

CHINESE BIBLE TRANSLATION  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GREEK VERBAL ASPECT  
AS EXEMPLIFIED IN JOHN 18–19 AND 1 CORINTHIANS 15

by

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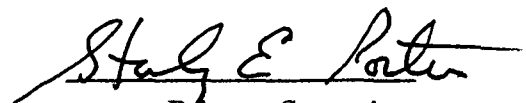
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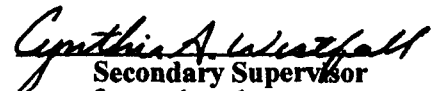
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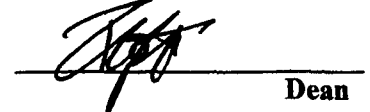
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## ABSTRACT

This study integrates three independent subjects—translation theory, Mandarin aspect, and Greek aspect—for the purpose of formulating a working theory applicable to translating the New Testament. Aspect is treated here as a grammatical category—as opposed to *Aktionsart*—and is described as the locutionary agent’s subjective viewpoint expressed morphologically by a verb. The primary objectives are defined in terms of grammatical translation of Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect at the discourse level. However, major Bible translation issues pertaining to lexical, phonological, formal, and functional elements, as well as translating conditional statements and figurative speech, are also considered. A historical overview of the Chinese Bible is provided as a way of introducing major issues related to linguistic, conceptual, and logistical challenges.

Porter’s tripartite model of aspect in Greek, defined in terms of the binary oppositions [ $\pm$ perfective], and [ $\pm$ imperfective] vs. [ $\pm$ stative], is adopted. Aspect in Mandarin closely resembles that in Greek, except that the privative opposition [ $\pm$ remote] does not exist in Mandarin. Also, unlike the tense-forms in Greek, morphologically expressed aspect morphemes (e.g. *-le*, IDVCs) are largely optional in Mandarin. Thus, notions of markedness and grounding become pertinent when the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead of morphologically expressed aspect morphemes to translate all five tense-forms in Greek: the more heavily marked disyllabic verbs are preferable in translating the present and imperfect, whereas the less heavily marked monosyllabic verbs are preferable to translate the aorist. The most heavily marked four-character set phrases are utilized to reflect both



the stative aspect and discourse function of the perfect and pluperfect as foregrounding tense-forms.

It is argued that morphologically expressed perfective and imperfective aspect morphemes are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The more heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *zài...-zhe*) are employed to reflect the foregrounded prominence indicated by the present and imperfect tense-forms. The proposed theory provides the translator with a powerful tool, which is tested in the two sample passages in John 18–19 and 1 Corinthians 15. Provided also are critical reviews of over sixty Chinese Bible versions, Nestorian, Manichaean, Catholic documents, and a translation written according to the proposed theory.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is a response to a series of visions I have received since 1991, shortly after my conversion to Christianity. I pray that my work may contribute in some small way to a better understanding of the Bible.

I dedicate this work to my family: my grandfather Yamamoto Yasuoki 山本保興 (1898–1945), my father Yoshisaburo 山本宜三郎, my mother Toshiko Dawn 童 敏子, my sister Lisa 莉莎, and my wife Marie Foley ハビバチ. I wish to express my gratitude to professors Porter, Westfall, Kwong, and Tan, who have kindly read my drafts and offered their insights. I would also like to acknowledge several individuals who have generously offered support in various ways in the past four years of my doctoral study: Jack and Barb Befus, Ron Boock, Doris Brougham, Barbara Carvill, Dave Clark, Helen Creedon, Tim Epp, Lois Fuller, Bob and Pam Hubbard, Verna Hutchinson, Jannet Hsieh, Hwang Hwe-Chin, Peng Kuo-Wei, Sugisaki Kazumi, Bill and Robin Swieringa, and John F. Prior.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*	Unacceptable sentence
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ABS	American Bible Society
AEMB	American Episcopal Missions Board
AFBS	American and Foreign Bible Society
APMB	American Presbyterian Missions Board
ASBM	American Southern Baptist Mission
ASV	American Standard Version
BDAG	Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3d ed.
BDF	Blass, <i>A Greek Grammar of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BDR	Blass, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i>
BB	Burdon and Blodget's easy wenli NT
BCV	Bridgman and Culbertson's version
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BT	Bible Treasury NT
BURNS	Burns' Psalms
CBT	Common Bible Translation (Japanese)
CCV	<i>Chinese Contemporary Version</i>
CCLOC	Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese

CEV	Contemporary English Version
CIM	China Inland Mission
CLB	Chinese Living Bible
CNT	Catholic NT (1949)
CRV	Chinese Recovery Version
CSB	Chinese Standard Bible
CSV	Chalmers and Schaub's Version
DCT	Dynamic Chinese Translation
DV	Delegates' Version
DVC	Directional verb-complement
EPM	English Presbyterian Mission
ESV	English Standard Version
FOLEY	The author's translation
GO	Josiah Goddard's NT
GURY	Gury Karpov's Orthodox NT
GÜ	Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman's version (NT 1837)
HKBS	Hong Kong Bible Society
HSC	Joseph Hsiao's Catholic NT
HS	Theodore E. Hsiao's NT
IBS	International Bible Society
IDVC	Imperfective Directional verb-complement
IG	St. Ignatius Monastery's Gospels
JBS	Japanese Bible Society

JCV	Japanese Colloquial Version
JOHN	Griffith John's easy wenli version
JOHNM	Griffith John's Mandarin NT
JRV	Japanese Revised Version
KJV	King James Version
LB	Living Bible
LMS	London Missionary Society
LÜ	Lü Chen-chung's version (1970)
MAR	Lassar and Marshman's version
MOR	Robert Morrison's version
MSV	Medhurst and Stronach's version
NAB	New American Bible (Catholic)
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBSS	National Bible Society of Scotland
NCV	New Chinese Version
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
PK	Peking Committee's NT
RAGUET	Raguet's NT (Japanese; Catholic)
RCUV	Revised Chinese Union Version

RL/TL	Receptor language/Target language
RVC	Resultative verb-complement
SB	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's version
SJ	Schereschewsky's easy wenli version
SL	Source language
SL-MOR	Morrison's transcript of the Sloane MS #3599
SYD	Sydenstricker's NT
TBS	Taiwan Bible Society
TCV	Today's Chinese Version (1995)
TEV	Today's English Version (= Good News Bible)
TNIV	Today's New International Version
TRNT	Taisho Revised New Testament
UBS	United Bible Society
UV	Union Version (Mandarin)
UVB	Union Version (Baptist wenli)
UVE	Union Version (easy wenli)
UVW	Union Version (wenli)
VC	Verb complement
WANG	Wang Hsüan-chen's NT
WBS	Worldwide Bible Society
WV	Wu Ching-hsiung's version
YAN	Yan Fu's Mark 1–4
ZHU	Zhu Baohui's NT



## TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

### a. Chinese Characters, Punctuation, and Style

The term “Chinese” generally refers to both the language and writing style. In the discussions of verbal aspect, it is used interchangeably for the most part with “Mandarin.” Dialectical differences in Chinese are not considered. For the sake of consistency, Chinese characters are represented in traditional form as opposed to in simplified script, which has been implemented in China since 1956. *Hanyu Pinyin* 漢語拼音 is adopted here as the standard system for transcribing Chinese. To avoid confusion, the current study follows a modified system of style and punctuation: a full character-sized comma [ , ] for a comma, a full character-sized semicolon [ ; ] for a semicolon, a stroke [ 、 ] for connecting a series of words, a small circle [ ° ] for a period, a full character-sized exclamation mark [ ! ] for an exclamation, a full character-sized question mark [ ? ] for a question mark, and two full character-sized vertical dots [ : ] for a colon. Emphasis is marked by a dot (e.g. 既爾髮皆已見數) or circle (e.g. 也都歷歷可數) above the character. Direct quotations are marked by the symbols [ 「 ] and [ 」 ], and [ 『 ] and [ 』 ] for a quotation within a quotation. Parenthetical statements are enclosed by pointed brackets [ 〈 ] and [ 〉 ]. Textual variants and other notes are included in the text, and are indicated by square brackets [ [ ] and [ ] ]. Notes are written in font half the size of a full Chinese character; for example, 有一些人已死去 [ 或作 睡著 ] (1 Cor 15:6). Proper names—with the exception of 耶穌基督 (Jesus Christ), 神/上帝 (God), 聖靈 (Holy Spirit)—are underlined (e.g. 約翰). Book titles are enclosed by double pointed brackets (e.g. 《創世紀》).

Chapter and verse breaks in the translated text will follow conventional practice, for example, 《約翰福音》第十八章 refers to John 18. Two spaces equivalent to two Chinese characters are inserted in front of the text to indicate the beginning of a new pericope. For the sake of convenience, all Chinese texts (in Chinese characters and transliteration) are represented in the western left-to-right, top-to-bottom format. Also, Chinese script is consistently presented in traditional characters.

### **b. Tetragrammaton**

The so-called “term question,” that is, whether to call God *Shàngdì* 上帝, *Shén* 神, or *Tiānzhǔ* 天主, has persisted throughout the history of Chinese Bible translation.<sup>1</sup> The main issue seems to be related to the lack of uniqueness of these terms in Chinese. The challenge must have faced the translators of the Septuagint, for the existing Greek word θεός has been used to refer to the pantheon of pagan deities. In fact, early Protestant translators of the Bible adopted a traditional practice known as *táitóu* 抬頭 (lit. “lifting the head”), which is similar to the effect of capitalizing the first letter of the word “God” in English. One form of *táitóu*, called *nuótái* 挪抬 (lit. “shifting”), is the practice of leaving a space equivalent to a Chinese character in front of the person’s name so as to show respect. For example, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is often referred to as *Xiān zǒngtǒng Jiǎng gōng* 先總統 蔣公 (lit. “late President Chiang gōng”).<sup>2</sup> Some Chinese versions (e.g. GÜ, SJ, BB, UVE, UVB, UV 1988, SYD, NCV)<sup>3</sup> have taken advantage of *nuótái*, but with exclusive reference to God. *Nuótái* seems to provide a plausible remedy

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<sup>1</sup> For summaries of the so-called the “term question,” see Wyder, “Übertragung,” 473–81; Eber, “Interminable Term Question,” 134–61.

<sup>2</sup> *Gōng* denotes a respectful address to an elderly man.

<sup>3</sup> Only the *Shen* edition of UV 1988 uses *nuótái* 挪抬. See *Holy Bible (Union Mandarin Version)*.

to the current terminological debate for God in Chinese, and hence will be adopted as a consistent form to refer to God, or *Shén*, in the study.

### c. Chinese Pronouns for the Divinity

Besides *nuótái*, another useful but controversial device that may amplify the uniqueness of God in Mandarin Chinese is the personal pronoun *Tā* 祂. 祂 is a relatively recent invention of a Mandarin third-person singular pronoun used exclusively with reference to God in the Christian Bible. It first appeared in Wang Hsüan-chen's Mandarin New Testament in 1933.<sup>4</sup> The Mandarin divinity personal pronoun 祂 is a modification of three existing Chinese pronouns: 他 (masculine singular, "he"), 她 (feminine singular, "she"), and 牠 (neuter singular, "it" as in animals) all of which are pronounced *tā*. The radical 亻 ("person") in the common masculine singular pronoun 他 has been replaced with the radical 礻 ("divinity") to form the new pronoun 祂.<sup>5</sup> 祂 should not to be confused with 祂 which has the radical 衤 meaning "clothing." While some versions use this pronoun exclusively for God (LÜ 1946, 1952, CPB),<sup>6</sup> others have extended it to reference Jesus (WANG, BT, HS, CNT, CLB, CRV, SB), and even the Holy Spirit (CRV, SB, CLB).<sup>7</sup> The second-person singular pronoun *nǐ* 祢 is formed in accordance with the

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<sup>4</sup> Wang 王宣忱, *The New Testament*. With the exception of CNT, the divinity pronoun 祂 was not used in early Catholic versions prior to recent publication of the CPB and the electronic version of SB. See *Chinese Pastoral Bible*. Unfortunately, the online version of the SB grossly misrepresents 祂 with 祂. This negligence is unacceptable in Bible translation. See *Dian zi sheng jing*.

<sup>5</sup> The two Mandarin pronouns 她 and 牠 were also new characters, but both appeared in writing a few decades earlier than 祂. See, for example, Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, s.v.; Mathews, *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>6</sup> In his 1970 Bible edition, Lü Chen-Chung dropped 祂 from use entirely. Lü 呂振中, *Holy Bible*.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Heb 10:15 reads *Shènglíng yě duì wǒmen zuò jiànzhèng, yīnwèi Tā shuō-guò* 聖靈也對我們作見證，因為祂說過．．． (CRV); the SB online version has *Shèngshén yě gěi wǒmen zuòzhèng, yīnwèi yì shuō-guò* 聖神也給我們作證，因為祂 (sic) 說過; the CLB has *Shènglíng yě xiàng wǒmen zuòzhèng, Tā shǒuxiān shuō* 聖靈也向我們作證，祂首先說. The UV (新標點和合本) does not use 祂 in the biblical text; only once in the subject heading *Shén wèi Tā érzi zuò de jiànzhèng* 神為祂兒子作的見證 ("God's Testimony for His Son," 1 John 5:6). However, this is likely a typographical error, since the revised UV

same principle as 祂, but is less commonly used. Only the CLB version has used 祢 to refer exclusively to God and Jesus. One objection to the use of 祢 is that it is a word that already existed (variant form of 彌) and is used as a surname with the alternative pronunciation *mí*.

However, despite the creative and inspiring efforts of these new Chinese pronouns, 祂 and 祢, which emphasize the uniqueness of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, many oppose their use in Bible translation.<sup>8</sup> The arguments are largely theologically motivated, but linguistically inspired. Most importantly, from the linguistic point of view, the use of the divinity pronouns in Mandarin is unwarranted by the Greek and Hebrew of the original biblical texts. For this reason, the personal pronouns 祂 and 祢 are not adopted in this dissertation.

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(RCUV) has 他 instead. Early proponents of using newly invented personal pronouns for Chinese Bible translation include Wang and Liu. See Wang 王宣忱, *The New Testament*; Liu 劉翼凌, "Notes," 98, 107.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Chow, "Third-Person Pronouns."

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Since its beginnings in the seventh century C.E. to the early twentieth century, the enterprise of Bible translation into the Chinese languages had been long dominated by western Christian missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Legacies of heavy western influence are still felt today, even though the task of translating the Bible into Chinese has been largely undertaken by native speakers. English, in particular, has become the single most important language in defining the essential character—as well as identifying the fundamental problems—of the Chinese Bible. In many instances, English serves not simply as a medium language to access reference materials (notably the KJV), but as the *source* language from which the Bible is translated into Chinese, as has been the case since the first Chinese New Testament appeared in 1814.

One of the most significant impacts of heavy reliance upon the English language in the Chinese New Testament may be identified in terms of the treatment of Greek verbs. To illustrate the extent of the problem, imagine a scientist who tries to study gorillas and pigs by examining jellyfish. The scientist is the translator, whereas gorillas, pigs, and jellyfish represent Greek, Chinese, and English, respectively. The jellyfish resembles the gorilla insofar as they both have ligaments for maneuvering their bodies. Both Greek and English have verb endings, but the former are used to grammaticalize aspect, whereas the latter are used to indicate temporal location, just as the ligaments of the jellyfish are meant to survive in water, not in land as the gorilla. On the other hand, gorillas and pigs are similar because they are both mammals whose limbs have been adapted to walk on

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<sup>1</sup> This dissertation was written when the author used the name Liang-her Wu. Subsequent publications by the author are under the name Toshikazu S. Foley 堀井敏和 (フォーリー・としかず).

land, just as verb suffixes in Greek and Chinese are utilized to express aspect. Therefore, a Chinese Bible version based on the translator's knowledge of English and Greek verb systems is doomed to be, to say the least, problematic. This problem is especially apparent when translating the stative aspect in Greek by the Mandarin perfective aspect marker *-le* 了. According to traditional grammarians (e.g. Burton, Gildersleeve, Robertson), the perfect tense-form in Greek is often translated by the perfect tenses (e.g. have + past participle) in English.<sup>2</sup>

In other words, a good Chinese Bible translation demands that the translator conduct a thorough study of aspect in both the target and the receptor languages. The obstacles in Chinese Bible translation persist today not because of a lack of interest in the subject, but rather because of a vacuum in the scholarship of direct interaction between Greek and Chinese. While not surprising, it is frustrating to observe that, while many newer Chinese versions (e.g. NCV, CRV) emphasize the importance of fidelity to the original languages, none of them incorporates modern linguistic research of aspect in either Greek or Chinese, not to mention aspect in relation to discourse analysis.

The current dissertation integrates three independent subjects—translation theory, Mandarin verbal aspect, and Greek verbal aspect—for the purpose of formulating a working theory applicable to Bible translation. Aspect is defined here as the locutionary agent's (i.e. speaker's, writer's, or utterer's) subjective viewpoint (perfective, imperfective, or stative) expressed morphologically by a verb. The primary objectives and scope of the study are defined in terms of grammatical translation of New Testament Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect at the discourse level. However, it is necessary to also

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<sup>2</sup> See 4.2.4, p. 201 below.

consider major Bible translation issues pertaining to lexical, phonological, formal, and functional elements. In order to demonstrate that the proposed theory can be successfully applied to actual Bible translation, two New Testament passages from different literary genres are chosen: the Passion narrative of the Gospel of John (John 18–19) and Paul’s exposition on the resurrection of the dead (1 Corinthians 15). Over sixty Chinese (including twenty-two Mandarin) versions are critically reviewed. To my knowledge, this is the first monograph-length research into verbal aspect in Greek and in Chinese, with special reference to Bible translation. In addition to aspect, this dissertation attempts to contribute toward the understanding of general aspectual studies, the history of Bible translation and Christian missions in China, and the general practice of Bible translation.

Chapter outlines of the dissertation are as follows: Chapter 1 provides an overall introduction to the subject of the dissertation, with the purpose and scope clearly stated. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the content of each chapter.

Chapter 2 divides into two parts. The first part provides a comprehensive account of the history of the Chinese Bible, from the arrival of the Nestorian missionaries in China in the seventh century C.E. to the present day. Major issues addressed here include those related to the linguistic, conceptual, and logistical challenges of translating the Bible into Chinese. The second part of the chapter surveys modern translation theories, including critical assessments of major approaches, in particular, by Nida and Catford. Chapter 2 concludes with the methodology of translation theory used for the current study.

Chapter 3 introduces general studies of verbal aspect and examines, in particular, aspect in Mandarin Chinese and New Testament Greek. Aspect is treated here as a grammatical category as opposed to a lexical category or *Aktionsart*. Porter’s tripartite

model of aspect in Greek is adopted. Similarly, aspect in Mandarin is defined in terms of binary oppositions: [ $\pm$ perfective], and [ $+$ imperfective] vs. [ $+$ stative]. The difference between the two languages is that the privative oppositions [ $\pm$ remote] found in the imperfective and stative aspects in Greek do not exist in Mandarin. Also, unlike the tense-forms in Greek, morphologically expressed aspect morphemes (e.g. *-le* 了, *zài* 在, *-zhe* 著, as opposed to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme) are largely optional in Mandarin. In addition to critical reviews of major approaches to Mandarin aspect, this chapter also surveys early Chinese grammars, especially those by Morrison and Edkins, who were directly engaged in translating the Bible into Chinese. For Greek aspect, the chapter reviews seven monographs published within the last two decades, including those by Porter, McKay, and Fanning. The chapter concludes with outlines of aspect in Mandarin and New Testament Greek, including a detailed treatment of aspect and its relationship to grounding and markedness at the discourse level.

Chapters 4 and 5 primarily deal with the grammatical translation of Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin aspect. Chapter 4 treats five tense-forms (aorist, present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect) in Greek in the indicative mood, while Chapter 5 treats those in the non-indicative (imperative, infinitive, subjunctive, optative, participles). Discourse considerations, such as the grounding and markedness of Greek tense-forms in relation to prominence and cohesion, are given special attention. It is argued here that, as a general rule, morphologically expressed perfective and imperfective aspect morphemes—either single or compound—are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The more heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *zài...-zhe*) are employed to reflect the foregrounded prominence indicated by the Greek present and imperfect tense-forms. On the other hand,



the most heavily marked Mandarin four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are utilized to represent the discourse function of the Greek perfect and pluperfect tense-forms as foregrounding device. However, in contexts where the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used (for example, due to stylistic considerations) the more heavily marked disyllabic verbs are preferable in translating the Greek present, whereas the less heavily marked monosyllabic verbs are preferable in translating the aorist. In addition to the grammatical translation of Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin aspect, syntactical issues, such as translating different types of Greek conditional statements and different uses of the participles (including periphrastic constructions), are also addressed.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide platforms for testing the validity of the proposed theory of translating New Testament Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect. Two passages from different literary genres are chosen: the Passion narrative of the Gospel of John (John 18–19) and Paul's exposition on the resurrection of the dead (1 Corinthians 15). Both chapters conduct a first-ever critical and comprehensive review of the writings of the Nestorian, Manichaean, and Catholic missionaries, as well as over sixty Chinese Bible versions. Although the current study primarily focuses on the grammatical translation of aspect, it also addresses several issues crucial to the practice of Bible translation, particularly those regarding phonetic transcription, the translation of key biblical terminology, and figurative speech.

Chapter 7 also serves as the conclusion for the study. The current dissertation has sought to demonstrate that the proposed theory can be successfully applied to translating New Testament Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect. It is argued that Mandarin aspect morphemes not only reflect the corresponding aspect of Greek verb forms, but also

closely represent the discourse functions of the Greek. Provided in chapters 6 and 7 are two summary tables of Mandarin aspect morphemes that are used in five representative Mandarin versions and FOLEY (the author's own translation) to translate the Greek verb forms in John 18–19 and 1 Corinthians 15. These data provide empirical evidence that the translators of these sample versions have been unacquainted with the discourse functions performed by aspect in either Mandarin or Greek.

## **CHAPTER 2 BIBLE IN CHINESE: ITS HISTORY, ISSUES, AND RELATION TO MODERN TRANSLATION THEORIES**

### **2.0. Introduction**

The subject of Chinese Bible translation is immense and multifaceted. This chapter begins by first tackling the history of and major issues in Chinese Bible translation (2.1). The second section continues with a critical survey of literature in translation studies with special reference to translating the Bible (2.2). The section concludes with a proposed methodology of the translation approach for the rest of the study (2.2.4).

### **2.1. History of and Major Issues in Chinese Bible Translation**

#### **2.1.1. Introduction**

This section aims to address major issues related to linguistic, conceptual, and logistical challenges within the framework of a historical survey of Bible translation activities in and outside of China. Primary sources consulted in current investigations include manuscripts and printed versions of the Bible or parts of the Bible in Chinese from archives and libraries, both public and private, from around the world. A comprehensive chronology of the major Chinese versions of the Bible is included in the appendix. Critical reviews of the Chinese versions will be used for discussions and applications in later chapters.

## 2.1.2. Pioneering Work of the Nestorians and Their Contributions<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1.2.1. The Nestorian Stele

Bible translation into the Chinese languages began in the seventh century C.E. A reliable source that supports the evidence of the introduction of the Christian faith is the Nestorian Stele from the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> Nestorians were members of a Christian sect that originated in Asia Minor and Syria, and who were later condemned as heretics by the Council of Ephesus in 431.<sup>3</sup> This monument was erected in Chang'an (modern-day Xi'an) in 781 to commemorate the propagation of the Christian faith during the Tang Dynasty (618–906 C.E.). It was composed in Chinese but with a few lines in Syriac by a Nestorian monk named Adam (also known as Jǐngjìng). Adam recounts the arrival of Bishop Alopên in Chang'an in 635 with 530 religious documents in Syriac.<sup>4</sup> Strong evidence suggests that early Nestorian missionaries probably had begun translating at least parts of the Bible into Chinese almost immediately upon their arrival in the mid seventh century.

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<sup>1</sup> This section was originally presented at the SBL/AAR/ASOR 2007 Upper Midwest Regional Meeting held at Luther Seminary, St. Paul, MN, April 13–14, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> The Nestorian Stele is also referred to as the Nestorian Monument, Nestorian Stone, Nestorian Inscription, or in its original Chinese title *Dàqín jǐngjiào liúxíng Zhōngguó bēi* 大秦景教流行中國碑, literally “Memorial of the Propagation in China of the Luminous Religion from Daqin.” For monograph-length treatments of the Nestorian Stele, see Holm, Carus, and Wylie, *The Nestorian Monument*; Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*; P'an, *Nestorian Tablet*; Feng 馮承均, *Nestorian Stele*; Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne*. See also various essays in Drake, “Nestorian Literature,” 609–14; Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 7, 11, 27–31, 360–62; Kung, *Christian Religion*, 16–23.

<sup>3</sup> The original Nestorians were identified with the Assyrians. Some believe that their presence in China lasted from around the seventh to tenth centuries. In 1898 Modern Nestorians in Iraq were received in the communion of the Russian Orthodox Church. See Holm, Carus, and Wylie, *Nestorian Monument*, 35–38.

<sup>4</sup> Alopên is known only by his Chinese name “Aluoben” 阿羅本. Saeki suggests it might be the Chinese translation of “Abraham.” See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 258.

### 2.1.2.2. Evidence of the Nestorians' Biblical Translation Activities

#### a. List of Biblical Books

To support the claim that the Nestorians were actively involved in translating the Bible into Chinese, one has to examine the internal evidence from the Stele as well as ancient documents directly related to the Nestorian missionary work in China. First, the most apparent clues of possible existing translations of the Bible in Chinese can be found in the ancient Nestorian documents dated to the early eighth century. Although none of the biblical texts have been preserved from the Tang Dynasty, there are translated titles of canonical books into Chinese that had been discovered in the last century. In 1908, Paul Pelliot discovered over 11 Chinese documents and fragments at Dunhuang Stone Cave in Shazhou, an ancient town 100 miles off the present caravan road to Chang'an.<sup>5</sup> Among these documents is an anonymous work of the early tenth century entitled the *Zūnjīng* 《尊經》 or the *Diptychs*.<sup>6</sup>

The *Diptychs* mentions God, the Holy Trinity, and names of saints (including David, Hosea, the Four Gospel writers, Peter, and Paul). It also contains a list of several canonical writings as well as apostolic and early ecclesiastical/theological teachings, called *jīng* or “sūtras.”<sup>7</sup> The identification of these sūtras remains highly conjectural; however, several of them, such as the Book of Moses 《牟世法王經》, Zechariah 《刪河律經》, Epistle(s) of St. Paul 《寶路法王經》,<sup>8</sup> and Revelation 《啟真經》<sup>9</sup> are clearly

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<sup>5</sup> Pelliot, *Mission*, 37–38; Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 65.

<sup>6</sup> According to Saeki, the *Zunjing* is “a list of living benefactors, as well as of the dead who were commemorated in the Divine Liturgy, and whose names were inscribed on the two-leaved ivory tablets.” He suggests the English titles such as “Praise-sūtra” or “Nestorian Book of Praise, dedicated to the Living and the Dead.” See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 258.

<sup>7</sup> For a comprehensive list of Nestorian documents, see Saeki, *Catalogue*.

<sup>8</sup> In Chinese there is no distinction between plural and singular nouns.

canonical. Other sūtras appear to be early church rules and catechism. These may include the Apostles' Creed 《師利海經》,<sup>10</sup> Ceremony and Rule Book 《儀則律經》, Catechism 《述略經》 (the “Sūtra of Definition”), Baptismal Hymn 《三威讚經》,<sup>11</sup> and Doctrine of the Cross 《慈利波經》.<sup>12</sup>

The total number of 27 books mentioned on the Nestorian Stele (經留二十部, v. 25) is likely to be merely coincidental to that of the New Testament writings. Both P.Y. Saeki and James Legge argue with great conviction that the twenty-seven books mentioned on the Stele are the canonical books in the New Testament.<sup>13</sup> If one accepts their conclusion, the question must be raised concerning the fact that Nestorian Christians only considered a total of twenty-two books of the New Testament writings as canonical.

#### b. Evidence from the Nestorian Documents

Second, supporting evidence for the Nestorians' involvement in Bible translation into Chinese came from the Stele where the actual activities were mentioned: *fān jīng jiàn sì, cún-mò zhōu háng* 翻經建寺、存歿舟航 (“With the translation of the Scriptures and the building of convents, we see the living and the dead. All sailing in one Ship of Mercy”).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 68–70; Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 274–75. See also Chiu, *Tracing Bible Translation*, 9–10. Chiu's list of biblical books in the Diptychs is derived from secondary sources, which often take great liberty and thus erroneously identify several sūtras to be canonical. One example is Ephraim-sūtra 《遏拂林經》, which Chiu erroneously identifies as Ephesians. See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 70.

<sup>10</sup> *Shīlǐhǎi* 師利海 is the Chinese transliteration of the Syriac word ܪܫܝܬܝܐ, meaning “apostle.” See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 69. In ancient Chinese it may have been pronounced as [ʃi lǐʰ ʔxâi], as Karlgren suggests. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>11</sup> Or “Three-baptismal-hymn.” See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 69–70.

<sup>12</sup> *Cīlīpō* 慈利波 is the transliteration of the Syriac word ܬܠܝܬܐ, meaning “cross.” In ancient Chinese, it could have been pronounced as [ʃi lǐʰ ʔpuâ]. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v. See also Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 70; Legge, *Nestorian Monument*, 7, n. 10. For additional comments, see 2.2.3, p. 45 below.

<sup>13</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 196.

<sup>14</sup> Nestorian Stele, verse 88. English translation is from Saeki. See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 172. Saeki reports that Jīngjīng has cooperated with the Kashmir monk Prajña 磐若 to prepare a Chinese translation of the Shatparamita Sūtra 《波羅密經》 in the late eighth century. See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 72–75,

It is significant that the author of the Diptychs refers to the Gospel evangelists as *fǎwáng* 法王 (“catholicos,” “saint,” lit. “law-king”) or *fǎzhǔ* 法主 (“law-lord”), the title reserved strictly for the chief priests of a Buddhist sect in China.<sup>15</sup> Nestorian missionaries in China also employ Buddhist terms such as *sēng* 僧 (“Buddhist monk,” e.g. on the Nestorian Stele) for Christian monks, *sēngjiā* 僧伽 (“sangha”) for Apostles, *dàdé* 大德 (“bhadanta”) for bishops, and *sì* 寺 (“Buddhist temple”) for Christian congregations and monasteries.<sup>16</sup> With few exceptions, however, all subsequent Christian missionaries and Bible translators in China rejected the usage of Buddhist terms and other current religious terms (including those of Taoism and Confucianism) in Christian context.<sup>17</sup> An example of an exception would be Nestorian usage of the term *jīng* (lit. “text,” “classics,” or “sūtra”), which is retained by Chinese Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, to refer to the Bible, *Shèngjīng* 《聖經》 (“sacred classics”).<sup>18</sup>

### c. Further Evidence

Third, the fact that Buddhist terms were employed on the Stele and other ancient Nestorian documents in Chinese suggests that the Assyrian missionaries may have begun from a very early stage upon their first arrival in Chang'an to translate Buddhist texts into

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135, 186. See also Drake, “Nestorian,” 617. Drake, however, holds a conservative attitude towards the actual translation and literary work undertaken by the Nestorians.

<sup>15</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 278. Saeki prefers the term as “catholicos” for *fǎwáng* instead of “saint.” See Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 68.

<sup>16</sup> *Sangha* (*samgha*) refers to an assembly, company, or society in Sanskrit. In Buddhism, it denotes the corporate assembly of (at least four) priests. See Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, 420; Eitel and Takakuwa, *Handbook*, 142. *Bhadanta* denotes “most virtuous” in Sanskrit. In Hinayana Buddhism, it is a title of honor given to priests. See Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, 88; Eitel and Takakuwa, *Handbook*, 29.

<sup>17</sup> “Taoism” refers to “Daojiao” 道教 in Chinese, and is more often spelled “Daoism” in literature appearing in the last twenty years.

<sup>18</sup> Ricci has used *Tiānzhuījīng* 天主經 (“Classics of the Lord of Heaven”) to refer to the Bible. See Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, 454, line 594.

Chinese.<sup>19</sup> Whether or not the Assyrians knew enough Sanskrit or Pali to complete the task is another matter, however it clearly indicates that the missionaries were at least well acquainted with Buddhist scriptures in Chinese translations. One could argue that this may also be indicative of their view of translating Buddhist texts as a starting point toward their ultimate goal of translating biblical texts.<sup>20</sup>

### **2.1.2.3. Contextualizing the Christian Message in the Chinese Language**

Nestorian missionaries in China during the seventh and eighth centuries not only heavily employed terms from Buddhism, a foreign religion introduced to China in the early first century C.E., but also borrowed extensively from indigenous religious traditions in China, especially Taoism. This particularly open and tolerant attitude toward non-Christian religions with regard to biblical translation, as we shall see, is rarely shared by later missionary translators of the nineteenth century. Some of the examples of employing Buddhist and Taoist terms in Christian contexts are shown below. The most noticeable terms adopted are those that refer to the Three Persons in the Holy Trinity in Chinese. Unfortunately, with rare exceptions, the Nestorians' innovative efforts of indigenizing Christian concepts by means of employing existing religious terms in Chinese were altogether rejected by later missionaries and Bible translators.

### **2.1.2.4. Naming the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in Chinese**

The Nestorians explored many innovative ways to render the Holy Trinity in Chinese. The most commonly found Nestorian Christian terminologies are examined here:

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<sup>19</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 74.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall Broomhall reasons with Saeki that "if the Assyrian monks could spare time to translate Buddhist works as well as their own literature, how much more time must they have given to Bible translation!" Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 20.



### a. God

- *Huángfù Āluóhē* 皇父阿羅訶 (“Imperial-Father Alāhā”): *Āluóhē* is the Chinese transliteration of ܐܠܗܐ, the Syriac word to render God (אלהים). In ancient Chinese, 阿羅訶 could have been pronounced as [ʔ · â · lâ · χâ].<sup>21</sup> It appeared on the Nestorian Stele and the Diptychs of the eighth century.<sup>22</sup> *Āluóhē* was used also to transliterate an essential figure in Buddhism, Arhat<sup>23</sup> (or “Arhan”), meaning “the Fruit of Buddha” (*fóguǒ* 佛果).<sup>24</sup>
- *Fó* 佛 (“Buddha”): used exclusively by Bishop Alopên in the *Hsü-T'ing Messiah Sûtra* or the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* 《序聽迷詩所經》 in the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>25</sup> *Fó* is an indigenous word in Chinese meaning “to resemble” (e.g. as in *fǎngfú* 仿佛/彷彿, “similar to”). In Chinese Buddhism, however, it is generally understood as “completely conscious, enlightened.”<sup>26</sup>

It could be argued that the Buddhist missionaries deliberately picked this particular Chinese character to introduce the new concept of Buddha on the basis of its etymology. The character *fó* 佛 is formed by the radicals 人 (“man,” “human”) and 弗 (“not”), and therefore fits nicely with the Buddhist teaching of one’s denying and dismissing human passions and desire. While this conclusion may seem possible and illuminating, many

<sup>21</sup> Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>22</sup> See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 42.

<sup>23</sup> Arhat is more commonly referred to as “luohan” 羅漢 in Chinese as well as Japanese. Eitel and Takakuwa define Arhat 阿羅漢 as “one who deserves oblations” which is “explained by 佛果.” An arhat is someone who is exempt from birth 不生 (i.e. from transmigration), or “conquers all passions” 殺賊, or “deserves worship” 應供. See Eitel and Takakuwa, *Handbook*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 133; Kung, *Christian Religion*, 54–57.

<sup>25</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 119; Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra*,” 240–69; Haneda, “*Jesus-Messiah Sûtra*,” 433–56; Drake, “Nestorian,” 677–81; Kung, *Christian Religion*, 54–55. The *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* is in possession of Takakusu Junjiro (professor of Sanskrit and Pali, University of Tokyo), and is given the date 635–38 C.E. by Saeki. See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 124; 114–24.

<sup>26</sup> Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, 225.

standard Chinese lexicons have supported the etymology that the character 弗 is used simply to give the pronunciation of the word rather than anything else.<sup>27</sup>

Alopên also uses the term *zhūfó* 諸佛 (“Buddhas”) to refer to the “saints and angels” in the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*.<sup>28</sup> In Buddhism, *zhūfó jiā* 諸佛家 (“all Buddhas’ home”) refers to the home of all Buddhas, that is, the “Pure Land.”<sup>29</sup> On the Nestorian Stele, on the other hand, the term *miàozhòngshèng* 妙眾聖 (“mysteriously giving existence to multitudinous sages”)<sup>30</sup> was clearly an adoption of a Taoist term that frequently appeared in the *I-Ching* to refer to deified folk heroes, “all the gods.”<sup>31</sup>

- *Tiānzūn* 天尊 (“celestial being,” “god,” “heavenly-reverend”): a common Taoist term adopted by Bishop Alopên to refer to the Heavenly Father in the *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe* 《一神論》 in the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>32</sup> Today Chinese Christians prefer the term *tiānfù* 天父 (“heavenly father”).

- *Zhēnzhǔ* 真主 (“true lord”): a Taoist term used by Adam on the Nestorian Stele.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See for example, Duan and Xu, *Shuo wen jie zi zhu*, 370.

<sup>28</sup> Yang 楊森富, “Christianity,” 48. For Chinese text with an English translation, see Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 125–46; Appendix 13–29. The Chinese text is also found in Kung, *Christian Religion*, 110–22.

<sup>29</sup> Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, 450.

<sup>30</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 187.

<sup>31</sup> *Miào zhòngshèng yǐ yuán zūn zhě* 妙眾聖以元尊者。Saeki translates it “bestowing existence on all the Holy Ones.” Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 187. Legge’s translation reads “by His spirit to give existence to all the Holy ones, Himself the great adorable.” Legge, *Nestorian Monument*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> For an English translation, see Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 174–93. For comments on *Tiānzūn* and its relationship to other terms for God, see Haneda, “*Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*,” 441–44. The *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe* is now in possession of the Japanese curator Tomeoka Kenzo 富岡謙藏 (1871–1918) and is given the date 641 C.E. by Saeki. See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 114, 21, 24. See also Haneda, “Remarks on the *Discourse*,” 225–39. Tomeoka is also cited Tomioka, by Moule in Moule, *Christians in China*, 58 n. 67. See also Drake, “Nestorian,” 681–85.

<sup>33</sup> 粵若。常然真寂。先先而無元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙有。惣玄樞而造化。妙眾聖以元尊者。其唯我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶歟判。(Behold! There is One who is true and firm, who is ever incomprehensible and Invisible, yet ever mysterious existing to the last of the lasts; who, holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who, bestowing existence on all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated Lord of the Universe—is not this our Aloha the Tribune, mysterious Person, the unbegotten

## b. Jesus/Messiah

- *Shizūn* 世尊 (“universal-reverend”): used by Bishop Alopên to refer to the Lord Jesus Christ in the *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe* in the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>34</sup>

*Shizūn* is one of the ten and the last of the “epithets of the Buddha” *Buddha-bhagavat* or *Lokanātha*, meaning the “enlightened one who is honored by the people of the world.”<sup>35</sup> A similar term, *púzūn* 普尊 (“universal-reverend”), appeared in Bishop Cyriacus’ document of the early eighth century in China called the *Nestorian Motwa Hymn in Adoration of Trinity* 《大秦景教三威蒙度讚》.<sup>36</sup>

- *Yīngshēn huángzǐ Míshīhē* 應身皇子彌施訶 (“Incarnated-royal son-Messiah”): appeared in the Diptychs.<sup>37</sup> *Míshīhē* is the Chinese transliteration for the Syriac ܡܝܫܝܚܐ or for the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ. In ancient Chinese, 彌施訶 could have been pronounced as [ˌmjie ˌsɿɛ ˌχâ].<sup>38</sup> *Yīngshēn* is a Buddhist term used to translate the Sanskrit *nirmāṇakāya*, meaning “any incarnation of Buddha.”<sup>39</sup>

The Nestorian Stele uses a similar expression to refer to Jesus:

我三一分身景尊彌施訶。戢隱真威。同人出代。神天宣慶。室女誕聖。  
於大秦景宿告祥。波斯睹耀以來貢。

Wǒ sān yī fēnshēn jǐngzūn míshīhē. Jí yǐn zhēn wēi. Tóng rén chū dài. Shén tiān xuān qīng. Shì nǚ dànshèng. Yú Dàqín jǐng sù gào xiáng. Bōsī dǔ yào yǐ lái gòng.

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and true Lord?). *Zàohuà* 造化 is a Taoist term adopted by Adam to refer to the act of creation by God. Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 162. See also Drake, “Nestorian,” 614–17; Yang 楊森富, “Christianity,” 45–46.

<sup>34</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 162.

<sup>35</sup> *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>36</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 258; text and trans.: 66–68.

<sup>37</sup> For the Chinese text, see Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 74. An alternative transliteration of Messiah in Chinese, 迷師訶, also appears in the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*.

<sup>38</sup> Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>39</sup> Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, 458.

Where one Person of our Trinity, the Messiah, who is the Luminous Lord of the Universe, folding up Himself and concealing His true Majesty, appeared upon the earth as a man. Angels proclaimed the Glad Tidings. A virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Ta'chin. A bright Star announced the blessed event. Persians saw the splendor and came forth with their tribute.<sup>40</sup>

### c. Holy Spirit

- *Yuánfēng* 元風 or *xuánfēng* 玄風 (lit. “original/abstruse wind”): a Taoist term used by Bishop Alopên to refer to the Third Person of the Holy Trinity in the *Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe*. This term disappeared from Christian literature soon after the great persecution of the Nestorian missions in China in the mid ninth century. Today Chinese Christians prefer the term *Shènglíng* 聖靈 (“Holy Ghost”).
- *Jìngfēng* 淨風 (“pure wind”): a Buddhist term that appeared on the Nestorian Stele. The adjective *jìng* was used to translate the Buddhist word *vimala*, which means clean and pure. As a noun it refers to “the place of cleansing, the latrine, etc.”<sup>41</sup>

An earlier term, *liángfēng* 涼風 (“cool wind”), which was a neutral term unconnected to any religious tradition in China at the time, was used by Alopên in the early seventh century.<sup>42</sup> An alternative term for the Holy Spirit also found in ancient Nestorian documents is *lúhé níngjùshā* 盧訶寧俱沙, which in ancient Chinese would have been pronounced as [ˌluo ˌɣâ ˌnieng ˌkju ˌsa].<sup>43</sup> It is a transliteration of ܠܘܗܐ ܢܝܢܓܝܫܐ, the Syriac rendering of the Hebrew קדוש קדוש, meaning the “Holy Spirit.” Its abbreviated form, *lúhé*, appeared in Bishop Cyriacus’ *Sûtra Aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy* 《志玄安樂經》 in the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> English translation is from Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 54–55.

<sup>41</sup> Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>42</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 259.

<sup>43</sup> Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

### 2.1.2.5. Other Borrowed Religious Terms to Express Christian Concepts

There are several key expressions that the Nestorians borrowed from indigenous Chinese religions. Bishop Cyriacus employed the Taoist term *wúwéi* 无爲 (lit. “non-action”) in his “the Sûtra Aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy” to refer to the virtue of performing charitable deeds in secret (e.g. Matt 6:4). Interestingly, early Buddhist missionaries in China also adopted it to explain the concept of *Nirvāṇa*.<sup>45</sup> As Buddhist missionaries later introduced the technique of transliteration, *Nirvana* (*nirvāṇa*, lit. “separation from life and death,” i.e. exemption from transmigration or “extinction”) became more commonly referred by its transliterated form *nièpán/níhuán* 涅槃/泥洹.<sup>46</sup>

### 2.1.2.6. New Technique of Transliteration

In addition to borrowing from existing terms in China during the Tang Dynasty, the Nestorian missionaries also adopted the new technique of transliteration from their Buddhist predecessors in order to introduce new religious concepts to the Chinese in their native tongue. Examples include *Yíshǔ/Yìshù* for “Jesus” 移鼠/翳數, *Míshīhē* 彌施訶 for “Messiah” (see above), and *shādàn/shāduōnà* 裟彈/裟多那 for Satan, all of which appeared in Alopên’s documents.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps since the practice was still in an experimental stage, standard orthography of such transliterated words did not exist. “Apostle Paul,” for example, was rendered *Bǎolíng* 寶靈 (lit. “treasured spirit”) on the Nestorian Stele but *Bǎolù* 寶路 (lit. “treasured path”) in the Diptychs. Inconsistency in transliterating proper names may have caused confusion among the new converts, and presented a challenge

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<sup>44</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 8–9, 258–59.

<sup>45</sup> Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, 36; Yang 楊森富, “Christianity,” 46.

<sup>46</sup> Eitel and Takakuwa, *Handbook*, 109; Soothill et al., *Dictionary*, s.v.; *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>47</sup> For a survey of Chinese transliterations of Jesus, see Zetzsche, “Indigenizing,” 141–55.

not just to the Nestorians, but also to the Manichaeans, who first arrived in China near the end of the seventh century, and to the Catholic and Protestant translators in the modern period.<sup>48</sup>

#### 2.1.2.7. End of the Nestorian Missions

The Nestorians' Christian influences in China came to an abrupt end after an Imperial Edict of 845 began to take effect to forcefully shut down all Christian missionary activities. Without the imperial protection of the Chinese court that it had enjoyed in the previous two centuries, Christianity in China practically disappeared by the end of the tenth century. As Saeki and others have pointed out, the Nestorians' failure was largely due to their lack of native Chinese leadership and their isolation from the mainstream Church.<sup>49</sup> This was certainly not the case for the other foreign religions contemporary to the Nestorians' missionary activities in China, namely Buddhism, Islam, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism, which also endured a series of severe persecutions.<sup>50</sup> Buddhism, and to a certain extent Islam, not only survived the persecutions, but flourished and grew steadily with large numbers of native adherents throughout China.

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<sup>48</sup> The Manichaeans are not treated in detail in this study mainly due to fact that none of the three extant texts dating from early ninth to tenth centuries, the *Incomplete Religious Scripture of a Persian Religion* 《波斯教殘經》, the *Lower section: Hymnscroll* 《下部讚》 or the *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* 《摩尼光佛教法儀略》, contains any canonical biblical translations in Chinese. However, the Manichaean transliterations of biblical proper names such as the three persons of the Holy Trinity will be consulted here. The original Chinese texts can be found in Luo, ed., *Lost Books*, vol. 3; Luo, ed., *Rare Treasures*, vol. 2; Takakusu and Watanabe, *Tripitaka*, vol. 54, 1270–86. For the Chinese texts with French translation, see Chavannes and Pelliot, “Deuxième partie,” 261–394; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité Manichéen retrouve,” (1911) 499–617; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité Manichéen retrouvé,” (1913) 99–199. For studies of Manichaean terminology, see Yutaka, “Manichaean Aramaic,” 326–331; Bryder, *Chinese Transformation*. For other subjects concerning Manichaeism in China, see my bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 159. See also Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 25; Spillett, *Catalogue*, x.

<sup>50</sup> For historical surveys of Manichaeism in China, see, for example, Chen 陳垣, “Study of the Entry of Manichaeism,” 203–39; Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*; Lieu, *Polemics against Manichaeism*. On Zoroastrianism in China, see Chen 陳垣, “Study of the Entry of Zoroastrianism,” 27–46. For a general introduction to Zoroastrianism, see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*.

### 2.1.3. Early Catholic Biblical Translation Activities

It would take nearly three centuries before another Christian mission reached China and resumed the activities of Bible translation into the languages of China. In the late thirteenth century, Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247–1328) founded the first Catholic mission to China in Cambaluc (Peking), and allegedly had translated the New Testament and Psalms from the Vulgate and Greek editions into Mongolian, the official language of the Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368).<sup>51</sup> During the early sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and other Catholic missionaries were also involved in translating biblical texts (e.g. the Ten Commandments) and ecclesiastical writings into Chinese.<sup>52</sup>

The most significant and influential contributions by early Catholic translators were probably those made by Jean Basset (1662–1707).<sup>53</sup> Basset had translated the Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, and parts of Hebrews from the Vulgate into Chinese. Since the eighteenth century, several revisions of Basset's translation had appeared in many Catholic liturgical writings.<sup>54</sup> Several of Basset's manuscripts have also survived (known as the Sloane Manuscript #3599) and subsequently were made available to pioneer Protestant translators, including John Marshman and Robert Morrison.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> No copies of this translation have survived. See, for example, Allegra, "Translation," 99; Gálik, *Influence, Translation, and Parallels*, 81.

<sup>52</sup> Garnier and Feng, "Chinese Versions," 156; Chiu, *Tracing Bible Translation*, 12. Among Catholic religious writings in Chinese in the seventeenth century, Ricci's *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, or *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, is of special interest to Chinese Bible translation. Ricci was born in the year when the great Jesuit missionary of Asia, Francis Xavier died. Ricci first arrived in China in 1582 and remained there until his death in 1610. For the original Chinese text of the *T'ien-chu Shih-i* together with an English translation and notes, as well as introductory essays of Ricci's life and work in China, see Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*.

<sup>53</sup> Basset belonged to Missions Étrangères. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 28–29.

<sup>54</sup> Spillett, *Catalogue*, xi.

<sup>55</sup> The Basset manuscripts were discovered by John Hodgson of East India Company in Canton in 1739, and were sent to Hans Sloane (1660–1753) of the Royal Society in London. See Moule, "Manuscript," 23–33. Some MSS are now in Hong Kong University (Fung Ping Shan Library), and a copy of the MSS in the

Early efforts by Catholic missionaries had evidently influenced modern translators, but only to a limited extent. Some of the most apparent influences include the transliteration of biblical names (e.g. *Yēsū* 耶穌 for “Jesus”) and the rendering of religious terminologies into Chinese (*chuándào* 傳道 for “evangelism”).<sup>56</sup> Louis de Poirot (1735–1813) had reportedly translated almost the whole Bible from the Vulgate into Mandarin and Manchu.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, de Poirot’s Bible, extant only in manuscripts, was virtually inaccessible to later translators.<sup>58</sup> The Catholic Church would not see another version of the whole Bible in Chinese until 1968 when Gabriele M. Allegra and his committee published their translation at Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (SB).<sup>59</sup> This 150-year gap of inactivity was filled by the new vigorous forces of Protestant missionaries. Their combined efforts of translating the Bible into Chinese were marked by great creativity, devotion, and productivity, as well as lasting influence upon the Christian faith in China.

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library of Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Hong Kong. Morrison’s 1806 transcript of the Sloane MSS is available online. See *Ma li xun bo shi teng ben*; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 50, n. 126; 30, n. 29; Strandenaes, “Sloane MS #3599,” 61–76. The Sloane MS #3599 is also identified as “Evangelia quatuor Sinicè MSS” and bears the title *Diatessaron ex evangeliiis, cum actis apostolorum et B. Pauli Epistolis*. See Moseley, *Origin*, 24–26; Moule, “Manuscript,” 23–24; Strandenaes, *Principles*, 148.

<sup>56</sup> Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, e.g. 448, line 580; 452, line 589. Other terms include *shèngdiàn* 聖殿 for “temple,” *tiāntáng* 天堂 for “heaven,” *dìyù* 地獄 for “hell,” and *jiàohuì* 教會 for “church.” See Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, e.g. 410, lines 524, 322, 379; Ortiz, *Commentary*, 6. For a discussion of the rendering of Jesus into Chinese, see my chapter 6.

<sup>57</sup> Moule, “Manuscript,” 33; Chiu, *Tracing Bible Translation*, 14–15. Moule cites de Poirot’s death as 1814.

<sup>58</sup> The MSS were destroyed in 1949, but some copies of the MSS had survived and were made available by Gabriele M. Allegra for Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Hong Kong. See Allegra, “Translation,” 98; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 27.

<sup>59</sup> For a brief introduction to the SB, see Allegra, “Translation,” 97–105; Camps, “Father Gabriele M. Allegra,” 55–76.



## 2.1.4. Protestant Translators and Their Proposed Solutions to Key Issues (Part I. Wenli Versions)

### 2.1.4.1. Morrison/Milne (MOR) and Marshman/Lassar's (MAR) Versions

The modern period in the history of Chinese Bible translation began when the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison (1782–1834) of the London Missionary Society (LMS), arrived in Canton in 1807.<sup>60</sup> Morrison had initially worked independently, assisted by native Chinese. In 1810, he published his newly translated Book of Acts from the Greek into Chinese, and Luke in the following year. Around this time Baptist missionaries John Lassar (1781–ca. 1835) and Joshua Marshman (1768–1837) had also begun their translation work.<sup>61</sup> In 1814, Morrison published the first-ever complete New Testament in Chinese.<sup>62</sup> Less than a decade later, two different versions of the whole Bible in Chinese were published: one by Morrison and William Milne (1785–1822, also of LMS) in Malacca, Malaysia (MOR, 1823), the other by Lassar and Marshman in Serampore, India (MAR, 1822).<sup>63</sup>

It seems incredible that in such a short time with limited resources these missionaries, being gifted and devoted as they were, were capable and competent enough to engage the daunting task of translating the Bible into not the vernacular but the classical style of the

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<sup>60</sup> For biographical accounts of Morrison, see Morrison, *Memoirs*; Townsend, *Robert Morrison*; Ride, *Robert Morrison*.

<sup>61</sup> See Chronology in the Appendix. Robert Morrison shares the honor of being the “Father of Chinese Bible” with Lassar and Marshman. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2454. Lassar and Marshman used Griesbach’s Greek text of the New Testament to translate Matthew into Chinese. Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 50–59. See also Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, vol. 2, part 1, 181; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 45–48; Strandenaes, *Principles*, 26. For Marshman’s autobiographic account regarding his translation work, see Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*, i–iii.

<sup>62</sup> Morrison, *New Testament in Wenli*. Morrison used the *Textus Receptus* of the Greek New Testament and the Authorized Version of the English translation. Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 38.

<sup>63</sup> Morrison and Milne, *Holy Bible*; Marshman and Lassar, *Holy Bible*. For a biographic sketch of Marshman, see Fenwick, *Biographical Sketches*.

Chinese language. One must bear in mind that the early Protestant missionaries did not work from scratch. Indeed, in translating the Bible into Chinese, they had built their efforts upon foundations laid by the Nestorian and Catholic missionaries centuries before. Both Morrison and Marshman, in particular, made their own translations based on Basset's version.<sup>64</sup>

#### 2.1.4.2. Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman Version (GÜ)

In 1836, the Chinese government prohibited the public distribution of Christian literature. This did not deter a zealous new generation of Bible translators, such as Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851), Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857, LMS), and the American missionary to China Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–1861, ABCFM), from continuing their work.<sup>65</sup> Together the three missionaries collaborated with the assistance of Robert Morrison's son, J.R. Morrison (1814–1843), to translate the entire Bible from the original languages into Chinese. The first edition of the New Testament was printed in Serampore, India in 1836, and was chiefly translated by Medhurst under the assumed name *Shàng dé zhě* 尚德者 (“one who esteems virtue”).<sup>66</sup> Less than two years later, the Gützlaff/Medhurst/Bridgman version of the Chinese Old Testament was privately issued and circulated in the coastal cities of China.

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<sup>64</sup> Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, vol. 2, part 1, 188. See also Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 51.

<sup>65</sup> Gützlaff also translated John's Gospel and Epistles into Japanese, the first Protestant translator to do so in 1837 (published in Singapore). According to Darlow and Moule, he also completed the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, vol. 2, part 2, 840. Medhurst was Robert Morrison's chosen successor. Bridgman was the first American missionary to China who arrived in Canton in 1830. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 59ff.

<sup>66</sup> This edition was again privately printed in Batavia (Jakarta) a year later. Subsequent revisions by Gützlaff also appeared in Singapore. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2480; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 62; Wylie, *Memorials*, 31. Gützlaff used the pseudonym “Philo-Sinensis” in his *Notices on Chinese Grammar*. For a review of this work, see 3.2.2.2.c, p. 88 below.

It was Gützlaff who saw the need to train native Christian leaders in order to evangelize China.<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, this Prussian missionary's visions were not favorably welcomed by the majority of Protestant missionaries at the time. Not only this, the Medhurst-Gützlaff-Bridgman's version of the Bible was rejected by the Bible society on grounds of their "extremely lax" translation principles.<sup>68</sup> Worse yet, Gützlaff's name and those of two other translators of the 1836 edition of the Chinese New Testament became linked with Hong Xiuquan (1813–64) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64).<sup>69</sup>

#### 2.1.4.3. Terminological Question

Quite unlike the Nestorian translators more than ten centuries before, Morrison and Milne refer to the Bible as the *Shén tiān shèngshū* 《神天聖書》 (lit. "god-heavenly sacred book") as opposed to *jīng* ("classics," "sūtras"). Instead of using *Huángfū Āluóhē* ("Imperial-Father Alāhā), *Tiānzūn* ("heavenly-reverend"), *Zhēnzhǔ* ("true lord") or *Fó* ("Buddha"), Morrison and Milne introduced a monotheist Supreme God by the familiar Chinese term *Shén* 神. *Shén* is used in different religious contexts in China, including Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, with a wide range of meaning, however it comes close to the English word "god." The Chinese title of the Medhurst-Gützlaff-Bridgman edition of the 1836 New Testament reads *Xīn yízhào Shèngshū* 《新遺詔聖書》 (lit. "The Sacred Book of the Newly Bequeathed Oracles").<sup>70</sup> Like Morrison and Milne, the Bible

<sup>67</sup> Lutz and Lutz, "Karl Gützlaff's Approach," 270–71.

<sup>68</sup> The Bible society had also pointed out their tendency to "substitute human paraphrase for the simple statements for the Word of God" and demanded that copies be withheld from circulation. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 63.

<sup>69</sup> Hong converted to Christianity and claimed to receive a call in 1837 to be the "messiah." He led an open rebellion with strong native supporters to establish his visions of a Christian kingdom in China that lasted for fifteen years. According to Zetzsche, he had used Gützlaff's edition of the Chinese Bible "as a basis for the first edition of Taiping Bible," which appeared in 1853. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 72. For an introductory essay on the subject, see Bohr, "Jesus, Christianity, and Rebellion," 613–61.

<sup>70</sup> This English translation is by Marshall Broomhall. See Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 74.

is called *shū* 書 (a general term for “book”) and not *jīng* 經. What makes it uniquely significant was that the term *Shàngdì* 上帝 (“supreme ruler,” used in Taoism to refer to the mystical Emperor Jade, or *Yùhuáng Dàdì/Yùhuáng Shàngdì* 玉皇大帝/玉皇上帝) was first introduced by Medhurst to refer to God. This is the origin of the controversial debate that continues to this day. Today the Bible Societies continue the tradition that started in the nineteenth century to print two editions of the same version of the Chinese Bible: one uses *Shàngdì* and the other *Shén* for God.<sup>71</sup>

#### 2.1.4.4. Delegates’ Version (DV)

Christian missions in China in the second half of the nineteenth century enjoyed protection by treaties. It was during this period that biblical translation in Chinese reached its peak: more than 300 editions were published in Mandarin between 1862 and 1949.<sup>72</sup> While the number of editions seems impressive, a great majority of them contained only parts of the Bible (especially the Psalms or parts of the New Testament), which were translated by one or a few individuals working independently. These individuals often represented western Protestant missions in the treaty ports of the coastal areas in China.<sup>73</sup> One notable exception was the *Delegates’ Version* (DV) of the New

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<sup>71</sup> For a summary of the debate, see Eber, “Interminable Term Question,” 139–42. Eber’s comment on Medhurst’s original pioneering concept of Bible translation not being “bound to the letter of the basis text but to its meaning in a non-Christian culture” is not entirely true, for we have already seen the examples of Nestorian translators discussed above.

<sup>72</sup> Gálík, *Influence*, 93.

<sup>73</sup> The Mandarin pronunciations of many transliterated biblical names such as “Christ” and “Luke” do not correspond to their actual sounds in the original Greek. This is a clear indication that most Protestant missionaries worked with Southern or coastal dialects. See Reinders, *Borrowed Gods*, 76.

Testament in classical Chinese (1852; Old Testament, 1854).<sup>74</sup> The DV was the most frequently reprinted and widely circulated Chinese version in the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup>

Five British and American representatives (including Medhurst, Bridgman, and later Milne) from different church affiliations and mission locations were appointed to produce a version intended for the use of all Protestant missionaries in China.<sup>76</sup> For more than half a century, the DV remained in print and was widely circulated even outside China.<sup>77</sup> The DV also helped to standardize the transliterations of many biblical names from the Hebrew and Greek into Chinese. For their unprecedented attempt to resolve the terminological debate in Bible translation, these delegates ought be credited with the influence the DV brought on easing conflicts and divisions regarding ideology and nationality among the foreign missionaries in China.<sup>78</sup> Zetzsche adds,

...for the greatest part of the lines of ideological division coincided with those of nationality. For its role as a catalyst for conflict, therefore, the *Delegates' Version* was surely the most influential version...no other translation of the last century was held in such high esteem by a greater part of the missionaries in China, and no other translation had such an influence on the perception of the missionaries in regard to stylistic needs of Bible translation.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> As a result of the split in the Anglo-American translation committee, the Old Testament portion of the DV was prepared by British missionaries only (LMS). See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 97–103.

<sup>75</sup> Strandenaes, *Principles*, 14.

<sup>76</sup> The five delegates were: W.H. Medhurst (LMS), Bishop W.J. Boone (AEMB), and W. M. Lowrie (APMB), represented Shanghai and Ningpo. Lowrie was replaced by W.C. Milne (LMS) after his death. John Stronach (LMS) represented Amoy. E.C. Bridgman (ABCFM) represented Canton and Hong Kong. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, vol. 2, part 1, 188–9; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 77–110; Kramers, *Chinese Bible Translation*, 10. Together the delegates worked closely with Chinese assistants, including the famous scholar Wang Tao 王 韜 (or “Wanglan-King,” 1828–97); cited as 王 滔 in Garnier and Feng, “Chinese Versions,” 182.

<sup>77</sup> Hungarian-born missionary Bernard Jean Bettelheim used the DV’s text as a basis for his Japanese edition (Luchu dialect 琉球) of Luke in 1858. See *St. Luke’s Gospel in Luchu and Chinese*; Harrington, “Bible in Japan,” 66–75.

<sup>78</sup> Both Boone and Medhurst (and many others) have published short studies on the term question. See Medhurst, *Inquiry*; Boone, *Essay*; Legge, *Notions*.

<sup>79</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 186.

#### 2.1.4.5. An Account of the Plethora of Chinese Versions

To account for the plethora of different Chinese versions that appeared in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one must consider the conceptual as well as linguistic issues that confronted each translator. These issues are highly complex, involving Chinese writing styles, theological concerns (e.g. terms for baptism), translation principles, textual basis, and interdenominational cooperation. Some of these challenging issues still perplex translators today. These issues will be discussed within the framework of historical accounts of modern Chinese Bible translation.

#### 2.1.4.6. Questions about Writing Styles in the Chinese Bible

From the mid nineteenth until the dawn of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the enterprise of Bible translation in Chinese was at its peak. More versions of the Bible (or parts of the Bible) had been translated into the Chinese languages (including those into regional dialects) during this period than all previous versions combined. It was also during this period that Protestant missionaries began to print Bibles translated into the regional dialects of China. For the purpose of this dissertation, issues of dialectical differences in translation will not be discussed. The discovery of the *lingua franca* by Protestant missionaries in the eighteenth century had critical implications in resolving the question of regional dialects in China. As a result, newly translated versions in Mandarin (Peking colloquial, or *guānhuà* 官話, lit. “official tongue,” or *guóyǔ* 國語, lit. “national language”) have since become increasingly popular and more widely circulated throughout China.

However, before the official abolishment in 1905 of the Imperial Examination System (*kējǔ zhìdù* 科舉制度), which led to the rapid decline in the use of classical (*shēn wénlǐ*

深文理, “high wenli”) or literary (*qiǎn wénlǐ* 浅文理, “easy wenli”) style in Chinese writing, some missionaries still preferred this style of writing in their translation work.<sup>80</sup> Until 1856, when the first Mandarin New Testament was published on the basis of the DV, all Chinese Bible versions were in either classical or literary style.<sup>81</sup> Those translations in classical style include Josiah Goddard New Testament (GO, 1853), Bridgman and Culbertson’s Bible (BCV, 1863),<sup>82</sup> Chalmers and Schaub’s New Testament (CSV, 1897), and Dean’s Bible (1868), as well as the first (and only) Eastern Orthodox Chinese New Testament by Gury Karpov (GURY, 1864).<sup>83</sup> Those in literary (easy wenli) style appeared later, which include Griffith John’s New Testament (JOHN, 1885) and part of the Old Testament (Gen–Song, 1905), Burdon and Blodget’s New Testament (BB, 1889; based on the PK), and Schereschewsky’s Bible (SJ, 1902).<sup>84</sup> Before the turn of the century, a committee of translators planned a new version, called the “Union Version” (UV), in three distinctive writing styles: high wenli (New Testament,

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<sup>80</sup> Throughout this study, “wenli versions” refers to Chinese Bible versions written in either high wenli (classical) or easy wenli (literary) style.

<sup>81</sup> This version was prepared by W.H. Medhurst and J. Stronach on basis of the DV in Nanking Mandarin (see 2.1.5.1.a, p. 30 below). See also Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2745.

<sup>82</sup> Hykes notes that the BCV was published in 1862, the first version of the complete Bible translated for and published by the American Bible Society. He adds that the BCV “is more faithful and literal rendering of the original than the Delegates’ Version, but of lower and less elegant style.” See Hykes, *American Bible Society in China*, 7.

<sup>83</sup> For bibliographical reference to each publication, see Chronology in the Appendix. Archimandrite Gury Karpov’s (d. 1882) name is cited M. Goury in Darlow and Moule, and Gowry (or Guō Sui 郭 遂) in Broomhall, Garnier and Feng, and Kramer. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2543; Broomhall, *Chinese Empire*, 382; Garnier and Feng, “Chinese Versions,” 162; Kramers, *Chinese Bible Translation*, 4.

<sup>84</sup> John, *New Testament in Easy Wenli*; John, *Old Testament in Easy Wenli*; Burdon and Blodget, *New Testament in Easy Wenli*; Schereschewsky, *Holy Bible in Easy Wenli*. Schereschewsky’s easy wenli Bible is sometimes referred to as the “two-finger version” (二指版) or the “one-finger Bible” after an illness left him paralyzed in September 1881 save for the middle fingers of his hands. Hykes, *American Bible Society in China*, 27; Chiu, *Tracing Bible Translation*, 24; Muller, *Apostle of China*, 201–08, 63; Eber, *Jewish Bishop*, 147.

1907), easy wenli (New Testament, 1905), and Mandarin (Bible, 1919) (see 2.1.5.1.b. below).

#### 2.1.4.7. Chinese Translation for βαπτίζω/βάπτισμα

The use of the Chinese word *xǐ* (“to wash”) to translate βαπτίζω or βάπτισμα can be dated as early as the eighth century. The Nestorian missionary Alopên had used the term in the baptism of Jesus by John (Mark 1:9–11; Matt 3:13–17; Luke 3:21–22) in the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* (vv. 171–73):

當既谷昏遺弥師訶。入多難中洗。弥師訶入湯了後出水。既有涼風。從天求。顏容似薄閣。坐向弥師訶上。虛空中間道。弥師訶是我兒。世間所有眾生。皆取弥師訶進止。所是處分皆作好。

Dāng jì Gǔhūn yí Míshīhē. Rù Duōnàn zhōng xǐ. Míshīhē rù tāng liǎo hòu chūshuǐ. Jì yǒu liángfēng. Cóng tiān qiú. Yán róng sì bó gé. Zuò xiàng mí shī hē shàng. Xūkōng zhōngjiān dào. Míshīhē shì wǒ ér. Shìjiān suǒyǒu zhòngshēng. Jiē qǔ Míshīhē jìn zhǐ. Suǒ shì chǔfēn jiē zuòhǎo.

And now John thought it proper to make the Messiah enter the Jordan. The Messiah, after finishing the washing, came out of the water, when the “Cool Wind” descended from the Heaven in appearance of a dove and sat upon the Messiah, whilst (a voice) sounded in empty-space, saying “The Messiah is my son; all the people in the world must do what is told by the Messiah, obeying His command to do good.”<sup>85</sup>

Alopên uses two different terms in reference to Jesus’ baptism: *xǐ* and *rùtāng*.<sup>86</sup> It is likely that Alopên uses *rùtāng* to refer to the movement into the baptismal font—in this case, the Jordan—and not the sacrament of baptism. However, *rùtāng* does suggest the idea of immersion into water. Morrison and Milne followed this tradition, as did Basset more than a century before them and all Catholic missionaries. Marshman and Lassar, both English Baptists, however, prefer *zhàn* 蘸 (“dip into,” e.g. John 1:25, 1813 ed.) or *cùi* 淬 (“dip into water/oil,” e.g. 1:26) or the verb compound *zhàncùi* (1:33).<sup>87</sup> These

<sup>85</sup> Verse division and English translation are provided by Saeki. See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 141–42. For Chinese text, see Takakusu and Watanabe, *Tripitaka*, vol. 54, 1286–88; Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, Appendix 25–26.

<sup>86</sup> Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra*,” 264–66.

<sup>87</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 54, n. 140; Garnier, *Chinese Versions*, 31.



terms were adopted by Chalmers and Schaub for their New Testament version in 1897. In spite of that, later Chinese Baptists prefer the more common word *jìn* 浸 (“immerse,” “soak”) as opposed to *zhàn* or *cùi*. One example can be seen in the Baptist edition of *wenli* New Testament (Union Version) printed in 1925.<sup>88</sup>

Baptist missionaries’ insistence on the term for baptism caused discordance with other translators from other Protestant missions. As a result, versions done by Baptist missionaries, such as Goddard’s New Testament (GO, 1853) and Dean’s Bible (1868), had relatively small circulation in China.<sup>89</sup> When they were invited to join the translation committee for the Delegates’ Version, the Baptist missionaries promptly rejected the invitation and decided to follow their own way of translating the Bible.<sup>90</sup>

#### **2.1.4.8. Interdenominational Cooperation**

One translator that best exemplified the conflicts involving interdenominational cooperation in Chinese Bible translation is Griffith John (1831–1912, LMS). John was well respected among the missionary communities in China where he had served for fifty-seven years. In 1890 he had declined the invitation to serve as the English chairman in the executive committee of the Union Version.<sup>91</sup> John could not agree to the committee’s decisions about the textual basis (Revised Version, 1885) and the translation principles. He also insisted that a common Chinese version should serve as a basis for the committee.

It is a terrible loss in the history of the whole Bible translation enterprise in China that such a gifted and devoted translator chose not to be part of what was about to become the

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<sup>88</sup> *Wen-li New Testament, Union Version*.

<sup>89</sup> Goddard, *New Testament*.

<sup>90</sup> See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 111–24.

<sup>91</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 206–09. For John’s biography, see Robson, *Griffith John*.

culmination and, arguably, the single most influential version of the Protestant Bible translation in China, the Union Mandarin Version (UV, 1919). John, however, was credited with being the first to translate the New Testament into easy wenli (JOHN, 1885).

### **2.1.5. Protestant Translators and Their Proposed Solutions to Key Issues (Part II.**

#### **Mandarin Versions and Translations by Native Speakers)**

##### **2.1.5.1. Mandarin Versions**

###### **a. Early Mandarin Versions**

The first New Testament in vernacular Chinese appeared in 1856, when two members of the DV committee, Medhurst and Stronach, decided to introduce a Mandarin edition (called Nanking Version).<sup>92</sup> Right around this time, William C. Burns (EPM) also published the Psalms in Mandarin (BURNS).<sup>93</sup> In addition to his New Testament and parts of the Old Testament in easy wenli, Griffith John had also published the New Testament in Peking Mandarin (1889, JOHNM).<sup>94</sup> Early in 1878, the first Mandarin Bible appeared. Its New Testament portion (1872, PK) was done by the Peking Committee,<sup>95</sup> which might explain why John did not want to be part of it.<sup>96</sup> The Old Testament part (1874), however, was a one man version, translated from the Hebrew by S.I.J.

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<sup>92</sup> Medhurst and Stronach, *New Testament in Southern (Nanking) Mandarin*. See also Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §§2744–45; Broomhall, *Chinese Empire*, 389.

<sup>93</sup> Burns, *Psalms in Mandarin*. Early Bible translators differentiated two Mandarin dialects, Northern (Peking and Shangtung) and Southern (Nanking). This distinction is no longer maintained today, at least in written form of the language. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, vol. 1, part 2, 181.

<sup>94</sup> John translated the Old Testament as far as to the Song of Solomon. See Broomhall, *Chinese Empire*, 384.

<sup>95</sup> *The New Testament (Peking Version)*. The Peking Committee includes S.I.J. Schereschewsky, J. Edkins, W.A.P. Martin, J.S. Burdon, and H. Blodget. See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2676.

<sup>96</sup> J.S. Burdon and H. Blodget, who themselves were committee members of the Peking Mandarin New Testament (1872), also published a version in easy wenli on basis of their Mandarin New Testament in 1889.

Schereschewsky.<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, like John, Schereschewsky had also declined an invitation to serve on the UV committee, and went on to translate the entire Bible into easy wenli (1902).<sup>98</sup> After the deaths of John and Schereschewsky, Mandarin increasingly became the writing style of choice in subsequent versions. These Mandarin versions include the UV (1919), Sydenstricker's New Testament (1929, SYD), and Wang Hsüan-chen's New Testament (1933, WANG).

#### **b. Union Mandarin Version (UV)**

Besides the DV, very few Chinese editions that appeared in the last centuries shared the same prestige and enjoyed such long lasting influence upon Chinese Christians as did the single version that came to be known as the *Héhéběn* 《和合本》, or its 1919 original title, the *Union Mandarin Version*.<sup>99</sup>

The UV was a product of a carefully planned translation committee that combined the efforts of dedicated missionaries and native workers. The mission committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) assembled in Shanghai in 1890 consisted of ten foreign missionaries and was chaired by Calvin W. Mateer (1836–1900) of the American Presbyterian Mission.<sup>100</sup> Their goal was to “give to China, not a one-man version, but the very best version that the united scholarship of the various Missions could produce.”<sup>101</sup> Three Union versions in different Chinese literary styles were planned

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<sup>97</sup> Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §2683. For brief introductory comments on Schereschewsky's translation of Genesis into Mandarin, see Eber, “Translating,” 219–233.

<sup>98</sup> Eber, *Jewish Bishop*, 152.

<sup>99</sup> In this study, the UV refers to the Union Mandarin Version.

<sup>100</sup> The names are: Calvin W. Mateer (chair), J.L. Nevius, H. Blodget, Chauncey Goodrich (chair after Mateer's death), George S. Owen, J.R. Hykes, T. Bramfitt, Frederick W. Baller, Spencer Lewis, and S. R. Clarke. See Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 187; Hykes, *American Bible Society in China*, 17–18, 35–38.

<sup>101</sup> This is a quotation from William Wright, editorial secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society at the Shanghai Missionary Conference in 1890. Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 88.

(high wenli, easy wenli, Mandarin), however, only the high wenli and Mandarin versions include the complete Bible. In the end, the Mandarin version enjoyed far greater success achieving its aims than the two wenli versions.

The translation principles of the UV were revolutionary and helped set the guidelines for a quality Chinese Bible version for the next generation. These guidelines included the preference for a standardized “universal” language rather than local dialects to ensure a wider audience. The most important decision was their insistence on the literal rendering of biblical metaphors and figures of speech rather than paraphrasing the concepts into equivalent Chinese, which had become a normal practice among previous translators.<sup>102</sup> In 1919, the UV translation committee presented the complete Bible with a revised New Testament in Mandarin Chinese. In the next eighty plus years, the UV was to become the most popular Bible ever published in the Chinese language, and its lasting influence upon Chinese Christians could, to some degree, be comparable to that of the King James Version on English-speaking Christians.<sup>103</sup>

Since the first edition of the UV appeared in 1919, less than a dozen completely new versions of the Chinese Bible have been produced. It is fair to say that none has actually equaled the unprecedented undertakings of the UV translation committee. This explains why the UV still remains the most popular version of the Bible in the Chinese-speaking world today. Undoubtedly, frequent political unrest and war had a drastic impact upon the Chinese way of life—especially after the Chinese Communist Party took over the nation and expelled all western missionaries in 1949—throughout the twentieth century.

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<sup>102</sup> Broomhall, *Bible in China*, 93; Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 325.

<sup>103</sup> This is a popular opinion shared by many Chinese Christians today. The UV, however, has not had the same degree of impact upon Mandarin as the KJV has upon the English language.

History has repeated itself. As with the Nestorian predecessors, the whole enterprise of Chinese Bible translation depended upon western missionaries. Therefore, after the Chinese Communist Revolution, translators had to work outside of Mainland China.

#### **2.1.5.2. Bible Versions by Native Speakers**

##### **a. Friedrich Wilhelm Asseng and Ho Chin-Shan**

The earliest native Chinese translator of a biblical book is credited to be Friedrich Wilhelm Asseng (1792–ca. 1829).<sup>104</sup> Asseng had left his native Canton to go to England in 1821. Three years later he moved to Halle, Germany, where he taught Chinese and became a Christian. In 1828 he translated Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus* as well as Mark and Luke from Luther's Bible into Chinese. Another fellow Cantonese named Ho Chin-Shan (1817–71) had also translated and published his versions of Matthew (1854) and Mark (1856) with revisions by his teacher James Legge.<sup>105</sup>

##### **b. Yan Fu and His Translation Theory**

Asseng's translation exists only in manuscripts, and, along with Ho's version, it has very little value because of its poor literary quality. The case was completely different for Yan Fu (1853–1921), who was encouraged by the BFBS to produce a translated version of the Bible that would eventually become a great classic in Chinese literature. Yan had established himself as one of the greatest Chinese scholars at the turn of the twentieth century and had studied in England before serving as a first class advisor to the Board of Education in Peking. His previous translations of English work on political economy and ethics had become the standard texts in Chinese on the subject. Unfortunately, Yan had

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<sup>104</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 125–27.

<sup>105</sup> Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, §§2558–59.

no knowledge of biblical languages and, hence, he depended on the English Revised Version. Furthermore, he translated only the first four chapters of Mark (1908).<sup>106</sup>

As a non-Christian scholar, however, Yan made some significant contributions to Chinese Bible translation. From his previous experience translating English scholarly texts to the literary Chinese, Yan formulated a translation theory on the basis of the three criteria: *xìn* 信 (“faithfulness” [of basis text]), *dá* 達 (“conveyance” [of meaning]) and *yǎ* 雅 (“elegance” [of style]).<sup>107</sup> Yan’s criteria are frequently used by Chinese authors today, Christians and non-Christians alike, in their discussions of translation.<sup>108</sup>

### c. Zhu Baohui

One of the most prominent native translators in the early twentieth century was Zhu Baohui.<sup>109</sup> Zhu had received theological education at Nanking Theological Seminary and had been the key Chinese assistant to the American Southern Presbyterian missionary Absalom Sydenstricker (1852–1931) in his translation of the New Testament into Mandarin (1929).<sup>110</sup> After Sydenstricker’s death, Zhu published his own independent translation of the New Testament in 1936, with financial support by Sydenstricker’s daughter, the American author and Nobel Prize-winner, Pearl S. Buck (1892–1973).

<sup>106</sup> Yan’s version is in Chinese classical writing style. Spillett, *Catalogue*, §223; Yan, *Mark 1–4*.

<sup>107</sup> English terms for Yan’s criteria are from Zetzsche. Zetzsche had pointed out that Yan’s translation of Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* had “formed the basis of a Chinese translation theory which is used up to the present day to judge translations, including Bible translation.” See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 129. Yan’s discussion on the three criteria for translation can be found in the preface to his translation Huxley’s book. See Huxley, *Tian yan lun*, Preface to the translation, 1.

<sup>108</sup> See, for example, Chiu, *Tracing Bible Translation*; Kramers, “Future Prospects,” 150–60.

<sup>109</sup> Besides Zhu, early native translators also included the aforementioned Wang Hsüan-chen (1933, WANG). Wang was an assistant to Mateer, and, although he was credited with being the first Chinese to translate the entire New Testament into Mandarin, his version undoubtedly was based upon the UV. For this reason, Wang’s version is not treated here. See Wang 王宣忱, *New Testament (Wang Hsüan-chen’s Version)*.

<sup>110</sup> See the Preface in Zhu 朱寶惠, *New Testament Translated from the Original*. See also Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 311–14; Sydenstricker, *New Testament*.

Zhu's Mandarin version departs from Sydenstricker's at several points. Unlike his former mentor, who relies on von Soden (1913) and James Moffatt (1922), Zhu uses a number of critical Greek editions as basis texts and consults many versions.<sup>111</sup> Also, Zhu's chief aim for the translation is to provide supplementary material for his Greek students. Therefore, his version has been noted by some for its fidelity to the Greek original, and has been more recently reprinted (Hong Kong, 1993, 2007).<sup>112</sup>

#### **d. Catholic and Other Protestant Translators**

Due to political and social instability in China from the 1930s until the 1950s, several native translation projects were either delayed or forced to be abandoned. "The Bible Treasury New Testament in Mandarin" (1941, BT), for example, never published its final revisions.<sup>113</sup> Some translation projects were carried on to Taiwan or Hong Kong after the Chinese Communists took over China in 1949. These include four Catholic versions (two of which are by native speakers) by Litvanyi et al. (CNT, 1949), St. Ignatius Monastery (Gospels, IG, 1954), Joseph Hsiao (NT, HSC, 1960), and John C.H. Wu (Psalms [1946] and the NT [1949] in high wenli, WV)<sup>114</sup> as well as two Protestant versions by Theodore

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<sup>111</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 339–43. Zhu's version was reprinted twice by the Found Treasure Publisher (拾珍出版社). See Zhu 朱寶惠, *New Testament Translated from the Original; New Testament (Six-in-One Version)*. The *Six-in-One Version*, in which six Mandarin versions (UV, BT, ZHU, CNT, HSC, "1959 Version") are presented in six columns, must be used with caution as editorial modifications of the original publications were made without informing the reader. These include the transliteration of proper names, and the alteration (or omission) of punctuation marks, verse divisions, footnotes, and titles of New Testament books. More importantly, since no introductory remarks are given to any of the versions, it is unclear what exactly is referred to by the "1959 Version (一九五九年譯本)."

<sup>112</sup> See, for example, Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 343.

<sup>113</sup> See *Bible Treasury New Testament in Mandarin*.

<sup>114</sup> Litvanyi et al., *Catholic New Testament; Four Gospels (St. Ignatius Monastery's Version)*; Hsiao 蕭靜山, *New Testament*; Wu 吳經熊, *New Testament*; Wu 吳經熊, *Psalms*. Wu (1899–1986) was able to secure his patronage from Chiang Kai-shek to continue working as an independent translator in the 1940s. He was also appointed by the Generalissimo as the Chinese Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vatican (1946–49), during which time he completed his version of the New Testament in wenli. See Gálik, *Influence*, 84; Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, 239. See also the official website of the Embassy of the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the Holy See.

E. Hsiao (NT, HS, 1967) and Lü Chen-chung (Bible, LÜ, 1970).<sup>115</sup> Among these versions, Lü's Bible has especially stood the test of time and has been reprinted recently (Hong Kong, 2004).

#### **e. Post-1970s Versions**

Since the 1970s, several newer versions of the Chinese Bible appeared with financial sponsorship by the Bible Societies. With very few exceptions, these versions have been criticized for their heavy reliance on English versions as a textual basis, examples of which include the *Today's Chinese Version* (1979, TCV) from the TEV (1976) and the *Chinese Living Bible* (1979, CLB) from the *Living Bible* (1971, LB).<sup>116</sup> As China reopened her doors, new committee versions that have appeared since 1980 have specifically targeted the Mainland Chinese audience. These include the *New Chinese Version* (NCV, 1992), the *Dynamic Chinese Translation* (DCT, 2006), and a new Catholic edition, the *Chinese Pastoral Bible* (CPB, 1999).<sup>117</sup> Several revision projects (e.g. CLB, UV) as well as new Mandarin versions, including the *Chinese Contemporary Version* (CCV) and *Chinese Standard Bible* (CSB), are currently under way.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Hsiao 蕭鐵笛, *New Testament*; Lü 呂振中, *Holy Bible*.

<sup>116</sup> *Holy Bible: Today's Chinese Version; Chinese Living Bible*. Marián Gálik has pointed out that the *Today's Chinese Version* was not translated according to the principle of Eugene A. Nida's dynamic equivalence as he had in mind for the "original." Gálik, *Influence*, 84. See Bratcher, *Good News Bible*; Taylor, *The Living Bible, Paraphrased*.

<sup>117</sup> The CPB is a Chinese version of the Christian Community Bible. See *Christian Community Bible; Chinese Pastoral Bible*. The DCT is based on the NIV (1984) and NASB (1977). Unlike the CPB and DCV, the NCV is a new Mandarin translation from the original Greek and Hebrew.

<sup>118</sup> The New Testament portion of the revised UV (RCUV) has been published. *New Testament (Revised Chinese Union Version)*. Parts of the New Testament of the CCV and CSB have also appeared. *Christian Community Bible; Holy Bible (Chinese Contemporary Version); Gospel of John (Chinese Standard Bible); Paul's Letter to the Romans (Chinese Standard Bible)*.



### 2.1.5.3. Canon of Chinese Versions

Chinese Bible versions translated by Protestant missionaries and native Christians contain sixty-six canonical books. The first complete Catholic Bible in Mandarin Chinese by Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (SB) contains seventy-three books, including the additional seven titles known as the Apocrypha or Deuterocanonical books. These include Baruch, Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus. The Chinese Anglican Church has also published *Cijīng Quánshū* 《次經全書》 in a separate volume with a total of fifteen books commonly known as the Old Testament Apocrypha.<sup>119</sup>

### 2.1.6. Conclusion

This section begins with a chronological survey of the Chinese Bible from the Nestorians of the eight century to the present day. Major issues related to linguistic, conceptual, and logistical complexities are addressed through critical evaluations and reflections within the framework of historical narratives of missionary translation activities in and outside China. The insights gathered in the process of the historical survey will be used to support further investigations of translation theories in the following section.

## 2.2. Translation Studies

### 2.2.1. Introduction

The theory and practice of translating from one language to another has probably existed since God confused the language of humans at the Tower of the Babel (Gen 11:1–

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<sup>119</sup> Most of the apocryphal books in this volume are translated into wenli Chinese by Throop and Waung, based on R.H. Charles' 1913 edition *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. Other books are translated into Mandarin by H.F. Lei and others. See Throop and Waung, *Apocrypha*.

9). It is an ancient practice that predates the invention of any writing system. The translation of the Christian Bible from the original Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek into other languages, however, presents a daunting task and remains as controversial and challenging today as it was in the third century B.C.E when the Septuagint appeared.

This section provides a critical overview of modern approaches to translation studies with a particular focus on verbal syntax and discourse considerations applicable to translating the Bible into Chinese. Beginning with the theory proposed by Nida, this section also covers recent contributions by scholars from major schools in translation studies.<sup>120</sup>

### **2.2.2. Eugene Nida and Dynamic/Functional Equivalence**

#### **2.2.2.1. Introduction**

Translation studies only began to receive modern scientific treatment after the Second World War. Unfortunately this means that, as pointed out above, most existing Chinese versions of the Bible translated prior to the end of WWII would not have benefited from modern linguistic insights in the field of translation. Nida, an American linguist and a representative of modern translation theorists, on the other hand, has made a fruitful and lasting impact on the translation principles of many new versions of the Bible in English as well as in other major and minority languages around the world.

In his 1964 publication, *Toward a Science of Translating: with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating*, Nida sets out to formulate his

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<sup>120</sup> Overviews of modern approaches to translation are numerous. See, for example, Catford, “Translating: Overview,” 4738–47. For general theories in translating the Bible, see Porter “Some Issues in Modern Translation Theory,” 350–82. Also, Wendland and Mojola, “Scripture Translation,” 1–25. For a brief history of translation, see Kelly, “Translation: History,” 69–80.

theory, which he coined the principle of “dynamic equivalence.”<sup>121</sup> This book, together with the co-authored title *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, became the seminal volumes for several equally influential works, including the UBS *Monograph Series* and the *Translator’s Handbook* series, both of which utilize Nida’s translation theory.<sup>122</sup> Nida argues for a binary opposition between two fundamentally different translation principles: formal equivalence vs. dynamic equivalence. He defines the former in these terms:

Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation one is concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness.<sup>123</sup>

For the latter he states:

A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message.<sup>124</sup>

According to Nida, the principle of dynamic equivalence, or functional equivalence as he later renamed it,<sup>125</sup> is specified by the three key elements that would define a good translation: equivalence (with respect to the source language, SL), naturalness (with respect to the receptor language, RL), and closeness (“which binds the two orientations together on the basis of the highest degree of approximation”).<sup>126</sup>

Nida’s approach to translation can be understood and perhaps best appreciated by his orientation in the Evangelical faith. He favors functional equivalence because he thinks it

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<sup>121</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*.

<sup>122</sup> Nida and Taber, *Theory and Practice*.

<sup>123</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 159.

<sup>124</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 159.

<sup>125</sup> See Preface in Nida and de Waard, *Functional Equivalence*.

<sup>126</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 166–67.

provides the best chance to reach people who have little or no exposure to the Christian faith. His overarching concerns are getting the biblical message understood in the language of such groups of people. Thus, he sees the role of the translator as a “pioneer, midwife or teammate.”<sup>127</sup> This statement is later modified in terms of “a secondary or immediate source involves primarily communicating the intentions of the original author.”<sup>128</sup>

#### 2.2.2.2. Semantics Domains

The strength of Nida’s functional equivalence theory that can be of potential help in Chinese Bible translation lies in his analysis of the relationship between surface structure and kernel sentences of the SL.<sup>129</sup> Reducing or transforming the message of a SL into simple kernel sentences can guide translators to make practical decisions in realizing Nida’s theory of translation. In fact, kernel sentence analysis can be understood by Nida’s views on lexical semantics. Correct meaning of a lexical unit in any context, he argues, “is that which fits the context best.”<sup>130</sup> He continues,

In any one context a lexical unit is likely to have only one meaning rather than several – except for “marked” lexical unit called “double entendre” (e.g. living water); The literal or unmarked meaning of a lexical unit should be assumed correct unless the context points to some other meaning... Signs (verbal and nonverbal) are always defined by other Signs... in all language there are a strictly limited number of verbal Signs to cover an infinite variety of objects, events, and abstracts. This means that, except for proper names, the meaning of a verbal sign cannot be a point but an area of meaning.<sup>131</sup>

Nida has extended his understanding of the semantic structure of New Testament Greek into his *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic*

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<sup>127</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 153.

<sup>128</sup> Nida and de Waard, *Functional Equivalence*, 32.

<sup>129</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 66. Nida and Taber, *Theory and Practice*, 51. For a review of Nida’s transformational analysis of Mark 1:4, see Porter, “Mark 1:4,” 81–98.

<sup>130</sup> Nida and de Waard, *Functional Equivalence*, 139.

<sup>131</sup> Nida and de Waard, *Functional Equivalence*, 140.

*Domains*.<sup>132</sup> This reference work is the first of its kind in Greek lexicography and has tremendous value in Bible translation. The challenge remains, however, as to how exactly does the translator compare and contrast semantic domains of the SL and RL, and then determine the closest natural equivalents in the RL.

### 2.2.2.3. Translating Figurative Expressions

Functional equivalence theory has received criticism from translation specialists as well as biblical scholars, especially in its handling of figurative speech of the SL.<sup>133</sup> According to Nida, figurative expressions are semantic extensions that are purely conventional and arbitrary, and “almost always specific to the particular culture and language.”<sup>134</sup> Others disagree. Ernst-August Gutt, for example, uses relevance theory, a cognitive approach to human communication, to explain that these extended meanings actually come from information stored in the encyclopedic entry in the human mind.<sup>135</sup> So, in Nida’s example “He is a fox,” our understanding of the concept of a fox in English is not derived from its linguistic component meaning “deceptively clever,” but rather people come to associate the word “fox” with this particular characteristic due to a

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<sup>132</sup> Nida and Louw, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>133</sup> Leading representatives of Nida’s critics include Carson, Nichols, Gutt, Van Leeuwen, and Ryken. See Carson, “Limits,” (1985) 200–13; Carson, “Limits,” (2003) 65–113; Nichols, “Translating.” Nichols has criticized Nida for imposing modern western preoccupation with the reader’s response on non-western readers (e.g. Indonesians), who may not have recourse to formal correspondence translation in order to evaluate the received tradition. For Gutt and Ryken’s responses, see below. See also Van Leeuwen, “We Really *Do* Need,” 28–35. For other reactions to Nida’s approach, see Venuti, who sees Bible translation as a vehicle to “strengthen the ideological consistency and institutional stability of the church.” Pushing the theory of functional equivalence to extreme practice will ultimately result in what he calls “domesticating” effects of the translated text. Venuti, *Scandals*, 78–79; 182. Van Leeuwen shares similar concerns. See Van Leeuwen, “We Really *Do* Need,” 30.

<sup>134</sup> Nida and Taber, *Theory and Practice*, 87–88. See also Nida, *Toward a Science*, 95–96.

<sup>135</sup> Gutt, *Translation and Relevance*, 83, 141–42. Gutt’s approach to translation is based on relevance theory developed by Wilson and Sperber in 1986. See Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*.

popular belief among English speakers.<sup>136</sup> In relevance theoretic terms, this “popular belief” is understood as the contextual information.

Leland Ryken has joined many others to criticize the theory of functional equivalence. In his recent book, *The Word of God in English: Criteria for Excellence in Bible Translation*, Ryken argues that Bible versions that utilize Nida’s principles emphasize the readability or communicability of the translated text to the reader as their ultimate goal, and as a result they tend to destabilize the Bible as well as obscure the world of the original text.<sup>137</sup> Not only so, in translating figurative speech into plain language, versions such as the TEV destroy the beauty and possible multiple meanings of the biblical text.<sup>138</sup> Carson shares Ryken’s concerns with the limitations of Nida’s theory. Besides ignoring the literary qualities of the Bible, Carson adds that potential abuse of the functional equivalence translation principle may lead to “overriding the Bible’s historical particularity as well as ignoring salvation-historical changes within the Bible.”<sup>139</sup>

Although most Chinese translations tend to render figurative expressions literally, only a few would go as far to use, for example, the phrase “bowels of mercy” for the Greek word σπλάγχνον as illustrated in Phil 1:8 “...I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ” (KJV). Σπλάγχνον means the inward parts of a body or entails, but the figurative expression ἐν σπλάγχνοις is associated with feeling itself and, thus, can also denote love or affection, the meaning most Chinese versions have adopted (e.g. GÜ, DV, SB, SJ, NCV, CLB).<sup>140</sup> The UV, however, follows the example of the KJV and reads *Wǒ*

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<sup>136</sup> Gutt, *Translation and Relevance*, 83.

<sup>137</sup> Ryken, *Criteria*, 188. See also Carson, “Limits,” (1985) 205.

<sup>138</sup> Ryken, *Criteria*, 284–93.

<sup>139</sup> Carson, “Limits,” (1985) 200.

<sup>140</sup> BDAG, s.v.

*tǐhuì Jīdū Yēsū de xīncháng* 我體會基督耶穌的心腸 . . . (“I appreciate Christ Jesus’ *xīncháng*”). Two Chinese versions in wenli, BCV and MAR, also employ *xīncháng*, as does the other Mandarin version LÜ (*rè xīncháng* 熱心腸, “warm *xīncháng*”). The KJV’s literal translation of ἐν σπλάγχνοις makes no sense in English in such a context because the word “intestines” or “bowels” is not normally associated with love or compassion in current usage. In Chinese, however, the UV and the three other versions’ literal translation of ἐν σπλάγχνοις is not unjustified. *Xīncháng* is made up of two characters, *xīn* (“heart”) and *cháng* (“intestines”). Together *xīncháng* generally means heart. In Chinese one can say *tā xīncháng hǎo*, meaning “he has a good heart” or “he is merciful and kind.” Therefore in this case, a literal translation of the Greek word into Chinese is actually consistent with Nida’s principles of functional equivalence, thereby creating the closest approximation both in form and in response as intended by the original author. The TCV on the other hand uses *àixīn* 愛心 (“loving heart”) and, therefore, should be deemed merely partially compliant with the theory.

Here is an example that illustrates the difference between translation theory and practice. The TEV’s translation of Phil 1:8 “...I tell you the truth when I say that my deep feeling for you all comes from the heart of Christ Jesus himself” clearly presents the “message” of the figurative expression ἐν σπλάγχνοις, and renders it in its English figurative equivalent, namely, “heart.” Unfortunately, the Chinese edition of the TEV (i.e. TCV) merely literally translates the English word “heart” without considering the figurative expression in the original Greek. This is a serious problem that translators of the TEV do not translate the Bible in accordance with functional equivalence theory.

They acknowledge the theory's merits in getting the message from the originals, but do not apply it to actual practice.

#### **2.2.2.4. Conclusion**

The crux of the problem with functional equivalence, however, is not limited to the difficulty in reckoning the difference between theory and practice. The real issue is that Nida introduces mutually exclusive categories of formal and functional equivalence and by so doing exaggerates the traditional dichotomy between literal versus free translation, a problem that is most conspicuous in his handling of figurative speech as illustrated above. This is not to say that Nida's theory offers no assistance in Chinese Bible translation. Functional equivalence can in many ways guide translators to make crucial decisions in rendering the Bible into Chinese more accurately and meaningfully while at the same time preserving the unique character of the biblical text. The challenge remains to be the realization of the theory's full potential in the actual practice of translation. Ironically, one simply cannot do justice to the theory itself by implementing the guidelines of functional equivalence that Nida offers, since translating figurative expressions literally can in fact fulfill the rules required by the theory, as seen in the example of Phil 1:8 above. Having brought these limitations to the forefront, the translation principles adopted for the current study (2.2.4) will be based on an attempt to ease the existing tension between theory and practice in Chinese Bible translation in light of Nida's contributions.



### 2.2.3. Other Modern Translation Theories

#### 2.2.3.1. J.C. Catford

Catford, Nida's contemporary, offers a brief but impressive treatment of translation from a linguistic perspective. Many of his approaches have been influenced by functionalist linguists such as Halliday and Firth.<sup>141</sup> Catford classifies three general types of translation in terms of its extent, levels, and ranks.<sup>142</sup> The second and the third types deserve our attention. Translation can be either "total" or "restricted" depending on the levels of language involved. In total translation, all levels of the SL text are replaced by RL material. These levels include grammar, lexis, phonology, and graphology. If only one level is replaced, it would be considered a "restricted" translation. Also, translation can be either "rank-bound" or "unbounded," in terms of the rank in a grammatical or phonological hierarchy. In English, for example, these ranks include sentence, clause, group, word, and morpheme.

#### 2.2.3.2. *Shízìjià* for σταυρός

Since the arrival of Nestorian missionaries in China as early as the eighth century, almost all Bible translators have consistently used the Chinese word *shízìjià* 十字架 to translate the New Testament word σταυρός.<sup>143</sup> The only exception is found among the Christian titles listed in the early tenth-century document named the Diptychs (see 2.1.2.). The Doctrine of the Cross or, literally, *Cīlīpō Sūtra*, contains in its title a different way of rendering the cross in a Christian context.<sup>144</sup> According to Catford, both *cīlīpō* and

<sup>141</sup> For related works, see Halliday, et al. *Linguistic Sciences*; Firth, *Selected Papers*.

<sup>142</sup> Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 20–21.

<sup>143</sup> The word *shízì* has appeared on the Nestorian Stele to refer to the Christian cross. On the subject of the Christian cross used by the Nestorians, see Moule, "Use of the cross," 78–86; Moule, *Nestorians in China*, 21–43.

<sup>144</sup> In the *Pinyin*, "c" is pronounced as a "tsu" sound.

*shízìjià* are examples of restricted translation. *Shízìjià* is a translation of the object cross only at the lexical level because its three characters, *shí* (“ten”), *zì* (“word”), and *jià* (“stand” or “frame”), form the equivalent lexis, meaning “ten-shaped stand” in Chinese. *Cīlipō* on the other hand renders the object into Chinese at the phonological level, since it merely transliterates in this case not the Greek word but the Syriac ܥܠܡܐ (‘‘cross’’).<sup>145</sup>

### 2.2.3.3. Beekman and Callow

#### a. Introduction

In their *Translating the Word of God*, John Beekman and John Callow state their goal of translation as “so rich in vocabulary, so idiomatic in phrase, so correct in construction, so smooth in flow of thought, so clear in meaning, so elegant in style, that it does not appear to be a translation at all.”<sup>146</sup> Following Nida, they stress that in translating the Bible, the linguistic form should be natural, and the message meaningful.<sup>147</sup> They have added an analysis of the components of meaning of a word, which is lacking in Nida and Tabor, and an extended treatment of figurative expressions.<sup>148</sup> Unlike Catford, who largely deals with translation by comparing and contrasting language systems, Beekman and Callow consider especially pertinent issues involving intercultural communication. They argue that the translator needs not only analytical skill but also flexibility and sensitivity in order to handle semantic features of the biblical text. Such features include multiple senses (e.g. figurative senses found in metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole,

<sup>145</sup> ܥܠܡܐ is used in the Peshitta to which the Nestorians would have access. See Smith, *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, s.v.; Thackston, *Introduction to Syriac*, 201.

<sup>146</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 32.

<sup>147</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 40.

<sup>148</sup> See Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 73–74, 124–36.

metaphor and simile, idioms, symbolic actions, etc.) that could be preserved by substituting equivalents in the RL.<sup>149</sup> This optimism sounds quite simple and straightforward, but the actual tasks are often enormous and difficult. Naturally, Beekman and Callow do not utilize Ryken's "essentially literal" methods to accomplish their goal. They offer the following guidelines:

- 1) The sense of the word may be translated directly
- 2) The word used in the original can be retained along with a direct translation of its sense
- 3) The original figure can be replaced by a figure of the RL with the same meaning.<sup>150</sup>

Beekman and Callow's suggested guidelines in translating figurative speech may assist Chinese Bible translators. In the example of rendering ἐν σπλάγχνοις (Phil 1:8) into the equivalent Chinese expression, at least some of these guidelines obviously would work. Point three, however, needs further attention. It is highly doubtful that the original figure can be easily replaced by a figure of the RL with the absolute *same* meaning. A close approximation of such replacement might be possible, but realistically it rarely occurs, if at all, since two different language systems operate on two entirely different sets of semantic structures.

## **b. Lexical Equivalence**

Beekman and Callow's treatment of lexical equivalence deserves some notice. Let us take the example of Paul's speech to the Athenians in front of the Areopagus in Acts 17:22–31. According to Beekman and Callow, semantically complex words of the SL such as "praise" or "confess" can be substituted with "A says: B is good" or "A says: I did something bad" respectively.<sup>151</sup> When Paul uses the word δεισιδαιμών, he seems to

<sup>149</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 104–23.

<sup>150</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 104.

<sup>151</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 179.

recognize that the Athenians are religious people. The form δεισιδαιμονεστέρους is a comparative adjective, meaning extremely religious. In Chinese one can use the modifier *tài* (“too”) or *tàiguò* (“excessively”) as several early versions have done (e.g. MOR, MAR, GÜ, PK, JOHNM). The inherent meaning of the Greek word δεισιδαιμόνων involves a deity or an object of worship. In Beekman and Callow’s theory, it could be rephrased as “fearing the gods.”

Morrison has rendered the verse as *Cóng qiánchóng Púsà tàiguò*, literally “revering the *Púsà* (Bodhisattva) too much.” The Buddhist term *Púsà* also appears in GÜ but is used to translate τὰ σεβάσματα (“objects of worship”) in the following verse. The choice of using *Púsà* in this context is problematic, since it is used in Chinese Buddhism to specifically refer to Bodhisattva, a saintly figure who provides guidance to the path of enlightenment.<sup>152</sup> Bodhisattva is never worshipped as a god in a way that a god or deity is worshipped in the western concept. In this passage Paul clearly refers to the practice of worshipping pagan gods involving religious objects. Also, Paul never identifies the names of the gods. Morrison and Medhurst put words in Paul’s mouth by their explicit reference to Bodhisattva, thereby violating the principle of historical fidelity.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, the two Chinese versions MOR and GÜ are to be deemed inappropriate and misleading.

Several other Chinese versions (Table 2.1) prefer the word *guǐshén* (*guǐ*, “ghost” and *shén*, “god”). Unlike *Púsà*, which is used exclusively in Buddhism, *guǐshén* has profound religious meanings widely used in Taoism and Confucianism. In other words, *guǐshén* is

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<sup>152</sup> Bodhisattvas belong to the third class of saints who have to pass only once more through human life before becoming Buddhas, including also those who have not yet entered Nirvana. See Eitel and Takakuwa, *Handbook*, 32.

<sup>153</sup> See, for example, Beekman and Callow’s discussion on cultural substitution. Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 201–11.

a relatively neutral term that denotes “supernatural beings” or “spirits” in indigenous Chinese religions, including dozens of folk traditions. Also, because the inclusiveness of the term does not identify specific names of spirits, *guǐshén* maintains historical fidelity to the original text. In line with Beekman and Callow’s theory, *guǐshén* seems to be a good fit in this context.

Table 2.1 provides a comparative survey of different translations of the verse in Acts 17:22b found in several major Chinese versions.

MOR	我觀凡事爾等從虔崇菩薩太過 I see that in everything you revere the Bodhisattva too much.
MAR	吾觀爾們凡事從虔崇神太過 I see that you in everything revere the gods too much.
GÜ	吾看汝等、專事鬼神太過也 (v. 23 觀汝拜菩薩 . . . ) I see you all, revere the gods too much (v. 23 I see you worship the Bodhisattva...)
WV	予觀爾等頗具宗教精神 I see you are rather religious.
DV	我觀爾曹、畏鬼神甚哉 I see you all, fear the gods very much.
UV	我看你們凡事很敬畏鬼神 I see you in everything revere the gods very much.
SB	我看你們在各方面都更敬畏神明 I see that you in every aspect revere the gods even more.
NCV	我看你們在各方面都非常敬畏鬼神 I see that you in every aspect revere the gods very much.
CLB	我看得出你們是敬畏鬼神的人，十分誠心 I can see that you are people who revere the gods, with much sincerity.
CRV	我看你們凡事都很敬畏鬼神 I see that you in everything revere the gods very much.
PK, JOHNM	我看你們凡事敬畏鬼神太過了 I see that you in everything revere the gods too much.
WANG	你們凡事敬重宗教 You revere religion in everything.
TCV	我知道你們在各方面都表現出濃厚的宗教熱情 I know that you in every aspect demonstrate strong religious fervor.

Table 2.1. Acts 17:22b

### c. Discourse Considerations

Kathleen Callow, who has worked with the Wycliffe Bible Translators in Brazil and Ghana with her husband John, has contributed a short but valuable companion work to Beekman and Callow on discourse considerations in translation.<sup>154</sup> Callow's work was groundbreaking at the time of its publication more than three decades ago, and is still highly applicable to Chinese Bible translation despite the limitations of its main focus on the RL. Four categories are discussed here: grouping, cohesion, information structure, and prominence.

Callow's work has built on preliminary discussions of discourse analysis in Beekman and Callow. Some of these comments are rather brief and introductory, but they offer potential insight to the practice of translating the Bible into Chinese. Criteria for delineating discourse units, boundaries, and types, for example, are especially helpful.<sup>155</sup> Early Chinese versions divide the New Testament books into different groups according to their discourse genre. Medhurst divides his 1837 edition of the New Testament into two *běn* 本 or "volumes": vol. 1 contains the Gospels and vol. 2 the rest of the New Testament. In its 1840s revision by Gützlaff there is no such division, but the first five books of the New Testament are bound in one *juàn* 卷 or "scroll." The titles of the Gospels are referred to as *Chuán fúyīn shū* 傳福音書 or "Book of the Evangelists" and the Epistles simply as *shū*, the same word used for Gospels, which can also mean letters in Chinese. In modern versions, however, *shū* is reserved for epistolary or Old Testament prophetic books. For Old Testament historical narratives, *jì* 記 (lit. "records" or

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<sup>154</sup> Callow, *Discourse Considerations*.

<sup>155</sup> Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, 178–79; Callow, *Discourse Considerations*, 13.

“recollections”) is preferred by most translators. *Zhuàn* 傳 (lit. “accounts”) is often used in historical or biographical titles, for example, the Acts of the Apostles, and in some versions, the Gospels (DV) or Revelation (GÜ). The lack of consensus among early translators makes these Chinese words very confusing and misleading. Today, however, the Chinese words used to divide biblical titles according to their discourse types are relatively uniformly fixed, with only slight variations in the Catholic Bible.

There are different ways to delineate discourse units in the Chinese Bible. Early versions such as GÜ, MAR, and MOR use the word *zhōng* to indicate the end of each book. For example, Gützlaff includes *Mǎtài Chuánfúyīn shū zhōng* 馬太傳福音書終 (“the ending of Matthew’s Gospel”) in a separate line at the left margin of the text, just as ancient scribes of the Greek manuscripts have often done. Early versions contain several other editorial features with respect to discourse features of the Bible. In traditional Chinese printed books, text runs from top to bottom, right to left. There are no word divisions, as in the ancient Greek MSS. Punctuation is added on the right margin between columns, and therefore is not considered part of the text. As with the Chinese words used in biblical titles, there was no general consensus among translators with respect to the use of punctuation marks or discourse markers. GÜ uses an ordinary Chinese stroke for comma [、], a dot [·] for semicolon or a short break, and a small circle [°] for period. The first editions of the Union Versions employ three different punctuation marks: a dot [·] for comma and semicolon, a small circle [°] for period, and a large circle [○] to divide paragraphs. The practice of punctuation and discourse markers in the Chinese Bible has been a matter of convention and hence subject to confusion and frustration to its readers, for even today there is no uniformity in the system.

In her treatment of cohesion in translation, Callow considers various levels or kinds of cohesiveness relating to lexis, participants, and events in a discourse. The section on cohesion of participants offers some insights into the current discussion of Chinese pronouns. When tracing a participant through a discourse, she suggests that

In many languages a useful rule-of-thumb is to use a pronoun, after the first introduction is completed, unless at some point confusion would result...is this [confusion] resolved by the use of a proper name, a demonstrative, a generic term, or possibly a descriptive noun phrase? There is no way to discover the natural usage except by careful analysis of spontaneous text in the RL. By tracing different participants through the narrative in turn it is possible to discover the normal method of referring to a previously-mentioned participant. Then the less usual forms of reference may be studied to see in what contexts they are found, whether to resolve ambiguity, to start a new paragraph, to provide contrast, or whatever.<sup>156</sup>

#### 2.2.3.4. Relevance Theory

Relevance theory, a cognitive approach to human communication designed by Sperber and Wilson in 1986, has lent itself to translation studies since 1991, when Ernst-August Gutt published his *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context*. Gutt's work, while ground-breaking in its perspective and promising in its potential, has received mixed responses from scholars of many different interests. The full extent of Gutt's attempt to utilize relevance theory to account for translation does not need to be repeated here, but some of his insights could be used to increase the translator's competence and chance for success in Chinese Bible translation.

Gutt's application of relevance theory to translation studies, as noted by Timothy Wilt, "marks the transition from an era in which it was assumed that the psychological processes involved in translation would 'simply have to [be taken] for granted.'"<sup>157</sup> Principles of relevance suggest that human beings are naturally "wired" to achieve the

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<sup>156</sup> Callow, *Discourse Considerations*, 33–34.

<sup>157</sup> Nida, *Toward a Science*, 146; Wilt, *Bible Translation*, 44, n. 21.



most contextual effects possible for the least processing effort.<sup>158</sup> In other words, all human beings, without exception, aim at an “optimal relevance” in every verbal utterance and non-verbal communication (including pointing and winking).

Based on this framework, Gutt has argued for some significant implications in translation, which he understands as an “interpretive” use of language. These implications are gathered primarily from pragmatics. Gutt’s contribution is limited, however, to the extent that relevance theory can assist Bible translators only at the macro level. It is ill-equipped, for example, to be utilized as an exegetical tool of the SL.

Conceivable benefits of relevance theory are probably related to quality control, which includes checking the final stages of translation. One could argue that in accordance with relevance theory, Mandarin is currently preferable to the wenli style of Chinese writing or to other regional dialects of China, since it requires the least effort from the great majority of Chinese readers. For the same reason, Bible versions printed in simplified rather than traditional characters are far more likely to enjoy wider circulation in Mainland China. Retaining the conventional Chinese renderings of Christian concepts or transliterations of proper names of the Bible in a new version, again in compliance with relevance theory, produces better contextual effects with minimum costs (both for the translator and the reader) than creating an entirely different system of translation.

#### **2.2.4. Translation Methodology**

##### **2.2.4.1. Introduction**

This section provides an outline of the proposed translation methodology for the current study. Its scope is largely limited to a linguistic investigation of major Bible

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<sup>158</sup> Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 260.

translation issues, with special reference to grammatical representation of Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect. The outline divides into five areas: grammatical, lexical, phonological, formal, and functional translation. It also includes a discussion of the proper handling of disputed texts. It concludes with the role and responsibilities of the Bible translator.

#### 2.2.4.2. Grammatical Translation

Grammatical translation is of critical importance for Chinese Bible translation. The primary focus of this dissertation, namely translating Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect, deals directly with grammatical translation. Existing versions of the New Testament in Mandarin fail to render Greek aspect correctly because of the translators' serious misconceptions of both Greek and Mandarin aspect. As a result, many translators rely heavily on lexical means for the translation of Greek aspect into Mandarin. It is argued here that Greek aspect can be translated into Mandarin solely by grammatical means.

Greek and Mandarin both grammaticalize three aspects: perfective, imperfect, and stative aspects. Aspect in the two languages will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Generally, Greek tense-forms that realize the three aspects may be consistently rendered by the corresponding Mandarin aspect morphemes. (1) illustrates:<sup>159</sup>

(1) Ἰησοῦς οὖν εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνα ζητεῖτε; (John 18:4)

此刻耶穌洞察其奸他所面臨著的一切，就走了出去告訴他們說：「你們在找那一位？」(FOLEY)<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Note the English translation is from the Chinese. See also the commentary on John 18:4 in my chapter 6.

