

## FOREWORD

The *Analytical Greek New Testament* is a result of the creativity and energy of Timothy and Barbara Friberg. While a candidate for a Ph.D. degree in linguistics, Mr. Friberg developed, with his wife's indispensable assistance, a computer-stored research database to enable him to prepare a dissertation on the word order of the New Testament. As the database grew and news of it spread among biblical scholars, we began to receive requests for computer printouts and magnetic tape files of portions of the Greek New Testament organized and analyzed in various ways. Mr. Friberg at first responded to this demand by providing such materials through the University of Minnesota Computer Center. But when the increasing number of requests threatened to interfere with his research, we were led to the idea of publishing his research materials in book form. Baker Book House showed an early interest in publishing his work and has contracted with the Fribergs and the University of Minnesota to publish not only the *Analytical Greek New Testament* but also two concordances, one organized lexically, the other grammatically. These materials will also be available on magnetic tape from the University Computer Center for New Testament scholars in need of computer assistance. An analytical New Testament lexicon will be the final publication in Baker's Greek New Testament Library.

The University Computer Center supported the computing aspects of this research as part of a broad program, conducted at the University of Minnesota during the past five years, to encourage the application of computing to the humanities. The Fribergs' project, one of the more ambitious, could not have come about without the cooperation and expertise of faculty and staff who have fully supported this program. Many of these people and their contributions and projects are described in a recent volume, *Computing in the Humanities*.<sup>1</sup> The work of University of Minnesota graduate students finds a place in this book as well. The development of the Fribergs' database and its application to discourse analysis are presented as the volume's leading chapter.

We have all been challenged by the Fribergs' dedication to this research project in computational linguistics and impressed with the great dividends the published by-products promise to pay students of the New Testament. This husband-and-wife team brings a rich legacy of expertise to their chosen profession, which is the documentation of little-

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<sup>1</sup> Peter C. Patton, ed., *Computing in the Humanities* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1981).

known Asian languages and the translation of the New Testament into those languages for the benefit of their native speakers.

Peter C. Patton  
Director  
University Computer Center  
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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to acknowledge a large circle of people whose assistance has proven invaluable in undertaking and completing this work. If it proves valuable and worth the investment in time, energy, and finances, we certainly cannot congratulate ourselves. We can only thank God, whose hand has been seen at every turn, and a great number of his children. It is good to be people of vision and insight, but it only really matters that God sees the end from the beginning. It is also good to be clever and independent, but in this project, as in his church, God spreads his gifts among men. For these lessons learned and relearned, we praise God.

We have profited greatly from our association with the University of Minnesota Computer Center. Its director, Peter C. Patton, has been a partner in encouragement from 1977. His center was responsible for grants in computer time and supplies without which we would not have reached even the dreaming stage. The center's staff is superb. As representative of the whole, we acknowledge two here: Mary Dickel, the director's secretary, who was helpful in many situations; and Richard Hotchkiss, the associate director of systems services, whose concordance program GENCORD worked wonders, and who, when our needs became more complex, made valuable adjustments in the program.

This project was born in 1976 during a course in discourse analysis of the Greek text at the Dallas center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Special acknowledgment goes to the late John Beekman and to his assistant Michael Kopeseć for early forbearance and later strong backing. The theory of discourse represented in this analysis has been thoughtfully developed over the last decade by the translation department of SIL. We are indebted to both theoretical and practical Bible translators, linguists, and scholars of Greek who have been available to us in the development of this project. Though inspired and encouraged by SIL, this project does not reflect the institute's official position, nor is the institute responsible for its claims, false or true.

We would like to name those who have helped in grammatical analysis and tireless checking and crosschecking. We give them all together, individuals on a team, before singling out a few: Philip Clapp, David Clark, Howard Cleveland, Peter Davids (and his students), Richard Gould, Harold Greenlee, Clarence Hale, Verlin Hinshaw, Arthur Killian, David Lewycky, Neva Miller, Edward Peters, Robert Smith, Charles Stephenson, John Werner, and Winifred Weter.

Three of these scholars—Neva Miller, Philip Clapp, and Robert Smith—were very close to the project, especially during the last year. Volumes of correspondence, hours of phone conversation, and fleeting visits transpired between Minneapolis and their different parts of the

country. Like all the other participants, each of these three had a different strength and focus. The resultant analysis of the Greek New Testament text is stronger and better for their input.

Clearly the person closest to the project was John Werner. John has been so essential that it would be easier to explain what he did *not* do. We shall instead limit ourselves to a few of his contributions. John has the distinct advantage of being both a linguist and a Greek scholar, and as far as we can tell, he is the closest living thing to a native speaker of Koine Greek. He checked the individual analyses of our volunteer grammarians, and every next analysis seemed to bring to him special delight. His complaints were never audible. He was especially involved in deliberations on the voice of verbs and on conjunctions. Many of the definitions and examples given in the appendix come directly from John. Whether it was his analogy of the purple stoplight or his insight into one problem derived from another construction, this analysis bears his distinguished stamp.

The Greek characters of the text were English transliterations through the development stage. The output tapes from the University of Minnesota Computer Center were sent to Logoi Systems, Hanover, New Hampshire, where the text was translated and typeset by Stephen V. F. Waite on a GSI CAT 8 typesetter, using an Ibycus computing system and the Kadmos typesetting program developed by David W. Packard of Los Angeles. We appreciate our typesetter's patience as we worked out the technical details relating to format. And we appreciate the product. We also are grateful to Allan Fisher, who represented the interests of the publisher.

As with any project someone must take final responsibility. Someone must say each final yes or no. Your editors take this responsibility. We have attempted to put together a new analysis of the Greek text based on the best available to us from Greek scholarship, translation theory, linguistic insights, and computer science.

When all is said and done, the key to the text is found elsewhere: "Then Jesus opened their minds to understand the Scriptures" (Luke 24.45).

Timothy Friberg and Barbara Friberg

## **INTRODUCTION TO REVISED CLASSIC AGNT**

Over the years the AGNT project has grown with succeeding editions of the critical texts it has come to represent as well as its own analysis tags. Whereas the electronic text is branching in several directions, it seemed good to correct the original printed AGNT and leave it pretty much intact. This task involved upgrading the text underlying AGNT from GNT3 to GNT3-corrected (as published by the German Bible Society). The changes at that level overwhelmingly involved formatting matters to include corrections of typesetting errors and several hundred minor editorial changes (changes in bracketing, parentheses, boldfacing, em-dash offsetting, punctuation, among them).

The AGNT tags were also changed in several matters. The simplification that electronic AGNT underwent in the 1990s was not embraced for this updating of Classic AGNT. However, known errors of analysis were corrected. A few small systematic changes were also enacted. Where these affected the presentation of the appendix, that was corrected as well.

By and large the revised version of printed AGNT, here termed Classic AGNT, does not systematically change the original AGNT, but corrects it for every known deficiency.

Special thanks are due to Samuel Pfloderer for his work of monitoring the changes in tagging, either keeping them consistent with the analysis presentation of the appendix or suggesting its change. And to Ulrik Sandborg-Petersen, who came forward eager to try his hand at the typesetting of Classic AGNT, available now in a PDF file and also an editable electronic file.

Timothy Friberg and Barbara Friberg  
May 2016

## INTRODUCTION

The uniqueness of this edition of the Greek New Testament, and the feature that justifies the word *analytical* in its title, is the grammatical analysis associated with each word of the Greek text.

Every “grammatical tag” consists primarily of capital letters. The first letter indicates whether the category of the Greek word in focus is nominal (N); verbal (V); adjectival (A); determiner (i.e. definite article) (D); prepositional (P); conjunctive (C); or particle (Q). Specific parts of speech are defined by a sequence of places in the grammatical tag.

Subsequent letters in the tag, then, further specify the form of the Greek word. For example, the tag for a nominal begins with N. The next place tells whether the word is a pronoun (P) or not (-), that is, the sequence NP represents pronoun, N- noun. The third place specifies the case; the fourth, gender; the fifth, person; and the sixth, number. A nominal (N) that is a noun (-) and that is nominative (N), feminine (F), and singular (S) would have associated with it this tag: N-NF-S. Similarly, adjectival includes those words used substantivally, or “pronominals,” (AP); adverbs (AB); and attributive and predicate adjectives (A-). Chart 1 outlines for other parts of speech what has just been explained concerning nominals and adjectivals. For a complete listing of abbreviations used in the tags, see the chart following this introduction. The more complete one’s mastery of those abbreviations, the more useful the *Analytical Greek New Testament* will be.

To further illustrate how to read the abbreviated grammatical analysis, the first seven words of John 3.16 are reproduced, with tags, below, after which the seven tags are deciphered:

Οὕτως	γὰρ	ἠγάπησεν	ὁ	θεὸς	τὸν	κόσμον.
AB	CS	VIAA--3S	DNMS	N-NM-S	DAMS	N-AM-S

οὕτως	adjectival, adverb
γὰρ	conjunctive, subordinating
ἠγάπησεν	verbal, indicative, aorist, active, -, -, third person, singular
ὁ	determiner, nominative, masculine, singular
θεὸς	nominal, -, nominative, masculine, -, singular
τὸν	determiner, accusative, masculine, singular
κόσμον	nominal, -, accusative, masculine, -, singular

## CHART 1

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nominal	(subcategory)	case	gender	person	number
verbal	mood/mode	tense	voice	case	gender
	person	number			
adjectival	(subcategory)	(type)	case	gender	person
	number				
determiner	case	gender	number		
prepositional	case				
conjunctive	(type)				
particle	(type)				

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In some cases there has been added to the basic analysis of a word's form a secondary analysis of function. This results in a "complex" tag, the two elements of which are connected by a caret (^). An example, from Matthew 1.20, is this tag for the word  $\varphi\omicron\beta\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : VSAP--2S^ VMAP--2S. The reader who is interested only in the word's form may simply stop reading at the caret.

Other and less frequent kinds of complex tags are connected by a slash (/) meaning "or"; an exclamation mark (!), also meaning "or"; and an ampersand (&), meaning "and." The slash and exclamation mark indicate that two analyses are possible; the exclamation mark is used in preference to the slash when, frequently, a change of accenting or punctuation results in an alternate analysis (found to the right of "!"). The ampersand conjoins two tags neither of which would be adequate by itself, as in the case of crasis.

A plus sign (+) immediately before or after a tag indicates a close relationship between the word associated with the tag and another word, as in cases of verbal periphrastics. The sign appears on the side of the tag on which the pairing occurs. For a full explanation of the abbreviations and symbols used in the grammatical analysis, as well as of the assumptions underlying that analysis, one should refer to the appendix. All serious users will want to read at least sections 1-3 of the appendix.

The Greek text employed in this volume is that of the third edition (corrected) of *The Greek New Testament* (1983). This is identical to the text of the twenty-sixth edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece* (seventh printing, revised 1983) except for differences in punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. The *Analytical Greek New Testament* does not reproduce the textual apparatus, punctuation apparatus, cross-reference system, or subheadings in *The Greek New Testament*. It does, however, follow the latter in its use of boldface type for quotations from the Old Testament and of editorial bracketing (both single, [], and

double, [[]]) within the text itself. The longer ending of Mark (16.9-20) and the shorter ending (without verse number, though often taken to be part of verse 8) are the only portions of the text set off and identified by comment in this volume.

Barbara Friberg and Timothy Friberg

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS—CLASSIC AGNT

N nominal		N	nominative	M	masculine	1	first person	S	singular		
		G	genitive	F	feminine	2	second person	P	plural		
		D	dative	N	neuter	3	third person				
		A	accusative	-							
		V	vocative								
V verbal		I	indicative	A	active	N	nominative	M	masculine	1	first person
		S	subjunctive	M	middle	G	genitive	F	feminine	2	second person
		O	optative	P	passive	D	dative	N	neuter	3	third person
		M	imperative	E	either	A	accusative	-			
		N	infinitive	R	perfect	V	vocative				
		P	participle	D	or passive						
		R	(imperative sense)	L	middle dependent						
				O	passive dependent						
				N	middle or passive dependent						
A adjectival		P	pronominal	C	cardinal	N	nominative	M	masculine	1	first person
		B	adverb	O	ordinal	G	genitive	F	feminine	2	second person
				R	relative	D	dative	N	neuter		
				I	indefinite	A	accusative				
				T	interrogative	V	vocative				
				D	demonstrative						
				M	comparative						
				S	superlative						
				-							
D determiner (definite article)		N	nominative	M	masculine	S	singular				
		G	genitive	F	feminine	P	plural				
		D	dative	N	neuter						
		A	accusative								
		V	vocative								
P prepositional		G	genitive								
		D	dative								
		A	accusative								
C conjunctive		C	coordinating								
		H	superordinating								
		S	subordinating								
Q particle		S	sentential								
		T	interrogative								
		V	verbal								

& "and," crisis    ^ function, "used as"    / "or"    ! "or" (order is significant)    + intertag connector

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  6. Particles and Contrasting Definitions
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The grammatical analysis in the *Analytical Greek New Testament* is both traditional and innovative, both transparent and opaque. The explanatory comments that follow, intended to open for scrutiny the assumptions that underlie the analysis, are as valuable as the analysis itself. One needs only know as much Greek grammar as is taught in an introductory course in order to understand this discussion. The material has been thoroughly outlined, and this outline appears separately above, to enable the reader to locate and consult a specific point as quickly as possible.

Those who contributed to the initial analysis, as well as those who helped check it, are scholars in their own right, whose work reflects years of experience with the Greek text. In the course of their work on this analysis, they have drawn on such standard scholarly works as the following: *Concordance to the Greek Testament* by Moulton, Geden, and Moulton; *Greek Grammar of the New Testament* by Blass, Debrunner, and Funk; *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament* by Robertson; *Greek Grammar* by Smyth; *Greek-English Lexicon* by Liddell, Scott, and Jones; *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* by Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker; and *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* by Moulton and Milligan.<sup>2</sup> References will be made to some of these volumes below.

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<sup>2</sup> W. F. Moulton, A. S. Geden, and H. K. Moulton, eds., *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978); F. W. Blass, A. Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961); A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Nashville: Broadman, 1934); Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1956); Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1940); Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979); and J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952).

# 1 Scope of the Analysis

## *1.1 Morphological Information*

The grammatical analysis represents considerations at a number of levels. The first and most basic is the morphological, which information is found within the word itself. This includes information that is distinctive for a given form when viewed from the whole of a paradigm. For example, ἀγαθός is distinctively nominative in case, masculine in gender, and singular in number. This morphological information is usually straightforward and noncontroversial.

## *1.2 Sentence-Level Information*

The analysis goes beyond the word itself to take into account sentence-level information. An unusually large number of Greek words are ambiguous with respect to certain information when taken by themselves, but perfectly distinct when their position and function within the sentence are considered. For example, ἐαυτῶν is distinctively genitive and plural even in isolation, but its gender remains ambiguous until it is viewed as part of a sentence. Similarly, λέγετε in isolation can be identified as present tense, active voice, second-person plural, but whether it is indicative or imperative depends on its use in the sentence.

## *1.3 Discourse-Level Information*

But not even sentences are the upper limit of the necessary context. The entire discourse gives meaning to its constituent parts. For example, the following sentence is ambiguous apart from the larger context: “David was too far away to see.” It may mean that David was too far away “for anyone to see him” or “for him to see anyone.” The larger context settles the matter. “Martha scanned the area in vain. David was too far away to see.” So context of the wider sort (discourse) affects meaning as crucially as does that of the narrower sort (sentence). The analysis in this work is sensitive to discourse.

The idea that we speak not only in words and sentences but also whole discourses has been demonstrated by recent studies. These discourses, whether an exchange over the back fence about the weather or a formal, lengthy New Testament letter, have discernible structure. As speakers and writers we are largely unconscious of this structure and of the principles of structuring meaning that operate in our language. As hearers and readers we are equally unconscious of these principles that we, like the speaker and writer, have internalized; we need not consciously analyze their discourse because this process is second nature to us.

A problem arises, however, when communication is across languages. A number of universal principles of discourse structure do exist, applicable here and there and now and then. But each language has its own particular set of communication principles that work perfectly for that language but that may confuse or frustrate interlanguage communication.

As English-speaking students of New Testament Greek texts, we must be aware of the differences between the organizing principles of our own language and those of the language of the New Testament writers. They include the time-honored observations gathered together in our grammars and lexicons. They also include principles operating over wider spans of discourse, which have only more recently come under scrutiny. This volume reflects discourse principles, especially in its analysis of conjunctions and particles, as becomes apparent in the discussion below.

Those interested in pursuing discourse analysis further would do well to refer to two books: *Translating the Word of God* by John Beekman and John Callow and *Man and Message* by Kathleen Callow.<sup>3</sup> The former approaches principles of communication through English translations of Scripture, though it draws illustrations from many of the world's languages. The latter deals with meaning-based text analysis.

### ***1.4 Semantic Structure***

In the explanations that follow we maintain a distinction between grammatical structure (surface structure, or the Greek sentence), on the one hand, and semantic structure (underlying structure, or the Greek proposition), on the other. What we read on the page of our Greek texts is the visible (alternately, audible) code of some particular message. These sentences, grammatical or surface structures, merely encode a message. They are not, properly speaking, the message itself, though there is no message conveyed apart from them. Units of this surface code are used to carry the author's message or meaning. The contents carried by the code are the meaning and semantic structure. Because there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between *what* we have to say and *how* we say it, we need to speak about both the grammatical and semantic structures.

Consider this illustration: Four people—a husband and wife, their son, and a guest—are sitting in a very hot room. The guest says to his hostess, "It's a little warm in here." Grammatically, this is a statement or

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<sup>3</sup> *Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974). *Man and Message* (Lanham, Maryland: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University Press of America, 1998).

declaration. Semantically it is a request for some cool air. The hostess turns to her husband and asks, “Would you open the window?” Grammatically her utterance is a question, semantically a request. The husband in turn says to his son, “Open the window!” This is both grammatically and semantically a request. The same request, then, is expressed by three grammatical structures, each socially appropriate to the speaker-hearer pair.

## 2 Simple Tags in the Analysis

Everything we say about each Greek word’s grammar is condensed in an identification “tag.” The abbreviations and symbols appearing in the tags are interpreted in the chart at the end of the introduction. A given letter does not by itself uniquely represent some given information. It is the combination of a given letter and a given place in the tag, taken together with the initial letter in the tag, that uniquely represents a particular piece of information. For example, an A in the third position of a tag beginning with N (nominal) represents *accusative case*, while an A in the third position of a tag beginning with V (verbal) represents *aorist tense*.

Every tag is one or another of seven major grammatical categories: nominal, verbal, adjectival, determiner (definite article), prepositional, conjunctive, and particle. Whereas given tags must be uniquely one or another of these grammatical categories, Greek *words* may be now this and now that. For example, *καί* may be any of two types of conjunction, CC (coordinating) or CH (superordinating), or it may be an adverb, AB. Similarly, *ᾧ* may be a verb, VSPA--1S; a particle, QS; or a noun, N-NN-S. This latter example is, of course, a case of homonymy, while the former example is a case of a single word having multiple functions.

Within each of the seven categories, left-to-right order is significant. We surveyed a sampling of Greek professors to determine a standard or traditional parsing order, but we found no consensus whatever. The order we chose reflects (from left to right) descending significance for grammatical studies. The verb, for example, is more likely to be studied for its divisions of mood and tense than for its divisions into person and number.

The hyphen (-) is significant as a placeholder. Hyphens at the end of a tag are dropped off. Thus a simple adverb, fully tagged AB-----, appears simply as AB. A verb tag with potentially eight slots may, if it represents an infinitive, have only the first four (e.g. VNAA for VNAA----) or five (e.g. VNAPG for VNAPG---).

### 3 Complex Tags in the Analysis

Some Greek words are described not with a simple tag but with a combination of simple tags that we call complex tags. These can best be introduced by the symbols that join their constituent simple parts.

#### 3.1 Complex Tags with a Slash (/)

The slash (/) is to be read “or.” It joins alternatives between which the reader must choose for himself. Even when resorting to the larger discourse, we find that a number of ambiguities persist. In a number of cases, for example, *καί* must be tagged AB/CC; the context allows one to interpret *καί* as either an adverb (AB; “even, also, indeed”) or a conjunction (CC; “and”). Similarly, the slash is used where the case or gender of a noun is ambiguous and there is no contextual way to resolve the ambiguity. (See examples and discussion concerning gender at 4.4.)

The slash is also used when editorial bracketing within a word results in differing tags. The tag for the full word (including the bracketed letters) is given first, followed by the tag for the word excluding the bracketed letters; that is, full form first, then partial form. Examples follow: [δ]έδωκας, VIRA--2S/VIAA--2S (Revelation 16.6); ἀνοιγ[ήσ]εται, VIFP--3S/VIPP--3S (Luke 11.10); and αὐτό[v], NPAM3S/NPAN3S (Matthew 14.12).

