs the 2nd person pronoun *you*:

Οὐκ οἴδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἔγὼ μέλλω πίνειν;

‘**You** do not know what **you** are asking. Are **you** able to drink the cup that I am to drink?’

From the English, *you* could be interpreted in Naro as *si* ‘2fSG’, *tu* ‘2cPL’ or *tsao* ‘2mDU’. The Greek, however, rules out the SG interpretation, and from the following discussion, it is clear that Jesus addresses the two disciples in the latter part (“are **you** able?”), so that in Naro, **tsao** ‘2mDU’ is used there. The Naro team found it appropriate though to make Jesus speak to the brothers *and their mother* in the former part (“**you** do not know what **you** are asking”), so that *tu* ‘2cPL’ is used there. In this way, Naro ingeniously turns Jesus’ attention first to the three and then to the two brothers.⁴²

10.3.6 Gender within section - broader application (Lk. 11:9, Mk. 10:13-16)

For clarity, usually a *narrower* PGN (covering fewer referents) is used, in order to indicate that a limited group is meant – for example, males only. In some cases, however, a *broader* PGN (covering more referents) is used to the same end, namely when it is safe to assume that the speaker was addressing a broader audience than the group he was speaking to. This may be another reason that the PGN was switched.

In section 8.2, we already saw that it may be opportune to use a common PGN-marker in a context where hearers would actually expect a masculine one, in order to make the application broader, even extending it to a present day audience. This usage should be considered only on the condition that this intended broader application can be traced back to the speaker’s intentions. In Lk. 11:9 “seek and **you** will find”, it was considered appropriate to use the common PGN.

This broader application was deemed to encompass not only more recent readers, but also a broader audience at the time. In Mk. 10:13-16, we are confronted with a similar issue. In these verses, children are brought to Jesus. We find Jesus with three distinct groups of listeners: the parents, the children and the disciples.⁴³ How does Naro make clear who is

⁴² This solution is questioned by McKerras 1988, under “MAT 20.22”, who rejects the use of “trials”. He apparently makes too much of the parallel in Mark where the mother is not mentioned.

⁴³ It is possible that there were spectators as well, which would create a fourth group, but for our purposes, we can include them with the parents.

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referred to when? We will first consider the gender of the parents, and secondly, who is being addressed in the statement about entering the Kingdom of God.

A Dutch song about this passage indicates that it was just mothers that took their children to Jesus.⁴⁴ This view is supported in at least one commentary: “The picture is one of peasant women, many of whose babies would be dead within their first year, fearfully holding them out for Jesus to touch.”⁴⁵ However, this interpretation would at least invite, and probably require, a feminine pronoun in Greek for αὐτοῖς ‘(the disciples rebuked) **them-mPL**’. The masculine gender of this word may include women but does not refer to women exclusively, so it is to be assumed that there were also fathers who brought the children. In the Naro translation therefore, the common plural is used: *khóè ne* ‘person 3cPL’ > ‘people’ is used, rather than *khóè zi* ‘person 3fPL’ > ‘women’.

The question of who Jesus was addressing is harder to answer. We need to distinguish between two parts of the quote. In the first part, Jesus talks to the disciples about hindering the children (3cPL) from coming to Jesus. He says to **them**:⁴⁶

Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με, μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά, τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

‘Let the children come to me; do not hinder them, for to such belongs the kingdom of God.’ (v. 14)

It is evident that in this part of the quote, Jesus rebukes the (male) disciples, so the pronoun *them* (in “He said to **them**”) is to be translated with the masculine PGN-marker. However, Jesus adds a second statement, introduced by ἀμὴν λέγω όμιν ‘Truly, I say to **you**’, which requires a choice in PGN again in Naro. It is here that the Naro translation makes a contribution to its hearers in making clear who is addressed in the statement:

ὅς ἂν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ως παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν.
‘whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it.’ (v. 15)

The first option that comes to mind in understanding “(Truly, I say to) **you**” is that it refers to the disciples, as Jesus was addressing them already. If the words “whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it” were addressed only to the disciples, it might sound like a (continued) reproach to them only, saying that *they* should

⁴⁴ Eens brachten de moeders hun kinderen tot Jezus ‘Mothers once took their children to Jesus’.

⁴⁵ Malina & Rohrbaugh 1993:243

⁴⁶ In the parallel passage Lk. 18:16, these words are introduced with ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσεκαλέσατο αὐτὸν λέγων ‘but Jesus called **them** to him, saying’. Initially, a hearer might get the impression that the following words are spoken to the children, as αὐτὰ ‘(He called) **them-nPL** (to Him)’ obviously refers to the children (cf. Nolland 1993a:881: “Luke now uses the neuter, which must refer to the babies themselves”). But the context plainly demonstrates that the following words are not spoken to them first – although it is good for them to hear the words (as far as they could understand). Cf. Nolland 1993a:882: “It is, then, to be seen as addressed both to the parents and to the disciples.” The recipients of these words are intertwined. Jesus was speaking to them all, but with different foci in the different elements that He uttered.

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receive the kingdom of God like a child. This might even imply that they have not received the kingdom of God yet.

That there is an element of reproach is undeniable. In fact, in all similar passages about becoming like a child, we find an atmosphere of tension, in which Jesus reproaches the disciples and admonishes them to become more childlike.⁴⁷ However, when the masculine PGN-marker is used for “you”, the general lesson about entering the Kingdom of God might be suppressed, as the masculine PGN-marker would then keep the focus of the hearers on His reproach to the disciples: “*You* (male, disciples) better become like these children.”

If, however, Jesus’ words are viewed as being addressed to the whole crowd, it becomes a lesson for *everyone*. In other words, the content of Jesus’ words gives reason to broaden the circle of addressees. It is obvious that the parents and the children would have heard these words anyway, but the matter concerns to whom the words were addressed. The Naro translation made the transition from the masculine to the common PGN: from *xu* ‘3mPL’ in v. 13 (Jesus told **them-m**) to *tu* ‘2cPL’ (truly I say to *you-c*). The statement thus becomes a more general encouragement: “*you* (*anybody*) should become like a child”. Using this mixed pronoun still retains some of the reproachful nature of Jesus’ words (directed towards the disciples), but at the same time it becomes much broader. Both the disciples and the crowd heard these words, and we can safely assume that they apply to everybody.⁴⁸ Not only the disciples, but everyone is to listen and learn.

This switch will not be experienced as peculiar by Naro hearers, and at the same time it subtly (probably unconsciously) sensitises them to the fact that the audience has broadened from the male disciples to include all people. The words ὁς ἂν ‘whoever’ in fact underline this generality of address: everyone should receive the kingdom of God like a child. Using the mixed pronoun can be a perfect tool to articulate this.

10.4 Clarity in 3rd person

As with the 1st and 2nd person, Naro has several options for translating the 3rd person. It might be expected that this is restricted to the use of independent pronouns, as for example in English when *they* indicates the subject of a *verb*. In Naro however, each time plurality in a *noun* needs to be translated, the PGN information needs to be added as well, so that for every noun, number and gender is indicated, as in *khóè xu* ‘person 3mPL > men’, *khóè tsara* ‘person 3mDU > (two) men’ (see 10.4.1) or *khóè zi* ‘person 3fPL > women’ (cf. 10.4.3). In fact, this latter option (expression of number and gender on nouns) is also available for the 1st and the 2nd person in Naro; it will be discussed in 11.6. Consecutively, two examples of pronominal use (*they / them*) will be presented (10.4.1 and 10.4.2, both about a dual – plural polarity) and two examples of PGNs with a nominal (10.4.3 about the three-way number distinction, and 10.4.4 about a masculine – feminine distinction).

⁴⁷ Besides the parallel passages, Mt. 19:14 and Lk. 18:17, similar words are found in Mt. 18:3f.

⁴⁸ This is clear from the fact that Jesus does not say “if you...”, but “whoever...”. The Greek word ἂν confirms this.

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10.4.1 Number of *they*: DU *tsara* – PL *xu* (Mt. 9:27-32)

In Mt. 9:27-32, Jesus heals two blind men. The number of men (two) comes out clearly in all English translations consulted, but in Naro this is even more obvious, as the number is being repeated throughout the description (16 times *tsara* ‘3mDU’ plus three times *tsao* ‘2mDU’ and once *tsam* ‘1mDU’), so that the hearer is constantly being reminded of the number (and gender) of the blind.

The only instance where a choice needed to be made by the Naro translators is in v. 32: in **αὐτῶν** δὲ ἐξερχομένων ‘as **they** were going away’, “they” can be interpreted to refer to “the two blind” (yielding *tsara* ‘3mDU’) or to “Jesus and His disciples” (resulting in *xu* ‘3mPL). Translations in other languages have taken different approaches. Literal translations obviously just render with “they”, leaving the answer to the question ambiguous.⁴⁹ A second group of translations make the blind explicit, as in “the men”,⁵⁰ “those two men”,⁵¹ “these”,⁵² “those two”⁵³ or “the blind”.⁵⁴ A third, smaller, group assumes that the reference is to Jesus and His disciples: “As Jesus and his disciples were on their way”.⁵⁵

The latter option is somewhat supported by the previous verse where it is reported that the two blind “went away and spread his fame through all that district”. If the following “As **they** were going away...” (v. 32) refers to the blind (who have gone through the district already), the story would go back in time, so the words might rather refer to Jesus and His disciples going away. However, the opening words of v. 32 may very well be taken as a resumption of the story line, repeating their departure in a kind of tail-head linkage.

Newman and Stine just refer to GNBUK and conclude (but without discussion) that “they” refers to “the men” – which in fact still is ambiguous, but which is likely taken as referring to the blind men. Hagner is probably right in his similar conclusion that *they* refers to the blind, but the basis mentioned for this is shallow, as he finds that a view of *they* being Jesus and His disciples “does not fit well with the following προσήγεγκαν αὐτῷ, ‘they brought to him’”.⁵⁶ The argument brought forward by McKerras⁵⁷ makes good sense: on the basis of 9:28, where it mentions only Jesus going into the house, he concludes that if they are not mentioned there, they will probably not be referred to in v. 32 either. A decisive conclusion cannot be reached, but while both options could be valid, the latter is more attractive. The Naro translation is not ambiguous but clearly indicates in v. 32 that “the two” (*tsara* ‘3mDU’) were going out.

⁴⁹ Non-literal translations may also have left the reference ambiguous, as NLT04 “When **they** left”. These translations assume that “they” is clear enough (which strictly speaking is not the case), which probably classifies them as considering “they” to refer to the blind men.

⁵⁰ GNBUK.

⁵¹ EASY.

⁵² LU1912: *Da nun diese waren hinausgekommen.*

⁵³ HFA: *Als die beiden gegangen waren.*

⁵⁴ PDV2017 “Au moment où les aveugles sortent”.

⁵⁵ CEVUK.

⁵⁶ Hagner 1993, ad v. 33.

⁵⁷ McKerras 1988, under “MAT 9.32”.

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10.4.2 Number of *they*: DU *tsara* – PL *xu* (2 Cor. 8:22-24)

In a similar vein in the epistles, Naro presents a clear picture of the number of referents. 2 Cor. 8:22-24 illustrates the clarity resulting from a Naro translation of some pronouns that in English obscure information useful to the reader:

¹⁸With **him** we are sending **the brother** who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel. (...)

²²And with **them** we are sending our brother whom we have often tested and found earnest in many matters, but who is now more earnest than ever because of his great confidence in you. ²³As for Titus, he is my partner and fellow worker for your benefit. And as for our **brothers**, **they** are messengers of the churches, the glory of Christ. ²⁴So give proof before the churches of your love and of our boasting about you to **these men.**'

The context helps us understand what at first sight are somewhat enigmatic references. Paul has spoken about Titus in vv. 16f. Subsequently, he mentions “**the brother** who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel” in v. 18. After some supplementary remarks, Paul proceeds in v. 22 “with **them** we are sending our brother...”. The latter *they/ them* must refer to Titus and the “famous brother”,⁵⁸ so these two men are described in Naro with *tsara* ‘3mDU’.

The word “brothers” mentioned in v. 23 could theoretically comprise Titus and the other two, making a plural *xu* ‘3mPL’, but in context it makes more sense to see a contrast between Titus and the two, so Naro has used *tsara* ‘3mDU’ in v. 23 (for “our brothers”) as well. In v. 24, however, it is more plausible that the three are taken together, so instead of *tsara*, *xu* is deployed. As a result, the Naro hearer does not need to work through several options as is the case in English. This was reason for more dynamic translations choosing to make that information explicit in phrases such as “Titus and the other follower”⁵⁹ in v. 22 (instead of “them”), and “the other brothers”⁶⁰ or “the other two followers”⁶¹ in v. 23.

10.4.3 Number with a nominal: SG *sa* – DU *sara* – PL *zi* (Easter)

The following two examples attend to the use of the PGN with a nominal: each nominal phrase in Naro needs to be assigned number and gender. This may underscore differences in parallel passages (10.4.3), but also prevent wrong interpretations (10.4.4).

As shown before,⁶² there are hermeneutical implications to the use of PGNs. If we look at the accounts of Jesus’ resurrection, different numbers of women appear. In the translation,

⁵⁸ E.g. Omanson & Ellington 1993, a.l.

⁵⁹ CEVUK.

⁶⁰ GNBUK.

⁶¹ CEVUK.

⁶² See especially ch. 9.

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we have not tried to harmonise the differences. Mt. 28:5 makes clear that there are two women in Matthew's description of the encounter between the angels and the women after Jesus' resurrection, so *khóè sara* 'person 3fDU > (two) women' was used. In his parallel of the event, Mark mentions three women, and this comes out very clearly in Naro as well: not only in three women being mentioned, but also in every subsequent occurrence of "they": the Naro translation employs *zi* '3fPL'. From Lk. 24:10 we get the impression that there must have been at least five women involved (cf. 23:55). The construction *kai ai λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς* 'and **the other women** with them' in fact solicits a plural rather than a dual, so the count comes to at least six. Jn. 20:1f., 11ff. only mentions Mary Magdalene, which is obviously clear from the use of the SG throughout the passage where she is portrayed.

In this way, contrasts between the gospels are far more obvious in Naro than in English, but there is no reason to conceal the differences. Apparently, the gospel writers had different intentions in describing the events, focusing on different women in the respective chapters. As the task of the translator is restricted to presenting the most evident intentions of the various texts, the Naro translators could happily leave the exegetical questions here to the exegetes.

10.4.4 Gender with a nominal: m *xu* - f *zi* (1 Tim. 5:15)

By giving more clarity, the Naro translation also prevents incorrect interpretations. In 1 Tim. 5:15 we find a statement that may be misunderstood in English (and in Greek as well, in fact):

ἢδη γάρ **τινες** ἔξετράπησαν ὅπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ
‘for **some** have already strayed after Satan’

Greek clarifies neither gender nor number of “some”, and translations can also be misread in the sense that men may be included, but the context makes clear that the reference is to younger widows, cf. vv. 11-14.⁶³ Some translations therefore make “widows” explicit,⁶⁴ but Naro is explicit enough by using the feminine *zi* ‘3fPL’.

10.5 Clarity about subject / cast

The presence of two contrasting ways to connect clauses (see 3.3.10, 3.3.11 and 9.4) causes challenges for the translator in several verses, but in most cases this contrast provides an opportunity to make extra clear to the hearer the subject in a particular clause. Ordinarily, the context itself provides good clues, but the Naro translation may aid hearers in understanding the text. Every time a Greek text connects a clause with a previous one, saying “(and) **he/ she/ they...**”, a listener is to figure out to whom “he/ she/ they” refers,

⁶³ G. W. Knight 1992:229.

⁶⁴ E.g. GNBUK, CEVUK. EASY adds “younger” (“some of the younger widows”).

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especially if the context speaks of two (or even more) referents with the same gender/number combination (*he* and another *he*, *she* and another *she*, etc.). In Naro, the options for the listeners are constrained: without exception, PGN-8 refers to the previous subject, while PGN-9 usually⁶⁵ refers to a change in subject.

The upcoming sections will present increasing levels of complexity with regard to clarity of referent. Starting from referents that can easily be distinguished in Greek as they are of different gender and/or number (10.5.1), we will survey cases where Greek uses the same number-gender combination but where Naro makes distinctions (10.5.2), to be followed by two sections where even Naro employs the same gender and number but distinguishes the subject: 10.5.3 and 10.5.4 discusses male and female referents respectively.

10.5.1 Different gender and number in Greek

In most (if not all) languages, a switch in subject is easily recognisable if the referents are of a different combination of gender and number. As an obvious example, in Acts 12:15, the referents are *ne* ‘3cPL’ (they) and *si* ‘3fSG’ (she/her), so that a hearer will immediately know who is who:

οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπαν, Μαίνῃ. ἡ δὲ διῆσχυρίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον

‘They said to her, “You are out of your mind.” But she kept insisting that it was so, and they kept saying...’

In Naro, this pattern is also visible:

(251)	<i>Ne</i>	<i>bírí</i>	= <i>si</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>máá:</i>	“ <i>Teme</i>	= <i>si</i> ⁶⁶	<i>ko,</i> ”
	3cPL:9	tell	=3fSG	and	say	mad	=2fSG	DUR
	<i>témé,</i>	<i>si</i>		<i>gataga</i>	<i>cúíga</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>bírí</i>	= <i>ne,</i>
	QUOT	3fSG:9		likewise	same	as	tell	=3cPL
	<i>gaa=n</i>	<i>ga</i>		<i>a</i>	= <i>sa.</i>	<i>Ne</i>	<i>máá:</i> ...	
	<i>gaa=3cSG</i>	INTENS		COP	=3fSG	3cPL:9	say	

‘they told her: “You are mad”. But she told them the same thing, that it was so. And they said: ...’

In this case, there is no real difference in clarity⁶⁷ between Greek and Naro, as the referents are totally different. The only thing that is important for the translator is to choose the right gender for *them*, and the right connection: if there is a switch in subject, PGN-9 is to be used (three times in the example), while if the same subject is continued in subsequent clauses, PGN-8 should be used (which does not occur in the example).

⁶⁵ See 9.4.2 for the option that PGN-9 refers to the same subject in a different cast.

⁶⁶ The PGN for 2fSG has the same surface value as the one for 3mSG, but the context will tell the difference.

⁶⁷ Except for the reference of *they/them*: Naro makes clear that this refers to a common plural.

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10.5.2 Same gender and number in Greek

The second example is also about different referents, but while Greek fails to distinguish them formally, Naro does. Naro, therefore, distinguishes more than Greek: referents share the same features in Greek (for example, two groups are referred to with “they”), but Naro specifies if the groups are of a different composition with regard to gender and/or number, as in Mk. 11:6, where *two disciples* (dual) tell *people* standing around what Jesus had told *them*:

οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτούς
‘and they told them what Jesus had said, and they let them go’.

(252)	Tsara	kò	ēe=m	ko	ma	Jeso	=ba	ma
	3mDU:9	PST	as=3mSG	DUR	as	Jesus	=3mSG	as
	bírí	=tsara a	khamaga	ma	bírí	=ne,		
	tell	=3mDU	as	as	tell	3cPL		
	ne	guu	=tsara a,	tsara	qō̄o.			
	3cPL	leave	=3mDU	3mDU	go			

‘And they (two men) told them (common PL) as Jesus had told them (two men), and they (common PL) left/allowed them (two men), and they (two men) went.’

In Greek, the 3rd person PL is ambiguous and can, in this verse, refer both to the people that stood near the donkey and to the two disciples. Because of this, some translations add an explicit referent, as in “the *disciples* answered”⁶⁸ or “the *people* let them go”.⁶⁹ Naro is sufficiently clear so that this is not necessary.

