Studies in Biblical Greek

A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek

An Aspectual Approach

K. L. McKay

PETER LANG

In recent decades it has been increasingly recognized that the forms of the verb in ancient Greek, including that of the New Testament, do not signal time (past, present, future), but aspect (the way each activity is viewed in relation to its context). Applying the new insights, this book offers a concise and clearly stated account of the way the verb works in the syntax of New Testament Greek. Its approach is pragmatic, with emphasis on context rather than theory. It can be read as a coherent account, and its four indexes also make it a handy reference book.

"Kenneth McKay has succeeded admirably in giving a systematic, comprehensive and concise account of the meaning and use of the verb in the Greek New Testament. He has avoided arguing small points, but gives reference to his published articles for those who wish to pursue such details further.

"He pays special attention to *aspect*, shedding light on how the resources of the language are used by the New Testament writers to distinguish between processes, events (or actions seen as complete), and states—distinctions far more important in Greek than those of time which are the normal starting point for scholars whose assumed grammatical framework is modeled largely on Latin.

"The virtues of the book include accurate and clear description, a wide range of helpful examples (all indexed), and unfailing attention to the context in determining the meaning. He avoids the pitfall of assuming rigid patterns of the kind sometimes assumed by those who generate 'rules' from statistics and impose them on the interpretation of the text.

"This work will be found indispensable by students and scholars who wish to know how the verb is used in the actual texts, and thus to gain understanding of the fundamental documents of the Christian faith."

E. L. Burge
Warden, Trinity College
University of Melbourne, Australia

Kenneth L. McKay graduated with honors in Classics from the Universities of Sydney and Cambridge. He has taught Greek in universities and theological colleges in Nigeria, New Zealand, and England. Mr. McKay retired from the Australian National University [illegible] articles on ancient Greek syntax in various [illegible] *Greek Grammar for Students*, have helped [illegible] the [illegible] from the time of He[illegible]nt.

Studies in Biblical Greek

D. A. Carson
General Editor

Vol. 5

PETER LANG
New York • San Francisco • Bern • Baltimore
Frankfurt am Main • Berlin • Wien • Paris

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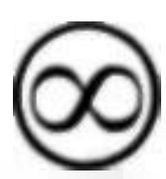

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Studies in Biblical Greek is an occasional series of monographs designed to promote and publish the latest research into the Greek of both Testaments. The Series does not assume that biblical Greek is a distinct dialect within the larger world of koine: on the contrary, the assumption is that biblical Greek is part and parcel of the hellenistic Greek that dominated the Mediterranean world from about 300 B.C. to A.D. 300. If the series focuses on the corpora of the Old and New Testaments, it is because these writings generate major interest around the world, not only for religious but also for historical and academic reasons.

Research into the broader evidence of the period, including epigraphical and inscriptional materials as well as literary works, is welcome in the Series, provided the results are cast in terms of their bearing on biblical Greek. In the same way, the Series is devoted to fresh philological, syntactical and linguistic study of the Greek of the biblical books, with the subsidiary aim of displaying the contribution of such study to accurate exegesis.

During the last half-century or so, there has been a rising interest in verbal aspect and its bearing on the Greek verb. Most of such study has been published in journals; the occasional technical monograph has appeared. Almost none of it has filtered down to new generations of students of New Testament Greek, whose categories frequently remain stuck in the nineteenth century. One of the leaders in this field of study during the past three decades has been Kenneth L. McKay, long associated with the Australian National University in Canberra. It is therefore a special privilege to have him gather up the fruits of his labour and present them in this freshly written and accessible form. Pitched at about the same level as, say, M. Zerwick's *Biblical Greek*, this book is more focused than that of Zerwick: it deals with the syntax of the Greek verb in the corpus of the New Testament, explaining the rudiments of aspect theory. This volume has arisen out of the most painstaking inductive study of the texts. It will be a boon not only to second- and third-year students, but will help more than

a few scholars as well, and thereby contribute to the next generation's efforts to understand the Bible.

D. A. Carson,
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

My aim in this work is to do for the syntax of the NT Greek verb what I aimed to do for Attic in my *Greek Grammar for Students* (Classics, The Australian National University, Canberra 1974, 1977), that is, to present Greek grammar in categories suitable to ancient Greek rather than in those which suit Latin, while preserving, for the sake of convenience, as much as possible of the old terminology. My departures from traditional treatment are mainly in my emphasis on ***aspect*** in the verb, which has indeed received a good deal of attention from NT scholars (much of it, until quite recently, under the misleading name ***Aktionsart***), but has tended to be regarded as subordinate to tense, as it is in Latin, rather than the dominant feature it was in ancient Greek and remained until long after the time of the New Testament.

I have therefore defined ***tense*** as belonging only to the indicative mood, and introduced ***imperfective*** as a term to cover the ***present*** and ***imperfect*** tenses and the moods which correspond with them, so that *present* is used only for the indicative, where it is least likely to be misleading. These changes seemed essential to the main purpose of turning attention from details of time to the more important aspectual distinctions, but most of the old terminology has been retained in order to make the transition easier for those who have learned an older system, and to reduce the confusion of students learning the new system but finding the old in most of the literature available to them. I have avoided the relatively recent practice of a few to use such terms as ***present imperfect***, ***past imperfect***, ***present perfect*** and ***past perfect***, for these tend to strengthen the misguided emphasis on time; and I have rejected ***durative*** and ***punctiliar*** as being too specific in an erroneous appreciation of ancient Greek aspect.

In some respects my task in relation to NT Greek is more complex than it was in relation to Attic. I am still concerned to present the material simply and concisely, so that it may be of use to the student as well as to the specialist, but the nature of the NT language and documents makes it difficult to refrain from comprehensive technical treatment. The language is complicated by the prominence of both colloquial qualities and the literary

tendency to preserve older features, and further by the question of the extent of Semitic influence, in reference to both the Hebrew background of the OT (at least partly through the LXX translation) and the fact that most of the NT writers were presumably native Aramaic speakers. Such a combination of features obscures any core of language which might have been described as "normal", and causes a large proportion of the material to be potentially the subject of special comment. The NT documents, in spite of their variety, are so relatively homogeneous and brief (in comparison with the range and volume of classical Attic literature) and are the subject of so much intensive study, that one is often tempted to quote an exhaustive range of examples and to discuss all the rarer constructions. No doubt some will consider that my solution to this dilemma has erred on the side of dogmatic conciseness, others that it has led to an unbalanced profusion of confusing technicalities; and I can only hope that there may be some who can find some elements of usefulness to their understanding of the NT.

My approach to the description of NT Greek is moderately historical. It is impossible to appreciate the problems of colloquial, literary and foreign features without being aware of the earlier history of the Greek language. The specialist in Hellenistic Koine Greek, of course, needs a full acquaintance with classical Greek, but I have aimed to provide just enough information on the earlier development of the language to give the amateur some idea of the kinds of complexities which underlie the uncertainties apparent in some areas and the conflicts sometimes found between the opinions of experts.

I have refrained as far as possible from entering the arena of textual criticism, by using mainly passages which are reasonably certain (at least in relation to the syntax of the verb), but I have offered some illustration of how the relevant syntax may be used in dealing with those of less certainty. Sometimes, of course, a textually doubtful passage is useful as a valid grammatical example: in fact the probable reason for the existence of some false readings is that they regularize the grammar of unusual expressions. I have not consistently used any single edition of the text: for most of the examples used there was no need to choose, and in those where a choice had to be made I have taken what seemed most useful for my purpose, occasionally even modifying the punctuation.

The positive exposition of the syntax of the NT Greek verb here presented is based on my hypothesis (which I find more congenial than any other to the facts of ancient Greek which are available for our study) that aspect, as I have come to understand it, was far more important than tense

throughout the history of ancient Greek, from Homer until several centuries after the time of the NT. Naturally at some points I may make statements with what to some may seem undue emphasis or repetition, as a result of my consciousness that these points have either been deeply misunderstood by some scholars or explained with only partial understanding by others. In general I do not aim to give precise references to alternative views or to discussions of them: scholars interested in comparing my approach with those of others will have no difficulty in finding the appropriate sections of the books they have relied on (in fact some of the examples I use are chosen precisely because others have interpreted them differently), and I have given further details of my views and some criticism of alternative views in the articles listed in the select bibliography appended below.

One of the main pitfalls in the study of a foreign language is the tendency to assimilate its framework to that of one's own language. Even scholars with a deep appreciation of the differences between two languages are at times tempted to equate details in each which have a superficial similarity, even while they are engaged in making other distinctions in related areas. For example, most allegations of confusion between the perfect and aorist of ancient Greek are the result of paying too much attention to idiomatic translation into English or another language, and not enough to the context and the alternatives available to the ancient Greek writer. I have tried to avoid such pitfalls, and to stress all the way that Greek syntax must be discussed in terms of its own categories, however useful the categories of English, Latin, or even modern Greek may be for comparison and for assessing the facts, whether the categories are given the same names in the different languages or not. My fear is that I myself may occasionally have overlooked some such temptation and subconsciously assumed more than is justified by the evidence at some point.

My approach is what the linguistic theorists would term pragmatic. I have assumed that ancient writers knew enough of the language they were using to communicate what made reasonable sense to their intended readers, even if some of the concepts were difficult to grasp; and that there was a common fund of knowledge which they could assume without explanation, but which we can discern only imperfectly. Therefore, we need to draw as much as we can from the immediate and wider context of every sentence and deduce sympathetically from that the rest of what we need. We can assume a general consistency, but not undue simplicity, in the use of the language, but we need to beware of introducing assumptions of our own either about what the writer is intending to express (the theologian's failing), or about the means of expression available to him (the linguist's great

temptation). On the linguistic side I have noticed that some scholars tend to exaggerate the differences between classical and Hellenistic Greek, or even to claim a foreign origin for features which are natural to Greek, and in the field of aspect some are tempted to apply to Greek theories that are based on other languages, or to build up theories with too little attention to the realities of the texts we have to work on.

If the examples I quote sometimes seem longer than necessary it is because my concern for context has encouraged me to avoid undue brevity. In translating the examples I have aimed to draw attention to the significant points without being too unidiomatic, in the hope that unevenness and occasional clumsiness of translation may be excused if the examples can be made to assist positively in the explanation. Nevertheless, since English and Greek differ in their syntax, no translation is by itself an adequate explanation.

I am grateful to colleagues, both at the Australian National University and throughout the world, who have encouraged me by their criticisms, whether in agreement or disagreement, of my work as it has developed since I first turned my attention to the study of the ancient Greek perfect in 1964 in the University of London Institute of Classical Studies; and of course also to those many scholars whose previously published conclusions laid the groundwork for my own research. I am grateful, too, to all those who assisted me in the technicalities of using a Macintosh Classic, to the Department of Classics at the Australian National University, from which I retired in 1987, for making me a Departmental Visitor in 1991 and making its facilities available to me this year for producing the repro-ready copy; and not least to my wife Margaret for her patience and support over the long period of my preoccupation with this book and the articles which paved the way for it, as it was "all Greek" to her. Whatever blemishes remain here must be mine alone, but I wish to apply to my book the hope of J. H. Moulton in his Preface to the second edition of his *Prolegomena*, "that its deficiencies may not prevent it from leading its readers nearer to the meaning of the great literature which it strives to interpret".

K. L. McKay

Canberra, 1993

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

References to the following, with abbreviations as shown in { }, are by **page number** or to the whole work unless otherwise specified: see also Index B

A: Select Bibliography of works by K. L. McKay:

Greek Grammar for Students: A concise grammar of classical Attic with special reference to aspect in the verb, Classics, The Australian National University, Canberra 1974, 1977: especially Appendices A and B {McK. *Gram.*}

"The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect down to the End of the Second Century AD", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 12 (1965), 1–21 {McK. *Perf.*}

"Syntax in Exegesis", *Tyndale Bulletin* 23 (1972), 39–57

"Some Linguistic Points in Marxsen's Resurrection Theory", *Expository Times* 84 (1973), 330–332

"On the Perfect and Other Aspects in the Greek Non-literary Papyri", *BICS* 27 (1980), 23–49 {McK. *Pap.*}

"On the Perfect and Other Aspects in New Testament Greek", *Novum Testamentum* 23 (1981), 289–329 {McK. *NTPerf.*}

"Repeated Action, the Potential and Reality in Ancient Greek", *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 36–46 {McK. *Rptd. Actn.*}

"Aspect in Imperatival Constructions in New Testament Greek", *Nov.T.* 27 (1985), 201–226 {McK. *Imperatival*}

"Style and Significance in the Language of John 21:15–17", *Nov.T.* 27 (1985), 319–333 {McK. *Style*}

"Aspects of the Imperative in Ancient Greek", *Antichthon* 20 (1986), 41–58

"Aspectual Usage in Timeless Contexts in Ancient Greek", in A. Rijksbaron *et al.*, *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner*, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1988, 193–208 {McK. *Tmless.*}

"Time and Aspect in New Testament Greek", *Nov.T.* 34 (1992), 209–228 {McK. *Time* }

B: The following works are also referred to:

W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich & F. W. Danker (trans. & ed.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (based on W. Bauer's *Wörterbuch*, 4th–5th edns.), 2nd edn., University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London 1979 {BAGD}

G. C. Wakker, "Purpose Expressions in Homeric Greek", in A. Rijksbaron *et al.*, *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner*, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1988, pp. 327–343. {Wakker}

G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 5, Macquarie University, Sydney 1989 {*New Docs.*}

Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Peter Lang, New York 1989 (582 pp.) {Porter}

Buist M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1990 (471 pp.) {Fanning}

For comprehensive bibliographies of works on ancient Greek verbal aspect, see the two last-mentioned books.

ABBREVIATIONS and SYMBOLS

1. Bible References

Old Testament		New Testament	
Deut	Deuteronomy	Col	Colossians
Ps	Psalms	1 Ths	1 Thessalonians
Is	Isaiah	2 Ths	2 Thessalonians
Jer	Jeremiah	1 Tm	1 Timothy
New Testament		2 Tm	2 Timothy
Mt	Matthew	Tit	Titus
Mk	Mark	Phm	Philemon
Lu	Luke	Heb	Hebrews
Jn	John	Jas	James
Ac	Acts	1 Pt	1 Peter
Ro	Romans	2 Pt	2 Peter
1 Co	1 Corinthians	1 Jn	1 John
2 Co	2 Corinthians	2 Jn	2 John
Gal	Galatians	3 Jn	3 John
Eph	Ephesians	Jd	Jude
Phil	Philippians	Rev	Revelation

2. Other Abbreviations & Symbols

cf.	compare	v.l(l).	variant reading(s)
e.g.	for example,	LXX	Septuagint (Greek OT)
i.e.	that is,	NT	New Testament
f(f).	and the following page(s) or verse(s)	OT	Old Testament
lit.	literally	§(§)	Section(s)
ms(s).	manuscript(s)	:*n*	verse *n* in the chapter last quoted
passim	all over the place	=	equivalent to
sc.	understand	←	derived from
s.v.	under the entry		

See also the Select Bibliography (pp. xiii–xiv).

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Hellenistic Koine. In the fifth and fourth centuries BC Athens was the leading cultural centre in Greece, and the influence of her literature — history, philosophy, drama, oratory — was such that the Attic dialect became the basis of the common language (koine) of most of the Greek world, which spread with the conquests of Alexander the Great (a Macedonian with an Athenian-dominated education). This Hellenistic koine drew some of its features from Ionic, to which Attic was closely related, and no doubt owed something also to the local language of each city or nation in which it came to be the main means of communication with the world around. No language remains static, and by the first century AD this koine had developed many features different from classical Attic, but the continuing influence of the classical literature (both directly and through its influence on Hellenistic writers) ensured the persistence of some features which otherwise might have been lost. In much the same way the influence of Shakespeare and the Authorized (King James) Version have affected English literature and the evolution of the English language. About a century after the NT documents were written there was a conscious effort by many literary men to turn away from the spoken language of everyday life and to write in the language of classical Athens. These "Atticists" were doing consciously and thoroughly what the NT writers (and many others) had done partially and with varying degrees of conscious effort. Even a person writing a chatty letter to an intimate tends to write with a higher degree of formality and care than he speaks with, and the consciousness of a wider audience (as might be expected for a Gospel or a letter to a group) increases the tendency to careful, "correct" composition.

1.2. The NT Documents. The NT is a collection of 27 short works. More than half of the total amount of text consists of the four Gospels and Acts, which are narrative in form but have some other types of discourse interspersed; the 21 letters from various authors vary in length and in the proportions of exposition and exhortation they contain; while Revelation, which contains letters as well as narrative, is apocalyptic, a prophetic genre appealing strongly to the imagination with its visions and symbols. All these works are concerned to present Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, and therefore there are many references, direct or implied, to the OT. Most of

the NT writers were probably native speakers of Aramaic, a language related to, but distinct from, the ancient Hebrew in which most of the OT was originally written, but most of them seem to rely heavily on the Septuagint (LXX), a second century BC translation into Greek which on the whole is in good koine but in some parts is more in a kind of literal "translationese". In making direct quotations from the OT the NT writers mostly appear to be quoting from memory rather than copying accurately from texts in front of them, and it is not always clear whether variants are the result of misquotation of a familiar translation, or the writer's own translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, or even not a direct quotation at all, but just an OT reminiscence which happens to be rather close to the text. The koine Greek of the NT is undoubtedly affected by these Semitic background factors, and even Luke, the one writer who may have been a native Greek speaker, tends to let the Aramaic of his informants influence parts of his work, and possibly to model some details of his narrative on the style of the LXX. The extent of Semitic influence is assessed differently by different scholars, and there will probably never be a final solution to the problem, but it is worth noting that, with few exceptions, the possible Semitisms (including those which can be designated as specifically Aramaisms and Hebraisms) can be better explained as Semitic enhancement, for they do not breach the natural framework of the Greek language, but rather stretch its flexible resources, at many points in ways which are similar to the tendencies of the development of Greek itself.

1.3. Textual Uncertainties. 1.3.1. Another factor which complicates the study of NT Greek syntax is the uncertainty at some points as to which of two or more variant readings found in the large number of extant manuscripts is the correct one. For most constructions, of course, there are enough certain examples to illustrate the principles involved, so that there is no need to rely much on uncertain examples. Some variants also are such patent errors that they can be ignored. In some of the relatively few cases where doubt remains the difference in reading does not affect the syntax, and it is not always the reading which is easiest to understand that is likely to be the correct one, for one source of textual error is the attempt of scribes to clarify what seems obscure to them. The real problems are very few indeed, when one's concern is to understand the syntax of the language used in the text rather than to establish every detail of the text. Understanding the syntax can of course be valuable as a factor in establishing the text, but it is even more so in understanding the meaning of the text, which is often clear enough even where some doubt remains about the exact words used. In the present work most of the examples are chosen from passages where textual uncertainty does not affect the point at issue, and only where

it has seemed necessary or desirable to quote less certain texts is attention drawn to variant readings which may affect the understanding of the syntax.

1.3.2. As the earliest Greek manuscripts were written continuously, without separation of words, and without accents or punctuation, modern texts vary in some points, quite legitimately, about the division of the text into sentences and the type of some clauses. For example, the RSV translation of Jn 1:3–4 is ... *was not anything made that was made. In him was life* ..., with the marginal reading ... *was not anything made. That which has been made was life in him* ...: both are possible, and the choice between them depends on the translator's judgment of the whole context. In Ac 11:3 RSV translates *"Why did you go ...?"* and NIV *"You went ..."* : both in effect make the same protest, and the difference in its form lies in the interpretation of one word (see §11.2.2).

1.4. Style. Each individual writer is likely to develop his own way of using his language, whatever the level of formality he sees as appropriate to the document he is producing. Nevertheless the desire to be understood and the acceptance, conscious or unconscious, of community norms for various modes of communication or genres of literature tend to limit the possibilities of individual distinctiveness. It is easy to see some differences in style between Revelation and the Epistle to the Hebrews, but less easy to determine to what extent these are due to the personal styles of their authors and to the different genre styles of apocalyptic narrative and formal expository letter. Even the same writer may write differently in different circumstances, and any writer may be temporarily influenced by what he has recently read or heard. In spite of the potential importance of style, the obvious differences observed in extreme cases, and the confident claims of some scholars to have solved some of its associated problems, it is important to remember that none of the documents comprising the NT is really long enough for statistical analysis to provide reasonably secure results, and that this difficulty is compounded by interrelationships such as the overlapping sources of the synoptic Gospels and the OT background to the whole of the NT. It is necessary to combine the attempt to perceive and take account of stylistic differences with a refusal to jump to premature conclusions. Stylistic variations depend for their effect on the validity of the linguistic features they employ, and while continuing excessive use of a special effect may eventually lead to a weakening of value of some element in it, the normal limits of the language are breached only in extreme cases of strong emotion, complexity of thought, or the attempt to express an unusual concept.

1.5. Non-literary Papyri. 1.5.1. To assist us in understanding the Greek of the NT we have not only the extensive collection of extant classical Greek literature and the literary productions of later ages which were modelled on it, but a mass of non-literary material preserved on papyrus by the dry Egyptian sands, which has come to light in the last century or so and is still being processed and evaluated. Much of this is fragmentary, but some is well preserved, and in all of it we have original manuscripts, and do not have to depend on copies of copies of copies as we do with most literary documents. In date this material ranges from the fourth century BC to the Middle Ages, and some of it is contemporary with the NT. It includes letters written by ignorant people unsure of their Greek, by professional letter-writers and by literate people of reasonable or good education, private letters, business letters, formal petitions, official decrees, reports, accounts, legal documents, etc.. It gives us direct evidence of the colloquial language of the period, and has produced many parallels to details in the language of the NT which had been noted as different from the norms of classical Greek. If one bears in mind the varied contexts of the documents, including the dialectal differences likely between Egypt and Palestine, this material can be especially useful. Among the papyri there are also copies of literary works, which, together with epigraphic material from many places, can shed more light on the vocabulary and the orthography, and occasionally on the syntax of the Greek of the NT period.

