FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

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*.[1] 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-known Asian languages and the translation of the New Testament into those languages for the benefit of their native speakers.

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[1] Peter C. Patton, ed., *Computing in the Humanities* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1981).

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Director
University Computer Center
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THE FIRST EDITION

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 Kopesec 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).

<div align="right">Barbara Friberg and Timothy Friberg</div>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THE SECOND EDITION

The life of the Analytical Greek New Testament (hereafter AGNT) project has been gratifying to both its editors and many users. What began as a computer-based project turned hard copy came full circle with the advent of personal computers. The printed form still enjoys a strong following against a background of growing computer applications.

In the early 1990s it became evident that the project would be more useful to more people through a simplification of the tagging system. What has resulted is a simplified tagging system (much fewer complex tags survive) that is still solidly based on what has been retained in the appendix as the "working analysis" for purposes of discussion.

This revision has crucially depended on four people, whom we gratefully acknowledge. Robert Smith first suggested that we move in the direction of simplification. To prove his point, he put in long hours reviewing the entire text, putting forth both suggestions for systematic change and justifications for individual instances. Neva Miller, partner in the *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (ANLEX) volume, used the tagging system extensively in preparation of the lexicon. Such painstaking attention to detail brought much input by way of suggestions and corrections. John Baima became agent of the electronic form of the project and in that capacity had hands-on responsibility maintaining analysis integrity and developing new applications. Last to be revised was the extensive appendix and for that task Ulrik Petersen stepped forward. Rewriting the appendix for the simplified form of the tags required extensive checking and, as it turned out, frequent correcting of the tags themselves. A heart-felt thanks to each of these coworkers.

The revision of AGNT involves addition as well. A third line of information (though it may not necessarily appear that way in electronic format) gives the lemma form (dictionary citation form) of each New Testament reflex. ("Reflex" as defined in ANLEX glossary: "The particular inflected or conjugated form of a word used in a text.") The implementation of this form was undertaken for us by John Baima. These lemmas are identical with those of ANLEX.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THE SECOND EDITION, innovating presentation

As it has been a driving principle of the Analytical Greek New Testament to serve the needs of students as best we know how, it was a given that AGNT would change as better analysis and means of presentation become available. That openness to change took a special turn when Carl Conrad asked back in the 1990s why we insisted on

going with our traditional analysis of voice when there were better analyses afoot.

In particular, he suggested that the traditional analysis of voice in terms of deponency was better replaced with an analysis of Active, Middle, Passive, making our one-time seven categories of voice (Active, Middle, Passive, Either middle or passive, middle Deponent, passive depOnent, middle or passive depoNent) unnecessary.

We were convinced of the viability of Carl's presentation, but not knowing whether or when it would replace the traditional analysis, we decided to present his nondeponent analysis as an alternative to AGNT's initial traditional analysis until such a time as the directions of pedagogy were clear. Thus, at the present time we offer AGNT in two forms for voice, the traditional deponent analysis and the innovating nondeponent analysis.

In this voice-innovating analysis, there are only three categories of voice (A, M, P), whether found in AGNT tags, ANLEX tags, or ANLEX lexical writeups. The AGNT appendix article 5.3 for voice has been rewritten under this new presentation. Further, there is a new ANLEX appendix on the subject of voice to supplement and complete Neva Miller's original essay on the subject.

So here we gladly acknowledge Carl's wider role in Greek and Latin voice studies and his particular AGNT role in helping us make this new appproach to voice learner friendly.

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 a 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 I outlines for other parts of speech what has just been explained concerning the 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 I

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

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 φοβηθῇς: 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, for example, in cases of verbal periphrastics. The sign appears on the side of the tag on which the pairing occurs. A minus sign (-) precedes a relative pronoun tag when there is no overt antecedent in the text.

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 underlying AGNT is both that of the fifth edition of *The Greek New Testament* (2014) and *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Byzantine Textform, 2005 and later corrections). The former is identical to the text of the twenty-eighth edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2013, second corrected printing) 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. All citations in the appendix are equally from *The Greek New Testament* (whether third, four or fifth editions) and the Byzantine Textform of the Greek New Testament. A parenthetical note (GNT3/4/5) is included in just those cases where the Byzantine Textform differs more significantly than in matters of accenting or punctuation.

The third line of this analysis presents the citation or dictionary form (lemma) for each Greek word. Each of these lemmas is identical in form to that assigned in ANLEX, to which of course it points. (There are a few noncongruencies between the AGNT/ANLEX lemmas and those of other reference works, for example, BDAG. These are all well motivated and usually readily apparent to the user.) The fourth line is an English reference gloss (ERG) of each item in question, supplemented, where appropriate, by a phrasal reference gloss (PERG), a phrase literal reference gloss (PLERG) and the Greek phrase to which the item in question is a constituent.

Barbara Friberg
and Timothy Friberg

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

N nominal

P pronoun	N nominative	M masculine	1 first person	S singular
-	G genitive	F feminine	2 second person	P plural
	D dative	N -	3 third person	-
	A accusative		-	
	V vocative			

V verbal

I indicative	P present	A active	N nominative	M masculine	1 first person	S singular
S subjunctive	I imperfect	M middle	G genitive	F feminine	2 second person	P plural
O optative	F future	P passive	D dative	N -	3 third person	-
M imperative	A aorist	E either middle or passive	A accusative		-	
N infinitive	R perfect	D middle deponent	V vocative			
P participle	L pluperfect	O passive deponent	-			
R participle (imperative sense)		N middle or passive deponent				

A adjectival

P pronominal	C cardinal	N nominative	M masculine	1 first person	S singular
B adverb	O ordinal	G genitive	F feminine	2 second person	P plural
-	R relative	D dative	N -	-	-
	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 (hyperordinating)
S subordinating

Q particle

S sentential
T interrogative
V verbal

& "and," crasis

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

APPENDIX
THE GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

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 need 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, Danker,

Arndt, and Gingrich; and *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* by Moulton and Milligan.[2] References will be made to some of these volumes below.

1   Scope of the Analysis

1.1 Grammatical Information

The heart of the Analytical Greek New Testament consists of its grammatical "tags," found just beneath the Greek text for each individual word in its printed form and in various locations (for example, in parentheses just following the Greek word) in the several electronic forms of AGNT. Except for a brief digression in article 1.2, the remainder of this appendix is devoted almost exclusively to elucidating the methodology behind this line of analysis.

1.1.1   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.

1.1.2   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, ἑαυτῶν is distinctively

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[2] W.F Moulton, A.S. Geden, and H.K. Moulton, eds., *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*, 5th 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*, 2nd 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*, 9th ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1940); Walter Bauer, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000); and J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952).

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.

1.1.3 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 or there and now or then. But each language has its own particular set of communication principles, which work perfectly for that language but which 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.[3] 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.

1.1.4 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 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.

1.2 Lexical Information

Though AGNT's uniqueness lies primarily in its grammatical (and occasionally semantic) analysis of each New Testament word, its scope has been expanded to include basic lexical information deemed essential to guide the casual reader. This information can be found in the three lines of text beneath the grammatical analysis (i.e. lines 3, 4, and 5 in printed format, though the information may appear elsewhere in electronic versions of AGNT).

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

1.2.1 Citation Form (Lemma)

The first lexical aid we include is the citation or "lemma" form of each word, that is, the most basic inflected form that one would reference in a dictionary. (All of the lemmas listed in AGNT and BYZAGNT represent dictionary entries in our corresponding lexicon ANLEX.) Our identification of each lemma form conforms to the standard conventions explained as follows. The lemma form of all verbs (participles included) is typically the present tense, active (middle, if active is wanting), infinitive form. The lemma form of most nouns is nominative and singular. For adjectives and determiners, which vary as to gender, the lemma is also masculine. (Thus, for example, the lemma for the dative feminine plural determiner ταῖς is ὁ rather than ἡ.) For most other types of words, the lemma form is identical with the form found in the text.

Though the lemma is the most straightforward line of analysis, two unusual cases deserve mention. First, a few forms (e.g. ἕστηκεν in John 8.44) could alternately reflect the inflection of two different Greek words. Since neither one can be conclusively determined correct from the context, both are listed, separated by an exclamation mark (for which see 3.2 below). The other case involves unusual spellings of word forms, apparently traceable to an older verb that was being supplanted at the time the New Testament was written. In such cases we simplify by classing the unusual form under the more common NT lemma entry. Thus, the lemma for γαμίσκονται in Luke 20.34 (GNT3/4/5) is listed as γαμίζειν rather than the etymologically exact form γαμίσκειν.

1.2.2 English Reference Gloss (ERG)

A more recent addition to AGNT is the English reference gloss (ERG). Each ERG consists of one English word or short phrase corresponding to one Greek word in the GNT text. While at first glance the ERG appears similar to an interlinear translation, its significant differences are worth noting.

ERGs give neither a full definition nor a translation of the Greek words they represent. Rather, they provide a quick guide to a word's bare lexical (as opposed to grammatical) information. Declensional and conjugational information found in the grammatical tag is therefore *not* repeated in the ERG. An example will help to make this clear. The genitive pronoun αὐτοῦ, a reflex of αὐτός, is commonly used in the GNT as a possessive pronoun and may be accurately translated "his." The ERG for this word, however, is simply "he," not reflecting at all the meaning contributed by the genitive case marking. Thus, it is more accurate to think of the ERG as equivalent to the basic or "lemma" form rather than to a particular reflex in the text. From this it should be obvious that ERGs cannot be combined with other adjacent ERGs to

form a viable English sentence translation. In fact, this is by design—such translations often mask intricacies in the Greek. By contrast, ERGs are intended not as a translation, but as a point of reference to aid reading Greek.

ERGs are taken directly or indirectly from ANLEX. Some words contain purely grammatical, rather than lexical, information. In such cases we place the grammatical meaning within angle brackets (e.g. ἄν <contingency>). Where a word has multiple senses, the ERG reflects the choice our scholarship has taken to be the best fit for the context. However, our exegetical decisions should not be taken as absolute; there are many cases where the reader may wish to take a different interpretation. For a few of the more truly ambiguous word usages, we give two senses separated by / or ! (see 3.1 and 3.2 below). Obviously, much nuance to word meaning is left unexpressed in the ERG. For more detailed lexical study, the reader is referred to ANLEX.

1.2.3 Phrasal English Reference Gloss (PERG)

Sometimes the meaning of a phrase is greater than the sum of its constituent parts. Normally, this includes idioms, like "jump the gun," whose meaning has been conventionalized over time. The phrasal English reference gloss (PERG) was designed for just such cases as these. Consider the phrase ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα in Matthew 1.18 and elsewhere. Literally translated word by word ("in womb having"), it makes little sense. Taken together, it is a euphemism for pregnancy (a meaning somewhat inferable in this case from its literal components). A PERG is the only unit of analysis in AGNT that functions above the level of individual words. Our convention is to repeat the entire phrasal gloss beneath each word in the construction.