#### 3.2 Complex Tags with an Exclamation Mark (!)

The exclamation mark, also to be read “or,” is used in that very small number of cases where a difference of *accent* would produce another contextually acceptable tag or where a change of *punctuation* calls for a different tag. In both cases the tag that goes with the accenting or punctuation as supplied by the editors occurs first, followed by the exclamation mark and then the tag permitted by the change of accent or punctuation. As an example of the former, some contexts would permit *κρινω* to be either present (*κρίνω*) or future tense (*κρινῶ*). If *κρινῶ* is the editors’ choice, the tag reads VIFA--1S!VIPA--1S (see Luke 19.22). An example of the latter case is *ἀναπάεσθε* (VMPM--2P!VIPM--2P) in Matthew 26.45. The editorial choice of statement punctuation makes one tag appropriate (VMPM--2P); question punctuation would make another tag appropriate (VIPM--2P). Our purpose in these two situations is to show variation among existing editions, not to introduce any speculative interpretation. One other situation in which the exclamation mark belongs involves the few cases where convention has the word written together when taken as a conjunction (e.g. *ὅτι*) but separated when taken as a relative pronoun (*ὅ τῃ*). As an example of this, see Mark 6.23.

Should both be possible in a given context, the editors' choice again precedes the exclamation mark.

### 3.3 *Complex Tags with a Caret (^)*

A caret (or “up-arrow”) is to be read “used as” or “functions as.” It is a frequent connector in complex tags. Some grammarians may say that any word must always be used as only one part of speech, but speakers of natural languages do otherwise, whether they know it or not. This symbol allows for an analysis in these cases. Some may question why, if grammatical form X functions as grammatical form Y, we do not simply call it Y? The reason is this: some argue that form is more important than function. In solving this problem, we have not imposed one solution on all the Greek New Testament vocabulary, nor have we generally decided the matter item by item. We have instead made most of our choices class by class, now to give functional information, now not to. If there is any rule of thumb, it is this: if a use is exceptional, it receives a complex tag with the caret symbol (X^Y); if regular, a simple tag. The examples that follow will clarify this point.

A number of Greek words sometimes serve to relate a noun phrase to the rest of the sentence, at other times seem to stand alone as modifiers of the verb. In the former case they are traditionally called *prepositions*; in the latter, *adverbs*. We accept this distinction. When ἔξω is followed by τῆς πόλεως (Matthew 21.17), it is a preposition and therefore tagged PG; when it stands alone, it is an adverb of place (as in Acts 5.34) and is tagged AB. This is a systematic difference and thus receives systematic treatment. Either AB^PG or PG^AB would be inappropriate. There are other times, however, when ἔξω acts as an adjective: e.g., τὰς ἔξω πόλεις (Acts 26.11). In this case it receives a functional analysis: AB^A--AF-P.

The caret symbol may infrequently be read as “irregularly used as.” One example is when εἶς is used indeclinably following κατά, a preposition governing the accusative case, e.g. Romans 12.5. In this situation, καθ' is tagged PA, εἶς APCNM-S^APCAM-S. Alternatively, καθ' may be analyzed as an adverb, in which case εἶς is simply APCNM-S.

As the analysis of each part of speech is introduced below, the more important instances of the caret symbol will be explained and illustrated.

### 3.4 *Complex Tags with an Ampersand (&)*

The ampersand joins simple tags in cases of crasis and analogous instances requiring two simple tags. Καὶ γώ (for καί and ἐγώ) can be analyzed as AB&NPN-IS (Revelation 3.21) if the καί element is taken as an adverb, or as CC&NPN-IS (Revelation 22.8) if taken as a conjunction. Τοῦνομα similarly is tagged DANS&N-AN-S (Matthew 27.57). In some

cases analogous to crasis a single Greek word is best described by two simple tags: οὐδέ is usually either CC (“neither, nor,” Matthew 12.4) or AB (“not even,” Matthew 6.29). In a few cases it is given the tag CC&AB to represent “nor [CC] even [AB],” (Acts 7.5).

### ***3.5 Complex Tags of More than Two Simple Tags***

In addition to complex tags consisting of two simple tags, there are analyses consisting of more than two. Two examples follow: (1) Μόνον (Matthew 10.42) may be taken as modifying ἓνα (“only one”), ποτήριον (“only a cup”), or even the verb ποτίσῃ (“only gives to drink”). Thus the tag A--AM-S/A--AN-S/AP-AN-S^AB. (2) πλήρης (John 1.14) is indeclinable here and gets the tag A--AM-S/A--GM-S/A--NM-S.

### ***3.6 Order within Complex Tags***

There is a precedence of tag binders. The symbols & and ^ have equal precedence (since they never occur together), both of which have precedence over ! and /. These latter two are also of equal precedence, since they never occur together. This is to say, by example, that X/Y^Z is really X/(Y^Z). Similarly, A&B/C&D is (A&B)/(C&D). The tag A-RDM-S+/APRDN-S/APRDN-S^NPDN3S in Hebrews 6.17 is to be read as A-RDM-S+/APRDN-S/(APRDN-S^NPDN3S).

The order of complex tags with ^ is fixed: the analysis of the form precedes that of function. Tags with & reflect the order of the Greek words joined by crasis. Tags with ! begin with the form represented in the text, then proceed to the variant. The general rule for tags with / is to alphabetize the tags. (The hyphen [-] used as a place marker is alphabetized following 3. The tag numbers 1, 2, 3 are ordered as if they were X, Y, Z, respectively.)

There are, however, exceptions to this order. If two words each permit two analyses, and if alternative A for word 1 agrees with alternative X for word 2, and alternative B only with alternative Y, then the analyses are paired accordingly, the alphabetical rule notwithstanding. For example, the tag for γλυκὸν in James 3.12 is A--AN-S/AP-AN-S. The context, with tags, is: ἄλυκόν (AP-NN-S/A--NN-S) γλυκὸν (A--AN-S/AP-AN-S) ποιῆσαι (VNAA) ὕδωρ (N-AN-S/N-NN-S). Either ἄλυκόν stands alone as a nominative substantive and γλυκὸν modifies ὕδωρ, or ἄλυκόν modifies ὕδωρ and γλυκὸν stands alone as an accusative substantive.

The alphabetical order is also broken when a simple choice X stands as an alternative to a complex choice Y^Z. In such cases the simple, single tag is given first. For example, this tag for μόνον (Matthew 10.42), A--AM-S/A--AN-S/AP-AN-S^AB, gives two simple, accusative-

modifying analyses before the complex adjective-used-as-adverb analysis.

### *3.7 Tags with an Implied Choice*

In a few situations a slash is warranted in the tag but is only implied; that is, the tag is X^Y when X/X^Y might be expected.

#### 3.7.1 Future Used as Command

The first of these situations is when the future form of a verb is used as a command or recommendation. Probably the least controversial of these is in the frequent command, “Love your neighbor as yourself.” The verb is ἀγαπήσεις, VIFA--2S^VMPA--2S (Mark 12.30). Few would argue that this is a simple future, predicting that you will love your neighbor at some future time. It is a command the mood and tense of which reflect Hebrew influence. We have analyzed scores of second- and third-person future verbs as having a command function. If these verbs were placed in a continuum from those most certain to have imperatival force (ἀγαπήσεις above) to those least certain to have such force (possibly Colossians 4.9: γνώρισουσιν (VIFA--3P^VMAA--3P)), each reader would undoubtedly draw the dividing line between acceptable and unacceptable cases at a different point. Rather than add the future alternative (e.g. VIFA--2S/VIFA--2S^VMPA--2S), we announce our practice and urge the reader to make his own judgments. (See the discussion below on verbs for further comments.)

#### 3.7.2 Negative Subjunctive Used as Prohibition

A second situation in which a slash is implied in the tag is the negative subjunctive used as imperative. The aorist subjunctive following μή is widely taken as the aorist imperative of prohibition. A few of these can be taken as simple subjunctives. We have left the ambiguous cases as subjunctive used as imperative, leaving the slash implicit (e.g. VSAA--2S^VMAA--2S). The many negative subjunctives that cannot be taken as direct prohibitions, including many indirect prohibitions following ἵνα, we have left as simple subjunctives (e.g. Mark 3.9). In addition to the aorist subjunctive following μή is the subjunctive that follows οὐ μή. These are usually taken as strong future denials. In a number of instances (e.g. Luke 1.15), we analyze the construction as an imperative (hortatory force), and leave the slash implicit.

### 3.7.3 Participle Used as Imperative

There is also a continuum of acceptance for “imperative participles,” the tags for which begin with VR. Few disagree that Acts 22.10 should be read as two commands, “Get up and go,” even though the first word is a participle. But there are less certain cases that we leave to the reader to find and evaluate. Many VR tags may be read VP/VR. Imperative participles are discussed further in 5.1.3 below.

### 3.7.4 Periphrastics

The periphrastic is the last kind of construction that we do not mark with an overt slash but with which we urge the reader to infer a slash according to his understanding of the construction. There is little doubt that Koine Greek used a colorless finite verb plus participle to express meanings that formerly had been expressed only by a single finite verb carrying its own content. Again it is the degree of acceptance of this or that construction as periphrastic that has guided us in presenting such constructions here as implied choices. We leave the reader to draw his own line between acceptable and unacceptable cases. (See the discussion in 5.6 below for more on periphrastics.)

We must include a few comments on some things we *do not* include. First, we do not allow expression of intermediate function, which would require a tag of this sort: X^Y^Z. Πρότερον, tagged A-MAN-S^A-MAF-P in Hebrews 10.32, would otherwise have been APMAN-S^ABM^A-MAF-P, the first unit representing the word’s form, the second its general function, and the third its particular function here. Second, we do not try to improve an author’s grammar. Except for the few types noted above, we do not try to say how it should have been. With relative pronouns, however, after showing the actual (formal) grammatical case, we show the case that would have been without the attraction. This is limited to case and does not include gender or number attraction or anticipation.

The limitation of our analysis to individual words (with a few phrase exceptions to be noted below) may leave the impression of inconsistent analyses of recurring forms. But the impression is false. For instance, πρῶτον as a neuter, singular adjective is very frequently used adverbially, which use we analyze as APMAN-S^ABM (as in Hebrews 4.6). A few times it appears with a preceding τό, with the words together functioning adverbially (as in John 10.40). The tags, however, are given to individual words, neither of which functions, by itself, as an adverb: τὸ (DANS) πρῶτον (APOAN-S).

### 3.8 Related Tags: The Plus Sign (+)

The plus symbol is used, not to connect simple tags for individual words, but as a modifier of simple tags to show a close relationship between words in a sentence. The first of these cases involves verbal periphrastics, an example of which is John 1.28: ἦν (VIIA--3S+) ... βαπτίζων (+VPPANM-S). The pluses are placed on the side of the tag on which the pairing occurs. If two participles are involved, both receive pluses to show their relationship with the finite form.

The plus sign is also used to indicate the unexpected location (always on the right side) of an antecedent incorporated into a relative clause, as in this example from Luke 1.4: περὶ (PG) ᾧν (APRGM-P+^APRAM-P) κατηχήθης (VIAP--2S) λόγων (N-GM-P). The plus is placed on the right side of the tag of the basic relative pronoun to show that the irregular location of the antecedent, λόγων, follows the relative pronoun. This will be elaborated in 7.6 below on relative pronouns. (The functional tag APRAM-P on the relative pronoun shows that the expected accusative-case object of the verb has been attracted to the case governed by the preposition.)

Finally, the plus sign is used to show that two adjacent words may also be taken as a single word analyzed by a single tag, as in this example from Romans 11.13: μὲν (QS!QS+) οὖν (CC!+QS) This indicates that the adjacent words may be taken as separate words—analyzed QS and CC, respectively—or they may be taken as a single word, μενοῦν, analyzed QS.

After analyzing each word of the Greek New Testament in its own right, according to its use in context and according to our underlying assumptions, we checked parallel passages against each other. The high degree of consistency that we found demonstrated that the analysis had been based on principle rather than changing intuitions. Parallels found to be inconsistent were harmonized, a process that impressed on us the important conclusion that parallel passages differing in just one or two words may require different analyses. One illustration is the four quotations of Isaiah 6.9 in Matthew 13.14, Mark 4.12, Luke 8.10, and Acts 28.26. Mark and Luke begin with ἴνα, which throws the quotation into an altogether different light from that in Matthew and Acts. The accompanying analyses reflect these differences.

## 4 The Analysis of Nouns and Pronouns

All nominal tags consist of six places, some of which may be place-holding hyphens. The major division within nominals is between regular nouns (N-) and pronouns (NP).

## 4.1 Nouns

Regular nouns are those traditionally so recognized, appearing as headings or lemmas in lexicons with genitive inflection and nominative article (e.g. ἄνθρωπος, -ου, ὁ). If a word thought to be a noun appears as an adjective in the Koine literature (especially first-century AD) cited by Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker in their Greek lexicon (hereafter BAGD), or if it is used as an adjective according to our analysis, its tag begins with A instead of N. For example, μοιχαλῖς, though recognized as a noun in BAGD, is often used as an adjective (as in, e.g. Matthew 12.39). Its true noun uses are accordingly analyzed as AP, that is, an adjective used substantivally. This situation, however, is rare. Many other nouns appear in apposition to preceding nouns. Though they usually modify the preceding noun in some sense, they are nouns, not adjectives, in our analysis. On the other hand, a few words, though in earlier stages of Greek functioning as adjectives, have become nouns, no longer standing in attributive position modifying nouns. We have analyzed these as nouns (N-), not as adjectives used as substantives (AP). For example, ἄκρος, though it functioned in earlier literature as an adjective, seems by New Testament times to have functioned only as a noun. We thus analyze it as a neuter noun, ἄκρον, -ου, τό, a decision supported by BAGD.

Usually in a passage where a noun occurs among predicate adjectives in a list, it is clear that nouns do act as predicate adjectives. Rather than call them such by simple A- tags or by complex function tags (^A-), we mark them simply as nouns.

An indeclinable noun is analyzed in light of its use in the sentence. The gender and number of a noun are often taken from Hebrew when that is the source (thus Σαβᾶθ is determined to be plural, e.g. Romans 9.29). Ἀβραάμ is at different times each of the five cases due to its use within the sentence. Transliterated and then translated words are given the tags of their translation (see e.g. Matthew 27.46).

## 4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are a limited variety in our analysis. They include personal pronouns (ἐγώ, σύ, αὐτός); reflexives (ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ); reciprocals (ἀλλήλων); and certain derived functions. Αὐτός in its intensifying meaning “self” is part of the noun system (NP); in its meaning “same,” part of the adjective system (A-). Because a traditionally recognized noun is analyzed an adjective (either AP or A-) if and when it functions as an adjective, the following “pronouns” are considered adjectives in our analysis: numbers, whether cardinal (e.g. εἶς) or ordinal (e.g. πρῶτος); relative pronouns (e.g. ὅς); indefinite

pronouns (e.g. *τι*); interrogative pronouns (e.g. *τίς*); and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *οὗτος*). These are tagged A- when they occur as modifiers, whether attributive or predicate; AP when standing alone as substantives, that is, pronouns. (See section 7 for pronouns analyzed as adjectives.)

### 4.3 Case

We have followed the five-case system rather than the eight-case system. This is to say that our analysis is based on the five distinct case forms rather than eight (or more) case functions. The ablative of the eight-case system is here part of the genitive case; the instrumental and locative, of the dative. The vocative case of the determiner has the form of the nominative, but is tagged DV (and not DN...<sup>^</sup>DV...).

Some nouns possess distinct forms for the vocative and nominative cases. In this case the vocative form (e.g. *θεέ* N-VM-S) is regularly labeled vocative. When the nominative form is used as a vocative (e.g. *θεός*), it is so labeled N-NM-S<sup>^</sup>N-VM-S. In a number of instances, the vocative and nominative interpretations are equally appropriate; except in a few cases, we have chosen one over the other, often on the basis of editorial punctuation.

Our analysis does not allow for vocative pronouns (except as part of the adjective system). Nominative pronouns are themselves generally emphatic, calling attention to the referent. Why then allow for a vocative pronoun, especially since the few possible cases are ambiguous and can simply be identified as nominative pronouns? One instance of an ambiguous pronoun occurs in Acts 4.24: “Lord, you who ...” (vocative interpretation); or “Lord, you are the one who ...” (nominative interpretation, supplying *εἶ*). We prefer the latter, NPN-2S. Furthermore, we do not identify what some would call semantic vocatives, e.g. the dative pronoun in the phrase, *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν* (Matthew 23.15).

### 4.4 Gender

Each noun is assigned one of three genders, with but one class of exceptions. Some noun forms are, according to BAGD and other lexicons, ambiguous with respect to gender. When there is no contextual or other way to remove the ambiguity, we indicate both (e.g. Mark 13.8: *λιμοί*, N-NF-P/N-NM-P). If an author uses only one gender of a noun in unambiguous cases, we have usually assigned that gender to the author’s otherwise ambiguous uses of it. Or even if an author mixes genders but uses the same noun nearby in an unambiguous way, then that gender is assigned to the adjacent ambiguous instance. Or if BAGD says a noun may be now this gender and now that, but one gender is to be expected, we assign that gender to the word. *Πλοῦτος*, for example, one may

expect to be masculine, so all ambiguous forms are labeled masculine. BAGD does, however, identify eight instances in Paul's letters in which the word is unambiguously neuter; so they appear thus in our analysis. As in English we call dogs "he" and cats "she" until we know otherwise, Greek had unmarked genders for many animals. In those ambiguous forms where the unmarked gender is known, we have indicated that gender. For example, ambiguous ἄρκος in Revelation 13.2 is tagged feminine. In the case of στάδιον (the singular of which is always unambiguously neuter), the plural, when unambiguous, is always masculine. We have marked the ambiguous plural forms masculine, following one scholar's hypothesis that masculine plural means "stades," neuter singular "stadium."

As for pronouns, the gender is indicated in the case of unambiguous forms (e.g. αὐτός). Ambiguous forms (e.g. αὐτῶν, which may be masculine, feminine, or neuter) rendered unambiguous by context are assigned a gender; exceptions are ἐγώ and σύ and their plural counterparts, which are never marked for gender.

#### **4.5 Person**

Although true nouns are third person, the person is indicated in the tag by a hyphen (N-NM-S) instead of by a 3 (N-NM3S). Although true nouns in the vocative case are predictably second person, the tag is handled similarly (N-VM-S rather than N-VM2S).

All pronouns (NP, as opposed to AP) are marked for person, 1, 2, or 3. Ἐγώ and σύ, ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς are invariable as to person. With αὐτός, reflexives, reciprocals, and various derived functions of NP, we have marked the person according to context. This means that ἐαυτῶν may be tagged NPGM1P (Hebrews 10.25), NPGM2P (1Corinthians 6.7), or NPGM3P (Mark 9.8).

#### **4.6 Complex Noun Tags**

Examples of simple alternates have already been noted, especially choices between genders in ambiguous instances. In Revelation 14.19 ληνόν is given the unusual analysis N-AF-S&N-AM-S due to preceding τῆν and following τὸν.<sup>4</sup>

Pronoun tags potentially occur as derived functions in four situations. When an article and δέ (or μέν) occur together, the article frequently functions as a pronoun. The article, however, must be nominative in case and either masculine or feminine in gender. Our analysis for this is ὁ (DNMS^NPNM3S) δέ (CC).

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<sup>4</sup> See Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *A Greek Grammar*, for comment.

The second situation involves articular participles, which are discussed more fully in 8.3 below. When an articular participle occurs without antecedent, its determiner (or article) is analyzed as a determiner functioning as a pronoun (or noun substitute, that is, the antecedent) and a relative pronoun. The analysis of ὁ πιστεύων without antecedent is DNMS^NPNM3S&APRNM-S and VPPANM-S. This may be read: DNMS used as NPNM3S (“the one”) and APRNM-S (“who”) VPPANM-S (“believes”), though this represents the semantic structure, not a translation.

The third and fourth derived functions are based not on articles, but on relative pronouns. The third is the relative used as a pronoun, which is also discussed more fully below (in 7.6.2). An example is this: ἀνθ' (PG) ὧν (APRGN-P^NPGN3P) (Luke 1.20).

The last case of pronoun-derived function is a first- or second-person relative pronoun without antecedent. Again, full discussion appears in 7.6.2 below. Here let it suffice to offer an example: οἵτινες (APRNM1P^NPNM1P&APRNM1P) ἀπεθάνομεν (VIAA--1P) ... πῶς (ABT) ἔτι (AB) ζήσομεν (VIFA--1P) (Romans 6.2). This may be read: APRNM1P used as NPNM1P (“we”) and APRNM1P (“who”). NPNM1P is the subject of ζήσομεν, APRNM1P of ἀπεθάνομεν. This represents a guide to semantic structure, not a translation.

One final complex analysis involving pronouns may be noted. We have already introduced the difference between αὐτός (intensifying, NP) and αὐτός (“same,” A- or AP). The former is outside the scope of the definite article, the latter within. In a number of places in Luke and Acts, αὐτός meaning “same” has the position of αὐτός meaning “self,” which we have analyzed as NP used as A-. An example is this: αὐτῆ (NPDF3S^A--DF-S) τῆ (DDFS) ὥρα (N-DF-S) (Luke 2.38).

## 5 The Analysis of Verbs

Verbal tags usually consist of eight symbols. Due to the deletion of final hyphens, tags for regular infinitives have four symbols; those for articular infinitives, five.

### 5.1 Mood

The first division among verbals is that of mood (mode). Since the first-level analysis is according to form rather than function, the moods as well as all other verbal distinctions are determined by form apart from context. If a given form permits more than one analysis, then the proper analysis is determined from the context. An analysis will not be in contradiction to the context.