<sup>160</sup> FOLEY refers to the author's translation done according to the proposed translation theory.

Cǐkè Yēsū dòng-chá-qí-jiān tā suǒ miànlín-zhe de yīqiè, jiù zǒuchūqù gàosù tāmen  
shuō, “Nǐmen zài zhǎo nǎ yī wèi?”

Then Jesus, having understood everything that he was soon facing, went out to tell  
them, “For whom are you looking?”

Here, the stative aspect, which is realized by the perfect tense-form (εἰδώς) in Greek, may be translated by a four-character set phrase (*dòng-chá-qí-jiān*, “know well”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (formally unmarked), which signals the corresponding stative aspect in Mandarin. The imperfective aspect, which is signaled by the present tense-forms (ἐρχόμενα, λέγει, ζητεῖτε), may be conveyed in one of the following three ways (see Table 4.2 below): a disyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, a single imperfective aspect morpheme, or an imperfective aspect compound. The perfective aspect, which is signaled by the aorist tense-form (ἐξῆλθεν), may be conveyed in Mandarin by either the  $\emptyset$  morpheme or by a morphologically expressed perfective morpheme (see Table 4.1).

Here, Catford’s theory, especially his commentary on translation shifts and grammatical and lexical translation, may be extended to the level of discourse.<sup>161</sup> In (1), the four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme not only closely represents the stative aspect in Greek, but its heavily marked feature in Mandarin discourse also adequately translates the foregrounding device in Greek discourse. Likewise, the more heavily marked disyllabic verb with *-zhe* not only translates the Greek imperfective aspect, but also translates the discourse function of the present tense-form as a foregrounding device. The perfective aspect in Greek deserves special notice. Consider the following example:

(2) Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς καλεῖσθαι

<sup>161</sup> Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 71–72.

ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

原因是我在眾使徒至中屬最微小的，甚至不配稱為使徒，因為我迫害過 神的教會。(1 Cor 15:9, FOLEY)

Yuányīn shì wǒ zài zhòng shǐtú zhī zhōng shǔ zuì wēixiǎo de, shènzhì bùpèi chēngwéi shǐtú, yīnwèi wǒ pòhài-guò Shén de jiàohuì.

For I am the least among the apostles, not even worthy of being an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.

Here, the aorist (ἐδίωξα) is translated by the perfective aspect marker *-guò*. However, other perfective morphemes, including *-le* and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, are also an option. It should be emphasized that, unlike Greek, Mandarin aspect morphemes are not obligatory, thus explaining the dominance of the unmarked or  $\emptyset$  morpheme in Mandarin discourse. Hence, when *pòhài-guò-le* (“persecuted”) is used instead of *pòhài-guò* (“persecuted”) in (2), it results in a shift in discourse function. The two-morpheme aspect compound *-guò-le* is considered inappropriate here because it marks foregrounded prominence in Mandarin, which clearly misrepresents the aorist as the backgrounding tense-form in Greek discourse. Generally, discourse considerations exclude the use of two-morpheme aspect compounds for translating the aorist, unless emphasis is added syntactically (e.g. the repetition of the exact verb form).<sup>162</sup> In addition to the three tense-forms already mentioned, the imperfect and pluperfect tense-forms, which realize the imperfective and stative aspects in Greek respectively, are translated into Mandarin through grammatical rather than lexical means.

<sup>162</sup> See the commentary on σταύρωσον σταύρωσον (John 19:6) in chapter 6 below.

### 2.2.4.3. Lexical Translation

There are certain syntactical nuances in Greek that are expressed lexically in Mandarin. For example, different types of conditional statements in Greek cannot be expressed grammatically in Mandarin, instead they must be expressed lexically (e.g. using carefully chosen words such as *wànyī* 萬一 (“if by any chance”) or *bābude* 巴不得 (“earnestly wish”) to reflect the nuances of contingency in the fourth conditional).<sup>163</sup> Also, adverbial or circumstantial uses of the Greek participle, including those of concession, cause, purpose/result, instrument, condition, and command, can only be expressed lexically in Mandarin.<sup>164</sup>

Another criterion of lexical translation pertains to the issue of consistency in the use of lexis. Generally, the same word/phrase in Greek may consistently be translated by the same word/phrase or expression in Mandarin. For example, the perfect form γέγραπται, which is used as a formulaic phrase to introduce a direct quotation from the Old Testament, should be consistently translated as *jīng shàng jì-zhe shuō* 經上記著說 (“it stands written in the scriptures”), with the stative aspect marker *-zhe*. Furthermore, in the case of two or more synonyms or closely-related words in the Greek New Testament, such as ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι/ἀνάστασις, both may be translated as *fūhuó* 復活 (“come back to life”).<sup>165</sup> More frequently, however, largely due to complex semantic, pragmatic,

<sup>163</sup> See also 5.4.5, p. 291 below.

<sup>164</sup> See 5.3.2.2, p. 265 for further discussions.

<sup>165</sup> Compare Graves, who regards ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι as “practically the same in significance in N.T.” and prefers *fūqǐ* 復起 (“rise again”) for the latter, although he “would accept *fūhuó* 復活 if a distinction is to be made” in the two Greek words. See Graves, “Uniform Names,” 120–22. In practice, however, no such distinction is made (see UVW). Graves (1834–1912, ASBM) served as the secretary of the easy wenli UV committee as well as an active member who ensured uniform translations of proper names in the UV. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 224. Graves served a total of fifty-six years in China, the longest in the record of Protestant missions. Similar inconsistencies in translating these two Greek verbs are also found in English Bible versions. As O’Donnell argues, this is largely due to the inadequate treatment of the voice system in

or stylistic considerations in discourse, the same Greek word/phrase may not be translated by the same Mandarin word/phrase occurring in different contexts. For example, λέγω may be translated by various words in Mandarin, including *shuō* 說 (“say”), *wèn* 問 (“ask”), *gàosù* 告訴 (“speak”), or *huífù/huídá* 回覆/回答 (“respond”), depending on the given context.

#### 2.2.4.4. Phonological Translation

Phonological translation, according to Catford, is “restricted translation in which the SL phonology of a text is replaced by equivalent TL phonology.”<sup>166</sup> Phonological translation in the Greek New Testament is often done at the phrase or word level (e.g. Ἀκελδαμάχ Acts 1:19), and to a lesser extent at the sentence level (e.g. ἡλι ἡλι λεμᾶ σαβαθανι; Matt 27:46). Around the eighth and ninth centuries, three hymns written in Middle Iranian dialects were transliterated into Chinese and later collected into a document that became known as the Manichaean *Hymnscroll*.<sup>167</sup> In the Chinese Bible, however, phonological translation is mostly confined to the transliteration of proper names. Among early translators, Gury is especially noted for his creativity in devising a unique and elaborate system of transliteration for the New Testament in Chinese. For example, Jesus is transcribed as *Yīyīsū* 伊伊蘇斯 from the Russian Иисус, which of

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Greek. In his collocational analysis of these two Greek verbs, O’Donnell notes that ἐγείρω is used more frequently in the New Testament to refer to resurrection than ἀνίστημι. He also calls for a re-evaluation of the voice system in Greek, suggesting that it should be studied in terms of ergativity as opposed to deponency and transitivity. See O’Donnell, “Resurrection,” 136–63. For further comments, see my chapter 7 below.

<sup>166</sup> Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 56.

<sup>167</sup> For the Chinese text of the *Hymnscroll*, see Takakusu and Watanabe, *Tripitaka*, vol. 54, 1270–79. It was also considered a common practice to transliterate rather than translate Buddhist sūtras into Chinese. For discussions of the Manichaean hymns, see Tsui Chi, “*Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan*,” 174–219; Yoshida, “Manichaean Aramaic,” 326–31; Bryder, *Chinese Transformation*, 47–62; Sundermann, “Iranian Manichaean Texts in Chinese Remake,” vol. 1, 515–32.

course is a transliteration itself from the Greek Ἰησοῦς. Apart from the first three characters used for phonetic transcription, Gury adds a fourth, *sī*, which he renders slightly smaller than normal size so as to represent the aspiration [s] at the ending. Furthermore, he adds a small circle to the top of the character *sū* to mark the accent of the Greek original. While his attempt to accurately transcribe every nuance of a biblical name into Chinese is commendable, the awkwardness of its appearance and the foreignness of the Greek accent have perhaps hindered Gury's system from being adopted by another translator or being accepted by the Chinese public.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, Gury's system is not suitable for the modern practice of phonological translation of the Bible.

Another issue of phonological translation involves the marking of proper names that have been transliterated into Chinese discourse. Since editorial marks are nonexistent in conventional Chinese writing (e.g. capitalization or italics as in English) to distinguish proper names from other nouns, many translators have experimented to compensate for this void. Morrison and Marshman, for example, found a solution to distinguish place names from personal names by enclosing the characters for the former, for example, 耶路撒冷 (Jerusalem), and by underlining the characters for the latter, for example, 猶大 (Judas). Others use double underlining to mark place names, for example, 耶路撒冷 (Jerusalem, GÜ, followed by DV, GO, GURY, BCV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, BB, UVW, UVE, YAN, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CSB). In addition to underlining, Graves suggests that phonological translation may be indicated by inserting the radical *kǒ* 𠂇 to

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<sup>168</sup> As Graves notes, since many words like *Yēsū* 耶穌 (“Jesus”) have already become a part of the accepted Christian nomenclature of China, alternative forms such as the Russian transliteration mentioned here would not be accepted, even though they reflect closer phonetic representations of the Greek. See Graves, “Principles,” 582.

the left of the characters (e.g. 法利賽 for Pharisee, MOR, MAR).<sup>169</sup> These distinctions are unnecessary, since they are not warranted by the original. Therefore, the marking of biblical proper names will follow today's conventions, that is, simply by single underlining (CNT, WV, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, UV, TCV, NCV).

#### 2.2.4.5. Formal Translation

Generally, the word order of the Mandarin translation in this dissertation closely follows that of the Greek New Testament. There are contexts where Mandarin syntax does not permit the formal translation of the original. For example, unlike Greek, the protasis of a Mandarin conditional statement must be placed before the apodosis (e.g. Acts 24:19).<sup>170</sup> For the Greek text, including word divisions and punctuation marks (but not paragraph breaks), the Mandarin translation of the current study follows Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.).<sup>171</sup>

Figurative expressions are generally rendered by formal translation. Consider the following example (Prov 5:15–19):

(3) 你要對自己的妻子忠實，專心愛她．．．所以，你要以自己的妻子為滿足，  
要跟你所娶的女子同享快樂。(TCV)

Nǐ yào duì zìjǐ de qīzi zhōngshí, zhuānxīn ài tā...suǒyǐ, nǐ yào yǐ zìjǐ de qīzi wéi  
mǎnzú, yào gēn nǐ suǒ qǔ de nǚzǐ tóngxiǎng kuàilè.

You should be faithful to your own wife; love her wholeheartedly...Therefore,  
you should be satisfied with your own wife; you should share happiness with  
the girl you marry.

<sup>169</sup> Graves, "Uniform Names," 122. Unfortunately, however, Graves' suggestion was not accepted. Graves follows GÜ and others for the markings of proper names in the Chinese Bible.

<sup>170</sup> See example (35) in chapter 5 for further discussion.

<sup>171</sup> Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*.



According to Nida, functional equivalence requires that figurative expressions of the SL be translated into their equivalent in the RL. The TCV, represented in (3), closely follows the wording of the TEV, which is the first English version of the Bible to employ Nida's theory. Rather than literally translating, "Drink water from your own cistern, flowing water from your own well...Let your fountain be blessed, and rejoice in the wife of your youth," as in the NRSV, the TEV renders Hebrew poetry in plain English: "Be faithful to your own wife and give your love to her alone...so be happy with your wife and find your joy with the girl you married."

Most Chinese versions, however, translate the Hebrew figurative expressions literally (e.g. MAR, GÜ, BCV, DV, SJ, UV, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV). (4) illustrates:

(4) 你要喝你自己池裡的水，飲你自己井中的活水．．．要使你的水源蒙祝福；

要喜悅你少年所娶的妻。(LÜ)

Nǐ yào hē nǐ zìjǐ chí lǐ de shuǐ, yǐn nǐ zìjǐ jǐng zhòngdì huóshuǐ...yào shǐ nǐ de  
shuǐyuán méng zhùfú; yào xǐyuè nǐ shàonián suǒ qǔ de qī.

You should drink the water from your own pool [and] drink the running water  
from your own well...let your fountain be blessed; rejoice with the wife of  
your youth.

Even paraphrased versions, such as the CLB, preserve the original figurative form:

(5) 孩子啊，你當喝自己池中的水，飲用自己井裡的活泉．．．你要使家庭蒙

福，就要忠於你的髮妻。

Háizi a, nǐ dāng hē zìjǐ chí zhòngdì shuǐ, yǐnyòng zìjǐ jǐng lǐ de huóquán...nǐ  
yào shǐ jiāting méng fú, jiù yào zhōngyú nǐ de fǎqī.

Children, you should drink the water from your own pool; drink the living

spring from your well...if you would like your family to be blessed, be faithful to your first wife.

In modern Chinese, figurative speech such as this is quite common in everyday speech. Besides, even if the objects mentioned here were uncommon or unheard of in Chinese culture, there is no reason why the passage in Prov 5:15–19 could not be represented in the equivalent figurative speech in Chinese. Hence, formal translation is adopted here as the general approach in translating biblical figurative expressions into Chinese.

#### 2.2.4.6. Functional Translation

Functional translation is necessary in contexts where grammatical forms in Greek cannot possibly be represented formally in Mandarin. For example, periphrasis does not exist as a grammatical construction in Mandarin, therefore, it can only be translated by lexical means, or more precisely, only its function can be translated. (6) illustrates:<sup>172</sup>

(6) εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. (1 Cor 15 :19)

如果我們僅僅在此生對基督是眾望所歸的，我們豈不就比眾人更加可悲了。

Rúguǒ wǒmen jǐnjǐn zài cǐ shēng duì Jīdū shì zhòng-wàng-suǒ-guī de, wǒmen qǐ bù jiù bǐ zhòng rén gèngjiā kěbēi le.

If we only had hope for Christ in this life, are we not more pitiful than all people?

Here, the phrase ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν is a periphrastic construction, formed by the present of εἶμι + perfect participle. It is argued here (see 5.3.2.1b) that although the periphrastic construction in Greek does not differ semantically from the monolectic verb form, it clearly adds emphasis to the participle and its modifiers. It is this function of

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<sup>172</sup> See discussions on the periphrastic construction in 5.3.2.

denoting emphasis that may be translated into Mandarin. The *shì...de* construction performs the equivalent function as the Greek periphrasis, as seen in (6).

#### 2.2.4.7. Unclear or Disputed Texts (Isa 7:14)

As a rule, unclear or disputed texts of the Bible are translated into Mandarin with the intention of preserving the ambiguities of the original. At the same time, such translations should be made intelligible to the reader. Translators frequently encounter such problematic texts. For example, Greek grammarians have great difficulty treating the conditional sentence in Acts 24:19.<sup>173</sup> In this passage, the optative in the protasis clearly belongs to the fourth class conditional, whereas the imperfect in the apodosis seems to belong to either the first or second class conditionals. However, the decision of determining the exact conditional type should be left to the reader. The scale of the challenge to the translator in this passage is relatively small, especially compared to that of the controversial so-called “virgin text” of Isa 7:14.

The translation of the Hebrew עַלְמָה in Isa 7:14 has stirred up much controversy among Christian churches around the world. In the Old Testament, עַלְמָה is used broadly to refer to a woman who has not yet borne a child (e.g. Song 6:8).<sup>174</sup> In some contexts, such as Gen 24:43, the word is used to refer to Rebecca, who may be described as young, unmarried, marriageable, and a virgin.<sup>175</sup> The problem arises when the Septuagint translators use the Greek word παρθένος to render עַלְמָה in Isa 7:14. Unlike the Hebrew word, παρθένος is an exclusive term, meaning “virgin.” In the prophecy of the coming

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<sup>173</sup> See discussions of example (35) in chapter 5.

<sup>174</sup> VanGemen, *New International Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>175</sup> VanGemen, *New International Dictionary*, s.v.

Messiah, Matthew quotes from the Septuagint, stating that the “virgin shall conceive and bear a son.”

Most Chinese versions have followed the reading “virgin” for Isa 7:14 and used the same word for Matthew 1:23. The most frequently used Chinese terms are *tóngnǚ* 童女 (GÜ, BCV, JOHN, JOHNM, SJM, UV, NCV, CLB, SJ) and *chùnǚ* 處女 (e.g. MAR, DV, SJ). Although *tóngnǚ* is used less than *chùnǚ* in secular contexts, they are synonymous. *Chùnǚ* is the most widely used term to encompass the exclusive meaning of the English term “virgin.” Like English, it can also be used metaphorically, as in *chūnǚ háng* 處女航 (“virgin voyage”). The term *tóngnǚ* may be a better translation of עַלְמָה because it contains the word *tóng*, meaning “child.” The rarity of the word in colloquial discourse in Mandarin could be an advantage because the emphasis is now on the youthfulness of the woman, not her lack of any sexual experience. *Tóngnǚ* is therefore a preferable translation for עַלְמָה.

Other translations use different Chinese words to translate עַלְמָה and παρθένος. SB uses *zhēnnǚ* 貞女 (lit. “virtuous woman”) for both passages in Isaiah and Matthew. LÜ uses *shàofù* 少婦 in Isaiah but *tóngnǚ* in Matthew. SJ uses *tóngnǚ* in Isaiah but *chùnǚ* in Matthew. The TCV also uses two different words for the two passages: *guīnǚ* 閨女 in Isa 7:14 and *tóngnǚ* in Matthew 1:23.<sup>176</sup> According to relevance theory, referring to both passages with the same Chinese word would have the advantage of demanding less effort from the reader. Also, choosing the most common word, in this case, *chūnǚ*, would also promote comprehension. Nonetheless, *tóngnǚ* is the more meaningful and better choice of translation for both עַלְמָה and παρθένος. It fulfills Nida’s principles of functional

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<sup>176</sup> *Guīnǚ* denotes “unmarried woman” or “daughter” in colloquial Mandarin.

equivalence while maintaining the standards of formal translation that call for accuracy and preservation of multiple senses, which Ryken advocates.

#### **2.2.4.8. Role and Responsibility of the Bible Translator**

The task of Bible translation goes beyond Catford and Nida's definitions of translation in terms of "a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another," or simply matching equivalence in the SL with the equivalence in the RL.<sup>177</sup> The role of the Bible translator resembles that of a spokesperson of ancient authority, whose voice can only be heard through faithful and diligent study of the biblical texts. The Bible translator is responsible for ensuring that biblical texts are accurately translated, with respect to its grammatical structure, and lexical, formal and functional representations in the RL. It is also the Bible translator's job to preserve the characteristics of the Bible, including figurative expressions and textual ambiguities. These challenges continue to face the Chinese Bible translator.

#### **2.2.5. Conclusion**

The ultimate goal of this survey of translation theories is to provide the basis of translation approaches adopted for this study. Although the primary focus of the study is concentrated on translating Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect, the daunting challenge of translating the Bible demands the formulation of a translation theory that is solidly based on modern linguistic research and scholarship. The following chapters will integrate the critical insights presented in this section and continue to develop the author's translation theory to its fullest potential for subsequent application.

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<sup>177</sup> Catford, *Linguistic Theory*, 1.

### **2.3. Conclusion**

This chapter addresses crucial issues involved in translating the Bible into Chinese and offers critical reviews of current translation theories and their applications to the practice of Chinese Bible translation. A historical overview of the Chinese Bible is provided as a way of introducing major issues related to linguistic, conceptual, and logistical challenges. In the following chapters, these surveyed Chinese Bible versions, which number over sixty, along with Nestorian, Manichaean, and Catholic documents, will be critically evaluated with special emphasis on their translation of Greek verbal aspect. Finally, the translation theory proposed in the second half of this chapter will be applied to the translation of two sample passages in John 18–19 and 1 Corinthians 15.

## CHAPTER 3 VERBAL ASPECT IN MANDARIN CHINESE AND NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

### 3.0. Introduction

The current chapter begins with an introduction to general studies of aspect (3.1). The chapter then divides into two main parts, focusing on Mandarin Chinese aspect (3.2) and New Testament Greek aspect (3.3). The purpose of the chapter is two-fold: to provide critical reviews of previous studies on the subjects in discussion, and to supply outlines of methodology needed for translating the Bible from Greek into Mandarin.

### 3.1. General Theories of Aspect

#### 3.1.1. Introduction

Over the last sixty years, general studies of aspect have received much scholarly attention. The term “aspect” was first used by the French linguist C.P. Reiff in the early nineteenth century to translate the Russian word вид, which refers to the perfective and imperfective aspects (совершенности и несовершенности), as well as to *Aktionsarten* (способы действия or “modes of action”).<sup>1</sup> It was not until the 1930s that it became the accepted term for the study of aspect. Jens Holt coined the classic definition of aspect as “les manières diverses de concevoir l’écoulement du procès même.”<sup>2</sup> In the second half

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<sup>1</sup> “Les verbes russes, qui n’ont que ces trios temps, ont d’autres inflexions pour designer diverses circonstances qui accompagnent l’action, comme la durée, l’accomplissement, la répétition. Ces diverses nuances, auxquelles des grammairiens russes donnent le nom d’*aspects* ou de *degrés*, s’expriment par des désinences ou par des prépositions.” See Reiff, *Grammaire françois-russe*, 86. For discussions of Russian aspect and *Aktionsart*, see, for example, Maslov, “Глагольный вид,” 158–59; Maslov, “Outline,” 1 n. 1. *Aktionsart* is recognized as a distinct category from aspect by some aspectologists (e.g. Bache) but not by others (e.g. Comrie). See discussions below.

<sup>2</sup> Holt, *Études d’aspect*, 6. Comrie translates it “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Comrie, *Aspect*, 3 n. 1. A similar definition, “different ways of viewing a situation,” is also found in Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 184.

of the twentieth century, many aspectologists, such as Bernard Comrie, followed Holt to define aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.”<sup>3</sup>

### 3.1.2. Aspect and *Aktionsart*

Aspect is often confused with *Aktionsart* (German for “kind of action”). The confusion, unfortunately, is not merely terminological but conceptual. Comrie describes their differences in two ways:

The first distinction is between aspect as grammaticalisation of the relevant semantic distinctions, while *aktionsart* [*sic*] represents lexicalisation of the distinctions, irrespective of how these distinctions are lexicalized; this use of *aktionsart* [*sic*] is similar to the notion of inherent meaning... The second distinction... is between aspect as grammaticalisation of the semantic distinction, and *aktionsart* [*sic*] as lexicalisation of the distinction provided that the lexicalisation is by means of derivational morphology.<sup>4</sup>

Since derivative morphological studies (e.g. prefixed verbs) done mostly by aspectologists of Slavic languages are no longer prevalent, the second distinction that Comrie highlights does not apply here.<sup>5</sup> Comrie’s first distinction remains important because it is the most common view of the fundamental differences between aspect and *Aktionsart*. For this reason, aspect is often referred to as grammatical aspect, whereas *Aktionsart* is referred to as lexical aspect. Comrie is mistaken, however, when he replaces *Aktionsart* with “inherent meaning” and groups it together with grammaticalized aspect to form one general category of aspect in order to avoid possible “confusion” caused by

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<sup>3</sup> Comrie, *Aspect*, 3, n. 1. Throughout the current study the term “aspectology” is used as an umbrella term to refer to general studies of aspect, whereas “aspectuality” refers to the specific aspectual system of a language.

<sup>4</sup> Comrie, *Aspect*, 6–7, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Maslov, “Outline,” 40.



the two senses of *Aktionsart* he identified.<sup>6</sup> Comrie's conflation of aspect and *Aktionsart* is built upon by John Lyons, who substitutes "aspectual character" for *Aktionsart*.<sup>7</sup>

Aspect belongs to *subjective* categories involving the locutionary agent's (i.e. speaker's, writer's, or utterer's) particular viewpoint (perfective, imperfective, or stative) expressed morphologically by a verb. *Aktionsart*, on the other hand, is often described as relating to *objective* categories concerning the procedural characteristics (i.e. manner in which action proceeds) of the presented situation.<sup>8</sup> In other words, while aspect is manifested at the grammatical level, *Aktionsart* is manifested at the lexical level. Bache argues that the relationship between the two categories should be regarded as "quasi-objective" rather than "quasi-subjective" because inherent meaning is psychological in nature and the typology of situation is defined only in the projected world, not the real one.<sup>9</sup>

The exact relationship between aspect and *Aktionsart* continues to be a matter of scholarly contention. While many aspectologists continue to use the term *Aktionsart*, there are those such as Comrie and Lyons who have introduced alternative terms that they have incorporated into the broad categories of aspect. Others, including Bache, and Bertinetto and Delfitto, have used "action" or "actionality" to designate *Aktionsart*, and

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<sup>6</sup> Comrie, *Aspect*, 6–7, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 2, 706.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Forsyth, *Grammar*, 29–31, 356. Forsyth's mentioning of procedurals is based on Maslov's discussion (способы действия) in Maslov, "Болгарском," 160, 165. Bache follows Forsyth and defines *Aktionsart* in terms of "the procedural characteristics (i.e. the 'phasal structure', 'time extension' and 'manner of development') ascribed to a given situation referred to by a verb phrase, whereas aspect reflects the situation focus with which a situation is represented." Bache, "Aspect and *Aktionsart*," 70; Bache, *Study*, 218. Bache sees aspect as metalinguistic categories, that is, categories that are operated in universal grammar, and that are used to describe language.

<sup>9</sup> Bache, "Aspect and *Aktionsart*," 62, 71; Bache, Basbøll, and Lindberg, *Tense, Aspect, and Action*, 217.

advocate treating it separately from the study of aspect.<sup>10</sup> Those who follow Comrie and Lyons, notably Carlota Smith and her followers (e.g. Michaelis, Xiao and McEnery, Fanning, Olsen), have equated “situation aspect,” or “lexical aspect,” with *Aktionsart*.

### 3.1.3. Universal Grammar vs. Language Typology

The study of aspect can be divided into two groups according to their different fundamental assumptions. The first group assumes all languages operate within the framework of universal grammar proposed by Chomsky, Greenberg, and Montague.<sup>11</sup> The second group assumes that languages function according to their typological variations. The former approach is advocated by aspectologists that include Dowty, Comrie, Verkuyl, Bache, and Smith, whereas the latter is represented by Forsyth, Dahl, and Santos.<sup>12</sup> With very few exceptions (e.g. Bache), those who accept universal grammar as their guiding principle almost always include *Aktionsart* as part of their treatment of aspect.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.1.4. Aspectual Oppositions

Many aspectologists treat aspect in terms of binary oppositions between the perfective and the imperfective. The notion of binary oppositions, introduced by early writers of the Prague school, is extremely important. Some (e.g. Forsyth, Ruipérez, Olsen) describe the

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<sup>10</sup> Bache, Basbøll, and Lindberg, *Aspect, Tense, and Action*, 217. See also Bertinetto and Delfitto, “Aspect vs. Actionality.”

<sup>11</sup> Key contributions include Chomsky’s early work on generative grammar: Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*; Chomsky, *Lectures*. See also Greenberg, *Language Universals*. For a helpful introduction to universals and typology, see Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 1–30.

<sup>12</sup> Dowty, “Towards a Semantic Analysis,” 45–77; Dowty, *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*; Dahl, *Tense and Aspect Systems*; Santos, *Translation-Based Corpus Studies*. Montague, “Contributions.”

<sup>13</sup> Bache often includes *Aktionsart* as a separate category (i.e. “action”) in his discussions on tense and aspect. See, for example, Bache, *Aspect, Tense, and Action*.

oppositions as privative;<sup>14</sup> others (e.g. Gao, Porter) as equipollent.<sup>15</sup> The concept of privative and equipollent oppositions was first introduced by Trubetzkoy in his classification of phonic oppositions. According to Trubetzkoy,

Privative Oppositionen sind solche, bei denen das eine Oppositionsglied nur das Vorhandensein, das andere durch das Nichtvorhandensein eines Merkmales gekennzeichnet sind, z. B. ‚stimmhaft‘ – ‚stimmlos‘, ‚nasaliert‘ – ‚unnasaliert‘, ‚gerundet‘ – ‚ungerundet‘ usw. . . . Äquipollente Oppositionen sind solche, deren beide Glieder logisch gleichberechtigt sind, d. i. Weder als zwei Stufen einer Eigenschaft noch als Verneinung und Bejahung einer Eigenschaft gewertet werden, z. B. deutsch *p-t, f-k* usw. Die äquipollenten Oppositionen sind in jedem System die allerhäufigsten.<sup>16</sup>

In the nineteenth century, L. Razmusen provided the classic description of aspectual oppositions, defining the perfective aspect as “an action considered as a single whole (одно целое),” while expressing the imperfective as “an action considered only from the point of view of its concrete, denotative features (вещественных [знаменательных] своих признаков) without reference to its totality.”<sup>17</sup> Comrie follows this definition but adds that the perfective does not distinguish between the various separate phases that make up that situation, while the imperfective focuses on the internal structure of the situation.<sup>18</sup> Concerning aspectual meaning, Bache states that the perfective aspect carries the meaning of situational completeness, whereas the imperfective denotes a sense of situational progression.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Those who describe aspect in terms of privative oppositions include Ruipérez, *Estructura*; Forsyth, *Grammar*; Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*.

<sup>15</sup> Lyons defines the equipollent oppositions in terms of “a relation in which each of the contrasting lexemes denotes a positive property.” Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1, 279. Those who describe aspect in terms of equipollent oppositions include, for example, Gao and Porter. See Gao, *Grammar*, 186–99; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*.

<sup>16</sup> Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, 67; 66–75. Punctuation marks are the same as in the original. See also Forsyth, *Grammar*, 6–15. Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1, 279.

<sup>17</sup> Razmusen, “О глагольных временах,” 275 (1891) 379. Cited in Forsyth, *Grammar*, 8. See also Maslov, “Болгарском,” 158, 310.

<sup>18</sup> Comrie, *Aspect*, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Bache, *Aspect, Tense, and Action*, 260.

In his aspectual hierarchy, Comrie divides the imperfective into habitual and continuous (either nonprogressive or progressive), and the perfective into four subcategories (result, experiential, persistent, and recent past).<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that Comrie's subcategories of the perfective are not to be accepted as genuine aspectual oppositions, as Bache has pointed out, because they are merely definable in terms of inherent meanings.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.1.5. Carlota Smith's Two-Component Theory

#### 3.1.5.1. Introduction

Although clear distinctions have been made between aspect and *Aktionsart* in this chapter, the plethora of current literature (especially those devoted to the study of Chinese aspect) necessitates the introduction of the role *Aktionsart* plays in the study of aspect. In *The Parameter of Aspect*, Carlota Smith develops her two-component theory on the basis of several key linguistic principles defined by universal grammar (Chomsky's) and by the Prague School (notions of markedness).<sup>22</sup> She also implements Discourse Representation Theory to analyze the aspectual systems of five different languages (English, French, Russian, Chinese, and Navajo).<sup>23</sup> Her two-component theory

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<sup>20</sup> Comrie, *Aspect*, 25, 58–64.

<sup>21</sup> Bache, "Aspect and Aktionsart." This has also been cited by Porter in Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 46.

<sup>22</sup> The notion of "markedness" derives from the early works of the Prague School linguists. John Lyons provides a helpful summary of the three key senses of markedness in lexical structure: formal, distributional, and semantic markedness. Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1, 305–11. See discussions in 3.2.5, p. 116 below. For a recent review of Smith's theory, see Klein, Li, and Hendriks, "Aspect and Assertion," 735–39. Klein et al. posit an alternative framework of analysis of the four aspect marks (*-le*, *-guo*, *-zhe*, and *zai*). Their analysis, being largely built upon the works of Smith and Mangione and Li, is concerned with time intervals and temporal relations that these aspect markers situate and assert. It is essentially a model of *Aktionsart*. See Mangione and Li, "Compositional Analysis," 65–122.

<sup>23</sup> Discourse Representation theory is a kind of semantic algebra useful for analyzing small discourse. It was developed by Kamp and Heim. It should be pointed out that Smith's application of the theory is limited to analyses at the sentential level. See Kamp, "Theory of Truth," 277–322; Kamp, "Événements, Représentations Discursives," 39–64. See also Heim, "Semantics."

of aspect consists of “viewpoint aspect” (i.e. grammatical aspect) and “situation aspect” (*Aktionsart*). She claims that the theory also allows integration of aspect with other semantic features of sentences, such as temporal location.<sup>24</sup> The influence of Smith’s two-component theory on the study of aspect is evident in more than a dozen recent publications and doctoral theses on Chinese aspect (e.g. Xiao and McEnery, Kang).<sup>25</sup> Like Comrie, Smith is concerned with providing a universal linguistic account of a theory of aspect. Smith argues that aspectual meanings are grammaticalized through these two types of categories:

The categories of viewpoint aspect are overt, whereas situation aspect is expressed in covert categories...viewpoint is generally indicated morphologically, with affixes or other designated morphemes. Situation type is conveyed more abstractly, by the verb and its arguments, or verb constellation [according to Henk Verkuyl 1972]. The forms that specify each aspectual component co-exist in a sentence.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.1.5.2. Situation Aspect

Situation aspect is often equated with lexical aspect, or *Aktionsart*, for it focuses on the inherent meaning of the verb at the lexical level. Situation aspect was proposed by Zeno Vendler, a professor of philosophy, in 1967.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the binary oppositions between the perfective and imperfective aspect, three sets of aspectual oppositions can be observed here: [ $\pm$ dynamic], [ $\pm$ durative], and [ $\pm$ telic].

Vendler’s four categories of aspectual situations in English are:

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<sup>24</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, xvi.

<sup>25</sup> Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*; Kang, “Composition.” For an early work of conflating *Aktionsart* and aspect in the study of Mandarin aspect based on the framework of transformational grammar, see Teng, “Negation and Aspect,” 14–37; Rohsenow, “Unified Treatment,” 523–32; Rohsenow, “Syntax and Semantics.”

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, xiv, 5. Xiao and McEnery’s definition, “the study of linguistic devices that enables a speaker to direct the hearer’s attention to the temporality of a situation, either intrinsic [inherent] or viewed from a certain perspective,” is basically derived from Smith’s understanding of aspect. Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Vendler, “Verbs and Times,” 97–121.

- **Activities** [+dynamic], [+durative], [–telic]

e.g. run, walk, swim, push, pull, etc.

- **Accomplishments** [+dynamic], [+durative], [+telic]

e.g. run a mile, paint a picture, draw a circle, write a letter, kill, walk to school, attend a class, recover from illness, get ready for something, etc.

- **Achievements** [+dynamic], [–durative], [+telic]

e.g. win a race, find the treasure, reach the top, recognize, find, lose, spot, identify, cross the border, start, stop, resume, be born, die, etc.

- **States** [–dynamic], [+durative], [–telic]

e.g. have, think, know, believe, love, hate, be tall, own, desire, rule, dominate, etc.

Vendler's model is most convincing in his own words:

...the concept of activities calls for periods of time that are not unique or definite. Accomplishments, on the other hand, imply the notion of unique and definite time periods. In an analogous way, while achievements involve unique and definite time instants, states involve time instants in an indefinite and nonunique (*sic*) sense.<sup>28</sup>

A few years before Vendler put forth his classification, Anthony Kenny had in fact come up with his own version nearly identical to Vendler's except that he collapsed the accomplishments and achievements into "performances."<sup>29</sup> Because he has pointed out the similarities between his and Aristotle's categories, Kenny's taxonomy of verbs is referred to by some as "Aristotelian aspect."<sup>30</sup> Vendler and Kenny's classifications are sometimes called "Vendler-Kenny" categories of verbs.

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<sup>28</sup> Vendler, "Verbs and Times," 106–07.

<sup>29</sup> Kenny, *Action, Emotion and Will*, 172–86.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Binnick, *Time and the Verb*, 139–49, 170–78. Binnick sees aspect, *Aktionsart*, and Aristotelian aspect as three distinct categories. To avoid confusion, this distinction is not maintained here.

Later aspectologists (e.g. Comrie and Smith) have added a fifth situation, semelfactive, to establish atelic punctiliar dynamic verbs (e.g. knock, tap, cough).<sup>31</sup> Chart 3.1 below illustrates the five aspectual situations according to Smith.<sup>32</sup> Aspectual meanings found in these situations are discussed differently by others (e.g. Maslov has different terms for each set of aspectual situations).<sup>33</sup>

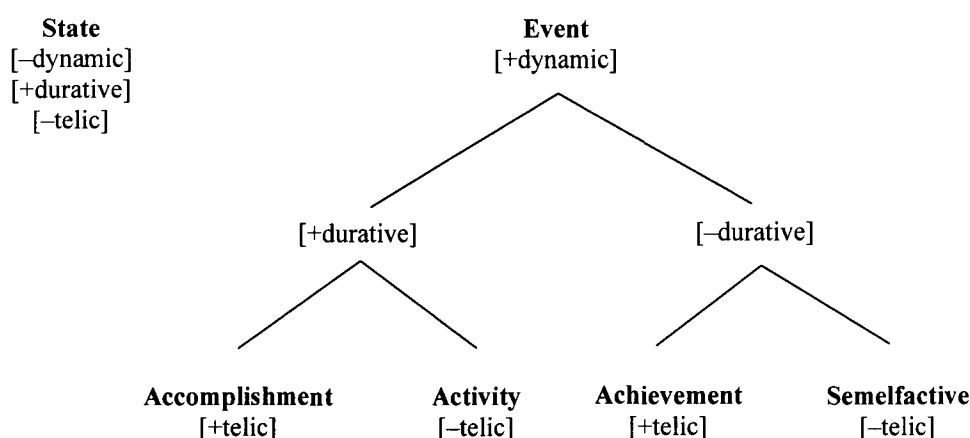


Chart 3.1. Smith's situation types

Recently, Xiao and McEnery have extended Smith's two-component theory to develop a two-level model of situation aspect.<sup>34</sup> They use the labels [ $\pm$ telic] and [ $\pm$ bounded] to distinguish between temporal and spatial endpoints. They also add [ $\pm$ results] for each situation type (e.g. accomplishments are the only situation type labeled with a plus).<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, stative verbs are divided into "individual-level" and "stage-level" states. The strength of their argument undoubtedly is that the study is corpus-based, as

<sup>31</sup> Semelfactive derives from the Russian мгновенный, meaning "momentary." Comrie defines it as "a situation that takes place once and once only (e.g. one single cough)." Comrie, *Aspect*, 43, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Chart 3.1 is based on Carlota Smith's temporal features of the situation types summarized in Smith, *Parameter*, 20. Here Smith, however, uses [ $\pm$ Static] instead of [ $\pm$ dynamic].

<sup>33</sup> Maslov prefers предельный or "limited" (or "terminative") as opposed to telic situation types. Maslov, "Outline," 7 n. 19; 6–13.

<sup>34</sup> Xiao and McEnery, "Corpus-Based," 325–63. This same article is reprinted in a summary form in Xiao and McEnery, "Situation Aspect," 185–200.

<sup>35</sup> See Xiao and McEnery, "Situation Aspect," 339.





- **Neutral:** flexible, including the initial endpoint of a situation and at least one internal state [I.]<sup>40</sup>

Smith does not follow Comrie's subcategories of perfective and imperfective aspects, rather, she emphasizes the contrastive viewpoints between a closed (i.e. perfective) and an open (i.e. imperfective) situation in conceptual or narrative time. In Smith's two-component theory, the perfective aspect generally presents situations as punctual and does not apply to stative situations, which have no endpoints in the temporal schema. They have no duration semantically unless they are specifically marked with duration, as in (1).<sup>41</sup>

(1) The king reigned for thirty years.

Smith argues that viewpoint types are realized in many languages by means of verb inflection. For example, the English perfective viewpoint is signaled by the simple form of the main verb. In Japanese, it is signaled by attaching the auxiliary verb *ta* た to the main verb.<sup>42</sup> In Mandarin, where there is no verb inflection, the perfective viewpoint is expressed by the morphemes *-le* 了 and experiential *-guò* 過, and by resultative verb complements (RVCs). The imperfective viewpoint, on the other hand, is signaled by the auxiliary *be + ing* in English and by attaching the auxiliary verb *te iru* て いる to the main verb in Japanese.

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<sup>40</sup> General temporal schemas and explanations are from Smith, *Parameter*, 66, 73, 81.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 72.

<sup>42</sup> The example of Japanese is mine. For discussions on Japanese verbal aspect, see, for example, Yoshimoto, *Tense and Aspect*; Suzuki 鈴木 泰, *Kodai Nihongo doshi*; Suzuki 鈴木康之, "Fifty Years," 1–13.

### 3.1.5.4. Smith's Neutral Viewpoint Type

While traditional aspectologists deal with only the perfective and imperfective viewpoint types, Smith includes a third type, the neutral viewpoint, which was initially proposed by Carr and Halliday.<sup>43</sup> The neutral viewpoint presents a situation that is aspectually vague because it lacks a viewpoint morpheme.<sup>44</sup> She describes it as “a default with a positive semantic value” that allows both closed and open readings.<sup>45</sup> She claims that the neutral viewpoint is realized in some languages (e.g. French and Mandarin) but not in others (e.g. English).

Smith's third viewpoint type has not been accepted by most of her peers. Among those who have rejected it are Xiao and McEnery, who follow Smith's two-component theory in their recent corpus-based treatment of Mandarin aspect.<sup>46</sup> The problem with Smith's proposal is that it is not a global theory of aspect. The neutral viewpoint is only realized in those few selected languages that Smith analyzes. In the case of Mandarin, the neutral aspect may appear to offer insights into the semantics of Chinese verbs; however, upon closer examination it turns out not to be the case. Consider the following example:

(2) 若口認耶穌為主、心信上帝甦之、則得救 (Rom 10:10)

Ruò kǒu **rèn** Yēsū wéizhǔ, xīn **xìn** Shàngdì **sū** zhī, zé **déjiù**.

If you acknowledge with mouth Jesus as Lord, and believe in the heart that God  
revived him, you will be saved.

<sup>43</sup> Carr, “Characterization,” 78–81; Halliday, “Grammatical Categories,” 193–95; Halliday, *Language*, 82–85. A few others also treat the neutral aspect as an independent type of Mandarin aspect lacking aspect morpheme. See Chen Gwang-tsai, “Aspect Markers,” 43.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 77–81.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 77–78.

<sup>46</sup> Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*.

(2) is the DV's rendering of ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ in wenli style. In Smith's terms, all of the Chinese verbs convey the neutral aspect: *rèn* ("acknowledge"), *xìn* ("believe"), *sū* ("revive"), and *déjiù* ("be saved"). Each verb has both a closed and an open reading. Classical Chinese lacks the aspect morphemes *-le*, *-guò*, *zài*, and *-zhe* found in Mandarin.<sup>47</sup> Even in Mandarin, aspect morphemes are optional and often omitted in both spoken and written discourse. In (2) the verbs used in Rom 10:10 all lack viewpoint morphemes in most Mandarin versions (e.g. UV, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CLB). Although Mandarin is equipped with clearly identifiable aspect markers, diachronic evidence suggests that it retains linguistic features derived directly from classical Chinese.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it is a serious mistake to assume that any Mandarin verb with no aspect morpheme belongs to the neutral aspect.

Smith is correct, however, when she points out that aspect morphemes are optional in Mandarin. She observes:

Viewpoint morphemes are syntactically optional, making the neutral viewpoint always available in principle. The presence of an explicit viewpoint morpheme therefore carries a certain emphasis not available in languages for which viewpoint is syntactically obligatory.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Robert Morrison, however, has used *-guò* (e.g. Mark 2:12, Luke 14:18–20) and *-le* (e.g. John 18:30, 33) to translate the Greek aorist tense-form in his wenli New Testament. These must be ruled out as exceptions. It needs to be noted that particles such as *qí* 其, *jué* 厥, *yě* 也, *yǐ* 矣 used in Early and Late Archaic Chinese are not genuine aspect morphemes as Egerod has claimed. See Egerod, "Aspect," 278–86.

<sup>48</sup> Classical Chinese employs verb complements to express aspect. For example, the RVC *jùn* ("complete") is used to convey the perfective aspect in *Shàngdì gōng jùn* 上帝工竣 ("God finished working," Gen 2:2, DV). For this reason, wenli versions of the Chinese Bible are considered in this dissertation. Some argue that RVCs (as well as IDVCs) are frequently attested in historical and literary writings of classical Chinese (e.g. 《史記》, 《漢書》, 四書五經) as early as in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). See Yu 余健萍, "On the Origin and Development," 114–26; Wang 王 力, *History*, vol. 2, 301–04; Yang 楊建國, "Notes," 29–48; Xu 徐 丹, *Typological Change*, 161, 146–88. It is worth noting that the classical texts throughout Xu's monograph are cited erroneously in a mixture of simplified and traditional characters. This is an unacceptable practice for any scholarly writing on classical Chinese. Others opinions vary, but most agree that RVCs were fully developed no later than the Tang Dynasty (618–906 C.E.). See Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 204–22; Ota, *Historical Study*, 173–76; Jiang, "Genesis," 367–81; Antonian, "Diachronic Analysis," 383–403; Wang 王錦慧, *Diachronic Analysis*, 57–104.

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 263.

Unfortunately, Smith does not elaborate on the sort of emphasis there is in situations marked with aspect morphemes. She is correct, though, as far as seeing the problem in terms of conventions of use that are “pragmatic in nature and therefore cannot be stated at the level of syntactic or semantic structure.”<sup>50</sup> In addition to pragmatics, discourse factors also play a crucial role. Chang has observed that the perfective morpheme *-le*, for example, is often omitted and reserved for the peak event in narrative discourse.<sup>51</sup> In Bible translation, these considerations must be included and taken seriously. The problem of Smith’s neutral viewpoint will receive further examination in 3.2.5.

### 3.1.5.5. Contrastive Aspectual Studies

#### a. Yuriy Maslov

Recent works on contrasting aspectual systems between languages are numerous. The languages that enjoy well-received attention are Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Nordic, Sanskrit, and Baltic languages (including ancient Greek).<sup>52</sup> Several contrastive aspectual studies of non Indo-European languages such as Japanese and Mandarin have also appeared in recent decades.<sup>53</sup> Maslov’s 1985 essay on contrastive aspectology has become a classic and some of his insights will serve as guidelines for the current study in working with both Greek and Mandarin aspectual systems.

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<sup>50</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 280.

<sup>51</sup> See the unpublished thesis by Chang in Chang, “Particle *Le*,” 109. See also Hu 屈承熹 and Chang, “Discourse Function,” 309–34; Ross, “Temporal,” 93.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Maslov’s article on aspect in the contemporary Bulgarian literary language, Maslov, “Българском,” 157–312. See also Maslov, Forsyth, and Forsyth, *Contrastive Studies*. For contrastive studies of Russian (including Old Slavonic) and ancient Greek aspect, see, for example, Navratil, *Beitrag*; Shafranov, “Исследование,” 25–30, 107–36. For Sanskrit and ancient Greek, see, for example, Gonda, *Character*; Banerjee, *Indo-European Tense and Aspect*. For Modern Greek and ancient Greek, see, for example, Humbert, “Verbal Aspect,” 21–28; Bubenik, “From Ancient to Modern Greek,” 249–64; Lallot, “Aspects contrastés,” 247–65.

<sup>53</sup> For a contrastive aspectual study of Japanese and English, see, for example, Yoshimoto, *Tense and Aspect*. See reviews on Mandarin below.

Two of Maslov's ideas are particularly pertinent. One concerns his emphasis on giving priority to functional-semantic similarities and differences between languages before considering external structure.<sup>54</sup> The other relates to his comment that "the distribution of particular aspectual meanings in one language is not isomorphic with their distribution in another."<sup>55</sup> This is an especially welcome confirmation of the observations made above concerning the neutral viewpoint type in Mandarin. Quite obviously, the Greek perfective aspect would not necessarily correspond exactly to the Mandarin perfective in every detail of semantic and syntactic significance.

Some additional comments Maslov makes on the analysis of translation in contrastive studies deserve further notice. He suggests taking several translations of the same work made by different translators in order to achieve greater objectivity.<sup>56</sup> This supports the use of more than sixty Chinese Bible versions with different writing styles in the current study to assist in analysis. Maslov's advice on carrying out bidirectional analysis of translated texts, however, is not applicable here, since the aim of Bible translation is limited to only one direction (i.e. from Greek to Mandarin).

This realization with respect to Maslov's advocacy of bidirectional analysis also underlines the purpose of the current study, of which the scope is not limited to merely contrasting aspectual systems of Greek and Mandarin. The primary concern is Bible translation, and discovering how Greek and Mandarin aspectuality can assist the translator to achieve the goal of rendering the Bible more accurately, elegantly, and meaningfully.

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<sup>54</sup> Maslov, "Outline," 39–41.

<sup>55</sup> Maslov, "Outline," 42.

<sup>56</sup> Maslov, "Outline," 43.

## b. Zhang Lihua

Previous studies on contrastive aspectology of Mandarin and other languages are few and unsatisfactory. Apart from Xiao and McEnery's work on Mandarin and English, recent works include Lihua Zhang's *A Contrastive Study of Aspectuality in German, English, and Chinese*.<sup>57</sup> Zhang's work is defective and flawed in many fundamental areas, and thus is not reviewed here in full. The most serious mistakes in this study undermine her understanding of aspect. For example, she disregards Maslov's warning not to confuse prefixed verbs with aspect.<sup>58</sup> Along with prefixed verbs, she also treats postverbal particles, both of which should be categorized under *Aktionsart*. Furthermore, her work is filled with confused terminology and awkward English expressions. Although Zhang has followed the bidirectional analysis of translated texts between languages suggested by Maslov, it is unclear whether or not the Chinese translation is based on the English translation or the German original.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.1.5.6. Conclusion

This section covers major discussions of general theories of aspect. Aspect is treated here as the locutionary's choice of viewing a situation, either as perfective or imperfective, expressed by means of verbal morphology. Perfective aspect views the situation as a whole, whereas imperfective aspect views it as an ongoing process. It should be emphasized that aspect and *Aktionsart* are two separate categories, and that

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<sup>57</sup> Zhang, *Contrastive Study*.

<sup>58</sup> Maslov, "Outline," 40–41. Shafranov, for example, has conducted a detailed comparative analysis of the prefixes in Russian and in ancient Greek from Xenophon's *Anabasis*. See Shafranov, "Русском и греческом глаголе," 25–30, 107–36.

<sup>59</sup> Maslov, "Outline," 43. The German work chosen as the basis for her contrastive study is Heinrich Böll's *Der Mann mit den Messern*. In *Gesammelte Erzählungen* 1, 27–37. The Chinese trans. *Dai dao zi de ren* 《戴刀子的人》 (trans. by He Xin) appeared a year after the English translation (by Vennewitz) in 1987.

only aspect will be the focus here. The next two sections deal with two typologically different aspectual systems, Mandarin Chinese (3.2) and New Testament Greek (3.3).

## **3.2. Verbal Aspect in Mandarin Chinese**

### **3.2.1. Introduction**

Since the early studies on aspect began more than sixty years ago, considerable attention has been focused on verbal aspect in the Chinese language. Many western scholars (including those from the Russian school, such as Jaxontov and Maslov) frequently refer to the Chinese verbal system in their studies of aspect. Notable western scholars include Maspero, Dragunov, Jaxontov, Smith, J. Charles Thompson, and Sandra Thompson. Since the late 1960s, some native Chinese speakers have also begun to work on Mandarin aspect. Most of these are western-trained linguists (e.g. Li, Tai, Xiao), however, a few others are native scholars from Mainland China (e.g. Lü, Wang, Gao). Sections 3.2.2–3.2.4 include critical reviews of major theoretical approaches and discussions of Chinese aspect.<sup>60</sup> These previous studies share a common deficiency in that they lack a powerful linguistic model needed to satisfactorily treat the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Section 3.2 concludes with an outline of methodology for treating Chinese aspect applicable for the purpose of Bible translation (3.2.5).

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<sup>60</sup> For a summary in tabular form of major proposed models of Mandarin aspect, see the Japanese translator's Preface in Jaxontov, *Chugokugo doshi*, 6–7. For outlines of the history of the study of Chinese grammar, see, for example, Wang, *History*; Gong, *History*. Wang covers from pre-Qin (先秦, before 221 B.C.E.) to 1949, with emphasis on phonetics, whereas Gong primarily surveys publications of the modern period. Gong only includes publications by native speakers in Chinese, and, unfortunately, offers no critical review regarding verbal aspect in Chinese. See also Fang 方光燾, *Collected Essays*, 225–51. Fang mentions a few names of publications in the 1950s by Russian sinologists. For a survey of early Chinese grammatical treatises by western authors, see Summers, *Handbook*, v–xv.

### 3.2.2. Early Approaches

#### 3.2.2.1. Francisco Varo's *Arte de la Lengua Mandarin compuesta*

The feat of first publishing a Chinese grammar is credited to the Spanish Dominican missionary Francisco Varo (1627–87). His *Arte de la Lengua Mandarin compuesta* appeared in Canton in 1703.<sup>61</sup> Several subsequent Chinese grammars, such as T.S. Bayer's *Museum Sinicum*, and Étienne Fourmont's *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae*, also began circulating in the eighteenth century, however, Varo's grammar deserves special notice not only because it was the first of its kind, but also because it was the first attempt to systematically treat a spoken language of China, in this case, southern (Nanking) Mandarin.<sup>62</sup>

Varo divides his discussion of verbs into indicative and non-indicative moods.<sup>63</sup> The indicative further divides into six subcategories: present indicative (Ø morpheme), imperfect preterit (marked by *shí* 時), preterit perfect (*liǎo* 了, *yǐ* 已), pluperfect preterit (*-guòle* 過了, *-wánle* 完了), future imperfect (*jiāng* 將, *huì* 會), and future perfect (*-liǎo* 了, *-wán* 完, *-chéng* 成). The non-indicative moods include the imperative, optative and subjunctive (*bābude* 巴不得, *yuàn* 願), infinitive (*qù* 去, *gāi* 該, *lái* 來, etc.), and even participles (*...de(rén)* 的(人), *...zhě* 者). In addition to these two categories, Varo also introduces the category of passive voice, which he observes as grammatically marked by particles, such as *shì* 是, *suǒ* 所, *wéi* 爲 and *bèi* 被. Interestingly, these grammatical

<sup>61</sup> Varo, *Arte*. Varo's biography with an introduction to his grammar can be found in Varo, *Francisco Varo's Grammar*, ix–liii.

<sup>62</sup> Other eighteenth century Chinese grammatical treatises include Bayer et al., *Museum Sinicum*; Fourmont, *Linguae Sinarum Mandarinicae*. Southern or Nanking Mandarin was distinguished from Northern or Peking Mandarin, upon which today's standard Mandarin is based. For introductory comments by nineteenth century Chinese grammarians, see, for example, Bazin, *Mémoire*, 6–7. The first Mandarin version of the New Testament (1856) was translated into Nanking Mandarin. See 2.1.5, p. 30 above.

<sup>63</sup> Varo, *Arte*, 49–58.



markers remain virtually unchanged even today, and, despite the apparent problems related to his dependence on the tense-based system of Latin, Varo's basic approach to the treatment of Mandarin verbs has been deeply imprinted upon future generations of grammarians.

### 3.2.2.2. Morrison, Marshman, Gützlaff, Edkins, and Mateer

In the century following the first publication of Varo's Mandarin grammar, more than a dozen Chinese grammars sprang up in different European languages. Among them were Robert Morrison's *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*, Joshua Marshman's *Clavis Sinica*, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff's *Notices on Chinese Grammar*, Joseph Edkins' *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language*, and Calvin Mateer's *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*.<sup>64</sup> These five grammars deserve special treatment here because they were written by those who had been actively involved with translating the Bible from the original languages into Chinese.

#### a. Robert Morrison

It is now certain that, as Morrison himself claims, his *Grammar* of 1816 was the first of its kind in English, although it was published a year after Marshman's grammar.<sup>65</sup> It is

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<sup>64</sup> Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*; Morrison, *Grammar*; Gützlaff, *Notices*; Edkins, *Grammar*; Mateer, *Course*. Chinese grammars written by Protestant missionaries are either not treated altogether or not received favorably. See, for example, Peyraube who refers to both grammars by Morrison and Marshman as "less important" because they are not real grammars but simply a type of language textbook, which introduces the language by translated examples. Peyraube, "Some Reflections," 345. Other Chinese grammars published in the nineteenth century include Rémusat, *Éléments*; Gonçalves, *Arte China*; Summers, *Handbook*; de Prémare and Rémusat, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*; Rémusat and de Rosny, *Éléments*. De Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae* was first completed in 1729 but was not published until 1831. Lobscheid, *Grammar*; Julien, *Syntaxe*; Bazin, *Mémoire*; Bazin, *Grammaire Mandarine*; von der Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*; Imbault-Huart, *Manuel*.

<sup>65</sup> Morrison, *Grammar*, iii. Key evidence strongly suggests that Morrison had finished his grammar in the spring of 1811. First, the date in the Preface reads April 2, 1811. Second, by 1815 he took on new projects compiling a Chinese-English/English-Chinese dictionary and translating the Bible into wenli Chinese. See Morrison, *Dictionary*. Third, Morrison's widow and Townsend both report that "for some unknown cause,"

quite possible that the two English missionaries knew each other's work. Although Morrison's treatment of Mandarin verbs was rudimentary, it was a revolutionary undertaking, not only because it was the first of its kind in English, but also because Mandarin had never been used officially in writing and would remain strictly in colloquial use for at least another century.

Morrison clearly anticipated that his work would satisfy the need of (Protestant) missionaries working in China for a Mandarin primer.<sup>66</sup> Following Varo, Morrison treats Mandarin verbs within the traditional western tense and mood categories, however, he illustrates the verb system through paradigms, such as “to have” (*yǒu* 有), “to be” (*shì* 是), “to advise” (*quàn* 勸), and auxiliary verbs that are “conjugated” in the present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and future tenses.<sup>67</sup> Again, Morrison follows Varo closely by listing five kinds of moods: the indicative, potential, subjunctive, infinitive, and participle. The perfect and pluperfect tenses are denoted by the suffix *-guò*, and are differentiated by the adverbs *yǐjīng* 已經 (“already”) and *céngjīng* 曾經 (“once,” “ever”). Unlike Varo, *-le* is treated as a post-sentential modal particle, *not* as an aspect marker

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Morrison had finished his grammar for nearly three years before it was finally printed at the Serampore Press in 1815 at the expense of the East India Company for which Morrison worked as the official translator of Chinese. See Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*, 298–99; Townsend, *Robert Morrison*, 53, 58. Fourth, Zetzsche has noted an incident in which Morrison accused Marshman of plagiarizing his grammar. Marshman responded with the accusation that Morrison was guilty of plagiarizing Basset's MSS in his translation of the New Testament. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 51. Finally, Samuel Kidd, professor of Chinese in University College in Malacca, Malaysia, notes that Morrison's grammar is “not only the first production of the author, but the first in the English language, on Chinese philology.” Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*, vol. 2, 75.

<sup>66</sup> Varo also had the same goal in mind.

<sup>67</sup> Morrison, *Grammar*, 113–200. The same word was used by Varo. See Varo, *Arte*, 51.

expressing perfectivity.<sup>68</sup> Following Varo, Morrison excludes imperfective markers, such as *zài* and *-zhe*.

#### **b. Joshua Marshman**

Joshua Marshman's grammar shares some similarities with Morrison's as both follow Varo's basic framework of treating Chinese verbs. For the classifications of moods, Marshman follows Morrison closely but adds a brief discussion on the imperative and optative moods.<sup>69</sup> In reality, however, the two have significantly different approaches to treating the Chinese verbal system. For example, Marshman argues that verb inflection is irrelevant in Chinese because Chinese verbs do not conjugate in the same way as Indo-European languages.<sup>70</sup> Hence, unlike Morrison, who uses conjugations of paradigm verbs, Marshman discusses verbal syntax with illustrations of *wenli* Chinese from the classics (e.g. Confucian texts) and illustrations of Mandarin from informal discourse and conversation. Oddly, even though both had already published at least parts of the New Testament by the time their grammars appeared, neither Marshman nor Morrison includes illustrations from the Bible. Most importantly, Marshman treats the Chinese verbal system in the context of its relation to other languages, such as English, Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Greek. For this reason, Marshman's Chinese grammar is perhaps more useful for Bible translation than that of Morrison.

Marshman posits five tenses in Chinese: indefinite/aorist, present, perfect, "past connected with time" (or "past time"), and future.<sup>71</sup> According to Marshman, the Chinese

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<sup>68</sup> For the term "modal particle," I follow Li and Takahashi. See Li 李楚成, *Beiträge*, 278; Takahashi, "On the Use," 220.

<sup>69</sup> Joshua Marshman, *Grammar*, 405–30.

<sup>70</sup> Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*, 390.

<sup>71</sup> Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*, 431–48.

aorist corresponds to the Greek aorist tense-form, which expresses the present, past, and future time. In contrast to Varo, Marshman asserts that the “simple verb” (i.e. verb marked with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme) realizes *not* the present indicative but the “aorist tense” in Chinese, which can be used to render the Greek aorist.<sup>72</sup> The other four tenses are signaled by temporal deictic indicators, verbal suffixes, and auxiliary verbs. For example, the adverb *jīn* 今 (“now”) expresses the present, *shǐ* 始 (“begin”) expresses the “past time,” and the auxiliary verb *jiāng* conveys the future.<sup>73</sup> The perfect tense, Marshman argues, is signaled by several different morphemes, which include the adverbs *yǐ* 已 (“already”), *jì* 既 (“done”), and *cháng* 嘗 (“taste,” “try”), and aspect perfective morphemes *-guò*, *wán* (“finish”), and *-le*.<sup>74</sup> Unlike Morrison, Marshman treats the post-sentential *le* not as a modal particle but as a marker of the perfect tense.

### c. Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff

Gützlaff’s *Notices on Chinese Grammar* was published in Batavia in 1842 under the pseudonym Philo-Sinensis. Although this volume has been criticized by the contemporary grammarian James Summers for its limited contributions,<sup>75</sup> it is worth noting here because it is technically a collaboration between Gützlaff and Walter H.

<sup>72</sup> Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*, 433.

<sup>73</sup> For examples of the temporal deixes used in the Analect, see von der Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, 462–68, 496–97; Ota, *Descriptive Grammar*, 79–85.

<sup>74</sup> Marshman, *Clavis Sinica*, 435–42; Marshman correctly notes that *-guò*, *wán*, and *-le*, are frequently found in conversation and vernacular discourse, but scarcely or never used in Chinese classical literature. Compare Brandt, who categorizes several other particles as the “particles of completed action”: *jīng* 經, *jìng* 竟, *fāng* 方, *yìjīng*, *shì* 適, *cái* 纔, *céng*, *céngjīng*, *yè* 業, *yèjīng* 業經, *yèyǐ* 業已. See Brandt, “Wenli Particles,” 8–9.

<sup>75</sup> Summers notes that “this work was prepared in haste, and consequently neither the author nor the editor did justice to his abilities and acquirements.” See Summers, *Handbook*, ix.

Medhurst, both of whom were translators of the Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman's Version of the Chinese Bible (GÜ).<sup>76</sup>

Although Gützlaff treats Chinese verbs according to western tense-based categories, his remarks on the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are significant. He argues that grammatical particles or auxiliaries such as *wán* 完, *jìn* 盡, *chéng* 成, *-guò*, and *bì* 畢, which are “words descriptive of the past tense; as-done, finished” are optional in Chinese (including Mandarin).<sup>77</sup> He states,

As the Chinese verb has not yet been exhibited in all its bearings, we shall be the more particular upon this subject. Thus it will be our object to show, how, though devoid of moods and tenses, it is made to answer all the purposes of our conjugations and inflections; while we must always bear in mind, that unless the distinction become necessary, none of the grammatical particles or auxiliaries are employed.<sup>78</sup>

Unfortunately, Gützlaff does not elaborate on the conditions in which such distinction becomes necessary. Also, lacking the modern linguistic concept of aspect, Gützlaff adopts Morrison's system of tense and mood in Chinese to discuss the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and common verbal suffixes. It is these considerations that have limited Gützlaff's contribution to the study of Chinese verbs. Gützlaff does, however, include a few important grammatical particles that had not been treated previously. For example, he was the first author to recognize the particle *zhèngzài* 正在 as a marker of imperfect tense.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> The title page of this volume identifies Medhurst as the translator. While Gützlaff presumably wrote this grammar in German, there is no evidence that he ever published it in a language other than English. As mentioned above, Summers refers to Medhurst as Gützlaff's editor. See Summers, *Handbook*, ix. For the discussions of GÜ, see 2.1.4.2, p. 22 above. In addition to GÜ, Medhurst also took part in the translation of the DV. See 2.1.4.4, p. 24 above.

<sup>77</sup> Gützlaff, *Notices*, 86–87.

<sup>78</sup> Gützlaff, *Notices*, 77–78; 97.

<sup>79</sup> Gützlaff, *Notices*, 98.

#### d. Joseph Edkins

In the year that the Taiping Rebellion ended in China (1864), Joseph Edkins published his second edition of *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language*.<sup>80</sup> Edkins, who was also a prominent English missionary (LMS) actively involved in Bible translation, was one of the five original members of the Peking Committee, which published a Mandarin version of the New Testament (PK) in 1872.<sup>81</sup> Until his death in 1907, Edkins served on the committee translating the high wenli Union Version (UVW).<sup>82</sup>

Edkins' approach to analyzing Chinese diverges sharply from that of Morrison, Marshman, and other grammarians before him. He was aware of the dominant influence of the comparative philology of his time in Europe, and quick to point out the shortcomings of its application to the study of Chinese.<sup>83</sup> He states,

Comparative philology has hitherto directed its efforts too exclusively, to languages whose words consist of a root and some addition to or modification of the root. The Chinese must be regarded as the best type of those languages, which do not admit any modifications of the root, but allow the appendage of auxiliary words under a strict law of limitation.<sup>84</sup>

Hence, according to Edkins, one should not be preoccupied with analyzing particles, which other grammarians believed could correspond to the verb inflections of Indo-European languages. Rather, one should focus on the syntax and semantics of compounds and auxiliary words. One other distinction in Edkins' approach is that he follows Varo in focusing on the spoken language. Rather than the Confucian classics many of his

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<sup>80</sup> First edition was published in 1857.

<sup>81</sup> See 2.1.5, p. 30 above.

<sup>82</sup> Edkins was responsible for translating Rev, Jude, and Acts. See Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 241. The New Testament portion of the UVW was published two years after his death.

<sup>83</sup> Edkins specifically mentions de Prémare's work for the heavy influence of the comparative philology movement in Europe. He also notes that the grammars by Morrison and Marshman, "fail to convey the mind of the student, the richness of its idioms, and the extended development of its peculiar principles." See "Preface to the First Edition, 1857" in Edkins, *Grammar*, ii.

<sup>84</sup> "Preface to the First Edition, 1857" in Edkins, *Grammar*, iii.

predecessors use as the basis for illustrations, Edkins chooses the *Dream of the Red Chamber* 《紅樓夢》 (mid to late eighteenth century) and the *Sacred Edict Colloquialized* 《品花寶鑑》 (ca. 1849), both of which were written in the contemporary Mandarin colloquial and were unavailable during Varo or de Prémare's time.

Although Edkins does not appear to have the modern concept of *Aktionsart* or aspect, his analysis of Mandarin compounds and auxiliary words suggests an affinity towards a primitive idea of aspect. For example, *-zhe* is treated as an auxiliary verb that expresses “single action generally.”<sup>85</sup> He also notes that the “completion” or “non-completion” of action is expressed in the negative and affirmative forms by what later grammarians would call RVCs, *chéng*, *wán*, *liǎo*, *bì*, and *jìn*.<sup>86</sup> However, Edkins does not have a clear understanding of aspect conveyed by other morphemes, such as *lái*, *qù*, and *qílái*, which he describes in terms of giving direction to the action, or verb reduplication, which he defines as giving the “tentative sense.”<sup>87</sup> As for other aspect morphemes, such *-guò*, *-le*, and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, Edkins follows his predecessors in construing them within the western tense-based categories.

#### e. Calvin Mateer

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the study of Chinese had assumed a more practical and pedagogical approach (i.e. grammatical lessons with exercises and readings) to the spoken language in order to serve a wider public interest. Representatives of

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<sup>85</sup> Edkins, *Grammar*, 175.

<sup>86</sup> Edkins, *Grammar*, 183–84. This is also noted by James Summers (1829–91), Edkin's contemporary who also happened to be British. See Summers, *Handbook*, 69–75. Summer adds that RVCs are used as auxiliary verbs “to limit or perfect the notion of the primitive.” Summers, *Handbook*, 70. For a list of common Mandarin RVCs, see Table 3.2, p. 123 below.

<sup>87</sup> Edkins, *Grammar*, 186. Compare Rémusat, who discusses verb reduplication in the sense of indefiniteness conveyed by *yī*, as in *fǎng-yī-fǎng* 訪一訪 (“S'enquérir, s'informer”). See Rémusat, *Éléments*, 158.

Mandarin primers from this period include Camille Imbault-Huart's *Manuel pratique de la langue chinoise parlée*, Calvin Mateer's *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*, Baller's *A Mandarin Primer*, and Jozef Mullie's *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language*.<sup>88</sup> For the purpose of the current study, only Mateer's work will be reviewed here.

Mateer was the first American to publish a Mandarin primer. Similar to the three aforementioned missionaries, Mateer (ABCFM) had the distinguished role of chairing the translation committee of the Mandarin Union Version.<sup>89</sup> The second edition of his *Course* appeared in 1906, a year before the UV New Testament was published. Overall, Mateer follows previous grammatical treatises in his treatment of verbs, especially that of Edkins. For example, he recognizes *-le* as a past tense-marker and *lái* and *qù* as auxiliary verbs that give direction to the verb. There are several points, however, where Mateer departs from Edkins. Mateer identifies *qǐ* as an auxiliary verb that expresses a progressive action, whereas *-zhe* "gives the force of the present participle."<sup>90</sup> He also adds that verb reduplication is used "partly for emphasis, partly to specialize the action expressed."<sup>91</sup> Following de Prémare, Mateer also includes a discussion on Chinese four-character set phrases, which he calls "quadruplet phrases."<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, both Mateer and de

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<sup>88</sup> Wade and Hillier, *Progressive Course*; Imbault-Huart, *Manuel*; Mateer, *Course*; Baller, *Mandarin Primer*; Baller, *Idiom*; Mullie, *Structural Principles*. Like Edkins, F.W. Baller (1852–1922; CIM) served on the translation committee of the UV (high wenli and Mandarin).

<sup>89</sup> Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 255–59. Zetzsche also notes that Mateer's Chinese assistant (1903–08), Wang Hsüan-chen, had published his own New Testament in 1933 (WANG). Zetzsche, *Bible in China*, 262.

<sup>90</sup> Mateer, *Course*, vol. 1, 70–72; 55–53.

<sup>91</sup> Mateer, *Course*, vol. 1, 78–80, 319–22.

<sup>92</sup> De Prémare, *Notitia linguæ sinicæ*, 227–34; Mateer, *Course*, vol. 1, 597–605. The term "four-character set phrase," which translates the Chinese *chéngyǔ* 成語 ("set phrase") or the Japanese *yōijukugo* 四字熟語 ("four-character idiomatic compounds") is my own.



Prémare fail to provide any explanation whatsoever on the meaning or discourse function of the set phrases.

### 3.2.2.3. Carr, Maspero, Frei, and Průšek

#### a. Denzel Carr

The first person to discuss Mandarin aspect as a modern linguistic category is Denzel Carr. With only slight modification, Carr applies Jespersen's scheme directly to Mandarin.<sup>93</sup> Eleven aspects are categorized: aorist (*-le*), imperfect ( $\emptyset$ , *-zhe*), durative (*-zhe*, *-zhù*), punctual/momentary ( $\emptyset$ , *-de*), finished (verbal-*le...la*, *-guò(le)*, *-wán*, *-lái*, *-qù*), unfinished ( $\emptyset$ , *-zhe*, *-lái**zhe*), unifactual (*...yī...*), frequentative/ iterative (*-lái**zhe*, *-guò*), stability ( $\emptyset$ , *-zhe*), change/inchoative/inceptive (sentence-*le*, *-qǐlái*, *-shànglái*), and implication of result/definite (*-guò*, *-dào*). Carr is aware that the privative opposition between the perfective and imperfective in the Slavic languages cannot be applied to Mandarin aspect. He does note, however, that the opposition between stability and change closely resembles that opposition. Although his scheme has more to do with *Aktionsart* than to aspect, Carr makes several contributions that are influential, including his introduction of the “neuter” aspect (expressed by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme) and his recognition of the two morphemes of *le*, which he terms the “verbal *le*” (expresses the perfective aspect) and “sentence *le*” (denotes “change of state”).<sup>94</sup>

#### b. Henri Maspero

Shortly after Carr in 1939, Henri Maspero published his own original scheme of Mandarin aspect. Maspero identifies two types of aspect based on frequency: the

<sup>93</sup> Jespersen's scheme is much closer to *Aktionsart* than to aspect. Jespersen, *Philosophy*, 287; Carr, “Characterization,” 78–81.

<sup>94</sup> Carr, “Characterization,” 79–81.

common and less common aspects.<sup>95</sup> The common aspects include the determinative (*-lái*, *-qù*), accomplished (*-le*), durative (*-zhe*), and aoristic (*-guò*), whereas the less common aspects include the continuative (*-zhù*), ingressive (*-qǐ*), resultative (*-zháo*), and effective (*-shàng*, *-xià*, *-jìn*, *-chū*).<sup>96</sup> In addition, the less common “pseudo-auxiliaries” (i.e. RVCs such as *chéng*, *zhòng*, *hǎo*) also convey the nuances of the effective aspect.<sup>97</sup> Maspero does not treat the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, but his elaborate scheme makes several highly influential contributions, among which is his central claim that Mandarin grammaticalizes aspect, and that aspect in Mandarin is independent of time.

### c. Henri Frei

Henri Frei’s scheme differs significantly from those of Carr and Maspero. Frei asserts that Mandarin aspect may be categorized according to the binary oppositions between perfective (*achevé*, realized by the particle *-le*) and imperfective (*inachevé*, realized by *-ne*, *-lázhe*).<sup>98</sup> The perfective aspect is also realized by resultative auxiliaries, such as *jiàn*, *dào*, and *zháo*, and by the adverbs *kuài* 快 (“soon”), and *yǐjīng* (“already”).<sup>99</sup> The imperfective aspect is conveyed by the durative auxiliary *-zhe* and the continuative adverbs *zhí* 直, *zhèng* 正, and *hái* 還. Frei does not treat the perfective marker *-guò*, nor does he consider other imperfective morphemes, such as *zài*, or morphemes that are later classified by linguists as directional verb complements (DVCs; e.g. *-qǐlái*, *-xiàqù*).

<sup>95</sup> Maspero, “Langues,” 1-40-2–1-40-6.

<sup>96</sup> Maspero’s view of *-guò* being aoristic is followed by Jaxontov (see below). Iljic arrives at similar conclusions. See Iljic, “Verbal Suffix *-guo*,” 301–26.

<sup>97</sup> Maspero’s claim is followed by Průšek (see review below) and by some Mainland Chinese authors, for example, Li, who categorizes DVCs and RVCs as *zhǔn biǎotǐ zhùcí* 準表體助詞 (“quasi-aspect particle”) or *bàn biǎotǐ zhùcí* 半表體助詞 (“half-aspect particle”). See Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 32–33.

<sup>98</sup> Frei, “Système chinois,” 137–50.

<sup>99</sup> For a list of common Mandarin resultative auxiliaries (i.e. RVCs), see Table 3.2, p. 123 below.

#### d. Jaroslav Průšek

In 1950, Frei's contemporary, Jaroslav Průšek, published an important article on verbal aspect in Mandarin with several critical remarks drawn chiefly from his analysis of the late Qing novel *The Travels of Lao T'san* 《老殘遊記》 (1907).<sup>100</sup> Průšek criticizes Frei's overly simplified scheme of Mandarin aspect based on the privative oppositions between the perfect and the imperfect found primarily in Slavic languages, which, according to Průšek, simply do not exist in Mandarin.<sup>101</sup> Building upon the argument of "pseudo-auxiliaries" put forth by Maspero, Průšek asserts that RVCs (and some DVCs) are not fully grammaticalized. RVCs, therefore, are capable of expressing resultative aspect in Mandarin because their lexical content is still meaningful, whereas aspect particles, notably *-zhe*, no longer retaining their lexical meaning, have become totally grammaticalized as aspect markers. Although Průšek does not utilize the theory of markedness, his comments that aspect particles tend to be used more frequently in "simple verbs" (i.e. verbs with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme) than in "verb compounds" (i.e. verbs marked with RVCs or DVCs) support the argument, as presented later in this chapter, that verb forms marked with two or three aspect morphemes are more heavily marked (i.e. distributionally) than those with single aspect morphemes.

#### 3.2.2.4. Contributions from Native Speakers

##### a. Ma Jianzhong

The same year Mateer's Mandarin primer appeared, Ma Jianzhong, a Catholic convert who had received education in France, became the first native speaker to publish a

<sup>100</sup> Průšek, "Quelques remarques," 408–30.

<sup>101</sup> This is followed by Kalousková in Kalousková, *Études sur les aspects des verbes*, 145. Kalousková recognizes only three grammatical verbal suffixes in Mandarin: *-le*, *-guò*, and *-zhe*. See Kalousková, *Études sur les aspects des verbes*, 23–26.

comprehensive grammatical treatise on classical and literary Chinese.<sup>102</sup> Although he writes his grammar in literary style (easy wenli) and mainly addresses the formal written form of Chinese, Ma also includes Mandarin in his discussions (e.g. the modal particle *le* 了).<sup>103</sup> Ma adopts the western framework of nineteenth century comparative philology and uses European grammatical categories to treat Chinese. The grammar broadly divides Chinese vocabulary into classes, *shízi* 實字 (lit. “real word”) and *xūzì* 虛字 or particles (lit. “void word”).<sup>104</sup> The former further divides into four categories (noun, pronoun, verb, and adjective/adverb), while the latter divides into four (preposition, conjunctives, auxiliary verb, and modal particles). Ma’s treatment of the verb only extends as far as classifying transitive/intransitive verbs, mood (including participles), and voice.<sup>105</sup> Tense and aspect are not discussed, except for some common modal particles (*yě* 也, *yǐ* 矣, *ěr* 耳, *yǐ* 已) that are considered optional but capable of expressing perfective aspect.<sup>106</sup> Ma’s legacy to the study of Chinese is very limited, as suggested by the fact that most Chinese grammatical terms coined by Ma are no longer current.

#### b. Lü Shuxiang and Zhu Dexi

Representatives of the early native Chinese-speaking scholars include Lü Shuxiang, Zhu Dexi, Wang Li, and Gao Mingkai.<sup>107</sup> Their monographs on Mandarin grammar and

<sup>102</sup> Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*. For Ma’s biography, see Fang 方 豪, *Biographical Accounts*, vol. 3, 299–304.

<sup>103</sup> Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*, 341.

<sup>104</sup> This has been noted, for example, by Bazin in Bazin, *Grammaire mandarine*, 56–57. Shryock refers to *shízi* as “content-words” and *xūzì* as “particles.” See Shryock, “Use,” 159–160.

<sup>105</sup> Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*, 144–90.

<sup>106</sup> *Jué shìlǐ yǐrán* 決事理已然 (lit. “indicating matters already accomplished”). Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*, 341.

<sup>107</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*; Wang 王 力, *Grammar*; Wang 王 力, *Treatise*; Wang 王 力, *Outline*; Zhu 朱德熙, *Composition*; Gao, *Grammar*. Li’s grammar, which went through 24 editions since its first publication in 1924, does not include any treatment of aspect at all. Li considers aspect morphemes as particles to specify temporal locations along with temporal deictic indicators. See Li 黎錦熙, *Grammar*, 109–12, 229–36.

syntax show the influence of structural linguistics and comparative philology.<sup>108</sup> The four were immensely influential and respected scholars in China, who were instrumental in the modern linguistic development of Chinese, including the implementation of Script Reform in the 1950s and 1960s.

These early modern Chinese grammarians all wrote in Mandarin, with their primary focus being the spoken language. Their approaches, however, differ to various degrees. Lü uses *Aktionsart* categories to treat the semantics of aspect morphemes *-zhe*, *-le*, verb reduplication, and DVCs.<sup>109</sup> Zhu does not recognize aspect as a separate domain and treats aspect morphemes according to western tense-based linguistic categories, with emphasis on their syntactic and pragmatic features.<sup>110</sup> Wang and Gao's models of Chinese aspect are more complete and original than those of Lü and Zhu, and hence deserve a fuller review here.

### c. Wang and Gao

#### α. Wang Li

According to Wang Li, the Mandarin aspectual situation generally occurs in narrative discourse and concerns the duration of the event, with its initial and final endpoints specified.<sup>111</sup> Wang identifies seven aspects (or rather, aspectual situations) of Mandarin, which can be divided into four groups: zero or without aspect morpheme (∅), with aspect

<sup>108</sup> Lü and Wang, for example, both utilize Jespersen's theories of Rank and Nexus. See Jespersen and Haislund, *Modern English Grammar*; Jespersen, *Philosophy*.

<sup>109</sup> Lü 吕叔湘, *Grammar*, 215–33. Lü contributed greatly to Chinese literary and linguistics scholarship. His treatment of Chinese verbs extends even to classical Chinese, a practice which is seldom equaled among newer generations of Mandarin scholars.

<sup>110</sup> Zhu 朱德熙, *Grammar*, 78–85. See also Goto, *Indochina*, 177–82. Goto posits three tenses in Peking Mandarin: present (*-zhe*), past (*-le*), and future (*yào* 要).

<sup>111</sup> Translation is my own. See Wang 王力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 311–12.

morpheme, with verb complements, and verb reduplication.<sup>112</sup> The  $\emptyset$  aspect (普通貌, lit. “common aspect”) is similar to Carr, Halliday, and Smith’s neutral aspect, however, it is unclear how it relates to the other six aspects Wang has proposed. Wang simply states that the  $\emptyset$  aspect does not specify temporal location for an event, thus it allows the audience or reader the freedom to make the determination themselves. The second group includes the progressive (進行貌 signaled by *-zhe*), perfective (完成貌 signaled by *-le*), and perfective of recent past (進過去貌 signaled by *-lázhe*). The third group is conveyed by two DVCs: the inchoative or inceptive (開始貌 signaled by *-qǐlái*), and the successive (繼續貌 signaled by *-xiàqù*). The final group includes the reduplication of verbs, or transitory aspect (短時貌).<sup>113</sup>

Although it is difficult to pinpoint whether Wang equates *Aktionsart* with aspect, he certainly conflates *Aktionsart* with aspect categories. The fact that Wang uses *qíngmào* 情貌 (“situation aspect”) for aspect indicates that he makes no distinction between the two different categories.<sup>114</sup> Lü Shuxiang (and many later aspectologists), on the other hand, uses *dòngxiàng* 動相 (“verbal aspect”) to refer to the study of aspect in Mandarin

<sup>112</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 311–32.

<sup>113</sup> English translations are Wang’s own. Wang 王 力, *Treatise*, vol. 1, 283–84. Wang’s analysis of verb reduplications is followed by Dai in Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 75–79. A modified version of Wang’s model is found in Zhang 張 秀, “Tense and Aspect,” 164–74. Zhang’s model includes the general/zero (一般體/零形體), progressive (持續體), and bounded (限界體) aspects. The first aspect further divides into three categories of verbs according to their inherent meaning. The second aspect is realized by *-zhe* whereas the third aspect by RVCs, *-xiàqù/-qǐlái*, *-guò*, *-le*. The third aspect further divides into five categories (e.g. ingressive, terminative, continuative, etc.). Zhang’s model is clearly that of *Aktionsart*.

<sup>114</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 311; Wang 王 力, *Treatise*, vol.1, 283. Chen Ping and many other Mainland Chinese authors use a very similar term, *qíngzhuàng* 情狀 (lit. “situation”) to refer to *Aktionsart*. Chen 陳 平, “On Tripartite Organization,” 402; Gong, *Phase, Tense, and Aspect*, 6–31; Hu and Fan, *Chinese Verb*, 167; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 9–16. Lü, on the other hand, uses *tài* 態 (“condition”) to refer to *Aktionsart*. Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 214–17; Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 16.

Chinese.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, Lü is only correct insofar as the terminology. He follows Wang's seven aspects almost exactly, with only slight variation in selected morphemes and terminology.<sup>116</sup> For example, Lü expanded the number of progressive morphemes to include the particle *-ne*, not only *-zhe*.<sup>117</sup> Like Wang, Lü uses *Aktionsart* categories (i.e. [ $\pm$ durative]) to discuss the reduplication of verbs, and adds the semelfactive (signaled by *yī* 一 or *yīxiàzi* 一下子 or verb reduplication). Neither Wang nor Lü has discussed the perfective morpheme *-guò* or any hierarchy structure in their model of Mandarin aspect. However, Wang and Lü (as well as Zhu) were the first Chinese scholars to follow Carr in differentiating the two usages of *le*, namely, as a perfective aspect marker (*-le*) and a sentence-final modal particle (*le*). This distinction of *le* is important, and will be examined further below.

### β. Gao Mingkai

Gao's model of Chinese aspect is relatively elaborate, clearly defined, and well supported by illustrations from both Mandarin and classical texts. He defines aspect as that which "focuses on how action is perceived by its intervals of duration, irrespective to whether being present, past, or future."<sup>118</sup> Although Lü, Zhu, and Wang have all hinted

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<sup>115</sup> See, for example, Shu, *Aspect*. At least four additional terms for aspect in Chinese are currently used in the literature: 1. *Shítài* 時態 (lit. "temporal condition") in Chen 陳平, "On Tripartite Organization," 401–22; Gong, *Phase, Tense, and Aspect in Chinese*; Li 李向農, *Temporal Location*, 4–9. 2. *Tǐ* 體 (lit. "system," "body") in Yu 俞敏, "Chinese Verb," 42–51; Zhang 張秀, "Tense & Aspect," 154–74; Gao, *Grammar*, 186–99; Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 31–55; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*. Gao has used *tài* 態 for aspect and *tǐ* 體 for voice in the first (1948) edition of his grammar. See Gao, *Grammar*, 371–90. 3. *Dòngmào* 動貌 (lit. "verbal aspect") in Yang 楊素英, "Contemporary Aspectual Theories," 81–105. 4. *Xiàngwèi/asupekuto* 相位/アスペクト ("aspect") in Ogaeri, "Characterization," 92–99.

<sup>116</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 230–36.

<sup>117</sup> The particle *-ne* is not treated here as an aspectual marker. For those who discuss the aspectual meaning of *-ne*, see, for example, Zhang 張秀, "Tense & Aspect," 157–58; Lin, "Descriptive Semantic Analysis," 33–79; Chan, "Temporal Reference," 33–79; Paris, *Problèmes*, 380–417; King, "*Ne-*," 21–46.

<sup>118</sup> Translation is my own. See Gao, *Grammar* (rev. ed.), 188.

that Chinese aspect morphemes do not grammaticalize temporal references, Gao, being a former student of Maspero, was the first native speaking Chinese grammarian to recognize that Chinese does not have tense but aspect. Gao posits six aspects, and groups them into three pairs according to his understanding of aspectual oppositions. The first pair includes “accomplished” (*-le*, *-guò*, *-hǎo*, *-wán*, *-liǎo*) and resultative (*-zhù*, *-děi*, *-dào*, *-zhòng*) aspects. The second pair includes progressive/durative (*-zhe*, *zài*, *zhèngzài*, *zhèngzài...-zhe*) and “momentary” (*cái* 才, *qià* 恰, *gāngcái* 剛才) aspects. The third pair includes iterative (verb reduplication) and “intensive” (verb compound) aspects.<sup>119</sup> Gao clearly recognizes the equipollent contrasts between the first two pairs, however, he disregards the contrasts in binary oppositions between the perfective and imperfective aspects. Nonetheless, Gao was the first Chinese scholar to assert that (following Maspero), in addition to *-le* and *-guò*, RVCs can express the perfective aspect. More importantly, his model was the first attempt to exhibit a primitive structure of hierarchy as well as recognize aspectual oppositions in Chinese. Gao’s tripartite model of Chinese aspect appears to be superior to those of Lü and Wang even though he also mixes *Aktionsart* categories with aspect (e.g. “momentary”) and does not discuss the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Nonetheless, similar to Lü, Wang, and Zhu, the gaps in Gao’s model of Mandarin aspect and its inability to address certain problems make it less convincing. For example, Gao fails to explain the differences in aspectual meaning between the subcategories in each of the three aspects. Also, he makes no attempt to

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<sup>119</sup> Gao, *Grammar* (rev. ed.), 186–99. The intensive aspect is realized by the addition of a synonym to a (monosyllabic) verb, for example, *guān-kàn* 觀看 (“watch”).



examine the factors that affect an individual's decision to choose one aspect morpheme over the other.

### 3.2.2.5. Russian School

#### a. A.A. Dragunov

The Russian school of the study of Mandarin aspect is represented by two prominent grammarians, A.A. Dragunov and Sergej Jaxontov. Dragunov argues that Mandarin aspect is not an absolute grammatical category, and therefore is best treated within the framework of what he calls the modal-temporal system.<sup>120</sup> Based on the previous scholarship done on the two morphemes of *le*, Dragunov asserts that particles such as *-le*, *-guò* and *-lái*zhe, which are used to grammaticalize past tense (прошедшие времена), also perform modal functions (e.g. *le* is used to mark an emphatic wish). Likewise, modal particles, such as *le*, *-zhene*, and *-ne*, are used to express what he calls “preterit-present-future” (прошедшее-настоящее-будущее) of the temporal system (i.e. *le* denotes the preterit, *-zhene* denotes the future, whereas *-ne* conveys habitual sense of the present). It should be pointed out, however, that as a result of Dragunov's claim that Mandarin verb forms do not exhibit a definite character with respect to time, genus (залог), and aspect, many of his observations appear to be contradictory.<sup>121</sup> For example, in his analysis of verb reduplication, he notes that it is used both to intensify and diminish the action at the same time.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Dragunov, *Studies*, 127–58.

<sup>121</sup> Dragunov, *Studies*, 127.

<sup>122</sup> Dragunov, *Studies*, 115.

### b. Sergej Jaxontov

Sergej Jaxontov basically follows Dragunov in his understanding of Mandarin aspect as a mixed category.<sup>123</sup> Verbal suffixes are used to mark both tense and aspect. Jaxontov, however, admits that aspectual meaning may be conveyed by one of three ways: by modifying elements, such as RVCs (and certain DVCs, excluding the inchoative *-qílái*, *-kāi*, *-xiàqù*), in order to realize the resultative aspect (результативный вид); by verb reduplication, which realizes the momentary aspect (кратковременный вид); and by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is used to realize the general aspect (общий вид). On the other hand, Jaxontov posits an elaborate tense-aspect system (видо-временные) consisting of six tenses: preterite perfect (*-le*), present progressive (*-zhe*, *zài*), aoristic preterite (*-guò*), instantative preterit (*...yǐ...*), future perfect (verb reduplication), and present-future ( $\emptyset$  morpheme).<sup>124</sup> Following Dragunov, Jaxontov classifies verbs into action and non-action, and discusses the different kinds of action and their respective temporal meaning as expressed lexically. In other words, by asserting that grammatical and lexical categories in Mandarin are inseparably intertwined, Jaxontov not only conflates tense and aspect into one category, he also discusses the syntax and semantics of verbal suffixes and complements in terms of *Aktionsart*.

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<sup>123</sup> Jaxontov, *Verbal Category*, 73–163. Gorelov, Jaxontov's contemporary, offers similar, but much simpler treatment of the four select morphemes, *-le*, *-guò*, *-zhe*, and *zài*. See Gorelov, *Practical Chinese Grammar*, 67–72. Unlike Dragunov and Jaxontov, Gorelov does not have a linguistic model of Mandarin aspect.

<sup>124</sup> Jaxontov, *Verbal Category*, 107–54.

### 3.2.3. Recent Approaches

#### 3.2.3.1. Chao, J.C. Thompson, and Li and S.A. Thompson

##### a. Chao Yuen Ren

A new generation of linguists from the 1960s and 1970s, represented by Chao Yuen Ren, J. Charles Thompson, and Li and Sandra Thompson, continues the traditional focus on the spoken language in their studies of Mandarin aspect. Chao uses Wang as a starting point, and, like Lü, he follows Wang's seven aspects closely, including the  $\emptyset$  aspect, with slightly more elaborate explanations on its significance.<sup>125</sup> Chao's approaches differ from the previous works of traditional Chinese grammarians on several points. For example, rather than identifying the number of different aspects in Mandarin, Chao first lists verbal suffixes and then discusses each according to its aspectual meaning. He also adds the perfective marker *-guò*, which he defines as the "indefinite past aspect" that "happened at least once in the past,—ever (*sic*)."<sup>126</sup> Chao correctly dismisses the perfective aspect of recent past, stating that *-lázhe* is not a verbal suffix but rather "a double particle and occurs after an object if there is one."<sup>127</sup> He also lists an additional morpheme, *fǎ* 法,

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<sup>125</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 245–53.

<sup>126</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 251.

<sup>127</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 249. Egerod basically follows Wang, Lü, and Zhu and adds that *-lázhe* is a "semiverbal expression, grammaticalized in the sense of recent progressive." Egerod, "Aspect," 301. *Lázhe* has been studied by many: in addition to Carr, Dragunov, see Lin, "Aspect-Tense," 115–18; Zhu 朱德熙, *Grammar*, 235–37; Li 黎錦熙, *Grammar*, 110; Gong, *Aspect*, 56–57; Sun, "On the Origin," 434–43; He, "Synchronic Account," 99–114. Recently, Chirkova has argued that in Peking Mandarin (as opposed to Standard Mandarin), *-lázhe*, along with its closely related morphemes, *-láide*, denotes the "absolute recent past." Chirkova, *In Search of Time*, 92–101. While her effort in focusing on spoken discourse with a corpus-linguistic approach to the Peking dialect is commendable, Chirkova's treatment of aspect morphemes is either too brief (e.g. *-guò*, *-zhe*) or non-existent (e.g. verb reduplication, RVCs, DVCs). Therefore, Chirkova's contribution toward the study of aspect in Chinese is rather limited. Chirkova's study, however, supports Wang's comments of the dialectic characteristics of *-lázhe*, particular to speakers of Beijing and its surrounding areas. Wang 王力, *Outline*, 119–20. See also Zhang 張秀, "Tense & Aspect," 160.

however, it is unclear whether he considers it an aspect morpheme, since he does not comment on its aspectual meaning.

### **b. J. Charles Thompson**

In the same year that Chao's *Grammar* first appeared, J. Charles Thompson published a short article in which he analyzes five Mandarin particles, namely, *-le*, *-ne*, *-guò*, *-zhe*, and *-de*, with respect to their aspectual meaning.<sup>128</sup> While many of Thompson's comments are too brief to draw any conclusive review, a few are worthy of note. Thompson points out that the  $\emptyset$  aspect is used "when the concept of the chain of events is not considered to apply."<sup>129</sup> This statement is simply not true, and as the following sections will show, the  $\emptyset$  aspect is dictated by discourse factors, and its nature is far more complicated than Thompson purports. In addition, Thompson recognizes *le* as a single morpheme, whereas others before him (e.g. Carr, Jaxontov, Wang, Chao) traditionally separate it into two morphemes, that is, the aspect suffix *-le* and the modal particle (post-sentential) *le*. According to Thompson, *le* is used to describe the boundary of the beginning of an event, whereas the opposite particle *-ne* denotes that the boundary has not been defined.<sup>130</sup> Without stating discourse factors, however, it is difficult to see how boundary can be marked by insisting on the one-morpheme approach of *le*.

### **c. Charles Li and Sandra Thompson**

Charles Li and Sandra Thompson define aspect simply and broadly as "different ways of viewing a situation" and identify four types of Mandarin aspect.<sup>131</sup> The first two of the four types are traditional binary oppositions, namely the perfective (expressed by *-le*) and

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<sup>128</sup> Thompson, "Aspects," (1968) 70–76; Thompson, "Aspects," (1970) 63–65.

<sup>129</sup> Thompson, "Aspects," 71.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson, "Aspects," 73–74.

<sup>131</sup> Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 184.

imperfective or durative (expressed by *zài* and *-zhe*).<sup>132</sup> The other two types include the experiential (expressed by *-guò*) and delimitative (expressed by reduplication of verb). As in previous studies on Mandarin aspect, Li and Thompson incorporate *Aktionsart* categories to account for the usage of aspect morphemes and their aspectual meaning. For example, *-le* is said to be “bounded” (temporally, spatially, or conceptually) according to the following four criteria: qualified event, definite or specific event, inherently bounded, and first event in a sequence.<sup>133</sup> The notions of boundedness and its criteria are in fact discussed by Wang when he argues that the perfective *-le* can express temporal location but occurs only in factual statements (敘述句 lit. “descriptive sentences”) and subordinate clauses or the protasis of conditional sentences.<sup>134</sup>

In Li and Thompson’s aspect system of Mandarin, there is no zero viewpoint type that constitutes an independent aspect. Instead, in perfective contexts where *-le* could have been used but is not, it is due to the “inherent meaning” of the “perfectivizing expressions.”<sup>135</sup> In other words, Li and Thompson argue for a perfective  $\emptyset$ , and not an independent  $\emptyset$  aspect.

They give the following examples:

(3) (a) 我把手錶放在抽屜裡。

Wǒ bǎ shóubiǎo fàng zài chōuti lǐ.

I put the watch in the drawer.

(b) 他從房子裡走到張三那兒。

<sup>132</sup> Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 184–236; Li and Thompson, “Perfectivity,” 310–19.

<sup>133</sup> Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 195–202.

<sup>134</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 335–36; Chang, “Discourse,” 146. Chang adds that “in general, *-le* is not used in cases where factual statements are asserted, specifically when its presence would result in an undesirable ‘change of state’ reading.”

<sup>135</sup> Li and Thompson, “Perfectivity,” 319–20.

Tā cóng fángzi lǐ zǒu dào Zhāng Sān nàr.

He walked from his/her house over to Zhangsan's place.

According to Li and Thompson, the underlined elements in (3a) and (3b) specify spatial limits (bounded) and therefore express perfectivity. It seems that the perfective *-le* in either sentence would be redundant, although it can still be used. In reality, however, perfectivity is not the only interpretation of (3a) because it is expressed with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme that may convey the stative aspect.<sup>136</sup> Consider the following example:

(4) 我通常把手錶放在抽屜裡。

Wǒ tōngcháng bǎ shóubiǎo fàng zài chōuti lǐ.

I usually put the watch in the drawer.

If “in the drawer” conveyed perfectivity, as Li and Thompson claim, it would contradict the adverb *tōngcháng* (“usually”) and, as a result, the sentence would not make sense. Therefore, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (4) conveys the stative aspect, whereas in (3a) it conveys the perfective aspect. On the other hand, (3b) has only the perfective interpretation, not because it specifies the spatial location but because the RVC *dào* (“arrive”) attached to the verb expresses result and completion.<sup>137</sup> Therefore (3b) can be translated as “He arrived at Zhangsan’s place from his place.”

### 3.2.3.2. James Tai’s Application of Vendler’s Categories

In his application of Vendler’s categories to Mandarin verbs, James Tai includes RVCs in the discussion of Mandarin aspect.<sup>138</sup> Tai’s taxonomy differs significantly from

<sup>136</sup> Many consider that the  $\emptyset$  morpheme expresses the stative aspect. See, for example, Chan, “On the Theory,” 212–13; Shu, *Aspect*, 26–28.

<sup>137</sup> See, for example, Consuelo Martínez, “El aspecto perfecto resultativo,” 12–13.

<sup>138</sup> Vendler’s four categories have been adopted unaltered by many Mainland Chinese authors. See, for example, Hu and Fan, *Verbs*, 174; Gong, *Aspect*, 10–11; Liu, “Verb-Copying Construction,” 1–13. Chen’s modified version consists of five situation types: state, activity, accomplishment, complex change (realized

Smith's. Tai identifies three categories of Mandarin aspectual situations (Chart 3.2). The first two categories, statives and activities, correspond closely to two of Vendler's categories. The results category serves double duty by corresponding to the accomplishments and achievements categories of English verbs:

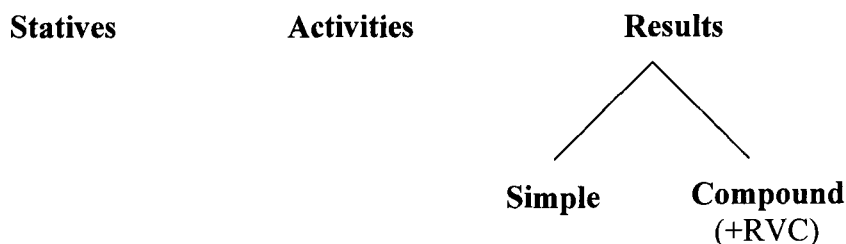


Chart 3.2. Tai's taxonomy of Mandarin verbs

Tai argues that Vendler's examples of accomplishment verbs, such as "to paint a picture" and "to write a letter," do not necessarily imply the attainment of a goal in Mandarin.<sup>139</sup> Accomplishment verbs in English are conveyed by RVCs in Mandarin. He observes that unlike an accomplishment verb in English, which has both action and result aspects, a resultative verb compound in Chinese has only the result aspect. He gives the following examples:

(5) (a) 張三幾乎畫完了一張畫。

Zhāngsān jīhū **huà-wán**-le yī zhāng huà.

Zhangsan almost painted a picture.

(b) 張三幾乎畫了一張畫。

Zhāngsān jīhū **huà**-le yī zhāng huà.

Zhangsan almost painted a picture.<sup>140</sup>

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by "verbs of change," DVCs, and verb-adj. compounds), and simple change (realized by RVCs and semelfactive verbs). Chen 陳平, "Tripartite," 407–14.

<sup>139</sup> Tai, "Verbs," 291.

<sup>140</sup> Tai, "Verbs," 293.

As opposed to the English accomplishment verb, *huà-wán* (lit. “paint-finish”) has only the resultative meaning (5a). In contrast, the simple activity verb, *huà* (“paint”), refers only to the activity of painting (5b). In other words, Tai argues that Vendler’s accomplishment verbs, such as “learn” and “kill” in English, do not exist in Chinese, but instead are represented by attaching RVCs to simple verbs, as in *xué-huì* (lit. “learn-know” or “learn-able”) and *shā-sǐ* (lit. “kill-die”).<sup>141</sup> Here, Tai seems to suggest that simple verbs, *xué* and *shā*, refer only to the actions of learning and killing. According to Tai, RVCs are never used to express action but are instead limited to only expressing results. Consider the following examples:

(6) (a) 我在學中文。

Wǒ zài xué Zhōngwén.

I am learning Chinese.

\* (b) 我在學會中文。<sup>142</sup>

Wǒ zài xué-huì Zhōngwén.

I am learning Chinese.

(c) 我在殺張三。

Wǒ zài shā Zhāngsān.

I am killing Zhangsan.

\* (d) 我在殺死張三。

Wǒ zài shā-sǐ Zhāngsān.

I am killing Zhangsan.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Tai, “Verbs,” 291.

<sup>142</sup> The asterisks mark the sentences that are ungrammatical or unacceptable in natural Chinese speech.

<sup>143</sup> Tai, “Verbs,” 292. In Tai’s examples, Zhangsan in (5) and (6) is rendered “John.”



“Simple verb” here refers to a Chinese verb that is not affixed to a verb complement. It does not mean that the verb contains only one syllable, nor does it mean that the verb lacks the aspect morpheme.

In fact, (6b) and (6d) are both ungrammatical sentences that can be explained not by *Aktionsart*, but by the aspect morpheme *zài*. The imperfective *zài* presents the situation as progressive (6c), therefore it contradicts the perfective aspect marked by the RVCs *hui* and *sǐ*. Unlike Smith and her followers, Tai does not integrate his findings of RVCs with other aspect morphemes, such as perfective or imperfective aspect markers, or reduplication of verbs, etc. After all, *Aktionsart* deals with the inherent meaning or lexical semantics of verbs, not with the aspectual meaning of verb inflection or morphology. In this case, RVCs should not be considered an *Aktionsart* category, but rather viewed as belonging to aspect proper.

### 3.2.3.3. Smith, Her Followers, and Other Approaches

#### a. Carlota Smith

Smith set the current stage of the study of Mandarin aspect in 1991, when she published the first edition of *The Parameter of Aspect*.<sup>144</sup> She has proposed a two-component theory of aspect based on the principle of universal grammar and within the framework of Discourse Representation Theory. Her general theoretical approach to aspect was examined in 3.1, and her Mandarin aspectual system (“viewpoint types”) will be reviewed here.

Smith has developed her tripartite aspectual system of Mandarin largely from Li and Thompson and she shares many of their assumptions regarding the functions of aspect

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<sup>144</sup> Smith, *Parameter*. The second edition was published in 1997.

morphemes and their relationship to *Aktionsart*. Her system includes the perfective (expressed by *-le*, *-guò*), imperfective (*zài*, *-zhe*), and neutral viewpoint types (“lacking viewpoint morpheme”).<sup>145</sup> In addition to the aspect markers already mentioned, Smith also treats RVCs and verb reduplication as capable of expressing the perfective aspect. Smith says nothing, however, regarding the aspectual meaning of DVCs.

Smith’s “family of viewpoints” includes an additional aspect, namely, the neutral aspect, which “arises by a compositional default rule” and has no aspect morpheme.<sup>146</sup> She correctly points out that, in Mandarin, aspect morphemes are syntactically optional and that, in discourse, sentences often appear without them.<sup>147</sup> The neutral aspect, according to Smith, has both closed and open readings, and “focuses a single endpoint and a single stage of durative events.”<sup>148</sup> She gives the following example:<sup>149</sup>

(7) 張三到家的時候，瑪莉寫工作報告。

Zhāngsān dào-jīā de shíhou, Mǎlì xiě gōngzuò bàogào.

Smith claims that (7) has two interpretations:

(a) When Zhangsan arrived at home, Mali began to write the work report.

(b) When Zhangsan arrived at home, Mali was writing the work report.

According to Smith, (7) presents the situation as either “closed, inceptive” (7a) or “open, progressive” (7b).<sup>150</sup> Because there are two possible readings, Smith categorizes it as

<sup>145</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 243–96. See also Smith, “Notes,” 95–114; Smith, “Aspectual Viewpoint,” 110–29.

<sup>146</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 279. See also Smith, “Aspectual Viewpoint,” 125.

<sup>147</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 277.

<sup>148</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 278.

<sup>149</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 278. Emphasis is mine.

<sup>150</sup> Smith, *Parameter*, 278.

belonging to the neutral aspect. The neutral aspect is needed because her two-component theory requires that every sentence have a viewpoint.<sup>151</sup>

For native speakers, however, (7) may or may not have the choices that Smith has offered. Although the main clause is not marked morphologically with *zài*, the sentence will sound more natural to native speakers if it is read as imperfective. This is due to the fact that additional temporal adverbs, such as *yǐjīng* (“already”), or perfective morphemes, such as *-le* or RVCs (e.g. *wán*, “complete”), are normally required here. However, this is not to say that (7a) is not a possible reading of (7). Perhaps the imperfective *zài* is deleted because of the context or discourse, but none of these considerations are specified in Smith’s example. Since the main clause of the sentence expresses imperfectivity, there is no need for the neutral aspect to account for sentences lacking aspect morphemes.

#### **b. Xiao Zhonghua and Antony McEnery**

In recent years, Smith’s two-component theory of aspect has been followed by many researchers, including Xiao and McEnery, Dai, Kang, and Chan.<sup>152</sup> Their works generally follow Smith’s definitions of viewpoint types, however, they also add morphemes that Smith has not treated, such as DVCs. In general, the contributions of these new studies can be measured by how adept they handle the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Xiao and McEnery separate themselves from the pack with their corpus-based analysis and more comprehensive treatment of Mandarin aspect. However, like all the others, Xiao and McEnery reject Smith’s neutral aspect.

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<sup>151</sup> Smith, “Aspectual Viewpoint,” 125.

<sup>152</sup> Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*; Wu, *Grammaticalization*; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*. Unpublished theses include Kang, “Perfective”; Yang, “Aspectual System”; Chan, “Aspect”; Arin, “Aspect, Tense and Mood.”

According to Xiao and McEnery, Mandarin aspect has two viewpoint types: the perfective aspect divides into actual (*-le*), experiential (*-guò*), delimitative (reduplicant), and completive (RVCs), and the imperfective divides into durative (*-zhe*), progressive (*zài*), inceptive (*-qǐlái*), and continuative (*-xiàqù*).<sup>153</sup> Classification according to mixed categories of *Aktionsart* and aspect is problematic. For example, it is incorrect to describe *-zhe* as durative, for the suffix is used to express the progressive as well as continuative aspect. It can also be used to convey stative aspect. Furthermore, *zài* is not distinguished here between aspect use and use of a locative preposition, and complex issues of their relationship are not discussed. Most importantly, Xiao and McEnery evade giving full treatment of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. This is a clear indication that their system is deficient. In short, Xiao and McEnery's treatment of Mandarin aspect adds very little to what Wang, Li and Thompson, Smith, and others have already discussed.

### 3.2.4. Discourse Considerations

#### 3.2.4.1. Introduction

Verbal aspect in discourse has received considerable scholarly attention in recent decades. Many tend to focus on specific roles aspect plays in the temporal structures of discourse (e.g. Hopper, Vet, Thelin).<sup>154</sup> Naturally, these linguists include *Aktionsart* in their discussions and are proponents of universal grammar. The topic of aspect in Chinese discourse, on the other hand, has recently been explored by some in order to address the perplexing problems of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. These problems concerning the  $\emptyset$  morpheme of Mandarin aspect are too often ignored by those such as Yang, who dismisses them as

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<sup>153</sup> Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 10.

<sup>154</sup> Hopper, "Aspect and Foregrounding," 213–41; Vet and Vetter, *Tense and Aspect*; Thelin, *Verbal Aspect*. For a helpful introduction to the subject, see Thelin, "Verbal Aspect in Discourse: On the State of the Art," 3–88.

simply a “topic for another dissertation.”<sup>155</sup> There are others, however, who attempt to explain Mandarin aspect through discourse analysis, including Andreassen, Chang, and Hsu. These linguists typically use *-le* to explain the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

#### 3.2.4.2. Andrew Andreassen

In his analysis of Chinese narrative discourse of the vernacular and modern periods, Andreassen observes that *-le* typically occurs in foreground (i.e. story line) clauses of the narrative discourse, though it is sometimes deemed unnecessary in the presence of “other perfectivizing devices” such as RVCs.<sup>156</sup> Andreassen uses this argument to account for the occurrence of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Following Li and Thompson’s analysis of the two morphemes of *-le*, Andreassen further states that the perfective marker is used as a foregrounding device, whereas the post-sentential or modal particle *le* is used as a backgrounding device.<sup>157</sup>

#### 3.2.4.3. Vincent Chang

Many agree with Andreassen about the foregrounding function of the perfective *-le* in written or spoken discourse, however, not as many are convinced by his assertions on the discourse function of post-sentential *le*. Vincent Chang, for example, has argued that the perfective *-le* serves as an “overt morpheme for the peak event” in a segment of Chinese narrative discourse.<sup>158</sup> Chang claims that because only one peak is permitted in a discourse that is marked by *-le*, the “perfective  $\emptyset$  morpheme” is used instead.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Yang, “The Aspectual System of Chinese,” 138–9.

<sup>156</sup> Andreassen, “Backgrounding and Foregrounding,” 98. See also Li, Thompson, and Thompson, “Discourse Motivation,” 19–44; Li and Thompson, “Perfectivity,” 319–20.

<sup>157</sup> Andreassen, “Backgrounding and Foregrounding,” 57. See also Smith, *Parameter*, 278.

<sup>158</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 109. Chang’s study is based on a corpus consisting of native speakers and literary samples from novels, short stories, and newspapers.

<sup>159</sup> See also Chan, “Aspect,” 211–44; Huang, *Aspect*, 219. Chang, “Discourse,” 144.

According to Chang, the post-sentential *le* functions as a “discourse-final particle,” marking discourse boundaries, especially sub-topical units.<sup>160</sup> In addition to providing the linguistic grounds for the occurrence of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in discourse, Chang observes that an undesirable “choppy” effect will result in narrative discourse in which every verb in the perfective situation is morphologically marked with *-le*.<sup>161</sup> Chang adds that the morpheme *-le* (as either aspect marker or modal particle) is not used “in cases where expressions of classical flavor are included.”<sup>162</sup>

#### 3.2.4.4. Kylie Hsu

More recently, Hsu has conducted a corpus-based discourse analysis of the imperfective morpheme *zài* and two other closely related particles, *zhèngzài* 正在 and *zhèng* 正.<sup>163</sup> According to Hsu, *zhèng* focuses on the external reference time, *zài* focuses on the internal temporal structure, and *zhèngzài* emphasizes both. Nevertheless, all three mark the ongoing situations in affirmative constructions and active voice.<sup>164</sup> She further points out that in both spoken and written discourse, *zhèng* tends to mark ongoing situations involving inanimate subjects, nonvolitional participation on the part of the subject, and stativity, and is less likely to be used to mark internal temporal process than *zhèngzài* and *zài*.<sup>165</sup> She argues that this accounts for fewer occurrences of *zhèng* in ongoing situations in the news, which favors an insider’s vantage point. This observation

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<sup>160</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 125.

<sup>161</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 144. Others like Spanos, for example, utilize Grice’s maxims and speech-act theory to explain the absence of *-le* and sentence-final particle *le*. Yi, on the other hand, observes that *le* rarely occurs in headlines of news reporting. See Spanos, “Contemporary Chinese Use,” 64–73; Yin, “Survey,” 70–80.

<sup>162</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 125.

<sup>163</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 145.

<sup>164</sup> Hsu, *Discourse Analysis*. The chosen corpus includes novels, autobiographies, and news.

<sup>165</sup> Hsu, *Discourse*, 84.

