

TRANSPHRASTIC CONNECTORS IN *THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW*

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Abstract

We shall further deal particularly with the pragmatic values of the syntactic connectors. This means that we actually have in mind all categories of syntactic connectors – conjunctions, relative adverbs, relative adjectives and pronouns, sometimes even prepositions, but we are interested not only in their grammaticalized status and the typology of syntactico-semantic relations, but also in their argumentative roles and discursive structuring.

Keywords: *Gospel According to Matthew*, syntactic relations, transphrastic connectors.

1. Historical and social features of the writing of the “Gospel According to Matthew”

In order to better understand how the connections in the New Testament texts function, we need to know the historical circumstances that generated such texts. A case study on the “first gospel”, that of Matthew (cf. Aramaic *Mathei* “Gift of God”), may offer us a basis for the genesis of the best-known books of the entire Bible¹.

¹ Historical information on the authors, sources and circulation of evangelical texts have been taken from the Romanian edition of *The Lion's Encyclopedia of the Bible* (editor Pat Alexander), *Enciclopedia Bibliei*, coordinated by Gabriel Troc, Cluj, Editura Logos, 1996; Colecția “Biblioteca Scripturii” – *Matei, Marcu, Luca, Ioan*. Bucuresti: Editura Arhiepiscopiei Romană-Catolica, 1996, with introductions and comments from *La Bible*, Centurion/Cerf, Paris, 1990. As regards the texts from the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, with English translation, and from the *Nova Vulgata - Novum Testamentum Latine*, we have used the texts written by Eberhard Nestle and Kurt Aland, available on the Perseus platform, based on the 28th edition of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research, abbreviated as NA 28, as well as a bilingual edition – Greek and Latin – of Kurt and Barbara Aland, issued under Pope John Paul II, in 1984.

The Gospel According to Matthew comes first in the *Book of the Gospels* and in the entire economy of the *New Testament*, because it is the clearest, most rigorous and best written according to the linguistic and rhetorical canons of receivers of all times. Chronologically, the first one to be written, then rewritten and self-styled from the very beginning *gospel* “the good news” is that signed by Mark, Peter’s disciple and translator.

Matthew and Luke used Mark’s writing as their first source, but they also had an undeclared source, known only to later exegetes. Furthermore, there were various other oral sources, not yet canonized, which circulated around 70 AD, when Matthew wrote his version. Naturally, beyond these models, one should consider each evangelist’s own style, influenced by the training and personality of the author in question. When analyzing the structure of sentences, with particular attention to logico-syntactic connectors (conjunctions, conjunctive phrases, relative adverbs, relative-interrogative pronouns, various particles) or paratactic constructions, we should start from the distinct features of the language of the original and from the possible translations which served as intermediates in the gospel writing process. In principle, the gospels, just like the entire *New Testament*, were written directly in Greek – the Greek language of the Hellenistic period, spoken throughout the Mediterranean Basin, from Athens to Rome and from here to Jerusalem, in the Palestinian milieu. The evangelists themselves were well versed in Greek, but only Luke, born in Antioch on the Orontes, was a native speaker of the Greek language and proved to be the most educated of them, as he was a doctor by profession, raised in a family of Greek aristocrats. Mark was born to a Jewish mother, Miriam, and a Roman Greek-speaking father, Marcus. Apart from the two languages spoken in the family, Mark is believed to have spoken Latin as well, which would explain why Peter (a poor fisherman, who spoke only his mother tongue, the Aramaic) used him in his journeys, while addressing the Gentiles, and why he accompanied him to Rome.

Matthew was a pure Jew, because, before he became a Christian, he had been called *Levi, son of Alphaeus* (Mark 2: 14). He had worked as a publican and a tax collector, some positions of which he had not come out with quite an honourable image, but once he opened his house and heart to Lord’s disciples, his contribution was not only material, but spiritual and practical at the same time: the gift of concise and eloquent speech and writing.

A later exegete would state that the former publican had brought along the feather quill pen used for his old registers and account books.

Indeed, the clear, well-crafted sentence and the morphosyntactic and rhetorical selections distinguish it from the other three gospels. Although he took texts written in Aramaic and although he spoke a mixed language typical of the Hebrew-Aramaic age at home and in the Galilean milieu, his training was Hellenistic and the tasks he undertook before and after Christianization implied the use of Greek, with all its syntactic subtleties and wealth of connectors. It is Matthew who renders, the most clearly and in minute detail, Jesus' five discourses: the Sermon on the Mount, with what we call 'the Beatitudes'; the Missionary Discourse; the Parables (of the sower; of the lost sheep; of the disobedient son; of the talents and others – twenty seven in all²); the Community Instructions; the eschatological discourse on End Times.

It is understandable that they presupposed a good argumentative strategy and a syntactic organization of sentences and clauses in accordance with the truths the speaker revealed to his listeners, in a context that was rather unfavourable to debates of ideas.

With this, we come to a second aspect which should be considered when one aims to analyze the syntactic connectors in the evangelical text. Although similar to those of Mark and Luke, with which it forms the so-called "synoptic gospels", Matthew's writing is clearly more polemical than the others. All emerged amid the rivalry with Judaism, in the tense atmosphere created after the demolition of the Temple. Matthew is generally balanced in utterance, but the connoisseurs will notice a very subtle mixture of "passion and rigor" in his text. The speeches attributed to Jesus include invectives, accusations, ironies, judgements based on paradoxes and so on. But the force of argumentation lies in the subtle enchainment of sentences – assertions, exclamations, interrogations etc. – by means of mechanisms of coordination and subordination, which are highly expressive and very rich in logico-syntactic nuances. An adversative coordination relation may actually suggest a categorical opposition (*nu întru noi, ... ci întru Domnul* 'not unto us, ... but unto the Lord'), whereas the disjunctive coordination may take on the nuance of the alternative with philosophical meanings (*ba prin legi, ba prin forță*

² For a philosophico-theological analysis of these argumentative paradigms cf. Andrei Pleșu, 2012, *Parabolele lui Iisus. Adevărul ca poveste*, București: Editura Humanitas.

‘either by law or by force’). The general compositional rigor of the *Gospel According to Matthew* (*Kata Matheon*) also explains the almost symmetrical succession of discourses and narrative passages. The evangelist explains what happened, where Jesus went, whom he encountered, how he was received and only after that does he render his words in *oratio recta*. In terms of sentence architecture, this compositional structure explains the frequency of conclusive coordinating connectors: *așadar* ‘therefore’, *de aceea* ‘that is why’ and so on. In other words, Jesus’ discourses are the consequence of realities the Saviour is faced with in the real world. On the other hand, connectors such as “și iară” ‘and again’ etc. re-establish the connection interrupted by the discursive passages.

2. Transphrastic connectors in “The Gospel According to Matthew”

2.1. The issue of pragmatic connectors

We shall further deal particularly with the pragmatic values of the syntactic connectors. This means that we actually have in mind all categories of syntactic connectors – conjunctions, relative adverbs, relative adjectives and pronouns, sometimes even prepositions, but we are interested not only in their grammaticalized status and the typology of syntactico-semantic relations, but also in their argumentative roles and discursive structuring. Therefore, we shall consider the entire range of relational transphrastic elements³, from conjunctions, adverbs, to particles or phraseologisms or phrases such as “Păi” ‘well’, “*Cum spuneam*” ‘as I was saying’, “*Ei, bine*” ‘well then’, “*Pe de o parte*” ‘on the one hand’ etc.

We shall see that, in fact, the *New Testament* text does not have a very rich inventory of such structures; the prototypical conjunctions at the level of coordination, more rarely of subordination, are rather loaded with the pragmatic and logico-stylistic values required by the context. However, theoretically, we should take into account all possibilities of logical articulation of the members of a syntactic period, because the modern versions of the *Bible* employ them sometimes, in an effort to maintain a balance between the old, traditional form of the text and the need that its nuances

³ Academic and normative grammars point out the differences between the two categories of relational elements – syntactic and pragmatic –, although, in most cases, the lexemes are the same, such as the coordinating conjunctions *și* ‘and’, *dar* ‘but’, *deci* ‘so’ etc., cf. GBLR, p. 651.

should be understood by present-day readers. Thus, the 17th-century *iară* ‘whereas’ may be rendered by “*Pe de altă parte*” ‘On the other hand’ at the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century, obviously, with all the precautions.