### 5.1.1 Subjunctives

Subjunctive verbs preceded by μή often function as the aorist imperative of prohibition. They are tagged as in this example: ... μή (AB) φοβηθῆτε (VSAP--2P^VMAP--2P) μηδέ (CC) ταραχθῆτε (VSAP--2P^VMAP--2P) (1Peter 3.14). As noted earlier, ambiguous cases that may be read as either “subjunctive” or “subjunctive used as an imperative” are given only the latter analysis. Indirect commands following ἵνα (or a conjunction acting similarly) are left as simple subjunctives. No indication of the imperatival force of indirect commands is given. Hortatory subjunctives are not differentiated from other first-person plural subjunctives.

Optatives and simple imperatives are straightforward and need no comment.

### 5.1.2 Infinitives

Simple infinitives are analyzed as VN followed by tense and voice symbols; for example, ποιῆσαι (VNAA). Articular infinitives have an additional symbol to show case, as does ποιῆσαι in this phrase: εἰς (PA) τὸ (DANS) ποιῆσαι (VNAAA) (Hebrews 13.21). It seemed less complicated to indicate the articular infinitive by giving the infinitive analysis a case symbol than to indicate the construction on the tag for the preceding article, already marked for case. This is advantageous because, when two or three infinitives follow a single article in this construction, every infinitive is marked. (Note that this convention is unlike that for the articular participle, in which the construction is noted on the tag for the article; see 8.3 below for reasons.)

Articular infinitives, appearing as they do in construction only with neuter singular articles, must themselves be neuter and singular. Because gender and number are predictable they are not included in the infinitive tag. All cases except vocative are included in this construction. In at least one instance (Luke 17.1) a genitive article determines the case of the following infinitive to be genitive even though the construction is used where a nominative case would be expected grammatically.

We chose to analyze each occurrence of the articular infinitive for two reasons. First, the construction is not always obvious because the article and infinitive are often separated by intervening material. Second, we wanted articular infinitives to be grouped separately in the concordance volumes.

Infinitives, whether articular or not, figure in grammatical constructions. The most frequent has the infinitive serving as the *object* (complement) of a finite verb or even of another infinitive. Clear examples of both occur in Luke 5.34: Μὴ (QT) δύνασθε (VIPN--2P) ...

ποιῆσαι (VNAA) νηστεῦσαι (VNAA). Infinitives also serve as *subject* complements of other verbs. The impersonal verbs δεῖ and ἔξεστιν usually have infinitive clauses as their subjects: “To do such and such is necessary,” “To do this or that is lawful.” (This is often better translated into English as: “It is necessary to do such and such,” “It is not lawful to do this or that.”)

In Greek δεῖ is sometimes tied to a preceding clause by way of a relative clause headed by ἃ. This relative pronoun is not nominative and the subject of δεῖ, but is the accusative subject (as in Revelation 4.1) or object (as in Luke 12.12) of the accompanying infinitive. Then the whole infinitive clause is the subject of δεῖ. In Acts 3.21 the relative pronoun is unambiguously accusative and thus not to be mistaken as the subject of δεῖ. In cases where the infinitive is present in the semantic structure but lacking in the surface grammatical structure, we analyze the subject or object of the infinitive in the former as the subject of the impersonal verb in the latter. For example, πάντα (AP-NN-P) μοι (NPD-1S) ἔξεστιν (VIPA--3S) (1Corinthians 6.12). The semantic structure is “*For me to do all things* is lawful,” with the entire infinitive subject complement of ἔξεστιν (here equivalent to δεῖ) is italicized. At the surface level, however, it is optionally missing. In its absence πάντα becomes the surface subject and is appropriately given the nominative case tag. One further example still awaits resolution: ... ἃ (APRAN-P^APDAN-P& APRAN-P) μὴ (AB) δεῖ (VIPA--3S) (Titus 1.11). Though the infinitive is missing, we have still analyzed the relative pronoun as an accusative object due to the presence of μὴ. (See 7.6.2 below for details on the complex tag of ἃ.)

Μὴ and an infinitive can sometimes be taken as a prohibition, standing alone as a stylistic alternate to the morphological imperative. Neither this nor any infinitive following as the object complement to a verb of commanding, whether its function is simple or derived, is analyzed here as an imperative.

### 5.1.3 Participles

Participles receive a straightforward analysis. We have added a 1 or 2 to the otherwise irrelevant person place in participle tags to show first- or second-person linkage, respectively. Our clue for this semantic information is either the personal ending on a finite verb or the person of a pronoun. For example, ἡμεθα (VIIM--1P+) δεδουλωμένοι (+VPRPNM1P) (Galatians 4.3). The participle tag includes a 1 for first person on the basis of its (periphrastic) link to the first-person finite verb. Another example comes from Mark 13.36: μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὔρη ὑμᾶς (NPA-2P) καθεύδοντας (VPPAAM2P). The participle tag contains a 2

for second person because of its semantic tie-in with ὑμᾶς. When a hyphen appears in the person position of participle tags, it indicates what might, except for visual crowding, have been indicated by 3.

Our analysis of participles includes all those that have not been frozen as nouns. Among those analyzed by BAGD and us as nouns are ἄρχων and οἰκουμένη. But participles themselves, even without articles, do function as nouns. Since these represent such a continuum, from those that clearly act in particular contexts as nouns to those that may also have some verbal interpretation attendant to the governing verb, we have left all such participles, whatever their function, as simply participles. Πεινῶντας and πλουτοῦντας in Luke 1.53 are examples of participles that function as nouns. Articular participles are discussed in 8.3 below.

A special class of participles has been designated by second-position R rather than P. These appear in conjunction with imperatives and themselves have an imperatival sense. Not every adjacent imperative activates this imperatival sense. Sometimes, as Matthew 6.17 shows, the relationship between the imperative and the adjacent participle is that of contingency: “*When* you fast, anoint your head ...” On the other hand, the participle is sometimes imperatival in concert with a morphological imperative (which usually follows the participle). Matthew 10.14 illustrates this case. Anticipating some inhospitable receptions for his disciples, whom he is about to send, Jesus does not say, “*When* you leave a house or town that has rejected you, however long after the inhabitants have become hostile, shake the dust off your feet as a sign against them ...” Instead he seems to say, “Leave that house or town *and* shake ...” In view of this, we tag the participle ἐξερχόμενοι as VRPNM2P. An R participle should be read as containing a potential choice: some instances may be interpreted either imperatively or otherwise, and the reader may opt for the latter.

The imperatival participles bear certain relations to the main imperative verb, of which we shall list several. A very common interpretation of an imperatival participle is *commanded means*. In Acts 22.10 ἀναστὰς (VRAANM2S) is the means to obey the finite command πορεύου (VMPN--2S). First one gets up off the ground and then he goes. *Commanded attitudes* are frequent, especially in the letters. Colossians 3.17 has εὐχαριστοῦντες (VRPANM2P) as the attitude that should accompany the implied doing of all things. The imperatival participles in Romans 12.9-13 are the *commanded specifics* of the lead command or statement that love must be sincere. And as the initial example from Matthew 10.14 shows, there may be only a *coordinate command*, for it is logically possible to shake dust and not leave. As expected, these imperatival participles are in the nominative case. Second Timothy 2.15, however, we see an instance of an oblique case having this imperatival

sense. There ὀρθοτομοῦντα (VRPAAM2S) has taken on the case of the reflexive pronoun σεαυτόν.

Observe that the examples given are all second-person imperatives and thus take a 2 in the participle tag to show the second-person link between the two verbs. First Corinthians 16.2 illustrates a third-person imperative with the expected third-person (-) imperativial participle.

## 5.2 Tense(-Aspect)

In the indicative mood six tenses occur: present, imperfect, future, aorist, perfect, and pluperfect. The time element pertains only to the indicative mood. In the other moods, P represents durative or continuous action, whereas A stands for punctiliar action. These represent aspect. Thus at 2Thessalonians 3.8, for example, ἐργαζόμενοι (VPPNMI P), the P (“present”) in the third slot represents continuous action in the past. Future perfects appear only in periphrastic constructions, as in Matthew 16.19: ἔσται (VIFD--3S+) δεδεμένον (+VPRPNN-S). We have analyzed tense on the basis of form, not meaning; thus οἶδα is perfect rather than present.

The future, like the subjunctive, is frequently used as imperative. This is limited to second- and third-person forms of the future and thus corresponds with the imperative forms. While the subjunctive used as imperative shows a correspondence between tenses, the future indicative used as imperative does not. So for every future used imperatively, we had to determine the tense of the imperative function. We did this item by item, deciding in each case the aspectual sense (punctiliar action, durative action, etc.) of the command. For example, οὐ (AB) μοιχεύσεις (VIFA--2S^VMAA--2S) (Matthew 5.27) has the aspect associated with aorist tense, while ἀγαπήσεις (VIFA--2S^VMPA--2S) τὸν πλησίον (Matthew 5.43) has the aspect associated with present tense.

Several short comments remain. Tense for periphrastics is assigned separately to each half of the construction, leaving the reader to determine for himself the tense of the whole. Tense is the parameter most affected by changes in accent (as opposed to the form itself), which requires the use of the exclamation mark symbol; for example, Luke 19.22: κρινῶ (VIFA--1S!VIPA--1S). In the few cases where alternate tenses possess identical form and accentuation and where we have been unable to determine the correct tense from the context, we have used a slash (/) and left the choice to others. All forty-three instances of ἔφη, for example, we have tagged the word as VIAA--3S/VIIA--3S (we have not found a treatment of the imperfect, especially in narrative, sufficiently satisfying to decide in even one instance). In John 8.44 and Revelation 12.4 the choice presented in our analysis is not merely between tenses, but between tenses of different verbs, στήκω and ἴστημι.

### 5.3 Voice: Deponency

The matter of voice has received substantial attention in our analysis largely due to the problem of deponency. The three-way voice distinction itself is no problem; where middle and passive voices coincide in form in some tenses, considerations of meaning are usually sufficient to permit a choice between middle and passive. Deponency itself is the challenge. It is easy enough to say that deponency occurs when a middle or passive form of a verb takes on an active meaning, whether in all tenses, several tenses, or just one tense. It is more difficult to decide if deponency arises to fill the place of a missing active form with active meaning, or if verbs can have deponent forms (whether middle or passive) *alongside* active forms. Using our symbols (A = active, M = middle, P = passive, D = middle-form deponent, O = passive-form deponent), we can state the issue with more precision. Which of the following situations may represent deponency for a given verb: (1) A, M, P; (2) A, D, P; (3) A, M, O; (4) -, D, P; (5) -, D, O? The first is clearly not deponent, being the ideal, full-blown transitive verb. Some would answer, only 4 and 5; others, 2-5 and perhaps other situations as well. Before giving our answer, we will first briefly discuss the passive voice.

#### 5.3.1 Passives as Intransitivizers

Passive voice is a grammatical construction that enables the speaker or writer to focus or topicalize the object of a transitive construction. If developing a discourse about the Book of Acts, in which the book is the topic of discussion, we are more likely to say (1) Acts was written by Luke or (2) It was written by Luke. In a discourse about the author, we would probably say instead (3) Luke wrote Acts. This is true of both English and Greek. But language, tool for communication that it is, is not bound to grammatical purity. Languages in general change the function or meaning of grammatical constructions to suit communication goals. A language may add meanings to grammatical constructions to suit its needs. In particular, the passive-voice verb in Koine Greek has more than one meaning or function: it may serve, as in English, to topicalize an object for purposes of discourse, but it may also function to “intransitivize” a transitive verb. Said another way (which may not be exactly equivalent), it may focus on the effect or result of an action while its active counterpart focuses on the causing of that action.

For example, ἐγείρω is an active, transitive verb. The aorist active is used of Jesus’ disciples rousing him from sleep (Matthew 8.25) and of Jesus lifting to his feet a boy whom he has just healed (Mark 9.27). All of these instances show the causing of an action. Let us now look at instances of ἐγείρω that are aorist passive. In Matthew 9.19 there is a construction that recurs elsewhere often: “Getting up or rising, Jesus

followed Jairus.” The emphasis is on the effect or result of an action; it is intransitive. How this active meaning of the passive may have developed can be shown by contriving the agent that raised Jesus: “Having been raised to his feet by the action of his leg muscles, Jesus followed ....” The focus, however, is intransitive: “Jesus rose.” (The passive of ἐγείρω can at least ambiguously mean “be raised by someone.” John 2.22, for instance, can be understood as “when Jesus rose from the dead” if the focus is on the intransitive result, or as “when Jesus was raised from the dead” if the focus is on the transitive action of causing Jesus to transfer from being dead to being alive.)

This digression has shown that active meanings (“rise”) of nonactive forms can coexist with active meanings (“raise”) of active forms of the same verb. This lays the groundwork for our claim that such conditions do not constitute a middle or passive deponent of such verbs. Our analysis, then, excludes from the category of deponent verbs many forms frequently called deponent by others. But we believe that the definition of deponency that follows results in a better and more consistent treatment of this controversial phenomenon: a verb (or tense of a verb) is deponent only if it lacks an active counterpart. Before elaborating our application of this definition, we will list and explain the voice symbols.

### 5.3.2 The Voice Symbols

The first four of the voice symbols are A for active, M for middle, P for passive, and E for either middle or passive. (See the chart following the introduction for mnemonic help.) A verb is marked A only if it is active in form. Several verbs that, semantically, are stative rather than active are thus marked active: for example, εἶμί and active forms of γίνομαι such as the perfect, γέγονα. To be marked M a verb must have a corresponding active counterpart, be middle in form, and not be passive in meaning. Verbs marked P must have a corresponding active counterpart, be passive in form, and not be middle in meaning. Verbs tagged E are those whose form can be either middle or passive (in the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect tenses only), which have an active counterpart, and whose meaning, in context, does not allow a clear-cut choice between the two.

The primary considerations for these symbols, then, are a verb’s form rather than its meanings and, for M, P, and E, the existence of an active counterpart. The requirements that a middle not be passive in meaning and that a passive not be middle in meaning, mean that for ambiguous forms (i.e. other than future and aorist tenses), lexical and contextual meanings have been consulted. One must remember that, for cases like ἐγείρω (see 5.3.1 above), not all passive forms carry strictly passive meanings. In the overwhelming majority of cases, forms that are

ambiguously middle or passive are clearly one or the other in context. Only about thirty times did we have to use the symbol E.

The other three voice symbols are D for middle deponent, O for passive deponent, and N for either middle or passive deponent. A verb is marked D only if it has no active counterpart and is unambiguously middle in form (that is, in future or aorist tenses). To be marked O a verb must have no active counterpart and be unambiguously passive in form (that is, future or aorist). A verb is tagged N if it has no active counterpart and is ambiguously middle and passive in form (that is, present, imperfect, perfect, or pluperfect).

A verb as a whole is frequently designated in the literature a middle deponent verb if its aorist form is middle and a passive deponent if its aorist form is passive. Thus πυνθάνομαι is called a middle deponent because its aorist is middle in form: ἐπυθόμην. And δύναμαι is called a passive deponent because its aorist is passive in form: ἠδυνήθην. Occasionally a verb is called a middle and passive deponent because in the aorist it has both middle and passive forms (and the aorist passive form is not a true passive, for which see rule 9. section 5.3.3). One example is γίνομαι, which has both an aorist middle (ἔγενόμην) and an aorist passive (ἔγενήθην). We have analyzed each individual verb according to its form. We have not followed the traditional practice of describing a verb *as a whole* as a middle deponent, passive deponent or middle and passive deponent, based on the form of the aorist or future.

Let us illustrate the difference between calling a verb as a whole a certain kind of deponent and calling a particular form of that verb a deponent. Δύναμαι, usually or traditionally called a passive deponent, has one form that is not passive in form but middle: δυνήσονται (future tense). Since it has no active counterpart, it is analyzed as D. Ἔρχομαι has been called a middle deponent. It has been so labeled not on the basis of an aorist middle form (for the aorist is active), but presumably on the basis of the future form, ἐλεύσομαι. In present and imperfect forms, however, we analyze this verb as N (middle or passive deponent).

Whereas there is a certain correspondence between M and D, P and O, and E and N, it is not complete. The differences between the first and second parts of the three pairs are greater than merely that the first is nondeponent and the second deponent. With the first set, M, P, and E, one does refer to meaning in deciding among ambiguous forms; with the second set, one does not. Though E occurs in the New Testament only a few times, N occurs more than 1,600 times. The former symbol (E) says, “We cannot be certain, even after consulting the context, whether to call this word M or P as to meaning”; the latter (N), “The words so marked are ambiguously middle or passive in form.” Why refer to meaning in the first case and not in the second? There is usually a systematic difference

between middle and passive forms when there is an active counterpart to consult. When with deponent forms there is no active counterpart, the deponent forms themselves often seem active in meaning. In the case of an ambiguous deponent form, one can do nothing but label it N. The verb δύναμαι illustrates the pitfalls of trying to decide what the “whole verb” might be.

### 5.3.3 The Rules for Judging Deponency

Certain rules for determining deponency have emerged in the course of this analysis. These ten rules, with commentary, follow:

*Rule 1.* If any active form of a verb is found in first-century Greek, or if it can be inferred for it (because it is found in both earlier Greek and later Koine), then any middle or passive present, imperfect, perfect, or pluperfect forms of that verb are middle or passive, not deponent.

By way of explanation for this rule, we must first explain why some of our rules are formulated in terms of “first-century Greek.” Diagram 1 shows us the alternatives. Because it is well established that language changes, we should not allow classical usage, four hundred or more years removed from the New Testament, to determine whether a verb is deponent. It is possible that during the intervening years an active dropped out of use and thus established deponency for a given verb (or tense of that verb). Or a deponent verb may have developed active counterparts and ceased to be deponent. For the same reasons we should not rest our judgments concerning deponency on Christian-influenced Byzantine Greek. But neither should we say that a verb with no active counterpart in the Greek New Testament must be a deponent. The Greek of the New Testament was the Greek of the New Testament world. Just as the papyri have thrown new light on New Testament vocabulary, so can they aid greatly in the matter of determining deponency. Rhetorical choices laid aside, we have settled for the Greek contemporaneous with the New Testament, roughly that of the first century of the Christian era.

**Diagram 1**

Usage in the classical era	Usage contemporaneous to the New Testament (i.e. in about the first century)	Usage in the New Testament alone
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Lexicons cited earlier have proved invaluable in tracking down this contemporaneous usage. The lexicon of Liddell, Scott, and Jones, while supposedly giving lemmas on the basis of classical or even Homeric Greek alone, has been an excellent resource. BAGD, in our opinion the finest lexicon available for New Testament Greek, has one disturbing shortcoming: It does not explain in its introduction the criteria employed

for selecting lemmas (i.e. the citation form of words). Do they date from the classical period, the Septuagint era, or that of the New Testament and early church? Using BAGD, we have examined every active lemma in the light of contemporaneous usage. We have similarly tested every *nonactive* BAGD lemma that contrasts with a corresponding *active* lemma in Liddell, Scott, and Jones. The results of those searches furnish the basis for our deponency judgments.

Rule 1 states that *any* tense of an active counterpart serves to establish the nondeponency of just those tenses in which middle and passive coincide with respect to form. An aorist active serves to establish the nondeponency of a middle or passive present, for example, but a present active does nothing to establish nondeponency for an aorist middle.

*Rule 2.* If an active form exists in either the future or the aorist tense, active forms are assumed to exist for all other tenses.

Deponency of one or more tenses, but not every tense, is semideponency or partial deponency. Deponency of the future and aorist tenses is, then, semideponency. (There are a few exceptions, usually involving a change of root; for example, ἔρχομαι, ἐλεύσομαι, ἦλθον.) Rule 2, therefore, states that an active form in either the future or aorist tense (the domain of semideponency), assures active forms in every tense and hence rules out any deponency, full or partial.

*Rule 3.* If any active future form of a verb is found in first-century Greek, or if it can be inferred for it, then any middle or passive future forms of that verb are middle or passive, not deponent.

*Rule 4.* If any active aorist form of a verb is found in first-century Greek, or if it can be inferred for it, then any middle or passive aorist forms of that verb are middle or passives, not deponent.

*Rule 5.* If the future passive of a verb is known to be either deponent or nondeponent, then the aorist passive of that verb is the same.

*Rule 6.* If the aorist passive of a verb is known to be either deponent or nondeponent, then the future passive of that verb is the same.

*Rule 7.* If a simple verb is deponent or semideponent, then its compounds are also deponent or at least semideponent in the same tenses.<sup>5</sup>

This last rule says, for instance, that since γίνομαι is deponent, παραγίνομαι will also be deponent. The converse of this rule does not hold. That is, although παραγίνομαι is deponent, it does not necessarily follow that γίνομαι is deponent, though in fact it is. Ἐπιλαμβάνομαι is

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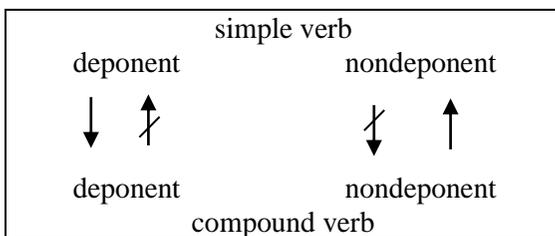
<sup>5</sup> A verb with a prepositional prefix (e.g. συν-, ἐπι-) is called a compound verb.

deponent; but λαμβάνομαι is middle or passive, depending on the context, for there is an active counterpart, λαμβάνω.