10.5.3 Same gender and number in Naro – male (Mt. 9:9)

The above examples have not exhibited the full force of the difference in structure of same cast and different cast, simply because the difference in PGNs (indicating different number and/or gender) would already make clear the difference in referent. However, if two participants in a discourse are of the *same* composition with regard to gender and number (one man, two women, mixed dual forms, etc.), the confusion possible in Greek may be disambiguated in Naro by employing the distinction between PGN-8 and PGN-9. Only two examples will be given: the present section will present the confusion between two instances of a male referent, while in 10.5.4, potentially confusing feminine referents will be discussed. For more examples, see section 9.4.

⁶⁸ NVI: *Os discípulos responderam* ‘The disciples responded’.

⁶⁹ NIV84.

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Mt. 9:9 reads:

καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἤκολούθησεν αὐτῷ
 ‘and *he* said to *him*, “Follow me.” And *he* rose and followed *him*.’

From the context it is clear that Jesus is speaking to Matthew, and that Matthew rose and followed Jesus. But as the pronouns *he* and *him* are ambiguous in their referential status, the hearer will still go through a deduction process. To help the reader, several English translations⁷⁰ have inserted *Matthew* in the text as subject of “rose”. Other translations also add *Jesus* as subject of “said”.⁷¹ In Naro however, the distinction between PGN-8 and -9 enabled the translators to be clear without an explicit subject:

(253)	Me	bìrí	=me	a	máá:	Xùri	=Te,”	témé
	3mSG:9	tell	=3mSG:7	and	say	follow	=1SG:7	QUOT
	CONN	V	O		V		O	
	me	tēe		a	xùri		=Me	
	3mSG:9	stand.up		and	follow		=3mSG:7	
	CONN	V			V		O	

‘and *he* (Jesus) told *him*: “Follow me”. And *he* (Matthew) stood up and followed *him*.⁷²

The back-translation still contains the ambiguous “he”, but a Naro hearer will be prompted by the PGN-9 to assume that there is a switch in subject. Interestingly, the pronominal references show up as *me* ‘3mSG’ four times, which may confuse an uninitiated reader. For a Naro speaker, the position of this same phonological word makes clear that it is an object ‘him’ after a verb, while at the beginning of a clause it indicates a switch to another male person. For the convenience of the reader, a third line was added to demonstrate these different sequences of verb - object on the one hand, and that of connection - verb on the other.

10.5.4 Same gender and number in Naro – female (Lk. 4:39)

Most examples of possible ambiguity in the NT will refer to men (as they are mentioned more frequently), but there are also some examples of feminine referents, as in Lk. 4:39 where Jesus heals a woman of fever:

καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπάνω ἀντῆς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ καὶ ἀφῆκεν ἀντήν· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀναστᾶσα διηκόνει αὐτοῖς

‘And He stood over **her** and rebuked the fever, and **it** left **her**, and immediately **she** rose and began to serve them’

⁷⁰ E.g. NIV84, GNBUK, REB89: “**Matthew** got up/ rose”.

⁷¹ E.g. CEVUK, NLT04, EASY all: “**Jesus** said to **him**.”

⁷² It is unclear why in the Naro translation of the parallel text Lk. 5:28, Levi was mentioned explicitly. It may be that the team was influenced by some English translation.

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In Greek and English, it is clear who the referents are in each case: in Greek, the references for the woman are feminine and the fever is masculine, and in English, the fever is neuter (it). But in Naro, the woman (Simon's mother-in-law) and the sickness are both of feminine grammatical gender, so that some confusion is possible. However, the contrast between PGN-8 and -9 assists the hearer again in understanding what happens:

(254)	Me	Jeso	=ba	ga=s	koe	qármse,
	3mSG:9	Jesus	=3mSG	DEF=3fSG	LOC	bow
	a =ba a	ēe=s	tcìi	=sa	dqàè,	si
	=3mSG:8	DEM2=3fSG	sickness	=3fSG	reproach	3fSG:9 leave =3fSG
	si	kò	kúúga	tēe		
	3fSG:9	PST	immediately	stand up		
	a =sa a	tshoa-tshoa a	tsééa máá	=ne.		
	=3fSG:8	begin	and	work for	=3cPL	

'And Jesus bowed over **her**, and He reproached that sickness (3fSG), and **she** (the sickness) left **her** (the woman), and **she** (the woman) stood up immediately, and **she** (PGN-8, so same subject) began to serve them.'

Again, the back-translation does not indicate the helpfulness of Naro, but the references in PGN-8 indicate that the subject is the same as in the previous clause, while PGN-9s indicate a switch in subject.

10.6 Gender of names

Lastly in this chapter, in contrast to English, Naro allows hearers to assess whether someone is male or female by indicating their gender in the PGN that is added to their names. In Rom. 16 for example, numerous names are mentioned. Readers of an English translation will probably have difficulty working out whether several names refer to a man or a woman. Occasionally, the text makes that explicit, as with Phoebe (v. 1), who is called "our sister" and is being referred to with feminine pronouns (welcome **her** ... help **her** ... **she** may need ... **she** has been"). But with most names, the reader will not easily know the gender of the referent.

A language like German may also help readers find the gender by the use of the article, as in *grüßet den Andronikus und den Junias*⁷³ 'greet [the-m] Andronicus and [the-m] Junias', but in more recent German translations this information is missing.⁷⁴ The only situation where German readers can find out which gender is meant, is where extra characteristics are mentioned. In those cases, the ending of the modifier will reveal the gender (e.g. *meinen lieben Ampliatus* 'my [m] beloved [m] Ampliatus' vs. *die [f] liebe [f] Persis* 'the [f] beloved [f] Persis').⁷⁵

⁷³ LU1912, Rom. 16:7.

⁷⁴ As in German, the use of the article with proper names is not considered appropriate anymore.

⁷⁵ GCLRN00, Rom.16:8.

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Naro, on the other hand, benefits its hearers throughout, as PGNs are used both on the head noun (usually the name) and all its modifiers:

- (255) *Perisila* =sa hēé naka *Akila* =ba hēéthēé =khara⁷⁶
Priscilla =3fSG also and Aquila =3mSG and =3cDU
'Priscilla [f] and Aquila [m] [c]'
- (256) *Ampeliato* =ba tsgámkagu, *tiri=m* ncàm-khoe =ba⁷⁷
Ampliatus =3mSG greet my=3mSG beloved =3mSG
'Ampliatus [m], my [m] beloved [m]'
- (257) *Tíí tcárà=s* ncàm-ncamsa=s *Peresise* =sa
my age.mate=3fSG loved=3fSG Persis =3fSG
'my beloved [f] age mate [f] Persis [f]'

Again, Naro provides more clarity than many other languages.⁷⁸

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter has made clear that Naro's use of person, gender and number distinctions allows hearers to keep track of participants more easily. To non-Naro speaking people, the Naro distinctions show that the semantic content of the (English) pronouns like *we*, *you* and *they* in texts is more different than suspected initially. For example, "we" in 2 Corinthians had to be translated in at least three different ways into Naro (not counting the inclusive and exclusive counterparts of each).

Not only does the hearer receive suggestions with regard to the P-G-N information of each reference, but he also will, consciously or unconsciously, observe contrasts in the text as transitions are found between participants (e.g. Acts 21:5f., Mt. 23). These contrasts may have hermeneutical implications, such as contrasts between parallel passages (e.g. Easter accounts) or applications beyond the immediately present participants (e.g. Lk. 11:9). The PGN chosen may also affect the interpretation of statements as being addressed to various sections in a group. Hearers may draw the conclusion that there is just a switch from one group to another, but also that there is a contrast, or that certain elements are underlined. In Mk. 10:14f. for example, the switch may underscore that there is a transition from a (negative) reproach to a (positive) encouragement.

Naro's PGN-containing clause connectives and use of gender information with proper names afford the hearers a level of clarity beyond even that provided by the SL.

⁷⁶ Rom.16:3.

⁷⁷ Rom. 16:8.

⁷⁸ The fact that Naro provides more clarity than Greek also leads to challenges, especially if the gender of a specific person is not known with certainty, as with Junias (v. 7), see, for example, Dunn 1988b, a.l.

11. Increased clarity: optional choices

11.1 Introduction

Having discussed instances of verses where the Naro translation is clearer than the Greek ST just because of the grammatically *required* choice in gender and number (in ch. 10), this chapter presents examples where *optional* elements enhance the quality of texts with regard to clarity and naturalness. Gender nuances with nouns will be investigated (11.2), creative gender assignment (11.3), dispensability of the numeral “two” (11.4), possibilities with the associative PL (11.5), options because of the combination of nouns with 1st and 2nd person (11.6), and clusivity (11.7).

11.2 Gender nuances with nouns

It was already shown (3.2.2 *et passim*) that nouns in Naro do not have a fixed gender. Naro is flexible in assigning gender, and adds information to lexical items by using PGN-markers. Speakers may assign gender to words as they see fit, indicating certain qualities. Therefore it is not uncommon to make use of PGN-markers to communicate a certain feature. While in a language like German, one cannot say *die Mädchen* (in the SG sense of ‘girl’ with a feminine article), because *Mädchen* always takes the neuter article, in Naro, one can use a gender that is different from the default one quite easily (see 3.2.5). In German, the construction with the “wrong” article would strike people as awkward (because it is ungrammatical), but in Naro, a noun with a non-canonical PGN-marker just will make people think: “What kind of (noun) is the speaker talking about? What does the speaker or writer want to communicate?”¹ This section will provide examples of contrasts based on gender assignment that are found in translated Naro texts, displaying that Naro may make sophisticated nuances by its flexible gender assignment.

11.2.1 *kg'ám* ‘door, big gate, small gate’

In Mt. 7:13f., a contrast is found between the wide gate and the narrow gate:

εισέλθατε διὰ τῆς **στενῆς** πύλης· ὅτι **πλατεῖα** ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι’ αὐτῆς.¹⁴τί **στενὴ** ἡ πύλη ...

‘Enter by the **narrow** gate. For the gate is **wide** and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many. ¹⁴For the gate is **narrow**...’

In Greek, the gender of “gate” is feminine in both cases, and the contrast is just indicated by the adjectives “wide” and “narrow” (and the following descriptions). Naro also indicates

¹ This is especially true of gender assignment with non-animates. With animates it is more uncommon.

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the contrast by adjectives,² but additionally it distinguishes the wide gate from the narrow one by making the wide gate masculine and the narrow gate feminine:

(258) Xgárn-xgam	naka	nquu-kg'árn=m	koe	tcāà.
pass.through.(narrow)	and	house-door=3mSG	LOC	enter
Cg'āè-a-=n	koe	ko	úú=m	kg'árn =ba
evil-LNK=3nSG	LOC	DUR	take=3mSG	door 3mSG wide =3mSG COP
Igaba	bóò,	kg'ōè-a=n	di=s	heke-kg'árn =sa
But	look	life-LNK=3nSG	POSS=3fSG	gate-door =3fSG small =3fSG COP

‘pass through and enter the gate (being narrow). The gate (*m*) that leads to evil is wide (...) But look, the gate (*f*) of life is small’

In the introductory clause “pass through (as something narrow) and enter the door”, the narrowness of the door or gate is indicated by the verb *xgám-xgam* ‘pass through something narrow’. After that, the contrast between the wide gate and the narrow gate has been subtly strengthened by making them masculine and feminine, respectively. Masculine gender is often used in Naro to indicate elongated or big objects, while feminine gender often refers to smaller objects. This may not have been done consciously by the translators, as a wide gate naturally is bigger than a narrow gate and is just being assigned a different gender. However, the result beautifully underscores the contrast.³

11.2.2 *qhàò* ‘family, family member’

The lexeme *qhàò* ‘family, tribe’ is ordinarily assigned feminine gender: *qhàò sa* ‘tribe 3fSG’. Accordingly, the PL is normally *qhàò zi* ‘tribe 3fPL > tribes’. However, in Acts 2:30, *qhàò* was assigned masculine gender: *qhàò ba* ‘tribe 3mSG’. The sentence which features it is the rendering of

(ῶμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς) ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ (καθίσαι ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ)
(God had sworn to him that he would set) **one of his descendants** (on his throne).⁴

The full phrase in Naro for “one of his descendants” is

(259) ga=m ⁵	di=m	qhàò	=ba	‘his [male] family [member]’
DEF=3mSG	POSS=3mSG	family	=3mSG	

As Naro hearers will know that *qhàò* is usually feminine (if it is assigned the meaning ‘family, tribe’), they will process the construction, especially in context, as a (male) family

² It is unclear why the Naro translation uses both *nquu-kg'árn* and *kg'árn* and *heke-kg'árn*. It probably shows the lack of a good word for entrance, and this may partly explain the switch in PGNs (based on Saul, p.c. 12-1-21).

³ A back-translation of the contrast may use a diminutive, as in Dutch *het poortje* ‘the small gate’, where the gender in fact also has changed (from masculine to neuter). Also see 3.2.2 for rendering gender contrasts with the aid of adjectives.

⁴ Literally “of the fruit of his loins” (KJV).

⁵ The =*m* in *ga=m* does not agree with *qhàò*, but with David’s gender. This causes no confusion for Naro hearers.

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member. They will understand that one of David's family members (probably a descendant) will sit on his throne. This provided an opportune option for the translation team to render the term *descendant*, for which it is difficult to find a good equivalent in Naro.⁶

On another occasion, *qhàò xu* '[male] family [member] 3mPL' is used in the translation of Rom. 16:21 'my relatives'.⁷ The same principle applies there, confirming the versatility of Naro.

11.2.3 *tcgāya* 'paper, book'

In Naro, it understandably required some effort to translate the term "book". In a hunter-gatherer culture where no (reading of) books existed for a very long time, no such concept was available. In the course of time, the word *tcgāya* 'something flat' became used for "book". Feminine gender was chosen for this, although the masculine variant is also used: the difference being that the thinner the "book" is, the more the tendency is found to use masculine gender. As rounder objects are usually assigned feminine gender, and as a book is, relatively speaking, "rounder" than the pieces of paper it consists of, the book is considered more "feminine" than the papers, which are then "masculine".⁸ A book like the one written by Luke is thus assigned feminine gender. On the other hand, the letters written by the apostle Paul are also feminine, which may be a matter of inconsistency, although Paul's letters were often more voluminous than a regular letter nowadays.

In 2 Jn. 1:12, the term was assigned masculine gender: *tcgāya ba* 'paper'. This actually fits very well in the context of the verse, which speaks of "paper and ink", and where for "paper" the word χάρτης 'sheet of papyrus used for writing'⁹ is used, so it primarily refers to the *substance* of paper:

Πολλὰ ἔχων ὑμῖν γράφειν οὐκ ἐβουλήθην διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος
‘Though I have much to write to you, I would rather not use **paper and ink**.’

If it referred to the letter as an "object containing writing",¹⁰ the concept would rather be expressed in Greek by ἐπιστολή, which would probably be expressed by *tcgāya sa*. In Naro, to communicate the idea of "paper" as substance, it was felt appropriate to use *tcgāya* with masculine gender.¹¹ The fact that this second letter of John is also short, and therefore thin, precisely corroborates this choice.

⁶ For a female descendant, it would require more processing effort to yield this meaning, as *qhàò sa* is ambiguous: it may mean 'his tribe/family' or 'his (female) descendant'. The sentence construction would probably lead the hearer to the second meaning option though, as it is difficult for a family to "sit on the throne".

⁷ NIV84.

⁸ This *may* be the background of the gender assignment, but it is difficult to get into the mind of the Naro speaker to observe what considerations play a role.

⁹ Louw & Nida 1996, 6.58.

¹⁰ Louw & Nida 1996, 6.63.

¹¹ For interest's sake: "ink" was rendered with *góá hìi ba* 'write-stick 3mSG' was used, the regular word for "pen(cil)". A footnote was added saying "Greek uses a word that means 'something black with which to smear'".

11.2.4 *x'aè* ‘time, period, moment’

One of the slight differences between PGN-options regards the contrast between being specific and more general. Section 3.2.5 (#2) already indicated that the use of masculine is often more specific than its feminine counterpart, and the use of neuter/common may indicate a more general meaning. This difference plays a role in Acts 16:18, where the translation team was confronted with a question about the translation of “hour”. The context speaks about a spirit of divination that had caused a slave girl to follow Paul and his companions¹² and crying out behind them. Paul commanded the spirit to come out of her; the following clause says:

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ
 ‘and it [spirit] came out that very **hour**’

The issue here was not so much that Naro originally did not have a term for “hour” (the word *x'aè* ‘time’ was used instead), but the gender of *x'aè*. The translation first used the masculine gender *x'aè ba* ‘time 3mSG’. This NP would communicate ‘time’ in the sense of a period, even a lengthy one. As the word ὥρᾳ ‘hour’ originally denotes “the twelfth part of a day”, such an understanding would fit in a more literal translation of the verse.¹³ However, this was not considered appropriate in the context, which gives the impression that the spirit came out *immediately*, not so much “during that hour”.

For the exegesis in our verse, it is important to note that the word ὥρᾳ ‘hour’ may indeed be used in a wider sense. With regard to Jn. 5:35, Louw and Nida even give the option of translating with “for several months”¹⁴ in some languages. And the rendering “occasion” or “a while” is also possible. Bruce rightly views it as implying immediacy.¹⁵ Newman and Nida suggest “that very moment” as naturally expressing it in English.¹⁶ The team therefore suggested to change the original translation (with *ba* ‘3mSG’) to the neuter form *x'aè* (ϕ) ‘time 3cSG’, which communicates a more general idea of “time” and more aptly that the event happened “at that time” or “at that moment”, rather than “in that hour”:

(260)	<i>me</i>	<i>dxāwa</i>	<i>tc'ēe</i>	<i>=ba</i>	<i>gaa=φ</i>	<i>x'aè=φ</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga</i>
	3mSG:9	devil	spirit	=3mSG	DEM6=3cSG	time=3cSG	ABL	INTENS
	<i>tcg'oa</i>	<i>cgae</i>		<i>=si</i>				
	come.out	from		=3fSG				

‘and the demon came out of her at that very *time/moment*’

All these examples demonstrate that the nuances between the use of different PGN-options give extra flexibility to the Naro translation.

¹² Cf. 11.5.2.

¹³ Friberg et al. 2001, s.v. ὥρᾳ. “Day” is to be taken here as the time between sunrise and sundown.

¹⁴ Louw & Nida 1996, 67.148

¹⁵ Bruce 1990, a.l.

¹⁶ Barclay M. Newman & Nida 1993, a.l.

11.3 Creative gender assignment

It is not always easy to construct gender identities for referents, but the flexibility found in Naro opens horizons unthought of. Besides the “general” flexibility in Naro gender assignment, in which a Naro speaker can naturally fluctuate in his choice between different noun genders and bring out certain nuances (discussed in the previous section), this feature additionally makes it possible to “create” meanings, namely by assigning a non-typical gender to a noun.