We shall here focus on *transphrastic connectors*, i.e. those that establish connections between simpler or more complex statements or between text fragments and not those that link clauses within a sentence⁴. In the biblical text organization, this means relating declarative parts from a verse, but mainly from two or several different verses. It is quite often that we also come across connections between groups of verses, on the one hand, and one or several verses, on the other hand, in our corpus. The former group usually means an enumeration of facts, characters (such as the genealogies or the presentation of the disciples), while the latter conveys either a qualitative, argumentative conclusion to the testimony brought by the previous enumeration or an explanation of the meanings of the raw facts in the first part of the narrative structure in question. Sometimes, we broaden the discussion by detailing the phrastic relations as well, i.e. inside the statement⁵.

With this, we have reached the pragmatic content of speech acts connected to each other by transphrastic connectors. As they are codified in academic grammars and specialized treatises, here it is a matter of connecting two or several assertions, an assertion and a question, a promise *vs.* an order or an order followed by a threat⁶. From an argumentative point of view, the

⁴ Cf. Sorin Stati, 1990, *passim*.

⁵ By “statement” we understand a simple judgement of the Aristotelian logic type, grammatically concretized by subject and predicate: *Ei au spus* ‘They said’. In a structure that includes a connector, the statement appears as: *Iar ei au spus* ‘And they said’ – Mt, 2:5). When secondary parts of speech (attributes, complements) are also included, we speak about a “complex statement”. We use this term even when the complex finite clauses contain connectors, co-relational elements, incident structures, groups of frequent words etc., and sometimes it refers to whole sentences. Generally, the sentences form the paragraph of verses. The problem is that sometimes an idea, a sentence or even a group of sentences continues in another verse or other verses and that editors group the verses in a different manner. Thus (small) differences in numbering occur from the Roman-Catholic and Neo-Protestant editions, on the one hand, to the Orthodox ones, on the other hand. Such differences in grouping/numbering may occur even within the same rite, the most recent case being that of Bartolomeu-Valeriu Anania’s revised edition (BA – in our working corpus).

⁶ For the classification of pragmatic connectors, cf. Isabela Nedelcu, “Conectorii frastici și transfrastici”, in: GALR, II, pp. 728-738; *Idem*, “Conectorii pragmatici”, in: GBLR, pp. 651-

connectors noted in the New Testament texts are mainly conclusive, explanatory and confirmatory. The roles of addition, objection, rectification or disagreement occur less frequently. When we encounter such situations, which are marked mainly metadiscursively, by terms such as *adică* ‘namely’, *mai bine zis* ‘better said’ etc., we shall point out this reality on the spot. However, these particular passages usually have ambiguities and the anaphoric constructions (*totuși...*, *așa* ‘however..., so’) will possibly act to provide a hermeneutical and linguistic clarification.

The connectors occur quite clearly as discursive markers. Since these are dogmatic texts, meant to persuade through a good organization of discourse, given that the expression cannot be too elaborate, for the text is essentially addressed to uneducated receivers, the pragmatic connectors are used in the gospels in structures comparable to those in folk lay narratives (tales, anecdotes, fairy tales, legends) or even to those in the everyday speech of the common people. We are referring to the two perspectives codified as such in specialized works⁷:

a) introduction of a new discourse topic

Iar după ce s-a născut Iisus (Matei, 2: 1) ‘After Jesus was born’

Însă..., văzând Ioan, le-a spus (Matei, 3: 7) ‘But when John saw..., he said to them’

b) organization of information, hierarchization of ideas

Dar auzind... i s-a făcut milă (Matei, 14: 13- 14) ‘Hearing of this, ... he had compassion’

Dar El le-a zis (Matei, 14: 16) ‘But Jesus said unto them’

It is often difficult to clearly distinguish between pragmatic nuances. We shall appeal to biblical exegeses whenever we find that the purely linguistic analysis does not allow us to definitely establish the role played by one connector or another in the biblical text.

2.2. The corpus of examples and inventory of pragmatic connectors in the original Hellenic version of the New Testament

654. We have associated the logico-semantic groups here with the detailed information of the corresponding connectors in Latin (cf. DELL) and Greek (cf. Bailly).

⁷ Cf. GBLR, *loc. cit.*

Our case study relies on the texts of the first three books of *The Gospel According to Matthew* and comprises what the exegeses refer to as “The birth of Jesus” and a part of “The beginning of Jesus’ work”, which means 65 verses, relatively evenly distributed in these three conventional divisions.

The connectors are repeated almost invariably in the original Greek version and are resumed as such in the Latin one; we have in mind the exclusive analysis of a referential text in the Greek version and of another in *The Vulgate*, the modern writing, which adds the *New Testament* to Jerome’s old translation, much improved over the centuries. We have not made any comparisons with other sources, because our final goal is to analyze the connectors in the Romanian versions, in their chronological succession, i.e. the evolution of syntactic and stylistico-pragmatic structures within the biblical language, a variant of the Romanian literary written language. Therefore, the lexemes and phrases used as syntactic and pragmatic connectors, at the same time, are relatively stable:

Gr.: δὲ, οὖν, καὶ, καὶ μὲ, τότε

Vulg.: *autem, cum, ergo, et, et non, tunc*

Rom: *așadar* (‘thus’), *atuncea* (‘then’), *derept aceea* (‘therefore’), *deci* (‘so’), *iar (iară)* ‘and’, *și nu* ‘and not’, *și să nu* ‘and to not’

In the *New Testament* Greek, the system of connectors of all types (coordinating and subordinating, on the one hand, conjunctions, adverbs, relative pronouns and adjectives, on the other, alongside various other enclitic particles or phrases with pragmatic usage) got highly simplified in classical Hellenic⁸.

In principle, from the inventory of copulative coordinating conjunctions (enclitic καὶ and τὲ), adversative conjunctions (ἀλλὰ, δὲ, γάρ, καὶτὸι, μὲν), disjunctive (ἢ) or conclusive conjunctions (οὖν post-nominal, οὕκουν, τοιγαροῦν, τοιγαρτὸι) etc. – extremely rich in the Greek language spoken in the age of Pericles – the evangelists choose only the very frequently

⁸ As regards the entire issue of the ancient Greek language grammar, we have basically used Maria Marinescu-Himu and Felicia Vanț-Ștef, *Limba elină*, București; Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1965 and Felicia Vanț-Ștef, *Manual de greacă veche*, București: Editura Humanitas, 1996. Unfortunately, neither of these highly rated academic treatises pays special attention to connectors, as conjunctions are presented only in the case of sentence syntax, just as finite clauses are discussed only in terms of case syntax. In compensation, the excellent Humanitas handbook is based on New Testament texts, more precisely on LXX, with useful linguistic and dogmatic interpretations. We have also added the extensive entries from Bailly, 2003.

used, archaic, folk, late ones, which they nevertheless load with additional meanings, through the common process of syncretism of the late ages. Statistically, at least in Matthew, *οὐδὲ* (which comes second in the sentence) represents 70% of occurrences, followed by *καὶ*, 20%, and *τὸτε* and *καὶ μὲν*, 10% each. The *Vulgate* version faithfully resumes this distribution of frequencies through the corresponding Latin conjunctions. In Romanian, the percentages change in favour of *și* ‘and’, the correspondent of *kai* and *et*.

As regards the logico-semantic and, therefore, pragmatic values, *δὲ* (after a word) should have expressed pure adversity, meaning “dar” ‘but’, “însă” ‘however’. From the simple opposition one reaches the nuanced one, at the level of sentence which contains the idea of antagonism, if only by the occurrence of antonyms or, in any case, of words standing in positions of logical contradiction. It usually responds to *μὲν*, which is often no longer expressed, but only implied, meaning “dar” ‘but’ or “dar, dimpotrivă” ‘but, on the contrary’. In argumentative structures – and here we find ourselves in full pragmatics – the connector is used to introduce an objection to the assertion of the interlocutor⁹. In terms of the role that discourse structuring may play, *δὲ* was frequently used after a conditional clause to mark the transition to a new hypothesis. Hence, the idea of resolution, which gives it expressive-emotive values, often associated with logical argumentation, particularly when, at the formal level, they are rendered by interjections, adverbs, pronouns, groups of words suggesting an objection, an implicit rectification: “ei, bine” ‘well then’, “atunci” ‘then’, “cel puțin” ‘at least’, “totuși” ‘however’ etc.