1.5.2. Part of the usefulness of the papyri is the direct evidence they provide of the changes that were taking place in the phonology and morphology of koine Greek. For example, it is clear that the tendency for the classical vowel sounds ι, η, υ, ει, οι and υι to be reduced to the same sound (as in modern Greek) was already well advanced, and that there was already some tendency to confusion of the ο, ω and ου sounds and of the ε and αι sounds. Of course such details as these need to be assessed in relation to all the other available evidence in the consideration of any particular problem. It is not valid to assume that words containing these sounds were always or even frequently confused by careful writers, any more than we expect to find *here* and *hear*, *principle* and *principal*, or even *read* (present), *read* (past) and *red* often confused by reasonably literate people. The papyri confirm too that there was a strong tendency to change the perfect tense third plural ending from -ασι to -αν, so that the occurrence of the latter in the NT is not evidence of the writer's ignorance nor of alteration by a later copyist. In the present work such phonological and morphological details are referred to only when they seem important for the understanding of the syntax. Similarly details of vocabulary, case usage and

other grammatical features are introduced only when they seem relevant to the discussion of the syntax of the verb.

1.6. Syntax and the Sentence. 1.6.1. ***Syntax*** is concerned with the arrangement of words in ***sentences***, i.e. in coherent groups with a large measure of completeness of meaning. Usually a sentence contains at least one **finite** verb, i.e. a form of a verb which has a subject, whether expressed or implied, in the nominative case, and is not an infinitive or a separate participle. The most common type of sentence without an expressed verb in Greek (but not in English) is one in which a subject and an adjective (or equivalent) complement appears, with the verb *to be* (usually ἐστίν, *is*, or εἰσίν, *are*) understood: see §7.1.3. An exclamatory sentence without a verb (e.g. *Nonsense!*) can usually be understood to have a finite verb implied (*That is nonsense.*). Apart from incomplete exclamations of this type a single word sentence is usually a verb in the imperative mood (e.g. *Go!*). However long or short a sentence is, its full meaning depends on its relationship to its context. *She did it* is a complete sentence, but every word in it is capable of different meanings in different contexts.

1.6.2. A ***simple sentence*** is a complete unit with one finite verb either expressed or implied. A ***complex sentence*** has more than one ***clause***, each containing a finite verb either expressed or implied (but see below). The clauses may be ***co-ordinate*** with one another, i.e. parallel simple sentences which are closely linked together (e.g. *He came in / and sat down*). Alternatively a complex sentence may consist of a ***principal clause*** (which would be a simple sentence if it stood alone) with one or more ***subordinate clauses*** dependent on it (e.g. *When he came in / he sat down*): see §7.3. A subordinate clause is usually introduced by a subordinating conjunction (e.g. *if, when, because*) or a relative or interrogative pronoun or adjective, but there are some circumstances in which no such introductory word is used. In Greek this last occurs most commonly when subordination is achieved by means of an infinitive (e.g. indirect statement, indirect command, infinitive of purpose), and when certain types of subordinate clause are replaced by a ***participial clause***, in which the finite verb and the conjunction introducing it are replaced by a participle (e.g. *Having come in / he sat down*). Participial clauses are rather more common in ancient Greek than in English, and in some circumstances English idiom makes it necessary to translate them as if they were co-ordinate clauses. ***Parataxis*** is a system of co-ordinate clauses, and ***hypotaxis*** is a system of subordinate and/or participial clauses depending on a principal clause. ***Anacoluthon*** is a break in the normal grammatical structure of a clause or sentence: it is especially common in conversation and in emotional

passages, but is sometimes the means of preventing the meaning of a complex sentence from becoming obscure through the machinery of formal correctness. While most types of clause are to be taken most of the time at face value, sometimes the context makes it clear that one type has been substituted for another for emphasis or stylistic effect (e.g. *if* may be shown by the context to imply *when* or *because*). Grammatical analysis is therefore not to be equated with the logical analysis of a passage, but is an important factor in it.

1.7. Word Order. In English word order is an important element in the syntax, for in many circumstances a change in word order produces a change of meaning. There are a few circumstances in which a modified word order is possible, or even normal, in order to attain a certain emphasis (e.g. *and so did I*), and it is often possible to vary the order of clauses to produce different contextual effects without grammatical change (e.g. *He sat down when he came in* : *when he came in he sat down*). In ancient Greek, however, word order is much more flexible and free. The comprehensive system of inflexions makes it possible for the syntactic relationships of words to be recognized although the order of uttering the words may vary. This possibility is exploited by most writers for emphasis and stylistic effect, but the patterns are not always easy to recognize. The subject of the verb, if expressed, tends to come first in its clause, the verb tends to be last, and adverbs usually precede the words they modify, so any variation to this pattern lends emphasis, but some such emphasis may be almost obligatory because of the shape of the preceding sentence or clause. There are, of course, some limitations. Usually one can (and should) assume that the elements of a phrase or clause will not be scattered among other phrases or clauses, but occasionally contextual factors arise which make even such scattering possible. It is always necessary to look at whole clauses, usually whole sentences, and sometimes whole paragraphs, in order to appreciate the effects of word-order variations.

In many contexts there is little, if any, practical difference in emphasis between two or more possible word orders, so that the writer's choice is determined subjectively. Some writers may exhibit preferences for arranging some phrases or clauses in a particular order, or even for avoiding such regular patterns. The subjective choice of a pattern may of course be influenced by the normal patterns of the writer's own language, if it was not Greek, and in extreme cases this may produce an effect of barbarism. It is clear, however, that all the NT writers were sufficiently fluent in Greek and literary in their approach to their work to justify the assumption that many, if not most, of their choices of word order were intended to add

some force to their work, whether it be simple emphasis, contrast, balance, smooth or abrupt rhythm, clarity of expression or even ambiguity; and there may be other reasons. That the writer's intentions are not always clear to us, whether this be due to imperfections in their expression or to our failure to understand enough of the nuances of ancient Greek, does not prove the invalidity of such choices.

In the basic study of the syntax of the verb in ancient Greek word order is not usually significant, but for understanding the full meaning of a passage the word order may be as important as the types of clause or other syntactic features. Sometimes it might even appear that the syntax has been to some extent influenced by the word order.

1.8. The Greek Verb System. 1.8.1. A fully inflected Greek verb has:

three full *aspects*: imperfective, aorist and perfect; and one partial aspect of intention (future);
seven *tenses*: present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, future-perfect and future;
four *moods*: indicative, imperative, subjunctive and optative;
three *voices*: active, middle and passive (but only in aorist and future do passive forms differ from middle forms)
a *participle* and an *infinitive* corresponding to each of the aspect/voice combinations;
two *verbal adjectives*.

Not all verbs have all these inflexions, and in NT Greek some of them are relatively rare. The verbal adjectives, which had been freely used in an earlier age, seem to have almost ceased to be a living feature of the language by NT times, and remain only in a few that have virtually become ordinary adjectives. On the other hand the optative, the future participle and the future infinitive, which are less common in the NT than in classical Greek, occur with enough frequency to suggest that they were still fully capable of use, even if there was a tendency to do without them in common speech.[1] Other rare inflexions, such as the future-perfect tense, the perfect subjunctive and the perfect imperative, had been rare also in the classical period, simply because in ordinary circumstances they were rarely needed, but they were known and recognized when their use was appropriate. Statistics of relative frequency of occurrence can be very misleading unless they also take into account the different requirements of different types of context, a much more complicated matter. No NT writer, however well educated or versatile he may have been, wrote in order to demonstrate the

range or the limits of the Greek language as he knew it, so our judgment of these matters must depend on observation of the available records and informed conjecture.

1. In the NT the future infinitive is found only in Ac and Heb, and the future participle mainly in Ac. This suggests (but does not prove) that they survived mainly as a more literary feature. See also §1.9.5.

1.8.2. The following tabulation (which applies to each of the three voices, although in the imperfective, the perfect, and partly the future, the distinction between middle and passive may not be clear) illustrates the interrelationship of aspect, tense and mood:

	Imperfective Aspect	Aorist Aspect	Perfect Aspect	Future (Aspect)
Indicative Mood	Present Tense Imperfect Tense	Aorist Tense	Perfect Tense Pluperfect Tense Future-Perfect Tense	Future Tense
Subjunctive Mood	Imperfective Subjunctive	Aorist Subjunctive	Perfect Subjunctive	—
Optative Mood	Imperfective Optative	Aorist Optative	Perfect Optative	—
Imperative Mood	Imperfective Imperative	Aorist Imperative	Perfect Imperative	—
Participle	Imperfective Participle	Aorist Participle	Perfect Participle	Future Participle
Infinitive	Imperfective Infinitive	Aorist Infinitive	Perfect Infinitive	Future Infinitive

1.9. Periphrastic Formations.[1] 1.9.1. There is a possibility of confusion about the significance of certain periphrases which either replace or overlap with some of the simple verbal inflexions of ancient Greek. Some

are genuine alternatives to simple inflexions and do not differ from them in meaning, while others form a combination of elements which make a particular meaning more specifically clear than the approximately equivalent simple inflexion would do. In NT Greek some of the latter group have been sufficiently influenced by Semitic inflexion patterns to have become apparently mere alternatives, but it is not always easy to judge between these and what was normal Greek. Usually the difference is not very significant, more a matter of emphasis than of basic meaning, and scholars differ in the interpretation of some examples.

1. Under this heading I include any combination of verb forms which equals or approximates the meaning of another single verb inflexion. I do not accept the narrow theoretical definition of *periphrasis* in Porter, 441–492, nor the view that εἶναι is valuable for periphrasis because it is aspectually vague: I see it as limited to imperfective and future, with aorist and perfect from γίνεσθαι (see §1.9.3).

1.9.2. The use of perfect participles with forms of εἶναι in place of simple perfect forms is hardly any more common in NT Greek than it had been in classical Greek. The meaning of the perfect aspect is much more nearly the equivalent of an adjective with the verb *to be* than that of any other aspect, and from an early date any simple perfect form could be replaced by a perfect participle with a form of εἶναι whenever the speaker or writer wanted an alternative to improve the balance or rhythm of a sentence. In the less common perfect forms (the subjunctive, the optative, the future-perfect, and to some extent the imperative) the periphrastic forms were already in the classical period more common than the simple ones, and in the middle passive the third plural of the perfect and pluperfect tenses of verbs with consonant stems was regularly periphrastic although in the rest of those tenses the simple forms remained more common. In Ac 13:48 ἦσαν τεταγμένοι is the normal pluperfect form (of course the order of the two words could be reversed),[1] whose corresponding singular would normally be ἐτέτακτο but could be τεταγμένος ἦν. In Jn 20:30,31 ἔστιν γεγραμμένα and γέγραπται both mean the same, but each better suits the rhythm of its own sentence.

In some passages, however, the form of εἶναι seems to stand in its own right, with the participle more loosely attached: Ac 5:25 ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες, οὓς ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἑστῶτες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὸν λαόν, *those men, whom you put in prison, are in the temple, standing* (i.e. not languishing in prison) *and teaching the people* (the effect of καί between the two participles is to make both of them circumstantial [§6.2.5], and there is in them an echo of the main ideas expressed in :20–21a, so the

insertion of a comma is appropriate: if καὶ διδάσκοντες had not been added, εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἑστῶτες would most naturally be *are standing in the temple*).[2]

1. The corresponding simple form ἐτετάχατο (-ντο becoming -ατο after a consonant) is in fact found in classical Greek but is rare, and τάσσειν is one of the few verbs with such a form extant.

2. For more examples see McK. *NTPerf.*, 291–292.

1.9.3. As ὑπάρχειν is sometimes used in Hellenistic Greek as a more pretentious substitute for εἶναι, it is sometimes found in a periphrastic perfect. In Ac 8:16 βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον is no more than an elongated form of the normal pluperfect βεβαπτισμένοι ἦσαν. As the aorist corresponding to εἶναι is γενέσθαι it is not surprising to find the usage extended in Rev 16:10 to ἐγένετο ... ἐσκοτωμένη in place of the aorist ἐσκοτώθη, the periphrasis presumably being intended to put extra emphasis on the resulting state of darkness, while retaining that on the completeness of the event.

1.9.4. There is greater difficulty in assessing the use of forms of εἶναι with imperfective participles. Such combinations are found mostly in the imperfect, but are not limited to that tense (see also §9.2.1). In classical Greek such combinations are comparatively rare, and can be expected to have a significance which combines the meanings of both verb and participle without removing the separate identity of either. Some clear examples of this are to be found in the NT, as in Jn 1:28 ὅπου ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, *where John was, baptizing* (i.e. *John was there and was baptizing*), Mt 19:22 ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά, *for he was one who had many possessions*, 1 Co 14:9 ἔσεσθε γὰρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες, *for you will be people who (merely) speak into the air*, and Gal 4:24 ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα, *these* (lit. *which*) *are allegorical sayings*.[1] So too, taking account of its context of alternative names, it is best to take Mt 27:33 ... εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθά, ὅ (v.l. ὅς) ἐστιν κρανίου τόπος λεγόμενος, ... *to a place called Golgotha, which is a place called "Skull (Place)"* (cf. Lu 23:33 ... εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, and also the different parallels in the other Gospels).

There are also some examples which seem to amount to nothing more than a periphrasis for a simple verb form: Ac 1:13 οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες, *where they were staying*, seems to mean no more than οὗ κατέμενον; and Mk 13:25 καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, *and the stars will be falling from the sky*, is paralleled by Mt 24:29 οἱ ἀστέρες

πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, both being a quotation from LXX Is 34:4 πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται. As Aramaic used such a periphrasis, it would be natural for native Aramaic speakers, and those who reported the evidence of such people, to have a tendency to use such combinations to an extent beyond that normal to native Greek speakers.[2] Besides εἶναι, forms of γενέσθαι and ὑπάρχειν are also found with imperfective participles.

The only way examples of this kind can be judged is in relation to their contexts, and in many of them there is little to choose between the possibilities. It is important not to judge them in terms of the traditional, or even the most natural, English translation. For example, Lu 6:43 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν, οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν may conveniently be translated *a good tree does not produce bad fruit, nor again does a bad tree produce good fruit*, but in Greek terms the sense could be *a tree is not good when (if) it produces bad fruit, nor again is a tree bad when (if) it produces good fruit*, and it would be presumptuous to declare ἐστιν ... ποιοῦν a clear example of imperfective periphrasis without more evidence than we have that that was the writer's intention. Similarly the existence of a simple verb form in a parallel passage does not prove anything if the style is different: in Mt 24:38 ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες (the punctuation varies from that normally used, but see §1.3.2), *as they were in the days before the flood, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage* ..., is parallel to Lu 17:27 ... ἤσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο ..., ... *they ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage* ..., where the simple verb forms are used with asyndeton (§7.2.5) in an expanded and quite differently arranged context to give a more vivid stylistic effect. It is worth noting too that in a large proportion of the examples of imperfective participles with εἶναι or a similar verb there are several significant words placed between the two verb forms, whereas the perfect participle in periphrasis is mostly found next to the form of εἶναι, etc., or separated from it only by a particle.

1. The simple imperfects ἐβάπτιζεν and εἶχεν, the future λαλήσετε and the present ἀλληγορεῖται would have given approximately the same meanings, but with less of the effect of the separate notion of being. For a participle with article cf. also Col 2:8, quoted in §18.3.

2. Such periphrases are more common in the first half of Ac, where the focus is on Jewish Christians, than in the more cosmopolitan second half.

1.9.5. It is not uncommon to find a form of μέλλειν with an infinitive in place of a simple future form: see §§4.8.3, 12.3.1. The slightly increased frequency of this in Hellenistic, as compared with classical, Greek is probably the result of the same sort of tendency to over-emphasis as led to the spread of ὑπάρχειν in place of εἶναι (§1.9.3). On the other hand it should be noted that in some contexts the strong emphasis on the idea of intention suggests that μέλλειν was used to give it weight: Jn 7:35 Ποῦ οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι ...; *Where does he intend to go ...?* ; Ac 20:13 ἀνήχθημεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄσσον, ἐκεῖθεν μέλλοντες ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν Παῦλον, *we set sail for Assos, with the intention of picking Paul up there.*

The future infinitive and future participle are largely replaced in the NT by the imperfective infinitive and participle of μέλλειν with an infinitive (sometimes future): Ac 11:28 Ἄγαβος ἐσήμανεν ... λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι, *Agabus predicted that there would be a severe famine*; Ac 18:14 μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα εἶπεν ὁ Γαλλίων ..., *as Paul was about to open his mouth Gallio said ...* (in classical Greek also μέλλοντος with an infinitive would be more likely than a future participle in a context like this: the same applies to μέλλοντες in Ac 20:13 above, and similarly μέλλει in Jn 7:35): cf. §1.8.1.

Sometimes there is no other possibility than the use of μέλλειν, as when the intention is set in the past or in a subjunctive clause: Lu 7:2 δοῦλος κακῶς ἔχων ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, *a slave was sick and (being sick was) on the point of death*; Mk 13:4 τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα; *what will the sign be when all this is about to happen?*

1.9.6. Similarly in comparison with the conative and inceptive nuances of the imperfective (§§3.2, 4.2.6, 4.3.2) more specific verbs, such as πειράζειν, πειρᾶσθαι, ζητεῖν, ἄρχεσθαι, are found with the infinitive, sometimes with recognizably greater emphasis on the idea of trying or beginning, and sometimes with so little difference that some scholars have seen them as mere periphrases. Some examples are: Ac 9:26 ἐπείραζεν κολλᾶσθαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, *he tried to join the disciples*; Jn 10:39 ἐζήτουν οὖν πάλιν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, *so they tried to seize him again* (some later mss. have ... αὐτὸν πάλιν ..., *they were looking for him to seize him again*, but this is less suitable to the context); Mt 4:17 ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν ..., *from then on Jesus began to proclaim ...*; Ac 1:1 ... ὧν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν, *which Jesus began to do and teach*. In the first three of these the emphasis of the main verbs is obvious. BAGD (s.v. ἄρχω) quote the last as a pleonasm, "simply what J. did", but the ἄχρι clause which follows justifies a balancing emphasis in the Greek,

however little it might seem appropriate in an English translation; and of course the writer may have intended to imply that what follows is the continuation of the deeds and teaching of Jesus.

1.10. The Adverbial Setting. 1.10.1. The study of syntax involves all elements of the sentence, and although the focus of the present work is on the way the verb fulfils its function, it is necessary to pay some attention to case usage and other contextual details which provide the adverbial setting for verbs. This section therefore offers a brief account of prepositions and cases as they relate to the syntax of the verb, pointing to principles necessary for understanding them rather than attempting a full explanation.

1.10.2. Prepositions and Cases. Prepositions (e.g. ἀπό, διά, εἰς, ἐν, ὑπό) are very commonly found in ancient Greek with nouns and pronouns in the accusative, genitive or dative case, and the same words are also very commonly found as prefixes of compound verbs (e.g. ἀπάγω, διάγω, εἰσάγω, ὑπάγω, ἐνέχω). The relationships of these words are not always completely clear, for some which had been freely used at an earlier period had by NT times become less popular, and their distinctive meanings were being taken over by others; while there was an increasing tendency for prepositions to be used in circumstances where earlier a case (e.g. genitive or dative) might have been used without one.

1.10.3. It seems clear that in origin prepositions were only adverbs, words used to add a particular nuance to a verb or to a word or phrase with adverbial value. They almost invariably preceded the words they modified (i.e. they were used in the normal position for adverbs), and the name *preposition* (*placed before*) indicates this fact. The five cases of ancient Greek had developed from an eight-case system (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental and locative) through sound changes which made some of the suffixes similar or identical, and through the overlapping of areas of meaning. By the time of the NT the ablative had combined with the genitive, and the instrumental and locative with the dative; and the vocative was well on the way to being absorbed by the nominative, while the dative was beginning to show signs of being replaced by prepositions with the accusative. The cases, apart from the nominative and vocative, enabled nouns and pronouns to behave as adverbs, adding modifications to the meanings of the verbs which formed the core of sentences and clauses, and so they themselves could be further modified by adverb-prepositions. For example, the ablative (genitive) could be used alone to express the notion of separation, but if finer definition was required ἐκ meant *out of*, contrasted with ἀπό, merely *from*, παρά *from the*

presence of, ὑπό *from under*, and so on; and the accusative, expressing the goal of the action of a verb, could be modified by εἰς *into*, πρός *towards*, παρά *into the presence of*, ὑπό *(to) under*, and so on. Some of these (e.g. ἀπό, ἐκ) were only appropriate to ablatival (genitive) meanings, but others could be used with the accusative, genitive or dative, adding a nuance to the different case meanings.

1.10.4. The tendency of the Greek language was towards increasing use of prepositions and contraction of independent case usage. By NT times the surviving prepositions had begun to be felt to be necessary in many circumstances, and many special meanings had developed. Although the case meanings continued to be significant in many phrases, the variations in others seem to indicate that the preposition had become more important than the case, and it is only by a careful comparison of contexts that one can build up even an approximate idea of some prepositional usage: ἐπί in particular seems to have such a broad range of possible meanings, in some of which the case looks unimportant, that some of the details are easily misunderstood.

1.10.5. Compound Verbs. When used with verbs these preposition-adverbs came to be regarded as inseparable prefixes forming compound verbs: contrast the English compounds *look at*, *look up*, *look for*, *look out*, etc. Originally compound verbs so formed had the combined meaning of their two elements: ἐκ- added an *out of* notion to any verb, συν- *together*, or *in association with*, and so on. In some contexts these simple combinations developed specialized, metaphorical or other meanings which seem quite different: e.g. ἀποβλέπειν came to mean *look intently at* because a special application of its original meaning, *look away from (other things)* became common. In some circumstances, such as when the compound was accompanied by the same preposition with the appropriate case of a noun or pronoun, the addition of the prefix made little difference, and some compounds tended to be used more or less as a merely emphatic variation on the simple verb: a longer word often seems more impressive. In NT Greek it can still be assumed that the writer intended some significance in his choice of a compound verb, but it is not always possible for the modern reader to be certain what that significance is. In the relatively rare circumstance where a compound verb, used with a meaning very close to that of its simple verb, would be repeated in a weaker position, the simple verb may be found instead of the repetition: Jn 1:11–12 οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ... αὐτοῖς ..., *his own people did not receive him. But to those who did* .... It is to be noted that παρέλαβον stands in a strong position, at the end of a sentence, whereas ἔλαβον is in the

weaker position in the middle of its clause. It is also to be noted that the English equivalent of this conjunction reduction is quite different, using the auxiliary verb *did* alone, and even omitting *him*, although in Greek αὐτόν by its position has a measure of emphasis.

