INFINITIVE CLAUSE SYNTAX IN THE GOSPELS

by

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It is not always the case that one can complete his advanced theological degree with thesis advisors who were the student's first teachers of Greek 18 years previously. It is also not always the case that one is allowed the freedom to go out on a theoretical limb to pursue a project which is somewhat a departure from traditional topics in theology. Happily, both of these exceptions blended effectively in the advising and production of this study.

The natural modesty of both of my advisors, Dr. James Boyer and Dr. Homer A. Kent, Jr., prevents me from heaping upon them the praise for their scholarship and counsel that is their due. But I should like them and the readers of this thesis to know just how deeply I appreciate their contributions to my work.

Just about all of the Greek I now know and recently have had the joy of teaching, is attributable to the efforts of these men of God. I have profited from their insights in courses in grammar, exegesis, textual criticism, extra-Biblical Koine, and classical Greek. Indeed, many of the essential concepts in this work have been either shaped or tempered by their knowledge, and a part of their earthly satisfaction should be to see their own work extended through their students. However, they may not wish to be held responsible for the linguistic novelties which govern the methodological purview of the study, and the consequences, for better or worse, are attributable to the author.

iv

If I have learned any one thing from this project, it is the truth of the following axiom from the pen of Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, and congenially embodied in my two advisors: "No man can be a theologian who is not a philologian. He who is no grammarian is no divine."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TAGMEMIC SYMBOLS

I. Tagmemes

    A. Sentence

        SL   Sentence Linker

    B. Clause

Ag	Agent
Alt	Alternative
Ax	Axis
B	Benefactive
C	Subject Complement
C	Connector
Cir	Circumstance
D	Direction
F	Purpose
Fmk	Purpose Marker
G	Goal
H	Head
I	Indirect Object
Ins	Instrument
L	Location
M	Manner
Modmk	Modifier Marker
Neg	Negative
O	Direct Object
OC	Objective Complement
P	Predicate
PC	Predicate Complement
Peri	Position Indicator for Peripheral Tagmemes
Q-C-R	Interrogative-Complement-Relator
Qmk	Question Marker
Q-O-R	Interrogative-Object-Marker
Reas	Reason
Reasmk	Reason Marker
Ref	Reference
Rel	Relationship
Resmk	Result Marker
RU	Retained Object
S	Subject
Sc	Source
Smk	Subject Marker
T	Time
Tmk	Time Marker

C. Phrase

Alt	Alternative
C	Connector
D	Determiner
H	Head
Pos	Possessive
Rel	Relator

II. Structures

A. Clause

AvC1	Adverbial Clause
D.Q.	Direct Quotation
D-S	Coordinate Dissimilar Structure
InfCl	Infinitive Clause
θ	Zero Manifestation
PtC1	Participial Clause

B. Phrase

Aj_{ad}	Adversative Adjective Phrase
Nalt	Alternative Adjective Phrase
$Aj_{(cx)}$	Adjective Phrase (optionally complex)
Art_{neg}	Negative Article Phrase
Av_{co}	Coordinate Adverb Phrase
dis_{pn}	Distributive Pronoun Phrase
$D\text{-}S_{co}$	Coordinate Dissimilar Structure
IA	Item-Appositive Phrase
N	Noun Phrase
N_{ad}	Adversative Noun Phrase
N_{co}	Coordinate Noun Phrase
N_{comp}	Comparative Noun Phrase
N_{cx}	Complex Noun Phrase
NP	Proper Noun Phrase
N_{pt}	Participial Nominal Phrase
Num_{en}	Enumerative Numeral Phrase
θ	Zero Manifestation
RA	Relator-Axis Phrase
RA_{alt}	Alternative Relator-Axis Phrase
RA_{co}	Coordinate Relator-Axis Phrase
RA_{cx}	Complex Relator-Axis Phrase
Voc	Vocative Phrase

C. Word

aj	adjective
aj_{comp}	comparative adjective
alt	alternator
art	article

ix

av	adverb
c	connector
dem	demonstrative pronoun
$dv_{inf(p)}$	ditransitive infinitive (optionally passive)
eqv_{inf}	equational infinitive
$indf_{pn}$	indefinite pronoun
$indf_{neg}$	negative indefinite pronoun
int_{pn}	interrogative pronoun
iv_{inf}	intransitive infinitive
n	common noun
neg	negative (1:131)
np	proper noun
num	numeral
num_{ord}	ordinal numeral
~~0~~	zero manifestation
pos	personal pronoun in genitive case
ptc	particle (2n)
rcp	reciprocal pronoun
refl	reflexive pronoun
rel	relator
rel_{pn}	relative pronoun
tcp_{inf}	passive transicomplement infinitive
$tv_{inf(p)}$	transitive infinitive (optionally passive)
v-emo	emotive verb
v-erg	ergative verb
v-freq	frequentative verb
v-im	imminent verb
v-inc	inceptive verb
v-mid	middle verb
v-nec	necessitative verb
v-s	verb-seems

III. Clause Types

InfdCl	Ditransitive Infinitive Clause
InfdpCl	Passive Ditransitive Infinitive Clause
InfeC1	Equational Infinitive Clause
Infe-iCl	Inceptive Equational Infinitive Clause
Infe-sC1	Stative Equational Infinitive Clause
InfiC1	Intransitive Infinitive Clause
InfmC1	Middle Infinitive Clause
InftC1	Transitive Infinitive Clause
Inft/cC1	Transicomplement Infinitive Clause'
Inft/cpCl	Passive Transicomplement Infinitive Clause
InftpCl	Passive Transitive Clause
whQ-InfdC1	wh-Question Ditransitive infinitive Clause
yhp-InfeqC1	wh-Question Equational Clause

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In spite of the extensive and precise scrutiny given to the study of the ancient Greek language in general and New Testament Greek in particular, there is still sufficient room left to challenge the investigator today. Recently-developed theories of language analysis have made feasible the study of languages from fresh vantage points, thus adding to the well-established body of linguistic knowledge currently available. The process has been both cyclical and spiral, for as we have come to know more about specific languages, the development of linguistic theory has been advanced, and in turn the advancement of theoretical linguistics has expanded and deepened our command of the languages.

It is the purpose of this study to present the results of a syntactic analysis of selected infinitive clauses furnished by the contemporary linguistic method known as tagmemics, presented in a subsequent part of this study. In so doing, it is hoped that this presentation can serve both as a reference tool for infinitive clauses in New Testament Greek, and as a model for the systematic analysis of other syntactic constructions to be explored by researchers to follow. While this study is data-based and analysis--oriented, conclusions involving the language of the New Testament are drawn wherever they are warranted for their use in translation and interpretation. This study, then, is essentially a grammar of the infinitive clause in the New Testament Gospels.

1.1 <u>The Problem</u>

The primary contribution of this study is grammatical rather than exegetical, and this purpose is based on the premise that the more we know about the language itself, the more accurate and reliable can be our interpretation of its literature. The central and basic question resolves to this: Is there such a thing as positional syntax in Koine Greek for clauses? It is safe to say that Greek scholars for over a century have generally felt that inflectional criteria have determined clausal syntactic relationships, and that word order (with some exceptions[1]) was of marginal consequence. Indeed, most Greek grammars devote the bulk of their coverage to inflectional syntax. For example, in Blass and Debrunner's classic work, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, 225 pages are given to a discussion of inflectional syntax, while only about 15 pages treat the significance of word order.[2]

The studies undertaken by students of Greek are soundly based on observation collected from a wide range of sources, both Biblical and extra-Biblical. Such constructions as the articular infinitive, genitive

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[1] Such studies as that by E. C. Colwell, "A Definite Rule for the Use of the Article in the Greek New Testament," reprint from *Journal of Biblical Literature,* LII (1933), p. 9, demonstrate the contribution that word order studies can make to Koine Greek grammar. In an extensive survey of predicate nouns with and without the article occurring both before and after the verb he finds that out of 112 definite predicates used before the verb, only 15 are used with the article (13%), while 97 are used without the article (87%). From this and other evidence he concludes that word order and not definiteness is the variable quantum in predcate nominative constructions.

[2] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature,* rev. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961).

absolute, ingressive aorist (and many more) have been presented in grammatical compendia primarily as resource tools for those who are either learning the language, translating texts, or exegeting passages. With such impressive and useful work available, the time has arrived to consider positional syntax in Greek from the point of view of conceptual linguistic competence and performance. One may now legitimately query whether the choice of word order was completely or partially random in view of the extensive inflectional system, or were there actually dominant and favorite syntactic patterns employed by native Greek speakers? Did speakers of Greek draw from the obviously finite number of orders for clausal units to correlate with the inflectional signals, or even more, to convey singular distinctions of meaning on their own? And what circumstances, if any, trigger the differences in the use of word order patterns? While one may agree with Blass and Debrunner that word order is far freer in Greek than in modern English,[3] we may also concur that "there are, nevertheless, certain tendencies and habits (in the N.T. especially in narrative) which have created something like a normal word order."[4]

A problem more immediate but still intimately related to the central question is whether the infinitive with its adjuncts can be recognized as a clause, or whether it is to be confined to phrasal status. The standard grammars of the past century have not generally accorded this construction clausal status (perhaps by default of

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[3] *Ibid*., p. 248.
[4] *Ibid*.

discussion), and the noted grammarian A. T. Robertson took pains to argue its phrasal status. Only quite recently has the possibility been advanced that it is possible to recognize infinitive and participial clauses in their own right. Here, then, is a significant question to be dealt with in this study.

The solution of the two aforementioned questions is contingent upon the answers provided by two lesser, but more immediate problems. First, the clausal units of meaning, if indeed there are such, must be ascertained and stipulated. In this study units of meaning in clausal or phrasal strings are called *tagmemes*. Tagmemes emerge with the identification of such elements as subject, predicate (verbal construct only), direct object, indirect object, complement, and any other functional units which may contribute to the total meaning of the clause. Such units are laid out in Chapter Three.

Second, the various orders of these units in a clausal string must be charted. Once this has been done, a clause typology analysis can be constructed in matrix form in order to display graphically the different kinds of clauses in the material studied. The results of this phase of the investigation are reported in Chapter Four. Prior to these chapters, Chapter Two presents the theory of tagmemics and the procedures of analysis employed in this study. Chapter Five affords the opportunity to draw conclusions and discuss peculiarities and problems encountered which have a bearing on translation.

One example of potential ambiguity which requires a study of word order beyond inflectional considerations appears in Philippians 1:7:

διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, "because I have you in (my) heart."
Since both με and ὑμᾶς are in the accusative case, only the context or
a general positional usage based on other instances could tell which is
the subject and which is the object of the infinitive clause. Such
problems as this are handled within the purview of Chapter Five.

At this point it may be appropriate to anticipate the findings
and the conclusion spelled out in detail later in this study by briefly
explaining why the term infinitive clause is employed rather than
infinitive phrase. Infinitives with their associated word groups re-
flect clausal features in a number of languages when they possess such
functional units as subject, predicate, object, and so on, rather than
phrasal features, which typically consist of main word "heads" with
associated modifiers. Thus the meaningful units of clauses have a dif-
ferent kind of status and reflect a higher degree of autonomous signifi-
cance than do the units of phrases. It is now reasonably established
that the difference between phrases and clauses is one of "levels" of
the grammatical hierarchy on which they are functioning. Such levels
are discussed in Chapter Two, and the existence of such levels is recog-
nized throughout this study.

1.2 Previous Research

Alexander Buttmann, in *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*
(1880),[5] does not discuss the origin or nature of the infinitive.
Rather, he devotes considerable coverage to the use of the infinitive as

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[5] Alexander Buttmann, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek* (Ando-
ver, Mass.: Warren F. Draper, Pub., 1880), pp. 258-280.

complement, subject, object, and verbal or adjectival adjunct. While he also deals with the infinitive as imperative and the use of articles and prepositions, his most interesting discussion is his treatment of the καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δὲ constructions with temporal infinitive con-structions as narrative markers based on the Hebrew expression וַיְהִי transmitted by means of the Septuagint.

Samuel Green's *Grammar* of 1880 treats infinitives as "verbal substantives expressing the abstract notion of the verb."[6] He identi-fies the infinitive as another mood of the verb in its own right:

> Like the verb in other moods, it admits the modifications of tense and voice. It may have a subject, or may govern an object, near or remote; and it is qualified by adverbs. Like a substantive, it may be the subject or object of a verb; it is often defined by the article, and is employed in the different cases.[7]

Green apparently gives embryonic recognition to the infinitive as a potential clausal entity, while he still recognizes its nominal properties. For Green, an infinitive can function as subject or object of another clause, always has its own subject in the accusative case, and also functions as verbal adjunct for intention or result. He notes the imperatival use of the infinitive in Philippians 3:16.

William Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (1889),[8] is based on classical texts. Like so many other grammars, he focuses on the infinitive itself as opposed to infinitival

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[6] Samuel Green, *Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1880), p. 324.
[7] Ibid.
[8] William Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (London: The Macmillan Co., 1889), pp. 297-328.

constructions. His definition of the infinitive is almost identical with Green's.[9] Most of his space is devoted to a listing of infinitive uses with numerous citations for support. His next volume, *A Greek Grammar* (1894),[10] covers the complete field of classical Greek grammar, but condenses the section on infinitives from his previous work with the same essential content.

The definitive study of Koine Greek infinitives based on scholarly traditional grammar is found in Clyde W. Votaw's "The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek" (1896).[11] This doctoral thesis at the University of Chicago concentrated, as the title suggests, on the uses of all the infinitives in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, which in itself is a Herculean task. While he did not explore infinitive clauses as such, he made a basic distinction between anarthrous and articular infinitives and catalogued their twenty-two functions (listing frequencies) as they related to their governing clauses.

Votaw discussed the Hebraistic influence upon the use of the infinitive in Biblical Greek, and he also tabulated the frequencies of tenses of the infinitive, concluding that "aorists predominate over the presents in the apoc. and N.T. in the ratio of 4 to 3, but in the O.T. in the ratio of 2 to 1."[12] This difference he attributes to the

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[9] *Ibid*., p. 297.

[10] William Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1894), pp. 325-334.

[11] Clyde W. Votaw, "The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1896), 59 pp.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 59.

influence of the Hebrew original. Votaw's most pointed reference to infinitive clause order appears in the following statement:

> *When the subject of the infinitive is expressed it is always in the accusative case. The position of the subject in the clause regularly is immediately before, or less frequently after, the infinitive. The object of the infinitive follows the infinitive, and follows also the subject if that stands after the infinitive.*[13]

In subsequent discussion this study shows that Votaw's first sentence requires amplification, for it is possible for the logical subject of the infinitive to be in the dative case when the word in question is involved in a co-function as the indirect object of a main clause or when used as a dative of reference. And the rest of the quotation also requires further development, which, indeed, is the task of the present study. Nevertheless, Votaw's work remains the pioneer study which many other pedagogical materials have drawn upon with profit.

James H. Moulton, author of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1906),[14] discusses in his *Prolegomena* (Vol. I) the infinitive from an historical perspective. In Volume III, *Syntax* (1963),[15] for which Nigel Turner is responsible, the infinitive is treated in several useful ways: (1) as possessing dative function, such as purpose, result, and for absolute constructions; (2) with various clausal usages normal to an independent clause, first without article, as direct object, as subject, as an adverbial without specific function, and next with article, and

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[13] *Ibid*., p. 58.

[14] James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3 vols. (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906, 1957).

[15] Moulton, *op. cit*., ed. Nigel Turner, Vol. III.

with or without a preposition to perform the function of a subordinate clause; and (3) as reflecting general classical usage in respect to cases, with some exceptions. Against the classical rule that the subject of a dependent infinitive is not expressed again if it is the same as the subject of the independent verb, Turner notes that

> *Quite often in the Koine and NT, although the governing verb and the infin. have the same subject, the latter will be in the accus. This is distinct from class. Greek, which has either the nominative or no noun at all with the infin.*[16]

Turner points out further departures of New Testament infinitive usage from classical Greek, such as the placement of the infinitive alone, whereas in classical Greek the full accusative with infinitive construction would be used; and also that the accusative with the infinitive is more restricted in New Testament Greek because the ὅτι, periphrasis had become influential generally in later Greek.[17]

Herbert W. Smyth's *Greek Grammar* (1920; rev. 1956),[18] devotes almost twenty pages to the infinitive in one of the most complete treatments in a general grammar. While most of his discussion focuses on the immediate uses of single infinitives, Smyth comes close to a recognition of the clausal propensities of infinitives with their adjuncts:

> *b. [the infinitive] can have a subject before it and a predicate after it, and it can have an object in the genitive, or accusative like the corresponding finite verb . . . the object of an infinitive never stands in the objective genitive . . . . c. It is modified by*

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16 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
18 Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon Messing (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920; 1956), pp. 436-453.

*adverbs, not by adjectives . .   e. It forms lauses of result
with ὥστε, and temporal clauses with πρίν, etc.*[19]

Based as it is on classical texts, Smyth's work covers forms and
uses of infinitives not found in the New Testament, but he covers judi-
ciously and in detail the use of infinitives as subject, predicate,
appositive, and object, as well as the relationship of infinitives to
adjectives, adverbs, and substantives in a manner essentially compatible
with the findings of the present study, though differing in specific
method of analysis.

A. T. Robertson in his *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in
the Light of Historical Research* (1934),[20] provides an extensive survey
of the origin and development of the infinitive from pre-historic times
even in comparison with Sanskrit. He strongly asserts that the infini-
tive is substantival in nature, and hence he declines to divide the
infinitive into anarthrous and articular uses. To him, these are only
two aspects of the substantive quality of the infinitive, and he chooses
rather to divide the infinitive into substantival and verbal aspects.
Robertson makes much of his theory that the infinitive, as a substantive,
is always in a case relationship to its governing clause:

> *(a) Case (Subject or Object Infinitive). Here I mean the cases of
> the inf. itself, not the cases used with it. The inf. is always in
> a case. As a substantive this is obvious. We have to dismiss, for
> the most part, all notion of the ending (dative or locative) and
> treat it as an indeclinable substantive.*[21]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 438.

[20] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the
Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1934),
pp. 1051-1095.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 1058.

Robertson offers further support for his position by noting that infinitives are used after prepositions and in connection with other substantives, adjectives, and verbs as complements and appositives, just as are other nominals. Robertson's separate treatment of the verbal aspects of the infinitive includes the discussion of voice, tense, cases, indirect discourse, personal constructions, and a range of uses from epexegetical to purpose, result, cause, time, and infinitive absolutes.

Another distinctive assertion of Robertson is that because the infinitive is not finite, it can not, as with the participle, have a subject.[22] He says,

> *[the infinitive] stands, indeed, in the place of a finite verb of the direct statement, but does not thereby become finite with a subject. From the syntactical standpoint the construction is true to both the substantival and verbal aspects of the inf.[23]*

Thus for Robertson the infinitive is a verbalized substantive. Instead of recognizing the subject of an infinitive in the accusative, he says, "the true nature of the acc. with the inf. [is] merely that of general reference."[24] Apparently, then, his theory of grammar was so heavily case-oriented that it prevented him from dealing with infinitives and their adjuncts as clause constructions, and he was thus forced to regard infinitive word groups as phrases. The evidence later adduced in this study indicates that Robertson was not entirely correct, and that infinitive collocations are indeed clausal in nature.

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[22] *Ibid*., p. 1082.
[23] *Ibid*., P. 1083.
[24] *Ibid*.

Dana and Mantey's *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (1947),[25] has the advantage of being the most readable and most clearly presented discussion of the infinitive. While these authors follow Robertson in their basic position, they make a considerable advance upon his erratic prose. On the origin of the infinitive, they point out that

> *It may be that its assumption of verbal characteristics and functions caused the Greek infinitive to lose its substantive inflection. But this obscuration of its formal significance had no effect upon its essential noun force.*[26]

Thus the infinitive retains its noun force particularly when used with the article. Dana and Mantey cite Basil L. Gildersleeve's concise summation of the historical development of the infinitive: "By the substantival loss of its dative force the infinitive became verbalized; by the assumption of the article it was substantivized again with a decided increment of its power."[27] The authors go on to demonstrate the significance of the article as used with the infinitive:

> *[it] has no fixed effect upon its varieties' in use. That is, a particular use may occur with or without the article at the option of the writer, in accordance with his desire to make the expression specific or general.*[28]

Elsewhere Dana and Mantey explain further how the use or non-use of the article determines whether the infinitive is specific or general:

> *The genius of the article is nowhere more clearly revealed than in its use with infinitives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, or even whole*

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[25] H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 208-220.

[26] *Ibid*., p. 210.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 211.

[28] *Ibid*.

sentences (cf. Gal. 5:14) . . . . There is no English idiom even remotely akin to this, for in English we never use an article with anything other than a substantive, and then to mark definiteness. When we begin to find the article used with phrases, clauses, and entire sentences, we are, so to speak, "swamped in Greek." The use of the article with the phrase, clause, or sentence specifies in a particular way the fact expressed: marks it out as a single identity. So in Mt. 13:4, καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείραν αὐτόν, and as he sowed, points to the fact of that particular sowing, while in Mt. 12:10, τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύειν, to heal on the Sabbath, emphasizes the character of the deed (a Sabbath healing) . . . . The articular infinitive singles out the act as a particular occurrence while the anarthrous infinitive employs the act as descriptive.[29]

Dana and Mantey conclude their discussion by distinguishing the verbal uses of the infinitive (purpose, result, time, cause, and command) from the substantival uses (subject, object, indirect object, instrument, apposition, and modifier of a noun or adjective).

A Greek Grammar of the New Testament (1913), by F. Blass and A. Debrunner, translated by Robert W. Funk (1961),[30] covers most thoroughly the uses of the infinitive in the New Testament. One of their best sections (No. 392) deals extensively with the infinitive as complement with the main clause usage of certain verbs like θέλω, βούλομαι, ἐπι-θυμέω, ζητέω, φοβέω, δύναμαι, ἰσχύω, and δοκιμάζω, rather than dealing with such constructions as objects. They also discuss articular infinitives, as well as prepositions and cases with infinitives.

Eugene Van Ness Goetchius, both a linguist and a New Testament scholar, has written a helpful textbook for students of Greek in his *Language of the New Testament* (1965), in which he discusses the forms

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[29] *Ibid*., pp. 137-138.

[30] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 191-202.

and uses of the infinitive.[31] Goetchius anticipates one of the findings independently arrived at in the present study:

Like the English infinitive, the Greek anarthrous infinitive may serve to complete the meaning of certain verbs which seldom or never occur without such an infinitive complement; such infinitives are, accordingly, called complementary infinitives. The most important verbs which govern complementary infinitives are δύναμαι, θέλω, βούλομαι, μέλλω, and ἀρείλω.[32]

Goetchius distinguishes between the former construction and anarthrous infinitives which also occur as objects of verbs which ordinarily govern substantive objects, such as ζητέω and κελεύω.[33] In addition to the usual observations on the infinitive, he regards anarthrous infinitives as subject of impersonal verbs such as δεῖ, ἔξεστιν, and also εἰμί.[34]

The most recent text to be surveyed is the inductivist effort of William Sanford LaSor, entitled *Handbook of New Testament Greek* (1973).[35] The second of the two volumes is a grammar which is apparently conditioned by structuralist linguistic methodology. LaSor gives unrestrained recognition to the concept of an infinitive with its adjunct elements as a clause:

The infinitive, in turn, since it is verbal, may have its own subject, object, or other modifiers. In such case the infinitive

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[31] Eugene Van Ness Goetchius, *The Language of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 191-202.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 195.

[33] *Ibid*., p. 197.

[34] *Ibid*., p. 199.

[35] William Sanford LaSor, *Handbook of New Testament Greek*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1973), pp. 163-179.

clause serves as a noun clause defining the subject of the verb.
οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ *'It was not possible for him to be held by it.' (lit., 'him to be held by it was not possible') (Ac. 2:24).*[36]

Furthermore, LaSor states as the purpose of Lesson 45 of his first volume, "To study infinitive clauses."[37]

LaSor agrees with Goetchius in his treatment of the complementary infinitive when he says, "Verbs of wishing, commanding, advising, permitting, beginning, attempting, and the like usually require another verb to complete the meaning."[38] When infinitives function in a temporal capacity, or are used to indicate purpose or result, they are regarded by LaSor as verb modifiers.[39] When the infinitive is used after ὥστε or ὡς to show result, the construction is comparable to a subordinate clause, according to LaSor.[40]

Several conclusions may be drawn from this review of research. First, studies in Greek tend to reflect an increasing influence of linguistic procedures which currently exist as a roundabout continuation of the older (and often more compartmentalized) discipline of philology. Linguistics was first developed as a language science 75-100 years ago, partially as a reaction to the established study of the literate languages by focusing on undescribed languages, and this required some significant alterations in methodology. In turn, a greater development in

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[37] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. A-148-A-152.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

language theory was demanded in the search to discover language universals (that is, whatever features different languages have in common, whether these features are surface-level or deep-structure phenomena). Now a number of different linguistic theories can be brought to bear on specific languages to help advance the state of knowledge.

Second, most discussion has converged on the historical properties of the infinitive, its nature, and its uses. The function of the infinitive in relation to the main clause of which it is a part has preoccupied investigators, presumably because their interest lay in producing either pedagogical or reference grammars to assist students and translators whose goal was predominantly exegetical or literary.

Third, very little attention has been given to the infinitive as the nucleus of a construction which can legitimately be characterized as clausal--a special type of clause, to be sure, but nonetheless clausal. Although grammarians like Smyth and LaSor have given tacit recognition to such a thing as an infinitive clause, no real study has been made of the components of the infinitive clause. And since a grammarian of the stature of A. T. Robertson has taken an emphatic stand that the infinitive collocation is only phrasal, the question obviously deserves to be settled.

CHAPTER II

TAGMEMIC THEORY

2.1 The Tagmemic Theoretical Model

Tagmemic grammar is an outgrowth of, and an elaboration upon,
the descriptivist-structuralist method of linguistic analysis developed
by such investigators as Leonard Bloomfield and C. C. Fries. It has
also been capable of assimilating features and procedures germane to
other systems of analysis, such as generative capacity and transforma-
tions, and has as well been distinguished by a number of original con-
tributions to the study of behavior and language in its own right.

Kenneth L. Pike and Robert E. Longacre have been the major
theorists of the tagmemic system, but others like Benjamin Elson, Velma
Pickett, and Walter A. Cook have also contributed in significant measure
to the expansion and presentation of the theory. All present tagmemic
analysis weighs heavily on Pike's *Language in Relation to a Unified
Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*,[1] but the more immediate
theoretical and procedural sources for this study are Elson and
Pickett's *An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax*,[2] Longacre's *Grammar*

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[1] Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of
the Structure of Human Behavior* (2d ed.; The Hague: Mouton & Co.,
1971).
[2] Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett, *An Introduction to Morphology
and Syntax* (Santa Ana, Cal.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1969).

17

Discovery Procedures,[3] and Cook's *Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis*.[4]

Basic to the system is the concept of the tagmeme, which term is ultimately derived from the Greek word τάγμα, which means "an order, a rank, an arrangement," or even "a position." Grammatical description is not really complete when expressed in terms of function alone, such as subject + predicate + object, nor is it sufficient to use form alone, in the manner noun + verb + noun. Rather, both function and form must be seen to correlate at given points in a string of functional parts in a language. These points in a grammatical string may be considered as functional slots which can be filled by one or more kinds of form or construction. In other words, function and form coordinate in the above instances of clause description in the manner S:n + P:V +0:N, which reads, "subject slot filled by a noun, predicate slot filled by a verb phrase, and object slot filled by a noun phrase." The lower case n indicates a word form, and the capitals *V* and *N* refer to phrasal con- structs.

When a tagmemicist approaches the analysis of a language for the first time, he looks for apparent sets of correlations as illustrated above. If he is working with clauses, he may note that there are words or constructions which represent various functional properties like sub- ject, predicate, object, indirect object, complement, agent, manner, time, location, and so on. He then postulates a correlation between

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[3] Robert E. Longacre, *Grammar Discovery Procedures* (The Hague: Mouton &   1964).

[4] Walter A. Cook, *Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969).

this functional "slot" and the formal entity which manifests the functional slot, and he labels it a tagma, which is the word for a tentative identification of grammatical slot/formal filler correlation. This identification, it must be remembered, is made without necessary reference to the indigenous grammatical system of the language concerned. However, the analysis is not complete until reference is made to the system of the language, but this occurs at a subsequent stage in analysis.

Proceeding in this manner it is possible to construct a grammar by moving from the unknown to the known as hypotheses are made and checked with a native informant or with whatever knowledge is already available, in the case of ancient languages. Thus the analysis does not rely on isolated, ad hoc observations, but neither is it confined to a repetition of already-existing grammatical statements.