In the evangelist Matthew’s texts, this marks mainly the connection between ideas, which is, as previously said, very rigorous as compared to that of the other evangelists. From one episode to another, especially when a presentation of facts alternates with a discourse, then with a description of the miracles, the meaning may be that of “dar” ‘but’, “or” ‘however’, “totuși” ‘however, still’, for it announces a long parenthesis between two identical ideas – *id est*: between two speeches, interrupted by a short presentation of Jesus’ passage from one place to another. Inside fragments, that particular connector often abandons its transphrastic and pragmatic status and becomes a conjunction in a common syntactic structure. Thus, it links various

⁹ Cf. Bailly, s.v. *οὐδὲ*.

qualifiers of the same governor, having a more pronounced role than the usual equivalent of “și” ‘and’, or it occurs after a repeated word. Such values are to be equally noted in dialogues as well, where they suggest the coherence of assertions, namely the connection with previous ideas, even though they are only implied, not necessarily expressed.

Biblical scholars go out of their way to convince us that the gospels are not mere riches of Jesus, but an argument for the importance of the rebirth of the whole world in Jesus:

“*O Evanghelie e mai mult decât o simplă biografie a lui Iisus: vrea să fie cuvântul lui Dumnezeu asupra vieții noastre, asupra lumii.*”¹⁰ (‘A Gospel is more than a mere biography of Jesus: it wants to be the word of God about our life, about the world’.)

“*Intenția lor [a evangheliștilor] nu a fost să prezinte o înlănțuire istorică amănunțită, ci o viziune despre Iisus și despre ce este El pentru Biserică.*”¹¹ (‘Their [i.e. the evangelists’] intention’ was not to present a detailed historical sequence of events, but a vision of Jesus and of what He is to the Church’.)

Therefore, we are dealing with argumentative texts, with a very complicated compositional structure, in which the simplicity of expression is inversely proportional to the depth of the issues of conscience the exposition aims at. That explains why the connector δὲ has similar values to γάρ in classical Greek. Through the usual folk and biblical polysemantism, it introduces an explanation, sometimes some evidence. When doubled by καὶ, it marks a progression along the narrative exposition line for demonstrative purposes, meaning “deci” ‘so’, “așadar” ‘therefore’, “așa deci” ‘so then’. Other times, it reinforces a statement or, in any case, marks a correlation – rendered mainly by demonstrative pronouns in modern languages. The role of syntactic coordination does not vanish completely, only that the respective connector acquires, in addition to the apparently conclusive values enumerated above, adverbial values as well. It seems strange that the levels – coordination and subordination – mingle, but in the pragmatic context of syntax connectors may associate these perspectives, by the special meanings they take on in the context: *atunci* ‘then’, *tocmai atunci* ‘just then’. In this

¹⁰ “Introducere” to the *Evanghelia după Matei*, 1996, p. 39.

¹¹ “Introducere la Evanghelie”, in: *Evanghelia după Marcu*, 1996, p. 13.

regard, especially the text of the evangelist John is syntactically articulated by such strictly grammatical connectors which usually, in a classic situation, would introduce subordinates. The episodes in his gospel, very dynamically depicted, generally start with the phrasal structures: *și pe dată* ‘and at once’, *și de îndată* ‘and forthwith, and immediately’. In Matthew, the text is a bit more stable, more balanced, and the transitions from one episode to another are sometimes made by correlating *καὶ* with *δὲ*.

Anyway, in all the evangelists, *δὲ* is so frequently used that it seems a particle, commonly used in everyday speech as an automatism meant to ensure the continuity of ideas. In fact, in literary Greek *δὲ* may even be used as a deictic particle, showing that the person in question is present or the event under discussion is current.

As regards the connector *καὶ*, the first thing we should note is that it exceeds its role of copulative coordinator in almost all living, natural languages. It is by far the most frequently used word in all modern languages, as shown by A. Joulland’s frequency dictionaries, in which it systematically occupies the place marked with the index 1¹². The most common values in coordination, which double the copulative, are the adversative and conclusive ones. However, sometimes, the correspondent of the Romanian “și” ‘and’ may also be used in subordination relations, with the value of “căci” ‘because’, for example, in the adverbial clause of reason. In all these instances, *καὶ* may mean “și” ‘and’, “de altfel” ‘actually’, “la fel” ‘the same’, “de asemenea” ‘also’, “chiar” ‘even’, “și chiar” ‘and even’, “numai” ‘only’, “într-adevăr” ‘indeed’, “căci” ‘because’, “la fel de bine” ‘just as well’. We should remark that most of them ensure the relationship between two series of ideas. At the strictly syntactic level, the connector in question is actually used to closely bind two clauses, in which case it acquires the meanings “și deci” ‘and so’ “și atunci” ‘and then’. In Matthew, its use is, as we have seen,

¹² Cf. Alphonse Joulland (coord.), Paul Max Edwards and Ica Ileana Juilland, 1966, *Frequency Dictionary of Rumanian Words*, London-The Hague-Paris: Mouton. LXXIV + 513 pp. Joulland (coord.), Dorothy Brodin and Catherine Davidovitch, 1970, *Frequency Dictionary of French Words*, The Hague-Paris: Mouton. LXXV + 503 p. Alphonse Joulland (coord.), Vincenzo Traversa et alii, 1973, *Frequency Dictionary of Italian Words*, The Hague-Paris: Mouton. XLII + 519 pp.

less frequent than in the other evangelists, which suggests that the author tried to avoid too semantically loaded and possibly ambiguous terms.

In Matthew's verses, *οὐν* was not one of his preferred choices either. An adverb and conjunction with a long career in the history of the Hellenic language, it always occurs in secondary position, after a nominal or a verb, adverb etc., meaning "fără îndoială" 'undoubtedly', "în mod real" 'really', "într-adevăr" 'indeed', "precis" 'precisely'. When accompanied by *καὶ*, it forms a conjunctive phrase with the values "după toate acestea" 'after all this', "și dacă" 'and if', "și dacă nu" 'and if not', "și într-adevăr" 'and indeed'.

Discursively, it is very common, with many of the meanings in Romanian given above ("într-adevăr", "după toate acestea" etc.). But it is a significant marker of the idea of narrative continuity, with conclusive, conclusive-appositive etc. syntactic nuances: "deci" 'so', "ei, bine" 'well then' etc. When used to show that we should remember what the speaker has previously said, the Latin versions equate it by the usual *verba dicendi*, with metadiscursive values and incident positions in the discourse: *dico, inquam, zic* "I say", "cum ziceam" "as I was saying".

It is also used in the discursive structure to resume the thread of a certain type of presentation (narrative, description, dialogue) after an interruption, a logico-expositive parenthesis. If there was a highly developed member of the verse, the author feels the need to restore the cohesion of the entire verse. The same thing happens when the author wants to draw attention to secondary facts in the unfoldment of the presentation, to significant details or to the subdivisions of the direct speech – sayings, parables, rhetorical interrogations, exclamations etc.

At the argumentative level of the text, this particle marks not only the continuity of a presentation, but also the logical succession of the elements of a reasoning. The idea of consequence in complying with the logical sentences – major premise, minor premise, conclusion – gives special meanings to the connector, such as "prin urmare" 'therefore', "după toate acestea" 'after all this', "în consecință" 'consequently', "deci" 'so'. It is no coincidence that the Latin version virtually equates it with conclusive-coordinating constructions, which are also loaded with many semantic-pragmatic values as *igitur, itaque* and so on. The conclusive value changes the order of the respective connector, placing it before that particular clause.