*Rule 8.* If a compound verb is nondeponent in all or some tenses, then its simple equivalent is also nondeponent in at least the same tenses.

This rule states, for example, that since ἀναιρέω is nondeponent in all its tenses, then so is αἰρέω. Again, the converse of this rule fails to hold. That is, though σπάω is nondeponent, it does not necessarily follow that περισπάω will be, though in fact it is. Ἐπισπάομαι, on the other hand, is deponent. Rules 7 and 8 are compared in diagram 2. An arrow indicates an “implied” relationship in the direction it points. A slash through an arrow indicates a denial of the relationship. The diagram shows the four possible implications.

**Diagram 2**



*Rule 9.* If a verb is deponent or semideponent, and if there are unambiguously passive forms but no unambiguously middle forms, then all forms are passive deponent. If, however, at least one ambiguous form (middle or passive) or one middle form occurs with a direct object, and if all passive forms lack direct objects, then the ambiguous or middle form(s) with direct object(s) is middle deponent and the passive forms are passives of the middle deponent; any other ambiguous forms must be judged individually.

The first sentence of this rule is not one of our rules for determining deponency but is used by some to determine the label for a verb as a whole (middle deponent or passive deponent). We note it here because of the exception to it contained in the second sentence. We analyze individual verbal deponents by their form: D if unambiguously middle, O if unambiguously passive, N if ambiguous. In a number of cases a passive form of a deponent verb is a true passive. It is marked P (an example of the fourth of five instances listed in 5.3 above). By “true passive” we mean that construction in which the object of an active verb becomes the subject of the passive verb and the subject of the active verb, if retained at all, becomes the agent (expressed in a *by* phrase in English, usually a ὑπό phrase in Greek). “Acts was written by Luke,”

was our illustration in 5.3.1 above. It seems quite appropriate that if a middle or passive deponent has an active meaning, then that deponent, if transitive, can be passivized.<sup>6</sup>

*Rule 10.* Except with a few individual verbs, a ὑπό agent phrase implies that a passive form is nondeponent. One exception is γίνομαι, which, though deponent, can take a ὑπό agent phrase.

A rule that some scholars consider important in determining deponency is this: If a verb has both active forms and middle and/or passive forms, and if the semantic meaning of the former forms is radically different from that of at least some of the latter, then the latter are deponent. For us to accept this rule would mean that we would introduce a number of homonyms. Φαίνω would mean “shine” and φαίνομαι “appear.” We do not deny that homonymy is a common linguistic phenomenon, but we thought it better to allow the reader to determine when meanings are radically different. Two meanings that seem radically different to us may not have seemed so to a first-century Greek-speaking person, who, after all, perceived the world quite differently. A Greek speaker may have agreed that φαίνομαι meaning “appear” and φαίνομαι meaning “be shined on” are homonyms, but he may instead have argued that the verb is unified, that something “appears” when it “is shined on” by something. When BAGD identifies a homonym by giving two or more separate entries (e.g. σύνειμι and σύνειμι), we accept that judgment. When it gives a single lemma and includes in the definition the different senses (e.g. φαίνω, ἀνάγω, κρεμάννυμι), we treat the meaning of passive forms as P and not a separate meaning O.

The application of these rules was rather straightforward. In a few cases there was too little evidence by which to decide. In those few, if the BAGD lemma was active, we considered nonactive forms M, P, or E, as appropriate; if the lemma was nonactive, then D, O, or N. In a few cases we concluded that some supposedly contemporary evidence was in fact Atticistic: these few we discounted in deciding deponency.

### 5.3.4 A Categorization of Verbs

List 1 at the end of this appendix contains five sections. The first consists of those verbs in the Greek New Testament only that have a future middle form rather than future active but in all other respects are

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<sup>6</sup> There are a handful of instances in which a verb marked P actually takes a direct object. The form is marked P because it has an active counterpart; it takes an object because its meaning is no longer the passive meaning of the active counterpart.

regular. In the case of a verb such as ἀκούω or ζάω whose future middle varies with a future active, the middle forms are analyzed as M.

The second section of this list consists of verbs that, though they have active lemmas in BAGD, are, according to our analysis, truly deponent in first-century times. We give them here with nonactive lemmas. When the letter P follows a lemma on this list, it means that *some* forms of this verb occur as true passives. Where these would normally be marked N or O in our analysis, they have been marked P instead.

Section 3 consists of verbs that have active lemmas in BAGD but that are semideponents. These are all future/aorist semideponents and therefore have an active lemma. Again, P means that a passive form may act as a true passive of the deponent.

The next section lists verbs for which BAGD gives nonactive lemmas but for which we find evidence of active forms contemporaneous with the New Testament. Thus we cite the verbs with active lemmas.

The more than two hundred remaining verbs cited in BAGD with nonactive lemmas we have accepted as deponents. Nineteen of these we have found to have *some* instances of true passives (P), and these comprise the final section of the list. All are middle deponents.

#### ***5.4 Case, Gender, Person, and Number in Verbs***

Only participles and articular infinitives exhibit case. Both case and gender positions are empty (-) with finite verbs and nonarticular infinitives. With finite verbs person is indicated by 1, 2, and 3; with participles (the person of which is supplied from context) by 1, 2, and -. A vocative participle is redundantly marked 2.

#### ***5.5 Transliterated Verbs***

Verbs that are transliterated have been analyzed on the basis of their translation equivalent. Εφφαθα is tagged VMAP--2S, based on its translation διανοίχθητι (Mark 7.34). Θα (1Corinthians 16.22) is analyzed as VMAA--2S. These are not Hebrew categories, but empty fillers. They may be ignored.

#### ***5.6 Periphrastic Constructions***

Periphrastic constructions (identified by a plus sign in the direction of the other member of the pair, V+ +V; see 3.8 above) have a base verb whose only purpose is to give grammatical information; it has no semantic content. In our analysis there are two kinds of periphrastic constructions. The first is an empty verb and a participle. The common empty verb is εἰμί, though in several instances in Luke's writings

ὑπάρχω performs this function (Acts 8.16; 19.36); προϋπάρχω (Luke 23.12 and Acts 8.9) seems to bear the semantic component of “previously” and thus isn’t thought periphrastic. We examined possible instances of ἔρχομαι and γίνομαι as the empty verb but found in each case that the potential base added some semantic content. The second kind of periphrastic construction is μέλλω and an infinitive, although this construction indicates some sense of futurity (... was/is going to ...). The form of μέλλω is usually finite or participial, but it may also be infinitival (e.g. Acts 19.27).

In both kinds of constructions the base may be either before or after the related participle or infinitive. Periphrastics range from moderately to highly certain. All constructions analyzed here as periphrastics may be read as having an implied choice. In one case, John 1.9, the choice is spelled out: the participle is either nonperiphrastic (in which case it is accusative and masculine) or periphrastic (nominative and neuter).

### 5.7 Complex Verb Tags

A few verbs require complex tags, some of which have already been noted. Having discussed voice, we may note that in cases of a future deponent used as an imperative, not only must the tense/aspect of the imperative be determined, but also the voice of the derived imperative. Ἔσται is tagged VIFD--3S. But when it is used as an imperative, the voice is active, for there is no deponency in present-tense εἰμί reflexes. Thus the tag reads VIFD--3S^VMPA--3S (e.g. Matthew 20.26). Πορευθήτε (Luke 21.8) is analyzed as VSAO--2P^VMAO--2P, with deponency indicated in both tags because the verb is consistently deponent.

With a number of instances of χαίρω (e.g. Acts 15.23) and one of ἔρωσθε (Acts 15.29) we have added to the tags a functional ^QS on the grounds that the verb is used as a formula of greeting or of taking leave.

In 1Corinthians 16.6 there is an instance of rare accusative absolute (τυχόν). It seems to function adverbially, but it is not given a functional analysis any more than is a reduced genitive absolute.

In a couple of places the literal imperatival force of ἄγε seems diluted and so the verb is tagged VMPA--2S^QS (e.g. James 4.13). With ἴδε the analysis is either VMAA--2S (when the lemma is εἶδον) or QS (when the lemma is ἴδε), whichever is appropriate. The difference between the analyses of ἄγε and ἴδε lies in the former’s being exceptional and the latter’s being regular. Further, ἴδε pairs with ἰδοῦ, which is entirely QS.

Finally, both δεῦρο and δεῦτε are tagged AB^VM in all but one instance (δεῦρο in Romans 1.13—AB^AP-GM-S). Had the verbal function been exceptionless, we would have tagged them all as simply verbs.

Desiring to relate the lone nonverbal instance to the regular usage, we chose AB. This seemed to be the historically sensible base because there is no precedent in our analysis for a verb to be tagged overtly as functioning as a substantive.

## 6 The Analysis of Adverbs

Adverbs take the analysis tag AB. Adverbs with the ending -ως or other formal adverbial characteristics are analyzed AB. So are those that are formally other parts of speech but that are *always* used as adverbs. Κύκλω, for example, though properly a dative noun, has been frozen in form and function as an adverb (much as χάριν is used as a genitive preposition). It differs from νυκτός in that it can, as an adverb, be used as an adjective (as in Luke 9.12, where it is tagged AB^A--AF-P) or be a preposition (Revelation 4.6). The adverbial uses of nouns (genitive, dative, accusative) are left to the reader to supply. Νυκτός is analyzed simply as N-GF-S. Whereas anarthrous nouns used adverbially are not given the functional tag ^AB in our analysis, their near cousins, adjectives, are. Thus μόνον is tagged AP-AN-S^AB when used adverbially. It is analyzed as accusative rather than the morphologically possible nominative, because it seems to be an extension of the accusative of specification among nouns. It is tagged P for pronominal/substantival rather than - for attributive/predicate because the former more nearly approximates the form of a noun, from which the accusative of specification derives. The nominative forms of a few adjectives are used adverbially, which is reflected in the tag (for example εὐθύς, AP-NM-S^AB).

### 6.1 Adverbs Functioning like Adjectives

Adverbs sometimes function like adjectives, whether attributive or substantival, an example being κύκλω (see paragraph above). Adverbs are always analyzed as functioning substantivally when they stand anarthrously in the place of objects of prepositions; for example, ἔως (PG) ἄρτι (AB^AP-GF-S) (1John 2.9). Πρίν, when it stands alone (Matthew 26.34), is tagged AB^CS; when followed by ἦ (CS) (Mark 15.30), simply AB. Δεῦρο and δεῦτε are either AB^VM (for example, Matthew 19.21) or, in one case, AB^AP-GM-S (Romans 1.13). Improper prepositions are properly adverbs. Rather than AB^PG, we tag them simply PG. See list 2 below for a listing of these. Though the basic distinction between PG and AB is that, with a PG a noun (phrase) follows, it is quite possible for an AB to govern a noun (phrase); for example, ἀξίως τοῦ κυρίου (Colossians 1.10).

## 6.2 Subtypes of Adverbs

In addition to the simple adverbs just presented, we recognize the following more finely tuned subtypes: relative adverbs (ABR), indefinite adverbs (ABI), interrogative adverbs (ABT), comparative adverbs (ABM), superlative adverbs (ABS), and ordinal adverbs (ABO). Relative adverbs are really a special subtype of conjunction and are explained below in 10.3. Indefinite adverbs (ποτέ, πού, πώποτε, and πώς) may be used as adjectives; for example, ποτε (ABI^A-IAM-S) (John 9.13). Interrogative adverbs include ίνατί, (λεμά), ὅτι, πόθεν, ποσάκις, πότε, πότερον, ποῦ, and πῶς. One of the most frequent is an interrogative adverb only by function: τί (APTAN-S^ABT). Interrogative adverbs may function as interrogative substantival adjectives following a preposition; for example, ἕως (PG) πότε (ABT^APTGM-S) (Matthew 17.17). Comparative adverbs are tagged ABM (e.g. μᾶλλον) unless a word that is properly a comparative adjective (e.g. ὕστερον) functions like an adverb, in which case it receives a complex tag (e.g. APMAN-S^ABM). Superlative adverbs are limited to three: μάλιστα (ABS), ἥδιστα and τάχιστα (both APSAN-S^ABS). ABM and ABS are employed even when the word might be used elatively rather than as a comparison.

The words that we have analyzed as ordinal adverbs are πρῶτον, δεύτερον, and τρίτον. Τρίτον is analyzed adjectivally in a single instance, Luke 20.12: APOAM-S/APOAN-S^ABO. As we said at the outset, our analysis is primarily one of individual words rather than phrases. Πρῶτον is frequently used adverbially, in which case it is analyzed APOAN-S^ABO. Τὸ πρῶτον, on the other hand, though adverbial, does not receive a functional tag because it consists of two words.

## 7 The Analysis of Adjectives

Adjectivals are doubtless the most complicated part of our analysis. The tags consist of seven positions. Adjectivals typically modify substantives and take the tag A-. Frequently they are pronominal, that is, they stand for a noun. As such they take the tag AP. Compare the phrase τὸν (DAMS) ἀγαθὸν (A--AM-S) ἄνθρωπον (N-AM-S) with the phrase τὸν (DAMS) ἀγαθόν (AP-AM-S). In the latter ἀγαθόν stands for the noun, so the first two letters in the tag are appropriately AP. (We use substantive of anything that is or acts like a noun, whether it be tagged N-, NP, or AP.) An adjective, then, is A- when modifying an overt substantive; it may also be A- in predicate position. If there is no substantive to modify, it becomes the substantive and is tagged AP.

In the analysis we only allow that an adjective modifies a substantive in its own clause, not in a clause some distance away. For example, Paul wrote in 1Corinthians 15.39: οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἢ αὐτὴ σὰρξ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη

(AP-NF-S) μὲν ἀνθρώπων .... The adjective ἄλλη is tagged as it is because in its clause it stands for a substantive (“one [flesh] is of men”). Note that F and N in the fifth position of the adjective tag do not necessarily stand for woman/women and thing(s), respectively, any more than M stands for man/men. The combination of AP and gender indicates only that a substantive is missing and is replaced by the adjective, whether σάρξ or γυνή (F), ῥῆμα or παιδίον (N), κόσμος or ἀνὴρ (M), for example.

An adjective in predicate position may be either AP or A-. According to 2Corinthians 13.5-7 are we ἀδόκιμοι (“disqualified”), A-; or (“counterfeits”), AP? In Luke 7.39 is the woman “sinful” (ἁμαρτωλός), A-; or “a sinner,” AP? Our criterion for choosing between the two (only rarely do we say AP/A-) is this: choose A- unless the context indicates that the predicate adjective is somehow being quantified. That this does not accord with English translations of particular sentences is not our concern. Our purpose is to analyze Greek sentences. A few words, such as numbers, are regularly analyzed in predicate position as AP on the ground that they delimit quantity, not quality.

### ***7.1 Two Adjectives Standing Together***

Where two adjectives stand together with the same number, gender, and case and are accompanied by no noun, there may be confusion as to which is modifier and which is modified. No rule of thumb based on order has been established. When both words are plain descriptive adjectives, our procedure has been to determine according to sense which is to be tagged with a hyphen in the second position. A letter in the third place of an adjectival tag usually means that it is the modifier and has in the second position of its tag a hyphen. Τί and εἷς are examples of adjectives analyzed as modifying; for example, John 1.46: τὶ (A-INN-S) ἀγαθόν (AP-NN-S), “some good thing” rather than “a good something.” The few exceptions and the reasons for them will be evident as the reader encounters them.

### ***7.2 Two- and Three-Termination Adjectives***

Adjectives are usually either two- or three-termination adjectives. Two-termination adjectives put masculine and feminine together in one set of morphological endings and neuter in the other set. Three-termination adjectives, of course, have one morphological set of endings per gender. We mention this as introductory to observing that some three-termination adjectives sometimes behave as two-termination adjectives. For example, see Titus 3.9, where μάταιοι is given the analysis A--NF-P. The particular ending used by Paul can be explained

either by the fact that it is immediately preceded by ἀνωφελεῖς an unambiguous two-termination adjective, which predisposes him to using -οι, or by the fact that μάταιος is occasionally used as if it were of two terminations, a fact noted by BAGD. (Of course, the two explanations are not unrelated.)

### ***7.3 Adjectives Functioning like Nouns***

A few comments given in section 4 above should be reviewed here. Αὐτός is analyzed as two homonyms, one tagged NPNM3S and meaning “self” (an intensifier), the other A--NM-S and meaning “same.” When a construction has the order of NP but the meaning of A-, it receives a functional tag, NP^A-. A few words like ἄκρον, perhaps expected to be adjectives but having apparently lost their adjectival sense, are tagged N-. Others like μοιχαλίζ, although properly nouns, are analyzed as AP or A- due to their use as adjectives. A number of words, properly adjectives in contemporaneous Greek, are left as N- due to their use predominantly as nouns, among them κύριος and its feminine, κυρία.

### ***7.4 Adjectives Followed by Nouns***

Adjectives, like adverbs, need not be considered prepositions or even simply pronominal adjectives for them to be followed by a noun. In English we can say “I am happy with him” or “I am angry about that.” The prepositional phrases “with him” and “about that” modify the adjective. So it is in Greek: ὁ δὲ ... ὁμοίος (A--NM-S) ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ (N-DM-S) (Luke 6.49). The appropriate analysis of ὁμοίος modifying ὁ ἀκούσας ... ποιήσας, is A--NM-S rather than AP-NM-S or AP-NM-S^PD. A similar example is this: ἄξιον (A--AN-S) θανάτου (N-GM-S) (Acts 23.29).<sup>7</sup>

### ***7.5 Cardinals and Ordinals***

The subdivision of adjectivals indicated by the third-place symbol is important because it includes so much: cardinal numbers, ordinals, relatives, indefinites, interrogatives, demonstratives, comparatives, superlatives, and descriptive adjectives. By putting these all in one column we say in effect that they are mutually exclusive. This has worked well as long as we consider πρῶτος and δεῦτερος to be ordinals and not also superlative and comparative, respectively. They have these additional meanings in form, and it can be argued that these are semantic

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<sup>7</sup>In this example, a preceding μηδέν is, exceptionally, considered A-.

components as well. Ὅποιος is analyzed instance by instance as either interrogative or relative.

Cardinals and ordinals are clear-cut. Δευτεραῖος (AP-NM-P) and τεσσερακονταετής (A--NM-S) are, for our purposes, not numbers, but descriptive adjectives and thus -. The indeclinable numbers are assigned case, gender, and person according to their use in context.

## 7.6 Relative Pronouns

### 7.6.1 The Adjectival Function of Relative Pronouns

Relatives function as part of the adjective system in our analysis for two reasons. First, whole relative clauses usually function to modify a noun in the same way an adjective does. Second, a few relatives are simple modifiers (A-R instead of APR) of *following* nouns. Among them are the ἣν found in Matthew 10.11 (A-RAF-S), and the οἴου found in 2Timothy 3.11 (A-RAM-P). Because relatives work analogously to adjectives, they are appropriately placed in the same category. Before discussing relatives, we must make an important digression.

We said in 1.4 above that we distinguish between the grammatical, surface structure of language and its semantic, underlying structure. The grammatical structure is observable, the written or spoken message; the semantic structure represents the meaning of the message. We posit this theoretical construct because there often is, as we have already illustrated, a skewing between meaning and grammar. Because human communication is redundant by nature, information can be absent at the surface level of speech or writing but demonstrably present at the level of meaning.

In the following discussion the term *antecedent* will frequently appear, meaning the substantive that the relative clause modifies. The antecedent is part of the main or “upper” clause to which the relative clause is subordinate. Normally there is an overt antecedent that the relative clause modifies. Frequently, however, the grammatical (or surface) structure contains no antecedent, in which case we supply one as part of the relative-pronoun tag analysis because it is demonstrably part of the semantic structure. When we do this, the “antecedent” will be part of the upper clause semantically, though absent grammatically.

We will label the supplied antecedent APD, that is, a demonstrative pronoun. (The one exception is noted below.) When it comes to translation, we can sometimes even name the antecedent because it is so clearly identified in the context (“write the things/events/scenes that you saw”). But for purposes of the analysis, we use APD (“that [one]/those [things]”). At other times the reference is much less definite. Often this indefiniteness is indicated by an overt marker such as ἕάν or ἄν. But

equally often the referent must be determined from semantics alone without help from grammar. Thus in the sentence καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει ... οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος (Matthew 10.38), our analysis of ὃς is APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S: “That one [supplied antecedent] who [relative] does not take (his cross) ... is not worthy of me.” Semantically the intent is indefinite, “Anyone who ....” Rather than replace relevant APD tags with API, in our discussion we will label all supplied antecedents APD (except first- and second-person relatives, which are NP and for which see below). One reason for this is simplicity. API tags would complicate the tagging formula for those indefinite cases, thus requiring API/APD tags. Also BAGD refers to implied demonstratives even where the referent is clearly an indefinite identity.<sup>8</sup> We leave it to the reader to supply, after considering the context, any indefinite reading.