When a corpus reveals an overall pattern of tagmas with consistency, it is possible to posit tagmemes for such occurrences, or standardized emic (that is, *language-systemic*) slot-filler correlations whereby utterances are constructed by native speakers of the language. In other words, tagmas are identified by the making of immediate, independent, absolute judgments, however tentative (in linguistic parlance these are etic statements). When the systematic patterns or usages of the language confirm these tagmatic judgments, the units in question are advanced to the status of tagmemes, or established typological function-form correlations of the langauge. Tagmas are individual, tentative, somewhat unrelated language entities arrived at by initial exploration

in a language. Tagmemes are language-typological and language perva-
sive.

Thus the functional slot provides the grammatical relation, and
the filler class specifies the pertinent grammatical categories, but
both must exist in a dynamic correlation. This correlative concept of
tagma-tagmeme with slots and fillers can also be seen as analogous to
the earlier purely formalistic relationships of phone-allophone-phoneme
and morph-allomorph-morpheme in phonological and morphological theory.

Pike's definition of a tagmeme is as follows: "A verbal motif-
emic-slot-class correlative is a TAGMEME; and a verbal etic motif-slot-
class correlative is a TAGMA."[5] While Pike's definition may appear at
first to be too esoteric, it is nonetheless the most accurate concise
one available. However, Elson and Pickett's definition provides a more
lucid explanation for the moment:

> *The tagmeme, as a grammatical unit, is* the correlation of a grammat-
> ical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items
> occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distri-
> bution within the grammatical hierarchy of a language. *The term
> slot refers to the grammatical function of the tagmeme. The terms
> 'subject,' 'object,' 'predicate,' 'modifier,' and the like indicate
> such grammatical functions . . . .* Slot *refers primarily to gram-
> matical function and only secondarily to linear position . . . .
> The term class refers to the list of mutually substitutable mor-
> phemes and morpheme sequences which may fill a slot . . . . The term
> 'grammatical hierarchy' refers to the fact that a sequence of mor-
> phemes (analyzable in terms of strings of tagmemes) may themselves
> manifest a single tagmeme. This fact is one of the notions impor-
> tant to the way in which grammar is structured in terms of levels.
> The tagmemes analyzed at each significant level constitutes [sic]
> the grammatical hierarchy of a language.*[6]

[5] Pike, p. 195.
[6] Elson and Pickett, pp. 57-58.

The last part of this quotation refers to another important concept provided by tagmemic grammar, which is the distinction of levels in a grammatical hierarchy. According to Walter A. Cook,

In tagmemics, the unit is the tagmeme, a correlation of function and form; the construction is a potential string of tagmeme units, the syntagmeme; and the system is the gramatical hierarchy, arranged in a series of systematic levels. By geometric analogy, the tagmeme is a point, the construction a line made up of points, and the grammatical hierarchy lines arranged from higher to lower.[7]

The various levels can thus be described as if they were in relative positions in space--higher or lower in relationship to one another. The actual levels in the analysis of languages are (from higher to lower) the discourse, paragraph, sentence, clause, phrase, word, and morpheme levels. Constructions (that is, multi-morpheme, multi-word, multi-phrase, Multi-clause, and so on) occur at the first six levels listed, and the seventh, or morpheme level, is an ultimate point of reference for meaning at one or more of the other levels; whereas the other levels are capable of being broken down into tagmemic constructions, the morphemic level does not yield itself to further segmental analysis because morphemes are the ultimate constituents carrying independent semantic content. Morphemes are traditionally referred to as inflections, derivational prefixes and suffixes, and word stems. Because this is as far as analysis of independent referential units of meaning can be carried, the phonological system of a language must be treated in its own right as a separate psycholinguistic component or related to the other levels by means of morphophonemics.

[7] Cook, p. 27.

At the discourse level discourses are analyzed in terms of their tagmemic slots and constructions which manifest them. For example, a narrative discourse may have such tagmemes as title, aperture, one or more episodes, conclusion, and closure, each manifested by such structures as paragraphs or sentences.[8] At the paragraph level paragraphs have their own tagmemic slots and exponents for them. The narrative paragraph, for example, may have such ordered slots as setting, one or more "build-up" slots by means of which the content of the paragraph is developed, and a terminus slot. Each of these may be manifested by sentences.[9] This description is by no means inclusive, for a variety of discourse and paragraph tagmemes can be found in many languages. The same can be said for the other levels to be considered here. In reality, each language determines its own tagmemes at each level.

At the sentence level such sentence types as simple, coordinate, antithetical, sequential, and concatenated sentences are analyzed in terms of their tagmemic constituents. For the simple sentence, which is typically the basic systemic form, such a nuclear tagmemic slot as the sentence base may be filled by transitive, intransitive, ditransitive,

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[8] For further explication and examples of these discourse tagmemes as they appear in Old English, see Edgar J. Lovelady, "A Tagmemic Analysis of AElfric's *Life of St. Oswald*" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Purdue University, 1974), pp. 253-263. Also see Robert E. Longacre, *Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages*, 3 vols. (Santa Ana, Cal.: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968); and Longacre's *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages: Discussion* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1972).

[9] Further discussion of paragraph types is found in Lovelady, pp. 263-277.

or equational clauses. Peripheral sentence slots, such as margins which may precede or follow the sentence base, may be manifested by other structures, such as the clause in some languages, or a relator-axis (i.e., subordinated) sentence.[10]

At the clause level tagmemes such as subject, predicate, object, complement, manner, location, and agent, emerge. At the phrase level word groups are broken down into (1) exocentric, non-centered, relator-axis structures;[11] (2) endocentric, multiple-head, coordinate or item-appositive phrases;[12] and (3) endocentric, modifier-head structures represented by noun phrases, verb phrases, adjective phrases, and some-times, adverb phrases. The word level provides for analysis of words on the basis of (1) ability to take inflections (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on); (2) derivational formation (as major parts of speech are changed or remain unchanged in their part-of-speech status by the addi-tion of derivational affixes); and (3) formations as compounds, either endocentric, where the compound is the same as one of the roots, or exocentric, where the compound differs from either of the roots. It is at the morpheme level that this kind of analysis stops, and morphemes are rather mapped into functional slots in grammatical constructions as

[10] The theory of sentence level tagmemes and types of sentences is found in Lovelady, pp. 46-115.

[11] An exocentric construction is not centered in the sense that it possesses no dominating head tagmeme which can stand for the whole construction in its functional slot.

[12] An endocentric construction has a dominating head (or heads) which can replace the whole construction in a functional slot. Item-appositive phrases have multiple heads with the same referent but are juxtaposed in apposition (although possibly physically separated), not joined by a connector.

members of filler classes which fill these slots.

This, then, is an overview of the basic kinds of analysis carried on in tagmemic studies. While the present study specifically concentrates on the clause level of the grammatical hierarchy, use is made of other levels, especially the phrase and word levels, as warranted. One should not gain the impression from this study that tagmemics is only useful in studying clauses, for the same process of determining the dynamic correlations of function and form is utilized on all of the levels. Different terms are, of course, required for work on the different levels.[13]

The flexibility and adaptibility of the tagmemic system in describing quite different languages is apparent partially in its method of recognizing relationships among the various levels of grammar. It is typical in most languages for morphemes to fill slots on the word level, for words to fill slots on the phrase level, for phrases to fill slots on the clause level, and for clauses to fill slots on the sentence level. Thus constructions on a given level are normally mapped up to the next higher level to fill slots on that level. But a recognition of atypical mapping is also allowed in this system. "Level skipping" takes place when a construction on one level does not map immediately into the very next higher level, but rather is placed in some yet higher level slot, as when a word fills a slot at the clause level by bypassing

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[13] Clause and phrase-level analysis is discussed in Lovelady, pp. 118-250; and in two recent unpublished monographs: "A Positional Syntax of Koine Greek," Grace Theological Seminary, August, 1974; and "A Tagmemic Analysis of Genesis 37," Grace Theological Seminary, August, 1975.

the phrase level. So when a single noun manifests a subject slot on the clause level instead of, say, a noun phrase from the phrase level, "level skipping" has taken place.

Another phenomenon pertaining to the levels is called "layering," which occurs when one construction is included within another construction at the same level, as when a clause manifests a tagmemic slot in another clause string. Yet another phenomenon is the existence of "loopbacks," the embedding of higher level constructions within lower levels, such as when a relative clause fills the identifier slot within a phrase in post-position relative to the phrase head:

(1)   *determiner:article   head:noun   identifier:adjective* clause
                    the   man   who came to dinner

All of these phenomena, normal mapping from one level to the next, level-skipping, layering, and loopbacks, are regarded as reflecting the process of embedding. Embedding is characteristic of all grammatical constructions not being described in terms of string analysis, where only the functional slots in a grammatical string (such as subject, predicate, object) are the matters of concern.

The generative capacity of a theoretical system is of considerable importance in present-day linguistics, and has been since the introduction of transformational-generative theory (abbreviated *T-G*) by Noam Chomsky and his followers. Tagmemic grammar does possess adequate generative power, however, in addition to its precision as a descriptive technique. But tagmemic generative power differs from T-G generative power by its operation throughout the several grammatical levels. Transformational-Generative grammar, on the other hand, revolutionized

linguistics by exploring the mentalistic processes by which human beings generate the surface-level structure utterances from deep-structure components. This generative process can be demonstrated by a simple tree diagram:

(2)
```
                                    S
                                    |
                                   Nuc
                                    |
        | ------------------------------------------|
        |                                  |
       NP                                 VP
        |                   |------------------|------------------|
       pn                  Aux                MV             Manner
        |                  tense               V                |
        |                   |                  |                 |
      she                  past               run            rapidly
```
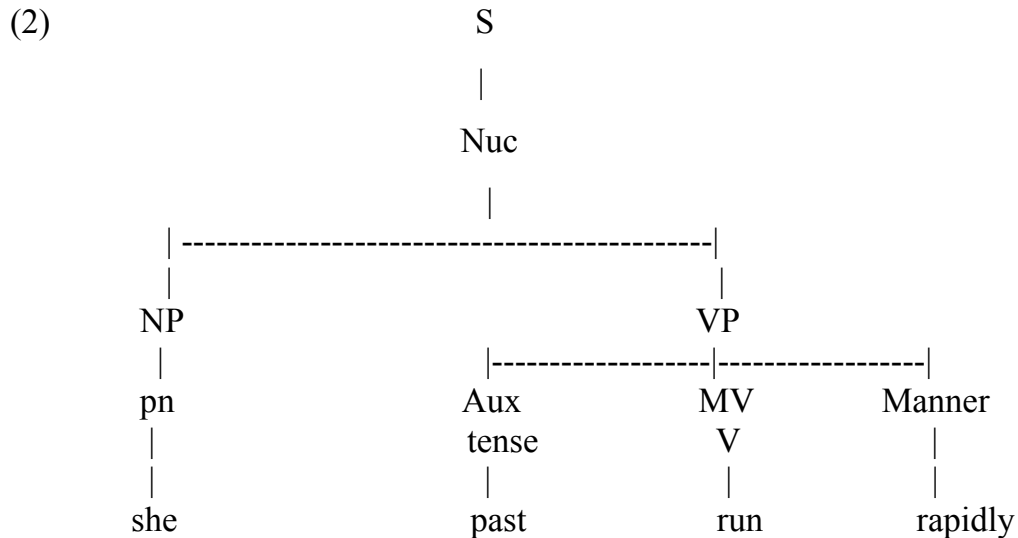
Here the generative process is seen as a series of choices which are made by employing the base rules of a postulated mentalistic syntactic component. The speaker wishes to construct a sentence, symbolized by S. An internalized rule allows the speaker to use an optional sentence modifier (as in "*Certainly*, I know the answer") along with the nucleus (Nuc), which in turn consists of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. Being disenchanted with sentence modifiers for the moment, however, the speaker chooses only *Nuc*. Since the noun phrase (NP) and the verb phrase (VP) are the choices made for the subject and the predicate (the speaker, for example, could have selected a noun clause in place of the noun phrase) from the compositional repertoire of the nucleus, further choices need to be made. The noun phrase can be rewritten as (or the selection made as) a pronoun, and the verb phrase can involve other

postulated subchoices for an auxiliary unit which obligatorily carries tense, a main verb unit which in this case turns out to be intransitive, and an optional manner unit. When a postulated lexical component is brought to bear for word choices, the pronoun becomes *she*, the main verb becomes run, and manner becomes *rapidly*. A further choice of tense renders past. At this stage all of these word choices still are only potential morphemes, not surface-level utterances, which they will become only when a postulated phonological component (for speech) or a graphological component (for writing) gives them "real" existence. And before this happens, a transformational affix rule reverses the past and *run* morphemes to give an embryonic *ran*. On the surface level, the sentence reads, "She ran rapidly."

Such a simplistic example merely suggests the complexities which abound in the generation, or production of utterances. Exponents of T-G do not assert that the selectional rules referred to above along with the tree diagram *are* the actual processes which transpire in the human mind. Rather, they are analogous to these processes in much the same way a schematic diagram represents the relationships of electronic components to a television repairman: they demonstrate and map out generative power from source to output.

Tagmemic grammar also has generative power, and tree diagrams can be constructed in a similar way as in illustration (2) above, with the exception that the tree diagram is superimposed over a grid of the several levels. This means that the branching which reflects embedded structures is explicit at all levels, providing that the grammar is

properly structured by the tagmemic formula devised at each level. The reader is referred to the several examples of tagmemic tree diagrams later in this section and in Chapters Four and Five for illustration of this point.

Transformations are also recognized in tagmemic grammar. Transformations are essentially rules of change, movement rules whereby various morphemes or higher-level constructions are relocated in the order of the string (which is usually a phrase or clause). The best-known transformation is probably the active-passive. Among the many who discuss this rule which applies to numerous languages, Goetchius gives one of the clearest examples:[14]

(3)   *Active*   *Passive*

X_s ---- V_{act} ------ Y_o ---> Y_s-- V_{pass} ---- by + X_o

| | |--| | |
|--|

In Greek, the transformation works like this:

(4)   *Active*   *Passive*

ἐγὼ λύω τὸν δοῦλον ---------->   ὁ δοῦλος λύεται ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ

| | |-------------------------------| | |
|---|

Thus "The slave is being loosed by me" is a transformational derivative of "I am loosing the slave," which may be regarded as a kernel sentence. With examples like the one above, the usefulness of the transformational concept becomes apparent in its specifying the nature of the relationship between clauses. Goetchius does not incorporate case transformation rules in the above examples, and such must be

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[14] Eugene Van Ness Goetchius, *The Language of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 94-96.

provided in complete transformation rules where inflected languages are concerned. This criterion is observed in the transformations described later in this study.

Both tagmemicists Longacre and Cook have recognized the necessity of incorporating transformations in tagmemic grammar. Cook stipulates:

> *With the introduction of transformational rules or matrix devices to show the relationship, between sentences, it is still necessary to describe both kernel sentences and derived sentences in order to discover the differences between structures. However, the final grammar may be considerably simplified by employing some type of transformational rule or matrix display, together with an analysis of only kernel sentences.*[15]

Finally, tagmemic grammar makes unapologetic use of meaning. As Longacre says, "We work with formal correlates of meaning."[16] Structural linguistics confined itself deliberately to a surface-level formalism in its classificatory descriptions of corpuses. Transformational-generative grammar restricted itself consciously to formalistic phrase-structure generations and transformations from deep structure to surface structure within the syntactic component of an individual's linguistic prowess. Meaning has characteristically been tolerated in T-G to the extent that the linguistic intuition of the individual (Robert B. Lees' *Sprachgefuhl*) is brought to bear to discriminate well-formed from ungrammatical utterances. But even here there is a formalistic tendency. Lees has said,

> *It is precisely this* Sprachgefuhl, *this intuitive notion about linguistic structure, which, together with the sentences of a*

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[15] Cook, pp. 42-43.
[16] Longacre, p. 23.

language, forms the empirical basis of grammatical analysis; and it is precisely the purpose of linguistic science to render explicit and rigorous whatever is vague about these intuitive feelings.[17]

It is true that in his later work Chomsky has tried to accommodate his overriding preoccupation with syntax by correlating it with semantics, but there is a decided trend to turn generative syntax upside down to generative semantics.[18] In view of this, any contribution to linguistic science which incorporates both form and meaning may be expected to produce more durable results. Pike's assessment of the situation has special point:

In tagmemics . . . we insist that neither the grammar nor the meaning can be identified independently of the other. Rather, in tagmemic terms, the empirical basis of grammatical analysis is a composite of structured meaning and structured form . . . . Tagmemics is set up as part of a theory of behavior, not merely as a formal algebraic system. For this reason also--in addition to our analytical methodology and the nature of the form-meaning composite--it refers to meaning more extensively than does transform grammar. Chomsky observes that when he some day extends his studies to cover such matters, then, too, semantic considerations will enter . . . . We consider it inadequate to assume that intuition of linguistic form divorced from a larger theory of semantics is a sufficient explanation of tagmemic meaning.[19]

[17] Robert B. Lees, Review of Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (Mouton), *Language*, XXXIII (July-September, 1957), 39.

[18] Noam Chomsky has tried to accommodate his syntactic theory to "the semantic component" in his later *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M. I. T. Press, 1965), pp. 148-163. However, James D. McCawley and others have based their generative processes on the semantic component of the mentalistic language-generating mechanism which is regarded as basic, and have related the syntactic component to this theoretical unit. For example, see James D. McCawley, "The Role of Semantics in a Grammar," in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. Emmon Bach and Robert Harms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), pp. 124-169, and Charles J. Fillmore and D. Terence Langendoen, eds., *Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971).

[19] Pike, pp. 500-501.

Hence the tagmemic system can be seen to be perhaps the broadest in its ability to relate itself to the demands of natural languages and to other theories constructed to handle them. Tagmemics is partially but not merely taxonomic, and as Longacre observes, ". . . neither 'analysis' nor 'taxonomy' are words lacking in scholarly or scientific status."[20] Indeed, other theoretical approaches are dependent upon the contributions of observations, classifications, and analysis, whether transcribed by a linguistic field worker, or disclosed by means of a speaker's linguistic competence. But tagmemics is more than this, as Pike's gesture of rapprochement indicates: "My feeling that tagmemics and transformationalism should ultimately merge in the main stream of linguistics [is denied by (Paul) Postal on theoretical grounds]."[21] Longacre reflects the same desire as Pike, expressing himself more fully on the matter:

> Need taxonomy and generation be opposed as logically irreconcilable viewpoints? Or is this opposition one more of those unnecessary and time-consuming pseudo-conflicts with which the history of human thought is strewn? If all grammars worthy of the name are in some sense generative and if even current writings in generative grammar can not escape some analysis, identification, and labelling, then the generation-versus-taxonomy opposition is one with which we should rightly have little patience.[22]

Applied to a sample sentence of Koine Greek, for example, the tagmemic system of analysis can be illustrated by means of the tree diagram. While there are several methods of representing sentences by the tagmemic system, this is the best one for visibility, ease of

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[20] Longacre, p. 40.
[21] Pike, p. 497.
[22] Longacre, p. 11.

drawing, and accuracy. It also demonstrates the superiority of tag-
memics over T-G in preserving the form-function correlates, since both
grammatical slot and formal filler are depicted explicitly at each
branching node on every level. The levels of the grammatical hierarchy
are listed on the left, and in this diagram they are extended across the
page in a linear maser.

```
Sentence                            Base:tCl

              ------------------------------------------------------------------
              |             |          |                       |
Clause  P:tv          S:n        M:RA                    O:N
              |             |          |                       |
              |             |          |----------|          |----------|----------|
Phrase  |             |       R:rel  Ax:n          D:art   H:n     Pos:pn
              |             |          |        |          |        |        |
Word   ἔλαβον     γυναῖκες  ἐξ  ἀναστάσεως  τοὺς  νεκροὺς  αὐτῶν
```
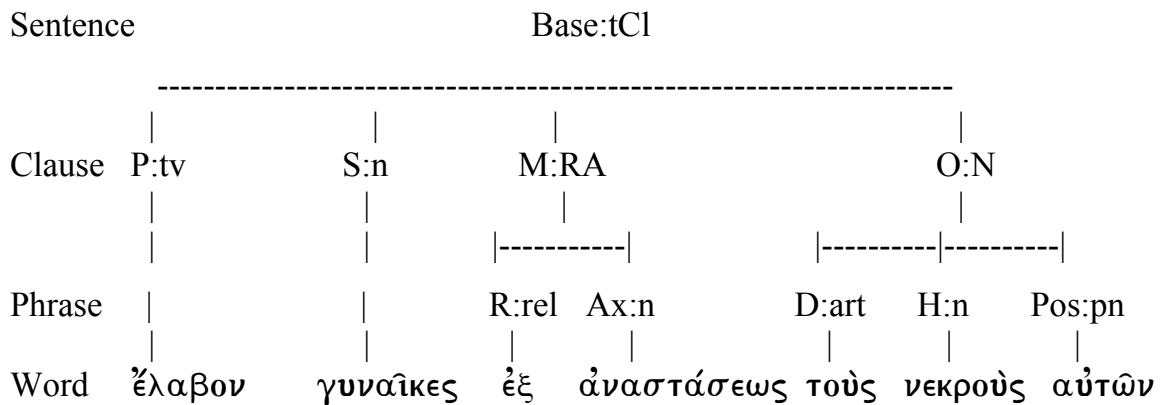
The sentence above was taken from Hebrews 11:35: "Women re-
ceived their dead by a resurrection." The diagram is to be interpreted
as follows. Items to the left of a colon indicate functional slots.
The sentence level of syntactic analysis consists of a Base slot filled
by a transitive clause. If the intonation pattern were an object of
study in addition to syntax, an intonation slot would appear at the far
right of the diagram level with the Base slot, to be filled by a nota-
tion of the particular intonation pattern, such as *ICF* for "intonation-
final contour," in the case of a declarative sentence. Thus Base can be
seen to be nuclear on the sentence level, and if other modifying units
accompanied the Base, either preposed or postposed, they would be

analyzed as peripheral tagmemes called *Margins* which could reflect the semantic properties of Circumstance, Reason, Purpose, Cause, and the like.

At the clause level there are multiple slots arranged in a string, with a predicate slot filled by a transitive verb; a subject slot filled by a common noun; a manner slot filled by a relator-axis phrase (roughly equivalent to a prepositional phrase); and a direct object slot filled by a noun phrase. The only distinctive grammatical introductions in the sentence on the phrase level appear in a further explication of the manner slot and the direct object slot. For the clause manner slot, on the phrase level the relator slot is filled by a word-class relator (preposition), and the axis slot is occupied by a common noun. For the direct object noun phrase, there is a determiner slot (determining, or specifying that a nominal head of a phrase unit is to follow subsequently) manifested by an article, a head slot (the nuclear nominal of the phrase) expounded by a common noun, and the usual (in Greek) postposed possessive slot, filled by a personal pronoun.

In a language like Greek where there is a highly-developed case system, subscripts can be used to indicate the case of constructions, such as N_a for noun phrase in the accusative case, pn_d for pronoun in the dative case, and so on. It is also usually essential to abbreviate verb identifications with symbols like tv for transitive verb, iv for intransitive verb, and eqv for equational (linking or copulative) verb. Passive and non-finite verbs can also be recognized by such symbols as tv_{infp} for transitive passive infinitive. When it is desirable to

specify a number of fillers for a given slot, the method S:N/pn can be used, which means that a subject slot can be filled by either a noun phrase or a pronoun. The reader may consult the List of Tagmemic Symbas included at the beginning of this study for identification of unfamiliar abbreviations.

Other kinds of examples may also be of interest. For the sake of space they are short sentences. The first one, from Luke 4:41, features an equational clause as the filler of the sentence Base, and C stands for subject complement. Notice the recursive embedding in which the noun phrase of the possessive slot is in turn embedded in the noun phrase of the clause complement slot.

(6)

```
Sentence                        Base:eqC1

                   -------------------------------------------------
                   |                   |                   |
Clause          S:pn               P:eqv                 C:N
                   |                   |                   |
                   |                   |         |---------|----------------|
Phrase             |                   |       D:art     H:n        Pos:N_g
                   |                   |         |         |          |
(Embedded Phrase)                                              |----------------|
                   |                   |         |         |    D: art_g      H:np_g
Word             Σὺ                 εἶ        ὁ      Ψὑὸς    τοῦ          θεοῦ
```

The order of each string is readily observable in this type of diagram. This is a decided advantage over the old Reed-Kellogg method[23]

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[23] H. A. Gleason, Jr., *Linguistics and English Grammar* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 142-151, gives a judicious

of diagramming where relative positions of words are obscured by a concession to logical statement. Diagrammed by the Reed-Kellogg method, the sentence from Hebrews 11:35 might appear thus:

(7)

```
     γύναικες  |  ἔλαβον    |    νεκροὺς
                |  |              |         |
                |  |  ἐξ         |τοὺς    |αὐτῶν
                |ἀναστάσεως
```
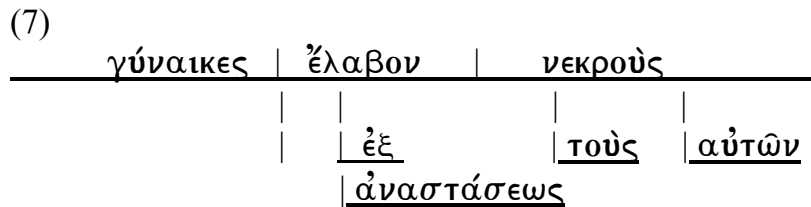
Obviously any contribution of phrasal or clausal order to the meaning of the sentence (or for comparison with other sentences) is lost, whereas the tagmemic method not only preserves the natural word order, but it also retains the logical design of the sentence and furthermore specifies the function-form correlation at each level. However, the tagmemic method has the drawback that a great deal of paper space is used to depict sentences and clauses with recursive embedding. But the same technique as the Reed-Kellogg method employs can be used to indicate related clauses by means of dotted lines.

appraisal of the Reed-Kellogg diagrams. On the history of this system he says, "The Reed and Kellogg scheme [Alonzo Reed and Brainerd Kellogg, *Higher Lessons in English*, 1877, 1885, 1896, 1909] was designed to reflect the base-and-modifier description which prevailed in American school grammar. With varying amounts of modification, much of it simply abridgment, it continues in use in many school textbooks. It has received very little attention from linguists or university scholars, and is peculiarly the property of the public schools and of English departments strongly oriented toward the public schools. Indeed, linguists have tended to dismiss it out of hand. But it is actually a very effective device for exhibiting the school grammar analysis of English sentences . . . . In any case, any fundamental deficiencies of diagramming are deficiencies of the underlying analysis or of misuse in the schools, not of the graphic device," (pp. 142-143). Nevertheless, the method is wanting as a technique of linguistic enquiry, but its excellence does appear in its display of logical relationships.

Another example appears as follows:

(8)   Sentence
                 |--------------------------------------|
Sentence   SL:c   Base:dCl
              | |
              | |----------|----------------|---------|-----------------|
Clause | P:dv   0:N$_a$.   S:np   I:pn$_d$ L : RA
              | | |--------| | | |--------------|
Phrase | | H:n   Des:aj | | R:rel   Ax:N$_d$
              | | | | | | | |------|-------|
(Embedded) | | | | | | | D:art H:n Pos:pn$_g$
              | | | | | | | | | |

Word   Καὶ ἐποίησεν   δοχὴν μεγάλην   Λευεῖς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ   οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ

The above sentence, from Luke 5:29, reads, "And Levi made a great feast for him in his house." Here καί may well be functioning on the sentence level as a peripheral element to the nuclear sentence Base. There may be other peripheral constructions to be discovered, such as clausal margins which modify the whole sentence Base in Greek, and which do not have a function strictly within the clause which manifests the sentence Base. So Καὶ is likely filling a Sentence Linker slot on the sentence level. Note also that in this case the clause which manifests the Base is a ditransitive clause; that is, its transitivity is distri-buted in two ways, to an indirect object as well as to a direct object. The *L* in the diagram stands for the secondary location tagmeme, and *np* indicates a proper noun. The rest of the diagram should now be clear.

This type of analysis is the kind that is used in the chapters to follow on the syntax of the infinitive clause.

2.2 <u>The Corpus</u>

In order to make a completely definitive statement on the syntax of the infinitive clause in the New Testament it would be necessary, of course, to analyze every infinitive collocation which might qualify as an infinitive clause. However, this was too extensive a task for the present study and therefore a limited corpus was selected. In order to make a complete statement about a significant part of the New Testament, all of the infinitives in the Gospels were evaluated. This at least provided some measure of diversity with the covering of sizeable portions of four different authors.

There is a total of 980 infinitive uses in the four Gospels. Of these, 158 (16%) are single infinitives, and 822 (84%) are infinitive clauses.[24] This means that infinitive clauses outnumber single infinitive uses by a ratio of 5.25 to 1. To put it another way, more than five out of every six uses are clausal. For the present it is convenient to say that all infinitives not existing in single uses are regarded as clauses.