1.10.6. Some compounds have meanings which in comparison with those of the corresponding simple verbs have been thought to be analogous to the aspectual meaning of the aorist compared with the imperfective (see §3.3): e.g. θαυμάζειν *be amazed* and ἐκθαυμάζειν *be utterly amazed*; ἐσθίειν *eat* and κατεσθίειν *eat up*. Any such analogies are incidental, and cannot be taken as a general rule. This feature may be termed *Aktionsart* (§3.1.2), but in most cases the meaning of the compound can with little imagination be seen to be a natural development from its components (e.g. *be amazed out of one's mind, eat down*), and most such compounds are susceptible of full aspectual inflexion (e.g. κατεσθίειν *be eating up*, καταφαγεῖν *eat up*; ἐξεθαύμαζον, *they wondered greatly*, ἐξεθαύμασαν, *they were struck with amazement*).[1]

1. See McK. *NTPerf.*, 325–328.

1.11. Transitive and Intransitive. 1.11.1. The term ***transitive*** is applied to verbs which have an external accusative object, and ***intransitive*** to those which do not. This is a useful distinction, but it has some limitations, and its application in ancient Greek is much less rigid than in Latin, whose rules have traditionally been too readily transferred to Greek. The position in NT Greek is part of the same development as has been mentioned above in connection with prepositions, and can best be understood by recognizing something of the lines of that development. Many verbs are found either with or without an object, according to the needs of the context, and intransitive verbs which are regularly accompanied by a genitive or dative are sometimes found in the passive in the same way as transitive verbs. A verb which can cause confusion is ἔχειν, which is very common as a transitive verb with the meaning *have*, but with an adverb may be intransitive with the meaning *be*, as in Lu 7:2, quoted in §1.9.5.

The original function of the accusative appears to have been to indicate the goal of any verbal activity, and from the evidence of classical Greek poetry it is clear that some intransitive verbs, such as those of coming and going, which do not normally have a direct object but commonly can be accompanied by a preposition with the accusative, originally could have an accusative without preposition. This is undoubtedly the reason why in NT Greek some compounds of such intransitive verbs are commonly transitive,

for the prepositions of such compounds do not always have a meaning for which they would take the accusative: e.g. διαβαίνειν *cross over, pass through*, could be transitive, but διά in the physical sense *through* usually takes a genitive (presumably partitive), as in Heb 11:29 διέβησαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς γῆς, *they crossed over the Red Sea as if over dry land*; and διέρχεσθαι *pass through* may be transitive, as in Lu 19:1 διῆρχετο τὴν Ἰεριχώ, *he was going through Jericho*, or intransitive, as in Lu 19:4 ... ὅτι ἐκείνης ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι, ... *because he was going to pass through on that route* (sc. τῆς ὁδοῦ), where the genitive without preposition is local (partitive). See also §§2.4.2, 2.4.3 and 2.5.2.

1.11.2. Besides the ordinary accusative of the external object, by which is designated the person or thing to which the activity of the verb is directed (e.g. Mt 1:2 Ἀβραὰμ ἐγέννησεν **τὸν** Ἰσαάκ, and Mt 1:19 ἐβουλήθη ... ἀπολῦσαι **αὐτήν**), it is sometimes useful to distinguish the ***internal accusative***, or the *accusative of content* (also in some older books called the *cognate accusative*). In this the word in the accusative represents in some way the activity of the verb itself, and if it is a noun it almost invariably has attached to it a descriptive or demonstrative word or phrase: e.g. Mk 4:41 ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν, *they became very fearful, they feared (with) a great fear* (cf. Mk 12:12 ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, *they feared the crowd*); Jn 17:26 ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με, *the love you showed me, the love (with) which you loved me* (cf. Jn 21:7 ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος ὃν **ἠγάπα** ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *that disciple whom Jesus loved*). An internal accusative may occur with a verb which is never found with an external object (and so is intransitive), or may be added as a second accusative to a transitive verb, or retained as accusative when a transitive verb is used in the passive voice. It may be taken as a general rule that when the passive is used its subject is a word that would have been an external object (NOT an internal object) had the same meaning been expressed instead by means of an active or middle verb.

1.11.3. There are, however, some points at which uncertainty remains. It is clear that in Ac 12:9 ἐδόκει δὲ ὅραμα βλέπειν, *he thought he was seeing a vision*, ὅραμα is an external object; and so is ὁράσεις in LXX Joel 2:28 quoted in Ac 2:17 ὁράσεις ὄψονται: although ὅρασις is naturally the activity of seeing, and thus suitable for use as an internal object to a verb of seeing, it has been used here, by an easy extension of meaning, in the sense of the cognate word ὅραμα, *a thing seen*. In Jn 14:26 ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα, *he will teach you everything*, πάντα is usually taken as an external object, but it may in fact be internal, indicating the extent or nature of the teaching. In Mk 8:32 τὸν λόγον ἐλάλει, *he was speaking the*

word, one could argue either that here too τὸν λόγον specifies the kind of speaking, or that it is more external, like ὅραμα: undoubtedly it could become the subject of a passive verb of saying, as ὅραμα could of a passive verb of seeing, whereas there seems to be no evidence of a similar passive use with διδάσκειν.

1.11.4. A few verbs are found with two external accusative objects, as in Mt 27:31 ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, *they took the cloak off him and dressed him in his clothes*, and 1 Co 3:2 γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, *I gave you milk to drink*. These retain something of the greater freedom in the use of the accusative which apparently applied at a much earlier period, and when such a verb is used in the passive, one of the accusatives may still be found with it.

1.11.5. Some verbs which do not occur with more than one accusative object do in fact have the same kind of variation of objects which is found with those which take two accusatives. For example, εὐλογεῖν literally means *speak well of*, and hence, depending on the real-life relationship between its subject and object, may normally be translated as *praise*, as in Lu 1:64 εὐλογῶν τὸν θεόν, or *bless*, as in Eph 1:3 ὁ θεὸς ... ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς, or *invoke blessing on*, as in Lu 6:28 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς: but in Lu 9:16 εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς it seems clear, both from parallel passages (Mt 14:19 εὐλόγησεν alone; Jn 6:11 εὐχαριστήσας) and from Jewish practice, that it means *praised (God) for them, gave thanks in respect of them*. Indeed some mss. have εὐλόγησεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, illustrating the growing tendency to use prepositions. So also in Lu 8:52 ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν, *they were bewailing her*, the verb really means *were beating themselves*, and may be used more literally than the English translation suggests (αὐτήν being *with reference to her*): cf. §2.3.2.

1.12. Concord of Verb and Subject. 1.12.1. A finite verb (§1.6.1) with a simple subject (whether separately expressed or not) normally agrees with its subject in person and number, but a neuter plural subject sometimes has a singular verb: Ro 15:14 πέπεισμαι δέ, ... καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ ... ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοί ἐστε ἀγαθωσύνης, *I myself am persuaded ... that you are indeed full of goodness*; Ro 15:25 νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, *but now I am travelling to Jerusalem*; Mk 9:47 ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ἔκβαλε αὐτόν, *if your eye makes you sin, put it out*; Mt.6:32 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν, *the nations are seeking all these things*; Mt 6:33 ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, *all these things will be given to you as well*.

1.12.2. A finite verb with a composite subject is normally plural, and when the subjects differ in person it is in the first person if one of the subjects is first person (and in the second person if there is a linking of second and third persons, but this combination is not found in the NT): Ac 3:1 Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, *Peter and John started to go up to the temple*; Jn 10:30 ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν, *my father and I are one*; 1 Co 9:6 μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ...; *do only Barnabas and I not have the right ...?*

If one of the subjects is more important than the others a singular verb may be attached to it, especially when the verb precedes its subject: Ac 16:33 καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἅπαντες, *and he himself was baptized and all his family*. This is also the case when two (or more) subjects are treated as if they were a single entity: Mk 5:41 ... ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ, ... *because both the wind and the sea* (i.e. *the wind stirring up the sea) obey him.*

1.12.3. Sometimes the grammar is adapted to the sense, as when a plural verb is used with a singular collective noun (one which implies a number of persons or things): Mk 4:1 συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλεῖστος ... καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν, *a large crowd assembled before him ... and all the crowd were on the land by the sea*; Mk 9:15 πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, *seeing him all the crowd became excited*; Lu 19:37 ἤρξαντο ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν χαίροντες αἰνεῖν τὸν θεόν, *all the crowd of his disciples began to rejoice and praise God.*

This plural use is normal in the clauses following if the collective noun remains the implied subject, even if a singular verb was used with the noun itself: Mk 5:21 ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς, καὶ συνέθλιβον αὐτόν, *a large crowd was following (going with) him, and they were pressing round him*; Lu 1:21 καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ..., *and the people were waiting for Zachariah, and were wondering ...*; Lu 6:17 ... καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ ... οἳ ἦλθον ..., ... *and a large number of the people ... who had come ...*; Mk 3:9 ... διὰ τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν, ... *on account of the crowd, so that they would not press him*. The principle is the same in Eph 4:17–18 ... καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἐσκοτωμένοι ..., ... *even as the Gentiles behave in the futility of their thinking, darkened ...*.

1.12.4. The plural is also used when the expressed subject is a partitive genitive or an equivalent phrase : Jn 16:17 εἶπαν οὖν ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν

αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, *so some of his disciples said to one another*. This is relatively rare, for it is more common to use τις or τινές.

1.12.5. As in English (in which the "royal plural" is a notable instance) the first person plural occasionally represents a single person: 1 Jn 1:4 καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ἡμεῖς (v.l. ὑμῖν) ἵνα ..., *and we are writing this (to you) in order that* ... (cf. 2:1 ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν ἵνα ...). Sometimes the first person plural is the result of the speaker or writer including himself in a reference to the people he is addressing: 1 Jn 1:6 ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ... ψευδόμεθα, *if we say that ... we are telling a lie.*

In some of Paul's letters in which he begins by associating others (e.g. Timothy) with himself it is sometimes not entirely clear whether a plural reference is to himself alone or to his associate(s) too: in 2 Co 10:11 ... ὅτι οἷοί ἐσμεν τῷ λόγῳ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἀπόντες, τοιοῦτοι καὶ παρόντες τῷ ἔργῳ, ... *that when we are present we (will be) the same in deed as we are in word through our letters*, it is quite likely that Paul is referring only to himself; but in Col 1:3 εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ... περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι ..., *we thank God ... praying for you ...*, it is more likely to refer to Paul and Timothy, as this immediately follows the opening greeting.

1.12.6. So also in the third person the plural is sometimes used in a rather general way, even if one person in particular is really being referred to: Mt 2:20 τεθνήκασιν γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου, *those who were seeking the child's life are dead* (an abbreviated statement of the fact that Herod is dead and his agents are no longer seeking).

Some such plurals may be influenced by a Semitic idiom in which a plural verb with completely vague subject is used in the active in circumstances where English, and normally also Greek, would need a passive. This is probably the explanation of the plural verb in Lu 12:20 ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ, *tonight your life is being (will be) demanded of you*, for there is nothing in the context to indicate who *they* are in the literal *they are (will be) demanding*.

There is, however, nothing at all unusual about the Greek in circumstances where the context provides an indication of the identity of the vague plural: in Heb 10:1 ... ὁ νόμος ... κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς οὐδέποτε δύναται (v.l. δύνανται) τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι, *the Law ... can never make perfect those who approach (God) with the same sacrifices being offered continually every year (the same sacrifices every year which they continually offer)*, the

subject of προσφέρουσιν (*they*) is possibly in a loose sense the worshippers, but more likely, in view of the contrast in the preceding chapter, the line of priests under the Law (the v.l. is undoubtedly only an error due to the complexity of the sentence: the verb δύναται is separated from its subject ὁ νόμος by a string of phrases including a clause with a plural verb, and it is followed by more plurals, so a weary scribe checking over his work might easily be confused and change it to the plural also).

2. VOICE

2.1. Voice. 2.1.1. The ancient Greek verb has three ***voices***. In general terms the ***active***, as in English, represents the subject as engaging in an activity; the ***passive***, also as in English, represents the subject as being acted upon; while the ***middle*** voice represents the subject as acting on, for or towards itself.

2.1.2. Even in respect of English the above description is an oversimplification, for some active verbs, such as *suffer*, have meanings analogous to the general meaning of the passive. In Greek the position is more complicated: the passive appears to have been a relatively late development which had not been completely established by the NT period. In the imperfective and perfect (and to a lesser extent in the future) there is no distinction between middle and passive forms, and some common transitive verbs either have no passive or have one only in a limited sense: see §2.5.

2.2. Active. The active voice does not require much explanation, as it seems to differ little from its English counterpart. Worthy of note, however, is the fact (which is true of English too) that the active of many verbs is sometimes used for activities of which the subject is the author but not the agent: he performs the activity indirectly, by having someone else act for him, as in Lu 9:9 Ἰωάννην ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα, *John I have beheaded*; Mt 14:3 ὁ γὰρ Ἡρῴδης κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην ἔδησεν, *for Herod had seized and bound John*. For a similar use of the middle see §2.3.4.

2.3 Middle. 2.3.1. In comparison with the active the middle voice is characterized by a reflexive idea indicating a special interest or involvement of the subject in the outcome of the activity: cf. ἀποτίθημι, *I put aside*; ἀποτίθεμαι, *I take off (from myself)*; Lu 7:37 κομίσασα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου, *bringing an alabaster jar of ointment*; 1 Pt 5:4 κομιεῖσθε τὸν ... στέφανον, *you will receive the ... crown.*

Often the reflexive nuance in the middle is too slight to be noticed in translation, and different writers may assess its appropriateness to a particular context differently, as may be seen from some parallel passages: with Mt 26:51 ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ, *he drew his sword*; cf. Mk 14:47 σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, *drawing his sword*; with Mt 19:20

and Lu 18:21 ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα, cf. Mk 10:20 ταῦτα πάντα ἐφυλαξάμην, *I have kept all these.*

A writer may, of course, adapt the reflexive nuance to the purpose he has in mind: in Jas 4:2–3 αἰτεῖτε, *you ask*, naturally implies the special interest of the subject, so the middles αἰτεῖσθαι and αἰτεῖσθε, contrasted with it, probably suggest more strongly the true (but unrecognized) interest.

2.3.2. This special involvement of the subject sometimes appears to be directly reflexive, but mostly the direct reflexive idea is expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun as object of an active or middle verb, so the middle without direct reflexive object may often be taken as simply intransitive or as permissive (letting something be done to one): 1 Co 6:11 ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, *but you had a wash (washed yourselves, let yourselves be washed)*; 1 Co 14:8 τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς πόλεμον; *who will prepare himself (get ready) for war?*; Lu 8:24 καὶ ἐπαύσαντο, *and they ceased (died down)*; Lu 8:52 ἐκόπτοντο αὐτήν, *they were bewailing (beating themselves for) her* (see §1.11.5). With a reflexive pronoun direct object the active is more common than the middle: Lu 18:14 πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, *everyone who tries to exalt himself will be humbled*; 2Tm 2:13 ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται, *for he cannot disown himself* (that ἀρνεῖσθαι is a deponent verb is incidental, even though it and its compound ἀπαρνεῖσθαι are the only middle verbs found with reflexive direct object in the NT: see §2.5.5).

2.3.3. In some middle verbs the reflexive notion is reciprocal: διαλέγομαι, *I converse with*, although by NT times this had developed to *I discourse, I address*; Mt 26:4 καὶ συνεβουλεύσαντο, *and they took counsel together (advised one another)*; μάχομαι, *I fight , exchange blows* (but this can also be explained as *fight in my own interest*).

2.3.4. In some verbs the middle has a causative sense linked with its reflexive meaning: cf. δανείζω, *I lend*, and δανείζομαι, *I borrow* (*have lent to me*); μισθόω, *I let out on hire*, and μισθοῦμαι, *I hire* (*arrange to have on hire to me*). This usage is in some respects very similar to the use of the active described in §2.2, and in others to the permissive use described in §2.3.2: Lu 2:(4–)5 ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ... ἀπογράψασθαι, *Joseph went up to get himself enrolled (let himself be enrolled).*

2.4.1. A few common verbs have only a middle form of future to correspond with the active of the other aspects: -βαίνω, -βήσομαι; γινώσκω, γνώσομαι; ἐσθίω, φάγομαι; ἀποθνῄσκω, ἀποθανοῦμαι; λαμβάνω,

λήμψομαι; ὁράω, ὄψομαι; πίπτω, πεσοῦμαι; πίνω, πίομαι; τίκτω, τέξομαι; φεύγω, φεύξομαι; χαίρω, χαρήσομαι, and also εἰμί, ἔσομαι, in which some other middle forms had also developed by the NT period.

The number of such verbs had been larger in classical Greek, and a few verbs which by the time of the NT regularly had an active future are occasionally found in the NT with the older middle future instead: Ac 28:28 ἀκούσονται, cf. Jn 5:25 ἀκούσουσιν (v.ll. -σωσι, -σονται); Mt 9:18 ζήσεται, cf. 2 Tm 2:11 συζήσομεν.

2.4.2. In some transitive verbs the perfect and/or strong aorist active has an intransitive meaning which corresponds with that of the middle of the imperfective and future: ἕστηκα, *I stand*, and ἔστην, *I stood*, are intransitive like ἵσταμαι, *I am taking my position*, and στήσομαι, *I shall stand*, not transitive like ἵστημι, *I make stand*, and στήσω, *I shall set up*. This very common verb had also by NT times developed a transitive perfect ἕστακα (Ac 8:11 ἐξεστακέναι), an aorist passive form ἐστάθην which sometimes replaced ἔστην, and a new thematic verb στήκω which sometimes replaced ἕστηκα, as well as ἱστάνω as an alternative to ἵστημι.

2.4.3. Similarly a few causative verbs, of which middle and passive forms also occur, are recognizable as the transitive relatives of common intransitive verbs (of which they may originally have been part of an extended paradigm). For example, -βιβάζειν, *make to go/come*, is the causative of -βαίνειν, *go/come* (both normally occur only in compounds): with Ac 27:6 εὑρὼν ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης πλοῖον ... ἐνεβίβασεν ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτό, *finding a ship the centurion embarked us on it*, cf. Mt 14:22 ἠνάγκασεν τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, *he got the disciples to board the boat.* Middle and (mostly) passive forms of -βιβάζειν are Eph 4:16 συμβιβαζόμενον, Col 2:2 συμβιβασθέντες, Mt 14:8 προβιβασθεῖσα, Lu 10:15 καταβιβασθήσῃ (v.l. καταβήσῃ). As πίνειν, *drink*, could be used transitively, its causative ποτίζειν could have two accusative objects: §1.11.4.

In this connection it should be noted that of the denominative verbs (formed from nouns or adjectives) those in -εύω or -έω normally have the meaning *I am* ..., and those in -όω have a causative meaning: δουλεύω, *I am (serve as) a slave*, but δουλόω, *I enslave*; φιλέω, *I am a friend (to)*, and so *I love*; δικαιόω, *I treat as righteous*. Denominative verbs in -ίζω are not confined to either of these types of meaning.

A few intransitive verbs are sometimes found used without change of form as transitives with causative force: καθίζω, which in classical Greek was

predominantly *I seat*, but could also mean *I sit*, is found in many places in the NT with the intransitive meaning, but with the transitive meaning only in Ac 2:30, Eph 1:20 (both in LXX allusions in which this verb is supplied by the NT writer) and 1 Co 6:4; μαθητεύω, *I am a disciple*, is found with causative meaning in the NT, in Mt 28:19 μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, *make disciples of all the nations*, and Ac 14:21; and for the intransitive meaning its passive is used in Mt 13:52 and Mt 27:57. See also §1.11.1.

2.4.4. Sometimes instead of a verb form the corresponding verbal noun with a form of ποιεῖν, *do*, is found. In classical Greek the middle ποιεῖσθαι was normally used for this, but in the NT both active and middle are common, the choice possibly being influenced by the voice of the verb replaced by the periphrasis: in Lu 13:22 πορείαν ποιούμενος is used instead of πορευόμενος, perhaps to avoid repetition because the leading verb is διεπορεύετο; with Lu 18:8 ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν cf. Lu 18:5 ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν; and with Ac 25:3 ἐνέδραν ποιοῦντες cf. Ac 23:21 ἐνεδρεύουσιν.

2.5. Passive. 2.5.1. The passive voice apparently developed from the middle through a modification of the reflexive and permissive uses (e.g. *let oneself be washed*, cf. §2.3.2). The aorist is the only aspect in which separate passive forms became fully established, but these are based on strong aorist active forms like ἔστην and ἔβην. A future passive based on the aorist passive, but with middle inflexions, became distinct from the future middle in many verbs. For the passive in the imperfective and perfect see §2.5.3. Even in the aorist and future, however, the existence of a passive form does not in itself prove a passive meaning, which is generally beyond doubt only if the context requires it, as is usually the case when it is accompanied by ὑπό with a genitive. There are, of course, some verbs whose distinctively passive forms regularly have passive meaning, but there are also some with the opposite tendency. The extension of passive meaning in NT Greek was much more limited than the spread of passive forms.

2.5.2. The passive is found mostly in verbs which commonly take an external accusative object (transitive verbs: see §1.11), but occasionally occurs in verbs which take the genitive or dative (or a preposition with one of these cases: cf. §§1.10.2–4): Mt 27:12 ἐν τῷ κατηγορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων (cf. Lu 23:2 ἤρξαντο δὲ κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ); Ac 19:40 κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως (cf. Ac 19:38 ἐγκαλείτωσαν ἀλλήλοις); Ro 3:21 δικαιοσύνη ... μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου; Heb 7:8 (Μελχισέδεκ) μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ζῇ (cf. Ac 22:5 ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι, and the impersonal passive in 3 Jn 12 Δημητρίῳ μεμαρτύρηται ὑπὸ

πάντων, *testimony to Demetrius is made by all*, where ὑπὸ πάντων makes it clear that the dative is not a dative of the agent [§2.5.3]).