In many languages, when referring to a noun of a certain grammatical gender, it is possible to make use of the natural gender. The so-called *constructio ad sensum*¹⁷ is a common phenomenon in classical languages,¹⁸ but also in others. For example, in Dutch, the grammatical gender of the word *meisje* ('girl') is neuter (showing up in the use of the article *het*), while one may refer to *het meisje* ('the girl') with the word *zij/haar* ('she/her'). Similarly, Lyons discusses a few languages where a “[c]lash between ‘natural’ and ‘grammatical’ gender” is found: while grammatical gender may be “dominant within the noun-phrase (...) ‘natural’ gender may prevail in pronominal reference and for concord with the predicate.”¹⁹

Something similar may be understood to happen in Naro when a non-traditional gender is used with a noun. However, instead of the canonical gender being used with the noun and the alternative gender for reference, in Naro, the alternative gender is employed throughout, consequently also with the noun. This section presents two examples of such creativity: one with regard to the translation of “sea” and related words (11.3.1), the other one concerning the translation of “Holy Spirit” (11.3.2).

11.3.1 *tshàa* ‘water, sea’

As the Naro live in an arid environment without any surface water, except for some pans that fill up in the rainy season, it is understandable that the language does not have a term for “sea”. However, Naro has this use of non-default PGN-markers at its disposal: the variability in gender assignment thus provides a means to tweak the term for “water” (*tshàa ne* ‘water 3nSG’). With the use of the masculine PGN, it yields the meaning “huge/large water” (*tshàa ba* ‘water 3mSG’) - a term that is needed in the translation of the NT.

It is difficult to imagine what Naro speakers perceive as the exact meaning of *tshàa ba* (as they have never seen the sea), but at least this construction with the masculine PGN makes clear that it speaks of something real. In fact, its relative unclarity allows the translators to use the same construction for “river” as well. The Naro team has had long

¹⁷ “Constructio ad sensum” 2020: “A grammatical construction in which a word’s inflection is determined by the semantics of the word or words with which it associates, in contravention of what is required by grammar.”

¹⁸ See, for example, Blass et al. 2001, § 134: “im Griech. von alters her sehr verbreitet” (...) “Mask. bezogen auf ein Neutr., das ein persönliches Wesen bezeichnet”. Also see § 296: “Das Relativum entspricht nicht dem Genus des Bezugswortes”.

¹⁹ Lyons 1968:286f. (par. 7.3.6).

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discussions about how to translate the term “river”, and has looked into a range of options, one of which was favourable until it was decided to use the relatively clear *tshàa ba* ‘big water’, which covers a range of meanings, from ‘sea’ to ‘lake’ to ‘river’. If a certain context would require a distinction between these three, one could invent a construct with an adjective, depending on the context, for example *qáòm tshàa ba* ‘long (big) water’. The main contention here is, that use of masculine gender with the noun *tshàa* ‘water’ effectively creates this range of meaning not originally present.

11.3.2 *tc'ẽe* ‘thought, mind, purpose, spirit, (Holy) Spirit’

The multiplicity of PGN options, and the flexibility in gender assignment, partly helped in the great struggle which the Naro team had in translating “Holy Spirit”. As in many languages, it was arduous to translate the construction “Holy Spirit”. First, it was difficult to find an appropriate rendering for the concept of “holiness”,²⁰ and secondly, the word used for “spirit” is so multi-interpretable that one wonders what people will understand when hearing the word. The combination of these two issues just multiplied the obscurity of the compound. In the following paragraphs, after looking at the meanings of the word *πνεῦμα* ‘spirit’ in Greek, the personal character of “Holy Spirit” will be elaborated on, the gender of “spirit” in the biblical languages will be investigated, concluding with a discussion about the gender for the term “Holy Spirit” used in Naro.

Possible meanings of *πνεῦμα* in Greek

The Greek noun *πνεῦμα* has several possible meanings. A basic one is the movement of air in general: ‘blowing’, ‘wind’,²¹ or the movement of air from the lungs: ‘breathing’ and ‘breath’.²² A further derived meaning is ‘life spirit’ and ‘soul’ as an agent of life.²³ From there, it is not a huge step to “the immaterial part of the human personality, *spirit* in contrast to the outward and visible aspects of *σάρξ*²⁴ (*flesh*) and *σῶμα*²⁵ (*body*)”²⁶ and “the seat of the inner spiritual life of man, the capacity to know God, *spirit*”.²⁷ It may also carry the meaning ‘attitude’,²⁸ as in Gal. 6:1 “in a spirit of gentleness”. Lastly, it is also used for beings apparently having a personality, or at least having the ability to act. It is being used

²⁰ The issue is still not fully resolved. The initial rendering *ts'eekg'ai* ‘lucky’ was replaced at least by *tcom-tcomsa* ‘trustworthy’ which also contains the notion of ‘respected’ and is more acceptable.

²¹ Most likely in Jn. 3:8 (“the wind blows where it wishes”). Friberg et al. 2001, s.v. *πνεῦμα* also mentions Heb. 1:7 (“He makes his angels winds”) but several translations use “spirits” here, so the verse can definitely not be used as a proof for the meaning “wind”.

²² Cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 23.186: “a breath of air coming from the lungs - breath”. So in 2 Thess. 2:8 (“the breath of his mouth”) and possibly in Mt. 27:50 (GNBUK ‘breathed his last’).

²³ As in Lk. 8:55 (“her spirit returned”); possibly Mt. 27:50 (ESVUK ‘yielded up his spirit’).

²⁴ 2 Cor. 7:1 “defilement of body and spirit”.

²⁵ 1 Cor. 5:3 “though absent in body, I am present in spirit”.

²⁶ Friberg et al. 2001, s.v. *πνεῦμα*.

²⁷ Cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 26.9: “the non-material, psychological faculty which is potentially sensitive and responsive to God (...) spirit, spiritual, spiritual nature, inner being.” Possibly Acts 18:25; Rom. 8:16b.

²⁸ Cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 30.6: “disposition, attitude, way of thinking.”

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for angels as spirit-beings,²⁹ for demonic nonmaterial beings,³⁰ but also for bodiless human beings (*ghost*).³¹ In verses where *πνεῦμα* is used together with ἅγιον ‘holy’, it refers to what in dogmatic terminology is called the third Person of the Trinity,³² “(the) Holy Spirit”.

Holy Spirit: person or force?

The theological question as to whether *πνεῦμα* ἅγιον is a force or a person is answered in different ways. Some interpreters of the Greek NT make the answer to the question dependent on the presence or absence of the article τὸ. They hold that with this article, the construction refers to a person, while the anarthrous construction is believed to refer to a power or force.³³ Others do not see a relevant distinction here and hold that both the arthrous and anarthrous construction refer to the same entity. They go different directions though as to whether the entity is the Holy Spirit (a person) or “holy spirit” (a force).³⁴

For our discussion it suffices that in mainline theology, (τὸ) *πνεῦμα* ἅγιον is accepted to be a Person. As translators ordinarily work along mainstream theological lines, as in the Naro translation, and as there are very good arguments in favour of this view,³⁵ this is taken as the starting point of the discussion about the gender of the equivalent for “spirit” in Naro.

Gender of “Spirit” in Hebrew and Greek

If the Holy Spirit is a Person, then this raises the question as to which gender should be utilised for the “Spirit” in translation. It might be awkward in translation to use neuter gender for a person - mainly depending on the RL. At the same time however, we also need to look at the SLs.

It is interesting that the Hebrew word translated “spirit”, נִרְאָה is usually feminine but also may be masculine,³⁶ and the Greek word (*πνεῦμα*) is always neuter, so the gender references in the Bible to the Holy Spirit are diverse. This indicates that we should not be rigid about gender in this issue. It is interesting though, that while the grammatical gender

²⁹ Heb. 1:13f. “angels (are) ministering spirits”.

³⁰ Cf. Louw & Nida 1996, 12.39. Cf. Mt. 8:16, Mk. 1:23.

³¹ Lk. 24:37 “they were (...) frightened and thought they saw a spirit.” Cf. VFL “um fantasma” and FCR18 “un fantôme”.

³² As in e.g. Mt. 3:11 “baptize you with the Holy Spirit”; Acts 16:7 “the Spirit of Jesus did not allow them”; Eph. 4:30 “do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God”; 1Thess. 4:8 “God, who gives his Holy Spirit”.

³³ See Turner 2015:19: “[W]henever the Holy Spirit has the definite article the reference is to the third person of the Trinity [...], but when the article is absent the reference is to a holy spirit, a divine influence possessing men.”

³⁴ Fee 1995a:24 and Cottrell 2007:22 hold that the construction means “Holy Spirit” even when the article is absent, while Jehovah’s Witnesses speak of an impersonal force, cf. *Is the Holy Spirit a Person?* n.d., under “What the Bible Says”: “the holy spirit differs from official church descriptions of it as a person”, and under “What Is the Holy Spirit?”: “the holy spirit (...) is (...) —God’s powerful active force”, cf. Gen. 1:2 in NWT: “God’s active force”.

³⁵ For example, Paul says in Eph. 4:30 “do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God”. It is inconceivable that an impersonal entity could be grieved. And in passages like Jn. 14:26 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is the subject of verbs like “teach” and “bring to your remembrance”, which also strongly point to a personal activity.

³⁶ Koehler & Baumgartner 2000, s.v. נִרְאָה mentions 14 (out of 387) occurrences of such masculine usage.

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of $\pi\nu\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$ is neuter, the pronoun used to refer to the Holy Spirit is sometimes masculine, as in Jn. 14:26, 15:26, 16:13f., and Eph. 1:13f.³⁷

Generally speaking, Greek does not seem to have a problem with this issue, so we should not dwell on it too much either: the gender question is language dependent. However, there may be factors in the RL that play a role – as in Naro.

Gender and meaning of *tc'ēe* in Naro

The closest equivalent in Naro to represent the concept “Spirit” is the word *tc'ēe*.³⁸ Just as in Greek with respect to $\pi\nu\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$, the meaning of *tc'ēe* varies: 1. spirit, brain; 2. thought; 3. plan, idea; 4. aim, purpose.³⁹ The meanings ‘thinking’, ‘wish’ and ‘attitude’ could also be added. Besides, *tc'ēe* is also used as a verb and may then mean 1. think; 2. want, need; 3. cost; 4. prefer.

With all normal uses of the word as a noun, the common gender is used most often, although the feminine is also found (especially for ‘thought’). Using the word *tc'ēe* together with the common PGN-marker does not necessarily communicate the content of “spirit” as a *person*. Therefore, asking the question about the most appropriate gender for translating “the Holy Spirit” is justified, and even necessary. If people indeed interpret the usage of neuter gender with the local equivalent for “spirit” to mean that the “spirit” is impersonal, we need to look at alternative options.

The possibility of variation between the different PGN-markers, which can be a challenge in some circumstances, also may provide opportunities, as in this case as well. To underline the personhood of the Holy Spirit, it is possible to make use of the masculine PGN-marker instead of the neuter one. In this way, the regular meaning of *tc'ēe* ‘spirit, thought’ will be specified to the meaning ‘Spirit [as a person]’. This is the reason why the word *tc'ēe* has, in church use and in the Naro translation, been combined with the masculine PGN-marker *ba* ‘3mSG’ instead of with its usual PGN *ne* ‘3nSG’. For an unknown reality like the Holy Spirit, it may be profitable to introduce Him with a traditional word, but with a different gender. This may trigger a thought process in which people will begin to reflect

³⁷ Wallace 2003 on the one hand makes clear that verses like Jn. 14:26, etc. cannot be used as a *proof* for the personal character of the Holy Spirit as he gives a plausible alternative interpretation for the use of masculine reference words for $\pi\nu\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$. On the other hand, he cannot really prove that his view is the only possible one. In discussing 1 Jn. 5:7f. (pp. 117-120), Wallace does not really undermine the arguments about personality either (in fact, when talking about “witnessing” as calling for a non neuter gender he affirms the personality character), the only thing that he does is offer alternative interpretations, thereby thwarting the *proof* character of the verses.

Opposed to Wallace, it must be observed that having an apposition with a different gender surely influences an author, so that after $\pi\nu\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$, a neuter pronoun can be used. Therefore, it is still an argument for the personality of the Spirit that instead of the expected neuter, the masculine is used. As Wallace 2003:104 admits, there is a “large” and “august” body of scholars (he mentions around twenty) holding this view.

³⁸ Another option that was considered is the Setswana term *mowa* ‘spirit’, but this is a loanword which makes it less preferable.

³⁹ Visser 2001b, s.v. *tc'ēe*.

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about the otherness of God's Spirit, and about His personal character.⁴⁰ When confronted with this possibly unexpected usage of this PGN-marker with *tc'ēe*, hearers may wonder why the masculine gender was used. The intended result is a better understanding of the biblical truth of the personhood of the Holy Spirit.

At the same time, it is necessary to evaluate people's reactions to different options over a period of time. Many Naro people still tend to use the common gender with *tc'ēe* when they talk about the Holy Spirit. But at least, when they hear or read *tc'ēe ba*, they do not bluntly reject this, which would be the case if gender assignment was static. It is probable that many, if not most, of the Naro audience will notice the apparent anomaly, which hopefully will stimulate deeper thought and reflection on what (Whom) is being spoken about. To grasp an unknown reality, it may take some time to get the full picture.⁴¹

11.4 Dispensability of numeral "two"

Another effect of the availability of several PGN-options is, that some traditional ways of expression become dispensable. For example, because of the possibility in Naro of referring to participants in a discourse with the dual, it is not always needed to retain the explicit use of the numeral *cám* 'two'. Removing the numeral may even be preferable, as the presence of both a dual and the number would be superfluous and sound awkward. The following sections are devoted to presenting some examples of texts where the numeral "two" may be removed.

11.4.1 *Two brothers* (Mt. 4:18), *two blind* (Mt. 9:27)

If it says in Mt. 4:18 εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς 'He [Jesus] saw **two brothers**', the Naro translation is sufficient without the explicit number *cám* 'two', as this information is present in the dual *tsara* '3mDU':

(261)	<i>ka=m</i>	<i>kò</i>	<i>khoé</i>	<i>qōe-ku</i>	= <i>tsara</i>	<i>bóò</i>
	IRR=3mSG	PST	person	sibling-RECP	=3mDU	see

'He saw brothers [two]'

In Mt. 9:27, this is even more obvious. In the Greek ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ δύο τυφλοὶ 'two blind followed Him', the number of the blind cannot be derived from the noun *τυφλοὶ* 'blind (PL)' as it merely indicates that there is more than one blind person following Jesus. Therefore, the number δύο 'two' is used in the Greek. In Naro however, the construction contains even three dual references *tsara* '3mDU':⁴²

⁴⁰ This solution is in line with what is done in some Bantu languages which put the Holy Spirit in the class of persons.

⁴¹ A sign of acceptance of the masculine gender in connection with the Holy Spirit in Naro is the fact that it has been used in several songs already. Older songs used the neuter gender for "the Holy Spirit" (these songs were composed before the masculine variant of *tc'ēe* was introduced), but newer songs make use of the masculine PGN-marker.

⁴² The references differ in that they belong to different series: 1 (subjectival), 4 (concord) and 3 (NP-final).

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- (262) *ka =tsara ko káà tcgái =tsara khóè =tsara xùri =Me*
 IRR =3mDU DUR blind =3mDU person =3mDU follow =3mSG
 ‘blind [two] people [two] followed [two] Him’ > ‘two blind men followed Him’

Adding the word *cám* ‘two’ as a supplement to that (with the obligatory accompanying *tsara* ‘3mDU’ again) would yield five explicit references to the fact that there were two blind. Which would be overkill indeed.⁴³

11.4.2 Two sparrows and *one* penny (Mt. 10:29)

Interestingly, Mt. 10:29 presents a reversal of the use of the number: in Naro, “two” is removed and “one” is added. The Greek text has the numeral δύο ‘two’ and does not contain the numeral “one”:

οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία (ϕ) ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται
 ‘Are not **two** sparrows sold for **a** penny?’

The Naro translation, however, uses the numeral *cuí* ‘one’, but does not have the Naro numeral for ‘two’:

- (263) *a nx̩e tsgrá =sara gáé cùí=m mari-coa=m cgoa*
 INT sparrow =3fDU INT **one**=3mSG money-DIM=3mSG with
 x'ámá-è tama?
 buy-PASS NEG

‘are **two** sparrows not being sold for **one** coin?’

For the reason given above, the number δύο ‘two’ was expressed in the PGN *sara* ‘3fDU’, without the explicit number *cám* ‘two’. One would expect that for the same reason, the numeral *cuí* ‘one’ would not be used either: it is clear for every listener that if the SG is used, the reference can only be to *one* coin – which is the reason why the Greek does not use the numeral “one”. However, the Naro construct for ‘coin’ is not very specific: *mari-coa* ‘money-DIM’ basically means ‘small money’. The masculine PGN makes the construct more specific, but the term is still not a technical term for a specific coin, which is probably the reason why the number *cuí* ‘one’ was added. In other words, there is a cultural background for this reversal of the use of numbers.

⁴³ Something comparable is found in Mt. 20:21, where οι δύο νιοί μου is sufficiently translated in Naro with

ti-ri =tsara cóá =tsara ‘my two sons’
 1SG-POSS =3mDU child =3mDU

Likewise, see Mt. 21:31 τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ‘which of the two’:

ga=tsara ka ndaka =ba ‘which (mSG) of the two (mDU)’
 DEF=3mDU ABL which =3mSG

11.4.3 Two become *one* flesh (Mt. 19:5)

Mt. 19:5 presents a slightly more doubtful case. The Greek text says:

καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν

‘and the **two** will be **one** flesh’

In Naro, οἱ δύο ‘the two’ is translated with *khara* ‘3cDU’:

- (264) *khara* *gha* *cúí=m* *cgàa =ba* *ii*
 3cDU:9 FUT one=3mSG flesh =3mSG be
 ‘and they [two] will be one flesh’

This PGN contains the information that is needed to indicate “the two”, so there is nothing wrong with the translation. The only question that could be raised is, whether the contrast between *two* and *one* would not come out better if the numeral *cám* ‘two’ were used. However, the disadvantage of this latter option is, that the numeral *cám* ‘two’ would have to be accompanied by another PGN *khara* ‘3cDU’, and perhaps even by *gaa khara* ‘those two’, which would lead to the use of three times *khara*. This example reveals again, that making a good choice in translation is not always straightforward.

11.4.4 Two commandments (Mt. 22:40)

The use of “two” in Mt. 22:40 could be a matter of controversy:

ἐν ταύταις ταῖς **δυσὶν** ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται
 ‘On these **two** commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets’.

The two commandments refer to the supreme commandment of loving God with one’s whole heart, etc. and the equally important commandment of loving one’s neighbour. The construct “these two commandments” was translated without *cám* ‘two’, as the number information is provided in *tsara* ‘3mDU’ occurring two times:

- (265) *ncēe* =**tsara** *x'áe-kg'árn* =**tsara** *koe...*
 DEM1 =3mDU commandment =3mDU LOC
 ‘in these [two] commandments [two]...’

If one wants to make a sharper contrast between “the whole Law” and the “**two** commandments”, insertion of *cám* ‘two’ might be profitable. In the context however, this contrast is not evident, so the present translation is suitable.⁴⁴

PGN options thus lead to a chain reaction of new questions: should the numeral “two” be made explicit? Does the in- or exclusion of the numeral over- or undervalue contrasts? Which use is most natural? All these questions need to be addressed. The main claim here

⁴⁴ Another example is found in Rev. 12:14 “two wings of the great eagle”. If the two wings were used in contrast with another number, for instance, the “six wings” mentioned in Rev. 4:8, inserting the number “two” would be recommended. However, as no such contrast is evident, this is not needed.

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is that the PGN options lead to new possibilities, including that of expressing number in a different way from the traditional one.

11.5 Associative plural

In comparison to Greek, Naro has some additional options to refer to participants, making the language even more versatile. One is the associative plural, in which referents are associated with each other through a common denominator.⁴⁵ In this way, Naro can refer to a group which is characterised by a certain noun. We will look into an example with 3rd person and into one with 1st person.