Just about the same proportion of single infinitives to infinitive clauses is found in each of the four Gospels, with one exception. In Matthew, out of a total of 250 infinitive uses, 37 (15%) are single, while 213 (85%) ar clausal. In Mark, out of a total of 201 uses, 31 (15%) are single, while 170 (85%) are clausal. In Luke, out of a total of 392 uses, 59 (15%) are single, while 333 (85%) are clausal. But in

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[24] For a definition of the infinitive clause and its distinction from a single infinitive usage, see section 3.1 of Chapter Three.

John, out of a total of 137 uses, 31 (22%) are single, while 106 (78%) are clausal. The lower percentage of incidence of infinitive clauses in John may be interpreted as an objective indicator of the allegedly simple Greek, if it is agreed that the use of clauses as opposed to single infinitives is a mark of linguistic sophistication.

Another objective indicator of the difficulty level of the Greek of each author is found in the number of infinitives per page. For a rough spot check the number of pages devoted to each author in the text used to identify the infinitives for this study[25] was divided into the number of infinitives used by each author. For Matthew there were 98 pages with 250 infinitives to give an average of 2.55 infinitives per page. For Mark there were 66 pages with 201 infinitives to give an average of 3.04 infinitives per page. For Luke there were 111 pages with 392 infinitives to give an average of 3.54 per page. But for John there were 80 pages with 137 infinitives to give an average of only 1.71 per page. Again, if the very use of infinitives as opposed to other structures is agreed as a mark of literary sophistication, Luke is the most literate and John the least literary. Even beyond this, the very types and variety of infinitive uses set Luke and John at opposite ends of the literary spectrum so far as the language of the Gospels is concerned.

Clyde W. Votaw has counted a total of 2276 infinitives in the New Testament. It is possible to make a rough projection of the

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[25] **Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ** (2d ed.; London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 19 8), pp. 1-355.

validity of this study by comparing the figures obtained with Votaw's total. There are 787 pages in the New Testament Greek text used for this study. The number of pages covered for this study is 355, or 45%, with 55% left unexplored for statistical use here. Statistically a sample approaching half of a total corpus is very satisfactory, certainly enough upon which to make reliable projections under normal circumstances. The circumstances here, it must be admitted, may not be completely normal, for there are authors which remain untouched (Paul, Peter, James, Jude), different lengths of books, and different genres of composition. And even a study of the infinitives in the Book of Acts made subsequent to the research for the present study reveals some interesting differences from the Lukan Gospel. Nevertheless it is possible to speculate, if the percentage figures for the Gospels hold true for the rest of the New Testament, there are approximately 1912 of Votaw's 2276 used with their own clauses (84%), and 364 single infinitives (16%).[26]

2.3 Procedures of Analysis

The selection of infinitives was undertaken by a reading through the chosen corpus. In order to provide a safeguard to slips of the eye and other errors of identification, Nathan E. Han's *A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament*[27] was consulted. It was discovered that between

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[26] In Acts there are 465 total infinitives in 111 pages. There are 37 single infinitives (8%), and 428 infinitive clauses (92%). The average per page is 4.19, much higher than even Luke's Gospel.

[27] Nathan E. Han, *A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1971), pp. 1-228.

20 and 30 infinitives per Gospel had been overlooked in the initial reading.

When all of the infinitives were noted by underlining in the Greek text, the next procedure was to proceed through the Gospels, writing out each infinitive or infinitive clause on a separate sheet of notebook paper. The 822 clauses were written out in Greek at the top of the sheet, and immediately below, the tentative tagmatic identifications were made for units like subject, predicate, and so on. Below this the infinitive itself was completely parsed for further ease of reference, and still lower on the page the entire clause of which the infinitive clause was apart was written out and a tagmatic identification of its constituents made in order to determine how the infinitive functioned in the governing clause or phrase in which it was embedded.

Finally, a listing of the functional slot which the infinitive filled was given on the page, along with any other pertinent comparative information. As the corpus was increasingly covered, aberrations in earlier identifications were noted and corrected to conform to the system of the language which was emerging. When the judgments made in the identification of tagmas began to reflect the language system, the identifications could more confidently be regarded as tagmemes.

With three large notebooks thus filled with data, the next step was to make that data accessible for classification. Each infinitive clause reflected some kind of order of its main components. This string of components, called a *syntagmeme*, was written out in tagmemic formula for each clause according to the clause type it reflected, based on

transitivity factors. So for active transitive clauses, for example, a
series of entries might look like this:

(9)   8. Fmk:art$_g$ P:tv$_{inf}$ 0:pn$_a$

       13.   O:N$_a$ P:tv$_{inf}$

       16.   S:pn$_d$ P:tv$_{inf}$ O:N$_a$.

     Obviously three orders are apparent here for the nuclear tag-
memes, with PL.0, 0-P, and S-P-0. Therefore it was necessary to re-list
the syntagmemes by their order patterns. This can not be done with the
first transcription of syntagmemes from the clause sheets, because the
range of order patterns is not known until that initial transcription is
made.

     The rewrite transcription of syntagmemic orders offered the
opportunity to examine the relationship of introductory prepositions and
articles to the clause, as well as the placement of other peripheral
tagmemes in the syntagmeme. A consecutive sample from the P-0 listing
exhibits the following elements:

(10)   640.   P:tv$_{inf}$ B:refl$_d$ O:n$_a$

       645.   P:tv$_{inf}$ O:N$_a$ M:N$_d$ Reas:RA M:PtC1

       646.   P:tv$_{inf}$ O:N$_a$ M:PtCl

       649. Neg:n P:tv$_{inf}$ O:aj$_a$

       653.   P:tv$_{inf}$ L:RA   O:N$_a$ T:RA.

     Thus tagmemes which precede, intervene in, and follow the tag-
memes of syntagmemes can be specified in order to determine the total
clausal possibilities reflected in this corpus. When the rewrite

transcription was completed, the descriptive material was ready to be written as the present study.

CHAPTER III

INFINITIVE CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

3.1 Identification of Clauses

The identification of clauses in this corpus has been conducted according to the principle that linguistic structures which communicate nuances of meaning, most frequently phrases and words, are grouped around and related to a predicate verb, whether it is finite or non-finite. Such a predicate verbal unit, and therefore the presence of a Predicate tagmeme, is essential for determining whether a given construction with other potential clausal characteristics is indeed a clause. The Predicate, then, is the basic obligatory element in the process of discriminating clauses from non-clauses.

Since the predicate verb in Greek is inflected for person and number (in the case of a finite verb), a predicate verb can constitute a minimal clause. This criterion apparently carries over to the non-finite verbs as well, and therefore the 158 instances of the single infinitive disclosed in the corpus could be treated in this way, but they would be of little real interest as far as a clausal structure is concerned. Consequently, any and all infinitives which do not appear in a functional slot in the main clause in a solitary form are treated here as clauses. This means that all infinitives from those with the most sophisticated clausal structure to those consisting of only a Predicate tagmeme and an article or relator (i.e., preposition or

subordinating conjunction) are included as clauses in this study.

A brief discussion of Greek clausal types in general seems desirable at this point in order to demonstrate just how the infinitive clause fits into the overall clausal system. This material is based on a recent tagmemic study of two randomly-selected chapters of the New Testament, Luke 8 and 9.[1]

Various types of clauses are apparent beyond the mere recognition of the Predicate tagmeme, and there are other nuclear elements such as Subject, Direct Object, and Subject Complement, which serve along with the Predicate tagmeme to distinguish different types of clauses. But instead of describing the characteristics of clauses solely from the linear aspect of functional slots, it is feasible to present the parameters of clauses in systemic form. These parameters may be discussed in reference to three immediate, specific coordinates: (1) transitivity, (2) voice, and (3) finiteness. Transitivity is a variable which incorporates intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and equational properties. Voice is a variable representing the potential set: active, passive, and imperative. Finiteness is a variable expressing either finite or non-finite verbal properties. These most specialized discriminators establish basic clause typology.

While the basic heuristic clause-type discriminator is the factor of transitivity, the other immediate specific coordinates mentioned above, voice and finiteness, can also be grouped for convenience along

[1] Edgar J. Lovelady, "A Positional Syntax of Koine Greek" (unpublished research monograph, Grace Theological Seminary, August, 1974), 73 pp.

with further general coordinates, such as Independent, Subordinated, and Dependent Clause structure. The Subordinated coordinate has three sub-coordinates, namely, Adverbial, Nominal, and Adjectival.[2] Infinitive and Participial Clauses are Dependent sub-coordinates. The chart that follows describes the system just outlined based on just two rather long chapters from Luke's Gospel.

				Transitivity			
				Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive	Equational
Finite	Independent		Active	X	X ⇓ X	X ⇓ X	X
			Passive				
			Impera-tive	X	X		
	Subordinated Functions	Adv	Active	X	X ⇓ X		X
			Passive				
		Nom	Active	X	X ⇓ X		X
			Passive				
		Adj	Active	X	X ⇓ X	X	X
			Passive				
Non-Finite	Dependent	Infin	Active	X	X ⇓ X	X ⇓ X	X
			Passive				
		Part	Active	X	X	X	X
			Passive				

[2] Adverbial, Adjectival, and Nominal Clauses are functional designations for subordinated clauses with finite verbs. In tagmemics these are called relator-axis clauses by virtue of their construction.

The double-barred arrows indicate transformational relationships whereby passive clauses are derived from active clauses, after the general manner described on page 27. Six of the thirty-one clause types in the chart above are infinitive clauses, based on this very limited corpus. With the larger corpus of the Gospels, twelve types of infinitive clauses have become evident, and these are presented in Chapter Four.

3.2 Primary Clause Tagmemes

The primary clause tagmemes identified in this corpus which are especially relative to the transitivity coordinates are the Subject, Predicate, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Objective Complement, Subjective Complement, Retained Object, and Object-Relator.

3.2.1 The Subject Tagmeme

Of the 822 clauses in this corpus, there are 229 with Subject tagmemes. Seventeen different elements manifest this tagmeme, and, as the grammars suggest, they are generally in the accusative case. The various manifesting structures for this tagmeme, without individual frequency counts and not listed in frequency of appearance, are exemplified below within their clausal context.

3.2.1.1 Personal Pronoun, Accusative

(οὐκέτι ἀφίετε) <u>αὐτὸν</u> οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρί, "no longer allow <u>him</u> to do anything for father or mother" (Mk. 7:12).

3.2.1.2 Noun Phrase, Accusative

(καὶ ἐθεράπευειν αὐτόν) ὥστε <u>τὸν κωφὸν</u> λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν, "and he

healed him, so that the <u>blind man</u> spoke and saw" (Mt. 12:22).

3.2.1.3 Coordinate Noun Phrase, Accusative

(εὐκοπώτερον δὲ ἐστιν) <u>τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν</u> παρελθεῖν **. . .** , "and it is easier for <u>heaven and earth</u> to pass away . . ." (Lk. 16:17).

3.2.1.4 Complex Noun Phrase, Accusative

A complex noun phrase is one that has a nucleus of an entire noun phrase which itself comprised a "head," and a following modifier slot which is usually filled by a clausal structure. In the example given the post-posed modifier is the adjective clause introduced by **οἶς**

(εἶπεν) φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ <u>τοὺς δούλους τούτους οἶς δεδώκει τὸ ἀργύριον</u>, "he commanded that <u>these servants to whom he had given the money</u> be called to him" (Lk. 19:15).

3.2.1.5 Item-Appoitive Phrase, Accusative

An item-appositive phrase is simply an appositional construction with an item slot and an appositive slot, each manifested by appropriate struc-tures. The example given is the only such instance of this usage, and is separated.

(καὶ) <u>φωνὴν</u> ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι, <u>Σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός</u> . . . "and <u>a voice</u> came from heaven,"You are a beloved Son'. . ." (Lk. 3:22).

3.2.1.6 Single Common Noun, Accusative

(θέλεις εἴπωμεν) <u>πῦρ</u> καταβῆνει ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . , "Do you wish that we should call <u>fire to</u> come down from heaven . . ." (Lk. 9:54).

3.2.1.7 <u>Proper Noun, Accusative</u>

(ὁ λαὸς . . . πεπεισμένος γὰρ ἐστιν) **<u>Ἰωάννην</u> πραρήτην εἶναι,** "the

people . . . are persuaded that <u>John</u> is a prophet" (Lk. 20:6).

3.2.1.8 <u>Proper Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποστρέφειν <u>τὸν Ἰησοῦν</u> (ἀπεδέξατο αὐτὸν ὁ ὄχλος . . .) "And

while <u>Jesus</u> was returning, the crowd waited for him . . ." (Lk. 8:40).

3.2.1.9 <u>Demonstrative Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(**Οὐ** θέλομεν) **<u>τοῦτον</u>** βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, "We do not want <u>this one</u> to

reign over us" (Lk. 1994).

3.2.1.10 <u>Indefinite Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύειν) **<u>τινὰ</u>** παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης, "so that it was

not possible for <u>anyone</u> to pass by that way" (Mt. 8:28).

3.2.1.11 <u>Reflexive Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(ἐνκαθέτους ὑποκρινομένους) **<u>ἑαυτοὺς</u>** δικαίους εἶναι, "spies who feigned

<u>themselves</u> to be righteous" (Lk. 20:20).

3.2.1.12 <u>Adjective, Accusative</u>

In such cases as the following the formal adjective functions in a pro-

nominal manner.

ὥστε ἐξίστασθαι **<u>πάντας</u>**, "so that <u>all</u> were amazed" (Mk. 2:12).

3.2.1.13 <u>Pronoun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων) **περισσότερον τι ποιῆσαι**, "and after this,

not having <u>anything more</u> to do" (Lk. 12:4).

3.2.1.14   Infinitive

(καὶ εἶπεν) δοθῆναι αὐτῇ <u>φαγεῖν</u>, "and he requested <u>something to eat</u> to be given to her" (Mk. 5:43).

3.2.1.15 <u>Personal Pronoun, Dative</u>

The present study makes a novel departure from the standard grammars, to a limited extent, in recognizing that words or constructions in the dative case which function on a main clause level as indirect objects or as datives of reference can co-function in a secondary manner as subjects of the infinitive clause which is embedded in the main clause. Section 5.1.1 in Chapter Five presents this grammatical phenomenon in detail.

(οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν) <u>ἡμῖν</u> πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνη, "for thus it is fitting <u>for us</u> to fulfill all righteousness" (Mt. 3:15).

3.2.1.16 <u>Single Common Noun, Dative</u>

(εἰ ἔξεστιν) <u>ἀνδρὶ</u> γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, "whether it is lawful <u>for a man</u> to send away his wife" (Mk. 10:2).

3.2.1.17 <u>Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν) <u>τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις</u> ἐνταφιάζειν, "just as it is the custom <u>for the Jews</u> to bury" (Jn. 19:40).

3.2.2 The Predicate Tagmeme

    Predicates may be regarded basically from the viewpoint of transitivity because a correlation appears to exist between the syntagmemic clause pattern in which the Predicate functions (i.e., Subject-Predicate, Subject-Predicate-Object, and so on), and the inherent

semantic nature of the kernel verb which expounds the Predicate slot.
Seven different transitivity types of Predicate are observed for the
infinitive clause.

3.2.2.1 Intransitive

Predicates which do not take direct objects reflect the property
termed *intransitive*. The Predicate slot with its intransitive filler
does not refer in this study to all the constructions which follow the
subject, as the term does in many traditional grammars. The concept
here is restricted to the purely verbal clause nucleus. An example
appears below:

(καὶ ἐγένετο) ἐν τῷ <u>ἐλθεῖν</u> αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν
Φαρισαίων σαββάτῳ φαγεῖν ἄρτον . . .   "and it came to pass while he
<u>went</u> into the house of a certain one of the rulers of the Pharisees on
the Sabbath to eat bread . . ." (Lk. 14:1).

3.2.2.2 Transitive

Transitive Predicates take a direct object, or a direct object
and objective complement. In this sense they are *monotransitive* in that
their transitivity has a unifocus which transmits to one object which,
in turn; may be qualified by a complement. One example is:

(λέγετε) ἐν βεελζεβυλ <u>ἐκβάλλειν</u> με τὰ δαιμόνια, "you say that <u>I cast out</u>
demons by Beelzebub" (Lk. 11:18).

3.2.2.3 Transitive Passive

While the monotransitive Predicate is active in voice, passive
clauses which are the result of the passive transformation reflect a

passive voice verb. An example is:

μεγὰ δὲ τὸ <u>ἐγερθῆναι</u> με (προάω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαιαν), "and after I <u>am</u> <u>raised up</u> I will precede you into Galilee" (Mt. 26:32).

3.2.2.4 Transitive Middle

The designation middle Predicate is to be distinguished from the middle voice of verbal inflections. A middle verb is one which can take an object, but it is not capable of receiving the passive transformation. In English there are several such verbs, as in "The potatoes weighed five pounds," or "I have one hundred dollars." These can not be transformed into the passive, for the results would be ungrammatical (i.e., unacceptable to the, native speaker), as with "*Five pounds were weighed by the potatoes," and "*One hundred dollars were had by me." The verb ἔχω in Greek exhibits the same feature, which is inherent in the nature of the verb rather than resident in the inflectional system.

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς, "because (it) did not have depth of earth" (Mk. 4:5).

3.2.2.5 Ditransitive

The designation ditransitive involves transitivity focused in two ways: to a direct object, and to an indirect object, each with a different referent 4s opposed to a direct object with objective complement, which have the same referent.

(οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι . . . ἐπερώτησαν) αὐτὸν σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ <u>ἐπιδεῖξαι</u> αὐτοῖς, "the Pharisees and Sadducees . . . asked him <u>to show</u> them a sign from heaven" (Mt. 16:1).

3.2.2.6 <u>Ditransitive Passive</u>

      The passive transformation applied to a ditransitive clause renders a passive voice Predicate with at least an Indirect Object tagmeme in the clause and on occasion a Subject tagmeme as well. Further discussion of this rather specialized type is found in Section 4.3.3.

(εἶπεν) <u>φωνηθῆναι</u> αὐτῷ τοὺς δούλους τούτους οἷς δεδώκει τὸ ἀργύριον, "he commanded these servants to whom he had given the money <u>to be called</u> to him" (Lk. 19:15).

3.2.2.7 <u>Equational</u>

      The Equational Predicate is used in infinitive clause copulative constructions. The primary verb used is εἰμί.

(λέγοντα) ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα <u>εἶναι</u>, "saying that he himself was Christ, a king" (Lk. 23:2).

3.2.3 <u>The Direct Object Tagmeme</u>

      The greatest variety of constructions of any tagmeme manifest this tagmeme. Of the 428 total instances of the tagmeme, no less than 29 distinguishable forms expound it. They are listed below.

3.2.3.1 <u>Single Common Noun, Accusative</u>

(**Μὴ** νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον) βαλεῖν <u>εἰρήνην</u> ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, "Do not think that came to cast <u>peace</u> on the earth" (Mt. 10:24).

3.2.3.2 <u>Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(**μέλλει** γὰρ ῾Ηρώδης) ζητεῖν <u>τὸ παιδίον</u> τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό, "for Herod is about to seek <u>the child</u> in order to destroy him" (Mt. 2:13).

3.2.3.3 <u>Coordinate Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(καὶ) θεραπεύειν <u>π</u>*<u>ᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλονίαν</u>*, "and to heal <u>every disease and every sickness</u>" (Mt. 10:1).

3.2.3.4 <u>Adversative Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(**Μὴ** νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον) καταλῦσαι <u>τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας</u>, "do not think that I came to destroy <u>the law or the prophets</u>" (Mt. 5:17).

3.2.3.5 <u>Complex Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(δύνασθε) πιεῖν <u>τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν</u>, "are you able to drink <u>the cup which I am about to drink</u>?" (Mt. 20:22).

3.2.3.6 <u>Item-Appositive Phrase, Accusative</u>

(μὴ φοβηθῇς) παραλαβεῖν **Μαρίαν** τήν γυνεῖκά σου, "do not be afraid to take Mary your wife" (Mt. 1:20).

3.2.3.7 <u>Personal Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(ἐβουλήθη) λάθρα ἀπολύσαι <u>αὐτήν</u>, "he wanted to send <u>her</u> away secretly" (Mt. 1:19).

3.2.3.8 <u>Indefinite Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν) θηρεῦσαι <u>τι</u> ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, "lying in wait for him to catch <u>something</u> from his mouth" (Lk. 11:54).

3.2.3.9 <u>Negative Indefinite Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(οὐ δύνατι ὁ Ψἱὸς) ποιεῖν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ <u>οὐδέν</u>, "the Son is able to do <u>nothing</u> by himself" (Jn. 5:19).

3.2.3.10 <u>Demonstrative Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(Πιστεύετε ὅτι δύναμαι) <u>τοῦτο</u> ποιῆσαι, "do you believe that I am able to do <u>this</u>?" (Mt. 9:28).

3.2.3.11 <u>Reflexive Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(ὁ δὲ θέλων) δικαιῶσαι <u>ἑαυτὸν</u> (εἶπεν . . .), "and the one wishing to justify <u>himself</u> said . . ." (Lk. 10:29).

3.2.3.12 <u>Reciprocal Pronoun, Accusative</u>

ὥστε καταπατεῖν <u>ἀλλήλους</u>, "so as to tread on <u>one another</u>" (Lk. 12:1).

3.2.3.13 <u>Numeral, Accusative</u>

(καὶ προσέθετο) <u>τρίτον</u> πέμψαι, "and he added to send <u>a third</u>" (Lk. 20: 12).

3.2.3.14 <u>Adjective, Accusative</u>

(πῶς δύνασθε) <u>ἀγαθὰ</u> λαλεῖν (πονηροὶ ὄντες); "how are you able to speak <u>good things</u>, being evil?" (Mt. 12:34).

3.2.3.15 <u>Proper Noun, Accusative</u>

(Πῶς δύνασθε Σατανᾶς) <u>Σατανᾶν</u> ἐκβάλλειν; "How is Satan able to cast out <u>Satan</u>?" (Mk. 3:23)

3.2.3.16 <u>Proper Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(ὁ Πειλᾶτος . . . θέλων) ἀπολῦσαι <u>τὸν Ἰησοῦν</u>, "Pilate . . . wishing to release <u>Jesus</u>" (Lk'. 23:20).

3.2.3.17 <u>Elliptical Attributive Phrase, Accusative</u>

     The nature of the phrase in question is one with an article

neuter in gender and accusative in case, with an implied, non-manifest substantive qualified by an attributive relator-axis phrase. In tagmemic terminology this would be a complex noun phrase with the head of the governing noun phrase deleted. Acts 18:25 provides a comparable example to the one offered below: τὰ περὶ τοῦ ᾿Ιησοῦ.

(μὴ καταβάτω) ἆραι <u>τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ</u>, "let him not come down to take away <u>the things out of his house</u>" (Mt. 24:17).

3.2.3.18 Interrogative Pronoun, Accusative

<u>Τί</u> (ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον) θεάσασθαι; "<u>What</u> did you go out into the desert to behold?" (Mt. 11:7).

3.2.3.19 Participial Nominal Phrase, Accusative

This phrase type accounts for the kind of phrasal group which reflects noun phrase form, but which has a head manifested by a participle. It does not seem to deserve the status of a participial clause because it does not offer clause structure. This construction suggests the flexibility of Greek to give a dynamic quality to its nominal expressions.

(ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς) μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν <u>τὸ γεγονός</u>, "and he instructed them to tell no one <u>the thing that had happened</u>" (Lk. 8:56).

3.2.3.20 Coordinate Participial Nominal Phrase, Accusative

As with the above example, this is an attributive participial phrase used substantively, but it reflects conjoining.

(ἤρξατο) ἐκβάλλειν <u>τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀγοράζοντας</u> ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, "he began to cast out <u>the ones who sold and the ones who bought</u> in the

in the temple" (Mk. 11:15).

3.2.3.21. Nominal Clause

Two kinds of Nominal Clause in general are used: one kind with introductory relative pronoun, and another introduced by the subordinator ἵνα.

(1) (ὡμολόγησεν αὐτῇ) δοῦναι <u>ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήται</u>, "he promised her to give (her) <u>whatever she might ask</u>" (Mt. 14:7).

(2) (**Οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὗτος . . .**) ποιῆσαι <u>ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνη</u>; "Was not this man able . . . to cause <u>that this one also should not die</u>?" (Jn. 11:37).

3.2.3.22 Infinitive Clause

(**καὶ ἤρξατο**) παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν <u>ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν</u>, "and they began to beseech him <u>to depart from their environs</u>" (Mk. 5:17).

3.2.3.23 Direct Quotation

(**μὴ ἄρξησθε**) λέγειν ἐν ἀαυτοῖς, **Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Αβρααμ**, "do not begin to say among yourselves, '<u>We have Father Abraham</u>'" (Lk. 3:8).

3.2.3.24 Personal Pronoun, Dative

In many instances the direct object of a verb is found in the dative case because the verb of the infinitive clause is compounded with a preposition that takes the dative case, as in the following example. ὥστε ἐπιπίπτειν <u>αὐτῷ</u> ἵνα αὐτοῦ ὄψωνται ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας, "so as to press about <u>him</u> in order that as many as were having plagues might touch him" (Mk. 3:10).

3.2.3.25 Coordinate Noun Phrase, Dative

Some verbs, like δουλέω and λατρεύω, idiomatically take the dative.

(οὐ δύνασθε) θεῷ δουλεύειν <u>καὶ μαμωνᾷ</u>, "you are not able to be a slave to <u>God and mammon</u>" (Mt. 6:24).

3.2.3.26 Noun Phrase, Dative

(ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν) μὴ ἀντιστῆναι <u>τῷ πονηρῷ</u>), "but I say to you, 'Do not resist <u>the one who is evil</u>'" (Mt. 5:39). Here again the dative is conditioned by the preposition compounded with the verb.

3.2.3.27 Participial Nominal Phrase, Dative

(εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν) ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι <u>τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων</u> <u>ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν</u>; "whether he is able to oppose with ten thousand <u>the one with twenty thousand who is coming against him</u>?" (Lk. 14:31).

3.2.3.28 Personal Pronoun, Genitive

(ἵνα εὕρωσιν) κατηγορεῖν <u>αὐτοῦ</u>, "in order that they might find how to accuse <u>him</u>" (Lk. 6:7). The verb κατηγορέω can take the genitive case idiomatically.

3.2.3.29 Noun Phrase, Genitive

(οἱ δοκοῦντες) ἄρχειν <u>τῶν ἐθνῶν</u>, "the ones who consider to rule over <u>some of the Gentiles</u>" (Mk. 10:42). When used in the sense of "to rule," the verb αρχω takes the genitive which adds the partitive sense here to the Direct Object tagmeme. In general it appears that the use of specialized cases apart from the accusative offers a semantic conflation to the Direct Object, whether directive (dative), or partitive

(genitive). Thus the Direct Object is not so much case-defined as logic-
or notionally-defined.

3.2.4 The Indirect Object Tagmeme

There are ten distinguishable elements which manifest the Indi-
rect Object slot. The dative case is predominantly used.

3.2.4.1 Personal Pronoun, Dative

(καὶ προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ) ἐπιδεῖξαι <u>αὐτῷ</u> τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τοῦ
ἱεροῦ, "and his disciples came to show <u>him</u> the buildings of the temple" (Mt.
24:1).

3.2.4.2 Proper Noun, Dative

(ἔξεστιν) δοῦναι κῆνσον <u>Καίσαρι</u> ἢ οὔ; "is it lawful to give tribute to
<u>Caesar</u> or not?" (Mk. 12:14).

3.2.4.3 Indefinite Pronoun, Dative

(καὶ αὐτὸς παρήγγειλεν αὐτῷ) <u>μηδενὶ</u> εἰπεῖν, "and he himself charged him
to tell (it) <u>to no one</u>" (Lk. 5:13).

3.2.4.4 Noun Phrase, Dative

(ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς) δεικνύειν <u>τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ</u> ὅτι . . . , "Je-
sus Christ began to show <u>to his disciples</u> that . . ." (Mt. 16:21).

3.2.4.5 Coordinate Noun Phrase, Dative

ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν <u>τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος</u>, "so as to
deliver him <u>to the rule and authority of the governor</u>" (Lk. 20:20).

3.2.4.6 <u>Comparative Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(θέλω δὲ) <u>τούτω τῷ ἐσχάτω</u> δοῦναι <u>ὡς καὶ σοί</u>, "and I want to give <u>to this</u> <u>last one as also to you</u>" (Mt. 20:14).

3.2.4.7 <u>Articular Nominal Phrase, Dative</u>

(ἐπίτρεψόν μοι) ἀποτάξασθαι <u>τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἰκόν μου</u>, "allow me to say goodbye <u>to the ones in a house</u>" (Lk. 9:61).