2.3. Latin correspondents of the New Testament transphrastic connectors

The most common transphrastic connector in the Latin version of the New Testament is *autem*. It is a relatively late specialization, because the term actually starts from the disjunctive conjunction *aut*, in the literary language, meaning “sau” ‘or’, “fie” ‘either’, which was used to logically and syntactically separate two topics from very different logical categories (*Aut Caesar, aut nihil!*). From this point of view, *aut* is more strongly marked in disjunction than *vel*, which Festus would assign to the contradictory separation of two things that belong to identical or similar logical series (*patres vel parentes* “strămoșii sau părinții” ‘forefathers or fathers’). In Late or Vulgar Latin, *aut* also replaced *an*, which introduced the second member of a double interrogation¹³. In the New Testament, Late, Vulgar Latin, such reasonings with double negation do not belong in the structure of sentences and transphrastic logical statements. Not even the reduced body of *aut* would ensure a certain evolution, although it is well represented in Romance languages, cf. Fr. *ou*, It. *o*, Ro. *au* (and the Banat regionalism *o*, meaning “sau” ‘or’, “fie” “ori” ‘either’ and the interrogative adverb “oare” ‘really, can it’: *o eu, o tu* “sau eu, sau tu” ‘either you or me’; *o nu se poate altfel?* “oare nu se poate altfel” ‘cannot it be otherwise’). So, as in many other cases of lexical evolution, the derivative *autem*, with the intensive particle *-em*, also found in *item*, from *ita*, in *idem*, from *id* etc., is required.

Linguists note that the term comes usually after the first word of the sentence¹⁴ and corresponds to the Greek δὲ, which is of particular importance to our study. This time, not only Late Latin prefers the repetitive word, but so does classical Latin. In fact, in both languages, it is precisely the pragmatic values that speakers confer to this pair of connectors. They are used especially in the spoken language, as shown by the fact that Cicero, for instance, employs it in his private letters, *ad familiars*, not in his discourses (remade for publication) and even less in his rhetorical treatises. Thus, the great orator uses the correlatives *quidem... autem* which render the Greek ἔν...δὲ¹⁵. Initially, *autem* resumed, in an interrogative tone, a statement which the

¹³ For the Latin connectors we have used N. I. Barbu, *Gramatica limbii latine*, București: E.D.P., 1969/1994, completing the information with the excellent “history of Latin words” which is DELL, in the respective entries.

¹⁴ Cf. A. Ernout; A. Thomas, DELL, s.v.

¹⁵ Cf. DELL, s.v

speaker did not agree to. In biblical texts, it became an operator that ensured the continuity of fragments, used especially when heterogeneous passages follow one another at small intervals, after possible interruptions in another category of presentation (narratives interrupted by dialogues or monologues and vice versa).

The other transphrastic connector frequently used as an equivalent in the Latin versions is *ergo*. As so many others in the category in question, it also plays a prototypical role of conclusive conjunction, in the syntactic structure of sentences generated as such in the elevated register of classical Latin. Used absolutely, it is both a conjunction and a preposition (with the Genitive), whereas in association with a nominal or a verb it may function as a particle, giving the word it marks the same conclusive meaning. It generally corresponds to the Greek *ὀυκοῦν*, but since this one is hardly used in the *Septuagint* texts and the original version of the New Testament, the authors of the *Vulgate* used it, even before Jerome's version, to render *οὐν*, which is actually the short variant, not formed by the lexicalization of the former. Even so, it occurs quite rarely in the New Testament text in the Hellenistic age, and was almost unknown in the archaic age and in folk speech, for it is not attested in the plays of Plautus and Terence. The transition from the elevated to the common style, the use in the vernacular occurred by loading it with pragmatic-argumentative values. The Aristotelian type of reasonings in the formal logic cultivated until late in Europe, until Cartesius, end with the usual conclusion by induction or deduction, whereas in Latin it begins with *ergo* "deci" 'so', "aşadar" 'therefore'.

Sometimes it is emphasized by other synonymic connectors, in a redundant expression, but the pleonasm is deliberate: it reinforces, as much as possible, a conclusion which the speaker is very attached to: *ergo - igitur*, *ergo - itaque*. These logico-semantic values, of the "consequently" type, also provided its role of transphrastic connector in any discursive structure, not only in the demonstrative one. Basically, *ergo* acquires the meaning of the incidental *dicendi* verbs "ziceam, aşadar" 'so, I was saying', replacing or alternating with phatic verbs such as *inquam*, *dicebam*, in an account, in order to resume the thread interrupted by a digression. Its survival in the philosophical, religious language, especially in logical demonstrations, must have been also ensured, naturally, by its relatedness to the preposition *erga* "față de" 'with regard to, towards', which takes on the role of phrastic

connector, in this respect. The parallel between the two types of connectors – in sentence/clause – is part of a larger process manifested in Latin, cf. *ultra/ultra; citra/citra* etc.

Thus, transphrastic (and phrastic) connectors in old versions – Greek and Latin – of the *Gospel* are defined by an excessive load of meanings, values and pragmatic nuances, which make up for the scarcity of specialized lexical inventory. The evangelists choose a few connectors, frequently used in the vernacular, which they use in extremely various situations, the discursive function, of ordering, cohesion and hierarchization of items represented by verses and verse groups, subordinated to themes in the structure of chapters in each gospel, being the dominant one. The argumentative role of those particular connectors, extremely important in a dogmatic writing, is subordinated to the discursive values.

Before starting the actual analysis, we ought to present at least the most common connector in Romanian versions, *și* ‘and’, which forcefully replaces almost all the others in the texts written in old sacred languages, perhaps also under Slavonic influences.

2.4. Transphrastic connectors in the Romanian versions of the Gospel According to Matthew

As previously mentioned, Romanian biblical texts, mainly those in the old age, in the 16th-18th centuries, favour the use of the conjunction *și* as the jack-of-all-trades, so to speak, of the transphrastic connectors. Obviously, at the phrastic and strictly grammatical level, the most numerous occurrences are in copulative relations, of association of objects, individuals, ideas, between clauses of the same kind (two independent clauses and two subordinate clauses)¹⁶. As in everyday speech, the New Testament text uses the other values of the conjunction *și* as well: adversative (*Fariseii întreabă și Ioan tăcu* ‘The Pharisees asked and John kept silent’); conclusive (*Suntem mulți și asta ne ajută* ‘There are many of us and that helps us’). Furthermore, it may mark the sequence in time (*Au strâns cortul și au plecat* ‘They packed the tent and left’), be means of the values of adverbs or adverbial or

¹⁶ For the grammatical and pragmatic values of *și* ‘and’, *dar* ‘but’, *așadar* ‘therefore’ etc., we have used the thorough studies of Isabela Nedelcu in GALR, I, pp. 638-614, and GALR, II, pp. 728-738, then GBLR, *loc. cit.*, as well as the DEX, *s.v.*

conjunctive phrases: “și apoi” ‘and then’, “după aceea” ‘afterwards’, “când” ‘when’.

As a discursive operator, the conjunction *și* exceeds by far its initial value of association of topics in the same logical series. Even with the temporal meanings that we have just mentioned, it “provides the continuity of the narrative”, especially when it occurs with adverbs and adverbial phrases: *și apoi* ‘and then’, *și după aceea* ‘and afterwards’ etc. However, temporal relationships are not restricted to the sequence of the moments of the account, but may also suggest, by means of this connector, the location in a previous moment, indicating “the standing still”, the recollection of an episode which should be fixed in memory in order to be analyzed as a generator of new events (*și atunci* ‘and then’; *și acum* ‘and now’ – when used in the present tense continuous).

It can also mark the sudden start of an action, which dynamizes the presentation of facts (*și deodată* ‘and suddenly’), suggesting surprise, the unexpected evolution of events.

The linguist Isabela Nedelcu insists on the concept of *narrative și*. The author of the cited study states that this conjunction is one of those that best represent the transphrastic relations and also emphasizes the *argumentative values* of *și* at the level of formal logic: the sequence of facts in a narrative text means the sequence of arguments, the sequence of descriptions corresponds to the logical presentation of facts. In general, the strictly grammatical relation generates discursive and argumentative values:

“*Pe tiparul unei relații sintactice se construiesc diverse relații pragmatice sau discursive*”.¹⁷ (‘Various pragmatic or discursive relations are built on the pattern of a syntactic relation.’)

In such situations, the Bucharest-based linguist says, the logico-semantic relations fade – we should interpret the values of conjunctions differently.

Both transphrastic perspectives – the narratological and the argumentative – are important for our study. If it is true that narration means, above all, establishing connections in coordination and less in subordination, as it is stated¹⁸, then *și* contributes decisively to the fluency of the form and content of discursiveness, marking the “thematic progression and

¹⁷ Isabela Nedelcu, in: GALR, II, p. 730.