<sup>166</sup> Hsu, *Discourse*, 84. For its use in classical literature, see Dobson, *Dictionary*, 379–80.

confirms that *zhèng* does not convey the imperfective aspect, which focuses on the internal constituents of an ongoing situation.

Regarding the other two markers, Hsu notes that *zài* functions as a temporal marker as well as a locative preposition, and differs from *zhèngzài* not simply because it is less formal, as is often thought. She explains:

The so-called formal use is actually a consequence of the need to establish the external reference time in contexts where the reference time is not shared between the language producer and the recipient, as in the case of novel. In a novel, the author and the reader are not interacting in real time as interlocutors do in an oral exchange. Hence, it is important for writer to establish the reference time so that the reader can get a sense of time frame in the narrative...this explains why *zhèngzài* occurs more frequently in written discourse (i.e. 'formal use') than *zài*.<sup>166</sup>

In other words, Hsu asserts that *zhèngzài* and *zài* do not have identical functions in Mandarin discourse because *zhèngzài* contains the *zhèng* portion, which focuses on the external reference time. This assertion is unconvincing because it is based on the etymology of *zhèngzài* as opposed to being based purely on linguistic grounds. Another problem has to do with her assumption that *zhèngzài* and *zài* are two separate aspect markers. A more serious concern is the fact that she draws conclusions from isolated examples where the three markers occur, without considering cases where the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead. Therefore, while her research of *zhèngzài*, *zhèng*, and *zài* beyond the sentence level is the commendable, Hsu's conclusions are unconvincing.

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<sup>166</sup> Hsu, *Discourse*, 146. For diachronic studies of *zhèngzài* and *zài*, see, for example. Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 276; Xiao 蕭 斧, “‘Zai nali’,” 144–56. Ota notes that *zài* is the abbreviated form of *zhèngzài*, while Xiao suggests that *zhèngzài* is of a latter development due to the need to convey more explicitly the progressive aspect. According to Xiao, *zhèngzài* did not become popular in writing until the 1920s. Both suggestions are possible.

### 3.2.5. Methodology: An Outline of Verbal Aspect in Mandarin Chinese

#### 3.2.5.1. Introduction

In the last sixty years, studies of Chinese aspect have indeed yielded some fruitful results with interesting insights. There remains, however, a pressing need for a powerful, working linguistic model that would provide a more satisfactory account of Mandarin aspect, one that would address some of the most pertinent issues, particularly those regarding the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Thus, an outline of a proposed model of Mandarin aspect is developed here with the specific goal of assisting in the practice of Bible translation. The following discussions are supported by examples drawn from Chinese versions of the Bible, including those in wenli and Mandarin.

#### a. Binary Oppositions

The proposed model of Mandarin aspect adopted for the purpose of translating New Testament Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin is summarized below in Chart 3.3. This proposal assumes that Mandarin does not have tense, but rather operates on a well-developed system of aspect.<sup>167</sup> Aspectual oppositions in Mandarin have been recognized by scholars (each with unique variations) such as Carr, Frei, Li and Thompson, Gao, Halliday, Smith, Xiao and McEnery, and many others. Mandarin aspect divides into two sets of equipollent oppositions: the first set is represented by [+perfective] and [–perfective]; the second set divides the [–perfective] into [+imperfective] and [+stative].

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<sup>167</sup> Many, however, continue to insist that Mandarin has tense. See, for example, Halliday and Ellis, “Temporal Categories,” 177–208; Melchert, “Some Aspects,” 635–54; Lin, “Aspect-Tense”; Zhang, *Contrastive Study*; Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 10–30; Li 李鐵根, *Tense*; Lin, “On the Temporal Meaning,” 109–33; Zuo, “Several Problems,” 119–43; Liu 劉勛寧, “Grammatical Meaning,” 70–79; Lin, “Temporal Reference,” 259–311.



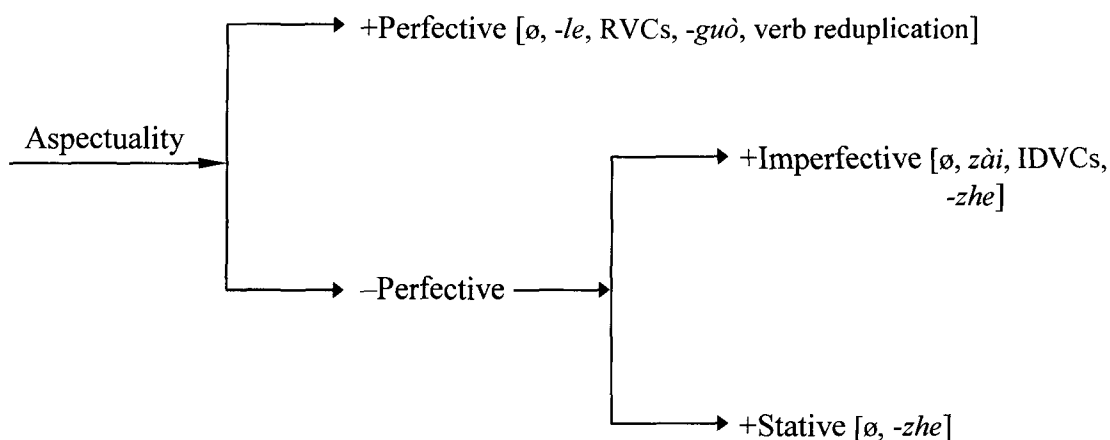


Chart 3.3. Mandarin aspect

### b. Markedness and Grounding

The binary oppositions, represented here by the labels [ $\pm$ perfective], [ $\pm$ imperfective], and [ $\pm$ stative], explore the theory of markedness first introduced by the Prague School linguists. The theory of markedness extends to several distinct characteristics, such as those of formal, distributional, semantic, phonological, and syntactical markedness.<sup>168</sup> Among these, the notions of lexical and grammatical markedness are pertinent to Bible translation. Markedness theory, as Battistella puts it, “posits that the terms of polar oppositions at any level of language are not mere opposites, but rather that they show an evaluative nonequivalence that is imposed on all oppositions.”<sup>169</sup> The polarities existing in all languages are organized in terms of hierarchy. Markedness theory is language-specific, and its applications to aspect, tense, mood, and voice with special reference to grounding in discourse analysis have been made to English by Wallace, and to Hellenistic Greek by Porter, but not yet to Mandarin.

<sup>168</sup> Jakobson, “Zur Struktur,” 3–15; Jakobson, “Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre,” 60–71; Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 1, 305–11; Battistella, 23–67.

<sup>169</sup> Battistella, *Markedness*, 1.

Mandarin aspect differs greatly from the aspectual systems of other languages. The most important difference is that, in Mandarin, aspect morphemes may be optional, whereas in the majority of the world's languages they are obligatory. In other words, all Mandarin aspect morphemes are marked as opposed to unmarked ( $\emptyset$  morpheme) in terms of morphology, distribution, and aspectual meaning.

However, Mandarin aspect morphemes are not used invariantly to mark prominence or peak at the discourse level. In fact, prominence is more often achieved by lexical markedness in Mandarin rather than by grammatical markedness alone. Unlike Indo-European languages, a Mandarin verb allows more than one aspect morpheme to be used at the same time. In contexts where there is an option to add a second (or third) morpheme to a verb that is already marked with a single morpheme, that addition makes the verb more heavily marked. For example, *shuō-wán-le* (V-RVC-*le*) is more heavily marked than simply *shuō-wán* (V-RVC), because the former has *-le* added to the RVC *wán*, even though both expressions denote “finish saying.” In other words, it is the bulk of the form, which is posited by the current dissertation as the two-morpheme aspect compound, that makes it more heavily marked, *not* the grammatical categorization of *-le* as more heavily marked than other perfective aspect morphemes. The perfective *-le*, therefore, is used as a foregrounding device in Mandarin discourse only when the verb form is already marked with other aspect morphemes. Similarly, a verb form is considered to be even more heavily marked when three aspect morphemes (e.g. *zài*, *-zhe*, verb reduplication) are used to achieve frontgrounded prominence (see example (26a) below).

Foregrounded and frontgrounded prominence are achieved by lexical markedness in Mandarin, especially when use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is obligatory. For reasons that will become evident below, four-character set phrases (or four-character idioms) are considered the most heavily marked verb form, and are used to mark frontgrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse.<sup>170</sup> As mentioned above, prominence is achieved grammatically by employing two- or three-morpheme aspect compounds. When the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used, monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs are generally used as backgrounding devices, although the latter is more heavily marked.

For example, the verb “to die” may be expressed by three different lexical forms in Mandarin: the monosyllabic *sǐ* 死, *gù* 故, *wáng* 亡, *zú* 卒, *shì* 逝; the disyllabic *zuògǔ* 作古 (lit. “be-ancient”), *ānxi* 安息 (lit. “peaceful-rest”), *yǎnhū* 奄忽 (lit. “suddenly”); or four-character set phrases, such as *zhǔ-huái-ān-xī* 主懷安息 (lit. “Lord-bosom-peaceful-rest”), *sì-jiǎo-cháo-tiān* 四腳朝天 (lit. “four-feet-toward-heaven”), *yī-mìng-wū-hū* 一命嗚呼 (lit. “one-life-alas!”), and *kè-rán-cháng-shì* 溘然長逝 (lit. “unexpectedly-gone-forever”).<sup>171</sup> Although all these verb forms use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, the disyllabic verbs are generally more heavily marked than the monosyllabic ones. This is due to the fact that, as Li Lindong points out, disyllabic verbs are more contoured in meaning and less flexible in use with other grammatical elements, including aspect morphemes and verb-object compounds in Mandarin.<sup>172</sup> There are cases, however, where the option to use either one or two characters does not exist. For example, *fǒurèn* 否認 (“deny,” e.g. John 18:25) has

<sup>170</sup> See p. 92 n. 92 above.

<sup>171</sup> For a survey of Chinese terms relating to death and burial, see Watters, *Essays*, 245–327.

<sup>172</sup> Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 133–40. Li, however, does not use the notions of markedness to explain the differences between monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs.

no monosyllabic equivalent available in Mandarin. Hence, in such cases, disyllabic verbs are no more heavily marked than monosyllabic ones.

The four examples of four-character set phrases above, on the other hand, are the most heavily marked because of their morphological bulk, animated semantic content, rigid grammatical structure, and unique syntax. Table 3.1 summarizes markedness and aspect morphemes in Mandarin:

∅ morpheme	Unmarked
∅ morpheme with monosyllabic verbs	↓
∅ morpheme with disyllabic verbs	↓
Simple single aspect morphemes: <i>-le</i> , RVCs, <i>-guò</i> , verb reduplication, IDVCs, <i>zài</i> , <i>-zhe</i>	↓
Complex single aspect morphemes: <i>V-láiV-qù</i> , <i>V-shàngV-xià</i> , <i>V-guòláiV-guòqù</i> , <i>V-kāiláiV-kāiqù</i>	↓
Simple two-morpheme aspect compounds: RVC- <i>le</i> , <i>-guò-le</i> , RVC- <i>guò</i> , <i>-le</i> -RVC, <i>V-le-V</i> , <i>-le</i> -IDVCs, verb reduplication- <i>zhe</i> , <i>zài...-zhe</i> , <i>zài...IDVCs</i>	↓
Complex two-morpheme aspect compounds: <i>zài... V-láiV-qù</i> , <i>zài... V-shàngV-xià</i> , <i>zài... V-guòláiV-guòqù</i> <i>zài... V-kāiláiV-kāiqù</i>	↓
Three-morpheme aspect compounds: <i>zài... verb reduplication-zhe</i> , <i>zài... V-zheV-zhe</i>	↓
∅ morpheme with four-character set phrases	Marked

Table 3.1. Markedness and aspect morphemes in Mandarin

### 3.2.5.2. Perfective Aspect

The Mandarin perfective aspect is realized in four morphologically marked morphemes, *-guò*, RVCs, *-le*, and verb reduplication, and in one unmarked morpheme, the ∅ morpheme.

#### a. The Perfective *-guò*

The marker *-guò* has been widely recognized as a perfective aspect morpheme by influential scholars such as Gao, Halliday, Gorelov, Cartier, Smith, Shu, Dai, and many

others.<sup>173</sup> It is derived from the verb *guò* 過, meaning “to pass” or “experience,” hence it is commonly described as the “experiential *guò*.”<sup>174</sup> However, such a description is based on the etymology and the assumption that *-guò* still retains its lexical meaning rather than a grammatical distinction. In fact, such “experience” has nothing to do with the inherent meaning of *-guò*. Rather, it is generally conveyed by *yǒu* (“have”)—or *méiyǒu* (“have not”) in negative sentences—and *céngjīng* (“ever”) either explicitly or implicitly in the context. Hence, like *-le*, *-guò* is best treated simply as a morpheme that is used only grammatically to express the perfective aspect in Mandarin. (8) illustrates:

(8) 我們從來沒有見過這樣的事。(Mark 2:12, UV)

Wǒmen cónglái méiyǒu jiàn-guò zhèyàng de shì.

We have never seen anything like it.

The aspect marker *-guò* is also used as an RVC, which conveys the completed aspect of “through.” The RVC *guò* is attached only directly at the end of certain verbs to form a compound that expresses the perfective aspect. These verbs include *tōng* 通 (“pass”) and *chuān* (“pierce”), as the following example illustrates.

(9) 要把那兩條擰成的金鍊子，穿過胸牌兩頭的環子。(Exod 28:24, UV)

Yào bǎ nà liǎng tiáo níng chéng de jīn liàn zi, chuān-guò xiōng pái liǎngtóu de huánzi.

You should pierce the two gold cords into the two rings of the breastplate.

<sup>173</sup> Gorelov, *Practical Chinese Grammar*, 69–70; Halliday, “Grammatical Categories,” 193–94; Cartier, *Verbes résultatifs*, 120–21; Marco Martínez, “Aspecto,” 5–18; Li 李楚成, *Beiträge*, 217–34; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 57–67; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 138–49. For references by the aforementioned authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.

<sup>174</sup> See, for example, Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 230; Smith, *Parameter*, 266–70; Ma 馬靜恆, “Some Aspects,” 16–17; Hu and Fan, *Verbs*, 100; Cao, *Particles*, 37–46; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 63–67; Zhang 張岩紅, “Study,” 247–71.

Since the aspect marker *-guò* and the RVC *guò* both express the perfective aspect, they normally do not appear together in the same verb. While one might find the expressions *chuānguò-guò xiōng pái* or *chuānguò xiōng pái -guò* acceptable, the redundancy makes them sound rather awkward.

## b. RVCs

Resultative verb complements (RVCs) have been treated in the discussion of Mandarin aspect morphemes ever since Varo (followed by Gützlaff, Edkins, Summers, Mullie, Carr, Maspero, Průšek, Jaxontov, Tai), and, furthermore, leading scholars such as Gao, Frei, Chao, Cartier, Smith, and others have all recognized RVCs as morphemes that grammaticalize the perfective aspect in Mandarin.<sup>175</sup> RVCs differ significantly from the perfective aspect marker *-guò*. As Průšek has pointed out, RVCs retain lexical meanings that specify the result or natural consequence of a complete action.<sup>176</sup> Also, RVCs are a rare example of recognizable aspect morphemes in classical Chinese, and consequently are also one of the oldest. For this reason, wenli versions of the Bible are consulted in this study. For example, εἰπὼν in John 18:1 (also v. 38) is translated as *yán-bì* (lit. “speak-end,” MOR, GÜ, GO) or *yán-jìng* 言竟 (lit. “speak-complete,” DV, SJ, GURY, UVB) in several wenli versions. The following examples of the use of RVCs are from the wenli (10a) and Mandarin versions (10b).

(10) (a) 耶穌言畢、則偕門生渡基得崙之溪 • (John 18:1, GÜ)

Yēsū **yán-bì**, zé xié ménshēng dù Jīdélún zhī xī.

Jesus finished saying, he crossed the Kidron valley with his disciples.

<sup>175</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 446–52; Cartier, *Verbes résultatifs*; Marco Martínez, “Aspecto,” 5–18; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 159–71. For the forementioned authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.

<sup>176</sup> See discussions in 3.2.2.3.d, p. 95 above.

(b) 我的上帝、我的上帝、你爲何故將我丟棄 (BURNS Ps 22:1)

Wǒ de Shàngdì, wǒ de Shàngdì, nǐ wèi hégù jiāng wǒ **diū-qì**?

My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?

The compound *diū-qì* in (10b) is made up of *diū*, meaning “to throw,” and the RVC *qì*, meaning “discard,” thus, it effectively conveys the perfectiveness of the action.

An exhaustive list of Mandarin RVCs is not possible. Table 3.2 includes some of the most commonly used Mandarin RVCs.<sup>177</sup>

RVC	Pinyin	English Translation	RVC	Pinyin	English Translation
飽	bǎo	be full, satisfied	空	kōng	empty
畢	bì	complete, end	累	lèi	be tired
扁	biǎn	flatten	了	liǎo	finish
遍	biàn	all over	滿	mǎn	full
成	chéng	succeed	膩	nì	be bored
穿	chuān	penetrate	破	pò	break
倒	dǎo	fall	上	shàng	succeed
到	dào	reach, succeed, arrive	失	shī	lose
得	dé	reach	熟	shóu	ripen
掉	diào	fall/throw off, away	死	sǐ	die
丟	diū	discard	通	tōng	connect
動	dòng	move	透	tòu	through
斷	duàn	cut off	歪	wāi	crook
夠	gòu	enough	完	wán	complete, end
過	guò	pass	贏	yíng	win
好	hǎo	complete	在	zài	exist
壞	huài	ruin	著	zháo	be on target
見	jiàn	see	住	zhù	hold on
盡	jìn	exhaust	中	zhòng	hit (a target)
開	kāi	open	走	zǒu	leave

Table 3.2. Common Mandarin RVCs

<sup>177</sup> Cartier lists over a hundred common Mandarin RVCs, which she classifies according to either dissociable (total of 12) or indissociable (93) meanings. She also lists common verbs that can be combined with RVCs. Cartier, *Verbes résultatifs*, 152–233. See also Mullie, *Structural Principles*, vol. 2, 113–72; Marco Martinez, “Aspecto,” 5–18.

### c. The Perfective *-le*

Since Varo, the marker *-le* has been treated in the discussion of Mandarin aspect morphemes, and is widely recognized as a morpheme that grammaticalizes the perfective aspect in Mandarin by influential scholars such as Carr, Maspero, Frei, Wang Li, Gao, Gorelov, Jaxontov, Ota, Chao, Li and Thompson, Shimura, Smith, and many others.<sup>178</sup> Like *-guò* and RVCs, *-le* views the event as a whole and is not concerned with its internal constituents. (11) illustrates:

(11) 如果你們聽過他的道，領了他的教，學了他的真理 (Eph 4:21, UV)

Rúguǒ nǐmen **tīng-guò** tā de dào, **lǐng-le** tā de jiào, **xué-le** tā de zhēnlǐ....

If you have ever heard him preaching, and received his teaching, and learned his truth....

The marker *-guò* and *-le* in (11) both express the perfective aspect. The two perfective morphemes may be used interchangeably. In other words, there is no apparent difference between *tīng-guò* and *tīng-le* with respect to aspect, markedness, meaning, or discourse function. However, when *-guò* and *-le* are combined to modify the same verb, *tīng* (“hear”), the two aspect markers grammaticalize the same perfective aspect but become more heavily marked (see example (17) below).

#### a. *-le* and the Modal Particle *le*

The imperfective aspect marker *-le* is to be distinguished from the modal *le* and the RVC *liǎo*. Morphologically, the three are written exactly the same way (了). All three are derived from the verb *liǎo*, meaning “to finish.” The aspect marker *-le* and the modal *le*

<sup>178</sup> Yu 俞敏, “Chinese Verb,” 49; Gorelov, *Practical Chinese Grammar*, 67–69; Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 225–228; Chao, *Grammar*, 246–48; Shimura, *Historical Grammar*, 66; Li 李楚成, *Beiträge*, 150–217; Chirkova, *In Search of Time*, 23–24. For reviews of other authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.



are both written and pronounced the same way, but they are found in different positions in the sentence. The aspect marker *-le* (also called the verbal *-le*) functions as a suffix that attaches immediately to the end of the verb. The modal particle *le* (also called the post-sentential or sentence-final *le*), on the other hand, occurs at the end of the sentence (12).

(12) 原來藉著神蹟醫好的那人有四十多歲了。(Acts 4:22, UV)

Yuánlái jiè zhe shén jī yī-hǎo de nà rén yǒu sìshí duō suì **le**.

As a matter a fact, the man who recovered through the miracle is already forty-something years old.

The modal particle *le* is a Mandarin equivalent to the classical modal particle *yǐ* 矣, which expresses the speaker's determination, volition, and prediction, as well as conveys his or her perception.<sup>179</sup> It is traditionally treated as a particle capable of expressing "change of state."<sup>180</sup>

(13) 你的信救了你。(Mark 10:52; Luke 17:19, 18:42, UV)

Nǐ de xìn **jiù-le** nǐ *le*.

Your faith has saved you.

In (13), the first *le* is the perfective aspect marker, whereas the second one (in italics), which appears at the end of the sentence, is the modal particle *le*. The aspect marker *-le* is typically used in three different places: factual statements, subordinate clauses, and the

<sup>179</sup> Ma had already pointed this out in the late nineteenth century. Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*, 341. See also, for example, Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 332; Wang, *Outline*, 113–14; Zhu 朱德熙, *Composition*, 114; Dragunov, *Grammatik*, 140, n. 1; Li 黎錦熙, *Grammar*, 229; Hu and Fan, *Verbs*, 80–84; Takahashi, "Use of Two *le*," 165–228. Liu recently argues that the modal particle *le* functions as past tense similar to the temporal deixis *yǐ* ("already"). This assertion must be rejected. See Liu 劉勳寧, "Modal Particle," 75–77.

<sup>180</sup> See, for example, Thompson, "Aspects," 73; Chao, *Grammar*, 798–800; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 90–113, 31–38; Chang, "Discourse," 145; Lin, "Aspect-Tense," 180; Robert Iljic, "Les Deux [*le*]," 24–26; Liu 劉勳寧, "Grammatical Meaning," 80–87; Liu 劉勳寧, "Modal Particle," 70–79; Li 李小凡, "Further Discussion," 207–09. Recently Yip and Rimmington have reworded this function of *le* in terms of "summing up after a series of actions." Yip and Rimmington, *Chinese*, 320–21.

protasis of conditional sentences.<sup>181</sup> Therefore, (13) could be rephrased as “it is your faith *that has saved you*.” The post-sentential *le* has the effect of making the assertion more firmly. The aspect marker *-le* (in bold) appears in the protases of (14):

(14) 既然說萬物都服了他，顯然那使萬物服他的就不包括在內了。(1 Cor 15:27, NCV)

Jìrán shuō wànwù dōu **fú-le** tā, xiǎnrán nà shǐ wànwù fú tā de jiù bù bāokuò zàinèi *le*.

Since it says all things are subjected to him, obviously it does not include the one who put all things in subjection under him.

The second *le* (in italics) in the apodosis in (14) is a modal particle not only because of its position at the end of the sentence, but also because *-le*, quite naturally, cannot express the perfective aspect in negative sentences that are signaled by adverbs *bù* (“not”) or *méiyǒu* (“have not”) in non-interrogative sentences.<sup>182</sup>

The aspect marker *-le* often appears in imperative sentences, whereas *-guò*, on the other hand, cannot be used in such sentences. (15a–b) illustrate this use:

(15) (a) 宰了吃！(Act 10:13, UV, TCV, SB, NCV, CLB)

**Zǎi-le** chī!

Kill and eat!

(b) 不要忘了用愛心接待人。(Heb 13:2, NCV)

Bùyào **wàng-le** yòng àixīn jiēdài rén.

Do not forget to welcome people with love.

<sup>181</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 335–36; Chang, “Discourse,” 146.

<sup>182</sup> See, for example, Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 356–58.

## β. Foregrounding in Mandarin Discourse

As mentioned in the introduction (3.2.5.1.b), foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse is achieved by utilizing two-morpheme aspect compounds. Two-morpheme aspect compounds, such as *-guò-le*, *RVC-le*, *-le-RVC*, *-le-IDVC*, are mainly formed by adding *-le* to a verb that is already marked with an aspect morpheme. Other aspect morphemes, including *-guò*, verb reduplication, and *zài*, are used to form aspect compounds, but to a lesser extent.<sup>183</sup> The following examples illustrate that the two-morpheme aspect compounds, *RVC-le* and *-guò-le*, are used to build foregrounded prominence in (16) and (17):

(16) 耶穌說完了這些話 (John 18:1, MSV)

Yēsū **shuō-wán-le** zhèxiē huà.

Jesus finished saying these words.

(17) 這福音你們聽過了，也傳給了天下萬民； (Col 1:23, NCV)

Zhè fúyīn nǐmen **tīng-guò-le**, yě chuángēi le tiānxià wànmín.

The gospel that you have heard has been passed on to all people in the world.

## d. Verb Reduplication

Verb reduplication is treated in the discussion of aspect in Mandarin by leading scholars such as Edkins, Mateer, Lü Shuxiang, Wang Li, Gao, Ota, Chao, Jaxontov, and

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<sup>183</sup> For a study of the discourse function of *-guò*, see B. Wang, “Aspect,” 61–76. Wang argues that, within the framework of *Aktionsart*, the discourse motivation of *-guò* is to “end the situation that *-guo* co-occurs with and then directs the hearer’s attention to the next situation.” Wang, “Aspect,” 61. While his study of aspect morphemes beyond sentence-level is commendable, it is not without problems. For example, the corpus he chooses for analysis is limited to informal conversations of a few select individuals and, therefore, is not representative of different genres to support his theory. More importantly, he discusses the discourse motivation strictly in terms of *Aktionsart* and says nothing about other pertinent issues, such as prominence or cohesion.

Li and Thompson.<sup>184</sup> Similar to *-le*, *-guò*, and RVCs, reduplicating verbs (formally unmarked with any aspect morpheme)<sup>185</sup> also express the perfective aspect (following Smith).<sup>186</sup> However, the function and meaning of verb reduplication are more specifically defined. It is formed with the reduplication of the main verb, sometimes with *yī* (“one”) inserted between the two. For example, *wèn-wen* in (19a) is used interchangeably with *wèn-yī-wèn*. Many, including Smith, define both forms in terms of *Aktionsart*, that is, they specify an event as short in terms of duration, and as small or little in terms of activity and importance.<sup>187</sup> However, like other single aspect morphemes, verb reduplication is not used to build prominence in Mandarin discourse. It is best described simply as a perfective aspect morpheme. (18) illustrates.<sup>188</sup>

(18) 這裏站站，那裏走走 (Prov 7:12, TCV)

Zhè lǐ **zhàn-zhàn**, nà lǐ **zǒu-zǒu**.

<sup>184</sup> Some prefer the term “verb copying.” See, for example, Li and Thompson, Paris, and some Mainland Chinese authors. Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 442–50; Paris, “Durational Complements,” 423–39; Li 李宇明, “Verb Copying,” 18–37; Chu, “Sequence,” 227–41. Following Edkins, Chao calls verb reduplication “tentative aspect,” meaning that it conveys the sense of trying (to do something). Chao, *Grammar*, 252; Edkins, *Grammar*, 186. See also Maeth-Ch., “Aspectos,” 55. For reviews of authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.

<sup>185</sup> The two-morpheme aspect compound *V-zheV-zhe* (i.e. verb reduplication + *-zhe*) express not the perfective, but rather the imperfective aspect in Mandarin (see 3.2.5.3.a.β, p. 133 below). Throughout this dissertation, the terms “form” and “morphology” are used interchangeably.

<sup>186</sup> Those who treat verb reduplication as a perfective morpheme include Smith, Dai, and Xiao and McEnery. See Smith, *Parameter*, 271; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 67–79; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 149–59.

<sup>187</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 235–36; Wang 王力, *Grammar*, 326; Gao, *Grammar* (rev. ed.), 198–99; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 233–36; Zhu 朱德熙, *Grammar*, 34–35, 78–81; Zhang, *Contrastive Study*, 175; Hu and Fan, *Verbs*, 95. Smith identifies verb reduplication as a lexical perfective in Mandarin. Smith, *Parameter*, 271.

<sup>188</sup> Carr suggests that verb reduplication can usually be rendered by the verb *take* in English (e.g. *-kàn-kàn* 看看 “take a look.” Carr, “Characterization,” 80. Wang has recently compared Mandarin reduplicated forms *-kàn-kàn* and *-shìshì* 試試 (“give a try”) with Japanese *～してみる* and concludes that verb reduplication has two basic aspectual meanings: indefinite and partial perfectiveness. Her findings contradict Li and Thompson and others who see verb reduplication as “delimitive” aspect. Wang seems to be unaware of previous discussions (e.g. Li and Thompson, Smith). She confuses *Aktionsart* with aspect and discusses the problems in terms of volitional and non-volitional verbs making her theory weak and unconvincing. See Wang 王志英, *Imperative Constructions*, 49–106.

(She) stood here for a moment, and strolled there for a moment.

Verb reduplication often appears in imperative or hortatory sentences, as (20a–b) illustrate:

- (19) (a) 問問那些聽過我講話的人吧 (John 18:21, NCV)

**Wèn-wen** nàxiē tīng guò wǒ jiǎnghuà de rén ba.

Ask those people who have heard me speak.

- (b) 等一等，看以利亞來救祂不來。 (Matt 27:49, CRV)

**Děng-yī-děng**, kàn yǐ lì yà lái jiù Tā bù lái.

Wait awhile and see if Elijah comes to rescue Him or not.

In (19a), the reduplicated form *wèn-wen* denotes “ask,” whereas *děng-yī-děng* in (19b) has the sense of “wait for awhile.” Verb reduplication also allows for two sets of reduplicated verbs, as (20) illustrates:<sup>189</sup>

- (20) 我們就吃吃喝喝吧，因為我們明天就要死了。 (1 Cor 15:32, NCV)

Wǒmen jiù **chī-chī hē-hē** ba, yīnwèi wǒmen míngtiān jiùyào sǐ le.

Let us eat and drink, because tomorrow we will die.

Verb reduplication more often appears in its variant form in non-imperative sentences, as in the case of *děng-yī-děng* in (20b). *Děng-yī-děng* is not to be confused with *yī-děng* (lit. “one-wait”), which is marked with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and is also used to convey the perfective aspect. Lü, for examples, calls this “single event aspect” (一事相), which specifies that the completed action has a single and short duration.<sup>190</sup> This is, again, an observation of its *Aktionsart*. In other words, the meaning of having short duration is

<sup>189</sup> Chu argues that the reduplicated form AABB denotes both the perfective and imperfective aspect in Mandarin. This assertion is problematic since it is based upon whether the reduplicated verb can take the perfective aspect marker *-le*. Chu, “Sequence,” 238.

<sup>190</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 235–36.

expressed lexically by *yī* (“one,” “once”) and not by an aspect morpheme, as (21)

illustrates:

(21) 主令一發、冰就消化、暖風一吹、到處水流 (Ps 147:18, BURNS)<sup>191</sup>

Zhǔ lǐng **yī-fā**, bīng jiù xiāohuà, nuǎnfēng **yī-chuī**, dào chù shuǐ liú.

As soon as the Lord commanded, the ice melted; as soon as the warm wind

blew, water flowed everywhere.

### e. The $\emptyset$ Morpheme

#### α. Introduction

The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the unmarked indicator of Mandarin aspect. Rather than treating it as the “perfective  $\emptyset$ ” (e.g. Chang), it is better to say that when the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used, the verb form may be construed as the perfective aspect.<sup>192</sup> As the next section demonstrates, several key factors are involved when the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used.

#### β. Preference of the $\emptyset$ Morpheme over Other Aspect Morphemes

Three key factors may account for the decision to use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme instead of the other perfective morphemes. First, as pointed out above, discourse factors dictate the choice the author or speaker makes between, for example, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (unmarked) and other perfective aspect morphemes (marked). Generally, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable when there is no shift in tense-forms in the Greek. When a verb form is accompanied by two perfective morphemes (e.g. *-le* and RVC) instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, it marks foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse (see 3.2.5.2.c.β). Second, it can be explained in terms of style. Since classical Chinese does not employ

<sup>191</sup> The character 冰 is printed as 氷 in the original publication. See Burns, *Psalms in Mandarin*, 125.

<sup>192</sup> Chang, “Discourse,” 144. See also 3.2.4.3, p. 113 above.

most of the Mandarin aspect morphemes, more frequent use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme would create the impression of classical tone.<sup>193</sup> Third, temporal deixes such as *yǐjīng* (“already”), *céng* (“ever”), *xiànzài* 現在 (“now”), *zhèngzài* (“in the process of”), *zhèng* (“just now”), and *gānggāng* 剛剛 (“just now”), are capable of expressing aspect and specifying temporal location. The  $\emptyset$  morphemes are used to avoid redundancy.

The use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme may not be a matter of preference. As pointed out above (3.2.5.2.c.α), since *-le* cannot express the perfective aspect in negative sentences that contain *bù* (or *méiyǒu* in non-interrogative sentences), the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead.

(22) illustrates:

(22) 掃羅卻沒有告訴叔叔。(1 Sam 10:16, LÜ)

Sǎoluó què *méiyǒu* gào su shūshu.

But Saul did not tell his uncle.

In interrogative sentence, however, *-le* can be used with *méiyǒu*, as (23) illustrates:

(23) 那人到這裡來了沒有？(1 Sam 10:22, LÜ)

Nà rén dào zhèlǐ lái-le *méiyǒu*?

Did that person arrive here yet?

### 3.2.5.3. Imperfective and Stative Aspects

The imperfective aspect is realized by three morphologically marked morphemes: *zài*, *-zhe*, and IDVCs. The marker *-zhe* also grammaticalizes the stative aspect in Mandarin.

The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is also used in contexts where verbal aspect may be construed as either imperfective or stative.

<sup>193</sup> Norman predicts that like Latin and Greek, which have immense influence upon modern western languages, classical Chinese will continue to play an important role in future Chinese linguistic development. Norman, *Chinese*, 110.

## a. Imperfective Aspect

### α. The Imperfective *zài*

*Zài* has been widely recognized by scholars (e.g. Gao, Halliday, Jaxontov, Gorelov, Li and Thompson, Smith, Shu and many others) as the aspect marker that grammaticalizes the imperfective aspect in Mandarin.<sup>194</sup> *Zài* has two main functions: the locative *zài* is used as a preposition, and the aspect marker *zài* is used to express the imperfective, as (24a) illustrates. This dissertation calculates that while *zài* occurs 3,104 times in the UV New Testament, it is used as an aspect marker only once (24a).

(24) (a) 你若能信，在信的人，凡事都能 (Mark 9:23, UV)

Nǐ ruò néng xìn, **zài** xìn de rén, fánshì dōu néng.

If only you can believe, he who believes, all things are possible.

(b) 你在作甚麼？ (Eccl 8:4, LÜ)

Nǐ **zài** zuò shén me?

What are you doing?

The *zài* in (24a–b) both specify that the action is perceived to be ongoing. The two closely related terms, *zhèngzài* and *zhèng* (“now,” “just”), also occur in contexts where the aspect of a given action may be construed as imperfective. However, *zhèngzài* is treated here as a variant form of the aspect marker *zài*, with no significant difference in meaning or discourse function between the two. *Zhèng*, however, is treated as an adverb that does not grammatically express imperfectivity. *Zài zuò* in (24b) is interchangeable

<sup>194</sup> Xiao 蕭 斧, “‘Zai nali,’” 150–56; Gorelov, *Practical Chinese Grammar*, 71–72; Li 李楚成, *Beiträge*, 257–77; Shu, *Aspect*, 40–60; Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 205–16. For references from the aforementioned authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.



with *zhèngzài zuò*. On the other hand, *Nǐ zhèng zuò shén me?* may be construed as either “What are you doing now?” (imperfective), or “What have you just done?” (perfective).

### β. The Imperfective *-zhe*

The marker *-zhe* has been widely treated as the aspect morpheme that grammaticalizes the imperfective aspect in Mandarin (e.g. Carr, Frei, Wang Li, Gao, Jaxontov, Ota Chao, Shimura, Li and Thompson, Smith, Paris, Hu and Fan, and many others).<sup>195</sup> The suffix *-zhe* does not differ aspectually from *zài*. As (25) illustrates, *-zhe* and *zài* may be used interchangeably.

(25) 立時地、他還說著話的時候、雞就叫了。(Luke 22:60, LÜ)

Lìshí de, tā hái **shuō-zhe** huà de shíhòu, jī jiù jiào le.

Immediately, as he was still speaking, the rooster crowed.

(26a) presents a complex situation in which a three-morpheme aspect compound occurs. The main verb, *kàn-zhe*, expresses the imperfective aspect, “he was watching.” As Lü rightly points out, reduplicated verbs that appear in the form *V-zheV-zhe* (in this case, *zǒu-zhe zǒu-zhe*) express not the perfective but rather the imperfective aspect.<sup>196</sup> The presence of *zài* in front of the reduplicated verb also makes it clear that the verb form signals the imperfective aspect. The three-morpheme aspect compound—*zài*, *-zhe*, and verb reduplication—is more heavily marked than the verb *zǒu* (“walk”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, and marks foregrounded prominence in the narrative of John’s encounter

<sup>195</sup> Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 223–25; Chao, *Grammar*, 248; Shimura, *Historical Grammar*, 283–84; Yue-Hashimoto, *Mandarin Syntactic Structures*, 11; Chen Gwang-tsai, “Aspect Markers,” 42–43; Paris, *Problèmes*, 119–235; Zhang, *Contrastive Study*, 20; Fang 方梅, “Imperfective Aspect,” 38–55. Shu recognizes only *-zhe* as the imperfective marker and treats *zài* as part of the same category as *zhèng* 正 and *-ne*. He claims that *zài* focuses on the “external condition” of the progressive viewpoint, whereas the *-zhe* focuses on the “internal condition” of the progressive viewpoint. Shu, *Aspect*, 59. For reviews of the aforementioned authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above.

<sup>196</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 666.

with Jesus as presented in Lü's Mandarin translation. The expression *zài zǒu-zhe zǒu-zhe* creates the effect of Jesus walking slowly right in front of John's eyes, with each stride clearly in view.

(26) (a) 約翰看著耶穌在走著走著 (John 1:36, LÜ)

Yuē hàn **kàn-zhe** Yēsū **zài zǒu-zhe zǒu-zhe**.

John notices that Jesus is taking a walk.

(b) 我正在等著他和弟兄們一同來。(1 Cor 16:11, NCV)

Wǒ zhèngzài **děng-zhe** tā hé dìxiongmen yītóng lái.

I am waiting right now for him to join the brothers and come here.

(26b) illustrates that *zhèngzài* (or *zài*) and *-zhe* are used together as a two-morpheme aspect compound to express the imperfective aspect of the verb *děng* ("wait").<sup>197</sup> As a result of the combination, the verb form becomes more heavily marked, hence, it is used to build foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse: Paul is indeed still waiting for Timothy and the brothers to arrive.

Less frequently, *-zhe* may occur with reduplicated verbs, such as *rāng-rǎng* ("shout") in *Dàjiā zhèng rāng-rǎng-zhe* 大家正嚷嚷著 ("People were shouting").<sup>198</sup> In this example, the verb phrase *rāng-rǎng-zhe* expresses not the perfective aspect but the imperfective aspect signaled by *-zhe*.

<sup>197</sup> Gao has noted that various forms, *zhèngzài*, *zài*, *zhèngzài...-zhe* share the meaning of the progressive aspect. Gao, *Grammar* (rev. ed.), 191.

<sup>198</sup> Ma terms this type of verb phrase "onomatopoeic verb reduplication-zhe." See Ma 馬靜恆, *Study*, 83–89. Song, on the other hand, suggests that the verb phrase expresses the stative aspect, although he does not use the term "aspect" but simply *zhuàngtài* 狀態 ("state of affairs"). See Song, "Two Usages of *zhe*," 27.

### γ. DVCs and IDVCs

Directional verb complements (DVCs), notably *qílái* and *xiàqù*, are treated by many (e.g. Carr, Lü, Wang Li, Ota, Chao, Liu Yuehua et al., Li Lingding, Dai, Xiao and McEnergy) as an aspect morpheme.<sup>199</sup> While DVCs are primarily used to specify spatial direction of the verb, they are also used grammatically to signify imperfective (as well as perfective) aspect in Mandarin. Table 3.3 is a complete list of DVCs and their basic meanings:

	來 <i>lái</i> , coming	去 <i>qù</i> , going
上 <i>shàng</i> , up	上來 <i>shànglái</i> , coming up	上去 <i>shàngqù</i> , going up
下 <i>xià</i> , down	下來 <i>xiàlái</i> , coming down	下去 <i>xiàqù</i> , going down
進 <i>jìn</i> , entering	進來 <i>jìnlái</i> , coming in	進去 <i>jìnqù</i> , going in <sup>200</sup>
出 <i>chū</i> , exiting	出來 <i>chūlái</i> , coming out	出去 <i>chūqù</i> , going out
回 <i>huí</i> , returning	回來 <i>huílái</i> , coming back	回去 <i>huìqù</i> , going back
過 <i>guò</i> , passing	過來 <i>guòlái</i> , passing by	過去 <i>guòqù</i> , passing through
起 <i>qǐ</i> , rising	起來 <i>qǐlái</i> , coming up	* 起去 <i>qǐqù</i> , coming up <sup>201</sup>
開 <i>kāi</i> , opening	開來 <i>kāilái</i> , opening up	* 開去 <i>kāiqù</i> , opening up <sup>202</sup>
到 <i>dào</i> , arriving	到...來 <i>dào...lái</i> , coming to	到...去 <i>dào...qù</i> , going to

Table 3.3. The 29 Mandarin DVCs

DVCs that are grammaticalized to express the imperfective aspect in Mandarin are referred to in this study as imperfective DVCs (IDVCs). Building upon the analysis conducted by Liu et al., common IDVCs include *qǐ*, *qílái*, *lái*, *shàng*, *shànglái*, *xià*, *xiàlái*,

<sup>199</sup> Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 223–25; Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 33–34; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 94–105. For reviews of other authors, see discussions in 3.2.2–3.2.3, pp. 84–112 above. Summers was the first to use the term “inceptive” to describe *qílái* as an indicator of “the beginning of an action.” See Summers, *Handbook*, 75.

<sup>200</sup> *Jìnqù* is not included in the 26 DVCs listed in Meng 孟琮 et al., *Dictionary*, 12–20.

<sup>201</sup> *Qǐqù* is rare in Standard Mandarin. Ota notes that it has the same meaning as *qílái*. For examples from vernacular writings, see Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 212.

<sup>202</sup> In addition to *qǐqù*, *kāiqù* occurs least frequently among other DVCs in Standard Mandarin. Liu et al. cite a few examples in which *kāiqù* is used with verbs such as *zǒu* 走 (“walk”), *piāo* 飄 (“flutter”), *yí* 移 (“move”), and *pāo* 拋 (“throw”), etc. See Liu 劉月華 et al., *Directional Verb Complements*, 396–99. It is not included in Lü’s *800 Phrases*.

*xiàqù*, *kāi*, and *kāilái*.<sup>203</sup> In addition, other DVCs are also used to denote imperfectivity, especially when they appear in phrases such as *V-guòláiV-guòqù*, *V-láiV-qù*, *V-kāiláiV-kāiqù*, and in stereotyped phrases such as *kàn-shàngqù* 看上去 (“looking”).

IDVCs and the other two formal imperfective aspect markers, *zài* and *-zhe*, may be used interchangeably. However, just like RVCs, IDVCs still retain their relative lexical meaning even though they are used grammatically to give rise to imperfective aspectual interpretations. This is why the IDVCs *xiàqù* (“going down”) and *xià* (“down”), for example, are frequently described as continuative aspect morphemes. (27) illustrates:<sup>204</sup>

(27) 你們儘管做下去，去完成你們祖宗的暴行吧！(TCV, Matt 23:32)

Nǐmen jǐnguǎn **zuò-xiàqù**, qù wánchéng nǐmen zǔzōng de bàoxíng ba!

Continue to do what you are doing and complete your ancestors' savage act.

However, these nuances between IDVCs and other imperfective aspect morphemes are lexical rather than grammatical distinctions. Therefore, IDVCs are best treated simply as suffixes that grammaticalize the imperfective aspect in Mandarin.

(28) illustrates a complex case in which IDVCs occur with *-le* as a two-morpheme aspect compound:

(28) 上帝曾叫他從死人中活了起來 (Rom 10:9, LÜ)

Shàngdì céng jiào tā cóng sǐrén zhōng **huó-le-qǐlái**.

God has raised him from the dead.

<sup>203</sup> The DVC *kāilái* and *lái* are not treated as IDVCs in Liu et al. See Liu 劉月華 et al., *Directional Verb Complements*, 25–32. Li includes it as an alternative form to *kāi*, which has the inchoative and continuative meaning (開始並繼續). See Li 李臨定, *Modern Chinese Verbs*, 34. Similarly, Lü notes that *lái* may be used interchangeably with *qǐlái*. See Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 346.

<sup>204</sup> For discussions of common DVCs and their aspectual meanings, see Liu 劉月華 et al., *Directional Verb Complements*, 25–32; Mullie, *Structural Principles*, vol. 2, 117–19, 172–204.

The two-morpheme compound *le*-IDVC (or IDVC-*le*) conveys not the perfective but rather the imperfective aspect in Mandarin. This is due to the fact that, for the purpose of building prominence in discourse, *-le* is added to the IDVC *qílái*, which signals the imperfective aspect (cf. 3.2.5.2.c.β above). However, the two-morpheme aspect compound *le*-IDVC differs from other single imperfective aspect morphemes (i.e. *zài*, *zhe*, IDVCs) with regards to markedness. For example, in (28), *huó-le-qílái* is formally more heavily marked than *huó-le* (V-*le*) or *huó-qílái* (V-IDVC) because of the morphological bulk. Some Mandarin Chinese scholars argue that *-le* in this compound does not express perfectivity but rather “reality.”<sup>205</sup> Such assertions are unconvincing because they offer no meaningful explanation of Mandarin aspect. Therefore, it is better to say that, like other two-morpheme aspect compounds, the *le*-IDVC compound is more heavily marked than single imperfective aspect morphemes and, thus, is used to build foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse.

#### δ. The $\emptyset$ Morpheme

There are contexts in which the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to other imperfective aspect morphemes for reasons (e.g. to create an impression of classical tone) similar to those explained in the discussions of the perfective aspect above (3.2.5.2.e.β). (29) illustrates the discourse motivation for the use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in sentences where the imperfective aspect of an action is clearly intended:

(29) 我候他和別的兄弟同來。(1 Cor 16:11, JOHNM)

<sup>205</sup> Liu argues that DVCs can only denote the imperfective aspect. Since these two morphemes of different aspects would contradict each other, he concludes that *-le* does not convey completion but “reality” (現實; English trans. mine). See Liu 劉勛寧, “Semantics,” 323. Liu’s analysis is followed by Xiao and McEnery, who call the compound V-*le-qílái* “actual inceptive” aspect. See Xiao and McEnery, *Aspect*, 10, 219–24. See also Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 99–101, 104–05.

Wǒ hòu tā hé bié de xiōngdì tónglái.

I am waiting here for him and the other brothers to arrive.

(29) and (26b) are taken from the same New Testament passage but from different translations. Here, the earlier Mandarin version, JOHMN, has *hòu* (“wait”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, whereas the NCV has *zhèngzài děng-zhe* with two imperfective morphemes. (26b) is more heavily marked because the presence of *zhèngzài* and *-zhe* (see 3.2.5.3.a.β above) allows only the imperfective reading. On the other hand, (29) is unmarked because the  $\emptyset$  morpheme does not specify the aspect of the action. The context makes it clear, however, that the imperfective aspect is intended (i.e. Paul is still expecting Timothy and the brothers to arrive). The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead because the Mandarin translator of JOHNM understands that Paul’s waiting in Ephesus is meant to serve as a piece of background information in the letter closing (1 Cor 16:1–24).

The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used in places where *zài* functions as a preposition, and the insertion of the aspect marker *zài* will result in redundancy.<sup>206</sup> In (30), *zài* serves as the preposition as well as the imperfective marker. Sentences such as *Tā zài shuǐchí lǐ zài yóuyǒng* or *Tā shuǐchí lǐ zài yóuyǒng* are unacceptable.<sup>207</sup> In such cases, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead of *zài* in contexts where the imperfective aspect is clearly intended.

(30) 他在水池裏游泳。

Tā zài shuǐchí lǐ yóuyǒng.

He is swimming in the pool.

<sup>206</sup> See, for example, Chen 陳重瑜, “Aspectual Features,” 76–103.

<sup>207</sup> For discussions on the progressive aspect marker *zài* and its relation to the locative *zài*, see Xiao 蕭 斧, “‘Zai nali,’” 144–56; Chao, *Grammar*, 333; Teng, “Progressive Aspect,” 1–12; Xu 徐 丹, “On *Zai* and *zhe*,” 453–61.

## b. Stative Aspect

Mandarin offers only one morphologically marked aspect morpheme, *-zhe*, to grammaticalize the stative aspect. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is also used in contexts where the action is perceived as stative.

### a. The Stative *-zhe*

The marker *-zhe* is widely treated as an aspect morpheme that grammaticalizes the stative aspect in Mandarin by Gorelov, Jaxontov, Paris, Smith, Dai, Xiao and McEnery, and many others.<sup>208</sup> The stative aspect marker *-zhe* is identical in form to the RVC *zháo*, and in both form and pronunciation to the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe*. Sentences marked with the stative *-zhe* suggest that events have entered a stable condition, and thus have stative aspect. (31a–c) illustrate:

- (31) (a) 那死人就出來了，手腳裹著布，臉上包著手巾。(John 11:44, UV)

Nà sǐrén jiù chūlái-le, shǒu-jiǎo **guǒ-zhe** bù, liǎnshàng **bāo-zhe** shǒujīn.

That dead man came out, his hands and feet bound in cloths, his face  
wrapped in a handkerchief.

- (b) 耶穌到了彼得家裡，見彼得的岳母害熱病躺著。(Matt 8:14, UV)

Yēsū dào liǎo bǐ dé jiālǐ, jiàn bǐ dé de yuè mǔ hài rèbìng **tǎng-zhe**.

Jesus came to Peter's house and saw Peter's mother-in-law lying in bed sick  
with fever.

- (c) 因為經上記著說：“他使萬物都服在他腳下。”(1 Cor 15:27, NCV)

Yīnwèi jīng shàng **jì-zhe** shuō: “tā shǐ wànwù dōu fú zài tā jiǎoxià.”

<sup>208</sup> Gorelov, *Practical Chinese Grammar*, 67–72; Jaxontov, “Resultative,” 116–33; Paris, *Problèmes*, 119–235; Li 李楚成, *Beiträge*, 236–57; Dai 戴耀晶, *Aspect*, 88–94. Smith calls it the “stative imperfective *-zhe*.” Smith, *Parameter*, 273.

Because the Scripture is written, “He puts all things under his feet.”

### β. The $\emptyset$ Morpheme

Examples (31a–c) are morphologically marked with *-zhe*, whereas (32a–c) are examples of the same verbs marked with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Some observations may be made regarding the aspectual meanings of the two different groups. In (31a), the suffix *-zhe* in *guǒ-zhe* morphologically expresses the stative aspect. Without *-zhe*, the aspect realized by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme of the verb form *guǒ* in (32a) may be construed not only as stative but also as perfective or even imperfective. However, the context suggests that the action is described as the stative aspect, since, on one hand, the perfective reading normally requires the RVC *shàng*, and, on the other hand, the imperfective reading demands the IDVC *qǐ*. In the same way, *tǎng* (“lie”) in (32b) and (33b), and *jì* (“record”) in (31c) and (32c) may be treated similarly.

As with the perfective and imperfective aspects, the preference of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme over *-zhe* may be explained by the author’s intention to create an impression of classical tone. However, unlike the other two aspects in Mandarin, discourse motivation cannot account for the use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in verb forms where the stative aspect is intended. This is due to the restriction that the stative *-zhe* cannot be used alongside any other aspect morphemes for the same verb.<sup>209</sup> As pointed out above, prominence in Mandarin discourse is built by utilizing two or three aspect morphemes in the same verb form. For this reason, even though the stative *-zhe* is considered more marked than the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, both morphemes are used as backgrounding devices in Mandarin discourse.

(32) (a) 你要爲亞倫的兒子作內袍、腰帶、裹頭巾，爲榮耀、爲華美。(Exod

<sup>209</sup> See, for example, Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 665–66.



28:40, UV)

Nǐ yào wéi yà lún de érzi zuò nèi páo, yāodài, **guǒ** tóujīn, wèi róngyào, wèi huáměi.

For Aaron's sons you shall make tunic and belt and wear headdresses, for the sake of glory and magnificence.

(b) 主阿，我的僕人害癱瘓病，躺在家裡，甚是疼痛。(Matt 8:6, UV)

Zhǔ a, wǒ de púrén hài tānhuànbìng, **tǎng** zài jiālǐ, shènsì téng kǔ.

O Lord, my servant is paralyzed, lying at home in great pain.

(c) 經上所記：‘看哪，我差遣我的使者在你們面前，他必在你們前頭預備你的道路。’ (Matt 11:10, NCV)

Jīng shàng suǒ jì: “kàn na, wǒ chāiqiǎn wǒ de shǐzhě zài nǐ miàncián, tā bì zài nǐ qiántou yùbèi nǐ de dàolù.”

The Scripture has written, “Look, I am sending my messenger before you.

He shall prepare your way before you.”

Like *-le* and verb reduplication, the stative marker *-zhe* often appears in imperative or hortatory sentences, as (33) illustrates:

(33) 記著“近朱者赤，近墨者黑”。(1 Cor 15:33, CLB)<sup>210</sup>

**Jì-zhe** “Jìn-zhū-zhě-chì, jìn-mò-zhě-hēi.”

Remember, “You are whom you associate with.”

### 3.2.6. Conclusion

This section begins with a survey of literature on the general study of aspect (3.2.1), and continues with critical reviews of major approaches to Mandarin aspect (3.2.2–3.2.4).

<sup>210</sup> The CLB is from the 1998 revised edition.

Section 3.2.5 provides an outline of methodology for treating Mandarin aspect. The notions of markedness and grounding are explored here to add explanatory force to the treatment of each aspect morpheme in Mandarin. To support the proposed outline of the Mandarin aspectual system, illustrations are drawn from the wenli and Mandarin Bible versions. This outline will serve as the theoretical basis for translating the Bible, with special emphasis on translating New Testament Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect. In the next section, the focus will turn to New Testament Greek aspect (3.3).

### **3.3. Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek**

#### **3.3.1. Introduction**

The purpose of this section is two-fold: to critically examine previous studies on Greek aspect, all of which are monographs, and to outline a methodology for treating New Testament Greek aspect necessary for engaging detailed discussions on Bible translation issues in the following chapters. The review has its primary focus on examining the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed Greek aspect systems, as opposed to disputing the soundness of each on syntax and pragmatic problems of aspect. Specific issues that arise from syntax and pragmatics of the Greek New Testament will receive detailed treatment in the following chapters.

Grammatical studies of ancient Greek began as early as the second century B.C.E. and continue to receive rigorous contributions today. This is a stark contrast to classical Chinese in which no grammatical treatises existed until the eighteenth century C.E. In the late nineteenth century, Curtius introduced the terms *Zeitstufe* (“grade of time”) to describe temporal locations and *Zeitart* (“kind of time”), which was later referred to by

many (e.g. Moulton and Robertson) as *Aktionsart*.<sup>211</sup> It was not until the later editions of the Blass-Debrunner-Funk grammar that the term “aspect” appeared in connection with *Aktionsart*.<sup>212</sup> However, major works that apply modern linguistic theories of aspect to Greek are relatively recent and few in number.<sup>213</sup> This section primarily focuses on the theoretical contributions of seven authors on New Testament Greek aspect. All of the monographs reviewed here are revised doctoral dissertations published within the last two decades, except those by McKay and Mateos. The following reviews of Greek aspect models divide into two main groups: the first group, represented by McKay, Porter, Decker, and Evans, treats aspect as an independent category without conflating it with *Aktionsart*. The second group, represented by Mateos, Fanning, and Olsen, recognizes *Aktionsart* as a main component of aspect.<sup>214</sup>

### 3.3.2. McKay, Porter, Decker, and Evans

#### a. K.L. McKay

McKay is credited as the first person to apply modern linguistic theories of aspect to ancient Greek, although his monograph on New Testament Greek aspect did not appear until 1994.<sup>215</sup> McKay’s model of Greek aspect is not formed according to binary or

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<sup>211</sup> Curtius, *Greek Verb*, 2; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 108–18; Robertson, *Grammar*, 828–35.

<sup>212</sup> BDF, §318. *Aktionsart* and aspect are not treated as distinct categories. This remains unchanged in the 18th German edition. See BDR, §318.

<sup>213</sup> Porter offers the most thorough review of previous approaches to Greek aspect and related subjects. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 17–65. See also Rydbeck, “What Happened,” 424–27; Porter and Reed, “Greek Grammar,” 143–64; Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 3–11.

<sup>214</sup> Banerjee has attempted to provide a contrastive study of Greek and Sanskrit aspectual systems. Unfortunately, he failed on several counts. For example, he confuses aspect with *Aktionsart* and appears to have no distinction between the two categories. More importantly, his comments on the Greek verbal system are almost entirely derived from secondary sources. In addition, there is very little treatment of contrasting the two different systems of aspect. In short, Banerjee contributes nothing to the theory of Greek aspect and, thus, his work deserves no further review here. See Banerjee, *Tense and Aspect*, 23.

<sup>215</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*. McKay published his first article on Greek aspect as early as 1965. See also McKay, “Use,” 1–21.

privative oppositions. He maintains the traditional tense-based terminology mainly for pedagogical reasons and the sake of convenience.<sup>216</sup> He defines aspect in terms of a “category of verb system by means of which an author (or speaker) shows how he views each event or activity he mentions in relations to its context.”<sup>217</sup> McKay sees *Aktionsart* as analogous and not identical to aspect. He thinks that while it is helpful to divide Greek verbs into activity and stative verbs, further divisions are unnecessary and can be misleading because classifications such as Vendler-Kenny’s taxonomy are based on English.<sup>218</sup> McKay identifies four Greek aspects (both classical and Koine):<sup>219</sup>

1. **Imperfective** (present, imperfect): expressing an activity as in process (in progress)
2. **Aorist** (aorist): expressing an activity as a whole action or simple event
3. **Perfect** (perfect, pluperfect, future perfect): expressing the state consequent upon an action
4. **Future** (future): expressing intention and consequently simple futurity<sup>220</sup>

McKay emphasizes that his basic approach is a pragmatic one, and that contextual factors plays the key role in the understanding of Greek aspects. Still, his quadripartite model presents several problems.<sup>221</sup> First, according to McKay, Greek tense-forms do not signal time except “by implication from their relationship to their context.”<sup>222</sup> Yet he often uses temporal references (i.e. present, past, future) to explain the distributional

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<sup>216</sup> McKay, *Greek Grammar*, ix. Others like Voelz, on the other hand, insist that “tense” should be replaced with “stem.” Voelz, “Present,” 156.

<sup>217</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 27.

<sup>218</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 29 n. 1.

<sup>219</sup> McKay, *Grammar*, 136; McKay, *New Syntax*, 8, 27–34; McKay, “On the Perfect,” 290.

<sup>220</sup> McKay, *Grammar*, 140–41.

<sup>221</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, xi.

<sup>222</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 39.

differences, for example, between present and imperfect tense-forms.<sup>223</sup> Second, since he observes that the present, aorist, and imperfect tense-forms can all be interpreted as inceptive (which is essentially an *Aktionsart* category), he is unable to account for the significance in their particular semantic contributions.<sup>224</sup> Third, McKay identifies no aspectual oppositions; as a result, he is unable to differentiate aspectual meanings within each aspect (e.g. perfect and pluperfect tense-forms). Finally, the future tense-form classified as a separate aspect is unconvincing. “Expressing intention” in fact belongs to the category of mood, whereas “futurity” to the category of tense, both of which fall outside of aspect proper. In short, without a powerful linguistic model to serve as a theoretical basis, the application of McKay’s Greek aspect model to Bible translation is rather limited.

#### **b. Stanley Porter**

Stanley Porter’s model of Greek aspect “exploits,” as he says in the introduction of his monograph, a “functional linguistic model of fairly recent provenance, systemic linguistics.”<sup>225</sup> His approach is similar to that of McKay on several points, however, the two are also quite different. Both retain traditional terminology. Another apparent but important similarity is that both reject *Aktionsart* as a main component of aspect. Their classifications of tense-forms according to their corresponding aspects are basically the same, but not identical. One of their major differences is that Porter’s approach lends itself to modern linguistic theories (especially those of the Prague School) to serve as a solid foundation for developing a Greek aspect model far superior to McKay’s.

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<sup>223</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 40, 42.

<sup>224</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 42–47.

<sup>225</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 7.

Porter defines aspect in terms of “a synthetic semantic category (realized in the forms of verbs) used of meaningful oppositions in a network of tense systems to grammaticalize the author’s reasoned subjective choice of conception of a process.”<sup>226</sup> He shares the same convictions with McKay that Greek verbal forms do not convey temporal reference, even in the indicative mood. Porter’s tripartite model of Greek aspect is summarized below:<sup>227</sup>

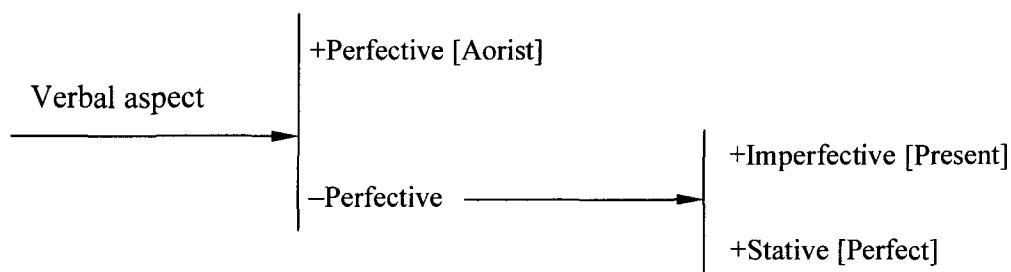


Chart 3.4. Porter’s model of Greek aspect

Some key linguistic theories Porter utilizes include the concept of markedness introduced by the Prague School linguists in order to account for a range of different types of aspectual oppositions and contrasts in Greek tense-forms.<sup>228</sup> According to Porter, the privative oppositions represented by the labels [–remoteness] and [+remoteness] are necessary to differentiate the present and imperfect tense-forms of the imperfective aspect, and perfect and pluperfect tense-forms of the stative aspect, respectively. Following Wallace, Porter believes that the present is primarily used in discourse as the foregrounding tense-form.<sup>229</sup> Since he recognizes the [+stative] to be the most heavily

<sup>226</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 88.

<sup>227</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 90. Among those who adopt Porter’s model include Young in Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, chapters 7–8.

<sup>228</sup> For example, Porter presents several different types of markedness, including material, implicational, distributional, and semantic markedness. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 178–81.

<sup>229</sup> Wallace, “Figure and Ground,” 208, 212; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93; Porter, *Idioms*, 302; Porter, “Date,” 302–12.

marked aspect, the perfect and pluperfect are foregrounding tense-forms, used to mark prominence in Greek discourse.<sup>230</sup> The aorist, on the other hand, is less heavily marked against the tense-forms of the [–perfective] aspects; it is frequently used as means to mark cohesion in narrative discourse.<sup>231</sup>

### c. Rodney Decker

Many have criticized Porter's nontraditional proposal for his apparent excessive reliance on exceptions of verb forms that are inconsistent with their temporal references (e.g. past-referring present tense-form).<sup>232</sup> The problem with this objection is that there are many such "exceptions," for example, as Rodney Decker observes, in 518 total occurrences of aorist indicative forms in Mark, 58 aorists are not used to denote past time.<sup>233</sup> Decker's corpus-based study is devoted to testing Porter's theory by application to Mark. His semantic-pragmatic approach explores various means employed in the Gospel to express temporal locations. Supported by evidence gathered from his analyses on deictic indicators, discourse, and contextual factors, Decker concurs with Porter that the Greek verb does not grammaticalize temporal reference. In his conclusion, however, he hesitates to fully embrace Porter's theory, fearing that such radical change would result in "far-reaching implications" beyond what people might feel comfortable.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 245–51, 292–93; Porter, *Idioms*, 302–05.

<sup>231</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 305. Porter adds that the present tense-form is used to mark cohesion in exposition.

<sup>232</sup> Fanning, "Approaches," 58; Schmidt, "Verbal Aspect," 72; Mateos, "Recensión," 222. McKay has criticized Porter for ignoring or misapplying the contextual evidence. McKay, "Time and Aspect," 210, 225. Caragounis follows Jannaris' diachronic analysis and argues for the existence of tense and aspect in Koine Greek. He repudiates Porter for his disregard of what he thinks to be a critical role of Modern Greek in our understanding of the New Testament Greek aspect. Caragounis, however, does not present his own model of Greek aspect, nor does he appear to have one. See Caragounis, *Development*, 316–36; also 151–81.

<sup>233</sup> Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 94–99, 151.

<sup>234</sup> Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 153.

#### d. T.V. Evans

T.V. Evans published his study on the Greek verbal syntax in the same year as Decker did his.<sup>235</sup> In contrast to any of the above reviewed authors, Evans discusses Greek aspect in relation to “translation technique” of the Septuagint. He sets out to demonstrate that Septuagint syntax does not equate with Hebrew syntax. However, similar to other scholars, Evans treats aspect as “a viewpoint feature, indicating the way in which a speaker or writer views a verbal occurrence with respect to its internal temporal constituency” involving “a binary opposition, grammatically expressed, between perfective and imperfective aspects.”<sup>236</sup> Evans’ model, however, diverges significantly from those of McKay and Porter. According to Evans, Greek realizes five “aspectual tenses” and two “non-aspectual tenses.”<sup>237</sup> The present, perfect, and imperfect tenses denote the imperfective aspect, whereas the aorist and pluperfect express the perfective aspect. The future and future perfect are the only non-aspectual tenses. Evans rejects Porter’s thesis of a purely aspectual interpretation of the Greek verb even in the indicative as “untenable” and argues from a diachronic point of view:<sup>238</sup>

The exceptional patterns of verbal usages which provide the basis for this theory are better taken as fossilized survivals of an older aspectual structure overlaid by the growing importance of temporal reference. The comparatively late appearance of the future tense form and the introduction of the augment are consistent with the notion of rising temporal reference in the indicative.<sup>239</sup>

On the other hand, Evans accepts Porter’s view insofar as the perfect is *grammatically* stative, however, he considers (following Szemerényi) it *aspectually* imperfective.<sup>240</sup> The

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<sup>235</sup> Evans, *Verbal Syntax*.

<sup>236</sup> Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 50.

<sup>237</sup> Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 51.

<sup>238</sup> Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 45–50.

<sup>239</sup> Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 51.

<sup>240</sup> Szemerényi, “Origin,” 10. Cited by Evans in Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 30–31.



perfect has identical aspectual meaning with the present tense; the difference between them is the grammatically expressed stativity of the perfect. Hence, he does not categorize the stative as a separate aspect.

The main thrust of Evans' argument lies in his structural comparison of the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems, not in providing a detailed analysis of Greek verb forms and their aspectual meanings. But even with such comparison there are many flaws in his approach. The most problematic one is that he claims to find consistent matches between Greek and Hebrew verb forms in the Pentateuch simply by overlaying his model of Greek aspect onto traditionally categorized Hebrew verb forms, with little consideration of modern discussions of Hebrew aspect and its related issues.<sup>241</sup> In short, Evans contributes nothing original to our understanding of Hebrew aspect and very little to Greek aspect.

### 3.3.3. Mateos, Fanning, Olsen

#### a. Juan Mateos

Before Porter and Fanning, the first monograph solely devoted to New Testament Greek aspect appeared in 1977 by Juan Mateos. He considers three key components ("factores") of aspect: lexematic, morphematic, and syntagmatic.<sup>242</sup> He intends to show how these three components interact with each other, thereby discovering the aspectual function of the Greek verb. The lexematic component, which corresponds to *Aktionsart* or lexical aspect, divides into four classes: statives, instantatives, continuatives, and resultatives. Mateos follows Vendler-Kenny's taxonomy and uses the binary oppositions between the stative and dynamic verbs to classify New Testament Greek verbs and

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<sup>241</sup> Evans includes no more than 3 pages on Hebrew aspect. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 58–60.

<sup>242</sup> Mateos, *Aspecto Verbal*, 20–27, 30–32. I follow Porter's English translation of the three Spanish terms. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 61.

discuss their aspectual and syntactical meanings. The morphematic part corresponds to grammatical aspect, which he treats with *Aktionsart* categories. For example, the present tense expresses the durative aspect, whereas the aorist the punctual.<sup>243</sup> As Porter has pointed out, Mateos's model of Greek aspect is essentially a version of *Aktionsart*.<sup>244</sup>

### b. Buist Fanning

Buist Fanning published his monograph on New Testament Greek aspect within a year of Porter's. Like Mateos, Fanning follows Vendler-Kenny's classification, but goes much further in his modification of the taxonomy.<sup>245</sup> More importantly, he departs from Mateos by adding grammatical aspect to his model of Greek aspect. His definitions of *Aktionsart* and (grammatical) aspect are very similar to (if not basically in agreement with) Porter's.<sup>246</sup> However, Fanning's model of Greek aspect differs from Porter's in several critical areas; most importantly, their differences are characterized by their methodological approaches.

Fanning posits a two-component theory of Greek aspect similar to the one Smith would later propose, conflating *Aktionsart* with aspect categories. He argues that while aspect is often regarded as a rather subjective category, it is in fact not entirely true. He explains,

[F]ully subjective choices between aspects are not common, since the nature of the action or the procedural character of the verb or verb-phrase can restrict the way an action is viewed by a speaker. In fact, aspect interacts so closely with such features and so significantly affected by them that no analysis of aspect can be fully meaningful without attention to these interactions.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Mateos, *Aspecto*, 30–32.

<sup>244</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 61.

<sup>245</sup> For the purpose of the current study, Fanning's further refinement of Vendler-Kenny taxonomy of verbs (i.e. the additional subcategories of "climaxes" and "punctuals") is not revelent. See Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 126–96.

<sup>246</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 31, 84–85. Porter has pointed out that he and Fanning have "very similar definitions of what verbal aspect is." Porter, "In Defence," 32.

<sup>247</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 85.

Fanning posits two Greek aspects in the New Testament:<sup>248</sup>

1. **Aorist:** presents an occurrence in summary, viewed as a whole from the outside, without regard for the internal make-up of the occurrence
2. **Present:** reflects an internal viewpoint concerning the occurrence which focuses on its development or progress and sees the occurrence in regard to its internal make-up, without beginning or end in view

Fanning stresses the aorist and present aspects as the primary aspectual relationship, and, as a result, the perfect can be omitted since its aspectual value resembles that of the aorist.<sup>249</sup> Likewise, the imperfect has “virtually identical aspect-value” to the present tense-form so it, too, can be omitted from the discussion.<sup>250</sup> He does add that the imperfect also indicates past tense in addition to conveying the progressive aspect. In contrast to Porter, Fanning only specifies equipollent oppositions between the aorist and the present aspects, and explains the differences between tense-forms (i.e. perfect and pluperfect, present and imperfect) according to their temporal references and *Aktionsart* categories. The stative aspect, therefore, is defined by both stative situation (*not* by perfect tense-form according to Porter) and by tense-feature of anteriority.<sup>251</sup>

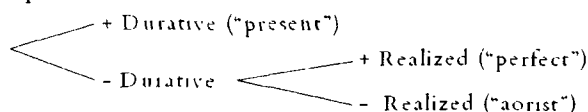
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<sup>248</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 97, 103. The explanations are direct quotations from Fanning; his emphases in italics are taken off.

<sup>249</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 124.

<sup>250</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 241.

<sup>251</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 112–14, 19–20. Fanning follows Friedrich’s interpretation of anteriority in the perfect form. Friedrich, “On Aspect Theory,” S16–19, 36. Friedrich’s analysis of the Greek perfect in turn owes to an earlier study by Kuryłowicz. See Kuryłowicz, *Inflectional Categories*, 90–135. According to Friedrich, the perfect tense-form exists as “equivalent” (which he prefers to equipollent contrast) to the aorist and present tense-forms. Friedrich’s model of Homeric Greek aspect is summarized below:



Fanning also holds views very different from Porter's regarding the roles of Greek aspect in discourse. He rejects the idea that aspect inherently conveys temporal sequence and marks prominence in discourse.<sup>252</sup> Although the two share similar views concerning the future tense, Fanning sees it as a "non-aspectual tense-category" and excludes it from further discussions.<sup>253</sup> Overall, Fanning's model of Greek aspect is too simplified and inadequate, for he relies heavily on *Aktionsart* and traditional Greek grammarians to influence his interpretation of Greek verbs.<sup>254</sup>

### c. Mari Olsen

Following Fanning, Mari Olsen's model of Greek aspect represents the most recent effort to embrace *Aktionsart*. Olsen adopts Smith's two-component theory of viewpoint and situation aspect as the basis for her model of Koine Greek aspect, though she departs from Smith on several significant points.<sup>255</sup> For example, Olsen follows Smith's tripartite grammatical aspect model, that is, imperfective, perfective, neutral (renamed "unmarked") aspects, but argues that English simple forms (past, present, and future) are aspectually unmarked (*contra* Smith).<sup>256</sup> Olsen also weighs pragmatic factors (adopting Grice's Maxims) to determine the aspectual meaning of a verb more heavily than Smith.<sup>257</sup> The

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The imperfect and pluperfect tense-forms are labeled [+past] under [+Durative] and [+Realized] in contrast to [-past] of the present and perfect tense-forms. Friedrich further divides [-Realized] into [±bounded] and three additional subcategories in his hierarchy of Homeric aspect. See Friedrich, "On Aspect," S12, 27, 37.

<sup>252</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 72–77, 85.

<sup>253</sup> Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 122–24.

<sup>254</sup> See, for example, Porter, "In Defence," 39–40; Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 254.

<sup>255</sup> Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 63, 77–81, 167–76. Another author Olsen frequently consults is Comrie.

<sup>256</sup> Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 182–91. Louw, on the other hand, argues that the Greek present is aspectually neutral or unmarked, and a zero tense. Olsen does follow Louw in treating the future as aspectually neutral. Louw, "Verbale Aspek," 25–26; Louw, "Verbal Aspect," 102. Among others who recognize tense in ancient Greek is Lorente Fernandez. She adopts Porter's tripartite aspectual model in her recent corpus-linguistic study of Greek verbal aspect in Isocrates. See Fernandez, *L'aspect verbal*.

<sup>257</sup> H. Paul Grice's maxims of conversation are understood as sort of "agreements" or "terms of communication" that both the speaker and his or her audience respect and hence according to which they

plan of her study closely resembles that of Smith, except she focuses only on English and Greek aspects, and she adds a treatment of tense. Olsen exhibits serious deficiency in her knowledge of non-western languages. It becomes obvious that, for example, all illustrations in Mandarin derive from secondary sources (especially from Smith's). This deficiency will undermine the credibility as well as applicational value of her theory to general studies of aspect.

Olsen's model of Koine Greek tense and (grammatical) aspect is summarized below.<sup>258</sup>

TENSE:	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Unmarked</i>
ASPECT:				
<i>Imperfective</i>	Imperfect			Present
<i>Perfective</i>	Pluperfect	Perfect		Aorist
<i>Unmarked</i>			Future	

Table 3.4. Olsen's Greek indicative mixed tense and aspect system

Olsen has followed Fanning in his interpretation of the perfect and pluperfect tense-forms as signaling the perfective aspect, both of which McKay and Porter consider to be stative aspect, whereas Evans considers the former imperfective and the latter perfective.

According to Olsen, temporal reference is suggested by tense semantically and by implicature pragmatically. She argues for the existence of tense in Greek based on the assumptions of "cancelability" (deriving from the work by Grice), which states that

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"cooperate." "Grice's Maxims," fall under the following four categories: 1. Quantity. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for current purposes of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. 2. Quality. Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. 3. Relation. "Be relevant." 4. Manner. Avoid obscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief. Be orderly. Grice, "Logic and Conversation," 41–58.

<sup>258</sup> Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 202, 44. Olsen's lexical aspect is based on Smith's viewpoint types, with an additional subdivision of temporary state [+telic] to differentiate from state [øtelic] (following Carlson). Carlson, "Unified Analysis," 448. Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 202–19. See also Xiao and McEnery, "Situation," 339–41.

semantic meanings “may not be canceled without contradiction or reinforced without redundancy.”<sup>259</sup> In other words, semantic meanings are uniform and uncanceled, whereas pragmatic meanings are variable and cancelable.<sup>260</sup> The present and aorist forms, therefore, are *unspecified* for tense since their temporal references are expressed pragmatically and, hence, cancelable.<sup>261</sup>

Decker has demonstrated evidence that effectively disproves Olsen’s theory of cancelability. Consider the imperfect form in (34):<sup>262</sup>

(34) ἤθελον δὲ παρῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι (Gal 4:20)

I wish I were present with you now (NRSV).

The imperfect ἤθελον clearly expresses the present time. This interpretation is supported by contextual information and temporal deictic ἄρτι.<sup>263</sup> Similarly, the perfect can also denote future reference (e.g. Jas 5:1–3).<sup>264</sup> Olsen’s claim, therefore, about Greek tense according to her theory of cancelability will not hold true. The other objections to Olsen’s mixed tense and aspect model have to do with the fact that she does not consider non-indicative moods.

<sup>259</sup> Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 219. See Grice, “Logic and Conversation,” 41–58.

<sup>260</sup> Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 219–20.

<sup>261</sup> Hewson and Duhoux both argue similarly for a co-existence of aspect and tense in ancient Greek. Hewson shares the same view with Olsen concerning the difference between the aorist and present as purely aspectual, but his Greek aspect model differs significantly from Olsen’s. He posits a tripartite aspect model of Greek similar to Porter’s but instead of stative aspect, he calls it the retrospective aspect. His “aspecto-temporal” system divides the indicative tense-forms into past (imperfect, aorist, pluperfect) and non-past (present, future, perfect). The key difference in Hewson’s model is that he recognizes the future form as “non-past perfective” aspect. See Hewson, “Verbal System,” 28–29. Duhoux, on the other hand, recognizes the present as present tense, aorist as past tense, and perfect as past and present tense. See Duhoux, *verbe*, §§124–30. Duhoux’s Greek aspect model includes four aspects: progressive (imperfect), punctual (aorist), stative (perfect, future perfect, pluperfect), and neutral (present and future).

<sup>262</sup> Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 46.

<sup>263</sup> Paul is describing not a past but rather present desire, as πάλιν in the previous verse indicates.

<sup>264</sup> Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 48.

### **3.3.4. Methodology and Procedures: An Outline of Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek**

#### **3.3.4.1. Introduction**

This section provides an outline of Greek aspect that is adopted as the principal methodology, along with Mandarin aspect outlined in 3.2.5, to be implemented in the discussions of translating New Testament Greek verb forms into Mandarin Chinese in the following chapters. Greek illustrations are primarily simple sentences in the active indicative mood from the New Testament that best describe the aspectual meaning of the verb. Special verbs (e.g. οἶδα and γινώσκω), complex sentences (e.g. conditional sentences) and especially those in the non-indicative moods or passive/middle voice, along with temporal locations and discourse considerations will receive full treatment in the following chapters.

#### **a. Binary Oppositions**

The Greek aspectual system closely resembles the Mandarin aspectual system, though the two are not identical. Greek realizes three aspects, which divide into three sets of binary oppositions. The first two sets are equipollent oppositions: the first set is represented by [+perfective] and [−perfective]; the second set divides the [−perfective] into [+imperfective] and [+stative]. The third set exists as parallel to the first equipollent oppositions. It is a privative opposition represented by [+remote] and [−remote]. Table 3.5 summarizes the Greek tense-forms and their aspectual realizations. The proposed tripartite model of Greek aspect follows that of Porter, as Chart 3.5 and Table 3.5 illustrate:

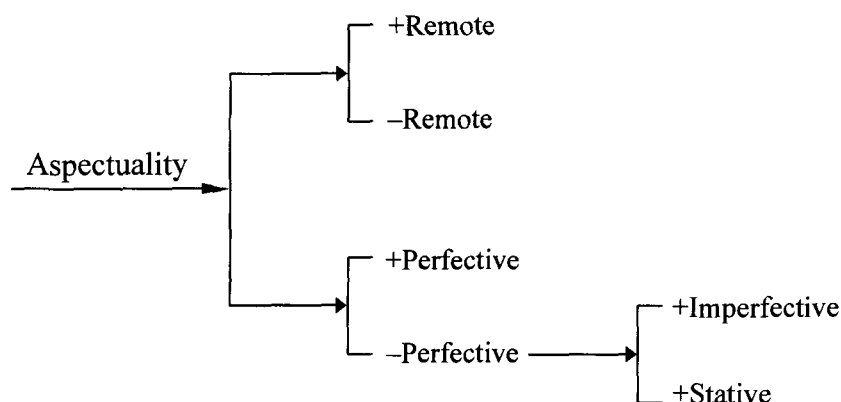


Chart 3.5. Greek aspect

	+Perfective	-Perfective	
		+Imperfective	+Stative
+Remote	Aorist	Imperfect	Pluperfect
-Remote		Present	Perfect

Table 3.5. Greek tense-forms and their aspectual realizations

### b. Markedness and Grounding

The current dissertation follows Porter in his application of the markedness theory to New Testament Greek aspect, especially the categorization of tense-forms according to grounding and discourse functions.<sup>265</sup> The aorist is the least heavily marked tense-form and, thus, it is used as the backgrounding device in discourse. Foregrounded prominence in Greek discourse is achieved by the more marked present and imperfect tense-forms. The perfect and pluperfect are the most marked tense-forms, and both are used to contribute foregrounded prominence in discourse. Table 3.6 illustrates the five Greek tense-forms arranged in order from least to most marked.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93; Porter, *Idioms*, 22–23, 302–03; Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*.

<sup>266</sup> A similar table is presented in Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 57.



Aorist	Unmarked
Imperfect	↓
Present	↓
Perfect	↓
Pluperfect	Marked

Table 3.6. Markedness and Greek aspect

### 3.3.4.2. Perfective Aspect: The Aorist Tense-form

Greek realizes a perfective aspect in the form of the aorist, as (35) illustrates:

(35) ἔδάκρυσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. (John 11:35)

Jesus wept (e.g. KJV, NAB, ESV, NIV, NLT).

The perfective aspect focuses on the event as a complete whole, without specifying any internal stage or process.<sup>267</sup> It is used in past, present, and future time, or omnitemporal (gnomic) references. The aorist in its regular form is normally augmented by an ε, but only in the indicative mood.

(36) ἐσίγησεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἤκουον Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου (Acts 15:12)

And all the assembly fell silent, and they listened to Barnabas and Paul (ESV).

McKay interprets ἐσίγησεν in (36) as inceptive or ingressive (“became silent”).<sup>268</sup> This reading of the aorist is not adopted here since the inceptiveness or ingressiveness belongs to the *Aktionsart* category. Some English translations (e.g. KJV, NASB, NRSV) render ἐσίγησεν as “kept silence,” which reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek verb.

Likewise, some render ἔδάκρυσεν in (35) as ingressive (“Jesus began to cry,” e.g. NRSV, CEV).<sup>269</sup> It, too, should be rejected here.

<sup>267</sup> See, for example, Moulton, *Introduction*, 123.

<sup>268</sup> McKay, *New Syntax*, 46.

<sup>269</sup> The CEV has “Jesus started crying.” See also, for example, Robertson, *Grammar*, 834.

### 3.3.4.3. Imperfective and Stative Aspects

#### a. Present and Imperfect Tense-Forms

##### α. Present Tense-Form

The present tense-form expresses the immediate ([–remote]) imperfective aspect, whereas the imperfect tense-form conveys the remote ([+remote]) imperfective aspect. Both tense-forms focus on the event as progressive, with their internal stage or process clearly specified. The present tense-form is used in past, present, and future time, timeless, or omnitemporal (gnomic) references. It does not have an augment. (37a–b) illustrate:

(37) (a) οὐκ ἔχω ἄνδρα. (John 4:17)

I do not have a husband.

(b) Ἡλίας μὲν ἔρχεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα. (Matt 17:11)

“Elijah is indeed coming and will restore all things.” (NRSV)

##### β. Imperfect Tense-Form

The present form ἔρχεται in (37b) stresses the immediacy of the imperfective aspect, or better, futurity. The imperfective, on the other hand, is limited to past or non-past (conative) uses, as illustrated in (38a–b).<sup>270</sup> The imperfective tense-form is normally augmented by an ε.

(38) (a) οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι. (Mark 9:32)

But they did not understand the saying, and were afraid to ask him (ESV).

<sup>270</sup> Porter has noted that the imperfective is “the closest that the Greek language comes to a form actually related to time.” Porter, *Idioms*, 33–34.

(b) νῦν ἐζήτουν σε λιθάσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (John 11:8)

The Jews are now seeking to stone you.<sup>271</sup>

#### **b. Perfect and Pluperfect Tense-Forms**

The perfect tense-form expresses the immediate ([–remote]) stative aspect whereas the pluperfect tense-form conveys the remote ([+remote]) stative aspect. Like the Mandarin aspect marker *-zhe*, both tense-forms denote that an event has entered a stable condition. The perfect tense-form is used in past, present, future time, omnitemporal (gnomic), and timeless references, whereas the pluperfect has more restricted use in past-time references.<sup>272</sup> The perfect and pluperfect in their regular form have the reduplication of the first syllable in front of the verb. (39a–b) illustrate:

(39) (a) γέγραπται γάρ· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις (Matt 4:10)

For it is written, “You shall worship the Lord your God” (ESV)

(b) ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν (Mark 1:34)

They knew him.

#### **3.3.4.4. The Future Tense-Form**

The future tense-form is not treated as an independent aspect nor is it included in current models of Greek aspect. As ἔρχεται in (37b) illustrates, the present form (as well as aorist and perfect) can express futurity. The interpretation of the future tense-form will follow Porter’s suggestion of expressing expectation.<sup>273</sup> The future tense-form is treated under the future conditional in 5.4.6.

<sup>271</sup> Example and translation are from Porter. Porter, *Idioms*, 35. Eugene Peterson has “The Jews are out to kill you.” Peterson, *Message*.

<sup>272</sup> Porter has noted several non-past-referring examples (e.g. Matt 24:43). Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 288.

<sup>273</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 414, 438.

### **3.3.5. Conclusion**

This section (3.3) contains critical reviews of seven monographs on the study of Greek aspect. The methodology outlined in 3.3.4 will be used to interpret New Testament Greek aspect for the purpose of translating it into Mandarin.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

The aim of the current chapter is two-fold: first, to offer critical reviews of previous studies on Mandarin and Greek aspects; second, to provide an outline of a methodology for approaching each of the aspectual systems. In the next two chapters, all three Greek aspects will receive detailed analyses followed by discussions on how they may be translated into Mandarin aspects.

## CHAPTER 4 TRANSLATING THE GREEK PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, AND STATIVE ASPECTS IN THE INDICATIVE MOOD INTO MANDARIN

### 4.0. Introduction

#### 4.0.1. Greek Grammatical References in Chinese

Grammatical references of New Testament Greek first became available in Mandarin in 1917, when the American missionary John Leighton Stuart (APMB) translated Huddilston's *The Essentials of New Testament Greek*.<sup>1</sup> Basing his translation on nineteenth century European comparative philology, Stuart merely outlined Greek grammar; nevertheless, his objective to train native Christian preachers in China was unprecedented. Stuart is also credited with his innovation in coining several Greek grammatical terminologies in Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

The current selection of Greek grammars available in Mandarin is limited mostly to translations of beginner-level English titles. Commonly adopted as textbooks in Christian seminaries (Catholic and Protestant) in Hong Kong and Taiwan, they include beginning

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart, *Essentials*, 260–65. See Huddilston, *Essentials*. Stuart (1876–1962) taught Greek at Nanking Theological Seminary before being appointed president of Yenching University in 1919. He later became the first U.S. ambassador to China (1946–49). Stuart, *Fifty Years in China*, 40–42, 160–76. Stuart also published a Greek-Chinese-English lexicon. For over fifty years his lexicon remained the standard and only available Greek-Chinese lexicon. Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*. Stuart's former student at Nanking Theological Seminary, Zhu Baohui, had thoroughly revised Sydenstricker's translation (SYD, 1929) of the New Testament from Greek to Mandarin (ZHU, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> For example, the names of several cases (*zhǔgé* 主格, “nominative,” *shǔgé* 屬格 “genitive,” *hūgé* 呼格, “vocative”) and grammatical categories (*wèiyǔ zhī wèi* 謂語之位 for the predicate position, *xíngróng zhī wèi* 形容之位 for the attribute position, *jīwùdòngzì* 及物動字 for the transitive verb) are still in use today. Other terms are obsolete: e.g. the names of Greek moods (*qíngtǐ* 情體: *zhǐshí* 指實 for the indicative, *xuánnǐ* 懸擬 for the subjunctive, *qīwàng* 期望 for the optative, *shǐlìng* 使令 for the imperative, *jiānmíng* 兼名 for the infinitive, *jiānzhuàng* 兼狀 for the participle) and tenses (*shíttǐ* 時體: *yǐwǎng* 已往 for the aorist, *jīnhéng* 今恆 for the present, *xīhéng* 昔恆 for the imperfect, *jīnchéng* 今成 for the perfect, *xīchéng* 昔成 for the pluperfect, *jiānglái* 將來 for the future). See also Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, xii. Some of Stuart's renderings of certain categories, e.g. *dòngzì* 動字 for verb and *zhuàngzì* 狀字 for adjective, are clear indications of direct influences by the works of Morrison, Gützlaff, and Ma. See Morrison, *Grammar*; Gützlaff, *Notices*; Ma 馬建忠, *Grammar*.

Greek grammars by Machen and Mounce, and an intermediate grammar by Greenlee.<sup>3</sup> While there have been a few Greek grammars by native speakers in recent decades (e.g. Wong), not only do they lack originality, these new titles continue to treat Greek and Chinese in terms of tense-based categories and *Aktionsart*.<sup>4</sup> Hence, they offer little insight into either our understanding of Greek verbal syntax and semantics or the practice of Chinese Bible translation. A comparative or contrastive study on verbal aspect in ancient Greek and Mandarin Chinese simply does not exist in any language.

#### 4.0.2. Nishiwaki's Comparative Phonological Study

The only linguistic study available to connect Greek and Chinese is Nishiwaki Junzaburo's *Notes on Comparative Studies of Greek and Chinese*.<sup>5</sup> Although Nishiwaki's thesis may appear unfounded, his work is nevertheless unprecedented and, thus, deserves special notice here.<sup>6</sup> In this volume, Nishiwaki seeks to discover a missing link between Chinese and Western civilizations. He argues that such a connection could possibly be established by means of comparative phonology between Greek and Chinese. After examining over two thousand selected Greek and Chinese words, Nishiwaki concludes that ancient Chinese and Indo-European languages do unmistakably share a common root.

The current scope of this study does not warrant a full review of Nishiwaki's analysis, however, one example can illustrate Nishiwaki's basic approach. For the Chinese verb *jìng* 敬 ("respect"), he first gives the Japanese readings *kei* ケイ and *kyau* キャウ, along with the Mandarin reading *ching*, followed by three Greek words αἰσχύω

<sup>3</sup> Greenlee, *Gao ji xin yue Xi la wen*; Machen, *Xin yue Xi la wen*; Mounce, *Sheng jing Xi la wen ji chu*.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Wong, *Complete Guide*; Wong, *Introduction*; Wang 汪敬仁, *Beginning Greek*; Xu 許宏度, *Grammar*.

<sup>5</sup> Nishiwaki, *Notes*.

<sup>6</sup> To my knowledge, Nishiwaki's *Notes* has never been reviewed.

[kūn→tūn→tin→ching] (or the alternative [kūn→kōn→kō→kē→kei]), τιμάω [tīn→tīn→ching], and αἰσχύνη [kūn→kūn→kōn→kō→kē→kei] (or the alternative [kūn→tūn→tin→ching]).<sup>7</sup> According to Nishiwaki, the underlined syllables in these three Greek verbs correspond closely to the ancient readings of the same Chinese verb, thereby establishing a link between the two languages. The various pronunciations, each followed by an arrow in square brackets, supposedly illustrate the pronunciation of 敬 in different periods of history.<sup>8</sup> Throughout Nishiwaki's work, these pronunciations are based on the assumption that ancient pronunciations of Chinese characters are largely preserved in Japanese.<sup>9</sup> The accuracy of ancient Chinese readings given by Nishiwaki is highly questionable; therefore, the phonetic connection between Greek and Chinese still cannot be established. However, it is true that it is more than just mere coincidence that a few historically documented Chinese and Greek words exhibit great phonetic affinity. These words include *xīguā* 西瓜 ("watermelon") [ˌsiei ˌkaʷa]<sup>10</sup> from σικύα/σίκυος, *luóbo* 蘿蔔 ("turnip") [ˌlâ bʰuək] from ῥάφη, and *pútáo* 葡萄 ("grapes") [ˌbʰuo ˌdʰau] from βότρυς.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Nishiwaki, *Notes*, 156. Compare Karlgren, who gives the reading [kʲengʷ]. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> Nishiwaki uses an endash [–] to separate different conjectured archaic Chinese pronunciations in the square bracket. Here, in order to make his intention clear, an arrow [→] is used instead.

<sup>9</sup> This is a common assumption held by many Japanese scholars, including P.Y. Saeki.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Nishiwaki, who provides an alternative term, *húguā* 胡瓜 [kuo→ko] [ko→kuo→kua] for σίκυος/σίκυος. See Nishiwaki, *Notes*, 193.

<sup>11</sup> The readings in square brackets are from Karlgren. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v. According to the Chinese Chronicles (*Shiji* 《史記》) grapes were introduced to China from Feghana together with fine horses from Arabia in 91 B.C.E. (*Pútáo yǔ liángmǎ yǒu zì yǎlābó shūrù Zhōngguó zhě* 葡萄與良馬有自亞喇伯輸入中國者). See Watters, *Essays*, 332; Saeki, *Nestorian Monument*, 45; Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, iii, ix.

### 4.0.3. Use of Temporal Categories

The plan of the current chapter generally follows Porter's treatment of the five major Greek tense-forms (i.e. aorist, present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect) in *Idioms*.<sup>12</sup> Two considerations justify the use of temporal categories. First, temporal categories are adopted because English—a non-aspectual, tense-based language—is used as the intermediate language to discuss verbal aspect in Mandarin and Greek. Furthermore, as English-speakers are the target audience of this dissertation, using grammatical categories that also apply to English will enable them to grasp the arguments of the proposed theory more easily. Second, both Mandarin and Greek verbs have traditionally been treated according to tense-based categories. By relating aspect to time, readers who are not familiar with verbal aspect in either language will be in a better position to engage the subject.

### 4.0.4. Use of Wenli Versions

Wenli versions of the Chinese Bible are utilized in the illustrated examples as well as throughout this dissertation primarily because of their close relation to and great influence upon Mandarin versions.<sup>13</sup> As already pointed out in 3.1.5.4 and 3.2.5.2.b above, RVCs—and to a lesser extent, IDVCs—are employed grammatically in classical Chinese as aspect morphemes in the same way they are used in Mandarin. Also, the use of wenli versions is justified because they address pertinent issues in Chinese Bible translation, including those pertaining to lexical, phonological, formal, and functional translation.

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<sup>12</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 28–42.

<sup>13</sup> See also 2.1.4.6, p. 26 above.



#### **4.0.5. Conclusion**

The goal of this chapter is to formulate a system of consistent rendering of Greek tense-forms in the indicative mood with Mandarin aspect morphemes. The chief emphasis of analysis will be on translating the tense-forms according to the three aspect categories (perfective, imperfect, stative)—with special attention to discourse considerations—rather than on representing their temporal values (past, present, future). Following the conventional treatment of Greek verbs, five tense-forms in the indicative are investigated here: the aorist, present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect. The future form is not treated until the next chapter under conditional clauses because it is concerned more with mood than with aspect. In order to contrast the aspect systems of Greek and Mandarin, examples taken from more than sixty Chinese versions (both wenli and Mandarin) are critically examined and serve as a starting point to illustrate how the various uses of the Greek aspect in the indicative are translated into Mandarin.

### **4.1. The Perfective Aspect in the Indicative Mood**

#### **4.1.1. Introduction**

In both New Testament Greek and Mandarin, the perfective aspect views an event as a complete whole, without focusing on its internal constituents. The Greek perfective aspect offers only one choice of tense-form. The Mandarin perfective aspect, on the other hand, is realized by four morphologically expressed (single) morphemes and one morphologically unmarked form, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as shown in Table 4.1:

Greek [+Perfective]	Mandarin [+Perfective]
Aorist	Single aspect morpheme: <i>-le</i> , <i>-guò</i> , RVCs, verb reduplication, $\emptyset$ Two-morpheme aspect compounds: RVC- <i>le</i> , <i>-guò-le</i> , RVC- <i>guò</i> , <i>-le</i> -RVC, V- <i>le</i> -V

Table 4.1. The Greek perfective aorist and its corresponding  
Mandarin perfective morphemes

#### 4.1.2. Past-Referring Aorist Indicative

The Greek aorist is less heavily marked than other tense-forms (e.g. imperfect, perfect).<sup>14</sup> The aorist indicative form used in past reference is frequently rendered in Mandarin by the perfective marker *-le*, as (1e) illustrates:<sup>15</sup>

(1) ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. (John 11:35)

(a) 耶穌哭了。 (e.g. UV, NCV, CRV, WANG)

Yēsu kǔ-le.

Jesus wept.

(b) 耶穌流淚了。 (SB, CSB)

Yēsu liúlèi le.

<sup>14</sup> For a statistical analysis of the distribution of Greek tense-forms in different moods used by Greek authors in classical and Hellenistic periods, see Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, §§351–457.

<sup>15</sup> Some Greek grammarians use labels such as “historical,” “constative” (“complexive”), “narrative,” or “ingressive” (“inceptive”) aorist. These terms are defined in terms of *Aktionsart* of the Greek verb and, therefore, will not be adopted here. See Burton, *Syntax*, §§38–40; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 115–18; Robertson, *Grammar*, 835–36; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 141–143; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 75–77; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 255–61; McKay, *New Syntax*, 46–47; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 28. Beet posits that the Greek aorist is an “unlimited” or “a matter-of-fact” past tense, therefore, it closely resembles the English preterit. Beet, “Greek Aorist,” 191–201, 296–308, 372–85. The aorist tense-form is also frequently described according to its *Aktionsart* by traditional grammarians as “punctiliar.” See Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 109–11, 129–31; Robertson, *Grammar*, 831–64; Dubrovina, “Об одном типе употребления древнегреческого аориста,” 86–88; BDF, §318; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, §§122–23, 337–38. *Contra* Stagg, “Abused Aorist,” 222–31; Smith, “Errant Aorist Interpreters,” 205–26.

Jesus shed tears.

(c) 耶穌流淚哭了。(LÜ)

Yēsū **liúlèi kū** *le*.

Jesus shed tears and cried.

(d) 耶穌流下淚來。(CPB)

Yēsū **liú-xià lèi-lái**.

Jesus shed tears.

(e) 耶穌流了淚。

Yēsū **liú-le lèi**.

Jesus wept.

(f) 耶穌哭盡眼淚。

Yēsū **kū-jìn yǎnlèi**.

Jesus wept until his tears ran dry.

(g) 耶穌哭盡了眼淚。

Yēsū **kū-jìn-le yǎnlèi**.

Jesus wept until his tears ran dry.

The two less frequently used Mandarin perfective morphemes, *-guò* and verb reduplication, cannot substitute for *-le* because the expressions *liú-guò lèi* and *kū-kū* are unacceptable in this context.<sup>16</sup> Note that the DVC *xiàlái* in (1d) is not used to express the imperfective aspect, but rather to indicate the downward motion of the tears.

<sup>16</sup> Armstrong posits the hypothesis that the classical Greek aorist is the “tense of countable action” and of “event predication.” He follows the traditional binary oppositions between the perfective and imperfective, but treats only their realizations in the aorist and present stems. His hypothesis is rejected here because he conflates Greek aspect with *Aktionsart*, and because the reduplication of verbs in Mandarin cannot be used to render all occurrences of the Greek aorist tense-form. See Armstrong, “Ancient Greek Aorist,” 1–12.

### a. Discourse Function of *-le*

It should be noted that the *le* in (1a–c) are modal particles, and therefore do not express the perfective aspect.<sup>17</sup> RVCs, such as *jìn* (“exhaust”), also reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek, therefore, they may be used interchangeably with the perfective aspect marker *-le*, as (1e–f) illustrate. The difference between the two morphemes is that *-le* serves as a foregrounding device in spoken and written discourse when coupled with RVCs (or *-guò*) to form a two-morpheme aspect compound. (1g) illustrates that the two-morpheme aspect compound *jìn-le* is used to build foregrounded prominence. In this context, however, two-morpheme aspect compounds are not preferable, since the aorist tense-form ἑδάκρυσεν is not used to add any prominence to the discourse.

### b. The Aorist Tense-Form and the Mandarin Perfective Morphemes

The aorist indicative tense-form may be translated by the perfective aspect marker *-guò* in Mandarin. (2a) illustrates:

(2) πάντες γὰρ ἔσχον αὐτήν (Matt 22:28)

(a) 因為他們都娶過她。 (NCV, LÜ, UV, WANG, SB, CRV)

Yīnwèi tāmen dōu **qǔ-guò** tā.

Because they all had married her.

(b) 因為七兄弟都跟她結婚了。 (CLB)

Yīnwèi qīxiōngdì dōu gēn tā **jiéhūn** le.

Because seven brothers were all married to her.

(c) 因為七兄弟都跟她結了婚了。 (FOLEY)

<sup>17</sup> The modal particle *le* is equivalent to the classical *yān*, e.g. as in *Yēsū qì yān* 耶穌泣焉 (WV).

Yīnwèi qīxiōngdì dōu gēn tā **jié-le hūn** le.

Because seven brothers were all married to her.

The expression ἔσχον αὐτήν is understood as “had her” in the sense of having had a close relationship with her, in this case, as a wife.<sup>18</sup> The majority of Mandarin versions (2a) use the perfective morpheme *-guò*, which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in the CLB (2b), because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by ἔσχον.<sup>19</sup> Here, *-guò* and the aspect marker *-le* may be used interchangeably. *Jiéhūn le* in (2b) could be rephrased as *jié-le hūn le*, in which the addition of the aspect marker *-le* expresses the perfective aspect, as (2c) illustrates.

The aspect marker *-guò* is frequently used in negative sentences signaled by particles such as *méiyǒu* (“have not”), *méi* (“not [yet]”), or *wèi* (“not yet”). Since the perfective marker *-le* generally does not occur in negative sentences or clauses, any one of the three perfective morphemes—the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, RVCs, *-guò*—can be used in its place.<sup>20</sup>

Consider the following examples (English translation is provided below):

(3) ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν (1 Cor 2:9)

(a) 上帝給愛他的人所豫備的、是眼睛沒有看見過、耳朵沒有聽見過、人心沒有思想過的。(LÜ)

Shàngdì gěi ài tā de rén suǒ **yùbèi** de, shì yǎnjīng méiyǒu **kàn-jiàn-guò**,

ěrdùo méiyǒu **tīng-jiàn-guò**, rénxīn méiyǒu **sīxiǎng-guò** de.

<sup>18</sup> BDAG, s.v. Many English versions (e.g. NRSV, NIV, NAB) support this reading of ἔσχον αὐτήν.

<sup>19</sup> Gildersleeve calls this use of the aorist an “empirical aorist.” Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §259. Burton calls it the “English perfect of experience.” Burton, *Syntax*, §46. For a dissenting opinion, see, for example, Robertson, *Grammar*, 843–44.

<sup>20</sup> Wang 王士元, “Two Aspect Markers,” 457–70; L. Mangione and Li, “Compositional Analysis,” 65–122.

(b) 天主爲愛他的人所準備的，是眼所未見，耳所未聞，心所未想到的。

(SB; UV, CLB, CPB)<sup>21</sup>

Tiānzhǔ wèi ài tā de rén suǒ **zhǔnbèi** de, shì yǎn suǒ wèi **jiàn**, ěr suǒ wèi **wén**,  
xīn suǒ wèi **xiǎng-dào** de.

(c) 神爲愛他的人所預備好的，是眼睛沒有見過、耳朵沒有聽過，心頭沒

有想到的。(FOLEY)

Shén wèi ài tā de rén suǒ **yùbèi-hǎo** de, shì yǎnjīng méiyǒu **jiàn-guò**,

ěrdúo méiyǒu **tīng-guò**, xīntóu méiyǒu **xiǎng-dào** de.

(3a–b) render the aorist form in the subordinate clause ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς with the  $\emptyset$  morphemes *yùbèi* (“arrange beforehand”) and *zhǔnbèi* (“prepare”), which are acceptable, but not preferable to the RVC *hǎo* (“ready,” “well,” “finished”) in (3c), which morphologically conveys the perfective aspect of the aorist. As for εἶδεν and ἤκουσεν, LÜ uses *-guò* and the RVC *jiàn* (“see”) for the verbs *kàn* (“see”; *kàn-jiàn*, “have seen”) and *tīng* (“hear”; *tīng-jiàn*, “have heard”), whereas (3b) uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both verbs. The combination of *-guò* and RVC is not preferable here, since it marks the foregrounded prominence that is uncalled for in the Greek. As for ἀνέβη, LÜ in (3a) uses *-guò*, whereas several Mandarin versions (e.g. SB, UV, CLB, TCV, NCV) prefer the RVC *dào* (“arrive”) for the verbs *sīxiǎng* (“consider,” “think”) and *xiǎng* (“think”).<sup>22</sup> *Xiǎng-dào* is a better translation of ἐπὶ καρδίαν...ἀνέβη because the context of the passage (1 Cor 2:6–16) suggests that the emphasis is on the fact that people have not yet

<sup>21</sup> The CPB uses the verb *liào* 料 (“expect”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme instead of *xiǎng-dào*.

<sup>22</sup> The BDAG identifies ἀνέβη as a Semitic expression (= לָבַא עַל הַלֵּב) that often appears with ἐπὶ καρδίαν, meaning “entering one’s mind.” Other examples are also noted (Isa 65:16, Luke 24:38). See BDAG, s.v. Compare Louw and Nida, who have “what no one ever thought could happen.” Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, vol. 1, 352.

truly comprehended God's wisdom (v. 8), not that they lack such experience.<sup>23</sup> In summary, (3c) presents a better translation of the aorist tense-forms in 1 Cor 2:9: "What God has prepared for those he loves, is what eyes have not seen, ears have not heard, and hearts have not yet arrived at full comprehension."

#### 4.1.3. Non Past-Referring Aorist Indicative

The examples in (1)–(3) above illustrate the most frequent past-referring uses of the aorist indicative in the Greek New Testament. The Greek aorist tense-form is also commonly used to refer to non past action. As Péristerakis observes, the non past-referring use of the aorist has been frequently attested in classical Greek writings.<sup>24</sup> Although Greek verbs do not grammaticalize temporal reference, they often occur in situations where temporal location is specified by pragmatic and contextual factors. For example, ἐδάκρυσεν in (1) refers to an event that takes place in the past as it is conveyed by the sequence of events in the narration.

##### 4.1.3.1. Present-Referring Aorist

The aorist can be used in an event that takes place in the present time, as (4) illustrates.<sup>25</sup> The present use of the aorist is referred to by some grammarians as "dramatic aorist," which always occurs in the first person singular. Burton, for example, points out that the dramatic aorist has the effect of conveying "greater vividness than is

<sup>23</sup> Hence, Louw and Nida include the definition "begin to think about something" for ἀναβαίνω. Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 352.

<sup>24</sup> See Péristerakis, *Essai*. Péristerakis posits a non-temporal (*intemporel*) use of the ancient Greek aorist on the basis of three considerations: context, synonymous expressions, and verbal aspect. The weakness of his theory, as Porter points out, lies in his explanation of the different aspects that the aorist and present express (i.e. accomplishment vs. process in evolution). A detailed and critical review of Péristerakis has already been done by Porter and, therefore, need not be repeated here. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 211–16.

<sup>25</sup> Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1937; Porter, *Idioms*, 36–37.

given by the more usual Present.”<sup>26</sup> However, this assertion must be dismissed, since the aorist tense-form is construed as less heavily marked, unless emphasis is added syntactically (e.g. the repetition of the exact verb form).<sup>27</sup> (4) illustrates:

(4) νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν (Rom 5:11)

(a) 我們 . . . 得 . . . 和好 (UV, PK)<sup>28</sup>

Wömen...*dé*...**héhǎo**.

We may reconcile.

(b) 我們已經得以 . . . 和好 (TCV)

Wömen *yǐjīng déyǐ*...**héhǎo**.

We may have already reconciled.

(c) 我們 . . . 和好 (WANG)

Wömen...**héhǎo**.

We reconcile.

(d) 我們現在已經 . . . 復和 (NCV, JOHNM)<sup>29</sup>

Wömen *xiànzài yǐjīng*...**fùhé**.

<sup>26</sup> Burton, *Syntax*, §45. Similarly, Smyth adds that the dramatic aorist is used “in the dialogue part of tragedy and comedy to denote a state of mind or an act expressing a state of mind (especially approval or disapproval) occurring to the speaker in the moment just passed.” Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1937. See also Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, vol. 1, 163–65; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §60; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 281–82; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 198–200; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 28–29; Black, *Intermediate Greek*, 105. Compare Cooper and Krüger, who argue that the “past time reference of the aorist indicative is strictly maintained.” See Cooper and Krüger, *Greek Syntax*, vol. 3, 2379–80. Ruipérez, however, describes the dramatic aorist and the present in terms of neutralization of the two tense-forms in the indicative in which the privative oppositions between the two aspects (i.e. durativeness or momentariness) and temporal values (past and present) no longer exist. Ruipérez, “Neutralization,” 241–52; Ruipérez, *Estructura*, 72. Ruipérez’s hypothesis is unconvincing since his argument is largely based on *Aktionsart*, and, as Porter points out, his reliance on semantic transformation and non-transformation distinctions is problematic. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 43.

<sup>27</sup> See the commentary on σταύρωσον σταύρωσον (John 19:6) in chapter 6 below.

<sup>28</sup> PK has *xiānghé* 相和 (“reconciliation”) instead of *héhǎo*.

<sup>29</sup> JOHNM uses *rújīn* 如今 (“today”) instead of *xiànzài*.



We have now already reconciled.

(e) 我們現今 . . . 獲得了和好 (SB, LÜ)<sup>30</sup>

Wǒmen *xiànjīn*...**huòdé-le** héhǎo.

We have now achieved reconciliation.

(f) 我們現在 . . . 和好了 (CSB)

Wǒmen *xiànzài*...**héhǎo-le**.

We now have reconciled.

The aorist tense-form is translated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (4a–d), and by *-le* in (4–f).

The perfective aspect marker *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by aorist in Greek. The temporal deixis *vũv* clearly indicates the present time, and should be translated into Mandarin by the adverb *xiànzài* (“now”) or *xiànjīn* (“now,” “today”), as in examples (4d–f). The auxiliary verb *dé/déyǐ* used in (4a–b) is not suitable here because it conveys contingency that does not reflect the indicative mood in Greek. (4b) and (4d) add the temporal deictic indicator *yǐjīng* (“already”), which is not preferable because the aorist is not grammaticalized to express past-time reference. In summary, the present-referring aorist may be translated by the perfective aspect marker *-le* with the temporal deixis that indicates the present time, as (e–f) illustrate.

#### 4.1.3.2. Epistolary Aorist

A classic example of the epistolary aorist is from the passage in 1 John 2:12–14. Here, John repeats the verb “I write” three times both in the present (γράφω) as well as in the aorist (ἔγραψα). Several grammarians (especially those comparing it with Latin) explain

<sup>30</sup> LÜ has *wǒmen rújīn língshòu-le fùhé le* 我們如今領受了復和了 (“now we received reconciliation”).

the use of epistolary aorist by identifying the shift in viewpoint from the author to the audience, that is, the author now looks at the letter from the audience's perspective (i.e. already written in the past).<sup>31</sup> In fact, the epistolary aorist is better understood, as Porter argues, in terms of discourse. All three aorist tenses refer to the whole, simple undifferentiated process of letter writing.<sup>32</sup> “Rather than using the more heavily marked Present to re-introduce his repeated assertions,” Porter explains, “the author uses the less heavily marked Aorist in the second set so as not to detract emphasis from the message itself.”<sup>33</sup>

Expressing the nuances of the shift from γράφω to ἔγραψα is as difficult for Chinese translators as it is for Greek grammarians and English translators. Mandarin versions generally render the present and aorist tenses into the equivalent Mandarin aspect morphemes using one of three options. These three options all render the three present tense-forms with the same *ø* morpheme, however, each offers a different way to render the aorist. The first option reflects the influence of the literal translation of the KJV (“I write” vs. “I have written”), that is, using the *ø* morpheme for the verb *xiěxìn* 寫信 (“write a letter”) to render γράφω, and adding deictic indicators *céng* (“ever”), *yǐ* (“already”), or *gāng* (“just now”) to the front of *xiěxìn* (hence, “have written”) for ἔγραψα in order to indicate past-time reference. This choice is by far the most frequently adopted by translators of Chinese versions, both in wenli and in Mandarin (e.g. JOHNM,

<sup>31</sup> Winer, *Treatise*, 347–48; Green, *Handbook*, 304; Burton, *Syntax*, §44; Robertson, *Grammar*, 845–46; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 143–44; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §95; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1942; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 12; Mandilaras, *Studies*, 44; Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1, 667.

<sup>32</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 228–30.

<sup>33</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 230. See also Porter, *Idioms*, 36–37.