The relatives in the New Testament include ὃς, ὅστις, οἷος, ὅσοις, and ὅποιος. Though ὅστις had historically been an indefinite relative, by New Testament times it had become parallel in a number of usages with ὃς. (And, as just noted, definite ὃς occasionally has indefinite ὅστις usage.) We take all New Testament relatives as definite and leave it to the reader to identify the indefinite ones. The one exception to this is ὅτι. As a relative it is conventionally written as two words, ὅ τι. Since our analysis is word by word, the separated τι is tagged A-IAN-S (or A-INN-S).

### 7.6.2 The Kinds of Relative Pronouns

Following are illustrations of the various kinds of relatives and our analysis of them:

a. ... Ἰουδᾶν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν ... (Mark 3.19). Since this construction is the normal one, it hardly needs to be mentioned. The main clause has a verb (in 3.16) and an object that is relativized. The following example is similar, except that it makes the relative pronoun the object of a preposition: ... ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν αἰτίαν δι’ ἣν (APRAF-S) ἐνεκάλουν ... (Acts 23.28). This example is so parallel to the following example that it is instructive. The upper clause has a verb and a series of objects, the last one of which is expanded by a relative clause. The relative has as its antecedent “the reason” and the tag APRAF-S.

b. ... ἐπιγνῶ δι’ ἣν (APRAF-S+) αἰτίαν ... (Acts 22.24). In this example the commander wants to know “the reason (αἰτίαν) for (δι’) which (ἣν)” the people are yelling at Paul. The “reason” is clearly contained in the main clause as the object of the verb “to know,” and it is

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<sup>8</sup> BAGD, p.583, under their discussion of ὃς.

elaborated in the relative clause. *Which* reason is it? The one for which the people are yelling at him. For one of several reasons that we will not discuss here, the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause. The relative pronoun is not an adjective modifying “reason” (which reason), but heads a clause, the whole of which modifies “reason” (reason that). The upper clause demands the antecedent for its own sake. The tag includes a right-side plus (+) to indicate the unexpected location of the antecedent (following rather than preceding the relative pronoun).

The above example is an instance of the antecedent being incorporated into (rarely, following) the relative clause. For whatever reasons, this incorporation means that the antecedent is taken out of the upper clause, where it has a grammatical function to fulfill, and placed in the subordinate relative clause. (Note that incorporated antecedents, unlike the antecedent in example *a* (Acts 23.28), consistently appear alone, without any article or modifier they might otherwise have had. See Luke 3.19 as an example of a modifying adjective being left behind in the upper clause.)

c. ... ἐλπίδι ... περὶ ἧς (A-RGF-S) ἐλπίδος ... (Acts 26.6-7). Here the antecedent precedes the relative, which it should semantically. (We say nothing about where an antecedent may or must be in the surface, grammatical structure.) The antecedent is ἐλπίδι in verse 6. An intervening antecedent and relative clause (ἐπαγγελίας ... εἰς ἣν) momentarily distract attention from ἐλπίδι, so when Paul gets to its relative clause, he reestablishes the antecedent. Ἐλπίδος is not being incorporated into the relative clause from the upper clause; it is copied or repeated for emphasis. (We do not deny the possibility that the incorporation of example *b* might be for emphasis, though there are other possibilities.) The relative in example *c* is an adjective modifying the following “hope” and so is tagged A-RGF-S. There is no plus sign because there is no incorporated antecedent (there is no place in the upper clause for the second ἐλπίς).

d. Δι’ ἣν (A-RAF-S) αἰτίαν (2Timothy 1.6). Here there is no prior, upper clause, though αἰτίαν does distill an idea earlier in the discourse. We analyze the relative as an adjective modifying “reason.” There is no plus sign because no incorporation has occurred. In this example the would-be relative clause has no internal verb. We might say that it acts like a conjunction introducing the following clause, though a number of A-R relatives do contain their own verb. At Luke 10.8, for example, εἰς ἣν (A-RAF-S) ἄν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε is followed by the upper clause. This relative clause sets the location for the action of the main clause. The main clause has no antecedent, or even a place for one semantically. Thus the relative pronoun is tagged A-R, modifying the following πόλιν.

Before proceeding with our presentation and analysis of relatives, we must illustrate the importance of correctly identifying the surface markers that relate the propositions of a discourse. At the surface level of language there is a series of sentences, simple or complex, strung together and corporately forming a discourse. At the underlying semantic level there is a series of propositions, central to each of which is a verb (event or state). The propositions are related to each other in definite ways.

“I sing because I am happy” consists of two propositions, “I sing” and “I am happy.” The second is the cause of or reason for the first. At the grammatical level, the relations between propositions are usually expressed by either conjunctions or relative pronouns, though other grammatical devices do exist for this. Here the relation is articulated by the conjunction *because*, a surface relator that joins a reason and a result.

“I like the song that you are singing” also expresses two propositions. “I like the song” and “You are singing the song.” The second proposition identifies the object, “song,” of the first. How propositions are related can determine the message or meaning of that set of propositions. If these two propositions are related in the same way (that is, one identifies a noun in the other) but in opposite order, they convey quite a different meaning. “You are singing the song that I like.” Before the message was that I am pleased by something that is then identified; now it is that you are doing something that is then identified.

Now we may return to the different kinds of relatives. So far we have looked at cases in which: (a) an upper clause (proposition) contains a noun expanded by a relative clause (the normal case); (b) the noun from the upper clause is incorporated into the relative clause, for whatever reason; (c) the antecedent is repeated or copied in the relative clause; and (d) in the absence of a relative clause, the would-be antecedent of the main (upper) clause stands without subordination and the relative pronoun relates to it as an adjective. The next kind is quite frequent: (e) the relative pronoun acts as both antecedent of the upper clause and relative pronoun to its own clause.

e. ... ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ (APRAN-P^APDAN-P&APRAN-P) βλέπετε ... (Matthew 13.17). In the main clause we have people longing to see something; in the relative clause, the identity of that something. Semantically ἃ relates both ways, which the tag reflects. It is a relative pronoun (APRAN-P) used as (^) its own antecedent (APDAN-P) and (&) as a relative pronoun (APRAN-P). Though the complex tag contains three simple tags, it is a one-unit formal analysis (to the left of ^) and a two-unit functional analysis. The case assignment is entirely accusative because the two sides joined by ἃ both need an object in the relative pronoun. Compare Revelation 1.19, where the first relative pronoun is

entirely accusative in its analysis (objects of “write” and “see”). The second  $\alpha$ , however, is APRNN-P^APDAN-P&APRNN-P because the relative pronoun itself is the nominative subject of εἶσιν, while the supplied antecedent is the accusative object of “write.” With rare exceptions (e.g. ἕως οὗ constructions through assimilation), the formal analysis is identical with at least one unit of the functional analysis.

f. In a significant number of cases, the relative clause begins the sentence. Some have said that in this situation the relative pronoun itself functions as a substantive, and we would not argue. We have chosen, however, to supply in the complex tag of the appropriate relative pronouns both the expected “relative tag” (which relates to the verb in the subordinate, relative clause) and an “antecedent tag” (which relates to the verb in the upper clause). We have done this because our analysis is of words rather than phrases (or clauses) and because, at the semantic level of propositions, two events and/or states need to be related. The upper-clause connection for these relative clauses at the beginning of sentences follows the relative clause. There are several subtypes:

f<sup>1</sup>. ... ὃς (APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S) οὐ λαμβάνει ... οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος (Matthew 10.38). This clause was given in 7.6.1 above as an example of a semantically indefinite relative clause. The relative clause in this subtype acts like the subject of the sentence, though it could take any number of noun functions. It differs from other subtypes in that no overt word in the following upper clause can be identified as the semantic antecedent for the relative clause.

f<sup>2</sup>. ... ὃν (APRDM-S+) παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν (Luke 12.48). In this subtype the semantic antecedent (alternately, the grammatical resumer) of the relative clause is contained overtly within the upper clause. “They will demand more of him” is the main clause; the relative clause identifies “him.” Thus, “they will demand more of him to whom much has been entrusted.” Since the antecedent (or resumer) of the relative is present but does not precede it as expected, a plus sign follows the tag. That a pronoun can be expanded by a relative clause is clear (see Acts 19.27; John 10.35; Hebrews 2.10; 4.13).

f<sup>3</sup>. ... ἃ (APRAN-P+) ἤκουσας ... ταῦτα παράθου ... (2Timothy 2.2). In this correlative construction the needed semantic antecedent for ἃ is ταῦτα. Semantically, then, it reads, “Entrust these things that you have heard ....” Again a plus sign shows the antecedent’s location, which, while unexpected for antecedents in general, is expected for a correlative construction. The extended analysis APRAN-P^APDAN-P&APRAN-P could have been used in place of the simple APRAN-P+. In the complex tag the antecedent supplied in the analysis is *repeated* (hence, resumer as an alternate expression in f<sup>2</sup> and f<sup>3</sup>) in ταῦτα. We choose the simpler analysis, wanting to supply as few missing pieces of the semantic

structure as possible. But there are other examples of support for the repetition of the antecedent (see Luke 12.8, 10, 48a).

Grammatically the subclasses of *f* are relative clauses acting like substantives. The pronoun in the following upper clause ( $f^2$  and  $f^3$ ) shows the grammatical relation of the substantive. The pronoun that follows may be viewed as a resumer. Semantically the subclasses of *f* are relative clauses that comment on or identify further the “antecedent” in the upper or main clause. They play no semantic function apart from setting up the identity of the grammatical pronoun to which they point in the main proposition.

In looking for antecedents to which to relate relative pronouns, remember that anything substantive in the *preceding* context qualifies without regard to how far back it appears or how the words are punctuated. See, for example, Luke 23.18-19, where Barabbas, whose name the angry mob is crying, is the antecedent for the author’s parenthetical comment immediately following. Sometimes the antecedent is a preceding thought or phrase; in Ephesians 6.2 it is the quoted commandment. If the antecedent is in the *following* context, any substantive is acceptable that relates directly to the main verb. This includes subjects, objects, indirect objects, and objects of prepositions. The last-named possibility is illustrated in Matthew 5.41: “Go two miles with *him* [antecedent] *who* forces you to go one.” We have disallowed one case of following “antecedent”: when a pronoun or noun relates not to the main verb of the upper clause, but to another noun that in turn relates to the main verb. For example, in Matthew 10.42 the only overt substantive in the upper clause to which the relative phrase might be tied is the pronoun  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , which modifies  $\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\iota\sigma\theta\omicron\nu$ . It makes no sense to call that pronoun the antecedent: “He will never lose the reward of him (= his) who gives one of these little ones a cup of cold water to drink.” The relative clause relates to the subject of the sentence, which Greek need not supply, rather than to the overt second-level pronoun  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . Therefore, our analysis supplies the necessary semantic antecedent, APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S, rather than erroneously tying the relative clause to the overt pronoun  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , APRNM-S+. Although a number of interesting antecedents could be cited, we will mention only one. In 1 Timothy 6.10  $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$  is an apparent antecedent to the following relative clause. Actually, only a component of the word is antecedent,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . To indicate this our working analysis gives the relative pronoun  $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  the tag APRGF-S^APDGN-S&APRGN-S to indicate that  $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\gamma\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$  and the semantic antecedent  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  are different. Note the change in gender represented in the complex tag. Very rarely do we indicate gender assimilation.

g. Relative pronouns may function quite differently from the ways already presented. In some cases (e.g. ἀνθ' ὧν and ἐφ' ᾧ), the relative pronoun, together with the preceding preposition, acts as a conjunction of sorts. Because this involves two words, we do not indicate conjunction status for the relative pronoun. We do, however, mark it as a pronoun (e.g. APRGN-P^NPGN3P). The relative pronoun and its governing preposition together conjoin two clauses. Examples are Luke 1.20, Philippians 4.10 and Acts 12.23.

A related case is phrases like ὅσον χρόνον, which join two clauses (e.g. Mark 2.19) and express extent or duration. Grammatically χρόνον has been incorporated into the relative clause. Χρόνον is accusative of time during which; ὅσον identifies the time that is meant. The relative is tagged APRAM-S+.

h. Relative pronouns may also function as demonstrative pronouns: for example, οὗς (APRAM-P^APDAM-P) δέ ... (Acts 27.44). With few exceptions the relative pronoun is in this case followed by μέν or δέ. The exceptions are not translated in the usual way, “some this ... some that,” but, as in 1Timothy 3.16, “he.” In this verse Paul may be quoting an early Christian hymn, an earlier stanza of which referred to Christ.

Our analyses for relatives without antecedents usually consist of three simple tags, as noted above. When a relative pronoun is without an antecedent and is immediately preceded by a preposition, either the implied antecedent is the object of the preposition or it is not. In the first case, the order of the tags is as already indicated; in the second, it differs.

As for the first case, two subtypes exist. In subtype *a*, illustrated by 1Corinthians 10.30, the preposition governs both the implied antecedent and the relative pronoun: “... *because of that for which* ...” A full surface structure reflecting the semantic structure might have been, ... βλασφημοῦμαι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ.<sup>9</sup> Not repeating an identical (or even a related) preposition is common in language, if not required. In subtype *b* the preposition governs only the supplied antecedent, not the relative. For example, the frequent ἕως οὗ receives the relative tag APRGM-S^APDGM-S&APRDM-S, representing the semantic structure “until that time at which ...” Ἐως governs only the supplied antecedent, “that time.” The relative pronoun is not governed by ἕως, though it is attracted to it in case. Semantically its case is dative, “time at which.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ἐως οὗ and similar constructions act as conjunctions, say, “until.” We have analyzed them as preposition and relative both because we analyze each word and because in many examples the antecedent does *not* get lost in the

The antecedent to be supplied is sometimes, as noted above, not the object of the preposition. It is not governed by the preposition. A good example is: οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ... (John 1.30). The semantic structure, then, is: “This is *that one* concerning whom ...” To indicate that the antecedent is not governed by ὑπὲρ, we have in these relatively few cases *inverted* the functional tags, putting the relative tag first, the antecedent tag second: APRGM-S^APRGM-S&APDNM-S (notice the nominative case in the antecedent tag). This puts the antecedent tag farther, if anything, from the left of the preposition, where it should be. We do this simply to make a distinction. Let us offer a preposterous explanation for this order: The missing antecedent was incorporated into the relative clause and then deleted. The order reflects a situation in which an antecedent has been incorporated. We use no plus sign because there is no real antecedent. Compare carefully the tags for 1Corinthians 10.30 and John 1.30. In the former the antecedent is governed by the preposition: ὑπὲρ PG οὗ APRGN-S^APDGN-S&APRGN-S. In the latter the antecedent is outside the preposition: ὑπὲρ PG οὗ APRGM-S^APRGM-S&APDNM-S. The antecedent tag is, in each case, italicized.

After referring to John 1.30, it is appropriate to mention that there is a semantic distinction between the nearly identical cases of needing to supply an antecedent in the tag and already having an overt antecedent. These cases occur with εἰμί. John 1.30 seems to say “*This one is that one* concerning whom I said,” not “There exists this one concerning whom I said ...” In Luke 13.30, however, no antecedent other than ἔσχατοι is needed; none is supplied. It says, “There are last ones who will be first,” not “The ones who will be first are [now] last.” An analysis of relatives must reflect this difference. One is a statement of equivalence (“X is Y,” “X equals Y”), the other of existence (“X is,” “X exists”). The tag for ἔσχατοι Luke 13.30 is simply APRNM-P.

Relatives are often attracted to the antecedent (even if it is missing) in case, gender, and number. Our analysis reflects this for case, but not necessarily for number and gender. In the phrase λόγου οὗ ... εἶπον (John 15.20), the relative is attracted to the case of its antecedent and is tagged APRGM-S^APRAM-S. We have not indicated “discrepancies” for number and gender, whether they involve attraction, anticipation, or some other

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surface grammatical structure. This says to us that the parts had not yet lost all identity to the whole. With respect to the case of the relative, which seems regularly to be attracted to the case of the preposition, we examined each of the thirty-six New Testament instances to see if it was genitive (at sometime within which), accusative (all during that period), or dative (at that time). As nearly as we could tell, five were accusative, the rest dative.

explanation, because there is a high degree of correlation between the grammatical discrepancy and the semantic meaning. For example, grammatical gender is frequently overridden by natural gender, as in τέκνα (neuter) μου, οὗς (masculine) ... (Galatians 4.19).

The relatives of our analysis show person, though no morphological distinction is involved. Since relatives as nouns are third person, which among adjectives is indicated by -, we only need to add 1 for first person and 2 for second where relevant. In the example cited immediately above, οὗς is tagged APRAM2P. We supply a demonstrative-class tag when the relative pronoun functions as an antecedent. The exceptions are first and second person relatives, for which the antecedent we supply is NP to accord with the tags of regular pronouns: for example, in Romans 6.3 the tag is APRNM1P^NPNM1P&APRNM1P. (See also Philippians 3.15, Galatians 3.27.)

To what may the supplied antecedent in a working analysis relate? In many cases, after some intervening material it relates to an upper clause that follows. Ὅς ἄν in Matthew 15.5 relates through the supplied antecedent to the beginning of verse 6, with an extended relative clause intervening. Ὅ ἐάν (also in verse 5), with its supplied antecedent, relates by virtue of its being part of a verbless equative clause to δῶρον. It is not δῶρον ὃ (APRAN-S), but rather “That thing [supplied antecedent] that you might have gained (is) a gift.” In other cases an antecedent is supplied that is consistent with the meaning of the verse, but that is never tied in with the sentence itself. For example, Matthew 23.16 quotes the blind guides as saying ὃς ἄν .... There is clearly no antecedent, preceding or following, but this relative clause sets up an identity. That identity is never established, however, for the sentence then comments on the action of swearing rather than on the one who swears. The antecedent is left hanging. Thus the working analysis is APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S rather than the simple relative tag, which implies an antecedent and a tie-in with the sentence.

Let us conclude by summarizing our analyses of relatives:

1 (a). Simple relative tag, e.g. APRAN-S. This says there is a preceding overt antecedent.

2 (b, f<sup>2</sup>, f<sup>3</sup>). Simple relative tag with plus sign, e.g. APRAN-S+. This says that there is an antecedent but that it is to the right of the relative pronoun.

3 (c, d). Simple relative adjective, e.g. A-RAN-S. This says that the following word is either without upper clause and (therefore) antecedent or that there is a preceding antecedent of which the following word is a copy or repetition.

4 (e, f<sup>1</sup>). Complex relative tag, e.g., APRAN-S^APDAN-S&APRAN-S. This says that an antecedent is missing grammatically but is to be supplied in the tag.

5 (g). Relative used as pronoun, e.g. APRAN-S^NPAN3S. This says either that the relative serves as a pronoun in one clause and does not relate two clauses, or that with a preceding preposition the relative acts as a conjunction.

6 (h). Relative used as a demonstrative, e.g. APRAN-S^APDAN-S. This is usually a “some this ... some that” construction.

7. Another kind of relative, one not yet mentioned, is the totally reduced relative that is being used adverbially (see e.g. Hebrews 10.37). Since it has an antecedent, it has the simple relative tag.

Let us also review the three situations in which the tag of the relative pronoun has a plus sign: 1 (b), that in which the upper clause is preceding and out of which the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause; 2 (f<sup>2</sup>), that in which the upper clause follows the relative clause and contains the semantic antecedent of the relative; 3 (f<sup>3</sup>), that which is correlative, in which τοὔτο or an equivalent follows the relative clause either to be the antecedent (by one analysis) or to focus and emphasize a preceding and supplied antecedent (by another analysis).

### ***7.7 Indefinite Adjectives***

Much less complex than relative adjectives are indefinite adjectives. These are limited to reflexes of τῖς and τί, and a single use of the indefinite adverb ποτέ as an attributive adjective.

A reflex of τῖς and τί can either stand alone as its own pronoun (API) or it can modify some substantive as A-I. Though our text follows the third corrected edition of The Greek New Testament, in matters of accenting we have analyzed an occasional indefinite or interrogative as either. For example τινᾶ (Hebrews 5.12) can alternately be read as τίνα; thus the tag APIAM-S!APTNN-P is appropriate. Indefinites, by their very meaning, cannot be first or second person, so each one is marked - in the person slot to indicate third person.

### ***7.8 Interrogative Adjectives***

Interrogatives are included in the adjectival system because they can modify substantives in the same way that other members of the adjective system can. This category is populated by τίς and τί as well as any other adjective that asks a question.

The interrogative versus indefinite status of πού and πώς, like that of τίς and τι, is determined by accent. When it is unclear which inter-

pretation is supported by the context, we have indicated this, e.g. in Romans 8.24: τίς (APTNM-S!APINM-S).

### ***7.9 Demonstrative Adjectives***

Demonstratives include both the usual, explicit demonstratives and those that are only functionally so (like the posited antecedents of relatives). A demonstrative may be a modifier or a substantive. If it modifies a substantive, it must be tagged A-D. If it stands alone, whether as subject, predicate, or anything else, it must have the tag APD, that is, “this/that/such a (thing/person/one).” Demonstratives are only marked as third person. Though from an English point of view they sometimes function adverbially, they receive no functional tags. In this respect, they are *unlike* regular adjectives, which may be marked ^AB; and they are *like* regular nouns, which, when used adverbially, are *not* marked ^AB.

### ***7.10 Comparative and Superlative Adjectives***

Comparatives and superlatives must be that by form, and they must be comparative, superlative, or relative by meaning. Some adjectives are comparative in meaning but not in form (e.g. περισσός). The third position in their tags is left in the positive degree (-). And some adjectives are comparative in form but not in meaning (e.g. πρεσβύτερος when used as an official title, “elder”). These also are left in the positive degree. Πρώτος is not tagged as superlative, nor δεύτερος as comparative.