2 Simple Tags in the Analysis

Everything we say about each Greek word's grammar is condensed in an identification "tag" (line 2 in the printed [BYZ]AGNT text). 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 three types of conjunction, CC (coordinating) or CH (superordinating) or CS (subordinating), or it may be an adverb, AB. Similarly, ὦ 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 verbal 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, GNT3/4/5); ἀνοιγ[ήσ]εται, VIFP--3S/VIPP--3S (Luke 11.10, GNT3/4/5); and αὐτό[ν], NPAM3S/NPAN3S (Matthew 14.12, GNT3/4/5).

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 ἀναπαύεσθε (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.

A comma is a form of punctuation that often has a much subtler impact on the interpretation of a text. In our analysis, it may make the difference between a determiner marked with or without a plus (see, for example, the discussion on articular participles in 8.3.2). At least as often, we either cannot discern a reason for the comma, or it is ambiguous with respect to the author's intended message. In such cases we base our choice of tag primarily on semantics, and only rarely do we include an exclamation mark.

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 τι). As an example of this, see Mark 6.23 (GNT3/4/5). 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. On the other hand, a word like ἄρτι, though normally AB, receives the complex tag AB^AP-GF-S in its anarthrous substantival adjectival usage following a preposition (e.g. John 5.17).

The caret symbol may infrequently be read as "irregularly used as." One example is when εἰς is used indeclinably following κατά, a preposition governing the accusative case, e.g. Romans 12.5. In this situation, καθ' is tagged PA, εἰς APCNM-S^APCAM-S. Alternatively, καθ' may be analyzed as an adverb, in which case εἰς 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. Κἀγώ (for καί and ἐγώ) can be analyzed as AB&NPN-1S (Revelation 3.21) if the καί element is taken as an adverb, or as CC&NPN-1S (Revelation 22.8) if taken as a conjunction. In some cases analogous to crasis, two simple tags best describe a single Greek word. For example, τοὔνομα is tagged as DANS&N-AN-S in Matthew 27.57.

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) Καὶ (Acts 17.12) may be taken as AB ("even"), CC ("and") or CC+ ("both"). Thus the tag AB/CC/CC+. (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 γλυκὺ in James 3.12 (GNT3/4/5) is A--AN-S/AP-AN-S. The context, with tags, is: ἁλυκὸν (AP-NN-S/A--NN-S) γλυκὺ (A--AN-S/AP-AN-S) ποιῆσαι (VNAA) ὕδωρ (N-AN-S/N-NN-S). Either ἁλυκὸν stands alone as a nominative substantive and γλυκὺ modifies ὕδωρ, or ἁλυκὸν modifies ὕδωρ and γλυκὺ stands alone as an accusative substantive.

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 see this as 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: γνωρίσουσιν [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 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 "imperatival 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 otherwise could be expressed 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. In Hebrews 10.32, there is reason to support a working analysis of πρότερον as APMAN-S^ABM^A-MAF-P. That is, it is formally a substantival adjective generally used as an adverb and in this particular context acting as an adjective modifying the feminine "days." We have rather given it a simplified analysis as ABM.

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, John 6.62: τὸ (DANS) πρότερον (APMAN-S). This two-word phrase functions adverbially. The tags, however, are given to individual words, neither of which functions, by itself, as an adverb. Elsewhere πρότερον as a single unit without article appropriately receives the tag ABM (e.g. Hebrews 4.6), the comparative form of AB.

3.8 Related Tags: The Plus Sign (+); The Minus 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.

Second, correlative conjunctions (either/or; both/and) are marked with a plus on the right side of the first conjunction in the pair, pointing in the direction of the second (without a corresponding plus pointing backwards). For example, Acts 1.8: … ἔν τε (CC+) Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ (CC) ….

Third, 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 John 8.25: ὅ (-APRAN-S ! ABT+) τι (A-IAN-S ! +ABT). This indicates that the adjacent words may be taken as separate words—analyzed -APRAN-S and A-IAN-S respectively—or they may be taken as a single word, ὅτι, analyzed ABT.

Fourth, sometimes the use of the plus can best be described as a "flag" to signal some syntactic subregularity. A plus is used on the right side of all definite articles that do not have an overt headnoun or pronoun (whether preceding or following). This covers many articular participial phrases (e.g. Mark 9.23: τῷ [DDMS+] πιστεύοντι). It also covers places where the article governs a quotation (for example, Ephesians 4.9: τὸ [DNNS+] ... Ἀνέβη); an adverb (Colossians 3.1: τὰ [DANP+] ἄνω); a prepositional phrase (2Corinthians 5.10: τὰ [DANP+] διὰ τοῦ σώματος);

a noncongruent noun (Luke 20.25: τὰ [DANP+] Καίσαρος) or pronominal adjective (2Timothy 3.9b: ἡ [DNFS+] ἐκείνων); or two coreferential substantive adjectives (2Peter 3.16: οἱ [DNMP+] ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι). The unique exception to this rule is where the masculine or feminine nominative article is followed by δέ (or μέν). Here the article functions as a subject pronoun, and thus a complex tag is used where a plus sign might otherwise be expected (see full discussion in 8.2).

Fifth, in the few cases where an article governs both a noun or a pronominal adjective and at the same time a participle or other construction lacking a head substantive, the determiner tag followed by a + will be used, rather than a simple determiner tag or a complex tag D…^(D…+/D…). It may be understood as D with respect to the noun or pronominal adjective and as D+ with respect to the participle or other construction. (See 1Timothy 4.3 and Titus 1.15.)[4]

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) ὧν (APRGM-P+^APRAM-P) κατηχήθης (VIAP--2S) λόγων (N-GM-P). The plus shows that 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.)

The minus sign is used before the tag of a relative pronoun that has no antecedent. See 7.6.4 for a full discussion and also 10.3.

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 ἵνα, which throws the quotation into an altogether different light from that in Matthew and Acts. The accompanying analyses reflect these differences.

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[4] In these two references the pronominal adjective tag (in both cases really AP-DM-P) is marked as A--DM-P to accord with the tag DDMP+ (see fourth-usage discussion).

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, Danker, Arndt, and Gingrich in their Greek lexicon (hereafter BDAG), or if it is used as an adjective according to our analysis, its tag begins with A instead of N. For example, μοιχαλίς, though recognized as a noun in BDAG, 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 BDAG.

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 Σαβαώθ 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. εἷς) or ordinal (e.g. πρῶτος); relative pronouns (e.g. ὅς); indefinite pronouns (e.g. τὶ); 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…^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 also simply labeled vocative. When there is functional ambiguity as to whether a nominative or vocative use is intended (even when there is formal distinction—θεός versus θεέ), both options are given, with a slash between them, e.g. Hebrews 1.9 θεός (N-NM-S/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 BDAG 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 BDAG 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. BDAG 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 ἑαυτῶν 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 τὴν and following τὸν.[5]

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. We analyze this construction as ὁ (DNMS^APDNM-S) δέ (CC), reflecting the article's historical function as a demonstrative.

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 given a working analysis as a determiner functioning as both a pronoun (or noun substitute, that is, the antecedent) and a relative pronoun. The working 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 actual analysis tag assigned the article is DNMS+.

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 7.6.4). 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 7.6.4 below. Here let it suffice to offer an example. The working analysis is as follows: 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. The actual simplified tag given is -APRNM1P.

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 either A- or NP. An example is this: αὐτῇ (A--DF-S/NPDF3S) τῇ (DDFS) ὥρᾳ (N-DF-S) (Luke 2.38).

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[5] See Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *A Greek Grammar*, for comment.

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: … μὴ (QN) φοβηθῆτε (VSAP--2P^VMAP--2P) μηδὲ (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.

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 (GNT3/4/5): Μὴ (QT) δύνασθε (VIPM--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 lawful to do this or that.")

In Greek δεῖ is sometimes tied to a preceding clause by way of a relative clause headed by ἅ. 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," where the entire infinitive subject complement of ἔξεστιν (here equivalent to δεῖ) is italicized. At the surface level, however, the infinitive ποιεῖν is optionally missing. In its absence πάντα becomes the surface subject and is appropriately given the nominative case tag. One further example awaits discussion by way of its working analysis: ἅ (APRAN-P^APDAN-P&APRAN-P) μὴ (QN) 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 μή. (See 7.6.4 below for details on the working analysis of ἅ; the simplified relative tag is -APRAN-P.)

Μή 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, ἦμεν (VIIA--1P+) συνηγμένοι (+VPRMNM1P) (Acts 20.8). 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 εὕρῃ 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 BDAG 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 VRPMNM2P. 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 (VMPM--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. In 2Timothy 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 (-) imperatival 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 (VPPMNM1P), 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 (VIFM--3S+) δεδεμένον (+VPRMNN-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 (QN) 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. In seventeen (11, BYZAGNT) instances of ἔφη, for example, we have tagged the word as VIAA--3S/VIIA--3S. (In the other twenty-six [29] cases we were able to determine a unique analysis—either imperfect or aorist—from discourse signals.) 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, στήκειν and ἱστάναι. Our analysis agrees with BDAG in giving a choice between perfect and imperfect tenses in John 8.44 despite the textual variation in the breathing mark.

5.3 Voice

5.3.1 Three Voice Forms: Mismatches of Form and Usage

In the analysis and tagging employed in this system, all verbs are tagged for voice simply in terms of grammatical form: A(ctive), M(iddle), and P(assive). This marks a significant change; in previous editions of the database four additional tags indicated verbs with middle-passive or passive morphology bearing questionable or supposedly mismatched semantic value. Many of these have been traditionally termed "deponent" verbs; middle or passive in grammatical form, they are said to bear an "active" semantic value. There is now an emerging consensus that the classification of "deponent" verbs is not helpful for understanding their usage. If we use descriptive terms that are more precise and define the distinctive semantic value of the voice forms more accurately, we can make better sense of the Greek voice system. What follows is a critique of the traditional doctrine of Greek verbal voice and an exposition of an alternative account of the voice forms and usages of the ancient Greek verb.

Three inflectional patterns constitute the Greek verbal voice system as traditionally understood: verbs with endings in ω/εις/ει or μι/σι/τι, etc. in the primary tenses (present, perfect, and future) and ν/ς/-, etc. in the secondary tenses (imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect) have been called *active*; verbs with endings in μαι/σαι/ται, etc. in the primary tenses and μην/σο/το, etc. in the secondary tenses have been called *middle-passive*; verbs formed with θη or η markers in the aorist and future tenses have been called *passive*. Verbs with *active* endings have been thought to

carry mostly "active" meanings—in the sense that the subject is the agent performing the action indicated by the verb and that the verb is quite frequently transitive; verbs with *passive* endings have been thought to carry mostly "passive" meanings—in the sense that the subject is the patient acted on by either an external agent or an instrument—and that the verb is transitive. Verbs with *middle-passive* endings may, it has been thought, carry a "passive" meaning in those tenses other than the aorist and future tenses, or they may bear a "middle" meaning: the subject acts in its own interest (indirect reflexive) or on itself (direct reflexive). This account of the ancient Greek voice system seems adequate enough for the transitive verbs that constitute a considerable majority of Greek verbs.