2.5.3. In the imperfective and perfect of many verbs the **same** forms are used for both middle and passive. This formal ambiguity is usually resolved by the context: cf. Ro 4:5 τῷ δὲ ... πιστεύοντι ... λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ ..., *to the one who ... has faith ... his faith is reckoned ...*, and Ro 4:6 ᾧ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην, *to whom God reckons righteousness*. The most common formal indicator of the passive in such cases is the presence of ὑπό with the **genitive**, but the overriding criterion is always what makes the best sense in the context.

With the perfect middle-passive the agent is commonly expressed by means of a dative case. In English this is usually best translated as a passive, but in Greek terms it is quite likely that the verb was felt rather as a middle, with the dative denoting the person involved, the notion of agency being implicit **rather** than explicit: Lu 23:15 οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ, *nothing worthy of death has been done by him, no capital offence has been established as his*. In view of the comparative weakness of the passive (cf. §§2.5.1 and 2.5.5) it is even possible that when the dative of the agent is found with an aorist passive the meaning originally intended was middle rather than passive: 1 Co 15:5 ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, *he appeared to (was seen by) Cephas.*

2.5.4. There are in the NT a few instances in which an active verb has something of a passive meaning. This had been much more widespread in classical Greek, where πάσχω was regularly used in certain constructions instead of a passive of ποιῶ, and ἐκπίπτω was used instead of a passive of ἐκβάλλω, ἀποθνῄσκω instead of a passive of ἀποκτείνω, and many others. The NT instances are Mt 17:12 οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, *so also the son of man will be treated by them* (see also Mk 5:26 and 1 Ths 2:14); Ac 27:26 εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν, *we must be cast ashore on a certain island*, and similarly in :17 and :29. In most such contexts a passive form is normal in NT Greek: Jn 12:31 νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω, *now the ruler of this world will be cast out*; Mk 9:31 ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθείς ..., *they will kill him, and when he is killed ... .*

2.5.5. Deponent Verbs. Verbs which have middle or passive forms in Greek but are normally translated as if they were active, are known as *deponent* verbs. This category is useful in some respects, but is not entirely necessary in terms of ancient Greek itself. As has been noted above

(§2.3.1), the reason for a writer's choice of the middle rather than the active of a verb in which both have similar meanings is sometimes not clear to us, and many deponent verbs have an obviously middle or passive element in their meaning or in their history. In comparison with πέμπω, *I send*, the middle force of the deponent μεταπέμπομαι, *I send for (I am having sent to me)*, is obvious (§2.3.4). On the other hand, in the case of πορεύομαι, *I journey*, whose aorist is passive in form (ἐπορεύθην), there was in earlier Greek an active πορεύω, *I convey*, so the passive would be natural enough for journeying on horseback or in a vehicle, but its meaning had long been extended to all kinds of journeying, including marching by infantry. We have no real evidence that speakers and writers of ancient Greek in general were conscious of an anomaly in their use of this and similar verbs.

In NT Greek there is evidence of a move towards passive forms in some verbs which had been middle deponents in classical Greek, but without any change in meaning. For example, the classical aorist of ἀποκρίνομαι, *I reply*, was ἀπεκρινάμην, and ἀπεκρίνατο is found occasionally in the NT, as in Jn 5:19, Ac 3:12; but mostly in the NT the normal Hellenistic aorist is found: ἀπεκρίθη in Jn 5:11, Ac 5:8, etc.

The aorist passive of a middle deponent is recognizable by its form, as in Ac 10:29 ἦλθον μεταπεμφθείς ... μετεπέμψασθέ με, *I came when I was sent for ... you sent for me*; but a passive meaning applied to a passive deponent can be recognized only from the context, as is always the case in the imperfective and perfect (not only in deponent verbs): cf. Ac 10:31 αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, *your deeds of mercy have been remembered in God's presence*, and Ac 11:16 ἐμνήσθην δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου, *I remembered the Lord's saying*.

3. ASPECT

3.1.1. Aspect in ancient Greek is that category of the verb system by means of which an author (or speaker) shows how he views each event or activity he mentions in relation to its context. Three aspects are usually recognized and are clearly distinguishable: the ***imperfective***, which expresses an activity as in process (in progress); the ***aorist***, which expresses it as whole action or simple event; and the ***perfect***, which expresses the state consequent upon an action. The ***future***, which is usually regarded simply as a tense, lacks some of the moods which the other aspects have, but is best regarded as a fourth aspect of intention.[1]

1. For some other definitions of ancient Greek verbal aspect see §§3.6.6–7, and for some comments on their authors' approaches to the subject see §§3.6.1–5.

3.1.2. On the use of the terms *tense*, *imperfective*, etc., in the present work, see the Author's Preface. *Aktionsart*, which was at one time commonly used by NT scholars instead of *aspect*, implies rather *kind of action*, and would be better applied to the lexical distinctions referred to in §§3.1.4, 1.10.6.

In order to avoid confusion, because of the variety of terminology used by scholars who write about aspect, the terms ***activity***, ***action*** and ***process*** are here used in limited senses in relation to aspectual distinctions: ***activity*** refers in the most general sense to the functions described by verbs of all kinds and in all their forms; ***action*** refers in a more specific way to an activity which is presented as constituting a complete event; and ***process*** refers to an activity as going on (in process, in progress), without specific reference to the limits of whole events.

3.1.3. It is important to note that aspectual distinctions are not always objectively determined, but depend very largely on the subjective attitude of the speaker or writer: the same activity may be viewed by different observers or in different contexts as process, whole action or state. In ancient Greek each speaker or writer had to express his aspectual view of each activity he referred to, whether he made its time relationships clear or not. This does not imply that all aspectual determinations are of equal importance. Sometimes the distinction between, say, process and whole action,

was of little concern to the writer or speaker in the context before him, and so the choice he made there would be based on a purely personal (even capricious) appreciation of its fitness; but often the choice of aspects was entirely significant, showing how he wanted the activity to appear to his hearers or readers. Whether significant or not, the choice would always necessarily be one the writer or speaker saw as appropriate to its context.

3.1.4. Before proceeding to a discussion of the individual aspects it will be useful to note a lexical distinction in verb types which is analogous to aspect, and which causes some variations in the translatable effects of the grammatical aspects. Some verbs essentially describe activities which are relatively definite: *do*, *run*, *say*, *touch*, *make*, *see*, *hear*, *suffer*, etc. These are conveniently called ***action*** verbs. Other verbs are essentially concerned with activities which are, or are very like, states of being: *be*, *have*, *feel (an emotion)*, *remain*, etc. These are conveniently called ***stative*** verbs.

In ancient Greek the aspects were applied rather comprehensively to both lexical types. The aorist applied to a stative verb expresses it as an action, either a whole action or a critical point of change in the activity (see §3.3). The perfect applied to a stative verb expresses its activity as a state which in some contexts may seem to be an intensified form of the imperfective of the same verb (see §3.4.3). The English translation *begin/began to* ... may in some contexts be a reasonable equivalent to the imperfective of an action verb, but for a stative verb this translation is more likely to suit the aorist. In most contexts the aorist seems to be the residual aspect of action verbs (used when there is no need or desire to express the relevance of another aspect), and the imperfective the residual aspect of stative verbs: but see also §4.2.2. This is a natural development from the fact that action verbs have lexical features which display a certain similarity to the whole-action grammatical features of the aorist aspect, and stative verbs have lexical features which more nearly correspond to the processive grammatical features of the imperfective (and in some ways the stative features of the perfect) aspect.

It is likely that our traditional lexical definitions of some Greek verbs obscure some of the qualities the speakers of ancient Greek felt in them. For example, νικάω, usually translated *I win* or *I conquer* (suggesting an action verb), was probably understood rather as *I am being victorious (over)* (stative verb). Idiomatic English translations must use English categories, but this does not imply that those categories can be directly transferred to the explanation of Greek idiom: fuller understanding of the way those who were familiar with that language used ancient Greek can come only from

continuing observation and reassessment of what they wrote. Some verbs seem to belong partly to both types: περιπατεῖν in its literal sense, *walk about*, seems to be an action verb, but in its metaphorical sense, *behave*, it is stative; καλεῖν, *call*, *name*, *invite*, seems clearly to be an action verb, but its middle/passive καλεῖσθαι, *be called*, *have as a name*, is undoubtedly stative. Even if doubt remains about the classification of some verbs — and in some contexts the distinction between action and stative verbs does not seem to make much difference — recognition of this distinction is an important aid to the fuller understanding of ancient Greek usage.[1]

1. Some scholars subdivide action verbs into sub-groups. In McK. *Pap.*, 44 n.16, I noted the theoretical possibility of subdividing action verbs into such groups as *kinetic* (ποιεῖν, πορεύεσθαι, etc.), *aesthetic* (ὁρᾶν, ἀκούειν, etc.), *pathetic* (πάσχειν, γίνεσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀποθνῄσκειν, etc.). Fanning, 128ff. lists eight categories: *states* and *actions*, *activities* and *performances*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*, *climaxes* and *punctuals*, each of the last three pairs being sub-groups of the second member of the preceding pair. This may be useful for the theoretical linguist, although too much of his categorization appears to be based on traditional English equivalents, but for the practical purpose of understanding the aspectual nuances of Greek verbs in their contexts the action/stative division seems much more important than any possible refinements.

3.1.5. It has been indicated above, and will become more apparent in the following sections, that a single aspectual form may be translated in different ways to suit different contexts or different classes of verbs. Such different translatable effects are referred to as ***realizations***. It cannot be clear to the modern reader how much the ancient speakers of Greek were aware of the distinctions we find it convenient, and often necessary, to make in translating, and some of them at least owe more to the peculiarities of modern English (or any other target language) than to those of ancient Greek. But the various categories of the Greek verb do not exist in isolation, and their interrelation with all the features of the context in which they occur produces a variety of effects, some obvious, others subtle nuances, and it is helpful to note the main realizations, while remembering that they are not in themselves ancient categories, and that there are often two or more possibilities of assigning them.

3.2. Imperfective. The imperfective aspect presents an activity as going on, in process, without reference to its completion. This may consist of a single activity in process at the time of reference, or a series of repetitions of an action, whether consecutively by one agent or distributively by a number of agents, regarded as parts of a wider whole activity. According to its context an activity in process may imply a notion of attempting,

continuing, setting about, beginning or the like, and a variety of English translations may be needed to represent one Greek form. For example, an imperfect tense form, as found in various past narrative contexts, could be the equivalent of *did*, *was doing*, *was trying to do*, *began to do*, *used to do*, *would do*, *had been doing*, etc., and all other imperfective forms need to be similarly assessed against their contexts. Some examples are: Ac 3:6 ὃ δὲ ἔχω, τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, *I am giving you what I have*; Ac 22:22 ἤκουον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ λόγου, *they were (had been) listening to him until he said this*; Ac 2:46 κλῶντές τε κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον μετελάμβανον τροφῆς, *(habitually) breaking bread from house to house they would (used to) partake of food*; Mt 5:2 ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς, *he began to teach them*; Lu 5:10 μὴ φοβοῦ, *do not be afraid (continue to fear)*; Mk 3:15 ... ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν, ... *in order that he might (from time to time) send them out to preach (be preachers)*. More examples, with information about different realizations, are given specifically in the sections dealing with the present and imperfect tenses (§§4.2–3), and also in most of the sections dealing with the other moods and subordinate clauses.

3.3. Aorist. The aorist (ἀόριστος, *undefined*) is the aspect normally used for expressing an activity simply as an act or event, as action pure and otherwise undefined, in its totality. It may refer to a single momentary action, to either a prolonged activity or a series of actions simply recorded as a complete event, or to the beginning or end of a prolonged activity (at the points of change or critical action). There is a tendency in some contexts for the aorist to be used as the residual aspect of action verbs: see §3.1.4. In narrative contexts referring to past time the aorist indicative normally has past reference, but in other contexts it is just as likely to have a timeless (or even present or future time) implication. In the other moods also the aorist has no essential time reference. Any apparent time reference is always due to the context and not to the aorist aspect itself. English equivalents of the aorist in past narrative include *did*, *has done*, *had done*, *began to have (be, remain, feel)* (stative verbs), and in timeless contexts the most likely is *do*. Some examples are: Ac 15:7 ἀναστὰς Πέτρος εἶπεν, *Peter standing up (stood up and) said*; Ac 15:12–13 ἐσίγησεν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἤκουον ... ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς σημεῖα ... . μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος, *they all became silent and listened (during their silence they were listening) to ... all the signs God had provided ... . After their silence (the finite period when they were silent) James responded*; Lu 22:8 ἑτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν τὸ πάσχα ἵνα φάγωμεν, *prepare the Passover meal for us to eat*; Ro 7:7 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνων εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου, *I had no knowledge of sin except through the law*; 1 Co 7:28 ἐὰν δὲ γαμήσῃς, οὐκ ἥμαρτες, *but if you do marry you do not commit a*

sin (that is not a sinful act). More examples, with information on realizations, are given in §4.4 and later sections.

3.4. Perfect. 3.4.1. The perfect aspect expresses the state or condition of the subject of the verb, as a result of an action (logically a prior action), but most often with comparatively little reference to the action itself. Some examples are: Mt 3:2 ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, *the heavenly kingdom is (has come) near*; Mt 2:5 οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται, *for so it is written (this is the relevant scripture)*; 1 Co 7:10 τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσιν παραγγέλλω ..., *my instructions to the married are ...*; Mt 7:25 τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, *for its foundation was (had been) set on the rock.*

3.4.2. In a few verbs the perfect usually appears to signify a state, without any reference to its establishment. The most common of these verbs is οἶδα, *I know (am in a state of knowledge)*, which is distinguished from ἔγνωκα in that the latter is used only in contexts in which the acquisition of the knowledge adds some significance to the state, while οἶδα is found both in contexts in which the acquisition of the knowledge is significant and in those in which it is irrelevant:[1] Jn 8:55 καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώκατε αὐτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα αὐτόν, *and you do not (have not come to) know him, but I know him.* Nevertheless the added nuance in ἔγνωκα is rarely strong enough to justify a translation other than *know*. Its closeness to οἶδα may be seen by comparing Jn 8:52 and Jn 16:30, quoted in §4.5.1.

Also common is ἕστηκα, *I stand (am standing)*, the intransitive perfect of ἵστημι, *I make stand.* This perfect rarely seems to add to the state of being in a standing position any significant reference to the act of standing up which led to it: Rev 3:20 ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω, *I am standing at the door and knocking*; Jn 1:35 τῇ ἐπαύριον πάλιν εἱστήκει ὁ Ἰωάννης, *the next day John was standing (there) again.* In spite of the persistence of some of its more ancient inflexions (in the NT the old infinitive ἑστάναι is used to the complete exclusion of ἑστηκέναι, and the old participle ἑστώς, -ῶσα, -ός is more common than ἑστηκώς, -υῖα, -ός), ἕστηκα was beginning to be replaced by an imperfective stative verb στήκω: see §3.4.8.

Once in the NT κέκραγα, *I cry out*, a perfect of an archaic type, is found. Many centuries earlier this perfect (like a few others) had apparently come to be regarded as having so little perfect significance — indeed even in the earliest extant Greek it seems anomalous as a perfect — that it was being replaced by the imperfective form κράζω, but it is found in a number of

places in the LXX, and the occurrence in Jn 1:15 of κέκραγεν instead of κράζει may be due to that influence.

1. For a discussion of verbs of knowing see McK. *NTPerf.*, 297–309. The imperfective γινώσκω signals a process of recognizing or potential knowledge, and the aorist ἔγνων an event of knowing or recognition. The aorist which in form corresponds to οἶδα is εἶδον, which is used of either physical or mental perception and is linked with ὁράω and βλέπω, with perfect ἑώρακα/ἑόρακα: on the use of such verbs see McK. *Style*, 326–327.

3.4.3. On the other hand the event producing the state may be implied strongly enough for the addition of an adverbial attachment which applies particularly to the event:[1] e.g. 1 Co 15:4 καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, *and that he rose on the third day (and remains risen)*. The emphasis is still on the state rather than the event, but the flexibility of the language permits the addition of an adverbial phrase which would usually accompany the aorist which might have been used here.

1. For a demonstration that this is not simply confusion of perfect and aorist values see McK. *NTPerf.*, 314–322.

3.4.4. When a verb in the perfect aspect has an accusative object the state being signalled by the verb is still that of the subject, although it is usually a logical implication of the context that the object is also in a (passive) state.[1] In Lu 1:36 Ἐλισάβετ ἡ συγγενίς σου καὶ αὐτὴ συνείληφεν υἱόν, *your relative Elizabeth — she too has conceived a son*, it is clear that a son has been conceived, but the significant fact being stated here is that Elizabeth, like Mary, is pregnant. When the state of the object is the significant point the perfect active is not used: cf. Lu 12:19 in §3.4.8.

1. For a demonstration of this see McK. *NTPerf.*, 309–314.

3.4.5. In action verbs (§3.1.4) the effect of using the perfect is sometimes to express responsibility for the action which produced the state: Ac 21:28 κεκοίνωκεν τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον, *he has defiled (is guilty of defiling) this holy place*; 1 Co 7:15 ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός, *God has called (it is God who is responsible for having called) you in peace*. Similarly an inanimate subject may be emphasized as the cause of the state: Mt 9:22 ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε, *your faith has saved you (is the basis of your healing)*.

3.4.6. In stative verbs (§3.1.4) the perfect usually denotes a state consequent on the aoristic action of the verb, and can often be translated in the

same way as the imperfective, or with a more intense expression of the same meaning: Ro 5:2 τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν, *we have (we got and still have) access*; Ac 26:2 ἥγημαι, *I firmly consider (have considered and now hold)*; Ac 21:20 τῶν πεπιστευκότων, *of those who have believed (and are firm believers).*

3.4.7. Sometimes, however, the state signalled by the perfect of a stative verb is one which stresses the termination of the verb's activity: Mk 5:15 τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, *the man who had had (but no longer had) the legion*; Jn 8:31 τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους, *the Jews who had believed in him (but no longer did).* The difference between this realization of the perfect and that of §3.4.6 is determined entirely by context. In both the perfect in itself signals simply a state arising from a previous activity.

A similar effect may be produced with an action verb in some contexts: Jn 11:44 ἐξῆλθεν ὁ τεθνηκὼς δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κειρίαις, *the (formerly) dead man came out, his feet and hands (still) bound with strips of cloth* (the crowd expected him to be dead, and the trappings of death were still present).

3.4.8. There are a few stative verbs whose imperfective seems to be used sometimes like a perfect, with the implication of a state arising from an otherwise unexpressed event. The most consistent of these is ἥκω, *I am come (am here, having come)*: Lu 15:27 ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἥκει, *your brother has come (is here).* Indeed, by the time of the NT an alternative perfect formation ἧκα had begun to appear, and in Mk 8:3 some mss. have ἥκασιν, *have come*, instead of εἰσίν, *are*. Although in the NT a perfect passive form τέθειμαι is found (which in earlier Greek usually has only a middle meaning), κεῖμαι, *I lie*, often occurs as the equivalent of the perfect passive of τίθημι, *I place*: Lu 12:19 ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα, *you have many good things put by* (cf. §3.4.4). Similarly related to καθίζω, *I sit down, seat*, and καθέζομαι, *I sit down, am seated*, is κάθημαι, *I am seated*, although it often has no obvious reference to a previous act of sitting down: Mk 2:14 εἶδεν Λευὶν ... καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον, *he saw Levi ... sitting at the tax office.* A new verb στήκω, *I stand*, was beginning to replace ἕστηκα (see §3.4.2), but in the NT the perfect forms were still predominant. Their equivalence may be seen by comparing Ro 14:4 στήκει ἢ πίπτει, *he stands or falls*, and 1 Co 10:12 ὁ δοκῶν ἑστάναι βλεπέτω μὴ πέσῃ, *he who seems to be (thinks he is) standing must take care not to fall.* On the other hand γρηγορέω, *I am awake*, which is similarly formed on ἐγρήγορα, the classical intransitive perfect of ἐγείρω, *I rouse, raise,*

seems to be clearly distinguished from the only perfect of that verb found in the NT, the middle-passive ἐγήγερμαι, *I am risen.*

3.5. Future. The future is something of an anomaly in the ancient Greek verb system. In some verbs a middle form in the future corresponds to the active of the other aspects: see §2.4.1. There is no future subjunctive, imperative or optative (although this last had had a limited non-modal function in classical Greek), and the future infinitive and participle are confined to a small range of functions which are the same as in classical Greek, but perhaps less used by NT times: see §1.8 n.1. The future is used to express intention, and consequently simple futurity, and it is often difficult to distinguish between these. When the intention expressed is that of the speaker or writer instead of the subject of the verb, the future overlaps with some uses of the subjunctive and imperative of other aspects.[1]

The intention force is fairly clear in Ro 5:7 μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται, *a person will scarcely (consent to) die for a righteous man* (see §4.8.1); but in Mt 17:27 εὑρήσεις στατῆρα, *you will find a stater*, there is only a statement of futurity. In Mt 1:21 τέξεται δὲ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, *she will bear a son and you will name him Jesus*, καλέσεις seems clearly to express the intention of the speaker (or God), and so to have an imperative force (= κάλεσον), while τέξεται can be taken as expressing only futurity. In Ac 24:11 ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων, *I went up to worship* (see §17.6.1), the participle expresses intention, whereas in Ac 20:22 τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναντήσοντά μοι, *what will happen to me there*, there is only futurity: see also §§1.9.5, 6.2.4.

1. It seems that the future originally developed from a subjunctive, and it is interesting to note that the modern Greek future is a new subjunctive construction. Some scholars prefer to treat the future as a mood rather than an aspect. There are difficulties in any categorization, but the position taken in this book is based on the fact that the existence of future infinitives and participles seems more appropriate to an aspect than to any other category.

3.6. EXCURSUS

Some Recent Work on Aspect

3.6.1. My intention in writing this book was, and remains, to expound the system, based on aspect, which I believe sheds most light on the meaning and use of the verb in the language of the NT text, and not to argue disputed points in detail. But when I was only about halfway through, two substantial books on verbal aspect in NT Greek, by Stanley E. Porter and Buist M. Fanning (see Select Bibliography), appeared within about a year, and it seemed necessary to add some comment on the contribution of both to the study of my subject, and to make some response to those parts of both with which I do not agree. Their respective definitions of aspect are quoted in §§3.6.6–7.