3.2.4.8 <u>Participial Nominal Phrase, Dative</u>

(ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ . . .) εἰπεῖν <u>τοῖς κεκλημένοις</u>, Ἔρχεσθε, ὅτι ἤδη ἕτοιμα ἐστιν, "and he sent his servant . . . to say <u>to the ones who</u> <u>had been invited</u>, 'Come, because it is already prepared'" (Lk. 14:17).

3.2.4.9. <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(ἤρξατο δὲ) λέγειν <u>πρὸς αὐτοὺς</u> ὅτι . . . , "and he began to say <u>to them</u> that . . ." (Lk. 4:21).

3.2.4.10 <u>Personal Pronoun, Accusative</u>

(καὶ ἤρξατο) διδάσκειν <u>αὐτοὺς</u> πολλά, "and he began to teach <u>them</u> many things" (Mk. 6:34).

There are 77 instances of the Indirect Object tagmeme in the corpus.

3.2.5 The Objective Complement Tagmeme

There are four infinitive clauses which utilize the Objective Complement tagmeme. Three elements serve to give realization to the slot.

3.2.5.1 <u>Complex Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(καὶ) δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ <u>λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν</u>, "and to give his life <u>a ransom for Many</u>" (Mt. 20:28).

3.2.5.2—Adjective Phrase, Accusative

(ὁ δὲ **Πειλᾶτος** βουλόμενος) τῷ ὄχλῳ <u>τὸ ἱκανὸν</u> ποιῆσαι (ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν **Β**αραββᾶν), "but Pilate wishing to make the crowd <u>satisfied</u>, he released Barabbas to them" (Mk. 15:15). This identification is somewhat tenuous, due to its apparent influence by a Latin construction, which may have thrust **τὸν ὄχλον** into the dative case. An alternative possibility is that **τῷ ὄχλῳ** is the indirect object, and **τὸ ἱκανὸν** the direct object, which would be read as, "but Pilate wishing to do<u> the sufficient thing</u> for the crowd (i.e., '<u>the thing that would satisfy</u> the crowd'), he released Barabbas to them."

3.2.5.3 <u>Alternative Adjective Phrase, Accusative</u>

(ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι) μίαν τρίχα <u>λευκὴν</u> ποιῆσαι <u>ἢ μέλαιναν</u>, "because you are not able to make, one hair <u>white or black</u>" (Mt. 5:36).

3.2.6 The Subjective Complement Tagmeme

Twenty-nine Subjective Complement tagmemes are found in this corpus, used in connection with equational clauses. The accusative case is used in most cases, but there are some instances of the nominative case, as explained in 4.2.6.1.

3.2.6.1 <u>Single Common Noun, Accusative</u>

(πεπεισμένος γάρ ἐστιν) Ἰωάννην <u>πραφήτην</u> εἶναι, "(the people) are

persuaded that John it a prophet" (Lk. 20:6).

3.2.6.2 Noun Phrase, Accusative

(ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν) <u>τέκνα θεοῦ</u> γενέσθαι, "he gave them authority
 to become <u>children of God</u>" (Jn. 1:12).

3.2.6.3 <u>Interrogative Pronoun, Accusative</u>

<u>Τίνα</u> με (λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι) εἶναι; "<u>Who</u> do men say that I am?" (Mk.
8:27).

3.2.6.4 <u>Item-Appositive Phrase, Accusative</u>

(λέγοντα) ἑαυτὸν <u>χριστὸν βασιλέα</u> εἶναι, "saying he himself was <u>Christ,
a king</u>" (Lk. 23:2).

3.2.6.5 <u>Complex Noun Phrase, Accusative</u>

(τίς τούτων τῶν τριῶν) <u>πλησίον</u> (δοκεῖ σοι) γεγονέναι <u>τοῦ ἐμπεσόοντος
εἰς τοὺς λῃστάς</u>, "which of the three seems to you to have become <u>a neighbor
of the one who fell among the robbers</u>?" (Lk. 10:36).

3.2.6.6 Adjective Phrase, Accusative

(οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν) αὐτὸν <u>ἔνοχον</u> εἶναι <u>θανάτου</u>, "and all of them
pronounced him to be <u>worthy of death</u>" (Mk. 14:64).

3.2.6.7 Relator-Axis Phrase

(ὅτι) <u>ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου</u> (δεῖ) εἶναι με, "that it is necessary for
me to be <u>about my Father's'affairs</u>" (Lk. 2:49).

3.2.6.8 <u>Comparative Adjective</u>

(τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ) εἶναι <u>μείζων</u>, "which of them is supposed to be

greater" (Lk. 22:4).

3.2.6.9 Noun Phrase, Nominative

(οὐ δύναται) εἶναί <u>μου μαθητής</u>, "he is not able to be <u>my disciple</u>" (Lk. 14:33).

3.2.6.10 <u>Single Adjective, Nominative</u>

(Εἰ θέλεις) <u>τέλειος</u> εἶναι, "If you wish to be <u>complete</u> . . ." (Mt. 19: 21).

3.2.6.11 <u>Ordinal Numeral, Nominative</u>

(καὶ ὃς ἂν θέλῃ) ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι <u>πρῶτος</u> . . , "and whoever wishes to be <u>first</u> among you . . ." (Mt. 20:27).

3.2.7 The Retained Object Complement Tagmeme

There are four transitive passive clauses which seem to reflect a retained Object Complement tagmeme when transformed into the passive. Three are fairly certain identifications, while one is rather tentative. The low frequency of occurrence prohibits a firmer statement.

3.2.7.1 <u>Proper Noun, Nominative</u>

(φιλοῦσιν δὲ . . .) καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρέπων <u>Ραββει</u>, and they love . . . to be called <u>Rabbi</u> by men" (Mt. 23:7). The active version of this passive clause, translated into English, is most likely, "Men called them Rabbi." The nominal constituents of this active clause reflect the referent pattern N_1, N_2, and N_2, applied to *men*, *them*, and *Rabbi*, res- pectively. The designation N_1 indicates the first nominal referent of the sentence pattern, and N_2 expresses the second nominal referent, of

which there are two in the clause in question. In the passive transformation the first, N_2, *them*, becomes the third person plural inflection of the finite verb (and thus the antecedent of the infinitive); the second N2 becomes the retained object complement; and N_1 becomes the object of the agent preposition ὑπό.

3.2.7.2 <u>Noun Phrase, Nominative</u>

(οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος) κληθῆναι <u>υἱός σου</u>, "I am no longer worthy to be called <u>your son</u>" (Lk. 15:19). Again, the active clause structure is very likely, "They called me your son," with the referent pattern N_1 (=They), N_2 (=*me*), N_3 (=*your son*). Without recognizing the possibility of transformation to explain the passive form, however, Arndt and Gingrich offer this explanation for the meaning of the passive:

> *Very oft. the emphasis is to be placed less on the fact that the name is such and such, than on the fact that the bearer of the name actually is what the name says about him. The pass. be named thus approaches closely the mng. to be, and it must be left to the feeling of the interpreter whether this transl. is to be attempted in any individual case. Among such pass. are these: .... Lk. 15:19.*[2]

However, it is nevertheless possible to make a good case for the transformational relationship by reference to Matthew 1:21, where the active form is exactly analogous to the one postulated in English form above: καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "you shall call his name Jesus." The referent pattern is N_1 (= -εις, *2d sing. inflection*), N_2 (=τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ), and N_2 (=Ἰησοῦ). With such an active clause using καλέω, the conclusion of the transformational relationship is strengthened.

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[2] William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 400.

One other example appears to be based on another pattern of nominal referents:

(τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδῆσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ) ζημιωθῆναι <u>τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ</u>; "for what use is it for a man to gain the whole world and to be deprived of his life?" (Mk. 8:36). The verb ζημιόω in the active voice means "to inflict damage on (someone)" while in the passive it means "to suffer damage" (only so in the New Testament). A traditional interpretation might handle the clause in this way, not allowing for a transformational relationship, and explaining τὴν ψυχὴν as an accusative of reference, giving the translation "suffer loss with respect to life."

With a transformational interpretation, the active base is likely "They deprived him of <u>his life</u>," with the referent pattern N_1 (=*They*), N_2 (=*him*), and N_3 (=*his life*). Thus N_2, him, becomes ἄνθρωπον, subject of the first infinitive clause and subject referent of the clause in question, while N_3, his life, becomes the retained objective complement of the passive clause. The referent N_1 was apparently not selected for an agentive construction with ὑπό.

3.2.8 The Object-Relator Tagmeme

A special kind of Object tagmeme apparently is used when the relative pronoun or interrogative pronoun serves to introduce either a nominal relative or an interrogative clause. The exponent of this slot appears to function *en portmanteau*; that is, on two levels at once. The examples below require some explanation:

3.2.8.1 Relative Pronoun

(Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν) <u>ὃν</u> (ζητοῦσιν) ἀποκτεῖναι; "Is not this one (<u>he</u>) whom

they are seeking to kill?" (a. 7:25). The main clause consists of the three words which appear before ὅν. The entire construction of ὅν ζη-τοῦσιν ἀποκτεῖναι is a relative clause functioning as the manifestor of the Complement tagmeme of the main clause. The finite verb of the relative clause is ζητοῦσιν. The object of ζητοῦσιν is the separated infinitive clause ὅν ... ἀποκτεῖναι, which evidently has undergone a relativization transformation from the basic active kernel construction ζητοῦσιν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, "they are seeking to kill him." Every one of the twelve relative or interrogative clauses in which the infinitive clause is embedded with its object as a relative pronoun relative clause introducer has the order O-R:relpn/intpn + (relative clause verb) + P:tv$_{inf.}$ In this sense, all relative pronouns have this double function: they relate to an antecedent in the main clause, either expressed or understood, and they function in a nominal-type slot in their own clause. In such clauses the relative pronoun conforms in person, number, and gender to the governing antecedent with which it is related.

3.2.8.2 <u>Interrogative Pronoun</u>

Τί (ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον) θεάσασθαι; "<u>What</u> did you go out into the wilderness to look at?" (Lk. 7:24). Again, the portmanteau and separated construction prevails as above, with the exception that a Location tagmeme accompanies the main clause verb. So **Τί** is both relator of the main clause and transformed object of the infinitive θεάσασθαι.

3.2.9 The Indirect Object-Relator Tagmeme

One example is found in which the relative clause relator is a distributive relative construction (ᾧ ἐὰν, "to whomever").

3.2.9.1 <u>Distributive Relative Phrase, Dative</u>

(καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει . . . τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ) <u>ᾧ ἐὰν</u> βούληται ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι, "and no one knows . . . who the Father is, except the Son and <u>to whomever</u> he wishes to reveal it" (Lk. 10:22). The statements on the order of elements and portmanteau function made above in Section 3.2.8 apply here also. The very common Greek practice of omitting the antecedent of the relative pronoun is obvious here as in the previous cases. An alternative translation would be, "and <u>the one to whom</u> he wishes to reveal it."

<p align="center">3.3 <u>Secondary Clause Tagmeme</u>s</p>

The secondary, or peripheral clause tagmemes identified are Manner, Location, Time, Relationship, Direction, Negative, Agent, Goal, Reference, Purpose, Source, Benefactive, Reason (or Cause), Circumstance, and Instrument. In addition to their semantic properties they are also characterized by their relative optionality of occurrence and their relative freedom of permutation in clause structure. They are presented below.

<p align="center">3.3.1 The Manner Tagmeme</p>

Ninety-four total examples are found, with a great diversity of manifesting structures.

3.3.1.1 <u>Single Adverb</u>

(ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι) <u>φανερῶς</u> εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, "so that he was no longer able to enter into the city <u>openly</u>" (Mk. 1:45).

3.3.1.2 <u>Single Adjective, Accusative</u>

(καλόν ἐστίν) σε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν <u>χωλόν</u>, "it is good for you to enter into life <u>lame</u>" (Mk. 9:45).

3.3.1.3 <u>Numeral</u>

πρὶν ἢ <u>δὶς</u> ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι, "before the cock will have crowed <u>twice</u>" (Mk. 14:30).

3.3.1.4 <u>Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(καὶ) <u>τοῖς δάκρουσιν</u> (ἤρξατο) βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, "and she began to wet his feet <u>with tears</u>" (Lk. 7:38).

3.3.1.5 <u>Coordinate Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις <u>πέδαις καὶ ἁλύσεσιν</u> δεδέσθαι, "because he often had been bound <u>with shackles and with chains</u>" (Mk. 5:4).

3.3.1.6 <u>Complex Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(καὶ ἤρξατο . . .) ἐκμάσσειν <u>τῷ λεντίῳ ᾧ ἦν διεξωσμένος</u>, "and he began . . . to wipe <u>with a towel with which he was girded</u>" (Jn. 13:5).

3.3.1.7 <u>Adversative Adjective Phrase, Accusative</u>

(καλόν) σοί (ἐστιν) εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν <u>κυλλὸν ἢ χωλόν</u>, "it is better for you to enter into life <u>lame or maimed</u> . . ." (Mt. 18:8).

3.3.1.8 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(μὴ ἄρξησθε) λέγειν <u>ἐν ἑαυτοῖς</u>, Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Αβρααμ, "do not begin to say <u>within yourselves</u>, 'We have Father Abraham'" (Lk. 3:8).

3.3.1.9 <u>Coordinate Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν <u>ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ</u> <u>ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος,</u> "to love him <u>with the whole heart and with the whole under-</u> <u>standing and with the whole strength</u>" (Mk. 12:33).

3.3.1.10. <u>Enumerative Numeral Phrase, Nominative</u>

(ἤρξατο . . .) λέγειν αὐτῷ <u>εἷς κατὰ εἷς,</u> **Μ**ήτι ἐγώ; "they began . . . to say to him <u>one by one</u>, 'Is it I?'" (Mk. 14:19).

3.3.1.11 <u>Enumerative Noun Phrase, Nominative</u>

(καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς) ἀνακλιθῆναι πάντας <u>**συμπόσια συμπόσια**</u>, "and he commanded them all to sit down <u>group by group</u>" (Mk. 6:39).

3.3.1.12 <u>Vocative Phrase, Vocative</u>

(καὶ ἤρξατο) ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, **χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων**, "and they began to greet him, '<u>Hail, King of the Jews</u>'" (Mk. 15:18).

3.3.1.13 <u>Participial Clause</u>

(ὁ **Π**έτρος ἤρξατο) ἐπιτιμᾶν αὐτῷ <u>λέγων, Ἵλεώς σοι **Κ**ύριε· οὐ μὴ ἔσται</u> <u>σοι τοῦτο</u>, "Peter began to rebuke him, <u>saying, 'Be it far from you, Lord;</u> <u>this shall never happen to you</u>'" (Mt. 16:22).

3.3.1.14 <u>Adverbial Clause</u>

(ποσάκις ἠθέλησα) ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, <u>ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις</u> <u>ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσια αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας</u>, "how often I wanted to gather together your children <u>in the manner in which a hen gathers her young</u> <u>under the wings</u>" (Mt. 23:37).

3.3.1.15 <u>Single Noun; Genitive</u>

(**Πόθεν**) **τούτους** (**δυνήσεταί τις**) **ὧδε χορτάσαι** <u>ἄρτων</u> **ἐπ' ἐρημίας**,

"Whence shall someone be able to supply these men <u>with bread</u> here in the

desert?" (Mk. 8:4).

3.3.1.16 <u>Single Adjective; Genitive</u>

(**ἐδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο**) **πραθῆναι** <u>πολλοῦ</u>, "for this was able to be sold <u>for</u>

<u>much</u>" (Mt. 26:9).

3.3.2 The Time Tagmeme

Forty-thre cases of the Time tagmeme are found. The different

aspects of time spcified by the Time tagmeme are (1) time when; (2) ces-

sation of time; (3) length of time; (4) anticipatory time; (5) contem-

poraneous time; and (6) priority in time. Exponents are given below.

3.3.2.1 <u>Single Adverb</u>

(**οὐδὲ ἐτόλησέν τις**. . .) **επερωτῆσαι αὐτὸν** <u>οὐκέτι</u>, "nor did anyone dare

. . . to ask him <u>any longer</u>" (Mt. 22:46) (Cessation of time).

3.3.2.2 <u>Single Noun, Dative</u>

ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἰκόν τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Φαιρσαίων

<u>**σαββάτῳ**</u> **φαγεῖν ἄρτον**, "while he went into the house of a certain one of the

rulers of the Pharisees' <u>on the Sabbath</u> to eat bread" (Lk. 14:1) (Time

when).

3.3.2.3 <u>Numeral, Accusative</u>

(**ὅτι**) **Ἠλείαν** (**δεῖ**) **ἐλθεῖν** <u>πρῶτον</u>, "that it is necessary for Elijah to

come <u>first</u>" (Mt. 17:10, Mk. 9:11) (Priority in Time).

3.3.2.4 Noun Phrase, Accusative

(**Οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχύσατε**) <u>μίαν ὥραν</u> γρηγορῆσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ; "Were you not able thus to watch with me <u>for one hour</u>?" (Mt. 26:40) (Length of Time).

3.3.2.5 <u>Coordinate Adverb Phrase</u>

(πλὴν δεῖ) με <u>σήμερον καὶ αὔριον</u> καὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ πορεύεσθαι, "however, it is necessary for me to go <u>today and tomorrow</u> and on the one following" (Lk. 13:33) (Time when). The coordinate adverb phrase is embedded as a unit coordinated with τῇ ἐχομένῃ, which is a disparate structure.

3.3.2.6 <u>Participle Clause, Accusative</u>

μ**ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσαι** <u>**βλέποντας κωφοὺς λαλοῦντας, κυλλοὺς ὑγιεῖς καὶ χωλοὺς περιπατοῦντας, καὶ τυφλοὺς βλέποντας**</u>, "so that the crowd marveled <u>when they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed healthy, and the lame walking and the blind seeing</u>" (Mt. 15:31) (Time when).

3.3.2.7 <u>Adverbial Clause</u>

(αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον) . . . **μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον** <u>**πρὶν ἢ ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν Κυρίου**</u>, "having been revealed to him that he should not see death <u>until he should see the Anointed One of the Lord</u>" (Lk. 2:26) (Anticipatory Time).

3.3.2.8 <u>Infinitive Clause</u>

(ἐπεθύμσηα) **τοῦτο τὸ πασχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν** <u>**πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν**</u>, "I desired to eat this Passover with you <u>before I suffered</u>" (Lk. 22:15) (Time when, subsequent to main infinitive clause).

3.3.2.9–Relator-Axis Phrase

(καὶ ἐγένετο) αὐτὸν <u>ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν</u> παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, "and it came to pass while he was passing through the cornfields <u>on the Sabbath . . .</u>" (Mk. 2:23) (Contemporaneous Time).

3.3.2.10 <u>Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(Εἰ ἔξεστιν) <u>τοῖς σάββασιν</u> θεραπεῦσαι; "Whether it is lawful to heal <u>on the Sabbath</u>?" (Mt. 12:10) (Time when).

3.3.3 The Location Tagmeme

The most numerous secondary tagmeme is Location with 111 examples.

3.3.3.1 <u>Single Adverb</u>

(καλόν ἐστιν) ἡμᾶς <u>ὧδε</u> εἶναι, "it is good for us to be <u>here</u>" (Mt. 17:4).

3.3.3.2 <u>Personal Pronoun, Dative</u>

(καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι) προσενέγκαι <u>αὐτῷ</u> διὰ τὸν ὄχλον, "and not being able to draw near <u>to him</u> because of the crowd . . ." (Mk. 2:4).

3.3.3.3 <u>Negative Articular Nominal Phrase, Accusative</u>

(καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοί,) ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν <u>μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν</u>. "and many were gathered together, so that no longer was there room, <u>not even about the door</u>" (Mk. 2:2).

3.3.3.4 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(τὸ πτύον ἐν τῷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ . . .) συναγαγεῖν τὸν σῖτον <u>εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην</u> αὐτοῦ, "the fan (is) in his hand . . . to gather the wheat <u>into his</u>

barn" (Lk. 3:17).

3.3.5 Coordinate Relator-Axis Phrase

τὸ δὲ καθίσαι <u>ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων</u> (οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν τοῦτο δοῦναι), "but to sit <u>on my right hand and on the left hand</u>, this is not or me to give" (Mt. 20:23).

3.3.6 Complex Relator-Axis Phrase

μετὰ σοῦ (ἕτοιμόμ εἰμι) <u>καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ εἰς θάνατον</u> πορεύεσθαι, "I ready to go with you <u>even to prison and to death</u>" (Lk. 22:33). Here the coordinate relator-axis phrase takes the modifier καί, which makes the total unit a complex phrase type.

3.3.7 Alternative Relator-Axis Phrase

τὸ δὲ καθισαί <u>ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ ἐξ ἐυωνύμων </u>(οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι), but to sit <u>on a right hand or on the left hand </u>is not for me to give" (Mk. 10:40).

3.8 Adverbial Clause

(καὶ ἤρξαντο) ἐπὶ τοῖ κραβάττοις τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας περιφέρειν <u>ὅπου ἤκουον ὅτι ἐστίν</u>, "and they began to carry the ones who were sickly <u>where they heard that he was</u>" (Mk. 6:55).

3.3.4 The Relationship Tagmeme

The Relationship tagmeme, with 22 instances of use, is mani-
by only three distinguishable elements, as illustrated below.

3.3.4.1 Personal Pronoun, Dative

(Ἐὰν δέῃ) με συναποθανεῖν <u>σοι</u> . . , "If it is necessary for me to die

with you" (Mk. 14:31). The Relationship tagmeme thus specifies some
kind of association between people.

3.3.4.2 <u>Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(Ἢ τίς βασιλεὺς, πορευόμενος) <u>ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ</u> συμβαλεῖν εἰς πόλεμον
. . . , "Or what king, going to meet <u>with another king </u>in battle
(Lk. 14:31).

3.3.4.3 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(ἦλθον γὰρ) διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον <u>κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ</u> . . . , "for I came
to turn a man <u>against his father</u> . . ." (Mt. 10:35).

3.3.5 The Direction Tagmeme

Twenty tagmemes are found which reflect the concept of direction
rather than representing a fixed location as in the former tagmeme. The
only exponent is a relator-axis phrase.

3.3.5.1 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(καὶ ἠρώτησεν) αὐτὸν (ὅπαν τὸ πλῆθος . . .) ἀπελθεῖν <u>ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν</u>, "and all
the multitude asked him to depart <u>from them</u>" (Lk. 8:37).

3.3.6 The Negative Tagmeme

There are twenty Negative tagmemes which are always placed in
position immediately before the Predicate infinitive, regardless of
clause type or clause order pattern. This applies to the orders of
nuclear elements P-C, S-P, P-0, 0-P, and P alone. There is only one
exponent for this tagmeme.

3.3.6.1 <u>Negative Particle (μὴ)</u>

τοῦ <u>μὴ</u> **πορεύεσθαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν**, "in order that (he should) not go away from them" (Lk. 4:42).

3.3.7 The Agent Tagmeme

Fourteen tagmemes representing the agent of an action are noted, with two manifesting elements. The Agent tagmeme is primarily used in connection with passive clauses to indicate the original subject of the active clause, but Agent is also infrequently found in active clauses of the infinitive as well.

3.3.7.1 Personal Pronoun, Dative

(**τὴν δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων**) **πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι** <u>αὐτοῖς</u>, "do not practice your righteousness before men in order to be seen <u>by them</u>" (Mt. 6:1).

3.3.7.2 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(**λέγετε**) <u>**ἐν βεεζεβουλ**</u> **ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια**, "you are saying that I cast out demons <u>by Beelzebub</u>" (Lk. 11:18) (As found in an active clause).

3.3.8 The Goal Tagmeme

The Goal slot, with twelve usages, focuses on an end or goal of action or activity. Three structures manifest the tagmeme, which frequently suggests the object of religious faith.

3.3.8.1 <u>Personal Pronoun, Dative</u>

(**οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον**) **τοῦ πιστεῦσαι** <u>αὐτῷ</u>, "nor did you repent afterwards in order to believe <u>on him</u>" (Mt. 21:32).

3.3.8.2 <u>Relator Axis Phrase</u>

(**οὐκ ἐλήλυθα**) **καλέσαι δικαίους** ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς <u>εἰς μετάνοιαν</u>, "I have not come to call righteous ones, but sinner <u>unto repentance</u>" (Lk. 5:32).

3.3.8.3 <u>Participle Clause, Nominative</u>

(**καὶ ἤρξαντο**) **συνζητεῖν αὐτῷ, ζητοῦντες** <u>παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ</u> <u>οὐρανοῦ,</u> **πειράζοντες αὐτόν**, "and they began to debate with him, <u>seeking</u> <u>from him sign from heaven</u>, tempting him" (Mk, 8:11).

3.3.9 The Purpose Tagmeme

The Purpose tagmeme is used in nine cases, with three structures filling the slot.

3.3.9.1 <u>Single Infinitive</u>

(**Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις**) **ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄπος** <u>προσεύξασθαι</u>, "And it came to pass in these days that he went out into the mountain <u>to pray</u>" (Lk. 6:12).

3.3.9.2 <u>Infinitive Clause</u>

(**μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρῴδης**) **ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον** <u>τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό</u>, "for Herod is about to seek the child <u>in order to destroy him</u>" (Mt. 2:13).

3.3.9.3. <u>Adverbial Clause</u>

(**πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐθεράπευσεν,**) **ὥστε ἐπιπίπτειν αὐτῷ** <u>ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἅψωνται</u> <u>ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας</u>, "for he healed many, so that (they) pressed about him <u>in order that as many as were having plaques might touch him</u>" (Mk. 3:10).

3.3.10 The Source Tagmeme

The Source tagmeme is the opposite of Goal, identifying the origin of an action or state. Eight examples are found with two manifesting items.

3.3.10.1 Single Adverb

(Δεῖ) ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι <u>ἄνωθεν</u>, "It is necessary for us to be born from <u>above</u>" (a. 3:7).

3.3.10.2 Relator-Axis Phrase

(καὶ) φωνὴν <u>ἐξ οὐρανοῦ</u> γενέσθαι, Σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός . . . "and a voice came <u>from heaven</u>, 'You are my beloved Son . . .'" (Lk. 3: 22).

3.3.11 The Reference Tagmeme

This tagmeme reflects reference made about a person or thing. There are ten examples, and only one manifestor.

3.3.11.1 Relator-Axis Phrase

(καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο) ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν <u>περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου</u>, "and they were fearing to ask him <u>about this word</u>" (Lk. 9:45).

3.3.12 The Benefactive Tagmeme

This tagmeme indicates activity undertaken on behalf of another, who is the recipient and benefitter of the action. Six examples are noted, with four manifesting structures.

3.3.12.1 Personal Pronoun, Dative

(ὅτι πορεύομαι) ἑτοιμάσαι τόπον <u>ὑμῖν</u>, "because I am going to prepare a place <u>for you</u>" (Jn. 14:2).

3.3.12.2 <u>Reflexive Pronoun, Dative</u>

(Ἄνθρωπός τις αὐγενὴς ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακρὰν) λαβεῖν <u>ἑαυτῷ</u> βασιλείαν καὶ ὑποστρέψαι, "a certain noble man went into a far-off country to receive <u>for himself</u> a kingdom, and to return" (Lk. 19:12).

3.3.12.3 <u>Alternative Noun Phrase, Dative</u>

(οὐκέτι ἀφίετε) αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι <u>τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρί</u>, "no longer allow him to do anything <u>for father or mother</u>" (Mk. 7:12).

3.3.12.4 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(ὅτι συμφέρει) ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν <u>ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ</u>, "because it is expedient for one man to die on <u>behalf of the people</u>" (Jn. 18:14).

3.3.13 The Reason or Cause Tagmeme

While the infinitive clause itself frequently manifests a Reason slot on the main clause level, this kind of tagmeme is also found in the infinitive clause string itself. Very often it is difficult to make an absolute distinction between reason and cause, and hence the tagmeme is given joint labeling. Four examples are found with two manifesting items.

3.3.13.1 <u>Relator-Axis Phrase</u>

(ἤρξαντο ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν . . .) αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ <u>περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων</u>, "all the number of the disciples began to

praise God with a loud voice <u>because of all the mighty works which they</u> <u>saw</u>" (Lk. 19:37). In this example the noun phrase which manifests the axis of the relator-axis phrase has, in turn, a brief relative clause embedded in the descriptor slot of the noun phrase in the manner Q:aj + Des:AjCl + H:n (Quantity + Descriptor + Head).[3]

3.3.13.2 <u>Infinitive Clause</u>

(θέλων) ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν <u>διὰ τὸ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ</u>, "wishing to see him <u>be-</u> <u>cause he had heard about him</u>" (Lk. 23:8).