### ***7.11 Descriptive Adjectives***

All adjectives that are not numbers and are not relative, indefinite, interrogative, demonstrative, comparative, or superlative are descriptive adjectives. They receive a hyphen in the third place of their tag. They also all receive a hyphen in the sixth (person) place of the tag, except possessive adjectives, whose *meaning* is itself first or second person. The possessive adjectives are reflexes of ἐμός, ἡμέτερος, σός, and ὑμέτερος. We have given them person designations according to their meaning. For example, ἐμῶ is tagged A--DM1S in John 8.31. The 1 follows from the first-person meaning of the form. Other adjectives are *not* analyzed with 1 or 2 where otherwise appropriate, though they might have been. For example, πάντες (1Corinthians 8.1) might be expected to be AP-NM1P in our analysis, but is instead AP-NM-P.

When a particular form of an adjective gives us leeway as to gender, we select the gender of the substantive to be supplied. Thus where in John 2.10 anarthrous ἄρτι serves as a substantive, we tag it feminine because we assume the missing substantive to be ὥρα; thus for example,

ἔως (PG) ἄρτι (AB^AP-GF-S). Alternately, it might have been masculine, representing a missing χρόνος or καιρός.

## 8 The Analysis of Determiners (Definite Articles)

In its regular analysis a determiner, or definite article, is not complicated. It may be any of five cases, three genders, and two numbers. We consider ὃ a particle (QS), not a vocative article. The vocative article is the corresponding nominative article when used vocatively. In this case the article is simply DV rather than DN^DV. Determiners serve infrequently as demonstratives (which was their original function), as does ὁ (DNMS^APDNM-S) in 1Corinthians 7.7. In the nominative case, followed by δέ or μέν and when there is no overt substantive, it points to a previously mentioned referent.

### 8.1 Determiners Followed by Noncongruent Vocabulary

Occasionally an article is followed by a noncongruent word, usually of different gender, number, or case. This occurs in three distinct situations or constructions, each deserving comment. The first is exemplified in Mark 12.17: τὰ (DANP) Καίσαρος (N-GM-S). Clearly “things” or some equivalent might be supplied to give the necessary sense, “the things of Caesar” or “Caesar’s things.” We chose not to indicate this in the tags, neither in the determiner tag as DANP^DANP&N-AN-P nor in the noun tag as N-AN-P&N-GM-S. In the second construction the article is followed by a phrase. This is usually a prepositional phrase, as in Mark 13.16: ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄγρον. Here the article ὁ is simply marked DNMS; we do not represent “man” or “one” in the determiner tag or anywhere else.

In the third construction the article is followed by a single word, usually an adverb. Here we do represent the missing noun in the tag. For example, τὸ (DANS) ἔσωθεν (AB^AP-AN-S) in Luke 11.40. The degree of difference between this third type and the first is slight, but it does exist. In the third type adverbs function as adjectives, something they regularly do (cf. Acts 26.11 εἰς τὰς ἔξω [AB^A--AF-P] πόλεις). In the first, either a noun would have to function as another noun (N-GM-S^N-AN-P) or it would be both itself and something else (N-GM-S&N-AN-P); no independent motivation exists for either of these analyses.

### 8.2 Determiners as Pronouns

Determiners can also be used like pronouns. This function is limited to nominative-case determiners and must be followed by μέν or δέ. It is a narrative device to reintroduce a participant into the role of actor (hence the nominative case). These determiners, when functioning like pronouns

(e.g. ὁ, DNMS^NPNM3S) and followed by participles, look very much like articular participles, introduced in 8.3 below. A determiner functioning like a pronoun serves to reintroduce someone who has already been identified; an articular participle, by means of the participle, serves to point out someone. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εἶπεν (Matthew 9.12) is ambiguous apart from context. It can mean “But when he heard (this), he said ...” or “The one who heard (this) said ....” In the first case the speaker is a definite individual identified earlier in the context. In the second, a definite speaker is being introduced, for the first time, at this point. Both are similarly tagged: the former is marked with derived pronoun function, the latter with similar conventions introduced next.

### ***8.3 Determiners as Relative Pronouns (Articular Participles)***

Our analysis views determiners as serving as relative pronouns in a manner analogous to real relative pronouns, but only when they are followed by a participle. These articular participles are very much parallel to relative clauses, and our analysis of them reflects this parallelism. Strong evidence of both a semantic and a grammatical nature supports this approach to articular participles. Rather than giving the evidence, we will simply explain our analysis.

Articular participles, like relative clauses, are a grammatical device for relating two clauses through a noun. Take, for example, this sentence: ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ μένει (1John 2.10). It has two verbs and therefore two clauses that need to be related. The main verb is μένει. It makes a statement so that the main clause reads, “(someone) remains in the light.” The articular participle serves to identify that someone: “he who loves his brother.” The tags we give to the words in this sentence are all predictable except for the tag for the first article, in which we relate the clauses: DNMS^NPNM3S&APRNM-S. The complex tag is to be read: the article functions like a noun substitute (the antecedent, if we may say so) and a relative pronoun. The chief difference between this derived relative pronoun and a real one is that the former takes a participle as its verb form, the latter a finite verb. Approximately sixty percent of the articular participles in the Greek New Testament are of the kind just presented, with the semantic antecedent supplied in the tag. Though the overwhelming majority of them are nominative case, they can be any of the five cases. For example: ὁ θεωρῶν ἐμὲ θεωρεῖ τὸν πέμψαντά με (John 12.45). Though this sentence has two articular participles, we are interested here only in the second, which is accusative. “The one seeing me sees (someone).” Who is that someone? “It is the one who sent me.” The analysis of τὸν is DAMS^NPAM3S&APRNM-S, which means that the article functions like a noun substitute (the object of θεωρεῖ) and a relative pronoun (the subject of

πέμψαντά). It is very interesting that derived relative pronouns always act like the subject of the following participle, for which reason they receive a nominative-case tag, here APRNM-S. Whereas a real relative pronoun may stand in any relationship to the verb of the subordinated clause, an article followed by a participle may only function as the participle's subject. If the participle is passive, then the article used as a relative is still that participle's grammatical subject.

Another thirty-five percent of the articular participles have their own antecedents preceding them in the Greek text. For example, in this sentence, ... τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς (DGFS^APRNF-S) δοθείσης μοι ... (Ephesians 3.7), “grace” is the antecedent. Because the antecedent is overt, the repeated genitive feminine article is analyzed only as an article used as a relative. Notice again that the case of the functional relative is nominative, the subject of the passive participle. This example is normal in that the case of the repeated article is the same as that of its antecedent. The case need not be the same, however, as numerous instances in Revelation confirm. an instance from Colossians might be more convincing: ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ (N-GM-S) ... ὁ (DNMS^APRNM-S) καὶ δηλώσας (1.7-8). (The intervening relative clause might have conditioned the case of the article. Notice, incidentally, the two comments about Epaphras, one in a real relative clause, the other in a functional one.) Articular-participle-derived relative clauses may also have pronouns as their antecedents: αὐτῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ στείρᾳ (Luke 1.36).

Another similarity with relative clauses is that articular participles may have their “antecedents” following (rather than preceding) them. Constructions of this type constitute the remaining five percent. Most readers will quickly recognize this as a case of the participle being used as an attributive adjective, that is, article-participle-as-adjective-noun. At the very least this is a relative construction when viewed semantically. And there are also grammatical indications that it is. For example, several words that can fill the position of the substantive would not qualify if the participle were replaced with an adjective. Among these are ἐμοί (τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοί, Romans 7.21) and τοῦτο (τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο, Luke 20.17). In the few such cases, we have given the article a functional tag with a plus sign. Thus τὸ in Luke 20.17 has the working-analysis tag of DNNS^APRNN-S+. One recurring instance of a following substantive is the correlative-like construction in which the identity of a person or thing is expressed in an articular participle, which in a following reflex of οὗτος or a similar demonstrative is made to join a main clause. For example, ὁ (DNMS^APRNM-S+) πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ ... κάκεῖνος ποιῆσει (John 14.12). This construction parallels that of 7.6.2, subclass f<sup>3</sup>.

In analyzing articular participles the way we do, we are making no claims about how they should be translated. Our only claim is that semantically these constructions parallel real relative constructions. We have so analyzed all articular participles, no matter how reduced they are; for example, τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ (DGMS^APRNM-S) ζῶντος (Matthew 26.63). Let us look at three nearly identical constructions and the implications they raise. Hebrews 10.34 reads: τῶν (DGNP^NPGN3P&APRNN-P) ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν. “Your possessions” is a translation that would probably be widely accepted, and yet our analysis seems to force the translation, “the things that exist of yours.” Ὑμῶν, rather than ὑμῖν, follows the participle, and this seems to tip the scales toward taking the participle as a substantive and forgetting any relative construction. (See Luke 12.1, however, where the antecedent is possessed by a phrase, τῶν Φαρισαίων, that is cut off from it by a real relative clause.) Second, Luke 19.8 is similar, but with the possessor preceding the participial construction: μου τῶν (DGNP^NPGN3P&APRNN-P) ὑπαρχόντων. Finally, Luke 8.3 gives a more convincing relative construction, with a dative pronoun replacing the genitive: τῶν (DGNP^NPGN3P&APRNN-P) ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς. Here the possessor is within the participial construction, as seen in clauses with finite ὑπάρχω. The examples we have just inspected show the range and variability of these constructions, being possessed within or without, and where the pronoun relates to the participle as verb or to the antecedent implicit within the article. One must be alert to these articular participles, remembering that our working analysis is based on semantic function, not grammatical form.

Observe the three following constructions: (1) πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποιοῦσι, (2) πάντες οἱ ποιοῦσι, and (3) πάντες οἱ ποιοῦντες. In the first, πάντες is tagged A--NM-P without controversy; in the second, πάντες is AP-NM-P as substantival with a following relative clause. How should it be tagged in the third? The most typical response, because this construction is parallel with the first, is A--NM-P. This analysis is possible, and in keeping with it our relative analysis of the adjoining article in the articular participle would then be DNMP^NPNM3P&APRNM-P, “all-ones-who.” We have chosen, however, to analyze it as AP-NM-P. This has the advantage of shortening our article tag to DNMP^APRNM-P (“all-who”). But more importantly it maintains the extensive parallel between true relatives and articular participles, because πάντες cannot reasonably be A--NM-P in the middle construction.

In Luke 1.35 and Matthew 2.2 we had to decide whether the articular participle contains in the article the antecedent to the construction and ἅγιον and βασιλεὺς, respectively, are complements to the participles; or whether these last named are the (following) semantic antecedents such constructions require. Our usual rule of thumb is to take καλέω and

λέγω, and especially passive instances, as requiring a complement and so, where an antecedent is lacking, to supply it in the tag. In fact, in Matthew 2.2 we decided in favor of the first possibility and in Luke 1.35 in favor of the second. Other cases are also analyzed individually.

Articular participles, like real relative clauses, can be left hanging. See, for example, Hebrews 1.7, where ὁ (DNMS^NPNM3S&APRNM-S) ποιῶν has no main clause to which to relate. In the original context for this phrase (Psalm 104), nothing is left hanging.

In several places our relative analysis of articular participles runs into apparent trouble: 1Timothy 4.3 and Romans 2.8. In these passages a single article governs a set of one adjective (or prepositional phrase) and one participle joined by καί. The complex tag DNMP&DNMP^NPNM3P&APRNM-P is our solution to the problem of an article that works two ways.

These examples raise the general question: Do not adjectives work the same way articular participles work? And if they do, should they not receive similar treatment? At the very deepest, most abstract level of language, adjectives are viewed as parts of relative clauses. “The happy child” is viewed as “the child who is happy.” From this same viewpoint the relative and the verb “to be” are lost and the adjective is transposed into attributive position. How this might work in practice is not our concern. It is enough to note that copula verbs are often missing in Greek; other verbs are missing much less often. This accords with what we find concerning adjectives and articular participles. Adjectives in attributive position can be viewed as abstract relative clauses with εἰμί or even as articular-participle derived relatives with ὢν. The verb of being is lost and an adjective results. When the copula is not deleted, we have either a true relative clause with εἰμί (1John 2.8) or an articular participle with ὢν (2Corinthians 11.31). (Note, incidentally, that these immediately foregoing examples have some adjunct information. For example, “... true in him.” A lone adjective, it seems, must lose its relative-clause trappings. They may be retained with adjunct material or with an indication of time other than present. For example, see John 9.24.) Real and derived relative clauses with verbs other than εἰμί cannot have their verbs deleted without losing some element of their meaning. Thus their verbs are retained. Therefore, we hold that there is a difference between attributive adjectives and articular participles that warrants different treatment. Titus 1.15 is the only other example of this type. It is different in that the participle comes first. We have not expanded the tag here as in the above examples. Let an understood ὄντοις make the adjective parallel with the participle through the same derived-relative-pronoun tag.

Articular participles can be first- or second-person constructions in the same way as real relatives can. When a first- or second-person personal pronoun is on one side of an equivalence statement (εἰμί) and an articular participle is on the other, we have extended the first or second person of the pronoun across the equivalence to the derived relative construction. Thus in John 6.51 Jesus claims to be the living bread that came down from heaven. The two relevant articles in this verse, ὁ, are tagged DNMS^APRNM1S. This analysis is given in the case of either claimed or denied identity, but not of questioned identity (“Are you ...?”). The reason why such an articular participle can be marked 1 or 2 (on the participle) when complement (predicate) to a personal pronoun and a form of εἰμί is seen in John 8.18. The reflexive pronoun ἑαυτοῦ, rather than ἐμοῦ, gives strong evidence that ὁ μαρτυρῶν should be considered first person. In many of these constructions, it is as if the first- or second-person reflex of εἰμί should be read “It is I/you” and the articular participle is as if a simple functioning relative with the overt personal pronoun as antecedent.

As with providing antecedents for true relatives that involve εἰμί, so with the so-called functional relatives: one must ask whether the writer is predicating equivalence or existence. In Galatians 1.7 Paul predicates only existence. He is not saying that “some are the ones who ...” or that “the ones who ... are some.” Rather he is saying that some ones exist; the articular participle identifies the “some ones.” Because the antecedent is overt, the article is tagged DNMP^APRNM-P. In Mark 4.16 Jesus asserts equivalence rather than existence: “These are equivalent to the ones who ...” Here the article is tagged DNMP^NPNM3P&APRNM-P because no antecedent is available. In those cases where either existence or equivalence is possible, we have picked one based on our judgment of the discourse requirements.

Our analysis of derived relative pronouns stops with participles that have the definite article. Many participles have no governing article, and these too must bear some relation to finite verbs. We have not analyzed these. Some, even though they lack an article, may be related as semantic relatives to the main verb. Many of these are not related to the main verb through the noun, but bear to the verb instead an adverbial relationship. These remain untouched except for the analysis of the form itself.

## 9 The Analysis of Prepositions

Prepositions are an uncontroversial lot. When a preposition is not followed by a noun or noun phrase, it is instead an adverb, which usually relates to the verb. When a preposition by form acts like an adjective (whether substantival or not), we consider it an adverb used as an

adjective rather than a preposition used as an adjective. Because prepositions may function as adverbs and adjectives when not followed by a noun, one might think that adverbs and adjectives should be considered prepositions when they relate a following noun to the rest of the sentence. As was shown in the discussions of adverbs and adjectives, this is not the case. A preposition implies an adverb (which in turn implies an adjective) in the right circumstances; the converse is not true. No adjective functions as a preposition in our analysis except the adjective μέσον, which is analyzed as a preposition in one instance (Philippians 2.15).

The list of prepositions at the end of the appendix (list 2) shows at a glance what words we accept as prepositions. It also reveals the distribution of prepositions with respect to case governance and shows the other analyses of any given form. Whether etymologically related or not, parenthesized tags show other forms that happen to coincide (apart from accentuation) with a preposition. Notice that four prepositions may also serve as conjunctions.

## 10 The Analysis of Conjunctions

Our analysis of conjunctions and particles probably diverges farthest from traditional expectations. Some words commonly considered conjunctions and particles should be, by one reckoning or another, adverbs, prepositions, interjections, interrogatives, adjectives, and verbs. To further complicate matters, a given word may function now in one respect and now in another. Lists 3 and 5 below summarize the words we count as conjunctions and particles, showing their other possible uses and their distribution in our system. For a word to be included on these lists it must occur at least once as a particle or conjunction, and not just derivatively (that is, ^X).

The propositions of language do not all carry the same weight. Because we have differing messages to convey and because not everything we have to say is of equal importance, some of our statements are more central to our message, others more peripheral. Some are more prominent, others less prominent. The structure of language is quite discoverable, allowing us to separate the irreducible core from the nonprimary information. Propositions are related to one another, X to Y, Y to Z, and so forth. One means for relating them is grammatical conjunctions, and this is a very important means in a language like Koine Greek. Keep in mind that two propositions can be related in the same way either by a conjunction or by nothing: (a) “It’s going to be a good year for farmers. The spring rains were abundant.” (b) “It’s going to be a good year for farmers *because* the spring rains were abundant.” Also remember that one conjunction can signal more than one relationship: (a)

“He died *that* I might live;” (b) “He said *that* I should go.” In *a* the conjunction denotes purpose, in *b* the conjunction points simply to the content of the verb *say*.

### ***10.1 Coordinate, Subordinate, and Superordinate Conjunctions***

Although there is a finite set of interpropositional relations, which Callow discusses in *Man and Message*, we have limited ourselves to those expressed by conjunctions. Rather than name each relevant relation as encountered, we have instead identified each conjunction by its clause’s level of prominence relative to the adjacent clause. Traditionally grammar has recognized just two relationships: a structure coordinate with another and a structure subordinate to another. Our analysis differs in two significant respects. First, we complete the logical possibilities by adding a third relationship, a structure superordinate to another. (Coordination is indicated by a C in the second place of a conjunction tag; subordination by S, and superordination by H [for hyperordination].) A conjunction tagged superordinate introduces a clause that is more prominent than the one to which it relates. The latter, then, is subordinate to the clause headed by the superordinating conjunction. Because a subordinate clause may not have a conjunction to label CS, our policy of tagging the conjunction of superordinate clauses CH insures that the relationship is specified wherever possible. For example, in Matthew 12.12: πόσω οὖν (CH) διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου. ὥστε (CH) ἔχουσιν τοῖς σάββασι καλῶς ποιῆν. Οὖν relates its clause as superordinating conclusion to what precedes. Ὡστε then relates the inference of the clause it heads to the preceding clause, which stands without conjunction to relate to the following inference, “How much superior is a man to a sheep!” Second, the relationships indicated by our conjunction analyses are semantic, not grammatical. This means that the tags for some conjunctions will signal relationships that have nothing to do with traditional grammatical considerations. For example, γάρ has usually been considered a coordinating conjunction. However, semantically the clause that supplies a cause or reason is subordinate to the clause it explains. Therefore, we have marked γάρ CS. Δέ is also traditionally held to be a coordinating conjunction (or sometimes just a particle). We have given it varying tags (CC, CH, and CS), depending on its use in particular contexts.

## ***10.2 An Overview of Conjunctions and Contrasting Definitions***

After giving an overview of conjunctions, we will discuss some subregularities and then give definitions for each conjunction in each possible analysis. List 3 contains every Greek word we have analyzed as a conjunction. This list allows one to see at a glance which conjunctions have which relational possibilities. Some conjunctions can signal any of the three relationships, others two. They can be compared to a “purple stoplight,” which would alert us in a general way but would force us to stop and look right and left in order to know for sure the meaning of the signal. Conjunctions that signal multiple relationships do little more than direct us to the context for the meaning of the signal. Our analysis of each such conjunction helps one understand the contextual semantics. The list of conjunctions also supplies any other nonconjunction analyses these words may have, which is also important information. Parentheses here indicate either a possible but nonoccurring analysis or an occurring analysis irrelevant to conjunctions. At the end of the list are words that contain conjunction analyses but are instances of crasis. Also included are tags that reflect the adverbial analysis of *καί*. There is also given the lone example of a derived conjunction, *πρίν*.

## ***10.3 A Subset of Conjunctions: Conjunctions That Are Also Relatives***

One of the subregularities of conjunctions is the rather large subset of them that may have, as an alternate analysis, the tag ABR. The original motivation for this tag came from two kinds of construction in which *ὅ* and *ὅτε* figure. When the entire clause is a temporal adverbial clause subordinate to a main clause, it sometimes has no particular word in the main clause with which to tie in, other than the verb. For example, in Galatians 2.11 Paul says, “*When* Peter came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face.” The “when” clause relates directly to the main verb *oppose* as the time when this action took place. But sometimes there is a particular noun in the main clause to which *ὅτε* or *ὅ* relates. In Romans 2.16 Paul says certain things will happen “in the *day when* God judges.” Here *ὅτε* has a specific antecedent, *day*. In the first construction *ὅτε* is analyzed as CS because the temporal clause is subordinate semantically to the main clause. In the second construction it is tagged ABR because it relates one clause to another through a nominal antecedent, and because, being temporal, it is adverbial.