I found both of these books useful, both in the support they give to the main lines of my own work and in the challenge they offer me to review my approach to some parts of it. Their main effect on the present book was that I was prompted to enlarge it slightly by adding a few explanatory sections and several extra examples (mostly to illustrate points different from those for which these scholars used them). One of the new explanatory sections (§4.1.2) indeed is a summary of the main part of an article I wrote in response to Porter's book: "Time and Aspect in New Testament Greek", in *Novum Testamentum* 34 (1992), 209–228.

3.6.2. Both books attempt a theoretical account of verbal aspect as it is found in NT Greek, but they differ in their conclusions. While Fanning generally follows the traditional line that the indicative mood forms signal time as well as aspect, and has too little reference to the obvious exceptions, Porter goes to great lengths to deny the relevance of time. Fanning confines himself more strictly to the NT, and to what is specifically relevant to aspect, to the extent that he almost excludes the future tense on the grounds that it has modal rather than aspectual force; while Porter quotes extensively from classical Greek as well as the NT, and has a useful section on mood and full chapters on the future (which he regards as only vaguely aspectual) and on conditional statements. Fanning's book is much the easier to read, and has a subject index as well as an index of passages quoted and an extensive bibliography. Porter's is rather difficult to read, with changes of

type size which do not seem to follow a logical pattern, and has an index of passages quoted and a much more extensive bibliography, but lacks a subject index, so that it is very difficult to use as a reference book. Porter's book also has many more, and more significant, misprints.

Both books have surveys of earlier work on verbal aspect, Fanning's being briefer and arranged in terms of various approaches to aspect and to its application to NT Greek; and Porter's being more comprehensive and mainly arranged on historical lines, with more references also to other relevant languages. Both aim to conform to theoretical linguistics standards, with surprisingly different results.

3.6.3. Porter has a very useful demonstration (pp.75ff.) of the priority of aspect over tense in ancient Greek, and on the whole avoids the errors of the traditional tense-based approach, but he goes too far in his emphasis on the non-temporal quality of aspect, to the extent of denying pastness in contexts which clearly do have past reference, and in his attempts to distinguish rigidly between timeless and omnitemporal applications. His chapter on "Vague Verbs and Periphrastics", in which he categorizes some verbs as aspectually vague, adopts a too narrow definition of periphrasis, and refers to "catenative constructions" in a way that seems to deny aspectual quality to some verb-forms, I found unconvincing. He is particularly weak in assessing contexts as a whole, for he often seems not to regard the aspects of the verb-forms as an integral part of the context, and all too often he seems to be imposing on the actual contexts irrelevant presuppositions presumably derived from over-reliance on card-index (or computer list) excerpts. He regards the future as aspectually vague, "grammaticalizing a unique semantic feature [+expectation]" (p.438). His chosen terms for the imperfective, aorist and perfect aspects are respectively *imperfective*, *perfective* and *stative*, and if anything he leans too much towards the markedness theory of privative oppositions developed for the Slavonic languages.

3.6.4. Fanning prefers equipollent opposition, and uses *present* and *aorist* for the two full aspects he recognizes. He regards the perfect as a complex category combining three elements, "the Aktionsart-feature of stative situation, the tense feature of anteriority, and the aspect of summary viewpoint concerning the occurrence" (pp.119–120), and the future as predominantly modal. In his treatment of the perfect and of the indicative of the other aspects he is too prone to see time reference as implicit in the verb-forms themselves. He recognizes the importance of the inherent meaning of the verb stem in relation to aspect, and adopts an elaborate system of categories (see §3.1.4 n.1 for a summary of them), but in this, as in many

other details, he seems to rely too much on traditional English equivalents. Most of his analysis is usefully divided into areas in which the interrelationship of aspect and other contextual features, including type of verb meaning, is noted, but he too suffers from the "card-index syndrome", although to a lesser extent than Porter, in too often failing to assess the whole context. He makes too little allowance for the subjective choice of the writer, and is far too inclined to resort to statistics rather than acknowledge aspectual value. Through most of his book he pays particular attention to contrasting aspectual usage in contexts with general reference and with specific reference. This is an important point, but he develops it too far, for after establishing the statistical dominance of imperfective and aorist respectively in such contexts he only partially attempts to explain the numerous exceptions, and is too ready to fall back on claims that individual verbs develop "idiomatic" patterns which defy normal aspect usage. In his failure to recognize periphrastic perfect forms as really perfects (except in the participle) he even distorts some of his statistics.

3.6.5. These two books contain much useful information, and together illustrate the problems of dealing with aspect in NT Greek, especially as they quote widely from the great variety of theories that have been formulated to explain it, mostly based on misconceptions arising from expectations of similarity with other languages. In contrast, the present work aims not to survey or formulate elaborate theories, but to present a practical approach to understanding the Greek, giving pre-eminence to the full appreciation of context, which is the more important because the choice of aspect is essentially sensitive to context, and allowing for the element of subjective choice, which all acknowledge but many tend to obscure with judgments based on the implication of strict rules. The general criticisms above may be useful to readers interested in exploring the differences between my explanations of details and those of Porter and Fanning.

Two Definitions of Aspect

3.6.6. Porter defines NT Greek verbal aspect (pp.88, 107) as "a synthetic semantic category (realized in the forms of the verb) used of meaningful oppositions in a network of tense systems to grammaticalize the author's reasoned subjective choice of conception of a process." He also writes (p.107), "... tense forms in Greek are not primarily time-based (i.e. tense is not grammaticalized in Greek) but ... they are aspectually based", and "The Greek verbal aspects are three: perfective, imperfective, and stative. ...

these aspectual categories may be helpfully defined through various means of visualization, including display in a semantic verbal network with formal realizations. ... translation is not a reliable guide to formulation of meaningful tense distinctions, especially in the area of verbal aspect, where by definition speakers may choose to conceive of a process in various ways." See also §3.6.3.

3.6.7. Fanning defines it (pp.84–85) as "that category in the grammar of the verb which reflects the focus or viewpoint of the speaker in regard to the action or condition which the verb describes. It shows the perspective from which the occurrence is regarded or the portrayal of the occurrence apart from the actual or perceived nature of the situation itself. ... The action can be viewed from a reference-point *within* the action, without reference to the beginning or end-point of the action, but with focus instead on its internal structure or make-up. Or the action can be viewed from a vantage-point *outside* the action, with focus on the whole action from beginning to end, without reference to its internal structure." He continues, "... aspect has nothing inherently to do with temporal sequence, with procedural characteristics of actual situations or of verbs and verb-phrases, or with prominence in discourse. It is instead a rather subjective category, since a speaker may choose to view or portray certain occurrences by one aspect or another without regard to the nature of the occurrence itself. However, fully subjective choices between aspects are not common, since the nature of the action or the procedural character of the verb or verb-phrase can restrict the way an action is viewed by a speaker. In fact, aspect interacts so closely with such features and is so significantly affected by them that no analysis of aspect can be meaningful without attention to these interactions." See also §3.6.4.

4. TENSE

4.1.1. Tense. A ***tense*** is a system of verb forms expressing person and number in the indicative mood (§5.2).[1] In the imperfective aspect there are two tenses, the ***present***, which is the primary imperfective tense, and the ***imperfect***, which is the secondary tense of this aspect. The three tenses of the perfect aspect are the ***perfect***, which is the primary tense of this aspect, and by far the most common of them, the ***pluperfect***, which is the secondary perfect tense, and the ***future-perfect***, which has links with the future but clearly belongs to the perfect aspect. The aorist and future aspects have only one tense each, the ***aorist*** tense and the ***future*** tense.

1. Traditionally the word *tense* is used with reference to the infinitive, the participle and other moods as well as the indicative. The terms adopted in this book are designed to describe the ancient Greek language more accurately, and thus to simplify the description of its syntax, without departing too extensively from the traditional terms. It is to be noted that *perfect* is here used to describe both an aspect and the most common tense of that aspect, and *aorist* and *future* are each used for both an aspect and its only tense.

4.1.2. Time and the Tenses. It is commonly assumed that each tense has, or should have, a time reference proper to it. Although this is true of some languages, the tenses of ancient Greek do not signal time except by implication from their relationship to their context. Most of the tenses could be used with present, past or even future reference, depending on the time indicated mainly by other factors in the context. Not all the possibilities are found in the limited range and volume of the NT writings.

Indeed the imperfect and pluperfect occur so predominantly in contexts with past time reference that they can usually be assumed to be so placed unless the context clearly suggests otherwise.[1] Similarly the present and perfect tenses are mostly found in contexts whose time reference is present or timeless, for both of which the English present and perfect are natural, and there are usually clear contextual indicators when they have past or future reference. The future and future-perfect tenses for the same reasons can be taken as having future time reference unless the context indicates otherwise. These remarks, based on statistical observation, are a useful guide in general, but, like all statistical information, they do not prove

anything about any particular verb-form: the context must be the deciding factor in every instance, even when the aspect of the verb-form itself is a crucial element in the context.

It should be noted that some common time indicators sometimes occur in situations where they are markers of only part of the temporal setting, or where they are markers of some other factor, such as reality, rather than time: Mt 27:8 ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἵματος ἕως τῆς σήμερον, *that field was called the field of blood (and is so called) until the present day* (cf. 1 Co 15:4, §3.4.3); Jn 11:8 νῦν ἐζήτουν σε λιθάσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, *quite recently (just now) the Jews were trying to stone you* (cf. 10:31); Gal 4:20 ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, *I would like to be present with you now and to change my tone (I wish I were now with you and could change...)* (see §10.3.2); 1 Co 12:18 νῦν (v.l. νυνὶ) δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, *but as it is (in reality) God has arranged the parts ... .*[2]

1. The traditional view that these tenses and the aorist are intrinsically past tenses, and that the present tense has intrinsically present time reference, is not entirely perverse, but arose from this kind of observation, especially by scholars used to Latin, where the corresponding tenses are indeed time-based.

2. For a fuller treatment of time and aspect see McK. *Time*.

4.2. Present. 4.2.1. The present tense is so named because one of its main uses is to describe a process taking place in present time: Jn 5:2 ἔστιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρα, *in Jerusalem near the sheepgate there is a pool*; Mt 14:16 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν ἀπελθεῖν, *they do not need to go away*; Ac 9:34 ἰᾶται σε Ἰησοῦς, *Jesus is healing you*; Gal 3:2 τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν, *this is all I want to learn*; Ro 6:3 ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ...; *or are you unaware that ...?* If the focus is really on present time the activity is almost inevitably seen as in process in relation to the context. Where a present activity is really represented as a complete action the aorist tense is found, but in the NT there are no contexts in which this is appropriate. In Ac 16:18 παραγγέλλω σοι may be idiomatically translated into English as *I command*, but its Greek implication is *I am commanding*.

4.2.2. Timeless Present. An equally common use of the present tense is to describe an activity as generally or customarily occurring, in timeless contexts which have present time reference only in a general sense, referring to what tends to, or does, happen in present circumstances, but is not

necessarily happening now: Ro 7:15 οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω τοῦτο πράσσω ἀλλ' ὃ μισῶ τοῦτο ποιῶ, *I do not (from time to time) do what I want (to do), but I do do what I hate*; Jn 12:24 ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολὺν καρπὸν φέρει, *but if it dies it bears much fruit.*

In this timeless use the present tense appears to be the residual form used (cf. §3.1.4), and the realization of the imperfective is iterative/distributive: each of the activities represented may be either a process or a complete action, but unless there is a contrasting aorist in the context (cf. §4.4.3) the process/action distinction is treated in this use as less significant than the series constituted by all these activities: cf. §4.3.3. It is worth noting that the English equivalent of an action verb in this timeless use is *do*, while in present time use it is more commonly *is doing*. In stative verbs the translation effects of the two uses are less noticeable.

4.2.3. Future Reference. Whether it has already begun or is not yet beyond the stage of being contemplated, an activity whose completion is still in the future may be represented as simply in process, and sometimes the context emphasizes the future element: Jn 14:12 ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πορεύομαι, *I am going to my father*; Rev 22:20 ἔρχομαι ταχύ, *I am coming soon*; 1 Co 15:32 αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνῄσκομεν, *for tomorrow we die*. This use is mostly found with verbs of coming and going.

A rare extension of this use is for dramatic effect (cf. §4.2.5): Mt 24:40 τότε ἔσονται δύο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται, *then there will be two men in the fields — one is (being) taken and one is (being) left* (the scene is described as if it is unfolding before our eyes, rather than as a simple event: cf. the parallel Lu 17:34 παραλημφθήσεται ... ἀφεθήσεται, and see §§7.2.3, 7.2.5). Less dramatic, but no doubt with emphasis on actuality, is Jn 7:34 ζητήσετέ με καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσετε, καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν, *you will look for me, and you won't find me: you cannot come (to the place) where I am (then).*

4.2.4. Extension from Past. When used with an expression of either past time or extent of time with past implications (but not in past narrative, for which see §4.2.5), the present tense signals an activity begun in the past and continuing to present time: Lu 13:7 ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν ... καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκω, *it is now three years since I have been coming looking for fruit ... and not finding it*; Lu 15:29 τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι, *I have been slaving for you all these years*; Jn 14:9 τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι ...; *have I been with you so long ...?*; Ac 27:33 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἄσιτοι

διατελεῖτε, *today is the fourteenth day you have been continuing on the alert without food*; Jn 8:58 πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί, *I have been in existence since before Abraham was born*. This is a form of the continuation realization of the imperfective aspect, and similar uses are found with the imperfect tense and with imperfective participles: see §4.3.4.

4.2.5. Historic Present. In narrative referring to past events the present tense is sometimes found instead of the imperfect, or even the aorist, tense. This is a stylistic variant used by some writers to enliven the more significant parts of their narrative. In the NT it is predominantly applied to verbs of saying (e.g. λέγει, φησίν) introducing direct speech. Of the evangelists Mark uses the historic present most indiscriminately, and Luke most sparingly. Some examples are: Jn 20:6 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ θεωρεῖ (for ἐθεώρει) τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα, *he entered the tomb and could see the wrappings lying there*; Jn 1:41 εὑρίσκει οὗτος πρῶτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ... καὶ λέγει (for ἔλεγεν) αὐτῷ, *he first found* (if for εὗρεν) */went to find* (if for εὕρισκεν) *his brother ... and said (proceeded to say) to him.*

Mark sometimes extends the use of the historic present to setting the scene for an incident, and occasionally even to a subordinate clause: Mk 2:3 καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν ..., *and they were bringing (coming carrying) to him a paralysed man*; Mk 11:1 καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ... ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, *and when they were approaching Jerusalem he sent (proceeded to send) two of his disciples*. Of course all these presents are in place of normal imperfects.

4.2.6. Conative and Inceptive Use. In some contexts the present tense of action verbs (§3.1.4) has the effect of so emphasizing the incompleteness of the activity that the most natural English equivalent is *try to do, begin to do, can do* (§3.2): Ac 26:28 ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι, *in short you are urging (trying to persuade) me to act the Christian*; Jn 10:32 διὰ ποῖον αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐμὲ λιθάζετε; *for which of these deeds are you trying to stone me?*; Jn 8:46 τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; *which of you can convict me of sin?*

4.3. Imperfect. 4.3.1. The imperfect tense is mostly found, along with aorists, in past narrative passages where it therefore describes an activity as a process taking place in past time, but in some circumstances its time reference is present. It is commonly used when an activity is presented as the background, or in some other way parallel, to another activity of any kind, and where there is some emphasis on the notion of continuation. Parallel events, even when they are not meant to be regarded as incomplete, may be

presented in the imperfect when the parallelism is felt to emphasize the process above the completeness. The notion of continuation is obvious when an activity is simply going on, but it also applies when one activity is presented as the effective continuation of another, which is itself presented as complete action and is therefore aorist, whether indicative or participle. When this combination occurs the imperfect usually also forms the background to the events that follow. Some examples of these common realizations are: Jn 2:1 ... γάμος ἐγένετο ... καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ, *a wedding took place ... and Jesus' mother was there*; Ac 3:2 καί τις ἀνὴρ ... ἐβαστάζετο, *and a certain man was being carried*; 1 Co 11:23 ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, *on the night of his betrayal* (planned but not yet complete) *the Lord Jesus took bread*; Rev 5:3 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον, *and nobody was able to open the scroll*; Mk 8:5 καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτοὺς ..., *and he went on to ask them ...*; Mk 9:32 οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι, *and they did not understand his words and were afraid to ask him any further questions*; Mt 24:1 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπορεύετο, *Jesus went outside and was moving away from the temple*; Ac 16:22 καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ περιρήξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἐκέλευον ῥαβδίζειν, *and the magistrates tore their clothes off and gave (and proceeded to give / while they gave) orders for them to be flogged*; Ac 27:1 ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη ... παρεδίδουν τὸν Παῦλον ... ἑκατοντάρχῃ, *when it was decided ..., they handed (proceeded to hand) Paul over to a centurion*; Mt 15:36 ἔλαβεν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους ... καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, *he took the seven loaves ... and giving thanks he broke them and proceeded to give them to his disciples.*

When a negative is attached to an imperfect the effect is often equivalent to idiomatic English *would not* or *could not*: Lu 4:41 οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, *he would not let (was not letting) them go on speaking* (cf. Ac 16:7 καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ, *and the spirit of Jesus did not permit them [to go there]*); Lu 15:16 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ, *and nobody would give (was giving) him anything*; Ac 9:8 οὐδὲν ἔβλεπεν, *he could not see (was not seeing) anything*. Cf. also §4.3.4.

Other manifestations of the imperfect as past process are set out in §§4.3.2–5, and with present reference in §4.3.6. Its use in excluded potential statements, conditional protases and wishes (in all of which it represents a process in either past or present time, according to context) is described in §§8.3.3–4, 21.4, and 10.3; and its use in historic sequence is covered in §§12.4.3, 13.2.3, 20.3.2 and 20.6.4.

4.3.2. Conative and Inceptive Imperfect. In some contexts the imperfect of action verbs has the effect of so emphasizing the incompleteness of the activity that the most natural English equivalent is *tried to do*, *began to do* (cf. §1.9.6). These effects are much more commonly found in the imperfect than in the present (cf. §4.2.6), but only because past-oriented narrative tends to offer more scope for them than present-oriented dialogue. Some examples are: Mt 3:14 ὁ δὲ διεκώλυεν αὐτόν, *but he tried to prevent him* (the context shows he was unsuccessful); Ac 26:11 πολλάκις τιμωρῶν αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν, *by frequent punishments I tried to force them to blaspheme*; Mk 15:23 καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον, *and they offered (tried to give) him wine spiced with myrrh*; Ac 27:17 βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο, *they tried/began to use supports*; Ac 27:33 παρεκάλει ὁ Παῦλος ἅπαντας, *Paul began to encourage them all*; Jn 5:10 ἔλεγον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ τεθεραπευμένῳ ..., *the Jews began to say to the man who had been healed* ... .

That this realization is merely the result of the interaction of the aspect of the verb and the context is clear in those passages in which more than one idiomatic English translation is possible, as in Ac 27:17 (above), and in Mt:24.1, quoted in §4.3.1, where ... *and began to move away* ... is an acceptable translation.

4.3.3. Iterative and Distributive Imperfect. Just as a series of dots or dashes may be seen as a line, so a series of similar activities (whether actions or processes) may be viewed as a continuing process. The imperfect tense is commonly found signalling such a series. This is its iterative realization. Its distributive realization is when the imperfect occurs in circumstances where a number of agents perform similar activities, whether in series or in parallel. Some examples are: Lu 2:41 καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, *and his parents used to make the journey to Jerusalem every year*; Ac.18:4 διελέγετο δὲ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον, *and every Sabbath he would argue in the synagogue*; Ac 2:47 ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σῳζομένους (← οἱ ἐσῴζοντο) καθ' ἡμέραν, *and the Lord added to their number those who were saved day by day*; Mk 14:56 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ, *for many testified falsely against him* (they did it individually). See also §§4.2.2, 4.4.1. It should be noted that because the Greek imperfect simply signals the ongoing process the various realizations in English may overlap: a distributive example may be also conative, etc.

4.3.4. Extension from the Past. Just as the present tense may describe an activity as having begun in the past and still continuing in the

present (§4.2.4), so the imperfect in past narrative may describe what had previously begun and was still continuing at the time of contextual reference: Lu 8:27 χρόνῳ ἱκανῷ οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, *for a long time he had not clothed himself and had not been staying at home but among the tombs*. In this example the negatives bring out the difference between the action verb of putting on (clothes) and the stative verb of staying. The imperfect of an action verb would have an iterative force in such circumstances (the v.l. ἐνεδιδύσκετο would mean *he had [not] been putting his clothes on*), but the negative with it produces a total absence of activity, for which the aorist is equally appropriate, and indeed more effective. The imperfect of a stative verb, however, signals a continuing state process and remains the more appropriate tense even with a negative; but in this context its negative applies only to one of the alternative circumstances of the verbal activity.

In the NT there are less examples of the imperfect than of the present used in this realization, but there are also some participles which represent clauses with imperfect tense verbs, and in Lu 8:27 some mss. read ... ἔχων (v.l. ὃς εἶχεν) δαιμόνια ἐκ χρόνων ἱκανῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ..., *who had long been demon-possessed, and had not put on* ... . Another participial example is Mk 5:25 γυνὴ οὖσα (← ἣ ἦν) ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη, *a woman who had for twelve years been affected with constant bleeding* (note that the change to the aorist παθοῦσα in :26 views her trouble with doctors as complete, and thus indicates that she had given up turning to them for help). On participles cf. Ac 2:47 in §4.3.3, and see §6.2.

4.3.5. Prior Past Time. The process signalled by the imperfect tense may be set in a time period before the past time principally under reference in the context: Mk 6:18 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης ..., *for John had been telling* ... (i.e. before his death, which is mentioned in :16); Lu 8:29 πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις ... ἐδεσμεύετο ἁλύσεσιν, *for he had often been bound with chains*. The logic of the context determines the time reference.