3.3.14 The Circumstance Tagmeme

The phenomenon of attendant circumstance is reflected in three instances, which leads to the identification of the Circumstance tag-meme. The tagmeme is much more plentiful on the main clause level.[4] Two units manifest the tagmeme.

3.3.14.1 <u>Intransitive Participle, Accusative</u>

(καὶ κατένευσαν τοῖς μετόχοις ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ πλοίῳ) τοῦ <u>ἐλθόντας</u> συλλαβέσθαι αὐτοῖς, "and they beckoned to the comrades in the other boat in order that, <u>having come</u>, (they) should help them" (Lk. 5:7).

3.3.14.2 <u>Participle Clause, Accusative</u>

ὥστε αὐτὸν <u>εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα</u> καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ "so that <u>when</u> <u>(he)</u>

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[3] Koine Greek noun phrases are discussed positionally in tagmemic form in Lovelady, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-58. In that corpus (Luke 8 and 9), 17 syntagmemes of the noun phrase were ascertained and reduced to four formulas. This noun phrase syntagmeme noted here represents an addition to those already described.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

had entered into a boat, he could repose on the sea" (Mk, 4:1).

3.3.15 The Instrument Tagmeme

As opposed to the Agent tagmeme, which expresses personal agency behind actions, the instrument tagmeme carries the notion of impersonal agency. There is only one instance of this tagmeme appearing with the infinitive clause, whereas in main clause usages no less than four structures alone represent the concept.[5]

3.3.15.1 Relator-Axis Phrase

(σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ) ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι **ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων**, "a great upheaval happened in the sea, so that the boat was covered <u>by the waves</u>" (Mt. 8:24).

3.4 The Infinitive Clause Marker Tagmeme

Of the 822 infinitive clauses in the corpus, 673 are anarthrous, while 149 are introduced by an article, some kind of phrasal or clausal relator, or both. The historical development of articular infinitives and their use with prepositions is a diachronic matter, and is certainly covered thoroughly by A. T. Robertson and others.[6] Apparently due to the loss of the dative nominal inflection for infinitives, the early forms of infinitives asserted to themselves by usage of the Greek

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[5] *Ibid*., p. 18.

[6] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1934), pp. 1051-1095; James H. Moulton, *A Gramnar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. I, *Prolegomena* (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906, 1957); and H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual of the Greek New Testament* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 208-211.

speakers, verbal qualities which conveyed the inherent verbal sense of dynamism without the restrictions of finite tense. Subsequently this verbal quality was again nominalized by the addition of the article, either in solo appearance or used in connection with a prepositional relator just as a noun phrase with article can follow a preposition as object or axis of the resulting phrase.

However, the speaker in actual competent use must have had a selectional system available to him dependent upon the semantic character of the message he wanted to relate. Therefore it is theoretically possible to describe the selectional possibilities for the relating units (hereafter called markers) by means of a formula presumably analogous to whatever selectional rules were operative in the phrase structure or transformational component of the speaker. It must be understood that such a formula does not contradict the nominal (or in Robertson's terminology, substantival) quality lent by the article, nor the other peculiar qualities contributed by the relators as they are traditionally understood. But the very fact that such markers as πρὸς τό and εἰς τό are, in practice, indistinguishable in their reflection of purpose, is a strong indication that Greek speakers selected their markers for infinitive clauses as one unit. They would either choose πρὸς τό or εἰς τό if they wished to express purpose (given only these two markers, of course). And if a speaker wanted to convey antecedent time, the choice of πρὸ τοῦ or πρὶν (ἤ) was available.

The comprehensive tagmemic formula for selectional possibilities for the non-anarthrous infinitive clause is:

(1) ± _____ mk: +(±rel ±art)/+(+rel +ptc) +Ax:InfCl.

The functional slot is indicated on the left of the equation. As mentioned above, the functional slot is a marker indicator, which is symbolized by *mk*. The + sign specifies the marker unit as optional, as indeed it is in the light of the figures that 673 of the 822 clauses are anarthrous (81%), while 149 are non-anarthrous (19%). Optionality as mentioned here refers to structural optionality. It is apparent that from a semantic point of view the intention of the speaker overrides structural optionality. Thus the speaker has the semantic choice of making his infinitive clause reflect the aspects of reason or cause, several different time features, purpose, result, and so on.

The slot in the above formula will, in effect, be filled in with the semantic choice of marker. The right side of the correlation indicates that the marker slot may be filled by (1) a relator alone, such as πρίν or ὥστε; (2) a relator plus article, as with διὰ τό, πρὸ τοῦ, ἐν τῷ μετὰ τό, εἰς τό, πρὸς τό; (3) a relator with particle, as with πρὶν ἢ and (4) an article alone, as with τό or τοῦ. These are all the combinations found in this corpus. The next functional slot is designated as the axis slot of the non-anarthrous construction, which is expounded by an infinitive clause.

The formula above is based on a general system of symbolic logic which reads, in part:

(2)   +(+A +B)

        +(±A ±B).

The first line of (2) reads, "tagmemes A and B are both obligatory," which applies to point (3), πρὶν ἢ. The second line renders the combinations A, B, and AB. This rule cares for points (1), (2), and (4) in the

initial part of this explanation. The virgule (slant) indicates mutual exclusiveness of the parts on either side.

The listing below presents all of the situations found in this corpus to be handled by the comprehensive formula.

(3)

Semantic Feature Category	Relator	Article/Particle	Axis
1. Reason (or Cause)	διὰ	τό	InfCl
2. Time l_a | (Antecedent time	| πρὸ	τοῦ	InfCl
3. Time l_b | in main clause	| πρὶν	(ἢ)	InfCl
4. Time 2 (Contemporaneous time in main clause)	ἐν	τῷ	InfCl
5. Time 3 (Subsequent time in main clause)	μετὰ	τό	InfC1
6. F1 (Purpose)	εἰς	τό	InfCl
7. F2	πρὸς	τό	InfC1
8. F3		τοῦ	InfCl
9. F4	ὥστε		InfCl
10. Mod (Modifier)		τοῦ	InfCl
11. S (Subject)		τό	InfCl
12. Res (Result)	ὥστε		InfCl

The diagram which follows offers a graphic explanation of formula (1) and chart (3). The various components which manifest + ____ mk are extrapolated from the formula for ease of reference. In essence, the diagram tells how the components of the formula (right column) can handle the diverse semantic and structural elements discerned in the text (the left column).

(4)

Semantic Feature Category	Formula Component
1. Reas ---|	+(+rel +art)
2. Time 1a ---|	+(+rel +art)
3. Time 1b ---	+(+rel +ptc), +(+rel)
4. Time 2 --|	+(+rel +art)
5. Time 3 ---|	+(+rel +art)
6. F_1 ---|	+(+rel +art)
7. F_2 ---|	+(+rel +art)
8. F_3 ---	+(+art)
9. F_4 ---	+(+rel)
10. Mod ---	+(+art)
11. S ---	+(+art)
12. Res ---	+(rel)

Each of the Semantic Feature Categories used above is now presented with manifesting units in a context taken from the corpus.

1. Reasmk:rel/art$_a$ (15 examples).

(καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανετειλεν) <u>διὰ τὸ</u> μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς, "and it sprang up immediately <u>because</u> it did not have depth of earth" (Mk. 4:5).

2. T$_{1a}$mk:rel/art$_g$ (6 examples).

(ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πασχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν) <u>πρὸ τοῦ</u> με παθεῖν, "I desired to eat this Passover with you <u>before</u> I suffered" (Lk. 22:15).

3. T$_{1b}$mk:rel (7 examples) or rel/ptc (2 examples).

(ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ) <u>πρὶν</u> ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι (τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ), "in this

night <u>before</u> the cock crows, you shall deny me thrice" (Mt. 26:34).

(συ σήμερον ταύτῃ) <u>πρὶν ἢ</u> δὶς ἀκέκτορα φωνῆσαι (τρίς με ἀπαρ-νήσῃ), "You, this day, even in this night, <u>before</u> the cock crows, shall deny me thrice" (Mk. 14:30).

4. T_2mk:rel/art$_d$ (36 examples).

(καὶ ἐθαύμαζον) <u>ἐν τῷ</u> χρονίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτόν, "and they were marveling <u>while</u> he tarried in the temple" (Lk. 1:21).

5. T3mk:rel/arta (6 examples).

(Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς) <u>μετὰ τὸ</u> λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς (ἀνβελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, "Therefore the Lord Jesus, <u>after</u> he spoke to them, was received up into heaven" (Mk. 16:19).

6. F_1mk:rel art$_a$ (5 examples).

(καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐζήτουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν) <u>εἰς τὸ</u> θανατῶσαι αὐτόν, "and the whole Sanhedrin were seeking witness against Jesus <u>in order to</u> put him to death" (Mk. 14:55).

7. F_2mk:rel/art$_a$ (6 examples).

(καὶ ποιήσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα) <u>πρὸς τὸ</u> ἀποπλανᾶν εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, "and they shall do signs and wonders <u>in order to</u> deceive, if possible, the elect ones" (Mk. 13:22).

8. F_3mk:art$_g$ (23 examples).

(Τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σου) <u>τοῦ</u> διαφυλάξαι σε, "He shall give his angels charge concerning you) <u>in order to</u> guard you" (Lk. 4:10).

9. F$_4$mk:rel (3 examples).

(καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ἀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἡ πόλις ᾠκοδόμητο αὐτων,) ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, "and they led him to the edge of the mountain on which their city had been built, <u>in order to</u> (or, "<u>so as to</u>") fling him down" (Lk. 4:29). The subordinator ὥστε is customarily used to ex-xess result in a dependent clause or infinitive clause, but on occasion he result is not carried through. In such cases the usage is termed "intended result" in most grammars, a designation which is, for practi-cal purposes, tatamount to purpose. At any rate, "intended result" indicates purposive action which may or may not result in a literal consequence.

10. Modmk:art$_g$ (7 examples). In addition to the F$_3$ (purpose) use of the article τοῦ with the infinitive clause, the article serves to relate an infinitive clause to a head for which it serves as modifier. In this way infinitive clauses can modify nouns or noun phrases as part of a complex noun phrase, or adjectives as part of a complex adjective phrase. Both the Modmk:art$_g$ and the modified head are underlined in the examples below.

(ἐπλήσθησαν <u>αἱ ἡμέραι</u>) τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν, "<u>the days for</u> her childbearing accomplished" (Lk. 2:6) (The infinitive clause modifies a noun irase).

(Ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ <u>βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ</u>) <u>τοῦ</u> πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται, "0 foolish ones and <u>slow in heart</u> to believe on all the ings which the prophets spoke" (Lk. 24:25).

11. Smk:art_a (6 examples).

<u>τὸ</u> δὲ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν (**οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον**), "but <u>the</u> eating with unwashed hands does not defile the man" (Mt. 15:20).

12. Resmk:rel (20 examples).

(**καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ**) <u>ὥστε</u> τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, "and behold, a great upheaval happened in the sea, <u>so that</u> the boat was covered by the waves" (Mt. 8:24).

With the tagmemic components of the infinitive clause thus reviewed, the foundation has been provided for the analysis of the infinitive clause itself, and this follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

TYPES OF INFINITIVE CLAUSES

4.1 Infinitive Clause Typology

This chapter concentrates on the infinitive clause syntagmeme, or string of tagmemes. There are no fewer than twelve types of infinitive clauses based on transitivity factors and other coordinates, such as active and passive statements, and questions. The chart below identifies all and only the infinitive clause types found in the corpus.

Statement		Intransitive	Transitive	Transicomp	Middle	Ditransitive	Equational
	Active	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Passive		X	X		X	
Interrogative			X			X	X

By a comparison with the infinitive clause types shown on page 44, which recorded six infinitive clause types based on two chapters, the present chart is seen to be much more comprehensive with twelve types based on 89 chapters.

The transitivity factors listed above are to be explained as (1) intransitive (no direct object); (2) transitive (with direct object); (3) transicomplement (with direct object and object complement); (4) middle (a verb inherently in the middle state of transitivity[1]);

_____

[1] For an explanation of the middle verb see 3.2.2.4, p. 50.

(5) ditransitive (with indirect object and direct object in the fullest form, but at least with indirect object); and (6) equational (copulative clause with subject complement). The other coordinates of the matrix diagram have to do with the nature of the clause as it possesses either the characteristics of a statement or a question. It is apparent from the chart that active and passive clauses are found only with statements on the transitivity scale. The double-barred arrows on the chart indicate a third dimension coordinate which is to be regarded as a super-imposed coordinate relative to the two coordinates which exist on a plane. The short double-barred arrows indicate the transformational relationship between active and passive clauses, while the longer double-barred arrows indicate the transformational relationship between the active statement clauses and the interrogative clauses. These relationships are discussed in the appropriate sections.

4.2 Active Infinitive Clauses

There are evidently six active infinitive clause types which make up the majority of infinitive clause usages, with 732 out of the 822 clauses represented (89%). Each type has a variety of orders of the nuclear tagmemes (intransitive, three orders; transitive, seven forms; transicomplement, two forms; middle, three forms; ditransitive, thirteen forms; and equational, nine forms). These are presented in the sub-sections which follow with examples and tagmemic formulas.

4.2.1 Intransitive

Two hundred twenty-five of the 822 clauses reflect intransitive structure (27%). There are three patterns of order for the nuclear

tagmemes: Predicate only; Subject-Predicate; and Predicate-Subject. They are discussed in order of their frequency, although frequency does not necessarily reflect what may be the basic order pattern for the native speaker as he possesses a competent command of the linguistic system of his language.

4.2.1.1 Predicate Only

This pattern has the highest frequency of the three, with 104 total examples. Also, of the three it reflects the highest incidence of secondary tagmemes, with a total of 108 such units, or 101% as many secondary tagmemes as nuclear tagmemes. Twenty-one of the 104 instances include the introductory (to the infinitive clause) marker tagmeme. Moreover, this form utilizes the greatest variety of secondary tagmemes, which may be found in two possible ranks of position preceding the Predicate, and in three possible positional ranks following the Predicate. Most of the clauses, however, use only one or two tagmemes, and if two, they are typically placed on either side of the nuclear tagmeme. Only two of the 104 clauses have used the double rank in pre-position, and only one has used the triple rank in post-position. A formula may be given to represent the kinds of tagmemes employed positionally in the clause:

InfiC1 = +___ mk +M/L +L/M/Sc/T/D/G/Rel/Neg +P +L/D/M/T/G/Rel/Ref/B/Sc
+Rel/M/Reas/L/G/D/T +M.

The ranks are clearly visible in the positioning of secondary tagmemes relative to the nuclear tagmeme (+P) by the optionality symbols.

The formula means that an optional marker tagmeme can appear first, to be followed by an optional Manner or Location tagmeme, then by an optional Location, Manner, Source, Time, Direction, Goal, or Relationship tagmeme, then by an obligatory Predicate, next by either a Location, Direction, Manner, Time, Goal, Relationship, Reference, Benefactive, or Source tagmeme, then by a Relationship, Manner, Reason, Location, Goal, Direction, or Time tagmeme, and finally by a Manner tagmeme. None of the secondary tagmemes co-occur, however, and following this lengthy statement of the positional possibilities it is convenient to construct the formula in simpler terms:

InfiC1 = $\pm$ _____ mk ($\pm$Peri$_1$) ($\pm$Peri$_2$) +p ($\pm$Peri$_3$) ($\pm$Peri$_4$) ($\pm$Peri$_5$).

The abbreviation *Peri* stands for *Peripheral tagmeme* inclusive of the specific secondary tagmemes listed above. On this clause form it should also be pointed out that when a marker tagmeme occurs, only in one instance does a secondary tagmeme appear before the Predicate and that one is Negative. Furthermore, when two secondary tagmemes (or three) follow the Predicate, no marker or other secondary tagmemes precede the Predicate. From this the conclusion can be drawn that the relative positions in the clause can only bear so much weight, the weight of grammatical structures tagmemically identified. One example may be given:

P:iv$_{inf}$ Sc:RA   T:RA

. . . ἀναστῆναι   ἐκ νεκρῶν   τῇ τρίτη ἡμέρᾳ". . . to rise up from the dead on the third day" (Lk. 24:46).

4.2.1.2 <u>Subject-Predicate</u>

      A Subject tagmeme is apparently required when the main clause verb is impersonal, when the antecedent of the main clause receives further identification by repetition, or when the subject of the infinitive clause co-functions as a possible direct object of the main clause (sometimes termed a consociate function). Introductory markers for this order of clause tend to be severely restricted in comparison with the Predicate-Subject form of the clause, with 17 markers for the 77 clauses. The formula for the clause form is:

InfiC1 = ± _____ mk (±Peri$_l$) (±Peri$_2$) +S (±Peri$_3$) +P (±Peri$_4$) (±Peri$_5$).

      In four cases the Subject is manifested by the Subject Marker tagmeme, namely the article in the accusative case. When that situation prevails, either one optional tagmeme, or none, intervenes between Smk and P. The postpositive δὲ is not counted among the units of the infinitive clause syntagmeme since it functions as a sentence-linker or main clause linker. An example of a clause used as the subject of the main clause, with Smk, is:

Smk:art$_a$ M:N$_d$ P:iv$_{inf}$

τὸ   (δὲ) ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν (οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον), "But the eating with unwashed hands does not defile the man" (Mt. 15:20).

      When the Subject is manifested by anything other than art$_a$, Peri$_l$ can be Time: Peri$_2$ can be Manner or Location; Peri$_3$ can be Location, Manner, Time, Negative, Circumstance, Goal, Relationship, or Source; Peri$_4$ can be Location, Direction, Time, Goal, Relationship, or

Benefactive; and Peri$_5$ can be Location or Manner. As is usual in infinitive clauses, the negative tagmeme is positioned immediately before the Predicate when it occurs. Further positional limitations appear to be as follows: when either Peri$_1$ or Peri$_2$ are used, the other Peri's do not co-occur; when Peri$_3$ and Peri$_4$ are manifested, other Peri's do not co-occur; and when Peri$_4$ and Peri$_5$ appear, other Peri's do not co-occur. An example with conventional Subject tagmeme is:

$$S:pn_a \quad P:iv_{inf} \qquad D:RA \qquad L:RA$$

(κέλευσον) με ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα, "command me to come to you on the water" (Mt. 14:28).

In this form of the intransitive clause the total incidence of secondary tagmemes is 61 of the 77 nuclear combinations, or 79%.

4.2.1.3 Predicate-Subject

Of all the intransitive forms, the Predicate-Subject clause is the most generally used for the marker tagmeme, for 32 of its 44 clauses have the marker (72%), whereas with the Predicate alone there were only 21 out of 104 uses (20.2%), and with the Subject-Predicate, only 17 out of 77 (22%). Here, then, is a partial determinant of word order. Most of the markers are time markers (22 out of 32).

There is a total of twenty-five secondary tagmemes in this order pattern out of a total of 44 clauses. Thus this type reflects the lowest percentage of secondary tagmemes of the three forms (P = 101%, S-P = 79%, P-S = 57%). Thus it is obvious that this form is the most terse, structurally and semantically, of the three. The clause formula is:

InfiCl = mk (±Peri$_1$) +P (±Peri$_2$) + S (±Peri$_3$) (±Peri$_4$) (±Peri$_5$)..

A Time tagmeme is used only once in Peri$_1$, and Location is used only once in Peri$_2$, of all the clauses. And only 15 of the 44 clauses have any kind of optional tagmeme in post-position relative to the last nuclear element, the Subject. When used, Peri$_3$ has either Manner, Location, Source, Relationship, Direction, or Reference; Peri$_4$ has Location, Reference, Purpose, or Time; and Peri$_5$ has Location or Purpose. The only co-occurrence appears with Manner following the Subject:

P:iv$_{inf}$ S:N$_a$ M:N$_d$ M:RA   L:RA

(καὶ) καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον σωματικῷ εἴδει ὡς περιστερὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, "and the Holy Spirit came down upon him in bodily form like a dove" (Lk. 3:22).

A more extensive example appears with Tmk:

Tmk:rel/art$_d$ P:iv$_{inf}$ S:pna   L:RA

ἐν τῷ   ἐλθεῖν   αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν

           T:nd   F:InfCl

Φαρισαίων σαββάτῳ φαγεῖν ἄρτον, "while he went into the house of a certain one of the rulers of the Pharisees on the Sabbath to eat bread" (Lk. 14:1).

4.2.2 Transitive

Three hundred eighty-six of the 822 clauses reflect transitive structure (47%). There are seven patterns of order for the nuclear tagmemes: Predicate-Object; Object-Predicate; Subject-Predicate-Object; Subject-Object-Predicate; Predicate-Subject-Object; Object-Subject-Predicate; and Object-Predicate-Subject.

4.2.2.1 <u>Predicate-Object</u>

The P-0 form is the most widely used pattern, with 236 instances. It is also the most diversified in the kind of secondary tagmemes which accompany the nuclear elements, and it has more of these elements than any of the other patterns, for there are 78 such elements, or 33% as many of these as there are nuclear combinations. Eleven per cent, or 26 of the 236 clauses, have markers. The formula for the pattern is:

InftCl = $\pm$ _____ mk ($\pm$Peri$_1$) +P ($\pm$Peri$_2$) +0 ($\pm$Peri$_3$) ($\pm$Peri4) ($\pm$Peri$_5$).

Peri$_1$ can be Manner, Negative, Time, Location, or Circumstance; Peri$_2$ can be Manner, Location, Time, or Benefactive; Peri$_3$ can be Purpose, Direction, Location, Relationship, Manner, Time Reason, Goal, Reference, or Benefactive; Peri$_4$ can be Reason, Relationship, or Goal; and Peri$_5$ can be Manner or Time. Co-occurrence takes place in only two cases, and these are following the Object tagmeme, where Goal and Manner both co-occur. In only three cases do two or three optional tagmemes appear after the Object tagmeme, and the rest appear in solo form. An example of the pattern is:

P:tv$_{inf}$ O:Na   M:Nd

(ἤρξαντο) αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἰδὸν

M:PtC1

δυνάμεως, λέγοντες . . . , "they began to praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they saw, saying . . ." (Lk. 19:37).

4.2.2.2. <u>Object-Predicate</u>

The 0-P form ranks second in transitive clause usage, with 106 uses with conventional Object tagmeme, and 12 more uses with the special

Object-Relator tagmeme, totaling 118 instances. There is a total of 27 secondary tagmemes sprinkled in the 118 clauses, resulting in a figure of 22% as many of these as there are nuclear combinations.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this pattern is the absence of any marker tagmeme. This is possibly the case because these infinitive clauses are used in the vast majority of cases as the Predicate Complement or Direct Object of the governing clause (99 of the 106 uses above), and hence they have no opportunity to have affixed to them markers whose essential character is to offer aspects and shadings of semantic meaning to the total main clause (such as time, purpose, reason, and so forth). The clause formula is:

InftCl = (±Peri$_1$) +0 (+Peri$_2$) +P (±Peri$_3$) (±Peri$_4$).

Peri$_1$ includes Time, Source, Manner, and Negative; Peri$_2$ includes Negative or Time; Peri$_3$ incorporates Location, Source, Manner, Direction, Relationship, and Time; and Peri$_4$ consists of either Location, Purpose, or Time. No tagmemes co-occur, and in the one instance where Negative appears pre-Object, it is the form οὐδέ, the conjunctive negative, rather than Two clauses have Peri$_3$ and Peri$_4$ manifested (one of them with Negative intervening 0-P), and one clause has Manner pre-Object and Location post-Predicate. An example is:

O:Na   P:tv$_{inf}$ Rel:RA   T:InfCl

(ἐπεθύμησα) τοῦτο τὸ πασχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν, "I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Lk. 22:15).

Another form of the transitive 0-P clause deserves mention here. It is the special infinitive clause use with a relative clause in which

the object of the infinitive serves also as object-relator of the relative clause.[2] In each case there is separation of the manifesting structure of the Object-Relator slot and the Predicate tagmeme. In one case there is a Location tagmeme in post-position. That is the example now cited:

$$\text{O-R:relpn}_a \qquad\qquad \text{P:tv}_{inf} \quad \text{L:RA}$$
(τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ,) ἣν (ἤμελλεν) πληροῦν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ

"his departure which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem" (Lk. 9:31).

The relationship may be expressed in the following diagram:

```
                        Ncx

            |--------------------------------|
        H:N                       Mod:AjC1
  |--------|----------|      |--------|--------------------|
 D:art  H:n   Pos:pos       R      P:v-im        PC:InfC1
   |      |     |            |        |      |--------------------|
   |      |     |         0-R:relpna  |    P:tv_inf              L:RA
   |      |     |            |        |        |        R:rel      Ax:n
   |      |     |            |        |        |         |          |
  τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ          ἣν (ἤμελλεν) πληροῦν    ἐν Ιερουσαλημ
```
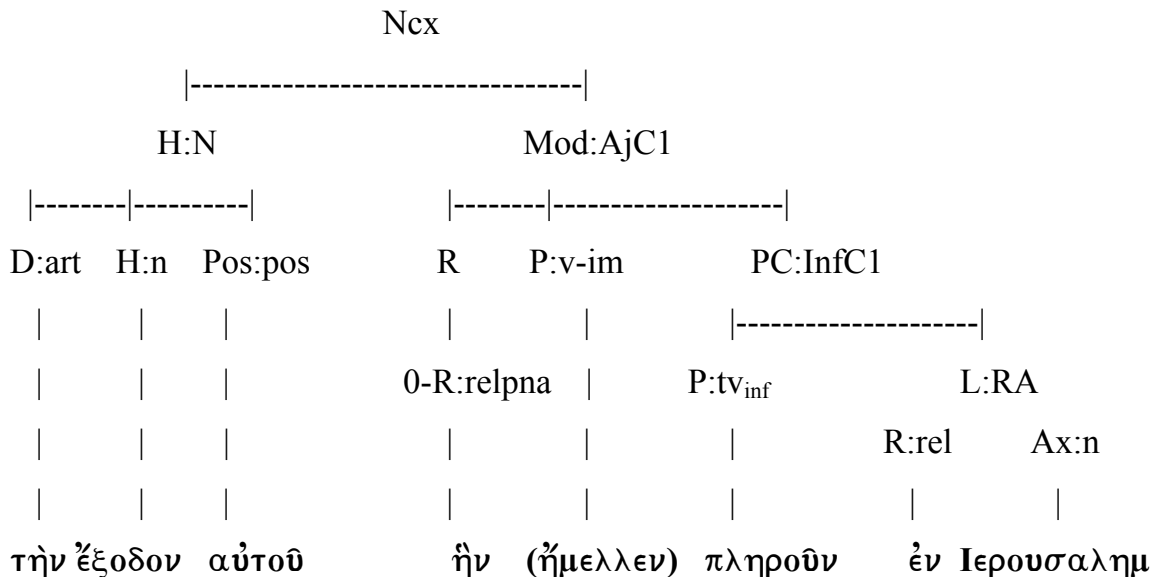
The diagram shows a complex noun phrase (which on another main clause level manifests the Direct Object slot of ἔλεγον). Its head is the noun phrase translated "his departure," and the modifier of the noun phrase is an entire Adjective Clause which consists of Relator tagmeme, Predicate filled by a verb of the imminent classification, and a Predicate Complement tagmeme manifested by an infinitive clause. The

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[2] For an explanation of the Object-Relator tagmeme, see Section 3.2.8, pp. 63-64.

Object-Relator tagmeme is evidently induced by a relativization trans-
formation from some deep structure predication such as "He was about to
accomplish his departure." In English it is possible to formulate the
kernel structure as

$$X \qquad\qquad N \qquad Y$$

He was about to accomplish | his departure | yesterday.
By means of the formula

$$| \text{ who } |$$
$$\text{T-rel} = X + N + Y \dashrightarrow N \;+ | \text{ that } \quad | \;+ \quad X + Y$$
$$| \text{ which } |$$

it is possible to derive the construction, "the departure which he was
about to accomplish yesterday," when which is selected because the
antecedent, departure, is non-personal.

In a similar way the Greek Adjective Clause may be derived from
a statement. Given a string

$$X \qquad\qquad N \qquad\qquad\qquad Y$$

ἤμελλεν πληροῦν | τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ | ἐν Ιερουσαλημ
and the rule

$$| \;\; ὅς \;\; |$$
$$\text{T-rel} = X+N+Y \dashrightarrow \;\; N \;\; + \; | [+\text{gen}] | \qquad X + Y,$$
$$| [+\text{case}]|$$

it is feasible to derive τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἣν ἤμελλεν πληροῦν ἐν Ιερου-
σαλημ. Thus it becomes apparent that English and Greek are not so very
different in their syntactic derivational processes--at least in this
type of construction--since essentially the same rule handles the rela-
tionship. Here is a kind of linguistic universal which at least attests
to the underlying relatedness of English and Greek within the

Indo-European language family. The singular difference between the two
is the specification of the proper gender and case of the relative pro-
noun which is normal with Greek but impossible with English because of
historical processes.

