How to Graecise Hebrew syntax:
the strange case of clause initial καὶ ἐγένετο in the New Testament*

Liana Tronci
University for Foreigners of Siena
tronci@unistrasi.it

Περίληψη

Στη μελέτη αυτή προτείνουμε μια καινούργια ανάλυση των δομών της Καινής Διαθήκης, μεταφραστικών δανείων από την Εβραϊκή, στις οποίες το ρήμα 'ἐγένετο' σε αρχική θέση στην πρόταση συνάπτεται με 'καί' ἤ 'δέ' ('καὶ ἐγένετο' ἤ 'ἐγένετο δέ'), ακολουθείται από χρονικό προσδιορισμό και τέλος από τη φράση που εκφράζει το κύριο γεγονός. Παρόλο που οι δομές αυτές μοιάζουν παράξενες για την σύνταξη των αρχαίων ελληνικών, η παρουσία μιας μονοπροτασιακής δομής με 'γίνομαι' στην οποία το ρήμα αυτό συνδέει ένα γεγονοτικό όνομα με το όλο 'σκηνικό' του (χρόνος, τόπος, σκοπός, κλπ) παρέχει μια πιθανή ερευνητική προοπτική.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: ελληνικά της Καινής Διαθήκης, σύνταξη, μελέτη σε σώματα κειμένων, γλωσσολογία γλωσσικών επαφών

1   Introduction

This paper focuses on syntactic structures of the New Testament (henceforth NT), in which the verb γίνομαι, inflected in the third person singular of the aorist (ἐγένετο) and placed at the beginning of the clause, is followed by a temporal clause or phrase and, in the final position, a finite verb clause.

(1) καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς Μαρίας ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, ἐσκίρτησεν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς (Lk 1.41)
'when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting, the baby leaped in her womb'[1]

The verb γίνομαι does not seem to function like a true verb in this syntactic configuration, because it does not govern any argument and is fixed in terms of inflection and position. According to grammarians, it is meaningless and resembles a grammatical marker, functioning as a clause-introductory element (cf. Dalman (1902 [1898]: 32; BDF 1961: 248).

Besides the καὶ ἐγένετο type, which is commonly considered to be a calque on the Hebrew *wayyᵉhî* construction (initial *waw* 'and' + the verb *hayah* 'to be, to exist, to happen'), in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts the formula ἐγένετο δέ is also used. This is the Graecising counterpart of καὶ ἐγένετο (Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 309):

(2) ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχὼ τυφλός τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν (Lk 18.35)
'as Jesus was approaching Jericho, a blind man was sitting by the road begging'

[1] English translations are taken from the New American Standard Bible, available on the website https://unbound.biola.edu/ (accessed April 2020).

According to Ellis (2006: 165), the formula "commonly occurs at the beginning of narratives to signal the recital of past events". Since both clause-opening formulae occur in the Septuagint, the influence of Hebrew is unquestionable. It is likewise unquestionable, however, that Greek language accepted and integrated them, even though they presumably sounded like a feature peculiar to Christian language. It is also important to remark that most occurrences of the formula are found in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts, i.e. the texts written by the most educated Evangelist.

In this paper I will describe the constructions with καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ in the NT by focusing on the strategies used to integrate the Hebrew model into Greek.

2   Previous studies

The clause-opening formula καὶ ἐγένετο is the word-for-word translation of the Hebrew form *wayyᵉhî* formed by the initial *waw* 'and' + the verb *hayah* 'to be, to exist, to happen'. It means 'it came to pass' and is used in Biblical Hebrew (henceforth BH) to start narratives: it is followed by temporal phrases or clauses and then by the main verb of the clause (cf. Beyer 1968: 29). The *waw* 'and' put at the beginning of the clause marks symmetric and asymmetric coordination as well as consecutive and final subordination (cf. Joüon and Muraoka 2018: 350–361).

With respect to Hebrew-sounding καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δέ is the Graecising type (cf. Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 309 and references therein). Clause-initial καί is marked in Ancient Greek, whilst δέ usually marks a new step or a new event in narratives. According to Gault (1990: 391) the formulae are a "continuous event marker" (καὶ ἐγένετο) and a "discontinuous episode marker" (ἐγένετο δέ) respectively. This analysis is not unproblematic (Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 317). The type ἐγένετο δέ is an innovation with respect to καὶ ἐγένετο. It occurs exclusively in the Septuagint, Luke's Gospel, and the Acts.[2] In terms of frequency it is less attested than the formula καὶ ἐγένετο in the asyndetic clause-type in Luke's Gospel (Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 309). This is because the spread of the ἐγένετο δέ type in Luke's Gospel and the Acts reasonably correlates with more Graecising syntactic structures, namely the syndetic coordinating type and the subordinating type.