11.5.1 3rd person

An example given in 3.3.5.1 refers to “Botswana people” as *Botswana ne* ‘people associated to Botswana’. A similar construction is used in Hebr. 13:24:

- (266) *Italea di =ne*
Italy POSS =3cPL
'of Italy they > those of Italy'

This example displays that there is more than one way of using the associative plural, with a slight difference in meaning: *Italea ne* would mean ‘those associated with Italy’, while *Italea di ne* (with the possessive *di*) indicates that the people referred to in some way “belong to”, or come from, Italy.

In English, the literal translation *they of Italy* (as used by KJV) surely is not natural, which is the reason why many translations modify the construction, *inter alia* by adding a verb (e.g. “those who *come* from Italy”)⁴⁶ or some lexical specification (e.g. “the *brothers and sisters* from Italy”⁴⁷ or “our Italian *friends*”⁴⁸). In Naro, the literal construction provides no problem at all and may even be the most natural one.

The Naro translation makes use of an associative plural in Mt. 2, where the section heading above vv. 19ff. speaks of Joseph with Mary and Jesus:

- (267) *Josefa =ne*
Joseph =3cPL
'Joseph and his company'

Literally, *Josefa ne* could mean ‘the Josephs’, but the cPL discloses that this is an associative plural, as there must be a female element in the reference. Therefore, a rendering like “Joseph and his family” or “Joseph *cum suis*” is appropriate.

⁴⁵ See 3.3.5.1, examples (72) and (73).

⁴⁶ ESVUK.

⁴⁷ GNBUK.

⁴⁸ REB89.

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11.5.2 1st person

The option of using the associative plural, in which referents are associated with each other through a common denominator,⁴⁹ is even available for reference in 1st and 2nd person. In Acts 16:17 (αὕτη κατακολουθοῦσα τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἡμῖν ‘she followed Paul and us’), this feature was used to avoid the impression that there were two groups that were followed by the slave girl mentioned. At first instance, the Naro rendering of the objectival phrase literally followed the Greek:

- (268) *Paulo =ba h̄éé naka si=xae h̄ééth̄éé e* ‘Paul and (also) us’
Paul =3mSG also and EXCL=1mPL also

It must be noted that the Naro phrase for “Paul and us” would actually communicate “Paul, and also us”, which would indeed raise the impression that the phrase refers to two separate groups. However, the associative plural clearly indicates that the reference is to one group only: the one around Paul, or associated with Paul:

- (269) *Paulo-a =xae* ‘Paul-we’ > ‘(the group of) Paul together with us’
Paul-LNK =1mPL

Utilising the associative plural thus assists in making a more natural translation.

11.6 Combination of noun + 1st/2nd person

In contrast with the majority of languages in the world, Naro has the option for any grammatical person to appear in the PGN with the noun, so also in 1st and 2nd person.⁵⁰ This was partly shown already in the previous section (11.5.2), but the principle works much more broadly. Whereas in English for example, one may only combine the two by way of apposition (e.g. *I, the person*), Naro has the possibility to say *khóè ra* ‘person I’. This construction does not consist of two NPs, but is one NP. Example (76) has shown this option, and the following example may show its power even more:

- (270) *Casa =kham ko qōò*
Casa =1cDU DUR go
'Casa-we (DU) are going'

The sentence is best translated by ‘Casa and I are going’. But the construction *Casa kham* also reveals that Casa (a woman) and the speaker (a male) are presented as a unit. It is an NP consisting of a name (Casa) plus a PGN in 1st person (*kham* ‘1cDU’), showing a combination that does not occur in English.

⁴⁹ See 11.5.

⁵⁰ Cf. 3.3.5.2 and 3.6.2.

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11.6.1 The Son of man [I]

Such constructions could theoretically be applied for example in constructions where Jesus is speaking about the Son of Man. He does so in 3rd person, but it is commonly believed that He actually speaks about Himself.⁵¹

μέλλει γὰρ ὁ νιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ

‘For *the Son of Man* is going to come with his angels in the glory of his Father’

In Naro, this could be made clear by using the 1st person PGN instead of the 3rd person one: compare (271) with (272).

(271)	<i>Khóè=m</i>	<i>di=m</i>	<i>Cóá =ba</i>
	person=3mSG	POSS=3mSG	child =3mSG
‘Son of Man’			

(272)	<i>Khóè=m</i>	<i>di=r</i>	<i>Cóá =ra</i>
	person=3mSG	POSS=1mSG	child =1mSG
‘Son of Man [I]’			

In English, a pronoun has to be added to the noun to convey a 1st person denotation: “I, the Son of Man”, while in Naro, the grammatical way of doing this is slightly more subtle, because in Naro, one naturally has more flexibility to use the 1st or 2nd person as connected to the noun. This is just being mentioned as a theoretical option, as it is plausible that Jesus’ use of the term in the third person partially conceals His identification with the Son of Man.⁵² If it were clear to Jesus’ audience that He spoke about Himself when using this designation, this Naro option would be a great tool. However, as Jesus Himself did not make this identification too clear, the translator should not either.

11.6.2 Cretes [*we*] (Acts 2:9-11)

Acts 2:9-11 lists peoples from several places. This hardly causes problems, as English, for example, can perfectly express nouns that identify where people come from: “Parthians and Medes and Elamites...” The difference with Naro is, however, that Naro can express the fact that these people talk about *themselves*, which Greek makes clear at the end of the long list in v. 11:

... Κρῆτες καὶ Ἀραβεῖς, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ

⁵¹ E.g. Barry n.d., s.v. Son of Man: “A phrase frequently used by Jesus to describe Himself and His ministry.” Cf. Goppelt 1981:227 “durchweg in Selbstaussagen Jesu”.

⁵² One might adduce a missionary argument for the use of this possibility though, assuming that it was much more difficult to understand the use of “son of Man” for Naro people than it was for first century hearers. But there is good reason to believe that even for first century hearers the hint was not that clear. The primary question may actually be the understandability of the construct “Son of Man”, which obviously leads beyond the scope of this dissertation.

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‘... Cretans and Arabs - **we** hear them declaring the wonders of God in **our** own tongues!’’

From the beginning, and throughout this long enumeration, the Naro translation has been able to keep the hearers alert to the fact that these people do not talk about others but about themselves, as they say:

(273) *Paretia =ta h̄ēé, naka Mede =ta h̄ēé, naka Elame =ta h̄ēé, (...) Parthia=1cPL also and Media =1cPL also and Elam =1cPL also naka Kereta =ta h̄ēé, naka Arabia =ta h̄ēéthēé e - and Crete =1cPL also and Arabia =1cPL also w̄éé-a =ta ga ko kóm =ne all-LNK =1cPL INTENS DUR hear =3cPL:7 =ne ko are-aresa tséé-a=n Nqari=m di =3cPL:1 DUR surprising work-LNK=3cPL God=3mSG POSS si=ta di tam-a=n cgoa kg'ui EXCL=1cPL POSS tongue-LNK=3cSG with speak*

‘**we** Parthians, **we** Medians, **we** Elamites (...) **we** Cretans and **we** Arabians, **we** hear them speak in **our** languages’

11.6.3 Your servants [*we*] (Acts 4:29)

In Acts 4:29, the believers pray:

κύριε, (...) δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου...
‘Lord, (...) grant to **Your servants**’

To an uninitiated hearer, this probably sounds like a request on behalf of some people who are characterised as servants, so in 3rd person. However, from the context it is clear that the believers pray for themselves. GNBUK has made this explicit by adding *us* to the text: “allow **us**, your servants...”⁵³ In Naro, this addition is not necessary, as the language structure dictates the use of a PGN:

(274) *naka =Tsi-a =Tsa-ri =ta qāà =ta and 2mSG-EMPH? =2mSG-POSS =1cPL slave =1cPL di tcáó-a=n ghùi-ghui POSS hearts-LNK=3cPL lift up*

‘and encourage your slaves [us]’

Naro could alternatively have used *ne ‘3cPL’*:

(275) *=Tsa-ri =ne qāà =ne =2mSG-POSS =3cPL slave =3cPL your slaves [them]*

⁵³ Cf. also CEVUK “make **us** brave enough” and NLT04 “give **us**, your servants...”

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This would probably lead to an interpretation as given above, though. The Naro option of combining the noun with the 1st person PGN *ta* ‘1cPL’ makes it perfectly clear that the believers are talking about themselves.

11.6.4 Their children [*us*] (Acts 13:33)

Acts 13:33 uses an apposition in Greek: τοῖς τέκνοις [αὐτῶν]⁵⁴ ἡμῖν ‘to their children, us’. Many English translations have reversed the Greek order to make the construction more natural (e.g. ESVUK: “to us their children”), sometimes with a comma to underline the appositional use (e.g. NIV84 “for us, their children”). Again, Naro did not need⁵⁵ to make this adaptation but could naturally say:

(276) <i>ga=xu</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>=ta</i>	<i>cóá</i>	<i>=ta</i>	‘their children [we]’
	DEF=3mPL	POSS =1cPL	child	=1cPL	

A superficial back-translation could still render this Naro phrase with “their children”, but in Naro the phrase includes the information that “their children” refers to “us”, the speakers. A richer back-translation would therefore render “us, their children”. In Naro, this is not an apposition but a noun with a 1st person PGN, which is a natural speech pattern.

11.6.5 Believers [*you*] (1 Thess. 2:13)

An example of a similar use, but in 2nd person, is found in 1 Thess. 2:13. In Greek, Paul asserts at the end of the verse:

ὅς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύοντιν.
‘which⁵⁶ is at work in **you** believers’

It is clear that “the believers” are addressed here, as the construction is put in apposition with *ὑμῖν* ‘you’. But again, Naro discloses its flexibility in expressing this, namely by adding the PGN *tu* ‘2cPL’ with the noun:

(277) <i>Nqari=m</i>	<i>ncēe</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ga=tu</i>	<i>dtcòm̄-kg'ao</i>	<i>=tu</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>tséé</i>	<i>=ba</i>
God=3mSG	DEM1	DUR	DEF=2cPL	believer	=2cPL	LOC	work	=3mSG

‘God who works in you believers [you]’

Even when the first *gatu* ‘2cPL’ is removed from the clause, it is still grammatical, and it is clear that the believers are addressed. In contrast, translations in other languages often have to resort to relative clauses like “you who believe” NIV84) or “you who are believers” (REB89).

⁵⁴ The square brackets here indicate that the bracketed word does not occur in all manuscripts.

⁵⁵ Though it was not needed, the Naro translation still added *gatá ka* ‘to us (1cPL)’ as the sentence would be more difficult to process without it, due to its length.

⁵⁶ It is also possible to translate “who” (referring to God) instead of “which” (referring to His Word). This cannot be discussed here, but Naro chose to make the reference to God.

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The conclusion is justified that in Naro, the use of 1st and 2nd person with a noun also makes translation more flexible. It can make clear that a noun, which in other languages formally only points to 3rd person, refers to 1st or 2nd person.

11.6.6 More direct connection

In the complement of a copular sentence, Naro, other than most languages, may indicate a 1st or 2nd person relationship. The following structure is valid for most languages:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| Subject (1 st /2 nd /3 rd) + copula verb | Complement (noun) |
| (278) I am/ you are/ he is | a carpenter |
| (279) You are | the Son of God |
| (280) we are | God's workers |

In the structure of Naro, the complement is more closely connected with the speaker (using 1st person) or addressee (using 2nd person). For example, in Mt. 16:16, it does not merely say “You are the Christ”, but “You are Christ-You”:

- (281) Tsáá Tsi-a nqòòkaguèa =Tsi Kreste =Tsi i,
2mSG =2mSG-EMPH promised 2mSG Christ =2mSG COP
kg'òè-a=m Nqari=m di =Tsi Cóá =Tsi
live-LNK=3mSG God=3mSG POSS =2mSG child =2mSG

‘You are the promised Christ-You, You the Son-You of the living God’

Another example is found in Eph. 2:19:

- (282) igaba =tu ncēeska ēe tcom-tcomsa =ne cgoa cíú=m
but =2cPL now DEM2 holy =3cPL with one=3mSG
nqđó=m di =tu khóè =tu u, a=tu a gataga
world=3mSG POSS =2cPL person =2cPL COP 2cPL:8 likewise
Nqari=m di=m nquu=m di =tu x'âè-kg'ao =tu u
God=3mSG POSS=3mSG hut=3mSG POSS =2cPL dweller =2cPL COP

‘but now you are people [you] of one world [you] with those holy ones [they], and likewise you are dwellers [you] of God’s hut [you]’

In this way, the Naro structure (in which each NP must be accompanied by a PGN which specifies P-G-N) constantly reminds the hearer of these connections – much more so than in English.

11.7 Optional clusivity

In most cases, Naro grammar does not require distinguishing between the inclusive and the exclusive pronouns,⁵⁷ but the option is always available. The possibility of using the

⁵⁷ Cf. 10.2.3.

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distinction can be an opportunity to make clear who is involved and who is not in certain 1st person references.

11.7.1 *We* all are witnesses (Acts 2:32)

In Acts 2, Peter addresses the crowd that has gathered in the temple for Pentecost. He starts with addressing the men specifically (‘Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι ‘You⁵⁸ men of Judea’, v. 14). The majority of the crowd undoubtedly consisted of men indeed, but as women formed part of the 120 disciples of Jesus that had gathered (Acts 1:14f.),⁵⁹ we may assume that there were women in the crowd as well. This was reason for the Naro translation team to render the continued address (*καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ πάντες* ‘and all of you who live in Jerusalem’) with the common PGN *tu* ‘2cPL’.⁶⁰

In 2:22, Peter mentions the men again (‘Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται ‘Men of Israel’), resulting in a masculine PGN being used: *xao* ‘2mPL’. In the rest of v. 22 (“Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to *you* by God with mighty works”), the common PGN could have been used for *you*, but in v. 23 (this Jesus … *you* crucified and killed), the masculine PGN (*xao* ‘2mPL’) is fitting again, which was the reason to use the masculine PGN throughout the two verses, as we do not want to make transitions unnecessarily.⁶¹

In v. 29, men are explicitly mentioned again (‘Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί ‘Men, brethren’⁶²). However, in the light of v. 41, where 3,000 people (lit. ψυχαὶ ‘souls’) are baptised, it is rightly assumed that there were also women among them, so that the Naro translation uses the common PGN from v. 33 (this that *you yourselves* [2cPL] are seeing and hearing).

Against this background, v. 32 presents the interesting question of who is meant with *we*:

τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, οὐ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες

‘This Jesus God raised up, and of that *we* all are witnesses’

Theoretically, *we* could include the whole crowd. The resurrection of Jesus had taken place fifty days earlier, and everybody in Jerusalem knew about it (cf. Lk. 24:18), so in some sense many people in the crowd were “witnesses”. This would stretch the meaning of being a “witness”, which as a rule contains a personal aspect,⁶³ but it is not impossible.

A second option is that Peter refers to the eleven disciples, who definitely have been witnesses of Jesus having been raised from the dead. In that case, the masculine *xae* ‘1mPL’

⁵⁸ The Greek does not indicate the addressees in 2nd person, but the context justifies the translation *you*.

⁵⁹ For an alternative view about this, see Sweeney 1995, who holds that only the eleven apostles were meant with “they” in Acts 2:1. However, the most natural interpretation is to see the 120 as present in Acts 2.

⁶⁰ Ellingworth 2004, § 7: “Paul would conform to custom and address the official, male members.” See 5.4.2 for arguments pro and con to follow or not follow the NT custom for Naro.

⁶¹ It is to be noted that instead of the 3rd person reference for these participants, Naro employs the 2nd person. This example underlines the discussion of the previous section.

⁶² GMEngSB.

⁶³ Bauer 1971, s.v. μάρτυς speaks of “Augen- and Ohrenzeugenschaft”, although it is also possible that it concerns “Vorgänge, die man kennt, ohne sie persönl. miterlebt zu haben”.

11. Increased clarity: optional choices

could have been employed. And to make clear that Peter was not including the people in the crowd, he could have used the exclusive *sixae* ‘1mPL:EXCL’.

There is a third option, which includes the women that were present in the company of the disciples. They were the first ones to witness Jesus’ resurrection, so it is highly appropriate that they are included. The Naro translation thus makes use of the common PGN *ta* ‘1cPL’.

However, the strength of Naro also shows in the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive *we*. In this context, it is optional, but the Naro translation rightly made use of its full force by using the exclusive *sita* ‘1cPL:EXCL’, thus indicating that it was not the people in the crowd, but the disciples of Jesus (whom Peter represented), including the women among them, that had witnessed Jesus’ resurrection.

The argument for using the exclusive pronoun is reinforced by the Greek use of ήμεῖς ‘we’, which is mainly used for emphasis,⁶⁴ and which contrasts with ὑμεῖς in the following verse. It is unlikely that Peter, had he spoken Naro, would have used an inclusive pronoun; it is practically imperative to use the exclusive form.

11.7.2 *We* are witnesses (Acts 5:32)

In a similar verse, the contrast with the addressees (who are not included) is possibly even more pronounced. Acts 5:32 presents “Peter and the apostles” (v. 29) as saying:

καὶ ήμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες τῶν ρήμάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ.

‘And *we* are witnesses to these things, and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who obey Him.’

“These things” refer to the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus mentioned in the previous verses (30f.). Even though the addressees (the Jewish Council, or Sanhedrin), knew about “these things”, the *we* (who are witnesses of these things) certainly did not include this Council. Naro makes this perfectly clear by the PGN *sixae* ‘1mPL:EXCL’. Again, Naro did not require the use of this exclusive form, but it assists in bringing out the contrast. This is in line with the use of the emphatic⁶⁵ ήμεῖς ‘we’ in Greek, which was not required by the Greek grammar either.

The fact that the apostles were witnesses of what happened to Jesus, in itself was not the reason for an explosive situation between the apostles and the council. What follows underscores the contrast between them though, as Peter and the apostles proceed to point out that not only were *they* witnesses, but *also* the Holy Spirit. The Jewish Council, as leaders of the people of God, were assumed to have the Holy Spirit, so if these simple (cf. 4:13) fishermen from despised Galilee (cf. Jn. 7:52) claimed that the Holy Spirit together

⁶⁴ Dobson 1971:58: “[E]mphatic personal pronouns in the N.T. are almost always used where there is either an explicit or implied contrast with another person or another group of people”.

⁶⁵ Cf. footnote 64.

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with them were a witness of Jesus, it implied that they as Jewish Council were *not* led by the Holy Spirit. In Naro this comes out very strongly:

(283)	<i>Si=xae-a</i>	<i>ẽe zi gúù zi di =xae</i>
	EXCL=1mPL-EMPH	those things POSS -1mPL
	<i>nxæa tseegukagu-kg'ao</i>	<i>=xae e, si=xae hēé</i>
	witness	=1mPL COP EXCL=1mPL also
	<i>naka=m</i>	<i>Tcom-tcomsa=m Tc'ẽe =ba hēéthēé e</i>
	and=3mSG	Holy=3mSG Spirit=3mSG also

‘*we* [EXCL] are witnesses of those things, *we* [EXCL] and the Holy Spirit’

The repetition of *we*, plus the deployment of its exclusive form, strengthen the contrast. The following “whom God has given to those who obey him”, implying again that the Council does *not* obey God, adds to the tension, so that the anger is close to tangible: “When they heard this, they were enraged and wanted to kill them.”

This optional use of clusivity thus opens up beautiful avenues of indicating and underlining contrasts, and making clear for the hearers who is being referred to.