PK, UV, GURY, WANG, SJ, GÜ, CRV).<sup>34</sup> The second option, represented by several Mandarin and wenli versions (e.g. NCV, TCV, LÜ, DV), uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb *xiěxìn* to render both γράφω and ἔγραψα in all six occurrences in the passage.<sup>35</sup> The third option has the verb compound *xiě shuō* 寫說 (lit. “write saying”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to render γράφω, but uses *-guò* (*xiě-guò*) to render the three repetitions of ἔγραψα (e.g. SB).

Following the interpretation of the shift in tense-forms by Porter, the epistolary aorist, ἔγραψα in 1 John 2:14 may be rendered by the verb *láixìn* (“write a letter” or as a noun, “correspondence”) in Mandarin, as (5b) illustrates. *Láixìn* is a better translation than *xiěxìn* because it denotes the letter-writing as a whole (i.e. simple, undifferentiated process) as opposed to stressing the mere action itself. *Láixìn* is used with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it is unmarked in relation to the other perfective morphemes, which correspond closely to the markedness feature of the Greek aorist tense-form and its function in discourse. The addition of the temporal deictic indicator *céng*, as well as the use of the perfective marker *-guò*, convey the past-time reference and the sense of experience that ἔγραψα does not call for, hence, they must be rejected. Since the present tense-form is more heavily marked in Greek discourse than the aorist, γράφω may be

<sup>34</sup> GURY has *jīn* (“now”; *jīn shū yí ěr* 今書遺爾) in front of the verb *shū* only for the first γράφω, and uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the next three occurrences of γράφω and ἔγραψα. GURY and PK add *céng* (*wǒ céng shū yú ěr* 我曾書於爾 and *wǒ céng xiěxìn gěi nimen*) in front of *shū* and *xiěxìn* for the last two addressees, i.e. πατέρες and νεανίσκοι. Similarly, SJ uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb *shū* (“write”; 我致書於爾) in the first four occurrences and adds *céng* (*wǒ zhì céng shū yú ěr* 我致曾書於爾) to the front of *shū* for the last two addressees in v. 14. GÜ has *jì* (“send”; *yú jì rú shū* 余寄汝書) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and adds *yǐ* (*yú yǐ shū ěr* 余已書爾) to the front of *shū* for the last two addressees. The CRV adds *gāng* (“just now”; *wǒ gāng xiěxìn gěi nimen*) to the front of *xiěxìn* for the last two addressees.

<sup>35</sup> The CLB closely adheres to the first option but adds the deictic indicator *xiànzài* (“now”) to the front of *xiěxìn* for the addressees πατέρες to render the second γράφω (*wǒ xiànzài xiěxìn gěi nǐ*). Such an addition appears to be random and unfounded, therefore it is not considered here.

represented by *xiě-xiàlái* (“write down”). Here, the IDVC *xiàlái* expresses the imperfective aspect, as (5a) illustrates:<sup>36</sup>

- (5) (a) 我寫下來此封信的目的是要告訴你們 . . .

Wǒ **xiě-xiàlái** cǐ fēngxìn de mùdì shì yào gàosù nǐmen....

The reason that I am writing this down is to tell you....

- (b) 我給你們來信 . . .

Wǒ **gěi** nǐmen **láixin**....

This letter I am writing to you....

#### 4.1.3.3. Aorist of Future Reference

The aorist can also be used in an event that takes place in the future, as (6) illustrates:<sup>37</sup>

- (6) ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ (Jude 14)

- (a) 看，主必同他的千萬聖者降臨 (NCV)

Kàn, zhǔ *bì* tóng tā de qiānwàn shèngzhě **jiànglín**.

Behold, the Lord shall come with his ten thousand saints.

- (b) . . . 降臨 (UV, CRV)

...jiànglín.

<sup>36</sup> Many define the meaning of *xiàlái* in terms of its *Aktionsart*. Lü, for example, treats it in terms of a DVC specifying *dòngzuò cóng guòqù chíxù dào xiànzài* 動作從過去持續到現在 (“an action that *continues* from the past to the present” [my translation]). See Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 570. Others argue that it signals an entering into a new state, from active to stative situations. See, for example, Liu 劉月華 et al., *Directional Verb Complements*, 174–80.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, §403; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §61; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §531; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 120, 149, 240; Robertson, *Grammar*, 846–47; Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 282–83; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1934; BDF, §333; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §350; McKay, *New Syntax*, 48; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 232–33; Porter, *Idioms*, 37–38; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 94. Compare Winer, who thinks that the aorist may stand for the future “only in appearance.” Winer, *Treatise*, 345–46.

...came (or is coming).

(c) . . . 降來 (SB)

...jiànglái.

...came (or is coming) here this way.

(d) . . . 快來了 (FOLEY)

...kuài lái-le.

...will come soon.

Neither verb reduplication nor *-guò* can be used here with the verbs *jiànglín* or *jiànglái*; the available options are the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, *-le*, and RVCs.<sup>38</sup> (6a) and (6b) both render ἤλθεν with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for *jiànglín* (“arrive”); the difference is that (6a) uses the auxiliary verb *bì*, which clearly suggests that the Lord’s coming with his ten thousands is a future event. (6b) and (6c) are similar in that neither is morphologically marked with auxiliary verbs, such as *bì*, *yào* (e.g. CLB), or *jiāng*, to denote futurity or expectation. Both use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (unmarked), which allows for either perfective or imperfective readings. Although both (6b) and (6c) are considered acceptable translations, the disyllabic verbs *jiànglín* and *jiànglái* are not preferable because they are more marked than monosyllabic verbs.

The temporal deixis *kuài* (“soon”) is preferable to auxiliary verbs (e.g. *bì*) because it better reflects the aorist indicative mood in Greek, which is not used to convey volition. Therefore, the future-referring aorist may be translated by the perfective aspect marker *-le*, as (6d) illustrates.

<sup>38</sup> Reduplicating *jiànglín* and *jiànglái* or adding *-guò* to the verbs will result in an ungrammatical sentence in Mandarin, because one does not make much sense when he says that, e.g. “he is trying to arrive for awhile” or “he has experienced arriving.”

#### 4.1.3.4. Omnitemporal Aorist

The aorist can also be used for an event that can take place at any time (omnitemporal aorist), as (7) illustrates.<sup>39</sup> The omnitemporal use of the aorist is time-bound, but temporally unrestricted.<sup>40</sup>

(7) ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν (1 Pet 1:24)

(a) 草必枯乾，花必凋謝。(PK, BB, JOHNM, UV, WANG, NCV, CRV)

Cǎo bì kǔgān, huā bì diāoxiè.

The grass will wither; the flower will fall.

(b) 草必枯。花必落。(GO, CPB)<sup>41</sup>

Cǎo bì kū. huā bì luò.

The grass will wither; the flower will fall.

(c) 草枯萎了，花也就凋謝了 (SB)

Cǎo kūwěi-le, huā yějiù diāoxiè le.

The grass withered and the flower also fell.

(d) 草枯花萎 (WV, CLB, GÜ, DV, JOHN, UVW)<sup>42</sup>

Cǎo-kū huā-wěi.

The grass withers; the flowers fall.

<sup>39</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 217–25; Porter, *Idioms*, 38–39. Several grammarians discuss this use of the aorist under the term “gnomic” aorist. See Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, 436; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§154–55, 157; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §95; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 77–78; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§1931, 2338, 2567; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 218–19; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, 255; Robertson, *Grammar*, 836–37; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 30–32.

<sup>40</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 217–18. Porter follows Lyons’ analysis on the timeless and omnitemporal propositions. See Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 2, 677–90.

<sup>41</sup> The CPB uses another auxiliary verb, *huì*, instead of *bì*.

<sup>42</sup> GÜ has *cǎo-kū huā-diào* 草枯花凋; the DV and UVW have *cǎo-kū huā-xiè* 草枯花謝; JOHN has *cǎo-kū huā-luò* 草枯花落.

(7a–b) employ the auxiliary verb *bì* to convey futurity as well as expectation, that is, “The grass will wither; the flower will fall” or “The grass is expected to wither, and the flower to fall.” The SB in (7c) renders the two aorist tense-forms with the perfective *-le*. Peter is making a general observation about the nature of the grass and the flower, without specifying a particular time when they wither and fall. Therefore, (7c) is not a preferable translation. In English, such general statements are often expressed in simple present tense; for example, the NRSV has “The grass withers, and the flower falls.”<sup>43</sup> In Chinese, general statements about nature normally take on the form of set phrases (e.g. maxims, proverbs, idioms, aphorisms). Set phrases in Mandarin are often derived from ancient literary classics or formed in imitation of the classical style, meaning that these phrases are most frequently expressed with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. However, four-character (or quadruplet) set phrases are normally reserved for the Mandarin translation of the stative aspect in Greek (see discussions below). Here, the set phrase *cǎo-kū-huā-wěi* is appropriate because the phrase is expressed by two aorists in Greek as opposed to one. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme reflects not only the perfective aspect of the Greek aorist, but also its less heavily marked feature in Mandarin. It should be noted that the auxiliary verb *bì* (or *huì*) in (7a–b) does not reflect either the perfective aspect or the indicative mood of the aorist. Hence, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (7d) is the preferred translation of the Greek omnitemporal aorist into Mandarin.

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<sup>43</sup> Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 2, 680.

#### 4.1.3.5. Timeless Aorist

Similarly, the aorist can also be used in events that take place as timeless temporal references, as (8) illustrates:<sup>44</sup>

(8) καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς (Luke 7:35)

(a) 但智慧之子，都以智慧爲是。 (UV)

Dàn zhìhuì zhīzǐ, dōu yǐ zhìhuì wéi shì.

But the children of wisdom are all reckoned to be righteous by wisdom.

(b) 但一切智慧之子，必彰顯智慧的正義。 (SB, WV)<sup>45</sup>

Dàn yīqiè zhìhuì zhīzǐ, bì zhāngxiǎn zhìhuì de zhèngyì.

But every child of wisdom shall proclaim the righteousness of wisdom.

(c) 但智慧總是從她所有的兒女得證爲對的。 (LÜ)<sup>46</sup>

Dàn zhìhuì zǒng shì cóng tā suǒyǒu de ér-nǚ dézhèng wéi duì de.

But wisdom is always proven right by all her sons and daughters.

(d) 惟智者以其諸子表義矣。 (MOR)

Wéi zhìzhě yǐ qí zhūzǐ biǎoyì yǐ.

Only the wise man manifests righteousness in his children.

The timeless use of the aorist is similar to the omnitemporal use of the aorist in the sense that both express general truths or statements of habitual activities, as in similes, proverbs, or aphorisms.<sup>47</sup> Unlike the omnitemporal aorist, the timeless aorist is, as its

<sup>44</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 234–37. See also Lyons, *Semantics*, vol. 2, 679–81.

<sup>45</sup> The WV has *Shì wéi zhìdé zhīzǐ, néng shì zhìdé zhī yùn ér* 是惟智德之子，能識智德之蘊耳 (“Therefore only the child of wisdom is able to understand the contents of wisdom”).

<sup>46</sup> Similar to LÜ, the CRV has *Dàn zhìhuì cóng tā suǒyǒu de ér-nǚ dé chēngwéi yì* 但智慧從她所有的兒女得稱爲義 (“But wisdom is declared righteous by all her sons and daughters”).

<sup>47</sup> The timeless use of the aorist is prevalent in classical Greek. See, for example, McKay, “Aspectual Usage,” 207; McKay, *New Syntax*, 47–48; Goodwin, *Syntax*, 547–59; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 31.



name suggests, unbound by time; and because it is timeless, the Greek aorist cannot be translated with perfective morphemes, such as *-guò* and verb reduplication. All the versions represented in (8a–d) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to render the timeless aorist. (8b) can be ruled out as a good translation because it uses the auxiliary verb *bì*, which expresses both futurity and expectation. Both (8a) and (8c) use the passive constructions *yǐ...wéi* and *shì...wéi* to render the aorist passive indicative ἐδικαιώθη (“is vindicated,” e.g. NRSV).<sup>48</sup> The UV in (8a), however, has taken πάντων τῶν τέκνων to be the subject. (8d) and (8c) are also very similar. Although Morrison uses the active voice *biǎoyì* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and Lü instead uses the passive voice, both insert a modal particle, *yǐ* and *de* respectively, to express certainty. In this case, (8d) and (8c) are both natural and acceptable translations for the passive construction of the Greek timeless aorist.

#### 4.1.4. Conclusion

In summary, the Mandarin aspect system offers the locutionary agent five different (single) morphemes to express the perfective aspect, whereas the Greek aspect system has only the aorist tense-form. Examples taken from Chinese versions are critically examined and used to illustrate how the various uses of the Greek aorist indicative are actually translated into Mandarin. These examples primarily serve as starting points for discussion on contrasting the two aspect systems. This section concludes that the past-referring Greek aorist in the indicative mood may be rendered interchangeably by *-le*, RVCs, *-guò*, verb reduplication, and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in most contexts. The first four

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<sup>48</sup> In his recent study, George argues that the fact that Greek passive constructions (expressed by ὑπό or ἀπό) occur with a greater frequency in the Septuagint and New Testament than in other ancient Greek texts is due to Hebraism, i.e. translating the Hebrew preposition “לְ”. See George, *Expressions*, 232–46. Unfortunately, George addresses only certain pragmatic issues of Greek passive constructions, and leaves out discussions of syntactic or semantic problems, especially their relationship to active constructions.

aspect morphemes may be preferable, however, because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist.

In addition to aspect, discourse factors also play a decisive role in translating. For example, two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *-guò-le*, RVC-*le*) are used to build foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse. Since the aorist tense-form does not serve as a foregrounding device in Greek discourse, two-morpheme aspect compounds in most cases are not used for translation into Mandarin, except when prominence in the Greek text is indicated by syntactic or pragmatic features.<sup>49</sup> In order to reflect the non past-referring uses of the aorist, temporal deictic indicators, such as *xiànzài* (“now”) and *kuài* (“soon”), may be added. In rendering the omnitemporal and timeless references as well as the epistolary aorist, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferred to other morphemes due to its correspondence to the less heavily marked feature of the aorist tense-form in Greek.

## 4.2. The Imperfective and Stative Aspects

### 4.2.1. Introduction

The Greek imperfective and stative aspects ([–perfective]) are realized by four morphologically expressed tense-forms. In addition to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, the Mandarin aspect also realizes four different morphologically expressed (single) morphemes. The notable difference between the two languages is that the notions of remoteness or immediacy grammaticalized by Greek tense-forms in the indicative mood do not apply to Mandarin.<sup>50</sup> Tables 4.2–4.3 summarize the two aspect systems with their tense-forms and morphemes:

<sup>49</sup> These features include the repetition of the exact verb form (e.g. John 19:6). See chapter 6 below.

<sup>50</sup> Conceptual distance ([+remoteness]) grammaticalized by the imperfect and pluperfect tense-forms in the Greek indicative mood may be rendered in Mandarin by lexical means (i.e. by adding extra words such as *lǎo*, *zǎo*, *nà*, *qù*). This is not treated until chapter 6 for two reasons: first, the primary focus of the present

	Greek [–Perfective]	Mandarin [–Perfective]
	+Imperfective	+Imperfective
+Remote	Imperfect	Simple single aspect morpheme: -zhe, zài, IDVCs, ø Complex single aspect morpheme: V-láiV-qù, V-shàngV-xià, V-guòláiV-guòqù, V-kāiláiV-kāiqù Simple two-morpheme aspect compounds: -le-IDVCs, verb reduplication-zhe, zài...-zhe, zài...IDVCs
–Remote	Present	Complex two-morpheme aspect compounds: zài... V-láiV-qù, zài... V-shàngV-xià, zài... V-guòláiV-guòqù, zài... V-kāiláiV-kāiqù Three-morpheme aspect compounds: zài...verb reduplication-zhe, zài... V-zheV-zhe

Table 4.2. The Greek imperfective tense-forms and their corresponding  
Mandarin morphemes

	Greek [–Perfective]	Mandarin [–Perfective]
	+Stative	+Stative
+Remote	Pluperfect	-zhe, ø with four-character set phrases
–Remote	Perfect	

Table 4.3. The Greek stative tense-forms and their corresponding  
Mandarin morphemes

#### 4.2.2. The Present Tense-Form

The Greek present tense-form expresses the immediate ([–remote]) imperfective aspect, focusing on the event as progressive, with internal stages or processes clearly specified. As Table 4.2 illustrates, Mandarin aspect offers the locutionary agent more

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study is grammatical translation of Greek verbal aspect; second, the format of this section limits the discussion because the location of words added to express remoteness may occur elsewhere in the discourse rather than be confined to the example sentences presented in this section.

than a dozen formally expressed aspect morphemes and compounds, as well as the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to render the Greek present. The present tense-form is used in past, present, future, and timeless (omnitemporal) references.

#### 4.2.2.1 Present for Present Reference

The present tense-form commonly refers to an event that takes place in the present time, as (9) illustrates:

(9) οὐδὲ λογίζεσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ

καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται (John 11:50)

(a) 也不想，一個人替百姓死，免得全民滅亡，就是你們的益處。(CRV,

LÜ, SB, NCV, CLB, CPB, CSB)<sup>51</sup>

Yě bù **xiǎng-xiǎng**, yīge rén tì bǎixìng sǐ, miǎnde quánmín mièwáng, jiùshì

nǐmen de yìchū.

You never considered that it is for your good that one man dies for the people

in order to avoid annihilation of the whole nation.

(b) 獨不想 . . . (UV, WANG)

Dú bù **xiǎng**....

You just do not think....

(c) 難道看不出 . . . (TCV)

Nándào **kàn-bu-chū**....

You have not yet figured it out that....

(d) 也沒有在考慮 . . . (FOLEY)

<sup>51</sup> The CPB phrases it positively: Xiǎng-xiǎng kàn: xīshēng yīge rén, qí bù shì bǐ kàn-jiàn zhěngge mínzú sàngwáng yào hǎo de duō? 想想看：犧牲一個人，豈不是比看見整個民族喪亡要好的多？ (“Consider this: isn’t it much better to sacrifice one man than the entire nation?”). The CSB has xiǎng-yī-xiǎng instead of xiǎng-xiǎng.

Yě méiyǒu zài kǎolǜ....

You are not considering....

Several versions, represented by (9a), use the verb reduplicated form *xiǎng-xiǎng* (“consider,” “give it a thought”) to render λογίζεσθε. This translation is not preferable because verb reduplication signals the perfective aspect in Mandarin. For the same reason, (9c) is not preferable because the RVC *chū* (“out”) conveys the perfective aspect. (9b) uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is considered acceptable but not without problems. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as noted above, allows both the perfective and imperfective readings, although the context suggests the latter. Hence, an aspect morpheme is needed here in order to differentiate the two aspects. Since the present tense-form is considered more heavily marked than the aorist, a dissyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and/or the imperfective marker *zài* would be quite fitting to render λογίζεσθε because of its heavier morphological bulk, as (9d) illustrates.

#### 4.2.2.2 Present for Future Reference

In addition to its common use in the present, the Greek present tense-form also appears in future references, as (10) illustrates:<sup>52</sup>

(10) Ἡλίας μὲν ἔρχεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα· (Matt 17:11)

(a) 以利亞來，要復興萬事！(LÜ)

Yīliǎ lái, yào fùxīng wànshì.

Elijah is coming, and restoring all things!

(b) 厄里亞是來重整秩序。(CPB)

<sup>52</sup> Robertson calls this futuristic present (following Karl Brugmann) that is “generally punctiliar or aoristic.” Robertson, *Grammar*, 869, 69–70, 81–82, 91. See also Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 119–20; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 131–32; BDF, §323; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 48.

Èlǐyǎ *shì* **lái** chónɡ zhěng zhìxù.

Elijah comes in order to reset order.

- (c) 以利亞當然要來 · · · (NCV, CRV)

Yǐliyǎ dāngrán yào **lái**....

Indeed Elijah wants to come....

- (d) 以利亞固然先來 · · · (e.g. UV, SB, TCV, WANG, SJ, MOR; cf. DV)<sup>53</sup>

Yǐliyǎ gùrán *xiān* **lái**....

No doubt that Elijah is coming first....

- (e) 依理藹固須先至 · · · (WV)

Yǐlǎi gù *xū* *xiān* **zhì**....

Indeed Elijah must come first....

- (f) 以利亞確實前來 · · · (FOLEY)

Yǐliyǎ quèshí **qiánlái**....

Elijah is indeed coming....

The present form ἔρχεται in (10) stresses the immediacy of the imperfective aspect, or better, futurity, as expressed in the NRSV, for example: “Elijah is indeed coming and will restore all things.” While (10a–f) all use the *ø* morpheme to translate the imperfective aspect of ἔρχεται, there are slight differences in approach. (10c) and (10e) use auxiliary verbs, *yào* and *xū*, to express futurity and volition. (10a) and (10f), on the other hand, have no such addition; therefore they may be interpreted as either the perfective or imperfective aspect. (10b) uses two verbs, *shì* (“be”) and *lái* (“come”) for ἔρχεται, in an

<sup>53</sup> WANG has *quèshí* (“really”) instead of *gùrán*. MOR has *Yǐláizhě gù xiān dào* 以來者固先到 · · · (“Elijah is indeed coming first”). The DV does not translate μέν: *Yǐliyǎ xiān zhì* (“Elijah is coming first to...”).

apparent attempt to translate the English verb phrase, “is coming.” In fact, the construction *shì* + verb is not suitable in this context because it does not express futurity in Mandarin.

Unlike the simple progressive *be* + *ing* in English, which signals both futurity and the imperfective aspect, *zài* signals only the imperfective aspect. To express futurity in Mandarin, one would normally (though it is not obligatory) employ auxiliary verbs, such as *yào*, *bì* (*bìxū/xū*), *jiāng*, or *huì*, as in (10c) and (10e).<sup>54</sup> In translation, however, the future use of the present tense-form (as the future-referring aorist noted above) should be distinguished from the future form. The adverb *xiān* alone used in (10d–e) does not express futurity, but rather it indicates the sequence of the actions, which is absent in the Greek. Therefore, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme without auxiliary verbs or *xiān* is preferable to those with such additions for the rendering of the future-referring present tense-form, as (10a) and (10f) illustrate. Still, (10f) is preferable to (10a) because disyllabic verbs better correspond to the more heavily marked Greek present tense-form.

#### 4.2.2.3 Present for Past Reference (Narrative or Historic Present)

A commonly held explanation of the so-called historic (or historical) or narrative present by many Greek grammarians is that it has the same *Aktionsart* as the aorist (“punctiliar”) but with an added sense of vividness or vivacity that typically occurs in narratives.<sup>55</sup> Another commonly held explanation credits Aramaic influence.<sup>56</sup> Neither of

<sup>54</sup> Other common auxiliary verbs that express futurity include *kěnéng*, *kěyǐ*, *nénggòu*, *hǎo*, *miǎnbuliǎo*, *déyǐ*, *róngyì*, *lèyì*, *yuànyì*, *xiǎng*, *xīwàng*, *qītú*, *lèdé*, *kěn*. Mandarin auxiliary verbs (能願動詞 or 助動詞) have been studied by many. See, for example, Wang 王 力, *Treatise*, vol. 1, 140–53; Hong, *Auxiliary*, 1–20; Ma 馬慶株, *Chinese Verbal Structure*, 47–74; Fan, Du, and Chen, *Introduction*, 92–106; Li 黎錦熙, *Grammar*, 102–09. For English translations of these auxiliary verbs, see Table 5.1, p. 231 below.

<sup>55</sup> Along this line of interpretation, see, for example, Green, *Handbook*, 297; Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, §359; Winer, *Treatise*, 333–34; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §1835; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §33; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §525; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§199–201; Robertson, *Grammar*, 866–69; Rose, *Durative*, 27–30;

these two approaches, however, is satisfactory. The narrative present is better explained by verbal aspect. As Porter argues, the narrative present is a thoroughly Greek phenomenon that is used “whenever one wishes to draw added attention to a given event.”<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.2.2.4. Discourse Function of the Narrative Present

The narrative present maintains its full force as a more heavily marked tense-form at the discourse level. Rijksbaron, for example, has suggested that the narrative present is used to mark “state of affairs that are of decisive importance for the story.”<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Young states that it is used to mark prominence.<sup>59</sup> Also, Black concludes from her analysis of the narrative present in Matthew that the tense-form serves a variety of different functions in discourse, including creating a dramatic effect, indicating the development to a climax, and distinguishing between two interwoven storylines.<sup>60</sup> These

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Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 271–2; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 185; BDF, §321; Turner, *Syntax*, 60–62; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 219; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 226–39. In addition, Smyth and others include “annalistic” (or “enumerating”) present, which is used to “register historical facts or to note incidents.” Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§1883–84; Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 272–73; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 24–25. For critical reviews, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 134–36; Porter, *Idioms*, 30–31; Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 101–4.

<sup>56</sup> This approach is represented by Black and Sanders. See Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 130; Sanders, *Tendencies*, 253–4.

<sup>57</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 135; Porter, *Idioms*, 31. See also McKay, “Further Remarks,” 247–51. McKay refutes Kiparsky for overlooking the role of context and for seeing the historical present in terms of time reference, which left him to conclude that it normally alternates with preterite forms in rapid succession and is never sustained over longer passages. Kiparsky, “Tense and Mood,” 30–57.

<sup>58</sup> Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 22–24. This is an amended statement of the first edition, in which he argues that the historic present not only marks decisive actions but also highlights turning points in the narrative. Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 22–24.

<sup>59</sup> Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 263.

<sup>60</sup> Black, “Historic Present,” 120–39. Buijs arrives at similar conclusions by noting two major discourse functions: first, to highlight “the relative importance of the actions as related to the specific aims of the speaker” and second, to mark the boundary between two larger thematic structures. See Buijs, *Clause Combining*, 6 n. 10; 182 n. 30; 168, 186.



remarks are consistent with the critical assumption, as noted previously in chapter 3, that the Greek present tense-form is used in discourse as a foregrounding device.

In Mandarin, the foregrounding function of the narrative present may be represented morphologically by two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *zài...-zhe*, *zài...IDVCs*, *-le-IDVCs*).<sup>61</sup> Consider the following example from the passage in Mark 1:21, 30:

(11) καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ...καὶ εὐθὺς λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς

(a) 進迦百農 · · · 或以告耶穌 (DV, MOR, MAR, GÜ, GO, BCV, GURY, SJ, YAN, JOHN, BB, UVW, WV)<sup>62</sup>

Jìn Jiābǎinóng...huò yǐ gào Yēsū.

(They) entered (or were entering) Capernaum...and told (or were telling) Jesus at once.

(b) 到了迦百農 · · · 就有人告訴耶穌。 (UV, JOHNM, WANG, CLB, CPB)<sup>63</sup>

Dào-le Jiābǎinóng...jiù yǒurén gàosù Yēsū.

(They) arrived in Capernaum...someone told (or was telling) Jesus.

(c) 他們走到迦百農 · · · 有人立刻向耶穌說到她。 (CRV)

Tāmen zǒu-dào Jiābǎinóng...yǒurén lìkè xiàng Yēsū shuō-dào tā.

They walked to Capernaum...someone immediately told Jesus about her.

(d) 他們來到迦百農城 · · · 他們就把她的病情告訴耶穌。 (TCV)

Tāmen lái-dào Jiābǎinóng chéng...tāmen jiù bǎ tā de bìngqíng gàosù Yēsū.

<sup>61</sup> For a helpful essay on major issues of foregrounding and translation, see Martín-Asensio, "Foregrounding," 189–223.

<sup>62</sup> BB has *lái gào* 來告 ("came-telling") instead of *gào*. GÜ adds *jí* 即 ("at once"). JOHN has *zhì...yǒu rén gào Yēsū* 至 · · · 有人告耶穌 ("came...and someone told Jesus").

<sup>63</sup> The NCV adds *lìkè* 立刻 ("at once," v. 30); PK has *lái gàosù* 來告訴 ("came-telling," v. 30) instead of *gàosù*; the CPB has *jìn-le* 進了 ("entered") in v. 21 and adds *mǎshàng* 馬上 ("right away") in v. 30.

They came to Capernaum...someone immediately told Jesus about her illness.

- (e) 他們進了葛法翁 . . . 有人就向耶穌提起她來 (SB)

Tāmen jìn-le Géfǎwēng...yǒurén jiù xiàng Yēsū tí-qǐ tā -lái.

They entered Capernaum...someone was immediately telling Jesus about her.

- (f) 他們走進迦加農 . . . 人隨即對耶穌說起她的事。 (LÜ)

Tāmen zǒujìn Jiājiānóng...rén suíjí duì Yēsū shuō-qǐ tā de shì.

They walked into Capernaum...people at once were telling Jesus about her.

- (g) 他們走了下去，到迦加農 . . . 對耶穌說起了她的事。 (FOLEY)

Tāmen zǒu-le-xiàqù, dào Jiājiānóng...duì Yēsū shuō-qǐ-le tā de shì.

They were walking into Capernaum...were talking about her.

The Chinese wenli versions, represented by (11a), use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both occurrences of the present tense-form. (11b) has the perfective aspect marker *-le* for the first present but not the second. (11e) also uses *-le* to render εἰσπορεύονται, however, it changes to the IDVC *qílái* for λέγουσιν. (11c) uses the RVC *dào* (“arrive”) for both present tense-forms. Similarly, (11d) uses the same RVC for the first present tense-form but the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the second. Although the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is considered an acceptable translation of the Greek present, it does not render the added emphasis of the narrative present. Examples (11b, d–f) are not preferable because they do not render the narrative present with the same aspect morphemes. As for (11c), the two RVCs do not reflect the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-forms in Greek. The aspect morpheme used in *zǒujìn* in (11f) must be glossed as the  $\emptyset$  morpheme rather than as an RVC since *jìn* (“into”) represents the lexical meaning of εἰσπορεύονται εἰς (“going into”). Therefore, the two-morpheme aspect compounds, *-le-IDVC* and *IDVC-le*, in (11g)

most adequately render the Greek imperfective aspect expressed by the narrative present, with an added attention to the narrative, in this case, indicating a change of setting.

#### 4.2.2.5. Omnitemporal and Timeless Present

##### a. Omnitemporal Present

The present tense-form is used for an action occurring at any time. Some traditional grammarians refer to this use of the present as gnomic or general present (e.g. Burton, Goodwin, Smyth, Robertson), while others refer to it as universal present (e.g. Gildersleeve).<sup>64</sup> These grammarians typically define it, as Robertson does, in terms of “timeless in reality, true of all time.”<sup>65</sup> Two types of gnomic presents are differentiated here: the omnitemporal present, which refers to an action that occurs at any time, and the timeless present, which has no temporal relevance. As Porter observes, the distinction between the omnitemporal aorist and present is not temporal reference but use of verbal aspect, with the aorist “grammaticalizing the omnitemporal process as complete and the Present grammaticalizing the omnitemporal process as in progress.”<sup>66</sup> (12) illustrates:

(12) τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ (John 3:8)

(a) 風任意而吹 (GÜ, MOR, DV, GURY, BCV, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, BB,

UVW, WV, NCV)<sup>67</sup>

Fēng rènyì ér chuī.

<sup>64</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §1832; Burton, *Syntax*, §12; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §1253, §1292; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1877; Robertson, *Grammar*, 866; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 8; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §189. Fanning explains it in terms of *Aktionsart*, arguing that the gnomic present is “usually an *absolute* statement of what each one does once, not a statement of the individual’s customary or habitual activity.” He adds that this is true when the verb is a “bounded action (an accomplishment, climax or punctual).” See Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 217.

<sup>65</sup> Robertson, *Grammar*, 866.

<sup>66</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 222. See also Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 222–25; Porter, *Idioms*, 32–33.

<sup>67</sup> JOHNM has *súyì* instead of *rènyì*; the WV has *Tiān fēng xiāorán ér zuò* 天風儵然而作 (“The wind in the sky blows according to its wishes”).

The wind does as it wishes and blows.

(b) 風隨意地吹 (LÜ)

Fēng suíyì de chuī.

The wind blows voluntarily.

(c) 風隨著意思吹 (PK, UV, WANG, CRV, CSB)

Fēng suízhe yìsi chuī.

The wind blows according to its wishes.

(d) 風隨意吹動 (TCV, CPB)<sup>68</sup>

Fēng suíyì chuī-dòng.

The wind blows according as it wishes.

(e) 風隨處吹起。(FOLEY)

Fēng suí chù chuī-qǐ.

The wind blows in anywhere it wishes.

(12a) uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both θέλει and πνεῖ, but adds a conjunctive *ér*.<sup>69</sup> (12b) translates the clause ὅπου θέλει by an adverb, *suíyì de* (“voluntarily”). (12c) on the other hand renders the clause by a prepositional phrase, *suízhe yìsi* (“according to its wishes”). Finally, the TCV in (12d) uses *suíyì* (“as it wishes”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate θέλει, but *chuī-dòng* with the RVC *dòng* (“move”) to translate πνεῖ. RVCs express the perfective aspect in Mandarin, therefore, they do not reflect the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form. It is also not preferable to translate ὅπου θέλει either by an adverb or a prepositional phrase, as in (12b) and (12c).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The CPB has *Fēng suíyì chuī xiàng nǎlǐ* 風隨意吹向哪裡 (“The wind blows to where it pleases”).

<sup>69</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 331–56, 83–85, 406–08.

<sup>70</sup> *Suízhe* (or *ànzhe*) is normally used as a preposition (“according to”). It is not to be confused with a verb that is marked with the remote imperfective morpheme *-zhe*.

While the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is considered an acceptable rendering of the imperfective aspect, it is not adequate to render the omnitemporal present of θέλει and πνεῖ. The clause ὅπου θέλει is better translated by *suí chù* (lit. “in whichever place”), which focuses on the direction *where* the wind blows, than by *rènyì* or *suíyì* (lit. “whatever its wishes”), a general term which merely describes the volition of the wind. In this case, the Mandarin syntax permits only the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for *suí chù* because it is immediately followed by another verb. The IDVC *qǐ* is a good fit for the imperfective aspect expressed by the present tense-form, as (12e) illustrates. Therefore, it is preferable to render the use of the omnitemporal present in Greek by IDVCs. IDVCs also have the advantage of differentiating the omnitemporal present from the omnitemporal aorist, which is indicated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

#### b. Timeless Present

The timeless present is used to refer to situations where temporal information is irrelevant, as (13) illustrates (English translation is provided below):<sup>71</sup>

(13) ἰλαρόν...δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός (2 Cor 9:7)

(a) 上帝所愛者、樂助也 (DV, JOHNM, WV)<sup>72</sup>

Shàngdì suǒ ài zhě, lèzhù yě.

(b) 上帝愛歡心樂意的捐獻者。(LÜ, PK, BCV, BB, UVW, SB, TCV, CRV, CPB)<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 33. See also Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 270; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 219.

<sup>72</sup> JOHNM has the same wordings as the DV but in Mandarin: *Shàngdì suǒ ài de, shì lèyú shīshě de rén* 上帝所愛的、是樂於施捨的人 (“He who is loved by God is someone who gives generously”); the WV switches the word order: *yǐ zhù rén wéilè, nǎi wéi Tiānzhǔ zhī suǒ lèzhù ěr* 以助人為樂，乃為天主之所樂助耳 (“He who takes pleasure in helping others, is also someone whom God takes pleasure in helping”).

<sup>73</sup> The BCV has *Shén, ài lè shī zhě yě* 神、愛樂施者也 (“God loves generous givers”); BB has *Shén àixī lèyú shīshě zhī rén* 神愛惜樂於施捨之人 (“God loves those who enjoy almsgiving”); the UVW has

Shàngdì ài huānxīn lèyì de juānxiàn zhě.

(c) 捐得樂意的人是 神所喜愛的。 (UV, WANG, CLB, NCV, GURY, SJ)<sup>74</sup>

Juān de lèyì de rén shì Shén suǒ xǐ'ài de.

(d) 慷慨奉獻者是在討 神喜愛。 (FOLEY)

Kāngkǎi fèngxiàn zhě shì zài tǎo Shén xǐ'ài.

The first three examples (13a–c) all use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate the imperfective aspect of ἄγαπᾷ, however, there are slight differences in syntax. (13a) breaks the sentence into two independent clauses separated by a comma: “The one whom God loves, *is* indeed the one who loves to give.” The modal particle *yě* accents the certainty of the statement. (13b) and (13c), on the other hand, have no such emphasis. (13b) places the cheerful giver as the direct object of loving: “God loves a happy and generous giver.” (13c) makes the cheerful giver the subject of the sentence: “He who gives generously is loved by God.”

In Chinese, where expressions of love and affection (especially the word *ài*) are not normally verbally communicated, it is unnatural to place the agent of these expressions as the direct subject of the verb. In other words, while (13b) is considered acceptable grammatically, it is unnatural to Mandarin native speakers. The passive construction expressed by *suǒ...de* in (13c) is therefore a more appropriate translation. However, because of its unmarked feature as in the case of omnitemporal present, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme

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Shàngdì ài fū lèshī zhě yě 上帝愛夫樂施者也 (“God loves one who gives generously”); SB has *Tiānzhǔ ài lèjuān de rén* 天主愛樂捐的人 (“God loves those who give freely”); the CPB has *Tiānzhǔ ài nà kāngkǎi dàfāng, lèyì fèngxiàn de rén* 天主愛那慷慨大方、樂意奉獻的人 (“God loves those who are generous and are willing to offer”).

<sup>74</sup> GURY and SJ have the same wording but in wenli style: *Gān shī jì zhě, nǎi Tiānzhǔ suǒ xǐ* 甘施濟者、乃天主所喜 (“He who gives generously is loved by God”) and *Lèshī zhě, Shén suǒ ài yě* 樂施者、神所愛也 (“Generous givers are loved by God”), respectively.

is not the best choice for the rendering of the imperfective aspect of the timeless present. The difficulty is that the verb *ài* does not normally take on any imperfective aspect morphemes, especially the imperfective marker *zài*. This problem can be solved by opting for a different verb for ἠγαπᾷ in Mandarin. *Zài* can be added to the idiomatic phrase *tǎo...xǐ'ài* (“loved by...”), as (13d) illustrates (“A generous giver is loved by God” or “A generous giver pleases God”). In summary, the imperfective marker *zài* renders the timeless present most appropriately in Mandarin.

#### 4.2.3. The Imperfect Tense-Form

The imperfect tense-form is closely connected with events that have taken place in the past, thus, it is considered by some to be the “past tense *par excellence* of Greek” and treated by others as past tense.<sup>75</sup> Almost all Greek grammarians regard the imperfect as the tense-form denoting a repeated (or iterative) action occurring in the past or continuance of that action in the past.<sup>76</sup> Many also describe its *Aktionsart* as inchoative (inceptive or ingressive).<sup>77</sup> The imperfect denotes the same imperfective aspect as the present and shares very similar functions with the narrative present.<sup>78</sup> The distinction

<sup>75</sup> Rijksbaron, “Discourse Function,” 237. Miller calls it the “narrative tense *par excellence*.” Miller, “Imperfect,” 141. Olsen and Duhoux treat the imperfect, along with the pluperfect, as the past tense. Olsen, *Semantic and Pragmatic Model*, 227–32; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 144–47, 154–55, 188–200. In addition, Duhoux also recognizes the aorist and perfect as past tenses. Still, Sedgwick puts forward a theory that the imperfect expresses “the abiding result of a single past act.” Sedgwick, “Some Uses,” 118. See also Sedgwick, “Use,” 113–17.

<sup>76</sup> Representatives of this position include Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, vol. 1, 142; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §35; Burton, *Syntax*, §24; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §1847; Winer, *Treatise*, 335–36; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §205; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§1893–94, 1889; Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, §1253b; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 275–80; Robertson, *Grammar*, 884; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 15–16; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 49; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 315.

<sup>77</sup> Green, *Handbook*, 300; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §402; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 277; Robertson, *Grammar*, 885; Rose, *Durative*, 11–13; BDF, §331; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 49; Black, *Intermediate Greek*, 106.

<sup>78</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 34. Porter has noted that both the historical present and the imperfect are used to render Aramaic participles. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 134–36.

between the two imperfective tense-forms is made by the notions of remoteness. The imperfect conveys the remote ([+remote]) imperfective aspect, whereas the present conveys the immediate ([−remote]) aspect.<sup>79</sup> The following discussion divides into the past and non-past use of the imperfect tense-form.

#### 4.2.3.1. Past Use

The past use of the imperfect accounts for the most frequent occurrences. It is often considered to be progressive, descriptive, or iterative in past-time references, as (14) illustrates.<sup>80</sup>

(14) ἔκλαιον δὲ πάντες καὶ ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν (Luke 8:52)

(a) 屋內的人，突突啼啼 (CLB)

Wūnèi de rén, **kū-kū tí-tí**.

Those inside the house bawled.

(b) 眾人都在痛哭哀弔女孩子。(SB, CPB)<sup>81</sup>

Zhòngrén dōu **zài tòngkū āidiào** nǚháizi.

The crowd was mourning for the girl.

(c) 那裏的人都在為這女孩子號咷大哭。(TCV)

Nà lǐ de rén dōu **zài wèi zhè nǚháizi háotáo dàkū**.

<sup>79</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 207–11.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Burton, *Syntax*, §21; Robertson, *Grammar*, 883; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §207; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1898; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 8–9; Turner, *Syntax*, 65–66; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 241–44; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, §154. Miller observes that the imperfect is found frequently in descriptions of battles, sieges, and military operations by classical Greek historians. Miller, “Imperfect,” 147, 54. Rijksbaron adds that it is “inherently connected with the narrative, i.e. the reporting of past events.” Rijksbaron, “Discourse,” 237. Recently, Hooker posits the “timeless” use of the imperfect in classical Greek. See Hooker, “Some Uses,” 47–65. Hooker’s argument is supported by isolated examples irrespective of the discourse function of the imperfect tense-form (see 4.2.3.3, p. 199 below).

<sup>81</sup> The CPB has *Zhòngrén dōu zài nàlǐ kūqì bēishāng* 眾人都在那裡哭泣悲傷 (“The crowd is mourning there”). Here, *zài* functions as both a preposition and aspect marker.



People there were weeping loudly for the girl.

- (d) 眾人都為女孩子哭泣捶胸。 (LÜ, CRV, PK, JOHNM)<sup>82</sup>

Zhòng rén dōu wèi nǚháizi **kūqì chuíxiōng**.

The crowd cried and beat their breasts for the girl.

- (e) 眾人都在為女孩子捶著胸大聲號哭了起來。 (FOLEY)

Zhòng rén dōu zài wèi nǚháizi **chuí-zhe xiōng dàshēng háokū-le qǐlái**.

The crowd were beating their breasts and weeping loudly for the girl.

(14a) uses the reduplicated verbs *kū-kū tí-tí* (lit. “cry-cry weep-weep”) to translate both imperfectives, ἔκλαιον and ἐκόπτοντο. This rendering is not preferable because verb reduplication expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin. (14b–c) on the other hand use *zài* to reflect the imperfective aspect signaled by both imperfect tense-forms, which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (14d) because *zài* morphologically expresses the imperfective aspect. However, (14b) does not sound natural in Mandarin because the verb phrase *tòngkū āidiào* (“weep and mourn”) is not normally used in the transitive sense. Still, (14c) is not necessarily the best translation because *zài* alone does not reflect the more heavily marked imperfect tense-form in Greek, especially in this case where one has the option to add a second imperfective aspect morpheme. As (13e) illustrates, the two-morpheme aspect compounds, *zài...-zhe* and *-le-IDVC*, mark foregrounded prominence at the discourse level, thereby closely reflecting not only the aspect but the discourse function of the more heavily marked imperfect tense-form in Greek.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> PK has *Zhòng rén wèi zhè nǚháir āikū* 眾人為這女孩兒哀哭 (“The crowd wept for the girl”); JOHNM has *Zhòng rén wèi zhè nǚ’ér kūqì āishāng* 眾人為這女兒哭泣哀傷 (“The crowd cried and mourned for the girl”).

<sup>83</sup> See 4.2.3.3, p. 199 below for a discussion of the discourse function of the imperfect tense-form.

#### 4.2.3.2. Non-Past Use (Conative)

The so-called conative use of the imperfect tense-form expresses volition and refers to, as Porter puts it, “contemplated but unbegun or unaccomplished action.”<sup>84</sup> The non-past use of the imperfective also occurs in second class (contrary to fact) conditional clauses, however, this will be discussed in chapter 5. (15) illustrates the conative imperfect:

(15) νῦν ἐζήτουν σε λιθάσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (John 11:8)

(a) 猶太人近來要拿石頭打你 (UV, WANG, PK, JOHNM, BCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, CSB)<sup>85</sup>

Yóutàirén jīnlái yào ná shítóu dǎ nǐ.

The Jews will stone you one of these days.

(b) 近今來猶太人正想法子要用石頭打你呢。 (LÜ)

Jīn jīn lái Yóutàirén zhèng xiǎng fǎzi yào yòng shítóu dǎ nǐ ne.

Recently the Jews were just devising to stone you.

(c) 近來猶太人圖謀砸死 (SB)

Jīnlái Yóutàirén túmóu zá-sǐ.

Recently the Jews plotted to stone you to death.

(d) 此刻猶太人在想著辦法要用石頭打你呢。 (FOLEY)

Cíkè Yóutàirén zài xiǎng-zhe bànfǎ yào yòng shítóu dǎ nǐ ne.

The Jews are now seeking to stone you.

<sup>84</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 34–35. See also Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, vol 1, 145; Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, 59; Burton, *Syntax*, §23; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 136; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §90; Rose, *Durative*, 8–10; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1895; BDF, §326; McKay, *New Syntax*, 44; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 16–17. Turner calls it “desiderative.” Turner, *Syntax*, 65. Robertson prefers the term “potential” use of the imperfect. Robertson, *Grammar*, 885–7.

<sup>85</sup> The BCV uses yù (“desire,” 近欲以石擊爾) instead of yào; the CRV has xiǎngyào ná (“wanted to take”); the CPB and CSB have xiǎng yòng (“wanted to take”).

All Chinese versions represented in (15a–c) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to express the imperfect ἐζήτουν, however, each conveys different nuances. (15a) has the auxiliary verb *yào* to convey not only volition but also futurity. (15b) uses *xiǎng fǎzi* (“devise means”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to render ἐζήτουν. Similarly, (15c) uses *túmóu* (“plot”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. In (15b), *yào* is connected not to the first but rather to the second verb (i.e. stoning) in order to form an infinitive construction in Mandarin.<sup>86</sup> The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is not preferable here because it does not reflect the more heavily marked imperfect tense-form in Greek. Therefore, as (15d) illustrates, the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...-zhe* (or *zhèngzài...-zhe*) may be utilized to reflect the foregrounded prominence in the pericope marked by the conative imperfect in Greek.

#### 4.2.3.3. Discourse Function of the Imperfect

Some observations may be made regarding how to render the discourse function of the imperfect tense-form into Mandarin. In contrast to the aorist, the imperfect is semantically more heavily marked and, therefore, is used as a foregrounding device in narrative discourse.<sup>87</sup> Based on his observation of historical narratives in Herodotus, Rijksbaron argues that unlike the aorist indicative, the imperfect “unequivocally locates the state of affairs in the past.” He states,

On the level of small-scale narrative units it serves as the time anchor for other states of affairs; on the level of large-scale narrative units it establishes cohesion between different and, more specifically, distant parts of a given narrative, if, for some reason or other, this is split up.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 592.

<sup>87</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 199, 206. McKay has suggested an opposite view, seeing the imperfect as providing the background to the activities of an event. McKay, *New Syntax*, 42, 43. From this standpoint many argue that the aorist is capable of moving the narrative forward, whereas the imperfect does not make progress in the storyline. See, for example, Sedgwick, “Some Uses,” 116–17; Bakker, “Remark,” 26–27; Rijksbaron, “Discourse,” 249; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 243.

<sup>88</sup> Rijksbaron, “Discourse,” 254.

This statement is true if one considers only the past use of the imperfect, and not conative or other uses such as contrary to fact conditional clauses. His comment on textual cohesion, however, is worth noting. Porter has also pointed this out but noted further that the imperfect serves as a means to mark cohesion less frequently than the aorist in the narrative of the New Testament.<sup>89</sup> Generally speaking, the function of cohesion signaled by the imperfect in Greek may be represented accordingly with consistent imperfective aspect morphemes and compounds in Mandarin, as illustrated in (14e) and (15d). For example, in the story of Jesus casting out demons and healing a boy in Luke 9:45, the imperfects may be rendered by two-morpheme imperfective aspect compounds. This provides cohesion with the story of raising a girl in the previous chapter, where imperfects are also found, as in (14). (16) illustrates:

(16) οἱ δὲ ἡγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο...καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου. (Luke 9:45)

(a) 他們不明白這話 . . . 他們也不敢問這話的意思。 (UV, NCV, WANG,

TCV, CLB, CRV, DV, SJ, BCV, WV, GO, PK, JOHNM, CPB)<sup>90</sup>

Tāmen **bù míngbái** zhè huà...tāmen yě **bù gǎn** wèn zhè huà de yìsi.

They neither understood this...nor were they brave enough to ask its meaning.

(b) 他們不明白這話 . . . 他們也怕將這話問他。 (LÜ, SB, MOR)<sup>91</sup>

Tāmen **bù míngbái** zhè huà...tāmen yě **pà** jiāng zhè huà wèn tā.

<sup>89</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 304–05.

<sup>90</sup> The BCV has *méntú wèi dá cí yán...rán bùgǎn wèn cí yán* 門徒未達此言 . . . 然不敢問此言 (“the disciples did not understand these words...but dared not to inquire about these words”). The WV has *gù wèi jiě yán zhǐ,rán yì bùgǎn yǐ wèn* 故未解言旨，然亦不敢以問 (“[they] did not understand the meaning of the words, but dared not to ask”).

<sup>91</sup> MOR uses *jù* 懼 (“fear”) for *pà*.

They did not understand this...they were also afraid to ask him about it.

(c) 他們對這席話的意思都在表露著無知 . . . 反而害怕了起來。(FOLEY)

Tāmen duì zhè xí huà de yìsì zài **biǎolù-zhe wúzhī**...fǎn'ér **hàipà-le-qīlái**.

They were showing no comprehension of the words...in fact they were in fear.

All Chinese versions examined here use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The two-morpheme aspect compounds, *zài...-zhe* and *-le-IDVC* in (16c), are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the imperfective aspect signaled by the two imperfect tense-forms (ἡγνόουν and ἐφοβοῦντο). More importantly, the two aspect compounds in Luke 9:45 establish textual cohesion to the previous narrative discourse, which is also heavily marked with the same imperfective aspect compounds, *zài...-zhe* and *-le-IDVC*, as shown in (14e).

#### 4.2.4. The Perfect Tense-Form

##### 4.2.4.1. Introduction

The perfect is one of the most studied tense-forms in ancient Greek. The chief aim of this section is not to add a new theory or explanation to previous studies of the Greek perfect, but rather to discover the most suitable equivalence to render the Greek perfect into Mandarin, especially at the discourse level.

Previous discussions of the Greek perfect tense-form have involved the so-called subjective (intransitive) vs. objective (resultative/transitive/intensive) perfects.<sup>92</sup> The theory proposed by Wackernagel and Chantraine argues that, in the evolution of Greek, the perfect changed its original subjective or stative use into a more objective or transitive

<sup>92</sup> Goodwin, *Syntax*, 18; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 141; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 286–87; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1947; BDF, §340; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §285; Turner, *Syntax*, 81–8; McKay, “Use,” 1–21; McKay, “Perfect and Other Aspects,” 309–14; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 251–56; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 105–06; Sauge, *Degrés*, 33.

use in late classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>93</sup> This theory supports the traditional belief that the Greek perfect in the New Testament period conveys both stative aspect and continuance of a completed action.<sup>94</sup>

Studies by McKay and Porter offer a more attractive and convincing theory of the Greek perfect. The Greek perfect tense-form expresses the immediate ([–remote]) stative aspect. In Mandarin, on the other hand, the aspect marker *-zhe* is the only formally expressed aspect morpheme available in Mandarin that grammaticalizes the stative aspect. Unlike the perfect tense-form in Greek, *-zhe* does not differentiate between the immediate and remote stative aspect. Also, because the stative aspect marker *-zhe* is identical in form to the RVC *zháo*, and in both form and pronunciation to the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe*, it cannot be used consistently to translate every occurrence of the perfect tense-form in Greek. Furthermore, *-zhe* is not used to build foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse since there are simply no two- or three-morpheme aspect compounds available to express stative aspect in Mandarin.

The solution to this problem is sought by utilizing the heavily marked Chinese four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, especially in cases where the use of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is no longer an option but a necessity. The following sections divide the

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<sup>93</sup> Wackernagel, “Studien,” vol. 2, 1000–21; Chantraine, *Historie*.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, Burton, *Syntax*, §74; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §534; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§226–27; Robertson, *Grammar*, 893; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §97; BDF, §340; Mandilaras, *Studies*, 46–49; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 222; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 94; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 50; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 142–43. This view is disproved by McKay, who argues that the state signaled by the perfect aspect is “properly and always that of the subject: this is necessarily true in the case of intransitive and passive verbs, is logically the only possibility for some transitive uses, and for the remainder yields a meaning that is either as satisfactory in its context as the object-state possibility or preferable to it.” McKay, “Perfect and Other Aspects,” 310, 289–329. See also McKay, “Use,” 17; Louw, “Semantiese waarde,” 23–32.

discussion into pragmatic uses of the Greek perfect tense-form in past, present, future time, omnitemporal (gnomic), and timeless references.

#### 4.2.4.2. Present-Referring Perfect

The most common use of the Greek perfect tense-form occurs in the present reference, as (17) illustrates:<sup>95</sup>

(17) γέγραπται γάρ· (Matt 4:10)

(a) 因為有記著說 (LÜ, BCV)<sup>96</sup>

Yīnwèi yǒu jì-zhe shuō.

Because there exists a written record that says....

(b) 記有之 (DV, GO, UVW, UVB, UVE)<sup>97</sup>

Jì yǒu zhī.

It has been recorded....

(c) 因為經上記著說 (UV, WANG, NVC, CRV)<sup>98</sup>

Yīnwèi jīng shàng jì-zhe shuō.

Because it is recorded in the scriptures saying....

(d) 蓋經載云 (SJ, JOHN)<sup>99</sup>

Gài jīng zǎi yún.

Therefore the scriptures have recorded saying....

(e) 聖經說 (TCV, GÜ, GURY, BB, WV)<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Burton, *Syntax*, §§74–76; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §49a; Robertson, *Grammar*, 892, 894; Porter, *Idioms*, 41.

<sup>96</sup> This is expressed in the wenli style: e.g. *gài lù yǒu yún* 蓋錄有云 (BCV).

<sup>97</sup> GO has *jì yì yǒu zhī* 記亦有之 (“it has also been recorded”).

<sup>98</sup> WANG, NVC, CRV omit *shuō* (“saying”).

<sup>99</sup> JOHN omits *zǎi*.

<sup>100</sup> This expression is found also in the wenli style: e.g. *gài shū yún* 蓋書云 (GÜ), *jīng yún* 經云 (GURY, BB, WV), *gài lù yún* 蓋錄云 (MOR).

Shèngjīng **shuō**.

The Bible says....

(f) 經書上說 (JOHNM, PK)<sup>101</sup>

Jīngshū shàng **shuō**.

The scriptures read....

(g) 因為經上記載 (SB)

Yīnwèi jīng shàng **jìzǎi**.

Because the scriptures read....

(h) 因為經上這樣寫的 (CPB)

Yīnwèi jīng shàng zhèyàng **xiě de**.

Because the scriptures are written that....

All translations except (17a) and (17d) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to express the stative aspect, but each with slightly different nuances. The verb *yǒu* (“have”) in (17a–b) is often used in passive constructions where the agent of the activity is unspecified. Here, *yǒu* is not obligatory, however, it emphasizes the statement (“There does exist a written record...”). (17a, c–f) include *shuō* (“say”) or *yún* (“say”) at the end of the sentence to introduce a direct quotation. This addition is not considered inappropriate in Mandarin translation, even though the participle λέγων is absent in the original. The addition of “scriptures” expressed in various terms (e.g. *jīng*, *jīngshū*) is optional but preferable for clarifying that Jesus is quoting the Old Testament. *Shèngjīng*, on the other hand, is not preferable because the term exclusively refers to the “Bible.” The particle *de* attached to the end of *xiě* (“write”) in (17d) functions as the modal particle and does not necessarily

<sup>101</sup> PK has *jīng shàng shuō* 經上說 (“the scripture says”).



convey the stative aspect. While the  $\sigma$  morpheme is acceptable, it is formally unmarked and does not reflect the heavily marked perfect tense-form in Greek. Therefore, the stative marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\sigma$  morpheme for the translation of the Greek present-referring perfect.

#### 4.2.4.3. Future-Referring Perfect

The perfect also occurs with future reference, but is infrequent in the New Testament.<sup>102</sup> (18) illustrates (English translation is provided below):

(18) ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ τετελείωται (1 John 2:5)

(a) 愛 神的心在他裏面實在是完全的。(UV, PK, CLB)<sup>103</sup>

Ài Shén de xīn zài tā lǐ miàn shí zài **shì wánquán de**.

(b) 上帝的愛在他心裏，實在是完全的 (JOHNM, WANG)

Shàngdì de ài zài tā xīn lǐ, shí zài **shì wánquán de**.

(c) 愛上帝的心就真地在這人裏面得完全了。(LÜ, BB)<sup>104</sup>

Ài Shàngdì de xīn jiù zhēn de zài zhè rén lǐ miàn **dé wánquán le**.

(d) 他愛 神的心就的確在他裡面完全了。(NCV)

Tā ài Shén de xīn jiù díquè zài tā lǐ miàn **wánquán le**.

(e) 神的愛在這個人裏面實在是得了成全。(CRV)

Shén de ài zài zhè rén lǐ miàn shí zài **shì dé-le chéngquán**.

(f) 他對上帝的愛就達到完全。(TCV)

<sup>102</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 41. Future perfect is rare in the New Testament Greek and in non-literary papyri. It occurs more often in the form of periphrastic construction (future of εἶμι with the perfect participle), for example, ἔσονται διαμεμρισμένοι in Luke 12:52. See Robertson, *Grammar*, 906–07; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §525.

<sup>103</sup> The CLB has *Tāmen nà kē àishang dì de xīn, shí zài kě yǐ shuō shì wánquán de* 他們那顆愛上帝的心，實在可以說是完全的。(lit. “Indeed it can be said that their God-loving heart is complete”).

<sup>104</sup> BB phrases it in wenli style: *Ài Shén zhī xīn zài qízhōng, shí wéi wánquán zhě* 愛 神之心在其中、實為完全者。

Tā duì Shàngdì de ài *jiù* **dá-dào wánquán**.

- (g) 天主的愛在他內就能達到完全圓滿了。(CPB)

Tiānzhǔ de ài zài tā nèi *jiù néng* **dá-dào wánquán yuánmǎn** le.

- (h) 天主的愛在他內纔得以圓滿；(SB)

Tiānzhǔ de ài zài tā nèi cái **dé-yǐ-yuán-mǎn**.

- (i) . . . 就圓滿達成 (FOLEY)

...*jiù yuán-mǎn-dá-chéng*.

(18a–b) both translate τετελείωται as an adjective, the difference being that the former reads “The God-loving heart inside him is indeed complete,” whereas the latter reads “God’s love in his heart, is indeed complete.” Similar to (18a), (18c–d) also render ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ with “His God-loving heart,” and use the *ø* morpheme to render the Greek perfect (“has been completed”). The modal particle *jiù* (“indeed”) used in (18c–d) and (18f–g) is a good translation for ἀληθῶς because it conveys the sense of certainly.<sup>105</sup> However, the perfective morphemes *-le* and the RVC *dào* (“arrive”) in (18e–g) express the perfective aspect in Mandarin (“attain completion”) and, therefore, are not preferable for the future-referring Greek perfect.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, the auxiliary verb *néng* and *dé/déyǐ* in (18c, g–h) are not suitable additions because they convey contingency that does not reflect the indicative mood in Greek (see also example (4) above). Here, the stative aspect marker *-zhe* cannot be used due to the fact that the expressions *wánquán* and *chéngquán* contain the words *wán* (“end”), *quán* (“complete,” “perfect”) and *chéng* (“complete”) that are frequently used as RVCs. Therefore, the four-

<sup>105</sup> Lü asserts that *jiù* expresses “firm determination” (意志堅決). Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 316.

<sup>106</sup> The TCV has “His love for God is completed,” which is directly influenced by the GNB (cf. also TNIV).

character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, *yuán-mǎn-dá-chéng* (“complete with satisfaction”), is preferable because it reflects both the aspect and the discourse function of the heavily marked future-referring perfect tense-form in Greek as the foregrounding device, as (18i) illustrates.

#### 4.2.4.4. Discourse Function of the Perfect

As noted previously in chapter 3, due to its heavily marked feature, the Greek perfect (as well as pluperfect) tense-form is used as a foregrounding device in discourse.<sup>107</sup> In Mandarin, however, both *-zhe* and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are used to translate the stative aspect signaled by the perfect tense-form in Greek. In (17), while *-zhe* is used to translate the perfect tense-form, it does not effectively mark foregrounded prominence in discourse. Here, a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme would be an excellent alternative to *-zhe* except for the fact that it is not always available to the translator.<sup>108</sup> In such cases, the translator may utilize a commonly used four-character phrase, such as *yuán-mǎn-dá-chéng* (“complete with satisfaction”) in (18i), or take two disyllabic words to form a four-character unit, as *qīn-yǎn kàn-jiàn* in (19f) illustrates.

#### 4.2.4.5. Past-Referring Perfect

The past use of the perfect is often found in narrative contexts, as (19) illustrates.<sup>109</sup>

(19) καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἑώρακα; (John 8:57)

<sup>107</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92–93; Porter, *Idioms*, 302–03; Porter, “Verbal Aspect and Discourse Function,” 6–12; Hatina, “Perfect Tense-Form in Recent Debate,” 13–15; Reed and Reese, “Verbal Aspect,” 188–90; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 56–58.

<sup>108</sup> Four-character set phrases, as noted in chapter 3, are the most heavily marked verb forms in Mandarin because they are mainly derived from classical literature. Four character phrases, on the other hand, are usually either formed by two sets of disyllabic verbs or simply by a verb phrase/idiom that is made up of four characters.

<sup>109</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 260–65; Porter, *Idioms*, 40–41. Burton calls this the “aoristic perfect.” Burton, *Syntax*, §§80–82.

- (a) 豈見亞伯拉罕乎 (DV, MOR, MAR, GÜ, GO, BCV, UVW, UVB)<sup>110</sup>

Qǐ jiàn Yǎbólāhàn hū.

How could you see Abraham?

- (b) 已見亞伯拉罕乎 (SJ)

Yǐ jiàn Yǎbólāhàn hū.

You have already seen Abraham?

- (c) 豈曾見亞伯拉罕乎 (BB, WV)<sup>111</sup>

Qǐ céng jiàn Yǎbólāhàn hū.

How have you ever seen Abraham?

- (d) 豈得見我太祖 (GURY)<sup>112</sup>

Qǐ dé jiàn wǒ tàizǔ.

How could you possibly have seen my ancestor?

- (e) 竟見過亞伯拉罕麼？ (LÜ, SB, UV, NCV, CLB, CRV, TCV, WANG,

JOHNM, PK, CPB, CSB)<sup>113</sup>

Jìng jiàn-guò Yǎbólāhàn me?

You have actually seen Abraham?

- (f) 你親眼看見亞伯拉罕？ (FOLEY)

Nǐ qīn-yǎn-kàn-jiàn Yǎbólāhàn?

<sup>110</sup> The BCV has *Ér ǐr jiàn Yǎbólāhàn hū* 而爾見亞伯拉罕乎 (“And you have you seen Abraham?”). Abraham is transliterated as *Yǎbǎilāhàn* 亞百拉罕 (MOR, MAR), *Yǎbólāhàn* 亞伯喇罕 (GÜ), and *Yǎbóhàn* 亞伯罕 (GO).

<sup>111</sup> The WV has *Ér céng jiàn Yǎbóhàn yé?* 而曾見亞伯漢耶？ (“And you have seen Abraham?”)

<sup>112</sup> The particle *dé* conveys possibility in both classical and Mandarin Chinese. See Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 251–52.

<sup>113</sup> PK uses both RVC and *-guò*: *Qǐ kàn-jiàn-guò Yǎbólāhàn ne?* 豈看見過亞伯拉罕呢 (“How is it possible that you have seen Abraham?”); the CSB adds the auxiliary verb *huì*: *Zěnmé huì jiàn-guò Yǎbólāhàn?* 怎麼會見過亞伯拉罕？ (“How could you have seen Abraham?”); the CPB adds the second person singular pronoun *nǐ* and uses its own transliteration *Yǎbóláng* 亞伯郎 for Abraham.

You have seen Abraham with your own eyes?

The cited wenli versions in (19a–d) all use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb *jiàn* (“see”). (19b–c) both add the temporal deictic indicators *yǐ* (“already”) and *céng* (“ever”) to refer to the past. The Mandarin versions, on the other hand, render the stative aspect in Greek signaled by the perfect tense-form with the perfective aspect marker *-guò*. In this instance, it is not possible to express the stative aspect in Mandarin by using *-zhe*, because, when used with the verb *jiàn* (“see”), this character is always read as the RVC *zháo*, which conveys the perfective aspect.

As (19f) illustrates, the four-character set phrase, *qīn-yǎn-kàn-jiàn*, with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the most fitting translation for the past-referring perfect because it reflects the aspect and the discourse function as the foregrounding device.

#### 4.2.4.6. Omnitemporal and Timeless Perfect

##### a. Omnitemporal (Gnomic) Perfect

Like the aorist and present tense-forms, the perfect is also used in omnitemporal (gnomic) contexts, as (20) illustrates:<sup>114</sup>

(20) ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν πᾶσαι ἡρίθμηνται. (Luke 12:7)

(a) 就是你們的頭髮也都被數過了。(UV, SB, LÜ, NCV, TCV, CLB, CRV,

JOHNM, BB, WANG)<sup>115</sup>

Jiùshì nimen de tóufǎ yě dōu bèi shǔ-guò le.

All your hair has been counted.

<sup>114</sup> Robertson, *Grammar*, 897; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 73; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 267–68; Porter, *Idioms*, 41.

<sup>115</sup> LÜ uses the modal particle *ne* instead of the post-sentential *le*. JOHNM does not have a modal particle at the end of the sentence. BB has *Jì ěr shǒu zhī fǎ, yì jiē shǔ-guò yǐ* 既爾首之髮、亦皆數過矣 (“Even all hair on your head has already been numbered”).

- (b) 既爾髮皆已見數 (DV, SJ, MOR, MAR, JOHN, GURY, BCV, UVW, UVB)<sup>116</sup>

Jì ěr fǎ jiē yǐ jiàn shǔ.

All your hair has already been numbered.

- (c) 唯爾首髮、皆已數明 (GÜ)

Wéi ěr shǒu fǎ, jiē yǐ shǔ-míng.

All your hair has been counted.

Even all your hair has been counted carefully.

- (d) 就是你們的頭髮，也都數過了 (PK, CPB)<sup>117</sup>

Jiùshì nǐmen de tóufǎ, yě dōu shǔ-guò le.

- (e) 就是你們的頭髮，也都歷歷可數。(FOLEY)

Jiùshì nǐmen de tóufǎ, yě dōu lì-lì-kě-shǔ.

Even all your hair is numbered.

Most Mandarin versions, represented in (20a) and (20d), use the perfective aspect marker *-guò* to render ἡρίθμηνται. The difference between (20a) and (20d) is that the former is phrased in the passive construction signaled by the particle *bèi*, whereas the latter is phrased in the active voice and has a comma before the predicate. The particles *bèi* and *jiàn* used to signal passive voice in (20a–b) are unnecessary additions since Mandarin syntax does not require them here.<sup>118</sup> As for the comma, its presence or

<sup>116</sup> MAR has *Zhì ěr shǒu zhī fǎ jiē yǐ shǔ* 至爾首之髮皆已數 (“Even all the hair on your head has already been numbered”). JOHN has *Jì ěr shǒu zhī fǎ yì jiē bèi shǔ* 既爾首之髮亦皆被數 (“All the hair on your head has also already been numbered”). GURY and BCV omit *yǐ*. The UVW and UVB have *Jì ěr shǒu zhī fǎ, yì jiē jiàn shǔ* 既爾首之髮、亦皆見數 (“All the hair on your head has also already been numbered”).

<sup>117</sup> The CPB has *Jiù lián nǐmen tóushàng de tóufǎ tā dōu shǔ-guò le* 就連你們頭上的頭髮他都數過了 (“He has already counted even the hair on your head”).

<sup>118</sup> The particle *bèi* used in passive construction in Mandarin is not obligatory, although modern influence of European languages has increased its use, as Wang and others have pointed out. See Wang 王力, *Treatise*, vol. 2, 294–98; Wang 王力, *Outline*, 128–33; Lü and Zhu, *Syntax*, 82–85; Ota, “Some Remarks,” 139–40. For further discussions of the passive construction in Chinese, see chapter 6 below.

absence is immaterial to the meaning of the sentence. The wenli versions in (20b–c), on the other hand, add the temporal adverbial *yǐ* (“already”) to indicate past-time reference. The two, however, differ with respect to the aspect morphemes they use. (20b) has the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, whereas (20c) has the RVC *míng* (“clear”) to express perfective aspect. Hence, the first four examples are not preferable because (20a), (20c), and (20d) convey the perfective aspect, whereas *yǐ* in (20b) indicates past-time reference.

The stative aspect marker *-zhe* might be an option here (e.g. *shǔ-zhe tóufǎ*, “at the state of counting the hair”). However, as (20e) illustrates, the four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme *lì-lì-kě-shǔ* (“that which can be numbered”) is preferable because it performs the same function as the Greek perfect tense-form in marking foregrounding prominence at the discourse level. Four-character set phrases also differentiate from the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used to render Greek omnitemporal aorist into Mandarin.

## b. Timeless Perfect

The perfect tense-form is used in contexts where the temporal reference is considered irrelevant, as (21) illustrates:<sup>119</sup>

(21) θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε· (John 1:18)

(a) 從來沒有人看見 神。 (UV, JOHNM, CRV)

Cónglái méiyǒu rén **kàn-jian** Shén.

No one has ever seen God.

(b) 未有人見上帝 (DV, GO, GÜ, GURY, BCV, UVW, UVB, UVE, SJ, CSV, BB,

WV)<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 268–70; Porter, *Idioms*, 42.

<sup>120</sup> GÜ has *wúrén* (“no one”) instead of *wèi yǒu rén*. GO, GURY, BCV and SJ have *Cóng wèi yǒu rén jiàn Shén/Tiānzhǔ* 從來有人見 神/天主 (“Never before had anyone seen God”). The UVW, UVB, and UVE add *zhě* 者 at the end of the clause; the CSV has *Wèi cháng yǒu rén jiàn Shàngdì* 未嘗有人見上帝

Wèi yǒu rén **jiàn** Shàngdì.

Never had anyone seen God.

(c) 從來沒有人見過上帝 (LÜ, SB, CPB, CSB)<sup>121</sup>

Cónglái méiyǒu rén **jiàn-guò** Shàngdì.

No one has ever had the experience of seeing God.

(d) 神是沒有人看見過的 (PK, SYD, WANG)<sup>122</sup>

Shén shì méiyǒu rén **kàn-jian-guò de**.

God has never been seen by anyone.

(e) 無人何時而見神 (MOR, MAR)

Wúrén héshí ér **jiàn** Shén.

No one has at any time seen God.

(f) 從未有人在任何時候親眼目睹 神 (FOLEY)

Cóngwèi yǒurén zài rènhé shíhou **qīn-yǎn-mù-dǔ** Shén.

No one has ever at any time seen God with his or her own eyes.

Most Mandarin versions use the perfective morphemes to translate the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form. (21a) uses the RVC *jiàn* (“see”), whereas (21c) uses *-guò*. (21d) has the combination of an RVC and *-guò*. Most wenli versions represented in (21b) and (21e) use the monosyllabic verb *jiàn* (“see”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is not preferable to render the Greek perfect tense-form for the same reason pointed out above with respect to markedness and discourse considerations. In this example, it is not

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(“Never had anyone seen God before”); the WV has *Rén wèi yǒu jiàn Tiānzhǔ zhě* 人未有見天主者 (“One has not yet seen God”).

<sup>121</sup> *Tiānzhǔ* (SB) and *Shén* (CSB) are used instead of *Shàngdì* to refer to God.

<sup>122</sup> WANG has *Cónglái méiyǒu rén kàn-jian-guò Shàngdì* 從來沒有人看見過上帝 (“Never had anyone ever seen God”).



possible to express the stative aspect in Mandarin by using *-zhe*. As noted in example (19) above, when used with the verb *jiàn* (“see”), the character 著 is always read as the RVC *zháo*, which conveys the perfective aspect. Therefore, the perfect is best translated by a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as (21f) illustrates. The sense of timelessness may be conveyed lexically in Mandarin by *zài rèn hé shí hòu* (“at any time”).

#### 4.2.5. Pluperfect Tense-Form

The pluperfect is the least frequently used tense-form in the New Testament. Many traditional grammarians interpret its origin as being along the lines of “a perfect provided with an augment, the preterite or a verb of state.”<sup>123</sup> However, the pluperfect is best described as a heavily marked tense-form that grammaticalizes the remote [+remote] stative aspect in Greek.<sup>124</sup> Like the perfect tense-form, the pluperfect also serves as a foregrounding device in discourse. The pluperfect not only occurs in past-referring contexts, but also in non-past contexts, as in protases of conditional constructions. The non-past referring pluperfect will be discussed along with conditional sentences in the next chapter.

Because aspect in Mandarin does not differentiate between remoteness and immediacy, the stative aspect marker *-zhe* and four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are used not only to render the perfect but also pluperfect tense-forms in Greek. (22) illustrates:

(22) ἤδεισαν αὐτόν (Mark 1:34)

<sup>123</sup> Kuryłowicz, *Inflectional Categories*, 91. See also Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, vol. 1, 151f; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§235–37; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §43; Burton, *Syntax*, §§89–90; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §97; Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax*, 119–23; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 148; BDF, §347; Turner, *Syntax*, 86; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 308–9.

<sup>124</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 287–90; Porter, *Idioms*, 42.

- (a) 他們認識祂。 (WANG, LÜ, UV, NCV, SB, CRV, JOHNM)

Tāmen **rènshì** Tā.

They know Him.

- (b) 他們知道他是誰。 (TCV)

Tāmen **zhīdào** tā shì shéi.

They know who he is.

- (c) 他們對他耳熟能詳。 (FOLEY)

Tāmen duì tā **ěr-shóu-néng-xiáng**.

They know him well.

Most Mandarin versions represented in (22a) render the pluperfect ᾔδεισαν with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb *rènshì* (“know [a person]”). (22b) also uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, but rephrases the original with a subordinate clause. This is an unnecessary change because the Greek is phrased in a simple sentence. With the perfect tense-form, the stative aspect signaled by the pluperfect may be reflected in Mandarin transition by employing the stative aspect marker *-zhe* and four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. In (22), however, *-zhe* cannot possibly be used to realize the stative aspect in Mandarin because the same character is used mainly as the RVC, especially in the expression *rèn-zhào* 認著 (“recognize”). As (22c) illustrates, the four-character set phrase *ěr-shóu-néng-xiáng* (lit. “have heard something many times that one can make a detailed explanation of it”)<sup>125</sup> with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, on the other hand, reflects the aspect and performs the same function as the pluperfect tense-form in building foregrounded prominence at the discourse level.

<sup>125</sup> See also the commentary on οἶδασιν in John 18:21 in chapter 6 of this dissertation below.

#### 4.2.6. Conclusion

In summary, when used in contexts with different temporal references, the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect tense-forms in Greek may be consistently rendered by the imperfective and stative morphemes in Mandarin. Because aspect in Mandarin does not differentiate between remoteness and immediacy, the morphologically expressed (single) aspect morphemes, *zài*, *-zhe*, and IDVCs, may be used interchangeably to translate both the present and imperfect tense-forms in Greek. For the same reason, *-zhe* is used to translate both the perfect and pluperfect tense-forms in Greek.

It is argued here that when the translator has the option to choose between the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and the morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, the latter is preferable because they are formally and semantically marked. In order to reflect the discourse functions of the present and imperfect tense-forms in Greek, two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *zài...-zhe*, *zài...IDVCs*, *-le-IDVCs*) may be utilized. However, in contexts where morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are unavailable, a disyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme may be used in order to represent the more heavily marked present and imperfective tense-forms in Greek.

Similarly, the translator may use *-zhe* to translate the perfect and pluperfect tense-forms in Greek as it morphologically reflects the stative aspect in Mandarin. However, for reasons discussed earlier in this section, *-zhe* cannot be consistently used to translate each occurrence of the perfect or pluperfect tense-forms, and, more importantly, it does not serve as a foregrounding device in Mandarin discourse. Four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are utilized in order to reflect the stative aspect in Greek and

perform the same function as the Greek perfect and pluperfect tense-forms in building foregrounded prominence at the discourse level.

#### **4.3. Conclusion**

The primary task of this chapter is to devise a system of consistently translating the Greek tense-forms in the indicative mood into Mandarin. In formulating the system, key criteria include the consistent matching of aspect in Greek and Mandarin, discourse considerations, and notions of markedness. The result is encouraging and promising; the tripartite model of Greek aspect outlined in the previous chapter can be closely represented by equivalent aspect morphemes in Mandarin with a high degree of morphological consistency. In the next chapter, the focus will turn to the translation of the Greek verbal syntax in the non-indicative moods into Mandarin.

## CHAPTER 5 THE NON-INDICATIVE MOODS AND CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

### 5.0. Introduction

This chapter builds upon the findings of the previous chapter on New Testament Greek aspect in the indicative mood and applies them directly to the non-indicative moods. As in the previous chapter, the primary objective is to formulate a consistent system of grammatical translation of Greek tense-forms with Mandarin aspect morphemes. This chapter also addresses pertinent translation issues concerning the syntax of clauses and sentences, as well as larger discourse units. It is argued here that many of the grammatical constructions and syntactical nuances in Greek discourse (e.g. periphrasis) can only be translated into Mandarin by lexical means. Over sixty Chinese Bible versions are reviewed in the example sentences. The discussion divides into four parts: Imperative (5.1), Subjunctive and Optative Moods (5.2), Infinitives and Participles (5.3), and Conditional Clauses (5.4).

### 5.1. Imperative

The imperative mood is used to express command, entreaty, or prohibition in Greek.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Greek, Mandarin does not grammaticalize the perfective, imperfective, or stative aspects in the imperative mood by morphemes different from those in the indicative mood.

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<sup>1</sup> For a theory concerning the historical origins of the imperative mood, see Gonda, *Character*, 51–52; see also 47–67. For general discussions on the imperative, see Robertson, *Grammar*, 941–50; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2, 339–44; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 20–21; BDF, §§335–37; Thorley, “Aktionsart,” 304–15. For discussions in connection with aspect, see Bakker, *Greek Imperative*; McKay, “Aspect in Imperative Constructions,” 201–26; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 336–47; Porter, *Idioms*, 53–56, 221–22; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 325–88; Matthewson, “Verbal Aspect,” 21–35.

### 5.1.1. Aorist Imperative

The aorist imperative is frequently used to express commands in the New Testament, as (1) illustrates:

(1) πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστίν· ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν· (Matt 9:13)

(a) 你們去研究研究『我喜愛憐憫，不喜愛祭祀』是甚麼意思。(LÜ)

Nǐmen qù **yánjiù-yánjiù** “wǒ xǐ'ài liánmǐn, bù xǐ'ài jìsì” shì shénme yìsi.

Go figure out what “I love mercy; I do not love sacrifice” means.

(b) 你們去想一想 . . . (NCV)

Nǐmen qù **xiǎng-yī-xiǎng**....

Go think about....

(c) 你們去研究 . . . (CRV, CPB, TCV)

Nǐmen qù **yánjiù**....

Go study....

(d) 你們且去揣摩 . . . (UV, PK, JOHNM, WANG)

Nǐmen qiě qù **chuǎimó**....

Just go figure out also....

(e) 你們去研究一下 . . . (SB)

Nǐmen qù **yánjiù yīxià**....

Go study for a while....

(f) 你們不如回去細心咀嚼這句話 . . . (CLB)

Nǐmen bùrú huíqù **xì-xīn-jǔ-jué** zhè jù huà.

Why don't you go back and chew on these words more carefully....

(1a–b) both use reduplicated verbs to convey the perfective aspect of the aorist imperative. (1c–e) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to express perfectivity, providing an appealing translation, except that the adverb *yīxià* in (1e) is an unnecessary addition because it suggests a short duration, an *Aktionsart*-based concept of the aorist imperative held by many traditional grammarians.<sup>2</sup> The four-character phrase *xì-xīn-jǔ-jué* combined with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (1f) is a less appealing translation, since it is reserved specifically for rendering the Greek stative aspect into Mandarin. While verb reduplication and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are considered good translations of the aorist imperative, the latter is preferable since its unmarked feature corresponds more closely to the less heavily marked aorist tense-form.<sup>3</sup> More importantly, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme serves as a backgrounding device in Mandarin discourse, marking cohesion of the narrative text in the same way as the Greek aorist.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, however, verb reduplication is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek. Therefore, both the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and verb reduplication are considered preferable for the rendering of the aorist imperative, as (1a, c–d) illustrate.

### 5.1.2. Present Imperative

The present imperative expresses imperfective aspect in Greek. Command or entreaty expressed in the Greek present imperative should be rendered by imperfect morphemes in

<sup>2</sup> Winer, *Treatise*, 390–99; Kretschmer, “Griechische Imperativus Aorist Activ,” 112–22; Robertson, *Grammar*, 941–50; Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 339–44; BDF, §§335–37.

<sup>3</sup> For a different opinion on notions of markedness of Greek tense-forms in the imperative mood, see McKay, “Aspects,” 41–58. McKay endorses the *Aktionsart* theory of classifying Greek verbs according to state and action (or activity): the present imperative is the “residual, or unmarked, aspect of a *stative* verb, most readily chosen in a neutral context where is no contrast of other feature which points positively to a particular realisation of the imperative,” whereas the aorist imperative is the “residual, or unmarked, aspect of an *action* verb” (*italics added*). McKay, “Aspects,” 55.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 305.

Mandarin. Except for *zài*, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and the imperfective morphemes (IDVCs, *-zhe*) may be used to translate the present imperative. Discourse consideration remains the primary criterion for choosing aspect morphemes in Mandarin. (2) illustrates:

(2) ἀκούετε (Mark 4:3)

(a) 你們要聽！ (LÜ, CRV, BB)<sup>5</sup>

Nǐmen yào **tīng**!

You should listen!

(b) 你們聽啊！ (UV, WANG, TCV)<sup>6</sup>

Nǐmen **tīng a**!

Hey! Listen!

(c) 你們聽 (SB)

Nǐmen **tīng**.

You listen.

(d) 宜聽 (GÜ)

Yí **tīng**.

You should listen.

(e) 注意聽！ (CPB)

Zhùyì **tīng**!

Listen up!

(f) 注意 (CLB)

Zhùyì.

<sup>5</sup> BB has *Ēr xū tīng* 爾須聽 (“You ought to listen”).

<sup>6</sup> The TCV adds *liúxīn* 留心 (“attentively”) in front of *tīng*.



Pay attention.

(g) 你們聽著 (PK, JOHNM, NCV)

Nimen **tīng-zhe!**

You listen up!

While most Mandarin versions render the present imperative with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as represented in (2a–e), there are still slight nuances. With the exception of (2f), the above examples all use the verb *tīng* (“hear,” “listen”). The addition of auxiliary verbs, such as *yào* in (2a) and *yí* in (2d), is not ideal for translating the imperative mood in Greek because auxiliary verbs in Chinese are used to express volition or contingency.<sup>7</sup> Exclamative particles, on the other hand, such as *a* (“ah,” “hey”) in (2b), *zāi* (DV, SJ, GO, BCV, GURY, *Tīng zhī zāi* 聽之哉, “Listen to it!”), *yě* (MOR, MAR, *Ēr tīng yě* 爾聽也, “You listen!”), and *hū* 乎 (YAN), are preferable additions here.<sup>8</sup> (2c) uses the monosyllabic verb *tīng* (“hear”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. (2e) and (2f) both use *zhùyì*, the difference being that in the former it is used as an adverb (“Listen carefully!”), whereas in the latter it is used as a verb (“Pay attention!”). While the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in (2a–e) is a good translation of the Greek present imperative, it does not render the more heavily marked features of ἀκούετε.

The imperfective aspect morpheme *-zhe* in (2g) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it is formally and semantically marked. However, as pointed out in the previous chapters, a single aspect morpheme alone does not effectively mark foregrounded prominence in Mandarin. Furthermore, since *zài* is never used in imperative sentences,

<sup>7</sup> For a list of commonly used Mandarin auxiliary verbs, see Table 5.1, p. 231 below.

<sup>8</sup> For a summary of the usage of various Chinese exclamation particles, see Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 315–23.

the translator may choose disyllabic verbs such as *língtīng* instead of the monosyllabic verb *tīng* in order to build more prominence in discourse. For example, (2g) may be rephrased as *Nīmen língtīng-zhe!* 你們聆聽著.

### 5.1.3. Aorist vs. Present Imperative

Many grammarians explain the difference between the aorist and present imperatives by means of *Aktionsart*, that is, the former expresses a punctiliar or instantaneous action, whereas the latter expresses linear or durative action.<sup>9</sup> Still many others continue to recognize the distinction between the two tense-forms in the imperative mood in terms of general versus definite.<sup>10</sup>

These traditional views are no longer convincing. The difference between these two tense-forms in the imperative mood is best explained by verbal aspect, which means that the present imperative is a more heavily marked form than the aorist imperative. As Porter notes, the use of the present imperative represents the author's self-conscious choice to "draw attention to the theme that is pursued in the following material."<sup>11</sup> The two versions of the Lord's Prayer recorded by Matthew and Luke illustrate this nuance:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Burton, *Syntax*, §165; Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax*, 74; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 122–26; Hermann, "Objektive," 207–08; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 86–87; Ruipérez, *Estructura*; Goetchius, *Language*, 262–63; BDF, §335; Turner, *Syntax*, 74–78; Bakker, *Imperative*, 19–30; Mateos, *Aspecto*, 73; Hoffmann and von Siebenthal, *Griechische Grammatik*, §212.

<sup>10</sup> Mozley, "Notes," 279–82; BDF, §335. Rijksbaron follows the tradition by stating that the aorist imperative refers to a single and *well-defined* action, whereas the present imperative supplies *unspecified* information. Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 43–47; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 45–47. Along this line of interpretation, Sicking argues that the aorist performs an "independent informative function" and marks "incisions and 'paragraphs'" in discourse, whereas the present marks cohesion and continuity. Sicking, "Distribution," 37–39. See also Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 327–79; Oréal, "Détermination," 285–302. Basset adds that the present is the "unmarked term" in the privative opposition between the two tense-forms. See Basset, "Corrélations," 233–45; Basset, "Étude," 305–16. *Contra* McKay, "Imperative Constructions," 201–26.

<sup>11</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 350.

<sup>12</sup> In the context of prayers to God, the aorist imperative occurs more frequently than the present imperative or subjunctive. See Mozley, "Notes," 280; Bakker, *Imperative*, 128–41; Voelz, "Use," 45–48; Pulleyn, *Prayer*, 221.

(3) τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· (Matt 6:11)

(a) 我們日用的食物，今天賜給我們；(LÜ, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, CRV)

Wōmen rìyòng de shíwù, jīntiān cì gěi wōmen.

Our food we need daily, give to us today.

(b) 賜給我們今天所需的飲食。(TCV)

Cì gěi wōmen jīntiān suǒxū de yǐnshí.

Give to us the food and drink we need today.

(c) 我們每天所需的食物，求你今天賜給我們；(NCV, SB, CPB, CLB)<sup>13</sup>

Wōmen měitiān suǒxū de shíwù, *qiú* nǐ jīntiān cì gěi wōmen.

Our food we need daily, we ask you to give to us today.

(4) τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· (Luke 11:3)

(a) 我們日用的食物，天天賜給我們；(LÜ, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, CRV)<sup>14</sup>

Wōmen rìyòng de shíwù, tiāntiān cì gěi wōmen.

Our daily food, give to us everyday.

(b) 賜給我們每天需要的飲食。(TCV, CLB)

Cì gěi wōmen měitiān xūyào de yǐnshí.

Give us food and drink we need everyday.

(c) 我們需用的食物，求你每天給我們；(NCV, SB, CPB)<sup>15</sup>

Wōmen xūyòng de shíwù, *qiú* nǐ měitiān gěi wōmen.

Our food we need, we ask you to give to us daily.

<sup>13</sup> The CPB has *Qiú nǐ jīntiān shǎng gěi wōmen rìyòng de shíliáng* 求你今天賞給我們日用的食糧 (“We ask you today to give to us daily food”); the CLB has *Qiú Nǐ cì wōmen jīntiān suǒxū de yǐnshí* 求你賜給我們今天所需的飲食 (“We ask You to give to us the food we need today”).

<sup>14</sup> PK has *rìrì cìyǔ wōmen* 日 日賜與我們 (“give to us everyday”).

<sup>15</sup> The CPB has *Qiú nǐ měitiān gěi wōmen suǒxū de shíliáng* 求你每天給我們所需的食糧 (“We ask you to give us the food we need”).

(d) 我們日用的飲食，天天賞賜下來給我們。(FOLEY)

Wǒmen rìyòng de yǐnshí, tiāntiān **shǎngcì-xiàlái** gěi wǒmen.

Our daily food and drink, give to us everyday.

The Chinese versions cited above do not differentiate the aorist δός in (3) from the present imperative δίδου in (4), all of which use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb “give” (*cì* (3a–c, 4a–b), *gěi* (4c)). The construction that begins with *qiú nǐ* (“we ask you”) in (3c) and (4c), however, is not preferable because it renders the Greek imperatives as though they were in the indicative mood. For the aorist imperative, the monosyllabic verb *cì* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because it reflects the aspect and the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek. The present imperative, on the other hand, may be rendered by the disyllabic verb *shǎngcì* (“give”) with the IDVC *xiàlái*, expressing the imperfective aspect.

#### 5.1.4. Perfect Imperative

The perfect imperative, as Cooper and Krüger have observed, has intensive and peremptory force in classical Greek.<sup>16</sup> It is, however, very rare in the New Testament. The perfect imperative grammaticalizes the same stative aspect as it does in the indicative mood.<sup>17</sup> (5) illustrates a salutatory term used in Hellenistic letter closing:<sup>18</sup>

(5) ἔρωσθε (Acts 15:29)

<sup>16</sup> Cooper and Krüger note that it is almost offensively strong as a form of address to persons but it is sometimes used “precisely for shock value” in certain verbs (e.g. σιωπάω). Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1, 629–31.

<sup>17</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 54. Goodwin observes that, in classical Greek, the perfect imperative occurs most frequently in the third person singular of the passive, where it expresses “a command that something just done or about to be done shall be *decisive* and *final*” (italics original). Goodwin, *Syntax*, §105. See also Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§408–13.

<sup>18</sup> ἔρωσθε (second person singular ἔρωσο does not occur in the New Testament) has widespread attestation in papyri. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 185; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §691.

- (a) 伏惟萬福 (DV)

Fú wéi wànfú.

Blessings!

- (b) 敬祝康泰。 (WV)

Jìngzhù kāngtài.

Wish you health and safety.

- (c) 幸甚、並候平安。 (GÜ)

Xìngshèn, bìng hòu píng'ān.

[May you find] true happiness! Peace be with you!

- (d) 幸甚、伏爲獲安。 (GURY)<sup>19</sup>

Xìngshèn, fú wéi huò ān.

[May you find] true happiness! Peace be with you!

- (e) 幸甚 (MOR, MAR)

Xìngshèn.

[May you find] true happiness!

- (f) 願你們平安。 (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, TCV, BCV, BB, SJ)<sup>20</sup>

**Yuàn** nǐmen píng'ān.

Peace be with you.

- (g) 願你們安康！ (LÜ)

**Yuàn** nǐmen ānkāng.

<sup>19</sup> GURY uses the character *wéi* 爲 for *wéi* 惟.

<sup>20</sup> The BCV, BB, and SJ have *Yuàn ěr píng'ān* 願爾平安 (“Peace to you!”).

Wish you all good health!

(h) 祝你們安好！(SB, CLB, NCV)<sup>21</sup>

**Zhù** nǐmen ānhǎo.

Safe and sound to you all!

(i) . . . 敬請

台安 (FOLEY)

Jìng-qǐng-tái-'ān.

May you find happiness and peace.

The above are examples of epistolary conventions used to conclude a letter in Chinese writing. These examples all render the perfect passive imperative ἔρρωσθε with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, nevertheless some are more fitting than others are. The phrases *xìngshèn*, *fú-wéi-wàn-fú*, *jìngzhù kāngtài*, and *xìngshèn, bìng-hòu-píng-'ān* used in several wenli versions are still used in modern formal correspondence. The combination of *xìngshèn* and the four-character phrase in (5c–d), however, is redundant. Several Mandarin versions render the perfect imperative with constructions that begin with the particles *yuàn* (“wish,” “hope” (5f–g)) or *zhù* (“may you” (5h)). In these instances, the constructions are inappropriate because they are unmarked in both written and spoken discourse.

The four-character phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (5a–b) and (5i), thus, best translate the perfect imperative ἔρρωσθε in letter closing. According to the conventions of

<sup>21</sup> The CLB has *Zhù píng'ān* 祝平安 (“Peace”); the NCV has *Zhù nímén píng'ān* 祝你們平安！ (“Peace to you!”)

Chinese letter-writing, the last two characters of the four-character phrases used in the closing must be written at the top of the letter, as (5i) illustrates.<sup>22</sup>

## 5.2. Subjunctive and Optative Moods

### 5.2.1. Subjunctive

#### 5.2.1.1. Aorist and Present Subjunctives

The subjunctive mood has well-defined roles in the Greek New Testament. Two tense-forms, the present and aorist, grammaticalize the perfective and imperfective aspects in the subjunctive mood.<sup>23</sup> The subjunctive mood is often used in contexts where volition or potential is intended.<sup>24</sup> When translating into Mandarin, the two tense-forms in the subjunctive must be represented by equivalent aspect morphemes, as (6) illustrates.

(6) εἰ δὲ ποιῶ, κἄν ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε, τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύετε, ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ

γινώσκητε ὅτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί. (John 10:38)

(a) 若我行這事、你們雖然不信我、也當信這事、叫你們知而且信、父在我裏面、我在父裏面 (JOHNM, PK)<sup>25</sup>

Ruò wǒ xíng zhè shì, nǐmen suīrán bù xìn wǒ, yě dāng xìn zhè shì, jiào nǐmen

<sup>22</sup> Chinese is written from top to bottom. For an introduction to Chinese letter-writing, see, for example, Cornaby, *Chinese Letter-Writing*. Cornaby further points out that four-character phrases are preceded by words such as *zhuāncǐ* 專此 (“just this much”). Cornaby, *Chinese Letter-Writing*, 13–14.

<sup>23</sup> Perfect subjunctive is rare in the New Testament (e.g. εἰδῆτε, 1 John 5:13). As Robertson observes, it is more often expressed by means of periphrastic construction (e.g. ἡ πεπληρωμένη, Jas 5:15). Future subjunctive does not occur in the New Testament. Robertson, *Grammar*, 360, 876; Harry, “Perfect Subjunctive,” 347–54; Sonnenschein, “Perfect Subjunctive,” 439–40; Harry, “Perfect Subjunctive,” 100–03. On the question of origins of the subjunctive, see Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative*. See also Gonda, *Moods*, 68–116.

<sup>24</sup> Porter argues that the subjunctive mood grammaticalizes [+projection]. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 322. Greenlee, on the other hand, calls it the “mood of contingency.” Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 47. Many grammarians discuss the subjunctive mood according to its threefold usage: futuristic (prospective), volitive (voluntative), and deliberative. Brugmann, Cohn, and Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*, §§563–65; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 184–86; Robertson, *Grammar*, 928–35; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 82–83. Schwyzler classifies its usage into prospective, voluntative, adhortative, and oblique subjunctive. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, 309–19.

<sup>25</sup> PK has *jiào nǐmen yòu zhīdào yòu xìn* (“so that you know and also believe”).

**zhī érqiě xìn, fù zài wǒ lǐ miàn, wǒ zài fù lǐ miàn.**

If you do these deeds, even though you do not believe me, you should

believe these deeds, in order that you know and believe, that the Father is

in me, and I am in the Father.

(b) . . . 叫你們又知道，又明白 . . . (UV, WANG, LÜ, CSB)

...jiào nǐmen yòu **zhīdào**, yòu **míngbái**....

...to let you know and understand....

(c) . . . 好使你們確實知道 . . . (NCV, TCV, CPB)<sup>26</sup>

...hǎoshǐ nǐmen *quèshí* **zhīdào**....

...to make sure that you know....

(d) . . . 你們就會清楚明白 . . . (CLB)

...nǐmen jiù *huì* **qīngchǔ míngbái**....

...you will be able to understand clearly....

(e) . . . 叫你們可以知道，且一直知道... (CRV)

...jiào nǐmen *kěyǐ* **zhīdào**, qiě *yīzhí* **zhīdào**....

...so that you can understand, and continuously understand....

(f) . . . 如此你們必定認出 . . . (SB)

...rúcǐ nǐmen *bìdìng* **rèn-chū**....

...so that you will certainly recognize....

(g) . . . 好讓你們認出並且領會著 . . . (FOLEY)

...hǎo ràng nǐmen **rèn-chū** bìngqiě **lǐnghuì-zhe**....

...so that you may recognize and be figuring it out....

<sup>26</sup> The CPB uses *liǎojiě* 瞭解 (“comprehend”) instead of *zhīdào*.



Here, two subjunctives occur in the apodosis of the conditional clause, γνῶτε (aorist) and γινώσκητε (present). Most Mandarin versions, as represented in (6a–e), render both tense-forms with the *ø* morpheme. The fact that (6a) has *xìn* (“believe”) instead of *míngbái* (“understand”) is unmistakably due to the influence of the Vulgate and KJV, which have the variant reading πιστεύσητε instead of γινώσκητε.<sup>27</sup>

However, the textual issue is not the only concern. The *ø* morpheme used in (6a–e) is not preferable because it does not morphologically reflect the different aspects signaled by the present and aorist subjunctives in Greek. (6c) uses only one verb, *zhīdào* (“know”), to render both γνῶτε and γινώσκητε, but adds the adverb *quèshí* (“certainly”) to denote the emphasis of the repeated Greek verbs. Similarly, (6d) uses only one verb, *míngbái*, however, not only does it add an adverb, *qīngchǔ* (“clearly”), it also employs an auxiliary verb, *huì*. (6e) reflects the traditional grammarians’ interpretation of the two tense-forms in the subjunctive in terms of *Aktionsart*, that is, by adding the adverb *yìzhí* (“continuously”) in front of *zhīdào* to convey durative or continuative meaning of the present imperative. (6f) stands out from the rest of the Mandarin versions for it uses the RVC *chū*, however, because *rèn-chū* (“recognize”) alone reflects only the perfective aspect signaled by γνῶτε and not the imperfective aspect signaled by γινώσκητε, this version is also less than ideal.

In order to differentiate the aorist and present tense-forms in the subjunctive mood, it is necessary to use the RVC *chū* to reflect the perfective aspect signaled by the former,

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<sup>27</sup> The reading πιστεύσητε is supported by A K Δ Π Ψ f<sup>13</sup> (Σ πιστεύητε). All wenli versions and early Mandarin versions (e.g. JOHNM, PK) adopt this reading. Metzger points out that this variant is closer to the original reading than the pleonastic expression γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 198.

and the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe* (with a disyllabic verb) to reflect the more heavily marked imperfective aspect signaled by the latter, as (6g) illustrates.

Auxiliary verbs are often employed to express volition and contingency in Mandarin, and therefore are appropriate additions to translate the subjective mood in Greek. Table 5.1 contains a list of commonly used auxiliary verbs in Mandarin.

Chinese	Pinyin	English Translation
巴不得	<i>bābude</i>	earnestly wish
必/必要/必須/必定	<i>bì/bìyào/bìxū/bìnéng/bìdìng</i>	must
得/得以	<i>dé/déyǐ</i>	be able to
得	<i>děi</i>	must
敢	<i>gǎn</i>	dare
好/好使/好讓	<i>hǎo/hǎoshǐ/hǎoràng</i>	may, so that
恨不得/恨不能	<i>hènbude/hènbunéng</i>	earnestly wish
會	<i>huì</i>	will, can
將/將要	<i>jiāng/jiāngyào</i>	will
叫	<i>jiào</i>	let
肯	<i>kěn</i>	be willing to
可能	<i>kěnéng</i>	can, be possible to
可/可以	<i>kě/kěyǐ</i>	can
來	<i>lái</i>	let, come
樂得	<i>lèdé</i>	be only too glad to
樂意	<i>lèyì</i>	be willing to
免不了	<i>miǎnbuliǎo</i>	be unavoidable to
能/能夠	<i>néng/nénggòu</i>	can
企圖	<i>qítú</i>	attempt
讓	<i>ràng</i>	let, allow
容易	<i>róngyì</i>	be likely to
使	<i>shǐ</i>	let, make, can
望不能	<i>wàngbunéng</i>	earnestly wish
務要	<i>wùyào</i>	must
想	<i>xiǎng</i>	suppose, want
希望	<i>xīwàng</i>	wish
要/必要/必	<i>yào/bìyào/bì</i>	want, will, must
宜	<i>yí</i>	should
應/應當/當/應該/該	<i>yīng/yīngdāng/dāng/yīnggāi/gāi</i>	should
欲	<i>yù</i>	desire, wish
願/願意	<i>yuàn/yuànyì</i>	want
足以	<i>zúyǐ</i>	be sufficient

Table 5.1. List of commonly used auxiliary verbs in Mandarin

### 5.2.1.2. Negated Subjunctive and Prohibitions

While prohibitions in Greek occur in all moods, they occur more often in the present imperative and aorist subjunctive. Traditional grammarians explain the difference between the present imperative and aorist subjunctive by *Aktionsart*: the former denotes

the stopping of an action already in process, whereas the latter conveys a sense of “do not start” performing an action.<sup>28</sup> As Jannaris has pointed out, the imperative in prohibitions eventually disappeared from current use in the later development of Greek.<sup>29</sup> Although translations of negated imperatives and negative subjunctives used as prohibitions “can be virtually identical” in English, as Porter notes, they need not be so in Mandarin.<sup>30</sup> The present tense-form is more heavily marked than the aorist in the subjunctive mood, thus, it should be rendered with the equivalent aspect morpheme in Mandarin. (7) and (8) illustrate:

(7) μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὀμώσης (Matt 5:36)

(a) 勿指親首發誓 (DV, GO, GÜ, BB, SJ, UVB)<sup>31</sup>

Wù zhǐ qīn shǒu fāshì.

Do not point to your head and swear.

(b) 毋指爾首而誓 (WV, GURY, BCV, UVW, UVB, UVE)<sup>32</sup>

Wú zhǐ ěr shǒu ér shì.

<sup>28</sup> Humphreys, “On Negative Commands,” 48; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §259; Burton, *Syntax*, §§163–65; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 122–6, 78; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §126; Post, “Dramatic Uses,” 31–59; Heidt, “Translating,” 253–56; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §1841; Turner, *Syntax*, 74–78; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 233, 235; Voelz, “Use,” 41; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 108, 16; Thorley, “Subjunctive Aktionsart,” 193–211; Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 140; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 215–17. *Contra* McKay, “Imperative Constructions,” 216–19. See also Boyer, “Classification of Imperatives,” 35–54. Although Boyer disproves the traditional understanding of the present imperative, his interpretation of the different tense-forms of the imperatives is essentially that of *Aktionsart*. For example, he argues that the aorist imperative is “more urgent” than the present imperative, for “it might be demanding first attention, ‘right now,’ or ‘as soon as possible.’” See Boyer, “Classification of Imperatives,” 45–46.

<sup>29</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§1918–19.

<sup>30</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 221.

<sup>31</sup> GÜ has wù zhǐ shǒu 勿誓指首 (“do not swear by pointing your head”); BB has wù zhǐ ěr zhǐ shǒu ér shì 又勿指爾之首而誓 (“also, do not point your head and swear”).

<sup>32</sup> GURY has wú zhǐ jǐ shǒu shì 毋指己首誓 (“do not point to your own head and swear”); the BCV has yòu wú zhǐ ěr shǒu ér shì 又毋指爾首而誓 (“also, do not point to your head and swear”); the UVB and UVE have wù 勿 (“not”) instead of wú 毋.

Do not point to your head and swear.

- (c) 又不可指著你的頭來起誓 (LÜ, UV, JOHNM, WANG, NCV, TCV, CLB, SB, CRV, MOR)<sup>33</sup>

Yòu *bùkě* zhǐ-zhe nǐ de tóu lái **qǐshì**.

Do not point to your head and swear.

- (d) 又不許指著你的頭起誓 (PK)

Yòu *bùxǔ* zhǐ-zhe nǐ de tóu **qǐshì**.

You are not permitted to point to your head and swear.

- (e) 你更不要指著你的頭發誓 (CPB)

Nǐ gèng *bùyào* zhǐ-zhe nǐ de tóu **fāshì**.

You will not point to your head and swear.

- (8) μή ὀμνύετε (Jas 5:12)

- (a) 總須戒發誓 (GÜ)

Zǒng xū jiè **fāshì**.

You must restrain from swearing at all times.

- (b) 勿發誓。(GO, BCV, UVW)<sup>34</sup>

Wù **fāshì**.

Do not swear.

- (c) 不要．．．起誓。(CPB)

*Bùyào*...**qǐshì**.

Do not swear.

<sup>33</sup> The NCV, TCV, and SB have *fāshì* (“swear”) instead of *qǐshì*. MOR has *yòu ěr bù kěyǐ zhǐ ěr shǒu ér fāshì* 又爾不可以(sic)指爾首而發誓 (“neither can you [point] to your head and swear”).

<sup>34</sup> The UVW has *wú zhǐ zhī ér shì* 毋指之而誓 (“do not point to it and swear”).

- (d) 切莫宣誓 (WV)

Qiè mò **xuānshì**.

Do not ever make an oath.

- (e) 凡最緊之事勿矢誓 (MAR)

Fán zuì jǐn zhī shì wù **shǐshì**.

The most important thing is not to swear.

- (f) 至要者乃毋發誓 (GURY)

Zhìyào zhě nǎi wú **fāshì**.

The most important thing is not to swear.

- (g) 最要緊的、是不可起誓 (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, NCV, SB, CRV, BB,

TCV)<sup>35</sup>

Zuì yàojǐn de, shì **bùkě qǐshì**.

The most important thing is not to swear.

- (h) 別起誓了。(LÜ)

**Bié qǐshì** le.

Stop swearing.

- (i) 千萬不可起誓 (CLB)

**Qiān-wàn-bù-kě qǐshì**.

Never ever swear.

- (j) 不要再這樣發誓下去了。(FOLEY)

**Bùyào zài zhèyàng fāshì-xiàqù** le.

<sup>35</sup> BB has it in the wenli style: *zuì yàozhǐ, bùkě qǐshì* 最要者、不可起誓 (“most important is not to swear”).

Do not go on swearing.

The Chinese versions in (7a–e) all render the aorist subjunctive ὁμόσης in Matt 5:36 with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. They differ only in the choice of words for negation (*italics*) and for the act of swearing (**highlighted in bold**). In the case of the present subjunctive ὁμνύετε in Jas 5:12, Chinese versions in (8a–i), without exception, render it with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Here, the difference between versions is not limited to merely the choice of words. (8a) and (8e–g) are not preferable because they do not translate ὁμνύετε as a prohibition in Chinese. McKay has pointed out that the aorist subjunctive in Matthew’s account denotes that Jesus is “dramatizing a new command, not just to limit swearing, but not to swear at all,” as opposed to the present subjunctive in the James passage, where the apostle is “giving without contrast a mild series of exhortations to ἀδελφοί μου ‘my brother, don’t be in the habit of swearing.’”<sup>36</sup> McKay’s assertion reflects the traditional understanding of the difference between the aorist and present subjunctive in terms of “do not start swearing” versus “stop swearing.” In fact, the present tense-form in the subjunctive mood, as Porter notes, indicates the conscious aspectual choice of emphasizing the importance of not swearing.<sup>37</sup>

The foregrounding use of the present tense-form in Greek applies to the subjunctive mood. However, such use cannot be reflected in Mandarin by a two-morpheme aspect compound since *zài* cannot be used in commands. The translator does have the option of choosing between the formally unmarked ( $\emptyset$  morpheme) and marked (IDVCs), as *xiàqù*

<sup>36</sup> McKay, “Syntax in Exegesis,” 50; McKay, “Imperative Constructions,” 216–17. *Contra* Turner, *Syntax*, 75.

<sup>37</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 353.

in (8j) illustrates. The latter choice is preferable because it morphologically differentiates the present and aorist subjunctive forms in Greek.

### 5.2.2. Optative

The optative mood, as Gonda remarks, “enables the speaker to introduce elements of visualization and contingency, the latter being...the main character of this mood.”<sup>38</sup> In addition to contingency, Moule adds that the optative mood conveys a sense of “remoter, vaguer, less assured in tone.”<sup>39</sup> In independent clauses, the Greek optative mood occurs less frequently than other moods in the New Testament, however, its primary use of expressing volition (e.g. mild or modest assertion of command) and potentiality<sup>40</sup> is found in stereotyped phrases, such as *μὴ γένοιτο* in (9).<sup>41</sup> The optative mood is often translated by auxiliary verbs in Chinese.<sup>42</sup> Its functions in subordinate clauses will be discussed in 5.4.

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<sup>38</sup> Gonda continues, “he visualizes this process as non-actual: it is possible, or it is wished for, or desirable, or generally advisable or recommended.” Gonda, *Moods*, 51–52; see also 47–67. Porter follows Gonda, labeling the optative mood as [+contingency] in addition to [+projection]. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 322; Porter, *Idioms*, 60.

<sup>39</sup> Moule, *Idiom Book*, 23. The idea of remoteness was noted earlier by Babbitt, that the optative mood may be characterized “as a more remote subjunctive.” Babbitt, *Grammar*, §557.

<sup>40</sup> Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §13; Burton, *Syntax*, §§174–79; Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 160–61; Sonnenschein, *Syntax*, §340; BDF, §§384–85; Turner, *Syntax*, 118–24; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§627–37; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 334; Porter, *Idioms*, 59–61, 222–23; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 404–06; Evans, “Comparative Optative,” 487–504. Robertson and many others categorize three uses of the optative: potential (futuristic), volitive (voluntative), and deliberative. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§1923–25; Robertson, *Grammar*, 937–40; 854–55, 889–90, 876; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 83–85; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 113–14.

<sup>41</sup> Mandilaras observes that, in papyri, *γένοιτο* is utilized in the closing of a prayer or a charm to express volition, whereas (ὁ) *μὴ γένοιτο* and ὁ *μὴ εἶη* are used parenthetically in a “formula of wish or prayer to avert disaster.” See Mandilaras, *Verb*, §629, §632.

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g. Wang 王 力, *Treatise*, vol. 1, 140–53.



### 5.2.2.1. Volitive

#### a. Aorist Optative<sup>43</sup>

(9) μὴ γένοιτο· (Rom 3:4)

(a) 非也 (MAR, GÜ, DV, BCV, GO, GURY, JOHN, SJ)

Fēi yě.

No!

(b) 無是理也！ (WV)

Wú shì lǐ yě!

There is no such thing!

(c) 斷乎不能 (PK, JOHNM, BB, UV, WANG, LÜ, SB)

Duàn-hū-bù-néng.

Absolutely not.

(d) 絕不可能！ (NCV, CRV)<sup>44</sup>

Jué bù kěnéng!

Absolutely impossible.

(e) 絕對不會！ (CSB)

Juéduì bù huì!

Definitely not!

(f) 當然不會！ (CLB, TCV, CPB)<sup>45</sup>

Dāngrán bù huì!

Of course not!

<sup>43</sup> For another example of the aorist optative, see the discussion on εἰ τύχοι in 1 Cor 15:37.

<sup>44</sup> The CRV has *juéduì bùnéng* 絕對不能！ (“Absolutely impossible!”)

<sup>45</sup> The TCV omits *huì*.

(g) 可能不是！(FOLEY)

Kěnéng bù shì!

Probably not!

The set phrase μή γένοιτο in (9) accounts for fifteen occurrences of the optative mood in the New Testament, fourteen of which are found in the Pauline Epistles. This expression has in fact survived in Modern Greek.<sup>46</sup> Many traditional grammarians believe that the best translation of μή γένοιτο is found in the sense described by the KJV: “God forbid!”<sup>47</sup> Other grammarians, however, have also suggested, “let it not happen” or “may it not happen” or “may it never be.”<sup>48</sup> Considering the less heavily marked aorist tense-form, it is clear that μή γένοιτο does not have added emphasis, at least grammatically speaking.

Back in the early eighteenth century, Varo noted that auxiliary verbs, such as *bābude* (“earnestly wish”) or *yuàn* (“wish”), are used to express the optative mood in Mandarin.<sup>49</sup> Obviously, *bābude* would not work in (9), whereas *yuàn* or *dànyuàn* might be appropriate. A century before Varo published his Mandarin grammar, Ricci used the expression *wù yǐ*

<sup>46</sup> Mandilaras, *Verb*, §629. Pring gives the definition “God forbids!” See Pring, *Pocket Oxford Greek Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Green, *Handbook*, 313; Burton, *Syntax*, §177; Robertson, *Grammar*, 939; Machen, *New Testament Greek*, §550; Machen and McCartney, *New Testament Greek* (2d ed.), §592; BDF, §384; Boyer, “Classification of Optatives,” 130–31; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 464; Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 141.

<sup>48</sup> Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §1322; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 211; Porter, *Idioms*, 60.