In fact, however, forms and usage of a great number of Greek verbs do not conform to that traditional scheme. Many verbs lack a regular active form, displaying only middle-passive or passive inflections. Some of these are intransitive, while others are transitive and take objects, so that grammars or lexicons may describe them as "middle with passive meaning" or "passive with active meaning" or "deponent verbs." Such verbs are termed "middle deponents"[6] if their aorist is middle, or "passive deponents"[7] if their aorist has the θη passive endings. In addition to these there are other verbs whose inflectional patterns do not conform to the conventional explanation of voice in Greek verbs. There are verbs that are active in the present tense but middle in the future (e.g. μανθάνειν/μαθήσεσθαι), verbs that are middle in the present but have active forms in the aorist and/or the perfect tenses (e.g. γίνεσθαι/γενέσθαι/γεγονέναι;   ἵστασθαι/στῆναι/ἑστηκέναι; σήπεσθαι/σάπῆναι /σεσηπέναι).

These apparent mismatches of voice form and usage do in fact exist as surviving older forms and usages of everyday speech. Nothing keeps archaic linguistic usage alive through the centuries so surely as daily usage, while the less frequently used words and word-patterns will settle into standardized, regular forms. We need not, however, resort to assuming that the "mismatches" are anomalies; they do conform to an intelligible scheme of voice inflections and usage. These verb-forms are not flawed; rather, the traditional account of ancient Greek voice fails to do full justice to the observed facts of forms and usage.

The flaw underlying the concept of mismatched or "deponent" verbs derives, to some extent, from ambiguous use of the term "active" and

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[6] or *media tantum*

[7] or *passiva tantum*

from envisioning the three inflectional paradigms in terms of the *transitive* relationship between a subject, a verb, and a direct object or complement. Grammars and lexicons alike designate as "active" any verb form whose subject is an agent, regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive or even impersonal, or refers to an involuntary or spontaneous process that the subject undergoes. The ambiguity of the term "active" enables grammarians and lexicographers to see an anomaly in verbs with middle-passive or passive inflection if the verbs seem to have subjects that are performing agents and to categorize those anomalous verbs as "deponents." It may well be too that teachers and students of ancient Greek find it natural to look at ancient Greek voice as analogous to voice forms and usage in their native language described primarily in terms of transitivity and a polarity of active and passive forms suited chiefly to transitive verbs.

In fact, however, neither transitivity nor the semantic role of the subject as an agent is a key factor in the distinction between the patterns of Greek inflection for voice. Verb forms bearing active inflection constitute the default pattern of the Greek voice system. The majority of Greek verbs do display active voice morphology. Many of them, perhaps most, are transitive and bear "active" meaning in the traditional sense. Several of them are *causative* forms of contrasting middle intransitive verbs (e.g. ἐγείρειν "raise up" vs. ἐγείρεσθαι "rise"; ἱστάναι "make stand" vs. ἵστασθαι "stand"; ἅπτειν "bring into contact" vs. ἅπτεσθαι "touch." But many *intransitive* verbs (e.g. καταβαίνειν, μένειν), several *impersonal* verbs (e.g. δεῖ, πρέπει, ἔξεστι), and even verbs that are commonly middle or passive in meaning may in some contexts employ active inflection in a sense that is semantically *passive* (e.g. ἀποθνήσκειν "be put to death"; πίπτειν "be felled in battle"; πάσχειν "be affected."[8] It is clear that active morphology does not itself indicate that a verb is transitive or that its subject is an agent; rather, active morphology is the standard or default pattern of conjugation for most Greek verbs.

5.3.2 Middle-marking and Subject-affectedness

Middle-passive morphology, on the other hand, differs from the active pattern in that it indicates *subject-affectedness.* While active

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[8] Under discussion here is a process of development in the morphology and usage of Greek verbs that occurred in the course of several centuries. The Greek New Testament as a corpus displays or represents a limited range of vocabulary and usage of Hellenistic Greek; some of the verbs noted in this account are found rarely or not at all in the NT corpus although they are common enough in Hellenistic Greek usage.

inflection is the default pattern for the great majority of Greek verbs, middle-passive (and passive) verb-forms are *marked for subject-affectedness*. Middle-marking indicates that the subject is affected by the action or process to which the verb refers, not simply as the agent performing an action—but functioning in any of several semantic roles described by linguists: *patient, beneficiary, experiencer, undergoer.* A *patient* is a person or thing directly affected by an act performed by an external agent or impacted by some external instrument (e.g. a ship at sea battered by gale winds, a fugitive chased by policemen). A *beneficiary* is a person whose interests are served or to whom harm is done (e.g. the recipient of a gift, the victim of a dishonest act). An *experiencer* is a person receiving sensations or engaged in understanding or judging or subject to mild or strong emotion (e.g. one who delights or dreads or desires someone or something). An *undergoer* is a person or thing subject to some spontaneous or deliberate process (e.g. being born, dying, growing, decomposing).

Middle-marking always indicates subject-affectedness, but some verbs more commonly appearing in middle-voice forms may appear in active-voice forms where the subject-affectedness simply isn't marked. For instance, the imperative forms ἐγεῖρε and ἐγείρετε for the verb ἐγείρεσθαι, a body-motion middle verb meaning "rise, arise," appears often in NT texts in what must have been a common colloquial active imperative form, "Get up!"

We are told that Proto Indo-European had the same voice types, "active" and "middle-passive," as ancient Greek. It is not just a curious historical fact that *middle-passive forms in all tenses of the Greek verb except aorist and future* may express *both middle and passive meanings*. Middle-voice forms may indicate voluntary, agentive action performed on oneself or in one's own behalf or involuntary spontaneous process. Ἐγείρεσθαι, for instance, may mean "wake from sleep" or "rise" (from seated or reclining position), or "be roused from sleep" or "be raised up" (from seated or reclining position—or even from death). Spontaneous processes also appear in middle forms (e.g. σήπεσθαι, "rot,"; γίνεσθαι, "come to birth, evolve, happen).'' In sum, there are several kinds of verbs that regularly appear in the middle voice and in comparable forms in many languages. Many of the *reflexive* verbs in Romance languages derive from late Latin reflexive verbs that emerged as replacements for older Latin subject-affected, middle-voice verbs that have long been called "deponent" by traditional Latin grammarians.[9]

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[9] The term "deponent" was first applied to Latin verbs that are "passive in form but active in meaning"; it was taken up as a descriptive term for Greek middle verbs. It is more

In a transitive construction the subject is an agent acting on a patient (e.g. λύει ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸν ἵππον "the man unties the horse"). If the subject is the *patient* acted on by an external agent or instrument, then the middle-marked verb carries a *passive* sense (e.g. λύεται ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός "the horse is untied by the man"). Suppose the horse is uncomfortable and works its way loose; in that case *middle-marking* will indicate that subject is both *agent* and *patient* (λύεται ὁ ἵππος "the horse gets loose"). Note that this phrasing indicates no external agent, although it's certainly possible that the horse gets loose because its owner unties it or perhaps because the worn tether breaks. The Greek middle voice does not indicate whether the horse gets loose through an external agent or through its own persistent straining against its bonds. The fact that the subject is not only an *agent* but also a *patient* is what the middle-marking indicates in this instance, and it should be noted that this construction is essentially *reflexive*; in many languages reflexive constructions are employed in a manner very much like middle-marking in Greek. Traditional Greek grammar terms this usage "direct reflexive."

Middle-marking may be employed when the subject is not only the *agent* but also the *beneficiary* of the action or process. (E.g. κτᾶται ὁ ἀνὴρ ἵππον "The man acquires a horse for himself.") Traditional Greek grammar terms this usage "indirect reflexive." When the subject is an *experiencer* engaged in receiving and mentally processing experiential data (feeling, tasting, smelling, sensing generally, e.g. αἰσθάνεσθαι "sense," γεύεσθαι "taste," ὀσφραίνεσθαι "smell") or responding emotionally to some stimulus (fear, anger, desire, pleasure, pain, etc., e.g., φοβεῖσθαι "fear," ὀργίζεσθαι "be angry," ὀρέγεσθαι "reach out," ἥδεσθαι "feel pleasure," λυπεῖσθαι "feel pain"), or engaged in the cognitive processing of information (pondering, planning, reaching a conclusion, etc., e.g. λογίζεσθαι "reason," βουλεύεσθαι "take counsel," ἡγεῖσθαι "conclude"), or speech in response to another in a critical confrontation of some sort (blame, accusation, answering, commanding, etc., e.g. μέμφεσθαι "blame," αἰτιᾶσθαι "accuse," ἀποκρίνεσθαι "respond," ἐντέλλεσθαι "command"), the verb's middle-marking indicates the grammatical subject's deeper involvement in the verbal process. Interaction with another (dialogue, interrogation, combat, etc., διαλέγεσθαι, ἐρίζεσθαι, μάχεσθαι) and reciprocal actions (gathering, dispersal and collective behavior generally, e.g., συναγείρεσθαι "assemble," διαμερίζεσθαι "distribute") also commonly are associated with middle-marking of the verb. When the grammatical subject is an

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helpful to understand such Latin verbs and the reflexive verbs of Romance languages in terms of Indo-European middle-passive forms and usage.

undergoer of a process, whether a voluntary action (e.g. body movement [καθίζεσθαι "sit," ἵστασθαι "stand"] or locomotion [πορεύεσθαι "make one's way"]) or of a spontaneous process (e.g. birth [γενέσθαι "be born"] or spoiling [of something organic] [σήπεσθαι "rot, go bad"]), middle-marking is commonly found in the verb-form.

Several distinct categories of middle verbs have been discerned, ranging across a spectrum reaching from direct reflexive verbs at one end to verbs of physical processes of transformation at the other. Specifically these are: (1) direct reflexive (ἀλείφεσθαι "anoint oneself," ξυρεῖσθαι "shave"); (2) indirect reflexive (κτᾶσθαι "acquire," ῥύεσθαι "protect," ἱλάσκεσθαι "propitiate"); (3) speech-act middle (ἀπολογεῖσθαι "speak in defense," εὔχεσθαι "pray," ψεύδεσθαι "lie"); (4) mental-activity middle (λογίζεσθαι "reason," βουλεύεσθαι "take counsel"); (5) perception (θεᾶσθαι "watch," γεύεσθαι "taste," αἰσθάνεσθαι "sense"); (6) reciprocal middle (μάχεσθαι "fight," ἀγωνίζεσθαι "compete," διαλέγεσθαι "converse"); (7) collective-action middle (συναγείρεσθαι "assemble," συλλέγεσθαι "gather"); (8) body-motion middle (ὀρέγεσθαι "reach out," τρέπεσθαι "turn [oneself]," ὁρμᾶσθαι "start," πορεύεσθαι "travel, make one's way"); (9) mental-process middle (μιμνήσκεσθαι "remember," ὀργίζεσθαι "get angry," λυπεῖσθαι "feel pain," φοβεῖσθαι "fear"); (10) spontaneous-process middle (φαίνεσθαι "appear," γίνεσθαι "become," τήκεσθαι "melt").