Having noticed this regularity where we could have expected to find it, we noticed it in many other places as well. One example is John 20.9 involving *ὅτι*: “They [the disciples] did not yet know the *scripture that* it

was necessary for him [Jesus] to rise from the dead.” The sentence could have concluded with *scripture*; the thought would have been complete. But more identification was needed, so John quoted the particular scripture he had in mind. Ὅτι is to John 20.9, then, what ὅτε is to Romans 2.16.

A number of objections might be raised to this conclusion. First, time and place are well considered adverbial, but can ὅτι be so considered? We make two comments in reply. First, the analogical patterning is much more important to us than exact correspondence. In focus here is a relationship with an antecedent (that is, ὅτι with *scripture*), not one without such relationship. Second, though adverbs usually modify verbs (hence the name *ad-verbs*), they can also modify nouns. Adverbial καί does so often; for example, “Saul, even (= “that is”) Paul, said ...” (Acts 13.9).

A second objection is that the antecedent can usually be deleted with no loss to the meaning of the sentence because the ὅτι clause can move into its place. The antecedent “*scripture*” is secondary, then, and the ὅτι clause primary. We have no quarrel with that analysis, though the two appear to us to be equivalent. The ABR tag shows that two items are nearly if not always equivalent. Indeed, when ὅτι is ABR it might be defined “namely, that is, I mean to say.”

A further comment about the CS (or CH or CC) and ABR pairing is needed. For a conjunction to be tagged ABR as well, it must follow its antecedent. This eliminates cases like these: “Where (οὓ) there is no law, there (—) is no lawbreaking” (Romans 4.15). “Where (ὅπου) there is a dead body, there (ἐκεῖ) the vultures will gather” (Luke 17.37). Only once when no overt antecedent exists have we allowed ABR rather than CS: in Matthew 2.9, where the preposition in the phrase ἐπάνω οὓ demands an object. We analyze οὓ as ABR^APDGM-S&ABR. We could have analyzed it instead as APRGM-S^APDGM-S&APRGM-S.

### ***10.4 Other Subsets of Conjunctions***

Another feature of conjunctions is that ἄχρι, ἕως, μέχρι and πλήν may also be prepositions. They are prepositions when they are followed by a noun or relative pronoun, conjunctions when they relate to the following verb.

Other relational regularities will emerge as the definitions are compared. For example, the conjunction marking result (regardless of which conjunction expresses it) is always CH; whether the relationship is means-result or reason-result, the result half of the relation is more prominent. Similarly, the conjunction marking purpose is always CS, being subordinate to the action it describes.

See list 4 for definitions of those words that may have two or more different tags, where at least one of them is a conjunction by analysis. The words are organized alphabetically, as are the several possible tags for each word. For any conjunction needing expanded comment, a note follows the list of definitions, which keeps the latter as concise as possible.

### ***10.5 The Conjunction δέ***

Some questions are raised by these conjunctions and their definitions. We will deal with these by giving extensive examples of δέ, the discussion of which should serve to contrast our three designations: superordinating, coordinating, and subordinating.

Traditionally δέ has been called a coordinating conjunction, and it often is. It occurs, for example, between items in lists: “And it was he who appointed μὲν (CC) some as apostles, δέ (CC) some as prophets, δέ (CC) some as evangelists, δὲ (CC) some as pastors and teachers” (Ephesians 4.11). It occurs at the beginning of new incidents in narrative: “From then on Jesus began to preach, ‘Repent! The kingdom of the heavens is near.’ Δέ (CC) as he was walking by the Sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers” (Matthew 4.17-18). It occurs between arguments that lead to the same conclusion: “You approve of what your fathers did, since μὲν (CC) they killed them δὲ (CC) you build [their tombs]” (Luke 11.48). And so forth throughout the New Testament.

But δέ also occurs many times between members, the preceding one of which is subordinate to the following one, and in such occurrences we say δέ is superordinating. It occurs, for example, between a reason and its result: “Each of them heard them speaking in his own language. Δέ (CH) they were amazed” (Acts 2.6-7). It occurs between a concession and its contraexpectation: “All discipline, at the time it is administered, seems to produce sorrow not joy; δὲ (CH) it later yields the wholesome crop of righteousness” (Hebrews 12.11). It occurs between a ground and the exhortation it supports: “If anyone washes himself clean from these things, he will be an implement to be proud of, set apart, useful to the owner, readied for any good work. Δέ (CH) run away from the desires that tempt young people” (2Timothy 2.21-22). It occurs between a negative statement and the positive statement it emphasizes: “There is no created thing that escapes his notice, δὲ (CH) all things are naked and exposed to his eyes” (Hebrews 4.13). It occurs between an event or utterance and an utterance that responds to it: “He said to them, ‘And you, who do you say I am?’ Δέ (CH) Simon Peter replied, ‘You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God’” (Matthew 16.15-16). Among larger units of discourse, it occurs at the beginning of a summary: “Δέ (CH) the

summary of what is being said: ..." (Hebrews 8.1). And it occurs in many instances of contrast in which the first member obviously serves to emphasize the second: "Μὲν (CS) Moses was faithful in all God's house for a testimony of what was going to be said, δὲ (CH) Christ as a son over his house" (Hebrews 3.5-6).

Δέ even occurs a few times between members, the succeeding one of which supports the preceding ones and in these instances we say δέ is subordinating. It occurs between a result and a reason for that result: "I am willing for all of you to speak in tongues, but I prefer that you prophesy; δέ (CS) a person who prophesies is more helpful than one who speaks in tongues, unless he translates" (1Corinthians 14.5). It occurs between a statement and a ground for that statement: "[An overseer must be] one who leads his own family well, with children who obey him with full dignity; δέ (CS) if someone doesn't know how to lead his own family, how will he take care of God's church?" (1Timothy 3.4-5). It occurs between an exhortation and a ground for it: "Repent! Δέ (CS) if you don't, I will come to you suddenly and make war against them" (Revelation 2.16). It occurs between a negative and a positive statement, the negative of which is obviously more important to the context: "They prayed for them to receive the Holy Spirit, since he had not yet fallen on any of them: δέ (CS) they had only been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 8.15-16). It occurs at the beginning of a brief mention of minor participants: "Δέ (CS) the men who were walking the road with him stood speechless, hearing the voice but seeing no one" (Acts 9.7). It occurs at the beginning of a parenthetical remark: "(δέ [CS] what does 'He ascended' mean except ...?)" (Ephesians 4.9-10). It occurs at the beginning of an author's aside: "Δέ (CS) what I'm writing to you, look, before God, I'm not lying" (Galatians 1.20). It occurs at the beginning of a clause that mentions the number of people present at an event: "Δέ (CS) there were about five thousand men who ate, besides women and children" (Matthew 14.21). It occurs (especially in John's Gospel) at the beginning of background information inserted within a narrative: "Δέ (CS) there were six stone waterpots that had been placed there..." (John 2.6). It occurs at the beginning of something the author has inserted to avoid misinterpretation of what he has just said: "For he set all things under his feet. Δέ (CS) it is clear that when he says that he set all things under him, that leaves out the one who subjected all things to him" (1Corinthians 15.27). It occurs at the beginning of a clarification: "They found me purified in the temple, ... δέ (CS) some Jews from the province of Asia did, and they should have appeared before you and accused me if they had anything against me" (Acts 24.18-19). And it occurs between members of a contrast, the more important of which comes first: "Love

never becomes irrelevant. Δέ (CS) as for prophecies, they will be shelved; as for tongues ...” (1Corinthians 13.8).

In some instances we have tagged δέ either CC/CH or CC/CS, either because there are different interpretations of the passage or because we ourselves are unsure which of the two members of a contrast is more prominent. One instance of the former case is 1Corinthians 1.12, in which different parties are listed: Ἐγὼ μὲν (CC) εἶμι Παύλου, Ἐγὼ δὲ (CC) Ἀπολλῶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ (CC) Κηφᾶ, Ἐγὼ δὲ (CC/CH) Χριστοῦ. The coordinating interpretation sees four parties, equal choices. The superordinating interpretation sees three parties upstaged by the fourth, “Christ’s party,” implying that everyone else should, like Paul, be in that party.

### *10.6 Conjunctions with Nominal Clauses*

Nominal or sentential noun clauses are sentences that function as particular grammatical parts of other sentences. In the sentence “I want to go,” the sentence “(I) go” is the object of the verb “want.” (Certain rules delete the equivalent pronoun and infinitize the verb.) In “To live in the tropics is not easy,” the sentence “(Someone) lives in the tropics” is the subject of “is not easy.” Greek has similar constructions with infinitives and with conjunctions. Here we are interested only in those constructions in which the nominal clause is marked by a conjunction. Our definitions of conjunctions and the accompanying examples show that the following can serve to relate nominal clauses to the host or “upper” sentence: εἰ, ἵνα, καί, μή, μήποτε, ὅπως, ὅτι, πῶς, and ὡς. Many of these apparently become nominal-clause conjunctions by relating speech orienters to their contents. Questions, commands, and statements (direct and indirect) can serve as the content, or object, of a verb of saying. It seems obvious that these were then extended to be nominal-clause conjunctions of a wider sort by grammatical analogy with their content functions. As conjunctions of this type, it seems clear that they are not fully interchangeable. Each contributes its own narrower grammatical (if not lexical) meaning to the sentence in which it connects a nominal clause.

Semantically the verb is the nucleus of the sentence. Nouns and other grammatical parts of speech are important only as they relate to the verb. Nouns, then, are in a subordinate relationship to the verb. But if that is true, why do we call nominal clauses coordinate by so analyzing their head conjunction? Simply because the nominal clause itself contains a verb. As a sentence in itself, it is as prominent as the rest of its upper sentence. Hence such nominal clauses are analyzed as CC.

There are some exceptions to this, however. In the καὶ ἐγένετο construction with following καί, the main verb ἐγένετο is so colorless,

contributes so little (see the corresponding construction in Hebrew of which this is presumed to be a translation), that we have analyzed the following connecting *καί* as CH (see e.g. Matthew 9.10). A clause that identifies either place or time, though by one argument a nominal clause, retains the CS analysis on the ground that an adverbial temporal or locative clause is more peripheral, less prominent, than the more nuclear sentential subjects or objects.

Nor is a nominal clause analyzed as CC with certain discourse verbs (e.g. “say, hear, ask”) and their first cousins, “think, see, believe.” These verbs are the orienters of their content, and they are important only insofar as they relate their content to the rest of the discourse. The content is naturally more prominent than its orienter, so there are many instances of “... ὅτι (CH).” A number of factors, however, can raise the orienter to a level of prominence equal to that of its content, the effect of which is to tag the conjunction CC. We discuss these now.

One factor is the presence of *ἀμὴν*, *ἀληθῶς*, or *πάντως*, or any other adverb in the orienter: “Truly I say to you that (CC) ...” (Matthew 16.28). An adverbial phrase, especially a prepositional phrase, will do the same: “Therefore (*διὰ τοῦτο*) I say to you that (CC) ...” (e.g. Matthew 21.43). However, an object put periphrastically in a prepositional phrase does not give the orienter a prominence equal to that of its content: “He said *to her* (= he told her) that (CH) ...” (Luke 1.61). Oath-formulas in the orienter raise its semantic prominence: “But God is faithful that (CC) ...” (2Corinthians 1.18; see also v. 23).

Verbs can be considered semantically strong or weak. Weak verbs are those that are so regular and expected as to draw no attention to the orienter. They include *λέγω/εἶπον*, *ὁράω*, *ἀκούω*, *γινώσκω*, and *οἶδα* (and their participles). If nothing else raises the orienter, the content clauses will be analyzed as CH. All other verbs are considered strong, calling attention to themselves and thus to the orienter; the content-clause conjunction is tagged CC. *Ἐπιγινώσκω*, a compound of *γινώσκω*, is a strong verb. Negation also raises the orienter in prominence: Romans 2.4 “... *not* realizing (*ἀγνοῶν*, a strong verb) that (CC) ...”

The mention of Scripture, prophet, etc., gives an orienter prominence. Any overt subject, whether a simple pronoun or a noun expanded by a string of modifiers, will give prominence to the orienter, on the ground that the unmarked, neutral orienter will be marked for person only on the verb: “*Jesus* said to them that (CC) ...” (Mark 2.17). This also applies to the agent phrase if the verb is passive: “It was said *by some* that (CC) ...” Luke 9.7. Because participles do not have overt subjects, the overt subject of a main clause located between a participle and its content raises the prominence of the participial orienter clause. Only the second of the following two examples qualifies by this rule:

“Jesus seeing that (CH) ...” (Mark 12.34) and “Seeing Jesus that (CC) ...” (Mark 9.25).

Further, the orienter is raised in prominence if the semantic meaning is other than a declaration. This includes questions based on an indicative verb as well as all nonindicative moods. The infinitive is included because we take the main finite verb as semantically adverbial. Thus, “He began to speak to them ...”

An object, whether noun or pronoun, does not affect the orienter’s status. Neither does the case of an indirect object as long as it is a pronoun. The naming or identification of the indirect object by a noun, however, does increase the orienter’s prominence. Thus, the conjunction is marked differently in Luke 24.46 (“He said to *them* that (CH) ...”) and Mark 3.9 (“He said to *his disciples* that (CC) ...”).

In the few cases when the content is in apposition to something in the orienter clause, the orienter is raised in prominence. This cannot be ascertained only by looking at a conjunction’s tag, however, because in these cases where there is a wide variety of kinds of apposition, the conjunction tag is ABR. The orienter item to which the content is in apposition is the antecedent; thus the tag ABR. These include apposition to τοῦτο, ἔν, λόγος, ῥῆμα, νόμος, δικαίωμα, ὠφέλεια, φωνή. “He was telling them a *parable that* (ABR) ...” (Luke 5.36); this example might also be termed genre identification.

A split clause gives prominence to an orienter: “Concerning the dead that (CC) they are raised, have you not read ...?” (Mark 12.26). Here the orienter verb follows the sentential object while part of the orienter clause precedes it. One very special type of split clause, called raising, takes a noun phrase out of the lower, content clause and makes it part of the upper, orienter clause: “For I made known to you, brothers, *the gospel I preached* that *it* is not of human type” (Galatians 1.11). Here “the gospel I preached” is semantically the subject of the content clause. It has been raised for emphasis and becomes the object of the orienter-clause verb. This phenomenon, quite common in both Greek and English, serves to give the orienter equal prominence with the content. It should be noted that a raised noun phrase cannot be an antecedent for the following clause. The tag is CC, not ABR.

Μή as CS is understood to be a negative-purpose conjunction: “Watch out that you don’t [or lest you] fall” (1Corinthians 10.12). In a few places μή can instead be understood as AB, with the verb that follows being taken as a subjunctive used as an imperative. Luke 21.8 can be read either as “Watch out that you are not led astray” (μή as CS) or as “Watch out! Don’t be led astray!” (μή as AB). We have uniformly analyzed μή in these ambiguous cases as CS.

For comments on rhetorical questions, see the analysis of particles that follows.

## **11 The Analysis of Particles**

### ***11.1 An Overview of Particles and Contrasting Definitions***

Particles may be considered a cover term for words that in other systems of analysis might be described as adverbs, interjections, interrogative particles, and verbal particles. Whereas the three-way division of conjunctions is meant to be exhaustive, that of particles is not. In fact QS and QV may overlap. At least no word has both tags. We consider  $\tilde{\omega}$  to be a particle (QS), not a vocative article.

List 5 enables the reader to see at a glance which words we consider particles, and it shows what nonparticle analyses these same words may have. Words there given in parentheses are properly alike at most in form, excluding accents.

List 6 gives definitions for those Greek words that have a minimum of two different tags, at least one of which is a particle. The particles occur in alphabetical order, as do the analysis tags for each word. Following the definitions of some words is a note containing additional comments.

### ***11.2 Rhetorical Questions***

Rhetorical questions are well known, though perhaps less well understood. The major point we wish to make is that a rhetorical question may be signified by the tag QT. A real, nonrhetorical question can be asked with a negative particle. The difference is clear. A real question: “Have you never read that ...?” A rhetorical question: “You have read, haven’t you, that ...?” A negative marked AB may be part of a question.

## **12 Epilogue**

We value your insight and are open to receiving correspondence about general assumptions or specific analyses. Direct correspondence to:

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## List 1 Deponent and Nondeponent Verbs

### 1. Verbs of Which Only the Future Is (Middle) Deponent in the First Century

ἀναβαίνω  
ἀποβαίνω  
ἀποθνήσκω  
ἀπολαμβάνω  
γινώσκω  
διαγινώσκω  
διακούω  
εἶμι  
εἰσακούω  
ἐκφεύγω  
ἐμπίπτω  
ἐπιγινώσκω  
ἐσθίω  
καταβαίνω  
κατεσθίω  
λαμβάνω  
μεταβαίνω  
ὀράω  
παραλαμβάνω  
πάρειμι  
πίνω  
πίπτω  
συλλαμβάνω  
τίκτω  
φεύγω

### 2. Verbs That Have Active Lemmas in BAGD but That Are Deponent in the First Century

ἐντέλλομαι  
ἐξαπορέομαι  
κοιμάομαι  
ὀργίζομαι  
πειράομαι  
πορεύομαι  
προχειρίζομαι P  
συναλίζομαι

### 3. Verbs That Have Active Lemmas in BAGD but That Are Semideponent in the First Century

ἀνακεφαλαϊόω      P  
συγχαίρω  
χαίρω

### 4. Verbs That Have Nonactive Lemmas in BAGD but That Have Nondeponent Forms in the First Century

ἀκαιρέω  
ἀντιστρατεύω  
διαλλάσσω  
ἐκλέγω  
ἐπαγγέλλω  
ἐπενδύω  
κατεφίστημι

### 5. Verbs That Have Nonactive Lemmas in BAGD, That Are Deponent in the First Century, and That Have Some Instances of True Passives

ἀπαρνέομαι	P
ἐπιλανθάνομαι	P
ἐργάζομαι	P
ἠσάομαι	P
θεάομαι	P
ιάομαι	P
ιλάσκομαι	P
καταράομαι	P
κατεργάζομαι	P
λογίζομαι	P
μωμάομαι	P
παραδέχομαι	P
παραιτέομαι	P
περίκειμαι	P
περιλείπομαι	P
ρύομαι	P
συγκαταψηφίζομαι	P
χαρίζομαι	P

P in sections 2, 3, and 5 means that some forms of this verb occur as true passives.