<sup>49</sup> Varo, *Arte*, 121. Varo is followed by many other Chinese grammarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who add *hènbude*, *hènbunéng*, and *wàngbunéng* to the list of auxiliaries used to express the optative mood in Mandarin. See Bayer et al., *Museum Sinicum*, 27–28; Gützlaff, *Notices*, 78–79; de Prémare and Rémusat, *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, 42, 46, 49; Rémusat, *Éléments*, 138–39; Bazin, *Grammaire Mandaraine*, 46; Mateer, *Course*, vol. 2, 387–90; Edkins, *Grammar*, 194; Lobscheid, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 75; Courant, *Grammaire*, 300.

誤矣 (“Wrong!”) as a rhetorical question in his apologetic work *T'ien-chu Shih-i*.<sup>50</sup>

Interestingly, a very similar term, *fěi yě*, is used in most of the wenli versions (9a).

All the examples render the aorist optative with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Most of the wenli versions render it simply with the negative particle *fěi* with the post-sentential modal particle *yě*. (9a) is inappropriate because *fěi* alone does not express the contingency called for by the optative mood. (9b), on the other hand, uses *shì* (“be”), which corresponds to the lexical meaning of γίνομαι, but not to that of the optative mood. (9c–f) are better translations because they employ auxiliary verbs such as *néng*, *kěnéng*, and *huì*. However, the forceful tones added by adverbs such as *duànhū* (“certainly”), *jué/juéduì* (“absolutely”), and *dāngrán* (“surely”) as well as the modal particle *yě* in (9a–f) are inappropriate to render the less heavily marked feature of the aorist tense-form. The solution may be found by using the auxiliary verb *kěnéng* without the added expressions of emphasis in order to express contingency and the less heavily marked feature of the aorist optative, as (9g) illustrates.

## b. Present Optative

The present optative is less common in the New Testament; most examples are from Acts. Here, the present tense-form in the optative expresses the imperfective aspect as it does in the indicative, imperative, and subjunctive moods. (10) illustrates:

(10) τί ἂν θεῶν ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; (Acts 17:18)

(a) 這個胡亂拉扯的想要說甚麼? (LÜ, CRV)<sup>51</sup>

Zhègè húluàn lāche de **xiǎngyào** shuō shénme?

<sup>50</sup> Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, 436, line 564. *Wūhū! Zǐ yǐ shì wéi píng shì hū? Wù yǐ*. 嗚呼! 子以是為平世乎? 誤矣。 (“Alas! Do you think that we are living in the time of peace? Wrong!” [my translation]).

<sup>51</sup> The CRV has *Zhè húyánluànyǔ de xiǎngyào shuō shénme?* 這胡言亂語的想要說甚麼? (“This babblers—what does [he] want to say?”).

What does this babbler wish to say?

- (b) 這胡言亂語的人、要說甚麼 (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, NCV)<sup>52</sup>

Zhè húyánluànyǔ de rén, **yào** shuō shénme.

This babbler—what does [he] want to say?

- (c) 這個饒舌多言的人、想說什麼？ (SB, CPB)<sup>53</sup>

Zhège ráoshé duōyán de rén, **xiǎng** shuō shénme?

This chatterbox—what does [he] want to say?

- (d) 這個走江湖的在胡吹些什麼？ (TCV)

Zhège zǒu jiānghú de **zài húchuī** xiē shénme?

What is this vagrant babbling about?

- (e) . . . 又在打算著什麼話說？ (FOLEY)

...yòu **zài dǎsuan-zhe** shénme huà shuō?

...what is he trying to say now?

(10) is an example of the Greek catenative construction (θέλω + infinitive).<sup>54</sup> As represented in (10a–c), most Mandarin versions use the auxiliary verbs *xiǎngyào*, *xiǎng*, or *yào* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate the present optative  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\iota$ . (10d), on the other hand, uses the imperfective aspect marker *zài*, but without an auxiliary verb; *húchuī* (“babble”) alone does not convey the contingency of the optative mood. It is difficult to translate the more heavily marked feature of the present tense-form because auxiliary

<sup>52</sup> The UV and WANG lack *rén* 人 (“person”); the NCV adds the interrogative particle *ne* 呢 (*Zhège shírényáhuì de rén yào shuō shénme ne?* 這個拾人牙慧的人要說甚麼呢? lit. “What does this one who steals others’ ideas wish to say?”).

<sup>53</sup> The CPB has *Zhège zǒu jiānghú de xiǎng shuō shénme?* 這個走江湖的想說什麼? (“What is this vagrant wish to say?”).

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Porter, *Idioms*, 197–98.

verbs in Chinese cannot take the imperfective aspect morphemes.<sup>55</sup> A possible solution—in this case—is to use a Chinese verb that is not an auxiliary verb, as *dǎsuàn* (“intend”) in (10e) illustrates.<sup>56</sup> In (10e), the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...-zhe* is used in order to reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek. Because the verb *dǎsuàn* semantically overlaps with auxiliary verbs such as *xiǎngyào*, *xiǎng*, or *yào*, it does not need an auxiliary verb for expressing volition or contingency. However, in contexts where *dǎsuàn* cannot be used for stylistic reasons, auxiliary verbs may be used instead.

### 5.2.2.2. Potential

The potential use of the optative mood often occurs with the particle ἄν.<sup>57</sup> (11) illustrates:

(11) εὐξαίμην ἄν τῷ θεῷ (Acts 26:29)

(a) 我禱告上帝 (Lǚ)

Wǒ dǎogào Shàngdì.

I pray to God.

(b) 我向神所求的 (UV, WANG, TCV, NCV, CRV)

Wǒ xiàng Shén suǒ **qiú de**.

What I am asking of God is....

(c) 我求上帝 (PK, JOHNM, CLB)<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Hong, *Auxiliary*, 5. For discussions of the optative mood in Chinese, see Lü and Zhu, *Syntax*, 79–81; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 173.

<sup>56</sup> Lü notes that *dǎsuàn* can take aspect morphemes such as *-le*, *-zhe*, *-guò*, and verb reduplication. Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 139.

<sup>57</sup> This usage accounts for 43% of all occurrences in the New Testament. Porter, *Idioms*, 60. For examples used in papyri, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 292; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§638–47.

<sup>58</sup> The CLB adds *dōu* 都 (“also”) in front of the verb *qiú*.

Wǒ **qiú** Shàngdì.

I ask God.

(d) 我總祈望天主 (SB, CPB)<sup>59</sup>

Wǒ zǒng **qíwàng** Tiānzhǔ.

I always pray that God....

(e) 予向天主馨香禱祝者 (WV)

Yú xiàng Tiānzhǔ **xīn-xiāng-dǎo-zhù** zhě.

I pray earnestly to God....

(f) 余向神實願 (MOR, MAR)<sup>60</sup>

Yú xiàng shén **shíyuàn**.

I pray to God.

(g) 我得以祈望 神 (FOLEY)

Wǒ **déyǐ qíwàng** Shén.

I might pray to God....

The Chinese versions cited in (11a–f) share two features: they do not use auxiliary verbs to render the potential use of the optative mood in Greek, and they use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the aorist tense-form. They differ in their choice of words for the Greek verb εὔχομαι (“to pray”). (11a) employs the word most commonly used in Chinese Christian contexts, *dǎogào* (“pray”). It should be noted, however, that the syntax of the expression *wǒ dǎogào Shàngdì* does not sound natural to native speakers. It may be rephrased as *wǒ xiàng Shàngdì dǎogào*, with the additional preposition *xiàng* (“toward”)

<sup>59</sup> The CPB has *zhǐ* 只 (“only”) instead of *zǒng*.

<sup>60</sup> MAR uses the first person singular pronoun *wú* 吾 instead of *yú*.

as in (11b) and (11e). In the case of *qíwàng* (“hope earnestly”) in (11d), however, the preposition *xiàng* is not necessary. Furthermore, the verbs *qíwàng* and *shíyuàn* are synonymous with *dǎogào*, however, the same does not extend to *qiú* and *xīn-xiāng-dǎo-zhù*. *Qiú* (“ask”) is not preferable for the translation of εὔχομαι since it does not necessarily express the idea of praying. Also, the addition of the particle *de* to the end of *qiú* in (11b) does not express the contingency of the Greek optative mood. As for *xīn-xiāng-dǎo-zhù*, it is a four-character set phrase used metaphorically to mean “to long anxiously” in secular contexts. The problem with this idiomatic expression lies in its literal meaning, “burn incense and pray [to the gods],” which connotes pagan worship. The potential use of the Greek aorist optative may be rendered by the auxiliary verb *déyǐ* and the more neutral word *qíwàng* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as (11g) illustrates.

### 5.3. Infinitives and Participles

#### 5.3.1. Infinitives

##### 5.3.1.1. Substantive Use

The Greek infinitive is often called a verbal substantive or verbal noun (nominal verb form), similar to the participle (see discussions in 5.4 below).<sup>61</sup> This section discusses the three main uses of the infinitive: substantive (5.3.1.1–5.3.1.4), modifier (5.3.1.5–5.3.1.6), and predicate (5.3.1.7). When used as a substantive, the infinitive may appear either with

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<sup>61</sup> See Curtius, *Greek Verb*, 338; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §2063; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§741–42; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 202–03; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§313–26; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1051–95; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, 12–13; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 104–09; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §358; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 208, 217–20; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 120; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (1st ed.), 97; Porter, *Idioms*, 194–203; Caragounis, *Development*, 169. Goodwin and many others also add that the infinitive was originally the dative (or the locative) of a noun, however, later on it came to be used for the accusative. Gildersleeve, “Contributions to the History,” 6–9; Gildersleeve, “Articular Infinitive,” 195–97; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §742; Burton, *Syntax*, §361; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 202; Sonnenschein, *Syntax*, §525.

(articular) or without an article (anarthrous).<sup>62</sup> As (12) illustrates, a substantive infinitive frequently functions as the subject of the sentence:<sup>63</sup>

(12) τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος (Phil 1:21)

(a) 活著就是基督，死去也是贏得。(LÜ)

**Huó-zhe** jiùshì Jīdū, **sǐ-qù** yěshì yíngdé.

To live is Christ; to die is gain.

(b) 我若活著、是為基督。我若死了、也與我有益。(PK)

Wǒ ruò **huó-zhe**, shìwéi Jīdū. Wǒ ruò **sǐ-le**, yě yǔ wǒ yǒuyì.

If I live, I live for Christ. If I die, it is for my benefit.

(c) 我活著就是基督，我死了就有益處。(UV, WANG, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB)

Wǒ **huó-zhe** jiùshì Jīdū, wǒ **sǐ-le** jiù yǒu yìchū.

I live for Christ; there is benefit when I die.

(d) 我活著是為基督。死也與我有益。(JOHNM)

Wǒ **huó-zhe** shìwéi Jīdū. **Sǐ** yě yǔ wǒ yǒuyì.

I live for Christ. Death is beneficial to me.

(e) 生活原是基督，死亡乃是利益。(SB)

**Shēnghuó** yuánshì Jīdū, **sǐwáng** nǎishì lìyì.

<sup>62</sup> Most grammarians believe that the anarthrous infinitive does not differ in meaning from the articular infinitive. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §2071; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§327–28; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1063; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 211–14; Turner, *Syntax*, 140; Porter, *Idioms*, 194. Others note the functional distinction between the two infinitives. Winer, for example, observes that the article makes the infinitive more prominent. Winer, *Treatise*, 406. Burton also notes that “the prefixing of the article to the infinitive tends to the (*sic*) obscuring of its original dative force, while it emphasizes its new substantive character as a noun which can be used in any case.” Burton, *Syntax*, §392. See also Burk, who identifies the article as a function marker. Burk, *Articular Infinitives*, 27–46.

<sup>63</sup> For treatment of substantive infinitives as the object of the sentence, see 5.3.1.2–5.3.1.3, pp. 245–50 below.



Life is Christ; death is gain.

(12a–d) render the present infinitive τὸ ζῆν by *huó-zhe* with the aspect marker *-zhe*, which reflects the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form. (12b), however, renders the infinitive construction with a conditional clause indicated by the particle *ruò* (“if”). This is not preferable because the original Greek does not necessarily warrant such conditional interpretation. The second verbal construction, τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, is translated as *sǐ-qù* in (12a) and *sǐ-le* in (12b–c). Both are good translations because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect signaled by the Greek aorist infinitive. Although the *ø* morpheme in (12d) is an acceptable translation of the aorist tense-form, the two Mandarin verbs, *huó-zhe* and *sǐ*, are asymmetrical and do not render adequately the parallel construction of the two Greek infinitives. (12e), on the other hand, renders both infinitives with the *ø* morpheme, yet it does not translate the more heavily marked present tense-form of the Greek verb ζάω. In summary, *-zhe* is the most appropriate translation for the present infinitive, whereas RVCs or *-le* are the most preferable translation for the aorist infinitive, as (12a) and (12c) illustrate.

### 5.3.1.2. Complements

The Greek infinitive may occur as the complement of a verb.<sup>64</sup> The aorist infinitive in (13), δοκιμάσαι, functions as the completive (or object) of the previous verb, πορεύομαι:

(13) ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά (Luke 14:19)

(a) 我買了五對牛，要去試試 (LÜ, JOHNM, SB, CLB)<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 183–85; BDF, §392; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §793; Porter, *Idioms*, 196–97.

<sup>65</sup> SB adds *tāmen* 牠們 (“them”).

Wǒ mǎi-le wǔ duì niú, **yào qù shì-shì**.

I bought five yoke of oxen, and I am going to try [them] out.

(b) . . . 要去試一試 (PK, UV, CRV)

...yào qù shì-yī-shì.

...I am going to give them a try.

(c) . . . 剛要去試一試 (TCV)

...gāng yào qù shì-yī-shì.

...I was just about to go and try them out.

(d) . . . 必須去看看 (WANG)

...bìxū qù kàn-kan.

...I must go and take a look.

(e) . . . 我先過去試試 (FOLEY)

... Wǒ xiān **guòqù shì-shì**.

...I am going there to try them out.

All cited Mandarin versions use verb reduplication to express the perfective aspect of the aorist infinitive. As noted in chapter 3, *shì-shì* (“give a try,” lit. “try-try”) does not differ from *shì-yī-shì* (lit. “try-one-try”) in meaning. Examples (13a–c) employ an auxiliary verb, *yào*, to indicate a future event, but not without problem. *Yào* is also used to convey volition of a locutionary agent and to translate the Greek optative mood. Similarly, the auxiliary verb *bìxū* in (13d) is not a preferable translation for the present indicative *προεύομαι*. It is, therefore, more appropriate to leave out the auxiliary verb *yào* in order to avoid possible confusion with the Mandarin translation of the Greek

optative mood. When used as a complement of a verb, the aorist infinitive may be translated by verb reduplication, as (13e) illustrates.

### 5.3.1.3. Indirect Discourse

The infinitive frequently occurs as the object of a verb of perception to convey indirect speech, as (14) illustrates:<sup>66</sup>

(14) πολλάκις προεθέμην ἔλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (Rom 1:13)

(a) 我屢次立志要到你們那裏去 (PK, JOHNM, LÜ, SB, NCV)<sup>67</sup>

Wǒ lǚcì lizhì yào dào nǐmen nà lǐ qù.

Several times I am determined to come to you.

(b) . . . 往你們那裏去 (UV, WANG, CLB, CRV, CSB)

...wǎng nǐmen nà lǐ qù.

...to go to you.

(c) . . . 訪問你們 (TCV)

...fǎngwèn nǐmen.

...to visit you.

(d) . . . 來拜訪你們 (CPB)

...lái bàifǎng nǐmen.

...to come visit you.

(14b) uses the monosyllabic verb *qù* (“go”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is preferable to the disyllabic verbs used in (14c–d) for the perfective aspect of the aorist infinitive.

<sup>66</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 197, 270–71. Stork and others recognize that the infinitive conveys temporal references when used in indirect discourse. Stork, *Aspectual Usage*, 11–19; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1091–92; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§1866–67. For a critique of this position, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 388–89.

<sup>67</sup> LÜ and SB have *yào wǎng nǐmen nà lǐ qù* (“I want to go to you”).

The addition of *yào* in (14a) detracts from the translation since auxiliary verbs are largely reserved for the translation of Greek subjunctive or optative moods into Mandarin. (14d) adds the verb *lái* (“come”) to the disyllabic verb *bàifǎng* (“visit”) for ἐλθεῖν. This translation is also not preferable as such an addition does not reflect the less heavily marked feature of the Greek aorist tense-form.

The perfect infinitive occurring in direct discourse deserves special attention, particularly with respect to its discourse function as a foregrounding device. (15) illustrates:

(15) δοκῆ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑπερηκέναι (Heb 4:1)

(a) 你們中間有人被斷為趕不上的。 (LÜ)

Nǐmen zhōngjiān yǒurén bèi duàn wéi gǎn-bu-shàng de.

Perhaps some among you are thought to be those who are unable to catch up.

(b) . . . 似乎是趕不上了。 (UV, WANG, CRV)

...sìhū shì gǎn-bu-shàng le.

...seem not to be catching up.

(c) . . . 像是被淘汰了。 (NCV)

... xiàngshì bèi táotài le.

...seem to be eliminated.

(d) . . . 被遺留下來。 (CPB)

...bèi yíliú-xiàlái.

...were left behind.

(e) . . . 被認為是失敗了。 . . . (TCV)

...bèi rènwéi shì shībài-le....

...were regarded as if [they] failed....

- (f) . . . 有得不<sup>ㄉ</sup>著的人。 (PK, JOHNM)

...yǒu **dé-bù-zháo** de rén.

...there are people who did not receive.

- (g) . . . 得<sup>ㄉ</sup>不到安息 (SB)

...**dé-bu-dào** ānxí.

...cannot attain rest.

- (h) . . . 失去他的福分。 (CLB)

...**shīqù** tā de **fúfen**.

...he missed out on his blessings.

- (i) . . . 似乎是珊珊來遲了。 (FOLEY)

...sīhū shì **shān-shān-lái-chí** le.

...seem to be coming too late.

The perfect infinitive, ὑστερηκέναι (“come too late,” “fail to reach”), serves as a complement or an object of the verb δοκῆ (“seem”).<sup>68</sup> While (15a) and (15b) both use *gǎn-bu-shàng* (“can not catch up”), the former employs the substantive particle *de*, whereas the latter uses the sentential-final particle *le*. The perfective morpheme, namely the RVC *shàng* in (15a–b), is not preferable because it does not reflect the stative aspect of the Greek. For the same reason, the RVCs used in examples (15d) and (15f–h) as well as the perfective aspect marker *-le* in (15e) are also less than ideal translations. The passive construction signaled by *bèi* in (15c) and (15d) does not correspond to the active

<sup>68</sup> Kittel, Friedrich, and Bromiley, *Theological Dictionary*, vol. 8, 596–97; BDAG, s.v. BDAG notes that δοκῆ in Heb 4:1 is used “as an expression serving to moderate a statement.” BDAG, 255.

voice of the Greek, a representation of which is imperative when translating into Mandarin. A four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, *shān-shān-lái-chí*, closely corresponds to the stative aspect and discourse role of foregrounding performed by the Greek perfect infinitive, as (15i) illustrates.<sup>69</sup>

#### 5.3.1.4. Catenative Constructions

An example of catenative construction of the infinitive has already been observed in (10), where the present infinitive λέγειν is used as a complement or object of the verb θέλοι.<sup>70</sup>

#### 5.3.1.5. Appositional/Epexegetical

As Robertson has observed, there exists no essential difference between the so-called appositional and epexegetical uses of the infinitive.<sup>71</sup> Both exemplify the use of the infinitive as a modifier, as Porter states, “specifying or defining the modified element.”<sup>72</sup> (16) illustrates this use of the infinitive with τοῦ:<sup>73</sup>

(16) ὁφείλεται ἔσμεν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν· (Rom 8:12)

(a) 我們並不是欠肉體的債，去順從肉體活著。(UV, WANG, CRV)

Wǒmen bìng bù shì qiàn ròutǐ de zhài, qù shùncóng ròutǐ **huó-zhe**.

We are not indebted to the flesh, to live according to the flesh.

(b) . . . 去順著肉體活的。(LÜ)

<sup>69</sup> See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 394; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 119–20, 128, 130–33.

<sup>70</sup> For other examples of catenative constructions, see John 18:32; 1 Cor 15:25, 51, 53.

<sup>71</sup> Robertson, *Grammar*, 1086–87. See also Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 183; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 107; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 213; BDF, §394; Turner, *Syntax*, 78, 139; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 129; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 389; Porter, *Idioms*, 198–99. Moule identifies the appositional and epexegetical as two different uses of the infinitive. Moule, *Idiom Book*, 127, 129.

<sup>72</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 198.

<sup>73</sup> For an example of the use of the infinitive as modifier of the substantive, see the discussion on John 19:40 in my chapter 6.

...qù shùnzhe ròutǐ **huó** *de*.

...living according to the flesh.

(c) . . . 豈可順從情欲作事 (PK, JOHNM)<sup>74</sup>

...qǐ kě shùncóng qíngyù **zuòshì**.

...how could [we] act according to sexual passion?

(d) . . . 以致該隨從肉性生活。 (SB)

...yǐzhì gāi suícóng ròu xìng **shēnghuó**.

...so that [we] should live according to the flesh.

(e) . . . 隨著肉體而活。 (NCV, CLB, CSB)<sup>75</sup>

...suízhe ròutǐ *ér* **huó**.

...to live according to the flesh.

(f) . . . 不要受肉性之慾的控制。 (CPB, TCV)<sup>76</sup>

...bùyào **shòu** ròuxìng zhī yù **de kòngzhì**.

...do not be dictated by lust.

(g) . . . 也就是說，去順從肉體而活著。 (FOLEY)

...yě jiùshì shuō, qù shùncóng ròutǐ *ér* **huó-zhe**.

...that is to say, to live according to the flesh.

The construction *qù...huó-zhe* (lit. “go...live”) in (16a) translates the present infinitive, but does not adequately render τοῦ ζῆν as the modifier of the verb ἐσμεν in the same sentence. (16b) renders the infinitive the same way, except it uses the substantive particle

<sup>74</sup> JOHNM rearranges the word order to add emphasis to the verb *zuòshì*: *zuòshì qǐ dāng shùncóng qíngyù* 作事豈當順從情欲 (“...how could [we] act according to sexual passion?”).

<sup>75</sup> The CLB has *yīcóng zuì'è de běnxìng ér huó* 依從罪惡的本性而活 (“...to live according to sinful nature”).

<sup>76</sup> The TCV has *děi shòu běnxìng de zhīpèi* 得受本性的支配 (“might be governed by natural instinct”).

*de* and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme instead of the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe*. The use of *de* in (16b) is preferable, for it indicates *qù...huó* as the modifier of the previous verb. The problem in (16b), as well as in (16c–e), is the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which does not convey the more heavily marked feature of the present infinitive. Other examples are unsuitable for syntactic considerations. (16c) and (16d) are not recommended because the former renders the infinitive with a rhetorical question, whereas the latter renders the infinitive with a result clause. Similarly, (16f) is to be rejected for it inappropriately turns the infinitive construction into a command. All these problems can be solved by adding a clarifying phrase, *yě jiùshì shuō* (“that is to say”), in order to convey the appositional or epexegetical use of the infinitive. As for the present infinitive, the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe* should be insisted upon for the verb *huó* (“live”), and the construction *qù...ér* should be employed for the sake of style and clarity, (16g) illustrates.

### 5.3.1.6. Purpose or Result

The Greek infinitive is quite commonly used to express purpose (final) or result in the New Testament.<sup>77</sup> It is frequently, though not always, introduced by ὥστε, as (17) illustrates:

(17) ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν (Luke 4:29)

(a) 以投之下來 (MOR, MAR)

*Yǐ tóu zhī-xiàláí.*

In order that [they] might throw him down.

(b) 欲推之下 (DV, GO, BCV, GURY, BB, SJ, UVW, WV)<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Green, *Handbook*, 328–29; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§770–75; Burton, *Syntax*, §§366–67, 369–71; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §§200–01, 231; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§2008–11; Porter, *Idioms*, 199–200. This use of the infinitive is also widespread in papyri. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 299.



*Yù tuī zhī-xià.*

[They] want to throw him down.

(c) 摔倒下來 (GÜ)

**Shuāi-dǎo** xiàlái.

[They] caused [him] to fall down.

(d) 要推他下去 (PK, JOHNM)

*Yào tuī tā xiàqù.*

[They] want to throw him down.

(e) 要把他推下去 (UV, WANG, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, CPB)<sup>79</sup>

*Yào bǎ tā tuī xiàqù.*

[They] want to throw him down.

(f) 用意是把他推了下去 (FOLEY)

*Yòngyì shì bǎ tā tuī-le xiàqù.*

In order that [they] might throw him down.

The distinction between purpose and result expressed by the infinitive is difficult to make.<sup>80</sup> While one wonders if such a distinction is necessary, (17) is clearly a purpose clause since the intended result was never realized. The two wenli versions in (17a) closely correspond to the purpose clause expressed by the infinitive. The suffix *xiàlái* must be construed as simply an indication of downward movement as opposed to an IDVC. The same goes for the wenli versions in (17b–c). (17a) and (17b) both employ

<sup>78</sup> The BCV and UVW have *yù tóu zhī xià* 欲投之下 (“they wanted to toss him down [the cliff]”); GURY reverses the word order (*yù tuī xià zhī*); WV adds *yái* 崖 (“cliff”) in front of *xià*.

<sup>79</sup> The CPB uses *xiǎng* instead of *yào*.

<sup>80</sup> Burton construes the infinitive in Luke 4:29 as “purpose, i.e. intended result”: “that they might throw him down headlong.” Burton, *Syntax*, §371. See also Porter, *Idioms*, 200.

auxiliary verbs, yet the former is preferable because *yǐ* communicates the intention of performing the action whereas *yù* expresses volition. For the same reason, (17d) and (17e) are also not preferable since these two examples are Mandarin equivalents of the *wenli* translation in (17b).<sup>81</sup> (17c) differs from the other examples in its use of the RVC *dǎo*, which reflects the perfective aspect conveyed by the aorist infinitive κατακρημνίσαι. It does not, however, express purpose. The purpose may be made explicit by adding the phrase *yòngyì shì* (“for the purpose that”), as (17f) illustrates. The perfective aspect marker *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist infinitive.

### 5.3.1.7. Command

Finally, the infinitive is also used independently to command, though this particular usage occurs less frequently in the New Testament.<sup>82</sup> (18) illustrates χαίρειν, a standard word of epistolary greeting in the Hellenistic period:<sup>83</sup>

(18) χαίρειν (Jas 1:1)

(a) . . . 安 (SJ)

...ān.

Greetings to....

(b) 請 . . . 的安 (UV, MOR)<sup>84</sup>

Qǐng...de ān.

<sup>81</sup> The expression with *bǎ* construction in (17e) is stylistically preferable to the one without it in (17d).

<sup>82</sup> Green, *Handbook*, 329; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §784; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §137; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 126; Turner, *Syntax*, 78; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 125–26; McKay, “Imperative Constructions,” 222–23; Porter, *Idioms*, 202; BDR, §389.

<sup>83</sup> Mandilaras notes that, in papyri, χαίρειν often occurs after πλεῖστα, πολλά, ἐν κυρίῳ, ἐν θεῷ, or ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §767.

<sup>84</sup> MOR has *zhī* 之 instead of *de*.

Wish...best of health.

(c) 茲請安 (GÜ)

Zī qǐng'ān.

Greetings.

(d) 請 . . . 安 (DV, GO, BCV, BB, PK, JOHNM, UVW, UVB, WANG)

Qǐng...ān.

Wish...best of health.

(e) 問 . . . 安 (GURY)

Wèn...ān.

Greetings to....

(f) 與 . . . 問安 (MAR)

Yǔ ...wèn'ān.

Greetings to....

(g) 向 . . . 問安 (NCV)

Xiàng...wèn'ān.

Greetings to....

(h) 給 . . . 請安 (LÜ)

Gěi...qǐng'ān.

Greetings to....

(i) 祝 . . . 安好 (SB)

Zhù...ānhǎo.

Wish...safe and sound!

## (j) 向 . . . 問候 (CPB)

Xiàng...wèn hòu.

Greetings to....

## (k) 我問候 (TCV, CLB)

Wǒ wèn hòu.

I greet you.

## (l) 願你們喜樂 (CRV)

Yuàn nǐmen xǐlè.

Peace and joy to you all.

## (m) 願爾康樂 (WV)

Yuàn ěr kānglè.

Peace and joy be with you!

With slight variations in form and meaning, (18a–i) share one distinctive feature: each example contains the word *ān*, which means “peace” or “well-being,” spiritually and physically. While all the examples are acceptable, only *zī qǐng’ān* in (18c) is frequently used in Chinese traditional epistolary greetings. The remaining four examples, (18j–m), are clearly translations of the English “greetings,” and therefore are less preferable renderings of  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ . In this case, where the present infinitive occurs in the stereotyped phrase for a designated purpose, it is not appropriate to add imperfective aspect markers in Mandarin. Therefore, *zī qǐng’ān* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the most fitting translation of the Greek infinitive  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$  in epistolary greetings.

### 5.3.2. Participles

The participle plays a key role in the Greek verbal system. It is sometimes called a verbal adjective, analogous to the infinitive that is referred to by grammarians as a verbal noun.<sup>85</sup> However, the participle also frequently functions as a substantive, adverb, and even as a verb. The differences in tense-forms of the participle are explained by aspect.<sup>86</sup> In translation, it is necessary to discuss the different uses of Greek participles, even though their syntactic nuances can only be expressed by lexical means in Mandarin. This section discusses the two grammatical constructions of the participles (5.3.2.1) and syntactical uses of the participles (5.3.2.2), which includes substantive, modifier of substantive, modifier of verb, commanding, and circumstantial/adverbial uses.

#### 5.3.2.1. Grammatical Constructions of the Participles

##### a. Genitive Absolute

The participle may function as a finite verb when it occurs in the genitive absolute. The genitive absolute in Greek is a grammatical construction, formed by participial phrases in the genitive case. “Absolute” refers to its characteristic loose connection to the main verb.<sup>87</sup> In the New Testament (as well as in Greek non-literary papyri), such absolute constructions also occur in the nominative (e.g. ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ, Rev 3:21)

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<sup>85</sup> Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §329; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 385; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 96–97; Porter, *Idioms*, 181.

<sup>86</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 370, 78; Porter, *Idioms*, 187.

<sup>87</sup> Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §35; Porter, *Idioms*, 183–84. Rijksbaron notes that the genitive absolute has no relation syntactically to a constituent of the main verb. Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 116–17. See also Robertson, *Grammar*, 512–14, 1131–32; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 80–81. Chamberlain recognizes the use of the participle as a finite verb but does not include the genitive absolute. Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 103–04. For reviews of previous studies, see Healey and Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles,” 182–89; Fuller, “‘Genitive Absolute’,” 146–51.

and accusative (e.g. τυχόν, 1 Cor 16:6) cases.<sup>88</sup> Recently, Fuller presented a discourse analytic approach to the genitive absolute. She argues that the genitive absolute often serves as

a grammatical strategy for bringing an element of background information into prominence as a piece of necessary prior knowledge, and alerting the reader that this information is important for understanding the impact of the rest of the sentence or even the paragraph or discourse.<sup>89</sup>

Fuller does not consider tense-forms of the genitive absolute, however, her argument concerning prominence in discourse is convincing. If one applies the notion of markedness of the Greek tense-forms to Fuller's thesis, the perfect and present participles in genitive absolute constructions may signal even greater prominence than the aorist participle. (19) illustrates:

(19) σοῦ δὲ ποιούντος ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ γνῶτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου (Matt 6:3)

(a) 你施捨的時候，不要叫左手知道右手所作的。(UV, WANG, LÜ, NCV, CRV, CPB)<sup>90</sup>

Nǐ shīshě de shíhòu, bùyào jiào zuǒshǒu zhīdào yòushǒu suǒ zuò de.

<sup>88</sup> Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 105–07; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1130; McKay, *New Syntax*, 64; BDR §§424, 466. Some grammarians recognize only the genitive and accusative absolute constructions. See, for example, Babbitt, *Grammar*, §§657–48; Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax*, 714; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2059; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 308–10. Mandilaras notes that, in the papyri, the nominative absolute occurs more frequently than the genitive absolute. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §911. He also notes that the phrase θεοῦ θέλοντος occurred frequently in Christian papyri and pagan compositions. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §907.

<sup>89</sup> Fuller, “‘Genitive Absolute’,” 152. *Contra* Boyer, who thinks that the genitive absolute is used arbitrarily; the construction “precedes the main clause, thus the word to which the participle refers would not yet be obvious to the hearer or reader.” Boyer, “Classification of Participles,” 170. Young, on the other hand, argues that the genitive absolute has “a discourse function at the beginning of paragraphs (or subparagraphs) to indicate a change in setting.” Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 159. Compare Buijs, who claims that in order to secure textual coherence (*sic*), the genitive absolute may be “inserted at the point where the speaker/narrator wishes to provide a hinge between two parts of his text without articulating a thematic boundary.” Buijs, *Clause Combining*, 182. Although the two positions can be seen as the two sides of a coin, I find Buijs’ conclusion more convincing than Young’s.

<sup>90</sup> WANG and the CRV add *dàn* 但 (“but”) at the beginning of the clause; CPB has *shí* 時 instead *shíhòu*.

When you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand  
does.

(b) 當你施捨時 . . . (SB)

Dāng nǐ shīshě shí...

When you give alms....

(c) 所以你施捨的時候 . . . (PK, JOHNM)<sup>91</sup>

Suǒyǐ nǐ shīshě de shíhòu...

Therefore, when you give alms....

(d) 當你在應濟希施的時候 . . . (FOLEY)

Dāng nǐ zài cǐjì-bùshī de shíhòu...

When you give alms....

The first three examples, (20a–c), are very similar. All render the genitive absolute construction with a relative clause, signaled by *dāng...de shí(hòu)* (“at times when...”). The relative pronoun *dāng* is not obligatory and is often omitted for stylistic reasons, as in (20a) and (20c). The conjunctive *suǒyǐ* (“therefore”) in (20c) is unnecessary because it is absent in the Greek. Also, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, used in (20a–c), is a poor translation of the present participle in the genitive absolute construction because it is incapable of marking prominence in Mandarin discourse.

In order to represent the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek, the imperfective aspect marker *zài* is needed. However, *zài* cannot be added to sentences in which the locative *zài* (*zài...de shíhòu*, “at the time when...”) is present.<sup>92</sup> To remedy this,

<sup>91</sup> JOHNM uses similar term *shījì* 施濟 (“give alms”) for *shīshě*.

<sup>92</sup> See example (30) in chapter 3.

a four-character phrase may be used to reflect the discourse prominence indicated by the markedness of the present tense-form and by the genitive absolute. As (20d) illustrates, the phrase *cíjì-bùshī*, which is formed out of two synonymous expressions of almsgiving, closely resembles the more stereotyped four-character set phrases in their critical function of building foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse. *Cíjì-bùshī* is chosen here because *cíjì* and *bùshī* are both currently used in religious contexts. *Bùshī*, in particular, appeared in the early seventh century Nestorian document called the *Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving*, by Bishop Alopên.<sup>93</sup>

## b. Periphrasis

Periphrastic constructions in Greek are formed grammatically by the copula (the auxiliary verb εἶμι) and a participle.<sup>94</sup> Grammarians are divided over the meaning and motivation behind the use of participial periphrases. The once popular assertion (although it still persists) of Semitic or Aramaic interference no longer holds true.<sup>95</sup> However, most grammarians believe that periphrasis generally does not differ semantically from the monolectic verb form. The question that is pertinent to Bible translation is whether there

<sup>93</sup> For the Chinese text and an English translation with notes, see Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 206–47, Appendix 51–70. See chapter 2 of this dissertation above.

<sup>94</sup> Periphrasis should not be confused with catenative constructions (μέλλω/θέλω + infinitive; see 5.3.1.4). In addition to εἶμι, many Greek grammarians also treat γίνομαι, ἔχω, and ὑπάρχω as parts of periphrasis. See, for example, Alexander, “Participial Periphrases,” 291–308; Robertson, *Grammar*, 374–76; Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1, 807–10; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 126–31. Caragounis even identifies διατελῶ with the aorist participle in Acts 27:33 as a periphrasis, ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε μηθὲν προσλαβόμενοι. Caragounis, *Development*, 176–78. For extensive treatment of periphrasis, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 447–78. For examples in papyri, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 223–226.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 231–33; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 16; BDF, §353; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §§360–62; Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 60–69; Turner, *Syntax*, 87–89; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 316–17. *Contra* Moulton 225–27; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §191; Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ*, 67–69; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 100; Porter, *Idioms*, 46; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 126–31. Compare Evans, who concludes from evidence of the Pentateuch in the Septuagint that Greek periphrases are used to translate the Hebrew periphrases *וְהָיָה* with participle, but does not rule out other possible motives of the Greek periphrases used independently from the literal representation of the Hebrew original. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 220–57.



is a clear distinction between periphrastic constructions and monolectic verb forms.

Jannaris notes that Greek periphrasis has arisen from the need for “perspicuity, but partly also in phonopathic causes.”<sup>96</sup> Several other grammarians follow Jannaris and have made similar remarks.<sup>97</sup> However, not all periphrases are construed as emphatic or as mere substitutes for the monolectic verb forms, or, as some have asserted, alternatives to the adjective.<sup>98</sup> As Porter argues, Greek periphrasis may not necessarily draw any attention to the participle and its modifiers. He states,

In those places in the verbal paradigm where simple forms have passed out of use (because of unwieldy morphological bulk, such as reduplication, long connecting vowels, secondary endings, large stems, etc.) the periphrastic could be called a substitute form. It is unmarked, since there is no other formal choice available...although choice of verbal aspect is still meaningful.<sup>99</sup>

In Mandarin, periphrastic constructions do not exist as a grammatical category.

However, in order to translate Greek periphrasis into Mandarin, a particular construction formed by the verb “to be” *shì* and the particle *de* might provide a good alternative.

Chinese grammarians, such as Lü and Wang, have pointed out that *shì* is often used in determinative sentences (判斷句) to add emphasis to the verb phrase.<sup>100</sup> This observation has been reworked by Li and Thompson, who argue that the *shì...de* construction “serves

<sup>96</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §687.

<sup>97</sup> See, for example, Zerwick, who notes that the Greek periphrasis offers “stronger, more picturesque expression.” Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §360; Gonda, “to give more vivid or graphic description,” Gonda, “Remark on ‘Periphrastic’ Constructions,” 112; BDF, “rhetorically more forceful expression,” BDF, §§352–5; Caragounis, “essentially an attempt to emphasize the linearity of the action by using two words, rather than one,” *Development*, 375. Similarly, Black notes that periphrasis is “often used to highlight verbal aspect.” Black, *Intermediate Greek*, 109. See also Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §287; McKay, *New Syntax*, 8–9. *Contra* Kahn, who asserts that the Greek periphrasis is “always formally and syntactically equivalent to monolectic verb form.” Kahn, *Verb “Be,”* 128.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, Alexander, “Participial Periphrases,” 307–08; Gildersleeve, *Syntax*, §§191, 285–93; Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ*, 17–40. For a critique of this position, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 454.

<sup>99</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 453.

<sup>100</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 60–63, 113–14, 266–67, 438–39; Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 498–99; Wang 王 力, *Treatise*, vol. 1, 95, 106, 108–10; Wang 王 力, *Outline*, 149–50. See also Chao, *Grammar*, 296–96, 693, 719.

to characterize or explain a situation by affirming or denying some supposition, as opposed to simply reporting an event.”<sup>101</sup>

The following examples, (20) and (21), determine whether the *shì...de* construction would be suitable for rendering the Greek periphrasis. For the primary focus of the current study, only periphrases with εἰμί + present and perfect participles are examined. Other periphrases, including εἰμί + aorist participle and the future and subjunctive forms of εἰμί, are not discussed, not only because they are less commonly used in the New Testament but also because their translation into Mandarin does not warrant separate discussions.<sup>102</sup> There is one exception, namely the imperative form of εἰμί in ἵσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων (Luke 19:17). As Chao has pointed out, the *shì...de* construction does not occur in commands.<sup>103</sup> In such cases, the periphrasis is best translated into Mandarin as a command, *qù zhǎngquán* (“go have authority”; see 5.1 above).

#### **α. Present Participle in Periphrasis**

(20) μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει (Gal 1:23)

(a) 不過聽說，那從前逼迫我們的，現在傳揚他原先所殘害的真道。(UV,

WANG, LÜ, NCV, CRV)

Bùguò **tīng shuō**, nà cóngqián bīpò wǒmen de, xiànzài chuányáng tā

yuánxiān suǒ cánhài de zhēn dào.

But we hear that he who persecuted us before, now preaching the true gospel, which he had previously tried to destroy.

<sup>101</sup> Italics are original. Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 589.

<sup>102</sup> For other forms of periphrasis in the New Testament, see, for example, Robertson, *Grammar*, 374–376; Porter, *Idioms*, 46–49.

<sup>103</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 669.

(b) 但風聞 . . . (PK)

Dàn fēngwén....

But we hear....

(c) 不過聽見 . . . (JOHNM, TCV, CLB)

Bùguò tīng-jàn....

But we have heard....

(d) 只是聽說過 . . . (SB, CPB)

Zhǐshì tīngshuō-guò....

Only we have heard....

(e) 只不過是聽來的消息說 . . . (FOLEY)

Zhǐ bùguò shì tīng-lái de xiāoxi shuō....

But only there are the news we are hearing saying that....

(20a) and (20b) reflect the imperfective aspect of the present participle ἀκούοντες with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, yet they do not consider the periphrasis in Greek. (20c) and (20d), on the other hand, use perfective morphemes, the RVC *jiàn* and the perfective *-guò*, perhaps in an attempt to render the imperfect tense-form of εἰμί. (20e) is the most appropriate translation of (20) because it employs the *shì...de* construction that captures the added emphasis of the Greek periphrasis and closely reflects the imperfective aspect of ἀκούοντες by using the IDVC *lái*.

### β. Perfect Participle in Periphrasis

(21) οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος (John 19:41)

(a) 是從來沒有葬過人的 (PK, UV, WANG, SYD, ZHU, BT, NCV, CRV)

Shì cónglái méiyǒu rén zàng-guò rén de.

It was where no one has ever been buried.

- (b) 從來沒有葬過人的 (JOHNM, TCV)<sup>104</sup>

Cónglái méiyǒu zàng-guò rén *de*.

No one has ever been buried (there).

- (c) 裏面沒有埋葬過人 (CNT, HSC, HS, SB, CLB, CPB)<sup>105</sup>

Lǐ miàn méiyǒu máizàng-guò rén.

No one has ever been buried inside.

- (d) 從未安放過人 (IG, CSB)<sup>106</sup>

Cóngwèi ānfàng-guò rén.

No one has ever been laid (there).

- (e) 裏面沒有人安放過 (LÜ)

Lǐ miàn méiyǒu rén ānfàng-guò.

No one has been laid inside.

- (f) 是從未有人安葬入殮的 (FOLEY)

Shì cóngwèi yǒurén ān-zàng-rù-liàn *de*.

It was where no one has ever been buried.

(21a) renders the Greek periphrasis with the *shì...de* construction, but its use of the perfective aspect marker *-guò* does not reflect the stative aspect of the perfect passive participle τεθειμένος. (21b–e) follow the majority of Mandarin versions by using the same perfective *-guò*, but without the *shì...de* construction. It seems that (21b) might be

<sup>104</sup> The TCV has *lǐ miàn yǒu yīge méiyǒu zàng guòrén de xīn mùxué* 裏面有一個沒有葬過人的新墓穴 (“inside there was a new tomb in which no one has ever buried”).

<sup>105</sup> Instead of *máizàng*, other verbs are used: *tíngzàng* 停葬 (HSC), *zàng* 葬 (HS), *ānzàng* 安葬 (SB, CLB, CPB).

<sup>106</sup> The CSB uses *méiyǒu* instead of *cóngwèi*.

considered acceptable because, as Lü has noted, the particle *shì* in the *shì...de* construction is sometimes omitted.<sup>107</sup> However, Lü also notes that when *shì* is omitted in determinative sentences, the added emphasis of the verb phrase is no longer present. Hence, (21) is best translated into Mandarin by employing the *shì...de* construction, with the four-character set phrase to express the stative aspect of the Greek perfect participle, as (21f) illustrates.

### 5.3.2.2. Syntactical Uses of the Participles

#### a. Substantive

The participle is sometimes used in place of a noun or substantive.<sup>108</sup> Some grammarians treat this as the attributive use of the participle.<sup>109</sup> Substantival use of the participle may appear with (articular) or without (anarthrous) an article. (22) illustrates the substantival use of the anarthrous participle.<sup>110</sup>

(22) φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Mark 1:3)

(a) 有聲音在野地裡呼喊著說 (LÜ)

**Yǒushēngyīn zài yědì lǐ hūhǎn-zhe shuō.**

A voice in the wild country is calling out, saying....

(b) 在曠野有人聲喊叫說 (PK, JOHNM, WANG)

**Zài kuàngyě yǒurén shēng hǎnjiào shuō.**

In the wilderness, someone's voice crying out, saying....

<sup>107</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 499.

<sup>108</sup> Stevens, "On the Substantive Use," 45–55; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2053; BDF, §413; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §889; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 130–31; Porter, *Idioms*, 182–83.

<sup>109</sup> Robertson, *Grammar*, 1105–06; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 131–33.

<sup>110</sup> For examples of the substantival use of articular participles, see, John 18:2, 14 in my chapter 6.

- (c) 在曠野有人聲喊著說 (UV, CRV)<sup>111</sup>

Zài kuàngyě yǒurén shēng hǎn-zhe shuō.

In the wilderness, someone's voice crying out, saying....

- (d) 在曠野中有呼號者的聲音 (SB, NCV)<sup>112</sup>

Zài kuàngyě zhōng yǒu hūhào zhě de shēngyīn.

In the wilderness, there is a voice of a caller.

- (e) 在曠野裏有聲音呼喊 (CPB)

Zài kuàngyě lǐ yǒu shēngyīn hūhǎn.

In the wilderness, there is a voice calling.

- (f) 在曠野有人呼喊 (TCV)

Zài kuàngyě yǒurén hūhǎn.

In the wilderness, someone called out.

- (g) 他在荒野大聲呼喊 (CLB)

Tā zài huāngyě dàshēng hūhǎn.

He called out loudly in the deserted field.

The present participle βοῶντος functions here as a noun meaning “herald.”<sup>113</sup> All cited Mandarin versions, with the exception of (22d), translate it as a finite verb. While the notion of remoteness signaled by Mandarin aspect morphemes is irrelevant to the participle, it is still important to consider the discourse functions of the aspect morphemes. The aspect marker *-zhe* used in (22a) and (22c) is more fitting than the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (22b) and (22e–g) because it better corresponds to the more heavily marked Greek

<sup>111</sup> The CRV omits *shuō* at the end of the clause.

<sup>112</sup> The NCV has *Zài kuàngyě yǒu hūhào zhě de shēngyīn* 在曠野有呼號者的聲音 (“In the desert there is a voice of a caller”).

<sup>113</sup> Turner, *Syntax*, 151; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 100.

present tense-form. Since the colon ( : ) introduces a direct quotation, the verb *shuō* (“say”) used in (22a–c) is redundant. While (22a) and (22c) are acceptable translations, they do not translate the substantival use of the participle. Hence, it is preferable to render βοῶντος with a noun, *hūhào zhě* (“caller”), as (22d) illustrates.

### b. Modifier of Substantive

The participle may be used as a modifier of substantives. Grammarians refer to this type as adjectival, substantive, or restrictive use of the participle.<sup>114</sup> (23) illustrates:

(23) τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν (2 Tim 2:6)

(a) 勞農夫者 (GÜ)

**Láo nóngfū zhě.**

Hardworking farmers....

(b) 勤勞之農 (BCV, UVW)

**Qínláo zhī nóng.**

Hardworking farmers.

(c) 勞力的農夫 (UV, WANG, NCV, CRV)

**Láoli de nóngfū.**

Hardworking farmers.

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<sup>114</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2103–05; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §886; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 104; Porter, *Idioms*, 186. Dana and Mantey differentiates two kinds of adjectival participles: ascriptive and restrictive uses. The former “ascribes some fact, quality, or characteristic directly to the substantive, or denotes the substantive as belonging to a general class,” whereas the latter “denotes an affirmation that distinguishes the noun which it qualifies as in some way specially defined, or marked out in its particular identity.” See Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 224–25. As they themselves note, there is not much difference between the two types except the one is an “extension in use” of the other. This distinction, therefore, is unnecessary.

(d) 勞苦的農夫 (PK, JOHNM, BB, SB)

**Láokǔ de** nóngfū.

Hardworking farmers.

(e) 是勞力的農夫 (LÜ)

Shì **láolì de** nóngfū.

It is the hardworking farmers who....

(f) 在田裡辛勞的農人 (CPB, TCV)<sup>115</sup>

Zài tián lǐ **xīnláo de** nóng rén.

Hardworking farmers in the field.

(g) 耕者必先勞 (MAR, DV, GURY, GO)<sup>116</sup>

Gēng zhě **bì xiān láo**.

Farmers must first toil.

The first five examples, (23a–e), translate κοπιῶντα as a modifier and differ only in their choice of expression for “hardworking” in Chinese. (23f) and (23g), on the other hand, both translate the present participle as a verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. (23a–e) are preferable because they could also be construed as, “hardworking farmers in the field.” To make this interpretation explicit, (23f) could be revised by moving the particle *de* in front of *xīnláo* (*Zài tián lǐ de xīnláo nóng rén*, “Hardworking farmers in the field”). The auxiliary verb *bì* in (23g) is not preferable because it indicates that the translators have taken the participle as a finite verb instead of the modifier of γεωργόν.

<sup>115</sup> The TCV has Xīnqín gēngzuò *de* nóng rén 辛勤耕作的農夫 (“Farmer who labors hard [in the field]”).

<sup>116</sup> GO has *Nóng bì xiān láo* 農必先勞; the DV has *Nóng bì xiān lì sè* 農必先力穡 (lit. “Farmers must first gather in the harvest”); GURY follows closely to the DV and uses the synonym *jià* 稼 (“sow grain,” “agricultural work”). The term *jiàsè* 稼穡 refers to “agriculture.” Mathews, *Dictionary*, s.v.



### c. Modifier of Verb

The participle may also be used to modify verbs. Grammarians refer to this usage as adverbial, and some even treat it as the circumstantial use of the participle.<sup>117</sup> As Healey points out, circumstantial participles are always anarthrous.<sup>118</sup> (24) illustrates:

(24) περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς (Matt 4:18)

(a) 耶穌在加利利海邊走走，看見弟兄二人 (LÜ)

Yēsū zài Jiālìlì hǎibiān zǒu-zǒu, kànjian dìxiong liǎng rén.

Jesus trolls [along] the seafront of Galilee, and sees two brothers.

(b) 耶穌在加利利海邊行走．．． (UV, WANG, CRV)

Yēsū zài Jiālìlì hǎibiān xíngzǒu....

Jesus walks [along] the seafront of Galilee....

(c) 耶穌沿加利利湖邊走著．．． (TCV, CPB)

Yēsū yán Jiālìlì hú biān zǒu-zhe....

Jesus is walking along the lakeshore of Galilee....

(d) 耶穌在加利利海邊行走的時候．．． (NCV, SB)<sup>119</sup>

Yēsū zài Jiālìlì hǎibiān xíngzǒu de shíhòu....

As Jesus was walking along the seafront of Galilee....

<sup>117</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2141–64; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1124–32; Healey and Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles,” 177–259; Porter, *Idioms*, 187; Turner, *Syntax*, 153–58; BDF, §§417–24. Many traditional grammarians treat the genitive absolute under this category. See, for example, Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §2142; Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§847–50; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §§2070–75; BDF, §423; Turner, *Syntax*, 153, 322–23; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 308–9.

<sup>118</sup> Healey and Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles,” 179.

<sup>119</sup> SB has *Yēsū yán Jiālìlèiyà hǎi xíngzǒu shí...* 耶穌沿加里肋亞海行走時．．． (“As Jesus was walking along the seafront of Galilee...”).

(24a) is a less preferable translation because the reduplicated verb *zǒu-zǒu* (“take a walk”) does not reflect the imperfective aspect of the present participle περιπατῶν. The marker *-zhe* used in (24c) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in (24b) and (24d), because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form. However, (24d) is a better translation because the construction, *zài...de shíhòu* (“at the time when...”), translates the participle περιπατῶν as a modifier of the main verb εἶδεν.

#### d. Commanding

The use of the participle in the context of commands in the New Testament is still a matter of scholarly contention.<sup>120</sup> Differences in interpretation of the so-called “imperative participle” rest upon differing explanations of its usage. Daube, for example, argues for Semitic interference, while Moulton concludes from contemporary non-literary papyri that the specific function of the participle for commands had already been established during the Hellenistic period.<sup>121</sup> Still others, led by Winer, attribute it to anacoluthon.<sup>122</sup> Naturally, grammarians are divided over the question that emerges from these three positions, that is, whether it is possible that the participle has in fact become a

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<sup>120</sup> For a concise but helpful summary of major interpretations, see Porter, *Idioms*, 185–86.

<sup>121</sup> Daube, “Participle and Imperative,” 467–88. Daube’s position is followed by many others. See, for example, Barrett, “Imperative Participle,” 165–66; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 179–80; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §373; Kanjuparambil, “Imperative Participles,” 285–88; Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 386–88. For Moulton’s theory and his supporters, see Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 180–83, 222–25; Robertson, *Grammar*, 944–46, 1132–35; Meecham, “Use,” 207–08; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 229; BDF, §468; Salom, “Imperative Use,” 41–49; Turner, *Syntax*, 150, 343; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 137–38; McKay, “Imperative Constructions,” 224–26; McKay, *New Syntax*, 82–84; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 58; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 371–77; Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 160.

<sup>122</sup> Winer, *Treatise*, 440–2. Winer’s position is followed by a few others. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 196–97; 340f; Boyer, “Classification of Participles,” 173–74. Similarly, Mandilaras notes that the use of the participle in imperative sentences occurs only in stereotyped phrases and therefore it cannot be a substitute for the imperative. See Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§922–24.

substitute for the imperative. Those who follow Moulton favor the independent use of the participle, in this case, as an imperative. (25) illustrates:

(25) ὁμοίως [αἱ] γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν (1 Peter 3:1)

(a) 你們作婦人的、應當順從自己的丈夫 (PK, JOHNM, TCV)<sup>123</sup>

Nǐmen zuò fùrén de, yīngdāng shùncóng zìjǐ de zhàngfu.

Being a (married) women, you should submit to your own husband.

(b) . . . 應當服從自己的丈夫 (SB, CPB)<sup>124</sup>

...yīngdāng fúcéng zìjǐ de zhàngfu.

...should obey your own husband.

(c) . . . 要順服自己的丈夫 (UV, WANG, LÜ, NCV, CRV)<sup>125</sup>

...yào shùnfú zìjǐ de zhàngfu.

...should submit to your own husband.

The present participle ὑποτασσόμεναι may be translated by a disyllabic verb, such as *shùncóng*, *fúcéng*, or *shùnfú*, with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as in (25a–c). Auxiliary verbs such as *yīngdāng*, *yào*, *gāi* or *yí* are preferable additions to express commands in Mandarin.

### e. Circumstantial or Adverbial Uses

#### α. Concessive

The so-called circumstantial or adverbial use of the participle (cf. 5.3.2.2.c) is widely treated by grammarians. Circumstantial participles may be classified in terms of concessive, causal, purpose/result, instrumental, and conditional.<sup>126</sup> When translating into

<sup>123</sup> The TCV uses *yīnggāi* instead of *yīngdāng*.

<sup>124</sup> The CPB uses *yīng* instead of *yīngdāng*.

<sup>125</sup> WANG and CRV use *fúcéng* (“obey”) instead of *shùnfú*. LÜ has *nimen de* (“yours”) instead of *zìjǐ de*.

<sup>126</sup> See, for example, Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 252–53; Hoffmann and von Siebenthal, *Griechische Grammatik*, §§231–32; Black, *Intermediate Greek*, 123; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 305–07.

Mandarin, nuances between the different uses of the circumstantial participle must be reflected explicitly by morphology (as opposed to implicitly by implication). (26)

illustrates a concessive use of the participle:<sup>127</sup>

(26) εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν  
(Matt 7:11)

(a) 你們雖然不好，尚且知道拏好東西給兒女 (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, LÜ, CRV)<sup>128</sup>

Nǐmen *suīrán* **bù hǎo**, **shàngqiě** zhīdào ná hǎodōngxi gěi ér-nǚ.

Although you are not good, yet you know to give good things to (your own) children.

(b) 你們雖然邪惡，尚且 . . . (NCV, TCV)

Nǐmen *suīrán* **xié'è**, **shàngqiě**....

Although you are evil, yet....

(c) 你們縱然不善，尚且 . . . (SB, CPB)<sup>129</sup>

Nǐmen *zòngrán* **bùshàn**, **shàngqiě**....

Although you are not good....

Concessive use of the participle can sometimes be identified with particles such as *καίπερ* (Heb 5:8), *καί γε* (Acts 17:27), or *καίτοι* (Heb 4:3), however, most of the time it occurs without them.<sup>130</sup> (26a–c) translate the concessive sense of the participle ὄντες by

<sup>127</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2155–56; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §653; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1129–30; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §248; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 101–02; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2066; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §906; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 253; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 134–35; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 57–58.

<sup>128</sup> JOHNM has *shàn* instead of *hǎo*.

<sup>129</sup> The CPB has *hǎo* instead of *shàn*.

<sup>130</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2155–56; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 351; Porter, *Idioms*, 191; Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1, 854–56. Chamberlain has noted that

employing the construction *suīrán...shàngqiě* and *zòngrán...shàngqiě*. Other expressions, such as *gùrán...dànshì* 固然 . . . 但是, are also preferable for this particular use of the participle.<sup>131</sup>

## β. Causal

(27) illustrates the causal use of the participle:<sup>132</sup>

(27) ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας ὄντες νήφωμεν (1 Thess 5:8)

(a) 我們既屬乎白晝，就應當謹守 (PK, TCV)<sup>133</sup>

Wōmen jì **shǔhū** báizhòu, jiù yīngdāng jǐnshǒu.

Since we belong to the day, we should guard with care.

(b) 但我們既然屬乎白晝，就 . . . (UV, JOHNM, WANG, NCV, CRV)<sup>134</sup>

Dàn wōmen jìrán **shǔhū** báizhòu, jiù....

Since we belong to the day....

(c) 但我們呢、我們既是屬於白晝的，就 . . . (LÜ)

Dàn wōmen ne, wōmen jìshì **shǔyú** báizhòu de, jiù....

But as for us, since we who belong to the day....

(d) 但我們屬於白晝 . . . (CPB)

Dàn wōmen **shǔyú** báizhòu....

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these participles are meant for emphasis, used “when attention is called to something having been done in spite of unfavorable circumstances.” Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 102. See also Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 230.

<sup>131</sup> See Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 436–54; Chao, *Grammar*, 115; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 635–40.

<sup>132</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2150–52; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 351; Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax*, 686–878; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1128; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 102; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2064; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §904; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 252; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 133–34; Porter, *Idioms*, 191; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 305–06; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 123–24. For another example of the causal use of the participle, see 1 Cor 15:58 in my chapter 7.

<sup>133</sup> The TCV has *jìrán wōmen shǔyú báizhòu* (“since we belong to the day”).

<sup>134</sup> The NCV and CRV have *shǔyú* instead of *shǔhū*.

But we belong to the day....

(e) 但是我們做白晝之子的 . . . (SB)

Dànshì wǒmen zuò báirì zhīzǐ de....

But we who are sons of the day light....

(27a–c) use the construction *jì...jiù* and *jìrán...jiù* to render the causal use of the participle. In Mandarin, one can also use the causal conjunctives *yīnwèi* (“because”) or the construction *yīnwèi...de yuángù* 因為 . . . 的緣故 (“due to the fact that”) to express cause and effect.<sup>135</sup> (27d) and (27e) do not contain such causal conjunctives, therefore, they are not preferable.

### γ. Purpose or Result

The purpose (telic/final) or result use of the participle is sometimes introduced by ὥς, however, it usually occurs without it.<sup>136</sup> (28) illustrates:

(28) νομικός τις ἀνέστη ἐκπειράζων αὐτὸν (Luke 10:25)

(a) 有一個教法師、來試探耶穌 (PK, JOHNM, JOHN, BB, UV, WANG, SB,

TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB)<sup>137</sup>

Yǒu yīge jiàofǎshī, lái shìtàn Yēsū.

There was a lawyer, came to test Jesus.

(b) . . . 故意試探耶穌 (LÜ, CLB)<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 394–97, 406–09. Lü treats *jì/jìrán* 既/既然 as a cause-effect relative pronoun (因果關係詞). Other conjunctives such as *wèi-le/wèi-zhe* 爲了/爲著 or *yóuyú* 由於 are also appropriate. See also Chao, *Grammar*, 115–16; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 635–38.

<sup>136</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2157–59; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §653; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §203; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 99; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 226; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §282; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 253; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §899; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 133; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 64; Porter, *Idioms*, 192.

<sup>137</sup> BB has *shì* 試 (“try,” “test”) instead of *shìtàn*. Instead of *lái*, many Mandarin versions use *qǐlái* 起來 (“get up,” JOHNM, JOHN, UV, WANG, SB, NCV), *zhàn-qǐlái* 站起來 (“stand up,” CRV), *qiánlái* 前來 (“come before,” TCV) or *guòlái* 過來 (“come over,” CPB).

...gùyì shìtàn Yēsū.

...to test Jesus intentionally.

In Mandarin, purpose or result clauses may be expressed in various ways, including using participles, such as *lái* 來 or *qù* 去.<sup>139</sup> In (28a), *lái* (or *qǐlái* 起來, “get up,” *guòlái* 過來, “come over,” *qiánlái* 前來, “come before”) may have been used to express purpose (or result), or it may be interpreted as a verb to translate ἀνέστη. This will give the translation “...came *in order to* test Jesus.” Another way to convey purpose or result is to use a different set of particles, such as *hǎo* 好 (“so that”), *yǐbiàn* 以便 (“so that,” “in order to”), *yǐzhì* 以致 (“with the result that”), or simply *yǐ* 以 (“so as to”).<sup>140</sup> The addition of *gùyì* (“purposely”) in (28b) also clearly expresses the sense of purpose. The disyllabic verb *shìtàn* (“test”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable for the present participle, as (28a–b) illustrate.

#### δ. Instrumental

(29) illustrates the instrumental use of the participle:<sup>141</sup>

(29) ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων  
γενόμενος (Phil 2:7)

(a) 反倒虛己，取了奴僕的形像，成為人的樣式 (UV, WANG, LÜ, NCV,

CRV, CPB, UVW, UVB)<sup>142</sup>

<sup>138</sup> The CLB has *gùyì wèn nán Yēsū* 故意問難耶穌 (“intentionally ask Jesus a hard question”).

<sup>139</sup> Chao, *Grammar*, 479–80.

<sup>140</sup> Stuart, *Essentials*, 87; Wang 王 力, *Outline*, 183–85; Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 409–11; Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 614, 621.

<sup>141</sup> Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2160–63; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2063; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 228; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 135–36; Porter, *Idioms*, 192; Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1, 851.

<sup>142</sup> The CRV has *xíngzhuàng* 形狀 (“shape”) instead of *xíngxiàng*. The CPB has *qǔ le núpú de xíngtǐ*, *chéngwéi rén bìng zài rén zhōngjiān* 取了奴僕的形體，成為人並在人中間 (“taking body of a slave, also

Fǎndào xūjǐ, **qǔ-le** núpú de xíngxiàng, **chéngwéi** rén de yàngshì.

Instead, (he) emptied himself, having taken the form of a slave, turning into  
the form of a human.

- (b) . . . 有奴僕的樣式、形狀成爲世人 (PK, JOHNM, BB)<sup>143</sup>

...**yǒu** núpú de yàngshì, xíngzhuàng **chéngwéi** shìrén.

...having a form of a slave, the shape turned into a human.

- (c) . . . 取了奴僕的形體，與人相似 (SB)

...**qǔ-le** núpú de xíngtǐ, yǔ rén xiāngsì.

...having taken the body of a slave, in human likeness.

- (d) . . . 成人之狀、而任僕之貌 (BCV, GO)<sup>144</sup>

...**chéng** rén zhī zhuàng, **ér** rèn pú zhī mào.

...turning into the shape of a human, and assuming the appearance of a slave.

- (e) . . . 誕降爲人、以僕自處 (DV, WV)<sup>145</sup>

...**dànjiàng** wéirén, yǐ pú zìchǔ.

...descending as a human, finding himself as a slave.

- (f) . . . 且以人之態度而生爲僕之樣 (MAR)

...qiě yǐ rén zhī tàidu **ér shēng**, wéi pú zhī yang.

...still being born in the form of a slave in the manner of human.

- (g) . . . 藉僕之狀、成如人樣 (GÜ, GURY)<sup>146</sup>

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becoming a man among people”). The UVW and UVB phrase it in wenli style: *qǔ pú zhī zhuàng, chéng rén zhī xíng* 取僕之狀、成人之形。

<sup>143</sup> JOHNM has *chéngwéi rén de xíngzhuàng* 成爲人的形狀 (“turning into the shape of a human”). BB phrases it in wenli: *qǔ núpú zhī zhuàng, xíngmào chéngwéi shìrén* 取奴僕之狀、形貌成爲世人。

<sup>144</sup> GO has *qǔ pú zhī mào* 取僕之貌 (“taking the appearance of a slave”) instead of *ér rèn pú zhī mào*.

<sup>145</sup> The WV reverses the word order *gān zì wéi pú, ér jiàng shēng wéi rén* 甘自爲僕，而降生爲人 (“willing to become a slave and to be born [from above] as a human”).



...jiè pú zhī zhuàng, **chéng** rú rényàng.

...assuming the form of a slave, becoming like a human.

(h) 藉取奴僕的形像，以人的樣式而降生，而反倒虛己 (FOLEY)

Jiè **qǔ** núpú de xíngxiàng, yǐ rén de yàngshì ér **jiàngshēng**, ér fǎndào xūjǐ.

Instead, by taking the form of a slave, being born in the human likeness, he

emptied himself.

All of the above examples translate the two participles as modifiers of or in adverbial relation to the main verb ἐκένωσεν. While the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is acceptable, the perfective aspect marker *-le* in (29a) and (29c) is a better choice for the translation because it morphologically reflects the aspect expressed by the aorist participle λαβών. As for the aorist passive participle γενόμενος, *dànjiàng* or *jiàngshēng* in (29e) and (29h) are more fitting than *chéngwéi* or *chéng*, especially in the context of the Incarnation of Jesus.<sup>147</sup>

The instrumental use of the Greek participle may be reflected in Mandarin by utilizing verbs such as *yòng* 用 (“use”), *yǐ* 以 (“take”), *jiè/jièzhe* 藉/藉著 (“use”), *kào/kàozhe* / *yīkào* 靠/靠著/依靠 (“rely on”), *píng/píngzhe* 憑/憑著 (“on the basis of”), etc.<sup>148</sup> Also, as (29h) illustrates, the word order of the Greek must be rearranged since Mandarin syntax requires that the predicate be placed before the main clause.

<sup>146</sup> GURY has *jiè pú xiàng zì chū ér wéi rén* 藉僕像自處而為人 (“assuming the form of a slave, and becoming human”).

<sup>147</sup> See, also, the commentary on γεγέννηται (John 18:37) in my chapter 6, pp. 353–54 below.

<sup>148</sup> Chinese grammarians do not discuss at length the instrumental use of verbs. In fact, most of them do not treat it at all. For comments on the instrumental use of *yòng*, see Lü 呂叔湘, *800 Phrases*, 626–27; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 367; for *yǐ*, see Dragunov, *Studies*, 197.

### ε. Conditional

Conditional clauses in Greek are usually introduced by particles such as εἰ or εἰάν (and also ἥν, ἐπεὶ, or ἐπεὶάν in classical Greek) in the protasis.<sup>149</sup> As Cooper and Krüger have noted, since the conditional participle is not specifically marked by the usual conditional particles (i.e. “if” words), “it is arbitrary to insist that the participle represents a conditional subordinate and protasis rather than a temporal or some other kind of subordinate.”<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to see a participle clearly being used as a conditional in the New Testament. (30) illustrates:<sup>151</sup>

(30) πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευξόμεθα τηλικαύτης ἀμελήσαντες σωτηρίας; (Heb 2:3)

(a) 那麼我們若輕看這樣救人的大道、怎能逃罪呢。(PK, JOHNM, CPB)<sup>152</sup>

Nàme wǒmen ruò qīngkàn zhèyàng jiùrén de dàdào, zěnnéng táozuì ne.

How then can we escape sin if we despise this great saving truth?

(b) 我們若忽略 . . . (UV, WANG, TCV)<sup>153</sup>

Wǒmen ruò hūlüè....

If we ignore....

(c) 我們若輕忽了 . . . (LÜ, NCV, CRV)<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> See, for example, Green, *Handbook*, 333; Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, §697; Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2153–54; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §653; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1129; Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, part 1, 351; Bornemann and Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 253; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §245; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 306. For a recent monograph on Greek conditionals, see Wakker, *Conditions and Conditionals*.

<sup>150</sup> Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 2, 850. See also Cooper and Krüger, *Greek Syntax*, vol. 3, 2582.

<sup>151</sup> Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §245; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 101; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 227; Porter, *Idioms*, 192; McKay, *New Syntax*, 174. Other examples of conditional use of the participle include Matt 16:26, Luke 9:25, and Gal 6:9.

<sup>152</sup> The CPB uses qīngshì 輕視 (“despise”) instead of qīngkàn.

<sup>153</sup> The TCV uses rúguǒ instead of ruò.

<sup>154</sup> The NCV and CRV have hūlüè-le; the NCV uses rúguǒ instead of ruò.

Wǒmen *ruò* qīnghū-le....

If we have neglected....

(d) 如果我們置若罔聞，漫不經心 . . . (CLB)

*Rúguǒ* wǒmen **zhì-ruò-wǎng-wén, màn-bù-jīng-xīn**....

If we pay no heed to it and completely careless....

(e) 我們這些忽視 . . . (SB)

Wǒmen zhèxiē **hūshì**....

We who ignore....

The modal auxiliaries or particles *ruò* and *rúguǒ* employed in (30a–d) translate the conditional participle ἀμελήσαντες in the protasis with various degrees of success.<sup>155</sup>

(30a) and (30b) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is an acceptable translation for the aorist participle. (30c), on the other hand, uses *-le*, which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek. Also, *-le* is preferable because, as Wang Li has pointed out, it is frequently used in contexts that include subordinate clauses and the protasis of conditional sentences.<sup>156</sup>

The four-character set phrases in (30d), on the other hand, are not preferable, for, as I have argued in previous chapters, they convey the stative aspect and have the unique feature of foregrounding in Mandarin discourse. Finally, (30e) is not preferable because it takes ἀμελήσαντες not as a conditional but substantive or adjectival participle. With an adequate rendering of aspect and its role in discourse, the conditional use of the Greek participle may be translated as a conditional clause in Mandarin, as illustrated in (30a–c).

<sup>155</sup> Heb 2:3 is an example of the first class conditional. See Boyer, “First Class Conditions,” 109. See 5.4 below for discussions on the conditional clauses.

<sup>156</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 335–36; Chao, *Grammar*, 116. See 3.2.5.2.c.α, p. 124 above.

## 5.4. Conditional Clauses

### 5.4.1. Introduction

This section treats conditional clauses in the Greek New Testament with the intention of developing a consistent system of accurately translating the original into Mandarin. With this goal in mind, and for the sake of convenience, the discussion follows the Porter's five-part classifications of Greek conditional clauses according to protases.<sup>157</sup>

Before discussing the different types of Greek conditionals, it is necessary to mention some of the particularities regarding conditional constructions in Mandarin. First, similar to the conditional participles discussed in the previous section, particles εἰ or ἐάν in the protasis that introduce New Testament Greek conditional constructions may be represented by a number of different “if” words in Mandarin, including *ruòshì* (ruò, *ruòshì*) 若是 (若, 若使), *jiǎrú* (*jiǎruò*, *jiǎshǐ*, *bǐrú*) 假如 (假若, 假使, 比如), *tǎngruò* 倘若, *yàoshì* (yào) 要是 (要), and *rúguǒ* (*guǒ*, *guǒ shǐ*, *gǒu*, *chéng*) 如果 (果, 果使, 苟, 誠).<sup>158</sup> Unlike Greek (and English), these words are generally not obligatory in Mandarin. Second, unlike Greek, verbal aspect plays *no part* in grammaticalizing various types of conditionals in Mandarin.<sup>159</sup> In other words, translating the nuances between different

<sup>157</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 294–304; Porter, *Idioms*, 254–67. For treatment and other classifications of Greek conditionals, see, for example, Goodwin, “On the Classification of Conditional Sentences,” 186–205; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1007–22; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 195–200; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 289–91; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §§299–334; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 163–65; Hoffmann and von Siebenthal, *Griechische Grammatik*, §§280–85; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 62–63; McKay, *New Syntax*, 163–74; Black, *Intermediate Greek*, 144–45; Cooper and Krüger, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 2, 1053–69; BDR, §§371–76.

<sup>158</sup> See, for example, Summers, *Handbook*, 167–68; Li 黎錦熙, *Grammar*, 218–19; Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 413–35; Chao, *Grammar*, 116; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 646–51; Paris, “Subordination adverbiale,” 34–39. For a treatment of the use of *ruò* and *rú* in classical Chinese conditionals, see Dobson, *Dictionary*, 571, 566–57.

<sup>159</sup> See Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 647. Li and Thompson discuss three different types of conditionals: reality, imaginative hypothetical, imaginative counterfactual, all of which are possible interpretations for the Mandarin conditionals. Therefore, only context determines the proper reading.

classes of Greek conditional sentences into Mandarin is only possible by lexical means. Therefore, this section will limit its focus to translations into Mandarin of the aspectual meanings of the Greek verb forms in the five classes of conditionals.

### 5.4.2. First Class Conditional

The first class conditional, as Porter puts it, “makes an assertion for the sake of argument.”<sup>160</sup> This type of conditional occurs most frequently, appearing over 300 times in the New Testament.<sup>161</sup> It is normally introduced by εἰ + indicative in the protasis, although almost any verb form can be used in the apodosis. (31) illustrates:<sup>162</sup>

(31) εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· (1 Cor 15:16)

(a) 苟死者無復活，則基督亦未復活 (WV)

Gǒu sǐzhě wú fùhuó, zé Jīdū yì wèi fùhuó.

If the dead do not come back to life, then neither did Christ come back to life.

(b) 死人若不復活、就是基督也沒有復活了 (PK, JOHNM, ZHU)<sup>163</sup>

Sǐrén ruò bù fùhuó, jiùshì Jīdū yě méiyǒu fùhuó le.

If the dead do not come back to life, that means Christ also did not come back to life.

(c) 死人若沒有復活，那等於說，基督沒有復活了。(TCV)

Sǐrén ruò méiyǒu fùhuó, nà děngyú shuō, Jīdū méiyǒu fùhuó le.

<sup>160</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 256. Greenlee calls it a “condition of fact,” while Moule calls it “possible or actual.” Moule, *Idiom Book*, 148; Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 62.

<sup>161</sup> See Boyer, “Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions,” 163 n. 1. Boyer counts 305 first class, 47 second class, 277 third class conditionals in the New Testament.

<sup>162</sup> For other examples of the first class conditional, see John 18:8, 23; 19:11; 1 Cor 15:2, 12, 13–17, 19, 29, 32, 44 in my chapters 6–7 below.

<sup>163</sup> ZHU has *Sǐrén ruò bù fùshēng, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu fùshēng le* 死人若不復生，基督也就沒有復生了 (“If the dead were not raised, Christ was not raised”).

If the dead do not come back to life, that is to say, Christ did not come back to life.

- (d) 如果死人沒復活，基督也沒復活。(CPB)

*Rúguǒ sǐrén méi fùhuó, Jīdū yě méi fùhuó.*

If the dead do not come back to life, neither did Christ come back to life.

- (e) 因為死者都不復活，基督也就沒有復活。(CNT)

*Yīnwèi sǐzhě dōu bù fùhuó, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu fùhuó.*

Because (if) the dead do not come back to life, neither did Christ come back to life.

- (f) 因為死人若不復活，基督也就沒有復活了。(UV, WANG, BT, HSC, SB,

NCV, CRV)<sup>164</sup>

*Yīnwèi sǐrén ruò bù fùhuó, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu fùhuó le.*

This is due to the fact that if the dead do not come back to life, neither did Christ come back to life.

- (g) 死人如果不能得甦活起來，基督也就沒有得甦活起來了 (LÜ)

*Sǐrén rúguǒ bùnéng dé sūhuó-qǐlai, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu dé sūhuó-qǐlai le.*

If the dead cannot get to come back to life, neither (can) Christ get to come back to life.

- (h) 蓋死者若不復活，則基督也未曾被扶起 (HS)

*Gài sǐzhě ruò bù fùhuó, zé Jīdū yě wèicéng bèi fú-qǐ.*

<sup>164</sup> BT and HSC omit the sentential-final particle *le*. SB has *yīnwèi rúguǒ sǐrén bù fùhuó, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu fùhuó* 因為如果死人不復活，基督也就沒有復活 (“Because if the dead do not come back to life, neither did Christ come back to life”). The NCV has *yīnwèi rúguǒ sǐrén méiyǒu fùhuó, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu fùhuó* 因為如果死人有沒有復活，基督也就沒有復活 (“Because if the dead do not come back to life, neither did Christ come back to life”).

Therefore if the dead did not come back to life, then neither Christ had ever been raised.

(i) 死人若不復活，基督也就沒有死而復甦了。(FOLEY)

Sǐrén *ruò* bù **fùhuó**, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu **sǐ-ér-fù-sū** le.

If the dead do not come back to life, then Christ has not come back to life from from the dead.

The two passive verbs in (31) present a difficult challenge to the translator. The first passive verb in the protasis is a present tense-form, whereas the second one in the apodosis is a perfect tense-form. The majority of Chinese versions represented in (31a–f) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both verbs. While the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is acceptable for rendering the imperfective aspect signaled by ἐγείρονται in the protasis, it is not preferable for the stative aspect signaled by ἐγήγερται in the apodosis. These examples, with the exception of (31e), introduce the conditional protasis with particles such as *ruò* and *rúguǒ*. As mentioned above, the conditional particles used here do not necessarily differentiate the nuances of different types of Greek conditionals. Also, these conditional particles may be omitted, especially with particles such as *zé* 則 and *jiù* 就 (or *biàn* 便), which one would expect to find in the apodosis of a conditional in Mandarin.<sup>165</sup> For the sake of clarity, however, it is better to use a conditional particle in the protasis.

(31g) and (31h) deserve special notice. In (31g), Lü uses the auxiliary verb *néng* in the protasis and another auxiliary verb *dé* in both the protasis and apodosis. He also uses the same IDVC *qīlái*, for both clauses. It would seem that Lü wanted to maintain the symmetry of the sentence by repeating the same verb and aspect morpheme. In doing so,

<sup>165</sup> See Lü 呂叔湘, *Grammar*, 416f.

he not only contributed to the awkwardness of the sentence because of the obvious tautology, but also translated the indicative (ἐγείρονται) with a subjunctive verb, and the stative aspect with the imperfective aspect morpheme. In (31h), Hsiao uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both verb forms and employs the passive construction formed by the particle *bèi*. Here, *bèi* is required because there is an implied agent of the transitive verb *fú* (“help”). Nonetheless, one cannot simply add *bèi* to the intransitive verb *fūhuó* in the rest of the examples to transform them into the passive. Indeed, even without *bèi*, these examples could be construed as passive constructions.

The preferable translation of (31) in Mandarin, therefore, is to use the conditional particle *ruò* to introduce the protasis and *jiù* in the apodosis. The verb *sūhuó* used in (31g) is not preferable because it is not a common expression in Mandarin. A preferable translation of the verbs in this example would be to use the disyllabic verb *fūhuó* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to represent the imperfective aspect of ἐγείρονται, and the four-character set phrase *sī-ér-fū-sū* to represent the stative aspect of ἐγήγεργται, as (31i) illustrates.

### 5.4.3. Second Class Conditional

The second class conditional is formed by εἰ + indicative in the protasis, and with ἄν in the apodosis (imperfect or aorist, and to a lesser extent, pluperfect tense-forms).<sup>166</sup> The imperfect tense-form in the apodosis is an example of the non-past (conative) use of the imperfective (see 4.2.3.2 above). The second class conditional asserts a hypothetical statement that is contrary to fact.<sup>167</sup> The differences between tense-forms in this

<sup>166</sup> Goodwin, *Syntax*, §§172, 402, 410; Burton, *Syntax*, §§248–49; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1012–16; Nunn, *Short Syntax*, §239; Boyer, “Second Class Conditions,” 81–88.

<sup>167</sup> Moule calls this “past or present conditions, only hypothetical.” Moule, *Idiom Book*, 148–49. Porter calls it “assertion to the contrary” and “non-factive statement used contra-factively.” See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 304–06; *Idioms*, 261.



conditional are best explained by verbal aspect. The traditional view that differentiates the imperfect and aorist by their reference to either present or past must be dismissed since Greek tense-forms grammaticalize not temporal reference but aspect.<sup>168</sup> (32) illustrates an example of the second class conditional:<sup>169</sup>

(32) εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακὸν ποιῶν, οὐκ ἄν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν. (John 18:30)

(a) 這人若不是犯罪的、我們就不將他解到你這裏來 (PK)

*Zhè rén ruò bù shì fānzui de, wǒmen jiù bù jiāng tā jiě dào nǐ zhè lǐ lái.*

If this man were not someone who commits crime, we would not have sent him under guard to you here.

(b) 這個人若不是作惡的，我們就不把他交給你。 (UV, WANG, BT, LÜ, SB, CRV, CSB)<sup>170</sup>

*Zhègè rén ruò bù shì zuò'è de, wǒmen jiù bù bǎ tā jiāogěi nǐ.*

If this man were not someone who does evil, we would not have sent him to you.

(c) 這人若不是罪人，我們決不解送給你。 (CNT)

*Zhè rén ruò bù shì zuìrén, wǒmen juébù jièsòng gěi nǐ.*

If this man were not a criminal, we would never have sent (him) under guard to you.

(d) 這個人若不是罪犯，我們不把他交付(sic)你。 (HSC)

*Zhègè rén ruò bù shì zuìfàn, wǒmen bù bǎ tā jiāofù nǐ.*

<sup>168</sup> See, for example, Green, *Handbook*, 319; Moulton, *Introduction*, 135; Robertson, *Grammar*, 887; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 196–97; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 289–90; Boyer, “Second Class Conditions,” 81–88.

<sup>169</sup> For other examples of the second class conditional, see the discussion on John 18:36 (cf. John 19:11) in chapter 6 below.

<sup>170</sup> Lü has *sòngjiāo* 送交 (“deliver to”) instead of *jiāo*. SB uses *rúguǒ* instead of *ruò* and *biàn bù huì bǎ* 便不會把 instead of *jiù bù bǎ*. The CRV has *bù huì bǎ* instead of *bù bǎ*.

If this man is not a criminal, we do not send him to you.

- (e) 此人若非歹徒，我們斷不把祂交給你。(HS)

Cǐrén ruò fēi **dǎitú**, wǒmen duànbù bǎ Tā **jiāogěi** nǐ.

If this man were not a criminal, we would *never* send Him to you.

- (f) 他若不是壞人，我們就不會帶他來你這裡了。(CPB)

Tā ruò bù shì **huàirén**, wǒmen jiù bù huì **dài** tā **lái** nǐ zhèlǐ le.

If he were not a bad guy, we would not have taken him to you here.

- (g) 這人若沒有犯罪、就不解到你這裏來 (JOHNM)

Zhè rén ruò méiyǒu **fànzui**, jiù bù **jiě** dào nǐ zhè lǐ lái.

If this man did not commit crime, (he) would not have been sent to you  
here under guard.

- (h) 如果這個人沒有作惡，我們就不會把他交給你。(NCV, TCV)<sup>171</sup>

Rúguǒ zhègè rén méiyǒu **zuò'è**, wǒmen jiù bù huì **bǎ** tā **jiāogěi** nǐ.

If this man did not do evil, we would not have sent him to you.

- (i) 假設他不是作惡的，我們就絕對不把他交給你了。(FOLEY)

Jiǎshè tā bù shì **zuò'è** de, wǒmen jiù **juéduì** bù **bǎ** tā **jiāogěi-le** nǐ le.

If this he were not someone who does evil, we would certainly not have  
sent him to you.

(32a) and (32b) both render the periphrasis with the *shì...de* construction in the protasis. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is also appropriate for the imperfective aspect of the present participle ποιῶν. (32a–g) all use the  $\emptyset$  morphemes in the apodosis. (32c–f) differ

<sup>171</sup> The TCV has *rúguǒ tā méiyǒu zuò huàishì, wǒmen bù huì bǎ tā dàidào zhè lǐ lái* 如果他沒有做壞事，我們不會把他帶到這裏來 (“if he did not do evil, we would not have taken him here”).

significantly from the rest of the examples in their translation of the protasis. These four examples translate the periphrasis with a substantive, whereas (32g) and (32h) translate it with a finite verb.

As mentioned above, verbal aspect plays no part in grammaticalizing Mandarin conditional sentences. In translation, nuances of Greek conditionals can only be expressed in Mandarin by means of lexis, which provides a number of options. For example, instead of *rúguǒ* or *ruò*, one may employ *jiǎshè*, which is commonly used in making hypothetical statements. In addition, adverbs such as *juébù*, *duànbù*, and *juéduì* used in (32c, e, i), as well as the sentence-final modal participle *le* in (32f) and (32i), add emphasis in the assertion to the contrary.<sup>172</sup> Auxiliary verbs such as *huì* in (32f) and (32h), however, are not preferable for rendering the indicative verb in the apodosis. (32i) illustrates the preferable rendering of (32).

#### 5.4.4. Third Class Conditional

The third class conditional is formed by ἐάν + subjunctive in the protasis, with virtually every verb form in the apodosis.<sup>173</sup> Grammarians refer to this type of conditional as “future more vivid” (in contrast to the “future less vivid” or fourth class conditional with the optative) or simply future conditional.<sup>174</sup> This type of conditional occurs only slightly less frequently than the first class conditional in the New Testament. Here, the

<sup>172</sup> For discussions on the modal particle *le* and its relations to the perfective *-le*, see 3.2.4 and 3.2.5.2.c.α, pp. 112–14, 124–26 above.

<sup>173</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 307–11; Porter, *Idioms*, 261–62. Greenlee calls this a “condition of contingency.” Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 62. In fact, this had been noted by Sewall earlier. See Sewall, “On the Distinction,” 77–82.

<sup>174</sup> See, for example, Goodwin, *Syntax*, §444; Machen, *New Testament Greek*, §§288–90; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 148; BDF, §373; Boyer, “Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions,” 163–75; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 69–70; Machen and McCartney, *New Testament Greek* (2d ed.), §§311–13. Chamberlain notes an example from Phil 3:12, where the protasis is introduced by εἰ. See Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 198.

subjunctive mood together with ἔάν expresses projection in a form of hypothetical statement. The nuances of the tense-forms are determined by verbal aspect, and must be translated accordingly into Mandarin. (33) illustrates:<sup>175</sup>

(33) καὶ [γὰρ] ἔάν ἀγαθοποιῇτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;...καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις [ἐστίν]; (Luke 6:33–34)

(a) 你們若善待那善待你們的人，有甚麼可酬謝的呢？．．．你們若借給人，指望從他收回，有甚麼可酬謝的呢？(UV, PK, JOHNM, WANG, LÜ, CRV)<sup>176</sup>

Nǐmen ruò **shàndài** nà shàndài nǐmen de rén, **yǒu** shénme kě chóuxiè de ne?...Nǐmen ruò **jiè** gěi rén, zhǐwang cóng tā shōuhuí, **yǒu** shénme kě chóuxiè de ne?

If you show kindness to those who show kindness to you, what is worthy of reward?...if you lend to someone, expecting a return from him, what is worthy of reward?

(b) 如果你們只善待那些對你們好的人，你們有什麼功德？．．．如果你們只肯把東西借給那些會償還你們的人，你們有什麼功德？(CPB, NCV)<sup>177</sup>

Rúguǒ nǐmen zhǐ **shàndài** nàxiē duì nǐmen hǎo de rén, nǐmen **yǒu** shénme gōngdé?...*rúguǒ* nǐmen zhǐ **kěn** bǎ dōngxī **jiè** gěi nàxiē huì cháng huán nǐmen de rén, nǐmen **yǒu** shénme gōngdé?

<sup>175</sup> For other examples of the third class conditional, see John 19:12 in chapter 6 below.

<sup>176</sup> Instead of *chóuxiè*, other disyllabic verbs *shāngcì* 賞賜 (“bestow,” PK, JOHNM) and *gǎnxiè* 感謝 (“be grateful,” WANG) are used.

<sup>177</sup> The NCV has *hǎochù* 好處 (“benefits”) instead of *gōngdé*.

If you only show kindness to those who are kind to you, what merits do you have?...if you are willing to lend things to those who are able to return to you, what merits do you have?

- (c) 假如你們只善待那些善待你們的人，有甚麼功德呢？．．．假如你們只借錢給有希望償還的人，又有甚麼功德呢？(TCV)

*Jiǎrú* nǐmen zhǐ **shàndài** nàxiē shàndài nǐmen de rén, **yǒu** shénme gōngdé ne?...*jiǎrú* nǐmen zhǐ **jièqián** gěi yǒu xīwàng chángguán de rén, **yòu** yǒu shénme gōngdé ne?

If you only show kindness to those who show kindness to you, what merits do you have?...if you lend money only to those whom you hope will return, what merits do you have?

- (d) 你們善待那善待你們的，為你們還算什麼功德？．．．你們若借給那些有希望償還的，為你們還算什麼功德？(SB)

Nǐmen **shàndài** nà shàndài nǐmen de, wèi nǐmen hái **suàn** shénme gōngdé?...nǐmen *ruò* **jiè** gěi nàxiē yǒu xīwàng chángguán de, wèi nǐmen hái **suàn** shénme gōngdé?

(If) you show kindness to those who show kindness to you, what merits do you have?...if you lend to those whom you wish to return, what merits do you have?

- (e) 只善待那些善待你們的人，有甚麼稀奇呢？．．．你們只借錢給有力償還的人，有甚麼值得誇耀的呢？(CLB)

Zhǐ **shàndài** nàxiē shàndài nǐmen de rén, **yǒu** shénme xīqí ne?...nǐmen zhǐ jièqián gěi yǒulì chángguán de rén, **yǒu** shénme zhíde kuāyào de ne?

(If) you only show kindness to those who show kindness to you, what is the big deal?... (if) you lend money only to those who are able to return, what is worthy of praise?

(f) 你們若只願善待著那善待你們的人，算什麼功德呢？．．．你們若只肯借給有能力償還的人，算什麼功德呢？ (FOLEY)

Nǐmen *ruò* zhǐ *yuàn* **shàndài-zhe** nà shàndài nǐmen de rén, suàn shénme gōngdé ne?... nǐmen *ruò* zhǐ *kěn* **jiè** gěi yǒu nénglì cháng huán de rén, **suàn** shénme gōngdé ne?

If you are willing to extend kindness only to those who show kindness to you, what merits do you have?... if you are willing to lend only to those who are able to return, what merits do you have?

(33a–e) render the two Greek conditionals very similarly. All except (33d) and (33e) introduce the protases with conditional particles in both sentences. More important is that (33a–e) all employ the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate the two subjunctives, regardless of their tense-forms. (33b) is the only example that uses the auxiliary *kěn* to express hypothetical projection of the subjunctive δανίσσητε. The Greek subjunctive mood, as discussed in 5.2.1. above, may be represented by an auxiliary verb in Mandarin. Therefore, in order to fully convey the sense of the third class conditional in (33), auxiliary verbs, such as *yuàn* and *kěn*, must be present in front of the verbs. In regards to the verb forms of the subjunctive, *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect expressed by the present tense-form ἀγαθοποιῆτε, as (33f) illustrates. The monosyllabic verb *jiè* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a satisfactory translation of

δανίστητε because it reflects the aspect and less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

#### 5.4.5. Fourth class conditional

Traditional grammarians refer to the fourth class conditional as the “future less vivid” conditional because they believe that it expresses less vividness of futurity than the “future more vivid” (i.e. third class) conditional.<sup>178</sup> It is formed by εἰ + optative verb in the protasis and ἄν with an optative verb or imperfect in the apodosis.<sup>179</sup> Only partial forms of this type of conditional occur in the New Testament.<sup>180</sup> The optative mood, as noted in 5.2.2. above, grammaticalizes projection and contingency.<sup>181</sup> (34) illustrates:<sup>182</sup>

(34) ἔδει ἐπὶ σοῦ παρῆναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν εἴ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ (Acts 24:19)

(a) 他們若有告我的事，就應當到你面前來告我。(UV, PK, WANG, CRV)<sup>183</sup>

Tāmen ruò yǒu gào wǒ de shì, jiù yīngdāng dào nǐ miànqián lái gào wǒ.

If they have something to accuse me, (they) should come before you to

<sup>178</sup> Goodwin, “‘Shall’,” 87–107; Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §§1418–22, 1447; Burton, *Syntax*, §259; Babbitt, *Grammar*, §605; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2566.

<sup>179</sup> Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 198–99; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 150; BDF, §§385–86; Boyer, “Classification of Optatives,” 135–36; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 311–12; Porter, *Idioms*, 263–65; Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 71–72. Greenlee calls it a “hesitant condition.” See Greenlee, *Concise Exegetical Grammar*, 62.

<sup>180</sup> Grammarians are divided about the fourth class conditional in the New Testament. Boyer, for example, thinks that there is not an example of it in the New Testament, while many others identify various passages (including Acts 17:27, 24:19, 27:39, 1 Cor 14:10, 15:37, and 1 Pet 3:14, 3:17) as at least partially fourth class conditionals. See Robertson, *Grammar*, 1022; Chamberlain, *Exegetical Grammar*, 198–99; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 290; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 150; BDF, §385; Turner, *Syntax*, 125–28; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 114–15, 65; Boyer, “Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions,” 164 n. 3, 70–71; Porter, *Idioms*, 263–64.

<sup>181</sup> Compare Sewall, who asserts that the optative functions as a “supposition of conceived fact.” Sewall, “Distinction,” Similarly, Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, §855. Compare also Green, who notes that the optative in this conditional expresses “entire uncertainty—a supposed case.” See Green, *Handbook*, 318. See also Jelf, *Grammar*, vol. 2, §855.

<sup>182</sup> 1 Cor 15:37 contains an example of a partial (only the protasis) fourth class conditional εἰ τύχοι. See my chapter 7.

<sup>183</sup> The PK has ruò yǒu gào wǒ de huà 若有告我的話 (“if they have words to say against me”) instead of ruò yǒu gào wǒ de shì.

accuse me.

- (b) 他們若有告我的事，他們應該到你面前控告。(SB, TCV)<sup>184</sup>

Tāmen ruò yǒu gào wǒ de shì, tāmen yīnggāi dào nǐ miànqián kònggào.

If they have something to accuse me, they should come before you to bring charges.

- (c) 他們若有甚麼事可以告我、就應當到這裏、在你面前告我 (JOHNM)

Tāmen ruò yǒu shénme shì kěyǐ gào wǒ, jiù yīngdāng dào zhè lǐ, zài nǐ miànqián gào wǒ.

If they have something they might accuse me, (they) should come here, and accuse me before you.

- (d) 萬一他們也不得有事要告我，是有必要到您面前來。(FOLEY)

Wànyī tāmen bābude yǒu shì yào gào wǒ, shì yǒu bìyào dào nín miànqián lái.

If they really had something to accuse me, it was necessary to come before you.

In (34), the optative in the protasis clearly belongs to the fourth class conditional, whereas the imperfect in the apodosis seems to belong to either the first or the second class conditionals.<sup>185</sup> In translation, however, sorting out which type of conditional the apodosis belongs to should be left open to the reader.

Unlike the Greek conditional clause, the protasis of a Mandarin conditional must be placed before the apodosis, as seen in (34a–d). The translations in (34a–c) are almost

<sup>184</sup> The TCV has *kònggào* 控告 (“charge”) instead of *gào* in the protasis, and *kòngsù* 控訴 (“accuse”) instead of *kònggào* in the apodosis.

<sup>185</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 264. Boyer, for example, is undetermined regarding the exact interpretation of the apodosis. He notes that while the second class conditional is possible, the imperfect could also be a “normal tense structure of the relative clause.” See Boyer, “Other Conditional Elements,” 174. See also Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §319. Compare Rijksbaron, who asserts that the optative in the protasis is an “iterative use of the optative,” whereas the imperfect in the apodosis suggests that the conditional denotes “habitual states of affairs in the past...repeatedly fulfilled in the past.” Rijksbaron, *Syntax* (3d ed.), 72–73.



identical. All three use *ruò* to introduce the protasis, and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to render the verbs ἔδεῖ and ἔχοιεν, irrespective of their difference in mood or tense-form. In order to express fully the contingency of the optative ἔχοιεν in the protasis, the auxiliary *bābude* (“earnestly wish”) needs to be added before the verb *yǒu*, as (34d) illustrates.<sup>186</sup> Also, since *yīngdāng* and *yīnggāi* are both auxiliary verbs in Mandarin, they are not suitable for translating an indicative verb. A better option would be using the verb phrase *shì yǒu biyào* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to convey the imperfective aspect of ἔδεῖ.

#### 5.4.6. Future Conditional

This type of conditional statement is formed by εἰ + future in the protasis with various verb forms in the apodosis. Many grammarians discuss this conditional under the first class conditional because they treat the future as an indicative form.<sup>187</sup> Goodwin (followed by Gildersleeve, Smyth, Burton and many others) argues that the future conveys a “strong likelihood of fulfillment, especially in appeals to the *feelings* and in threats and warnings.”<sup>188</sup> If this is the case, the future evidently conveys a special modal sense.<sup>189</sup> As Porter has argued, the future form is used to grammaticalize expectation.<sup>190</sup> In Mandarin, notions of expectation may be represented by auxiliary verbs. (35) illustrates:

<sup>186</sup> See 5.2.2.1, p. 237 above.

<sup>187</sup> See, for example, Morris, “On Some Forms,” 44–53; Gildersleeve, “On εἰ with the Future Indicative,” 5–23; Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §1401; Smyth and Messing, *Greek Grammar*, §2563; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §305.

<sup>188</sup> Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §1415. Italics added. Gildersleeve notes that the future form adds a “stern, minatory, prophetic” tone and “monitory character to the conditional statement.” See Gildersleeve, “εἰ with the Future Indicative,” 9–14. See also Clapp, “Conditional Sentences in Aischylos,” 45–48; Clapp, “Conditional Sentences in the Greek Tragedians,” 86–88; Burton, *Syntax*, §§254–55. Compare Turner, who notes “the feeling of definiteness and actual realization accompanied it. It is almost causal.” Turner, *Syntax*, 115.

<sup>189</sup> Gildersleeve, “εἰ with the Future Indicative,” 10; Sonnenschein, *Syntax*, §354; Wakker, *Conditions*, 167–76.

<sup>190</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 312–16; Porter, *Idioms*, 264–65. See also BDF §375. The future is closely related to the subjunctive mood and is often used in place of a subjunctive in conditional statements. See Winer,

(35) εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι.

(Matt 26:33)

(a) 眾人雖然爲你的緣故跌倒，我卻永不跌倒。(UV)

Zhòngrén suīrán wèi nǐ de yuángù **diē-dǎo**, wǒ què yǒngbù **diē-dǎo**.

Although people stumble on account of you, I will never stumble.

(b) 眾人雖然棄絕你、我永不棄絕你。(PK, JOHNM)<sup>191</sup>

Zhòngrén suīrán qìjué nǐ, wǒ yǒngbù qìjué nǐ.

Although people abandon you, I will never abandon you.

(c) 眾人雖會因著你而絆跌，我總不絆跌。(LÜ)

Zhòngrén suī huì yīnzhe nǐ ér **bàndiē**, wǒ zǒngbù **bàndiē**.

“Although people will stumble because of you, I will never stumble.”

(d) 即使眾人因你跌倒，我卻永不跌倒！(WANG, SB, TCV, CRV, CPB)<sup>192</sup>

Jíshǐ zhòngrén yīn nǐ **diē-dǎo**, wǒ què yǒngbù **diē-dǎo**!

Even if people stumble because of you, I will never stumble!

(e) 就算所有的人都因你的緣故後退，我卻永不後退。(NCV, CLB)<sup>193</sup>

Jiùsuàn suǒyǒu de rén dōu yīn nǐ de yuángù **hòutuì**, wǒ què yǒngbù **hòutuì**.

Even if all fall away on account of you, I will never fall away.

(f) 就算人人全都爲了你而免不了絆跌，我絕對永不會絆跌！(FOLEY)

Jiùsuàn rénren quándōu wèile nǐ ér **miǎnbùliǎo bàndiē**, wǒ juéduì yǒng bù

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*Treatise*, 374; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1017; Porter, *Idioms*, 264–65; Duhoux, *Verbe grec ancien*, 456–57. Contra Boyer, who thinks that the future “indicates a simple logical connection in future time.” Boyer, “Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions,” 172–73.

<sup>191</sup> JOHNM has yàrqì 厭棄 (“foresake”) instead of qìjué.

<sup>192</sup> The TCV uses líqì 離棄 (“abandon”) instead of diē-dǎo; the CRV has bàndiē 絆跌 with the ø morpheme instead of diē-dǎo.

<sup>193</sup> The CLB has bèipàn 背叛 (“betray”) instead of hòutuì.

*huì bàndiē.*

Even if all fall inevitably on account of you, I shall never fall!

The conditional particles, *jíshǐ* and *jiùsuàn* in (35d–e), are preferable to the concessive conjunctive *suīrán* (“although”) used in (35a–c). Regarding the verb forms, (35b, c, d) translate the two future forms σκανδαλισθήσονται and σκανδαλισθήσομαι with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. LÜ in (35c) uses the auxiliary verb *huì* for the future in the protasis, but not in the apodosis. The auxiliary verb *huì* is considered appropriate because it expresses the expectation of the speaker. (35a) and (35d), on the other hand, use the RVC *dǎo* (“fall”), which does not reflect the future forms of the original. In order to convey fully the sense of expectation signaled by the future form, auxiliary verbs *miǎnbùliǎo* and *huì* must accompany the verbs in both clauses of the conditional. Also, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the preferable translation of the Greek future form, as (35f) illustrates.

### 5.5. Conclusion

This chapter continues the effort begun in the previous chapter to conduct a thorough investigation of the New Testament Greek aspect in the non-indicative moods, with the objective of devising an applicable system of translating Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect. The results provide the translator with a powerful linguistic system of translating biblical passages, which will be applied and tested in the next two chapters.

## CHAPTER 6 THE PASSION NARRATIVE OF JOHN 18–19

### 6.1. Introduction

#### 6.1.1. Aim of the Chapter

The aim of the current and following chapters is to apply the proposed translation theory outlined in chapters 2–5 to two selected New Testament passages, the Passion narrative of John’s Gospel (John 18–19) and Paul’s exposition on the resurrection of the body in I Corinthians (1 Corinthians 15). The translation provided here was written according to the principles of systematic rendering of the Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect developed in this dissertation. Over sixty Chinese (including twenty-two Mandarin) Bible versions are critically evaluated, along with several key Nestorian, Manichaean, and Catholic writings before the modern period.<sup>1</sup> Although primary attention is given to the grammatical translation of Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect in the New Testament, other linguistic issues pertaining to Bible translation will also be addressed.

#### 6.1.2. Discourse Structure of John 18–19

The Passion narrative of John (John 18–19) is divided into seven discourse units: the arrest of Jesus (18:1–14), Peter’s first denial (18:15–18), the trial before Annas (18:19–24), Peter’s denial of Jesus again (18:25–27), the trial before Pilate (18:28–19:16a), the crucifixion of Jesus (19:16b–37), and the burial of Jesus (19:38–42). Discourse

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<sup>1</sup> Five Japanese versions (Catholic and Protestant), RAGUET, the TRNT, CBT, JCV, and JRV, are consulted here specifically for non-verbal terms and expressions (e.g. ἀρχιερεύς, χάρις) because the Japanese writing system employs Chinese characters, and, more importantly, because the tradition of biblical translation in Japan has its roots in China. For introductory comments on the Japanese Bible and its relation to the history of Bible translation in China, see Clement, “Japanese Bible,” 296–306; Harrington, “Bible in Japan,” 66–75; Gulick, “Bible in Japan,” 380–86.

boundaries are determined by shifts in tense-form and grammatical person.<sup>2</sup> For example, the shift in tense-form from the aorist (18:27) to the present (18:28) marks the beginning of a new pericope of the trial before Pilate (18:28–19:16a). The shift from the first person (17:4–26) to the third person (18:1) also signals the beginning of a new discourse unit, namely, the Passion narrative of Christ. Smaller discourse boundaries are marked by conjunctives, such as καί (18:38b–40), δέ (18:2–11), οὖν (18:12–14, 33–38a; 19:1–7, 8–16a, 23–24, 25–27, 31–37), or μετὰ τοῦτο (19:28–30).<sup>3</sup>

The three verbal aspects in Greek (i.e. perfective, imperfective, stative) are characterized by their performance of specific functions in each of the discourse units. The perfective aspect is grammaticalized by the aorist tense-forms and is used 186 times (62% of total verbs) in the Passion narrative of John.<sup>4</sup> The perfective aspect in Greek is generally used to provide background information to the narrative. In the first discourse unit (18:1–14), for example, the author of the narrative uses three aorist tense-forms (εἰπὼν, ἔξηλθεν, εἰσῆλθεν) in v. 1 to depict the thematic backdrop to the narrative of Jesus' arrest. Because it is less heavily marked, the aorist does not emphasize the action in narrative discourse unless certain distinctive syntactic or pragmatic features, such as repetition (of the exact verb form; see 19:6, 15), warrant the marking of prominence.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>2</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 301–02.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, *Idioms*, 301; Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, chap. 3; Black, *Sentence Conjunction*, 108–281; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 46–47.

<sup>4</sup> There are a total of 300 verbs in the Passion narrative of John. The future form, although discussed in chapters 6–7, is not included in the statistics presented here. Also, verbs such as εἰμί (including its derivatives, e.g. ἔξεστιν) and φημί are aspectually vague (i.e. lacking a perfective/imperfective opposition) and therefore are not counted here. In addition, verbs enclosed with square brackets (e.g. John 19:24) are also not counted. For a discussion of aspectually vague verbs found in the Greek New Testament, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 441–47.

<sup>5</sup> See Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis*, chap. 4; Porter, *Idioms*, 302–04; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis*, 74–75. There are other syntactic and pragmatic means to convey prominence in discourse (e.g.

such cases, two-morpheme aspect compounds (e.g. *-guò-le* or *RVC-le*) may be used to reflect the discourse prominence expressed in the Greek. Apart from these exceptions, two-morpheme aspect compounds are not used in translating the aorist tense-form in Greek into Mandarin.

The imperfective and stative aspects, on the other hand, are utilized to convey prominence in Greek discourse because they are more heavily marked. The imperfective aspect in Greek is grammaticalized by the present and imperfect tense-forms, accounting for a total of 80 occurrences (27% of total verbs) in the Passion narrative of John.<sup>6</sup> The imperfective aspect in Greek provides cohesion and also marks foregrounded prominence in discourse.

For example, in both 18:17 and 18:26, the author of the narrative intentionally uses the same present indicative λέγει to introduce direct quotations, thereby providing cohesion to these two separate discourse units concerning Peter's denials of Jesus (18:15–18; 25–27). Here, textual cohesion is especially pertinent because these two episodes of Peter's denials are separated by the pericope of Jesus' trial before Annas (18:19–24). The translator has the option of using a two-morpheme aspect compound (e.g. *-le-IDVC*) or a disyllabic verb with the *ø* morpheme. The former is preferable not only because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form in Greek, but also because it corresponds closely to the discourse function of the Greek as a foregrounding device, as well as providing textual cohesion to these two pericopes.<sup>7</sup>

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clause structure, redundant pronouns), however, the current dissertation will focus on the discourse function of verbal aspect in Greek.

<sup>6</sup> The present tense-form accounts for 68 occurrences in John 18–19, whereas the imperfect has only 12.

<sup>7</sup> See further comments on λέγει (18:4), pp. 310–11 below.

The stative aspect is grammaticalized by the perfect and pluperfect tense-forms, which occur 34 times (11% of total verbs) in the Passion narrative of John.<sup>8</sup> It is the most heavily marked aspect in Greek, and is generally used to foreground narrative discourse. The pericope of Jesus' crucifixion (19:16b–37), which accounts for 13 occurrences of the stative aspect, is the most prominent among the other discourse units of the Passion narrative of John. In order to reflect the discourse function of the Greek stative aspect in Mandarin, a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, in general, is most suitable. For example, in the pericope of Jesus' burial (19:38–42), the two perfect participles, *κεκρυμμένος* (19:38) and *τεθειμένος* (19:41), highlight the importance of Jesus burial in the brand new tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, who had secretly followed him. The perfect tense-forms are translated into Mandarin by two four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

Other pragmatic and syntactic considerations, however, necessitate that in some instances the Greek perfect or pluperfect tense-forms may be better translated into Mandarin by the stative aspect morpheme *-zhe* rather than by a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. For example, *wéi-zhe* (“surround”) is stylistically a more preferable translation of the pluperfect tense-form *εἰστήκεισαν* (18:18) than a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is also used to translate the perfect participle (of the same verb) *ἑστώς* in the same verse.

### 6.1.3. Nestorian Records of the Passion Narrative of Christ

Having outlined the discourse structure of John 18–19, the following examines the earliest known Chinese texts concerning the Passion narrative of Christ: the *Jesus-*

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<sup>8</sup> The perfect tense-form accounts for 29 occurrences, whereas the pluperfect has only 5 occurrences in John 18–19.

*Messiah Sûtra* (also called the *Hsü-T'ing Messiah Sûtra*) and the *Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving*, both of which were Nestorian documents dated in the early seventh century. The *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* contains a brief harmonized account of the Passion narrative, reporting details such as Jesus being “over thirty-two years old” (v. 190), being falsely accused by “followers of the wicked cause of existence,” being tried by Pilate (*Píluódūsī* 毗羅都思, vv. 190–97; John 18:28–19:16a), and being “bound upon the tree” (*mù shàng fù-zhe* 木上縛著, vv. 203–204) between “two highway men” (*liǎngge jiédào rén* 兩箇劫道人, v. 202) at Golgotha (*Qìjù* 訖句, v. 201; John 19:17) at the fifth hour on the Sabbath (*liùrì zhāi* 六日齋, “six-day-feast,” v. 203). Other events are also reported by the *Sûtra*, including Pilate washing his hands (*suǒ shuǐ xǐshǒu* 索水洗手 v. 196; Matt 27:24–25) to declare his innocence in the death of Jesus, the shaking of the earth, and the rising of the dead from their graves: “...there was black darkness on every side, and the earth quaked and the mountains were rent, and all the gates of graves in the world were opened and the men got life” (*Sìfāng àn hēi. Dì zhàn shānbēng. Shìjiān suǒyǒu mùmén bìng kāi. Suǒyǒu sǐrén bìng xī dé huó* 四方闇黑。地戰山崩。世間所有墓門並開。所有死人並悉得活。 v. 204; Matt 27:51–54).<sup>9</sup>

The *Discourse on Almsgiving* provides interesting additional details to the *Sûtra* concerning the one who betrays and the one who buries Jesus. It describes Judas Iscariot as “a Jew” (*Shíhū rén* 石忽人) and “at first a follower; but, afterward he raised his hand against (his Master)...three days before He met His death, this man had already made an agreement (of betrayal)” (*Chū cóng qǐshǒu xiàng. Sǐ yù qián sān rì. Zǎo yuē shù jìng* 初

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<sup>9</sup> The English translation is from Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 145–46.



從起手向。死預前三日。早約束竟。 vv. 119, 123; 66–67).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the *Discourse* reports that Joseph of Arimathea (Yáoxí 姚霄), described as a “man, observing the law of the country,” “went to the house (of Pilate) and begged (the body of Jesus). (Joseph) wrapped the body (of Jesus) in a new clean cloth, and buried Him in a new graveyard, where there was a new tomb, which had recently been hewn out on the side of the broken-off hill” (Zhí zhuō fǎ cóng jiā suǒ. Xiàng xīn liàng bù lǐ guǒ. Yì yú xīn mùtián lǐ. Yǒu xīn chuān chù shān pī bòliè 執捉法從家索。向新牀布裏裏。亦於新墓田裏。有新穿處山批擘裂。 vv. 115–117; John 19:38–42).<sup>11</sup>

## 6.2. Chinese Translation of John 18–19

The Chinese translation provided in this section was written according to the principles of systematic rendering of the Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect developed in chapters 2–5 of this dissertation. The format of each section begins with a presentation of the Greek text, followed by my Chinese translation, a transliteration of the Chinese, an English rendering of the Chinese, and, finally, an in-depth treatment of selected verbs and key words.<sup>12</sup> The Greek text, including word divisions and punctuation marks (but not paragraph breaks), follows Nestle-Aland’s *Novum Testamentum Graece*

<sup>10</sup> For the Chinese text, see Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 51–70; see also 206–247 for an English translation with notes. The *Discourse on Almsgiving* also records narratives of events following the burial of Jesus, including eyewitness accounts of the empty tomb, the resurrection, post-resurrection appearances, the Great Commission, the promise of the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the ascension to heaven (vv. 118–51).

<sup>11</sup> The English translation is provided by Saeki in Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 216. The rarely used character 牀 is not found in any of the standard Chinese lexicons (e.g. *Emperor Kangxi’s Lexicon* 《康熙字典》, *Shuo wen jie zi zhu* 《說文解字注》, Gile’s *Dictionary*, or *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*). Although its precise meaning is unclear, Saeki gives the translation “clean,” which probably stems from his assumption that 牀 is derived from liàng 晾, which denotes “to dry in the sun,” a step in the process of making cloth.