5.3.3 Passive formatives (θη, η) as alternative middle-markers

The θη and η formatives marking aorist and future passive verb paradigms are traditionally deemed to bear essentially passive semantic value. The so-called "deponent" verbs (here preferably styled *middle-verbs*) are thought to be exceptions to this semantic linking — anomalies. In fact, however, these markers have clearly been derived from athematic aorists of middle verbs. A cursory examination reveals that aorist "passives" are conjugated with *active* endings (e.g. ἐλύθην/ἐλύθης/ἐλύθη; ἐβλάβην/ἐβλάβης/ἐβλάβη). We may compare with these forms the aorist of the middle-verbs ἵσταμαι/ἔστην and φαίνομαι/ἐφάνην. Ἔστην may alternatively be understood to mean "I stood" or "I came to a standstill" or even "I was made to stand." Comparably ἐφάνη may be understood to mean "it appeared" or "it was revealed." That is to say, the ambivalence of the middle-passive morphology in the μαι/σαι/ται primary and μην/σο/το secondary tense forms also characterizes the θη and η markers of the "passive" inflections. These formatives—θη and η—are in fact not distinct passive

markers; rather they are alternative middle-passive markers; it would not be amiss to speak of the μαι/σαι/ται and μην/σο/το forms as "middle-passive #1" and to speak of the θη and η forms as "middle-passive #2."

In fact, however, the θη and η morphology, although it always indicates that the verb-form is "marked for subject-affectedness," far more frequently appears with verbs carrying a *passive* sense—precisely because more verbs are transitive. Many transitive verbs are found in all three morphological patterns: ἔλυσε "he untied (something bound)," ἐλύσατο "he freed himself," ἐλύθη "he was untied"; ἔτυψε "he struck," ἐτύψατο "he struck himself," ἐτύφθη "he was stricken."

While the markers η and θη in second aorist, second passive, aorist passive and future passive are broadly functional in distinguishing transitive active/causative and passive forms of the same verb (e.g. ἐποίησαν/ἐποιήθησαν), they also may indicate the intransitive alternative to a transitive *active-causative* form. For example, the intransitive verb ἵστασθαι "stand" has a causative active form ἱστάναι "make stand" and comparable aorist forms: the causative active ἔστησα "I made someone stand" and ἔστην "I stood." Similarly, the intransitive middle verb ἐγείρεσθαι "wake up, rise up" has its corresponding causative active form ἐγείρειν "awaken/rouse someone, raise up someone," and there is a corresponding causative active aorist (ἤγειρα) and an intransitive middle aorist (ἠγέρθην "I rose"). Note, however, that this form ἠγέρθην may also bear a *passive* sense in a context involving or implying an external agent. That is to say, ἠγέρθην may be understood as a *middle* with the sense, "I awoke" or "I rose up"—or it may be interpreted in a *passive* sense: "I was roused" or "I was raised up"—or even "I was raised from death."

There are also many middle verbs (traditionally termed "deponent") that have aorists in θην/θης/θη, e.g. δύναμαι, aorist ἠδυνήθην; βούλομαι, aorist ἠβουλήθην. On the other hand, several middle verbs that have sigmatic or thematic aorists in earlier Greek (e.g. ἀποκρίνομαι, aorist ἀπεκρινάμην ("answer"); ὁρμᾶται, aorist ὡρμήσατο ("rush") in later Greek regularly display θη forms: ἀπεκρίθην, ὡρμήθη. In Hellenistic Koine Greek θη forms were in process of supplanting older μην/σο/το forms, much as α was in the process of supplanting ο in thematic second aorists (e.g. εἶπα for εἶπον, ἦλθαν for ἦλθον). The middle verb γίνεσθαι appears 462 times in the New Testament in the aorist, mostly with the μην/σο/το forms but forty-

two times in θη forms — and it is not clear that there is any semantic difference in meaning between γενέσθαι and γενηθῆναι.[10]

5.3.4 Voice tags and knowing the verbs intimately

The notion of "deponency" and the sorting of Greek verbs in categories by which tenses display mismatched forms and usage is not really helpful to the reader who takes note of voice-tagging. Far more useful is discerning several recurrent patterns of verbs with middle inflections:

a. *Transitive* verbs that are regular display the full gamut of forms: Active present ποιεῖν, aorist ποιῆσαι; Middle present ποιεῖσθαι, aorist ποιήσασθαι; Passive aorist ποιηθῆναι;

b. *Intransitive* verbs of one common type may display a present middle δύνασθαι, πορεύεσθαι and an aorist passive δυνηθῆναι, πορευθῆναι;

c. *Intransitive* verbs of another common type may display middle forms in both the present and aorist (γίνεσθαι, γενέσθαι; κτᾶσθαι, κτήσασθαι);

d. Some older irregular verbs display middle forms in the present and intransitive active forms in the perfect (πείθεσθαι, πεποιθέναι; γίνεσθαι, γεγονέναι; ἵστασθαι, ἑστηκέναι).

It should be noted clearly that voice-tags in this database are indicative of the *form* of the verb, not the function. Verbs tagged as A(ctive) may very likely carry an *active* meaning—the subject is an agent and the verb impacts a direct-object patient, but a verb tagged as A(ctive) will not necessarily have that semantic value. So too the tagging of verbs as M(iddle) or P(assive) indicates only the *morphology*, not the semantic value, of the verb so-tagged. To summarize: What is tagged is "lexical voice-form" A, M, P. Lexical M can be interpreted as either middle or passive as befits the verb itself and the context; lexical P can likewise be interpreted as either middle or passive as befits the verb itself and the context; verbs that are essentially transitive will have θη/η forms ordinarily to be interpreted as passive, but subject-affected verbs (or "middle verbs") may be reflexive or intransitive, and their θη/η forms will also best be understood as reflexive or intransitive (e.g. ἀποκρίνεσθαι, aor. ἀποκριθῆναι).

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[10] While there is ample evidence for θη forms supplanting older aorist middle forms in the Hellenistic era, it is open to question whether there is a significant difference or even a nuance between a μην/σο/το form and a θην/θης/θη form found in the same author.

Understanding middle-marking as an indicator of *subject-affectedness* and awareness of the range of common middle-verb categories can render the voice tags more helpful to the AGNT user, but any serious reader of the NT text should make a habit of consulting a good lexicon. One needs not only to know the principal parts of the irregular verbs, but also should be familiar with each of them as with a friend or associate of long and regular acquaintance. One would do well to take to heart the admonition of Lewis Carroll's Humpty Dumpty: "They've a temper, some of them — particularly verbs: they're the proudest — adjectives you can do anything with, but verbs — however, I can manage the whole lot of them! Impenetrability! That's what *I* say!

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, GNT3/4/5) 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 εἶναι, though in several instances in Luke's writings ὑπάρχειν performs this function (Acts 8.16; 19.36); προϋπάρχειν (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 ἔρχεσθαι and γίνεσθαι as the empty verb but found in each case that the potential base added some semantic content. In most cases the base verb is finite, but it may also be a participle (e.g. Ephesians 4.18) or an infinitive (Luke 9.18). The second kind of periphrastic construction is μέλλειν and an infinitive, although this construction indicates some sense of futurity (… was/is going to …). The form of

μέλλειν 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. We note that in cases of a future middle 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 VIFM--3S. But when it is used as an imperative, the voice is active, for there is no middle in present-tense εἰμί reflexes. Thus the tag reads VIFM--3S^VMPA--3S (e.g. Matthew 20.26). Πορευθῆτε (Luke 21.8) is analyzed as VSAP--2P^VMAP--2P, with passive indicated in both tags because the verb is consistently passive in both moods.

With a number of instances of χαίρω (e.g. Acts 15.23) and one of ἔρρωσθε (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 (τυχὸν). It seems to function adverbially, but it is not given a functional analysis any more than is a reduced genitive absolute.

We distinguish between ἄγε as its own lemma and thus a sentential particle QS (e.g. James 4.13) and ἄγε as a true imperative of ἄγειν, thus VMPA--2S, (2Timothy 4.11). Similarly with ἴδε, the analysis is either VMAA--2S (when the lemma is ἰδεῖν) or QS (when the lemma is ἴδε), whichever is appropriate. note further, ἴδε pairs with ἰδού, which is entirely QS.

Finally, both δεῦρο and δεῦτε are tagged AB^VM in all but one instance (δεῦρο in Romans 1.13—AB). 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.

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 used as adverbs. Κύκλῳ, for example, shows adverbial use (AB) in Luke 9.12, whereas in Revelation 4.6 it is prepositional (PG); its historical form is, of course, a

dative noun, though now frozen in both form and function as an adverb. On the other hand, anarthrous nouns used adverbially are generally and simply analyzed as nouns; for example, νυκτός (N-GF-S). (Nouns with articles used adverbially similarly retain their formal analysis, but for an additional reason: as more than a single lexical unit they are phrasal, something that does not receive a functional tag in our analysis.)

The close connection of adverbs to adjectives deserves special mention. Adjectives used adverbially are simply marked AB in our analysis. In the usual case these are neuter accusative forms (apparently analogous to the accusative of specification of noun forms); for example, μόνον (AB) (and not AP-AN-S^AB). For a few adjectives the nominative form may be used adverbially; for example, εὐθύς, formally AP-NM-S, is simply tagged AB when functionally an adverb.

6.1 Adverbs Functioning like Other Parts of Speech

Adverbs sometimes function like adjectives, whether attributive or substantival, an example being ὑπερλίαν (GNT3/4/5), potentially AB^A- -GM-P, e.g. 2Corinthians 11.5. In fact, we give such adverbs simply an AB tag. An exception to this, however, are adverbs functioning substantivally when they stand anarthrously in the place of objects of prepositions; for example, ἕως (PG) ἄρτι (AB^AP-GF-S) (1John 2.9). (The reason for this analysis is that there is no determiner on whose tag to place the usual plus sign; the other anarthrous exception is πλησίον, when meaning "neighbor" and not "nearby.") Δεῦρο and δεῦτε are either AB^VM or, in one case, AB (Romans 1.13). Improper prepositions are properly adverbs. Rather than AB^PG, we tag them simply PG. See list 1 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. The indefinite adverbs are ποτέ, πού, πώποτε, and πώς. The interrogative adverbs include ἱνατί, ὅτι, πόθεν, ποσάκις, πότε, πότερον, ποῦ, πῶς, and τί. 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). Superlative adverbs (ABS) are

limited to three: μάλιστα, ἥδιστα and τάχιστα. 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: ABO/APOAM-S.

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 the term "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 ἡ αὐτὴ σάρξ, 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 ἀνήρ (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 adjectiveal 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: τι (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 BDAG. (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." A few words like ἄκρον, perhaps expected to be adjectives but having apparently lost their adjectival sense, are tagged N-. Others like μοιχαλίς, 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 ... ὅμοιός (A--NM-S) ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ (N-DM-S) (Luke 6.49). The appropriate analysis of ὅμοιός 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).[11]

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 δεύτερος 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 components as well. Ὁποῖος 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

The relatives in the New Testament include ὅς, ὅστις, οἷος, ὅσος, and ὁποῖος. Though ὅστις had historically been an indefinite relative, by New Testament times it had become parallel in a number of usages with ὅς. (As noted in 7.6.2 below, definite ὅς 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.