4.3.6 Imperfect with Present Time Reference. In some circumstances the imperfect is found in contexts with present (or even timeless) time reference, where its own time reference is clearly the same as that of its context. The most common occurrence is in excluded potential statements and questions, unreal conditional protases, and excluded wishes (§§8.3.3–4, 11.3, 21.4, 10.3): Jn 8:42 εἰ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἦν, ἠγαπᾶτε ἂν ἐμέ, *if God were your father you would love (be showing love to) me.*

The less common circumstance (of which no certain example is found in the NT) is where the imperfect is substituted for the present to add the emphasis appropriate to *really* or *essentially*. A clear example from earlier Greek is the exclamatory question τοῦτο τί ἦν; *what is this?* Perhaps the most likely NT example is in Jn 2:25, where τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ may be *what really is in man*, but the imperfect may be due to historic sequence: see §13.2.3. So too in Gal 2:6 ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν ... (see §13.2.1) may be intended as *what they really are* (the indefinite ποτέ in a question can add intensity), but as it occurs in a parenthesis in the narration of an incident with clearly past reference it is at least as likely that it is intended as *whatever they were*. It is just possible that ἤθελον in Gal 4:20 (quoted in §4.1.2) may mean *I really want* ..., but the attachment of ἄρτι to παρεῖναι in the emphatic end-of-phrase position (the normal place for an adverb is before the word it modifies) makes it clear that he is stressing the obvious fact of his absence, so the excluded potential is much more likely.[1]

1. For other examples like this see McK. *Time*, 212–218.

4.4. Aorist Tense. 4.4.1. The aorist tense (i.e. the indicative mood of the aorist aspect) is most commonly found in narrative which has past time reference describing an activity as a complete[1] action or event, whether the activity consists of a single action, either momentary or prolonged, or a complete series of actions (see §3.3), and in such a context it naturally has an implied past reference (but note also §§4.4.3, 4.4.5). As applied to a stative verb (§3.1.4) the aorist may be either ***inceptive*** (or ***ingressive***), expressing entry into the period of activity (e.g. Ac 15:12 ἐσίγησεν, *became silent*), or ***complexive*** (or ***constative***), expressing the totality of the activity (e.g. Ac 28:30 ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, *he remained for two whole years in his own rented accommodation* — and then ceased to do so). This distinction is not always clear: in 2 Co 8:9 ἐπτώχευσεν is probably best taken as *he became poor* (inceptive), but it could be intended to mean *he spent a time in poverty* (complexive): both are quite appropriate to the context. In action verbs, of course, the aorist normally has a complexive effect, and it is the imperfective aspect which may have an inceptive nuance. Some examples to supplement those above and in §§3.3 and 4.3.1–4 are: Mk 9:22 πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν, *it has often cast him into a fire* (the series is simply regarded in its totality); Rev 5:4 οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὑρέθη ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον, *nobody was found worthy to open the scroll* (contrast the effect of the imperfect with a negative: §4.3.1); Lu 6:16 ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης, *who (later) turned traitor*; Mt 14:30 βλέπων δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον ἐφοβήθη, *as he saw the wind he became frightened*; 1 Ths 2:10 ... ὡς ... ἁμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν

ἐγενήθημεν, ... *how ... blamelessly we behaved towards you believers* (throughout the period of our visit).

1. In contexts with past reference, but not in others, *complete* actions are normally also *completed*.

4.4.2. Prior Past Time. The time reference of the aorist in past narrative may, like that of the imperfect (§4.3.5), apply to a time previous to the past time principally being referred to in the context: Mk 6:17 ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν τὸν Ἰωάννην ... διὰ Ἡρῳδιάδα ... ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν, *Herod had sent and arrested John ... because of Herodias ... because he had married her* (note two levels of prior pastness); Lu 8:39 ἀπῆλθεν ... κηρύσσων ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, *he went away ... proclaiming all that Jesus had done for him*; also Ac 15:12, quoted in §3.3.

4.4.3. Timeless (Gnomic) Aorist. The aorist tense is often used to express general truth in contexts with no particular time reference. The present is the tense most commonly found in timeless statements (§4.2.2), as habitual activity is an imperfective realization (cf. also §4.3.3), but when the completeness of an action is to be stressed in such a context the aorist is used. This aoristic completeness may in some contexts imply suddenness or decisive action, in others inevitability, but being a deviation from the norm in such contexts it always involves some degree of emphasis. A clause containing ἄν (including ἐάν, ὅταν, etc.) with a subjunctive depending on an aorist indicative is usually a clear indication that the context is timeless: see §§20.3.1, 20.6.3, 21.3.1. The timeless aorist is often called ***gnomic*** because it has been most readily recognized in proverbial sayings and maxims (γνῶμαι), but it is not confined to them. Some examples are: Jn 15:6 ἐὰν μή τις μένῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη, *if anyone does not remain in me he is cast out like a branch and withers* (the present tenses which follow describe the less urgent tidying up process); Jas 1:11 ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος σὺν τῷ καύσωνι καὶ ἐξήρανεν τὸν χόρτον, *once the sun rises with its scorching heat it withers the grass*; Mt 5:28 πᾶς ὁ βλέπων (← ὃς ἂν βλέπῃ) γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ; *everyone who looks at a woman to the point of desiring her thereby (at that point) commits adultery with her in his heart* (*has already committed* ... would more naturally represent the perfect in such a context); also 1 Co 7:28, quoted in §3.3.

4.4.4. In some parables it is not entirely clear whether the aorist tense is used for past or timeless narrative, as may be seen from the three in Mt 13:44–48: ἔκρυψεν in :44 is almost certainly timeless, for the present verbs

which follow seem more naturally timeless than historic; similarly in :46 ἠγόρασεν is probably timeless because the perfect πέπρακεν (see §4.5.2) is more naturally understandable as timeless (although εἶχεν in the subordinate clause seems to introduce a comparative time element: cf. ἔχει in :44); but in :48 συνέλεξαν and ἔβαλον must express past narrative because of the particular temporal clause ὅτε ἐπληρώθη: ὅταν πληρωθῇ would be natural in a timeless statement (see §§19, 20.6.3). The time reference, of course, does not affect the overall meaning, and it is only in translation into a language with a time-sensitive verb system that a problem arises.[1]

When the aorist indicative is found in a causal clause in a timeless context it may need to be translated as if it implies a reference to past time, but in Greek terms the implication is entirely due to the logical effect of aoristic completeness in the context: Jn 16:21 ἡ γυνὴ ὅταν τίκτῃ λύπην ἔχει ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτῆς, *when a woman is in labour she is distressed because her hour has come.*

1. For more details of the time reference of parables see McK. *Time*, 220–223.

4.4.5. Future Time Reference. There are in classical Greek drama some contexts in which an aorist tense refers clearly to present or future time, but there appears to be in the NT no instance of present time reference, and only one of future time: Jd 14(–15) ἐπροφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ... Ἐνὼχ λέγων, Ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἐλέγξαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν ..., *Enoch ... prophesied about (to) these men, "Look, the Lord will come with (among) his holy hosts to judge everyone and to convict all the ungodly of all their godless actions, which they have done so impiously ..."* (the prophecy quoted from very early times is applied to misdeeds recent at the time Jude wrote: cf. :4 οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα). Two other NT passages in which some have claimed that an aorist has future reference are more naturally, in their contexts, taken as timeless: Mt 18:15 ἐάν σου ἀκούσῃ, ἐκέρδησας τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, *if he listens to you, you win over your brother*; Jn 15:8 ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν πολὺν φέρητε, καὶ γενήσεσθε ἐμοὶ μαθηταί, *this is how my Father is glorified, in your bearing much fruit, and (so) you will prove to be my disciples* (the v.l. γένησθε would give *...fruit and [so] proving to be ...*).

4.4.6. Epistolary Aorist. The writer of a letter or book may refer to the writing or sending of his work or to the sending of the person who delivers it as if he were speaking his words at the time of their being read by

their recipients, so that what was a process or intention at the time of writing is viewed as complete action: Col 4:8 ὃν ἔπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, *whom I am sending to you for this very purpose* (Tychicus accompanied the letter); so also Phil 2:28, Ac 23:30. In Gal 6:11 ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί, *look how large the letters are I write with my own hand*, the aorist is epistolary if Paul himself wrote these words or if his own addition to the work of his amanuensis comes after this point: for the Galatian Christians the appearance of the letter would make this clear. As Ro 15:15 refers to earlier parts of that letter and 1 Co 5:9 presumably to a previous letter, they have ordinary narrative aorists; and in 1 Co 5:11 νῦν δέ must mean *but in fact* (contrasting what he had really meant with the misconception he has just rejected), and not *but now* (contrasting with the previous letter), so ἔγραψα is *I wrote*, echoing the same word in :9, and not *I write*, with a change to an epistolary aorist. Here too the original recipients, with their knowledge of the circumstances, would not have the problems the modern reader may have. How far the ancient writer and reader would be conscious of the time implications we cannot be sure. For a similar use of the perfect see §4.5.2.

4.5. Perfect Tense. 4.5.1. The perfect tense expresses the state or condition of the subject of the verb, mostly in present-time contexts and those without specific time reference, and in some circumstances (§4.5.2) it has an added strong reference to an event which is already past. In fact, it applies the state principle of the perfect aspect (§§3.4.1–7) to present time, timeless situations, extensions from past to present, and the implication of future reference, in the same way as the process principle of the imperfective is applied to them in the present tense (§§4.2.1–4), and is even found occasionally in a use which parallels the historic present (§4.2.5). The following should be read in conjunction with the examples in §§3.4.1-7: Mt 2:20 τεθνήκασιν γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου, *for those who were seeking to kill the child are dead*; Jn 1:41 εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν, *we have found (and are in a position to point out) the Messiah*; Jn 8:52 νῦν ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι δαιμόνιον ἔχεις, *now we know (have received confirmation) that you have a demon*; Jn 16:30 νῦν οἴδαμεν ὅτι οἶδας πάντα, *now we know that you know everything*;[1] 1 Co 10:13 πειρασμὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἴληφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος, *no temptation has come upon you except what comes on all mankind*; Jn 13:12 γινώσκετε τί πεποίηκα ὑμῖν; *can you see what I have done for you?* (see §3.4.5); Jn 6:25 πότε ὧδε γέγονας; *how long (since when) have you been here?* (see §3.4.3); Mk 9:21 πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ὡς τοῦτο γέγονεν αὐτῷ; *how long is it since he has had this?*; Heb 9:26 νυνὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ... πεφανέρωται, *but now he has appeared once for all at the*

end of the ages ...; Jas 2:10 ὅστις γὰρ ... πταίσῃ δὲ ἐν ἑνί, γέγονεν πάντων ἔνοχος, *whoever ..., but fails in one point, is thereby (has in that failure become) guilty in respect of all*; 1 Jn 2:5 ὃς δ' ἂν τηρῇ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ τετελείωται, *the love of God is truly perfected (perfect, complete) in the person who keeps his (Christ's) word.*

1. On οἶδα and ἔγνωκα see §3.4.2 and McK. *NTPerf.*, 298–303.

4.5.2. Perfect in Relation to Aorist. Sometimes a perfect tense is used where an aorist tense could have been used. In such circumstances the substitution of the state of the subject for the action which led to it gives an emphasis which is difficult to match in an English translation. In Heb 11:17 πίστει προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πειραζόμενος, *by faith Abraham, when he was being tested, offered Isaac*, and Heb 11:28 πίστει πεποίηκεν τὸ πάσχα, *by faith he sacrificed the passover lamb*, the two perfects stand out from the parallel aorists on the list of faithful deeds to focus on the remarkable acts of Abraham and Moses who are on record as having performed types of the great sacrifice which is so central to the argument of the letter. In Jn 3:32 ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, *he testifies to what he has seen and heard*, both seeing and hearing could be expressed either as events or as the consequent states of the subject, but seeing is marked as the more significant basis of testimony.

In Rev 5:7 καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, *and he went and took it from the hand of the one sitting on the throne*, the perfect has the kind of effect an historic present would have in similar circumstances, but with more emphasis (*he went and — he's taken it ...*): note the reversion to the aorist ἔλαβεν in the subordinate clause which follows, as attention is drawn to the effect on the onlookers of the act of taking. In Mt 13:46 πέπρακεν is similarly the climactic action, whether the parable is regarded as a narrative tale or as a timeless statement (see §4.4.4). In 1 Co 15:4 (see §3.4.3) ἐγήγερται replaces ἠγέρθη because the continuing effect of the resurrection is Paul's main topic in this chapter. In Jn 14:25 ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν παρ' ὑμῖν μένων, *I have told you this while I am still with you*, the perfect adds a nuance of authority, emphasizing the subject of the verb enough to balance the emphasis on the Advocate which follows, and it should be noted that in the further reference to the same activity in :26 the aorist εἶπον was strengthened by the addition of ἐγώ, perhaps by the original writer, but at least by some early copyists.[1]

An **epistolary perfect** may replace the epistolary aorist (§4.4.6) when there is an added suggestion of authority or responsibility (§3.4.5): Ac 15:27 ἀπεστάλκαμεν οὖν Ἰούδαν καὶ Σιλᾶν ..., *we are sending Judas and Silas.*

1. For a discussion of this and similar examples, see McK. *NTPerf.*, 315–317.

4.6. Pluperfect Tense. The pluperfect tense expresses the state or condition of the subject of the verb, mostly with reference to past time when it is used in past narrative contexts, but in excluded potential statements and unreal conditions it as readily has reference to present time if the context requires: see §§8.3.3 and 21.4. In most of its uses the pluperfect bears the same kind of relationship to the perfect tense as the imperfect does to the present. It is not used simply to record an activity as prior to another past activity, as the English pluperfect can do, (cf. §§4.3.5 and 4.4.2), and it occurs less commonly than the perfect tense. The following examples are to be read with those in §§3.4.1–2: Jn 2:9 οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἤδεισαν οἱ ἠντληκότες (← οἱ ἠντλήκεισαν) τὸ ὕδωρ, *but the servants who had drawn the water knew*; Mt 25:26 πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρέ, ἤδεις ὅτι θερίζω ..., *you lazy, useless slave, you knew that I reap* ... (cf. :24 ἔγνων ὅτι ..., *it occurred to me that* ...); Lu 18:34 καὶ ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κεκρυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, *and this saying was hidden from (obscure to) them*; Jn 11:57 δεδώκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ... ἐντολὰς ἵνα ..., *the chief priests ... had given instructions that* ... (i.e. they were now ready).

In Jn 11:13 εἰρήκει δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, *Jesus had been referring to his death*, and in Ac 20:38 ὀδυνώμενοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ᾧ εἰρήκει, *grieving greatly at what he had said*, the use of the pluperfect, with its emphasis on the state of the subject, adds a certain significance to the speaker, and thus to the effect of his words, but if the writers had not wished to add this perfect aspectual nuance, ἔλεγεν would have been the most natural choice in the former, and εἶπεν in the latter: cf. §§3.4.4, 4.5.2.

4.7. Future-perfect Tense. The future-perfect tense expresses the state or condition of the subject of the verb in future time, and sometimes possibly as intention. It combines the perfect and future aspectual nuances. In the NT, as in classical Greek, it is the rarest of the tenses, and it is mostly found in periphrastic form (see §1.9.2). Some examples are: Mt 16:19 ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, *whatever you bind on earth will be bound (in a bound state) in heaven*; Heb 2:13 (LXX Is 8:17) ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ, *I shall have*

confidence in him; Heb 8:11 (LXX Jer 31:34) ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με, *because all will know me.* In Lu 12:52 ἔσονται ... πέντε ἐν ἑνὶ οἴκῳ διαμεμερισμένοι, τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυσὶν ..., *five in one house will be divided, three against two* ..., may, with a change of punctuation, be read with a slightly different emphasis, *there will be five in one house, divided* ... (contrast διαμερισθήσονται in :53, *they will fall out with one another*).

4.8. Future Tense. 4.8.1. The future tense is used mainly for statements of intention and of simple futurity. The following examples supplement those given in §3.5: Jn 16:14 ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν, *he will glorify me because he will take from what is mine and will pass it on to you*; Mt 24:14 καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ... καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος, *and this good news will be proclaimed ... and then the end will come (will be upon you)*; Mk 1:17 ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, *I will make you fish for men (become fishers of men).*

It should be noted that the future tense is sometimes found in timeless contexts, as in Ro 5:7 (quoted in §3.5), where ἀποθανεῖται is balanced by the timeless present τολμᾷ.

4.8.2. A negative future statement may be strengthened by the double negative οὐ μή: Mk 13:31 οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρελεύσονται, *but my words will not pass away* (but some mss. omit μή); Mk 14:31 οὐ μή σε ἀπαρνήσομαι, *I will certainly not deny you.* The aorist subjunctive is used with the same meaning as the future indicative in this construction, as in Mk 13:30 and the v.l. of Mk 14:31: see §5.4. See also §§7.5.5 and 8.2.2.

4.8.3. There seems to be little difference in meaning between the simple future and the periphrasis of the present tense of μέλλειν with an infinitive (mostly imperfective, but future and aorist are also found), except that μέλλειν may sometimes seem more emphatic: see §§1.9.5, 8.2.1, 12.3.1. Indeed the periphrasis is used with the future of μέλλειν (apparently redundantly) in Mt 24:6 μελλήσετε δὲ ἀκούειν πολέμους, *you will hear of wars*; and in 2 Pt 1:12.

4.8.4. Its meaning of intention enables the future indicative to be used instead of the imperative or subjunctive to express commands: Mt 19:18–19 οὐ φονεύσεις ... ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου, *you must not commit murder ... you must love your neighbour*: cf. §§3.5, 9.4.2, and also 10.2.2. For the use of the future instead of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, see §§17.2.5–8, 20.2.4.

5. MOOD

5.1.1. Mood is the function of the finite forms of the verb which indicates manner of presentation by distinguishing between simple statement of fact or intention, expression of will, wish, generality, potentiality, etc. There are four moods, ***indicative***, ***subjunctive***, ***imperative*** and ***optative***, and the frequency of their occurrence in the NT corresponds to the order in which they are here named. The relationship between the four is not always clearcut: the subjunctive overlaps with the imperative in some areas, the future indicative sometimes replaces the subjunctive or the imperative, and in some types of expression the indicative may be found in place of the optative.

5.1.2. Some grammarians count the infinitive and participle as further moods, for some of their uses are virtually the same as some of those of moods; but the infinitive is in fact a verbal noun, and the participle a verbal adjective, and some of their uses have no possible modal function. For both, see §6.

5.2. Indicative. The indicative mood is the one most frequently in use. It is most commonly used for statements of fact (or what is alleged as fact) and intention, both positive and negative, both in independent simple sentences and as the core of clauses whose interdependence may to some extent modify its significance: for examples see §§2–4, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20–22. In the secondary tenses (imperfect, aorist, pluperfect) it can be used for excluded wishes, and statements and conditions contrary to fact (what would otherwise have happened, etc.): see §§10 3, 8.3.3–4, 21.4. It is also used in the questions which correspond to all these types: see §§11, 13.

5.3. Imperative. The imperative mood expresses command, including such mild forms as advice or entreaty. It occurs only in the second and third persons (*do*, *let him do*, *he must do*). As in classical Greek, the perfect imperative is comparatively rarely found, the imperfective and aorist being adequate for most needs. In some circumstances the subjunctive replaces the imperative. For examples see §9.

5.4. Subjunctive. In independent sentences the subjunctive mood normally expresses the will of the speaker or of the subject of the verb, and

supplements the imperative by replacing it in certain circumstances and by expressing exhortation in the first person (*let us do*): see §9.2. Questions involving the expression of will also contain the subjunctive: see §§11.4, 13.4. In subordinate clauses, where it is more commonly found, it expresses purpose, apprehension and, usually with ἄν (ἐάν), generality: see §§17–22. In many of the above uses the future indicative is sometimes found instead of the subjunctive (see §4.8), but in some of these instances the similarity of the two forms makes it difficult to be certain (cf. §1.5.2).

5.5. Optative. In independent sentences the optative mood normally expresses either a simple wish (usually referring to future time), or, accompanied by ἄν, a possibility or probability (what might happen or would be likely to happen, usually with future reference): §§10.2, 8.3.2, 11.3. In subordinate clauses it can express remote condition (§21.5), and it can replace another mood in a clause dependent on a secondary verb form (historic sequence: §13.3.2). The optative is less common in the NT than in classical Greek, but is still clearly in use. There is possible evidence of the imperative replacing it for a wish (Ac 1:20 has λαβέτω where the LXX of Ps.109:8 has λάβοι, but see §10.1), and the extreme rarity of its use in historic sequence is significant. Nevertheless we should not forget that in most contexts the use of the optative in historic sequence had always been only optional, and the subjective element in the choice between will and wish makes it uncertain whether there would have been many more optatives if the NT had been written in classical Greek.

6. VERBAL NOUNS and ADJECTIVES

6.1. The Infinitive. 6.1.1. Infinitives are indeclinable verbal nouns (*to do*, *doing*, etc.) with qualities of voice and aspect. The future infinitive is rare, and is limited to subordinate functions in which it represents a future indicative of direct statement (see §§12.3.1 and 1.9.5), but the others, especially the imperfective and aorist, are used in a great variety of expressions, being treated as neuter singular nouns and sometimes accompanied by the article (***articular infinitive***: when it is not accompanied by the article it is called ***anarthrous***). Because the infinitive is indeclinable the addition of the article can help to clarify its relationship to its context by showing its case. Occasionally the genitive of an articular infinitive is found in constructions in which an anarthrous infinitive is normal, and where there seems to be no need for the genitive: see §§6.1.5, 14.2.3, 17.3.2. In all these the genitive is probably partitive (cf. §1.12.4), indicating that the preceding activity is in some way seen as part of that expressed by the infinitive.

Most of the functions of the infinitive as the equivalent of a subordinate clause will be referred to in the sections dealing with those clauses (§§12, 14, 15.5, 16.2–3, 17.3–4.1), and the details which follow here should be read in conjunction with those sections. For the infinitive in direct commands see §9.4.5.