4.2.2.3 Subject-Predicate-Object

Sixteen clauses reflect this order which arises when the need
for subject identification is apparently felt. Only three secondary
tagmemes are found in all of the 16 clauses, indicating that there are
only 19% as many of these as there are nuclear patterns. Five clauses
(31%) have introductory markers, and two of these are Subject markers
with articular manifestation. The formula is:

InftCl = $\pm$ _____ mk +S +P +0 ($\pm$Peri$_l$).

When Smk (Subject Marker)[3] occurs, the S of the formula is automatically
deleted and shifted to the Smk unit, which functions as the Subject of
the infinitive clause. The situation is analogous to the way in which
a relative pronoun can function both as object of the verb and as rela-
tor of the clause. Peri$_l$ is manifested by either Manner or Time. In
two cases S is separated from P. The pattern is obviously a very con-
cise one, allowing no intervening tagmemes among the nuclear units. An
example is:

Reasmk:rel/art$_a$ S:pn$_a$ P:tv$_{inf}$ 0:aj$_a$

διὰ τὸ   αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας, "because he knew all men (Jn.
2:24).

[3] For an explanation of Smk as Infinitive Clause Marker, see
Section 3.4, pp. 78-85.

4.2.2.4 <u>Subject-Object-Predicate</u>

Seven examples are found, without any trace of marker. They manifest either Object tagmemes or Predicate Complement tagmemes on a higher clause level. Only two secondary tagmemes are used with the seven clauses. The formula is:

InftCl = +S +0 +P ($\pm$Peri$_l$).

An example is:

S:pn   O:na   P:tVinf

(εἰ ἔξεστιν) ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, "whether it is lawful for a man to send away (his) wife" (Mk. 10:2). The phenomenon of dative subjects in infinitive clauses is discussed in Section 5.1.

4.2.2.5 <u>Predicate-Subject-Object</u>

Five clauses reflect this pattern, and in two cases there are secondary tagmemes, Agent and Purpose. Three of the clauses also have Time markers. The formula is:

InftC1 = $\pm$Tmk $\pm$Ag +P +S +0 $\pm$F.

An example is:

AG:RA   P:tyinf   S:pn   O:Na

(λέγετε) ἐν βεελζεβουλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ διαμόνια, "you say (that) by Beelzebub I am casting out demons" (Lk. 11:18).

4.2.2.6 <u>Object-Subject-Predicate</u>

Three concise clauses of this form use no secondary tagmemes and only one marker among them. The formula is:

InftC1 = ±Tmk +0 +S +P.

An example is:

Tmlc:rel/art$_g$ O:pna   S:np$_a$ P:tv$_{inf}$

Πρὸ τοῦ   σε   Φίλιππον φωνῆσαι . . . , "Before Philip called you
. . ." (Jn. 1:48).

4.2.2.7 Object-Predicate-Subject

Only one clause reflects this form. There are no markers or
secondary tagmemes. The formula is:

InftC1 = +0 +P +S.

            O:dem$_a$ P:tv$_{inf}$ S:NP$_a$

(οὐχὶ) ταῦτα (ἔδει)   παθεῖν   τὸν Χριστὸν, "Was it not necessary for
Christ to suffer these things . . . ?" (Lk. 24:26).

The order pattern of this last clause may be explained by the
practice observed in this corpus for the writers to place the Predicate
immediately after such impersonal verbs as δεῖ, and ἔξεστιν when the
subject of the infinitive or the object appears in front of the δεῖ or
ἔξεστιν.

4.2.3 Transicomplement

Four of the 822 clauses reflect the post-Predicate structure of
Object-Object Complement in two order forms. These clauses comprise
0.5% of the total.

4.2.3.1 Predicate-Object-Objective Complement

Two cases are found, and both of them have identical wording,
which is not always the case with parallel passages in the Synoptic

Gospels. There are no markers or secondary tagmemes. The formula is:

Inft/cCl = +P +0 +OC.

In both cases the Object Complement tagmeme is manifested by a complex noun phrase, as opposed to the next order, which is distinguished by its use of an adjectival phrase to fill the OC slot. An example of this P-O-OC form is:

P:tv$_{inf}$ 0:N$_a$ OC-N$_{cx}$

(καὶ) δοῦναι   **τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν**, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mk. 10:45, Mt. 20:28).

4.2.3.2 Object-Objective Complement-Predicate

Again the pattern is concise, with no markers or secondary tagmemes. The choice of the adjective phrase for OC may dictate the order form. The formula is:

Inft/cCl = +0 +0C +P.

In the example given, the adjective phrase is an alternative one showing separation between the initial element and the adverse element which follows the Predicate.

         O:N$_a$ OC:Aj$_{alt}$ P:tv$_{inf}$

(οὐ δύνασαι) μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι   ἢ   μέλαιναν, "you are not

                 H:aj   Alt:alt H:aj

able to make one hair white or black" (Mt. 5:36). The alternative adjective phrase consists of a head slot manifested by an adjective, a separated alternative slot manifested by an alternative connector, and another head slot filled by an adjective. This is typical multiple-head conjoining, albeit alternative.

4.2.4 Middle

The nature of the middle clause has already been discussed.[4] It is transitive in that it takes an object, but it is restrictively transitive in that the clause with its verbal nucleus is not capable of being transformed into a passive construction, as are other transitive forms. Therefore the middle clause is presented separately, although the pattern orders may be compared to fully-transitive forms.

There are six such clauses, comprising 0.7% of the corpus, with three nuclear orders: Predicate-Object; Object-Predicate; and Subject-Predicate-Object.

4.2.4.1 <u>Predicate-Object</u>

The two examples each have a Reason marker and Negative slot before the Predicate, with no other tagmemes. The formula is:

InfmCl = +Reasmk +Neg +P +0.

Since there are no other examples, it presently appears that the marker and Negative are part of the nuclear pattern. An example is:

$$\text{Reasmk:rel/art}_a \quad \text{Neg:neg} \quad \text{P:v-mid}_{inf} \quad \quad \text{0:Na}$$

(καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν) διὰ τὸ   μὴ   ἔχειν   βάθος γῆς,

"and it grew up immediately, because it did not have depth of earth" (Mk. 4:5).

4.2.4.2 <u>Object-Predicate</u>

Each of the two clauses here has a secondary tagmeme, one pre-posed and one post-posed. In both cases the Object slot is manifested

_____

[4] See Section 3.2.2.4, p. 50.

by the noun ζωὴν or the noun phrase ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Each is emphatic in its positional recognition of spiritual life, not the physical life-principle of secular reference. The formula is:

InfmCl = ±M +0 +P ±L.

An example is:

$$\text{O:Na} \quad \text{P:v-mid}_{inf} \quad \text{L:RA}$$

(τῷ Υἱῷ ἔδωκεν) ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, "to the Son he gave to have life in himself" (Jn. 5:26).

4.2.4.3 Subject-Predicate-Object

Two concise clauses admit no other tagmemes than the nuclear ones. Each manifests a Predicate Complement slot on the main clause level. In each case the logical subject of the infinitive clause is a pronoun in the dative case,[5] as in the example which follows the formula:

InfmCl = +S +P +0.

$$\text{S:pn}_d \quad \text{P:v-mid}_{inf} \quad \text{O:N}_a$$

(Οὐκ ἔξεστίν) σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, "It is not lawful for you to have the wife of your brother" (Mk. 6:18).

4.2.5 Ditransitive

The ditransitive clause is one of the most difficult to handle, either in this corpus, where there are 13 discernible forms, or in other languages which the writer has analyzed tagmemically. In one chapter of Hebrew alone there are six patterns for finite-verb ditransitive

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[5] See Section 5.1 for a full discussion of datives which function primarily as datives of reference, and secondarily as logical subjects.

clauses, and in Old English there are four such patterns in 236 lines.[6]
And in two chapters of Luke there are no fewer than six patterns in
independent clauses.[7] So it appears that ditransitive clauses are
typically the most unstable in these languages, and similar results
could probably be adduced from other languages.

There are 71 ditransitive clauses in the corpus, providing a 9%
contribution toward the total of 822 clauses. They are found apparently
without Subject or Object on occasion, or without Subject, or without
Object. Stated positively, they appear with the elements Subject, Predi-
cate, Indirect Object, Object; Subject, Predicate, Indirect Object;
Predicate, Indirect Object, Object; and Predicate, Indirect Object. As
long as the syntagmeme has an Indirect Object slot it has been included
in this listing. This has been done on the basis that the infinitive
clause is a reduced clause structure to begin with, a derivative of deep
structure or kernel constructions, and that the absence of one or
another elements is due to mentalistic deletion processes which are
regular to the language system but which may not be fully conscious to
the speaker.

4.2.5.1 <u>Predicate-Indirect Object-Object</u>

This is by far the most dominant pattern by numerical frequency,

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[6] Edgar J. Lovelady, "A Tagmemic Analysis of Genesis 37" (unpub-
lished research monograph, Grace Theological Seminary, August, 1975);
and "A Tagmemic Analysis of AElfric's *Life of St. Oswald*" (unpublished
Doctor's dissertation, Purdue University, 1974).

[7] Lovelady, "A Positional Syntax of Koine Greek" (unpublished
research monograph, Grace Theological Seminary, August, 1974), pp. 26-27.

with 27 cases out of the 71 ditransitive clauses (38%). Only two of the 27 clauses (7%) have markers, and there are six secondary tagmemes found among all the clauses, indicating that there are 22% as many of these as there are nuclear patterns. In general, ditransitive clauses make relatively little use of introductory markers. The formula is:

InfdCl = ±Fmk ±T +P +I ±Ref/M +0 ±T.

The Purpose marker is the only one used, and no secondary tagmemes co-occur. Most of the clauses with this order are used to fill either Predicate Complement or Purpose slots on the higher clause level. Most of the clauses in this pattern have their Object slots filled with clausal structures (18 out of 27, or 66%): Direct Quotation, Nominal Clause, and infinitive clause. This serves as a general discriminator for clause order from the P-O-I order, whose Object slots are never filled by such structures. An example is:

P:dv$_{inf}$ I:RA   Ref:RA   O:D.Q.

(ἤρξατο) λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους περὶ Ἰωάννον, Τί ἐξῆλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι; "he began to say to the crowds concerning John, 'What did you go out into the wilderness to see?'" (Lk. 7:24).

4.2.5.2 Predicate-Object-Indirect Object

The nine examples of this pattern show this one to be a significant one, for it is third in numerical frequency. Three of the clauses have a marker unit (33%), and there are four optional tagmemes used for all of the nine clauses. The Object clot in this position is limited to single nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases, as opposed to the foregoing

pattern. The formula is:

InfdCl = +_____ mk ±Sc +P +0 ±M +I ±M ±Reas.

      Result or Purpose markers are used when selected, and it can be said that the two Manner slots of the formula do not co-occur in any one clause. An example is:

Fmk:art$_g$ P:dv$_{inf}$ O:N$_a$ I:N$_d$ M:RA

τοῦ   δοῦναι   γνῶσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν
διὰ σπλαγχνὰ ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν οἷς ἐπισκέψεται ἡμᾶς ἀντολὴ ἐξ ὕψους
"in order to give knowledge of salvation to his people in forgiveness of their sins because of the tender mercies of our God in connection with which the Day-Spring from on high shall visit us" (Lk. 1:77).

4.2.5.3 Indirect Object-Predicate-Object

      The six clauses of this pattern admit no peripheral tagmemes. The fronting of the Indirect Object tagmeme appears to be for the purpose of emphasis. The possibility of confusing the Indirect Object of the infintive as the Indirect Object of the main clause is eliminated by the following example:

                  I:indfpn$_d$ P:dv$_{inf}$ 0:N$_{pta}$

(ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς) μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ γεγονός, "and he gave instruction to them to tell to no one the thing that had happened" (Lk. 8:56).

      In this example the pronoun αὐτοῖς is the indirect object of the main clause, and the infinitive clause itself is the direct object of that clause. Then within the infinitive clause the indefinite pronoun μηδενὶ

functions as indirect object. The formula is:

InfdCl = +I +P +O.

4.2.5.4 Indirect Object-Object-Predicate

Three examples are found, with no optional tagmemes. All three examples apparently give secondary emphasis to the Object tagmeme by the medial position in the clause. In the previous pattern the Object receives tertiary emphasis by position. The formula is:

InfdCl = +I +0 +P.

An example is:

$$I:pn_d \qquad O:n_a \qquad P:dv_{inf}$$

(συνέθετο) αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι, "they consented to give him the money" (Lk. 22:5).

The matter of emphasis by word order is admittedly a difficult one in Greek. As Denniston points out,[8] the problem can be approached in two ways: by way of grammar, or by way of logic and rhetoric. Using a grammatical interpretation, one might say that a verb of consenting (συντίθημι) requires the order Indirect Object-Object-Predicate, while a verb of forbidding (κωλύω) has the order Object-Indirect Object-Predicate, as in Section 4.2.5.5. However, this would have to be substantiated by considerable further investigation.

By using the logical-rhetorical route of analysis, other interpretations are rendered possible. In other Indo-European languages

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[8] J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 42.

which are inflected, such as Old English, degrees of emphasis apparently correlate with clausal position as a rhetorical device, especially when permutations of "normal" clause order are not attributable to any grammatical determinant. If emphasis is considered by degree, the nuclear tagmeme in initial position may be designated as emphatic, and when medial, as semi-emphatic.[9]

Proceeding on such a basis as this for Greek, stylistic or rhetorical permutations may reflect primary emphasis when nuclear tagmemes are in initial position, secondary emphasis when in medial position, and tertiary emphasis when they follow medial position. The interpretation thus advanced here was adopted independently of Denniston's conclusions on the matter in his Greek Prose Style:

> *As regards beginning and end, it is generally admitted, and is indeed beyond dispute, that the weight of a Greek sentence or clause is usually at its opening, and the emphasis tends to decline as the sentence proceeds . . . . It is a far more difficult matter to determine whether the end of the sentence or clause is to be regarded as being a secondary position of emphasis.*[10]

It should be noted that Denniston's last sentence in the above quotation is made in the light of relatively rare rhetorical use of an emphatic word placed at the end of a sentence to gain added emphasis from that position.

4.2.5.5 Object-Indirect Object-Predicate

Two clauses use this pattern, which again has its own emphasis order with initial (and presumably emphatic) Object, and secondarily

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[9] Lovelady, "A Tagmemic Analysis of AElfric's . . . ," p. 158.
[10] Denniston, *op. cit*., pp. 44-45.

emphatic Indirect Object. No optional tagmemes are found. The formula
is:

InfdCl = +0 +I +P.

An example is:

$$\text{0:n}_a \qquad \text{I:npd} \qquad \text{P:dv}_{inf}$$

(**Τοῦτον εὕραμεν . . . κωλύοντα**) **φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι**, "we found this
man forbidding to give tribute to Caesar" (Lk. 23:2).

4.2.5.6 Object-Predicate-Indirect Object

With one example, this is the least-used pattern of the three-
unit nuclear patterns of the ditransitive infinitive clause. The for-
mula is as concise as its three tagmemes.

InfdCl = +0 +P +I.

The example is:

$$\text{O:N}_a \qquad \text{P:dv}_{inf} \qquad \text{I:N}_d$$

(**οἴδατε**) **δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν**, "you know to give good
gifts to your children" (Lk. 11:13).

4.2.5.7 Predicate-Indirect Object

This two-unit nuclear pattern is the second most plentiful di-
transitive clause type, with ten examples. In one instance a Time mar-
ker is used, and one clause has a Purpose tagmeme postposed. For the
number of its uses, it is a very conservative pattern. The formula is:

InfdCl = ±Tmk +P +I ±F.

An example is:

$$\text{P:dv}_{\text{inf}} \qquad \text{I:N}_{\text{d}}$$

(ἔδραμον) ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, "they ran to announce (it) to his disciples" (Mt. 28:8).

4.2.5.8 Indirect Object-Predicate

This form emphasizes the Indirect Object unit, with seven examples. Two clauses each have a Manner tagmeme, which, of course, do not co-occur. The formula is:

InfdCl = ±M +I ±M +P.

It should also be noted that no marker tagmeme is used with any of these clauses. An example is:

$$\text{M:av} \quad \text{I:pn}_{\text{d}} \quad \text{P:dv}_{\text{inf}}$$

(ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ) καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, "it seemed good to me also . . . with an orderly presentation to write to you" (Lk. 1:3).

One interesting example occurs with the Relative Clause which uses the Indirect Object of the infinitive clause in portmanteau fashion as the relator of the Relative Clause. This is similar to the Object-Relator usage already discussed in Section 4.2.2.2, pp. 95-96. The clause is:
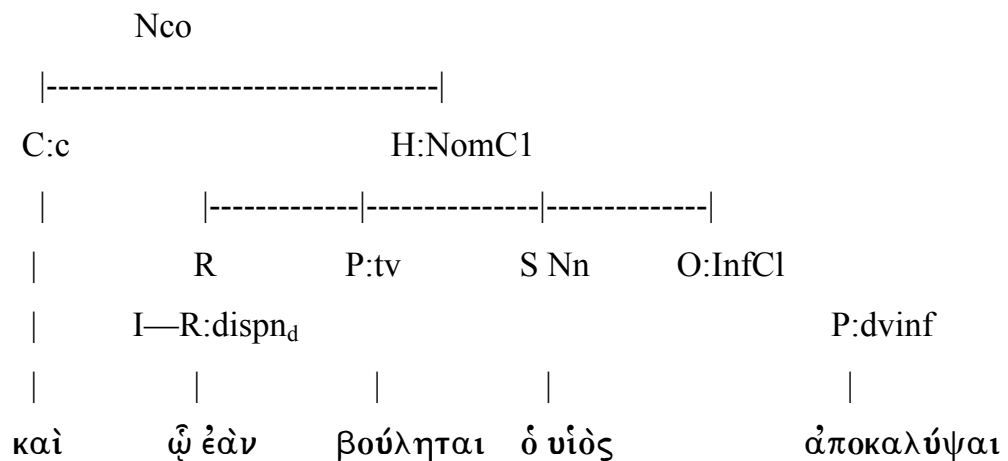
$$\text{I:R:dispn}_{\text{d}}$$

(οὐδεὶς γινώσκει . . . εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ) ᾧ ἐὰν (βούληται ὁ Υἱὸς)

P:dv_{inf}

ἀποκαλύψαι, "no one knows . . . except the Son and the one to whomever the Son wishes to reveal (it)" (Lk. 10:22).

The infinitive clause is comprised of the Indirect Object-Relator manifested by the distributive relative pronoun construction ᾧ ἐὰν, and the Predicate slot with the infinitive ἀποκαλύψαι. By distributive it is meant that the recipients of the action are definitely known to the bestower of the action, but unknown to non-performers of that action. This is a significant distinction from the concept of the indefinite pronoun which does not specifically include definiteness, although originally it may allow for it. The infinitive clause is the Predicate Complement of the Nominal Clause Predicate. The Nominal Clause itself fills the second head slot of a coordinate noun phrase. The coordinate phrase is part of an Exception construction yet to be explored tagmemically. It is still clear, however, that the Exception construction is a delayed elliptical construction whose full rendition would be, translated, " . . except the Son and the one to whomever he wishes to (it), knows who is the Father." Be that as it may, the construction and may be diagrammed as follows:

```
                Nco
        |--------------------------------|
   C:c                       H:NomC1
    |              |------------|--------------|-------------|
    |              R         P:tv         S Nn       O:InfCl
    |           I—R:dispn_d                               P:dvinf
    |              |            |             |               |
   καὶ          ᾧ ἐὰν       βούληται    ὁ υἱὸς        ἀποκαλύψαι
```

The clause is very likely a transformation from a kernel utterance such as "The Son wishes to reveal (it) to him." A formula can be constructed in a similar manner to the one for the Object-Relator construction, building into this formula the provision for the Indirect Object relativization transformation. Given the string in kernel structure:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{X} & \text{Y} & \text{Z} & \text{Nd} \\ \text{ὁ υἱὸς} \mid & \text{βούληται} \mid & \text{ἀποκαλύψαι} \mid & \text{(τι)} \quad \text{αὐτῷ,} \end{array}$$

it is possible to use the rule

$$\begin{array}{l} \qquad\qquad\qquad \mid \text{ὅς} \qquad\qquad \mid \\ \text{T-rel-IO} =\text{X+Y+Z+N} \dashrightarrow \mid \text{[+d] [+dis ptcl]} \mid +\text{Y[+subj]} + \text{X} + \text{Z} \\ \qquad\qquad\qquad \mid \text{[+gen]} \qquad\qquad \mid \end{array}$$

in order to arrive at the result string in the text:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{dispn}_d & \mid \quad \text{Y[+subj]} & \mid \text{X} & \mid \quad \text{Z} \\ \text{ᾧ ἐὰν} & \mid \quad \text{βούληται} & \mid \text{ὁ υἱὸς} & \mid \text{ἀποκαλύψαι (τι).} \end{array}$$

The sign [+d] indicates that the relative pronoun must be in the dative case, and [+subj] provides for the shift to the subjunctive mood with ἐὰν, which demands the subjunctive with Y. The sign [+gen] in the formula provides that the gender of the relative pronoun remains the same as that of its antecedent.

4.2.5.9 Predicate-Indirect Object-Object-Subject

This pattern and the next four patterns utilize four nuclear tagmemes in various permutations. It is difficult to determine which is the dominant form, since each form is used only once. This form P-I-O-S may be the prevailing one for native speakers, since it reflects the

P-I-O pattern of the most numerous three-element syntagmeme, and this is the only form to take an introductory marker unit. None of these take optional tagmemes. The formula is:

InfdCl = +Reasmk +P +I +0 +S.

    The example is:

Reasmk:rel/art$_a$ P:dv$_{inf}$ I:pn$_d$ O:n$_a$ S:N$_a$

διά **(γε)** τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην, "because this widow showed me toil (I will avenge her)" (Lk. 18:5).

4.2.5.10 Subject-Predicate-Object-Indirect Object

    The formula for the one example is:

InfdCl = +S +P +0 +I.

    The example is:

    S:pna   P:dv$_{inf}$ O:N   I:Nd

(ἔδει) σε **(οὖν)** βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζείταις, "it was necessary therefore for you to give my money to the moneylenders" (Mt. 25:27).

4.2.5.11 Subject-Object-Predicate-Indirect Object

    The formula for the one example is:

InfdCl = +5 +0 +P +I.

    The example is:

                                         S:pna   P:N$_{cx}$

(οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι ... ἐπηρώτησαν) αὐτὸν σημεῖον ἐκ τοῦ

            P:dv$_{inf}$ I:pnd
οὐρανοῦ ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτοῖς, "the Pharisees and Sadducees asked him to show

them a sign from heaven" (Mt. 16:1).

4.2.5.12 Subject-Indirect Object-Object-Predicate

The formula is:

InfdCl = +S +I +0 +P.

The example is:

      S:pn$_a$ I:np$_d$ 0:n$_a$ P:dv$_{inf}$

(ἔξεστιν) ἡμᾶς Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι, "is it lawful for us to give tri-
bute to Caesar?" (Lk. 20:22).

4.2.5.13 Indirect Object-Predicate-Subject-Object

The formula is:

InfdCl = +I +P +S . . . +0.

The Object is separated from the Subject. The example is:

    I:N$_d$ P:dv$_{inf}$ S:pn$_a$ O:N$_a$

(ὅτι καὶ) ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι με (δεῖ) τὴν βασιλείαν
τοῦ θεοῦ, "that also it is necessary for me to preach the kingdom of God
to the other cities" (Lk. 4:43).

4.2.6 Equational

Equational clauses are those which have an equational (also
termed linking, copulative) verb manifesting the Predicate slot, and
exhibiting a tagmeme which serves as a Subject Complement. Just as in
the previous clause types, an overt Subject is not always necessary. It
will also be seen that Complement is not obligatory to certain special-
ized forms.

There are 40 equational clauses out of the 822 total clauses (5%). Nine forms are found. The discussion begins with those that have a manifest Complement. These are regarded as the norm for the clause type.

4.2.6.1 <u>Complement-Predicate</u>

This is the most numerous form of those with Complement. Nine such clauses are found. No marker tagmemes are found, which indicates an analogy to the 0-P pattern of the transitive clause and the I-P pattern of the ditransitive clause. In general, it appears that the initial presence of the Predicate tagmeme encourages the use of the marker unit as well as other secondary tagmemes in pre-posed position, and the presence of Object, Indirect Object, Complement, and to a lesser extent, Subject slot, discourages such practice. The formula is:

InfeCl = $\pm$L +C +P $\pm$L.

Location does not co-occur; the tagmemes in the formula come from different clauses. An example is:

$\quad\quad$ C:aj$_n$ $\quad$ P:eqv$_{inf}$

(θέλεις) ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι, "do you wish to become whole?" (Jn. 5:6).

In one such clause the Complement is manifested by a noun phrase in the accusative case, whereas the others are all nominative. This is the case because the Complements of equational infinitives in general agree in case with the Subject of the main clause Predicate verb, or they agree with the understood Subject of the infinitive clause in the absence of an overt main clause Subject antecedent or infinitive clause
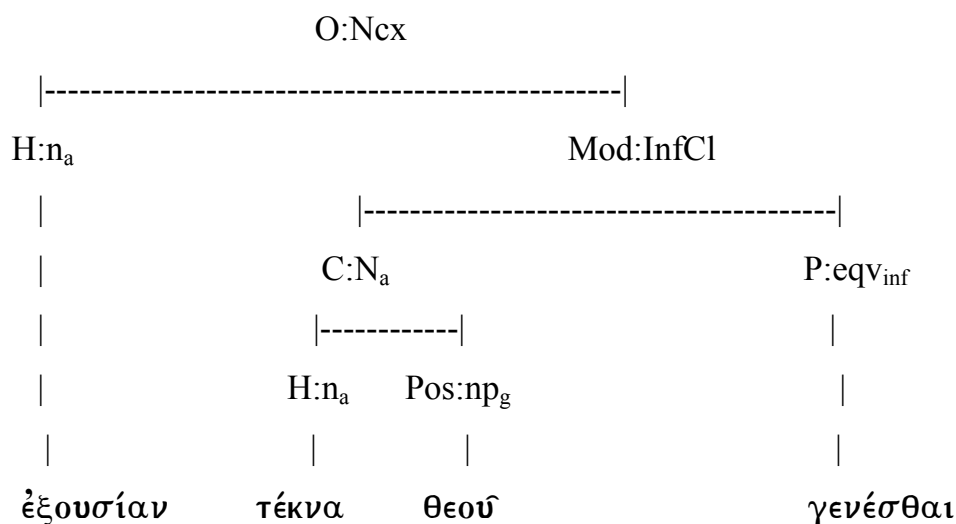
Subject. The accusative Complement clause is:

$$\text{C:Na} \qquad \text{P:eqv}_{\text{inf}}$$

(ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν) τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, "he gave to them the

$$\text{P:dv} \quad \text{I:pn}_{\text{d}} \quad \text{0:N}_{\text{cx}}$$

authority to become the children of God" (Jn. 1:12).

Here the entire infinitive clause fills the modifier slot of the complex

noun phrase in the manner:

O:Ncx

|--|

H:n$_a$ Mod:InfCl

| |--|

| C:N$_a$ P:eqv$_{\text{inf}}$

| |------------| |

| H:n$_a$ Pos:np$_g$ |

| | | |

ἐξουσίαν   τέκνα   θεοῦ   γενέσθαι

Since there is no overt Subject for the infinitive, the Comple-
ment is in the accusative case in agreement with the understood infini-
tive Subject, which would have been accusative in case.

4.2.6.2 Predicate-Complement

The P-C order has six examples with one preposed Reason marker
and two Location tagmemes for all the clauses. The formula is:
InfeCl = ±Reasmk ±L +P +C.

One example is:

$$\text{P:egv}_{\text{inf}} \qquad \text{C:Nn}$$

(οὐ δύνατι) εἶναι   μου μαθητής, "he is not able to be my disciple"
(Lk. 14:26).

4.2.6.3 <u>Subject-Complement-Predicate</u>

The subjectful equational clause has four examples in this form.
No markers or secondary tagmemes are found. The formula is:
InfeCl = +S +C +P.

An example is:

<div align="center">

S:pn$_a$ C:Aj$_a$ P:eqv$_{inf}$

</div>

(οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν) αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου, "and all of
them pronounced him to be worthy of death" (Mk. 14:64). The adjective
phrase (Aj$_a$) is separated by the equational verb.

4.2.6.4 <u>Subject-Predicate-Complement</u>

One example is found, with concise form. The formula is:
InfeCl = +S +P +C.