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[11] In this example, a preceding μηδέν is, exceptionally, considered A-.

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 οἵους 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 in greater detail, 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 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 main clause semantically, though absent grammatically.

In the following paragraphs our discussion first posits the underlying semantic structure to which the relative pronoun relates. In order to demonstrate the richness of competing possibilities, we will temporarily use in our discussion some complex *working analyses* to show the relevant semantic structures. These complex tags are replaced by simpler, easier-to-use tags in our final, published analysis. At every place where there is a difference we will make this clear.

7.6.2 Implied Antecedents

For purposes of discussion we will label a missing 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 working 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 ἐάν 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 working 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 BDAG refers to implied demonstratives even where the referent is clearly an indefinite identity.[12] We leave it to the reader to supply, after considering the context, any indefinite reading.

To what may the supplied antecedent in a working analysis relate? In many cases, after some intervening material it relates to a main clause that follows. Ὃς ἂν in Matthew 15.5 relates through the supplied antecedent to the first clause of verse 6, with an extended relative clause intervening. Ὃ ἐὰν (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." Thus -APRAN-S is the appropriate tag.

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 ἂν …. 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. Again, we simplify this to -APRNM-S.

7.6.3 Constraints on Semantic Antecedents

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

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[12] BDAG, p. 725, under their discussion of ὅς.

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 main 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 main clause to which the relative phrase might be tied is the pronoun αὐτοῦ, which modifies τὸν μισθὸν. 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 αὐτοῦ. Therefore, our working analysis supplies the necessary semantic antecedent, APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S, rather than erroneously tying the relative clause to the overt pronoun αὐτοῦ, APRNM-S+. The simplified tag for this relative construction (Matthew 10.42) is again (-APRNM-S).

Although a number of interesting antecedents could be cited, we will mention only one. In 1Timothy 6.10 φιλαργυρία is an apparent antecedent to the following relative clause. Actually, only a component of the word is antecedent, ἀργύριον. To indicate this our working analysis gives the relative pronoun ἧς the tag APRGF-S^APDGN-S&APRGN-S to indicate that φιλαργυρία and the semantic antecedent ἀργύριον are different. Note the change in gender represented in the complex tag. Very rarely do we indicate gender assimilation. The appropriate simplified tag for this relative is APRGF-S, indicating the presence of the antecedent as a component of the preceding noun.

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. In cases where a following antecedent is indicated by a + in the formal tag, we have simplified by omitting the redundant + in the functional tag. Thus, ἧς (APRGF-S+^APRDF-S) in Matthew 24.38 should be understood as APRGF-S+^APRDF-S+. We have not indicated "discrepancies" for number and gender, whether they involve attraction, anticipation, or some other 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, οὓς (masculine) … (Galatians 4.19, GNT3/4/5).

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, οὓς is tagged APRAM2P. Antecedentless first and second person relatives receive a minus preceding the tag. For example, in Romans 6.3 the simplified tag is -APRNM1P, representing a working analysis of APRNM1P^NPNM1P&APRNM1P. (See also Philippians 3.15, Galatians 3.27.)

7.6.4 The Kinds of Relative Pronouns

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.

With this in mind, we present the various kinds of Greek relatives and our analysis of them:

a. … Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὅς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν ... (Mark 3.19, GNT3/4/5). Since this construction is the normal one, it hardly needs to be mentioned. The main clause has a verb (in 3.16) and a series of objects, the last one of which is expanded by a relative clause. The following example is similar, except that it makes the relative pronoun

the object of a preposition: ... ἐπιγνῶναι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἥν (APRAF-S) ἐνεκάλουν … (Acts 23.28, GNT3/4/5). The relative has as its antecedent "the reason" and the tag APRAF-S. The construction is instructive because of its close parallelism to the following example.

b. … ἐπιγνῷ δι' ἥν (APRAF-S+) αἰτίαν … (Acts 22.24). In this example the commander wants to know "the reason (αἰτίαν) for (δι') which (ἥν)" 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 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 main 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 main 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 main 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 ἥν) 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 main 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 others.) 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 main clause for the second ἐλπίς).

d. Δι' ἥν (A-RAF-S) αἰτίαν (2Timothy 1.6). Here there is no prior, main 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) ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε is followed by the main 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.

So far we have looked at cases in which: (a) a main clause (proposition) contains a noun expanded by a relative clause (the normal case); (b) the noun from the main 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 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 main 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 ἃ, however, is APRNN-P^APDAN-P&APRNN-P because the relative pronoun itself is the nominative subject of εἰσὶν, while the supplied antecedent is the accusative object of "write." With rare exceptions (e.g. ἕως οὗ constructions through assimilation), the formal working analysis is identical with at least one unit of the functional analysis. The tag we assign to these complicated situations is the simple tag (-APRAN-P) in the Matthew 13.17 construction and (-APRNN-P) in the Revelation 1.19b construction. The minus symbol preceding the APR is to be read as just that, that is, these relatives are lacking an overt (and preceding) antecedent.

f. In a significant number of cases, the relative clause begins a sentence or embedded clause for purposes of emphasis or topicalization. Some have said that in this situation the relative pronoun itself functions as a substantive, and we would not argue. Again for purposes of discussion we choose to supply in a 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 main clause). We do 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 main-clause connection for these relative clauses at the beginning of sentences follows the relative clause. There are two subtypes:

f[1]. … ὃς (APRNM-S^APDNM-S&APRNM-S) οὐ λαμβάνει … οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος (Matthew 10.38). This clause was given in 7.6.2 above as an example of a semantically indefinite relative clause. The relative clause in this subtype normally acts like the subject of the sentence, though it could take any number of noun functions. It differs from the other subtype in that no word in the following main clause can be identified as the semantic antecedent for the relative clause. We give it the simplified tag -APRNM-S, again describing the relative and pointing out its antecedentless condition.

f[2]. … ᾧ (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 following main 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).

Often a demonstrative pronoun is used as the grammatical resumer, as in 2Timothy 2.2. Semantically, it reads, "Entrust these things that you have heard …." The simplified tag -APRAN-P (equivalent to the working 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[2]) 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).

Also included in this subtype are correlative constructions, of the form ὅσος ... τοσοῦτος and οἷος ... τοιοῦτος. Here the relative pronouns bear an especially close semantic relation to their antecedents. Together, they set up a similarity in kind or degree between the content of the relative clause and that of the main clause. An example is 1Corinthians 15.48: οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί.

Grammatically the subclasses of *f* are relative clauses acting like substantives. The pronoun in the following main clause (f[2]) shows the

grammatical relation of the substantive. The pronoun that follows may be viewed as a resumer. Semantically the subclass f^2 is a relative clause that comments on or identifies further the "antecedent" in the following main clause. It plays no semantic function apart from setting up the identity of the grammatical pronoun to which it points in the main proposition.

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+. The phrase ὅν τρόπον (e.g. Matthew 23.37) functions similarly but expresses manner instead of time.

h. Relative pronouns may also function as demonstrative pronouns: for example, οὓς (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 (GNT3/4/5), "he." In this verse Paul may be quoting an early Christian hymn, an earlier stanza of which referred to Christ. In a single instance, Romans 9.21, ὃ receives the tag APRAN-S+^A-DAN-S because of the following "antecedent" σκεῦος.

7.6.5 Relative Pronouns following Prepositions

Our working 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. 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.[13] 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

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[13] Ibid.

the working analysis APRGM-S^APDGM-S&APRDM-S, representing the semantic structure "until that time at which …." Ἕως 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."[14]

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, GNT3/4/5). The semantic structure, then, is: "This is *that one* concerning whom …." There is no easy working-analysis schema by which to indicate that the antecedent is not governed by ὑπὲρ. In any case notice that the supplied antecedent is nominative. The simplified tag is again -APRGM-S.

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.

Let us conclude by summarizing our analyses of relatives:

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

2 (**b, f²**). 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 main clause and (therefore) antecedent

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[14] Ἕως οὗ and similar constructions act as temporal conjunctions (e.g. "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 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 some time within which), accusative (all during that period), or dative (at that time). As nearly as we could tell, five were accusative ("while"), the rest dative ("until").

or that there is a preceding antecedent of which the following word is a copy or repetition.

4 (**e**, **f¹**). A simplified relative tag, -APRAN-S, taken from example *e* (with working analysis of 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 two situations in which the tag of the relative pronoun has a plus sign: 1 (b), that in which the main clause is preceding and out of which the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause; 2 (f²), that in which the main clause follows the relative clause and contains the semantic antecedent of the relative (by one analysis) or focuses and emphasizes a preceding and supplied antecedent (by another analysis).

Diagram 3 shows the distribution of the various types of relative pronouns identified in our analysis.

Diagram 3

Tag		Relative Pronoun Typology (from 7.6.4)	# in AGNT
APR	A	Simple relative pronoun with preceding antecedent	1090
A-R	C	Relative adjective with following "antecedent"	6
	D	Relative adjective with following "antecedent" repeated from preceding context	16
APR+	B	Relative pronoun with following "antecedent" incorporated into relative clause	48
	F^2	Fronted relative pronoun with following "antecedent" separate from relative clause	81
-APR	E	Relative pronoun without overt antecedent	201
	F^1	Fronted relative pronoun without overt antecedent	185
APR^NP	G	Relative pronoun as part of a conjunctive phrase	28
APR^APD	H	Relative pronoun as demonstrative pronoun	43

7.7 Indefinite Adjectives

Much less complex than relative adjectives are indefinite adjectives. These are limited to reflexes of τὶς and τὶ.

A reflex of τὶς and τὶ can either stand alone as its own pronoun (API) or it can modify some substantive as A-I. Though our AGNT analyses carefully follow the editorial decisions (here mainly punctuation) of *The Greek New Testament* (GNT3/4/5) and the Byzantine Textform (BT), we occasionally give an alternate analysis by using !, thus in Hebrews 5.12 τινὰ (GNT3/4/5) and τίνα are, respectively, APIAM-S!APTNN-P and APTNN-P!APIAM-S. 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 που and πως, like that of τις and τι, is determined by accent. Similar to 7.7 above, when it is unclear which interpretation is supported by the context, we have indicated this, e.g. in Hebrews 3.16 (GNT3/4/5) τίνες (APTNM-P!APINM-P) and (BT) τινὲς (APINM-P!APTNM-P).

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 like regular adjectives and regular nouns.

7.10 Comparative and Superlative Adjectives

Comparatives and superlatives must be that by form, and they must be comparative, superlative, or elative 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. Πρῶτος 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, ἐμῷ 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, ἕως (PG) ἄρτι (AB^AP-GF-S).

The descriptive adjective πλήρης is partially indeclinable, normally appearing as πλήρης in singular usages and πλήρεις in plural, irrespective of gender and case. Again, context was used to remove the ambiguity, except in rare instances where we offer an alternative separated by /.