## List 2

## Prepositions

Lemma	PA	PD	PG	Other tags
ἄμα		PD		AB
ἀνά	PA			AB, AB^A-...
ἄνευ			PG	
ἀντί			PG	
ἄντικρυς			PG	
ἀντιπέρα			PG	
ἀπέναντι			PG	
ἀπό			PG	
ἄτερ			PG	
ἄχρι(ς)			PG	CS
διά	PA		PG	
ἐγγύς		PD	PG	AB, AB^AP...
ἐγγύτερον			PG	ABM
εἵνεκεν			PG	
εἰς	PA			
ἐκ			PG	
ἐκτός			PG	AB, AB^AP...
ἔμπροσθεν			PG	AB, AB^AP...
ἐν		PD		
ἐναντι			PG	
ἐναντίον			PG	
ἔνεκα			PG	
ἔνεκεν			PG	
ἐντός			PG	AB^AP...
ἐνώπιον			PG	
ἔξω			PG	AB, AB^A-..., AB^AP...
ἔξωθεν			PG	AB, AB^A-..., AB^AP...
ἐπάνω			PG	AB
ἐπέκεινα			PG	
ἐπί	PA	PD	PG	
ἔσω			PG	AB, AB^A-..., AB^AP...
ἔως			PG	CS
κατά	PA		PG	
κατέναντι			PG	AB^A-...
κατενώπιον			PG	
κυκλόθεν			PG	AB
κύκλω			PG	AB, AB^A-...
μετά	PA		PG	

μεταξύ			PG	AB^A-..., AB^AP...
μέχρι(ς)			PG	CS
όπισθεν			PG	AB
όπίσω			PG	AB, AB^AP...
όψέ			PG	AB
παρά	PA	PD	PG	
παρεκτός			PG	AB^AP...
πέραν			PG	AB^AP...
περί	PA		PG	
πλήν			PG	CC, CH
πλησίον			PG	AB^AP...
πρό			PG	
πρός	PA	PD	PG	
σύν		PD		
υπέρ	PA		PG	AB
υπεράνω			PG	
υπερέκεινα			PG	
υπό	PA		PG	
υποκάτω			PG	
χάριν			PG	
χωρίς			PG	AB

Derived Function: μέσον AP...^PG (AP...^AB)

## List 3

## Conjunctions

Lemma	CC	CH	CS	ABR	Other tags
ἄλλά	CC	CH	CS		(A-..., AP...)
ἄρα, ἄρα		CH			QT
ἄχρι(ς)			CS		PG
γάρ			CS		
δέ	CC	CH	CS		
διό		CH			
διόπερ		CH			
διότι			CS		
ἐάν			CS		QV
ἐάνπερ			CS		
εἰ	CC		CS	ABR	QT, (VIPA--2S)
εἴπερ			CS		
εἴτε	CC				
ἐπὶ			CS		
ἐπεὶ			CS		
ἐπειδή			CS		
ἐπειδήπερ			CS		
ἕως			CS		PG
ἦ	CC		CS		
ἦνίκα			CS		
ἦπερ			CS		
ἦτοι	CC				
ἵνα	CC	CH	CS	ABR	
καθά			CS		
καθάπερ			CS		
καθό			CS		
καθότι			CS		
καθώς			CS		
καθώςπερ			CS		
καί	CC	CH			AB
καίπερ			CS		
καίτοι			CS		
καίτοιγε			CS		
μέν	CC		CS		QS
μέντοι		CH			
μέχρι(ς)			CS		PG
μή	CC		CS		AB, QT
μηδέ	CC				AB

μήποτε	CC		CS		AB, QT
μήτε	CC				
ὄθεν		CH	CS	ABR	
ὅπου			CS	ABR	
ὅπως	CC	CH	CS	ABR	
ὁσάκις			CS		
ὅταν			CS	ABR	
ὅτε			CS	ABR	
ὅτι	CC	CH	CS	ABR	ABT, (AP...)
οὐ			CS	ABR	(APR...)
οὐδέ	CC				AB, QT
οὐκοῦν		CH			
οὖν	CC	CH			
οὔτε	CC				
πλήν	CC	CH			PG
πρίν			CS		AB
πῶς, πως	CC				AB, ABI, ABT
τέ	CC				
τοιγαροῦν		CH			
τοίνυν		CH			
ὥς	CC	CH	CS	ABR	AB
ὥσει			CS		AB
ὥσπερ			CS		
ὥσπερεί			CS		
ὥστε		CH	CS		

### Crisis:

Lemma	Tags
κάγώ	CC&NP..., (AB&NP...)
κάκεϊ	CC&AB, (AB&AB)
κάκεϊθεν	CC&AB
κάκεϊνος	CC&APD..., (AB&APD...)
κάν	CC&CS, AB&CS, (AB&QV)

Derived Function: πρίν AB^CS

## List 4                      Conjunctions and Contrasting Definitions

- ἀλλά    CC    when simply adversatively coordinate with preceding clause. “I have much to write to you, *but* I don’t want to do so with pen and ink” (3John 13).
- CH    1. when preceding clause/phrase is negative, on the principle that the negative is subordinate to the positive in a -/+ contrast. “You aren’t thinking about the things of God, *but* the things of men” (Mark 8.33).
- CH    2. when it heads the contraexpectation clause of a concession-contraexpectation construction. “I may be untrained in speech, *but* I do have knowledge” (2Corinthians 11.6).
- CS    when introducing a parenthetical clause. “... (*but* you are rich) ...” (Revelation 2.9).
- ἄρα,    CH    inferential, drawing a conclusion. “*Consequently*, you are  
     ἄρα    Abraham’s offspring” (Galatians 3.29).
- QT    in questions as improbable possibility. “Will he find faith then?” (Luke 18.8).
- Note*    Our analysis of ἄρα is made without reference to the accenting in *The Greek New Testament*.
- ἄχρι(ς) CS    when introducing a clause. “He should not deceive the nations any longer *until* the thousand years are up” (Revelation 20.3).
- PG    when followed by an object, including οἷ. “Jerusalem will be trampled by the nations *until* their times are finished” (Luke 21.24). (ἄχρι οἷ = until [the time in] which)
- Note*    ἄχρι(ς), ἀπό, ἕως, and, μέχρι(ς), when followed by a relative pronoun, form a construction that acts like a conjunction.
- δέ        CC    equal prominence with preceding clause
- CH    greater prominence than preceding clause
- CS    lesser prominence than preceding clause
- Note*    See discussion and extensive examples in 10.5 above.
- ἐάν      CS    when conditional; corresponds to εἰ “*If* anyone serves me, he must follow me” (John 12.26).
- QV    when contingent; equivalent to ἄν. “I will follow you *wherever* you go” (Matthew 8.19).

- εἶ ABR equivalent to CC but with specific antecedent present. “*This* is commendable, *that* a man bears up under the pain of unjust suffering” (1Peter 2.19).
- CC nominal clause. “It would be better for him *that* he had not been born” (Matthew 26.24).
- CS regular conditional. “*If* Christ has not been raised, our preaching is useless” (1Corinthians 15.14).
- QT “whether,” both in direct and indirect questions. “I asked whether he would be willing to go to Jerusalem” (Acts 25.20).
- Note* See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (εἶ), ABR and CC).
- ἕως CS when introducing a clause. “*Until* I come, attend to the reading” (1Timothy 4.13).
- PG when followed by an object, including οἷ. “... who will also keep you *until* the end” (1Corinthians 1.8). (ἕως οἷ = until [the time in] which)
- Note* See note on ἄχρι(ς) above.
- ἢ CC disjunctive “or.” “... with whom there is no change *or* turning shadow” (James 1.17).
- CS comparative “than.” “The one in you is greater *than* the one in the world” (1John 4.4).
- ἵνα ABR 1. equivalent to CC1 but with specific antecedent present. “How did *this* happen to me, *that* the mother of my Lord should come to me?” (Luke 1.43).
- ABR 2. equivalent to CC2 but with specific antecedent present. “We have *this commandment* from him, *that* the one who loves God should also love his brothers (1John 4.21).
- CC 1. nominal clause. “You have no need *of* anyone teaching you” (1John 2.27).
- CC 2. indirect command, where the orienter and indirect command seem equally prominent. “We ask and urge you in the Lord Jesus *that* you walk more and more in the way we instructed you and in the way you are in fact walking” (1Thessalonians 4.1).
- CS purpose. “... good works, which God previously prepared *in order that* we should walk in them” (Ephesians 2.10).
- CH 1. indirect command, where the command seems more prominent than its orienter (the orienter is usually virtually

missing). “Come, lay your hands on her” (Mark 5.23, first ἵνα).

CH 2. result. “If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just *with the result that* he will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness” (1John 1.9).

CH 3. fulfillment of Scripture. “This all happened (*with the result*) that the word spoken by the Lord through the prophet was fulfilled” (Matthew 1.22).

*Note* See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (ἵνα ABR and CC) and orienters.

καί AB adverb, “also, even, indeed, too.” “Today salvation has come to this house, because *even* he is a son of Abraham” (Luke 19.9).

CC connective “and.” “Take his mina *and* give it to the one having ten minas” (Luke 19.24).

CH second καί in καί ἐγένετο καί constructions in which the following noun clause is prominent compared to insipid ἐγένετο. “It happened *that* ... many tax collectors and sinners came and reclined with Jesus at table” (Matthew 9.10).

*Note* καί as a connective can relate its (following) clause to what precedes it as more prominent (CH), equally prominent (CC), or less prominent (CS) in the same way that δέ can. Except for words that accord with the definition above of καί as CH, all nonadverbial καίς are analyzed in this volume simply as CC.

μέν CC when item and response (or item and pair) bear equal prominence with respect to each other. Following pair need not be overtly marked with a conjunction (δέ or otherwise). “He will put the μέν sheep on the right and the δέ goats on the left” (Matthew 25.33).

CS when item is less prominent than response (or pair). “The μέν spirit is willing, but the δέ flesh is weak” (Mark 4.38).

QS when there is no pair in following structure. This may be an intentional intensifier, or it may occur when the author was apparently convinced the response was so obvious as not needing expression. “I made the first account, Theophilus, about everything ...” (Acts 1.1).

μέχρι(ς)CS when introducing a clause. “... *until* we all arrive at unity in the faith ...” (Ephesians 4.13).

- PG when followed by an object, including οἷ. “This generation will certainly not pass away *until* all these things happen” (Mark 13.30). (μέχρι οἷ = until [the time in] which)
- Note* See note on ἄχρι(ς) above.
- μή AB “not.” “Do *not* be deceived, my dear brothers” (James 1.16).
- CC nominal clause. “I am afraid *that* somehow I have labored over you in vain” (Galatians 4.11).
- CS negative purpose, “in order that not.” “Watch out *in order that* you do *not* refuse the one speaking” (Hebrews 12.25).
- QT rhetorical question particle. “You’re *not* greater than our father Jacob, *are you?*” (John 4.12).
- Note* See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (μή, CC) and in 11.2 about rhetorical questions.
- μηδέ AB “not even.” “Many were gathered, so that there was no longer any room, *not even* at the door” (Mark 2.2).
- CC “neither, nor.” “... you don’t know the scriptures *nor* the power of God” (Matthew 22.29).
- μήποτε AB “never.” “A will is in force only when someone has died, for it *never* takes effect while the one who made it is living” (Hebrews 9.17).
- CC nominal clause. “Let us be wary *in case* any of you *ever* be found to have fallen short of it” (Hebrews 4.1).
- CS negative purpose, “in order that not.” “No, *in case* you *happen to* uproot the wheat while gathering the tares” (Matthew 13.29).
- QT rhetorical-question particle, possibly improbable possibility. “The people were debating in their hearts about John *whether* he might *perhaps* be the Christ” (Luke 3.15).
- Note* See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (μήποτε, CC).
- ὅθεν ABR equivalent to CS, but with a specific antecedent present. “We landed at *Syracuse* and remained three days *from where* having set sail, we arrived at Rhegium” (Acts 28.12-13).
- CH inferential, drawing a conclusion. “*So then*, King Agrippa, I didn’t disobey the heavenly vision” (Acts 26.19).

- CS where there is no antecedent. “You reap *where* you don’t sow” (Matthew 25.24).
- ὅπου ABR equivalent to CS, but with a specific antecedent present. “Others fell on *rocky ground, where* there was not much soil” (Matthew 13.5).
- CS where there is no antecedent. “I will follow you *wherever* you go” (Luke 9.57).
- ὅπως ABR 1. equivalent to CC 1 but with specific antecedent. “... asking a *favor* of him, *that* he might call him to Jerusalem” (Acts 25.3).
- ABR 2. equivalent to CC 2 but with specific antecedent. “The *things* about Jesus of Nazareth ... *that* ...” (Luke 24.19-20).
- CC 1. indirect command of equal prominence with orienter “While he was speaking, a Pharisee asked him to come eat with him” (Luke 11.37).
- CC 2. nominal clause. The only example, Luke 24.19-20 in ABR2 above, has an antecedent.
- CS purpose. “... who gave himself up for us *in order that* he might deliver us from this present evil age” (Galatians 1.4).
- CH result. “Therefore I am sending you prophets and wise men and teachers. Some of them you will kill and crucify ... *with the result that* all the righteous blood shed on earth will come on you” (Matthew 23.34-35).
- ὅταν ABR equivalent to CS, but with a specific antecedent. “Then the *end* will come *when* he delivers the kingdom to God” (1Corinthians 15.24).
- CS when there is no antecedent. “But *when* he, the Spirit of truth, comes, he will guide you into all truth” (John 16.13).
- ὅτε ABR equivalent to CS, but with a specific antecedent. “For there will be a *time when* they will not put up with sound teaching” (2Timothy 4.3).
- CS when there is no antecedent. “And *when* I heard and saw these things, I fell to worship” (Revelation 22.8).
- ὅτι ABR equivalent to. CC, but with a specific antecedent. “You know *this, that* all in Asia deserted me” (2Timothy 1.15).
- ABT “why?” “His disciples questioned him privately, ‘*Why* weren’t we able to drive it out?’” (Mark 9.28).

- CC content clause having equal prominence with orienter. This is really just a special case of nominal clause. “Therefore, when the Lord knew *that* the Pharisees had heard *that* he was making and baptizing more disciples than John, ... he left Judea” (John 4.1, 3).
- CH 1. content clause having greater prominence than its orienter. “Then Herod, seeing *that* he had been outwitted by the Magi, became very angry” (Matthew 2.16).
- CH 2. result. “Then the Jews said to themselves, ‘Where will this fellow go *that* we cannot find him?’” (John 7.35).
- CS cause, ground. “Many of the Jews read this sign, *for* the place where he was crucified was near the city” (John 19.20).
- Note* See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (ὄτι as ABR, CC, CH).
- οὐ̅  
ABR equivalent to CS except that there is a specific antecedent. “The eleven disciples went to Galilee to the *mountain where* Jesus had told them to go” (Matthew 28.16).
- CS where adverbial (versus, relative clause), with no antecedent “*Where* sin increased, grace increased more” (Romans 5.20).
- οὐ̅δέ  
AB “not even.” “*Not even* Solomon in all his glory ...” (Matthew 6.29).
- CC “neither, nor” “... I did not run in vain *nor* did I labor in vain” (Philippians 2.16).
- QT rhetorical-question particle. “You have read this scripture, *haven't you?*” (Mark 12.10).
- οὐ̅ν  
CC resumptive, continuative, introducing a new topic. “*So* the sisters sent word to him saying ...” (John 11.3).
- CH inferential, drawing a conclusion, expectable consequence, result. “*Therefore*, whether you eat or drink or whatever you do, do everything to God’s glory” (1 Corinthians 10.31).
- πλήν  
CC “except, but.” “*But* it is necessary for me to continue today, tomorrow, and the day after” (Luke 13.33).
- CH “except, but” (with prominence over preceding clause). “*But* I tell you, it will be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon ...” (Matthew 11.22).

PG	with noun object. "... there is no one else <i>but</i> him" (Mark 12.32).
πρίν	<p>AB when functioning adverbially and followed by ἤ (CS). "But <i>before</i> they were married" (Matthew 1.18).</p> <p>CS when functioning as a temporal conjunction. "<i>Before</i> a rooster crows ..." (Matthew 26.34).</p>
πῶς, πῶς	<p>AB adverbial, "how." "<i>How</i> difficult it will be for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!" (Mark 10.23).</p> <p>ABI "somehow, in some way" (unaccented). "... if <i>somehow</i> I may reach the resurrection of the dead" (Philippians 3.11).</p> <p>ABT "how, in what way" "how is it possible." "... that you may know <i>how</i> to answer everyone" (Colossians 4.6).</p> <p>CC nominal clause. "And he reported to us <i>that</i> he saw an angel in his house" (Acts 11.13).</p>
ὧς	<p>AB 1. "approximately," usually followed by a numeral. "There was an interval of <i>about</i> three hours" (Acts 5.7).</p> <p>AB 2. "how" in exclamations. "<i>How</i> unsearchable his judgments and his ways beyond searching out!" (Romans 11.33).</p> <p>AB 3. with comparatives and superlatives. "I see <i>how</i> very religious you are in everything" (Acts 17.22).</p> <p>ABR 1. equivalent to CC but with specific antecedent. "... and who gave us the ministry of <i>reconciliation</i>, <i>which</i> (is) that God was in Christ ..." (2Corinthians 5.18-19).</p> <p>ABR 2. equivalent to CS2 but with specific antecedent. "How much <i>time</i> (how long) has it been <i>that</i> this happened to him?" (Mark 9.21).</p> <p>CC 1. nominal clause. "... he did <i>what</i> the angel of the Lord had commanded him" (Matthew 1.24).</p> <p>CC 2. content clause having equal prominence with orienter. This is really just a special case of nominal clause. "They related the things that happened on the way and <i>that</i> he became known to them as he broke the bread" (Luke 24.35).</p> <p>CH content clause having greater prominence than orienter. "Just as you know <i>that</i> we exhorted each one of you ..." (1Thessalonians 2.11).</p> <p>CS 1. purpose. "They entered a village of the Samaritans <i>in order to</i> prepare for him" (Luke 9.52).</p>

- CS 2. temporal: “when, while, as.” “*When* he stopped speaking, he said to Simon ...” (Luke 5.4).
- CS 3. comparison, “like, as.” The clause need not have an overt verb present. “Love your neighbor as (you love) yourself” (Matthew 22.39).
- ὡσεὶ AB “about,” usually with a numeral. “There were *about* twelve men” (Acts 19.7).
- CS comparison, “like, as.” “He saw the Spirit of God coming down *like* a dove” (Matthew 3.16).
- ὥστε CH 1. inferential, drawing a conclusion, “for this reason, therefore.” “*Therefore*, the law is holy ...” (Romans 7.12).
- CH 2. result, “with the result that.” “A crowd came together again *with the result* that they were not able to eat” (Mark 3.20).
- CS purpose, “so that, in order that.” “They sent spies ... *in order to* deliver him over to ... the governor” (Luke 20.20).

## List 5

## Particles

Lemma	QS	QT	QV	Other tags
ἀλληλουϊά	QS			
ἀμήν	QS			
ἄν			QV	
ἄρα, ἄρα		QT		CH
γέ	QS			
δή	QS			
δήπου	QS			
ἕα	QS			
ἐάν			QV	CS
εἰ		QT		ABR, CC, CS
εὖγε	QS			
ἴδε	QS			(VMAA--2S)
ἰδοῦ	QS			
μέν	QS			CC, CS
μενοῦν	QS			
μενοῦνγε	QS			
μή		QT		AB, CC, CS
μήν	QS			(N-NM-S)
μήποτε		QT		AB, CC, CS
μήτι		QT		
ναί	QS			
νή	QS			
οὐ	QS	QT		AB
οὐά	QS			
οὐαί	QS			
οὐδέ		QT		AB, CC, CC&AB
οὐχί	QS	QT		AB
ὄφελον			QV	
ὦ	QS			(N-NN-S), (VSPA--2P)
ὦσαννά	QS			

## Derived Particle Functions:

ἄγε	VMPA--2S^QS
ἔρρωσθε	VMRN--2P^QS
ἴδετε	VMAA--2P^QS
χαῖρε	VMPA--2S^QS
χαίρειν	VNPA^QS
χαίρετε	VMPA--2P^QS

## List 6                      Particles and Contrasting Definitions

- ἄρα, ἄρα      CH      inferential, drawing a conclusion. “For if righteousness comes through the law, *then* Christ died uselessly” (Galatians 2.21).  
QT      in questions as improbable possibility. “Ask the Lord *if perhaps* he will forgive ...” (Acts 8.22).  
*Note*      Our analysis of ἄρα is made without reference to the accenting in *The Greek New Testament*.
- ἐάν      CS      when conditional; corresponds to εἰ. “And *if* a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand” (Mark 3.24).  
QV      when contingent; equivalent to ἄν. “But *whenever* anyone turns to the Lord, the veil is taken away” (2Corinthians 3.16).
- εἰ      ABR      equivalent to CC but with specific antecedent present. “I wrote in order to know your *character, that* you are obedient in everything” (2Corinthians 2.9). (This may also be interpreted as QT, “whether or if.”)  
CC      nominal clause. “Why is it judged incredible by you *that* God raises the dead” (Acts 26.8).  
CS      regular conditional. “*If* you show favoritism, you’re sinning” (James 2.9).  
QT      “whether,” both in direct and indirect questions. “Is it all right for me to say something to you?” (Acts 21.37).  
*Note*      See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (εἰ, ABR and CC).
- ἴδε      QS      attention getter. “*Look!* I earned five more talents” (Matthew 25.20).  
VMAA--2S      when coordinated with another imperative. “Philip said to him, ‘Come and *see!*’” (John 1.46), or when taking a direct object (Romans 11.22).
- μέν      CC      when item and response (or item and pair) bear equal prominence with respect to each other. Following response need not be overtly marked with a conjunction (δέ or otherwise). “*Mèn* there are many members, δὲ one body” (1Corinthians 12.20).  
CS      when item is less prominent than response (or pair). “The priests regularly enter the μὲν first tabernacle, ... the

second δὲ room only the high priest enters once a year” (Hebrews 9.6-7).

QS when no pair in following structure. This may be an affirmative particle, or the author may deem it unnecessary to continue with the response. “... whom heaven must receive until everything is restored ...” (Acts 3.21).

- μή AB “not.” “... just as the nations who do *not* know God” (1Thessalonians 4.5).
- CC nominal clause. “I fear *that* somehow when I come I may not find you as I wish” (2Corinthians 12.20).
- CS negative purpose, “in order that not.” “Watch out *that* your freedom does *not* become a stumbling block to the weak” (1Corinthians 8.9).
- QT rhetorical-question particle. “You are *not* one of his disciples, are you?” (John 18.25).
- Note See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (μή CC) and discussion in 11.2 about rhetorical questions.

- μήποτε AB “never.” “A will is in force only when someone has died, for it *never* takes effect while the one who made it is living” (Hebrews 9.17).
- CC nominal clause. “Let us be afraid *that* ... any of you be found to have fallen short of it” (Hebrews 4.1).
- CS negative purpose. “And watch yourselves *or else* your hearts *may* be weighed down with ...” (Luke 21.34).
- QT rhetorical-question particle, perhaps improbable possibility. “Could it possibly be that the rulers know that this is the Christ?” (John 7.26).
- Note See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (μήποτε, CC).

- οὐ (and AB “not.” “... we lie and are not doing the truth” (1John 1.6).
- οὐχί) QS negative-response particle, contrasted with ναί. “Let your ‘Yes’ be ‘Yes’ and your ‘No’ ‘No’” (James 5.12).
- QT rhetorical question particle. “You understand, *don’t you*, that everything entering the mouth ...?” (Matthew 5.17).

- οὐδέ AB “not even.” “*Not even* the world itself, I should think, would be able to hold the books that would be written” (John 21.25).
- CC “neither, nor.” “I will never leave you *nor* forsake you” (Hebrews 13.5).

CC& AB “nor even.” “He did not give him an inheritance in it,  
*nor even* a square foot of it (Acts 7.5).  
QT rhetorical question particle. “For even nature teaches,  
*doesn't it*, that ...” (1Corinthians 11.14).