<sup>12</sup> The discussions in this chapter (and throughout this dissertation) do not include vague verbs (see p. 297 n. 4 above).

(27th ed.).<sup>13</sup> The English translation is provided for the convenience of readers with limited or no knowledge of Chinese. The English translation was written following the translation principles outlined in chapter 2 of this dissertation, and has special emphasis on reflecting the verbal aspect of the Chinese.

### 6.2.1. Jesus Arrested (John 18:1–14) 耶穌被捕

This pericope may be divided into three sub-sections (18:1, 2–11, 12–14). The discourse boundaries of these sub-sections, as noted in 6.1.2, are marked by the conjunctives δέ (18:2) and οὖν (18:12), as well as shifts in tense-form (18:2, 12). The aorist tense-forms are used to set the scene (v. 1), carry the movement of the narrative (vv. 3–13), and conclude the discourse unit (v. 14). The present tense-forms are employed to introduce the confrontation between Jesus and the arresting party (vv. 3–5) and draw special attention to a number of key events: the speeches of Jesus (vv. 4, 7–8) and Caiaphas (v. 14). The perfect and pluperfect tense-forms are reserved to mark frontgrounded prominence in the narrative. The perfect tense-forms are utilized to highlight Jesus' premonitions of what will soon transpire (v. 4) and God's gracious gifts (vv. 9, 11), while the pluperfect tense-forms are used to highlight Judas' role in betraying Jesus (vv. 2, 5).

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Ἰησοῦς ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου τοῦ Κεδρὼν ὅπου ἦν κήπος, εἰς ὃν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. (18:1)

耶穌說完這些話之後，遂同他的門徒出門，越過汲淪溪谷。在那裏有一個園子，他就跟他的門徒一同進去了。

<sup>13</sup> Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*.

Yēsū shuō-wán zhèxiē huà zhīhòu, suì tóng tā de méntú chūmén, yuèguò Jílún xīgǔ.  
Zài nà lǐ yǒu yīge yuánzi, tā jiù gēn tā de méntú yītóng jìn-le qù.

After Jesus has finished saying these, he went out with his disciples, and crossed the Kidron Valley. There was a garden, and then Jesus entered it with his disciples.

εἰπὼν (cf. v. 38b) Most wenli versions use the RVC *bì* (“conclude,” MOR, GÜ, DV, GO, BB, SJ, WV; also one Mandarin version, HS) or *jìng* 竟 (“complete,” GURY, UVW, UVB) to denote the perfective aspect of εἰπὼν. In Mandarin, the aorist participle may be translated by *shuō-wán* with the RVC *wán* (“complete,” CPB). The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MAR, BCV, CSV, JOHN, TCV) is another option; however, it is not preferable here because it allows for the interpretation of aspects other than the perfective in Mandarin. Several Mandarin versions (SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, IG, HSC, LÜ, CRV, RCUV, CSB) use the perfective *-le*, which also reflects the aspect of the aorist tense-form and may be used interchangeably with RVCs. However, the two-morpheme aspect compound *wán-le* (RVC-*le*) used in some versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, CNT, SB, DCT) is not preferable because it expresses foregrounded prominence that is absent in the Greek.

Ἰησοῦς Yēsū, in its current and most common transliterated form, first appeared in Catholic writings before the sixteenth century. Ricci used the expression *Yēsū jì wèi Jiùzhǔ yě* 耶穌既謂救主也 (“Jesus means ‘savior’”) in the *T'ien-chu Shih-i* and was followed by Basset, Morrison, and Marshman.<sup>14</sup> The alternative form 耶蘇 (same pronunciation) sometimes appears in the phrase *Yēsū Jīlīsīdū wǒděng Zhǔ* 耶蘇基利斯督我等主 (“Jesus Christ our Lord”).<sup>15</sup> The Russian Orthodox translation of the New Testament in Chinese instead has *Yīyī'sī'sī* 伊伊穌斯 (see discussion in 2.2.4.4). Ἰησοῦς

<sup>14</sup> Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, 448, line 580.

<sup>15</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*, 4.

was transcribed into Chinese at least three different ways in the Nestorian and Manichaean documents dated between the seventh and tenth centuries: *Yishǔ* 移鼠 ([ˈiɛ ˈsɿʷo] lit. “moving rat”) from the Syriac ܡܪܝܬܐ in the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra* (vv. 156, 160), *Yishù* 翳數 ([ˈiei˨˩ ˈsɿu˨˩] lit. “screen-number”) in the *Discourse on Almsgiving* (v. 220), and *Yishù* 夷數 [ˈiɿu ˈsɿu˨˩] in the *Incomplete Religious Scripture of a Persian Religion*.<sup>16</sup> Following the conventions of modern Chinese versions, 耶穌 is not underlined throughout the New Testament.

ἐξῆλθεν (see also 18:29, 19:34) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, IG, HSC, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CPB, CSB) and the perfective aspect marker *-le* (CLB) are both good translations, although the former better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form. Also, since there is no shift in tense-form here, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable.

εἰσῆλθεν Most Mandarin versions use either *jìnqù* (“go into,” SYD, WANG, CNT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CPB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, or the same verb form with the modal particle *le* (PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, IG, HSC, SB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The perfective aspect marker *-le* (CLB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the aspect of the Greek and marks the contrasts between the two aorists, ἐξῆλθεν (“went out”) and εἰσῆλθεν (“went in”). However, as argued in

<sup>16</sup> Pronunciations of ancient Chinese in square brackets are given by Karlgren. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v. For comments on *Yishǔ* 移鼠 and *Yishù* 翳數, see Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 120–21, 157, 246; Zetzsche, “Indigenizing,” 144; Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*,” 262. For comments on *Yishù* 夷數, see Bryder, *Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism*, 48, 114; Zetzsche, “Indigenizing,” 150. See also Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*,” 262. Haneda and others identify the term *Xūtīng* (or *Hsü-t'ing*) 序聽, which appears in the Chinese title of the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*, as a possible transliteration of Jesus. I have found their conclusion on the basis of the phonetic connection between the ancient Chinese pronunciation of 序聽 ([ˈzɿʷo ˈtʰieng˨˩] according to Karlgren) and the Syriac ܡܪܝܬܐ, to be problematic. Also, it is difficult to reconcile why Bishop Alopên would use a different Chinese term for Jesus when he has already used *Yishǔ* 移鼠 in the text. See Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra*,” 262–63; Moule, *Christians in China*, 59; Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 147; Kung, *Christian Religion*, 53.

chapter 3, the use of a single morphologically expressed perfective morpheme does not add emphasis in Mandarin discourse.

Ἦδει δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, ὅτι πολλάκις συνήχθη  
Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. (18:2)

他的叛徒猶大也早對此地瞭若指掌，因為耶穌屢次同他的門徒在那兒聚集。

Tā de pàntú Yóudà yě zǎo duì cǐdì liǎo-ruò-zhǐ-zhǎng, yīnwèi Yēsū lǔcì tóng tāde  
méntú zài nàr jùjǐ.

Judas his traitor also knew the place well beforehand, because Jesus and his disciples often gathered there.

ἦδει The four-character set phrase with the *ø* morpheme *liǎo-ruò-zhǐ-zhǎng* (“know a place like the back of one’s hand”) is used to translate the stative aspect of the pluperfect tense-form in Greek. In order to distinguish between the pluperfect and perfect tense-forms, *zǎo* (“beforehand,” “in advance”) may be added here. This addition is necessary to convey the conceptual distance ([+remote]) that is grammaticalized by the Greek pluperfect tense-form.<sup>17</sup> By default, four-character set phrases that occur without such additions express the immediate ([–remote]) stative aspect. Table 6.1 below lists the adverbs and DVCs most commonly used to convey conceptual distance in Mandarin:

<sup>17</sup> The additional words presented in Table 6.1 are also used to render the conceptual distance ([+remote]) that is grammaticalized by the Greek imperfect tense-form. See the discussion on John 18:15 below.

Chinese	Pinyin	English Translation
出/出去	<i>chū/chūqù</i>	going out (DVC)
到 . . . 去	<i>dào...qù</i>	going to (DVC)
過去	<i>guòqù</i>	passing through, over (DVC); formerly
回/回去	<i>huí/huíqù qù</i>	going back (DVC)
老	<i>lǎo</i>	always, for a long time, often, very
那/那邊/那裏	<i>nà/nàbiān/nàlǐ</i>	that, there
那/那個/那位	<i>nà/nàgē/nàwèi</i>	that, that one
那/那時	<i>nà/nàshí</i>	then, at that point
去	<i>qù</i>	going (DVC)
上 . . . 去	<i>shàng...qù</i>	going to (DVC)
遠	<i>yuǎn</i>	far, distant, long, remote
早	<i>zǎo</i>	beforehand, in advance

Table 6.1. Adverbs and DVCs commonly used

to express conceptual distance in Mandarin

Almost all existing Chinese versions use *zhīdào* 知道 (“know” UV, ZHU, WANG, CNT, IG, BT, HSC, HS, LÜ, SB, TCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate ἵδῃ. Neither *rèn-dé* 認得 (MSV, PK, JOHNM) nor *xiǎo-dé* 曉得 (SYD) are preferable because the RVC *dé* expresses perfectivity.

Ἰούδας Several different methods of transliteration are used in wenli versions: *Rúdá* 儒達 (SL-MOR), *Rúdàshì* 如大士 (MOR, MAR), *Yódàshì* 猶大士 (GÜ), *Yīwūdà* 伊屋達 (GURY), and *Yódà* 猶大 (DV, GO). Catholic versions had used *Rúdásī* 茹答斯 (WV) and *Jiādasī* 嘉達斯 (IG) before adopting the standardized form *Yódásī* 猶達斯 (CNT, HSC, SB, CPB). Most Protestant Chinese versions (PK, JOHNM, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) follow the conventional form *Yódà* 猶大 first used by the DV. Like other biblical names, the conventional form *Yódà* 猶大 for Ἰούδας is preferable to other alternative forms.

παραδιδούς (also v. 5) The expression ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν, which literally means, “the one who betrays him,” may be translated as *tā de pàntú* (“his betrayer”).<sup>18</sup> Only HS and CLB recognize this as a substantive use of the participle.

ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὅπλων. (18:3)

然後猶大帶了武裝兵隊，和祭司長以及法利賽人的差役，手拿燈籠、火把，還有兵器迫近著。

Ránhòu Yódà dài-le wǔzhuāng bīngduì, hé jìsīzhǎng yǐjī Fǎlìsài rén de chāiyì, shǒu ná dēnglong, huǒbǎ, háiyǒu bīngqì pòjìn-zhe.

Then Judas led a company of soldiers, chief priests, and Pharisees’ servants, and they were coming there with lanterns and torches in their hands.

λαβὼν (cf. 18:12, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 23, 27, 30, 40) Several versions have *líng-le* 領了 (“take,” MSV, UV, WANG, CNT, IG, BT, LÜ, SB, CRV, CPB, RCUV) for the aorist participle. Like εἰσῆλθεν in v. 1, *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. The aspect marker *-zhe* (PK, JOHNM, SYD, ZHU, HSC, HS, DCT) is not preferable because it does not reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek.

ἀρχιερέων Here is an example of a Greek word that may be translated by several different Chinese words. In v. 3, as well as 18:35, 19:6, 15, 21, ἀρχιερέων is meant as the “chief priests” as opposed to the “high priest” (ἀρχιερεύς) in 18:10, 13, 15–16, 19, 22, 24, 26. When it refers to the chief priests, *jìsīzhǎng* is the most fitting translation, as found in the majority of Mandarin as well as Japanese versions (PK, JOHNM, BB, UV,

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 339; Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §371; Porter, *Idioms*, 182–83. See the discussion in 5.3.2.2.a, pp. 265–67 above.

WANG, BT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB, JRV, JCV, CBT; cf. KJV, TEV, NRSV, TNIV, ESV). In the wenli versions, several phrases are used: *duódé* 鐸德 (“priest,” SL-MOR), *jìzhě shǒubèi* 祭者首輩 (“head worshippers,” MOR, MAR, also v. 35), *jìzhǔ* 祭主 (“head worshipper,” GÜ), *jìsī zhūzhǎng* 祭司諸長 (“chief priests,” DV, GO, BCV, SJ, UVW, UVB, UVE), and *sījī shǒu* 司祭首 (“head priest,” GURY). The Catholic versions use *sījìzhǎng* 司祭長 (“chief priest,” IG, CNT, HSC, WV, SB, CPB). When ἄρχιερέων refers to the High Priest, *dàjìsī* is used (“chief priest,” see v. 10).

Certain versions, however, consistently use the same lexeme for all occurrences of ἄρχιερέων in the New Testament. These include four wenli versions (DV, GO, BCV, GURY) and three Mandarin versions (MSV, *jìsī tóumù* 祭司頭目, “head priest”; SYD, *dàjìsī*, “chief priest”; ZHU, *jìzhǔ* 祭主, “head worshipper”).

ὑπηρέτας The addition of the plural suffix *men* 們 to the noun *chāiyì* (“servant,” CSB) is unnecessary. See also vv. 12, 18.

ἔρχεται (cf. ἐρχόμενα, v. 4) The shift from the aorist (λαμβάν) to the present tense-form would justify the use of a more heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound. The problem here is that *zài...-zhe*, while grammatical acceptable, is not preferable in this context because of the apparent tautology. However, the translator may use the single aspect morpheme *-zhe* instead to reflect the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek. Most Mandarin versions use *lái-dào* (“arrive,” e.g. PK, UV, SB, LÜ, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV), which is not preferable because the RVC *dào* expresses the perfective aspect.



Ἰησοῦς οὖν εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθεν καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνα ζητεῖτε; (18:4)<sup>19</sup>

此刻耶穌洞察其奸他所面臨著的一切，就走了出去告訴他們說：「你們在找那一位？」

Cíkè Yēsū dòng-chá-qí-jiān tā suǒ miànlín-zhe de yīqiè, jiù zǒu-le chūqù gàosù tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen zài zhǎo nǎ yī wèi?”

Then Jesus, having understood everything that he was soon facing, went out to tell them, “For whom are you looking?”

εἰδὼς As in v. 2, almost all Chinese versions translate the perfect participle by *zhīdào* (“know”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. UV, WANG, CNT, IG, BT, HSC, HS, LÜ, CRV, RCUV). ZHU, on the other hand, adds *yǐjīng* (“already”) to the front of *zhīdào*, perhaps under the misconception that the perfect tense-form is used to grammaticalize past-time reference. The four-character set phrase *dòng-chá-qí-jiān* (“understand thoroughly”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the ideal translation here because it reflects the Greek perfect tense-form as a foregrounding device.

ἐρχόμενα (cf. ἔρχεται, v. 3) Most Mandarin versions have *lín-dào* 臨到 (“come upon,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, IG, LÜ, SB, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) with auxiliary verbs such as *jiāng*, *jiāngyào*, or *yào*, which are not suitable translations of the indicative mood in Greek. For reasons pointed out above in 4.2.2.2, these auxiliary verbs express not only futurity but also expectation.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, expressions such as *jiāngyào* (/jǐjiāng) *fāshēng* 將要(/即將)發生 (“will happen,” TCV, CPB), *yào zāoyù* 要遭遇 (“will meet

<sup>19</sup> See also example (1) in 2.2.4.2, pp. 54–55 above.

<sup>20</sup> See 4.2.2.2, pp. 185–87 above.

with,” ZHU, CNT), *yào xíngjiāng dào-lái* 要行將到來 (“is going to arrive,” HS), or *jiāngyào lái-dào* 將要來到 (“will arrive,” HSC) are not preferable.

The translator can now choose between the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and the formally expressed imperfective morphemes. Here, the latter is preferable, because it better reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by the Greek present tense-form. However, it is best to use the single aspect marker *-zhe* as opposed to a two-morpheme aspect compound because *zài miànlín-zhe* makes the sentence rather heavy or even tautologous, especially with a four-character set phrase right in front of it.

ἐξῆλθεν (cf. v. 1) The shift in tense-form from to the present (ἐρχόμενα) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme (in this case, *-le*).

λέγει The more heavily marked present tense-form is used in the first verbal exchange between Jesus and the arresting party (see also v. 5). The disyllabic verb *gàosù* (“tell,” “say”) is preferable to monosyllabic verbs, such as *wèn* (“ask,” PK, SYD, ZHU, CNT, LÜ, SB, TCV, CPB) or *shuō* (“say,” e.g. UV, BT, IG, NCV, RCUV, CSB), because it is more heavily marked in Mandarin narrative discourse. The aspect marker *zài*, which is generally used to translate the Greek present tense-form, cannot be added here because the expressions *zài wèn* or *zài shuō* in this context are regarded as unacceptable in Mandarin. For this reason, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme better reflects the imperfective aspect of the Greek.

With the exception of 19:35, in which the author inserted his personal comment regarding the credibility of the narrative, λέγει is utilized frequently throughout the Passion narrative of John to introduce direct quotations of statements and questions (18:4–5, 17, 26, 38; 19:4–6, 9–10, 14–15, 26–28, 37). In most contexts where λέγει

occurs, the translator does not have an option to choose between the  $\emptyset$  and formally expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, because expressions such as *zài shuō-zhe* (“saying”), while grammatically acceptable, is not preferable because of the apparent tautology. The translator does have the option to choose between disyllabic verbs and monosyllabic ones. For each occurrence of λέγει, a disyllabic verb is employed with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek as well as provide textual cohesion to the pericopes or smaller units of the narrative. However, as noted in 6.1.2 above, there are two exceptions (18:17, 26) where the two-morpheme aspect compound *-le-IDVC* is used (see comments below).

ζητεῖτε (see also vv. 7, 8) Several Mandarin versions have “*Nǐmen zhǎo shéi?*” (e.g. SYD, UV, BT, IG, LÜ, SB, RCUV), using the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the verb *zhǎo* (“find”). The aspect marker *zài* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek.

ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον. λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ εἰμι· εἰσθήκει δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν μετ’ αὐτῶν. ὥς οὖν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπесαν χαμαί. (18:5–6)

他們對他答說：「拿撒勒人耶穌。」他告訴他們說：「我就是。」那時他的叛徒猶大也在他們旁邊比肩而立。當他對他們說出：「我就是」，他們就向後退下又仆倒在地上。

Tāmen duì tā dá shuō, “Násālè rén Yēsū.” Tā gàosù tāmen shuō, “Wǒ jiùshì.” Nàshí tā de pàntú Yóudà yě zài tāmen pángbiān bǐ-jiān-’ér-lì. Dāng tā duì tāmen shuō-chū, “Wǒ jiùshì,” tāmen jiù xiàng hòu tuì-xià yòu pū-dǎo zài dìshàng.

They answered him, “Jesus the Nazarene.” He said to them, “I am he.” Judas the traitor was also standing among them. When Jesus said to them, “I am he,” they withdrew and fell to the ground.

ἀπεκρίθησαν (v. 5; cf. vv. 8, 20, 23, 30, 34–37; 19:7, 11, 15, 22) This aorist tense-form occurs 13 times in the narrative to introduce direct quotations of the participants. Most Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, CNT, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CPB, CSB) use verbs such as *huídá* 回答 (“reply”), *dáfù* 答覆 (“respond”), *dá* (“answer”), *shuō* (“tell”), or *wèn* (“ask”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for all of these occurrences. Formally expressed perfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable here. The solution may be found by using the monosyllabic verb *dá* with  $\emptyset$  morpheme (and with *shuō* to introduce direct quotations) for all 13 occurrences of the aorist. This provides textual cohesion to other pericopes where the verb form is used (cf. ἀποκρίνη, v. 22).

λέγει (v. 5) As in v. 4, the verb *gàosù* (“speak,” “tell”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is again used to translate the Greek. This provides textual cohesion to the pericope (18:1–14).<sup>21</sup> εἰσπήκει (cf. ἐσπήκατε in 1 Cor 15:1) Some versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme *zhànli* 站立 (“stand,” PK) or simply *zhàn* (“stand,” UV, SYD, ZHU, RCUV) for the pluperfect tense-form, while others use *-zhe* (MSV, JOHNM, LÜ). Although both are acceptable, the four-character set phrase *bǐ-jiān-ér-lì* (“stand shoulder to shoulder”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is better because it closely reflects the stative aspect and the foregrounding device signaled by the Greek. In order to convey the remoteness of the pluperfect tense-form, *nàshí* (“then,” “at that point”) may be added (see also v. 16).

<sup>21</sup> Most commentators fail to note this significant use of λέγει.

παραδιδούς See v. 2.

εἶπεν (v. 6; cf. vv. 7–9) Some versions add *yī* or *zhèng* (“as soon as,” “at once”) to the front of the verb *shuō* (“speak”) (e.g. MSV, ZHU, IG, HS, RCUV), which is acceptable but not absolutely necessary here because the adverb is absent in the Greek. The RVC *chū* (e.g. HS) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it better reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek. Also, the shift in tense-form from the present (παραδιδούς, v. 5) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. In addition, the RVC provides a better contrast to the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form λέγει in v. 5.

ἀπῆλθον...ἔπεσαν The perfective aspect signaled by the two aorist tense-forms may be morphologically reflected by the RVCs *xià* and *dǎo*. Here, RVCs are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they leave no ambiguity regarding the aspect in question.

πάλιν οὖν ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς· τίνα ζητεῖτε; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον. ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. εἰ οὖν ἐμὲ ζητεῖτε, ἄφετε τούτους ὑπάγειν· ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὃν εἶπεν ὅτι οὓς δέδωκάς μοι οὐκ ἀπώλεσα ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδένα. (18:7–9)

於是耶穌再次問他們說：「你們在找那一位？」他們說：「拿撒勒人耶穌。」

耶穌答說：「我已經跟你們說過『我就是』；你們要是在找我，就容這些人離開吧。」〈這要應驗他所說過的話：「你所恩寵賞賜的，我一個也沒有失掉。」〉

Yúshì Yēsū zàicì wèn tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen zài zhǎo nǎ yī wèi?” Tāmen shuō, “Násālè rén Yēsū.” Yēsū dá shuō, “Wǒ yǐjīng gēn nǐmen shuō-guò, ‘Wǒ jiùshì,’ Nǐmen yàoshì zài zhǎo wǒ, jiù róng zhèxiē rén líkāi ba.” (Zhè yào yīngyàn tā suǒ shuō-guò de huà, “Nǐ suǒ ēn-chǒng-shǎng-cì de, wǒ yīge yě méiyǒu shī-diào”).

Again Jesus asked them, “For whom are you looking?” They said, “Jesus the Nazarene.” Jesus replied, “I already told you, “I am he”; if you are looking for me, let these people go.” (This was to fulfill what he said before: “What you have graciously given, I have not lost one”).

ἐπηρώτησεν (v. 7) The monosyllabic verb *wèn* (“ask,” e.g. UV, SB, NCV, CRV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

ζητεῖτε (vv. 7, 8) See v. 4.

εἶπαν (v. 7) As in v. 6, this aorist tense-form of λέγω is again used to introduce a direct quotation, so it may also be translated by a monosyllabic verb such as *shuō* (“say,” e.g. UV, SB, NCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Likewise, ἀπεκρίθη (v. 8), which is used to introduce another direct quotation of Jesus, may be translated the same way.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 8) See v. 5.

εἶπον (cf. v. 9) In contrast to εἶπαν in v. 7, the aorist is used here within the quoted speech of Jesus, which justifies the use of a morphologically expressed perfective morpheme (cf. ἀπόλεσα, v. 9). The majority of Mandarin versions employ the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the aorist: *gàosù* (“tell,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, LÜ, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) and *shuō* (“say,” CLB). Other versions, predominantly Catholic, have *shuō-le* (IG, HSC, SB) and *gàosù-le* (HS) with the perfective aspect marker *-le*. SYD and ZHU, on the other hand, use the aspect marker *-guò*. The perfective markers *-le* and *-guò* may be used interchangeably, and both are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form.

ἄφετε...ὑπάγειν Almost all Chinese versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for both tense-forms: *ràng...zǒu (ba)* 讓...走(吧) (“let...go,” CNT, IG, HS, NCV, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), *fàng...zǒu* 放...走 (“release...go,” LÜ) and *ràng...qù* 讓...去 (“let...go away,” UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, SB). Auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (HSC) or *kě/kěyǐ* (PK, JOHNM) are unnecessary additions since they are used to convey volition or contingency in Mandarin. Therefore, the monosyllabic verb *róng* (“allow”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is suitable for the rendering of the aorist imperative, while the disyllabic *líkāi* (“leave”) is preferable for the present infinitive in Greek.

πληρωθῆ (v. 9; see also v. 32; 19:24, 36) The auxiliary verb *yào* (JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, BT, LÜ, CRV, RCUV, CSB) adequately renders the sense of projection expressed by the Greek aorist subjunctive.<sup>22</sup> Some versions use conjunctives such as *wèi* 爲 (“for the sake of,” HSC, SB) or *wèile* 爲了 (CNT), which express a similar idea. While the aspect marker *-le* (PK, HS, TCV, NCV, CPB) and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, JOHNM, UV, SYD, CRV) are both acceptable, the latter is preferable because it helps to establish textual cohesion in the Mandarin translation.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, in the other three occurrences (v. 32; 19:24, 36), πληρωθῆ is consistently translated by the disyllabic verb *yìngyàn* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

εἶπεν (cf. vv. 6–8) Here, *-guò* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek. Also, it is preferable because the aorist occurs in a direct quotation.

<sup>22</sup> For discussions on the subjunctive mood in Greek and its translation into Mandarin, see 5.2.1.

<sup>23</sup> Lü and Zhu argue that aspect morphemes such as *-zhe* and *-le* cannot be used when auxiliary verbs such as *néng*, *kě*, *huì*, and *yīnggāi* are present. This assertion must be dismissed. As Wang Li notes, expressions such as *Zhè bù gāi tōu-le qù* 這不該偷了去 (“You should not steal this”) or *Yě kě shéng-le nàxiē huārjiàng* 也可省了那些花兒匠 (“We can also avoid having to hire a gardener”) are common in Mandarin. See Lü and Zhu, *Syntax*, 79–80; Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 139–141, 319; Wang 王 力, *Outline*, 112.

δέδωκας (see also v. 11) Most versions use *cìgěi* 賜給 (“give”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, SB). The CNT has the disyllabic verb *tuōfù* 托付 (“entrust”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which adds a slight emphasis to the verb form, though not enough to convey the heavily marked perfect tense-form in Greek. Therefore, the four-character set phrase *ēn-chǒng-shǎng-cì* (“bestow upon graciously”) works best here because its heavily marked feature corresponds to the perfect tense-form used as a foregrounding device.

ἀπώλεσα Similar to εἶπον in v. 8, the aorist is used within the quoted speech of Jesus, which justifies the use of a morphologically expressed perfective morpheme, in this case, the RVC *diào*.

Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος ἔχων μάχαιραν εἴλκυσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπαισεν τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δοῦλον καὶ ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον τὸ δεξιόν· ἦν δὲ ὄνομα τῷ δούλῳ Μάλχος. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· βάλε τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς τὴν θήκην· τὸ ποτήριον ὃ δέδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ οὐ μὴ πίνω αὐτό; (18:10–11)

此時西門彼得帶著一把刀，拔刀砍了大祭司的僕人，又斬掉他的右耳。那僕人的名字叫做馬勒古。於是耶穌對彼得說：「收刀入鞘吧！父親恩寵賞賜我的杯，難道說我不喝它嗎？」

Císhí Xīmén Bǐdé dài-zhe yībǎ dāo, bá dāo kǎn-le dàjìsī de púrén, yòu zhǎn-diào tā de yòu ěr. Nà púrén de míngzi jiàozuò Mǎlègǔ. Yúshì Yēsū duì Bǐdé shuō, “Shōu dāo rù qiào ba! Fùqīn ēn-chǒng-shǎng-cì wǒ de bēi, nándàoshuō wǒ bù hē-xià tā ma?”

Simon Peter, who was carrying a sword, drew it and struck the high priest’s servant, and then cut off his right ear. That servant’s name was Malchus. Then Jesus said to Peter, “Put the sword into its sheath! The cup which Father has graciously given me, should I not drink it?”



Σίμων Πέτρος (v. 10) Simon Peter was first transcribed as *Cénwěn sēngjiā* 岑穩僧伽 (from the Syriac ܣܝܡܘܢ ܡܬܝܬܐ) in the early eighth century Nestorian document the *Sûtra Aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy* (vv. 5f).<sup>24</sup> Haneda identifies *sēngjiā* with the Sogdian *sang*, which means “stone.”<sup>25</sup> However, Saeki asserts convincingly that since *sēngjiā* represents *samgha* (i.e. *sangha*), *Cénwěn sēngjiā* means “Simon, the chief of priesthood” or “Deva of Priesthood.”<sup>26</sup> Various transliterations are also found: *Sīmǎn Bóduōluó* 西滿伯多羅 (SL-MOR), *Sīmén Bīduōluó* 西門彼多羅 (MOR, MAR), *Sīmén Bīdélúo* 西門彼得羅 (GÜ), and *Xīmèng Sātèěr* 西孟撒特爾 (GURY). Catholic versions have *Sīmǎn Bóduōlù* 西滿伯多祿 (e.g. CNT, HSC, SB). Protestant versions in Mandarin now use *Sīmén Bīdè* 西門彼得 (or 西門 · 彼得; e.g. RCUV), following the DV and other early wenli versions (BCV, GO).

ἔχων (cf. 19:7, 10–11, 15) The aspect marker *-zhe* (*dài-zhe*, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, RCUV) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*yǒu*, “have,” SB) because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek.

εἰλκυσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπαισεν *Bá dāo kǎn-le* (“draw the sword [and] strike”) works best here. The aspect marker *-le* (e.g. UV, ZHU, LÜ) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, JOHNM, IG, HSC) because it formally reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the two aorists.

ἀπέκοψεν RVCs such as *diào* (*gē-diào* 割掉, “cut off,” MSV; *xiāo-diào* 削掉, “slice off,” PK, UV, CRV; *kǎn-diào* 砍掉, “chop off,” LÜ), *qù* (*xiāo-qù* 削去, “cut off,” JOHNM, SYD, ZHU), or *xià* (*kǎn-xià* 砍下, MOR, MAR) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$

<sup>24</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 261–62, 305–306; Kung, *Christian Religion*, 60–61.

<sup>25</sup> Haneda, “*Sûtra Aiming at Mysterious Rest and Joy*,” 280–82.

<sup>26</sup> Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 306.

morpheme used in most wenli versions (e.g. SL-MOR, GÜ, DV, GO, BCV, GURY, JOHN, CSV, SJ, UVW, WV) because they closely reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. However, the combination of RVCs and *-le* in some versions is not preferable because the two-morpheme aspect compounds employed in *xiāo-xià-le* (“sliced off,” IG, SB), *xiāo-diào-le* (“sliced off,” RCUV), and *xiāo-qù-le* (“sliced off,” HSC) foreground the discourse, a result that is clearly absent in the original.

ἀρχιερέως The term *dàjìsī* (“high priest”; see also vv. 13, 15 16, 19, 22, 24, 26) used in the majority of Chinese versions (JOHNM, SJ, UV, UVW, UVB, UVE, WANG, ZHU, IG, HS, WV, SB, CPB, JRV, CSB, JCV, CBT) serves here to differentiate it from the closely related term *jìsīzhǎng*, which designates “chief priests” (see vv. 3, 35; 19:6, 15, 21).<sup>27</sup> Basset uses *jiàoshǒu* 教首 (“head of religion,” SL-MOR), whereas GÜ uses *jìsī yuánkuí* 祭司元魁 (“head priest”). Morrison and Marshman are inconsistent with such distinctions: for example, here in v. 10, *jìzhěshǒu* 祭者首 (“head worshipper”) is used, whereas *chóngjìshǒu* 崇祭首 (“head of chief priests,” v. 13) and *chóngjìzhě* 崇祭者 (“chief priest,” vv. 15–16, 19, 22, 24, 26) are also used to refer to the high priest. Besides MOR and MAR, other versions, such as PK and BB, use *jìsīzhǎng* 祭司長 (“head priest”) here in v. 10, but use another term, *dàjìsī* (“chief priest”) for vv. 13, 15–16, 19, 22, 24, 26 to refer to the high priest.

εἶπεν (v. 11) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

βάλει Several versions use the monosyllabic verb *shōu* (“put back”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. UV, ZHU, BT, HS, LÜ, RCUV), which is an excellent choice because it

<sup>27</sup> This distinction is supported by Graves. See Graves, “Uniform Names,” 120.

reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek. Also, there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

δέδωκέν See v. 9.

πίω Similar to εἶπον and ἀπώλεσα in vv. 8–9, the aorist is used here within the quoted statement of Jesus, which justifies the use of a morphologically expressed perfective morpheme, in this case, the RVC *xià*. In addition, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (δέδωκέν) to aorist also justifies its use.

ἡ οὖν σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνέλαβον τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον· ἦν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου· ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλευσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅτι συμφέρει ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ. (18:12–14)  
然後武裝兵隊、千夫長和猶太人的差役一同逮捕耶穌，把他捆住，隨即又帶到亞那面前。這是因為亞那乃當年擔任大祭司該亞法的岳父。該亞法剛好是那位給猶太人建議過說：「一人為百姓而死，算是有益的。」

Ránhòu wǔzhuāng bīngduì, qiānfū zhǎng hé Yóutàirén de chāiyì yītóng dàibǔ Yēsū, bǎ tā kǔn-zhù, suíjí yòu dài dào Yǎnà miàncián; zhè shì yīnwèi Yǎnà nǎi dāngnián dānrèn dàjīsī Gāiyǎfǎ de yuèfù. Gāiyǎfǎ gānghǎo shì nàwèi gěi Yóutàirén jiànyì-guò shuō, “Yī rén wèi bǎixìng ér sǐ, suànshì yǒuyì de.”

Then a company of soldiers, the captain, and servants of the Jews arrested Jesus. They tied him and took him before Annas. This was because Annas was the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high priest that year. Caiaphas happened to be the person who advised the Jews that, “It is good for one person to die on behalf of all people.”

Ἰουδαίων (v. 12) Jews were first referred to in Chinese as *Shíhūrén* 石忽人 in the early seventh century Nestorian document, the *Discourse on Almsgiving* (vv. 119, 123). 石忽 might be pronounced [ʒjäk ˌɣuo], as Karlgren suggests, which is somewhat close to the Syriac original ܪܘܕܐܝܐ.<sup>28</sup> Three different names are used in the Chinese Bible: *Rúdárén* 如達人 (SL-MOR), *Yīwūdiéyàrén* 伊屋疊亞人 (GURY), and *Yóutàirén* 猶太人 (GÜ, DV, GO).

χιλίαρχος *Qiānfū zhǎng* (lit. “thousand-man chief”) is the most common term for χιλίαρχος (GO, BCV, GURY, DV, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, SB, NCV, RCUV, CSB, Stuart).<sup>29</sup> Several other terms are also used, including *dà duìzhǎng* 大隊長 (“chief commander,” HS), *duìzhǎng* 隊長 (“leader,” TCV, CLB, CPB), *jiàng* 將 (“general,” SL-MOR), *guān* 官 (“official,” MOR, MAR), *qiānzǒng* 千總 (lit. “thousand-(man) commander,” GÜ, WV, MSV), *bīngguān* 兵官 (“captain,” HSC), and *guānzhǎng* 官長 (“officer,” CNT). *Qiānfū zhǎng* is adopted here because it better represents the Greek original, and because it has been used in most Chinese versions, not only the Protestant but also the Catholic and the Orthodox.

συνέλαβον (cf. 18:3, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 23, 27, 30, 40) Some versions use the RVC *zhù* (e.g. *zhuō-zhù* 捉住, “capture,” MSV, HS; *ná-zhù* 拿住, “seize,” UV, WANG, BT, RCUV), but do not render the prefix συν-. The CNT has *zhuōná-le* 捉拿了 (“arrested”) with *-le*, which may be used interchangeably with RVCs or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, although the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form. Also, there is no shift in tense-form in justify the use of a formally marked perfective aspect morpheme.

<sup>28</sup> Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v. See also Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 238–41.

<sup>29</sup> See also Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, s.v.

ἔδησαν (cf. 19:40) The perfective aspect morphemes *-le* (PK, JOHNM, UV, BT, RCUV) and RVCs, such as *zhù* (LÜ) or *qīlái* (MSV, WANG, HSC, HS, SB, CLB, NCV, DCT, CSB), are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (SYD, ZHU, CNT, IG) because they formally reflect the aspect of the aorist. Also, monosyllabic verbs such as *kǔn* (“tie”) or *bǎng* 綁 (“bind”) is not normally used without an aspect morpheme in this context. On the other hand, the two-morpheme aspect compound *qīlái-le* (RVC-*le*) found in the TCV and CPB is not preferable because it does not reflect the less marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

ἡγαγον (v. 13; cf. 19:13) Monosyllabic verbs such as *dài* (“lead,” UV, WANG, BT, LÜ, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV), *lā* 拉 (“drag,” MSV, PK, JOHNM) or *sòng* 送 (“send,” SYD, ZHU) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to those with RVCs (e.g. *zǒu*, HS), since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally marked perfective aspect morpheme.

συμβουλεύσας (v. 14) Some Mandarin versions use the perfective aspect marker *-guò* (e.g. SB, LÜ, CLB, CRV, CPB), which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. UV, CSB) because it formally expresses the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist participle. Also, the aspect marker is justified because the aorist is used here to introduce a direct quotation of Caiaphas.

συμφέρει...ἀποθανεῖν Formally expressed morphemes are not an option for both verb forms. Most Mandarin versions use *shì yǒuyì(/lì) de* 是有益(/利)的 (“it is profitable,” PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, CRV, RCUV) or *shì hésuàn de* 是合算的 (“it is reasonable,” CPB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for *συμφέρει* and *sǐ* (“die”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, CNT, IG, SB, LÜ, CRV, CPB, RCUV)

for ἀποθανεῖν.<sup>30</sup> The perfective aspect marker *-le* (MSV, HSC), while grammatically acceptable, is not preferable here for the aorist infinitive.

### 6.2.2. Peter's First Denial (John 18:15–18) 彼得首次不認耶穌

As in the previous pericope, the aorist tense-forms are used here to set the scene (v. 15b) and carry the movement of this narrative (vv. 16b). In addition to setting the scene, the imperfect tense-forms are employed to heighten Peter's activities, namely, following Jesus (v. 15) and warming himself (v. 18). The present tense-forms are used in the introduction of the verbal exchange between the female gatekeeper and Peter (v. 17), and the description of Peter warming himself (v. 18). The perfect and pluperfect tense-forms are reserved to highlight a number of key events. The perfect is used to describe the making of the charcoal fire and Peter who stood near it (v. 18). The pluperfect is used to emphasize that Peter stood among the servants and assistants (vv. 16, 18).

Ἦκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἰησοῦ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ ἄλλος μαθητής. ὁ δὲ μαθητής ἐκεῖνος ἦν γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, καὶ συνεισῆλθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἰστήκει πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ ἔξω. ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ μαθητής ὁ ἄλλος ὁ γνωστὸς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θυρωρῷ καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν τὸν Πέτρον. (18:15–16)

那時西門彼得跟著耶穌，還有另一個門徒也在後跟著。這位門徒是跟大祭司相識的，所以他跟耶穌一同進去大祭司的內庭。彼得卻在那門外比肩而立。另有一個跟大祭司熟識的門徒，就走了出去，並向女閽打個招呼，就帶彼得進去。

Nàshí Xīmén Bǐdé gēn-zhe Yēsū, háiyǒu ling yīge méntú yě zài hòu gēn-zhe. Zhè wèi méntú shì gēn dàjīsī xiāngshí de, suǒyǐ tā gēn Yēsū yītóng jìnqù dàjīsī de nèitíng. Bǐdé

<sup>30</sup> HSC has *shì yǒu yìchù de* 是有益處的 ("it is good").

què zài nà mén wài bǐ-jiān-'ér-lì. Lǐngyǒu yīge gēn dàjīsī shúshì de méntú, jiù zǒu-le chūqù, bǐng xiàng nǚhūn dǎ ge zhāohū, jiù dài Bǐdé jìnqù.

Simon Peter was following Jesus, so was another disciple. This disciple knew of the high priest, therefore he and Jesus entered the inner court of the high priest. Peter was standing outside. Another disciple who knew the high priest went out and greeted the female gatekeeper, and then took Peter inside.

ἡκολούθει (v. 15) The imperfective marker *-zhe* (UV, SYD, IG, LÜ, RCUV) is the preferable morpheme for the imperfect tense-form because it closely reflects the imperfective aspect in Greek. The disyllabic verbs *gēncóng* 跟從 (“follow,” MSV) or *gēnsuí* 跟隨 (“follow,” JOHMN) may be acceptable, but only if the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead of *-le* (CNT), since *-le* conveys the perfective aspect in Mandarin.

In order to distinguish between the imperfect and present tense-forms, *nàshí* (“then,” “at that point”) may be added here. This addition is necessary to convey the conceptual distance ([+remote]) that is grammaticalized by the Greek imperfect tense-form.<sup>31</sup> By default, *gēn-zhe* without such additions expresses the immediate ([−remote]) imperfective aspect.

εἰσπήκει (v. 16; see also v. 5.) Here, notions of remoteness grammaticalized by the pluperfect tense-form may be conveyed by the addition of *nà* (“that,” “there”) to the specified location where Peter stood.

ἐξῆλθεν (see also v. 4) The aspect marker *-le* is preferable here because the shift in tense-form from the pluperfect (εἰσπήκει) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

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<sup>31</sup> See Table 6.1, p. 306 above for a list of the adverbs and DVCs commonly used to express conceptual distance in Mandarin.

τῇ θυρωρῶ There are several ways to refer to τῇ θυρωρῶ in Chinese, all of which denote “the (slave)girl/woman who guards the gate” or “female gatekeeper”: *kānmén de shìnú* 看門的侍女 (SB); *kānmén de bìnǚ* 看門的婢女 (NCV); *kānmén de nǚháizi* 看門的女孩子 (TCV); *kānmén de shìnú* 看門的使女 (UV, WANG, BT, IG, HSC, CRV, RCUV); *kānmén de nǚrén* 看門的女人 (LÜ); *shǒuménfū* 守門婦 (HS); *kān(/shǒu)mén de nǚpú* 看(/守)門的女僕 (CPB, CNT, CSB); *nǚsīmén* 女司門 (DV); and *ménbì* 門婢 (SL-MOR). PK and JOHNM have simply *shǒuménde* 守門的 (“gatekeeper”). However, *nǚhūn* is the most fitting here because the character *hūn* 閨 contains the radical 門 (“door”; cf. *sīhūn nǚ* 司閨女, GURY).<sup>32</sup> *Nǚ* suggests that the gatekeeper is female.

εἶπεν The  $\emptyset$  morpheme and *-le* are both acceptable here, although the former is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form in the Greek to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The expression *shuō-le yī shēng* 說了一聲 (“spoke briefly,” PK, UV, WANG, SYD, ZHU, BT, IG, SB, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB; cf. *shuō yī shēng*, LÜ) is not preferable, since Greek verb forms express not the duration of an action (i.e. *Aktionsart*) but aspect. On the other hand, *shuō-le-shuō* (verb reduplication + *-le*, CNT), is not preferable because two-morpheme aspect compounds indicate prominence in discourse and do not correspond to the aorist, which is used as a backgrounding device in Greek discourse.

εἰσήγαγεν The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally marked perfective aspect morpheme.

λέγει οὖν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ θυρωρός· μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; λέγει ἐκεῖνος· οὐκ εἰμί. εἰστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ

<sup>32</sup> Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, s.v.



ὑπηρεται ἀνθρακιὰν πεποιηκότες, ὅτι ψυχὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐθερμαίνοντο· ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος. (18:17–18)

因此閹婢就開起了口對著彼得說：「你不也是這人的門徒嗎？」他答覆說：「我不是。」那時眾僕和差役因為冷的緣故，生火熾炭，在那兒圍著炭火取暖。彼得也是跟他們比肩而立地暖著身。

Yīncǐ hūnbì jiù kāi-qǐ-le kǒu duìzhe Bǐdé shuō, “Nǐ bù yěshì zhè rén de méntú ma?” Tā dáfù shuō, “Wǒ bù shì.” Nàshí zhòngpú hé chāiyì yīnwèi lěng de yuángù, shēng-huǒ-chì-tàn, zài nàr wéi-zhe tànhuǒ qǔnuǎn. Bǐdé yě shì gēn tāmen bǐ-jiān-’ér-lì de, nuǎn-zhe shēn. Therefore, the female gatekeeper said to Peter, “Are you not this man’s disciple?” He responded “I am not.” Meanwhile, the servants and assistants, because it was cold, made a charcoal fire and encircled the charcoal fire to keep warm. Peter also stood there, warming himself with them.

λέγει (v. 17; cf. vv. 4–5) Most Mandarin versions use *shuō* (“speak,” “say”) with the *ø* morpheme (e.g. UV, SYD, CNT, LÜ, IG) for the present tense-form. As noted in 6.1.2 above, the *-le-IDVC kāi-qǐ-le kǒu* is an ideal translation not only because it better reflects the aspect of the Greek, but also because it closely corresponds to the discourse function of the Greek present tense-form as a foregrounding device. In addition, it provides textual cohesion to the second episode of Peter’s denial of Jesus (vv. 25–27).

ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ θυρωρός See v. 16. Compare *kànmén de yāhuán* 看門的丫環 (PK), *shǒumén de shǐnǚ* 守門的使女 (JOHNM), and *shǒumén de nǚpú* 守門的女僕 (CNT), all of which denote “the servant girl who guards the gate.”

μὴ καὶ οὐ...τούτου; (see also v. 25) Normally, when μὴ is present in interrogative statements, the answer “no” is expected.<sup>33</sup> This interpretation is reflected in the MSV and WANG: *nǐ yě shì* (“are you also”). However, as Brown argues, since it is clear that the third question addressed to Peter (v. 26) expects a positive answer, it may be best to translate the first two questions (vv. 17, 25) as also expecting a positive answer, especially since μὴ may have lost its original force in John’s Gospel.<sup>34</sup> Brown’s claim is supported by Goodwin, who cites several examples from classical authors (e.g. Plato and Xenophon) in which μὴ is used to introduce a question that expects an affirmative answer.<sup>35</sup> Most Mandarin versions have *nǐ bù yě shì* (“are you not also,” UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, CNT, SB, LÜ, HS, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB),<sup>36</sup> *nǐ qǐ bù shì* 你豈不是 (“are you not,” PK), or *nǐ bù shì* (“are you not,” JOHNM, IG, CLB), which all translate the question as expecting a positive answer. It should be noted that two of the three examples cited above, *nǐ qǐ bù shì* and *nǐ bù shì*, are not preferable because καὶ should be rendered as *yě* (“also”).<sup>37</sup>

εἰστήκεισαν (v. 18; see also 19:25; cf. v. 5) The stative aspect of the pluperfect form is translated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT) and *-zhe* (MSV, SYD, ZHU, IG, HSC, HS, LÜ, CRV, CNT). While both morphemes are possible, the latter is a better choice because *-zhe* morphologically marks the stative aspect in Mandarin.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Burton, *Syntax*, §467; BDF, §440; Turner, *Syntax*, 283; Porter, *Idioms*, 277–78. Zerwick and Grosvenor note that this is how the interrogative is understood here. Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 339. See also Morris, *Gospel*, 667.

<sup>34</sup> Brown, *Gospel*, 824; Newman and Nida, *Handbook*, 557. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §293.

<sup>35</sup> For these examples from classical literature, see Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, §293.

<sup>36</sup> HS adds the emphatic particle *qǐ* 豈, which is often used in rhetorical questions or interrogatives in Chinese. See, for example, Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 351–54; Lü 吕叔湘, *Grammar*, 292; *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>37</sup> Keener, *Commentary*, 1191.

Another option is using a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which closely reflects the heavily marked pluperfect tense-form. However, *-zhe* is used here instead to avoid redundancy due to the presence of the closely related form (but more marked because of the periphrasis) ἑστὼς in the same verse (see also 6.1.3 above). Finally, In order to convey the remoteness of the pluperfect tense-form, *nàshí* (“then,” “at that point”) may be added to the beginning of the sentence.

ἀνθρακιάν πεποικότες Some versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*shāotàn* 燒炭, “burn charcoal,” PK; *chitàn* 熾炭, “burn charcoal,” DV, SJ), while others use *-le* (*shēng-le* *tànhuǒ* 生了炭火, “burned charcoal fire,” UV, SYD, ZHU, WANG, IG, BT, LÜ, TCV, CRV, RCUV; *shēng-le huǒ* 生了火, “made a fire,” CPB; *bèi-le tànhuǒ* 備了炭火, “prepared a charcoal fire,” HS). The MSV, on the other hand, uses the IDVC *qǐlái*, which is not preferable because it conveys the imperfective aspect in Mandarin. The four-character phrase *shēng-huǒ-chì-tàn* (with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme) works best here because it marks frontgrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse and also reflects the stative aspect realized by the Greek perfect participle. HSC does not translate this verb phrase.

ἐθερμαίνοντο/θερμαινόμενος Most versions use one phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to cover the two verb forms: *kǎohuǒ* 烤火 (“warm oneself by the fire,” PK, UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, HSC, LÜ), *xiànghuǒ* 向火 (“face the fire,” JOHNM), *qǔnuǎn* 取暖(/暖) (“keep warm,” WANG, CNT, CPB, WV, RCUV), and *kǎo-huǒ-qǔ-nuǎn* 烤火取暖 (“keep oneself warm by the fire,” IG, CLB). There is only one exception: HS has *zài qǔnuǎn* for ἐθερμαίνοντο and *qǔnuǎn* for θερμαινόμενος. The marker *-zhe* expresses the imperfective aspect and therefore is a suitable Mandarin translation of the present participle θερμαινόμενος. In order to differentiate the imperfect (ἐθερμαίνοντο) from

the present (θερμαινόμενος) tense-forms in Mandarin translation, *zài nàr* (“there”) may be added to the former.

ἦν...ἔστῳς (see also v. 25) Most Mandarin versions have *-zhe* (PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, IG, HSC, BT, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, RCUV) for the perfect participle. Although *-zhe* reflects the stative aspect of ἔστῳς, the four-character phrase *bǐ-jiān-’ér-lì* (“stand shoulder to shoulder”) with the *ø* morpheme is a better option because it foregrounds the discourse. *Shì...de* construction is utilized to represent the Greek periphrastic construction in Mandarin. In this case, *de* is preferably represented by the adverbial 地 as opposed to 的 because *bǐ-jiān-’ér-lì* is used here to modify the verb phrase *nuǎn-zhe shēn* (“warming the body”).<sup>38</sup>

### 6.2.3. Trial before Annas (John 18:19–24) 耶穌在大祭司前受審

As in the previous pericopes, the aorist tense-forms are used to set the scene (v. 19), carry the movement of this narrative (vv. 20–23), and conclude the discourse unit (v. 24). The present tense-forms are used to describe the content of verbal exchanges between Jesus and Annas (vv. 20–21), as well as between Jesus and Annas’ assistant (v. 22–23). The perfect tense-forms are reserved to highlight four key items: Jesus’ comments regarding his speaking in public (v. 20), the extensive knowledge of those who heard him (reinforced by the emphatic discourse marker ἵδε; v. 21), the assistants who stood nearby (v. 22), and the condition under which Jesus was sent to Caiaphas (v. 24).

Ὁ οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς ἠρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ. ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ παρρησίᾳ λελάληκα τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐγὼ

<sup>38</sup> Older Mandarin literature (pre-1949) did not use the character 地 to formally distinguish between the adverbial and substantival use of *de*. See Chao, *Grammar*, 298–99. Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, s.v.

πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα ἐν συναγωγῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὅπου πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 συνέρχονται, καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησα οὐδέν. τί με ἐρωτᾷς; ἐρώτησον τοὺς  
 ἀκηκοότας τί ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς· ἴδε οὗτοι οἶδασιν ἃ εἶπον ἐγώ. (18:19–21)

遂後，大祭司就問了耶穌有關他的門徒及其所教。耶穌對他答說：「我對世人  
 光明正大、直言不諱；我也始終在猶太人聚集的會堂及聖殿裏教訓人；在暗地裏  
 並沒有談論過些什麼。你為什麼在問我呢？問問那些對我所談過的皆洗耳恭聽的  
 人。聽好！我所說過的，這些人皆耳熟能詳。」

Suìhòu, dàjīsī jiù wèn-le Yēsū yǒuguān tā de méntú jíqí suǒ jiào. Yēsū duì tā dá shuō,  
 “Wǒ duì shìrén guāng-míng-zhèng-dà, zhí-yán-bù-huì; wǒ yě shǐzhōng zài Yóutàirén jùjī  
 de huìtáng jí shèngdiàn lǐ jiàoxùn rén; zài àndì lǐ bìng méiyǒu tánlùn-guò xiē shénme. Nǐ  
 wèi shénme zài wèn wǒ ne? Wènwèn nàxiē duì wǒ suǒ tán-guò de jiē xǐ-’ěr-gōng-tīng de  
 rén. Tīng-hǎo! Wǒ suǒ shuō-guò de, zhèxiē rén jiē ěr-shóu-néng-xiáng.

The high priest then asked Jesus about his disciples and his teachings. Jesus answered  
 him, saying, “I spoke to people publicly without hindrance; I always taught in the Jewish  
 gathering synagogues and the temple; I did not say anything in secret. Why are you  
 asking me? Ask those who have listened attentively to what I said to them. Pay attention!  
 These people know very well what I said.

ἀρχιερεύς (v. 19) See v. 10.

ἤρῳτησεν The CLB adds *zhèng kāishǐ* (“now began”) before the verb *shěnxùn* 審訊  
 (“interrogate”) to indicate the ingressive *Aktionsart*. Normally, it is better to simply use  
*wèn* (“ask,” e.g. SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GO, BCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, as opposed to  
*pánwèn* 盤問 (“cross-examine,” PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, TCV,  
 CRV, RCUV, CSB), *shěnwèn* 審問 (“interrogate,” GÜ, IG, CNT, SB), *chávèn* 查問

(“interrogate,” NCV, CPB), or *xúnwèn* 詢問 (“inquire,” HS), because, in Mandarin narrative discourse, monosyllabic verbs reflect the unmarked feature of the aorist better than disyllabic verbs. However, the shift in tense-form from the present (θερμαινόμενος) to aorist, which is employed here to mark discourse boundaries, justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme (in this case, *-le*).

**διδαχῆς** Several Mandarin versions use *jiàoxùn* 教訓 (“teachings,” JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, LÜ, NCV, CRV). Stuart suggests that διδαχῆς can mean Jesus’ “teaching methods” (*jiàoshòu zhī dào* 教授之道), as in *dàolǐ* 道理 (“truth,” PK, IG) or the “act of teaching,” as in *jiǎngdào shījiào de shì* 講道施教的事 (CPB).<sup>39</sup> Two Catholic versions have *jiàoyì* 教義 (“religious doctrine,” CNT, SB). However, *jiào* (“teachings”) would be sufficient here.

**ἀπεκρίθη** (v. 20) See v. 5.

**παρρησία** The adverbial phrase *guāng-míng-zhèng-dà* (“just and honorable,” lit. “bright and upright”) works best here because it is a good contrast to *àndī lǐ* (“in the dark” or “secretly”).

**λελάληκα** Several expressions to denote the idea of speaking are used, all of which use the *ø* morpheme and differ only in word choice: *fāyán* 發言 (“make a statement,” HS), *shuō* (“say,” JOHNM), *jiǎnghuà* 講話 (“talk,” IG, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, RCUV, CSB), and *shuōhuà* 說話 (“speak,” UV, SYD, WANG, BT, CRV). PK has *jiǎngdào* 講道 (“preach”). The MSV, on the other hand, has *zhǐdiǎn-chūlái* 指點出來 (“point out”) with the RVC *chūlái*, which is not preferable because it conveys the perfective aspect in

<sup>39</sup> Stuart, *Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary*, 53.

Mandarin.<sup>40</sup> The four-character set phrase *zhí-yán-bù-huì* (“speak frankly”) works best here because it marks foregrounded prominence in Mandarin, and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme better reflects the stative aspect of the Greek perfect tense-form. This word is left untranslated in the CPB.

ἐδίδαξα Most versions use disyllabic verbs with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *shījiào* 施教 (“instruct,” HS, SB, CRV), *jiàoxùn* 教訓 (“lecture,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, LÜ), *jiàodǎo* 教導 (“teach,” NCV, RCUV, CSB), *xùnhuì* 訓誨 (“instruct,” CNT), *shīxùn* 施訓 (“lecture,” IG), and *jiǎngdào* 講道 (“preach,” CLB, CPB). SYD and its revision ZHU are the only two Mandarin versions that use the perfective *-guò* (*jiàoxùn-guò rén*, “have lectured people”). However, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is stylistically preferable to *-guò*, and better reflects the less marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

συνέρχονται Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context. Most versions use the disyllabic verb *jùjí* (“congregate”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, UV, IG, LÜ, SB, CRV), which reflects the aspect as well as the more heavily marked feature of the Greek present tense-form.

ἐλάλησα (vv. 20–21) Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *jiǎng* (“speak,” LÜ, TCV, NCV, RCUV), *shuō* (“say,” PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CRV, CPB), *shuōhuà* (“speak,” ZHU, HS, DCT), *tánlùn* 談論 (“discuss,” CLB), and *sīhuà* 私話 (“speak privately,” MSV) for the first occurrence of ἐλάλησα, while a few others use *-guò* (*jiǎng-guò*, “have spoken,” CNT, IG, HSC, SB, CSB). For the second occurrence of the verb in v. 21, several versions use the perfective aspect markers *-guò* (CNT, LÜ, CPB)

<sup>40</sup> Compare Brown, who argues that the perfect tense-form here functions in an aoristic sense (“I have spoken openly”) because the subsequent verbs are aorists. See Brown, *Gospel*, 825.

or *-le* (IG, HS, SB, CSB), while others use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, CLB, TCV, NCV, DCT). The aspect markers *-guò* and *-le* are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they formally reflect the perfective aspect of the two aorists. In this context, however, *-guò* works better for both occurrences of ἐλάλησα. In v. 20, this use of *-guò* is justified by the shift in tense-form from the present (συνέρχονται, v. 20) to aorist. For second occurrence, it is justified by another shift in tense-form, from the perfect (ἀκηκοότας, v. 21) to aorist.

ἐρωτᾷς (v. 21) The aspect marker *zài* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek. The CPB adds the auxiliary verb *yào* to the verb *shěnwèn* 審問 (“interrogate”), which is not suitable for the translation of the indicative verb because *yào* expresses volition and futurity.

ἐρώτησον The reduplicated verb *wèn-wen* expresses the perfective aspect of the aorist imperative, and fits well with the context (NCV). LÜ adds the auxiliary *kěyǐ* to the reduplicated verb, which is unnecessary. More often *kěyǐ* or *kě* is added to the verb *wèn* (“ask”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, CRV). Other auxiliary verbs are also used: *yīngdāng* (HS) and *yào* (SYD, ZHU), both of which denote “should” or “must.” It is true that, in some contexts, Mandarin imperative sentences may be expressed by adding the verb *qù* 去 (“go”) to the front of the verb, as in *qù wèn-wen* (CPB) or *qù wèn* (TCV, RCUV). It is not necessary in this context. The two Catholic versions, IG and SB, simply have *nǐ wèn* (“you ask”). The expression *kěyǐ qù wèn* (“you can go ask,” CSB) is simply redundant.



ἀκηκοότας Most Mandarin versions use the perfective morphemes *-guò* (IG, HS, SB, CLB, TCV, NCV, DCT, RCUV, CSB) and RVCs, such as *jiàn* (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, LÜ, CRV), which are not suitable because they do not reflect the stative aspect signaled by the perfect participle. A few others use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (SYD, ZHU, CPB), which is acceptable insofar as it renders the stative aspect in Greek, but not in its discourse function as the foregrounding device. Therefore, in order to mark foregrounded prominence in Mandarin, the heavily marked four-character set phrase *xī-’ěr-gōng-tīng* (“listen attentively”) may be used here instead of the monosyllabic verb *tīng* (“hear”).

ἴδε (also 19:4, 14, 26, 27; cf. ἰδοὺ 19:5, 1 Cor 15:51) Two aorist imperative forms, ἴδε and ἰδοὺ, are used as discourse markers to draw the attention of the listener or reader.<sup>41</sup> Most Greek grammarians and biblical commentators recognize them as interjective or exclamatory particles.<sup>42</sup> While most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CNT, IG, HSC, SB, TCV, NCV, CPB, RCUV) do not translate ἴδε, a few render it formally as *nǐ kàn* (“you look!” LÜ, CSB), *kàn na* (“look!” BT, CRV), or *qiáo ba* 瞧吧 (“look!” HS). The CLB has *yīnwèi* (“because,” CLB), which is not preferable here. The expression *tīng-hǎo*, which denotes “Listen up!” or “Pay attention!” is preferable to *kàn* or *qiáo* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for two reasons: first, the RVC *hǎo*

<sup>41</sup> Nida and Louw call them “prompters of attention” (along with ἄγε). Nida and Louw, *Greek-English Lexicon*, vol. 1, 812. See also Newman and Nida, *Handbook*, 576; BDAG, s.v. Van Otterloo argues that the translator should translate both meaning and impact of ἰδοὺ/ἴδε, which, according to him, serves two major functions in discourse: first, to focus special attention on a major thematic participant, and second, to call something to the hearer/reader’s special attention (because it is contrary to their expectation, etc). Van Otterloo, “Towards an Understanding,” 34–64.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Winer, *Treatise*, 229 n.3; Robertson, *Grammar*, 302; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 339. Some point to the influence of the Hebrew demonstrative particle הִנֵּה. See, for example, Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 11; Robertson, *Grammar*, 1193; BDF, §128; Schnackenburg, *Gospel*, 256.

(“good”) morphologically expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin; second, it highlights the statement that follows.<sup>43</sup>

οἶδασιν (cf. vv. 2, 4; 19:35) Regardless of its verb form, οἶδα is almost always translated by *zhīdào* (“know”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in Mandarin versions (e.g. UV, SYD, IG, LÜ, SB). Here, a four-character set phrase such as *ěr-shóu-néng-xiáng* (lit. “be able to make a detailed explanation of what is frequently heard”)<sup>44</sup> or *ěr-rú-mù-rǎn* 耳濡目染 (“be unconsciously influenced by what one frequently hears and sees”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme may be used to reflect the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek, and to correspond to its discourse function as a foregrounding device.

εἶπον (see also vv. 8, 9, 32; 19:21) The most common translation is *shuō* (“say,” MSV, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, HS, LÜ, SB, CLB, CRV, RCUV, CSB) or *jiǎng* (“speak,” PK, NCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Other versions formally express aspect morphemes such as *-le* (IG, CPB, CNT, DCT) or *-guò* (TCV), both of which are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. This is because, as noted in v. 8 above, εἶπον is used within the quoted speech of Jesus in the narrative, which justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective morpheme. In addition, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (οἶδασιν) to aorist also justifies its use.

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος εἰς παρεστηκῶς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰπών· οὕτως ἀποκρίνη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ; ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς· εἰ κακῶς ἐλάλησα, μαρτύρησον περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· εἰ δὲ καλῶς, τί με δέρεις; ἀπέστειλεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννας δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. (18:22–24)

<sup>43</sup> Newman and Nida note that “listen” works better than “look.” See Newman and Nida, *Handbook*, 576. Here, “listen” communicates the intention of the author (which is to draw attention to the statement that follows) better than “look” in Mandarin. See also the discussion on 1 Cor 15:51 in my chapter 7.

<sup>44</sup> See example (22) in my chapter 4, pp. 213–14 above.

他一說這些話，其中在旁站著的一個差役，就賞了耶穌一記耳光。他說：「你這樣在回答著大祭司嗎？」耶穌答說：「如果我說錯了，請指出哪裏錯。但我要是說的對，你憑什麼毆打我呢？」亞那然後就把他捆綁著送到大祭司該亞法那裏。

Tā yī shuō zhèxiē huà, qízhōng zài páng zhàn-zhe de yīge chāiyì, jiù shǎng-le Yēsū yījī ěrguāng. Tā shuō, “Nǐ zhèyàng zài huídá-zhe dàjīsī ma?” Yēsū dá shuō, “Rúguǒ wǒ shuōcuò-le, qǐng zhǐ-chū nǎlǐ cuò. Dàn wǒ yàoshi shuō de duì, nǐ píng shénme ōudǎ wǒ ne?” Yǎnà ránhòu jiù bǎ tā kǔnbǎng-zhe sòng dào dàjīsī Gāiyǎfǎ nà lǐ.

As soon as he finished saying these, an assistant who was standing nearby, slapped Jesus in the face. He said, “Are you answering the high priest in this manner?” Jesus replied, “If in any case I said it wrong, please produce evidence about what went wrong. But if what I said is right, for what reason are you striking me?” Annas then sent him bound to the high priest Caiaphas.

εἰπόντος (v. 22) Some versions use the aspect marker *-le* (e.g. UV, SYD, LÜ, IG, RCUV) or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*yī shuō*, “as soon as one said,” CNT). While RVCs, *-le*, and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme may be used interchangeably here, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme. παρεστηκώς (cf. παρεστῶτα 19:26) The stative aspect marker *-zhe* (*pángbiān zhàn-zhe* 旁邊站著, “standing nearby,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, LÜ, RCUV, or *shìlì-zhe* 侍立著, “waiting upon,” IG) closely reflects the stative aspect signaled by the perfect participle in Greek. The CPB uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*zhàn*, “stand”), whereas the TCV leaves it untranslated. A four-character set phrase such as *bǐ-jiān-ér-lì* (18:5, 16, 18, 25) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, is also acceptable. For stylistic reasons, however, *-zhe* is a better choice here (see comments on εἰστήκεισαν in v. 18 above).

ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα (cf. ἐδίδοσαν...ῥαπίσματα in 19:3) The perfective aspect of the aorist is translated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *dǎ* 打 (“strike,” PK, JOHNM), *yòng shǒuzhǎng dǎ* 用手掌打 (“strike with a hand,” UV, SYD, CRV; see also 19:3), *zhǎngjí* 掌擊 (“strike with the palm of the hand,” IG), or *gěi...yīge ěrguāzi* 給 . . . 一個耳刮子 (“give one a slap in the face,” LÜ). A few versions use *-le* (*dǎ-le...yī bāzhǎng/ěrguāng* 打了 . . . 一巴掌/耳光, “slapped in the face,” HSC, TCV, CPB, RCUV), which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist. Also, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (παρεστηκώς) to aorist justifies the use of a morphologically expressed aspect morpheme.

ἀποκρίνη (cf. v. 5) Most Mandarin versions have *huídá* 回答 (PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, HS, LÜ, CRV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB), *duìdá* 對答 (IG), or *dáfù* 答覆 (SB) with  $\emptyset$  morpheme, all of which denote “answer.” Three versions (TCV, CLB, NCV) add the auxiliary verb *gǎn*, which is not preferable for rendering the Greek indicative. On the other hand, the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it indicates foregrounded prominence in Mandarin and better reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form. It also provides a better contrast to the aorist (ἀπεκρίθη) that follows.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 23) See v. 5.

ἐλάλησα (cf. 20–21) The aspect marker *-le* (e.g. NCV, CPB) is preferable to other perfective aspect morphemes or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, CRV, RCUV) because it better reflects the aspect of the Greek. Also, *-le* is

suitable here because it is generally used in the protasis of Mandarin conditional sentences.<sup>45</sup>

**μαρτύρησον** The aorist imperative (see 5.1.1 above) is rendered by several earlier Mandarin versions with *zhǐzhèng* 指證 (“testify,” PK, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, IG, SB, LÜ, RCUV) or *zhèngmíng* 證明 (“testify,” HSC) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. RVCs, such as *chūlái* (“out,” CNT) and *chū* (“out,” HS, TCV, CLB, CPB, CSB), are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek. Some versions add auxiliary verbs such as *kěyǐ* (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, HS, LÜ, CLB, CRV, CSB) to indicate command (cf. v. 21), which, as pointed out in the previous chapter, are not ideal for translating the imperative mood in Greek.<sup>46</sup>

**δέρεις** The disyllabic verb *ōudǎ* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to less marked monosyllabic verbs such as *dǎ* 打 (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, LÜ, IG, RCUV), *guó* (HS), and *jī* 擊 (IG), all of which denote “strike.” The perfective *-le* (CNT) is not preferable because it does not reflect the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek. Although grammatically acceptable, stylistic considerations exclude the use of imperfective morphemes such as *zài* or *-zhe*.

**δεδεμένον** (v. 24) The stative aspect may be represented in Mandarin by either *-zhe* (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, TCV, CPB, RCUV) or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (using a four-character phrase such as *kǔn-bǎng-shù-fù* 捆綁束縛, “bind and shackle”). Here, the two morphemes may be used interchangeably. The former is preferable because it morphologically marks the stative aspect. The latter is also preferable because it better

<sup>45</sup> See 3.2.5.2.c.α and 5.3.2.2.e.ε, pp. 124–26, 278–79 above. For a treatment of the first class conditional sentences, see 5.4.2, pp. 281–84.

<sup>46</sup> See 5.1.2, pp. 219–22 above.

reflects the discourse function of the Greek perfect tense-form as a foregrounding device. However, the final choice was made to employ *-zhe* because the four-character set phrase makes the sentence heavier than necessary.

The MSV, on other hand, has *yǐjīng bèi rén kǔn-qǐlái-le* (“already been tied up”), using the heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound *qǐlái-le* (RVC-*le*). The expression is not preferable because the compound does not reflect the stative aspect that is signaled by the Greek perfect participle.

#### 6.2.4. Peter Denies Jesus Again (John 18:25–27) 彼得又矢口否認耶穌

This pericope continues from Peter’s first denial of Jesus (vv. 15–18). The aorist tense-forms are used to move the narrative forward (vv. 25–26) and conclude the discourse unit (v. 27). The present tense-forms are used to describe Peter warming himself (v. 25; the same verb form used in v. 18) and to introduce the question addressed to Peter by the servant of the high priest (v. 26). The perfect tense-form is used to highlight Peter as he stood by the charcoal fire (v. 25), a repetition of the periphrastic construction that appeared in v. 18.

Ἦν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος. εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ· μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἶ; ἡρνήσατο ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ εἰμί. λέγει εἷς ἐκ τῶν δούλων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, συγγενὴς ὧν οὗ ἀπέκοψεν Πέτρος τὸ ὠτίον· οὐκ ἐγώ σε εἶδον ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μετ’ αὐτοῦ; πάλιν οὖν ἡρνήσατο Πέτρος, καὶ εὐθέως ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν. (18:25–27)

此刻西門彼得仍是比肩而立地暖著身。有人開了口對他說：「你不也是他的門徒嗎？」他卻否認說：「我不是。」某一個大祭司的僕人，恰好是彼得削掉耳朵

那人的親屬，就開起了口說：「我不是看見你同他在園子裏嗎？」彼得又否認。隨即雞就啼了。

Cíkè Xīmén Bǐdé réng shì bǐ-jiān-'ér-lì de nuǎn-zhe shēn. Yǒurén kāi-le kǒu duì tā shuō, “Nǐ bù yěshì tā de méntú ma?” Tā què fǒurèn shuō, “Wǒ bù shì.” Mǒu yīge dàjīsī de púrén, qiàhǎo shì Bǐdé xiāo-diào ěrduo nà rén de qīnshǔ, jiù kāi-qǐ-le kǒu shuō, “Wǒ bùshì kàn-jiàn nǐ tóng tā zài yuánzi lǐ ma?” Bǐdé yòu fǒurèn. Suíjī jī jiù tí le.

Meanwhile, Simon Peter was standing and warming himself. Someone said to him, “Are you not his disciple?” But he denied, saying, “I am not.” A certain servant of the high priest, who happened to be the relative of the man whose ear Peter had chopped off, said, “Did I see you with him in the garden?” Again Peter denied. At that moment the rooster crowed.

ἦν...ἔστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος (v. 25) See v. 18.

εἶπον/εἶπεν The monosyllabic verb *shuō* (“say”) with the *ø* morpheme is used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. JOHNM, UV, CNT, LÜ, SB, NCV, RCUV, CSB) for both εἶπον and εἶπεν. However, for εἶπον, *-le* is preferable to the *ø* morpheme because of the shift in tense-form from the present (θερμαινόμενος) to aorist. On the other hand, the *ø* morpheme is preferable for εἶπεν since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἡρνήσατο (vv. 25, 27) As noted in chapter 3 above, the translator may *not* have the choice between using either monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs in Mandarin.<sup>47</sup> One common Mandarin translation for ἡρνήσατο is *fǒurèn* (“deny”; e.g. IG, HS, SB, LÜ,

<sup>47</sup> See the discussion of markedness and grounding in 3.2.5.1.b, pp. 117–20 above. In wenli style, however, translators do have the option to use monosyllabic verbs: *fú* 拂 (“oppose”; MOR, GÜ), *huì* 諱 (“conceal,” “avoid” GÜ 1840, SJ), *wěi* 諉 (“evade,” GURY), and *fēi* 非 (“deny,” CSV).

NCV, CPB, CSB), as presented in my translation. Here, the disyllabic verb is no more heavily marked than monosyllabic ones. However, the translator does have the option between using either the  $\emptyset$  morpheme or formally expressed perfective aspect morphemes (e.g. *-le*, RVCs). The former is preferable for both occurrences of the verb because it better reflects the less marked aorist tense-form in Greek. Also, there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

λέγει (v. 26; see also v. 17. As noted in 6.1.2 above, the same verb *kāikōu* with the two-morpheme aspect compound *-le-IDVC* is repeated here to provide textual cohesion to the previous episode of Peter's denial (vv. 15–18).

ἀπέκοψεν See v. 10.

εἶδον Most Mandarin versions use *kàn-jiàn* (“see,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, CNT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) with the RVC *jiàn*, which is suitable because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form.

ἐφώνησεν (v. 27; cf. v. 33) Most Mandarin versions use the monosyllabic verb *jiào/tí* *le* 叫/啼了 (“crow,” MSV, PK, UV, SYD, CNT, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Because *le* is placed at the end of the sentence, it is used as a modal particle, as opposed to a perfective aspect marker.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, one does not have the option to use the aspect marker *-le* here, since *jiào-le le* would be considered ungrammatical. However, the translator does have the option of using a monosyllabic or disyllabic verb—either with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme or an RVC.

Utilizing the monosyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because it better reflects the less heavily marked Greek aorist tense-form in Greek, which is used here to

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<sup>48</sup> See the discussion of *le* in 3.2.5.2.c.α, pp.124–26 above.



conclude the episode (vv. 25–27). In addition, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

#### 6.2.5. Trial before Pilate (18:28–19:16a) 耶穌在彼拉多前受審

This pericope may be divided into six sub-sections (18:28–32, 33–38a, 38b–40; 19:1–5, 6–7, 8–16a). Smaller discourse boundaries, as noted in 6.1.2, are marked by the conjunctives οὐν (19:33–38a; 19:1–7, 8–16a) or καί (18:38b–40). The aorist tense-forms are used to set the scene for each sub-section (18:28b, 33, 38b; 19:1, 6, 8), move the narrative forward (19:29–37, 39–40, 19:2, 4–5, 7, 9, 11–13, 15), and conclude the entire pericope (19:16a). The imperfect tense-forms are used to depict the following: Jesus' attitude toward his own death (18:32), the disciples' intention to prevent Jesus' arrest (18:36), the soldiers' violence against Jesus (19:3), Jesus' comment regarding Pilate's earthly power (19:11), and Pilate's effort to release Jesus (19:12).

The present tense-forms are used extensively in this pericope to draw special attention to the following key items: the opening of the new pericope (18:28), the verbal exchanges between Pilate and Jesus' accusers (18:29–31, 38–39; 19:4, 6–7, 12, 15) as well as between Pilate and Jesus (18:34, 37; 19:10–11), Jesus' prediction of his own death (18:32), the introduction of Pilate's speeches (18:38a, 38b; 19:4–5, 9–10, 14–15), the soldiers' mock greetings to Jesus (19:3), the crown of thorns and purple robe that Jesus was wearing (19:5), the introduction of the direct statements made by Jesus' accusers (19:6, 12), and the location of Pilate's judgment seat (19:13). In addition, two discourse markers, ἵδε/ἰδοῦ (19:4–5; cf. 18:21), reinforce the significance of Pilate's statements at the presentation of Jesus to his accusers.

The perfect tense-forms are reserved to highlight three key items: Jesus' response to Pilate regarding his kingship (18:37), Pilate's disapproval at Jesus' refusal to answer his question (19:10), and Jesus' comments in response to Pilate's claim of power (19:11).

Ἀγουσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον· ἦν δὲ πρωΐ· καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα. ἔξῃλθεν οὖν ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἔξω πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ φησὶν· τίνα κατηγορίαν φέρετε [κατὰ] τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου; ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακὸν ποιῶν, οὐκ ἂν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν. (18:28–30)

他們再來就拉著耶穌從該亞法那裏到總督官邸內。那時天還早。他們自己卻不進官邸，深怕萬一要是受染了，不能吃到逾越節的筵席。彼拉多就到外頭來告訴他們說：「你們憑什麼在控訴這人呢？」他們對他答說：「假設他不是作惡的，我們就絕對不把他交給你了。」

Tāmen zàilái jiù lā-zhe Yēsū cóng Gāiyǎfǎ nàlǐ dào zǒngdū guāndǐ nèi. Nàshí tiān hái zǎo. Tāmen zìjǐ què bù jìn guāndǐ, shēnpà wànyī yàoshì shòu rǎn-le, bù néng chī-dào yúyuè jié de yánxí. Bǐlādū jiù dào wàitou lái gào sù tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen píng shénme zài kòngsù zhè rén ne?” Tāmen duì tā dá shuō, “Jiǎshè tā bù shì zuò'è de, wǒmen jiù juéduì bù bǎ tā jiāogěi-le nǐ le.”

They brought Jesus from Caiaphas' place to the governor's headquarters. It was still early. They themselves did not enter the headquarters for fear that they might be defiled, so they could not enjoy the Passover meal. Pilate then went outside and spoke to them, “What charges are you bringing against this man?” They answered him, “If he is not someone who does evil, we would certainly not have sent him to you here.”

ἄγουσιν (v. 28) The shift in tense-form from the aorist to present marks the beginning of a new pericope. Here, most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the present tense-form (UV, SYD, ZHU, CNT, IG, HSC, BT, SB, LÜ, CLB, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, DCT, CSB), with only a few exceptions. HS has *lǐng-chū* 領出 (“lead out”) using the RVC *chū*, which is not preferable because it expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin. A few earlier versions have *lā-zhe* (“bringing,” lit. “dragging,” MSV, PK, JOHNM) and *dài-zhe* 帶著 (“carrying”) with *-zhe*, which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically expresses the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form.

εἰσῆλθον The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here because the translator does not have the option to use *-le* due to the restriction that *-le* cannot occur in negative sentences that are signaled by adverbs *bù* (“not”) or *méiyǒu* (“have not”) in non-interrogative sentences.<sup>49</sup>

Other perfective aspect morphemes such as RVCs or *-guò*, while grammatically acceptable, are not suitable in this context.

πραιτώριον (see also v. 33, 19:9) The governor’s headquarters (or praetorium) is translated into Chinese in no less than a dozen different ways. Some terms, such as *gōngtáng* 公堂 (“court,” MOR, MAR, JOHN, JOHNM, BB), *gōngxiè* 公廨 (“government agency,” DV, GURY, BCV, UVW, UVB, SJ), *yámén* 衙門 (“yamen,” GÜ, PK, UV, WANG, BT), *fāngbó yámén* 方伯衙門 (“provincial official’s yamen,” SYD, ZHU), *dūyuán* 督轅 (“governor’s yamen,” WV), *huángshěng zhǎngfǔ/gōngguǎn* 皇省長府/公館 (“imperial governor’s residence”/“residence,” LÜ), *dūshǔ* 督署 (“office of a viceroy,” SL-MOR), *dūyuàn* 督院 (“governor’s court,” HSC), and *guānshǔ* 官署 (“government office,” GO), are no longer current in modern Chinese. Other terms, such

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<sup>49</sup> See 3.2.5.2.c.α, p. 126 above.

as *zǒngdū guāndǐ* (“governor general’s official residence,” JRV, CBT, NCV), *guāndǐ* (“official residence,” JCV, TRNT), *zǒngdū fǔ* 總督府 (“governor general’s mansion,” IG, CNT, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), and *cáipànsuǒ* 裁判所 (“tribunal,” HS), are preferable because they are still widely used today.

μῖανθῶσιν The aspect marker *-le* (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, SB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. Here, the passive construction formed by the particle *shòu* is suitable for the translation of the passive voice in Greek.<sup>50</sup>

φάγωσιν The RVC *dào* (IG) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, LÜ, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, DCT, RCUV, CSB) because it morphologically expresses the perfective aspect of the aorist. Auxiliary verbs, such as *néng* (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, IG, SB, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), *yào* (TCV), *yuàn yào* (“wish,” “want,” BT), or *hǎo* (CNT, HSC, LÜ), are necessary additions to the verb *chī* (“eat”) in order to convey the projection signaled by the subjunctive mood in Greek.<sup>51</sup>

ἐξῆλθεν (v. 29; see also v.1) As in v. 1, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here since there is no shift in tense-form in the Greek to justify the use of a formally marked perfective aspect morpheme.

Πιλᾶτος As mentioned in the introduction, Pilate was transcribed as *Píluódūsī* 毗羅都思 in the *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra* (v. 190f), a close representation of the Syriac ܡܠܟܐ.

<sup>50</sup> See the discussion on *στανρωθῆ* (19:16a), p. 376 below. See also example (20) in chapter 4, pp. 209–11.

<sup>51</sup> For discussions of the subjunctive mood in Greek and its translation into Mandarin, see 5.2.1, pp. 227–36.

Catholic missionaries use *Bìlādūō* 比辣多 (Ortiz, SL-MOR, WV), *Bóduōlù* 伯多祿 (IG), and *Bīlādūō* 比拉多 (CNT, HSC, SB, CPB).<sup>52</sup> The Orthodox Chinese New Testament has *Pīlāiè* 批拉特 (GURY). Now Pilate is most commonly referred to as *Bīlādūō* 彼拉多 (MOR, MAR, GÜ, DV, GO, BCV, MSV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, CSV, BB, SJ, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, TCV, NCV, RCUV), a closer phonetic representation of the Greek that has been adopted by major Protestant Chinese versions since the early nineteenth century.

κατηγορίαν φέρετε The majority of Mandarin versions use *gào* 告 (“accuse,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, RCUV) or *ná* 拿 (“bring,” LÜ, TCV, CRV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is acceptable but not as good as the imperfective morphemes, namely, *zài* and RVCs (e.g. *chū*, SB, CSB). *Zài* is preferable to RVCs because it reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-form in Greek.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 30) See v. 5.

εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος...αὐτόν This is a contrary to fact conditional statement; see the discussion of example (32) in 5.4.3.

ἦν...κακὸν ποιῶν (see also 5.3.2.1.b., 5.4.3 above) Some versions (including those in wenli) treat the periphrasis as a finite verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, for example, *fēnzui* (MAR, GÜ, BCV), *zuò è* (NCV, RCUV), and *zuò huàishì* (TCV), all of which denote “commit crime” or “do evil (matters).” Although his New Testament version was written in wenli, Morrison uses the Mandarin perfective aspect marker *-le*, which does not reflect the imperfective aspect of the present participle. Others render it as a substantive, such as

<sup>52</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*. Catholic translation of the Apostle’s Creed reads: *Wǒ xìn qí shòunàn. Yú Bānqiǎo Bīlādūō jūguān shí. Bèi dīng shízìjià.* 我信其受難。於般雀比辣多居官時。被釘十字架。 (“I believe that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was crucified”). See also comments on ἐσταυρώθη in 19:20.

*dǎitú* 歹徒 (HS), *èlèi* 惡類 (WV), and *èrén* 惡人 (GURY), all of which denote “evildoer.” Some take it as an adjective, such as *wúzuì* 無罪 (“innocent,” DV). Still others (SYD, ZHU, LÜ, SB) employ the construction *shì...de*, which is preferable for translating Greek periphrastic constructions into Mandarin.

παρεδώκαμεν (see also v. 35; 19:16a, 30) The aspect marker *-le* is preferable here mainly because it is used in the apodosis of a conditional sentence and in a direct quotation.

εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν. εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα· ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἤμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν.  
(18:31–32)

彼拉多反而對他們說：「你們自行把他帶走吧！按照你們的律法審他。」猶太人對他說：「我們無權殺死人。」〈這乃是為了要應驗耶穌所說過的話，也就是自己將要在什麼情況下而逝世。〉

Bǐlādū fǎn'ér duì tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen zìxíng bǎ tā dài-zǒu ba! Ànzhào nǐmen de lǚfǎ shěn tā.” Yóutàirén duì tā shuō, “Wǒmen wúquán shā-sǐ rén.” (Zhè nǎishì wèile yào yìngyàn Yēsū suǒ shuō-guò dehuà: yějiù shì zìjǐ jiāngyào zài shénme qíngkuàng xià ér shìshì).

Pilate, however, said to them, “Take him away yourself! Judge him according to your law.” The Jews responded, “We have no right to kill anyone.” (This was to fulfill what Jesus has said: that is, under which condition he was going to die).

εἶπεν (vv. 31–32) See v. 25.

λάβετε (v. 31; cf. 19:1, 6, 16b) The RVC *zǒu* (TCV, CLB, CPB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, UV, SYD, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV) because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek. Also, the aorist is used in a direct quotation of Pilate's speech.

κρίνατε Most Mandarin versions employ the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist imperative, for example *shěnwèn* 審問 (“interrogate,” MSV, UV, SYD, NCV), *shěnpàn* 審判 (“try [a legal case],” LÜ), and *chǔzhì* 處置 (“dispose of,” CPB). The CLB adds *qù* (*qù chǔlǐ* 去處理, “go deal with”), which is an acceptable way to indicate commands in Mandarin (see comments on ἐρώτησον in v. 21). Here, monosyllabic verbs such as *shěn* (“judge”) are preferable to disyllabic ones, because they better reflect the least heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is also preferable because there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme (cf. 19:1, 6).

ἀποκτεῖναι The RVC *sǐ* (“die,” *chǔsǐ* 處死, “sentence to death,” BT, SB, CPB, CSB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ, CLB, TCV, NCV) because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist infinitive.

πληρωθῇ (v. 32) See v. 9.

ἤμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν (cf. 19:7) This is a catenative construction (see 5.3.1.4 above). Here, formally expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not available to the translator, because expressions such as *jiāng zài sǐ* or *huì sǐ-zhe* are ungrammatical. Most Mandarin versions use auxiliary verbs such as *jiāng/jiāngyào* (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, IG, HS, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), *huì* (CLB), *bìyào*

(SYD, ZHU), or *gāi* (HSC) for the imperfect (ἤμελλεν), and the monosyllabic verb *sǐ* (“die”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the present (ἀποθνήσκειν). The CNT, on the other hand, has *yào zāoshòu sǐwáng* 要遭受死亡 (“will suffer death”), which is not recommended for translating a Greek present active infinitive verb. Still, SB uses the RVC *qù* for ἀποθνήσκειν, which is not preferable because it does not reflect the aspect of the Greek. Therefore, the disyllabic verb *shìshì* (“die”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a more suitable choice for translating the present infinitive in Greek.

Εἰσῆλθεν οὖν πάλιν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἐφώνησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ σὺ τοῦτο λέγεις ἢ ἄλλοι εἶπόν σοι περὶ ἐμοῦ; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλάτος· μήτι ἐγὼ Ἰουδαῖός εἰμι; τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς παρέδωκάν σε ἐμοί· τί ἐποίησας; (18:33–35)

於是彼拉多回總督官邸去。把耶穌叫來，問他說：「你是不是猶太王？」耶穌答說：「這句話是你自己在說，還是別人對你說過有關我的事呢？」彼拉多答說：「我還是個猶太人不成？是你的同胞以及祭司長把你交给了我。你幹了什麼事？」

Yúshì Bǐlādūo huí zǒngdū guāndǐ qù. Bǎ Yēsū jiào lái, wèn tā shuō, “Nǐ shìbúshì Yóutàiwáng?” Yēsū dá shuō, “Zhè jù huà shì nǐ zìjǐ zài shuō, háishi biéren duì nǐ shuō-guò yǒuguān wǒ de shì ne?” Bǐlādūo dá shuō, “Wǒ háishige Yóutàirén bùchéng? Shì nǐ de tóngbāo yǐjí jìsīzhǎng bǎ nǐ jiāogěi-le wǒ. Nǐ gàn-le shénme shì?”

Again, Pilate went into the governor’s headquarters. He called for Jesus, asking him, “Are you the King of the Jews?” Jesus answered, “Are you saying this yourself, or did



others talk about me?” Pilate said, “Am I a Jew? It was your people and chief priests who sent you to me. What did you do?”

εἰσῆλθεν (v. 33; cf. v. 1.) Rather than *you* 又 (“again”), which is used in most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB), εἰσῆλθεν...πάλιν should be rendered either by the verb *huí* 回 (“[Pilate] went *back* into”) with DVCs such as *qù* or *dào* (SYD, ZHU, CNT, CLB), or by *zǒu* 走 (“walked back to,” HS) with the DVC *huí*.<sup>53</sup>

ἐφώνησεν (cf. v. 26) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. For the same reason, the following verb (εἶπεν) is rendered by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

εἶπεν The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἀπεκρίθη (vv. 34–35; also vv. 36–37) See v. 5.

λέγεις (v. 34) Most Mandarin versions translate the present form by either *shuō* (“say,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, IG, HSC, HS, SB, LÜ, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) or *wèn* (“ask,” SYD, ZHU, CNT) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. However, *zài* is preferable because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek.

εἶπον (cf. v. 8) In contrast to εἶπεν in v. 33 where the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used, the aorist is used here within the quoted speech of Jesus, which justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective morpheme. Also, *-guò* provides a better contrast to the present tense-form (λέγεις) used in the same quotation of Jesus here.

<sup>53</sup> See Morris, *Gospel*, 679 n.78. Morris also adds other examples in John 6:15 and 10:40.

παρέδωκαν (v. 35; cf. v. 30; 19:16a, 30) The aorist is used here in a direct quotation of Pilate's verbal exchanges with Jesus. Here, *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς See v. 3.

ἐποίησας (cf. 19:7, 23–24) Formally expressed perfective morphemes are preferable here, because the aorist is used here as part of a direct statement. The perfective aspect markers *-guò* (PK, JOHMN) and *-le* (UV, WANG, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, HS, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB) may be used interchangeably here, for they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek. SYD and ZHU, apparently mistaking the aorist indicative for a participle, have *Nǐ zuò de shì shénme shì ne?* 你做的是甚麼事呢? (“What is it that you did?”), which is not preferable here because *shì...de* is normally reserved for the translation of Greek periphrastic constructions in Mandarin.<sup>54</sup>

ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ, οἱ ὑπηρέται οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο [ἄν] ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. (18:36)  
耶穌答說：「我的王國並不屬於這個世界。我的王國假設是直屬這世界的話，我的手下豈不就早爲了避免我遭猶太人逮到而抵抗了下去呢？所以說，我的王國並非出於此處。」

Yēsū dá shuō, “Wǒ de wángguó bìngbù shǔyú zhège shìjiè. Wǒ de wángguó jiǎshè shì zhíshǔ zhè shìjiè dehuà, wǒ de shǒuxià qībù jiù zǎo wèile bìmiǎn wǒ zāo Yóutàirén dài-dào ér dǐkàng-le-xiàqù ne? Suǒyǐ shuō, wǒ de wángguó bìngfēi chūyú cǐchù.

<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the MSV has *Nǐ guǒrán shì zuò shénme de* 你果然是做什麼的 (“What exactly did you do?”).

Jesus replied, “My kingdom does not belong to this world. If my kingdom were to belong to this world, my subordinates would have been fighting to prevent me being captured by the Jews, wouldn’t they? Therefore, my kingdom does not come from here.”

ἀπεκρίθη (also v. 37) See v. 5.

εἰ ἐκ τοῦ...τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· Second class conditional clause (see 5.4.3 above).<sup>55</sup>

ἡγωνίζοντο [ἄν] Many Mandarin versions add an auxiliary verb such as *yào/bìyào/bì*

or *huì* to the verbs *zhēngzhàn* 爭戰 (“fight,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CRV),

*zhànzhēng/zhàndòu* 戰爭/戰鬥 (“go to war,” ZHU, LÜ, RCUV), *zuòzhàn* 作戰 (“do

battle,” NCV), or *dǐkàng/fǎnkàng* 抵抗/反抗 (“resist,” CNT, IG) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

As noted in 5.4.3 above, Mandarin auxiliary verbs are not preferable for the rendering of

the indicative verb in Greek conditional clauses. Nevertheless, a few versions that do not

use auxiliary verbs add adverbs such as *zǎoyǐ* 早已 (“already,” SB) or *yīdìng* 一定

(“certainly,” TCV), perhaps in an attempt to convey past-time reference or modal use of

the imperfect tense-form in the protasis of the contrary to fact conditional statement (see

5.4.3). HSC adds the perfective aspect marker *-le*, which does not reflect the imperfect

aspect of the Greek. The two-morpheme aspect compound *-le-IDVC* (with no additional

adverb or auxiliary verb) works best here because it morphologically reflects both the

aspect and more heavily marked imperfect tense-form in Greek. The addition of the

adverb *zǎo* is necessary here in order to express conceptual distance in Mandarin.

παραδοθῶ Some versions use the conjunctive *zhìyú* 至於 (“as to”) and the passive

construction formed by the particle *bèi* to render the aorist passive subjunctive (UV, LÜ,

<sup>55</sup> The particle ἄν is supported by several major uncials, including Ɱ A B<sup>2</sup> D<sup>s</sup> Θ M L W Ψ. Interestingly, the original reading of the Codex Vaticanus (fourth century; B\*) does not contain the particle. Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 310.

SB, NCV, CRV, RCUV).<sup>56</sup> The *bèi* construction, although grammatically acceptable, makes the sentence sound unnatural and very awkward in Mandarin. The passive construction formed by the particle *zāo*, on the other hand, works much better here. However, a few other versions that render the verb phrase with active construction in Mandarin, for example, *shǐ wǒ bù zhìyú luò zài* 使我不至於落在 (“so that to prevent me from falling into...,” TCV) or *bù ràng wǒ luò dào* 不讓我落到 (“so that to prevent me from falling into...,” CPB), are nevertheless considered acceptable.

The RVC *dào* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) for it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist subjunctive. In addition, the shift in tense-form from the imperfect (ἡγωνίζοντο) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος· οὐκ οὖν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι. ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκούει μου τῆς φωνῆς. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος· τί ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια; (18:37–38a)

彼拉多然後問他說：「那麼，難道你就是國王嗎？」耶穌回答說：「是你自己在說的：我就是國王。我正是這個緣故而聖誕降生、親自降臨於世上，如此我好為真理作證；凡屬真理的人，一切都聽著我的話。」彼拉多質問耶穌說：「何謂真理？」

Bīlādūo ránhòu wèn tā shuō, “Nàme, nándào Nǐ jiùshì guówáng ma?” Yēsū huídá shuō, “Shì nǐ zìjǐ zài shuō de: wǒ jiùshì guówáng. Wǒ zhèngshì zhège yuángù ér shèng-dàn-

<sup>56</sup> For further discussions of the passive construction in Mandarin, see the commentary on σταυρωθῆναι (19:16a), p. 376 below.

jiàng-shēng, qīn-zì-jiàng-lín yú shìshàng, rúcǐ wǒ hǎo wèi zhēnlǐ zuòzhèng; fán shǔ  
zhēnlǐ de rén, yīqiè dōu tīng-zhe wǒ dehuà.” Bīlādūō zhíwèn Yēsū shuō, “Héwèi zhēnlǐ?”  
Pilate again asked him, saying, “So, are you the king?” Jesus replied, “This is what you  
said: I am the king. For this very reason I was born a holy child, personally coming into  
this world, so that I may testify to the truth; the one who belongs to the truth, listens to  
everything (I say).” Pilate asked Jesus, “What is truth?”

εἶπεν (v. 37) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here because up to this point there is no  
shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective morpheme. In vv.  
33–37, direct quotations are introduced by two aorists, εἶπεν and ἀπεκρίθη.

ἀπεκρίθη See v. 5.

λέγεις See v. 34.

γεγέννημαι The perfect passive indicative is translated as *shēng* 生 (“to be born”  
MOR, MAR, GÜ, DV, GO, BCV, SJ, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, SB, CLB,  
TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB), *dànshēng* 誕生 (“coming into being,” IG, CPB),  
*chūshēng* 出生 (“born,” LÜ), *jiàngshēng* 降生 (“born,” PK, JOHNM, BB, HSC), or  
*tóushēng* 投生 (“conceived to be born,” HS) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Ricci has used the  
expression *tuō-tāi-jiàng-shēng* 託胎降生 (lit. “born a fetus”), a four-character set phrase  
commonly referring to the birth of the founder of a religion.<sup>57</sup> The expressions *jiàngdàn*  
降誕 (“born”) and *shìnǚ dànshèng* 室女誕聖 (lit. “born a holy child of a virgin”) also  
appear on the Nestorian Stele, the former with reference to the birth of Tang Emperor  
Tai-Tsung (reigns from 763–79 C.E.) and the latter to that of Jesus. The four-character  
set phrase *shèng-dàn-jiàng-shēng* (“born a holy child”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme precisely

<sup>57</sup> Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, 448, line 580. See also example (29) in chapter 5.

translates the aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek. This verb is left untranslated in Basset's version (SL-MOR).

**ἐλήλυθα** Closely related to γεγέννημαι, ἐλήλυθα is translated by verbs such as *rù* 入 (“enter,” MOR), *lín* 臨 (“arrive,” DV, GO, JOHN, BB, SJ), *jiàng* 降 (“descend,” WV), and *lái* 來 (“come,” SL-MOR) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in several wenli versions.<sup>58</sup> The majority of Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *lái dào* 來到 (UV, IG, BT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CLB, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) and *dào lái* 到來 (PK, JOHNM, SYD, ZHU).<sup>59</sup> Again, when used with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, the four-character phrase *qīn-zì-jiàng-lín* (“come in person”) is preferable because it corresponds to the discourse function of the perfect tense-form in Greek.

**ἀκούει** Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *tīng* (“hear,” e.g. MSV, UV, SYD, IG, LÜ, TCV, CRV, RCUV) and *tīngcóng* 聽從 (“obey,” e.g. SB, CLB, CPB). The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form. Some versions add the auxiliary verb *bì* or *bìyào* (PK, JOHNM, SYD, ZHU, HSC, HS), which is not preferable since ἀκούει is in the indicative mood.

**λέγει** (v. 38a) See vv. 4, 17.

Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πάλιν ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν. ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἵνα ἓνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα· βούλεσθε οὖν ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

<sup>58</sup> Ricci has *qīn lái jiù shì* 親來救世 (“come in person to save the world”). Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, 448, line 580.

<sup>59</sup> The DVCs *dào* and *lái* used here do not convey aspect but only give spatial directions to the action.

ἐκραύγασαν οὖν πάλιν λέγοντες· μὴ τοῦτον ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαραββᾶν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαραββᾶς ληστής. (18:38b–40)

說完這話之後，他又走出來，對著猶太人的面前發言：「我在他身上尚未發覺罪狀。然而照著你們的規矩，我答應在逾越節的時候要釋放一個人給你們。就這麼說，你們是不是有意思要我放了『猶太王』給你們呢？」於是他們又嚷嚷說著：「不要這個傢伙！要巴拉巴！」這巴拉巴原來是個強盜。

Shuō-wán zhè huà zhīhòu, tā yòu zǒuchū lái, duìzhe Yóutàirén de miànqián fāyán, “Wǒ zài tā shēnshàng shàngwèi fājué zuìzhuàng. Rán’ér zhàozhe nǐmen de guīju, wǒ dāying zài Yúyuèjié de shíhòu yào shìfàng yīge rén gěi nǐmen. Jiù zhème shuō, nǐmen shìbushì yǒu yìsi yào wǒ fàng-le ‘Yóutàiwáng’ gěi nǐmen ne?” Yúshì tāmen yòu rāng-rāng shuō-zhe, “Bùyào zhège jiāhuo! Yào Bālāba!” Zhè Bālāba yuánlái shì ge qiángdào.

After finishing saying these, he came out again, and spoke to the Jews: “I find no crime in him. However, according to your custom, I promise to release one person during the Passover. So now, do you wish that I release the ‘King of the Jews’ to you?” Once again they cried out, saying, “We don’t want this fellow! We want Barabbas!” This Barabbas was a robber.

εἰπὼν (v. 38b) As in 18:1, the RVC *wán* (“finish”) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it better reflects the aspect of the Greek. Also, the shift in tense-form from the present (λέγει, v. 38a) to the aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἐξῆλθεν See v. 1.

εὐρίσκω (see also 19:4, 6) Most Mandarin versions render the present tense-form with RVCs such as *chū/chūlái* (PK, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HS, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB,

NCV, CRV, DCT, RCUV, CSB), *dào* (IG), or *chū* (CNT), which do not reflect the imperfective aspect of the Greek. Interestingly, the author (presumably Bishop Alopên) of the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* (v. 193) offers a better translation by using *jiàn* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for this verb: *Qí rén bù dāng sǐzuì. Wǒ shí bù wén bu jiàn. Qí rén bù hé dāng sǐ* 其人不當死罪。我實不聞不見。其人不合當死 (“This man does not deserve death. Indeed, I was not informed of such, nor did I find it. This man ought not to die.”).<sup>60</sup> However, the disyllabic verb, *fājué* (“find”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, is preferable here because it reflects the aspect and the more heavily marked feature of the present tense-form in Greek.

ἀπολύσω (v. 39) The auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (MSV, UV, WANG, ZHU, IG, LÜ, TCV, NCV, RCUV) or *gāi* (SB, CPB) are necessary additions for expressing volition in Mandarin. Some versions simply use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme without the auxiliaries (e.g. HSC, CNT), which is not preferable for translating non-indicative moods in Greek. The aspect marker *-le* and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are both suitable translations for the aorist, although the former is stylistically a better choice for the second occurrence of ἀπολύσω.

ἐκραύγασαν...λέγοντες (v. 40; see also 19:6, 12, 15) Several Mandarin versions render the perfective aspect in Greek with the imperfective morpheme: *-zhe* (*rǎng-zhe* 嚷著, “be shouting,” LÜ and *hǎn-zhe* 喊著, “be yelling,” UV, IG, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV) or *qǐlái* (喊叫起來, “be crying out,” CNT). A few others use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme: *dàshēng hǎn shuō* 大聲喊說 (“shout loudly and say,” SB), *dà hǎn* 大喊 (“shout,” TCV), *hǎnjiào shuō* 喊叫說 (“shout and say,” PK, JOHNM, WANG, HSC), and *jiàorǎng shuō* 叫嚷說

<sup>60</sup> My translation. The *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* continues with the statement of Pilate, *wǒ shí bùnéng shā qí rén* 我實不能煞其人 (“I really cannot kill this man,” v. 196; for the verse division, I follow Saeki). In his translation, Saeki provides the paraphrase “I discovered no cause to kill this man.” This idea may be implied in the context but is absent in the Chinese text. See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 145.



(“clamor and say,” HS), all of which correspond to the perfective aspect of the Greek. However, the verb forms *rāng-rāng* (lit. “shout-shout”) and *shuō-zhe* (“be saying”) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they both morphologically reflect the aspect of the Greek: verb reduplication reflects the perfective aspect of ἐκράυγασαν, whereas *-zhe* reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by λέγοντες.

Τότε οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐμαστίγωσεν. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον αὐτόν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ἔλεγον· χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· καὶ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ῥαπίσματα. (19:1–3)

於是彼拉多將耶穌帶走，並且鞭打他。幾名士兵用荊棘編成冠冕，戴在他頭上，又給他披上紫袍，到他面前去，一邊走著，一邊說著：「猶太王萬歲！」然後他們就給他一個耳光打了下去。

Yúshì Bǐlādūo jiāng Yēsū dài-zǒu, bìngqiē biāndǎ tā. Jǐmíng shìbīng yòng jīngjí biān-chéng guānmiǎn, dài zài tā tóushàng, yòu gěi tā pī-shàng zǐpáo, dào tā miànqián qù, yībiān zǒu-zhe, yībiān shuō-zhe: “Yóutàiwáng wànsuì!” Ránhòu tāmen jiù gěi tā yīge ěrguāng dǎ-le-xiàqù.

Then Pilate took Jesus away, and flogged him. Some soldiers used thorns to make a crown and put it on his head, and then dressed him in a purple robe. They walked toward him and said, “Long live the King of the Jews!” Then they slapped him in the face.

ἔλαβεν (v. 1; cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:6, 16b, 23, 27, 30, 40) The shift in tense-form from the present (λέγοντες, 18:40) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme here (in this case, an RVC). Most Mandarin version use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, UV, IG, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, RCUV), with the a few exceptions

which use RVCs (*jū-zhù* 拘住, BT, HSC “seized”; *shōu-xià* 收下 “arrested,” HS; *dài-zǒu*, “took way,” CSB).

ἐμαστίγωσεν While *-le* may be an option, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable since there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

πλέξαντες (v. 2) The perfective aspect of the aorist participle is translated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*biānzuo* 編作, “weave,” PK, UV, JOHNM, SYD, LÜ), the RVC *chéng* (*biān-chéng*, TCV), and the perfective *-le* (*biān-le*, CNT, HSC, RCUV), all of which are acceptable, although the RVC works best here because it morphologically reflects both the aspect and the less heavily marked feature of the aorist tense-form in Greek.

Although there is no shift in tense-form here, formally expressed perfective tense-forms are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they provide those three aorist tense-forms in v. 2 a better contrast to the soldier’s actions which are described in three imperfect tense-forms in v. 3.

ἐπέθηκαν Most Mandarin versions use *dài* (“wear,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, SYD, HSC, LÜ, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the aorist. The TCV uses the stative aspect marker *-zhe*, which does not reflect perfective aspect of the Greek.

περιέβαλον The RVC *shàng* is preferable (e.g. *chuān-shàng* 穿上, “put on,” PK, UV, RCUV, *pī-shàng*, “throw on,” LÜ, CSB) to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist in Greek.

ἦρχοντο (v. 3) Most versions have the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the imperfect tense-form: for example, *āijìn* 挨近 (“get close to,” UV) and *dào* 到 (“go,” HSC). The expressions *jiējìn*

*de láidào* 接續地來到 (“continue to come,” LÜ), *yīzài* 一再 (“again and again,” DCT),<sup>61</sup> and *bùduàn de láidào* 不斷地來到 (“come ceaselessly,” CSB) are obvious attempts to express the iterative sense of the *Aktionsart*, which must be dismissed here. The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by the imperfect tense-form in Greek. The DVC *qù* (“away,” “be at a distance of”) may be added in order to convey conceptual remoteness grammaticalized by the two imperfect tense-forms in v. 3.

ἔλεγον The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, UV, SYD, ZHU, CNT, IG, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the imperfect tense-form in Greek.

χαῖρε The present imperative is best translated as *wànsuì* (“long live (the king)!”) or lit. “ten thousand years (added to your life)!” SYD, WANG, HS, SB, LÜ, CLB, TCV, NCV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB; also in Japanese versions (in the same Chinese characters): *banzai* ばんざい, JCV, JRV, 万歳 CBT). Some versions have *yuàn...ān* 願 . . . 安 (DV), *qǐng...de ān* 請 . . . 的安 (MSV, PK, JOHNN), or *qǐngān* 請安 (HSC), which are in fact conventional terms used primarily for Chinese epistolary salutations (see also example (18) in chapter 5). Other terms may also be considered acceptable, including *gōngxǐ/gōnghè* 恭喜/恭賀 (“Congratulations!” SL-MOR, MOR, UV, BT, CNT, ZHU) and *yuànnǐ xīlè* 願你喜樂 (“We wish you happiness!” CRV).

ἐδίδουσιν...ῥαπίσματα (cf. ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα in 18:22) Most versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate the imperfect. LÜ has *zhí gěi tā ěrguāzi* 直給他耳刮子 (“kept on giving him slaps in the face”), which is a deliberate attempt to convey the iterative

<sup>61</sup> The word-for-word translation of the NIV. Similarly, Brown suggests, “time and time again they came up to him.” See Brown, *Gospel*, 875.

*Aktionsart* of the imperfect tense-form in Greek.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, the verb phrase *liánlián de guó Tā* 連連的搥祂 (“repeatedly slapped Him,” CLB) expresses the same *Aktionsart*.

These additions must be dismissed. Other versions simply use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, such as *yòng shǒuzhǎng dǎ tā* 用巴掌打他 (“struck him with the palms of their hands,” UV, SYD, HSC), *gěi Tā jǐgē bāzhǎng* 給祂幾個巴掌 (“gave Him a few slaps in the face,” IG), *guó Tā* 搥祂 (“slapped Him,” CLB 1998), and *dǎ Tā de liǎn* 打祂的臉 (“struck His face,” CNT). These are all acceptable translations of the imperfect, however, the more heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound *-le*-IDVC is a much better choice than the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, for it closely reflects both the aspect and the discourse function of the imperfect tense-form as the foregrounding device in Greek. In addition, the use of the two-morpheme aspect compound is justified by the shift in tense-form, that is, from the present ( $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ ) to the imperfect. Here, since conceptual remoteness has already been established by the DVC *qù* in v. 3, there is no need to make any more additions.

καὶ ἐξηλθεν πάλιν ἔξω ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἴδε ἄγω ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἔξω, ἵνα γνῶτε ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐξηλθεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔξω, φορῶν τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. (19:4–5)

接下來彼拉多再次走了出來，告訴他們說：「你們聽好！我帶著他到外邊來給你們，是要讓你們體會出，我在他身上尚未發覺罪狀。」隨後耶穌走了出來，頭戴著荊棘冠冕，身披著紫袍。彼拉多告訴他們說：「你們看好！這個人！」

Jiēxiàlái Bǐlādūo zàicì zǒu-le chūlái, gàosù tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen tīng-hǎo! wǒ dài-zhe tā dào wàibian lái gěi nǐmen, shì yào ràng nǐmen tīhuì-chū, wǒ zài tā shēnshàng shàngwèi

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, Keener, *Commentary*, 1120–21.

fājúé zuìzhuàng.” Suǐhòu Yēsū zǒu-le chūlái, tóudài-zhe jīngjí guānmiǎn, shēnpī-zhe zǐpáo. Bīlādūo gàosù tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen kàn-hǎo! Zhège rén!”

Pilate came out again and spoke to them, “Pay attention! I took him out to meet you, in order to let you know that I find no crime in him.” Then Jesus went out, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe. Pilate spoke to them, “Here, look! The man!”

ἐξῆλθεν (vv. 4–5; see also 18:4, 16; 19:17) The aspect marker *-le* is preferable for both occurrences because the shifts in tense-form from the imperfect (ἐδίδουσαν) to aorist (v. 4), and from the present (εὐρίσκω) to aorist (v. 5) justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἶδε (v. 4) See 18:21.

ᾶγω See v. 28.

γινώτε Most Mandarin versions add the auxiliary verbs *jiào* (MSV, PK, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV), *yào* (HS, CSB), *ràng* (TCV, NCV, CPB, RCUV), or *shǐ* (JOHNM, CNT, IG) to the verbs *zhīdào* (“know”), *xiǎodé* 晓得 (“understand”), or *míngbái* (“realize”) to convey volition, which is appropriate here.<sup>63</sup>

The RVC *chū* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist.

εὐρίσκω See 18:38.

φορεῖν (v. 5) In Mandarin, depending on the direct object, there are several verbs that denote the action of wearing. Here, two different verbs must be used, *dài* (“wear [a hat]”) and *pī* (“wear [clothes]”), to translate the same Greek word. The aspect marker *-zhe* (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, SYD, ZHU, IG, HSC, LÜ, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB) is preferable

<sup>63</sup> See also example (6) in chapter 5.

to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present participle.

λέγει See 18:4, 5; 19:5.

ἰδοῦ (see also ἴδε in 18:21, 19:4; 1 Cor 15:51) RVCs are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the same reason provided in the discussion on 18:21 above. While the verb form *tīng-hǎo* (“Listen up!” 18:21, 19:4) may be used again here, *kàn-hǎo* (“Here, look!” “Pay attention!”) is a better choice because Pilate is calling attention not only to what he is about to say but also to the person he is presenting in front of the crowd. Many Mandarin versions simply use a monosyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, for example, *qiáo* 瞧 (“look,” TCV), *kàn (na)* (“see,” “look,” IG, HSC, RCUV), *Nǐmén kàn (ba)* (“You take a look!” PK, SYD, WANG, CNT, CLB), all of which denote “see” or “look.”<sup>64</sup>

“Οτε οὖν εἶδον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἐκραύγασαν λέγοντες· σταύρωσον σταύρωσον. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλᾶτος· λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ σταυρώσατε· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν. ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀφείλει ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν. (19:6–7)

祭司長和差役一看見他，就嚷嚷說着：「把他釘死在十字架上！釘死了他！」  
彼拉多告訴他們說：「你們自個兒把他帶走，然後再去釘吧！我的確在他身上尚未發覺有什麼罪狀。」猶太人對他答說：「我們自有律法，依法而言他應該死，因為他把自己當成 神之子。」

<sup>64</sup> Newman and Nida note that “listen” is better than “look.” See Newman and Nida, *Handbook*, 576. In Mandarin, “listen” works better in exposition than narrative. See the discussion on 1 Cor 15:51 in my chapter 7.