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 ὦ 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.

8.1 Determiners Followed by Noncongruent Vocabulary

Occasionally an article is followed by a noncongruent word or phrase. This occurs in five distinct situations or constructions, each deserving comment. The first is when the article is followed by a noncongruent noun (with or without its own article) or pronoun, usually of different gender, number, or case. An example is 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. The plus in the determiner tag indicates the absence of an overt substantive.

In the second construction the article is followed by a phrase. This is usually a prepositional phrase, as in Matthew 12.3: οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Here the article ὁ is simply marked DNMS+; we do not represent "man" or "one" in the determiner tag or anywhere else. In a few cases (e.g. τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, Romans 9.5) a phrase headed by the neuter article τὸ has an adverbial, rather than substantive reading.

In the third construction the article is followed by a single word, usually an adverb. For example, τὸ (DANS+) ἔσωθεν (AB) in Luke 11.40. Again the plus indicates that there is no overt substantive. With respect to this third construction type, we note that adverbs receive functional analysis as substantival adjectives in our system only when they are anarthrous, that is, when there is no determiner tag on which to place the

plus. The two main instances of this are preposition-followed-by-adverb constructions (e.g. ἕως ἄρτι, for which see section 7.11 above) and anarthrous πλησίον (e.g. Luke 10.29), where "neighbor" and not "nearby" is contextually required.

Following normal Greek conventions for use of the article, any of the above constructions may omit the plus when the word or phrase appears in attributive position to an adjacent noun. In Matthew 7.11, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς functions analogously to an attributive adjective modifying ὁ πατὴρ. (In fact, Matthew frequently substitutes an adjective in the same phrase, e.g. in 6.32: ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος.) Here the determiner receives the simple tag DNMS, and its function should be clear enough from context. Likewise, if the phrase comes between the determiner and the noun it modifies, no plus is necessary. Thus, Acts 27.2: τοὺς (DAMP) κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους (N-AM-P). When an adverb is used in this way, the reader will easily recognize it as an adjectival usage (noted in section 6.1 above).

A special construction occurs when the neuter article τὸ introduces a quotation, which may vary from a single word (e.g. τὸ Ἀμὴν, 2Corinthians 1.20) to several sentences in length. Sometimes this is a direct citation of Scripture (e.g. Luke 22.37) or of another participant in the discourse (Mark 9.23, GNT3/4/5). When the quotation contains an interrogative pronoun accompanied by a nonindicative verb, it gives the indefinite content of what someone is discussing or wanting to know. A good example is Luke 9.46, where the disciples argue about who is greatest: τὸ (DNNS+) τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν.

Finally, in a few cases the definite article is tagged with + before two coordinate adjectives, e.g. 2Peter 3.16: οἱ (DNMP+) ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι. Had Peter here been referring to two distinct groups of people ("the ignorant people and the unstable people"), the adjectives would simply be tagged AP, eliminating any need for a +. Yet for both grammatical and semantic reasons, it seems more likely he had just one group of people in mind: those who are both ignorant and unstable. In cases like this, we mark the determiner with + to indicate a missing substantive. The adjectives are then tagged (A-) instead of the expected (AP).

Whenever a tag for an article is followed by a + (as in all of the examples above), it means that the article lacks an overt headnoun or pronoun, whether preceding or following (see also section 3.8). In just a handful of cases, we tag a determiner with + before a regular adjective. As with articular participles (explained in detail in 8.3.2 below), this indicates our view that the adjective is a sort of parenthetical comment on the preceding noun, standing more in apposition to it than in

attribution. For example, see Philemon 10-11: "Onesimus, the one that was once useless to you but is now useful to both of us."

8.2 Determiners as Pronouns

Determiners can also be used like pronouns. Historically, ὁ was a demonstrative pronoun,[15] and a number of New Testament usages (e.g. Galatians 4.23) retain a demonstrative sense. More often, a bare determiner followed by μέν or δέ acts like a simple subject pronoun. It is a narrative device to reintroduce a participant into the role of actor, and thus is limited to the nominative case. We have chosen to tag all such determiners-as-pronouns with the complex tag DNMS^APDNM-S.

Determiners, when functioning like pronouns 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. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐχάρησαν (Mark 14.11) is ambiguous apart from context. It can mean "But when they heard (this), they were glad …" or "The ones who heard (this) were glad …." In the first case the subject is a definite group of people identified earlier in the context. In the second, a definite subject is being introduced, for the first time, at this point. Our tags reflect this difference: the former is marked as a determiner used as a demonstrative pronoun, the latter with a different convention introduced next.

8.3 Determiners as Relative Pronouns (Articular Participles)

As with the discussion of relative pronouns above, we will employ in the current discussion of articular participles an underlying semantic analysis that we will frequently term "working." Usually the final published analyses will be in a simplified form.

8.3.1 The Relatival Function of Articular Participles

Our working analysis views determiners as serving as relative pronouns in a manner analagous 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.

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[15] See Robertson, p. 755

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. This working complex-tag analysis 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. The simplified tag for the determiner ὁ is DNMS+, with the plus pointing out the lack of an overt substantive.

8.3.2 The Kinds of Articular Participles

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 working 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 like the participle's subject. If the participle is passive, then the article used as a relative is still that participle's grammatical subject. The simplified tag for τὸν is again DAMS+.

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 3.2), "grace" is the antecedent. Because the antecedent is overt, the repeated genitive feminine article receives the working analysis of an article used as a relative. (The simplified tag is merely that of the determiner, without any plus, for the antecedent is overt in the surface structure.) 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 of a working analysis 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).

Sometimes we mark a determiner with + even when an overt antecedent precedes it in the text. The reason we do this is to differentiate derived relative clauses that are "nonrestrictive" (that is, they provide ancillary information about an already-established referent) from "restrictive" ones (those whose information is essential for identifying the referent). This is an interpretive decision based primarily on semantic structure rather than overt grammatical cues. The plus is an appropriate device for marking derived nonrestrictive clauses, because here the connection between the articular participle and its antecedent is so loose that the participial clause *could* be considered a sort of appositive. (Note that our system does not allow marking relative pronouns as restrictive or nonrestrictive, since there is no corresponding determiner on which to put a plus.) An example is found in 1Thessalonians 2.4, where Paul expresses his desire to please "God, [who is the one] who tests our hearts." There can be no question Paul and his readers have the same God in mind; the participial clause merely makes an additional comment about him, and thus τῷ is appropriately marked DDMS+. Contrast the phrase Ἰησοῦς ὁ (DNMS) λεγόμενος Ἰοῦστος in Colossians 4.11, where the participial clause is necessary to differentiate "Jesus who is called Justus" from the more well-known Jesus. We have so analyzed every noun–article–participle sequence based on contextual clues. Many constructions can be taken either way; in such cases we make our own determination and invite the reader to draw his own conclusion.

As with relative clauses, articular participles may have their "antecedents" following (rather than preceding) them. Constructions of this type constitute the remaining five percent. The majority of these are given no special marking, for example ἡ (DNFS) ἐρχομένη βασιλεία (Mark 11.10). Most readers will quickly recognize them as cases of the participle being used as an attributive adjective, that is, article–participle-as-adjective–noun. At the very least they are relative constructions when viewed semantically. And there are also grammatical indications that they are. 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 is ἐμοί (τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ, Romans 7.21); in this rather unusual construction we have exceptionally given the article the tag DDMS+, since semantically it reads "to me, the one desiring"; grammatically perhaps, "to the one desiring, that is, me." 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 … κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει (John 14.12). The simplified tag for this construction is merely the tag of the determiner with a plus, DNMS+. This construction parallels that of 7.6.4, subclass f[2].

8.3.3 Semantically Complex Cases

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). (The simplified tag is clearly DGMS.) Let us look at three nearly identical constructions and the implications they raise. Our working analysis of 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 [GNT3/4/5], however, where the antecedent is possessed by a phrase, τῶν Φαρισαίων, that is cut off from it by a real relative clause.) Second, Matthew 19.21 is similar, but with the possessor preceding the participial construction: σου τὰ (DANP^NPAN3P&APRNN-P) ὑπάρχοντα. Finally, Luke 8.3 gives a more convincing functional 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 οἳ 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? It might be tagged either A--NM-P, because this construction is parallel with the first (quantifier plus determiner), or AP-NM-P, because it is parallel with the second (real and functional relatives, respectively). This latter analysis is possible, and in keeping with it our working relative analysis of the adjoining article in the articular participle would then be DNMP^APRNM-P, understood as representing the underlying structure "all (πάντες) who." We have chosen, however, to analyze it as A--NM-P. Here the working analysis suggests the determiner tag as DNMP^NPNM3P&APRNM-P with the combined quantifier-determiner "translation" as "all [supplied antecedent] who"). The actual simplified tag for the determiner in the third construction is DNMS+, pointing out the absent antecedent.

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 καλεῖν and λέγειν, 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.

In several places our relative analysis of articular participles runs into apparent trouble: 1Timothy 4.3 and Titus 1.15. In these passages a single article governs a set of one adjective and one participle joined by καὶ. The problem is that for articular participles (and prepositional phrases) we indicate an unexpressed substantive by a plus on the article, whereas for adjectives used substantivally, the designation is carried by AP. What shall we do, for example, with 1Timothy 4.3? Shall it be DDMP and AP-DM-P to satisfy the adjective construction or DDMP+ and VPRADM-P for the articular participle construction? One thing is clear and that is that semantically only one participant set is in view. To this end we have labeled the determiner with a plus, DDMP+, in both references, indicating a unified substantive of two characteristics, while the adjective is analyzed as A-. (Romans 2.8, another conjoined articular construction, is not problematic, for the items joined [prepositional phrase and participle] each individually take the DDMP+ analysis tag.)

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 εἶναι or even as articular-participle derived relatives with ὤν. The verb of being is lost and an adjective results. When the copula is not deleted, we have either a true relative clause with εἶναι (1John 2.8) or an articular participle with ὤν (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.

8.3.4 Other Similarities with Relative Clauses

Articular participles can be first- or second-person constructions in the same way as real relatives can. Matthew 8.7 presents an unambiguous example: Ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν (VPAANM1S) θεραπεύσω αὐτόν. However, when the participle appears in the predicate position of an equivalence statement (e.g. ὁ ζῶν in John 6.51), it receives no marking for person. It may seem that John 8.18 gives reason for marking articular participles in predicate (complement) position as first or second person due to the reflexive pronoun ἐμαυτοῦ. In such a case the semantic structure might be read as "It is I/you" and the articular participle as a simple functioning relative with the overt personal pronoun as antecedent. However, it seems better that we should follow the Greek surface structure and take it as "I/you am/are the one(s) that ...." Luke 16.15 gives slight evidence for this reading with its ἑαυτους, though this form apart from context is fully ambiguous as to whether it means "ourselves," "yourselves" or "themselves." In John 8.18 then, we take it that ἐμαυτοῦ is reflexive to ἐγώ and not to the substantive inherent in the articular participle phrase. As with providing antecedents for true relatives that involve εἶναι, 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 in the working analysis as DNMP^APRNM-P, and DNMP in simplified form. In Mark 4.16 (GNT3/4/5) Jesus asserts equivalence rather than existence: "These are equivalent to the ones who …." Here the working analysis of the construction is DNMP^NPNM3P&APRNM-P, or DNMP+ in simplified form, 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.