3   Analysis of data

3.1 Types of combinations

The clause-opening formulae καὶ ἐγένετο and ἐγένετο δέ are distributed as follows in the NT:[3]

	καὶ ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο δέ	TOTAL
Mt's Gospel	6	--	6
Mk's Gospel	3	--	3
Lk's Gospel	23	15	38

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[2] The issue of the sources of Semitic influence on Luke's language is not discussed here. I refer the reader to Denaux and Hogeterp (2015/2016).

[3] Data were collected from the TLG (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/) and compared with the NA28 edition, available on the website of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, and the text of the PROIEL Treebank (https://proiel.github.io/).

Acts	--	12	12
TOTAL	32	27	59

Table 1 | Quantitative distribution of clause-opening formulae in the NT

They are considered to be peculiar to Luke's Greek. According to Robertson (1919: 1042) the frequency of the καὶ ἐγένετο/ἐγένετο δέ constructions in Luke's Gospel and the Acts is evidence of the Septuagint source of the construction.

The ways in which the clause-opening formulae καὶ ἐγένετο and ἐγένετο δέ combine with the other elements of the clause are various (cf. Thayer 1889, *s.u.* γίνομαι 2.b). Besides the asyndetic type, illustrated in (1)-(2), there is the syndetic type, here labelled "καί-type", in which the clause-opening formula is linked to the main clause by the conjunction καί:

(3) καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων, καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι (Lk 5.17)
'one day, while he was teaching, Pharisees and teachers of the law were sitting near by'

(4) ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνέβη εἰς πλοῖον καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ (Lk 8.22)
'one day he got into a boat with his disciples'

According to scholars, the conjunction καί is redundant (Turner 1963: 334–335) and it is considered to border "very close on to the hypotactic ὅτι" (Robertson 1919: 426).

In some rare occurrences of the clause-opening formula καὶ ἐγένετο, the main clause is introduced by καὶ ἰδού:

(5) καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. (Mt 9.10)
'and as he sat at dinner in the house, many tax collectors and sinners came and were sitting with him and his disciples'

Both syndetic coordinating strategies, namely the καί-type and the καὶ ἰδού-type, are well attested in the Septuagint, where they seem to be a word-for-word translation from BH. Both constructions are unusual in Greek syntax.

Scholars have debated on the origin of the asyndetic type. According to Robertson (1919: 107), it is a calque on Hebrew like the syndetic type. Moulton (1906: 16), instead, remarks that the asyndetic type is Greek, even though "unidiomatic". In his opinion, the asyndetic type is a common pattern through languages and is not peculiar to Hebrew, e.g. English *It happened, I was at home that day*. According to Thackeray (1909: 51-52) the asyndetic type is later than the καί-type in Septuagint Greek.

Let us turn now to the subordinating strategy, in which the accusative with infinitive (A.c.I.-type) replaces the finite verb of the main clause. With the exception of Mk 2.23, to which I will come back later, all occurrences of this type show the clause-opening formula ἐγένετο δέ:

(6) ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι, καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. (Lk 6.12)

'now during those days he went out to the mountain to pray; and he spent the night in prayer to God'

The clause-initial verb ἐγένετο functions here as the impersonal verb followed by its clausal complement in the infinitive. This syntactic pattern is perfectly Greek, even though the verb γίγνομαι does not occur in this type of clause in Classical Greek. According to Robertson (1919: 1042), the pattern is vernacular Greek: evidence for this comes from its occurrence in Hellenistic papyri as well as its absence in the Septuagint (cf. also Thackeray 1909: 50).

In summary, the asyndetic type and the A.c.I.-type are considered to be more Graecising than the syndetic καί and καὶ ἰδού types. They occur in the Gospel of Luke who, presumably, created them to reshape a Hebrew construction in a Greek way (Reiling 1965: 159).