Jīsīzhǎng hé chāiyì yī kàn-jiàn tā, jiù rāng-rǎng shuō-zhe, “Bǎ tā dīng-sǐ zài shízìjià shàng! Dīng-sǐ-le tā!” Bǐlādūō gàosù tāmen shuō, “Nǐmen zìgě bǎ tā dài-zǒu, ránhòu zài qù dīng ba! Wǒ díquē zài tā shēnshàng shàngwèi fājué yǒu shénme zuìzhuàng.” Yóutàirén duì tā dá shuō, “Wǒmen zìyǒu lǚfǎ, yīfǎ ér yán tā yīnggāi sǐ, yīnwèi tā bǎ zìjǐ dāng-chéng Shén zhīzǐ.

As soon as the chief priests and assistants saw him, they cried out loudly, “Crucify him! Crucify him!” Pilate answered them, “Take him away yourselves and then crucify him! Indeed I find no crime in him.” The Jews replied to him, “We have a law; according to that law, he must die, because he claimed to be the Son of God.”

εἶδον (v. 6) See 18:26.

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται As Brown has pointed out, the repetition of the definite article οἱ before the second noun preserves the separation of the two groups.<sup>65</sup> The CPB fails to see this significance and translates the second definite article οἱ as *tāmen de* (“their”).

ἐκράυγασαν λέγοντες See 18:40.

σταύρωσον σταύρωσον The *Jesus-Messiah Sūtra* uses the stative aspect marker *-zhe* (vv. 202–4) to record the event of Jesus being bound to a tree (*mùshàng fù-zhe* 木上縛著).<sup>66</sup> The term *shízì* (lit. “ten-word”), which first appeared with direct reference to the Crucifix on the Nestorian Stele, was used in all Chinese versions from Basset’s New Testament onward. The majority of Chinese versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to reflect the

<sup>65</sup> Brown, *Gospel*, 876. Brown adds that these two groups constitute “the Jews” mentioned in v. 7.

<sup>66</sup> The pronunciation given here is modern Mandarin. Karlgren gives the archaic reading [dʰʰak] for *-zhe*. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, 336. For a diachronic survey of the use of *-zhe*, see Ota, *Historical Grammar*, 223–25. cf. *shàng xuán gāo* 上懸高 (the *Discourse on Almsgiving*, v. 113). For an historical survey of the use of the cross in ancient China, see A.C. Moule, “Use of the Cross,” 78–86; Moule, *Nestorians in China*, 21f.

perfective aspect of the aorist imperatives: *Shídīng zhī, shídīng zhī* 十釘之、十釘之 (SL-MOR), *Dīng zhī shízìjià, dīng zhī shízìjià* (MOR, MAR, DV, GO, BCV, JOHN, SJ, GÜ)<sup>67</sup>, *Dīng zhī shíjià, dīng zhī shíjià* (UVW, UVB, UVE), *Dīng tā shízìjià, dīng tā shízìjià* (UV, CLB, CRV), *Dīng zhī dīng zhī* (GURY), *Dīng zhī yú shízìjià, dīng zhī yú shízìjià* (BB), *Dīng tā zài shízìjià shàng, dīng tā zài shízìjià shàng* (MSV, PK, JOHNM, WANG, SB),<sup>68</sup> *Dīng tā shízìjià shàng! Dīng tā shízìjià shàng!* (HSC), *Dīng shízìjià! Dīng shízìjià!* (SYD, ZHU, BT, LÜ, RCUV), *Bǎ tā dīng shízìjià! Bǎ tā dīng shízìjià!* (TCV, NCV), and *Bǎ tā dīng zài shízìjià shàng! Bǎ tā dīng zài shízìjià shàng!* (CPB, DCT). All of these phrases contain the same verb, *dīng* (“nail”), which expresses the idea “Crucify him” or literally, “Nail him onto the cross!” with slight variations in wording and emphases.

A few other versions, on the other hand, use the RVC *sǐ* (“die,” WV, IG, CNT) and *shàng* (“up,” HS, CSB). Although the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is acceptable, *dīng-sǐ* is preferable because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek. As Brown observes, the “double cry” reflects intensity, presenting the considerable hostility of the enemy.<sup>69</sup> In Chinese, repetition of the exact verb form—especially when the repeated verb immediately follows the main verb—does *not necessarily* ensure added emphasis, rather it often has the opposite effect on the reader or listener. One could argue that this is in part due to the close morphological resemblance between the repetition of verb forms and verb reduplication in Mandarin. As treated in 3.2.5.2.d above, verb reduplication is composed of a verb and its reduplicant. Although verb reduplication is

<sup>67</sup> GÜ adds the modal particle *yě* to the end of each verb phrase.

<sup>68</sup> SB omits the pronoun *tā* for the first verb.

<sup>69</sup> Brown, *Gospel*, 876.



used to grammaticalize the perfective aspect in Mandarin, it often occurs in contexts where the action may be described as short or insignificant in terms of duration and importance.<sup>70</sup> For example, the verb *yánjiū* 研究 denotes “research” or “examine,” but its reduplicated form *yánjiū-yánjiū* usually means “take a look” or “worry about (later).” Therefore, here it is suitable to use a heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound (e.g. RVC-*le*) for the second σταύρωσον and an RVC for the first, since the repetition of the exact Mandarin verb does not convey added emphasis (see also v. 15; cf. repetition of perfect tense-form in 19:22).

λάβετε...καὶ σταυρώσατε (cf. 19:1, 6, 16b) As in v. 1, the RVC *zǒu* is preferable here because there is a shift in tense-form from the present (λέγει) to aorist. The aorist is used in a direct quotation, which also justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. On the other hand, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable for the other aorist used in the same quotation (σταυρώσατε), because there is no shift in tense-form.

εὕρισκω See 18:38.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 7) See 18:5.

ἔχομεν (cf. 18:10; 19:10–11, 15) Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context. However, disyllabic verbs such as *zìyǒu* (“have,” HS) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are preferable to monosyllabic ones with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which are found in most Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB).

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<sup>70</sup> Lü 吕叔湘, *Grammar*, 235–36; Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, 326; Gao, *Grammar* (rev. ed.), 198–99; Li and Thompson, *Grammar*, 233–36; Zhu 朱德熙, *Grammar*, 34–35, 78–81; Zhang, *Contrastive Study*, 175; Hu and Fan, *Verbs*, 95; Smith, *Parameter*, 271.

ὀφείλει ἀποθανεῖν (cf. ἤμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν, 18:32) Formally expressed aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context.

As in 18:32, most Mandarin versions use auxiliary verbs such as *yīnggāi/gāi* (CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, CSB) or *dāng* (JOHNM) for the present tense-form (ὀφείλει) and *sǐ* (“die”) or *chūsǐ* 處死 (“sentence to die,” CLB, CPB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the aorist (ἀποθανεῖν).<sup>71</sup> Several others, on the other hand, have *shì dāng sǐ de* (“is to die,” PK) or *shì gāi sǐ de* (“is to die,” UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV). This is not preferable, because *shì...de* construction is not suitable for translating the infinitive but should be reserved for the periphrastic construction.

ἐποίησεν (cf. 18:35; 19:23–24) The RVC *chéng* (“finish”) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV) because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect which is signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek.

“ΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ἤκουσεν ὁ Πιλάτος τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, μᾶλλον ἐφοβήθη, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· πόθεν εἶ σύ; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκρισιν οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. (19:8–9)

當彼拉多聽了這話，就更加受驚。於是他再次進入官邸，質問耶穌說：「你到底是從那裏來的？」但是耶穌卻不給他回答。

Dāng Bǐlādūo tīng-le zhè huà zhīhòu, jiù gèngjiā shòujīng. Yúshì tā zài cì jìnrù guāndǐ, zhìwèn Yēsū shuō, “Nǐ dàodǐ shì cóng nà lǐ lái de?” Dànshì Yēsū què bùjǐ tā huídá.

<sup>71</sup> The MSV has *dīngzuò sǐzuì* 定做死罪 (“deserve the death penalty”); the CPB uses the passive construction *bèi chūsǐ* (“to be sentenced to death”).

When Pilate heard this, he became even more frightened. He entered the governor's headquarters again, and questioned Jesus, saying, "Where on earth are you from?" But Jesus gave him no answer.

ἤκουσεν (v. 8) RVCs (e.g. *jiàn*, MSV, PK, UV, LÜ, HSC, NCV, CRV, RCUV; *dào*, DCT) and *-le* (SYD, IG, SB, CPB) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (CSB) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. Although the two aspect morphemes may be interchangeable, *-le* is preferable to RVCs because it accounts for more frequent use in subordinate clauses.<sup>72</sup> The aspect marker *-le* also marks the beginning of the discourse unit (vv. 8–16a).

ἐφοβήθη Here, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is suitable for the aorist since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The monosyllabic verb *jīng* ("frighten") with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to the monosyllabic verb *hàipà* 害怕 ("fear") (PK, IG, NCV, CPB, DCT) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because the former is less heavily marked than the latter. The expression *fā hàipà* 發害怕 ("become afraid," MSV, UV, LÜ, SB, CRV, RCUV) sounds awkward in Mandarin, apparently an attempt to capture the sense of "becoming." Again, this ingressive or inchoative meaning of the verb pertains to *Aktionsart*, thus it must be dismissed. The passive construction formed by the particle *shòu* is suitable for the translation of the passive voice in Greek.

εἰσῆλθεν (v. 9) See 18:1.

λέγει See 18:38a.

<sup>72</sup> Wang 王 力, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 335–36. See 3.2.5.2.c.α, pp. 125–26 above.

λέγει οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος· ἐμοὶ οὐ λαλεῖς; οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχω ἀπολύσαι σε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω σταυρῶσαί σε; ἀπεκρίθη [αὐτῷ] Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ εἶχες ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ οὐδεμίαν εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παραδούς μέ σοι μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν ἔχει. (19:10–11)

彼拉多這時就告訴他說：「你不對我開口嗎？難道你這麼不知好歹——本人既持有著放你走的權力，亦持有著把你釘上十字架的權力嗎？」耶穌答說：「要不是上天恩寵賞賜給你的，你早就沒持著任何辦我的權力了。因此把我交出來給你的那個人，他負著的是更重的罪了。」

Bīlādū zhèshí jiù gàosù tā shuō, “Nǐ bù duì wǒ kāikǒu ma? Nándào nǐ zhème bù-zhī-hǎo-dǎi —běnrén jì chíyǒu-zhe fàng nǐ -zǒu de quánlì, yì chíyǒu-zhe bǎ nǐ dīng-shàng shízìjià de quánlì ma?” Yēsū dá shuō, “Yàobushì shàngtiān ēn-chǒng-shǎng-cì gěi nǐ de, nǐ zǎo jiù méi chí-zhe rènhé bàn wǒ de quánlì le. Yīncǐ bǎ wǒ jiāo-chūlái gěi nǐ de nàgè rén, tā fù-zhe de shì gèng zhòng de zuì le.”

Pilate then said to him, “Are you not talking to me? Don’t you know what’s best for you that I have the power to release you and the power to crucify you?” Jesus replied, “If it was not bestowed to you from above, you would have no rights to judge me. Therefore, the one who handed me over to you, his holds a greater sin.”

λέγει (v. 10) See 18:17.

λαλεῖς Most Mandarin versions use disyllabic verbs such as *huídá* (“answer,” PK, JOHNM, UV, CNT, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, CSB), *shuōhuà* (“speak,” SYD, WANG, BT, HS, RCUV), *kāikǒu* (“open mouth,” ZHU) or *gàosù* (“tell,” CPB) with the *ø* morpheme, which are preferable to monosyllabic verbs such as *shuō* (“speak,” HSC) or *dá* (“answer,” MSV) because they better reflect the more heavily marked present tense-

form in Greek. A few others add auxiliary verbs such as *yuàn* (CPB) or *gěi* (“give,” HSC).

Such additions are not preferable for the rendering of the indicative mood in Greek.

οὐκ οἶδας See 18:21 (cf. 18:2, 4, 19:35).

ἔχω (cf. 18:10; 19:7, 15) The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form. Most Mandarin versions use the monosyllabic verb *yǒu* (“have,” e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

σταυρῶσαί See v. 6.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 11) See 18:5.

οὐκ εἶχες...εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν (v. 11) Many grammarians classify this as an example of the second class (contrary to fact; see 5.4.3) conditional without the particle ἄν in the apodosis.<sup>73</sup> However, as Porter argues, it is the context of the argument—not the form of the conditional—that determines the conditional as unreal.<sup>74</sup> It is best treated here as a first class conditional (see 5.4.2).

The perfect participle (δεδομένον) is most frequently translated by *cìgěi* 賜給 (“grant,” e.g. PK, UV, CNT, HSC, SB, CRV, CSB) or simply *cì* (“grant,” MSV) or *gěi* (“give,” NCV, CPB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. LÜ uses the aspect marker *-le* (*gěi-le*), which does not reflect the stative aspect of the Greek. The stative aspect morpheme *-zhe* is not an option because the verb forms *cìgěi-zhe* and *gěi-zhe* are ungrammatical in Mandarin. Therefore, the four-character set phrase *ēn-chǒng-shǎng-cì* (“bestow upon graciously,” see also 18:9, 11) works best here because the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a suitable Mandarin

<sup>73</sup> These include Burton, Blass and Debrunner, Boyer, Zerwick and Grosvenor. See Burton, *Syntax*, §249; BDF, §360; Boyer, “Second Class Conditions,” 88; Zerwick and Grosvenor, *Grammatical Analysis*, 341.

<sup>74</sup> Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 306.

translation of the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek. Also, its heavily marked feature corresponds to the perfect tense-form used as a frontgrounding device, highlighting the fact that Pilate's power is a gift from God. The periphrastic construction, ἣν δεδομένον, is translated by the construction *shì...de* in Mandarin.<sup>75</sup>

The imperfective aspect signaled by the Greek imperfect εἶχες may be reflected formally by *-zhe* rather than by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, IG, HSC, SB, CPB, DCT, CSB). The addition of the adverb *zǎo* is necessary here in order to express conceptual distance in Mandarin.

παράδους The RVC *chūlái* is preferable here because the shift in tense-form from the perfect (δεδομένον) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, CNT, SB, LÜ, NCV, CRV, CPB, CSB).

ἔχει The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form. Some Mandarin versions use the monosyllabic verb *yǒu* ("have," e.g. SYD, ZHU, BT) or *fù* ("carry," IG, SB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, while others do not translate the verb (e.g. MSV, JOHNM, UV, HSC, HS, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB). Still, two versions use *-le* (*fān-le* 犯 了, "committed," LÜ; *yǒu -le*, "had," CNT), which is not recommended here because *-le* does not reflect the aspect of the Greek.

ἐκ τούτου ὁ Πιλάτος ἐζήτει ἀπολύσαι αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκραύγασαν λέγοντες· ἐὰν τοῦτον ἀπολύσῃς, οὐκ εἶ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος· πᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν ἀντιλέγει τῷ Καίσαρι. ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων

<sup>75</sup> See discussions of periphrasis in 5.3.2.

ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον

Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθα. (19:12–13)

從那時候起，彼拉多就老想著把耶穌給放走。無奈猶太人嚷嚷說著：「你要是放了這個人，你就不是與凱撒一黨的了〔<sup>原文</sup>作朋友〕。凡自稱為王的，即等於是在頂撞著凱撒。」彼拉多聽了這話，就把耶穌帶出，隨後就到一個名叫「鋪石台」的地方〈希伯來語稱「加巴大」〉，坐在裁判席上。

Cóng nà shíhòu qǐ, Bǐlādūo jiù lǎo xiǎng-zhe bǎ Yēsū gěi fàng-zǒu. Wúnài Yóutàirén rāng-rǎng shuō-zhe, “Nǐ yàoshì fàng-le zhège rén, nǐ jiù bù shì yǔ Kǎisà yīdǎng de le (yuánwén zuò péngyǒu). Fán zìchēng wèi wáng de, jí dēngyú shì zài dǐngzhuàng-zhe Kǎisà.” Bǐlādūo tīng-le zhè huà, jiù bǎ Yēsū dài chū, suǐhòu jiù dào yīge míngjiào “Pūshítái” de dìfāng (Xībólaíyǔ chēng “Jiābādà”), zuò zài cáipànxí shàng.

From that point on, Pilate was thinking about releasing Jesus. Unfortunately, the Jews cried out and said, “If you free this man, you are not one (Greek reads “friend”) of Caesar’s party. Anyone who declares himself king opposes Caesar.” When Pilate heard this, he took Jesus outside to a place called the “Stone Pavement” (in Hebrew called “Gabbatha”), and sat on the judge’s bench.

ἐζήτει ἀπολῦσαι (v. 12) Several Mandarin versions have *xiǎngyào* (or *yào/xiǎng*, “wish”) *shìfàng* 釋放 (“release,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for ἐζήτει ἀπολῦσαι. The problem with this translation is that the verb *xiǎngyào* is used as an auxiliary to express volition or futurity in Mandarin. More importantly, it is set aside specifically to translate the non-indicative moods in Greek, including the subjunctive, optative, and

future form. For this reason, it is better to use different verb forms, such as *dǎsuàn* 打算 (“plan,” HS), *xiǎngfǎ* 想法 (“devise,” HSC), or *shèfǎ* 設法 (“try”).<sup>76</sup>

However, *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme since it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the imperfect tense-form in Greek. As for ἀπολύσαι, RVCs such as *kāi* (HSC) or *zǒu* are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek aorist tense-form. The addition of the adverb *lǎo* is necessary here for the purpose of conveying remoteness in Mandarin.<sup>77</sup>

ἐκράύγασαν λέγοντες See 18:40.

ἀπολύσης Like ἀπολύσαι above, most versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, IG, LÜ, HS, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. As noted in the previous chapters, the perfective aspect marker *-le* is frequently used in contexts that include subordinate clauses and the protasis of conditional sentences.<sup>78</sup>

Therefore, *-le* (SYD, ZHU, CPB) is preferable to RVCs such as *zǒu* (“go”) or *kāi* (“open,” HSC).

φίλος Most versions render it with *zhōngchén* 忠臣 (“loyal subject,” e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CNT, TCV, NCV). A few have *péngyǒu* (“friend,” BT, IG, HSC, CRV, CSB).

ἀντιλέγει Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, HS, SB, CRV, DCT, RCUV, CSB). The only exception

<sup>76</sup> Compare the four Catholic versions, CNT, IG, SB, and CPB, which have *shèfǎ* with the auxiliary *yào*. Similarly, LÜ has *jiù xiǎng fǎzi yào shìfàng* 就想法子要釋放 (“devise means to release”).

<sup>77</sup> *Lǎo* is extremely difficult to translate into English. As an adverb, it has a wide range of meanings which include: “always,” “for a long time,” “often,” and “very.” As an adjective, it denotes “old,” “experienced,” “original,” and “overdone.” See *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, s.v.

<sup>78</sup> See 3.2.5.2.c.α and 5.3.2.2.e.ε, pp. 125–26, 278–79 above. For a treatment of the third class conditional sentences, see 5.4.4, pp. 287–91.



is LÜ, which has *dǐngzhuàng* (“contradict,” “clash”) and employs *-zhe*, which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form. However, the addition of the auxiliary verb *yào* in LÜ is not suitable for the translation of the indicative mood in Greek. Here, the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...-zhe* may be used to reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek.

ἀκούσας (v. 13) Most versions closely reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. Some use *-le* (IG, LÜ, CLB, NCV, CSB), while others use RVCs such as *jiàn* (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, TCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV) or *dào* (HS). The SB has the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*yītīng*, “as soon as he heard”). The perfective aspect marker *-le* is preferable to RVCs because, as noted above, it is used more frequently in subordinate clauses.<sup>79</sup>

ἤγαγεν See 18:13.

ἐκάθισεν Three different morphemes are used in Mandarin versions: the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*zuòtáng* 坐堂, “sit on a case [of a magistrate],” PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, IG, HSC, RCUV; *zuò*, “sit,” MSV, BT, CNT, SB, CRV), and the aspect markers *-le* (CSB) and *-zhe* (CPB). While both *-le* and the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are both considered good translations, the latter is preferable because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form and the perfective aspect it signifies in Greek. Also, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

λεγόμενον See v. 17.

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<sup>79</sup> See the commentary on ἤκουσεν (19:8), p. 367 above.

ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἑκτη. καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· Ἴδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν. ἐκραύγασαν οὖν ἐκεῖνοι· ἄρον ἄρον, σταύρωσον αὐτόν. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω; ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς· οὐκ ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα. τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. (19:14–16a)

那天正好是逾越節的籌辦日，約正午。彼拉多告訴猶太人說：「你們看好！貴國之君！」他們卻嚷嚷說：「幹掉！幹掉了他！把他釘死在十字架上！」彼拉多質問：「你們確定要我把你們的君王釘死在十字架上嗎？」祭司長答說：「我們除凱撒之外，沒擁有君王。」彼拉多於是把他交給了他們去釘十字架。

Nàtiān zhèng hǎoshì Yúyuèjié de Chóubànrì, yuē zhèngwǔ. Bǐlādūo gàosù Yóutàirén shuō, “Nǐmen kàn-hǎo, guìguó zhī jūn!” Tāmen què rāng-rǎng shuō, “Gàn-diào! Gàn-diào-le tā! Bǎ tā dīng-sǐ zài shízìjià shàng!” Bǐlādūo zhìwèn, “Nǐmen quèdìng yào wǒ bǎ nǐmen de jūnwáng dīng-sǐ zài shízìjià shàng ma?” Jìsīzhǎng dá shuō, “Wǒmen chú Kǎisà zhīwài, méi yōngyǒu jūnwáng.” Bǐlādūo yúshì bǎ tā jiāogěi-le tāmen qù dīng shízìjià.

It was the day of Preparation for the Passover, around noon. Pilate said to the Jews, “Here, look! Pay attention! The King of your nation!” They cried out, “Get rid of him! Get rid of him! Crucify him!” Pilate asked, “Are you sure you want me to nail your King to the cross?” The chief priests replied, “We have no king but the Caesar.” Then Pilate handed him over to them to be crucified.

λέγει (v. 14) See 18:4.

Ἴδε See 18:21, 19:4, 5.

ἐκραύγασαν (v. 15) See 18:40.

ἄρον ἄρον (cf. v. 6) The MSV has *Qù-le tā! Qù-le tā!* 去了他！去了他！ (“Get rid of him! Get rid of him!”) with *-le*, and a similar expression is found in the DCT, *Shā-le tā! Shā-le tā!* 殺了他！殺了他！ (“Kill him! Kill him!”). Most Mandarin versions use RVCs such as *miè* (PK), *diào* (e.g. UV, CNT, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), and *qù* (HSC). SYD and ZHU, on the other hand have *Shā! Shā!* 殺！殺！ (“Kill! Kill!”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The perfective aspect morphemes *-le* and RVCs are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. Here, the repetition of the two aorist imperatives in Greek indicates prominence. However, this prominence cannot be rendered by simply repeating the exact same verb form in Mandarin, since it does not convey such added emphasis (see the discussion on v. 6 above). Therefore, the solution is found by using an RVC for the first ἄρον and using the two-morpheme aspect compound RVC-*le* for the second.

σταυρώσω The form σταυρώσω is ambiguous: it could be either the future form or the aorist subjunctive. In Mandarin translation, however, it is not a major issue since auxiliary verbs are used to translate both forms in Greek. Most Mandarin versions seem to construe it as the aorist subjunctive. Most translate it by the verb *dīng* (“nail”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, along with auxiliary verbs such as *kěyǐ/kě* (e.g. PK, UV, HSC, NCV, CRV), *yào* (SYD, SB, RCUV) or *gāi* (CPB). A few others, however, use the RVCs *shàng* (CSB) and *sī* (CNT) with auxiliaries, which are also acceptable translations of the perfective aspect of the aorist.

ἀπεκρίθη See 18:5.

ἔχομεν See 19:7.

παρέδωκεν (v. 16a; cf. 18:30, 35; 19:30) The shift in tense-form from the present (ἔχομεν, v. 15) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The aspect marker *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CSB) because it better reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek.

σταυρωθῇ (see also vv. 18, 20) Explicit passive constructions may be possible in Mandarin translation here, but it is not absolutely necessary, since the passive action is already suggested by the context. However, as Mullie argues, passive verbs in Mandarin “always necessarily denote the suffering of an action, the undergoing of a treatment performed by a causal being on the subject, and so they are passive verbs in the most restricted meaning of the word.”<sup>80</sup> So, the use of passive contractions formed by particles such as *shòu* (*qù shòu dīng shízìjià de kǔxíng* 去受釘十字架的苦刑, “to endure the cruel penalty of being crucified,” CNT) or *yǐ bèi* (*yǐ bèi dīng shízìjià* 以被釘十字架 “to be crucified,” MOR) may be appropriate here.

#### 6.2.6. Jesus Crucified (John 19:16b–37) 耶穌被釘十字架

This pericope may be divided into five sub-sections (vv. 16b–22, 23–24, 25–27, 28–30, 31–37). Smaller discourse boundaries, as noted in 6.1.2, are marked by conjunctives, such as οὐν (vv. 23–24, 25–27, 31–37) or μετὰ τοῦτο (vv. 28–30). The aorist tense-forms are used to set the scene of each sub-section (vv. 16b, 23, 26, 28, 31, 36), propel the narrative forward (vv. 17–22, 24, 27, 29–30, 32–34), and conclude the entire pericope (v. 37). The imperfect tense-forms are used for three specific items: the introduction of

<sup>80</sup> Mullie, *Structural Principles*, vol. 2, 44.

the chief priests' suggestion to Pilate (v. 21), the depiction of John standing beside Jesus' mother (v. 26), and the jar of sour wine at the scene of the crucifixion (v. 29).

The present tense-forms are used to draw special attention to key items: the description of Jesus on his way to be crucified (v. 17), the site of the crucifixion and its name in Hebrew (v. 17), the suggestion of the chief priests to Pilate (v. 21), the introduction of Jesus' statements (vv. 26–28), the content of Jesus' statement (v. 28), the parenthetical statement of the author of the narrative (v. 35), and the introduction of the Old Testament quotation (v. 37).

The perfect and pluperfect tense-forms are reserved to highlight several items of critical importance in the narrative: the introduction of the content of the inscription (v. 19), the languages in which the inscription was written (v. 20), Pilate's response to the chief priests' request to reword the inscription (v. 22), the depiction of Jesus' mother and his beloved disciple at the scene of the crucifixion (v. 26), Jesus' premonitions of what will soon transpire (v. 28; cf. 18:4), Jesus' final words on the cross (v. 30), the explanation behind why the soldiers did not break Jesus' legs (v. 33), and the testimony of the witness to the events (v. 35). The pluperfect tense-form is used to describe the people who were present at the scene of the crucifixion (v. 25).

Παρέλαβον οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ βαστάζων αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον, ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ Γολγοθᾶ, ὅπου αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους δύο ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἣν δὲ γεγραμμένον· Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. (19:16b–19)

所以，他們就把耶穌帶走。這時耶穌親自背著十字架，往外一直走到了一個叫作「髑髏之丘」的地方〈希伯來語叫作「各各他」〉。就在那個地方他們將他釘上十字架。另外在場的還有兩名；一左一右，耶穌在中間。彼拉多又寫下一行公告，安在十字架上。是這樣寫著的：「猶太王、拿撒勒人耶穌」。

Suǒyǐ, tāmen jiù bǎ Yēsū dài-zǒu. Zhèshí Yēsū qīnzì bēi-zhe shízìjià, wǎngwài yīzhí zǒudào-le yīge jiàozuò “Dúlóu zhī qiū” de dìfāng (Xībólaiyǔ jiàozuò “Gègètā”). Jiù zài nàge dìfāng tāmen jiāng tā dīng-shàng shízìjià. Lìngwài zàichǎng de háiyou liǎng míng; yī zuǒ yī yòu, Yēsū zài zhōngjiān. Bǐlādō yòu xiě-xià yīháng gōnggào, ān zài shízìjià shàng. Shì zhèyàng xiě-zhe de: “Yóutàiwáng, Násālěirén Yēsū.”

Therefore, they took Jesus away. Jesus then carried the cross by himself, and went out to a place called the “Place of the Skull” (“Golgotha” in Hebrew). It was there where they crucified him. There were two other persons that were there, one on the left, the other on the right, and Jesus in the middle. Pilate then wrote a public notice to be put on the cross. It was written, “King of the Jews, Jesus of Nazareth.”

παρέλαβον (v. 16b; cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:1, 6, 23, 27, 30, 40) RVCs such as *zǒu* (*lǐng-zǒu* 領走, “led away,” CNT; *dài-zǒu*, “took away,” HS, TCV, CSB) and the perfective aspect marker *-le* (PK, UV, BT, CRV, RCUV) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. JOHNM, SYD, WANG, ZHU, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, NCV, CPB) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. The MSV, on the other hand, has *lā-zhe qù* 拉著去 (“dragging away”) with the imperfective aspect marker *-zhe*, which does not reflect the aspect of the Greek.

βασιτάζων αὐτόν (v. 17) Most Mandarin versions use the aspect marker *-zhe* (PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CNT, IG, BT, HSC, HS, LÜ, SB, CLB, TCV, NCV,

CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present participle in Greek. The MSV, on the other hand, uses the perfective aspect marker *-le*, which does not reflect the aspect of the Greek. Regarding αὐτῷ, *qīnzì* (“personally”) translates the dative pronoun in terms of “by himself” rather than “his own.”<sup>81</sup>

ἐξηλθεν (cf. 18:4, 16; 19:4) The shift in tense-form from to the present (βαστάζων) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme (in this case, *-le*).

λεγόμενον, λέγεται (see also v. 13) Most versions, as in v. 13, use *míngjiào* 名叫 (lit. “its name is called,” e.g. MSV, UV, HSC, SB, CRV), *míng* 名 (“name,” PK), *jiào* 叫 (“call,” LÜ, BT, HS, CSB), or *jiàozuò* 叫做 (WANG) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Here, none of the formal imperfective morphemes may be used. However, the disyllabic verbs *jiàozuò* and *míngjiào* are preferable to monosyllabic ones for both Greek verbs because they better reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form.

Γολγοθᾶ The chinese transliteration of Γολγοθᾶ appears in the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra* (v. 201) as *Qìyù* 訖句, which, as Karlgren suggests, might have been pronounced in seventh century China as [ˌkəu kɿət] or [kɿuː kɿət], apparently a closer representation to its Syriac original ܩܠܓܘܬܐ.<sup>82</sup> Today it is standardized as *Gègètā* 各各他 in Protestant versions, and *Gēěrgēdá* 哥耳哥達 in Catholic versions.

ἐσταύρωσαν (v. 18; see also v. 23) The RVC *shàng* (HS, CSB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, WANG, ZHU, CNT, IG, LÜ, CRV, CLB, TCV, NCV,

<sup>81</sup> Brown, *Gospel*, 898–99. The expression “by himself” is also found in some English translations (e.g. NRSV, NLT). Keener, on the other hand, recognizes αὐτῷ as emphatic (“his own cross”). This interpretation is found in several English versions (e.g. NASB, NIV, ESV). See Keener, *Commentary*, 1133.

<sup>82</sup> Haneda, “Remarks on the *Jesus-Messiah Sûtra*,” 266–67; Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

CPB, RCUV) and *-le* (e.g. HSC) because it morphologically reflects both the aspect and discourse function of the aorist tense-form. Also, the shift in tense-form from to the present (λέγεται, v. 17) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. For the discussions of other morphemes used to translate the aorist forms of σταυρώ, see vv. 6, 14.

ἔγραψεν (v. 19) RVCs such as *xià* (“down”) and *-le* (*xiě-le*, UV, SYD, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*xiě*, “write,” PK) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek. Here, although there is no shift in tense-form, the RVC provides a better contrast to the stative aspect that is signaled by the perfect tense-form (γεγραμμένον) in the same verse.

ἔθηκεν (see also v. 42) Most Mandarin versions use monosyllabic verbs with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to translate the aorist: *ān* (“place,” PK, UV, SYD, HSC, LÜ, CRV), *guà* 掛 (“hang,” CPB, CSB), *dīng* (“nail,” RCUV), and *fàng* 放 (“put,” SB, NCV). All of these are preferable, not only because the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a suitable Mandarin rendering of the perfective aspect in Greek, but also because monosyllabic verbs correspond to the less heavily marked aorist tense-form and its discourse function as a backgrounding device. In addition, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a better choice because there is no shift in tense-form of the Greek here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἦν γεγραμμένον (see also v. 20) The aspect marker *-zhe* (CPB, DCT, CSB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*xiě*, “write,” e.g. PK, UV, SYD, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV) because it morphologically reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form. Periphrastic constructions in Greek, as treated in chapter 5, may be translated by



*shì...de* construction in Mandarin.<sup>83</sup> The *ø* morpheme might be an option here, but the translator has to utilize a four-character set phrase because it corresponds to the discourse function of the perfect tense-form as a foregrounding device.

τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί. ἔλεγον οὖν τῷ Πιλάτῳ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· μὴ γράφῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκείνος εἶπεν· βασιλεὺς εἰμι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλάτος· ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα. (19:20–22)

在此，有眾多猶太人讀了這個公告。這是因為耶穌被釘十字架的地方，離城很近。況且那是用希伯來文、拉丁文、還有希臘文標榜著的。那時猶太人的祭司長，就開起口來對彼拉多說：「別書寫『猶太王』了。寫『這個人自己說過：我是猶太王。』」彼拉多答說：「我是秉筆直書，不能增損一字。」

Zàicǐ, yǒu zhòngduō Yóutàirén dú-le zhège gōnggào. Zhè shì yīnwèi Yēsū bèi dīng shízìjià de dìfāng, lí chéng hěnjìn. Kuàngqiě nàshì yòng Xībólaíwén, Lādīngwén, háiyǒu Xīlāwén biāobǎng-zhe de. Nàshí Yóutàirén de jīsīzhǎng, jiù kāi-qǐ kǒu-lái duì Bīlādūo shuō, “Bié shūxiě ‘Yóutàiwáng’ le. Xiě ‘Zhège rén zìjǐ shuō-guò, Wǒ shì Yóutàiwáng.’” Bīlādūo dá shuō, “Wǒ shì bǐng-bǐ-zhí-shū, bùnéng zēng-sǔn-yī-zì.”

Here, there were many Jews who read this public notice. This was due to the fact that the place where Jesus was crucified was close to the city. Also, it was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. At that point, the chief priests of the Jews said to Pilate, “Do not write ‘King of the Jews.’ Write ‘This man said, I am King of the Jews.’” Pilate responded, “I write down what stands; I cannot alter one word of it.”

<sup>83</sup> See discussions of periphrasis in 5.3.2.

ἀνέγνωσαν (v. 20) The perfective aspect of the aorist is translated by *kàn/kàn-jiàn* (“see,” PK, TCV), *niàn* 念 (“read,” UV, WANG, CRV, RCUV), and *dú* (“read,” MSV, JOHNM) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The aspect marker *-le* (BT, LÜ, HSC, HS, SB, NCV, CPB, CSB) and RVCs (e.g. *dào*, DCT) are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek. Also, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (γεγραμμένον, v. 19) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. On the other hand, auxiliary verbs such as *néng* (CLB) or *keyǐ* (CNT) are unnecessary additions for translating the Greek indicative mood into Mandarin. Similarly, SYD and ZHU add the verb *lái* 來 (“come”), which is also unnecessary.

ἐσταυρώθη (see also vv. 16a, 41) The aorist passive is rendered by *dīng*(*shízìji*) (“crucify”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. DV, GURY, UVW, PK, LÜ, CLB, NCV, RCUV).<sup>84</sup> As mentioned in the comments on v. 16a, ἐσταυρώθη may be translated by passive constructions in Mandarin formed by particles such as *shòu* (e.g. *shòuxíng* 受刑, “suffer penalty,” HS) and *bèi*. For example, Ortiz and other early Catholic missionaries use the passive construction to refer to Jesus’ crucifixion in the Chinese translation of the Apostle’s Creed:

我信其受難。於般雀比辣多居官時。被釘十字架。死而乃瘞。<sup>85</sup>

Wǒ xìn qí shòunàn. Yú Bānqiǎo Bìlādūō jūguān shí. Bèi dīng shízìjià. Sǐ ér nǎi yì.

I believe that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified. He died and was buried.

Elsewhere in *Yao jing lue jie* 《要經畧解》 (= “*A Short Commentary on Key Passages of the Bible*,” 1705), Ortiz use the RVC *sǐ* in the same passive construction, *Zì gānshòu*

<sup>84</sup> PK uses the RVC *sǐ* instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the same form (ἐσταυρώθη) in v. 41.

<sup>85</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*, 5.

*kǔnàn*. Bèi dīng shízìjià sǐ 自甘受苦難。被釘十字架死。 (“He willingly endured suffering, being crucified to death”).<sup>86</sup>

The expression *bèi dīng shízìjià* is found in many wenli and Mandarin versions (e.g. SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GO, GÜ, SJ, WV; JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CNT, IG, BT, HSC, SB, TCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB). While the RVC *sǐ* may be used, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable since there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἦν γεγραμμένον (see also v. 19) As in v. 19, the periphrasis formed by the imperfect form of εἰμί and the perfect passive participle is better translated by the *shì...de* construction, using the stative aspect morpheme *-zhe* to render its stative aspect (PK). Several versions render the periphrasis using the *shì...de* construction (UV, SYD, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) but with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

ἔλεγον (v. 21) The IDVC *qílái* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme found in most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, CNT, IG, BT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the imperfect tense-form in Greek. In order to convey remoteness grammaticalized by the perfect tense-form, *nàshí* (“then,” “at that point”) may be added (cf. 18:5, 15).

γράφει Most Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, UV, ZHU, IG, CNT, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CSB) use the monosyllabic verb *xiě* (“write”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The disyllabic verb *shūxiě* (“write”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme works better here, since expressions such as

<sup>86</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*, 19. The expression *bèi dīng shízìjià* is also noted by Varo (吾主被釘十字架) and Mullie (被釘在十字架上). See Varo, *Arte*, 127; Mullie, *Structural Principles*, vol. 2, 45.

*xiě-qǐ* (*xiě*-IDVC) or *xiě-zhe*, while grammatically acceptable, are not normally used in prohibitions.

ἔπεν (see also 18:8, 9, 21, 32) The shift in tense-form from the present (γράφει) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The aorist also occurs in a quoted speech of the chief priests to Pilate.

ἀπεκρίθη (v. 22) See 18:5.

ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα<sup>87</sup> Many wenli versions have *Shū zé shū yǐ* 書則書矣 (lit. “written is written,” DV) or *Shū zhě shū yǐ* 書者書矣 (“what was written, it has been written,” WV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, both of which are acceptable translations of the verb phrase. Similarly, the CNT has *Wǒ shì zhèyàng xiě de jiù zhèyàng le* 我是這樣寫的就這樣了 (“this is the way I wrote it and that’s it”). Basset, on the other hand, uses the temporal deixis *yǐ* (“already”) to convey completion, *Yú suǒ yè, yǐ shu yǐ* 余所業、已書矣 (“what I have written, I have already written,” SL-MOR). This addition of temporal adverbs is followed in many versions: for example, MOR and MAR use *céng* (“ever”) in the expression *Wǒ céng suǒ xiě jiù xiě zhī* 我曾所寫就寫之 (“what I have once written, I wrote it”). Other expressions include *Wǒ yǐ shū zhī, zhé shū zhī yǐ* 我已書之。則書之矣, GO), *Wú zhī suǒ shū, zhé yǐ shū zhī yǐ* 吾之所書、則已書之矣 (GÜ), *Wǒ suǒ shū zhě, yǐ shū zhī yǐ* 我所書者、已書之矣 (BCV, SJ, UVW, UVB), *shū zhě yǐ shū* 書者已書 (GURY), and *Wǒ suǒ xiě de, wǒ yǐjīng xiě-le* (NCV, CSB), all of which denote the idea “what I have once written, I have already written it.”

<sup>87</sup> Unlike the cases in vv. 6, 15 where repetition of exact verb forms are aorist imperatives, here are two perfect tense-forms with in the indicative mood. The presence of the relative pronoun *ὃ* also indicates that this is not a simple sentence. Therefore, the translation issues raised earlier do not apply here.

The majority of Mandarin versions, however, use the perfective morpheme *-le* and the RVC *shàng*, for example, *Wǒ xiě-le, jiù xiě le* (“[once] I wrote it, I write it,” HSC, SB, DCT, RCUV).<sup>88</sup> Most of these versions also use a temporal adverb, for example, *Wǒ suǒ xiě-le de, wǒ yǐjīng xiě shàng le* (“what I wrote, I already finished writing it,” LÜ, CRV) and *Wǒ suǒ xiě de, wǒ yǐjīng xiě-shàng le* (“what I wrote, I already wrote it,” PK, UV). The stative aspect realized by the two perfect forms is best translated by two four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The translation provided here, *Wǒ shì bǐng-bǐ-zhí-shū, bùnéng zēng-sǔn-yī-zì*, closely reflects the aspect and the discourse function of the perfect forms as foregrounding devices, highlighting that Pilate’s written words stand firm.

Οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται ὅτε ἐσταύρωσαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἔλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησαν τέσσαρα μέρη, ἐκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ μέρος, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα. ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι’ ὅλου. εἶπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται· ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ [ἡ λέγουσα]· διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐποίησαν. (19:23–24)

士兵趁在釘上耶穌之際，拿他的衣服，分為四份，每人一份，包括他的裏衣在內。這件裏衣沒有接縫，即上下整片所織成的。然後又彼此說：「先別撕開它，我們來抽籤吧，看誰會抽中。」這目的是要應驗聖經〈所說的話〉：「他們分掉我的衣服，又為我的裏衣抽籤。」這幾名士兵就把這些事給做了。

<sup>88</sup> Compare Newman and Nida’s suggestions: “what I have written will remain just that way” or “...will remain just as I have written it.” Newman and Nida, *Handbook*, 586. It is clear that Newman and Nida follow the interpretation that the first perfect is aoristic whereas the second one is durative or continuative. See, for example, Robertson, *Grammar*, 895; BDF, §342; Brown, *Gospel*, 586.

Shībīng chèn zài dīng-shàng Yēsū zhījì, ná tā de yīfú, fēn wéi sì fèn, měirén yī fèn, bāokuò tā de lǐ yī zàinèi. Zhè jiàn lǐyī méiyǒu jiēfèng, jí shàngxià zhèngpiàn suǒ zhīchéng de. Ránhòu yòu bǐcǐ shuō: “Xiān bié sī-kāi tā, wǒmen lái chōuqiān ba, kàn shéi huì chōu-zhòng.” Zhè mùdì shì yào yìngyàn shèngjīng (suǒ shuō dehuà): “Tāmen fēn-diào wǒ de yīfú, yòu wèiwǒ de lǐyī chōuqiān.” Zhè jǐ míng shībīng jiù bǎ zhèxiē shì gěi zuò le.

While the soldiers crucified Jesus, they took his clothes and divided them into four parts, one for each person, including his tunic. This tunic had no seams, which was woven in one piece from top to bottom. So they discussed among themselves, saying “Let us not tear it apart; let us draw lots and see who will get it.” This was to fulfill what the Bible (says), “They divided my clothes, and for my tunic they drew lots.” So that is what these soldiers did.

ἐσταύρωσαν (v. 23; see also v. 18) In this sub-section (vv. 23–24), 10 aorist tense-forms were used to describe what the soldiers did to Jesus’ clothes. For the first aorist, the RVC *shàng* or *-le* (e.g. MSV) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because the shift in tense-form from the perfect (γέγραφα, v. 22) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective morpheme. The remaining aorists used in this sub-section will be treated individually.

ἔλαβον (cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 27, 30, 40) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. UV, WANG, BT, HSC, TCV, CRV, RCUV) is preferable to *-le* (e.g. IG, SB, CSB) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. Several Mandarin versions do not translate this verb (MSV, PK, JOHNM, ZHU, CLB, CPB, DCT).

ἐποίησαν (cf. 18:35; 19:7, 24) For the same reason for ἔλαβον provided above, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, UV, BT, HSC, HS, LÜ, TCV, CRV, RCUV) is preferable to *-le* (CNT) and the RVC *chéng* (“finish,” PK, SYD, ZHU, IG, SB, NCV, CPB, CSB).

εἶπαν (v. 24) Again, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme which is used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, IG, CNT, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, RCUV, CSB) is preferable for the same reason for ἔλαβον provided above.

σχίσωμεν RVCs such as *kāi* (“split open,” PK, UV, SYD, WANG, SYD, ZHU, BT, HSC, SB, TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB) or *liè* (“split,” MSV and LÜ) work best here for the translation of the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist subjunctive. The aspect marker *-le* (CPB) is also a good option. Since the aorist is used here in a direct quotation, a formally expressed perfective morpheme is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*fēngē* 分割, “divide,” HS).

λάωμεν The aorist subjunctive is translated by *jiū* 擲 (DV, CSV, TRNT, RAGUET), *niān/zhuājiū* 拈/抓鬚 (MSV, PK, UV, SYD, CRV, HSC, LÜ, CPB, CNT), *chōuqiān* (NCV, RCUV, CSB), or *zhìsǎi* 擲骰 (SB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, all of which denote “cast lots” and reflect the perfective aspect of the Greek. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here also because there is no shift in tense-form. Some versions add the auxiliary verbs *ràng* (CSB) or *lái* (NCV) to express volition, which are also preferable here.

πληρωθῇ See 18:9.

διεμέρισαντο The RVC *diào* and the aspect marker *-le* (PK, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, SB, LÜ, CLB, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB) are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, JOHNM, SYD, ZHU, HS) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect realized by the aorist tense-form. The fact that the aorist is

used in an Old Testament quotation also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

**ἔβαλον κλῆρον** All Chinese versions use the same term for λάχωμεν here, most of which have the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the perfective aspect of the aorist (e.g. DV, PK, UV, MSV, SYD, CNT, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB). The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to *-le* (HSC) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme also provides textual cohesion to the previous sentence in which the same verb form, *chōuqiān* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, is used to translate λάχωμεν.

**ἐποίησαν** (cf. 18:35; 19:7, 23) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, ZHU, CNT, SB, LÜ, CLB, NCV) is preferable to *-le* (UV, WANG, IG, BT, HSC, TCV, RCUV, CSB) because there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme. Note that, because of its position at the end of the sentence, *le* is used here as a modal particle as opposed to the aspect marker *-le*.

Εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ. Ἰησοῦς οὖν ἰδὼν τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν παρεστῶτα ὃν ἠγάπα, λέγει τῇ μητρί· γύναι, ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου. εἶτα λέγει τῷ μαθητῇ· ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ σου. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μαθητὴς εἰς τὰ ἴδια. (19:25–27)

在耶穌的十字架旁邊站著的，有他的母親及他母親的姊妹，還有高羅巴的妻子馬利亞，和抹大拉的馬利亞。當耶穌看到母親和他所鍾愛著的那位門徒在一處站著，就告訴母親說：「婦人，您看好！這位是您的兒子。」接著又告訴這門徒



說：「你看好！這位是你的母親。」從此之後，那位門徒就把她接回了他自己的家。

Zài Yēsū de shízìjià pángbiān zhàn-zhe de, yǒu tā de mǔqīn jí tā mǔqīn de jiěmèi, háiyǒu Gāoluōbā de qīzi Mǎliyǎ, hé Mǒdālā de Mǎliyǎ. Dāng Yēsū kàn-dào mǔqīn hé tā suǒ zhōng'ài-zhe de nà wèi méntú zài yīchù zhàn-zhe, jiù gào sù mǔqīn shuō, “Fùrén, nín kàn-hǎo! Zhè wèi shì nín de érzi.” Jiēzhe yòu gào sù zhè méntú shuō, “Nǐ kàn-hǎo! Zhè wèi shì nǐ de mǔqīn.” Cóngcǐ zhǐhòu, nàwèi méntú jiù bǎ tā jiēhuí-le tā zìjǐ de jiā.

Standing alongside Jesus' cross were his mother, his mother's sister, and Clopas' wife Mary, as well as Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing there, he said to his mother, “Woman, look! Pay attention! Here is your son.” Then he said to the disciple, “Pay attention! Look! Here is your mother.” Since then, that disciple took her to his own house.

εἰστήκεισαν (v. 25) See 18:18.

ἰδών (v. 26) The aspect marker *-le* (CPB, CNT) and RVCs such as *jiàn* (PK, HSC, SB, CRV) and *dào* (CSB) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (UV, LÜ, ZHU, RCUV) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect realized by the aorist tense-form. Also, the shift in tense-form from the pluperfect (εἰστήκεισαν, v. 25) to aorist also justifies its use.

παρεστῶτα (cf. παρεστηκώς, 18:22) The stative aspect of the perfect participle is translated by *-zhe* (LÜ, HSC), and, more commonly, by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, UV, SYD, SB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB). The marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the stative aspect in Greek signaled by the perfect tense-form. Here, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme might be an option, however, the verb form should be in a four-

character set phrase in order to reflect the heavily marked perfect tense-form in Greek.

This verb is not translated in the CNT and CPB.

ἡγάπα Most Mandarin versions render this imperfect tense-form by *ài* (“love,” PK, MSV, JOHNM, UV, BT, HSC, SB, LÜ, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB), *zhōng’ài* (“love,” HS, TCV), *tè ài* 特愛 (lit. “especially love,” CNT), *zuì qīn’ài* 最親愛 (“love the most,” SYD), or *ài zhòng* 愛重 (lit. “deeply love,” ZHU) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. However, *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the Greek. In order to establish remoteness in Mandarin, *nà wèi* (“that one”) may be added here.

λέγει (vv. 26–27) See 18:4.

ἶδε See 18:21, 19:4–5, 14.

ἔλαβεν (v. 27; cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 23, 30, 40) RVCs (e.g. *xià*, HSC) and the aspect marker *-le* are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in most Mandarin versions (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HS, SB, LÜ, CLB, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, DCT, RCUV, CSB) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. On the other hand, SYD uses *-zhe* (*dài-zhe*, “bringing”), which is not preferable because it does not reflect the aspect of the Greek. The shift in tense-form from the present (λέγει) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

Μετὰ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει· διψῶ. σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν· σπόγγον οὖν μεστόν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι. ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος [ὁ]

Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· τετέλεσται, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. (19:28–30)

之後，耶穌洞察一切都已大功告成，爲了要應驗經上所說，就開口說：「我乾渴。」在那裏有人放著一個盛滿了酸酒罈子；他們就把沾滿酸酒的海綿綁在牛膝草上，往他的嘴裏送。當耶穌嚐了那酸酒，就說：「大功告成！」然後低下了頭，交出靈魂。

Zhǐhòu, Yēsū dòng-chá-yī-qiè dōu yǐ dà-gōng-gào-chéng, wèile yào yìngyàn jīng shàng suǒ shuō, jiù kāikǒu shuō: “Wǒ gānkě.” Zài nà lǐ yǒurén fàng-zhe yīge chéng mǎn le suānjiǔ tánzi; tāmen jiù bǎ zhān mǎn suānjiǔ de hǎimián bǎng zài niúxīcǎo shàng, wǎng tā de zuǐ lǐ sòng. Dāng Yēsū cháng-le nà suān jiǔ, jiù shuō, “Dà-gōng-gào-chéng!” Ránhòu dīxià-le tóu, jiāo-chū línghún.

After this, Jesus, knowing everything had already been accomplished, in order to fulfill what the Scripture says, said, “I am thirsty.” A jar full of sour wine was left standing there; so they put a sponge dipped with sour wine on a branch of hyssop, and held it to his mouth. As Jesus tasted that sour wine, he said, “It is accomplished!” and then bowed his head and gave up his spirit.

εἰδώς (v. 28; see also 18:4) The stative aspect of the perfect participle is translated by the *ø* morpheme in most Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, UV, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV, CPB, CSB). However, rather than the disyllabic verb *zhīdào* (“know”), εἰδώς is best translated by a four-character set phrase, *dòng-chá-yī-qiè* (“see all clearly”), because it marks the foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse, highlighting Jesus’ knowledge that his earthly mission is finally accomplished.

τετέλεσται (see also v. 30) Many Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, SYD, LÜ, CNT, HSC, SB, NCV, CPB, RCUV) use the perfective aspect marker *-le*, though there are a few exceptions that use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. CRV, DCT). It is best here, and also in v. 30, to translate τετέλεσται by the four-character set phrase *dà-gōng-gào-chéng* (“all is accomplished”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, because it reflects the discourse function of the perfective tense-form in Greek as the foregrounding device.

λέγει (see also vv. 26–27) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to IDVCs because the same exact verb form is used in v. 27 to introduce a direct quotation of Jesus. More heavily marked disyllabic verbs such as *kāikǒu* (“speak,” lit. “open one’s mouth”) or *shuōdào* (MSV; cf. 19:37) are preferable to the less heavily marked monosyllabic verb *shuō* (“say”) used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB).

διψῶ The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the preferable choice for the present tense-form (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV, RCUV, CSB). However, the disyllabic verb *gānkě* is preferable to monosyllabic verbs such as *kě* because it reflects the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek.

ἔλαβεν (v. 30; cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 23, 27, 40) Most Mandarin versions translate ἔλαβεν by verbs such as *chī* 吃 (“eat,” MSV), *cháng* 嘗/嚐 (“taste,” PK, UV, SYD, HS, SB, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB), *shòu* 受 (“receive,” LÜ, CRV), *yǐn* 飲 (“drink,” CNT), or *kē* 嗑 (“crack,” HSC) with the perfective *-le*, which are all good translations of the aorist. The DCT, however, has *cháng-guò-le* with the heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound *-guò-le*, which is not preferable because it does not reflect the discourse function of the aorist as the backgrounding device.

εἶπεν See 18:11, 25, 31–33, 37.

τετέλεσται (see also v. 28.) The same word used in v. 28 is now expressed as an exclamation of Jesus' last word on the cross. Basset has *Fù chéng yǐ* 父成矣 (“Father, it is accomplished!” SL-MOR) and most Chinese versions translate it with similar expressions, using either the modal particle *yǐ* or *le*: *Chéng le!* 成了! (PK, JOHNM, UV, BT, CLB, TCV, NCV, CRV, DCT, RCUV, CSB), *Chéng yǐ* 成矣 (BCV, GURY, BB, JOHN, SJ, UV, UVW, UVB, UVE, WV), *Wánquán le!* 完全了! (ZHU), *(Dōu)wánchéng le!* (都)完成了! (HS, LÜ, CNT, SB, CPB), *Wán le* 完了 (MSV, IG, HSC),<sup>89</sup> *Bì yǐ* 畢矣 (DV, GO), and *Yǐ bì le* 已畢了 (MOR, MAR, GÜ). All of these versions denote the idea that “It is done!” or “It is finished!” Interestingly, the four-character set phrase *dà-gōng-gào-chéng*, which is the most fitting translation of τετέλεσται in Mandarin, is used as the subject heading of this passage in the 1998 revised CLB.

κλίνας The shift in tense-form from to the perfect (τετέλεσται) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme (in this case, *-le*).

παρέδωκεν (cf. 18:30, 35; 19:16a) Some versions use the aspect marker *-le* (MSV, CNT, HSC, SB, NCV, CPB, RCUV) or RVCs such as *qì* (“abandon,” HS), *qù* (“depart,” MOR, MAR), or *chū* (“out,” IG, CSB),<sup>90</sup> however, the majority of Chinese versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. SL-MOR, GÜ, GO, BCV, DV, GURY, BB, SJ, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, WV, CLB, CRV). RVCs and *-le* are the most suitable because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect realized by the aorist tense-form.

<sup>89</sup> The MSV has *Shìqíng wán le* 事情完了 (“Things are done”).

<sup>90</sup> The CSB has both the RVC and perfective *-le*.

Οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν, ἵνα μὴ μείνη ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου, ἠρώτησαν τὸν Πιλᾶτον ἵνα κατεαγῶσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη καὶ ἀρθῶσιν. ἦλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατέαξαν τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες, ὥς εἶδον ἤδη αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, οὐ κατέαξαν αὐτοῦ τὰ σκέλη, ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. (19:31-34)

猶太人藉於是籌辦日的緣故，不想讓屍體在安息日當天仍留在十字架上；再說安息日是重要的節慶。猶太人就求彼拉多先把他們的腿給打斷，以便收屍。於是幾名士兵就先來打斷第一個同他釘十字架的人的腿，接著打斷另外一個。但是他們到了耶穌前時，見他已經命斷氣絕，就沒有把他的腿打斷。然而有一名士兵用長矛刺入他的肋旁，立刻有血和水流出來。

Yútàirén jièyú shì Chóubànrì de yuángù, bù xiǎng ràng shītǐ zài Ānxīrì dāngtiān réng liú zài shízìjià shàng; zàishuō Ānxīrì shì zhòngyào de jiéqīng. Yútàirén jiù qiú Bīlādūo xiān bǎ tāmen de tuǐ gěi dǎ-duàn, yǐbiàn shōu shī. Yúshì jǐ míng shìbīng jiù xiān lái dǎ-duàn dì yīge tóng tā dīng shízìjià de rén de tuǐ, jiēzhe dǎ-duàn lìngwài yīge. Dànshì tāmen dào-le Yēsū qián shí, jiàn tā yǐjīng mìng-duàn-qì-jué, jiù méiyǒu bǎ tā de tuǐ dǎ-duàn. Rán'ér yǒu yīmíng shìbīng yòng chángmáo cì-rù tā de lē páng, lìkè yǒu xiě hé shuǐ liú chūlái.

Since it was the day of Preparation, the Jews did not want the body still hanging on the cross on the Sabbath; also Sabbath is an important holiday. The Jews asked Pilate to have their legs broken and their body taken away. So the soldiers came and broke the legs of the first person who had been crucified with him, and then the other. But as they came

close to Jesus, they found that he was already dead, and so they did not break his legs. Instead, one soldier pricked his side with a spear, and immediately blood and water came out.

μείνη (v. 31) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, CSB) is preferable here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἠρώτησαν See 18:19.

κατεγῶσιν (cf. v. 36) Most versions use RVCs such as *duàn* (“break,” MSV, UV, SYD, CNT, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV, CSB) or *zhé* 折 (“break,” HSC), which closely reflect the perfective aspect that is signaled by the aorist subjunctive in Greek. Here, RVCs are stylistically preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, although there is no shift in tense-form. The *bǎ...gěi* construction used in some versions (e.g. CSB) conveys the idea that Pilate had ordered someone to complete these actions. A few versions add verb phrases such as *jiào rén* 叫人 (MSV, PK, JOHNM, LÜ, CRV) or *pài rén* 派人 (SYD, CNT, CPB), both of which express the same idea, while other versions (e.g. PK, UV, SB, NCV) do not use such constructions.

ἀρθῶσιν Some Mandarin versions use RVCs such as *zǒu* (“away,” IG, HS, CLB, TCV, CPB, RCUV), while the majority of others (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV) use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme. The conjunctive *yǐbiàn* (“so that”) expresses the sense of projection of the subjunctive mood in Greek. This verb is not translated in the CNT.

συσταυρωθέντος (v. 32; see also vv. 16a, 20, 41) The perfective aspect of the aorist passive participle is most commonly translated by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, IG, HSC, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB). Here, the passive construction (e.g. formed by the particle *bèi*) is optional and is used in only a few Mandarin versions (e.g. CNT, CPB, DCT, CSB). Such an addition sounds unnatural in Mandarin and, therefore, it is not recommended here.

ἦλθον (cf. v. 33) The monosyllabic verb *lái* (“come,” UV, WANG, CRV, CSB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to *-le* (CNT, IG, LÜ, NCV, CPB) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme.

κατέαξαν See v. 31.

ἐλθόντες (v. 33) The aspect marker *-le* (PK, CPB, ZHU) and RVCs such as *dào* (“arrive,” e.g. UV, WANG, BT, CNT, LÜ, SB, CLB, CSB) and *jìn* 近 (“near,” TCV) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. Stylically, *-le* is preferable to other formally expressed perfective morphemes because it accounts for more frequent use in subordinate clauses in Mandarin.<sup>91</sup>

εἶδον The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

τεθνηκότα Almost all Mandarin versions have *sǐ-le* with the perfective *-le* (MSV, PK, UV, CNT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, DCT, RCUV, CSB), the exception being the CPB, which uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The stative aspect, along with its foregrounding function in discourse realized in the perfect participle, is best rendered here by the

<sup>91</sup> See 3.2.5.2.c.α, pp. 125–26 above.



heavily marked four-character set phrase *mìng-duàn-qì-jué* (lit. “life ends and spirit departs”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

ἐνυῤῥεν (v. 34; cf. ἐξεκέντησαν in v. 37) The aspect marker *-le* (HS) and RVCs such as *pò* (“penetrate,” PK), *chuān* (“through,” DCT), *kāi* (“open,” HSC), and *rù* 入 (“enter,” CPB, CSB) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. Conversely, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to RVCs and *-le* because there is no shift in tense-form here to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The RVC *rù* is an ideal choice here because it establishes a better connection to the related term ἐξεκέντησαν in v. 37 where an RVC is also used to render the aorist.

Three Catholic versions use the two-morpheme aspect compound RVC-*le*, *cì-tòu-le* (CNT, SB) and *cì-kāi-le* (IG). This is not preferable because it does not reflect the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

ἐξηλθεν (see also 18:1) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, LÜ, TCV, CRV, RCUV) is preferable to *-le* (CPB, CSB) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme.

καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύσητε. ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ· ὅσοι οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει· ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. (19:35–37)

〈那一位親眼目睹的人口出證言，而他的見證是真實的；況且他通曉領悟他所敘

述的是實話，因此你們也能信著。〉這些事件發生了，其目的是在為聖經能得以應驗：「他的骨頭不會被打斷。」經上另有一句說道：「他們將注視他們所刺透的那一位。」

(Nà yīwèi qīn-yǎn-mù-dǔ de rén kǒu-chū-zhèng-yán, ér tā de jiànzhèng shì zhēnshí de; kuàngqiě tā tōng-xiǎo-lǐng-wù tā suǒ xùshù de shì shíhuà, yīncǐ nǐmen yě néng xìn-zháo.) Zhèxiē shìjiàn de fāshēng-le, qí mùdì shì zài wèi shèngjīng néng déyǐ yìngyàn: “tā de gǔtóu bù huì bèi dǎ-duàn.” Jīng shàng lìngyǒu yījù shuōdào: “Tāmen jiāng zhùshì tāmen suǒ cì-tòu de nà yīwèi.”

(That person who saw it in his own eyes has testified, his testimony is true; and he thoroughly understands that he is telling the truth.) These things happened, so that the Scripture may be fulfilled: “His bones will not be broken.” And elsewhere it says: “They will gaze upon the person they pierced.”

ἐωρακώς (v. 35) Most Mandarin versions use *kàn-jiàn* (“see,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, RCUV, CSB) with the RVC *jiàn* for the Greek perfect tense-form. A few others use four-character set phrases such as *qīnyǎn kàn-jiàn* 親眼看見 (“see with one’s own eyes,” CPB) or *qīnyǎn jiàn-zháo* (“see with one’s own eyes,” CNT) with the RVCs *jiàn* and *zháo*. However, the four-character set phrase, *qīn-yǎn-mù-dǔ* (“see with one’s own eyes”) works better here not only because it is more heavily marked than the other two, but also because the  $\emptyset$  morpheme closely reflects the stative aspect of the original.

μεμαρτύρηκεν The perfect form is translated most frequently by the verb phrase *zuò (jiàn)zhèng* 作(見)證 (“witness,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, HSC, SB, CRV, CPB),<sup>92</sup> *zuòzhèng*

<sup>92</sup> The MSV and the CPB uses *zuò* 做 instead of *zuò* 作.

作證 (SB), or *zhèngmíng* 證明 (“prove,” CNT) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. A few others use the perfective aspect marker *-le* (IG, LÜ, RCUV, CSB). The NCV adds the temporal deixis *yǐjīng* (“already”), apparently to convey past-time reference. Like the ἑωρακώς, μεμαρτύρηκεν is best translated by a four-character set phrase with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it marks frontgrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse.

οἶδεν See 18:21.

λέγει See 18:4.

πιστεύσῃτε Most Mandarin versions render volition expressed by the aorist subjunctive by adding auxiliary verbs such as *kěyǐ* (PK, UV, LÜ), *yào* (CSB), *zúyǐ* (CNT), *jiào* (SB), or *hǎo/hǎoshǐ/hǎoràng* (IG, NCV, RCUV) to the verb *xiāngxìn/xìn* 相信/信 (“believe”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. RVCs such as *zháo* are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. Also, the shift in tense-form from the present (λέγει) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἐγένετο (v. 36) The aspect marker *-le* (e.g. PK, UV, SYD, IG) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, CSB), because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist. This verb is not translated in the CNT.

συντριβήσεται (cf. v. 31) Some versions use auxiliary verbs such as *huì* (PK, JOHNM, LÜ, CPB), *yào* (CNT, IG, HSC), *kě* (UV, NCV, CRV, RCUV), and *děi* (ZHU) to express the expectation of the future form, while a few others do not make such additions (e.g. MSV, CSB). The passive construction formed by the particle *bèi* is appropriate here (see v. 16a).

λέγει (v. 37) See also 18:4. The disyllabic verb *shuōdào* (“say”) is preferable here to monosyllabic verbs such as *shuō* (“say,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CRV, DCT) or *yún* 云 (“say,” HS) found in most Mandarin versions because it is often used to introduce a direct quotation from a written text.<sup>93</sup> Several other versions (CNT, CLB, CPB, RCUV) do not translate λέγει.

ὄψονται A second future form is found here in the same Old Testament quotation and is expressed by similar auxiliary verbs in most Mandarin versions, for example *bìyào* (PK), *bì* (LÜ), *yào* (UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, SB, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV), or *néng* (CNT). Another common auxiliary, *jiāng*, is also used, especially in newer versions (e.g. CPB, CSB). The MSV and JOHNM use both auxiliary verbs, *jiāng* and *yào*, which is also acceptable. IG, on the other hand, has *zhānwàng* 瞻望 (“look forward”) without an auxiliary verb or aspect morpheme.

ἐξεκέντησαν (cf. ἐνυξεν in v. 34) The monosyllabic verb *cì* (“stab”) with the RVC *tòu* (“through,” all Catholic Mandarin versions: IG, CNT, HSC, SB, CPB) is preferable to *zhā* 扎 (“pierce,” e.g. PK, UV, WANG, BT, HS, LÜ, CRV, RCUV), *cì* (“stab,” e.g. JOHNM, CLB, NCV), or *chuō* 戳 (“jab,” MSV, ZHU) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

RVCs are preferable also because the aorist is used in an Old Testament quotation. The heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound RVC-*le* (*cì-le*, TCV) is not preferable because it indicates foregrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse.

### 6.2.7. Jesus Buried (John 19:38–42) 耶穌被葬

In this final pericope, the aorist tense-forms are used to set the scene (v. 38), propel the narrative forward (vv. 39–41), and conclude the entire Passion narrative of John (v.

<sup>93</sup> See, for example, *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, s.v.

42). The present tense-forms are used to draw special attention to the preparation of Jesus' burial by Nicodemus according to Jewish custom (v. 39–40), whereas the perfect tense-forms are reserved to highlight two items: Joseph of Arimathea, who was a secret disciple of Jesus (v. 38), and the description of the new tomb (v. 41).

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πιλάτον Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πιλάτος. ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἤρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. (19:38)

在此之後，有一個叫約瑟的亞利馬太人求彼拉多，以便把耶穌的屍體收走。此人乃是耶穌的門徒，然而因為畏懼猶太人而閉口藏舌。彼拉多准了。於是他就來把他的屍體取走。

Zàicǐ zhīhòu, yǒu yīge jiào Yuēsè de Yàlímǎtàirén qiú Bīlādūō, yǐbiàn bǎ Yēsū de shītǐ shōu-zǒu. Círén nǎishì Yēsū de méntú, rán'ér yīnwèi wèijù Yóutàirén ér bì-kǒu-cáng-shé. Bīlādūō zhǔn le. Yúshì tā jiù lái bǎ tā de shītǐ qǔ-zǒu.

After this, a man named Joseph of Arimathea asked Pilate to remove the body of Jesus for burial. This man was a disciple of Jesus, but he kept it secret for fear of the Jews. Pilate permitted. So he came and took his body away.

ἠρώτησεν See 18:19.

Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας Joseph of Arimathea is mentioned in the Nestorian document the *Lord of the Universe's Discourse on Almsgiving* (vv. 115–117) as Yáoxí 姚霄, which might have been pronounced [ˌjäu zjəp] in early seventh century China, a close phonetic representation of the Syriac ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.<sup>94</sup> At least a dozen different transliterations appear in Chinese versions: *Līmǎdá zhī Ruòsè* 利馬達之若瑟 (SL-MOR),

<sup>94</sup> See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 243. Karlgren does not include the character 霄, however, he gives its closest form 習 the reading [zjəp]. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

*Yǎlímǎdīyà zhī Ruòsèfú* 亞利馬氏亞 之若色弗 (MOR, MAR), and *Āliěr Mǎfěiyà rén*, *Yīwòsīfú* 阿憐瑪斐亞人、伊沃四福 (GURY), *Yǎlímǎtài rén*, *míng jiào Yuēsè* 亞利馬太人、名叫約瑟 (PK, JOHNM),<sup>95</sup> and the most common, *Yǎlímǎtài rén Yuēsè* 亞利馬太人約瑟 (e.g. DV, UV, WANG, BT, CRV).<sup>96</sup> The Catholic versions are the most diverse: *Yēlímǎdī de Ruòsè* 耶利瑪第的若瑟 (CNT), *Yǎlímǎdà rén Ruòsè* 亞利瑪大人若瑟 (WV), *Yǎlímǎdīyà rén Ruòsè* 亞利瑪第亞人若塞 (HSC), *Yǎlímǎtèyǎ rén Ruòsè* 阿黎瑪特雅人若瑟 (SB), and *Yǎlímǎtài rén Ruòsè* 亞利馬太人若瑟 (CPB).

κεκρυμμένος Here is an example of the participle used as a modifier of a substantive.<sup>97</sup> Most Mandarin versions use expressions such as *ànnà de zuò* 暗暗的作 (PK, UV, IG, NCV, CRV, CSB), *ànzōng zuò* 暗中作 (HSC), or *yǐnmì de* 隱密地 (LÜ) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, all of which denote “follow secretly.” SB, on the other hand, uses the perfective *-le*, which does not reflect the stative aspect of the Greek. The stative aspect conveyed by the perfect participle may be better reflected by the four-character set phrase *bì-kǒu-cáng-shé* (“keep one’s mouth shut”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

ἄρη (cf. v. 31) The shift in tense-form from the perfect (κεκρυμμένος) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἐπέτρεπεν The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, SB) is preferable to *-le* (MSV, ZHU, CNT, IG, LÜ, NCV, CRV, CSB) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme.

ἦλθεν See v. 32.

<sup>95</sup> JOHNM has 亞利馬太 instead of 亞利瑪太.

<sup>96</sup> The DV omits *rén*.

<sup>97</sup> See the discussion of example (23) in chapter 5, pp. 267–68.

ἦρεν RVCs such as *zǒu* (“leave,” e.g. CPB), *qù* (“go,” PK, UV, SYD, LÜ, NCV, CSB), or *huí* (“return,” IG) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. Despite the fact that there is no shift in tense-form, RVCs are stylistically preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and establishes a better connection to ἄρη where the same RVC is used to render the aorist tense-form in Greek.

ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν.  
(19:39–40)

先前在夜裏拜見過耶穌的尼哥底母，也來了。他帶著沒藥、蘆薈調合的香料，約有一百磅重〔<sup>約三</sup><sub>十公斤</sub>〕。他們依照猶太殯葬禮俗，取了耶穌的屍體，並用細麻布加上香料裹好。

Xiānqián zài yè lǐ bàijiàn-guò Yēsū de Nígēdīmǔ, yě lái le. Tā dài-zhe mòyào, lúhuì tiáohé de xiāngliào, yuē yǒu yībǎi bàng zhòng (yuē sānshí gōngjīn). Tāmen yīzhào Yóutài bìnàng lǐsú, qǔ-le Yēsū de shītǐ, bìng yòng xì mábù jiāshàng xiāngliào guǒ-hǎo.  
Nicodemus, who had visited Jesus before, also came. He was bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, weighing about a hundred pounds (or about 30 kilograms). They took Jesus’ body and wrapped it with spices on the linen, according to the burial custom of the Jews.  
ἦλθεν (v. 39; cf. v. 33) The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, IG, HSC, TCV, CLB, CSB) is preferable to *-le* (BT, CNT, SB, LÜ, NCV, CPB, RCUV) and RVCs such as *dào* (“arrive,” HS) because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme. This verb is not translated in SYD and ZHU.

ἐλθὼν (see also v. 33) Despite the fact that there is no shift in tense-form, the perfective aspect marker *-guò* (MSV, CNT) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (HS, CLB, CRV) not only because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek, but also because it is stylistically better here. Most Mandarin versions use the verb phrase *lái jiàn* 來見 (“come to visit,” PK, JOHNM, WANG, BT, IG, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CSB) or *qù jiàn* 去見 (“go to visit,” UV, SYD, ZHU, CPB, RCUV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is not preferable since a single participle in Greek does not warrant such translation.

φέρων The aspect marker *-zhe* (PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, IG, HSC, HS, LÜ, SB, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CSB) is preferable to *-le* (MSV, TCV, CPB, DCT) because it reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek.

ἔλαβον (v. 40; cf. 18:3, 12, 31; 19:1, 6, 16b, 23, 27, 30) As in v. 23, the aspect marker *-le* (IG, SB, LÜ, CRV, NCV, CPB, CSB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (SYD, ZHU, CNT) because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist. Also, the shift in tense-form from the present (φέρων) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

ἔδησαν (cf. 18:12) Despite the fact that there is no shift in tense-form, RVCs such as *hǎo* (“good,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, ZHU, BT, IG, LÜ, SB, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, DCT, RCUV) and *qǐlái* (“up,” HSC, CNT, CSB) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (HS) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek. RVCs also establish a possible connection to the same exact verb form used in the first pericope (18:1–14) where it is mentioned that the arresting party “tied up” (*kǔn*-RVC) Jesus and brought him before Annas.



ἐνταφιάζειν The infinitive functions as a modifier of the substantive (ἔθος; see also 5.3.1.5).<sup>98</sup> Most Mandarin versions recognize this use of the infinitive: *ān(/bìn)zàng de guījǔ* 安(/殯)葬的規矩 (“burial custom,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, WANG, BT, TCV, CRV), *bìnzàng (de) xí(/fēng)sú* 殯葬(的)習(/風)俗 (“burial custom,” IG, HSC, SB, CLB, CSB), *rùliàn de fāngfǎ* 入殮的方法 (“burial method,” HS), *zànglǐ de guīlǐ* 葬禮的規例 (“funeral rite,” NCV), *sāngzàng de guījǔ(/xísú)* 喪葬的規矩(/習俗) (“burial custom,” RCUV, CPB), or *bìnlìan lǐ* 殯殮禮 (“burial rite,” CNT).<sup>99</sup> The only exception is LÜ, which not only renders the present infinitive as a modifier of the substantive, but also adds the verb *bàn* (“handle”; *zhào Yóutàirén yùbèi ānzàng de guījǔ bàn* 照猶太人豫備安葬的規矩辦 (lit. “handle [the body] according to the Jewish custom of preparation for burial”). This is not preferable because of the apparent tautology and awkward syntax in Mandarin.

ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κήπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινὸν ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος· ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. (19:41–42)

在耶穌被釘十字架的地方，有一個園子；園內有座新墓，是從未有人安葬入殮的。因為那天是猶太人的籌辦日，墳墓又近的原故，他們就把耶穌置在那兒了。

Zài Yēsū bèi dīng shízìjià de dìfāng, yǒu yīge yuánzi; yuánnèi yǒu zuò xīn mù, shì cóngwèi yǒurén ān-zàng-rù-liàn de. Yīnwèi nàtiān shì Yóutàirén de Chóubànrì, fénmù yòu jìn de yuángù, tāmen jiù bǎ Yēsū zhì zài nàr le.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, Robertson, *Grammar*, 1075–76; Brooks and Winbery, *Syntax*, 128–29; Porter, *Idioms*, 198–99.

<sup>99</sup> SB has *máizàng de xísú* 埋葬的習俗 (“burial custom”). For a comprehensive survey of Chinese terms relating to death and burial, see Watters, *Essays*, 245–327.

At the place where Jesus was crucified, there was a garden. In it there was a new tomb, where no one had ever been laid. Because it was the Jewish day of Preparation, and the tomb was nearby, they laid Jesus there.

ἐσταυρώθη (v. 41; see also v. 20) The same word also occurs in v. 20, but the Mandarin versions provide different translations. The PK uses the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in v. 20, while here it uses the RVC *sǐ* instead. Similarly, the UV uses the passive construction formed by the particle *bèi* in v. 20, but here it simply has *dīng shízìjià*. Also, this verb is left untranslated in WV and HS. The same phrase used to translate ἐσταυρώθη, *bèi dīng shízìjià*, should also be used here. In addition, there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed aspect morpheme.

ἦν τεθειμένος The periphrastic construction may be translated by the four-character set phrase *ān-zàng-rù-liàn* (lit. “prepare the body and place it in the coffin”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme expressed in the *shì...de* construction.<sup>100</sup> The four-character set phrase reflects the discourse function of the perfect tense-form as a foregrounding device.

ἔθηκαν See v. 19.

### 6.3. Conclusion

Table 6.2 is a compilation of all Mandarin aspect morphemes used in the five representative Mandarin versions (Protestant and Catholic, plus FOLEY, the author’s own translation provided in this chapter) to translate the Greek verb forms in John 18–19.<sup>101</sup> The table is divided into the five Greek tense-forms with corresponding Mandarin aspect morphemes that were chosen in concordance with the proposed translation theory.

<sup>100</sup> See example (21) in 5.3.2.1.b.β, pp. 263–65 above.

<sup>101</sup> All these sample New Testament versions (except LÜ) are prepared by committees. LÜ is chosen here on the basis of its literal approach to translating.

	PERFECTIVE							IMPERFECTIVE												STATIVE					
	Aorist							Present						Imperfect						Perfect			Pluperfect		
	ø		-le	-guò	RVC	Verb Redpl	2-MC	ø		zài	-zhe	IDVC	2-MC	ø		zài	-zhe	IDVC	2-MC	ø		-zhe	ø		-zhe
	M	D	了	過				M	D	在	著			M	D	在	著			M/D	SP	著	M/D	SP	著
PK	82 44%	56 30%	11 6%	1 0.5%	17 9%	—	4 2%	44 65%	14 20.5%	—	5 7%	—	—	5 42%	5 42%	—	—	—	—	18 62%	—	4 14%	3 60%	—	1 20%
UV	92 49.5%	52 28%	17 9%	—	15 8%	—	—	48 71%	11 16%	—	4 6%	—	—	6 50%	4 33%	—	1 8%	—	—	17 59%	—	4 14%	5 100%	—	—
SB	70 38%	59 32%	29 16%	3 2%	18 10%	—	4 2%	43 63%	16 23.5%	—	3 4%	—	—	7 58%	2 17%	—	1 8%	—	—	18 62%	—	1 3%	3 60%	—	2 40%
LÜ	78 42%	62 33%	19 10%	3 2%	17 9%	1 0.5%	—	48 71%	11 16%	—	4 6%	—	—	6 50%	4 33%	—	1 8%	—	—	11 38%	—	5 17%	1 20%	—	4 80%
NCV	83 45%	42 23%	25 13%	3 2%	21 11%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	42 62%	15 22%	—	4 6%	—	—	8 67%	3 25%	—	1 8%	—	—	19 66%	—	1 3%	4 80%	—	1 20%
FO LEY	66 35.5%	23 12%	28 15%	10 5.5%	52 28%	5 3%	2 1%	—	40 59%	7 10%	17 25%	—	4 6%	—	2 17%	—	7 58%	1 8%	2 17%	—	24 83%	5 17%	—	3 60%	2 40%

Table 6.2. Summary of Greek tense-forms with their corresponding aspect morphemes used in John 18–19 in the representative

Mandarin versions

The top number refers to the total occurrences of the Mandarin aspect morpheme employed to translate the given Greek tense-form. The bottom percentage refers to the total occurrences of the given morpheme divided by the total occurrences of that Greek tense-form. This table allows for an accurate measurement of these five versions in translating aspect in Greek into Mandarin. Take for example the aorist tense-form in Greek, which the current dissertation argues may be translated into Mandarin by the  $\emptyset$  morpheme or by any of the perfective aspect morphemes (i.e. *-le*, *-guò*, RVCs, verb reduplication, two-morpheme aspect compounds).<sup>102</sup> The first column of the first row indicates that the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (in monosyllabic verbs) was used a total of 82 times, or 44% of the time, to translate the aorist tense-form in PK.

At first glance, it would appear that, with the exception of the perfect tense-form, the numbers are relatively high: for the aorist, PK (91.5%), UV (94.5%), SB (100%), LÜ (96.5%), NCV (95%); for the present, PK (92.5%), UV (93%), SB (90.5%), LÜ (93%), NCV (90%); for the imperfect PK (83%), UV (91%), SB (83%), LÜ (91%), NCV (100%); for the perfect, PK (76%), UV (73%), SB (65%), LÜ (55%), NCV (69%); and for the pluperfect PK (80%), UV (100%), SB (100%), LÜ (100%), NCV (100%). A closer examination, however, indicates that these versions employ the morphologically expressed aspect morphemes far less frequently for translating the perfective and imperfective aspects in Greek: 17%–30% for the aorist (vs. 52.5% in FOLEY), 4%–7% for the present (vs. 41% in FOLEY), and 8% for the imperfect tense-forms (vs. 83% in FOLEY).

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<sup>102</sup> See Table 4.1, p. 166 above.

The average rates for accuracy in translating aspect in the five representative versions are as follows: PK (84.6%), UV (90.3%), SB (87.7%), LÜ (87.1%), and NCV (90.8%). However, these scores by no means suggest that these versions are good translations of the Greek tense-forms. The numbers shown in Table 6.2 indicate that these versions tend to use the less heavily marked monosyllabic verbs with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme more often than any other morpheme to translate the five tense-forms that grammaticalize the perfective, imperfective, and stative aspects in Greek. The imperfective aspect morphemes, including *zài*, IDVCs, and two-morpheme aspect compounds, are never used. None of these versions utilizes four-character set phrases for translating the most heavily marked perfective and pluperfect tense-forms. These observations demonstrate that the translators of these sample versions have either deliberately, or, more likely, inadvertently, ignored aspect in relationship to grounding and markedness—either Greek or Mandarin—and their critical functions at the discourse level.

This chapter has served to demonstrate that the proposed theory of translating Greek aspect into Mandarin aspect can be successfully applied to the practice of Bible translation. Upon examining the Passion narrative of John, several points may be observed. First, with the exception of cases in which the marking of prominence is evident due to pragmatic or syntactic effects (e.g. the repetition of the exact verb form where the reduplicant follows immediately after the verb), two-morpheme aspect compounds are not used to translate the aorist tense-form in the Passion narrative of John, even though they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect in Greek. On the other hand, two-morpheme aspect compounds may be used to represent the more heavily marked present and imperfect tense-forms. However, because the contexts in which the

imperfective aspect compounds can be utilized in Mandarin are rather limited, the translator may compensate for this limitation by using the more heavily marked disyllabic verbs as opposed to the less heavily marked monosyllabic ones.

Second, four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme may be used consistently to render the stative aspect in Greek realized by both the perfective and pluperfect tense-forms. Four-character set phrases also reflect these two most heavily marked tense-forms and their function as foregrounding devices in discourse.

Third, formally expressed perfective aspect morphemes may be preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, especially under any one (or more) of the following conditions: (1) There is a shift in tense-form in the Greek. (2) The aorist tense-form occurs in either a direct quotation or conditional clause. (3) The aorist is used to establish textual cohesion at the discourse level. Fourth, conceptual distance ([+remoteness]) grammaticalized by the imperfect and pluperfect tense-forms in the Greek indicative mood may be rendered in Mandarin by lexical means (i.e. by adding extra words such as *lǎo*, *zǎo*, *nà*, *qù*).

Fifth, although passive constructions are not obligatory in Mandarin, certain expressions in Greek (e.g. ἐσταυρώθη) may be consistently rendered by the *bèi* construction. Sixth, to avoid confusion, auxiliary verbs in Mandarin should be used for the sole purpose of translating non-indicative moods. Seventh, in terms of phonological translation, biblical transliteration should follow the conventions found in most existing Mandarin versions. Finally, Greek periphrastic constructions may be consistently rendered by *shì...de* in Mandarin. In the next chapter, Paul's exposition of the resurrection of the dead in 1 Corinthians 15 provides a second sample passage to test the validity of the proposed translation theory.

## CHAPTER 7 1 CORINTHIANS 15

### 7.1. Introduction

#### 7.1.1. Aim of the Chapter

Paul's exposition of the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 provides a second sample text to test the validity of the proposed translation theory. The translation provided here is written following the principles of systematic rendering of the Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect developed in this dissertation. As in chapter 6, this chapter conducts a critical and comprehensive review of the writings of the Nestorian, Manichaeian, and Catholic missionaries, as well as over sixty Chinese Bible versions, twenty of which are in Mandarin. Although other linguistic issues pertaining to Bible translation (e.g. figurative speech) are also included, the primary focus is on addressing issues related to the grammatical translation of verbal aspect from Greek into Mandarin. This chapter serves as the conclusion to the current dissertation.

#### 7.1.2. Discourse Structure of 1 Corinthians 15

Paul's exposition of the resurrection of the dead is divided into five discourse units (or pericopes): the resurrection of Christ (vv. 1–11), the resurrection of the dead (vv. 12–34), the resurrection of the body (vv. 35–49), the victory over death (vv. 50–57), and conclusion (v. 58). Discourse boundaries are marked by shifts in tense-form and in grammatical person.<sup>1</sup> The change in grammatical person from the first (κηρύσσομεν) and second (ἐπιστεύσατε) in v. 11 to the third (λέγουσιν, v. 12), for example, as well as the shift in tense-form (from the aorist to the present), indicate the beginning of the second pericope (vv. 12–24). Likewise, the shift in tense-form from the present in the

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<sup>1</sup> See 6.1.2, pp. 296–97 above.

first person (λαλῶ) in v. 34 to the future form in the third person (ἔρεϊ) in v. 35 marks the beginning of the third pericope (vv. 35–49). Once again, the tense-forms are switched from the future form (φορέσομεν, v. 49) back to the present (φημί, v. 50), thereby introducing the fourth pericope (vv. 50–57). In contrast to the Passion narrative of John, epistolary conventions such as salutations (ἀδελφοί [μου ἀγαπητοί], vv. 1, 50, 58)<sup>2</sup> and rhetorical questions (πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες, v. 12; ἀλλὰ ἐρεϊ τις, v. 35) are used to introduce new pericopes. Boundaries of smaller discourse units are determined by conjunctives such as γάρ (vv. 9–11), νυνὶ δέ (vv. 20–28), ἐπεὶ (vv. 29–34), and οὕτως καί (vv. 42–47).

Excluding vague verbs (εἰμί and φημί) and future forms, the total number of verbs used in 1 Corinthians 15 is 113. The aorist tense-form functions as the backgrounding device at the discourse level and occurs 45 times (40%) in the exposition. The present tense-form functions as the foregrounding device, and occurs 54 times (48%). The perfect tense-form serves as the frontgrounding device, and occurs 14 times (12%).

### 7.1.3. Nestorian and Early Catholic Records Concerning Resurrection

The earliest known Chinese source concerning the resurrection of the dead appears in an early seventh century Nestorian text called the *Discourse on Almsgiving*. Its author, Bishop Alopên, reports that “we remember that this Messiah said (whilst He was yet alive), ‘in three days, I will rise again from the dead’” (*Sān rìnèi yú sǐ zhōng yù qǐ* 三日內於死中欲起, v. 120).<sup>3</sup> Adam (*Ātán* 阿談) is mentioned here as the first man to sin (vv. 82–99), and “thereby all men without exception might be raised from the dead and ascend up to Heaven even as He” (*Yīqiè rén yúhòu yù qǐ cóng sǐ. Yù shàngtiān qù* 一切人

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 290.

<sup>3</sup> For the Chinese text, English translation with notes, see Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 51–70; 206–247.



於後欲起從死。欲上天去。v. 68).<sup>4</sup> A millennium later, Catholic missionaries also made explicit reference to the resurrection in Chinese. Ricci, for example, uses the expression *fù shēng guītiān* 復昇歸天 (“re-ascend into Heaven”),<sup>5</sup> whereas Ortiz’s version of the Apostles’ Creed reads *dīsān rì zì sǐzhě zhōng fùhuó... wǒ xìn ròushēn zhī fùhuó* 第三日自死者中復活 . . . 我信肉身之復活 (“On the third day he came back to life from the dead... I believe in the resurrection of the body”).<sup>6</sup> Paul’s exposition of the resurrection of the dead in 1 Corinthians 15 was first translated into Chinese (from the Vulgate) by Jean Basset around 1738.<sup>7</sup>

## 7.2. Chinese Translation of 1 Corinthians 15

The Chinese translation provided in this section was written according to the principles of systematic rendering of the Greek verbal aspect into Mandarin verbal aspect developed in chapters 2–5 of this dissertation. The presentation of the Greek text, the principles of English translation, and the format of each section follow the system outlined in chapter 6 (see 6.2).

### 7.2.1. The Resurrection of Christ (vv. 1–11) 論基督復活

This pericope may be divided into two sub-sections (vv. 1–8, 9–11). The smaller discourse boundary, as noted in 7.1.2, can be determined by the conjunctive γάρ (v. 9). Paul uses the aorist tense-form to set the stage for arguments he presents later in the chapter. He uses it to lay down his assumption regarding the saving power of the Gospel (vv. 1–2), present an old creedal formula (vv. 3–5), recount Christ’s post-resurrection

<sup>4</sup> English translation is by Saeki. See Saeki, *Nestorian Documents*, 211.

<sup>5</sup> Ricci’s *T’ien-chu Shih-i* also contains a summary statement of Jesus’ earthly ministry. See Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 448, line 580.

<sup>6</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*, 5–6. English translation is my own.

<sup>7</sup> Strandenaes, “Sloane MS #3599,” 61–64. See 2.1.3, p. 19 above. For a general introduction to 1 Corinthians, see, for example, Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1169–82.

appearances (vv. 6–8), explain why he is least worthy among the apostles (v. 9–10), and conclude his preliminary remarks (v. 11). He employs the present tense-forms to specify a number of significant details: to state the purpose of his address to the believers at Corinth (v. 1–2), to note the present condition of the five hundred witnesses to Christ's appearance (v. 6), and to describe his place among the apostles (vv. 9–11). He also utilizes two perfect tense-forms to focus on two critically important facts: the Corinthians' firm faith (v. 1) and Christ's resurrection (v. 4).

Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ  
παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε, δι' οὗ καὶ σώζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην  
ὑμῖν εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε. (15:1–2)

弟兄姊妹們，我向你們提起，我給你們傳過的福音，也就是你們所受的、靠它  
立足腳跟、並且因它而得救，要是你們仍堅守著我給你們傳過的道，除非你們徒  
然的信了。

Dìxiōng jiěmèimen, wǒ xiàng nǐmen tí-qǐ, wǒ gěi nǐmen chuán-guò de fúyīn, yějiù shì  
nǐmen suǒ shòu de, kào tā lì-zú-jiǎo-gēn, bìngqiě yīn tā ér déjiù, yàoshì nǐmen réng  
jiānshǒu-zhe wǒ gěi nǐmen chuán-guò de dào, chūfēi nǐmen túrán de xìn le.

Brothers and sisters, I bring to your attention, the gospel that I preached to you, that is,  
what you received, in which you stand firm, and through which you are saved, if you still  
hold firmly to the message I preached to you, unless you believe in vain.

γνωρίζω (v. 1) Several versions add auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (ZHU, LÜ, HS, CRV, CPB, RCUV) or *yuànyì* (CNT) to verbs such as *zhīdào* 知道 (“know”) or *chóngwēn* 重溫 (“remind,” CLB) with the *ø* morpheme, while a few versions use RVCs such as *qīng* (*wǒ yuànyì nǐmen rèn-qīng* 我願意你們認清, “I wish you to realize,” SB) or *míng* (*wǒ yào*

*bǎ...jiǎng-míng* 我要把 . . . 講明, “I want to clarify,” NCV), both of which denote “clear.” Such additions are inappropriate, since auxiliary verbs in Mandarin are reserved for the translation of the non-indicative moods in Greek, including the future form, infinitive, subjunctive, and optative moods. The RVC *míng* (“clear,” HSC), on the other hand, is not preferable because it expresses the perfective aspect. Earlier Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT) have *gàosù nǐmen zhīdào* (“tell you so that you know”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is not preferable for the indicative mood in Greek.<sup>8</sup> The IDVC *qǐ* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form.

εὐηγγελισάμην (cf. 2) The shift in tense-form from the present (γνωρίζω) to aorist justifies the use of the aspect marker *-guò* instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is found in most Mandarin versions. With the exception of the CNT, HS, and HSC, these versions add temporal adverbs such as *xiānqián* 先前 (“previously,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, SB, LÜ, CRV, RCUV), *cóngqián* 從前 (“before,” NCV), *yǐqián* 以前 (“in the past,” TCV), or *céngjīng* 曾經 (“once,” CPB) as a way to establish past-time reference. This is not preferable because the aorist tense-form in Greek is not used to grammaticalize past-time reference.

παράλαβετε (cf. παρέλαβον, v. 3) Most Mandarin versions reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist by using *-guò* (PK), *-le* (UV, WANG, ZHU, CNT, HS, BT, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV), the RVC *xià* (“down,” HSC), or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, JOHNM, CLB). Here, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used instead of the formally expressed morphemes not only because it is stylistically preferable, but because it better reflects the less marked

<sup>8</sup> BT has *shuō-míng gěi nǐmen zhīdào* (“tell you to let you know”).

aorist tense-form in Greek. In addition, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme works better because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of the formally expressed morphemes.

ἐστήκατε (cf. εἰστήκει in John 18:5) Several versions render the perfect indicative by an adjectival phrase, for example *zhàn lì de zhù* 站立得住 (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, RCUV) or *zhàn lì de wěn* 站立得穩 (ZHU, NCV), both of which denote “standing firm.” A few versions translate it as a verb, others translate it with the RVCs *wěn* (“firm,” SB) or *zhù* (“firm,” CRV), and still others translate it with the stative aspect marker *-zhe* (HSC). Although *-zhe* reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form, the four-character set phrase *lì-zú-jiǎo-gēn* (“stand firm,” lit. “have a strong footing”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is a better choice because its heavily marked feature conveys frontgrounded prominence in Mandarin discourse, which closely corresponds to the perfect tense-form in Greek.

σῶζεσθε (v. 2) Most Chinese versions (SL-MOR, MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, CNT, BT, HSC, SB, CLB, NCV) use *déjiù* (“be saved”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Here, morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option, because expressions such as *déjiù-zhe* or *zài déjiù* are ungrammatical. The addition of auxiliary verbs such as *bìyào* (CNT), *bìnéng* (PK), or *huì* (TCV, RCUV) is not preferable because such additions are reserved for translating the non-indicatives in Greek. HS uses the perfective *-le*, which is also not preferable because it does not reflect the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-form in Greek. The verb phrase *zhújiàn déjiù* 逐漸得救 (“begin to be saved” or “gradually to be saved,” CRV) must be rejected because it expresses not aspect but the ingressive *Aktionsart* of the verb.

λόγος/λόγος Some versions use *fúyīn* (“good news,” SL-MOR, MSV, HSC, CLB, TCV, SJ), while others render it formally: *huà* 話 (BT, LÜ, SB, CRV) and *yán* 言 (DV), both of which denote “word.” Several Mandarin versions do not translate this word (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, CNT). The most suitable term for λόγος is *dào* (“way,” “message,” “sermon,” “truth,” “reason,” “doctrine,” etc., WANG, HS, NCV, CPB).<sup>9</sup>

Ricci has used *dào* in the context of Jesus’ earthly ministry (*chuán dào zhī gōng yǐ bì* 傳道之功已畢, “[his] preaching ministry has been completed”).<sup>10</sup>

εὐηγγελισάμην (cf. v. 1) The repetition of this exact same verb in the same discourse unit (vv. 1–8) may be due to emphasis. However, this type of repetition is different from the examples found in John 19:6 and 19:15, in which the repeated verb follows immediately after the other.<sup>11</sup> Here, the translator may formally translate the aorist, that is, use the same verb form, *chuán*, with the perfective aspect marker *-guò*.

κατέχετε The shift in tense-form from the aorist (εὐηγγελισάμην) to the present justifies the use of imperfective aspect markers such as *zài* (LÜ, HS), *-zhe* (MSV), or IDVCs (e.g. *xiàqù*). However, in order to avoid tautology, the translator might not want to use a heavily marked two-morpheme aspect compound here. Obviously, the perfective *-le* does not reflect the imperfective aspect of the Greek (*chíshǒu-le* 持守了, SB). The *ø* morpheme may be acceptable if it is expressed by a disyllabic verb such as *chíshǒu* (“guard,” ZHU, NCV) or *jiānshǒu* 堅守 (“stand fast,” TCV, CRV, CPB), but not by a monosyllabic verb (e.g. *shǒu*, JOHNM) or a four-character set phrase (e.g. *jǐn-shèn-bǎo-shǒu* 謹慎保守, “guard carefully,” CNT). The addition of auxiliary verbs such as *néng*

<sup>9</sup> For introductory comments on the use of *dao* in Chinese Christian literature, see, Watters, *Essays*, 240–44.

<sup>10</sup> Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 452, line 589.

<sup>11</sup> See the discussions on these two verses in my chapter 6.

(PK, UV, WANG, HSC) and *yào* (CLB) is not preferable for translating the indicative mood in Greek into Mandarin because auxiliary verbs express volition as well as futurity. ἐπιστεύσατε (see also v. 11) The shift in tense-form from the present back to aorist may justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. However, the translator does not have a choice here, since when *le* occurs at the end of a sentence it must be interpreted as a modal particle and not a perfective aspect marker (see 3.2.5.2.c.α above). Other perfective morphemes such as *-guò* or RVCs, while grammatically acceptable, render the sentence rather awkward.

Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the aorist, however, some are better than others. The monosyllabic verb *xìn* (“believe”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, JOHNM, HSC, SB, CPB) is preferable to the disyllabic verb *xiāngxìn* (“believe”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, LÜ) because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek. Several other versions (e.g. UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HS, CRV, NCV) add the verb *shì* (“be”) to the front of the verb, which is not preferable because the *shì... (de)* construction is reserved for the translation of periphrastic construction in Greek into Mandarin. The CNT, on the other hand, has *xìnxīn shì kōngxū de* 信心是空虛的 (“faith is void”), which is not a preferable choice because ἐπιστεύσατε is translated as a noun.

παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα· (vv. 3–5)

我所傳給你們的也是我所受的：最首要者，就是基督應經上所言，為我們的罪而死去、並被葬掉；又應經上所言，第三天死而復甦；並且現於磯法面前，然後於十二使徒之前；

Wǒ suǒ chuán gěi nǐmen de yěshì wǒ suǒ shòu de: zuì shǒuyào zhě, jiùshì Jīdū yīng jīng shàng suǒ yán, wèi wǒmen de zuì ér sǐ-qù, bìng bèi zàng-diào; yòu yīng jīng shàng suǒ yán, disān tiān sǐ-'ér-fù-sū; bìngqiě xiàn yú Jīfǎ miànrán, ránhòu yú shí'èr shǐtú zhīqián;

What I preached to you is also what I received: most important is that Christ, in accordance with the scriptures, died for our sins, and was buried; also according to the scriptures, (Christ) had risen from the dead on the third day; and was seen by Cephas, and then by the twelve apostles.

παρέδωκα (v. 3) Paul uses two aorists (παρέδωκα and παρέλαβον) to introduce what he considers to be the cornerstones of Christian faith. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of the morphologically expressed perfective aspect morphemes. The monosyllabic *chuán* (“pass on,” UV, ZHU, CNT, SB, LÜ, CRV, RCUV) is preferable to disyllabic verbs such as *chuánshòu* 傳授 (MSV, CPB) or *chuánjiāo* 傳交 (“deliver,” NCV), because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

παρέλαβον As in v. 1, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV) is preferable to the formally expressed perfective morphemes, since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of *-guò* (PK) or *-le* (NCV). Also, as in v. 1, the monosyllabic *shòu* (“receive”) is preferable to disyllabic verbs (e.g. *lǐngshòu* 領受, UV, ZHU, SB, LÜ, RCUV, etc.) because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek.

ἀπέθανεν Paul now states what many biblical commentators believe to be an early creedal formula, introduced by ὅτι, using two aorists (ἀπέθανεν, ἑτάφη, vv. 3–4) and a perfect (ἐγγήγερται, v. 4).<sup>12</sup> Although there are no shifts in tense-form in v. 3, the aspect marker *-le* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, HS, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV) and RVCs such as *qù* (“go”) are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. *sǐ*, “die,” MSV, PK, CLB; *sǐwáng*, “die,” CNT) because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. JOHNM and BB have *shòu sǐ* (“suffer death”), which does not reflect the active voice of the Greek, since the particle *shòu* forms the passive construction in Mandarin.<sup>13</sup>

It needs to be emphasized here that the use of a single morphologically expressed aspect morpheme does not mark prominence in Mandarin discourse, but rather better reflects the perfective aspect that is signaled by the aorist in Greek.

ἑτάφη (v. 4) Most Mandarin versions use the aspect marker *-le* (JOHNM, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, NCV, CRV, RCUV) for the aorist, with the exception of the MSV and the three Catholic versions (CNT, HSC, CPB), which have the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. ἑτάφη is best translated by *bèi zàng-diào* (“be buried”) for two reasons: first, the construction formed by the particle *bèi* (HS, SB, HSC, TCV, CPB) morphologically reflects the passive voice of the Greek, and, second, the RVC *diào* morphologically reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek. Here, *-le* may be used interchangeably with RVCs.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 722–23; Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, 198; Collins and Harrington, *First Corinthians*, 528–40.

<sup>13</sup> See, also, example (20) in my chapter 4 and the commentary on σταυρωθῆ (John 19:16a) in my chapter 6.



ἐγέρηται (v. 4; see also vv. 12–14, 16–17, 20, 29, 32, 35, 42–44, 52) Paul now shifts from the aorist to perfect tense-form in order to highlight the risen Christ. Several versions have *fúhuó* 復活 (“come back to life,” PK, JOHNM, CNT, CPB, GURY) or *fúshēng* 復生 (“come back to life,” MSV, BCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Other versions (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, TCV, HS, SB, NCV, CRV, RCUV) use the perfective *-le*, which does not reflect the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form. The IDVC *qǐlái* used in HSC is not preferable because it expresses the imperfective aspect. Similarly, LÜ’s translation, *dé sū huó-le-qǐlái* 得甦活了起來 (“get to be raised”), is not preferable, either, for two reasons. First, the two-morpheme aspect compound *-le*-IDVC does not reflect the stative aspect of the Greek. Second, the auxiliary verb *dé* is not a suitable addition for rendering the Greek indicative mood into Mandarin. The four-character set phrase *sǐ-ér-fú-sū* (“rise from the dead”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme works best here because it marks foregrounded prominence in Mandarin and reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek.

ὤφθη (vv. 5–8) Several Greek grammatical references, lexicons, and biblical commentaries treat this passive form of ὀράω in the intransitive sense, “become visible” or “appear,” although the verb form clearly denotes “he was seen.”<sup>14</sup> It is evident that Paul uses this exact same verb form four times in the same discourse unit for emphasis.<sup>15</sup> Most versions reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist by using RVCs such as *jiàn* (“see,” PK, LÜ, HS, HSC) or the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (CNT, SB, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, CPB).

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Winer, *Treatise*, 275; Turner, *Syntax*, 58; BDF, §313; BDAG, s.v.; Conzelmann; *Commentary*, 248; Collins and Harrington, *First Corinthians*, 535; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 687.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 731 n. 87; Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1208. Collins and Harrington add that in the LXX, the verb is used for the appearances of God. He cites several Old Testament examples, which include Gen 12:7; Exod 6:3; 1 Kgs 3:5. See Collins and Harrington, *First Corinthians*, 531.

Some use the verb phrase *xiǎn/xiàn gěi...kàn* 顯/現給 . . . 看 (lit. “appear to...see,” MSV, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, RCUV), which may be acceptable in this context where the indirect object is specified (in the dative case). Two other Mandarin versions have *kàn-jàn* (“see,” with the RVC *jiàn*) expressed in passive constructions formed by the particles *bèi* (PK) and *gěi* (LÜ). Although these formally expressed passive constructions are grammatically acceptable in Mandarin, they sound rather unnatural to native speakers. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used here because it better reflects the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek. In order to provide textual cohesion, the other three occurrences of ὤφθη will also be consistently translated by the monosyllabic verb *xiàn* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

ἔπειτα ὤφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείονες μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ ἐκοιμήθησαν· ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ εἴτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὤφθη καὶ μοί. (vv. 6–8)

之後，他現於五百多位弟兄姊妹之前，其中有一大半至今還活著，但是也有一些人已死去〔或作睡著〕了。接下來，他又現於雅各面前，還有眾使徒之前。到最後，他竟現於這個如同墮胎而生的我之前。

Zhīhòu, tā xiàn yú wǔbǎi duō wèi dìxiong jiěmèi zhīqián, qízhōng yǒu yīdàbàn zhìjīn hái huó-zhe, dànshì yěyǒu yīxiē rén yǐ sǐ-qù (huò zuò shuì-zháo) le. Jiēxiàlái, tā yòu xiàn yú Yǎgè miàncián, háiyǒu zhòng shǐtú zhīqián. Dào zuìhòu, tā jìng xiàn yú zhègè rútóng duò-tāi-ér-shēng de wǒ zhīqián.

After this, he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters, most of them still living, but some already died (or fell asleep). Then he appeared to Jacob, and also to the apostles. At last, he even appeared to me, as though I were born of adoption.

μένουσιν (v. 6) Several versions have *zài* (“around,” MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HS, HSC, LÜ, NCV, CRV), *jiànzài* 健在 (“still live in good health,” CPB), or *cúnzài* 存在 (“exist,” CNT) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. All of these translations reflect the imperfective aspect of the original, although disyllabic verbs are preferable for their closer representation of the more heavily marked Greek present tense-form. However, *-zhe* (SB, TCV, DCT) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-form in Greek. Also, the use of *-zhe* is justified by the shift in tense-form (from the aorist to present).

ἐκοιμήθησαν (see also vv. 18, 20, 51) A few Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme to reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist (PK, CNT, SB, CPB, DCT), while most others use perfective morphemes such as RVCs (e.g. *zháo*, JOHNM; *qù*, HSC) and *-le* (MSV, UV, WANG, BT, ZHU, CLB, CRV, NCV). Two-morpheme aspect compounds such as RVC-*le* (*xià-le*, HS) and *zài...zhe* (LÜ) are not preferable because they build foregrounded prominence in Mandarin. Also, the aspect compound *zài...zhe* expresses the imperfective aspect. Therefore, the two single aspect morphemes, namely, RVCs and *-le*, are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme and two-morpheme aspect compounds because they morphologically reflect the discourse function and the perfective aspect of the aorist. More importantly, RVCs or *-le* provide the grammatical contrast that Paul intended to bring out between those who are still living and those who have already died.

ἀποστόλοις (v. 7) The word *shǐtú* (“apostle”) is used here to differentiate from a related term, *méntú* (“disciple”), which is commonly used for μαθητής (see John 18:1).

ἐκτρώματι (v. 8) Expressed in figurative speech, this word presents an extremely difficult challenge to the translator.<sup>16</sup> Some of the most common interpretations include “abnormally born,” “untimely born,” and other more specific terms for a premature birth such as abortion, stillbirth, or miscarriage.<sup>17</sup> Many earlier Chinese versions prefer these more specific terms such as *tuōshēng* 脱生 (SL-MOR, MOR), *tuōchǎn* 脱產 (MAR), *xiǎo chǎn'ér* 小產兒 (GÜ), *duòtāi (ér shēng)* 墮胎 (而生) (BT, HSC, ZHU), and *liú chǎn'ér* 流產兒 (SB), all of which denote an “aborted child.” Interestingly, GURY employs *huátāi shēng zhě* 滑胎生者, which refers specifically to one born of a woman who has experienced repeated (or habitual) miscarriages.

Most versions, however, adopt a less formal translation. For example, in the 1840 revision of GÜ, Medhurst compares Paul to *xiǎo quàn* 小拳 or, literally, the “little ring through an animal’s nose by which it is led,” in order to emphasize Paul’s own feelings of insignificance among the other apostles as expressed in the Greek.<sup>18</sup> The most common expression used in Chinese versions reflects the direct influence of the KJV: *bù dào chǎnqī suǒ shēng* 不到產期所生 (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, LÜ, NCV, CPB, RCUV) in Mandarin or *wèi jí qí ér chǎn* 未及期而產 (DV, GO, BCV, JOHN, CSV, UVW, SJ, BB, WV; cf. TRNT) in wenli, both of which closely resemble the KJV’s rendering of “born out of due time.”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For a summary of discussions, see, for example, Conzelmann; *Commentary*, 259 n. 95; Garland, *I Corinthians*, 691–93; Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 732–34; Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1208–10.

<sup>17</sup> Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 733; Collins and Harrington, *First Corinthians*, 537; Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 293–94; BDF, §433, Fee suggests that with the definite article, “freak” might provide another possible reading. See also Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1208.

<sup>18</sup> Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, 386. See also *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, vol. 6, 124.

<sup>19</sup> The CPB has *bù zúyuè* 不足月 (“immature birth”); the RCUV has *wèi dào chǎnqī ér shēng* 未到產期而生 (“born out of due time”); the CSV and JOHN have *wèiji chǎnqī ér shēng* 未及產期而生 (“born out of due time”); the WV has *shēng bù jí shí* 生不及時 (“born short of its due time”). Similarly, the TRNT (also

More paraphrased expressions are also found in Mandarin versions: *wúyòng* 無用 (“useless,” CNT), *bùpèi kàn-jiàn Tā* 不配看見祂 (“unworthy of seeing Him,” CLB), and *zài bù zhèngcháng de qíngkuàng xià chūshēng* 在不正常的情況下出生 (TCV), the last example fully embraces English versions that have “abnormally born” (e.g. NIV, NAB, TEV).<sup>20</sup>

The expression *duò-tāi-ér-shēng* (“born out of abortion”) is preferable to other translations for two reasons. First, it more closely reflects the lexical meaning of the Greek. Second, the figure of speech introduced by ὡςπερὲι (“as though”) in the Greek text warrants the use of the four-character set phrase in Mandarin in order to convey prominence in the discourse (vv. 1–8).

Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ· χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι ὃ εἰμι, καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ κενὴ ἐγενήθη, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα, οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ [ἡ] σὺν ἐμοί. εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε. (15:9–11)

原因是我在眾使徒至中屬最微小的，甚至不配稱作為使徒，因為我迫害過 神的教會。然而，我有今天的造就，乃歸功於 神。他所賜我的恩寵，並非徒然。事實上，我比眾使徒更加勞累。但是，這不是靠我自己，倒是靠 神的恩寵在我身邊。因此，不管是我，或是他們，我們這樣傳下去，你們也這樣信了。

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other Japanese versions, CBT, JCV, JRV, RAGUET) has *tsukita rane mono* 月足らね者 (“one born immaturely”).

<sup>20</sup> The expression “untimely born” is found in several English versions (e.g. NASB, NRSV, ESV). See also BDAG, s.v. The DCT has *zài nánchǎn de qíngkuàng zhīxià, chíchí cái shēng chūlái de rén* 在難產的情況之下，遲遲才生出來的人 (“one born only after a long and difficult labor”).

Yuányīn shì wǒ zài zhòng shǐtú zhì zhōng shǔ zuì wēixiǎo de, shènzhì bùpèi chēngzuò  
wéi shǐtú, yīnwèi wǒ pòhài-guò Shén de jiàohuì. Rán'ér, wǒ yǒu jīntiān de zàojiù, nǎi  
guīgōng yú Shén. Tā suǒ cì wǒ de ēnchǒng, bìngfēi túrán. Shìshíshàng, wǒ bǐ zhòng shǐtú  
gèngjiā láo-lèi. Dànshì, zhè bù shì kào wǒzìjǐ, dào shì kào Shén de ēnchǒng zài wǒ  
shēnbiān. Yīncǐ, bùguǎn shì wǒ, huòshì tāmen, wǒmen zhèyàng chuán-xiàqù, nǐmen yě  
zhèyàng xìn le.

Because of this, I am the least among the apostles, because I persecuted God's church.  
However, I give credit to God for my achievement today. The grace he has given me is  
not in vain. In fact, I toil much harder than the apostles. But, I do not rely on myself, but  
rather on God's grace at my side. So, whether it was I or they, this is the manner in which  
we preach, and also the manner in which you believe.

καλεῖσθαι (v. 9) The disyllabic verb *chēngzuò* ("call," PK) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is  
preferable to the monosyllabic verb *chēng* ("call") found in most Mandarin versions (e.g.  
UV, JOHMN, WANG, ZHU, CNT, BT, HS, HSC, LÜ, CLB, CRV, NCV) because it  
better reflects the more heavily marked feature of the present tense-form.

ἐδίωξα (see also example (2) in chapter 2) Some versions use the perfective aspect  
morphemes *-guò* (CNT, HSC, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB, RCUV) and *-le* (HS, LÜ),  
while others use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, NCV). Here, *-guò* and  
*-le* are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the  
perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form. The shift in tense-form from the present to the  
aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

Temporal deictic indicators such as *céngjīng* ("once," "ever," CNT) or *céng* ("ever,"

MSV, JOHNM, BT, RCUV) are unnecessary additions, since *-guò* alone expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin.

ἐκοπίασα (v. 10) Most Mandarin versions use disyllabic verbs such as *láokǔ* 勞苦 (“toil,” MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, HSC, LÜ, NCV, CRV, RCUV), *láolù* 勞碌 (“toil,” SB), or *gōngzuò* 工作 (“work,” CNT) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which are less than ideal here. The RVC *lèi* (“weary”) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the perfective aspect that is signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek.