The clause is:

<div align="center">

S:pn$_a$ P:eqv$_{inf}$ C:N$_a$

</div>

(καὶ ποιήσω) ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπον, "and I will make you to be-
come fishers of men" (Mk. 1:18).

4.2.6.5 <u>Complement-Subject-Predicate</u>

The Complement is evidently emphatic by position and by con-
tent, for the exponent of the tagmeme is **τὸν χριστὸν** in this one example
from the corpus. The formula is:
InfeCl = +C +S +P.

The example is:

     C:N$_a$ S:pn$_a$ P:eqv$_{inf}$

(ὅτι ᾔδεισαν) τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, "because they had known him to be the Christ" (Lk. 4:41).

4.2.6.6 Complement-Predicate-Subject

   This tentative identification of one clause is a bit unusual, for a relator-axis phrase appears to manifest the Complement slot. The formula is:

InfeCl = +C . . . +P +S.

   The clause is:

  C:RA   P:eqv$_{inf}$ S:pn$_a$

(ὅτι) ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου (δεῖ) εἶναι με, "that it is necessary for me to be concerned with the things of my Father" (Lk. 2:49).

   While a case could be made for other identifications of the construction, the clause can clearly be read as meaning, "It is necessary for me to be this, that is, concerned with my Father's affairs."

4.2.6.7 Subject-Predicate

   Two subtypes are found with this order pattern. They are fully discussed below.

4.2.6.7.1 Predicate Adverbial

   In his book entitled *English Sentences,* Paul Roberts recognizes three patterns of nuclear structure with the equational verb.[11] One is

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[11] Paul Roberts, *English Sentences* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), pp. 44-45.

the pattern N + be + Adj; another is the pattern N + be + N; and yet
another is N be + Adv. The first two would be called *predicate ad-
jective* and *predicate nominative* constructions, respectively. The third
might be dubbed *predicate adverbial*.[12] This pattern accounts for such
sentences as "The boy was *here*;" "I was *there*;" "He is *outside*;" and
"We were *out*."

Similarly in the Greek infinitive clause (and likely more ex-
tensively), there is a class of clauses whose Predicate slot is manned
by an equational verb, and which also may allow for a secondary tagmeme
of an adverbial nature. The formula of the S-P order with Locational
Adverbial is:

InfeCl = $\pm$ _____ mk +S $\pm$L +P $\pm$L.

The Locational tagmemes do not co-occur in the four examples.
One of the clauses is:

$$\text{S:pn}_a \qquad \text{P:eqv}_{inf}$$

(καλόν ἐστιν) ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι, "it is good for us to be here" (Mt.
17:4; Mk. 9:5; Lk. 9:23).

The construction is exactly the same in each of the Synoptic
Gospels, which leads one to believe that when the infinitive clause is
the modifier of the adjective head on the main clause level (this rela-
tionship is based on the fairly common practice identified in other
clauses; a case could possibly be made that the equational infinitive

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[12] As far as can be ascertained, this term is original with the
present writer.

clause is the subject of εστιν, but this analysis regards εστιν in such constructions to be impersonal), the Location tagmeme is attracted to the position intermediate between Subject and Predicate. When such a construction does not occur, the Location tagmeme is in post-Predicate position:

$$\text{S:pn}_a \qquad \text{P:eqv}_{inf} \quad \text{L:RA}$$

(νομίσαντες δὲ) αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ, "and supposing him to be in the group . . ." (Lk. 2:44).

4.2.6.7.2 Stative or Inceptive Clause

The so-called "stative" variety using what is etymologically an equational verb, actually has two qualities: a purely stative force with εἰμί, and an inceptive force with γίνομαι. As an example of the first, this clause is given:

$$\text{Tmk:rel/art}_g \quad \text{S:N}_a \qquad \text{P:eqv}_{inf}$$

(δόξασον με . . . τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ εἶχον) πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, "glorify me . . . with the glory which I was having before the world existed" (Jn. 17:5).

A clause with γίνομαι is as follows:

$$\text{Tmk:rel S:np}_a \qquad \text{P:eqv}_{inf}$$

πρὶν Αβρααμ γενέσθαι, (εἰγὼ εἰμί), "before Abraham came to exist, I am" (Jn. 8:58).

The three clauses with εἰμί reflect the formula:
Infe-sCl = +S +Neg +P.

The three inceptive clauses with the verb γίνομαι or the verb πάρειμι, have the formula:

cl= ± _____ mk +S ±Neg +P.

When the order of the stative or inceptive verb clause is S-P, tagmeme characteristically intervenes between them.

4.2.6.7.3 Predicate-Subject

Agin , two subtypes are found with this order pattern.

4.2.6.7.1 Predicate Adverbial

As now seen to be typical, the marker appears extensively this pattern in which the Predicate is the first nuclear tagmeme. In every one of the predicate adverbial constructions has a marker. The five of the latter forms. The formula is:

± _____ mk ±L +P +S ±L/Reas ±M.

Location does not co-occur. Each predicate adverbial clause has tagmeme . An example is:

Tmk:rel/art$_d$ P:eqv$_{inf}$ S:pn$_a$ L:RA

ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ   εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, "And it while he was in one of the cities . . ." (Lk. 5:12).

Stative Clause

The one stative (or perhaps better termed existential) form is clause:

Neg:neg P:eqv$_{inf}$ S:n$_a$

μὴ   εἶναι ἀνάστασιν , "saying (that) there was no such resurrection" (Mt. 22:23).

It is worth noting that with the P-S order of the stative clause the Negative tagmeme appears pre-Subject, rather than intervening between Subject and Predicate as with the former stative-inceptive type (4.2.6.7.2). The formula here is:

Infe-sCl = +Neg +P +S.

4.2.6.9 Predicate Only

Four clauses are found with equational verb but without Subject or Complement. Three of the four have a secondary tagmeme, which fits them into the predicate adverbial classification, and one has only a Time marker. The formula is:

InfeCl = ±Tmk ±Sc/M +P ±Rel.

An example is:

$$\text{P:eqv}_{\text{inf}} \quad \text{Rel:RA}$$

(ἐδεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀφ' οὗ ἐξεληλύθει τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ,

"and the man from whom the demons had gone out was asking to be with him" (Lk. 8:38).

4.3 Passive Infinitive Clauses

There are evidently three passive clause types which make up 9.7% of the total infinitive clauses in the corpus (80 out of 822). The three types are: transitive passive; transicomplement passive; and ditransitive passive. The essential concept of the derivational relationship which exists between active and passive clauses has been spelled out in Section 2.1, page 27.

4.3.1 Transitive Passive

There are 70 transitive passive clauses (8.5% of the total corpus). Three forms are observed: Predicate only; Predicate-Subject; and Subject-Predicate.

4.3.1.1 <u>Predicate Only</u>

This pattern has the highest frequency of the three, with 31 total examples. Just as the intransitive Predicate-only pattern, it reflects the highest incidence of secondary tagmemes, with a total of 33 such units, or 106% as many secondary tagmemes as nuclear units. Only four markers are used with the 31 examples (13%), which makes this the lowest of the transitive passive forms in this ratio. This situation exactly compares with the Predicate only pattern as mentioned in Section 4.2.1.3, page 91, which deals with the intransitive forms. The formula is:

InftpCl = $\pm$Fmk ($\pm$Peri$_1$) +P ($\pm$Peri$_2$) ($\pm$Peri$_3$).

Only the Purpose marker is used with this pattern. Peri$_1$ can be Agent, Relationship, Time, or Manner. Peri$_2$ can be Agent, Location, Manner, Relationship, or Goal. Peri$_3$ has only one example, which is Location. Agent, Relationship, Manner, and Location do not co-occur. An example is:

$$\text{Fmk:rel/art}_a \quad \text{P:tv}_{infp} \qquad \text{Ag:N}_d$$

(πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν) πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, "they are doing all their works in order to be seen by men" (Mt. 23:5).

4.3.1.2 <u>Predicate-Subject</u>

The P-S pattern is also of high frequency, with 29 examples. This is the form most widely used with the marker unit, with 16 instances (55%). Only eight secondary tagmemes are used in all of the 29 clauses, providing only 27% as many optional units as there are nuclear units. The formula is:

InftpCl = $\pm$ _____ mk ($\pm$Peri$_l$) +P ($\pm$Peri$_2$) +S ($\pm$Peri$_3$).

Peri$_l$ can be either Manner or Time (one use of each); Peri$_2$ attests only two uses of Agent; Peri$_3$ has Agent, Location, Relationship, and Manner. Agent never co-occurs. The various markers are: Result, Time, Reason, and Purpose. An example is:

P:tv$_{infp}$ S:pn$_a$ Ag:RA   L:RA
(ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτοχὸν καὶ) ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων   εἰς τὸν κόλπον Αβρααμ, "the beggar died and he was carried by the angels into the bosom of Abraham" (Lk. 16:22).

4.3.1.3 <u>Subject-Predicate</u>

There are 10 clauses with S-P order. Agent never occurs in this form of the clause. Only two clauses utilize markers (20%). A total of seven secondary tagmemes is found, indicating that there are 70% as many optional tagmemes as nuclear units. The formula is:

InftpCl =$\pm$ _____ mk +S $\pm$T$\pm$M +P $\pm$Ins/L/Sc.

One clause uses Instrument, which is the impersonal counterpart of Agent. An example is:

Resmk:rel   S:N$_a$ P:tv$_{infp}$ Ins:RA

ὥστε   τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, "so that the boat
was covered by the waves" (Mt. 8:24).

4.3.2 Transicomplement Passive

Only four transicomplement passive clauses are found (0.5% of
the total corpus). Only one order pattern is found.

4.3.2.1 Predicate-Retained Object Complement

These clauses have already been described from the point of view
of the Retained Object Complement tagmeme and possible transformational
relationships in, Section 3.2.7, page 61. No marker units are found, and
only one secondary tagmeme appears between the two nuclear tagmemes.
The formula is:

InftcpCl = +P +Ag +ROC.

The fullest example is:

P:tcv$_{infp}$ Ag:RA   ROC:n$_a$

(φιλοῦσιν δὲ . . .) καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπον Ραββει, "and they love
. . . to be called Rabbi by men" (Mt. 23:7).

4.3.3 Ditransitive Passive

Five such clauses are found, with four order patterns, which
again indicates the positional instability of ditransitive clauses in
general. The five clauses comprise only 0.6% of the total 822 clauses.
The various orders are Predicate-Indirect Object-Subject; Predicate-
Subject-Indirect Object; Indirect Object-Predicate-Subject; and Predi-
cate-Indirect Object.

4.3.3.1 <u>Predicate-Indirect Object-Subject</u>

This is the most numerous of the ditransitive passive clauses, with two examples. The pattern is very concise. The formula is:

InfdpCl = +P +I +S.

An example is:

P:dv$_{infp}$ I:pn$_d$ S:N$_{cx}$

(εἶπεν) φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς δούλους τούτους οἷν δεδώκει τὸ ἀργύριον, "he commanded those servants to whom he had given the money to be called to him" (Lk. 19:15).

4.3.3.2 <u>Predicate-Subject-Indirect Object</u>

The one example exhibits a Manner tagmeme inserted between Predicate and Subject. The formula is:

InfdpCl = +P ±M +S +I.

The example is:

P:dv$_{infp}$ M:RA   S:N$_{cx}$ I:RA
(καὶ) κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς

                L :PtCl
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλημ, "and repentance for the forgive-ness of sins to be preached in his name to all the Gentiles beginning in Jerusalem" (Lk. 24:47).

The identification of the Indirect Object tagmeme here must be regarded as somewhat tentative. While the preposition εἰς normally de-notes direction toward something, the use of another preposition, πρός, is not unknown as a carrier for indirect object, for it is used four

times in this corpus for such a purpose. Apparently the indirect object is ultimately a deep structure entity which can be manifested in surface structure by dative inflections or by relator axis phrases. For example, even in English one may say, "He gave *me* the book," or "He gave the book *to me*." The preposition εἰς is used twice in this corpus in a possible indirect object function, in the passage above and in Mark 13:10, where the syntagmeme has a different order: (καὶ) εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον (δεῖ) κρηυχθῆναι τὸ αὐαγγέλιον. If this usage is indeed an indirect object, a verb constraint indigenous to κηρύσσω may be involved. At this point it is sufficient to raise the question without drawing a final conclusion upon such slight evidence.

4.3.3.3 Indirect Object-Object-Predicate-Subject

The one example is concise. The formula is:

InfdpCl = +I +P +S.

The example is:

$$\text{I:pn}_d \qquad \text{P:dv}_{infp} \qquad \text{S:inf}$$

(καὶ διέταξεν) αὐτῇ δοθῆναι φαγεῖν, "and he commanded something to eat be given to her" (Lk. 8:55).

4.3.3.4 Predicate-Indirect Object

This is the most compact of the ditransitive passive clauses. It consists of only the two nuclear tagmemes. The formula is:

InfdpCl = +P +I.

The example is:

$$\text{P:dv}_{\text{infp}} \qquad \text{I:N}_d$$

(ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι . . . καὶ) δοθῆναι τοῖς πτωχοῖς,

"for this ointment is able to be sold . . . and to be given to the needy
ones" (Mk. 14:5).

4.4 <u>Interrogative Infinitive Clauses</u>

There are thirteen infinitive clauses which are used in question
constructions and which reflect a distinctive and uniform pattern of
separation of the nuclear constituents. None of these clauses ever
takes a secondary tagmeme. Furthermore, the initial tagmeme serves as a
Question marker, whether the tagmeme is an Object or Complement of the
Predicate infinitive. Three factors of transitivity are found with
these clauses: monotransitive, ditransitive, and equational.

4.4.1 Transitive

Only one order pattern is found, which is Object . . . Predicate.
The main clause nucleus always intervenes between the separated elements
of the infinitive clause. Six such clauses are found. The formula is:
whQ-InftCl = +Q-O-R . . +P.

The Question-Object-Relator slot is always filled by an inter-
rogative pronoun in the accusative case, which further serves to confirm
the Objective nature of the tagmeme, especially since there is no overt
Subject for the infinitive. An example is:

Q-O-R:intpn$_a$ P:tv$_{\text{inf}}$

Τί   (ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον) θεάσασθαι; "What did you go out

into the wilderness to behold?" (Mt. 11:7).

The clause is apparently a derived one by means of a question transformation. The question structure of the clause with the portmanteau function of the Q-O-R tagmeme is exhibited below:

<pre>
                        wh-Qt

   |--------------|----------------|------------------------------|
Qmk   P:iv   L:RA   F:InfC1

   | | | |

O:intpna | | |

Τί   ἐξήλθατε   εἰς τὴν ἔρημον   Θεάσασθαι
</pre>

The relationship of the wh-Q clause to declarative form is seen in the relatively simple transformation rule below. A wh-Q is a question that requires an answer of content, such as who, what, why, when, where. In this case the kind of wh-Q is specified by the semantic content of the interrogative pronoun: what. Given the string

<pre>
    X | Y | N[+indfpna]
ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον | θεάσασθαι | τι
</pre>

and the rule

T-wh-Qt = $X + Y + N_{[+indfpna]}$ --> $N_{[+intpna]} + X + Y$,

it is possible to derive the result,

<pre>
N[+intpna] | X | Y

Τί | ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρνμον | θεάσασθαι.
</pre>

4.4.2 Ditransitive

Only one such clause is found, with the order Object . . . Indirect Object-Predicate. The formula is:

whQ-InfdCl = +Q-O-R . . . +I +P.

The example is:

Q-O-R:intpn$_a$ I:pn$_d$ P:dv$_{inf}$

Τί   (**θέλετέ**) **μοι**   **δοῦναι**; "What do you wish to give me?" (Mt. 26:15).

The transformational relationship is shown below following the diagram of the interrogative clause as it stands.

```
                        wh-Qd

  |---------------------------|-----------------------------|

   Qmk                    P:tv                      O:InfCl

    |                       |              |--------------------|

  0:intpna                  |            I:pnd          P:dvinf

    |                       |              |              |

   Tí                     θέλετέ         μοι           δοῦναι
```
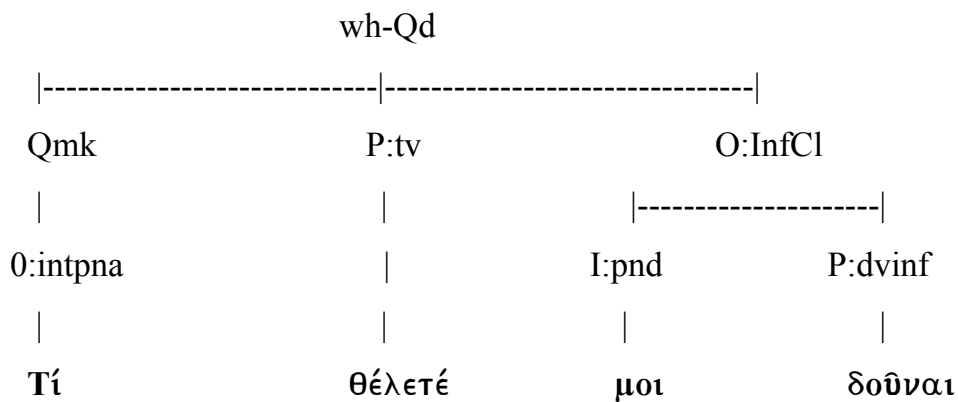
Given the string

      X | N$_{[+indfpna]}$ | Y

θέλετέ μοι | τι | δοῦναι,

and the rule

T-wh-Qd = XN$_{[+indfpna]}$ Y --> N$_{[+intpna]}$ + X + Y,

it is possible to derive the result,

N[+intpna]	X	Y
Τί	θέλετέ μοι	δοῦναι

4.4.3 Equational

Six interrogative equational clauses are found in which the separation occurs between Subject and Predicate tagmemes in the order Complement-Subject . . . Predicate. In such clauses it appears that the Predicate of the infinitive clause has been extrapolated from its own clause to the end of the main clause. The formula is:

whQ-InfeCl = +Q-C-R +S . . . +P.

An example is:

Q-C-R:intpn$_a$ S:pna   P:eqv$_{inf}$

Τίνα   με   (λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι) εἶναι;   "Who do men say I am?" (Mk. 8:27).

Diagrammed, the whole structure appears thus:

```
                          wh-Qe

  |-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
Qmk           O:InfCl            P:tv              S:Na

  |               |                |                 |
C:intpna      S:pna               |                 |              P:eqvinf

  |               |                |                 |                 |
Τίνα            με             λέγουσιν        οἱ ἄνθρωποι  εἶναι
```

The transformational relationship is a little more complex here. This is because the governing main clause has three arrangements of its constituents. Therefore in a transformational rule, allowance must be

made for these as well as the transposition of structural elements. The three arrangements of main clause order are seen in the examples below:

$$P:tv \qquad\qquad S:N_n$$

(1) **Τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι** εἶναι; "Who do men say that I am?" Mk. 8:27).

$$S:N_n \qquad\quad P:tv$$

(2) **Τίνα με οἱ ὄχλοι λέγουσιν** εἶναι; "Who do the multitudes say that I am?" (Lk. 9:18).

$$S:pn_n \qquad\qquad P:tv$$

(3) **Ὑμεῖς** δὲ τίνα με **λέγετε** εἶναι; "But who do you yourselves say that I am?" (Mk. 8:29).

Therefore, given the statement strings

$$X$$

λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποί |

| | Y | N [+indfpn$_a$] | Z

οἱ ὄχλοι λέγουσί | με | τι | εἶναι,

(ὑμεῖς) λέγετέ

(pn$_x$)

and the rule

T-wh-Qe = $X_{(pnx)}$ +   Y + $N_{[+indfpna]}$ +Z --> $(\pm pn_x)$ + $N_{[+intpna]}$ + Y + X + Z

it is possible to reconstruct the statement strings above as

$N_{[+intpna]}$ | Y | X | Z

(1) **Τίνα** | με | λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωπιο | εἶναι;

$N_{[+intpna]}$ | Y | X | Z

(2) **Τίνα** | με | οἱ ὄχλοι λέγουσιν | εἶναι

$(+pn_x)$ | $N_{[+intpna]}$ | Y | X | Z

(3) **Ὑμεῖς** (δὲ) | τίνα | με | λέγετε | εἶναι

The production of the transformation strings should be clear if the identified units are checked with the transformation formula. The specification (±pnx) means that when the kernel string has an X which contains an intensive usage of the personal pronoun, that pronoun is fronted in the clause to initial position, before N. The postpositive δὲ appears, of course, as usual.

The interrogative clauses as a group comprise 1.6% of the total of 822 clauses.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The material presented in Chapters Three and Four consists of a grammatical statement about the nature of infinitive clauses, which are revealed to be complex, yet reducible to a systematic description. Such a presentation serves to suggest the further complexities which exist in the language as a whole, all of which were accessible to the native speaker of Greek. This initial grammar of infinitive clauses, however, still needs to be tested and refined by comparison with clauses not covered in the present study from the rest of the New Testament, the Septuagint, classical sources, and the papyri.

This chapter presents some additional tentative conclusions, some further problems, suggestions for translation, and a number of final conclusions of the study.

5.1 Problems

5.1.1 Dative Subjects

A number of constructions are found which suggest the possibility that datives which function primarily as datives of reference with impersonal or equational verbs, may also function in a secondary manner as the logical subject of the complementary infinitive clause. In connection with this proposal it is necessary to state the range of dative and infinitive uses as they relate to the main clause and the infinitive

clause. From the following construction it is clear that both the main clause and the infinitive clause may take indirect objects. Further- more, the two dative uses may be juxtaposed:

$$\text{I:indf}_d \quad \text{P:dv}_{inf} \quad \text{0:Npt}_a$$

(1) **(ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς)** <u>μηδενὶ</u> εἰπεῖν τὸ γεγονός, "and he in-
    S:art P:dv   I:pnd   O:InfCl

structed <u>them</u> to tell what had happened <u>to no one</u>" (Lk. 8:56).

The distinction between the Indirect Object of the main clause and the Indirect Object of the infinitive clause is apparent. If there is a logical subject of the infinitive εἰπεῖν it must certainly be αὐτοῖς as referent, for αὐτοῖς (or in the context of an infinitive clause, αὐτούς) would be doing the speaking which was prohibited. The primary relationship of αὐτοῖς, however, is with παρήγγειλεν, since it obviously serves that ditransitive verb as Indirect Object.

This situation serves to introduce the possibility of co-func- tion for Indirect Objects of ditransitive verbs in main clauses which perform in a secondary way as a kind of latent subject for the infini- tive clause. This is not to identify such structures as strictly mani- festing the Subject tagmeme of an infinitive clause, however. Instances of this sort are fairly common in the corpus (cf., for example, Mk. 8:6, Lk. 9:61).

Except for the caveat of A. T. Robertson,[1] subjects of infini- tives in the accusative case which generally function as direct objects of main clauses have been recognized. There are two more specialized

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[1] A. T. Robertson's position has been cited earlier in Section 1.2, pp. 8-9.

constructions which also utilize accusative case subjects. The first is the infinitive clause with the impersonal δεῖ, with 12 examples. The dominant order is δεῖ + Infinitive clause Subject (noun phrase or personal pronoun, accusative), with ten examples. Apparently when there is a proper noun (one example) or demonstrative (one example) as infinitive clause Subject, that word is fronted to achieve the order infinitive clause Subject + δεῖ + remainder of infinitive clause. An example of each is given below:

$$\text{S:pn}_a \qquad \text{L:RA} \qquad\qquad \text{P:iv}_{inf}$$
(2) δεῖ   αὐτὸν   εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα   ἀπελθεῖν, "it is necessary for him
    P:v-nec PC:InfCl

to enter into Jerusalem" (Mt. 16:21).

$$\qquad\qquad \text{S:N}_a \qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \text{0:aj}_a \quad \text{P:tv}_{inf}$$
(3) ὅτι δεῖ   τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου   πολλὰ   παθεῖν, "that it is neces-
       P:v-nec   PC:InfCl

sary for the Son of man to suffer many things" (Mk. 8:31).

$$\quad \text{S:npa} \qquad\qquad \text{P:iv}_{inf} \quad \text{T:num}$$
(4) Ἠλείαν   δεῖ   ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον, "it is necessary for Elijah to
    PC:InfCl P:v-nec

come first" (Mk. 9:11).

$$\qquad \text{S:dem}_a \qquad\quad \text{P:iv}_{inf}$$
(5) ἐκεῖνον   δεῖ   αὐξάνειν, "it is necessary for that one to in-
    PC:InfCl P:v-nec

crease" (Jn. 3:30).

The abbreviation *PC* represents the Predicate Complement tagmeme on the main clause level which is used to classify infinitives and infinitive clauses which follow certain verbs and are not strictly exponents of Direct Object tagmemes.

The other rather specialized construction is the accusative Subject with the adjective καλόν manifesting the Complement slot of a main clause whose Predicate is filled by the equational verb ἐστίν, with six examples. The usual order is καλόν + ἐστίν + infinitive clause Subject in the accusative case, with five examples. One example has καλόν + infinitive clause Subject + ἐστίν. One of the former types is:

$$\text{S:pn}_a \quad \text{L:av} \quad \text{P:eqv}_{\text{inf}}$$
(6) καλόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι, "it is good for us to be here"
$$\text{C:Aj}_a \quad \text{P:eqv} \quad \text{Mod:InfCl}$$

(Lk. 9:33).

In a manner somewhat comparable to the above cases of accusative infinitive clause Subject with impersonal necessitative verb or as adjective modifier with equational verb, personal pronouns, nouns, and noun phrases in similar environments functioning primarily in dative of reference constructions can also be regarded as secondarily serving as logical subject for the complementary infinitive clauses. This means that the dative word or construction in question is serving *en portmanteau*, for it co-functions, for practical purposes, both on the main finite clause level, and on the more restricted infinitive clause level.

The diagrams used with each clause illustrated should make clear the functional relationships. The tagmeme identifications located immediately below the Greek clause represent those of the main clause and primary functions. Below this listing level the general infinitive clause function is tagmemically noted. Above the line of Greek text the syntagmemic constituents of the infinitive clause are listed. Arrows point in the direction of modification. Dotted lines indicate the

continuation of a separated construction.

There are no fewer than ten such clause forms in the corpus, and they are basically of two types. The first, and more numerous, is the usage with a permissive verb (ἔξεστιν) rather than a necessitative verb, as with the accusative. There are six permissive verb examples. In five cases the order is permissive verb + dative of reference-infinitive clause Subject. In four of the instances the Subject is a first- or second-person singular personal pronoun in the dative case, and in one it is a common noun dative. In one case the order is first-person plural personal pronoun + permissive verb + remainder of infinitive clause. Examples of each are as follows:

```
                     --->
              |  S:pn_d   |  P:v-mid_inf  |  O:pn_a
(7) Οὐκ ἔξεστίν, |   σοι    |    ἔχειν    |    αὐτὴν   "It is not lawful for
        <----      <-----
     P:v-per   | Ref:pn_d  |
               PC:InfCl
                 ----------------------->
```

you to have her" (Mt. 14:4).

```
                   ---->
              |   S:nd  |   0:n_a    |     P:tv_inf
(8) εἰ ἔξεστιν | ἀνδρὶ | γυναῖκα | ἀποκῦσαι, "if it is lawful for a
      P:v-per   |  Ref:n_d|
      <-----    |  <-----  |
              | PC:InfCl |
               -------------------------->
```

man to send away (his) wife" (Mk. 10:2).

```
   -------->  | - - - - - - - -> |   -------->
    S:pn_d  |                   |    P:tv_inf      O:indf_neg
(9) Ἡμῖν    |   οὐκ ἔξεστιν |   ἀποκτεῖναι  οὐδένα,  "It is not lawful
    Ref:pnd  |      P:v-per    |
    --------->  |   ----->        |
    PC:InfCl |                   |
    --------->  |- - - - - - - - - -| -------------->
```

for us to kill anyone" (Jn. 18:31).

Other similar examples are Mt. 20:15, Mk. 6:18, and Jn. 5:10.