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

Before concluding our discussion of articular participles, we point out the grammatical oddity ὁ ἦν, repeated five times in Revelation (1.4; 1.8; 4.8; 11.17; 16.5). Nowhere else in the New Testament does an article govern a finite verb form like this one. Rather than needlessly complicate our analysis, we chose to treat this phrase as if it were an articular participle (marking the determiner with a plus). It is clear enough from the context that ὁ ἦν semantically parallels ὁ ὢν, which always co-occurs with it.

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 as a 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. (Though that is its behavior, its tag is simply AB.) 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, GNT3/4/5).

The list of prepositions at the end of the appendix (list 1) 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. 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 2 and 4 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* simply 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: πόσῳ οὖν (CH) διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου. ὥστε (CH) ἔχεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν καλῶς ποεῖν. Οὖν relates its clause as superordinating conclusion to what precedes. Ὥστε 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, except for several instances, marked γάρ CS. In the exceptional instances, we have marked it QS. 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.

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.

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 2 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. At the end of list 2 are words that contain conjunction analyses but are instances of crasis. Also included are tags that reflect the adverbial analysis of καί.

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 οὗ 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 οὗ 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 (οὗ) 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 οὗ demands an object. We analyze οὗ as -ABR. It is more fully expressed as ABR^APDGM-S&ABR.

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.

See list 3 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, δὲ (CC) some as prophets, δὲ (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.' Δὲ (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. Δὲ (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. Δὲ (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?' Δὲ (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: "Δὲ (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 δὲ is subordinating. It occurs between a result and a reason for that result: "If an unbelieving spouse separates, let him do so. The brother or sister is not bound in such circumstances; δὲ (CS) God has called you to live in peace" (1Corinthians 7.15). 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; δὲ (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! Δὲ (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: δὲ (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: "Δὲ (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: "(δὲ [CS] what does 'He ascended' mean except …?)" (Ephesians 4.9-10). It occurs at the beginning of an author's aside: "Δὲ (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: "Δὲ (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: "Δὲ (CS) there were six stone water pots 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. Δὲ (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: "I long to see you so I can share some spiritual gift with you for your edification—δὲ (CS) that is, for our mutual encouragement ..." (Romans 1.11-12). And it occurs between members of a contrast, the more important of which comes first: "Love never becomes irrelevant. Δὲ (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 μέν (CC) εἰμι 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 clauses are clauses 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 main or "upper" sentence: εἰ, ἵνα, καί, μή, μήποτε, ὅπως, ὅτι, πῶς, and ὡς. Many of these apparently become nominal-clause conjunctions by functioning as "speech orienters" together with a verb of saying. Questions, commands, and statements headed by these conjunctions serve as the content (or object) of direct or indirect speech. (From now on we refer to such clauses as "content clauses.") It seems obvious that these "speech orienter conjunctions" were then extended to be nominal-clause conjunctions of a wider sort by grammatical analogy with their use in content clauses. 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.

10.6.1 The Relative Prominence of Nominal Clauses

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 often 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 may be of equal prominence with the rest of its main sentence. Hence such noun clauses are analyzed as CC.

There are many 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.

Content clauses, introduced in 10.6 above, are the most prevalent type of nominal clause in the Greek New Testament. They typically follow certain discourse verbs (e.g. "say, hear, ask") and their first cousins ("think, see, believe"). These verbs are 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 below.

10.6.2 "Prominence Raisers" in Speech Orienters

One prominence-raising factor is the presence of ἀμήν, ἀληθῶς, or πάντως, or any other adverb in the orienter: "Truly I say to you that (CC) …" (Matthew 19.23). 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).

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 λέγειν/εἰπεῖν, ὁρᾶν, ἀκούειν, γινώσκειν, and εἰδέναι (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. Ἐπιγινώσκειν, a compound of γινώσκειν, is a strong verb. Negation also raises the orienter in prominence: Romans 2.4 "… *not* realizing (ἀγνοῶν, a strong verb) that (CC) …."

Some orienters use a noun instead of a verb to convey the idea of speech or thought. This raises the orienter's prominence: "It is not the will of your Father in the heavens that (CC) ..." (Matthew 18.14). Oath-formulas in the orienter also raise its semantic prominence: "But God is faithful that (CC) …" (2Corinthians 1.18; see also v. 23).

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 14.27). 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, ἕν, 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 QN, 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" (μὴ as CS) or as "Watch out! Don't be led astray!" (μὴ as QN). 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

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 ὦ to be a particle (QS), not a vocative article. An initial Q as the first letter of the tag indicates a particle analysis. There are four categories of particles in our analysis: QN, QS, QT, QV.

List 4 enables the reader to see at a glance which words we consider particles, and it shows what nonparticle analyses these same words may have.

List 5 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.

11.1 Negative Particles (QN)

The negative particles μή, οὐ and οὐχί, formerly analyzed as adverbs and thus tagged AB, are now tagged QN. Words so marked carry the idea of simple negation. Other words, containing the negative morpheme μή or οὐ as part of a larger complex, may in fact be AB (e.g. οὐδέποτε) or something else (e.g. μηδείς APCNM-S).

11.2 Sentential Particles (QS)

Sentential particles are words that add some idea to the sentence or clause in which they occur. They may be attention getters, expressions of emotion or intensity, or of possibility or probability.

11.3 Interrogative Particles (QT)

These particles occur in questions and are in some sense markers of a question. Not all questions need be so marked. Included in this class are the negative particles μή, οὐ and οὐχί, when used in a rhetorical question. Rather than mark these with a caret, we assign a simple tag, e.g. οὐ (QT) νοεῖτε ὅτι ... (Mark 7.18).

11.4 Verbal Particles (QV)

This is a small set of particles that in our analysis signify that the action of the verb is unrealized.

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   **Prepositions**

Form	PA	PD	PG	Other tags
ἅμα		PD		AB
ἀνά	PA			AB
ἄνευ			PG	
ἀντί			PG	
ἄντικρυς, ἀντικρύ			PG	
ἀντιπέρα(ν)			PG	
ἀπέναντι			PG	
ἀπό			PG	
ἄτερ			PG	
ἄχρι(ς)			PG	CS
διά	PA		PG	
ἐγγύς		PD	PG	AB
ἐγγύτερον			PG	ABM
εἵνεκεν			PG	
εἰς	PA			
ἐκ			PG	
ἐκτός			PG	AB
ἔμπροσθεν			PG	AB
ἐν		PD		
ἔναντι			PG	
ἐναντίον			PG	
ἕνεκα			PG	
ἕνεκεν			PG	
ἐντός			PG	AB
ἐνώπιον			PG	
ἔξω			PG	AB
ἔξωθεν			PG	AB
ἐπάνω			PG	AB
ἐπέκεινα			PG	
ἐπί	PA	PD	PG	
ἔσω			PG	AB
ἕως			PG	CS
κατά	PA		PG	
κατέναντι			PG	AB
κατενώπιον			PG	
κυκλόθεν			PG	AB
κύκλῳ			PG	AB
μέσον			PG	AB, AP-AN-S

μετά	PA		PG	
μεταξύ			PG	AB
μέχρι(ς)			PG	CS
ὄπισθεν			PG	AB
ὀπίσω			PG	AB
ὀψέ			PG	AB
παρά	PA	PD	PG	
παρεκτός			PG	AB
πέραν			PG	AB
περί	PA		PG	
πλήν			PG	CC, CH
πλησίον			PG	AB, AB^AP…
πρό			PG	
πρός	PA	PD	PG	
σύν		PD		
ὑπέρ	PA		PG	AB
ὑπεράνω			PG	
ὑπό	PA		PG	
ὑποκάτω			PG	
χάριν			PG	
χωρίς			PG	AB

There are no forms with the analysis …^P (used as a preposition).

List 2　　　　　　　　　　**Conjunctions**

Form	CC	CH	CS	ABR	Other tags
ἀλλά	CC	CH	CS		
ἄρα, ἆρα		CH			QS, QT
ἄχρι(ς)			CS		PG
γάρ			CS		QS
δέ	CC	CH	CS		
διό		CH			
διόπερ		CH			
διότι		CH	CS		
ἐάν			CS		QV
ἐάνπερ		CH	CS		
εἰ	CC		CS	ABR	QT
εἴγε			CS		
εἴπερ			CS		
εἴτε	CC		CS		CS+
ἐπάν			CS		
ἐπεί			CS		
ἐπειδή			CS		
ἐπειδήπερ			CS		
ἐπείπερ			CS		
ἕως			CS		PG
ἤ	CC	CH	CS		CC+
ἡνίκα			CS		
ἤπερ			CS		
ἤτοι					CC+
ἵνα	CC	CH	CS	ABR	
καθά			CS		
καθάπερ			CS		
καθό			CS		
καθότι			CS		
καθώς			CS		
καθώσπερ			CS		
καί	CC	CH	CS		AB, CC+
καίπερ			CS		
καίτοι		CH	CS		
καίτοιγε			CS		
μέν	CC	CH	CS		QS
μέντοι		CH			
μέχρι(ς)			CS		PG

	CC	CH	CS	ABR	
μή	CC		CS		QN, QT
μηδέ	CC				AB
μήποτε	CC		CS		AB, QT
μήπου			CS		
μήπως			CS		
μήτε	CC				CC+
ὅθεν		CH	CS	ABR	
ὁπότε			CS		
ὅπου			CS	ABR	
ὅπως	CC	CH	CS	ABR	
ὁσάκις			CS		
ὅταν			CS	ABR	
ὅτε			CS	ABR	
ὅτι	CC	CH	CS	ABR	ABT
οὗ			CS	ABR	-ABR
οὐδέ	CC				AB, CC+, QT
οὖν	CC	CH			QS
οὔτε	CC				AB, CC+
πλήν	CC	CH			PG
πρίν			CS		AB
πῶς, πως	CC				AB, ABI, ABT
τέ	CC	CH	CS		AB, CC+
τοιγαροῦν		CH			
τοίνυν		CH			
ὡς	CC	CH	CS	ABR	AB
ὡσεί			CS		AB
ὥσπερ			CS		
ὡσπερεί			CS		
ὥστε		CH	CS		

Crasis:

Lemma	Tags
κἀγώ	AB&NP…1S, CC&NP…1S, CH&NP…1S, CS&NP…1S
κἀκεῖ	AB&AB, CC&AB
κἀκεῖθεν	AB&AB, CC&AB, CH&AB
κἀκεῖνος	AB&APD..., CC&APD..., CH&APD...
κἄν	AB&CS, AB&QV, CC&CS

There are no conjunctions in our analysis that function so only
derivatively (that is, ^C).

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, often summarizing an argument. "*Consequently,* you are

 ἆρα   Abraham's offspring" (Galatians 3.29).