11.8 Conclusion

The Naro PGNs give the opportunity to exhibit slight nuances that are not visible in the English – and not even in the Greek text. In contrast with ch. 10, where required choices were presented, ch. 11 discussed optional opportunities provided by Naro PGNs.

The freedom that Naro offers in gender choice of NPs leads to differences in meaning that can be employed so that hearers will have a better understanding of texts in the NT (11.2). Translators may even creatively make use of this versatility of Naro gender assignment by forging new options for unknown concepts, for example, how to express “sea”, and to indicate the personal character of the Holy Spirit (11.3).

With regard to number, the presence of the dual may result in the removal of the numeral “two”, which offers a choice between its use and non-use, for example to underscore contrasts (11.4). The associative plural available in Naro facilitates a more general indication of belonging to a group than in Greek (11.5). Unlike most other languages, Naro contains the option of combining a noun with 1st or 2nd person, making it possible for the hearer to track participants in a text more easily (11.6), and the option of clusivity in the 1st person opens possibilities to clarify whether the addressees are included or not, which may for example be deployed to underline contrasts (11.7).

All these possibilities make the translation job more strenuous for the translator, but the result they yield in a clearer translation for the hearer makes it worth the effort.

Part V Summary and conclusions

12. Challenges, opportunities and strategies

12.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises and integrates the observations made in the dissertation. The study has scrutinised challenges and opportunities posed to a Naro translator of the NT by the presence of numerous PGN-markers in Naro, and the translation strategies they require. Ch. 1 discussed the relevance and method of the subject study, while ch. 2 put it against the background of the sociolinguistic background of the Naro people. In the present chapter, the analysis of the Naro PGN-markers is recapitulated (ch. 3), plus the systems in Greek where person, gender and number information can be found (ch. 4). The comparison between the two is the basis for a discussion of, on the one hand, challenges that this provides to a Naro Bible translator (ch. 5-9) and of opportunities on the other hand (ch. 10-11). Strategies in this area that are to be followed by translators are also encapsulated.

12.2 P-G-N information in Naro and Greek

Ch. 1 showed that Naro PGNs are elements providing information about person (1st, 2nd or 3rd), gender (masculine, feminine or common/neuter) and number (singular, dual or plural). In its morphology, 23 basic PGNs were found, functioning in nine series: subjectival, copular, NP-final, concord, preceding postpositions, associative, objectival, in “same cast” and “different cast” clause connections. Syntactic rules were presented to which the PGNs and their paradigms are subject. Also, it was researched how PGNs are used in discourse, with special attention for the areas of participant reference and connectives.

In ch. 4, research was done on how information regarding person, gender and number is structured in the Greek language. Naro makes several distinctions that Greek does not make, and the information that is necessary for making a good evaluation of which PGN to use in Naro, is scattered over different systems in Greek. The needed information may be found in the Greek articles and pronouns, but also in the verbal system, the nominal system, in numerals, in semantic features found in the text, and in the discourse as a whole. All this information has to be brought together, filtered and processed in the mind of the translator, yielding the hopefully right choices.

12.3 Challenges with regard to PGNs

The differences between Greek and Naro lead to many questions when translating the NT: specific Naro challenges, but also general questions, because of translation principles which impact the translation in all languages, so including Naro.

1. Distinctions and switches in person

The Greek verbal system, like the Naro system, distinguishes between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, so the area of *person* does not raise too many challenges for the translator. Naro, however,

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combines NPs and person in uncommon ways, as nouns can be combined with 1st and 2nd person. And in some cases, the content of the grammatical person used in the SL might better be expressed in many languages by employing a different person (5.3).

2. Distinctions and switches in gender

Naro requires the indication of gender in all pronominal references as well as in each NP, even where the SL doesn't show it: the translator must know for each referent whether it consists of males only, females only, or a mixture. An additional challenge raised by Naro is that the gender of inanimates is divided along lines that are quite different from that of Greek.

A huge difference between Naro and Greek is, that gender assignment of NPs in Naro is flexible (3.2.2): it is assigned in context, depending on what the speaker perceives as appropriate or most significant. In some cases, this fact alleviates the problem of finding the right gender, as the translator may experience more freedom in choosing a gender for a particular noun.

The issue of gender neutrality (5.4.2) plays a role in most languages. In any language, it needs to be researched whether a masculine reference can be used for males and females together (as can be done in Greek). If not, this calls for a more inclusive way of translating. Separate evaluations will need to be made for each language, and translation style.

3. Distinctions and switches in number

Exegesis may show that a singular can stand for a plural in some ways, and conversely, a plural may have singular content (5.5). Greek basically does not indicate a dual in its verbal and nominal system, but Naro does, so the translator needs to know whether she should use a dual or plural for each occurrence of *we*, *you* and *they*, but also when using NPs with lexical specification. Information about duality needs to be derived from the context.

4. Combinations of person, gender and number

The incongruity between Greek and Naro leads to a host of exegetical questions. A combination of the person, gender and/or number issues yields six PGN-options for each of the non-singular pronominal forms in Greek. The same applies to nominal counterparts, which may even happen in 1st and 2nd person. In practice, the choice is often limited to two or three options.

5. Ambiguity, alternation and generic meaning

The Naro PGN-system helps to reduce the amount of ambiguity in translation. Translation into Naro requires consideration of all possible options with respect to P-G-N information. Therefore, the presence of PGN-options in Naro calls for more thorough exegetical work than usual, forcing the translator to make quite a few additional exegetical choices with respect to person, gender and number.

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Alternating between PGN-markers when referring to the same group must be avoided as much as possible, but can be done if the text requires it (6.6). This may happen if there is a clash between the gender of referents and the typical gender of words used for them.

A pronoun with a generic meaning may be rendered for example by *one*, *someone*, or *you* (5.6). Different ways in which Greek expresses a generic meaning are all options for rendering such a meaning.

6. Clusivity and definiteness

Naro exhibits inclusive and exclusive use in “we”, indicating whether an addressee is or is not included (3.3.5.3, 10.2.3, 11.7). As the clusivity morphemes combine with PGNs, they have received a (marginal) place in this dissertation. This feature multiplies the number of translation options for “we” to eighteen. Together with translation-theoretical options for “we”, over twenty meaning options can be identified. The Naro translation may indicate a kind of sociological excommunication by its use of *we/our* (6.4.4).

A rather incisive difference between Naro and Greek is, that Greek articles may indicate definiteness, while Naro PGNs do not (3.2.3, 9.2.2). As definiteness and indefiniteness are coded differently in Naro than in Indo-European languages, information may need to be rearranged in Naro in a way that is different from the one in Greek, with additional mechanisms. The translator has to be constantly alert to the fact that the presence of a PGN does not automatically signify that a Greek article has been translated. Additionally, a Naro mother tongue translator needs to study the system of definite articles in languages like Greek and English, as she has not learnt the distinctions between definite and indefinite articles in her own language.

7. Cultural issues

Cultural issues, both in the source and receptor culture, may impact the use of PGNs (7). Knowledge of the political system in biblical times makes a difference for the translation (7.2). And in Acts 18:3 (7.3), it makes a difference whether σκηνοποιός is translated as ‘leather-worker’, ‘tent-maker’ or ‘weaver’ for the socio-cultural acceptability of the trade in the original culture (to be a ‘weaver’ might have been more acceptable for women). The answer to this question influences the PGN-marker (‘*they* were σκηνοποιοί’) in the verse. If it was unusual that a woman was a σκηνοποιός in the Greco-Roman world, it is more likely that *they* refers to Paul and Aquila.

Cultural understandings of the receptor culture also play a role (7.4). In Mt. 20:13, a literal translation of “didn’t *you* agree” would lead to the understanding that the worker had been *forced* into an agreement, but this is the opposite of what was actually intended. To facilitate appropriate communication in the receptor culture, the question had to be reworded into “didn’t *we* agree?” Which in turn necessitated a discussion about the value of *we*.

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8. Hermeneutical issues

One hermeneutical issue is the broadness of application (8.2): it may be that the speaker is thinking of recipients beyond the primary audience, making up a larger group than the people present in the speech act. In those cases, a PGN may be chosen that indicates a broad audience.

The hermeneutical issue of fulfilment of prophecies influences the translation of PGNs too (8.3). The fact that prophecies are often poly-interpretable calls for avoiding PGNs that would restrict the interpretation too much. It is advisable to use a PGN with a wide wingspan, covering as many interpretations as possible (within the probable intention).

A third hermeneutical issue impacting PGNs is formed by questions around parallel passages which may show a discrepancy, and their possible harmonisation (8.4). Perhaps, in one text, only men are mentioned, while in another, women are included in the same or similar event. Parallel passages may shed light on the interpretation of each other, but generally speaking, texts should be interpreted and translated in their own right.

9. Discourse issues

The broader context of a sentence also influences the use of PGNs: which PGN-series is to be used in a specific place in the discourse (0), and why? The main feature in this regard is participant reference, as most references employ a PGN. This involves three sub-features: the amount of coding, the person, number and/or syntactic value, and the use of connectives.

With respect to the amount of coding (9.2), one asks whether a full NP should be employed or a PGN only, or a zero reference. A full NP may be used for introducing participants, and for reactivating, highlighting, or disambiguating them. For continued reference, not only may many different PGN-series be used (e.g. subjectival, objectival, same/different cast connective, possessive, associative and concord), but an entity may be referred to also as part of a broader PGN (e.g. a referent is included in a dual or plural) or in an address ('you') – next to the occurrences with full NP and the copular construction. A zero reference indicates a close connection between clauses, and often simultaneous actions or states.

The second discourse question asks, which person, number and syntactic value are most appropriate to use in a certain sentence in the light of the broader context (9.3). In quotes, one can easily change 1st or 2nd person into 3rd person and vice versa (9.3.1). One may also need to modify the *number* (9.3.2). *Gender* will not easily change, although it is possible for example that a certain gender may be subsumed under common gender in dual or plural. And discourse also impacts the syntactic value that is used for referring to participants (9.3.3). For example, a sentence can be reworded in such a way that an object is presented as a subject (e.g. in a passive construction).

Thirdly, Naro has to choose between same/different cast, even where it is unclear who is the referent (9.4). Greek does not indicate this change in cast by way of pronominal reference. This issue mainly refers to questions about whether the *subject* remains the same between clauses or whether it is different.

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12.4 Opportunities with regard to PGNs

The greatest opportunity provided by the Naro PGN-system is formed by the fact that Naro can distinguish so many more features than Greek. In part III (ch. 5-9), the opportunities proved to present challenges, being researched from the perspective of the translator. Part IV (ch. 10-11) underlined the fact that the Naro translator can make use of these distinctions as extra possibilities. The user of the translation, being on the receiving end, can enjoy a text that gives much more specific information than translations in other languages, with regard to person, gender and number.

1. Clarity with respect to gender and number

A Naro translation will provide increased clarity (in comparison with the ST) with respect to gender and number. The content of (English) pronouns like *we*, *you* and *they* is much more variable than suspected at first sight. PGNs may subtly direct the attention to a subgroup, or broader group. Naro also assists its hearers in knowing whether a name refers to someone who is male or female, by indicating their gender in the PGN that is added to their names.

2. Easy participant tracking

Naro usually does not provide more clarity with regard to person, as both Greek and Naro distinguish three persons. It does, however, provide a means of easier participant tracking, as person, gender and number information is added to more elements of the NP than in Greek, which results in the hearer being reminded much more often than in Greek about which participant is being referred to (10, 11.6).

Not only does the hearer receive clues with regard to the P-G-N information of each reference (and each part of the NP), but he will also, consciously or unconsciously, observe contrasts in the text, as transitions are found between participants (esp. 6; 10). These contrasts may have hermeneutical implications, like contrasts between parallel passages or applications beyond the immediately present participants. Hearers may draw the conclusion from the chosen PGNs that there is a switch in the text from one group to another, or they may interpret statements as being addressed to various sections in a group. Thus, using different PGNs can highlight an expansion or reduction of the group of addressees. Use of certain PGNs may also indicate a modification in the scope of the words, or that certain elements are highlighted.

The possibility that Naro offers in distinguishing clause connectives containing PGNs also leads to added clarity, as the hearer will be led to understand whether the same subject is continuing, or a different participant becomes the subject (10.5). As Naro has to make clear in many cases whether the subject is the same as or different from the previous one, this also implies that the translation does not always need to use NPs to indicate the subject. Instead of added clarifications that translations in other languages find necessary, a PGN may suffice in Naro.

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3. Clarity around clusivity

Indicating clusivity can be a great means of making clear who is and who is not involved in 1st person references (10.2.3, 11.7). These possibilities may be employed to strengthen contrasts between speaker and addressees, or the relationship between them. The translator should know when the grammar requires the use of inclusive and exclusive forms. If a certain context makes it desirable to highlight either an inclusive or an exclusive interpretation, one may make use of the clusivity possibilities by modifying the sentence structure in such a way that clusivity options become available.

4. Creative gender possibilities

The fact that gender assignment is not fixed makes it possible to indicate slight nuances by using an alternative gender with nouns (11.2, 11.3). It even provides the opportunity to create some new meaning by employing up till now non-existent combinations of nouns and PGNs.

5. Flexible use of numeral “two”

As Naro already expresses duality in its PGN-system, and thus may indicate that a reference is made to two participants, it is not really needed to use the numeral “two” (11.4). Even without the numeral “two”, Naro may be much clearer about the number than the original. The default option of translation into Naro is therefore, *not* to employ this numeral. The use of this numeral in Naro is only to be encouraged in contexts where the number is contrastive, or where some emphasis with regard to number is to be expressed.

6. Associative plural

The associative plural makes it possible to indicate certain relations or groupings that are not expressed in such a way in Greek (11.5). This feature may also be used in 1st person.

7. Use of PGNs with 1st and 2nd person

The fact that NPs may be combined with PGNs in 1st and 2nd person also makes it possible to avoid that a 3rd person construction in Greek is misunderstood as referring to referents outside the speech act. As PGNs are used throughout an NP, this feature assists in keeping hearers posted about whom the NP refers to (11.6).

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12.5 Strategies with regard to PGNs

Throughout the dissertation, observations and strategies have been brought forward that may help the translator in handling the differences between Greek and Naro. Some strategies have been mentioned in this summary chapter already, as they were closely connected to the subject matter. It must be obvious that in the case of opportunities, one will hardly need strategies to follow, except for the encouragement of making use of them. In this section, strategies are mentioned under the sub-headings general, culture, hermeneutics and discourse.

1. General strategies

As a Naro translator approaches a text, she should ask all the time: how many participants are involved (*number*), what is the division in *gender*, which grammatical *person* should be used? The translator needs to be aware of the differences between Greek and Naro.

- In order to make a decision between PGNs, one needs to establish the theoretical and practical options for understanding the gender and number of the group that is referred to.
- One must realise that the choice of PGN-markers is interrelated with exegetical options and translation possibilities. Translation decisions must be based on a thorough exegesis of the wide context.
 - o Alternative meaning options (theoretical and practical ones) need to be considered.
 - o It is necessary to look not only into verb forms, pronouns, nouns and articles, but also into broader contextual factors.

Content of the surface P-G-N information

There are challenges in the area of P-G-N information that play a role in *all* languages (1). A surface use of a certain person, gender or number in Greek should not automatically lead to the use of the same parameter in the RL, as there may have been reasons (probably pragmatic ones) to use that parameter, while its *content* actually refers to a different person, gender and/or number. In formal-equivalent translations, these parameters will usually be copied into the receptor text, but in a translation that puts more emphasis on right communication, the translator will try to express the content rather than the form (5.7).

- Assess the *intended effect* of using the form that was used in the SL, like making a text more vivid and strong, or being less direct to avoid confrontation.
- Evaluate whether the RL may have the ability to reach the same effect with the same means.
- Seek alternative ways in the RL to reach the intended effect.

Footnotes

Because Naro forces us to choose between PGN-markers, while Greek does not provide us with the needed information, we may end up with places where the translation does not

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reflect what the author had in mind. This happens in all translation and communication, but it forms an area in Naro that requires extra care. Making a choice may lead to loss of meaning. This cannot be avoided but it needs to be minimised. Regularly, a choice has to be made between seemingly equally valid options, or the ambiguity may even have been intended. A common strategy to inform the audience about alternative translation options is to use footnotes (7.5).

- It mainly depends on the translation brief (5.1, 5.2) what kind of information appears in footnotes and how often.
- Generally speaking, the number and size of footnotes should be kept to a minimum. Only provide information that is relevant and/or interesting to the average reader.
- If an alternative option is against a translator's own views and it is as viable as the one chosen, she should account for that in a footnote.

2. Culture

Cultural studies

As the cultural background of words and texts may make a difference in our translation praxis, both the culture of the ST and the culture of the present recipients must be studied in order to produce an accurate and acceptable translation (7.5).

- Studying the cultural background of the ST is necessary to understand what is said in the text, and may have quite an impact on the choice of words, including the PGN-markers.
- Studying the culture of the *recipients* is important to identify how people may understand, or misunderstand, a translation of a text that comes from a distant time and culture.

Historical accuracy and cultural adaptation

A good¹ translation will be accurate and clear, sound natural and communicate in a culturally relevant way (7.5).

- The Bible comes from a different culture and time, but we should not make people marvel unnecessarily.
- However, adapting to the receiving culture is a dangerous avenue, which should only be trodden with great caution.
- A translation should present a picture that is as historically accurate as possible, giving a true description of all aspects, even if the receiving culture has values that are different from the ones underlying the data presented in the text.
- Anachronisms should be avoided at all times.
- Only if the exegetical data is not conclusive, a translator may allow the receiving culture to partly influence the translation options.

¹ The definition of “good” in this area partly depends on the skopos of a translation, cf. 5.2.

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- When gauging how certain elements in the translation will be understood in a certain culture, it is important to look at general responses of the receptor audience.
 - o An obstacle is that these reactions are often assumed ones, as they are difficult to anticipate. We should listen carefully to translation team members and reviewers, and pick up signals of miscommunication.

Right communication

If a translation option leads to misunderstanding, whether on the basis of cultural assumptions or otherwise, alternatives must be sought to promote right communication (7.5).

- In considering any transformation in a translation, the alternative options must be evaluated for their quality and impact.
- One should obviously look at relevant exegetical data.
- In the evaluation of alternatives, language specifics – both of the SL and of the RL - must be taken into account.
- The following questions may be asked when looking at possible implications:
 - o What will people pick up from the text in a literal translation?
 - o What will people understand from the text if the alternative translation option is used?
 - o How will people's understanding in either case differ from what the original audience will probably have picked up? One way to evaluate possible implications is gauging what a preacher might be led to in a sermon on the basis of the alternative wording of the text.
 - o How will the text sound in the whole discourse?

3. Hermeneutics

Application

With regard to evaluating application issues (8.2):

- Start with the historical situation and try to reflect that as much as possible in the translation.
- Find out what and who the speaker must have had in mind.
- Consider the effects on readers of using the different PGNs that are possible.

Fulfilment of prophecies

Prophecies must be translated in a way that accurately reflects the intention of the speaker in the text (8.3).

- Carefully research what and when the anticipated fulfilment would have been, and who would have been involved in the fulfilment. Was it men only or women as well? How many were they?

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- It is important to know who was present at the time of uttering the prophecy. If a prophecy clearly refers to the immediate participants in the speech act, that fact will need to take priority.
- In many cases, it may be necessary to leave a prophecy somewhat cryptic, so as to enable multiple fulfilments.