The second type is the usage with the equational clause as modifier of an adjective which functions as the Complement of ἐστίν, with four cases. In three of the cases the order is C:aj$_a$ + P:eqv + Subject of infinitive clause. This Subject of the infinitive clause as modifier is either a pronoun or noun phrase in the dative case. In one case the dative Subject pronoun intervenes between adjective Complement and equational Predicate. Examples are:

```
                         ------>
       |         |     |  S:pn_d |  P:tv_inf              O:N_a
(10) οὕτως  γὰρ |  πρέπον | ἐστὶν |  ἡμῖν  |  πληρῶσαι  πᾶσαν  δικαιο-
       |    C:Ajcx  |  P:eqv |  Ref:pnd |
       |         |    <--  |  <-------- |
       |    H:ajn  |          | Mod:InfCl |
                   <--   - - - - - -  ----------------------------
```

σύνην, "for thus it is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness" (Mt. 3:15).

```
                          ----------------->
       |        |        |   S:N_d            |     P:iv_inf
(11) καθὼς  |  ἔθος  |  ἐστὶν  |  τοῖς Ἰουσαίοις  |  ἐνταφιάζειν, just as it
       |  C:N_cx |   P:eqv  |   Ref:N_d         |
       |        |    <---  |   <--------------     |
       |  H:n_n  |         |   Mod:InfCl          |
               <--|  - - - - - - -|  <------------------   |
```

is the custom for the Jews to bury" (Jn. 19:40).

```
       |     -------->  | - - - - - | -->
       |     S:pn_d    |          |  M:n_a          G:RA          P:iv_inf
(12) καλόν  |    σοί    | ἐστιν  | μονόφθαλμον  εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν,
     C:Aj_cx  |    Ref:pn_d  |  P:eqv |
       |     ---------->|   ---> |
     H:aj_n  |    Mod:InfCl |        |
       <-- |     ------------- | - - -  | ------------------
```

is good for you to enter into life one-eyed" (Mt. 18:9). The other example is found in Mt. 2:4.

   With such evidence as the foregoing examples provide, it seems feasible to recognize the possibility that datives of reference in certain specified environments can co-function in a secondary way as

logical Subject of the infinitive clause.

5.1.2 The Infinitive Clause with Ἐγένετο Constructions

In 25 instances the construction καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δέ is used with the infinitive clause following, which in turn is followed by a finite-verb clause which produces more content of a semantic nature than the ἐγένετο construction. There are no uses of this construction in either Matthew or John, and only three in Mark, leaving a total of 22 in Luke. Investigation discloses three different formal and semantic uses of the combination in the Gospels.

5.1.2.1 Temporal Infinitive Clause Followed by Καί

A temporal infinitive clause, either marked by ἐν τῷ or not formally marked but allowing a temporal rendition by verb tense, when followed by καί, demands that the following clause in question be practically regarded as a nominal clause in apposition with ἐγένετο. Thus καί is understood as *that*, not *and*. There are 13 such cases. An example is:

(13) **Καὶ ἐγένετο** <u>αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων καὶ</u> οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες τοὺς στάχυας, "And it came to pass <u>while he was passing through the grainfields on the Sabbath</u> that his disciples began to make their way, plucking the ears" (Mk. 2:23).

The other passages are: Mk. 2:15; Lk. 1:8; 2:6; 5:1; 5:12; 6:1; 9:51; 14:1; 17:11; 19:15; 24:4; 24:15.

5.1.2.2 Temporal Infinitive Clause. Followed by θ Connector

This is the second largest class of uses, with nine examples. No use of the connector καί is made, although the insertion of a supplied *that* is frequently helpful in conforming a translation to English usage. There seems to be very little semantic difference between this form and the one with καί. An example is:

(14) Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ιερειχω θ τυφλός τις ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν, "And it came to pass while he drew near to Jericho, a certain blind man was sitting by the wayside begging" (Lk. 18:35).

Every infinitive clause with this usage is marked with ἐν τῷ. The other cases are: Mk. 4:4; Lk. 9:26; 9:33; 11:1; 11:27; 18:35; 24: 30; and 24:51.

5.1.2.3 Infinitive Clause as Finite-Clause Substitute

Three examples appear in which the infinitive clause acts as a substitute for the main clause with finite verb. There is a finite-verb clause which is introduced by καί, or δέ following the infinitive clause, and the connector is best rendered by *and*. Furthermore, there is no time marker with the infinitive clause in question, and to translate the clause in a temporal manner might subvert the nature of the circumstances as reflected in verbal tenses or the relationship of clauses. All three examples are given:

(15) Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ διδάσκειν καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν ξηρά, "And it

came to pass on another Sabbath (that) <u>he entered into the synagogue and was teaching</u>; and a man was there, and his right hand was withered" (Lk. 6:6).

(16) Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις <u>ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι</u> καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, "And it came to pass in these days (that) <u>he went out into the mountain to pray</u>, and he was all night in prayer to God" (Lk. 6:12).

(17) ἐγένετο δὲ <u>ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Αβρααμ·</u> ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη, "And it came to pass (that) <u>the beggar died and he was borne by the angels to the bosom of Abraham;</u> and the rich man also died and was buried" (Lk. 16:22).

In *(15)* and in *(17)* the infinitive clause is coordinated by conjoining with either a single infinitive *(15)*, or another clause *(17)*.

5.1.3 The Uses of Infinitive Clauses

Infinitive clauses have a variety of uses. These have been spelled out by many grammarians, and most comprehensively by Votaw.[2] Yet there are some problems to be discussed in connection with these uses.

5.1.3.1 <u>Subject</u>

Among the several uses of the infinitive clause is that of Subject of another clause. This has long been recognized. An example is:

---

[2] Clyde W. Votaw's work has been surveyed in Section 1.2, pp. 7-8.

S:InfCl   P:tv   0:N$_a$

(18) <u>τὸ</u> δὲ <u>ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν</u> **οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον**, "but the eating with unwashed hands does not defile the man" (Mt. 15:20).

5.1.3.2 Direct Object

Verbs which normally take a variety of direct object structures can also accommodate infinitive clauses as direct objects. These are transitive and ditransitive verbs. An example is:

S:aj$_a$ P:tv   0:InfC1

(19) **ΕΠΕΙΔΗΠΕΡ** πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν <u>ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν</u> <u>πιπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων</u>, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to <u>set forth an account concerning the activities which have been fulfilled</u> <u>among us</u>" (Lk. 1:1).

5.1.3.3 Predicate Complement

A number of verbs apparently reflect other characteristics than pure transitivity, and it is difficult to supply a concrete "this" after them as is possible with unequivocal transitive verbs. These verbs seem to pattern characteristically with infinitives and infinitive clauses which serve rather to complete the meaning of the verb than to receive some kind of transitive action. These verbs have been noted and classified on the basis of their inherent semantic qualities. Since the focus of the present study was not on this aspect, the identification made here must be regarded as somewhat tentative. Eight categories are listed below, with the verbs that comprise them:

1. V-erg (Ergative Verb): δύναμαι, ἰσχύω, ἀγωνίζομαι. This is the most numerous category by frequency of use, and it involves verbs that

stipulate the ability to do something.

2. V-inc (Inceptive Verb): ἄρχω, προμελετάω. This is another very
numerous category, which specifies the inception of an action.

3. V-nec (Necessitative Verb): δεῖ, ὠφείλω, συμφέρω, ἐνδέχομαι. Here
are included verbs of necessity, ought, or obligation.

4. V-im (Imminent Verb): μέλλω. This verb differs from the inceptive
by stating the time reference as prior to the action ("I am about to do
something") rather than immediately after starting the action ("I began
to do something").

5. V-per (Permissive Verb): ἔξεστιν, ἐάω. This type of verb deals
with the permissibility of an action, or its "lawfulness."

6. V-emo (Emotive Verb): θέλω, βούλομαι, φοβέομαι, φιλέω, τολμάω, ἐπι-
θυμέω, αἰσχύνω. Emotional, personal, and psychological dimensions are
handled by this verb type.

7. V-freq (Frequentative Verb): ειώθει, προτίθημι. These verbs indi-
cate a frequency of action, or repetition of it.

8. V-s (Verb of Seeming): δοκέω, εὐδοκέω, καταξιόω. Here are verbs
of seeming, supposing.

These kinds of verbs appear to pattern regularly with infinitive
clauses which may be regarded as their complements. An example of an
infinitive clause functioning as Predicate Complement is:

   Neg:N   P:v-erg   PC:InfCl

(20) οὐκ   ἐδύνατο   λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, "he was not able to speak to them"
(Lk. 1:22).

      In most cases the following Predicate Complement is closely related to the foregoing Predicate tagmeme.

5.1.3.4 Subject Complement

      The infinitive clause can also be used in a predicate nominative construction. In two clauses both the Subject and its Complement are infinitive clauses. They are similar, so only one is cited:

   S:InfCl   P:eqv   C:InfCl

(21) τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ ἐξ εὐωνύμων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι,
"but to sit on my right hand or the left is not <u>for me to give</u>" (Mk. 10:
40).

5.1.3.5 Exponent of Secondary Tagmemes

      By means of the various markers considered in Section 3.4, pages
78-85, infinitive clauses can manifest secondary tagmeme slots on the
main clause level. This involves, specifically, Reason, Time, Purpose,
and Result. It is also possible for one of these clauses to manifest a
Purpose tagmeme without a marker as the next example shows:

   P:iv   S:npn   L:RA   Reas:InfCl
(22) Ἀμέβη δὲ καὶ Ιωσηφ . . . εἰς πόλιν Δαυειδ . . . διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν

                                F :InfCl
ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυειδ <u>ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαριαμ τῆ ἐμνηστευμένη
αὐτῶ οὔση ἐγκύω</u>, "And Joseph also went up . . . to the city of David . . .
because he was of the house and lineage of David, <u>to enroll himself with
Mary his espoused wife, (she) being great with child</u>" (Lk. 2:5).

5.1.3.6 <u>Modifier of Noun and Adjective</u>

Sixteen times the infinitive clause modifies a noun structure, and 22 times, a phrasal adjective structure. An example of the former was given in Section 4.2.6.1, page 115. As an example of the latter, the following example is submitted:

Neg:neg P:eqv C:Ajcx

(23) οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι, "of whom I am not

H:aj$_n$ Mod:InfCl

worthy to bear the sandals" (Mt. 3:11).

5.1.3.7 <u>Imperative Function</u>

The infinitive, in somewhat rare circumstances, can be used in an imperatival manner in indirect discourse. This function is apparent in Acts 21:4, 21:21, and 26:20. Also rather rare is the imperatival function not overtly in indirect discourse, as witnessed in Rom. 12:5, Phil. 3:16, II Th. 3:14, II Tim. 2:14, and Ti. 2:9.

The imperative is used functionally for an imperative construction in the sentence that follows. The classification for this example may stand somewhere between the two uses mentioned above. On the one hand, these are Christ's direct words to those believers who should be demonstrating Kingdom character, for the passage is from the Sermon on the Mount. On the other hand, Christ does preface the imperatival infinitive with a typical indirect discourse indicator: λέγω ὑμῖν Whichever grammatical usage is taken, the sense of command comes through clearly:

(24) ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ, "but I tell you not to resist (or, 'do not resist') the one who is evil" (Mt. 5:39).

5.1.4 Embedded Infinitive Clauses

There are 17 instances in which one infinitive clause is embedded within another infinitive clause. A diagrammed example is:

(25)

```
P:v-inc                   PC:InfCl
  |                 |--------------------------|
  |               P:tvinf            0:InfC1
  |                 |          |--------------|-----------|
  |                 |        S:pna      P:iv_inf     L:RA
  |                 |          |           |      |-----------------|
  |                 |          |           |    R:rel          Ax:N
  |                 |          |           |      |      |------------|----------|
  |                 |          |           |      |    D: art    H:n     Pos-pos
  |                 |          |           |      |      |        |         |
ἤρξαντο  παρακαλεῖν   αὐτὸν   ἀπελθεῖν  ἀπὸ   τῶν    ὁρίων   αὐτῶν
```
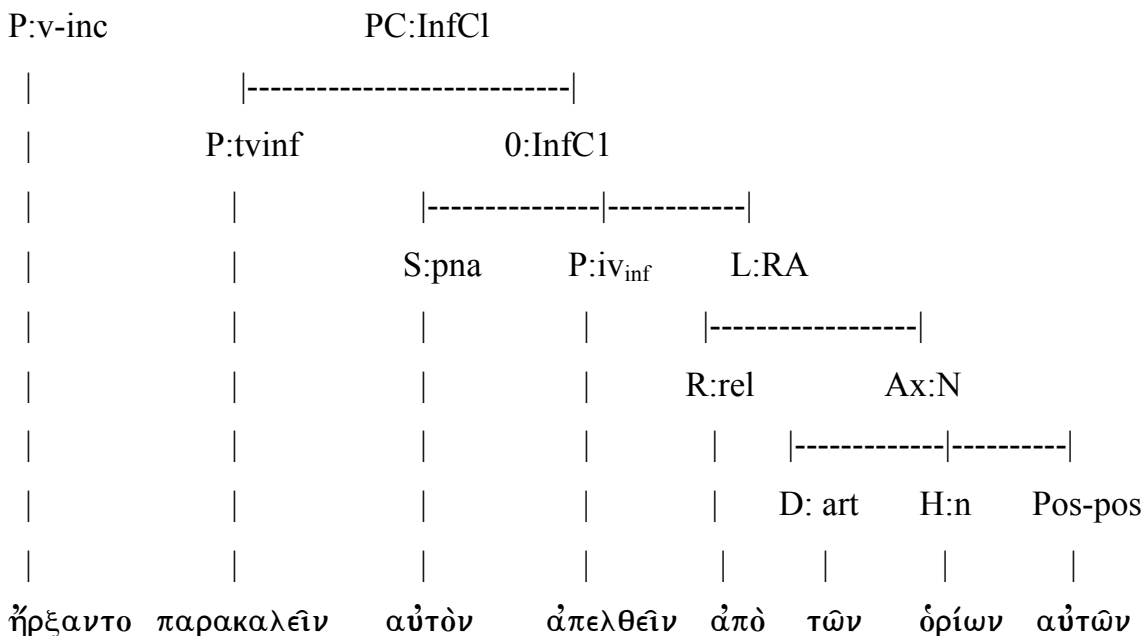
The example is taken from Mark 5:17: "they began to beg him to depart from their districts."

5.1.5 Separated Constructions

Two types of construction which regularly are separated in infinitive clauses are coordinate constructions which manifest a tagmeme immediately preceding the verb, and reflexive pronouns as objects of infinitives.

5.1.5.1 Coordinate Constructions

In three clauses where there is a coordinate construction expounding the tagmeme just before the Predicate, the coordinate phrase is

separated in the following manner:

$$O:N_{cod} \qquad P:tv_{inf}$$

(26) (οὐ δύνασθε) θεῷ   δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, "you are not able to

$$\qquad\qquad H:n_d \qquad\qquad C:c\ H:n_d$$

serve God and mammon" (Lk. 16:13; Mt. 6:24).

$$0:N_a \qquad OC:Aj_{alta} \qquad P:tv_{inf}$$

(27) (ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι) μίαν τρίχη λευκὴν   ποιῆσαι ἢ   μέλαιναν

$$\qquad\qquad\qquad H:aja \qquad\qquad Alt:alt \quad H:aja$$

"because you are not able to make one hair white or black" (Mt. 5:36).

Coordinate constructions on various grammatical levels are characterized by Head tagmemes and Connecting tagmemes. This is the case above, in which a noun or adjective may manifest a Head slot. The Connector slot in (26) is filled by the conjunction Rd,. In (27) the Alternative tagmeme slot on the phrase level is manifested by the alternative conjunction

5.1.5.2 Reflexive Pronouns

When reflexive pronouns manifest the Object tagmeme of an infinitive clause, the Object is fronted and separated from the Predicate by the main clause. There are two examples, both identical:

$$0:reflpn_a \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad P:tv_{inf}$$

(28) ἑαυτὸν (οὐ   δύναται) σῶσαι, "he is not able to save him-

$$\quad PC:InfCl \quad Neg:neg \quad P:v\text{-}erg$$

self" (Mt. 27:42; Mk. 15:31).

5.1.6 Awkward Conjoining of Infinitive Clauses

Infinitive clauses are almost always conjoined one with another when conjoining takes place. At least two examples are found in the corpus, however, which reflect awkward conjoining with other structures.

It is difficult to label such coordinate constructions, so the term

dissimilar structure is used. In example (29), a relator-axis phrase is

conjoined with an infinitive clause, and in example (31) the same kinds

of units are shown in reverse order.

```
        P:dv    I:pn_d   O:N_cx              H:RA                    C:c
(29) ἔδωκεν  αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ παντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ
                          H:N_co              Mod:D-S_co
```

H:InfCl

νόσους θεραπεύειν, "he gave them power and authority over all the demons

and to heal diseases" (Lk. 9:1).

   Diagrammed, the complex noun phrase looks like this:

(30)   0:N_cx

```
            |-----------------------------------------------------|
        H:Nco                                    Mod:D-S_co
  |--------|-------|                 |------------------------|----------------|
H:RA   C:c    H:n                  H:RA                      C:C           H:InfCl
  |     |      |          |--------------|                    |          |-------------|
  |     |      |          R:rel        Ax:N                    |        0:n       P:tv_inf
  |     |      |            |         |---------|-------|       |         |            |
  |     |      |            |       Des:aj  D:art  H:N   |      |         |
  |     |      |            |         |       |     |    |      |         |
δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν     ἐπὶ    πάντα    τὰ δαιμόνια  καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν
```


```
        P:dv    I:pn_d  O:N_cx              H:InfCl
(31) ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν  τοῦ  πατεῖν ἐπάνω  ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων
                         H:N              Mod:D-S_co
```

```
  C:c  H:RA
καὶ ἐπὶ  πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, "behold I have given to you the
```

authority to tread upon snakes and scorpions and over all the power of

the enemy" (Lk. 10:19).

5.2 <u>Suggestions for Interpretation</u>

At the outset of this study the question was posed whether word order could make any contribution to the understanding of infinitive clauses where both subject and object were in the accusative case.[3] The particular problem passage cited was Philippians 1:7: διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς. Two similar passages are found in the Gospels, both of which have the subject and object juxtaposed instead of separated as in the Philippians passage. The two passages are:

$$P:tv_{inf} \quad S:pn_a \quad 0:pn_a$$

(32) (Καὶ ἐγένετο) ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν <u>αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς</u> διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν . . .

"And it came to pass while he blessed them, he separated from them . . (Lk. 24:51).

$$0:pn_a \quad S:np_a \quad P:tv_{inf} \quad Cir:PtC1$$

(33) (εἶπεν αὐτῷ) Πρὸ τοῦ <u>σε Φίλιππον</u> φωνῆσαι, ὄντα ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν (εἶδόν σε), "he said to him, 'Before <u>Philip</u> called <u>you</u>, when (you) were under the fig tree, I knew you'" (Jn. 1:48).

The only nuclear orders where these suspicious combinations take place are: (1) where both S and 0 candidates appear following the P; and (2) where both S and 0 candidates appear before the P. Nuclear orders such as S-P-0 and O-P-S do not exhibit the problem of potential ambiguity because of their semantic clarity.

The rule to handle suspicious combinations of the type in situation (1) is that there is no order P-O-S, and so therefore the order must be P-S-0, which has five examples in this corpus. So when there is an S and 0, and they appear in post-Predicate position, the S is always

---

[3] This problem was alluded to in Section 1.1, pp. 4-5.

first. This rule applies to Philippians 1:7 where με is consequently the Subject and apac is the Object, outside of contextual considerations. The rule also handles example (30), where the proper elements have already been indicated.[4]

The rule to handle suspicious combinations of the type in situation (2) is a little more complex. There are two orders of the candidate units before the Predicate: S-0-P and O-S-P. Here the primary determinant must be the context. In the seven S-0-P clauses, there is no contextual doubt as to which is the Subject and which is the Object. There is not even a formal doubt, for the nature of the tagmeme exponents is different enough to make an easy distinction (i.e., the Subject may be a pronoun while the Object is a Nominal Clause; or the Subject may be a noun phrase while the Object may be an adjective). In the case of example (31), however, the pronoun and the proper noun are both acceptable candidates for either tagmeme in their own right, and recourse must be made to the context. In that context Philip had already contacted Nathaniel (the apparent referent for σε as Christ addresses him) in verse 45 of John 1. Therefore the order is O-S-P, as it is with two other clauses. It may be that where formal ambiguity arises in pre-Predicate suspicious combinations, the order will turn out to be O-S-P, but further clauses will have to be studied to determine this.

A possible contribution to the translation of Luke 12:15 comes with the recognition of a potential dative Subject. This is admittedly

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[4] A subsequent analysis of Acts shows eleven clauses with Predicate-Subject-Object order, which further bears out this conclusion, since this is the only ordering of S and 0 following P.

a difficult passage to analyze and translate:

(34) **(ὅτι οὐκ)** ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν <u>τινὶ</u> **(ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν)** ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχ-όντων αὐτῷ.

The construction is not strictly comparable to those in Section 5.1.1, but regarding the dative indefinite pronoun as a possible Subject for περισσεύειν, it may be literally rendered thus: "because his life is not in this, namely, for someone to surfeit because of his posses-sions." This may be smoothed to read, "for a man's life does not con-sist in his surfeiting by reason of his possessions."

5.3 General Conclusions

The following conclusions emerge from this study of the infini-tive clause in the Gospels:

1. There is indeed such a thing as word order in Koine Greek, and word order is significant under certain circumstances, whether they be formal or stylistic. It is now possible to state what are the favorite word order arrangements for Greek infinitive clauses, which certainly do not pattern at random, even though there is a greater variety of orders than are seen in contemporary English. The proliferation of word orders must be seen as encouraged by the extensive inflectional system. The situa-tion between Old English and modern English is analogous, for Old Eng-lish is inflected to a degree comparable to Greek, and it also displays a number of word order patterns for various nuclear syntagmemes.[5] The

[5] See, for example, David L. Shores, *A Descriptive Syntax of the*

erosion of inflections due to phonological processes and analogical con-
formity has forced modern English to rely on a limited number of set
patterns. But a great deal of scholarship is going on in Old English
to study both the synchronic and the diachronic aspects of word order
in correlation with the inflectional system, and we are apparently
standing on the threshold of such studies for Greek.[6]

2. Contrary to the assertions by A.T. Robertson that infinitives with
their adjunct structures are phrasal in nature, the overwhelming

Peterborough Chronicle (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), 224 pp.; and
Edgar J. Lovelady, "A Tagmemic Analysis of AElfric's Life of St. Oswald"
(unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Purdue University, 1974), pp. 118-
193. Both of these are tagmemic studies of Old English word order.

[6] John Algeo cites an interesting index of synthesis for inflec-
ted languages, which consists of the number of morphemes in a sentence
(or corpus) divided by the number of words in a sentence (or corpus).
For example, if there were three words in a sentence, and seven mor-
phemes, the index of synthesis would be 2.33. Algeo applies this to
Latin and English (he does not list Greek), and obtains the following
indeces: Latin: 2.19; Old English: 1.79; Middle English: 1.33; and
modern English: 1.26. A study by the present writer, using Algeo's
corpus (Ex. 3:1-5) in the Greek Septuagint version revealed an index of
1.68, lower than Old English! The gap in the indices between the clas-
sical languages and even the English of 1500 years ago, and ours today
is strikingly revealed. John Algeo, *Problems in the Origins and Devel-
opment of the English Language* (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace
Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), pp. 81-82.

As examples of word order studies in Old English which can have
either a methodological or comparative bearing on Greek analysis, the
following works are cited: Faith F. Gardner, *An Analysis of Syntactic
Patterns of Old English* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), 85 pp.; Ann
Shannon, *A Descriptive Syntax of the Parker Manuscript of the Anglo-
Saxon Chronicle from 734 to 891* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), 67
pp.; Charles Carlton, *Descriptive Syntax of the Old English Charters*
(The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1970), 200 pp.; Robert A. Palmatier, *A Des-
criptive Syntax of the Ormulum* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1969), 137
pp.; William H. Brown, Jr., *A Syntax of King Alfred's Pastoral Care* (The
Hague: Mouton & Co., 1970), 91 pp.; and Celia M. Millward, *Imperative
Constructions in Old English* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), 73 pp.

evidence demands recognition as clause structure.[7] Infinitive clauses
have clause-type tagmemes, clause-type syntagmemes, and clausal trans-
formations. They are a form of reduced-clause structure by their non-
finite status and other limitations, but they are apparently derived
from clausal deep-structure sources in the generative component of human
speech production. Infinitive clauses can be typologized by means of a
three-dimensional matrix diagram[8] which shows the twelve formal varieties
of the clauses based on the six factors of transitivity involved, the
two voices (active and passive) and statements versus questions. Order-
ly transformational rules can be written to show the formal relationship
between kernel and derived clauses, such as the passive, relative, and
interrogative clauses.[9]

3. The traditional system of grammar has obscured, though not deliber-
ately, the complex but orderly structural process whereby the mapping
of elements from one grammatical level to another takes place. The con-
cept that language communication consists of a simple laying down of one
element after another in linear fashion has been replaced by a greater
balance between the vertical system of the language, in which lower-
level structures are apparently relentlessly crowding upward as if for

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[7] The evidence consists mainly of Chapters Three and Four of this
study.

[8] See Section 4.1, p. 86.

[9] For the passive rule, see Section 2.1, p. 27; for passive clause
forms, see Section 4.3, pp. 121-127; for the relative transformation, see
Section 4.2.2.2, pp. 95-96; for interrogative transformations, see Sec-
tion 4.4, pp. 127-132.

recognition, and the horizontal reality which we all encounter when we attempt to decode the language. This newer balanced emphasis on the vertical structure is revealed graphically in the tree diagrams displayed in various sections of this study. At all times the correlation between function and form is preserved in these diagrams, and also preserved are the word order patterns and logical relationships. The system of mapping from one level to another disclosed in the tree diagrams is closely analogous to the system that the native speaker must have had in his mind when he produced the utterances in the language. Such a study as this brings us closer to the "compositional moment" of the literature in Greek. In addition to the extensive inflectional system and other syntactic rules which have already been described, the Greek speaker had a systematic knowledge of structural mapping possibilities which resulted in the word order that we have in the text.

More specific conclusions are the following:

4. Out of the 980 infinitive uses studied, 822 are clauses (84%), while 158 are single (16%). Clauses outnumber single infinitives by a ratio of over five to one.[10]

5. There are nine nuclear tagmemes,[11] 15 secondary tagmemes,[12] and one marker unit for infinitive clauses.[13] All of these units are selected

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[10] See Section 2.2, p. 36.
[11] See Section 3.2, pp. 45-65.
[12] See Section 3.3, pp. 65-78.
[13] See Section 3.4, pp. 78-85.

on the basis of notional choice. For the first time, formulas have been constructed for the marker units which introduce infinitive clauses, and for infinitive clause syntagmemes, or word order patterns.[14]

6. Middle clauses and transicomplement clauses have been distinguished for the first time.[15] Ditransitive clauses are seen to be the most unstable syntagmemically.[16]

7. A new form for the infinitive clause with equational verb has been identified: the predicate adverbial, in addition to the predicate nominative and predicate adjective forms.[17]

8. Infinitives are used (1) as subject of main clause; (2) as direct object of main clause; (3) as predicate complement in connection with certain specified verbs; (4) as subject complement with equational verbs; (5) as exponent of various secondary tagmemes; (6) as modifier of noun and adjective elements; and (7) as functional imperative.[18]

9. The initial presence of the Predicate tagmeme in the nuclear pattern of a clause encourages the use of a marker unit and other secondary tagmemes in the pre-posed position. The presence of Subject, Direct

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[14] For the marker formula see p. 79; syntagmeme formulas are all contained in Chapter Four.

[15] See Section 3.2.2.4, p. 50, and Section 4.2.4, pp. 101-102.

[16] See Section 4.2.5, pp. 102-113.

[17] See Section 4.2.6.7.1, pp. 117-119.

[18] See Section 5.1.3, pp. 141-145.

Object, Indirect Object, and Subject Complement tagmemes in initial position discourages this.[19]

10. In conformity with other studies, it is observed that antecedent subjects or objects are not generally repeated in infinitive clauses.

11. When there is no overt Subject tagmeme in an equational infinitive clause, the filler of the Complement slot is in the same case as its antecedent, whether that is the subject of the main clause, or the understood subject of the infinitive clause.[20]

12. Problems in identifying the Subject and Object in transitive clauses where some ambiguity occurs because both are in the accusative case, can be handled easily when both elements in question appear after the Predicate, for in that case the order is regularly P-S-0. Very little such ambiguity exists beyond this, and can be handled by reference to the context.[21]

13. A new system of classifying verbs which take Predicate Complements manifested by infinitive constructions has been devised. Such terms as ergative verb, necessitative verb, inceptive verb, and others are used to describe these special verb types.[22]

[19] See Section 4.2.6.1, p. 114.
[20] *Ibid*. , pp. 114-115.
[21] See Section 5.2, pp. 149-151.
[22] See Section 5.1.3.3, pp. 142-143.

14.   There is now reason to believe that nouns, pronouns, and nominal phrases which function primarily as datives of reference with equational or permissive verbs, can also function secondarily as logical dative subjects of infinitive clauses.[23]

15.   It is significant that this tagmemic analysis of the Koine Greek infinitive clause in the New Testament Gospels accounts for all the pertinent syntactic phenomena without residue. Such a result as this is not usually expected in linguistic analysis.

[23] See Section 5.1, pp. 133-139.

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