3.2 Textual functions of καὶ ἐγένετο and ἐγένετο δέ

Together with the temporal use of ἐν τῷ + infinitive[4] and the deictic discourse marker καὶ ἰδού, the clause-opening formulae investigated here are considered to be peculiar to Luke's narrative (Denaux and Hogeterp 2015/2016: 37). These three features may also occur altogether:

(7) κ̲α̲ὶ̲ ̲ἐ̲γ̲έ̲ν̲ε̲τ̲ο̲ ̲ἐ̲ν̲ ̲τ̲ῷ̲ ̲ἀ̲π̲ο̲ρ̲ε̲ῖ̲σ̲θ̲α̲ι̲ ̲α̲ὐ̲τ̲ὰ̲ς̲ ̲π̲ε̲ρ̲ὶ̲ ̲τ̲ο̲ύ̲τ̲ο̲υ̲ ̲κ̲α̲ὶ̲ ̲ἰ̲δ̲ο̲ὺ̲ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ. (Lk 24.4)
'while they were perplexed about this, behold, two men suddenly stood near them in dazzling clothing'

According to scholars, the clause-opening formulae καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ serve the purpose of relating the main event to its temporal setting (cf. Levinsohn 2000: 177). Even though the opening-clause formulae were redundant for Greek syntax (cf. Reiling 1965: 155) and presumably appeared to be an oddity to Greek native speakers, they were typical of Christian-Jewish narrative patterns.

Several accounts have been given of the textual and pragmatic functions of the clauses marked by the clause-opening formulae (cf. Reiling 1965: 153–163, Neirynck 1989: 94–100, Gault 1990, Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 317–320). Summing up, the formulae καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ are grammatical tools serving the purpose of linking the main event with its temporal frame or setting. According to Reiling (1965: 154), in BH "[t]he placing of wayyᵉhî at the beginning of the sentence makes it possible to give the expression of time its place and to keep the verb in the consecutive imperfect. Without an expression of time there would be no need of introductory wayyᵉhî". The relationship with the temporal setting is crucial for the syntax of the clauses studied here.

3.3 The relevance of time

The clause-opening formulae καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ are usually followed by a temporal phrase or clause. The following examples show the variety of the time expressions attested in the corpus: the temporal PP in (8), the temporal genitive absolute in (9), the temporal ὅτε-clause in (10) and, finally, the temporal ἐν τῷ + infinitive clause in (11):

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[4] Concerning the temporal clause ἐν τῷ + infinitive, cf. Turner (1963: 144–145).

(8) καὶ ἐγένετο <u>ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις</u> ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου (Mk 1.9)
'in those days Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan'

(9=5) καὶ ἐγένετο <u>αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ</u>, ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ (Mt 9.10)
'then it happened that as Jesus was reclining at the table in the house, behold, many tax collectors and sinners came and were dining with Jesus and His disciples'

(10) καὶ ἐγένετο <u>ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους</u> ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ (Mt 7.28)
'when Jesus had finished these words, the crowds were amazed at His teaching'

(11) καὶ ἐγένετο <u>ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκόν τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Φαρισαίων σαββάτῳ φαγεῖν ἄρτον</u>, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν παρατηρούμενοι αὐτόν (Lk 14.1)
'it happened that when He went into the house of one of the leaders of the Pharisees on the Sabbath to eat bread, they were watching Him closely'

Plain time anchoring, as in (8), is expressed by adverbs or complements which relate to the moment of the day ("the morning", "the evening") or have deictic reference ("the day after", "in this day"). They are rare in the NT.

When temporal clauses occur, e.g. (9)-(11), the subject of the main clause is never the same as that of the temporal clause, which may be the case, on the contrary, with plain temporal clauses. This peculiar configuration clearly indicates that the two propositions describe two different events, in particular with two different agents.

Some aspects need to be further investigated: first of all, the choice of the verb γίνομαι instead of other verbs, e.g. συμβαίνω (aorist συνέβη) which functioned as a device to report new events in Classical Greek (cf. Hogeterp and Denaux 2018: 338–339); secondly, the variation in the syntactic structures governed by the formulae καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ. The A.c.I.-type is certainly more consistent with Greek syntax than the καί-type, even though the verb γίνομαι does not govern the A.c.I. construction in Classical Greek.