Parallel passages

- It is necessary to research the background of the differing texts (8.4). Each passage should be viewed in its own context to see what is the most natural way to exegete and translate the words under consideration.
- It is important to realise that texts complement and clarify each other.
- Seeming inconsistencies and possibly conflicting exegetical options between parallel texts can often be maintained, as they may provide extra information about the event, so that we have a fuller understanding of what is likely to have happened.

4. Discourse

Discourse features are complicated and very interrelated, especially as there are so many factors to be looked into (9.5).

- Giving attention to discourse does not mean that the whole text must follow one pattern: there is room for a great deal of variety. Coherence is more important than uniformity.
- The context will have an impact on the decision with respect to P-G-N choice, but the context of a clause or sentence does not automatically lead to one right answer.
- Conversely, the decision about every PGN-marker influences the discourse.
- The translator needs to be constantly aware of how much a cast continues or changes, so she needs to study the text carefully in order to know which connection (in which the PGN is the main element) should be used.
- With regard to the use of PGN indicating same/different cast, the translator should carefully evaluate the possible conclusions that hearers draw from such a transition.

12.6 In conclusion

The impression may rise from the overview of challenges, and even from the wide array of opportunities that need to be considered, that it is an intricate enterprise to translate into Naro. And indeed, in the light of the near omnipresence of PGN-markers in the text, the translator will be confronted with many questions, and it may sometimes be very challenging to decide which PGN-marker must be used. However, in the majority of cases, it is clear which PGN-marker is to be used.

Naro, like other languages by their unique conglomerate of features, makes it necessary to give attention to questions that are not asked for many other languages and thus provides an opportunity to enrich the exegesis of the Bible. Differences between SL and RL force us to go an extra mile in doing exegesis. The specific contribution that Naro can make consists in its combination of person, gender and number distinctions for referents, combined with

12. Challenges, opportunities and strategies

clusivity options and some other interesting grammatical features like the combination of NPs with 1st and 2nd person, along with its flexibility in gender assignment. The mere presence of the different PGNs in Naro and the need to choose between them, plus the necessary reflection on the different possibilities and on all kinds of possible implications that the use of PGN-markers has, encourages exegetical questions and may lead to a better and possibly deeper understanding of what the text communicates.

Naro thus provides unique opportunities, being an excellent tool for distinguishing referents. The PGNs give the opportunity to exhibit slight nuances that are not visible in the English – and not even in the Greek text. Hitherto unseen perspectives can be brought out. The use of certain PGN-markers may intensify specific areas of meaning. Or the choice of PGN-marker may guide the audience in understanding that a truth has an application not only to the direct addressees but to a broader audience as well. Or, a transition from one PGN-marker to another may be used for indicating a contrast, or a switch from one group to another. It may also highlight an expansion of the group, or a reduction.

All these possibilities make the translation job arduous for the translator, but interesting and rewarding at the same time. If the resulting translation is clearer for the hearer, it makes it worth the effort. The most important strategy may be to make use of these phenomenal possibilities.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Naro PGN-morphs and their functions

			1 subjectival	2 copular	3 NP-final	4 concord	5 preceding postposition	6 associative (possessive)	7 objectival	8 same cast clause connective	9 different cast clause connective
			<i>bóò ... ko</i>	<i>qãè ... (V)</i>	<i>khóè ... a/the (etc.) person</i>	<i>qãè... khóè a/the (etc.) good person</i>	<i>... cgoa with ...</i>	<i>cg'òèa my (etc.) name</i>	<i>bóò ... "S"ko S(subject) sees ...</i>	<i>a ... a and ...</i>	<i>... and/but ...</i>
I	m/ f	sg	r, ra	ra (a)	ra	r	(tii)	tè	te	a ra a	ra
you	m	sg	tsi	tsi (i)	tsi	tsi	(tsaa)	tsì	tsi	a tsi a	tsi
you	f	sg	si	si (i)	si	si	(saa)	sì	si	a si a	si
he	m	sg	m	me (e)	ba	m	(ga)m	bà	me	a ba a	me
she	f	sg	s	si (i)	sa	s	(ga)s	sà	si	a sa a	si
it	c	sg	i	Ø (V)	ne, n	Ø	(gaa)n	nè	V	a i a	i
we	m	du	tsam	tsam (m)	tsam	tsam	(ga)tsam	tsàm	tsam	a tsam a	tsam
	f	du	sam	sam (m)	sam	sam	(ga)sam	sàm	sam	a sam a	sam
	c	du	kham	kham (m)	kham	kham	(ga)kham	khàm	kham	a kham a	kham
	m	pl	xae	xae (e)	xae	xae	(ga)xae	xàè	xae	a xae a	xae
	f	pl	se	se (e)	se	se	(ga)se	sè	se	a se a	se
	c	pl	ta	ta (a)	ta	ta	(ga)ta	tà	ta	a ta a	ta
you	m	du	tsao	tsao (o)	tsao	tsao	(ga)tsao	tsàò	tsao	a tsao a	tsao
	f	du	sao	sao (o)	sao	sao	(ga)sao	sàò	sao	a sao a	sao
	c	du	khao	khao (o)	khao	khao	(ga)khao	khàò	khao	a khao a	khao
	m	pl	xao	xao (o)	xao	xao	(ga)xao	xàò	xao	a xao a	xao
	f	pl	sao	sao (o)	sao	sao	(ga)sao	sàò	sao	a sao a	sao
	c	pl	tu	tu (u)	tu	tu	(ga)tu	tù	tu	a tu a	tu
they	m	du	tsara	tsara (a)	tsara	tsara	(ga)tsara	tsàrà	tsara	a tsara a	tsara
	f	du	sara	sara (a)	sara	sara	(ga)sara	sàrà	sara	a sara a	sara
	c	du	khara	khara (a)	khara	khara	(ga)khara	khàrà	khara	a khara a	khara
	m	pl	xu	xu (u)	xu	xu	(ga)xu	xù	xu	a xu a	xu
	f	pl	zi	zi (i)	zi	zi	(ga)zi	zì	zi	a zi a	zi
	c	pl	ne	ne (e)	ne	ne	(ga)ne	nè	ne	a ne a	ne

Appendix 2. Abbreviations and notation

2.1. General

ad	(with a verse): see a.l.
a.l.	<i>ad locum</i> ('at the place mentioned', e.g. in the discussion of a particular Bible verse)
ch.	chapter
esp.	especially
ex.	example
KKG	Khoekhoegowab
lit.	literal(ly)
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
p.c.	personal communication
RL	receptor language
SL	source language
ST	source text
v.	verse
vv.	verses

2.2. Linguistics

“=” is used for clitic boundaries. As PGNs are analysed as clitics, they will appear with this symbol. Where the PGN is written conjunctively in the Naro orthography, the PGN (with the preceding “=”) will appear straight after the preceding element. Where the PGN is written disjunctively, it will appear with a space or tab. The “=” may not always allow the reflection of morpho-phonemic junctions.

Double quotation markers (“ ”) are used for quotations, or for marking phrases as standing out in a text, as in “I am talking about “we””. For the latter function, italics may also be used, as in “I am taking about *we*”. All Naro words, like other non-English words, are italicised as well. Single quotation markers (‘ ’) are used to provide a meaning, as in *suu* ‘pot’.

The following notations are used to indicate the (partial) meaning content of PGN-markers:

1/2/3 person: 1st, 2nd or 3rd

m/f/c gender: masculine, feminine, common

SG/DU/PL number: singular, dual or plural (in CAPS)

Appendix 2: Abbreviations and notation

The three features will be presented in the *order* person, gender, number, with no dot between gender and number, and the number in capitals, e.g. 1mPL: ‘1st person masculine, plural’.

<u>symbol/abbreviation:</u>	<u>indicates:</u>
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
-	morpheme boundary (if morphemes are written conjunctively)
.	continued gloss (e.g. to.be, NEG.FUT)
:	used between "PGN information" (e.g. 3mSG) and "PGN series" (e.g. 3) (or other, e.g. "INT" (e.g. 3mSG:INT))
=	clitic boundary
->	what follows is the content of a structure
Δ	initial slot
*	ungrammatical form
[]	IPA notation, "additional information"; or "phrase boundary marker"
{ }	clause boundary marker
ABL	ablative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ialiser)
c	collective / common
COMP	complementiser
CONN	connective particle
COP	copula
DEF	definiteness
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamation
f	feminine
FUT	future
IMPF	imperfective
INCL	inclusive
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensifier
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
JUNC	juncture

Appendix 2: Abbreviations and notation

LOC	locative
LS	lexical specification
m	masculine
n	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominaliser
NP	nominal phrase
NPo	nominal phrase in object function
NPs	nominal phrase in subject function
O	object
PASS	passive
PF	perfective
PGN	person-gender-number
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PST	past tense
QUOT	quotative
RECP	reciprocal
RECPST	recent past (relating to today or yesterday)
REL	relativiser
REMPST	remote past
S	subject
SG	singular
TAM	tense/aspect marker
V	vowel, or verb, or repetition of latest phoneme
VOC	vocative
VP	verbal phrase

2.3. Biblical references

Bible references are made as in the following example notation: Jn. 1:14. The Bible books are abbreviated as follows:

Genesis	Gen.	Isaiah	Isa.	Romans	Rom.
Exodus	Ex.	Jeremiah	Jer.	1 Corinthians	1 Cor.
Leviticus	Lev.	Lamentation	Lam.	2 Corinthians	2 Cor.
Numbers	Num.	Ezekiel	Ezek.	Galatians	Gal.
Deuteronomy	Deut.	Daniel	Dan.	Ephesians	Eph.
Joshua	Josh.	Hosea	Hos.	Philippians	Phil.
Judges	Judg.	Joel	Joel	Colossians	Col.
Ruth	Ruth	Amos	Amos	1 Thessalonians	1 Thess.
1 Samuel	1 Sam.	Obadiah	Obad.	2 Thessalonians	2 Thess.
2 Samuel	2 Sam.	Jonah	Jon.	1 Timothy	1 Tim.
1 Kings	1 Kings	Micah	Mic.	2 Timothy	2 Tim.

Appendix 2: Abbreviations and notation

2 Kings	2 Kings	Nahum	Nah.	Titus	Tit.	
1 Chronicles	1 Chron.	Habakkuk	Hab.	Philemon	Phlm.	
2 Chronicles	2 Chron.	Zephaniah	Zeph.	Hebrews	Heb.	
Ezra	Ezra	Haggai	Hag.	James	Jas.	
Nehemiah	Neh.	Zechariah	Zech.	1 Peter	1 Pet.	
Esther	Esther	Malachi	Mal.	2 Peter	2 Pet.	
Job	Job	Matthew	Mt.	1 John	1 Jn.	
Psalms	Ps.	Mark	Mk.	2 John	2 Jn.	
Proverbs	Prov.	Luke	Lk.	3 John	3 Jn.	
Ecclesiastes	Eccles.	John	Jn.	Jude	Jude	
Song of songs	Song of Sol.	Acts	Acts	Revelation	Rev.	

2.4. Cited Bible translations

ABP (EN, 1996)	Apostolic Bible Polyglot. NewPort: The Apostolic Press
BGT (NL, 2016)	Bijbel in Gewone Taal. Haarlem: NBG
BPT09 (PT, 2009)	Bíblia Para Tódos. Lisboa: Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal
Brouwer (NL, 1942)	(by A.M. Brouwer) Het Nieuwe Testament. Vertaald en van aanteekeningen voorzien. Leiden: Sijthoff
CEVUK (EN, 2012)	Contemporary English Version. British and Foreign Bible Society
DSV (NL)	Statenvertaling
EASY (EN, 2018)	Easy English Bible
ESVUK (EN, 2001)	English Standard Version
FCR18 (FR, 2018)	La Nouvelle Francais courant. Société Biblique Française
GMEngSB (EN)	Grace Ministries English Study Bible (in Paratext)
GNBNL (NL, 1996)	Groot Nieuws Bijbel. Haarlem: NBG
GNBUK (EN, 1994)	Good News Translation
GWN (EN, 2019)	God's Word
HFA (D, 2015)	Hoffnung für alle. Biblica
HSV (NL)	Herziene Statenvertaling
KJV (EN, 1769)	King James Version
LITV (EN, 2001)	(by Jay P. Green) Literal Translation of the Holy Bible. Lafayette: Sovereign Grace Publishers
LU1545 (D, 1545)	Lutherbibel 1545
LU1912 (D, 1912)	Lutherbibel 1912
Moffatt (EN, 1935)	(by James Moffatt) A New Translation of the Bible. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers
NAA (PT, 2017)	Nova Almeida Atualizada Tradução de João Ferreira de Almeida Edição Revista e Atualizada
NBS (FR, 2010)	Nouvelle Bible Segond. Société Biblique Française
NBV (NL, 2007)	Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling. Haarlem: NBG
NIV11UK (EN, 2011)	The Holy Bible. New International Version
NIV84 (EN, 1984)	The Holy Bible. New International Version
NLT04 (EN, 2004)	New Living Translation

Appendix 2: Abbreviations and notation

NNT	Naro New Testament; https://www.bible.com/versions/1136-nnt-kabas-qae-xgae-sa
NTLH (PT, 2000)	Nova Traducao na Linguagem de Hoje. Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil
NVI (PT, 2011)	Nova Versão Internacional. Bíblica
NWT (EN)	New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures (Study Edition) "New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures (Study Edition); https://www.jw.org/en/library/bible/study-bible/books/ [31-3-2020]"
OL (PT, 2017)	O Livro Bíblico
PDV17 (FR, 2017)	Parole da Vie Société Biblique Française
RC69 (PT, 1969)	Tradução de João Ferreira de Almeida Edição Revista e Corrigida
REB89 (EN, 1989)	Revised English Bible
TfTP (PT, 2018)	Translation for Translators in Portuguese
TNNFR (FR)	Comprendre pour traduire
VFL (PT, 2017)	Bíblia Sagrada: Versão Fácil de Ler

(D=German, EN=English, FR=French, NL=Dutch, PT=Portuguese)

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Appendix 4. Naro texts

These are natural Naro texts, either recorded or written. The numbering was done for different purposes so may not be totally consistent. Most of the time, each sentence was given a new number, while each clause was additionally given a letter of the alphabet.

Q'õa (story about Hare, Hippo and Elephant)¹

1 *Xg'ao =xu qgaò =ba hẽé naka tcgoà =ba hẽé
 REMPST=3mPL hippo =3mSG also and elephant=3mSG also
 naka q'õà =ba hẽéthẽé =xu hàna.
 and hare =3mSG also =3mPL be.there*

'Once there were a hippo, an elephant, and a hare.'

2a *=Me ko q'õà =ba hàà
 =3mSG:9 DUR hare =3mSG come*

2b *a qgaò=m koe tcárà-ku-a=n dtcárà.
 and hippo=3mSG LOC be.friends-NOM-JUNC=3nSG request*

'Hare went to Hippo and asked him whether they could become friends (lit. friendship).'

3a *=Me qgaò =ba máá:
 =3mSG:9 hippo =3mSG say*

3b *"A=tse-è, táá, tíí =ra ga táá õeta ii=m gúù=m
 (DEM)=2mSG-voc, NEG 1SG =1SG INTENS NEG such be=3mSG thing=3mSG
 cgoa tcárà-ku" témé.
 with be.friends-RECP QUOT*

'But Hippo said: "Hey man, no; I cannot be a friend of such a small thing."'

4a *=Me ko q'õà =ba máá:
 =3mSG:9 DUR hare =3mSG say*

4b *"Mta hẽé=s ka
 how do=3fSG INSTR*

4c *a=tse-è tcárà =tsi-a =ra-a
 (DEM)=2mSG-VOC be.friends =2mSG-JUNC =1SG-PF*

4d *ncõeta=r ii igaba
 such=1SG be though*

4e *ke táá õeta xam=s gúù =sa méé guu" témé.
 so NEG such feel=3fSG thing=3fSGsay leave QUOT*

'Then Hare said: "Why? Hey man I am your friend even though I am this tiny, so don't say that."'

5a *=Me máá:
 =3mSG:9 say*

5b *"A=tse-è õeta ii=∅ cõá=∅ cgoa tcárà-ku
 (DEM)=2mSG-VOC such be=3nSGchild=3nSG with be.friends-RECP*

5c *tama =r khóè =ra a
 NEG =1SG person =1SG COP*

¹ Story by Bau Fretz, recorded around 2000.

Appendix 4: Naro texts

5d *ke ēeta méé guu*
so such say leave

5e *=tsáá ko ii*
=2mSG DUR be

5f *a q'õà ii ne” témé.*
and hare be if QUOT

‘Then Hippo said: “I am not a friend of such a small child like you, so don't say that, you Hare.”’

6a *=Me q'õà nxāaska máá:*
=3mSG:9 hare then say

6b *“Hàà =tsam nxāaka ncēta hēé*
come=1mDU then such do

6c *=tsáá ko =tíí tc'áró-coa ko ntcōe*
=2mSG DUR I body-little DUR disagree

6d *a ko máá:*
and DUR say

6e *'=tíí =ra tcárà =tsi tama',témé*
=1SG =1SG be.friends =2mSG NEG QUOT

6f *ne méé =tsi ncēe koe ntcōó ncēe=m tēbe=m kg'ám koe*
if must =2mSG if LOC sit this=3mSG pond=3mSG mouth LOC

6g *naka =tsi-a dqùi =ba qgóó*
and =2mSG-JUNC rope =3mSG hold

6h *na=r =tíí nqáé*
and=1SG =1SG pass

6i *na síí ncíí za ntcōó*
and go other LOC sit

6j *naka =ra tiri=m dqùi =ba qgóó*
and =1SG my=3mSG rope =3mSG hold

6k *naka =tsam xhái-ku*
and =1mDU pull-RECP

6l *na bòò*
and see

6m *ndaka kg'ái =tsam gha tàà =sa”,*
which face =1mDU FUT defeat 3fSG

6n *ta ma bìrí =me qgaò-a.*
thus like tell =3mSG hippo-JUNC

‘But Hare said: “Let us then do this: if you despise this small body of mine and say 'I will not be your friend,' sit here near this pond and hold the end of the rope, and I will sit at the other side of the pond and hold the other end. Then we must pull each other and see which one of us will win.”’

7a *=Me qõò nxāaska q'õà*
=3mSG:9 walk then hare

7b *a=m*
and=3mSG

7c *a tcgoà=m koe síí*
and elephant=3mSG LOC go

7d *a máá:*
and say

7e *“Tcgoà-è, =tsáá koe =r ko tcárà-ku-a=n dtcárà”, témé.*
elephant-VOC, =2mSG LOC 1SG DUR be.friends-NOM-JUNC=3nSG request QUOT

‘Then Hare went to Elephant and said: “Mr. Elephant, I want to be your friend.”’

Appendix 4: Naro texts

8a =Me tcgoà =ba máá:
 =3mSG:9 elephant =3mSG say

8b "Eē ēe, ēeta ii=m gúù=m cgoa=r tcárà-ku tama
 NEG such be=3mSG thing=3mSG with=1SG be.friends-RECP NEG

8c kg'ama =tsi bòò =te tama
 just =2mSG see =1SG NEG

8d =ra ii =sa", téme.
 =1SG be =3fSG QUOT

'Elephant said: "No I will not be a friend of such a thing. Can't you just see how big I am?"'