¹⁸ From our point of view, narration means both coordination and subordination in sentences.

hierarchization of information”. For example, the apparently minor role as a marker of the end of an enumeration acquires very special values in biblical texts. In this respect, the significant passage is that regarding the genealogies: Jesus’ genealogy in the *Gospel According to Matthew* is connected to the long genealogy in the *Genesis*, book 1 of the *Old Testament*. However, in the *New Testament*, a final *și*, which also adds Abraham’s family to the generations of ancestors, leads to a dispute in the biblical world of the age. At some point, Jesus tells the Jews that it is not enough to invoke Abraham as their forefather in order to attain salvation – it is achieved through the personal merits of individuals and communities of each new generation.

But the gospels translated into Romanian generally use *și* instead of an entire series of synonyms in the class of conjunctions and adverbs, often even with the only value of phatic particle. Usually, its role is adversative or conclusive, replacing such forms as: *dar(ă)* ‘but’, *așadar* ‘therefore’, *deci* ‘so’, *de aceea* ‘that is why’, *în consecință* ‘consequently’, *prin urmare* ‘hence’¹⁹. We are to encounter it with these values, as a transphrastic, in the same book 1 of the *Gospel According to Matthew*, at the beginning of verse 12, which concludes by making a stylistic assessment of Jesus Christ’s relatives and ancestors.

Associating *și* with other coordinating conjunctions in the biblical text, as is the case of *și deci* ‘and so’ in laic and modern texts, for example, is out of the question. Instead, it may occur as an adverb:

L-au urmat și aceștia (pe Isus) ‘and [they] followed Him (i.e. Jesus)’.

In terms of the frequency of conjunctions with a transphrastic value, *dar* comes next. It also has a double morphological status, functioning as an adverb or as main adversative conjunction, with the meanings *însă* ‘but’, *că* ‘that’; *cu toate acestea* ‘nevertheless’; *totuși* ‘however’, and the purely adverbial ones *da* ‘yes’, *așa* ‘so’, *astfel* ‘thus’, *firește* ‘certainly’, *desigur* ‘of course’. Pragmatically, it can be used in Romanian to add “a new idea to what has been previously said” (DEX, *s.v.*), after a construction with the optative in order to express a negation. In these situations, it may mean “mai mult

¹⁹ Modern grammars (GALR, GBLR) attempt to clarify the belonging of some lexemes to a grammatical class or another, given that in the former academic and normative grammar the authors would express their uncertainty regarding their classification in the class of conjunctions or that of adverbs, cf. GAR, I, pp. 384-387.

decât atât” ‘moreover’, “respectiv” ‘respectively’, “nicidecum” ‘not at all’, “nici pomeneală” ‘not a chance’ etc. It is often used, as we are about to see, in conclusive structures, meaning “prin urmare” ‘therefore’, “deci” ‘so’, “așa deci” ‘so then’, “așadar” ‘hence’. In old literature as well as in the folk one, it may also function as a connector of a direct or indirect interrogative, meaning “oare” ‘really’. In the religious and lay discourse, the nuances that this universal *dar* acquires may introduce various shades: impatience (*Dar răspundeți odată!* ‘But answer at once’), surprise (*Dar puțini credincioși mai sunteți?!?* ‘There are so few of you, believers’), restriction (*Dar atât a fost* ‘That is all it was’).

The difficulties of analysis also come from its frequent adverbial use in the same types of texts, intended to intensify or assert, with the abovementioned meanings (*da, firește, desigur*).

Its value as a transphrastic connector is activated when it is placed at the beginning of the sentence or right after its first word. We shall see in the structure of verse 17 in book 1 of the *Gospel According to Matthew* that some Romanian versions use it instead of *și*, mainly in the old age (NTB and BB), in order to mark a change of perspective, a new discursive topic. In other verses it has argumentative roles, which coincide with the pragmatic values of conclusions at the end of a narrative presentation with exclamatory meanings. In more pretentious stylistic registers, it may replace “ei bine” ‘well’ in the same contexts. Generally, in such situations, a sequence of events is confirmed by an expected result: for example, the series of miracles performed is justified by the need to draw attention to the divine will. Other times, it is suggested to rectify an opinion, which in a metadiscursive language means rejecting initial assertions, changing the discourse theme, reorganizing perspectives, nuancing the repetition. More precisely, the other connectors such as *așadar* ‘so’, *drept aceea* ‘therefore’ etc. occur much less frequently in the New Testament texts, being recorded as early as the end of the 18th century, with the appearance of the *Biblia de la Blaj*. In all situations, its role is rather adverbial.

3. The testimonies of evangelic texts. The contrastive-typological and diachronic analysis

Our research is twofold. On the one hand, we consider *the analysis from a translational point of view*, since any biblical text in a modern or old

language – Latin or Slavonic – is a rendition of the Hebrew-Aramaic original, as regards the OT, and of the Greek one, as regards the NT. Linguistic structures do not easily find their correspondent in idioms that are chronologically, genealogically, geographically and culturally apart, and the effort to find equivalents is clearly seen in every word and every phrase, in each clause and sentence of the biblical text. Even if the fear to “not distort the teaching of the scriptures” required, from the very beginning, a *verbum a verbo* translation, naturally by sacrificing the target text, the equivalences could still not be achieved quite mechanically and the disquietude of choosing can be felt in the text even in the case of phrastic and transphrastic, syntactic and pragmatic connectors. On the other hand, we aim at *analyzing the historical evolution of the Romanian language*, which means confronting the successive editions of biblical writings, more precisely the New Testament ones, from the NTB (1648) to the BA (2001). Thus, the dynamics of syntactic connectors appears in its full manifestation, illuminating the springs of the sacred text in question from several angles.

The first observation to be made following the thorough study of the *Gospel According to Matthew*, in this case, regards the combination of phrastic connectors with discursive value and of those with argumentative value in one and the same lexeme: **Matthew 1:17**

Bibl. gr.: “¹⁷Πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἕως Δαβὶδ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες.”(Matei 1:17)

Vulg.: “¹⁷*Omnes ergo generationes ab Abraham usque ad David generationes quattuordecim et a David usque ad transmigracionem Babylonis generationes quattuordecim et a transmigracione Babylonis usque ad Christum generationes quattuordecim*”(Matei 1:17) „¹⁷

En.: “*So all the generations from Abraham to David [are] fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon [are] fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ [are] fourteen generations.*” (Matthew 1:17)

NTB (1648): “¹⁷*Derept acea, toate neamurile de la Avraam până la David, patrusprăzeace neamure; și de la David până la mutarea în Vavilon, neamure patrusprăzeace, și de la mutarea den Vavilon până la Hristos, neamure 14.*” (Matei 1:17)

BB (1688): “Toate *dară* neamurile de la Avraam, 14 neamuri, și de la David pînă la mutarea în Vavilon, neamuri 14, și de la mutarea Vavilonului pînă la Hristos, neamuri 14.” (Matei 1:17),¹⁷

BBj (1795): “¹⁷*Deci*, toate neamurile de la Avraam și pînă la David, neamuri patrusprăzece; și de la David pînă la mutarea Vavilonului, neamuri patrusprăzece; și de la mutarea Vavilonului pînă la Hristos, neamuri patrusprăzece.” (Matei 1:17)

NTS (1857): “¹⁷*Deci* toate neamurile de la Avraam pînă la David, neamuri patrusprezece; și de la David pînă la mutarea Babilonului, neamuri patrusprezece; și de la mutarea Babilonului (din Babilon) pînă la Hristos, neamuri patrusprezece.” (Matei 1:17)

BU (1914/1982): “¹⁷*Așadar*, toate neamurile de la Avraam pînă la David sunt paisprezece; și de la David pînă la strămutarea în Babilon sunt paisprezece; și de la strămutarea în Babilon pînă la Hristos sunt paisprezece neamuri.” (Matei 1:17)

BC (1923/1930): “¹⁷*Deci*, de la Avraam pînă la David, sunt paisprezece neamuri de toate; de la David pînă la strămutarea în Babilon sunt paisprezece neamuri; și de la strămutarea în Babilon pînă la Hristos sunt paisprezece neamuri.” (Matei 1:17)

BA (2001): “¹⁷*Așadar*, întru totul, de la Avraam pînă la David sunt paisprezece neamuri; de la David pînă la strămutarea în Babilon sunt paisprezece neamuri; iar de la strămutarea în Babilon pînă la Hristos sunt paisprezece neamuri.” (Matei 1:17)

In the basic text, the connector was *οὕτως*, with conclusive values, rendered in the *Vulgate* by *ergo*. The justification is given by the structure of this part in this particular book of the *Gospels*. The first 16 verses deal with the family tree of Jesus of Nazareth, starting with the well-known phrase, “The book of the Genealogy”, which renders no less than the Greek lexeme *γενεαλογία*²⁰. After listing the families of Christ’s ancestry, the Evangelist concludes:

²⁰ Genealogies were so common in the Antiquity that they became an independent literary species, alongside of the *catalogues*. The Homeric poems very well reflect this reality, cf. P. Gh. Bârlea, “The linguistic naturalisation of the homeric texts in south-east european versions”, in: *Diacronia*, 12.02. 2016. In the Bible, genealogies are to be encountered in the *Genesis*, 5:1-11, *Exodus*, 6:14-24; *Chronicles*, 1-9; *Esdras* 2:59-63. The one in Matthew is extremely carefully written and the repetitions, symmetries, thematic structure of each of the sixteen verses give it the value of a small epic poem.