3.4 The choice of γίνομαι

Leaving aside the καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ constructions, the verb γίνομαι occurs in two types of monoclausal structures.[5] In the first type, the verb is an inchoative copular predicate. It is combined with a semantic predicate formed by a NP or a PP. The whole complex predication, meaning 'to come into X', 'to become X' (where X is the semantic predicate) is related to the subject of the clause. In the second type, the verb is an inchoative existential predicate. It is combined with a noun, which is the subject in the clause, with respect to which it predicates the coming into being. This subject designates a person ('to be born'), a thing ('to be produced') or an event ('to take place'). Examples (12) and (13) illustrate the two types:

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[5] Cf. LSJ (1996 [1843]) for Ancient Greek; Thayer (1889), BDAG (2000) for the NT, and Muraoka (2016) for the Septuagint.

(12) καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν (Jn 1.14)
'and the Word became flesh and lived among us'

(13) καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας (Mt 28.2)
'and suddenly there was a great earthquake'

The second type of clause is extensively attested in the NT with various kinds of nouns. They designate natural phenomena or human events, which are related to time (πρωΐα 'morning', ὀψία 'evening', σάββατον 'sabbath', ὥρα [πολλή, ἕκτης] 'hour', ἡμέρα 'day'), atmospheric phenomena (σκότος 'darkness', βροντή 'thunder', νεφέλη 'cloud'), natural disasters (σεισμός 'earthquake', γαλήνη 'calm', λαῖλαψ [μεγάλη ἀνέμου] 'furious storm', λιμός 'famine'), human and social happenings or actions (γάμος 'wedding', ἀνταπόδομα 'repayment', σωτηρία 'salvation', ζήτησις 'searching, inquiry', σχίσμα 'division', δεῖπνον 'meal', θόρυβος 'noise', θλῖψις 'pressure'), and finally feelings and psychological attitudes (εὐδοκία 'good will', φιλονεικία 'rivalry', φόβος 'fear', χαρά 'joy'). I give hereafter some examples:

(14) ὡς δὲ ὀψία ἐγένετο κατέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν (Jn 6.16)
'when evening came, his disciples went down to the sea'

(15) ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐγένετο νεφέλη καὶ ἐπεσκίαζεν αὐτούς (Lk 9.34)
'while he was saying this, a cloud formed and began to overshadow them'

(16) ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πιλᾶτος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον θόρυβος γίνεται (Mt 27.24)
'so when Pilate saw that he could do nothing, but rather that a riot was beginning'

These nouns are Simple Event Nominals (SEN). They are different from both Referential Nominals (RN) and Argumental-Structure Nominals (ASN) since they combine with predicates such as *take place*, *last x time* and *be interrupted*, differently from (RN), and are not deverbal nouns, as is the case for ASN (cf. Grimshaw 1990). According to Roy and Soare (2013), the difference between SEN and ASN concerns the lexical vs grammatical coding of the eventive feature: eventivity is coded in the lexicon for SEN and in the grammar, via derivation from verbs, for ASN.

SEN attested in my corpus are usually bare nouns: they never combine with determiners, either definite or indefinite. However, there exist in the NT occurrences of SEN combined with the definite article:

(17) προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτῳ (Mt 24.20)
'pray that your flight may not be in winter or on a sabbath'

(18) εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; (Mk 14.4)
[but some were there who said to one another]: 'Why was the ointment wasted in this way'?'

(19) αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. (Lk 2.2) 'this was the first registration and was taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria'

(20) ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις (Jn 10.22)
'at that time the festival of the Dedication took place in Jerusalem'

The nouns which occur as a subject in (17)-(20) are SEN since they combine with a verb meaning 'to take place'. They are different though from SEN in (14)-(16), since they combine with determiners or deictic elements, and are semantically presupposed. In (14) for instance, the notion denoted by ὀψία does not exist earlier than its existence is predicated by the clause ὀψία ἐγένετο. In (17), instead, the notion denoted by ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν is presupposed, since the clause does not basically predicate its taking place; rather the verb γίνομαι relates the event denoted by the noun to the time at which the event takes place, namely in winter or on a sabbath. So, γίνομαι is not a plain existential verb here. Its function is rather to link the event denoted by the noun and some frames or settings of the event itself which are focused on in the clause, e.g. locatives, temporal complements, etc. These elements are not adjuncts, but arguments of the verb, even though they cannot be semantically specified. It is presumably because of this semantic variability that this use of γίνομαι is not focused on by scholars and is not dealt with separately from the existential type. *Setting-focusing* verb is the label I will use henceforth to relate to γίνομαι in this configuration.