9a =Me máá:
 =3mSG:9 say

9b "Tc'áró-a =te cgoa qgóé guu
 body-JUNC =1SG with run leave

9c kaia=r khóè =ra a
 big=1SG person =1SG COP

9d igaba=r koo ga a ke
 but=1SG amount INTENS COP because

9e khama=r ko =tsáá koe tcárà-ku=n dtcárà", téme
 so=1SG DUR =2mSG LOC be.friends-NOM=3nSG request QUOT

9f a xgui.
 and refuse

'Hare said: "Don't worry about my body. I am an old person even though I look like this, therefore I ask for friendship from you."'

10a A =ba a máá:
 =3mSG:8 say

10b "A=tse-è ēeta méé guu
 (DEM)=2mSG-VOC such say leave

10c kaia=r khóè =ra a =tíí igaba
 big=1SG person =1SG COP =1SG even

10d ne=r cg'áré tc'áró =ra a ke
 if=1SG small body =1SG COP because

10e nxãaka ēeta =tsi ko méé ne
 then such =2mSG DUR say if

10f ncēe koe ntcōó
 DEM1 LOC sit

10g naka=r =tíí ncíí za síí ntcōó
 and=1SG =1SG other LOC go sit

10h naka =tsam xhái-ku
 and =1mDU pull-RECP

10i naka bòò
 and see

10j ndaka kg'áí-a=tsam gha tàà =sa
 which face-JUNC=1mDU FUT defeat =3fSG

10k a ncēe xhái
 and if pull

10l =tsi kò ko tcää =te noka=m koe
 =2mSG PST DUR enter =1SG river=3mSG LOC

10m ne =da ko
 if =1SG DUR

Appendix 4: Naro texts

- 10n *kana =tíí igaba xhài-a tcāà =tsi*
 or =1SG but pull-JUNC enter =2mSG
 10o *ne tcárà-ku-a =tsam-a.” témé.*
 if be.friends-NOM-JUNC =1mDU-PF QUOT

‘Hare continued to try to convince Elephant by saying: “Hey man, don't say that, I am also an old person, even in spite of this small body of mine. But if you argue that, then sit here and I will sit at the other side, and we will pull each other and see who will win. If you will pull me into the pond or I pull you into it, then we will be friends.”’

- 11a *A =ba a síí qàe-qae qgaò =ba*
 =3mSG:8 go fool hippo =3mSG

- 11b *a máá,*
 and say

- 11c *méé=m qgóó, témé*
 must=3mSG hold QUOT

- 11d *a síí qàe-qae tcgoà =ba*
 and go fool elephant =3mSG

- 11e *a máá,*
 and say

- 11f *méé=m qgóó, témé.*
 must=3mSG hold QUOT

‘then Hare went to Hippo and played a trick on him. He told him to hold the rope. He played the same trick on Elephant, telling him to hold the rope too.’

- 12a *=Me qōò*
 =3mSG:9 walk

- 12b *a =ba a síí xāó =ba tcg'òó*
 =3mSG:8 go whistle =3mSG take out

- 12c *a =ba a nxãaska hòò =me =tsara tite qgáì=∅ koe síí ntcōó.*
 =3mSG:8 then find =him =3mDU NEG.fut place=3nSG LOC go sit

‘he went away and hid himself in a place where they could not see him.’

- 13a *Eē=m ko q'òà xāó ka*
 when=3mSG DUR hare whistle INSTR

- 13b *=tsara kò qgaò-a =tsara tcgoà-a =tsara tshoa-tshoa*
 =3mDU PST hippo-JUNC =3mDU elephant-JUNC =3mDU begin

- 13c *a xhài-ku*
 and pull-RECP

- 13d *a xhài-ku*
 and pull-RECP

- 13e *khóè =tsara ēe cuita xám qaria=n úúa =tsara xhài-ku.*
 person =3mDU DEM2 same taste power=3nSG have =3mDU pull-RECP

‘when Hare whistled, Hippo and Elephant started to pull, and pull - those men who had equal power pulled.’

- 14a *=Me q'òà tēe*
 =3mSG:9 hare stand up

- 14b *a dqùi =ba q'āè-a qhòm nqáè koe*
 and rope =3mSG cut-JUNC break middle LOC

- 14c *a síí qgaò=m koe.*
 and go hippo=3mSG LOC

‘then Hare stood up and cut the rope in the middle. He went to Hippo’

Appendix 4: Naro texts

15a =Me qgaò qgóó tshàu =me
=3mSG;9 hippo hold hand =3mSG

15b a máá:
and say

15c “A=tse-è qâè =tsi khóè =tsi =i cèè
(DEM)=2mSG-VOC good =2mSG person =2mSG COP EXCLAM

15d qari =tsi khóè =tsi i
strong =2mSG person =2mSG COP

15e =ra ko tc'áró-coa-a =tsi bóò
=1SG DUR body-DIM-JUNC =2mSG see

15f a ko ntcoe =tsi”, témé,
and DUR disagree=2mSG QUOT

‘and Hippo shook hands with him. Hippo said to him: “You are a good man and indeed a powerful man and I despised you because of your small body” ’

16 =i xg'arà.
=3nSG;9 finish
‘it was resolved’

17 =Me tcgoà=m koe síí gataga méé,
=3mSG;9 elephant=3mSG LOC go likewise say
‘he also went to Elephant and said the same words’

18 =i xg'arà.
=3nSG;9 finish
‘and it was (also) resolved (likewise)’

19 =Si tóá.
=3fSG finish
‘it finished’

August²

1a nxoe=m nc  e =ba qh  o=s di=m nxoe =me e.
month=3mSG DEM-1 =3mSG summer=3fSG POSS=3mSG month =3mSG COP
‘This month is the/a month of summer.’

2a Igabaga=m nc  e=m nxoe =ba kuri qg  isa =me e.
but=3mSG DEM-1=3mSG month =3mSG often cold =3mSG COP
‘But this month is usually very cold.’

² Text written by Mr. I. Saul, published in the Nara Nxara magazine, August 2008.

Appendix 4: Naro texts

3a *Sao di x'aè-a =ne=m ko qhóó=s cgoa q'aa-q'aa=s*
 winter POSS time-JUNC =3nSG=3mSG DUR summer=3fSG with divide=3fSG
gúù=s domka=m qgàisa =me e.
 thing=3fSG cause=3mSG cold =3mSG COP

‘It is very cold because it separates the time of winter from the time of summer.’

4a *Ncēe=m nxoe=m ka =tsi kuri q'āa tama*
 DEM-1=3mSG month=3mSG INSTR 2mSG often know NEG

4b *nqõó-a=n kg'aia qgàisa a =sa*
 world-JUNC=3nSG first cold COP =3fSG

4c *kana =i kúrusa a =sa*
 or =3nSG warm COP =3fSG

4d *kana kái tc'āá a =sa.*
 or much wind COP =3fSG

‘During this month it is usually difficult to tell whether the atmosphere (weather) is cold or warm or windy.’

5a *Gaa=m x'aè=m hìi =zi di tqara=n ko kuri qāè-qāese=m*
 DEM6=3mSG time=3mSG tree =3fPL POSS leaf=3cPL DUR often shake.off=3mSG
ga =me e.
 INTENS =3mSG COP

‘It is the very time when the branches of the trees are shaken off.’

6a *Qāè-qāese =i ko*
 shake.off =3nSG DUR

6b *nxāasega =i gha kaba=n tsqm ka.*
 then =3nSG FUT new=3nSG emerge INSTR

‘They are shaken off so that the new ones can emerge.’

7a *Kare=m x'aè =me e*
 nice=3mSG time =3mSG COP

7b *Nqari=m kare-se tòó-a =ba kg'ōè-a =ta q'oo koe*
 God=3mSG sweet-ADV put-PF =3mSG life-JUNC =1cPL inside LOC

7c *x'áí=s ii-se.*
 sign=3fSG be-ADV

‘It is a nice time, that God nicely put in our lives, as an example.’

8a *Khóè =ta ka igaba =i kò xg'ao gatà ii,*
 person =1cPL INSTR even =3nSG PST REMPST thus be

8b *=me x'aè=m ncíi =zi cau =zi =ta ko tcheègu*
 =3mSG time=3mSG old =3fPL custom =3fPL=1cPL DUR throw.away

8c *a kaba =zi hāa di =ba hāa*
 and new =3fPL put.on POSS =3mSG be

8d *ne =i ga xg'ao tshúù-se kare ii.*
 if =3nSG can REMPST terrible-ADV sweet be

‘Even with us human beings, if it were like this (if there were a time when we could throw away our old habits and put on new ones), it would be very pleasing.’

Tsilane³

1a *Xg'ao=s khóè =sa hàná*
 REMPST=3fSG person =3fSG be.there

1b *a cóá-se=s cgoa x'âè-a nquu=m koe.*
 and child-ADV=3fSG with stay-PF hut=3mSG LOC

‘Long ago there was a woman, and she stayed with her daughter in a hut.’

2a *=Si c'ëe=Ø cám =Ø ka máá:*
 =3fSG:9 other=3nSG day =3nSG INSTR say

2b *“Hàà =sam qôò*
 come =1fDU walk

2c *na =sam ncée=m x'áé=m koe tcg'oa”, témé.*
 and =1fDU DEM1=3mSG home=3mSG LOC come.out QUOT

‘One day she said: let's go and leave this hut.’

3a *=Si cóá =sa máá:*
 =3fSG:9 child =3fSG say

3b *“Tíí =ra t'õè=m nquu=m koe tcg'oa tama*
 1SG =1SG beautiful=3mSG hut=3mSG LOC come.out NEG

3c *a =ra ko gaa koe x'âè”, témé.*
 and =1SG DUR DEM6 LOC stay QUOT

‘But the daughter said: “I don't leave this beautiful hut, and will stay here.”’

4a *=Si nxãaska xôò =sa qôò*
 =3fSG:9 then parent =3fSG walk

4b *a =sa a síí tää za x'âè.*
 =3fSG:8 go different LOC stay

‘Then the mother went and live somewhere else.’

5a *A =sa a wèé=Ø x'aè=Ø ka tc'õo-a=ne óá-a máá =si*
 =3fSG:8 all=3nSG time=3nSG INSTR food-JUNC=3nSG bring-JUNC for =3fSG

5b *ne=s ko hàà*
 if=3fSG DUR come

5c *nquu=m-kg'am koe téé*
 door=3mSG-door LOC stand

5d *a =sa a nxáè*
 =3fSG:8 sing

5e *a =sa a “Tsilane ti-ri cóá-è (2x) xgobekg'am nquu =ba*
 =3fSG:8 T. 1SG-POSS child-VOC open hut =3mSG

5f *na tc'õo-a=n séè*
 and food-a=3nSG take

5g *na tc'õó”, témé.*
 and eat QUOT

‘She always, as she brought food to her, would stand at the door and say “Tsilane, my child, Tsilane, my child, open the hut, take the food and eat.”’

³ Story told by Cgõa Ntcubi.

Appendix 4: Naro texts

6a	<i>C'ee=Ø</i>	<i>cám=Ø</i>	<i>ka=s</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>hàà</i>
	other=3nSG	day=3nSG	INSTR=3fSG	DUR	come

6b *a ko óá-a máá =si*
and DUR bring-JUNC for =3fSG

6c *ka=m* *nxãaska kaisa=m* *khoè-dxoo =ba* *nquu-m* *qãá* *koe* *téé tée*
 INSTR=3mSG then big=3mSG person-big =3mSG hut=3mSG behind LOC stand.up

6d *a* =*ba a* *xài* *téé* *ko*
 =3mSG:8 hide stand DUR

6e kóm =si

hear =3fSG

6f =s *ko* *ma* *nxdáè* =sa.
 =3fSG DUR like sing =3fSG

‘One day, as she was coming and bringing food to her, a giant stood behind the hut, hiding and listening how she was singing.’

<i>7a</i> =Me =3mSG;9	<i>c'ëe</i> other	=Ø	<i>cáṁ</i> day	=Ø =3nSG	<i>ka</i>	<i>síi</i> go
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7b *a =ba a* *máá:*
 =3mSG:8 say

7c "Lika=r gha
try=1SG FUT

7d *gore méé =ra sií*
that must =1SG go

7e na síí nxáé
and go sing

7f *na=s* *cóá =sa* *tcg'oa*
 and=3fSG child =3fSG come.out

*7g na=r kg'oo =si
and=I eat.meat =3fSG*

7h séè na", témé.
take and(?) QUOT

‘One day he went and said: “I will try and go and sing so that the child gets out and I can eat and take her.”’

8a =Me =3mSG:9	síí nquu=m-kg'am go hut=3mSG-door	koe	téé LOC	stand
-------------------	--------------------------------------	-----	------------	-------

8b *a* =*ba a* *nxâaska kai(s)a=m* *khóè* =*me* *e*
=3mSG:8 then big=3mSG person =3mSG COP

8c	<i>a</i>	<i>kaisa=Ø</i>	<i>dòm=Ø</i>	<i>=me</i>	<i>e</i>
	and	<i>big=3nSG</i>	<i>voice=3nSG</i>	<i>=3mSG</i>	COP

8d *khamā* *nxāaska* *tshoa-tshoa*
like then begin

8e *a* =*ba a:* “*Tsilane tiri cóá-è Tsilane tiri cóá-è xgobekg'am na tc'õo-a-n séè na tc'õo*”, témé.
=3mSG:8 (see above) QUOT

'He stood at the door - he was a big man, with a big深深 voice so he started and said: "Tsilane my child, Tsilane my child, open, take the food and eat."'

Appendix 4: Naro texts

- 9a =*Si* *gaa=s* *cóá=s* *nquu=m* *q'oo* *koe* *hàna* =*sa*
 =3fSG:9 DEM-6=3fSG child=3fSG hut=3mSG inside LOC be.there=3fSG

9b máá:

say

- 9cd "Áí =tsi tama =tsi i (2x)
my.mother =2mSG NEG =2mSG COP

- 9e *kg'oo-ku* *di* =*tsi* *khóè* =*tsi* *i,"* *témé.*
eat.meat-NOM POSS =2mSG person 2mSG COP QUOT

‘But the girl that was inside the hut said: “You are not my mother, you are not my mother, you are a cannibal.”

- 10a =Me *qōò* *nxāaska*
 =3mSG:9 walk then

10b *a* =*ba* *a* *q'ōà* *kíí=m* *koe* *síí*
 =3mSG:8 hare Mr.=3mSG LOC go

10c =*me* *q'ōà* *kíí* =*ba* *bíri'* =*me*
 =3mSG:9 hare Mr. =3mSG tell =3mSG

10d =*m* *nxōdá* =*sa* *tcōo.*
 =3mSG stone=3fSG roast

'Then he went to Mr. Hare, and Mr. Hare told him to roast a stone.'

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| 11a | =Me | <i>nxāaska</i> | <i>nxōá</i> | =sa | <i>séé</i> |
| | =3mSG:9 | then | stone | =3fSG | take |
| 11b | <i>a =ba a</i> | <i>ncēeta</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>tóó</i> | |
| | =3mSG:8 | this.way | like | put.down | |
| 11c | <i>a =ba a</i> | <i>tóm</i> | | | |
| | =3mSG:8 | swallow | | | |
| 11d | <i>a</i> | <i>kg'uitsi</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>tóm.</i> |
| | and | EXCLAM. | like | like | eat |

'So he took a stone, and put it this way and swallowed it (in the way of "kg'uitsi")'

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|
| 12a | <i>A =ba a</i> | <i>kabise</i> |
| | <i>=3mSG:8</i> | return |
| 12b | <i>a ba a</i> | <i>hàà</i> |
| | <i>=3mSG:8</i> | come |
| 12c | <i>a ba a</i> | <i>nxáè</i> |
| | <i>=3mSG:8</i> | sing |
| 12d | <i>a gataga</i> | <i>ma nxáè</i> |
| | and likewise | like sing |

- 12e *a ba a:* “*Tsilane tiri cóá-è Tsilane tiri cóá-è xgobekg'am na tc'õo-a-n séè na tc'õó*”, témé.
 =3mSG:8 (see above) QUOT

‘He returned, came and sang, this way: “Tsilane my child, Tsilane my child, open, take the food and eat.”’

- 13a =Si máá:
=3fSG:9 say

- 13bc "Tiri =tsi áí =tsi tama =tsi i (2x)", téme.
my =2mSG my.parent =2mSG NEG =2mSG COP QUOT

‘But she said: “You are not my mother, you are not my mother.”’

Appendix 4: Naro texts

- 14a =Me *gaia* *qōō*
 =3mSG:9 again walk

14b *a ba a* *nxāaska* *síi:*
 =3mSG:8 then go

14c “*A=tse-è* *q'ōà* *kíi*, *dùúska* =*tsi-a* *qāè-se* *bìrí* =*te*
 (DEM)=2mSG-VOC Hare Mr. why =2mSG-PF good-ADV tell =1SG

14d *na* =*ra* *khóè* =*sa* *n(a)* *kg'oo* *tama*”, *témé*.
 and =I person =3fSG and eat.meat NEG QUOT

‘Then he went again: “Hey Mr. Hare, why didn’t you tell me well so that I could take this lady and eat her?”’

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--|
| 15a | =Me
=3mSG:9 | <i>nxāaska gaia síí nxōá =sa tcōo</i>
then again go stone=3fSGroast |
| 15b | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>tóm</i>
eat |
| 15c | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>“Kg’uidiki” témé,</i>
EXCLAM QUOT |
| 15d | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>nxāaska hàà</i>
then come |
| 15e | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>nxáè</i>
sing |
| 15f | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>xōò=s khamá nxāaska hàà</i>
parent=3fSG like then come |
| 15g | <i>a =ba a</i>
=3mSG:8 | <i>nxáè</i>
sing |

15h a "Tsilane tiri cóá-è Tsilane tiri cóá-è xgobekg'am na tc'oo-a-n séè na tc'oo", téme.
and (see above) QUOT
"Then he roasted a stone, swallowed it and said "Kg'uidiki", and came, sang - came like the
other day. "Tsilane tiri cóá-è Tsilane tiri cóá-è xgobekg'am na tc'oo-a-n séè na tc'oo", téme."

- 16a =Si cóá =sa xgobekg'am.
=3fSG:9 child =3fSG open

-5158.9 Child -

Then the girl opened

- 17a *Eẽ=s ko xgobekg'am nquukg'am =ba*
 when=3fSG DUR open door =3mSG

17b *a ko tcg'oa=s ka*
 and DUR come.out=3fSG INSTR

17c *=m kò séè =si*
 =3mSG PST take =3fSG

17d *a =ba a kg'oo =si.*
 =3mSG:8 eat meat =3fSG

'As she opened the door and came out, he took her and ate her.'

Appendix 5. Nederlandse samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch; see ch. 12 for an English summary)

Het vertalen van persoon, geslacht en getal van het Grieks naar het Naro

De vraag die in deze dissertatie centraal staat is:

Welke uitdagingen en mogelijkheden bieden de “PGN-markeerders” in het Naro aan een vertaler van het NT, en welke vertaalstrategieën vereisen ze?

Het Naro, een van de kliktalen in zuidelijk Afrika, gesproken in het westen van Botswana en het oosten van Namibië, bezit een overvloed aan zgn. PGN-markeerders, waarbij PGN staat voor Persoon, Geslacht en Getal (*Person, Gender en Number* in het Engels). Voor *wij*, *jullie* en *zij* heeft het Naro ca. zes vertaalmogelijkheden elk. Bij het vertalen levert deze situatie verschillende uitdagingen op, maar ook mogelijkheden. Deze worden in de dissertatie uitgewerkt, en er wordt nagegaan welke strategieën toegepast moeten worden.