6.1.2. Subject of Infinitive. In many circumstances the infinitive is used without any specific mention of its "subject" (the agent of the activity it expresses) either because the subject is general (*anyone who* ...) or because it is sufficiently clear from the context. When the subject of an infinitive is different from that of the verb on which it depends, it usually needs to be specified and is in the accusative case. When the subject of an infinitive is the same as that of the verb on which it depends, it is naturally nominative and normally not expressed; but when it *is* expressed (for emphasis), the accusative sometimes replaces the nominative. When the infinitive of a ***copula*** (a verb signifying *be*, *become*, *be appointed*, *be spoken of as*, or the like) is used with a noun or adjective complement, that complement normally agrees with the subject of the infinitive, whether the subject itself is expressed or not, but sometimes the accusative prevails over other cases. There was indeed an increasing tendency for the accusative to be

regarded as the proper case to go with an infinitive. Examples of the above are included in the sections covering the various uses of the infinitive (§§6.1.3–11, 12.3, 14.2, 17.3).

6.1.3. Infinitive as Subject or Complement. The infinitive may be used as the subject or complement of the verb *to be* and other copula verbs, to express an activity as a fact or possibility. As it is an abstract noun it is sometimes articular; and as it normally in these circumstances expresses general activity the negative used with it is μή: Mk 9:45 καλόν ἐστίν σε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλόν, ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν, *it is good that you go into life lame rather than have both your feet and be thrown into hell* (cf. Mt 18:8 καλόν σοί ἐστιν εἰσελθεῖν ... , *it is good for you to go into ...*); Heb 10:31 φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος, *it is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God*; Phil 1:21 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος, *for me, to go on living (is) Christ, and to die (is) a gain*; 2 Pt 2:21 κρεῖττον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἢ ἐπιγνοῦσιν ὑποστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς ... ἁγίας ἐντολῆς, *it would have been better for them not to have become aware of the right way, than to do so and then turn back from the holy command ...*; 1 Co 7:9 κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμεῖν (v.l. γαμῆσαι) ἢ πυροῦσθαι, *for it is better to marry (go ahead with marriage,* v.l. *get married) than to go on burning with desire*; Jas 1:27 θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος ... αὕτη ἐστίν, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας ..., *pure and undefiled religion ... is this, to visit orphans and widows ... .*

6.1.4. With Impersonal Verbs. The infinitive used with impersonal verbs, regularly anarthrous, is simply another example of its use as the subject of a verb. With some impersonal verbs (e.g. δεῖ) the person concerned, when specified, is regularly in the accusative as the subject of the infinitive; while with others a dative links the person concerned more closely with the impersonal verb, and the subject of the infinitive is rarely expressed unless it is a different person: Ac 16:30 τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ...; *what must I do ...?* ; Jn 4:4 ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν διέρχεσθαι διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείας, *he had to go through Samaria*; Mt 14:4 οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν αὐτήν, *it is not permissible for you to have her*; Lu 20:22 ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι ...; *are we permitted to (is it permitted that we) pay tribute to Caesar ...?* (here the accusative instead of the usual dative contrasts with Καίσαρι and removes any possible confusion of meaning); Mt 19:10 ... οὐ συμφέρει γαμῆσαι, ... *it is not a good thing to get married*; Jn 18:14 συμφέρει ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν ..., *it is expedient that one person should die ...*; Heb 2:10 ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ... πολλοὺς υἱοὺς ...

ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ... τελειῶσαι, *for it was fitting for him ... in bringing many sons ... to make the leader ... perfect* (here the change from dative in αὐτῷ to accusative in ἀγαγόντα is merely due to the distance between them, so that the focus changes from the impersonal verb to the infinitive); Ac 21:35 συνέβη βαστάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ..., *he was in fact being carried (it turned out that he was being carried) ...*.

Some of these impersonal verbs are found with a ἵνα and subjunctive clause instead of an infinitive: with Jn 18:14 above cf. Jn 11:50 συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ... . See §17.2.8.

6.1.5–6. Ἐγένετο, etc. 6.1.5. Worthy of special mention is the impersonal use of γίνεσθαι, usually in the aorist indicative, ἐγένετο, in narrative, where it seems to have replaced the normal Greek συμβαίνειν (found with infinitive in the NT only in Ac 21:35: §6.1.4) as a means of adding a certain emphasis to an event, and to have developed as a variant of the ἐγένετο construction described below in §6.1.6 to the point where it may sometimes be thought pleonastic. In classical Greek γίγνεσθαι with an infinitive is rare, and seems to require ὥστε as a link. In the NT it is mainly found in Acts and Luke, is mostly in narrative, and usually has a temporal expression attached: Ac 9:37 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν, *it so happened that just at that time she took sick and died*; Ac 22:6 ἐγένετο δέ μοι πορευομένῳ ... περιαστράψαι φῶς ἱκανὸν περὶ ἐμέ, *and this is what happened to me: while I was still on my way ... a strong light flashed around me*; Ac 22:17 ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ... γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει, *and after that, when I returned to Jerusalem ... I fell into a trance* (these two are unusual in having a dative attached, but in both the use of ἐγένετο helps to give a strong emphasis to special events); Ac 10:25 ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, συναντήσας αὐτῷ ὁ Κορνήλιος ... προσεκύνησεν, *as Peter entered Cornelius met him and ... did obeisance* (this is unusual in having the genitive of the article, presumably making the infinitive partitive [*at a point in Peter's entry*: cf. §1.12.4], and it is also in a subordinate clause); Mt 18:13 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται εὑρεῖν αὐτό, *and if he finds it* (N.B. the echo, whether conscious or unconscious, from :12 ἐὰν γένηταί τινι ἀνθρώπῳ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα); Gal 6:14 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, *far be it from me to boast.*

6.1.6. More common in the NT, and undoubtedly following a LXX adaptation from Hebrew, is the use in narrative of ἐγένετο with a parallel finite verb, sometimes linked by καί: Mk 4:4 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, *and as he was sowing, some (seed) fell by the*

roadside; **Lu 1:23** καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, *then, when his days of service had been completed, he returned to his home*; Mt 11:1 καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διατάσσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν ..., *then when Jesus had finished instructing his twelve disciples, he moved from there* ...; Lu 5:1–2 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ὄχλον ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκούειν ... καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἑστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Γεννησαρέτ, καὶ εἶδεν δύο πλοιάρια ..., *on one occasion when the crowd was pressing round him and listening ... he was standing by the Lake of Gennesaret, and he noticed two boats* ... .

A similar construction is found with ἔσται in some LXX quotations: Ac 2:17 καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ... ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ..., *this is what will happen in the last days* ...: *I will pour out (some) of my spirit* ... .

6.1.7. Infinitive as Object. The infinitive, usually anarthrous, is commonly found as the object of various verbs. Some such infinitives have the same subject (unexpressed) as their governing verb, and the rest have as subject the person (or thing) who is the direct or indirect object of the governing verb (cf. §1.11.4). Many object infinitives, with verbs expressing *command*, *desire*, *be willing*, *intend*, *permit*, *exhort*, *hinder*, *request*, etc., are in fact indirect commands, wishes, etc., and are referred to in §14.2. A few of the infinitives usually quoted as in this category are merely examples of the infinitive of purpose (§17.3.1). Those which appear to be neither in indirect discourse nor infinitives of purpose are those with verbs signifying *begin*, *be able*, *be accustomed*, *know how*, *be obliged*, *shrink from*, etc.: Lu 16:3 σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι, *I am not strong enough for digging and I am reluctant to beg*; Jn 13:5 ἤρξατο νίπτειν τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν, *he began to wash the disciples' feet*; Mt 27:15 εἰώθει ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀπολύειν ἕνα τῷ ὄχλῳ δέσμιον, *the governor was accustomed to release one prisoner to the crowd* (imperfective infinitive because the procedure is here more relevant than the mere fact); Mt 6:5 φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἑστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, *they like to say their prayers standing in synagogues and on street-corners*; Lu 17:10 ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν, *we have done our duty (what we had to do)*; Ac 26:32 ἀπολελύσθαι ἐδύνατο ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ..., *this fellow could have been released (could be a free man)* ...; Phil 4:12 οἶδα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι, οἶδα καὶ περισσεύειν, *I know how to live both in restricted conditions and with plenty*. On the weakened effect of some of these verbs see §1.9.6.

6.1.8. Genitive of Infinitive. The genitive of the articular infinitive is found with expressions implying separation (ablatival genitive) and in dependence on nouns (descriptive genitive): Lu 17:1 ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν, *it is impossible that offences should not occur*; Ac 14:18 μόλις κατέπαυσαν τοὺς ὄχλους τοῦ μὴ θύειν αὐτοῖς, *with difficulty they stopped the crowds from sacrificing to them* (as this implies the direct appeal μὴ θύετε, the negative, as often in such circumstances, although here it may appear illogical, is retained with the infinitive: see §12.3.3); Heb 11:5 πίστει Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον, *by faith Enoch was transferred from seeing (was translated, so as not to see) death* (the infinitive could be taken as expressing purpose, or even consequence: see §§17.3.2, 16.3.2). See also Lu 21:22 and Ac 9:15 in §17.3.2.

6.1.9. Infinitive with Adjectives and Nouns. The infinitive, usually anarthrous, but sometimes with the article, can add definition to a noun or adjective. When dependent on a noun the infinitive is naturally in the genitive case, and most of the adjectives with which it occurs also take a genitive: Mt 14:16 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν ἀπελθεῖν, *they do not need to go (have no need of going) away* (cf. Mt 9:12 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν ... ἰατροῦ); 1 Pt 4:17 ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸ κρίμα, *(it is) time for judgment to begin*; Lu 22:33 ἕτοιμός εἰμι καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν ... πορεύεσθαι, *I am ready to go to prison ...*; Ac 23:15 ἕτοιμοί ἐσμεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, *we are ready to do away with him*; Lu 15:19 οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου, *I am no longer worthy to be reinstated (called your son)* (cf. Lu 10:7 ἄξιος ... τοῦ μισθοῦ; I take the aorist as inceptive). See also §17.3.2.

6.1.10. Preposition with Infinitive. The articular infinitive is often found with a preposition, mostly instead of a temporal, purpose or causal clause: 2 Co 8:11 ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν, *according to your means* (lit. *out of your having*); Jn 1:48 πρὸ τοῦ σε Φίλιππον φωνῆσαι, *before Philip called you*; Lu 8:5 ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν, *while he was sowing* (cf. Lu 5:1 and Mk 4:4 in §6.1.6); Lu 2:27 ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς γονεῖς τὸ παιδίον, *just as his parents brought the child in* (note the effect of the aorist instead of the imperfective with temporal ἐν); Ac 3:26 εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν, *blessing you by turning (trying to turn) each of you from your wickedness*; Heb 8:13 ἐν τῷ λέγειν καινὴν, *by speaking (in that he speaks) of a new one*; Heb 2:16 διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν, *throughout their lifetime*; Mt 13:5 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς, *because it had no (through not having) depth of earth*; Mk 5:4 διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις πέδαις καὶ ἁλύσεσιν δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπάσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἁλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας συντετρῖφθαι, *because he*

had often been bound with chains and shackles, and the chains had been torn apart by him and the shackles wrenched open (he was a much bound man, and all his bonds were broken: note the possibility of making so complex an idea depend on one preposition); 2 Co 7:12 ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, *so that your zeal on our behalf would be made clear to you*; Mt 6:1 πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς, *in order to be seen by them*; Jas 1:18 εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχήν τινα, *so that we might be a kind of firstfruit*; Mk 14:28 μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς, *after my resurrection I will go before you*; Jas 4:15 ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν ὑμᾶς, *instead of (you) saying*. On constructions with πρίν see §20.6.6.

6.1.11. Infinitive Absolute. The infinitive could be used independently of the grammar in some parenthetic phrases to add a qualification to a sentence. The most common of these phrases is the only one found in the NT: Heb 7:9 καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, δι' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Λευὶς ὁ δεκάτας λαμβάνων δεδεκάτωται, *and in a manner of speaking (so to speak) through Abraham even Levi, the one who receives tithes, proves to have paid tithes.*

6.2. The Participle. 6.2.1. Participles are verbal adjectives which combine the characteristics of adjectives with some of those of verbs. Like all adjectives they may either qualify nouns or stand in place of them, and are inflected for gender, case and number, usually as demanded by the immediate context, but variations are found in some circumstances. Like all verb forms they are inflected for voice and aspect, and may be modified by adverbs or adverbial phrases or clauses. The aspect of a participle is regularly the same as that appropriate to the verb in the clause it replaces: thus the future participle is rare, for most subordinate clauses in contexts with future reference have subjunctive verbs. Participles are very common in ancient Greek, and may take the place of many types of clauses in which a variety of mood and tense forms would have occurred. The negative used with a participle in the NT is mostly μή, but οὐ is also found, and is usual when the meaning is concessive (§22.2). In classical Greek the negative with a participle was regularly what would have been used in the clause it replaced, but in NT Greek there is no clear correlation: see §7.5.1.

The traditional classification of participles is into three main categories: those used like adjectives qualifying or standing in place of nouns are called ***attributive***; those used in place of various types of clauses in an adverbial type of relationship to a verb are called ***circumstantial***; while those which complete the meaning of a verb in other ways (including indirect

statement) are called ***supplementary***. These categories, however, overlap with one another in some respects, and sometimes there is room for doubt about the writer's precise intention in the choice of a participle: indeed the use of a participle sometimes produces an ambiguity which the writer no doubt saw as preferable to selection of one of the different clause types which might have been appropriate to the context. For participles in periphrasis see §§1.9.2–4.

6.2.2. Attributive participles are usually equivalent to relative clauses introduced by pronouns (§20.4). When attached to a noun a participle may have an article or not, in the same way as an adjective: 1 Pt 1:3 εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν, *to a living hope*; Jn 4:10 ὕδωρ ζῶν, *living water*; Jn 1:6 ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, *a man sent from God*; Tit 2:1 τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, *sound teaching*; Lu 1:1 περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, *concerning the things that have been done among us* (and have a continuing effect); Mt 25:41 εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ, *into the eternal fire prepared for the devil*; Mt 24:15 τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ, *the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel*. These participles are equivalent to the clauses ἣ ζῇ, ὃ ζῇ, ὃς ἀπέσταλτο, ἣ ὑγιαίνει, ἃ πεπληροφόρηται, ὃ ἡτοίμασται and ὃ ἐρρήθη respectively.

6.2.3. Sometimes the participle is more predicative than attributive, or is otherwise less closely attached: Jn 19:38 Ἰωσὴφ ... ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ..., *Joseph ..., a disciple of Jesus, but a secret one because of his fear ...*; Jn 19:39 Νικόδημος ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, *Nicodemus, who had come to him the first time by night*; Mk 11:2 εὑρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον, *you will find a colt tethered (a tethered colt)*. This last is very similar to some of the examples of the supplementary participle in §12.5.1. The clauses equivalent to these participles are ὃς ἦν, ὃς ἐκέκρυπτο, ὃς ἦλθεν and ὃς δέδεται.

6.2.4. The participle is often used, mostly with the article, as a noun: Lu 8:34 τὸ γεγονὸς, *the situation (what had happened and the subsequent state of affairs)*; Lu 24:18 τὰ γενόμενα ἐν αὐτῇ, *the events there (what happened there)*; Lu 9:7 τὰ γινόμενα πάντα, *all that was happening*; Lu 14:16 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ, *according to his custom (what was customary for him)*; Mt 13:3 ὁ σπείρων, *the sower (the one who was proceeding to sow)*; Mt 13:18 τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείραντος (v.l. σπείροντος), *the parable of the sower (the man who did/was doing the sowing)*; Mt 9:12 οἱ ἰσχύοντες, *the strong*; Lu 21:23 οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις, *woe to the pregnant*; Mk 13:13 ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος

σωθήσεται, *whoever perseveres to the end will be saved.* The equivalent clauses are ὃ ἐγεγόνει, ἃ ἐγένετο, ἃ ἐγίνετο, ὃ εἰώθει, ὃς ἔσπειρεν (imperfect), ὃς ἔσπειρεν (aorist, v.l. imperfect: the participle here is the unambiguous form), οἳ ἰσχύουσιν or οἳ ἂν ἰσχύωσιν, αἳ ἂν ἔχωσιν and ὃς ἂν ὑπομείνῃ (see §20.3.1). The aspect in each case is chosen to suit the context: for example, as the story of the sower begins only the imperfective is suitable, but as Jesus looks back on the completed story either the aorist, simply summing up the activity, or the imperfective, regarding the activity as background to the details to be explained, may be chosen. With the last two examples compare Ac 20:22, quoted in §3.5, where τὰ συναντήσοντα (← ἃ συναντήσει) is *what is going to happen*, with an emphasis on the actuality of the future happenings, which Paul faces in ignorance but with confidence (if the context required a general reference to *whatever may happen*, τὰ συναντήσαντα [← ἃ ἂν συναντήσῃ] would be found).

A special case is Rev 1:4 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, *grace and peace to you from the one who is and was and is to come*, where the difficulty of expressing time in Greek verb-forms leads to the use of an indicative (ἦν) in place of a participle, and its awkwardness is emphasized by the nominative being used as if it were indeclinable (but Revelation contains a number of peculiarities in case usage).

Some participles were so commonly used as nouns that they were sometimes used beyond the limits of a substitute for a relative clause: Ac 7:10 κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, *he made him ruler over Egypt*; and ἄρχων, *magistrate*, is an example of a participle which is mostly used this way.

6.2.5. Circumstantial participles are the equivalent of adverbial clauses of most kinds, temporal, causal, conditional, etc., and are referred to in the sections which deal with those clauses: see §§15.4, 17.6, 20.6.5, 21.6, 22.2, and also 3.5. Most commonly the circumstantial participle is linked to the clause on which it depends through a noun or pronoun or the unexpressed subject of the verb, and its gender, number and case agree with this (but see §§6.2.6–8): Mk 12:14 καὶ ἐλθόντες (← ὅτε ἦλθον) λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, *and coming (when they came) they said to him*; Mk 12:28 καὶ προσελθὼν (← ὅτε προσῆλθεν) εἷς τῶν γραμματέων, ἀκούσας (← ὅτε ἤκουσεν) ... εἰδὼς (← ὅτε/ὅτι ᾔδει) ... ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν, *and one of the scribes who (when he) had come up and heard ..., knowing (when/because he knew) ..., asked him*; Mt 13:31 ... κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν (← ὅταν λάβῃ)[1] ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ, ... *a mustard seed, which a man (takes and) sows in his field*; Mt 14:6 γενεσίοις δὲ γενομένοις (← ὅτε

γενέσια ἐγένετο) τοῦ Ἡρῴδου ὠρχήσατο ἡ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος, *when Herod had a birthday celebration (at/for a birthday of Herod, when it occurred) Herodias' daughter danced*; Lu 8:27 ἐξελθόντι (← ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν) δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπήντησεν ἀνήρ τις, *when he disembarked a man met him*; Lu 11:24 τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ..., καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκον (← ὅταν μὴ εὑρίσκῃ) λέγει, *an unclean spirit ..., and when it cannot find (one) it says*; Lu 12:43 ... ὃν ἐλθὼν (← ὅταν ἔλθῃ) ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει ..., *whom his master, when he comes, will find ...*; Lu 9:59 ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθόντι (← ὅταν ἀπέλθω) θάψαι ..., *permit me first to go away and bury ...*; Mk 6:11 ἐκπορευόμενοι (← ὅταν ἐκπορεύησθε) ἐκεῖθεν ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν ..., *as you are going out, shake off the dust ...*; Mt 27:4 ἥμαρτον παραδοὺς (← ὅτι παρέδωκα) αἷμα ἀθῷον, *I have sinned because (in that) I betrayed innocent blood*; Lu 9:25 τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κερδήσας (← ἐὰν κερδήσῃ) ..., *what benefit does a man have if he gains ...?* (cf. Mt 16:26). For future and imperfective participles expressing purpose, see §§3.5, 17.6.1–2.

Many of the equivalent clauses given here are much less likely to be found than the participle, or even, in some cases, than a co-ordinate clause or form (e.g. in Lu 9:59 ἀπελθεῖν καὶ would be much more likely than ὅταν ἀπέλθω if for any reason the writer had decided not to use a participle); but it is clear that in choosing the aspect of each participle the writer must have had the same attitude as he would if he had decided to use the equivalent subordinate clause rather than any other means of expression. When a participle describes the manner in which something is done it is usually difficult to imagine a subordinate clause with equivalent meaning: Ac 5:41 ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες, *they went on their way rejoicing (joyfully)*. See also §6.2.9.

1. A few participles, λαβών, ἔχων, φέρων and the like, are sometimes used where they do not appear to be really necessary (here nothing significant would be lost if λαβών were omitted), and some grammarians treat them as a special case of pleonastic usage; but where they are found their meaning is always appropriate to the context, so although it is reasonable to consider the style pleonastic there is no need for a special grammatical category.

6.2.6. Genitive Absolute. Whenever a participle is used instead of a subordinate clause and the noun (or equivalent) it is to agree with has no other grammatical means of attachment to the sentence, the participial phrase is normally put in the genitive (but see §§6.2.7–8): Lu 11:29 τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροιζομένων ἤρξατο λέγειν, *as the crowds were thronging round he began to say*; Lu 15:14 δαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα,

ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρά, *when he had spent everything a severe famine occurred.*

Rarely there is no expressed noun or pronoun with the genitive of the participle, but it can be understood from the context: Ac 21:31 ζητούντων δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀνέβη φάσις τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, *as they were trying to kill him a report went up to the tribune.*

Sometimes the genitive absolute was used even when the noun or equivalent concerned already has a place in the grammatical structure: Ac 21:34 μὴ δυναμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὸν θόρυβον, ἐκέλευσεν ... *as he could not find out anything definite because of the disturbance, he gave instructions* ...; Lu 15:20 ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, *when he was still a long way away his father saw him*; Mt 8:28 καὶ ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πέραν ... ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο ... *and when he reached the other side ... two men ... met him.*

6.2.7. For impersonal verbs the **accusative** (not the genitive) absolute was normal in ancient Greek, but in the NT the only example is 1 Co 16:6 τυχόν, *perhaps (if/as it may happen)*: cf. 1 Co 14:10 εἰ τύχοι.