χάριτι/χάρις χάρις is most frequently translated by *ēnyòu* 恩祐 (“kindness,” SL-MOR, MOR), *ēn* 恩 (“kindness,” “favor,” Ricci, MAR, GÜ, GO, BCV, GURY, SJ, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, SYD, CSV, LÜ) or *ēndiǎn* 恩典 (“grace,” “favor,” MSV, BT, TCV, CLB, NCV, RCUV).<sup>21</sup> Other translations include *chǒngyòu* 寵佑 (“loving protection,” WV, HSC), *huì* 惠 (“benevolent,” JCV, CBT), and *ēnchǒng* (“imperial favor,” CNT, SB, CPB, Ricci, RAGUET).<sup>22</sup> All of these terms are current today in Chinese Christian contexts, and therefore they may be used interchangeably for the same Greek word.

Nishiwaki asserts that the character *kěn* 懇 and the Greek word χάρις were closely related phonetically in ancient China. According to the Japanese scholar, the archaic pronunciation of 懇 is conjectured [xar], which supposedly corresponds to the first syllable of the Greek word χάρις.<sup>23</sup> In modern Chinese, however, 懇 denotes sincerity and therefore it is not preferable for the translation of χάρις.

<sup>21</sup> Ricci uses *ēn* 恩 or *ēnhuì* 恩惠 (“favor”) interchangeably. Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, e.g. 94, line 61.

<sup>22</sup> GURY has *zhǔēn* 主恩 (“the Lord’s grace”). GÜ has *tiānēn* 天恩 (“heaven/God’s grace”). Ricci, *T'ien-chu Shih-i*, e.g. 422, line 544.

<sup>23</sup> The underlining is present in the original. The archaic pronunciation of 懇 is conjectured [xar→kō→kon]. Nishiwaki, *Notes*, 212. Compare Karlgren, who gives the reading [kʰən]. See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, s.v.

εἶμι ὃ εἶμι The verb phrase that denotes “I am who I am” is extremely difficult to translate into Chinese.<sup>24</sup> Notice that the difficulty lies not with the grammar, but with the lexical choice that must conform to natural syntax in contemporary Mandarin. Literal renderings, for example, *wǒ dé wéi wǒ* 我得爲我 (lit. “I become me”), while grammatically acceptable, sound rather awkward to native ears (GURY).<sup>25</sup> Most formal translations add words such as *jīn(rì/tiān)* (“today,” SL-MOR, GÜ, MSV, SJ, UV, HSC, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, CPB) or *xiànzài* (“now,” ZHU, CNT, LÜ): *wǒ chéngwéi jīnrì de wǒ* 我成爲今日的我 (lit. “I become today’s me,” SB). The expression *wǒ yǒu jīntiān de zàojiù* 我有今天的造就 (lit. “I have today’s accomplishment”) is preferable because it sounds more natural to native speakers of Mandarin.<sup>26</sup>

κηρύσσομεν (v. 11) The IDVC *xiàqù* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, CNT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, RCUV) because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek. SB uses *-le*, which is not suitable because it expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin.

ἐπιστεύσατε See v. 2.

### 7.2.2. The Resurrection of the Dead (vv. 12–34) 論死人復活

This pericope may be divided into three sub-sections (vv. 12–19, 20–28, 29–34).

Smaller discourse boundaries, as noted in 7.1.2, are marked by the conjunctives  $\nu\upsilon\iota$  δέ (v. 20) and ἐπεὶ (v. 29). Paul uses the aorist tense-forms to state the consequences were

<sup>24</sup> Ellingworth and Hatton suggest less formal expressions such as “I have become an apostle,” “But what I am today, I am by God’s grace,” or “But God’s grace has made me what I am today, that is, an apostle.” Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 295.

<sup>25</sup> GO has *wǒ dé wéi suǒwéi yī* 我得爲所爲矣 (“I end up getting to be like this”).

<sup>26</sup> Compare MOR, *yú dé jīnrì zhī jìng* 余得今日之境 (“I am in such circumstance today”).



the dead not raised (vv. 15–19, 32, 34), foretell Christ's action at his second coming (v. 24), and describe God's rule (v. 25–28). He employs the present tense-forms to draw attention to a number of significant details: to introduce his argument (v. 12), to nullify the false claim that denies the resurrection of the dead (vv. 13–19, 29–34), to describe human mortality (v. 20), and to describe God's sovereignty over the enemy (v. 24–26). He utilizes the perfect tense-forms to highlight several critically important facts: Christ's resurrection (vv. 12–14, 16–17, 20, 29, 32), the believer's hope in Christ (v. 19), the dead for which Christ became the firstfruits (v. 20), and submission of all things to God (v. 27).

Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν; εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα [καὶ] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν· εὕρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἤγειρεν εἴπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. (vv. 12–15)

如果說基督死而復甦在被宣揚著，你們中間為什麼有人又說起了沒有死人復活的事呢？要不是有死人復活的事，基督就無死而復甦了。若基督沒有死而復甦，我們的宣傳就成白費，你們的信仰也落空了。不僅如此，果真死人不復活的話，那麼我們就被人指著說是 神的偽證人，因為我們曾為 神作過見證，說他叫他所沒有復活過來的基督復活過來。

Rúguǒ shuō Jīdū sǐ-'ér-fù-sū zài bèi xuānyáng-zhe, nǐmen zhōngjiān wèishénme yǒurén yòu shuō-qǐ-le méiyǒu sǐrén fùhuó de shì ne? Yàobushì yǒu sǐrén fùhuó de shì, Jīdū jiù wú sǐ-'ér-fù-sū le. Ruò Jīdū méiyǒu sǐ'érfùsū, wǒmen de xuānchuán jiù chéng báifèi, nǐmen de xìnyǎng yě luòkōng le. Bùjǐnrúcǐ, guòzhēn sǐrén bù fùhuó de huà, nàme

wǒmen jiù bèi rén zhǐ-zhe shuōshì Shén de wěizhèngrén, yīnwèi wǒmen céng wèi Shén zuò-guò jiànzhèng, shuō tā jiào tā suǒ méiyǒu fùhuó-guòlái de Jīdū fùhuó-guòlái.

If Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, why are some among you saying that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, Christ has not been raised from the dead. If Christ has not been raised from the dead, our preaching is futile, and your faith comes to nothing. Not only this, if indeed the dead are not raised, we are regarded as God's false witnesses, because we have testified on God's behalf that he raised Christ whom he did not raise.

κηρύσσεται (v. 12) Several versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the present passive: *chuán* 傳 (“pass on,” e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, WANG, BT, TCV, NCV, CRV) or *xuānjiǎng* 宣講 (“preach,” CNT). Two Catholic versions (SB, HS) use the aspect marker *-le*, which does not reflect the imperfective aspect of the Greek. The CPB has *chuánbào* 傳報 (“convey a message”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, but adds the temporal adverb *yǐ* (“already”) to indicate a past event. The aspect marker *zài* (CLB) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form. Still, the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...zhe* is the ideal translation because it closely reflects the heavily marked present tense-form in Greek. In addition, the shift in tense-form from the aorist (ἐπιστεύσατε, v. 11) to present also justifies the use of a two-morpheme aspect morpheme. Although the passive construction formed by the particle *bèi* (*bèi xuānchuán* 被宣傳, “be preached,” LÜ) is not obligatory, it is best to keep it here to better reflect the passive construction of the Greek. This verb is not translated in HSC.

ἐγήγερται (vv. 12–14, 16–17; cf. v. 4) In this sub-section (vv. 12–19), Paul again uses repetition for emphasis, but this time he does so by repeating a perfect tense-form five times. As in v. 4, ἐγήγερται may be translated by the four-character set phrase *sǐ-’ér-fū-sū* (“rise from the dead”) with the *ø* morpheme, because it marks frontgrounded prominence in Mandarin and reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek. To establish textual cohesion to the other pericopes where the same verb form is used, each occurrence of ἐγήγερται may be consistently rendered by the same set phrase.<sup>27</sup>

λέγουσιν The shift in tense-form from the perfect (ἐγήγερται) to present justifies the use of a two-morpheme aspect compound. Here, the aspect compound IDVC-*le* is the ideal choice not only because it closely reflects the imperfective aspect that is expressed by the present tense-form in Greek, but also because it reflects the discourse function as a foregrounding device.

ἀνάστασις (see also vv. 13, 21, 42)<sup>28</sup> Most Chinese versions (e.g. SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GURY, GO, GÜ, MSV, PK, JOHNM, BB, UV, WANG, BT, WV, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV) use the term *fūhuó* (“come back to life”) or

<sup>27</sup> Ellingworth and Hatton have noted that, in certain languages, the repetition of various verb forms that Paul uses for emphasis might make the sentence “heavier.” See Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 298. This is mainly a stylistic concern, but in Mandarin, it applies to lexical as well as grammatical elements. For example, vv. 27–28, Paul uses the repetition of different verb forms of ὑποτάσσω: four aorists (ὑπέταξεν, ὑποτάξαντος, ὑποταγῆ, ὑποτάξαντι), one perfect (ὑποτέτακται) and one future (ὑποταγήσεται). The verb *zhífú* (“subdue”) may be used consistently for the aorists and future, whereas the four-character set phrase *gān-fū-xià-fēng* should be used for the perfect. The repetition of lexical content does not necessarily make the sentence appear “heavy” in Mandarin. The repetition of grammatical elements, on the other hand, would. This motivates the translator to substitute the aspect marker *-le* to an RVC in one of the aorists (see v. 27).

<sup>28</sup> It is interesting that Paul uses this word four times only here in 1 Corinthians 15 and not in any other chapters. The verb form ἀνίστημι occurs only once in 1 Cor 10:7 (ἀνέστησαν), where Paul cites an Old Testament quotation from Exod 32:6. When compared with ἐγείρω, as O’Donnell observes, the verb ἀνίστημι is used less frequently to refer to resurrection. In this context, however, it is clear that the ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν could not be interpreted other than as the resurrection of the dead, since Paul uses the verb phrase ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται right before it. See O’Donnell, “Resurrection,” 149–50.

*fūshēng* (“come back to life,” “regenerate,” DV, BCV). A few other expressions are also found: *huīshēng* 回生 (“bring back to life,” ZHU), *qǐ* 起 (“get up,” CSV), and *fūqǐ* 復起 (UVW, UVB, UVE). Graves argues that *fūqǐ* is preferable to *fūshēng* not only because *qǐ* better reflects the sense of upward movement expressed by the prefix ἀνα-, but also because *fūshēng* connotes mere temporary “resuscitation.”<sup>29</sup> Although the aforementioned terms are all acceptable for the translation of ἀνάστασις, *fūhuó* and *fūqǐ* are preferable here. Furthermore, while these two terms do not differ significantly in meaning and may be used interchangeably, it is best to use *fūhuó* for all four occurrences in order to provide textual cohesion to other discourse units.

εὐρίσκομεθα (v. 15; cf. εὐρίσκω, John 18:38, 19:4, 6) Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme for the present tense-form, with the particle *bèi* to indicate passive voice. Some versions use disyllabic verbs such as *gōngrèn* 公認 (“recognize in public,” BT), or *dāngzuò* 當作 (RCUV), which are preferable to monosyllabic ones such as *zhī* (“regard,” LÜ) or *shì* 視 (“view,” SB) because they better reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek. Still, the translator may use *-zhe*, which is ideal here because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form in Greek.

ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν The shift in tense-form from the present to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme here, such as *-guò* (NCV) or *-le* (CPB), either of which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme that is used in most Mandarin versions (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, SYD, ZHU, CNT, HSC, HS, TCV, CLB, CRV, DCT, RCUV).

<sup>29</sup> Graves, “Uniform Names,” 120–21. See also chapter 2 of this dissertation.

ἤγειρεν<sup>30</sup> Here is another example of Paul repeating the exact same verb form for emphasis. It is obvious that verbal aspect plays a critical part in understanding the significance of Paul's argument. RVCs such as *guòlái* (lit. "come over") or the aspect marker *-le* (WANG, SB, HSC, NCV) are both preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, HS, TCV, CRV, DCT, RCUV) for the first occurrence of ἤγειρεν because they formally reflect the perfective aspect in Mandarin. LÜ, on the other hand, uses the IDVC *qílái*, which is not preferable because it expresses the imperfective aspect. The addition of *shǐ* 使 ("make," "let," JOHNM, CNT, SB, CLB, NCV, CPB, RCUV) or *jiào* 叫 ("call," "let," MSV, PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, LÜ, CRV) is necessary here in order to convey the transitive sense of the verb.

Similarly, for the second occurrence of ἤγειρεν, formally expressed aspect morphemes are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme that is found in most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, HS, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, DCT, RCUV). LÜ uses the two-morpheme aspect compound *-le-IDVC* for the second occurrence of ἤγειρεν, which is not preferable because it expresses the imperfective aspect. Here, the translator has the option of using the same or different perfective aspect morphemes for the two occurrences of ἤγειρεν. As in vv. 1–2 where *-guò* is used for the two aorists (εὐηγγελισάμην), the RVC *guòlái* may be used for both aorists here.

<sup>30</sup> For discussions of the first class conditional sentences in Greek, see 5.4.2, pp. 281–84 above.

ἐγείρονται See example (31) in 5.4.2. Paul uses this present verb form twice in vv. 15–16. The  $\sigma$  morpheme is used here for both occurrences in order to establish textual cohesion to the previous pericope where the same verb form is used.<sup>31</sup>

εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο. εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν μόνον, ἐλπεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. (15:16–19)

死人若不復活，基督也就沒有死而復甦了。基督要是沒有死而復甦，你們的信仰豈不是就徒勞無功了，你們也依舊身處自己的罪中。還有那些在基督裏睡著〔或作死去〕的人也滅亡了。如果我們僅僅在此生對基督是眾望所歸的，我們豈不就比眾人更加可悲了。

Sǐrén ruò bù fùhuó, Jīdū yějiù méiyǒu sǐ-ér-fù-sū le. Jīdū yàoshì méiyǒu sǐ-ér-fù-sū, nǐmen de xìnyǎng qǐ bù shì jiù túláowúgōng le, nǐmen yě yījiù shēnchǔ zìjǐ de zuì zhōng. Háiyǒu nàxiē zài Jīdū lǐ shuì-zháo (huò zuò sǐ-qù) de rén yě miè-wáng le. Rúguǒ wǒmen jǐnjǐn zài cǐshēng duì Jīdū shì zhòng-wàng-suǒ-guī de, wǒmen qǐ bù jiù bǐ zhònggrén gèngjiā kěbēi le.

If the dead do not come back to life, then Christ has not come back to life from the dead. If Christ has not come back from the dead, your faith would have been in vain, and you would still be living in your sins. And those who already rested in Christ would also have perished. If only for this life we have hope in Christ, we are more pitiful than all people.

ἐγείρονται/ἐγήγερται (v. 16) See example (31) in 5.4.2.

κοιμηθέντες (v. 18) See v. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Porter notes that the present tense-form is used to mark textual cohesion in exposition. See Porter, *Idioms*, 305.

ἀπώλοντο RVCs such as *wáng* 亡 (“die,” UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, LÜ, TCV, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV), *shī* (“lose,” MSV), or *mò* 沒 (“die,” PK, JOHNM) are suitable because they formally reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. Also, the frequent shifts in tense-form from the present to perfect, the perfect to aorist, and finally the aorist back to perfect (vv. 16–19) justify the use of formally expressed perfective morphemes for the two aorists in v. 18.

ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν (v. 19) See example (6) in chapter 2.

Nunì δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι’ ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· ὥστε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. (15:20–22)

然而基督早已死而復甦，並成為主懷安息者初熟的果實。也就是說，死亡既出自一人，死人復活也同樣出自一人。因此，如同眾人在亞當裏長逝著，同樣的，在基督裏眾人也將被復活。

Rán'ér Jīdū zǎoyǐ sǐ-'ér-fù-sū, bìng chéngwéi zhǔ-huái-ān-xí zhě chūshú de guǒshí. Yějiùshìshuō, sǐwáng jì chūzì yī rén, sǐrén fùhuó yě tóngyàng chūzì yī rén. Yīncǐ, rútóng zhònggrén zài Yǎdāng lǐ chángshì-zhe, tóngyàng de, zài Jīdū lǐ zhònggrén yě jiāng bèi fùhuó.

Now Christ has already been raised from the dead, and become the firstfruits for those who are already dead. That is to say, death came through a person, the resurrection of the dead has also come through a person. Therefore, just as in Adam all die, likewise, in Christ all will be made alive.

ἐγήγερται (v. 20) See v. 4.

κεκοιμημένων (see also vv. 6, 18, 51) The four-character set phrase *zhǔ-huái-ān-xí* (“rest in the Lord’s side”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme closely reflects the stative aspect and the heavily marked perfect tense-form in Greek.

Ἀδὰμ (v. 22; see also v. 45) The first man in the Bible is referred to by various forms in Chinese: *Ātán* 阿談 (from the Syriac ܐܕܐܡ) in the Nestorian document, the *Discourse on Almsgiving* (vv. 82–99), *Yǎdǎng* 亞黨 in Ricci’s *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, and *Ādāng* 阿當 in Basset’s New Testament (SL-MOR).<sup>32</sup> At least four other different forms are also used in Chinese versions: *Yǎdàmài* 亞大麥 (MOR, MAR), *Yǎtān* 亞坦 (GÜ, GO), *Ādámù* 阿達木 (GURY), and *Yǎdāng* 亞當 (DV, BCV, SJ). Today, both Catholic and Protestant Mandarin versions follow the DV’s transliteration, *Yǎdāng*.

ἀποθνήσκουσιν Paul now shifts from the perfect (v. 20) to present tense-form. Some versions use *-le* (e.g. UV, LÜ, SB, TCV), which is not preferable because rather than the imperfective, it expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin. On the other hand, *-zhe* is ideal here because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form in Greek.

ζωοποιηθήσονται<sup>33</sup> The future form may be translated by adding auxiliary verbs such as *bì* (e.g. JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, LÜ), *yào* (PK, UV, WANG, CNT, HSC, SB, CRV, NCV), *jiāng* (SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GO, GURY, CPB), or *kě* (HS) to the verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The added emphasis expressed by *jiānglái bìyào fūhuó* (“must be raised in the future,” CLB) may be acceptable here. ZHU and BT, on the other hand, have *yào chéng-le huó de* 要成了活的 (“will become alive”), which is not preferable because *-le*

<sup>32</sup> Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 330, line 394. Eve is referred to as *Èwà* 厄穢.

<sup>33</sup> Fee notes that ζωοποιηθήσονται is used here instead of ἐγείρω because “it offers the ‘proper contrast with ἀποθνήσκω.’” Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 751 n. 24.



expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin. The particle *bèi*, which is used here to indicate the passive voice in Mandarin, is preferable.

ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, εἴτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδιδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί, ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν. (15:23–24)

每一個人照其次序復活：基督乃初熟的果實；接著是那些基督再降臨的時候，屬基督的。之後，就是末日。那時基督就要把一切執政、掌權、權力全給毀掉，就把國遞交予父 神。

Měi yīge rén zhào qícì xù fùhuó: Jīdū nǎi chū shú de guǒshí; jiēzhe shì nàxiē Jīdū zài jiànglín de shíhòu, shǔ Jīdū de. Zhīhòu, jiùshì mòrì. Nàshí Jīdū jiùyào bǎ yīqiè zhízhèng, zhǎngquán, quánlì quán gěi huǐ-diào, jiù bǎ guó dìjiāo yǔ fù Shén.

Every person is made alive according in his or her order: Christ is the firstfruits; and then followed by those who belong to Christ when Christ returns. After that is the end. At that time Christ will destroy every ruler, authority and power, and then hand over the kingdom to God the Father.

παραδιδῷ (v. 24) Here, morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option, because expressions such as *jiāo-zhe* or *zài jiāo* in this context are ungrammatical. Considering their more heavily marked features, disyllabic verbs such as *jiāofù* 交付 (“hand over,” ZHU), *jiāohuán* 交還 (“return,” TCV), or *dìjiāo* (“hand over”) with the *ø* morpheme are preferable to monosyllabic verbs with the *ø* morpheme for translating the Greek present tense-form, as found in most Chinese versions: *jiāo* (“turn in,” PK, JOHNM, BB, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, LÜ, SB, CLB, NCV, CRV, CPB, RCUV), *fù* (“hand over,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, UVW, UVB, UVE), *ràng* 讓 (“yield,” GÜ), *fǎn*

反 (“return,” DV), *huán* 還 (“return,” GO, BCV, WV, MSV, HS), and *guī* 歸 (“return,” GURY).

καταργήση (cf. καταργεῖται, v. 26) A few Mandarin versions use disyllabic verbs such as *huǐmiè* 毀滅 (“destroy,” JOHNM) or *xiāomiè* 消滅 (“eliminate,” CNT) with the  $\sigma$  morpheme, while several others use the perfective aspect marker *-le* (PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, NCV, RCUV). Some versions also add auxiliary verbs such as *huì* (CLB), *jiāng* (SB), *yào* (TCV), or *bìyào* (LÜ). WV and CRV add the temporal adverb *yǐ* 已 (“already”), apparently in an attempt to refer to the event having taken place in the past. Single aspect morphemes such as *-le* or RVCs (e.g. *diào*, LÜ) are preferable to the  $\sigma$  morpheme because they formally reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. The shift in tense-form from the present (παράδιδω) to aorist also justifies the substitution of the aspect marker *-guò* for the  $\sigma$  morpheme, which is found in most Mandarin versions. Finally, the addition of an auxiliary verb (e.g. *yào*) is necessary to convey the projection that is grammaticalized by the subjunctive verb form in Greek.

δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος· πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ὅταν δὲ εἶπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε [καὶ] αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ᾗ ὁ θεὸς [τὰ] πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν. (15:25–28)

因為他必須統治下去，直到他將一切仇敵都置在了他的足下。最終所殲滅的仇敵便是死亡。因為「他使萬物皆制伏在了他的足下。」既然說萬物都甘伏下風，顯

然不包括制伏了萬物的那位。當萬物都被他制伏住時，就連 神子自己也將被制伏於那位制伏了萬物的，好讓 神成為萬物之主。

Yīnwèi tā bìxū tǒngzhì-xiàqù, zhídào tā jiāng yīqiè chóudí dōu zhì zài -le tāde zúxià.

Zuìzhōng suǒ jiānmiè de chóudí biànshì sǐwáng. Yīnwèi “tā shǐ wànwù jiē zhìfú zài -le tāde zúxià.” Jìrán shuō wànwù dōu gān-fú-xià-fēng, xiǎnrán bù bāokuò zhìfú-le wànwù de nàwèi. Dāng wànwù dōu bèi tā zhìfú-zhù shí, jiù lián Shénzǐ zìjǐ yě jiāng bèi zhìfú yú nàwèi zhìfú-le wànwù de, hǎo ràng Shén chéngwéi wànwù zhī zhǔ.

For he must reign until he puts all enemies under his feet. The final enemy to annihilate is death. For “he has put all things in subjection under his feet.” Since it said that all things are put in subjection, it is obvious that it does not include the one who has put all things in subjection. When all things are subjected to him, even God’s Son himself will be subjected to the one who puts all things in subjection under him, so that God will be the Lord of all.

δεῖ... βασιλεύειν (v. 25) Paul now shifts tense-form from the aorist (καταργήσῃ) back to the present. Almost all existing Chinese versions, except MOR, employ auxiliary verbs such as *bì* (MAR, GÜ, DV, JOHN, SJ, UVE), *bìxū* (PK, ZHU, LÜ, SB, TCV, RCUV), *bìyào* (UV, WANG, BT, NCV, CRV), *biding* (JOHNM), *yào* (CLB, CPB), *yīnggāi* (CNT), or *yí* (GURY) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.<sup>34</sup> HSC uses the awkward combination of two auxiliary verbs, *bì* and *gāi*. HS has *fēi tǒngzhì bùkě* 非統治不可 (“must reign,” “have no other choices but reign”). The WV has *gài Jīdū zhī chéngquán yě* 蓋基督之乘權也 (“therefore it is Christ’s reign”), rendering the verb phrase with a noun.

<sup>34</sup> MOR has *gài qí dāng wáng* 蓋其當王 (“hence he becomes king”).

Here, an auxiliary verb such as *bì*, *yào* or *bìxū* is necessary to translate the Greek catenative construction, δεῖ + infinitive (see 5.3.1.4). The IDVC *xiàqù* is ideal here because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect and the more heavily marked present tense-form.

θῆ Many versions have *bǎ(/shǐ)...qūfú* 把(/使) . . . 屈伏 (“have...subdued,” BT, CNT, HSC, SB, TCV), while others have it more literally, *bǎ...fàng(/chǔzhì)* 把 . . . 放(/處置) (“place,” “put,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, LÜ, NCV, CRV, RCUV) or *jiāng...zhì* 將 . . . 置 (“put,” HS). The shift in tense-form from the present (βασιλεύειν) to aorist justifies the preference for the aspect marker *-le* instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is found in most Mandarin versions. The aspect marker *-le* better reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek.

καταργεῖται (v. 26; cf. v. 24) Here, morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option, because expressions such as *huǐmiè-zhe* or *zài huǐmiè* are ungrammatical. Most versions use disyllabic verbs such as *huǐmiè* 毀滅 (“destroy,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, SB, TCV, NCV, DCT), *xiāomiè* 消滅 (“eliminate,” ZHU, CNT), *qīngchú* 清除 (“eliminate,” HS), *fèichú* 廢除 (“abolish,” CRV), or *jiānmiè* (“annihilate,” CLB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which reflect the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form. Some versions use passive construction formed by particles such as *bèi* (SJ, WV, JOHNM, ZHU, LÜ, SB), *suǒ* 所 (PK, UV, WANG, BT, HSC), or *jiàn* 見 (BCV), which are appropriate here.<sup>35</sup> The addition of *yào* (TCV, NCV, CLB, CNT) is not preferable, since auxiliary verbs in Chinese are reserved for translating the Greek non-indicative moods.

<sup>35</sup> For discussions of the passive construction in Mandarin, see the commentary on σταυρωθῆ (John 19:16a) in chapter 6.

ὑπέταξεν (v. 27, cf. ὑποτάξαντος below) The verb phrase, *shǐ...fú* 使 . . . 伏 (“subdue”) or *jiào...fú* 叫 . . . 服 (“submit,” JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, NCV, CRV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to more heavily marked disyllabic verbs such as *shùnfú* 順服 (“submit,” LÜ), *qūfú* 屈伏(/服) (BT, CNT, HSC, SB, TCV), or *guīfú* 歸服 (“surrender,” MSV, PK) for the aorist. Some add temporal adverbs such as *yǐ* (“already,” GÜ, HS) and *céng* (“ever,” BCV) to the verb as a way to convey a past event. A few other versions add auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (CLB) and *bì* (DV), which are not preferable for the translation of the indicative mood in Greek. Still, the shift in tense-form from the present (καταργεῖται, v. 26) to aorist justifies the use of the aspect marker *-le* instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which is found in most Mandarin versions.

In vv. 27–28, Paul uses the repetition of different verb forms of ὑποτάσσω to strengthen his argument: four aorists (ὑπέταξεν, ὑποτάξαντος, ὑποταγῆ, ὑποτάξαντι), one perfect (ὑποτέτακται), and one future (ὑποταγήσεται). See the discussions on each occurrence below.

εἴπη The aorist subjunctive is best translated by *shuō* (“say”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, LÜ, SB, NCV, TCV, CLB, CRV, CPB), since there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. Here, for stylistic reasons, an auxiliary verb may not be preferable.

ὑποτέτακται Some Mandarin versions use the perfective *-le* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, SB, NCV, CRV, RCUV), while a few others use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (MSV, PK, JOHNM, HS, CNT, CPB), RVCs (*xià*, HSC), or simply omit it from the translation (TCV, CLB). The four-character set phrase *gān-fú-xià-fēng* (“submit”) is preferable here not only because the  $\emptyset$  morpheme reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form, but

also because it corresponds to the discourse function as the foregrounding device in Greek.

ὑποτάξαντος/ὑποτάξαντι (vv. 27–28) Like ὑπέταξεν above, these two aorist participles may be translated by the same verb form *zhífú-le* in Mandarin because there are shifts in tense-form from the perfect (ὑποτέτακται) to aorist and from the future (ὑποταγήσεται) to aorist.

ὑποταγῆ (v. 28) In contrast to the three aorists noted above, this verb form is a passive subjunctive. RVCs such as *xià* (HSC) and *zhù* are preferable to *-le* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, NCV, CRV) mainly for stylistic reasons. The particle *bèi* is used here to indicate passive voice in Mandarin.

CLB and SB add the temporal adverb *yǐhòu* 以後 (“after”) at the end of the clause to indicate a subsequent action, whereas the majority of Mandarin versions have *shí* 時 or *de shí(hòu)* 的時(候) (“at that time when,” e.g. PK, UV, JOHNM, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, LÜ, NCV, TCV, CRV, CPB), denoting a simultaneous action. The context suggests that the latter is preferable.

ὑποταγήσεται Auxiliary verbs such as *bì* (JOHNM, HS, LÜ, WV), *jiāng* (CPB), or *yào* (MSV, PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, TCV, NCV, CRV, RCUV) are preferable additions to the verb to translate the Greek future form. Passive constructions formed by particles such as *shòu* (WV, HS) are acceptable, but not absolutely necessary.

Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; Τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν

ώραν; καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκω, νῆ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, [ἀδελφοί],<sup>36</sup> ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. (15:29–31)

不然，那些為死人而受洗禮的，將來怎麼辦呢？死人果真沒有復活，為什麼還為他們而受洗禮呢？我們又為何時刻在冒著險呢？〈弟兄姊妹們〉，我天天都在冒死！此既我靠著我在主基督耶穌裏，為你們所誇的而發誓。

Bùrán, nàxiē wèi sǐrén ér shòu xǐlǐ de, jiānglái zěnmě bàn ne? Sǐrén guǒzhēn méiyǒu fùhuó, wèishénme hái wèi tāmen ér shòu xǐlǐ ne? Wǒmen yòu wèihé shíkè zài mào-zhe xiǎn ne? (Dìxiōng jiěmèimen), wǒ tiāntiān dōu zài mào sǐ! Cǐ jì wǒ kào zhe wǒ zài zhǔ Jīdū Yēsū lǐ, wèi nǐmen suǒ kuā de ér fāshì.

Otherwise, what would happen to those who were baptized on behalf of the dead?<sup>37</sup> If indeed the dead are not raised, why are people baptized on their behalf? Why are we endangering ourselves at every hour? (Brothers and sisters), I die everyday! This means that I swear by your boasting which I have in Christ Jesus.

βαπτίζόμενοι/βαπτίζονται (v. 29; see, also, discussions in chapter 2)

Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable here. Most wenli and Mandarin versions have (*lǐng*)*shòu xǐ(lǐ)* (領)受洗(禮) (“receive the baptismal rite,” e.g. MOR, GÜ, DV, BCV, MSV, PK, BB, JOHNM, SJ, UV, UVW, UVE, WANG, CNT, HS, HSC, LÜ, SB, CLB, TCV, NCV, RCUV) or *lǐngxǐ* 領洗 (lit. “get a wash,” SL-MOR, MOR, GURY, WV, CPB) with the *ø* morpheme. The disyllabic *xǐlǐ* is preferable to simply *xǐ* (“wash,” “bathe”) for the

<sup>36</sup> The word ἀδελφοί is supported by several major uncials, including Ɑ A B K P, but omitted in Ɀ<sup>46</sup> D F Ψ. Ellingworth and Hatton think that it is strange here because elsewhere Paul uses ἀδελφοί to introduce a new theme. See Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 309.

<sup>37</sup> Ellingworth and Hatton note that τί ποιήσουσιν might be understood in terms of “what possible reason can those people have.” Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 308. Compare Thiselton, who interprets the future as a “logical present,” “what do people think they are doing.” Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1241.

imperfective aspect of the Greek present participle. ZHU has *shīxǐ* 施洗 (lit. “give someone a wash”), which does not reflect the passive form of the Greek. Baptist versions use *shòujìn(lǐ)* 受浸(禮) (lit. “receive the immersion rite,” GÜ 1840, BT, UVB, CRV) or *shòuzhàn* 受蘸 (lit. “be dipped,” MAR, CSV).

ἐγείρονται See example (31) in 5.4.2.

κινδυνεύομεν (v. 30) Most Chinese versions have *màoxiǎn* (SL-MOR, DV, GURY, MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, LÜ, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. To reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek, the two-morpheme aspect compound *zài...-zhe* may be used. A few Mandarin versions, on the other hand, employ four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, for example, *zì-tóu-wéi-xiǎn* 自投危險 (“throw oneself into danger,” HSC) and *lín-wéi-lǚ-xiǎn* 臨危履險 (“face deadly peril and meet with danger,” HS). Similarly, the CPB has the paraphrased expression *zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng shēnghuó* 顛顛兢兢生活 (“live with extreme caution”) with the heavily marked four-character set phrase *zhàn-zhàn-jīng-jīng*, denoting “trembling with fear.” Four-character set phrases are not preferable here because they are reserved for translating the foregrounding tense-forms (i.e. perfect and pluperfect) in Greek.

ἀποθνήσκω (v. 31) Most Chinese versions use disyllabic verbs such as *màosǐ* (“risk one’s life,” lit. “risk death,” MSV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, SB, NCV, RCUV) or *chángsǐ* 嘗死 (“taste death,” GURY) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which are preferable to the less heavily marked monosyllabic verb *sǐ* (“die,” SL-MOR, LÜ, CRV) for the Greek present tense-form. As Liu has pointed out, the addition of *shì* (“be”)



to the front of *màosǐ* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT) is redundant.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the *shì...de* construction (HSC, SB, NCV) is not preferable here either, because the construction is reserved for translating periphrastic constructions in Greek. On the other hand, a few Mandarin versions use the aspect marker *-zhe* (CNT, TCV, CPB), which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect of the Greek.

Another good option is *zài*, which may be used interchangeably with *-zhe*. For stylistic reasons, however, single aspect markers are preferable because the expression *zài mào-zhe sǐ* without the predicate sounds rather strange and repetitive in Mandarin, especially when the aspect compound has already been used in the previous sentence.

εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος; εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. μὴ πλανᾶσθε· φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί. ἐκνήψατε δικαίως καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, ἀγνοσίαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσιν, πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῶν λαλῶ. (15:32–34)

我如果在以弗所如一般百姓鬥了獸，對我有何益處呢？要是死人沒有復活了起來，「我們吃吃喝喝吧！因為明天就作古了。」別受惠弄了。「濫交惡友、敗壞善德。」你們該醒來而從善，不要犯罪，因為有些人仍存著一副不識 神的模樣。我在說的是要讓你們感到羞恥。

Wǒ rúguǒ zài Yǐfúsuǒ rú yībān bǎixìng dòu-le shòu, duì wǒ yǒu hé yìchù ne? Yàoshi sǐrén méiyǒu fùhuó-le-qǐlái, “Wǒmen chī-chī hē-hē ba! Yīnwèi míngtiān jiù zuògǔ le.” Bié shòu yúnòng le: “Lànjiāo è yǒu, bàihuài shàndé.” Nǐmen gāi xǐng-lái ér cóngshàn, bù yào fànzuì, yīnwèi yǒuxiē rén réng cún-zhe yīfù bù shì Shén de móyàng. Wǒ zǎi shuō de shì yào ràng nǐmen gǎndào xiūchǐ.

<sup>38</sup> Liu 劉翼凌, “Notes,” 106.

If I fought with wild beasts like an ordinary man in Ephesus, what good is it to me? If the dead had not been raised, “Let us eat and drink! For tomorrow we will die.” Do not be deceived: “Bad company corrupts good character.” Wake up and do good; do not sin, because some still do not know God. I am saying this to your shame.

ἐθριομάχησα (v. 32) The verb *dòushòu* 鬥獸 (“fight with wild beast”) with *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme found in most Mandarin versions (MSV, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, CNT, BT, LÜ, HSC, HS, SB, CLB, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB, DCT) because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist. The shift in tense-form from the present (ἔχω, v. 31) to the aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

The term *dòushòu chǎng* 鬥獸場 (“court of beast-fighting”) is commonly used to refer to the Roman Colosseum in Mandarin. Most Chinese versions use the verb phrase *yǔ(/tong) yěshòu zhàndòu* 與(/同)野獸戰鬥(/鬪) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (“do battle with beasts,” e.g. BCV, BB, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, WANG, ZHU, BT, CRV). The verb “do battle” is expressed in several different ways, for example, *bódòu* 搏鬥 (CNT, SB, CLB, NCV, RCUV), *gédòu* 格鬥(/鬪) (WV, HS, LÜ, TCV, CPB), *dízhàn* 敵戰 (GÜ), *jiāozhàn* 交戰 (GÜ 1840), *dòu* 鬪 (MAR, GO, SJ, UVW, UVB, UVE), or *dí* 敵 (MOR). The DV has *gānshòu dòushòu zhī làn xíng* 甘受鬪獸之濫刑 (lit. “endure willingly the abusive punishment of the beast-fighting”) while GURY translates it similarly, *céng shòu shòudòu xíng* 曾受獸鬪刑 (“have once been punished by beast-fighting”).

ἐγείρονται (cf. vv. 15–16, 29) The two-morpheme aspect compound *-le-IDVC* may be used here at the conclusion of the pericope (vv. 12–34) instead of the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, which has been used to translate the previous three occurrences of the present passive verb. This

decision is made out of the following considerations. First, the shift in tense-form from the aorist (ἐθηριομάχησα) to the present justifies the use of the aspect compound. Second, it better reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present tense-form in Greek. Third, the more marked present tense-form is used at a prominent place that introduces an Old Testament quotation from Isa 22:13. Most Mandarin versions use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, HS, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, CPB), with the exception of LÜ, which uses IDVCs.

φάγωμεν καὶ πλώμεν The two aorist subjunctives are best translated by the reduplicated verbs, *chī-chī hē-hē* 吃吃(/喫喫)喝喝 (lit. “eat-eat drink-drink”), as many Mandarin versions have done (e.g. UV, WANG, BT, CNT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CRV, NCV, DCT, RCUV). The shift in tense-form from the present (ἐγείρονται) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. A few other versions, including most wenli versions, use the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. SL-MOR, GÜ, DV, GURY, MSV, PK, JOHNM, ZHU, HSC, SB, CPB).

ἀποθνήσκομεν Here, morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option, because expressions such as *sǐ-zhe* or *zài sǐ* are ungrammatical. Disyllabic verbs such as *zuògǔ* 作古 (“die”) or *sǐwáng* 死亡 (“die,” CNT) are preferable to monosyllabic verbs *sǐ* (“die,” ZHU, HSC, LÜ) or *zhōng* 終 (“end,” MAR) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Most versions add auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (MSV, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV) or *jiāng* (SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GÜ, SJ, HS). Because of αὔριον, such additions may be acceptable here. However, the expression, *shì yào sǐ de le* (PK) is not preferable because the *shì...de* construction is reserved for the translation of the Greek periphrastic construction.

μὴ πλανᾷσθε (v. 33) Most Mandarin versions add auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (e.g. MSV, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, TCV, CLB, NCV, CRV) or *kě* (PK, JOHNM, SB) to the verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Such an addition is not absolutely necessary here. Disyllabic verbs such as *zìqī* 自欺 (“deceive,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, NCV), *míhuò* 迷惑 (“confuse,” CRV) or *yúnnòng* (“fool,” TCV) are preferable to monosyllabic verbs such as *wù* 誤 (“mislead,” SB). The expression, *shòu-piàn-shàng-dàng* 受騙上當 (“be made a fool of,” CPB), is not preferable because four-character set phrases are reserved for translating the stative aspect in Greek. However, the passive construction formed by the particle *shòu* is preferable for the passive voice of the Greek.

φθείρουσιν Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context. The disyllabic verb *bàihuài* (“corrupt,” e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, LÜ, TCV, CRV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to monosyllabic verbs such as *huài* 壞 (“ruin,” SL-MOR, MOR, BCV, GURY), *bài* 敗 (“decay,” MAR, GÜ, WV), or *sàng* 喪 (“lose,” DV, MSV) for the present tense-form in Greek. ZHU has *shì bàihuài shánxíng de* 是敗壞善行的 (“is what corrupts good deeds”), which is not preferable because the *shì...de* construction is reserved for the translation of the Greek periphrastic construction. Similarly, the addition of *shì* (“be”) to the verb, found in some early Mandarin versions (e.g. PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT), and auxiliary verbs such as *huì* (NCV, CPB), *bì* (WV), *yào* (“will,” MSV), or *dé* (“get,” GÜ 1840) do not correspond to the indicative mood in Greek.

ἐκνήψατε (v. 34) The monosyllabic verb *wù* 寤/悟 (“awaken”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to disyllabic verbs such as *xǐngwù* 醒悟 (“come to realize,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, SB, TCV) or *xǐngwù* 省悟 (“come to realize,” HSC). However, RVCs such

as *guòlái* (LÜ, CLB, NCV, CRV) or *lái* are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they formally reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. The shift in tense-form from the present (φθείρουσιν) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. On the other hand, the aspect marker *-zhe* (MSV, CPB) is not preferable because it expresses the stative aspect in Mandarin. Auxiliary verbs such as *yīngdāng/dāng* (PK, JOHNM, SJ, LÜ, SB), *yào* (MSV, UV, WANG, BT, HSC, TCV, CRV, RCUV), or *gāi* are necessary here to render the Greek subjunctive used in commands.

**μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε** Two Catholic versions, SB and CLB, have *bùyào/bié zài fānzui le* 不要/別再犯罪了, denoting “do not continue/stop sinning,” which reflects the *Aktionsart*-based understanding of the Greek present tense-form in the context of prohibitions (see discussions in chapter 5; cf. ESV, TNIV).<sup>39</sup> Most Mandarin versions have *bùyào fānzui* (“do not sin,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, TCV, CRV, NCV), which is preferable here. The MSV uses the perfective aspect *-le*, which is not preferable because it does not reflect the aspect of the Greek.

**ἔχουσιν** The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. *shì*, “are,” LÜ, CPB, CRV) because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect which is signaled by the present tense-form in Greek.

**λαλῶ** The marker *zài* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (*shuō*, “say,” e.g. MSV, PK, UV, ZHU, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, CPB, RCUV) because it morphologically expresses the imperfective aspect of the Greek present tense-form.

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<sup>39</sup> The ESV has “do not go on sinning,” whereas the TNIV has “stop sinning.”

### 7.2.3. The Resurrection of the Body (vv. 35–49) 論軀體復活

This pericope may be divided into two sub-sections (vv. 35–41, 42–49). Smaller discourse boundaries, as noted in 7.1.2, are marked by the conjunctive οὕτως καί (v. 42). Paul uses the aorist tense-forms to lay down assumptions regarding the nature of resurrection (vv. 36, 38, 49). He employs the present tense-form to call attention to a number of significant details: the Corinthians' denial of the resurrection of the body (v. 35), the analogies of plant organisms (vv. 36–38) and inanimate objects (v. 41), the application of the analogy of the plant organism to the resurrected body (vv. 42–44), and the contrast between the natural and spiritual body (v. 45). He utilizes a perfect tense-form to introduce the Old Testament quotation to highlight the contrast between the natural and spiritual body (v. 45).

Ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις· πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; ἄφρων, σὺ ὁ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ ὁ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τίνος τῶν λοιπῶν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων ἴδιον σῶμα. (15:35–38)

有人會問：「死人是如何復活呢？是以什麼樣的軀體過來呢？」糊塗人，你所播種的要不死去，就無法被救了起來。更何況你所播種的，不是播種那將來有的軀體，而是子粒，說不定是麥子，或是其他穀類。然而 神隨意賞賜給它身軀，及給各等穀粒其軀體。

Yǒurén huì wèn, “Sǐrén shì rúhé fùhuó ne? Shìyǐ shénmeyàng de qūti guólái ne?”  
Hútú rén, nǐ suǒ bōzhòng de yào bù sǐ-qù, jiù wúfǎ bèi jiù-le-qǐlái. Gèng hékuàng nǐ suǒ

bōzhòng de, bù shì bōzhòng nà jiānglái yǒu de qūti, érshì zǐli, shuō bu -dìng shì màizi, huòshì qítā gǔlèi. Rán'ér Shén suíyì shǎngcì gěi tā shēnqū, jí gěi gèděng gǔlì qí qūti.

Some may ask, “How are the dead raised? With what kind of body are they coming?” Foolish people, if what you sow has not died, it is not made alive. Also, what you are sowing, is not the body that will be, but a grain, which might be of wheat or of some other grain. But God is giving it a body according to his wishes, and to every grain its own body.

ἐπεῖ (v. 35) Auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (BT, HSC, CRV), and *huì* (LÜ, NCV, RCUV) are necessary additions to the verb to convey the sense of expectation of the future form.

ἐγείρονται (see also vv. 42–44) As in its previous occurrences (vv. 15–16, 29, 32), this present form is translated into Mandarin by the verb *fùhuó* (“come back to life,” “resurrect”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. This helps to establish textual cohesion to the previous pericope (vv. 12–34) where the same Greek verb form is used.

ἔρχονται Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context. PK and JOHNM use the RVC *zháo* (*dé-zháo*, “get”), which does not reflect the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-form. Most Mandarin versions use monosyllabic verbs such as *lái* 來 (“come,” UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HS, LÜ, CRV) or *yǒu* (“have,” TCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Disyllabic verbs such as *huílái* 回來 (“return,” HSC) and *guòlái* 過來 (“come over”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are preferable to monosyllabic verbs because they better reflect the more heavily marked Greek present tense-form. Some of these versions also add auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (LÜ, NCV) or *huì* (TCV), apparently to convey the

future-referring present tense-form, which are not suitable additions for translating the indicative mood in Greek.<sup>40</sup>

σπείρεις (vv. 36–37) Just as for ἔρχονται (v. 35), morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option here. Disyllabic verbs such as *bōzhòng* (“sow,” CNT, SB) or *gēngzhòng* 栽種 (“till,” CPB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are preferable to the monosyllabic verb *zhòng* (“plant,” PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC, LÜ, CRV, NCV, RCUV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they better reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek.

ζωοποιεῖται (v. 36; cf. ζωοποιηθήσονται in v. 22) Some versions have *shēng* 生 (“live,” UV, WANG, HS, CRV), *fāyá* 發芽 (“sprout,” CPB), or *huó* 活 (“live,” PK) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. Others use the IDVC *qílái* (ZHU, BT, LÜ), which is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form in Greek. The MSV and SB, on the other hand, use the RVC *chūlái*, which is not preferable because it expresses the perfective aspect. Several versions add auxiliary verbs such as *néng* (UV, ZHU, BT, CNT, HS, HSC, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) or *dé* (JOHNM, LÜ, SB), which are not preferable for translating the indicative mood in Greek. However, the expression *bèi jiù-le-qílái* (“be made alive”) is ideal here because the two-morpheme aspect compound *-le*-IDVC establishes a better contrast to the aorist (ἀποθάνη) that follows.

ἀποθάνη Auxiliary verbs such as *yào* or *bì/bìxū* (WV, CPB) are preferable here for rendering the sense of projection that is grammaticalized by the subjunctive verb form in Greek. The monosyllabic verb *sǐ* (“die”) with either the RVC *qù* (“go,” LÜ, CLB, NCV)

<sup>40</sup> See 4.2.2.2, pp. 185–87 above for the discussion of the Greek present tense-form used for future reference.



or *-le* (MSV, BT, HSC, SB, TCV) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, CNT, CRV, RCUV) because it formally reflects the perfective aspect of the Greek aorist tense-form. The shift in tense-forms from the present (ζωοποιεῖται) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme.

τὸ γενησόμενον (v. 37) The articular future participle is used here as a predicate to the noun τὸ σῶμα, thus it is translated most frequently by *shì jiāng lái de/zhī* 是將來的/之 (“that is coming in the future,” e.g. GURY, PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CRV).

εἰ τύχοι This aorist optative with the conditional marker εἰ may be formally understood as “if it should chance” or “if it should turn out that way.” This expression is generally understood as an adverb meaning “perhaps,” as some Mandarin versions (*dàgài shì* 大概是, “probably,” *yěxǔ shì* 也許是, “maybe,” CRV, NCV) have.<sup>41</sup> Several Mandarin versions use the conjunctive *huòshì* 或是 (“or,” e.g. JOHNM, ZHU, CNT, HSC, LÜ) with no attempt to provide a formal translation of the Greek. However, the expression *shuō bu -dìng* is an ideal choice here for three reasons. First, it translates τύχοι as a verb (*shuō*, “speak”). Second, it contains the RVC *dìng* (“fix”), which reflects the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form. Finally, since in modern speech *shuōbudìng* is used beyond its literal sense to express contingency, it is unnecessary to add an auxiliary verb such as *kěnéng* (“be possible”), *huì* (“can,” “shall”), or *déyǐ* (“be able to,” “so that...may”), which is often the case (see 5.2.2).

καθὼς ἠθέλησεν (v. 38) The Greek verb form here cannot simply be translated by a monosyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme in Mandarin. Most versions use expressions

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 781, 665 n. 35; Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1264; BDAG, s.v. It contains only the protasis of a fourth class conditional clause (see 5.4.5, pp. 291–93 above).

such as *zhào(zhe)/suí(zhe) zìjǐ de yìsì* 照(著)/隨(著)自己的意思 (“according to one’s wishes,” UV, WANG, HSC, LÜ, SB, CLB, NCV, CRV, RCUV),<sup>42</sup> or *suíyì* (“as one pleases,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GÜ 1840, DV, GURY, MSV, PK, JOHNM, ZHU, BT, CNT).<sup>43</sup> Considering the less heavily marked aorist tense-form, *suíyì* with the *ø* morpheme is preferable.

Οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σὰρξ ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων. καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια· ἀλλὰ ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων. ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων· ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. (15:39–41)

凡肉體皆各有不同：人是一樣，獸又是一樣，鳥是一樣，魚又是另一樣。接下來有天體，地物；但天體之光輝是一樣，地物之光輝又是另一樣。日有日的榮光，月有月的榮耀，星有星的榮華。此星和彼星的榮華，皆有別。

Fán ròutǐ jiē gè yǒu bùtóng: rén shì yīyàng, shòu yòu shì yīyàng, niǎo shì yīyàng, yú yòu shì líng yīyàng. Jiēxiàláí yǒu tiāntǐ, dìwù; dàn tiāntǐ zhī guānghuī shì yīyàng, dìwù zhī guānghuī yòu shì líng yīyàng. Rì yǒu rì de róngguāng, yuè yǒu yuè de róngyào, xīng yǒu xīng de rónghuá. Cǐ xīng hé bǐ xīng de rónghuá, jiē yǒubié.

Not all flesh is the same; there is one kind for humans, another for animals, another for birds, and another for fish. There are also heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly bodies is of one kind, and the glory of the earthly bodies is of another. The sun has its glory, the moon has its glory, and the stars have their glory. This star and that star differ in their glory.

<sup>42</sup> SB has *xīnyì* 心意 (“intention”) rather than *yìsì*.

<sup>43</sup> GURY has *suí jǐ yì* 隨己意 (“according to one’s wishes”) instead of *suíyì*.

διαφέρει (v. 41) Here, morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes are not an option. Several expressions are used: (*gè*)*yǒu bùtóng* (各)有不同 (“each has its own difference,” PK, JOHNM, ZHU), *yǒu fēnbié* 有分別 (“have difference,” UV, WANG, BT, CNT, HSC, SB, CRV), *yǒu chābié* 有差別 (“have difference,” LÜ), and *bù xiāngtóng* 不相同 (“not the same,” CLB, CPB). Here, although the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is the only option, disyllabic verb phrases such as *yǒubié* (“differ”) are preferable to adjectives such as *bùtóng* 不同 (“different,” NCV).

Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει· σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. εἶ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν. (15:42–44)

死人復活也是如此。所播種的是必朽的，所復活的則是不朽的；所播種的是恥辱的，所復活的卻是榮耀的；所播種的是懦弱的，所復活的乃是強勁的；所播種的是屬氣的肢體，所復活的是屬靈的軀體。若有血氣之身，也有靈性之體。

Sǐrén fùhuó yěshì rúcǐ. Suǒ bōzhòng de shì bìxiǔ de, suǒ fùhuó de zéshì bùxiǔ de; suǒ bōzhòng de shì chǐrǔ de, suǒ fùhuó de quèshì róngyào de; suǒ bōzhòng de shì nuòruò de, suǒ fùhuó de nǎishì qiángjìng de; suǒ bōzhòng de shì shǔ qì de zhītǐ, suǒ fùhuó de shì shǔ líng de qūttǐ. Ruò yǒu xiěqì zhī shēn, yě yǒu língxìng zhī tǐ.

So is it with the resurrection of the body. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body.

ἀνάστασις (v. 42) See v. 12.

σπείρεται (vv. 42–44; see also vv. 36–37) In this sub-section (vv. 42–49), this present tense-form is repeated four times in connection with ἐγείρεται. The verb *bōzhòng* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used consistently for each occurrence.

ἐγείρεται (vv. 42–44; ἐγείρονται, v. 35) Paul repeats this present tense-form five times along with σπείρεται in this sub-section. The verb *fūhuó* (“come back to life,” “resurrect”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is repeatedly used here out of discourse and stylistic considerations. First, it helps to establish textual cohesion to the previous pericopes in which the same Greek verb form also occurs (vv. 15–16, 29, 35). Second, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable because there is no shift in tense-form to justify the use of the formally expressed imperfective aspect morphemes. Third, the disyllabic verb with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is stylistically a better choice because it mirrors the other present tense-form that is also used in the repetition.

οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται· ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. ἀλλ’ οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. (15:45–47)

經上記著說，「頭一個人亞當初成了活著的人」；最後的亞當竟成了使人活起來的神靈。然而屬靈不在先，是屬血氣在先。後來才有屬靈。第一人來自於紅塵；第二人出自於天。

Jīng shàng jì-zhe shuō, “Tóu yīge rén Yǎdāng, chū chéng-le huó-zhe de rén”; zuìhòu de Yǎdāng, jìng chéng-le shǐrén huó-qǐlái de shénlíng. Rán’ér shǔ líng bùzài xiān, shì shǔ xiěqì zàixiān. Hòulái cái yǒu shǔ líng. Dì yī rén láizì yú hóngchén; dì èr rén chūzì yú tiān.

It is written in the scriptures, “The first man, Adam, became a living person.” The last Adam became the life-giving spirit. But the spiritual does not come first but the physical. The spiritual comes later. The first man was from the dust of the earth; the second man is from heaven.

γέγραπται (v. 45) See example (17) in 4.2.4.2.<sup>44</sup>

ἐγένετο Several earlier Chinese versions follow the KJV by rendering it with *shòu zào wéi* 受造為 (“was made,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, cf. TEV, TCV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, while most versions have *chéngwéi/wéi* 成為/為 (“become,” GO, BCV, GURY, CPB), and *chéng* (“become,” GÜ 1840) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme, or *chéng-le* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) with the perfective aspect marker *-le*. The aspect marker *-le* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist. Also, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (γέγραπται) to aorist justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. This verb is not translated in the DV.

ψυχὴν ζῶσαν This phrase is expressed in at least a dozen different ways in Chinese: *huó(de)/(shēng) hún* 活(的)/(生)魂 (“living soul,” SL-MOR, MOR, HS, CRV), *huó-zhe de hún* 活著的魂 (“living soul,” BT), *huó/(shēng) líng* 活(/生)靈 (“living spirit,” MAR, GÜ 1840, BCV, SB), *xiěqì zhī hún* 血氣之魂 (“living soul,” GURY), *xiěqì zhī/(de) rén/(huózhě)* 血氣之(/的)人(/活者) (“living person,” DV, GO, SJ, TRNT, MSV, PK, JOHNM), *huóde xiěqì rén* 活的血氣人 (lit. “living person that is alive,” LÜ), *yǒu huó qì de rén* 有活氣的人 (“person with living ‘chi’/spirit,” ZHU), *yǒu xiě ròu de shēngmìng* 有血肉的生命 (“life of flesh and blood,” HSC), *jùyǒu xiě ròu shēngmìng de huó rén* 具有

<sup>44</sup> See Ellingworth and Hatton, who recommend the translation “it is written in the Scriptures.” Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 318.

血肉生命的活人 (“living person with flesh and blood,” CPB), *yǒu shēngmìng de rén* 有生命的人 (“living person,” CNT, CLB, TCV, NCV, RCUV), and *yǒu língde huó rén* 有靈的活人 (“living person with spirit,” UV, WANG). Ricci translates ψυχή by *líng* 靈 or *hún* 魂, both of which are used in Chinese philosophy to denote “soul.”<sup>45</sup> Here, *huó rén* (“living person”) is preferable because it is a closer lexical translation of the Greek. The aspect marker *-zhe* is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it formally reflects the imperfective aspect that is signaled by the present participle in Greek.

πνεῦμα Several terms are used in Chinese (and Japanese) versions to translate πνεῦμα in this context: *fēng* 風 (“wind,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR), *Shén* (“God,” Ricci, GÜ, DV, MSV, JOHNM, CNT, HSC, SB);<sup>46</sup> *líng* 靈 (“spirit,” GO, BCV, SJ, PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HS, LÜ, TCV, CRV, NCV, RCUV, TRNT, RAGUET, JCV, CBT), *jīngshén* 精神 (“spirit,” CPB), *shénlíng* (“divine spirit,” WV), and *zhǔ* 主 (“Lord,” CLB). In this context, *shénlíng* is preferable because it contains the character *Shén* (“God”) with reference to Christ’s divinity.

The earliest documented reference to the Holy Spirit in Chinese may be traced back to the seventh–ninth centuries, when Nestorian and Manichaean missionaries were active in China. The Nestorians used several different terms, including *Yuán fēng* 元風 (“original wind”), *Xuánfēng* 玄風 (“abstruse wind”), *Jìngfēng* 淨風 (“pure wind”), and a transliterated term from the Syriac ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ, *lúhé níngjùshā* 盧訶寧俱沙 or simply *lúhé* (see chapter 2). Their contemporaries, the Manichaeans, adopted the term *fēng* (“wind”): *qīngjìng wéimiào fēng* 清淨微妙風 (“pure and delicate wind”) or *jìngfǎ*

<sup>45</sup> Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 166, line 163.

<sup>46</sup> Ricci uses the expression *hún nǎi Shén yě* 魂乃神也 (“a soul is a spirit”). Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 166, line 164.

*fēng* 淨法風 (“purifying wind”).<sup>47</sup> Like the Nestorians, the Manichaeans also used a transliterated term, *huó shíyúnnéng yù yúérle* 活時雲嘯鬱(/鬱)于而勒 (“Living and Chosen Spirit”) from the Middle Persian [wād žīwandag ud wižīdag].<sup>48</sup> From the seventeenth century onward, Catholic missionaries in China used the transliterated term *sībīlīduō sānduō* 斯彼利多三多 (from the Latin *Spiritus Sanctus*).<sup>49</sup>

ζωοποιῶν Some versions have *cì shēngmìng* 賜生命 (“give life,” PK, JOHNM, ZHU, BT, TCV, CRV, RCUV) or *jiào(/shǐ) rén (shēng)huó* 叫(/使)人(生)活 with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (“make one live,” UV, WANG, HSC, LÜ, SB, NCV, MSV).<sup>50</sup> Others use four-character set phrases such as *shīyú shēngmìng* 施予生命 (“give life,” CNT) or *cì rén língmìng* 賜人靈命 (“give people life,” CLB) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. However, the IDVC *qīlái* is preferable to  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the imperfective aspect signaled by the present tense-form in Greek. HSC adds the auxiliary verb *néng*, which is not suitable for rendering the Greek indicative mood.

πνευματικὸν (v. 46; see also πνεῦμα in v. 45) Several terms are found in Chinese (and Japanese) versions: *shǔ fēng zhě* 屬風者 (“of the wind,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR), *língshén/shénlíng* 靈神/神靈 (“divine spirit,” GÜ, MSV), *shǔ Shén (de)* 屬神(的) (“divine,” GURY, JOHNM, SB), *Shén* (DV), *shénxìng* 神性 (“divine,” Ricci, CNT, HSC), *shǔ líng zhě/de* 屬靈者(/的) (“spiritual,” BCV, TRNT, PK, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV, CBT, RAGUET), *jù língtǐ zhě* 具靈體者

<sup>47</sup> In the *Incomplete Religious Scripture of a Persian Religion* 《波斯教殘經》 (10 cent. C.E.). See Bryder, *Chinese Transformation*, 119, 123.

<sup>48</sup> In the *Lower section: Hymnscroll* 《下部讚》 (8–9 cent. C.E.). See Bryder, *Chinese Transformation*, 59, 121; Boyce, *Word-List*, s.v.

<sup>49</sup> Ortiz, *Commentary*, 4, 6. In the opening sentence of his *Sheng jiao qie yao* 《聖教切要》, Ortiz includes *yīn bàdélē jí fèilüè jí sībīlīduō sānduō míng zhě, āméng* 因罷德肋及費略及斯彼利多三多名者、亞孟。 (“In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.”). See Ortiz, *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*, 1.

<sup>50</sup> The MSV has *jiào rén fùhuó* 叫人復活 (“make one live again”).

(“spiritual being,” WV), *jīngshén zhī tǐ* 精神之體 (“spiritual being,” CPB), and *chāo zìrán tǐ* 超自然體 (“supernatural being,” HS). *Shǔ líng* (“spiritual”) is preferable here because it is most commonly used in today’s Chinese-speaking churches.

ψυχικόν (see also ψυχὴν in v. 45) This term is clearly used in contrast to πνευματικόν. Ricci uses *xíngxìng* 形性 (lit. “pertaining to the form”) to refer to ψυχικόν and *shénxìng* (“pertaining to God”) to πνευματικόν.<sup>51</sup> This is followed by two Catholic versions, WV and CNT, which have *jù xíngtǐ zhě* 具形體者 (“one pertaining to the form,” WV) and *wùzhì de* 物質的 (“pertaining to the substance”). Ricci’s contemporaries, Francesco Sambiasi (1582–1649) and Paul Hsü (1562–1633), use the transliterated term *Yánímǎ* 亞尼瑪 (from Latin *anima*) in the *Ling yan li shao* 《靈言蠡勺》, which is explained by *líng hún* 靈魂 (“soul”) and *língxìng* 靈性 (“spiritual”).<sup>52</sup> This is followed by BT and CRV, which have *shǔ hún de* 屬魂的 (“spiritual”). Basset, however, uses *shǔ chù zhě* 屬畜者 (“one belonging to the animals,” SL-MOR, followed by MOR, MAR). Over a dozen Chinese versions have *yǒu xiěqì* 有血氣 (“pertaining to life,” GÜ), (*shǔ*) *xiěqì zhě (de)* (屬)血氣者(的) (“pertaining to life,” GO, BCV, GURY, TRNT, PK, JOHNM, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, LÜ, NCV), *qiěqì zhī tǐ* 血氣之體 (“living being,” HS), (*yǒu/shǔ*) *xiě ròu de* (有/屬)血肉的 (“of flesh and blood,” HSC, TCV, CLB, RCUV), or *xiě ròu zhī tǐ* 血肉之體 (“being of flesh and blood,” CPB). SB has *shǔ shēng líng de* 屬生靈的 (“of the living spirit”). Here, *shǔ xiěqì* (“pertaining to life”) is preferable to the other terms because it is a closer lexical translation of the Greek.

<sup>51</sup> Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, 150, lines 142.

<sup>52</sup> Sambiasi and Hsü, *Ling yan li shao*, 1.



οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι· καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. (15:48–49)

如同那位屬紅塵的人一樣，眾屬紅塵者也是如此；就像那位屬天堂的人一般，眾屬天堂者也將為如此。我們既有屬塵者之形，將來也必有屬天者之態。

Rútóng nàwèi shǔ hóngchén de rén yīyàng, zhòng shǔ hóngchén zhě yěshì rúcǐ; jiù xiàng nàwèi shǔ tiāntáng de rén yībān, zhòng shǔ tiāntáng zhě yě jiāng wéi rúcǐ. Wǒmen jì yǒu-le shǔ chén zhě zhī xíng, jiānglái yě bì yǒu shǔ tiān zhě zhī tài.

Just like that man of dust, so are those who are of the dust. Just as that man of heaven, so will be those who are of heaven. Just as we bear the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven in the future.

ἐφορέσαμεν (v. 49) Many Chinese versions use monosyllabic verbs such as *yǒu* (“have,” PK, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, UV, WANG, CRV, RCUV), *dài* 戴 (“wear,” GO), or *fù* 負 (“carry on the shoulder,” GURY) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.<sup>53</sup> A few others use the imperfective *-zhe* (e.g. CNT, HSC), which does not reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist. The perfective *-le* (ZHU, BT, LÜ, TCV, NCV) is preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because it morphologically reflects the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek. It also provides a better contrast to the future form that follows.

φορέσομεν Auxiliary verbs such as *bì/bìyào* (PK, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, UV, WANG, CNT, LÜ, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV), *huì* (TCV), *yào* (MSV, ZHU, BT, HSC, SB), and *jiāng* (GO, DV) are necessary additions for conveying the expectation of the future form.

<sup>53</sup> GURY adds the temporal adverb *céng* (“ever”) to the verb, which is acceptable but not absolutely necessary.

However, the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (GO, DV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV) is preferable to the aspect marker *-zhe* (BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ).

ἐπουράνιος Most translators follow Ricci by using the term *tiān/tiāntáng* 天/天堂 for οὐρανός/ἐπουράνιος.<sup>54</sup> For example, *shǔ tiān de* 屬天的 (“of heaven,” PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, CLB, NCV, RCUV), *shǔ(yú) tiān zhě(bèi)* 屬(於)天者(/輩) (“of heaven,” SL-MOR, GO, JOHNM, SJ, CNT, CRV), *tiānshàng rén de* 天上人的 (“of the one from heaven,” HSC), *shǔyú tiānshàng* 屬於天上 (“of the heaven,” SB), and *cóng tiānshàng lái de rén* 從天上來的人 (“of the one from heaven,” TCV). *Shǔ tiān zhě* (“of heaven”) is preferable here because it is a closer lexical translation of the Greek.

#### 7.2.4. Victory over Death (vv. 50–57) 死被勝利吞滅

Paul uses the aorist tense-form to lay down assumptions regarding the inheritance of the kingdom of God (v. 50), the transformation of the perishables (v. 53), and the defeat of death (v. 54). He employs the present tense-form to call attention to a number of significant details: the perishables exempt from God’s inheritance (v. 50), the introduction to the revelation of a mystery (v. 51), and thanksgiving to God’s grace (v. 57). He utilizes a perfect tense-form to introduce the Old Testament quotation to highlight God’s victory over death (v. 53).

Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται, οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ. ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα, ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥίπτῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι· σαλπίζει γάρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα. (15:50–52)

<sup>54</sup> Ricci uses *tiāntáng dìyù* 天堂地獄 to refer to “heaven and earth.” See Ricci, *T’ien-chu Shih-i*, e.g. 322, line 379.

弟兄姊妹們，我告訴你們說，血肉之體不能夠得著 神的國；凡必朽者也絕不承襲不朽者。聽好！我告訴你們一個秘密：我們不將長眠，而皆必轉化——在霎那、眨眼之間，號角末回吹響的時候。號角要響，死人將復活成為不朽者，我們就會轉變。

Dìxiōng jiěmèimen, wǒ gàosù nǐmen shuō, xiěròu zhī tǐ bù nénggòu dé-zháo Shén de guó; fán bixiǔ zhě yě juébù chéngxí bùxiǔ zhě. Tīng-hǎo! Wǒ gàosù nǐmen yīge mìmi: wǒmen bù jiāng chángmián, ér jiē bì zhuǎnhuà—zài shànà, zhǎyǎn zhījiān, hàojiǎo mòhuī chuīxiǎng de shíhòu. Hàojiǎo yào xiǎng, sǐrén jiāng fùhuó chéngwéi bùxiǔ zhě, wǒmen jiù huì zhuǎnbàn.

Brothers and sisters, I tell you, flesh and blood are unable to inherit the kingdom of God. This also means that the perishable are unable to inherit the imperishable. Listen! I (shall) tell you a secret. We will not be sleeping, but will be changed, in a flash, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of the last trumpet. The trumpet will sound, the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed.

κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύνатаι (v. 50) Here, the auxiliary verb *néng* (SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GÜ, GO, BCV, GURY, MSV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, UV, UVW, UVB, ZHU, WANG, BT, WV, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) is added to the main verb to translate the Greek catenative construction, δύναιμι + infinitive (see 5.3.1.4). RVCs such as *zháo* (“be on target,” MSV) are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. *sì* 嗣, “inherit,” MAR, GO; *huò* 獲, “obtain,” SL-MOR, MOR; *chéng* 承, “carry,” WV; *dé* 得, “get,” PK, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, SJ), because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect signaled by the aorist tense-form in Greek (cf. δεῖ... βασιλεύειν, v. 25).

κληρονομῆι The disyllabic verb *chéngxí* (“inherit”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to less heavily marked monosyllabic verbs such as *dé* (“get,” PK, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, SJ) or *huò* (“obtain,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, GÜ) for translating the Greek present tense-form. The MSV uses the RVC *zháo* (*dé-zháo*, “gain”), which is not preferable because RVCs express the perfective aspect. Here, it is not possible to express the imperfective aspect in Mandarin by using IDVCs such as *qǐ* or *qǐlái*, because *bù qǐ* always has the perfective meaning of “cannot afford” when used in a negative clause with verbs that are associated with spending, lifting, getting, or, in this case, inheriting.<sup>55</sup>

Most versions add auxiliary verbs such as *néng* (DV, GO, BCV, GURY, PK, JOHNM, BB, SJ, UV, UVW, UVB, ZHU, WANG, BT, WV, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV) or *kě* (GÜ), even though the Greek verb is in the indicative mood. The only exceptions are SL-MOR, MOR, and MAR, which have *fú huò* 弗獲 (“do not obtain”). As noted in 4.2.2.2 above, in order to differentiate the present tense-form from the future form, it is preferable not to use an auxiliary verb for translating the Greek future-referring present tense-form into Mandarin.

ἰδοῦ (v. 51) See also the discussions on John 19:5 (cf. ἴδε in John 18:21).

As noted in chapter 6, *tīng-hǎo* (“Pay attention!” “Listen up!”) is preferable to other expressions such as *kàn(na)!* (“Behold!” BT, SB, CRV) because it better reflects the discourse function of the Greek to prompt the attention of the listener or reader.<sup>56</sup> A few other versions have (*qǐng*)*zhùyì* (請)注意 (“[please] pay attention,” ZHU, LÜ) and

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Liu 劉月華 et al., *Directional Verb Complements*, 326–29.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Ellingworth and Hatton, *Handbook*, 321; Collins and Harrington, *First Corinthians*, 580; Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 800.

*xiànzài* (“now,” CNT, HSC), which may be acceptable. Most Chinese versions do not translate this word.

λέγω Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable in this context. Disyllabic verbs such as *gàosù* (“tell,” PK, UV, ZHU, CNT, HS, SB, LÜ, NCV, CPB, RCUV) or *zhǐdiǎn* 指點 (“direct,” “advise,” MSV) are preferable to monosyllabic ones because they better reflect the more heavily marked present tense-form in Greek.

κοιμηθῆσόμεθα (See also v. 6). In order to render the expectation of the Greek future form, auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (PK, JOHNM, UV, WANG, BT, CNT, LÜ, CRV, RCUV), *bì* (ZHU, WV), *huì* (CPB), or *jiāng* (GO) are preferable. Only SB and BB do not use an auxiliary verb. The  $\emptyset$  morpheme (e.g. *yào shuì* 要睡 “will sleep,” JOHNM) is preferable to RVCs such as *qù* (“go,” CPB) and *wán* (“end,” MSV), and to the stative aspect marker *-zhe* (LÜ). The addition of *shì* 是 before the verb (e.g. PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ, CRV) is redundant. Here, *jiāng chángmián* (“will sleep/die”) closely corresponds to the future form in Greek.

ἀλλαγησόμεθα (vv. 51, 52) Like the previous verb *κοιμηθῆσόμεθα*, the future form is preferably translated by auxiliary verbs such as *yào* (PK, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, TCV, CRV, NCV), *bìxū* (JOHN, JOHNM, SJ, BB, WV), or *jiāng* (SL-MOR, MOR, MAR, CPB). All of these versions use some variations of the monosyllabic verb *biàn* 變 (“change”) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. The DV does not use an auxiliary verb here (*huà* 化, “change,” with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme). The CNT uses the passive construction formed by the particle *shòu* (*yào shòu gǎibiàn* 要受改變, “will be changed”), which is an optional addition. The MSV uses *-le* (*dōu yào huà-le qù* 都要化了去, “we will all

change”) for the first occurrence of ἀλλαγησόμεθα, which is not preferable not only because it signals the perfective aspect, but also because the expression is ungrammatical in Mandarin.

σαλπίζει (v. 52) Similarly, the future form here may be represented by auxiliary verbs such as *bì/bìyào* (MOR, MAR, GÜ, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, SJ, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, LÜ, CRV), *yào* (MSV, UV, WANG, BT, NCV, CRV, RCUV), or *jiāng* (GO, UVE). The  $\emptyset$  morpheme is preferable to IDVCs (e.g. *xiǎng-qǐ* 響起, “sound,” CPB) or RVCs (e.g. *chuī-xiǎng* 吹響, “blow a sound,” NCV, RCUV) because the future tense-form does not grammaticalize either the imperfective or perfective aspect in Greek. The expression *shì bìyào fāxiǎng de* 是必要發響的 (“is necessary to sound,” HSC) is not preferable because the *shì...de* construction is reserved for translating periphrastic constructions in Greek.

ἐγερθήσονται (see also v. 15) *Jiāng fūhuó* (“will be raised”), *bìyào fūhuó* (“must be raised,” CNT, SB), or *yào fūhuó* (“will be raised,” UV, WANG, BT, TCV, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme are preferable to the same verb form, *fūhuó* (/shēng) (SL-MOR, MOR, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, SJ) without auxiliary verbs. ZHU, HSC, and LÜ use the IDVC *qílái*, which is not preferable for the future form in Greek. Similarly, the RVC *guòlái* (lit. “come over,” MSV) is not preferable because it expresses the perfective aspect in Mandarin.

δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος·

κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος· τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ διδόντι ἡμῖν τὸ νίκος διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.  
(15:53–57)

這必朽者必須換上不朽的，這必死者要換上不死的。當這必朽者既換上不朽的，及此必死者換上不死的時候，經上記著的話「死被勝利給吞掉了」就應驗了。「嗚呼死亡！你的勝利何在？你的螫針又在何處呢？」死的毒螫就是罪，罪的權勢就是律法。感謝 神，仗著我主耶穌基督恩賜我們勝利。

Zhè bixiǔ zhě, bixū huàn-shàng bùxiǔ de, zhè bìsǐ zhě yào huàn-shàng bùsǐ de. Dāng zhè bixiǔ zhě, jì huàn-shàng bùxiǔ de, jí cǐ bìsǐ zhě huàn-shàng bùsǐ de shíhòu, jīng shàng jì-zhe dehuà, “Sǐ bèi shènglì gěi tūn-diào le,” jiù yìngyàn le. “Wūhū sǐwáng! Nǐ de shènglì hézài? Nǐ de shìzhēn yòu zài héchù ne?” Sǐ de dúshì jiùshì zuì, zuì de quánshì jiùshì lǚfǎ. Gǎnxiè Shén, zhàngzhe wǒ zhǔ Yēsū Jīdū ēncì wǒmen shènglì.

This perishable one must put on imperishability, and this mortal body must put on immortality. When this perishable one puts on imperishability, and this mortal body puts on immortality, these words that are written in the scriptures will be fulfilled: “Death is swallowed up in victory. Where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting?” The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law. Thank God, who graciously gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>57</sup>

δεῖ ἐνδύσασθαι (v. 53) Most Chinese versions use auxiliary verbs such as *dāng* (SL-MOR, MOR), *yào* (UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, HSC), *bì/bìyào* (PK, BB, CRV), *bixū* (WV, LÜ, SB, NCV, RCUV), and *yīnggāi* (CNT, CPB) to translate the catenative construction,

<sup>57</sup> Thiselton calls Paul’s thanksgiving in v. 57 a “classic illocutionary speech-act...a verbal equivalent to throwing one’s arm around someone in gratitude.” Thiselton, *Commentary*, 1303.

δεῖ + infinitive (see also v. 25; 5.3.1.4). The auxiliary verb *jiāngyào* (JOHNM) is not preferable here because it contains the character *jiāng* (“will”), which is primarily used for translating the future form in Greek. The perfective aspect of the aorist infinitive may be rendered by the RVC *shàng* (e.g. BT, CNT, HSC, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV, CPB).

ἐνδύσῃται (v. 54; see ἐνδύσασθαι above) The verb *huàn* (“change”) with the RVC *shàng* that is used to translate ἐνδύσασθαι may be used here for both occurrences of the Greek.

γεγραμμένος (cf. γέγραπται, v. 45; see also example (17) in 4.2.4.2.)

κατεπόθη Most Chinese versions use disyllabic verbs such as *xiāomiè* 消滅 (“destroy,” DV, MSV, PK, JOHN, JOHNM, BB, SJ, UVE, TCV), *tūnmìè* 吞滅 (“annex,” GURY, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CNT, WV, LÜ, SB, CRV, NCV, RCUV),<sup>58</sup> *mǐnmìè* 泯滅 (“annihilate,” SL-MOR, MOR, MAR), or *dǎbài* 打敗 (“defeat,” HSC) with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. RVCs such as *diào* are preferable to the  $\emptyset$  morpheme because they morphologically reflect the perfective aspect of the aorist tense-form in Greek. Also, the shift in tense-form from the perfect (γεγραμμένος) to aorist also justifies the use of a formally expressed perfective aspect morpheme. The passive construction formed by the particle *bèi* used in most Chinese versions (except the three wenli versions, GÜ, DV, SJ) is preferable here.<sup>59</sup>

διδόντι (v. 57) Morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes, while grammatically acceptable, are not preferable here. Some versions use RVCs (e.g. *dé-zháo* 得著, ZHU) or *-le* (SB), neither of which reflects the aspect of the Greek. Disyllabic verbs such as *ēncì* (“graciously give”) or *shǎngcì* 賞賜 (“bestow,” CNT) with the  $\emptyset$

<sup>58</sup> The NCV adds *yǐjīng* (“already”) to the front of the verb.

<sup>59</sup> See the commentary on σκαυρωθῇ (John 19:16a) in chapter 6.



morpheme are preferable to monosyllabic verbs such as *cì* (SL-MOR, MAR, DV, GO, GURY, MSV, JOHNM, BT, HS, LÜ, CPB, NCV) or *dé* (CLB, TCV, CRV, RCUV) because they better represent the more marked present tense-form.

### 7.2.5. Conclusion (v. 58) 結論

In his conclusion, Paul makes his appeals to the believers by using two present tense-forms. He uses one perfective tense-form to emphasize that the believers know their toil is not in vain.

ὦστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου πάντοτε, εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ. (15:58)

故此，我親愛的弟兄姊妹們，你們應當堅毅，不動搖，常竭力主事；因為眾所周知，你們的勞苦在主裏不是徒然的。

Gùcǐ, wǒ qīn'ài de dìxiōng jiěmèimen, nǐmen yīngdāng jiānyì, bù dòngyáo, cháng jiélì zhǔshì; yīnwèi zhòng-suǒ-zhōu-zhī, nǐmen de láokǔ zài zhǔ lǐ bù shì túrán de.

Therefore, my beloved brothers and sisters, be steadfast, immovable, and always do your utmost for the Lord's work, because as we all know, your toil is not in vain in the Lord.

γίνεσθε The present imperative is translated by auxiliary verbs such as *dāng/yīngdāng* (GÜ, DV, PK, JOHNM, JOHN, SJ, UVE, BB, LÜ), *yào* (CNT, HSC, SB, TCV, CPB), *wùyào* (MSV, UV, WANG, ZHU, BT, CLB, CRV, NCV, RCUV), or *yí* (MAR, GO, GURY), all of which are suitable here. Formally expressed aspect morphemes are not an option here because auxiliary verbs cannot take aspect morphemes in Mandarin.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See 5.2.2.1.b, pp. 239–41 above.

περισσεύοντες For the present participle, it is preferable to use disyllabic verbs with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme such as *jièlì* (“do one’s utmost,” WANG) or *qínláo* 勤勞 (“labor hard,” HSC) rather than four-character phrases such as *fā-fèn-miǎn-lì* 發憤勉力 (“strive with determined effort,” SB) or *rè-xīn-fú-wù* 熱心服務 (“serve with zeal,” CNT), because four-character phrases are reserved for translating perfect and pluperfect tense-forms in Greek. The verb phrase, *fēnwài de duō zuò* 分外的多做 (“do beyond one’s duty,” ZHU), is not preferable here because it uses more characters than necessary.

εἰδότες (cf. John 18:4) The four-character set phrase *zhòng-suǒ-zhōu-zhī* with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is ideal here because it marks foregrounded prominence in Mandarin and reflects the stative aspect of the perfect tense-form in Greek. This is an example of the causal use of the participle (see 5.3.2.2.e.β).

### 7.3. Conclusion

Following the same format as Table 6.2, Table 7.1 is a compilation of all Mandarin aspect morphemes used in the five representative Mandarin versions and FOLEY (the author’s own translation provided in this chapter) to translate the Greek verb forms in 1 Corinthians 15.<sup>61</sup> The rates at which the given Mandarin aspect morphemes are employed are as follows: for the aorist, PK (93%), UV (95%), SB (96%), LÜ (87%), NCV (92%); for the present, PK (89%), UV (87%), SB (80%), LÜ (96%), NCV (87%); and for the perfect, PK (86%), UV (64%), SB (57%), LÜ (36%), NCV (57%). The average rates for accuracy in translating aspect in the five representative versions are as follows: PK (89.3%), UV (82%), SB (77.7%), LÜ (73%), and NCV (78.7%).

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<sup>61</sup> See Table 6.2, p. 407.

	PERFECTIVE							IMPERFECTIVE												STATIVE					
	Aorist							Present						Imperfect						Perfect		Pluperfect			
	∅		-le	-guò	RVC	Verb Redpl	2-MC	∅		zài 在	-zhe 著	IDVC	2-MC	∅		zài 在	-zhe 著	IDVC	2-MC	∅		-zhe 著	∅		-zhe 著
	M	D	了	過				M	D					M	D					M/D	SP		M/D	SP	
PK	17 38%	15 33%	3 7%	2 4%	5 11%	—	—	26 48%	22 41%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 86%	—	—	—	—	—
UV	12 27%	14 31%	9 20%	—	6 13%	2 4%	—	23 43%	24 44%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 57%	—	1 7%	—	—	—
SB	9 20%	15 33%	8 18%	1 2%	7 16%	—	3 7%	16 30%	22 41%	—	1 2%	4 7%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 57%	—	—	—	—	—
LÜ	5 11%	14 31%	6 13%	—	11 24%	2 4%	2 4%	24 44%	17 31.5%	1 2%	—	10 18.5%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 29%	—	1 7%	—	—	—
NCV	9 20%	8 18%	10 22%	1 2%	10 22%	2 4%	2 4%	24 44%	23 43%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 50%	—	1 7%	—	—	—
FO LEY	12 27%	—	7 16%	4 9%	20 44%	2 4%	—	—	37 69%	2 4%	6 11%	5 9%	4 7%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 86%	2 14%	—	—	—

Table 7.1. Summary of Greek tense-forms with their corresponding aspect morphemes used in 1 Corinthians 15  
in the representative Mandarin versions

Most of the representative versions, with the exception of PK, use Mandarin aspect morphemes at slightly lower rates in Paul's exposition of the resurrection than in John's Passion narrative. The perfect tense-form has the lowest percentage of Mandarin aspect morphemes, because, as in John 18–19, these versions tend to use the perfective aspect marker *-le* (esp. NCV) or IDVCs (esp. LÜ) to render the stative aspect in Greek. As for the aorist tense-form, all five versions use the formally expressed perfective aspect morphemes more frequently in the exposition than in the narrative. This increase is especially evident in the NCV, which employs 54% of the morphologically expressed perfective morphemes (vs. 27% in John 18–19). However, only LÜ and SB more frequently utilize the morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes to translate the Greek present tense-form in 1 Corinthians 15. The other three Mandarin versions, on the other hand, use only the  $\emptyset$  morpheme.

The data presented in Table 7.1 indicates that there is only a slight difference in the frequency with which monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs are used to translate the Greek present tense-forms (esp. PK, UV, NCV). The heavily marked two-morpheme imperfective aspect compounds are never used. None of these versions utilizes four-character set phrases for translating the most heavily marked perfective tense-form. As observed in the previous chapter, the translators of these sample versions have either deliberately, or more likely inadvertently, ignored aspect in relationship to grounding and markedness—either in Greek or Mandarin—and their critical functions at the discourse level.

In conclusion, several points should be mentioned. First, this chapter further supports the claim that, generally, when the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used, a monosyllabic verb is preferable

for translating the less heavily marked aorist tense-form in Greek, whereas a disyllabic verb is preferable for translating the more heavily marked present, and a four-character set phrase is preferable for translating the most heavily marked perfect tense-forms.

Second, discourse prominence and verbal aspect in the original Greek may be indicated grammatically in Mandarin. In general, foregrounded prominence, which is formally marked by the perfect (and pluperfect, although it does not occur in 1 Corinthians 15) tense-form in Greek, may be translated in Mandarin by four-character set phrases with the  $\emptyset$  morpheme. In contexts where four-character set phrases are not available to the translator, four-character verb phrases or two disyllabic verbs may be used instead. Also, for stylistic reasons, the stative aspect marker *-zhe* may be used as an alternative. As Tables 6.2 and 7.1 demonstrate, the frequency with which the  $\emptyset$  morpheme (86% in 1 Corinthians 15 vs. 83% in John 18–19) and *-zhe* (14% in 1 Corinthians 15 vs. 17% in John 18–19) are used for translating the Greek perfect tense-form in the two sample passages is quite similar.

Foregrounded prominence, on the other hand, which is indicated by the present (and imperfect, although it does not occur in 1 Corinthians 15) tense-form in Greek, may be reflected by two-morpheme imperfective aspect compounds. The rate at which these aspect compounds are used in the two sample passages is almost identical (7% in 1 Corinthians 15 vs. 6% in John 18–19). This indicates that, in practice, the contexts in which the imperfective aspect compounds can be utilized in Mandarin are rather limited. However, as noted above, this limitation is compensated by the use of the more heavily marked disyllabic verbs as opposed to the less heavily marked monosyllabic ones.

The formally expressed perfective morphemes occur more frequently in 1 Corinthians 15 than in John 18–19 (73% in 1 Corinthians 15 vs. 52.5% in John 18–19). This difference may be explained by the greater repetition of verbs and the more frequent shift in tense-form in the exposition. This explanation may also account for the differences in the frequency with which single aspect morphemes are used in 1 Corinthians 15 and John 18–19: *-le* (16% vs. 15%), *-guò* (9% vs. 5.5%), RVCs (44% vs. 28%), and verb reduplication (4% vs. 3%). Two-morpheme perfective aspect compounds (cf. 1% in the narrative) are not used in the exposition because there is no repetition of exact verb forms (one following immediately after the other; e.g. ἄρον ἄρον, John 19:15). Similarly, the absence of disyllabic verbs with the *ø* morpheme (cf. 12% in the narrative) in the exposition can be explained by the greater number of verbs in John 18–19 that have no monosyllabic equivalent in Mandarin (e.g. πληρωθῆ, 18:9, 32; 19:24, 36).

In comparison to perfective aspect morphemes, the rates at which morphologically expressed imperfective aspect morphemes occur in these two passages are relatively similar (31% in 1 Corinthians 15 and 41% in John 18–19). These two passages also share a commonality: monosyllabic verbs with the *ø* morpheme are never used to translate the present tense-form in Greek. Besides the two-morpheme aspect compounds already noted, the frequency at which single aspect morphemes are used in 1 Corinthians 15 and John 18–19 may be compared further: IDVCs (9% vs. 0%), *-zhe* (11% vs. 25%), and *zài* (4% vs. 10%). Again, the greater repetition of the present tense-form (e.g. ἐγείρονται/ἐγείρεται) as well as the more frequent shift in tense-form in the exposition can account for these small but noticeable differences.

Third, as noted at the conclusion of chapter 6, the same conditions for justifying the use of formally expressed perfective aspect morphemes (e.g. shift in tense-form) apply to exposition. Fourth, auxiliary verbs should be primarily reserved for translating the non-indicative moods (including the future form) in Greek. Auxiliary verbs may also be used for translating the Greek catenative constructions (e.g. δεῖ + infinitive). Fifth, Greek periphrastic constructions may be consistently rendered by *shì...de* in Mandarin. Sixth, in general, figurative speech is translated formally. Seventh, in general, the repetition of Greek verb forms may be consistently represented in Mandarin at both the lexical and grammatical level. This means that the same verb in Mandarin with the same aspect morpheme may be used for each occurrence of the same Greek verb. Finally, when encountering key biblical terms, such as ἀνάστασις, πνεῦμα, and χάρις, the translator should follow the conventions used in today's Chinese Christian churches and maintain consistency throughout the Bible.

This dissertation is the first monograph-length attempt to integrate three independent subjects—translation theory, Mandarin aspect, and Greek aspect—for the purpose of formulating a working theory applicable to translating the New Testament from the original Greek into Mandarin. Its potential contributions to scholarship are outlined below.

In re-evaluating Nida's theory, this dissertation asserts that formal and functional equivalence are powerful tools whose applicational values in the practice of translation are diminished when understood as simply mutually exclusive categories. Translating figurative speech formally, for example, can in fact better fulfill the conditions required by the principles of functional equivalence. It is argued that categories such as these are

helpful insofar as they guide the translator to make crucial decisions in rendering the Bible into Chinese more accurately and meaningfully, while at the same time preserving the unique character of the biblical text. This dissertation applies Catford's theory, especially his commentary on translation shifts and grammatical and lexical translation, and extends it to the level of discourse. It is argued that in translating aspect, grammatical translation is preferable to lexical translation.

Aspect is treated here as a grammatical category—as opposed to *Aktionsart*—and is described as the locutionary agent's subjective viewpoint expressed morphologically by a verb. For this reason, Porter's tripartite model of aspect in Greek, defined in terms of binary oppositions [ $\pm$ perfective], and [+imperfective] vs. [+stative], is adopted. In Mandarin, morphologically expressed aspect morphemes grammaticalize the perfective (-*le*, -*guò*, RVCs, verb reduplication), imperfective (*zài*, -*zhe*, IDVCs), and stative (-*zhe*) aspects. Operating on the linguistically based models of aspect in Greek and Mandarin, the proposed translation theory offers the translator a powerful tool applicable to the actual practice of translating.

This dissertation offers an indepth treatment of aspect morphemes in Mandarin and pertinent issues relating to markedness and grounding that have been ignored or misunderstood in past scholarship. The perfective -*le* (differentiated from the post-sentential modal particle *le*) is used as a foregrounding device in Mandarin discourse only when the verb form is already marked with other aspect morphemes. Heavily marked four-character set phrases are utilized as the frontgrounding device in Mandarin discourse because of their morphological bulk, animated semantic content, rigid grammatical



structure, and unique syntax. When the  $\emptyset$  morpheme is used, disyllabic verbs are more heavily marked than monosyllabic ones.

The fundamental problem underlying the Chinese Bible has persisted to be the lack of theoretically sound principles to assist the translator in creating a translation that would meet Yan Fu's criteria of excellence: faithfulness, conveyance, and elegance. It is the hope of the author that this dissertation will answer this need and provide the impetus for future generations of researchers to make a more accessible and authentic rendering of the Bible in Chinese.

## APPENDIX I.

### A CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE BIBLE VERSIONS

- 1814** R. Morrison's Version (NT), Canton, BFBS
- 1822** Lassar and Marshman's Version (Bible), Serampore, Serampore Mission
- 1823** Morrison and Milne's Version (Bible), Malacca, BFBS
- 1838** Medhurst/Gützlaff/Bridgman's Version (Bible; NT 1837, Batavia), Singapore, privately published
- 1852** Delegates' Version (NT), Shanghai, BFBS
- 1853** J. Goddard's Version (NT), Ningpo, AFBS
- 1854** Delegates' Version (OT; Bible 1858), Shanghai, BFBS
- 1856** Medhurst and Stronach's Mandarin Version (NT), Shanghai, BFBS
- 1863** Bridgman and Culbertson's Version (Bible; NT, 1859, Ningpo), Shanghai, ABS
- 1864** Gury's (Orthodox) NT, Peking, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission
- 1867** T.H. Hudson's Version (NT), Ningpo, AFBS
- 1868** Dean's Version (Bible; Goddard's NT, 1853, Ningpo), Hong Kong, AFBS
- 1872** Peking Committee's Version (NT; Bible 1878), Shanghai, ABS
- 1874** Schereschewsky's Mandarin OT, Peking, ABS
- 1885** G. John's Easy Wenli Version (NT), Hankow, NBSS
- 1889** G. John's Mandarin Version (NT), Hankow, NBSS
- Burdon and Blodget's Easy Wenli Version (NT), Peking, ABS
- 1897** C.P. Laurent Ly's (Catholic) NT, Tousawè, Shanghai
- Chalmers and Schaub's Version (NT), Hong Kong, privately published
- 1902** Schereschewsky's Easy Wenli Version (Bible; NT 1898), Shanghai, ABS

- Union Easy Wenli Version (NT), Shanghai, BFBS, ABS, NBSS
- 1919** Union Mandarin Version (Bible; NT 1905), Shanghai, ABS, BFBS, NBSS
- Union High Wenli Version (Bible; NT 1907), Shanghai, ABS, BFBS, NBSS
- 1929** A. Sydenstricker's NT, Nanking, Nanking Union Theological Seminary
- 1933** Wang Hsüan-chen's NT, Shangdong, privately published
- 1936** Zhu Baohui's NT, Shanghai, Chiensin Printers
- 1946** Lü Chen-chung's NT, Peking, School of Religion, Yenching University
- 1941** Bible Treasury's NT (3d tentative ed.), Peking, Bible Treasury
- 1949** Litvanyi-Archen-Petit's (Catholic) NT, Tianjin, Chongdetang
- J. Ching-hsiung Wu's (Catholic) NT, Taipei, Commercial Press
- 1960** J. Hsiao's (Catholic) NT, Taizhong, Taiwan, Kuangchi Program Service
- 1967** T.E. Hsiao's NT, Hong Kong, Spiritual Food Publishers
- 1968** Studium Biblicum Franciscanum's (Catholic) Version (OT 1954, NT 1961), Hong Kong, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
- 1970** Lü Chen-chung's Version (Bible), Hong Kong, HKBS
- 1979** Today's Chinese Version (Bible; NT 1975, rev. 1995), New York, UBS
- Chinese Living Bible (Bible; NT, 1974), Hong Kong, Living Bibles International
- 1992** New Chinese Version (Bible; NT 1976), Hong Kong, WBS
- 1999** Chinese Pastoral Bible, Quezon City, Claretian
- 2003** Chinese Recovery Version (NT 1987), Taipei, Taiwan Gospel Book Room
- 2006** Dynamic Chinese Translation (Bible), Tucson, Tucson Chinese Bible Society
- Revised Chinese Union Version (NT), Hong Kong, HKBS

## APPENDIX II.

## MANDARIN TRANSLATION (FOLEY) of JOHN 18-19

## 約翰福音

第十八章 耶穌被捕 耶穌說完這些話之後，遂跟他的門徒出門，越過汲淪溪谷。在那裏有一個園子，他就同他的門徒一同進去了。

他的叛徒猶大也早對此地瞭若指掌，因為耶穌屢次同他的門徒在那兒聚集。然後猶大帶了武裝兵隊，和祭司長以及法利賽人的差役，手拿燈籠、火把，還有兵器迫近著。此刻耶穌洞察其奸他所面臨著的一切，就走了出去告訴他們說：「你們在找那一位？」他們對他答說：「拿撒勒人耶穌。」他告訴他們說：「我就是。」那時他的叛徒猶大也在他們旁邊比肩而立。當他對他們說出：「我就是」，他們就向後退下又仆倒在地上。於是耶穌再次問他們說：「你們在找那一位？」他們說：「拿撒勒人耶穌。」耶穌答說：「我已經跟你們說過『我就是』；你們要是在找我，就容這些人離開吧。」（這要應驗他所說過的話：「你所恩寵賞賜的，我一個也沒有失掉。」）此時西門彼得帶著一把刀，拔刀砍了大祭司的僕人，又斬掉他的右耳。那僕人的名字叫做馬勒古。於是耶穌對彼得說：「收刀入鞘吧！父親恩寵賞賜我的杯，難道說我不喝下它嗎？」

然後武裝兵隊、千夫長和猶太人的差役一同逮捕耶穌，把他捆住，隨即又帶到亞那面前。這是因為亞那乃當年擔任大祭司該亞法的岳父。該亞法剛好是那位給猶太人建議過說：「一人為百姓而死，算是有益的。」

彼得首次不認耶穌 那時西門彼得跟著耶穌，還有另一個門徒也在後跟著。這位門徒是跟大祭司相識的，所以他跟耶穌一同進去大祭司的內庭。彼得卻在那門外比肩而立。另有一個跟大祭司熟識的門徒，就走了出去，並向女閹打個招呼，就帶彼得進去。因此閹婢就開始了口對彼得說：「你不是這人的門徒嗎？」他答覆說：「我不是。」那時眾僕和差役因為冷的緣故，生火熾炭，在那兒圍著炭火取暖。彼得也是跟他們比肩而立地暖著身。

耶穌在大祭司前受審 遂後，大祭司就問了耶穌有關他的門徒及其所教。耶穌對他答說：「我對世人光明正大、直言不諱；我也始終在猶太人聚集的會堂及聖殿裏教訓人；在暗地裏並沒有談論過些什麼。你為什麼在問我呢？問問那些對我所談過的皆洗耳恭聽的人。聽好！我所說過的，這些人皆耳熟能詳。」他一說這些話，其中在旁站著的一個差役，就賞了耶穌一記耳光。他說：「你這樣在回答著大祭司嗎？」耶穌答說：「如果我說錯了，請指出哪裏錯。但我要是說的對，你憑什麼毆打我呢？」亞那然後就把他捆綁著送到大祭司該亞法那裏。

彼得又矢口否認耶穌。此刻西門彼得仍是比肩而立地暖著身。有人開了口對他說：「你不是他的門徒嗎？」他卻否認說：「我不是。」<sup>六</sup>某一個大祭司的僕人，恰好是彼得削掉耳朵那人的親屬，就開起了口說：「我不是看見你同他在園子裏嗎？」<sup>七</sup>彼得又否認。隨即雞就啼了。

耶穌在彼拉多前受審。他們再來就拉著耶穌從該亞法那裏到總督官邸內。那時天還早。他們自己卻不進官邸，深怕萬一要受審了，不能夠吃到逾越節的筵席。<sup>八</sup>彼拉多就到外頭來告訴他們說：「你們憑什麼在控訴這人呢？」<sup>九</sup>他們對他答說：「假設他不是作惡的，我們就絕對不把他交給了你了。」<sup>十</sup>彼拉多反而對他們說：「你們自行把他帶走吧！按照你們的律法審他。」<sup>十一</sup>猶太人對他說：「我們無權置人於死。」<sup>十二</sup>（這乃是爲了要應驗耶穌所說過的話，也就是自己將要在什麼情況下而逝世。）

於是彼拉多回總督官邸去。把耶穌叫來，問他說：「你是不是猶太王？」<sup>十三</sup>耶穌答說：「這句話是你自己在說，還是別人對你說過有關我的事呢？」<sup>十四</sup>彼拉多答說：「我還是個猶太人不成？是你的同胞以及祭司長把你交給了我。你幹了什麼事？」<sup>十五</sup>耶穌答說：「我的王國並不屬於這個世界。我的王國假設是直屬這世界的話，我的手下豈不就早爲了避免我遭猶太人逮到而抵抗了下去呢？所以說，我的王國並非出於此處。」<sup>十六</sup>彼拉多然後問他說：「那麼，難道你就是國王嗎？」耶穌答說：「是自己在說的：我就是國王。我正是這個緣故而聖誕降生、親自降臨於世上，如此我好爲真理作證；凡屬真理的人，一切都聽著我的話。」<sup>十七</sup>彼拉多質問耶穌說：「何謂真理？」

說完這話之後，他又走出來，對著猶太人的面前發言：「我在他身上尚未發覺罪狀。<sup>十八</sup>然而照著你們的規矩，我答應在逾越節的時候要釋放一個人給你們。就這麼說，你們是不是有意思要我放了『猶太王』給你們呢？」<sup>十九</sup>於是他們又嚷嚷說著：「不要這個傢伙！要巴拉巴！」這巴拉巴原來是個強盜。

第十九章 於是彼拉多將耶穌帶走，並且鞭打他。幾名士兵用荊棘編成冠冕，戴在他頭上，又給他披上紫袍，<sup>二</sup>到他面前去，一邊走著，一邊說著：「猶太王萬歲！」然後他們就給他一個耳光打了下去。<sup>四</sup>接下來彼拉多再次走了出來，告訴他們說：「你們聽好！我帶著他到外邊來給你們，是要讓你們體會出，我在他身上尚未發覺罪狀。」<sup>五</sup>隨後耶穌走了出來，頭戴著荊棘冠冕，身披著紫袍。彼拉多告訴他們說：「你們看好！這個人！」

祭司長和差役一看見他，就嚷嚷說著：「把他釘死在十字架上！釘死了他！」<sup>六</sup>彼拉多告訴他們說：「你們自個兒把他帶走，然後再去釘吧！我的確在他身上尚未發覺有什麼罪狀。」<sup>七</sup>猶太人對他答說：「我們自有律法，依法而言他應該死，因爲他把自己當成 神之子。」

當彼拉多聽了這話，就更加受驚。<sup>九</sup>於是他再次進入官邸，質問耶穌說：「你到底是從那裏來的？」但是耶穌卻不給他回答。<sup>十</sup>彼拉多這時就告訴他說：「你不對我開口嗎？難道你這麼不知好歹——本人既持有著放你走的權力，亦持有著把你釘上十字架的權力嗎？」<sup>十一</sup>耶穌答說：「要不是上天恩寵賞賜給你的，你早就沒持著任何辦我的權力了。因此把我交出來給你的那個人，他負著的是更重的罪了。」<sup>十二</sup>從那時候起，彼拉多就想著把耶穌給放走。無奈猶太人嚷嚷說著：「你要是放了這個人，你就不是與凱撒一黨的了」<sup>（原文作朋友）</sup>。凡自稱為王的，即等於是在頂撞著凱撒。<sup>十三</sup>彼拉多聽了這話，就把耶穌帶出，隨後就到一個名叫「鋪石台」的地方（希伯來語稱「加巴大」），坐在裁判席上。<sup>十四</sup>那天正好是逾越節的籌辦日，約正午。彼拉多告訴猶太人說：「你們看好，貴國之君！」<sup>十五</sup>他們卻嚷嚷說：「幹掉！幹掉了他！把他釘死在十字架上！」<sup>十六</sup>彼拉多質問：「你們確定要我將你們的君王釘死在十字架上嗎？」祭司長答說：「我們除凱撒之外，沒擁有君王。」<sup>十七</sup>彼拉多於是把他交給了他們去釘十字架。

耶穌被釘十字架 所以，他們就把耶穌帶走。<sup>十七</sup>這時耶穌親自背著十字架，往外一直走到了一個叫作「髑髏之丘」的地方（希伯來語叫作「各各他」）。<sup>十八</sup>就在那個地方他們將他釘上十字架。另外在場的還有兩名；一左一右，耶穌在中間。<sup>十九</sup>彼拉多又寫下一行公告，安在十字架上。是這樣寫著的：「猶太王、拿撒勒人耶穌」。<sup>二十</sup>在此，有眾多猶太人讀了這個公告。這是因為耶穌被釘十字架的地方，離城很近。況且那是用希伯來文、拉丁文、還有希臘文標榜著的。<sup>二十一</sup>那時猶太人的祭司長，就開口來對彼拉多說：「別書寫『猶太王』了。」<sup>二十二</sup>「寫『這個人自己說過：我是猶太王。』」<sup>二十三</sup>彼拉多答說：「我是秉筆直書，不能增損一字。」

<sup>二十四</sup>士兵趁在釘上耶穌之際，拿他的衣服，分為四份，每人一份，包括他的裏衣在內。這件裏衣沒有接縫，即上下整片所織成的。<sup>二十五</sup>然後又彼此說：「先別撕開它，我們來抽籤吧，看誰會抽中。」這目的是要應驗聖經（所說的話）：「他們分掉我的衣服，還為我的裏衣抽籤。」<sup>二十六</sup>這幾名士兵就把這些事給做了。

<sup>二十七</sup>在耶穌的十字架旁邊站著的，有他的母親及他母親的姊妹，還有高羅巴的妻子馬利亞，和抹大拉的馬利亞。<sup>二十八</sup>當耶穌看到母親和他所鍾愛著的那位門徒在一處站著，就告訴母親說：「婦人，您看好！這位是您的兒子。」<sup>二十九</sup>接著又告訴這門徒說：「你看好！這位是你的母親。」從此之後，那位門徒就把她接回了他自己的家。

<sup>三十</sup>之後，耶穌洞悉一切都已大功告成，爲了要應驗經上所說，就開口說：「我乾渴。」<sup>三十一</sup>在那裏有人放著一個盛滿了酸酒罈子；他們就把沾滿酸酒的海綿綁在牛膝草上，往他的嘴裏送。<sup>三十二</sup>當耶穌嚐了酒，就說：「大功告成！」然後低下了頭，交出靈魂。

猶太人藉於是籌辦日的緣故，不想讓屍體在安息日當天仍留在十字架上；再說安息日是重要的節慶。猶太人就求彼拉多先把他們的腿給打斷，以便收屍。<sup>三三</sup>於是幾名士兵就先來打斷第一個同他釘十字架的人的腿，接著打斷另外一個。<sup>三四</sup>但是他們到了耶穌前時，見他已經命斷氣絕，就沒有把他的腿打斷。<sup>三五</sup>然而有一名士兵用長矛刺入他的肋旁，立刻有血和水流出來。<sup>三六</sup>（那一位親眼目睹的人口出證言，而他的見證是真實的；況且他通曉領悟他所敘述的是實話，因此你們也能信著。）<sup>三七</sup>這些事件發生了，其目的是在為聖經能得以應驗：「他的骨頭不會被打斷。」<sup>三八</sup>經上另有一句說道：「他們將注視他們所刺透的那一位。」

耶穌被葬<sup>三九</sup> 在此之後，有一個叫約瑟的亞利馬太人求彼拉多，以便為耶穌收屍。此人乃是耶穌的門徒，然而因為畏懼猶太人而閉口藏舌。彼拉多准了。於是他就把他的屍體取走。<sup>四〇</sup>先前在夜裏拜見過耶穌的尼哥底母，也來了。他帶著沒藥、蘆薈調合的香料，約有一百磅重（<sup>約三</sup>十公斤）。<sup>四一</sup>他們依照猶太殯葬禮俗，取了耶穌的屍體，並用細麻布加上香料裹好。<sup>四二</sup>在耶穌被釘十字架的地方，有一個園子；園內有座新墓，是從未有人安葬入殮的。<sup>四三</sup>因為那天是猶太人的籌辦日，墳墓又近的原故，他們就把耶穌置在那兒了。

## APPENDIX III.

## MANDARIN TRANSLATION (FOLEY) of 1 CORINTHIANS 15

## 哥林多前書

## 第十五章

## 論基督復活

「弟兄姊妹們，我向你們提起，我給你們傳過的福音，也就是你們所受的、靠它立足腳跟、<sup>二</sup>並且因它而得救，要是你們仍堅守著我給你們傳過的道，除非你們徒然的信了。<sup>三</sup>我所傳給你們的也是我所受的：最首要者，就是基督應經上所言，為我們的罪而死去、<sup>四</sup>並被葬掉；又應經上所言，第三天死而復甦；<sup>五</sup>並且現於磯法面前，然後於十二使徒之前；<sup>六</sup>之後，他現於五百多位弟兄姊妹之前，其中有一大半至今還活著，但是也有一些人已死去〔<sup>或作</sup>睡著〕了。<sup>七</sup>接下來，他又現於雅各面前，還有眾使徒之前。<sup>八</sup>到最後，他竟現於這個如同墮胎而生的我之前。」

<sup>九</sup>原因是在眾使徒至中屬最微小的，甚至不配稱作為使徒，因為我迫害過 神的教會。<sup>十</sup>然而，我有今天的造就，乃歸功於 神。他所賜我的恩寵，並非徒然。事實上，我比眾使徒更加勞累。但是，這不是靠我自己，倒是靠 神的恩寵在我身邊。<sup>十一</sup>因此，不管是我，或是他們，我們這樣傳下去，你們也這樣信了。

論死人復活 <sup>十二</sup>如果說基督死而復甦在被宣揚著，你們中間為什麼有人又說起沒有死人復活的事呢？<sup>十三</sup>要不是有死人復活的事，基督就無死而復甦了。<sup>十四</sup>若基督沒有死而復甦，我們的宣傳就成白費，你們的信仰也落空了。

<sup>十五</sup>不僅如此，果真死人不復活的話，那麼我們就被人指著說是 神的偽證人，因為我們曾為 神作過見證，說他叫他所沒有復活過來的基督復活過來。<sup>十六</sup>死人若不復活，基督也就沒有死而復甦了。<sup>十七</sup>基督要是沒有死而復甦，你們的信仰豈不是就徒勞無功了，你們也依舊身處自己的罪中。<sup>十八</sup>還有那些在基督裏睡著〔<sup>或作</sup>死去〕的人也滅亡了。

<sup>十九</sup>如果我們僅僅在此生對基督是眾望所歸的，我們豈不就比眾人更加可悲了。

<sup>二十</sup>然而基督早已死而復甦，並成為主懷安息者初熟的果實。<sup>二十一</sup>也就是說，死亡既出自一人，死人復活也同樣出自一人。<sup>二十二</sup>因此，如同眾人在亞當裏長逝著，同樣的，在基督裏眾人也將被復活。<sup>二十三</sup>每一個人照其次序復活：基督乃初熟的果實；接著是那些基督再降臨的時候，屬基督的。<sup>二十四</sup>之後，就是末日。那時基督就要把一切執政、掌權、權力全給毀掉，就把國遞交予父 神。<sup>二十五</sup>因為他必須統治下去，直到他將一切仇敵都置在了他的足下。<sup>二十六</sup>最終所殲滅的仇敵便是死亡。<sup>二十七</sup>因為「他使萬物皆制伏在了他的足下。」既然說萬物都甘伏下風，顯然不包括制伏了萬物的那位。<sup>二十八</sup>當萬物都被他制伏住時，就連 神子自己也將被制伏於那位制伏了萬物的，好讓 神成為萬物之主。



不然，那些爲死人而受洗禮的，將來怎麼辦呢？死人果真沒有復活，爲什麼還爲他們而受洗禮呢？「我們又爲何時刻在冒著險呢？」（弟兄姊妹們），我天天都在冒死！此既我靠著我在主基督耶穌裏，爲你們所誇的而發誓。我如果在以弗所如一般百姓鬥了獸，對我有何益處呢？要是死人沒有復活了起來，「我們吃吃喝喝吧！因爲明天就作古了。」別受愚弄了；「濫交惡友、敗壞善德。」你們該醒來而從善，不要犯罪，因爲有些人仍存著不識神的模樣。我在說的是要讓你們感到羞恥。

**論軀體復活** 有人會問：「死人是如何復活呢？是以什麼樣的軀體過來呢？」糊塗人，你所播種的要是不死去，就無法被救了起來。更何況你所播種的，不是播種那將來有的軀體，而是子粒，說不定是麥子，或是其他穀類。然而神隨意賞賜給它身軀，及給各等穀粒其軀體。凡肉體皆各有不同：人是一樣，獸又是一樣，鳥是一樣，魚又是另一樣。接下來有天地，地物；但天體之光輝是一樣，地物之光輝又是另一樣。日有日的榮光，月有月的榮耀，星有星的榮華。此星和彼星的榮華，皆有別。

死人復活也是如此。所播種的是必朽的，所復活的則是不朽的；所播種的是恥辱的，所復活的卻是榮耀的；所播種的是懦弱的，所復活的乃是強勁的；所播種的是屬氣的肢體，所復活的是屬靈的軀體。若有血氣之身，也有靈性之體。經上記著說，「頭一個人亞當初成了活著的人」；最後的亞當竟成了使人活起來的神靈。然而屬靈不在先，是屬血氣在先。後來才有屬靈。第一人來自於紅塵；第二人出自於天。如同那位屬紅塵的人一樣，眾屬紅塵者也是如此；就像那位屬天堂的人一般，眾屬天堂者也將爲如此。我們既有了屬塵者之形，將來也必有屬天者之態。

**死被勝利吞滅** 弟兄姊妹們，我告訴你們說，血肉之體不能夠得著神的國；凡必朽者也絕不承襲不朽者。聽好！我告訴你們一個秘密：我們不將長眠，而皆必轉化——在霎那、眨眼之間，號角末回吹響的時候。號角要響，死人將復活成爲不朽者，我們就會轉變。這必朽者必須換上不朽的，這必死者要換上不死的。當這必朽者既換上不朽的，及此必死者換上不死的時候，經上記著的話「死被勝利給吞掉了」就應驗了。嗚呼死亡！你的勝利何在？你的螫針又在何處呢？死的毒螫就是罪，罪的權勢就是律法。感謝神，仗著我主耶穌基督恩賜我們勝利。

**結論** 故此，我親愛的弟兄姊妹們，你們應當堅毅，不動搖，常竭力主事；因爲眾所周知，你們的勞苦在主裏不是徒然的。

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