Deel 1: Inleiding

De dissertatie begint met een hoofdstuk over de aanleiding tot de studie: het werk van de promovendus gedurende 25 jaar als coördinator van een Bijbelvertaalproject in het Naro, met als voorlopig hoogtepunt de uitgave van het NT in het Naro en de lokalisering van het project, dat verder gaat met het OT. Tijdens dat werk bleek de complexiteit van de Naro-taal, met name op het gebied van de PGN-markeerders. Het systeem was nog niet uitgebreid beschreven, en de implicaties voor het vertalen helemaal niet.

Hfdst. 2 geeft een overzicht van de taalkundige achtergrond van het Naro (als onderdeel van de San) en de geschiedenis van de Naro sprekers, m.n. ook van de veranderingen in de cultuur die de laatste decennia plaatsgevonden hebben.

De kern van de dissertatie bestaat uit drie delen:

- *Analyse* van de PGN-markeerders in het Naro (hfdst. 3) en een onderzoek naar waar gegevens over persoon, geslacht en getal in het Griekse NT te vinden zijn (hfdst. 4).
- *Uitdagingen* die de PGN-markeerders opleveren aan een vertaler. Deze zijn uitgesplitst in
 - o algemene vertaaltechnische uitdagingen (hfdst. 5)
 - o algemene exegetische uitdagingen (hfdst. 6)
 - o culturele uitdagingen (hfdst. 7)
 - o hermeneutische uitdagingen (hfdst. 8)
 - o uitdagingen vanuit en naar de kontekst (hfdst. 9)
- *Mogelijkheden* die de PGN-markeerders bieden, op het gebied van extra duidelijkheid in de vertaling. Deze mogelijkheden zijn verdeeld in

Appendix 5: Nederlandse samenvatting (Dutch summary)

- vereiste keuzes waartoe de vertaler door de Naro grammatica gedwongen wordt (hfdst. 10)
- optionele keuzes voor de vertalers (hfdst. 11)

Deel 2: Analyse

Hfdst. 3 bespreekt de PGN-markeerders in het Naro, waarbij blijkt dat er 23 PGN-markeerders te onderscheiden zijn, volgens:

- drie personen (zoals in het Nederlands: 1e, 2e en 3e),
- drie geslachten: mannelijk (m), vrouwelijk (v) en een derde geslacht (onzijdig voor de SG, combinatie (c) van m en v voor DU en PL)
- drie getallen: enkelvoud (SG), tweevoud (DU) en meervoud (PL)

De PGN-markeerders worden niet alleen gebruikt voor de weergave van pronomina (ik-jij-hij-zij-het-wij-jullie-zij), maar ook voor de aanduiding van geslacht, getal en zelfs persoon van nominale frases (bv zelfstandige naamwoorden). Verbonden met een PGN-markeerde kan een woord als *khoe* ‘persoon’ een scala van betekenissen ontvangen, afhankelijk van de PGN (die volgt op het naamwoord), bv.

<i>khoe ba</i>	‘persoon 3mSG > man’
<i>khoe sa</i>	‘persoon 3fSG > vrouw’
<i>khoe tsara</i>	‘persoon 3mDU > twee mannen’
<i>khoe sara</i>	‘persoon 3fDU > twee vrouwen’
<i>khoe xu</i>	‘persoon 3mPL > (drie of meer) mannen’
<i>khoe zi</i>	‘persoon 3fPL > (drie of meer) vrouwen’
<i>khoe khara</i>	‘persoon 3cDU > (één) man en (één) vrouw’
<i>khoe ne</i>	‘persoon 3cPL > (gezelschap van minstens drie) mensen [minstens één man en minstens één vrouw]’
<i>khoe ra</i>	‘persoon 1mSG > ik, een man’
<i>khoe tsi</i>	‘persoon 2mSG > jij, een man’
<i>khoe tu</i>	‘persoon 2mPLSG > jullie, mensen’

Het geslacht van een entiteit die geen biologisch geslacht heeft blijkt flexibel te zijn (dus niet constant zoals in veel talen, bv *la voiture* in het Frans). De criteria volgens welke de geslachten ingedeeld worden zijn o.a. vorm en grootte (ronde entiteiten hebben een tendens om het vrouwelijke geslacht te ontvangen, langwerpige, maar ook grote voorwerpen zijn vaak mannelijk; zo is een stok mannelijk maar een boom vrouwelijk).

De PGN bij een entiteit *lijkt* overeen te komen een bepaald lidwoord in andere talen maar geeft als zodanig geen bepaaldheid aan.

Vervolgens zijn er bij deze 23 vormen negen paradigma’s te onderscheiden, afhankelijk van hun grammaticale functie. Twee van deze paradigma’s worden gebruikt in verbindingswoorden tussen zinnen: bij PGN-8 is er slechts een klein verschil in situatie tussen zinnen, bij PGN-9 verandert meestal het onderwerp maar niet altijd: de PGN geeft hier een redelijk grote verandering in situatie aan.

Ten slotte kent het Naro ook nog het onderscheid in clusiviteit: bij een inclusief *wij* is de adressant ingesloten, bij een exclusief *wij* is de adressant buitengesloten. Na een bespreking van verschillen tussen talen wat betreft woordsoorten onderzoekt hfdst. 4 waar informatie over persoon, geslacht en getal gevonden kan worden in de bronstekst, het Grieks. Deze informatie is te vinden in verschillende systemen: in de lidwoorden, de nomina, de pronomina, de verbale vormen, getallen, semantische inhoud van woorden, en de bredere kontekst. Al deze informatie moet bij elkaar gebracht, gefilterd en verwerkt worden in het brein van de vertaler, waarna dan de keuze voor een PGN gemaakt moet worden.

O.a. de volgende verschillen zijn gevonden tussen het Grieks en het Naro:

- het Naro vereist de aanduiding van persoon, geslacht en getal in alle (pro)nominale referenties, zodat een vertaler voor elke referent moet onderzoeken welke PGN gebruikt moet worden.
- het Naro kent een dualis, het Grieks gebruikt deze nauwelijks.
- in het Naro is het nodig bij elke instantie van *wij*, *jullie* en *zij* om aan te duiden of er sprake is van een DU of een PL.
- het geslacht van nomina in het Grieks is constant, maar flexibel in het Naro.
- de Griekse tekst duidt het verschil tussen eenzelfde en een veranderde situatie niet aan in zijn pronominale mogelijkheden (Naro onderscheidt PGN-8 en -9).

In het Naro moet daarom vaak gekozen worden tussen zes PGN-opties, zowel bij pronomina als bij nomina.

Deel 3: Uitdagingen voor de vertaling

Het derde deel van de dissertatie bespreekt de uitdagingen die deze verschillen tussen de Griekse tekst en het Naro opleveren.

Hfdst. 5 gaat in op algemene vertaaltechnische vragen rondom deze parameters in de brontaal (het Grieks), die daarom te vinden zijn als *algemene uitdagingen* in elke taal, inclusief het Naro. Het gebeurt dat de bronstekst een bepaalde parameter gebruikt (bv 3^e persoon), maar dat de betekenis pragmatisch gezien het gebruik van een andere parameter oproept (bv 1^e persoon). In Rom. 1:1 spreekt Paulus over zichzelf in de 3^e persoon: “Paulus, een dienstknecht...”, maar in het Naro is dat 1^e persoon geworden.

Naro combineert nominale frases en persoon op ongebruikelijke manieren: nomina kunnen gecombineerd worden met 1e en 2e persoon. Zo kon het Naro in Rom. 1:7 “aan allen die in Rome zijn” gelijk duidelijk maken dat met “allen” geen 3^e persoon, maar 2^e persoon bedoeld is.

Een van de meer algemene vragen in dit opzicht wordt gevormd door de generieke betekenis. Voor elke kontekst en taal moet bestudeerd worden wat de beste manier is om deze uit te drukken. Vertalingen van Lk. 14:35 tonen verschillende mogelijkheden die toepasbaar zijn, bv “ze gooien het weg” (3PL), “mensen gooien het weg” (3PL met nomen),

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“men gooit het weg” (3SG), “iemand gooit het weg”, “jullie gooien het weg” (2PL), “het wordt weggegooid” (passivum).

Een van de vragen die naar voren komt is die van geslachts-neutraliteit.

Hfdst. 6 laat zien dat de PGN-mogelijkheden dringen tot meer exegese, gezien de vragen die het Naro aan de vertaler stelt. In Mt. 3:9 (*wij* hebben Abraham als *onze* vader) zijn er twee vragen te stellen: 1. Spreken de Farizeën enz. namens het volk (1cPL) , of alleen namens zichzelf (1mPL)? 2. Is Johannes de Doper ingesloten (1PL:INCL) of buiten gesloten (1PL:EXCL)?

In Mk. 6:38 (hoeveel broden hebben *jullie*?) maakt het een verschil of *jullie* vertaald wordt met 2mPL (hoeveel broden hebben jullie, de discipelen) of met 1cPL (hoeveel broden hebben jullie, de hele menigte?). Het gebruik van 1cPL onderstreept de nood van het moment: onder de hele menigte waren er maar vijf broden te vinden, en zo ook het bijzondere van het wonder.

In hfdst. 7 blijkt dat culturele gegevens, zowel in de broncultuur als in de ontvangende cultuur, een impact hebben op het PGN-gebruik. In Hd. 18:3 maakt het een verschil of σκηνοποιός vertaald wordt met “leerbewerker”, “tentmaker” of “wever”. Het antwoord op deze vraag beïnvloedt vervolgens de PGN voor “*zij*” (“*zij* waren σκηνοποιοί”): het beroep van wever was waarschijnlijk meer acceptabel voor vrouwen; maar als het ongebruikelijk was voor een vrouw om leerbewerker te zijn in de Grieks-Romeinse wereld, wordt het waarschijnlijker dat *zij* refereert aan Paulus en Aquila.

Aan de kant van de ontvangers spelen ook culturele factoren. In Mt. 20:13 blijkt een letterlijke vertaling “hebt *u* niet ingestemd?” te worden misverstaan als zou de werker gedwongen zijn tot een overeenkomst: het tegenovergestelde van wat bedoeld is. Voor een juist verstaan in de ontvangende cultuur moet de vraag veranderd worden naar “zijn *we* niet overeengekomen?” – waarbij dan weer de vraag opkwam of 1mDU (ik en u, werker) of 1mPL (ik en u, werkers) gebruikt moest worden.

Hfdst. 8 behandelt drie hermeneutische vragen i.v.m. PGN-markeerders.

1. Hoe breed is de beoogde toepassing van een uitspraak? Als Jezus mensen buiten de groep van discipelen op het oog heeft (bv “wat *jullie* ook maar vragen in het gebed”), moet 2cPL (de kerk van alle tijden) overwogen worden in plaats van 2mPL.
2. Bij profetieën is het niet altijd duidelijk op wie ze betrekking hebben (bv Lk. 9:27 “*sommige* van die hier staan zullen de dood niet smaken”). Het advies is om een PGN te gebruiken met een zo breed mogelijke verstaansmogelijkheid, zodat meerdere interpretaties open blijven.
3. Als parallelle gedeelten discrepanties vertonen, moeten teksten zo veel mogelijk zo vertaald worden dat ze elkaar aanvullen. Lk. 24 geeft bv de indruk dat er mannen en vrouwen aanwezig waren bij de hemelvaart, terwijl Hd. 1 spreekt van de elf discipelen.

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Hfdst. 9 bestudeert hoe de kontekst van invloed is op het gebruik van PGN-markeerders met hun verschillende paradigma's.

1. Een volledige nominale frase (bv "de discipelen") wordt vaak gebruikt om participanten te introduceren, te reactiveren, te benadrukken of te onderscheiden, terwijl minder codering (bv *zij*, *hen*, of zelfs een zero-referentie) gebruikt wordt voor een voortgaande referentie.
2. Persoon, getal en syntactische waarde van een PGN worden beïnvloed door de kontekst. Het kan vruchtbaar zijn om de PGN in citaten aan te passen (bv 1 Joh. 2:4 "Wie zegt dat *hij* Hem kent" in plaats van "Wie zegt: *Ik* ken Hem"). In sommige gevallen kan een subject ook object gemaakt worden (Jak. 3:7 "elke soort dieren [subject] kan getemd worden door de mens" wordt dan "de mens kan elke soort dieren [object] temmen").
3. Een Naro-vertaler moet vaak kiezen tussen PGN-8 (eenzelfde situatie) en PGN-9 (veranderde situatie). Hierbij speelt vooral de vraag of het subject hetzelfde is tussen zinnen, of juist niet.

Deel 4: Mogelijkheden voor de vertaling

Alle hoofdstukken laten zien dat het Naro PGN-systeem helpt in het reduceren van ambiguïteit in de vertaling. Hfdst. 10 en 11 tonen dat de vele mogelijkheden die het Naro biedt niet alleen uitdagingen oplevert, maar hoe een vertaler hier ook mooi gebruik van kan maken.

1. De Naro-vertaling biedt meer duidelijkheid aan de hoorders, vooral wat betreft geslacht en getal. De inhoud van *wij*, *jullie* en *zij* in het Grieks is veel gevarieerder dan duidelijk is op het eerste gezicht. Het Naro kan de verschillen duidelijk maken, en ook op een subtile manier de aandacht vestigen op een modificatie in participanten. Dit laatste kan zelfs een wijziging aanduiden in de betekenisrichting van uitspraken (bv een vermaning of een uitnodiging). Bij namen is het geslacht altijd gelijk bekend, door de PGN die eraan toegevoegd is.
2. Het Naro helpt zijn hoorders bij het volgen van participanten, doordat het bij veel meer elementen van de nominale frase dan in het Grieks aangeeft om welke persoon het gaat. Hierdoor worden contrasten ook beter zichtbaar.
3. Het aanduiden van clusiviteit is een manier om contrasten tussen sprekers en adressanten te versterken, of de relatie tussen hen. Door een exclusief *wij* in Hd. 5:32 "*wij* zijn getuigen van deze dingen" laat de Naro-vertaling zien dat Petrus en de apostelen, en de leden van het Sanhedrin *niet*, de Heilige Geest hebben en getuigen zijn van de opstanding van Jezus. Er zijn in totaal meer dan twintig betekenis mogelijkheden voor *wij*.
4. Het flexibele gebruik van het geslacht in het Naro maakt het mogelijk om fijne nuances aan te geven in woordbetekenissen. Zelfs voorheen niet-bestante betekenissen kunnen gecreëerd worden door een alternatieve PGN aan een woord toe te voegen, bv. de vorming van "zee" door het gebruik van een mannelijke PGN in plaats van de gebruikelijke onzijdige PGN.
5. Omdat het Naro een dualis onderscheidt, is het niet altijd nodig om het telwoord "twee" te gebruiken. In feite is het dikwijls door het tweevoud zelfs duidelijker dan in het Grieks

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dat het gaat om twee participanten, zelfs als het woord “twee” niet gebruikt wordt. Het telwoord “twee” kan nu aangewend worden om contrasten aan te geven, of nadruk.

6. De associatieve pluralis in het Naro maakt het mogelijk om groeperingen of relaties weer te geven die zo in het Grieks niet voorkomen.

7. Soms komt in het Grieks een constructie in de 3e persoon voor in de mond van sprekers die met de constructie feitelijk over zichzelf spreken (bv in Hd. 4:29 “geef aan Uw dienstknechten...”). In het Naro kunnen nominale frases gecombineerd worden met een PGN in de 1e of 2e persoon, zodat duidelijk gemaakt kan worden dat bedoeld is “geef aan (*ons*) Uw dienstknechten...”.

8. Door het onderscheid tussen PGN-8 en PGN-9 kunnen hoorders duidelijker zien welke bewegingen er in een tekst voorkomen, zoals subjectveranderingen. Het is hierdoor in verschillende gevallen zelfs niet nodig om het subject explicet weer te geven.

Door de dissertatie heen zijn strategieën geweven die kunnen helpen bij het hanteren van de verschillen tussen het Grieks en het Naro. Voor een Naro-vertaler is het belangrijk om steeds te vragen naar het getal van de participanten, naar de verdeling in geslacht, en de grammaticale persoon. Een vertaler moet zich steeds bewust zijn van de theoretische en praktische PGN-opties. Er moet hard gestudeerd worden: vertalers moeten zich bewust zijn van exegetische en vertaalopties. De brede kontekst dient in rekening te worden gebracht. Waar nodig en geëigend kunnen alternatieve PGN-opties in voetnoten aangegeven worden.

Het is nodig om rekening te houden met de cultuur van het NT, en de ontvangende Naro-cultuur, en die goed te bestuderen. Een goede vertaling is accuraat, duidelijk en natuurlijk, maar ook cultureel relevant, ook al zal duidelijk worden dat de Bijbel uit een andere tijd en cultuur komt. Het is belangrijk om te letten op de reacties van de hoorders in de ontvangende cultuur. Alternatieve opties moeten beoordeeld worden op kwaliteit en impact op de hoorders.

Deel 5: Samenvatting en conclusies

Hfdst. 12 vat de dissertatie samen en integreert de gemaakte observaties. Uitdagingen, mogelijkheden en strategieën komen naar voren. Gelukkig is meestal wel duidelijk welke PGN gebruikt moet worden. Maar de unieke combinatie van de mogelijkheden in persoon, geslacht en getal, samen met de clusiviteitsopties, de combinatie met 1e en 2e persoon, en ook de flexibiliteit in het gebruik van geslacht brengen vragen naar voren die bij de vertaling in veel andere talen niet gesteld hoeven te worden, hetgeen een gelegenheid vormt voor verrijking van exegese. De taak van een Naro-vertaler is niet makkelijk, maar wel zeer interessant, en lonend. De vertaling is duidelijker voor de hoorder dan in veel andere talen. Het Naro biedt unieke mogelijkheden om nuances te tonen die zelfs niet te zien zijn in het Grieks – maar die wel verborgen aanwezig zijn in de tekst en in het Naro zichtbaar worden. Specifieke betekenisgebieden kunnen door de PGN-markeerders duidelijk gemaakt, of geïntensiveerd worden. Het is zaak om gebruik te maken van de fenomenale mogelijkheden die het Naro ons aanbiedt.

Appendix 6. Curriculum vitae

The author (1959) was born in Urk, the Netherlands and studied theology in Kampen (Oudestraat) and Apeldoorn, plus linguistics at SIL courses in Horsleys Green and at Leiden University (comparative linguistics and Papuanistics). Together with his wife Coby, he went to Botswana in 1991 to learn and describe the Naro language, providing an orthography and dictionary, to teach people to read and write, and to translate the Bible into this language. Since 2002 he also was involved in checking Bible translations in other Khoesan and Bantu languages as a consultant. In 2012, the New Testament in Naro was published, and in 2013 he published on Naro morphology and syntax. Hessel and Coby received a royal award in becoming knights in the order of Orange-Nassau in 2014.

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This study describes the PGN(person, gender, number)-markers in Naro, and focuses on the challenges provided by the many options in the language system to the translator of the New Testament, but also on the possibilities this system offers for improving the clarity of the translation. It exemplifies the notion of the richness of indigenous languages, gives a better insight into how communication of a message can occur and also into the cultural background of texts in translation, and should lead to a better translation. It underlines the need to know both the source languages and the receptor language, and the differences between these, provides a model for translating into other (KhoeSan) languages, and opens up new depths of meaning in the source text, emerging from the fascinating differences between Greek and Naro.

Hessel Visser (1959) was born in Urk and studied theology and linguistics. Together with his wife Coby, he went to Botswana in 1991 to translate the Bible and teach people to read and write. Since 2002 he also was involved in checking Bible translations in other KhoeSan and Bantu languages as a consultant. In 2012, the New Testament in Naro was published.



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