*“Așadar, toate generațiile,
de la Abraham până la David,
sunt paisprezece generații;
și de la David până la strămutarea în Babilon,
paisprezece generații;
și de la strămutarea în Babilon până la Cristos,
paisprezece generații.”²¹*

There is a main phrastic connector here, *așadar* ‘so’, which connects the group of the first sixteen verses in Book 1, known by editors and exegetes as the “Prologue”, or more commonly, as “The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ”, on the one hand, and the synthesis-commentary on this genealogy, with emphasis on belonging to a wealthy, numerous family, with significant destinies for the history of Christianity and on the symmetry of the number of families in the three great ages and that particular history, on the other hand. It is therefore a connector with a discursive role, which closes an expositive episode, which is also argumentative, for it emphasizes the nobility of the newborn’s ancestry. The verse introduced is also meant to reorganize the composition of Book 1, as it prepares the new episode of Jesus’ coming into the world by parthenogenesis, thus opening a new perspective in the narrative structure of the text.

The extensive verse is enriched by two other conjunctions with transphrastic value, that *și* ‘and’ which does not necessarily have a syntactic role, for the enumeration of the large groups of 14 families could have been done by parataxis, but it manifested particularly at pragmatic-stylistic level, loading the connection of ideas and the consequence taken to syntactic repetitions.

In the Romanian versions of the NT it is rendered by *derept aceea*, in the NTB, and *dară*, in the BB. The 16th-century translators must have felt it as being conclusive and summative. The 17th-18th-century Transylvanian texts use the conclusive coordinating conjunction *deci* – BBj and NTS, rather following the Latinophone source texts, whereas those in Wallachia use the newer compound of *dar/dară* – cf. BU and BA.

As regards the two internal connectors, which remain transphrastic because they connect extensive phraseological and ideatic structures, the Greek *καὶ* and the Latin *et* are rendered by the copulative *și* in the Romanian

²¹ We shall use *Evangelhia după Matei*, the 1996 edition, as a version of reference.

versions of all times. There are two exceptions to the general rule, ignoring the first *și* in the entire construction in the BU and the BA, i.e. the use of parataxis where primary sources would mark the connection by a common segmental element.

The scheme of the initial transphrastic connector, completed by others – heterolexical, but with similar logico-semantic and pragmatic values, – is repeated in the next group of verses in Matthew 1. The segment 1:18-25 is termed by some editors by the initial part in verse 1:22, which reproduces the announcement of the prophet in the OT, more precisely in Isaiah, 7:14, rendered here by the angel of God:

Iată, Fecioara va zămisi²² ('Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son').

A reported discourse is to be found here, because the evangelist reproduces what the angel, who appeared to Joseph in a dream, says and the angel, in turn, reproduces the words of the prophet.

The phrastic connector in the Greek text is meant to change the perspective of the narrative again. After the genealogical presentation of Abraham's family has ended, showing "who was born to whom", the miraculous history of the birth of Jesus now opens. The connector in question opens a statement of presentation and the entire group of seven verses at the same time:

"Iar Nașterea lui Iisus a fost așa:" (Matei, 1:18) ('Now the birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way.')

Then there are three long sentences, distributed in two verses each, followed by a conclusive sentence at the end of the final verse, Matthew 1:25.

That *oἷν* cumulates several discursive and argumentative functions. Firstly, it resumes a detail, barely suggested but expected, for it is extremely important, in the previous group, in which Christ is mentioned, without saying anything about his birth. Then, it establishes the connection and fluency between the two large groups. Thirdly, it introduces explanatory data regarding the miraculous birth of the Saviour. In the middle of this second group *oἷν* is repeated, because the narrative perspective changes again. We

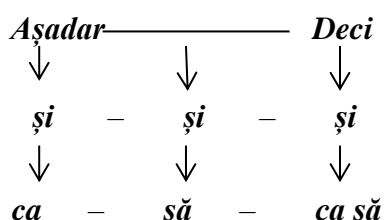
²² Of the four evangelists, Matthew is, as we have said, the one who makes the most references to the *Old Testament*, which indicates he had a solid Bible education. This is the reason that the first revisers and editors placed his gospel at the beginning of the *New Testament*, right after the end of the *Old Testament*, although, chronologically, it follows the *Gospel According to Mark*.

are told in the sentence opened by resuming this phrastic connector (Matthew, 1:22) that everything happened in order “to fulfil what the Lord had spoken”.

Finally, in-between there are three other connectors, in fact *καὶ* repeated at long intervals, which connects the logical units of the entire picture, because this complex group comprises not only a narrative presentation, but also the verbal rendering of visual pictures, dialogues with reported assertions (a direct and an indirect one), argumentative structures (the presentation – *the Major premise* in the Aristotelian reasoning; the actual circumstances – the *Minor premise* of formal logic and, of course, the *conclusion*).

In addition to syntactic connectors, clauses and sentences are linked together either by parataxis – in the case of coordinates, or by subordinating conjunctions such as *că* ‘that’, *să* ‘to’, *căci* ‘because’, *ca să* ‘in order to’ etc. – in the case of subordinates.

Therefore, the structure of the entire episode, which is very rigorously organized, as usual in Matthew, may be summarized as follows:



The transphrastic value and the value of pragmatic operators are activated in descending order, from the level in the first series to that represented by the strictly syntactic connectors, in subordination relations.

The logical units connected by these operators are very clearly outlined:

- Mary is found to be pregnant.
- Joseph wants to leave her discreetly.
- The angel explains to Joseph what is happening.
- The detail from the OT is invoked as an argument.
- Joseph takes Mary.
- Mary gives birth to Jesus.

We can narrow down the sphere of investigation only to the two fundamental connectors, for which the Romanian successive versions provide a plethora of options anyway. Again, we note that the old translations NTB and BB keep close to the source texts, rendering conjunctions such as *dar/dară* ‘but’ by the narrative *iar* or *iară* ‘and’, with a clear pragmatic-argumentative role.

Basically, in the current tidy language, the sequence would have sounded like this:

[Iar în cea ce privește nașterea lui Isus, lucrurile s-au petrecut așa:]
(‘And as regards the birth of Jesus, things took place in this way:’)

The modern versions – BU and BC – completely overlook the connector, opting for an introduction *ex abrupto* to the topic, without a segmentally marked connection to what was previously said. The 18th- and 19th-century translations (BBz, NTS, BBj) oscillate between *iar* and *iară*, with small differences in positioning when repeated in the middle of the episode.

As regards the *Vulgate* version, the term *autem* strongly capitalizes on its role of re-discussing an announced, but subsequently exploited, topic, although, in keeping with the Latin word order, it occurs after the key-word, *Christi*. The Genitive is required by the referent *generation* ‘birth’²³.

It is interesting to add that sometimes the connector *καὶ* in the Greek version also occurs in its strictly syntactic capacity, as a marker of the copulative or adversative relation. In this situation, only the Latin text and the Cornilescu Romanian version render it as such. The other Romanian versions use either *și* with adversative nuance or a prototypical adversative coordinating conjunction such as *dar* or *iar*:

Matthew, 1:20

Gr.: “²⁰ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου κατ’ ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων, Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ, μὴ φοβηθῆς παραλαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἁγίου.”(Matei 1:20)

²³ We should note the use of the folk term *generation*, typical of Late Christian Latin, instead of the abstract and polysemantic *genus*, rather ambiguous for speakers in the 1st century AD, and the common *partus*, recorded in all Latin language evolution ages.