         QS   indicating some degree of possibility or probability, "whether" or "perhaps." "If *perhaps* he might find something" (Mark 11.13).

         QT   as a marker of a question, sometimes drawing an inference from what precedes. "Who *then* can be saved?" (Matthew 19.25).

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 οὗ. "Jerusalem will be trampled by the nations *until* their times are finished" (Luke 21.24). (ἄχρι οὗ = 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.

γάρ   CS   when introducing a subordinate grounds, reason, or explanatory clause. "… *for* what is conceived in her is from the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 1.20).

         QS   1. when introducing a new sentence and highlighting the significance of the question, "What!" or "Why!" rather than providing a reason. "What bad thing has he done?" (Matthew 27.23).

	QS	2. when making a strong affirmation, "indeed" or "by no/all means." "*Surely* not!" (Acts 16.37).
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.
διότι	CH	Inferential, drawing a conclusion. "*Therefore*, I declare to you today that …" (Acts 20.26).
	CS	when introducing a subordinate causal clause. "… *because* there wasn't any place for them to stay in the inn" (Luke 2.7).
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 wher*ever* you go" (Matthew 8.19).
εἰ	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 (εἰ, ABR and CC).
εἴτε	CC	when introducing a second or another specification of a series, other than the first. "If it is serving, … *or* if it is teaching …" (Romans 12.7).
	CS	when alone, indicating a condition. "*If* anyone speaks in a tongue …" (1Corinthians 14.27).
	CS+	when introducing the first of a pair or series of correlative specifications. "*Whether* Paul or Apollos or …" (1Corinthians 3.22).
ἕως	CS	when introducing a clause. "*Until* I come, attend to the reading" (1Timothy 4.13).
	PG	when followed by an object, including οὗ. "... who will also keep you *until* the end" (1Corinthians 1.8).

(ἕως οὗ = until [the time in] which)

| | Note | See note on ἄχρι(ς) above. |

ἤ   CC   disjunctive "or." "… with whom there is no change *or* turning shadow" (James 1.17).

       CC+   when the first ("either") member of an either/or combination. "For he will *either* …" (Matthew 6.24).

       CH   when introducing an item of greater prominence or importance. "Did you receive the Spirit by your own efforts at doing the law *or* by believing what you heard?" (Galatians 3.2).

       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 GNT3/4/5).

       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).
	CC+	when marking the first item in a both/and construction. "… the one able to destroy *both* soul and body in hell" (Matthew 10.28).
	CH	1. when introducing a unit with a higher level of information, which in some way is the result of the preceding item, or is more prominent semantically. "The heavens were opened to him *and* he saw the Spirit of God descending" (Matthew 3.16).
	CH	2. second καί in καί ἐγένετο καί constructions in which the following nominal 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).
	CS	when introducing a unit that is of lesser importance semantically, as being parenthetical or explanatory. "Follow me *and* I will make you fishers of men" (Matthew 4.19).
	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.
καίτοι	CH	when introducing a contraexpectation. "… allowed all nations to go their own ways *and yet* did not allow himself to be left without a witness" (Acts 14.17).
	CS	when introducing a concession. "… *although* his works were finished from the foundation of the world" (Hebrews 4.3).
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 μὲν sheep on the right and the δὲ goats on the left" (Matthew 25.33).
	CS	when item is less prominent than response (or pair). "The μὲν spirit is willing, but the δὲ 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 οὗ. "This generation will certainly not pass away *until* all these things happen" (Mark 13.30). (μέχρι οὗ = until [the time in] which)

  Note   See note on ἄχρι(ς) above.

μή   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).

    QN   "not." "Do *not* be deceived, my dear brothers" (James 1.16).

    QT   when negative answer is expected. "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).

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   indicating uncertain 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).

μήτε CC   when the second or subsequent occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "Do not swear at all … *nor* by the earth …" (Matthew 5.35).

	CC+	when the first occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "Do not swear at all, *neither* by heaven …" (Matthew 5.34).
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.
	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).
	CS	purpose. "… who gave himself up for us *in order that* he might deliver us from this present evil age" (Galatians 1.4).
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 (ὅτι as ABR, CC, CH).
οὗ	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).
οὐδέ	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).
	CC+	when the first occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "*Neither* shall the sun strike them nor any heat" (Revelation 7.16).
	QT	"not even." "have you *not* (*even*) read this scripture?" (Mark 12.10).

οὖν	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" (1Corinthians 10.31).
	QS	when marking some degree of emphasis. "*So then* my manner of life …" (Acts 26.4).
οὔτε	AB	"not even." "You do*n't* have *even* a bucket…" John 4.11
	CC	when second or subsequent occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "… *nor* rust" (Matthew 6.20).
	CC+	when first occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "… *neither* moth …" (Matthew 6.20).
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 *but* him" (Mark 12.32).
πρίν	AB	when functioning adverbially and followed by ἤ (CS). "But *before* they were married" (Matthew 1.18).
	CS	when functioning as a temporal conjunction. "*Before* a rooster crows …" (Matthew 26.34).
πῶς,	AB	adverbial, "how." "*How* difficult it will be for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!" (Mark 10.23).
πώς	ABI	"somehow, in some way" (unaccented). "… if *somehow* I may reach the resurrection of the dead" (Philippians 3. 11).
	ABT	"how, in what way," "how is it possible." "… that you may know *how* to answer everyone" (Colossians 4.6).
	CC	nominal clause. "And he reported to us *that* he saw an angel in his house" (Acts 11.13).
τέ	AB	when used as an intensifier. "*Even* their women …" (Romans 1.26).
	CC	when conjoining similar units. "Taking a sponge *and* filling it with vinegar …" (Matthew 27.48).
	CC+	when the first in a set of coordinate conjunctions. "… *both* good and bad" (Matthew 22.10).

	CH	when introducing a higher-level clause. "They were cut to the heart *and* said …" (Acts 2.37).
	CS	when introducing a lower-level clause, such as a parenthesis. "(a group numbering some one hundred twenty)" (Acts 1.15).
ὡς	AB	1. "approximately," usually followed by a numeral. "There was an interval of *about* three hours" (Acts 5.7).
	AB	2. "how" in exclamations. "*How* unsearchable his judgments and his ways beyond searching out!" (Romans 11.33).
	ABR	1. equivalent to CC but with specific antecedent. "… and who gave us the ministry of *reconciliation, which* (is) that God was in Christ …" (2Corinthians 5.18-19).
	ABR	2. equivalent to CS2 but with specific antecedent. "How much *time* (how long) has it been *that* this happened to him?" (Mark 9.21).
	CC	1. nominal clause. "… he did *what* the angel of the Lord had commanded him" (Matthew 1.24).
	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 *that* he became known to them as he broke the bread" (Luke 24.35).
	CH	content clause having greater prominence than orienter. "Just as you know *that* we exhorted each one of you …" (1Thessalonians 2. 11).
	CS	1. purpose. "I do not count my life as of any value to myself *in order that* I may finish my course" (Acts 20.24).
	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).
ὡσεί	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." "... took counsel together against Jesus *in order that* they might put him to death" (Matthew 27.1).

Form	QN	QS	QT	QV	Other tags
ἄγε		QS			VMPA--2S
ἀλληλουϊά		QS			
ἀμήν		QS			
ἄν				QV	
ἄρα, ἆρα		QS	QT		CH
γάρ		QS			CS
γέ		QS			
δή		QS			
δήπου		QS			
ἔα		QS			
ἐάν				QV	CS
εἰ			QT		ABR, CC, CS
εὖγε		QS			
ἴδε		QS			VMAA--2S
ἰδού		QS			
μέν		QS			CC, CH, CS
μενοῦν		QS			
μενοῦνγε		QS			
μή	QN		QT		CC, CS
μήγε	QN				
μήν		QS			
μήποτε			QT		AB, CC, CS,
μήτι			QT		
ναί		QS			
νή		QS			
οὐ	QN	QS	QT		
οὐά		QS			
οὐαί		QS			
οὐδέ			QT		AB, CC, CC+
οὖν		QS			CC, CH
οὔπω			QT		AB
οὐχί	QN	QS	QT		
ὄφελον				QV	
ὦ		QS			
ὡσαννά		QS			

Crasis:

κἄν	AB&CS, AB&QV, CC&CS

Derived Particle Functions:

ἔρρωσθε	VMRP- -2P^QS
ἔρρωσο	VMRP--2S^QS
ἴδετε	VMAA- -2P^QS
χαῖρε	VMPA- -2S^QS
χαίρειν	VNPA^QS
χαίρετε	VMPA- -2P^QS

ἄγε   QS   attention getter. "*Come* now, you who say, …" James 4.13.
         VMAA--2S   when imperatival. "Find Mark and *bring* him with
you" 2Timothy 4.11.

ἄρα,   CH   inferential, drawing a conclusion, often summarizing an
argument. "For if righteousness comes
   ἆρα   through the law, *then* Christ died uselessly" (Galatians
2.21).
         QS   indicating some degree of possibility or probability,
                 "whether" or "perhaps." "Ask the Lord if *perhaps* he will
                 forgive …" (Acts 8.22).
         QT   as a marker of question, sometimes drawing an inference
                 from what precedes. "Who *then* is the greatest in the
                 kingdom of heaven?" (Matthew 18.1).

γάρ   CS   when introducing a subordinate grounds, reason, or
                 explanatory clause. "… *for* what is conceived in her is
                 from the Holy Spirit" (Matthew 1.20).
         QS   1. when introducing a new sentence and highlighting the
                 significance of the question, "What!" or "Why!" rather
                 than providing a reason. "What bad thing has he done?"
                 (Matthew 27.23)
         QS   2. when making a strong affirmation, "indeed" or "by
                 no/all means." "*Surely* not!" (Acts 16.37).

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. "For what*ever* a person
                 sows, that he will also reap" (Galatians 6.7).

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). "Μὲν I am of Paul, δὲ I am of Apollos ..." (1Corinthians 1.12).
	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	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).
	QN	"not." "… just as the nations who do *not* know God" (1Thessalonians 4.5).
	QT	when negative answer is expected. "You are *not* one of his disciples, *are you*?" (John 18.25).
	Note	See discussion in 10.6 above about nominal clauses (μή CC).
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	indicating uncertain 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	QN	"not." "… we lie and are not doing the truth" (1John 1.6).
(and	QS	negative-response particle, contrasted with ναί. "Let your 'Yes' be 'Yes' and your 'No' 'No'" (James
οὐχί)		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+	when the first occurrence of a series of coordinate conjunctions. "*Neither* shall the sun strike them nor any heat" (Revelation 7.16).
	QT	"not even." "Does not even nature teach that …?" (1Corinthians 11.14).
οὖν	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" (1Corinthians 10.31).
	QS	when marking some degree of emphasis. "*So then* my manner of life …" (Acts 26.4).
οὔπω	AB	"not yet." "but it is *not yet* the end" (Matthew 24.6).
	QT	rhetorical question particle. "You *don't* see *yet, do you*, or understand? (Mark 8.17).