A minimal pair between existential vs setting-focusing types is given below:

(21) καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα (Lk 9.35)
'then from the cloud came a voice that said'

(22) ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ σου εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου… (Lk 1.44)
'for as soon as I heard the sound of your greeting' [lit. 'the sound of your greeting came to my ears']

In my opinion, the constructions with setting-focusing γίνομαι provided the syntactic frame for BH *wayyᵉhî* to be calqued. Like setting-focusing γίνομαι, the clause-opening formulae καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δέ relate the event described by the main clause to its setting, namely its temporal setting. Despite the different syntactic environments (monoclausal vs biclausal structures), the two configurations of the verb γίνομαι share the same general pattern.

This hypothesis, which accounts for the calque by internal factors, is not inconsistent with the observation that the καὶ ἐγένετο structures sounded foreign and unfamiliar to Greek speakers. Evidence for this is given by the attempt made by Luke to Graecise the construction by replacing the coordinated types by the A.c.I.

The A.c.I. is typically governed by the verb συμβαίνω in Ancient Greek. However, only one occurrence of συνέβη + A.c.I. is found in the NT (Act 21.35), which means that ἐγένετο was replacing συνέβη in this syntactic function in NT Greek. It is worth noticing that the "free Greek books" of the Old Testament, that is Maccabees 2–4, "retain the Classical συνέβη + Inf. and do not use the καὶ ἐγένετο structures" (Thackeray 1909: 52).

3.5 How to Graecise the καὶ ἐγένετο structures

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of the different syntactic strategies by which the main event is codified in clauses with initial καὶ ἐγένετο and ἐγένετο δέ formulae:

		καὶ ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο δέ	TOTAL
COORDINATING STRATEGIES	καὶ ἰδού + ind.	1Mt, 2Lk = 3	--------------------	3
	καί + ind.	1Mk, 8Lk = 9	5Lk, 2Act = 7	16
	Ø + ind.	5Mt, 1Mk, 13Lk = 19	6Lk = 6	25
SUBORDINATING STRATEGIES	A.c.I.	-------------------------	3Lk, 8Act = 11	11
	Dative + Inf.	-------------------------	2Act = 2	2
TOTAL		31	26	57

Table 2 | Codification of the main event in καὶ ἐγένετο and ἐγένετο δέ clauses

Two instances of my corpus are not counted in Table 2 and this explains the difference in the total number of occurrences with respect to Table 1. The occurrences excluded are Lk 9.28 and Mk 2.23. In the first one, the conjunction καί is added by some editors (cf. TLG and NA28 against PROIEL), so it is unclear whether the construction should be considered asyndetic or not. In the second one, the syntax of the clause is ambiguous, since ἐγένετο governs the A.c.I. clause αὐτὸν… παραπορεύεσθαι, so it seems to belong to the subordinating type, but it is also followed by a coordinated clause introduced by καί.

Table 2 shows some tendencies of the language of Luke towards more Graecising strategies of complementation of ἐγένετο. By comparing the καί type and the A.c.I. type, we may remark that in the former type ἐγένετο functions as a grammatical device to highlight the temporal clause and link it to the main event, whilst in the latter one, it does not serve the purpose of highlighting the temporal complement with respect to the main clause and functions as an impersonal verb governing its A.c.I. subordinate clause. Evidence for this functional change is provided by the lack of temporal complement in some clauses of the second type, e.g. Lk 16.22, Act 9.32.

4 To conclude

In this paper, I have suggested an account based on internal factors of the well-known and much investigated phenomenon of BH *wayyᵉhî* calque into the Biblical Greek clause initial formula καὶ ἐγένετο. I have argued that the monoclausal setting-focusing uses of γίνομαι offer a general pattern for hosting the functional values expressed by BH *wayyᵉhî*, despite the obvious differences in terms of clause syntax.

I also described the diverse constructions in which the clause-opening formula καὶ ἐγένετο and its Graecising counterpart ἐγένετο δέ occur. Besides the Hebraizing coordinated types, in Luke's Greek subordinating strategies are also attested, namely A.c.I. and dative + infinitive clauses. Further research should highlight whether this is the first step of a contact-induced language change.

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