Lat.: “²⁰*haec autem eo cogitante ecce angelus Domini in somnis apparuit ei dicens Ioseph fili David noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est*”(Matei 1:20)

En.: “**But** while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.” (Matthew 1:20)

NTB: “²⁰ *Ce cugetând el aceastea, iată îngerul Domnului i să arătă lui în somn, grăind: "Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teame a lua pre Maria muiarea ta, că ce e întru Ia a să naște, den Duhul Sfânt iaste."* (Matei 1:20)

BB: “²⁰ *Și cugetînd el aceastea, iată îngerul Domnului i să arată lui în vis grăind: "Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teame a lua pre Maria muiarea ta, căci cel născut întru ea den Duhul Sfânt iaste."* (Matei 1:20)

BBj: “²⁰ *Și, cugetând el aceastea, iată, îngerul Domnului prin vis s-au arătat lui, zicând: – Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teame a lua pre Mariia, muiarea ta, că ce s-au născut într-însa din Duhul Sfânt easte."* (Matei 1:20)

NTS: “²⁰ *Și aceastea gândind el, iată Îngerul Domnului în vis s-a arătat lui, grăind: Iosife fiul lui David, nu te teme a lua pre Maria femeia ta, că ce s-a zămislit într-însa, din Duhul Sfânt este."* (Matei 1:20)

BU: “²⁰ *Și cugetând el aceastea, iată îngerul Domnului i s-a arătat în vis, grăind: Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teme a lua pe Maria, logodnica ta, că ce s-a zămislit într-însa este de la Duhul Sfânt."* (Matei 1:20)

BC: ²⁰ *Dar, pe când se gândea el la aceste lucruri, i s-a arătat în vis un înger al Domnului și i-a zis: "Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teme să iei la tine pe Maria, nevastă-ta, căci ce s-a zămislit* în ea este de la Duhul Sfânt."* (Matei 1:20)

BA: “²⁰ *Și cugetând el aceastea, iată îngerul Domnului i s'a arătat în vis, grăind: "Iosife, fiul lui David, nu te teme s'o iei pe Maria drept femeia ta, fiindcă ceea ce s'a zămislit într'însa este de la Duhul Sfânt;"* (Matei 1:20)

When it is a matter of merely linking episodes of the same type, two strictly narrative sequences, for example, or narrative sequences that include short dialogues as well, Matthew prefers *de*, typical of a phrastic connection of sequence. The idea of progression in the same logical and discursive series is so obvious that neither the Latin version nor the Romanian versions deviate from the use of the *narrative și*:

Matthew: 2:8

Gr.: “⁸καὶ πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς Βηθλέεμ εἶπεν, Πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ παιδίου· ἐπὸν δὲ εὑρητε, ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι, ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ.”(Matei 2:8)

Lat.: “⁸et mittens illos in Bethleem dixit ite et interrogate diligenter de puero et cum inveneritis renuntiate mihi ut et ego veniens adorem eum”(Matei 2:8)

En.: “*And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found [him], bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.*” (Matthew 2:8)

NTB: “⁸Și-i trimitează pre ei în Vitleaem, zise: „Duceți-vă, iscodiți cu de-adins de cocon și deacă-L veți afla, dați-mi știre, ca să viiu și eu, să mă închin Lui”.” (Matei 2:8)

BB: “⁸Și trimițându pre ei în Vitheleem zise: „Ducându-vă, cercetați cu de-adins de Cocon; și deacă-L veți afla, dați-m știre, ca să viiu și eu să mă închin Lui”.” (Matei 2:8)

BBj: “⁸Și, trimițându-i pre ei în Vitheleem, au zis: „Mergând, întrebați cu de-adinsul de Prunc; și deacă-L veți afla, dați-mi de știre, ca venind și eu să mă închin Lui”.” (Matei 2:8)

NTS: “⁸Și trimițându-i pre ei în Betleem, le-a zis: Mergând cercetați cu de-amănuntul pentru Prunc. Și dacă îl veți afla, să îmi vestiți și mie, ca și eu venind să mă închin lui.” (Matei 2:8)

BU: “⁸Și trimițându-i la Betleem, le-a zis: Mergeți și cercetați cu de-amănuntul despre Prunc și, dacă Îl veți afla, vestiți-mi și mie, ca, venind și eu, să mă închin Lui.” (Matei 2:8)

BC: “⁸Apoi i-a trimis la Betleem și le-a zis: „Duceți-vă de cercetați cu de-amănuntul despre Prunc și, când Îl veți găsi, dați-mi și mie de știre, ca să vin și eu să mă închin Lui.” (Matei 2:8)

BA: “⁸Și trimițându-i la Betleem, le-a zis: „Mergeți și cercetați cu de-amănuntul despre prunc și dacă-l veți afla, dați-mi și mie de veste, pentru ca să vin și eu și să mă închin lui”.” (Matei 2:8)

As we can see, this particular connector is eluded only in D. Cornilescu’s version, as the translator preferred an adverb of time, selected nevertheless from the series of those marking the sequence in time of the account of facts.

In fact, the BC version uses this type of relationship even when the classic versions use conjunctive connectors such as the polysemantic and polyvalent *δέ* or in other situations. In Matthew 2:9, for instance, the Greek connector corresponds to the temporal Latin *cum*, indicating that the Latin translator acknowledged the function of marking the sequence in time rather than that of concluding and opening new perspectives:

Matthew 2:9

Gr.: *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀστήρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προῆγεν αὐτούς, ἕως ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον.* (Matei 2:9)

Lat.: *“⁹qui cum audissent regem abierunt et ecce stella quam viderant in oriente antecedebat eos usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer”* (Matei 2:9)

En.: *“When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.”* (Matthew 2:9)

This time, Romanian translators are divided into two unequal groups. All versions based on the old NTB or the Ms 45 of the *Bucharest Bible* use *iară* – the old 16th-century texts, or *iar* – the new texts, BBJ, BBZ, NTS, BU, BA.

Only in the BC do we find a conjunctive phrase again, which this time is subordinating: *după ce* ‘after’. This means that the translator changes the hierarchy of ideas in the text as well, placing an adverbial before the governor that carried the central message of the verse:

Matthew: 2:9

NTB: *“⁹Iară ei ascultară pre craiu și mearseră și iată steaoa carea văzură la răsărit mergea înaintea lor, până veni de stătu deasupra unde era coconul.”* (Matei 2:9)

BB: *“⁹Iară ei, ascultînd pre împăratul, mearseră; și iată, steaua carea au văzut la răsărit înainte aducea pre ei, pînă viind au stătut deasupra unde era Coconul”* (Matei 2:9)

BBj: “⁹ *Iară* ei, ascultând pre împăratul, s-au dus; și, iată, steaoa, carea o văzuseră în răsărit, mergea înaintea lor, până au venit de au stătut deasupra, unde era Pruncul.” (Matei 2:9)

NTS: “⁹ *Iar* ei ascultând pre împăratul s-au dus. Și iată steaua pe care o văzuseră la Răsărit mergea înaintea lor, până a venit și a stătut deasupra unde era Pruncul.” (Matei 2:9)

BU: “⁹ *Iar* ei, ascultând pe rege, au plecat și iată, steaua pe care o văzuseră în Răsărit mergea înaintea lor, până ce a venit și a stat deasupra, unde era Pruncul.” (Matei 2:9)

BC: “⁹ *După ce* au ascultat pe împăratul, magii au plecat. Și iată că steaua pe care o văzuseră în Răsărit mergea înaintea lor, până ce a venit și s-a oprit deasupra locului unde era Pruncul.” (Matei 2:9)

BA: “⁹ *Iar* ei, ascultându-l pe rege, au plecat; și iată, steaua pe care o văzuseră în Răsărit mergea înaintea lor, până ce a venit și a stat deasupra locului unde era Pruncul.” (Matei 2:9)

Sometimes the connector proper in the source text happens to suggest the subordination rather than the coordination relation, in the sense that the time adverbial seems more important than the attempt at a mere narrative continuity. The change in perspective, which also implies a thematic change in the discourse order, occurs in a clearly identified moment in the *Gospel of Matthew*, 2:16. Specifically, Herod decided to have all babes under the age of two in Bethlehem murdered *only when* it became clear to him that the magi he had been pursuing for some time had deceived him:

Matthew 2:16

Gr.: “¹⁶ *Τότε* Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων ἐθυμώθη λίαν, καὶ ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλεν πάντα τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλέεμ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἠκρίβωσεν παρὰ τῶν μάγων.” (Matei 2:16)

Lat.: “¹⁶ *tunc* Herodes videns quoniam inlusus esset a magis iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem et in omnibus

finibus eius a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis”(Matei 2:16)

En.: “*Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wrath, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.*” (Matthew 2:16)

NTB: “¹⁶ *Atunci Irod, văzând că fu batjocurit de maghi, să mînie foarte și trimise de pierdu pre toți coconii carii era în Vitleaem și den toate hotarele lui, de doi ai și mai mici, den ce vreame carea întrebuse de maghi.*” (Matei 2:16)

BB: “¹⁶ *Atuncea Irod, văzînd că fu batjocorit de vrăjitori, să mînie foarte tare și au ucisu pre toți copiii cei den Vithleaem și den toate hotarăle lui, de doi ani și mai mici după vreamea carea au iscodit de la vrăjitori.*”(Matei 2:16)

BBj: “¹⁶ *Atunci, Irod, văzând că l-au batjocorit maghii, s-au mîniat foarte și, trimițînd, au ucis pre toți pruncii, carii era în Vitleaem și în toate hotarăle lui, de doi ani, și mai mici, după vreamea, carea au întrebat de la maghi.*” (Matei 2:16)

NTS: “¹⁶ *Atunci Irod văzând că s-a batjocorit de Magi, s-a mîniat foarte; și trimițînd a omorât pre toți pruncii care erau în Betleem, și întru toate hotarele lui, de doi ani și mai mici, după vremea care cercase de la Magi.*” (Matei 2:16)

BU: “¹⁶ *Iar când Irod a văzut că a fost amăgit de magi, s-a mîniat foarte și, trimițînd a ucis pe toți pruncii care erau în Betleem și în toate hotarele lui, de doi ani și mai jos, după timpul pe care îl aflase de la magi.*” (Matei 2:16)

BC: “¹⁶ *Atunci, Irod, când a văzut că fusese înșelat de magi, s-a mîniat foarte tare și a trimis să omoare pe toți pruncii de parte bărbătească, de la doi ani în jos, care erau în Betleem și în toate împrejurimile lui, potrivit cu vremea pe care o aflase întocmai de la magi.*” (Matei 2:16)

BA: “¹⁶*Iar Irod, văzând că fusese amăgit de magi, s’a mâniat foarte și, trimițând, i-a ucis pe toți pruncii care erau în Betleem și’n toate hotarele lui, de doi ani și mai în jos, după timpul pe care îl aflase de la magi.*” (Matei 2:16)

The Greek τότε of the original version corresponds to a very correct and unequivocal temporal *cum* in Latin. In fact, in both classical languages, these particular conjunctions also have a causal and a result value, which can be activated in the same context²⁴. Of the Romanian versions, only the *Biblia în uz* and the *Biblia Anania* stick to the transphrastic *iar* at the discursive level, which provides fluency to the narration. All other versions take account of the prevalence of the temporal value of the Greek connector, taken over in Slavonic by correspondence as well (*I pak*), and put the adverb *atunci* (*atuncea*) ‘then’ in the initial sentence. The late revisers of the BU, probably the group of teachers from the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest, who carried out small interventions in the 1970s, chose to combine the connectors – coordinating and subordinating circumstantial – in a sequence: *iar când* ‘and when’. It is an example of how to comply, formally and in terms of content, at the same time, with the original version, because the temporal indicator can ensure text cohesion as well, by emphasizing the chronological succession of events resulting in the causal sequence, more specifically, the “cause-effect” relationship. The idea may be thus paraphrased:

[De vreme ce Irod a înțeles înșelăciunea, a decis să...] (‘Since Herod realized he had been deceived, he decided to...’)

[Întrucât a înțeles înșelăciunea, a decis să...] (‘Because he realized he had been deceived, he decided to...’)

We shall end this set of analyses with an example of pragmatic usage in the argumentative-rhetorical scope of transphrastic connectors. We have mentioned above that John rebukes the Pharisees and the Sadducees – the sacerdotal aristocrats of the Jews – when they come to the Judean desert to be

²⁴ Considering the rich semantics of the Latin *cum*, we understand why *cum* in Romanian (a conjunction and a relative and circumstantial adverb) cumulates so many values in syntactic relations.

baptized. Salvation is achieved by converting one's heart, by Christian deeds, John the Baptist tells them, not by invoking Abraham's ancestry or by the protection of the Law. John the Baptist's imprecation is an example of using transphrastic connectors in the negative. The Greek *καὶ μὴ* corresponds to the Latin *et ne*, common in direct address and in polemics favouring rhetorical refusal: *și să nu* 'and... not to'.

Matthew 3:9

Gr.: “⁹*καὶ μὴ* δόζητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ. λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.”(Matei 3:)

Lat.: “⁹*et ne* velitis dicere intra vos patrem habemus Abraham dico enim vobis quoniam potest Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae”(Matei 3:9)

En.: “**And** think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to [our] father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.” (Matthew 3:9)

NTB: “⁹**Și nu**-și gîndireți a grăi întru voi: părinte, avem pre Avraam, că zic voao că poate Dumnedzău și din piatrile aceastea să rădice feciorii lui Avraam.” (Matei 3:9)

BB: “⁹**Și să nu** vă pară a grăi întru voi: 'Părinte avem pre Avraam!', că zic voao că poate Dumnezău den piatrile aceastea să ridice feciori lui Avraam.” (Matei 3:9)

BBj: “⁹**Și să nu** vă lăudați, zicând întru voi înșivă: «Tată avem pre Avraam!» Că zic voao că poate Dumnezeu din piatrile aceastea să rădice fii lui Avraam.” (Matei 3:9)

NTS: “⁹**Și să nu** vi se pară a grăi întru sine-vă: Părinte avem pre Avraam. Că zic vouă, că poate Dumnezeu și din pietrele aceastea să ridice fii lui Avraam.” (Matei 3:9)

BU: “⁹**Și să nu** credeți că puteți zice în voi înșivă: Părinte avem pe Avraam, căci vă spun că Dumnezeu poate și din pietrele aceastea să ridice fii lui Avraam.” (Matei 3:9)

BC: “⁹ *Și să nu credeți că puteți zice în voi înșivă: ‘Avem ca tată pe Avraam!’ Căci vă spun că Dumnezeu din pietrele acestea poate să ridice fii lui Avraam.*” (Matei 3:9)

BA: “⁹ *Și să nu vă amăgiți grăind în sinea voastră: Părinte îl avem pe Avraam!, căci v’o spun eu vouă că și din pietrele acestea poate Dumnezeu să-i ridice fii lui Avraam!*” (Matei 3:9)

The differences among the Romanian versions would not be great if a radical change in the verb mood did not occur. Whereas all Moldavian-Muntenian versions (with former Maramureș and Hațeg-Banat contributions) use the conjunctive mood in the negative (BB, BBj, BU, BC, BA), one of the three Transylvanian versions (NTB) uses the long infinitive changed into the imperative, according to the Latin pattern: *și nu gândireți* ‘and do not think’. Today, such forms occur only in certain rural areas in Banat and Crișana. However, strong negation suddenly changes the discursive topic, during the course of presentation.

4. Conclusions

Transphrastic connectors are confined to a rather modest inventory, both in the source text and in Romanian target texts. Broader uses are out of the question, since each of the 3-4 conjunctions, adverbs and their phrases is so loaded with meanings, at strictly lexical-grammatical and semantic-pragmatic levels, that lexical variety would have been pointless here. The Latin version, which we have used as a witness of translational interpretations, confirms the limitation to a series of common and polysemantic connecting terms. On the other hand, the gospels addressed a heterogeneous, rather uneducated public and language subtleties, nuances of discursive and grammatical argumentative nature were sought by the authors in the vernacular register, which did not lack such resources. As it always happens in the history of languages, the simplification of forms is offset by the polyvalence of meanings.

As regards the equivalence in Romanian versions, the process unfolds in reverse: fewer and less charged with meanings in the old age, several, more complicated and more sophisticated, in the sense of narrow specialization, in modern ages.

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