6.2.8. Sometimes a sentence begins with a **nominative** participle, drawing attention to the logical subject, but the construction is then changed so that strict grammar would require another case: Rev 3:21 ὁ νικῶν, δώσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι ... *he who is victorious — I will give him (the right) to sit (take his seat)*... . This anacoluthon is found also in earlier Greek, as one of the functions of the nominative is to draw attention to a noun by simply naming it.

6.2.9. Although the circumstantial participle is almost always subordinate to a finite verb, it sometimes occurs in circumstances in which it appears to be (and needs to be translated as) co-ordinate. Besides the kind of instance mentioned at the end of §6.2.5, where the use of a participle seems to imply an underlying subordinate clause even though such a clause is an unlikely option for the writer, one of the most notable examples of this is the use of a participle following the main verb to express a consequent or simultaneous activity: Ac 25:13 Ἀγρίππας ... καὶ Βερνίκη κατήντησαν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν Φῆστον, *Agrippa and Bernice arrived in Caesarea and greeted Festus* (the v.l. ἀσπασόμενοι, *to greet*, is a later scribal erroneous correction or misreading); Ac 18:23 ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος καθεξῆς ..., *he left, and proceeded to go in turn through* ... ; Heb 9:(11–)12 Χριστὸς δὲ ... διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς

τὰ ἅγια, αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος, *but Christ ... but by his own blood entered the holy place once for all, and (so) obtained eternal redemption.* In Ac 23:27 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ... ἐξειλάμην, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν, *I rescued this man ... on learning /and learnt that he is a Roman citizen*, Claudius Lysias is not necessarily telling a blatant lie, but using a conveniently ambiguous mode of expression. For the apparently co-ordinate use of a participle with the imperative see §9.4.6.

In the Gospels and Acts verbs of saying, asking, etc., are often reinforced with a participle of a related verb (ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, ἀπεκρίθη λέγων, etc.). This type of reinforcement is found in earlier Greek (e.g. in Herodotus), and may be a feature of more colloquial narrative, but its frequent use in the NT may be largely because in Hebrew and Aramaic extensive use was made of equivalent phrases.

6.2.10. Supplementary participles are found with a variety of verbs. For those in indirect statement see §12.5.1, and for those with verbs of physical perception see §12.5.2. Most other supplementary participles are covered in §§6.2.11–13.

6.2.11. With verbs of continuing, ending, etc., the supplementary participle could also be regarded as circumstantial (time, manner, means, etc.): Ac 27:33 ... προσδοκῶντες ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε, ... *you have been continually on watch without food* (see also §4.2.4); Ac 12:16 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενεν κρούων, *Peter continued to knock (stayed there knocking)*; Eph 1:16 οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν, *I do not stop giving thanks*; Mt 11:1 ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διατάσσων ..., *when Jesus had finished instructing ...*; Lu 23:12 προϋπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες, *for they had previously been at enmity*; 2 Ths 3:13 μὴ ἐγκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες, *do not get tired of doing good.*

6.2.12. Similarly λανθάνω, *I escape (the) notice (of)*, and προφθάνω, *I anticipate*, take supplementary participles, but such combinations are often best translated as if the participle were the finite verb and *vice versa* (as was a possible alternative in classical Greek): Heb 13:2 ἔλαθόν τινες ξενίσαντες ἀγγέλους, *some have entertained angels unawares*; Mt 17:25 προέφθασεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, *Jesus said to him first (before he could speak).*

6.2.13. The participle with some verbs of emotion may be supplementary or circumstantial: Jn 20:20 ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν κύριον, *the disciples were glad to see (when they saw) the Lord*; Ac 16:34

ἠγαλλιάσατο πανοικεὶ πεπιστευκὼς τῷ θεῷ, *with all his family he was filled with joy at having firm faith in God.*

6.3. Other Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. The infinitive (§6.1) is by far the most common type of verbal noun, and, as noted in §6.2.4, the participle may also be used as a noun. All other types of noun based on verb stems lack the verbal inflexions of aspect and voice, and are a matter of word-formation rather than syntax.

Similarly the participle is by far the most common type of verbal adjective, and the only one with aspect and voice inflexions. Verbal adjectives in -τος, which in earlier Greek could be formed to denote *capable of* ..., had even in the classical period been confined to a limited range of verbs, and by the time of the NT most of them had become ordinary adjectives, e.g. ἀγαπητός, *beloved* (not *capable of being loved*). Verbal adjectives in -τέος, which had earlier been used quite freely to express obligation, were rare in NT times, and only one example occurs in the NT: Lu 5:38 οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον (v.l. βάλλουσιν), *new wine (is) to be put into fresh skins* (v.l. *they put new wine into* ...: cf. Mt. 9:17). For more usual ways of expressing obligation see §§8.1.4, 8.3.4, 9.4.1.

7. SENTENCES: SIMPLE and COMPLEX

7.1.1. Sentences, simple and complex, are defined in §§1.6.1–2. In ancient Greek there was a much greater tendency than in English to use connectives (e.g. καί, ἀλλά, δέ, γάρ, οὖν, ὥστε) at the beginning of sentences in order to show the logical or formal connection between them. Since early Greek manuscripts did not show punctuation, there is sometimes room for doubt about the sentence divisions printed in our texts (see §7.1.4). Moreover, the relative freedom of Greek word order makes it important to view each sentence as a whole and in relation to its context.

7.1.2. Simple sentences and principal clauses (§7.1.4) may take the form of statements of fact and of intention, exhortations, commands and wishes, and questions corresponding in form to most of these. As pointed out in §1.6.2, the grammatical form of a sentence is often completely in accordance with the logic of its argument, but sometimes stylistic variation or rhetorical emphasis results in one grammatical form having the logical implication of another. Moreover, the absence of punctuation and accentuation in early manuscripts sometimes makes for uncertainty about the type of simple sentence or principal clause. In particular, in some contexts a group of words may make sense (although there may be a variation in meaning) either as a question or as a statement. See §§1.3.2 and 11.1.

7.1.3. Ellipsis of Verb. In simple sentences and principal clauses in which the verb would be a form of εἶναι, especially ἐστίν used as copula, the verb is commonly omitted: 1 Tm 5:18 ἄξιος ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ, *the worker (is) worthy of his wages*; 1 Co 15:27 δῆλον ὅτι ..., *it (is) clear that ...*; Rev 22:13 ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, *I (am) the alpha and the omega* (sc. εἰμί); Lu 1:27 ... καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ, *... and the virgin's name (was) Mary* (sc. ἦν); Rev 1:4 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, *grace and peace to you* (sc. ἔστω or ἔστωσαν); 1 Co 15:40 καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια, *(there are/exist) heavenly bodies and earthly bodies* (sc. ἔστιν). See also §§11.2.3–4. Ellipsis of this kind is much less common in subordinate clauses, but in some types of context a more extensive ellipsis is possible: see §§7.2.3–4.

7.1.4. Complex Sentences. Apparently in the earliest stages of the Greek language parataxis was normal, and the various kinds of subordinate

clause developed later from co-ordinate clauses in which various particles, adverbs and pronouns indicated their logical relationship with other clauses. The changes in their development up to NT times led to a variety of alternatives and some uncertainty about details. A complex sentence is a collection of clauses which cohere more closely with one another than with those that precede and follow, but sometimes it is a matter of judgment whether a clause belongs at the end of one sentence or at the beginning of the next one. In particular the distinction between direct and indirect quotation is not always clear: see §§11.1.1, 11.2.2 and 12.1.3.

7.2. Co-ordinate Clauses. 7.2.1. Co-ordinate clauses and sentences in Greek may be linked not only by the equivalents of English *and*, *but*, *or* (καί, δέ, ἀλλά, ἤ, etc.), but also by the causal particle γάρ and the inferential particles οὖν, ἄρα, etc.; and sometimes a relative clause is better taken as co-ordinate than subordinate, although it should be remembered that Greek has much greater capacity than English both for extended subordination and for flexibility of verb usage within subordinate clauses: 1 Pt 1:8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, *Him you love, although you have not seen him.*

7.2.2. Most commonly, but not exclusively, co-ordinate principal clauses are similar in type to each other: Jn 13:4 ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τίθησιν τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ λαβὼν λέντιον διέζωσεν ἑαυτόν, *he got up from the dinner table, put aside his robes, and taking a towel he tied it round himself*; Phil 3:17 συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ σκοπεῖτε ..., *join together in following my example, brothers, and pay attention ...*; Mt 21:38 δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ σχῶμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, *come, let us kill him and get hold of his inheritance*; Mk 12:14 δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; *must we give or not give?*; but Jn 14:8 δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν, *show us the Father and that is enough for us* (cf. §7.2.6).

7.2.3. One of a pair of co-ordinate clauses is often shortened by the omission of a word (or words) if the same word (or phrase) occurs in the other clause, even if its inflexion there is different from that required for the abbreviated clause: Jn 3:30 ἐκεῖνον δεῖ αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, *he must increase and I (must) decrease*; Ro 11:18 οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν βαστάζεις ἀλλὰ ἡ ῥίζα σέ, *you do not support the root, but the root (supports) you*; Jn 13:13 ὑμεῖς φωνεῖτέ με Ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ Ὁ κύριος, καὶ καλῶς λέγετε· εἰμὶ γάρ, *you call me "teacher" and "lord", and you speak rightly, for I am (teacher and lord)*; Mt 24:40 τότε ἔσονται δύο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται ...· δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ,

μία παραλαμβάνεται ..., *then there will be two men in the fields — one will be (is) taken ...; (there will be) two women grinding with a hand-mill — one will be (is) taken ...* (the asyndeton [§7.2.5] suits the abrupt dramatic presentation and the ellipsis of ἔσονται: see §4.2.3).

Sometimes this happens with parallel subordinate clauses dependent on co-ordinate clauses: 1 Co 9:17 εἰ γὰρ ἑκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι, *if I am doing this voluntarily, I have a reward; if unwillingly, I have still been entrusted with a responsibility.*

7.2.4. Less commonly a word may be omitted in a principal clause when it can be understood from a subordinate clause, usually with some change: 1 Co 4:15 ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγοὺς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας, *for even if you have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet you have* (sc. ἔχετε) *not many fathers* (the insertion of ἀλλά has the effect of treating the principal clause as if it were preceded by a co-ordinate principal clause with ἔχετε instead of the conditional protasis ἐὰν ἔχητε).

7.2.5. Asyndeton. As the use of connectives to link co-ordinate words or clauses was so much the norm, asyndeton, the omission of such connectives, is relatively uncommon, and for that reason it can be the means of making a passage more forceful and lively: Phil 4:4–5 χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε· πάλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε. τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς, *Always rejoice in the Lord — again I will say it, rejoice! Let your forbearance be known to all. The Lord (is) near*; 2 Co 12:10 διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις ..., *so I delight in weakness, in insults, in pressures ...*.

7.2.6. Sometimes for variety of style or for emphasis a co-ordinate clause is found where a subordinate clause would more explicitly express the connection between the clauses: in Jn 14:8 (§7.2.2) δεῖξον ... καὶ ... amounts to ἐὰν δείξῃς ...

7.2.7. Sometimes a verb or a complete sentence is inserted parenthetically within a clause in order to emphasize or modify a point: Mt 24:15 ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα ... ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν ..., *when you see the abomination ... standing in the holy place — the reader should understand — then those in Judaea must flee ...*; Lu 13:24 ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν ..., *because many, I tell you, will seek ...*; 2 Co 6:13 τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, ὡς τέκνοις λέγω, πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς, *in exchange — I speak as to (my) children — you be open-hearted too in the same way (be*

open [with] the same exchange) (the internal accusative τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν condenses the thought, carrying on from :11 [:12 being another parenthesis] in a highly emotional appeal).

7.3. Subordinate Clauses. 7.3.1. A subordinate clause is one which depends grammatically on a word or clause outside itself in such a way that the subordinate clause performs the function of a noun, adjective or adverb in relation to that word or clause. Most subordinate clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, which may be adverbial or pronominal in form. In a sentence containing a subordinate clause (or clauses) there is always (usually explicit, but sometimes implied from the context) also a ***principal clause*** which is in form like a simple sentence (see §7.1.2). For the various types of subordinate clause see §§6, 12–22.

A subordinate clause may depend on either a principal clause or another subordinate clause or a word in either of them. Various complexities are possible, such as a number of co-ordinate principal clauses each with its subordinate clause or clauses; and when there are two or more subordinate clauses these may be co-ordinate with one another (equally dependent on the same principal clause), or one subordinate clause may be dependent on another, in a chain of dependence. Such chains of dependence can be quite complex, especially when participles are used in place of some types of clauses (see §6.2).

7.3.2. It should be noted that in a Greek complex sentence the order of clauses, like the word order within clauses (§1.7), is generally freer than in English, and patterns different from those normal in English are often found: Jn 16:13 ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀκούσει (v.l. ἀκούει) λαλήσει, *but he will speak all that he hears.*

7.4. Cause and Effect. When two actions are related as cause and effect there are a number of grammatical devices which may express the relationship. The two may be grammatically co-ordinate: e.g. *I said so, therefore he came.* In Greek it is possible to do this by means of a particle in either of the co-ordinate clauses, γάρ, οὖν, etc. being co-ordinating,and not subordinating, particles: §7.2.1.

Alternatively either may be expressed in a principal clause with the other in a subordinate clause: e.g. *because I said so he came* (§15); *I said so, with the result that he came* (§16); *I said so in order that he might come* (§17). Note that the subordination of the effect may be treated from two main points of view: *either* taking a detached view of the consequence, whether

potential or actual; *or* looking forward to the intended effect, or purpose, without specifying its fulfilment.

Of course there are differences of emphasis and meaning between these various methods of expressing the relationship of cause and effect, but some of them are subjective, depending on the personal attitude of the speaker or writer, to which the common attitude of his peers is a contributing factor. Consequently in any given case the mode of expression natural to Greek may not coincide with what is natural to English. In particular there is a tendency in Greek to express as consequence some effects which would more likely be expressed in English as purpose. No clearcut rules can be made for this, nor is the difference between the two languages very marked, but occasionally one finds a consequence clause in Greek that is best translated into idiomatic English as one of purpose: Lu 4:29 καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους ... ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, *and they took him to the brow of the hill ... in order to hurl him down.*

Another difference between the two languages is that in Greek participles occur more commonly in place of subordinate clauses than they do in English: §§1.6.2, 6.2.1–13.

7.5. Negatives. 7.5.1. The ***simple*** negatives in Greek are οὐ (οὐκ, οὐχ, οὐχί) and μή, the former being the normal negative for statement of fact, intention and the potential, and for most subordinate clauses in which the indicative is used; and the latter being normal in commands and exhortations (with the imperative and subjunctive), wishes, and in subordinate clauses with the subjunctive, with infinitives and mostly with participles. For details see §§6, 8–22.

In earlier Greek the negative with a participle or infinitive had normally been the same as in the type of clause the participle or infinitive represented, but by NT times μή was replacing οὐ with both, although sometimes the old pattern with the participle appears to prevail. It had also been common in some circumstances for μή to replace οὐ and *vice versa* to give a special emphasis, especially when the negative was to be applied to only one word in a clause. This appears to be still the case in NT Greek, but with the changing pattern of normal negatives it is not always clear.

7.5.2. The ***compound*** negatives found in the NT are οὐδέ, οὔτε, οὐδαμῶς, οὐδείς (also οὐθείς) and its inflexions, οὐδέποτε, οὔποτε, οὐδέπω, οὔπω, οὐκέτι; and the corresponding μηδέ, μήτε, etc. The meanings of some of the compound negatives are sometimes achieved by separating the simple

negative from the other component (e.g. οὐ ... ποτέ), and instead of οὐδείς οὐ ... τις is sometimes found (οὔτις is used more than οὐδείς in the earliest Greek poetry).

7.5.3–5. Accumulated Negatives. 7.5.3. When more than one negative is used in the same clause there is an important distinction depending on whether the *last* of them is simple or compound, irrespective of what the others are. When the last one is a *simple* negative it cancels the previous negative force: οὐδεὶς οὐ ποιεῖ, *nobody doesn't do, everybody does.* The only examples of this in the NT are 1 Co 12:15, 16 οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, *it is not for this reason (by so saying) not part of the body, in spite of this it remains part of the body.* There is of course a similar effect when a verb and an infinitive dependent on it are both negatived: Ac 4:20 οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ... μὴ λαλεῖν, *we cannot fail to speak* ... (1 Co 9:6 illustrates the slightly different effect in a question: see §11.2.5).

7.5.4. When the last negative is *compound* it reinforces the previous negative force: οὐ ποιεῖ οὐδείς, *nobody at all does.* This effect is much more commonly found: Mk 15:5 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, *Jesus said nothing more*; 1 Tm 1:7 μὴ νοοῦντες μήτε ἃ λέγουσιν μήτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιοῦνται, *having no idea at all either of what they are talking about or of the grounds of their confidence* (see §13.2.4). Even in a question (see §11.2.5.) the same reinforcing effect is achieved: Mk 15:4 οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ οὐδέν; *aren't you making **any** reply?, are you saying nothing at all?*

7.5.5. When οὐ μή (see §§4.8.2, 8.2.2) follows another negative in the same clause it is treated in the same way as a compound negative: Lu 10:19 οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσει (v.l. ἀδικήσῃ), *nothing at all will harm you.*

For the use of μὴ οὐ see §§11.2.7, 18.2.

8. STATEMENTS

8.1. Statements of Fact. 8.1.1. A statement of fact, or alleged fact,[1] is normally made by means of the indicative mood: §§4, 5.1–2. The tenses used are mainly the present, the imperfect and the aorist, less often the perfect and pluperfect. Statements may be positive or negative. For the latter οὐ, *not*, or one of its compounds, is normally used: §§7.5.1–2. For accumulation of negatives see §§7.5.3–4.

1. The use of the word *fact* does not imply anything about the truth or falsehood of the statement. It is used as a grammatical term to cover not only what can be logically established as fact but also any idea that is presented in the same way: see §§8.1.2–3, 8.3.3–4.

8.1.2. A statement of fact may be materially modified by means of an adverb such as ἴσως, *perhaps*, or an adverb equivalent, so that it becomes in effect an expression of opinion, or a fanciful suggestion: Phm 15 τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν ..., *perhaps it was for this reason he was temporarily separated* ...; Heb 7:9 καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, δι' Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Λευὶς ... δεδεκάτωται, *and through Abraham, one may even say, even Levi ... has paid a tithe* (see also §6.1.11.).

Perhaps the most common modifier of this kind is a conditional protasis: see §21. For apprehensive statements with μή see §8.2.3.

8.1.3. Similarly too the context may make it clear that what is expressed as apparent fact is only an imaginary case for the sake of argument or example: 1 Co 14:26 ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει ..., *when you are assembling, each one has a psalm, a lesson, a revelation* ..., is a timeless example of possible elements for a worship service, in preparation for the more specific rules for limiting disorder.

8.1.4. Possibility, obligation, necessity and the like may be stated as facts by means of indicative verb forms (e.g. ἔξεστιν, *it is possible, permitted*; δεῖ, *it is necessary*) with an infinitive, or in other ways by means of other moods: see §§8.3.4, 9.4.1.

8.2. Statements of Intention, etc. 8.2.1. In a simple statement of intention or of anticipated fact the future indicative or, much less commonly, the future-perfect, is normally used (cf. §4.2.3, 8.2.2). If it is negative οὐ or one of its compounds is mostly used, as for statements of fact (but see §8.2.2).

For the use of μέλλω with an infinitive as a replacement for the future indicative (treating the intention as a statement of fact) see §§1.9.5, 4.8.3.

8.2.2. An emphatically negative statement of intention (or of anticipated fact) may be expressed by οὐ μή with either the future indicative or, more commonly, the aorist subjunctive: Lu 12:59 οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως ..., *you will certainly not get out from there until ...*; for examples with the future and possibly future or subjunctive, see §4.8.2; and for a reinforced form of this negation see §7.5.5. For another form of strong negative assertion see §21.1.9.

The parallelism of future and subjunctive in the οὐ μή construction illustrates both the modal tendencies of the future (§3.5) and the closeness of the concepts of intention and will (but cf. also §1.5.2: some of the forms involved were becoming almost identical in sound).

8.2.3. In classical Greek μή attached to a statement of fact or intention, positive or negative, had the effect of something like *perhaps*, making it an ***apprehensive statement*** (cf. §11.2.6). The only clearly independent example of this in the NT is unusual in having the subjunctive, and some mss. make it a modified example of an οὐ μή statement (§8.2.2): Mt 25:9 μήποτε οὐκ (v.l. μήποτε οὐ μή) ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν, *perhaps there will not be enough for us and you.* In the other possibly independent examples there is a preceding verb which may perhaps better be taken as the leading verb to which the apprehensive statement is subordinated: Lu 11:35 σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν, *see to it then that the light in you is not darkness (Take care! Perhaps the light in you is darkness).* See also §18.3.

8.3. Statements of Potentiality. 8.3.1. The particle ἄν is commonly used with most secondary verb forms (the imperfect, aorist and pluperfect tenses, and the optative of the imperfective, aorist and perfect aspects) to express what might be or might have been (in contrast to what is, will be or was). As may be seen from the examples in the following sections, ἄν has not a fixed position in a sentence or clause, but it tends to follow (or to precede) an important word, such as a negative or the verb.

For ἄν in subordinate clauses, with the imperfect and aorist tenses to express iteration, and with the subjunctive for a generalizing effect, see §§20.3, 20.6.3–4 and 21.3–5.

8.3.2. Open Potential. Open potential statements (what might happen) are made by means of ἄν with the optative. Such statements are negatived by οὐ and its compounds. In earlier Greek open potential statements had been very common as a means of making a less assertive statement of fact or intention, often for politeness. For example, where Paul in 1 Co 15:35 suggests an objection with ἐρεῖ τις, *someone will say*, a classical writer is more likely to have written εἴποι ἄν τις, *someone might say*. There is only one example of this in a statement in the NT: Ac 26:29 εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ ..., *I could pray to God* ... . This and the parallel examples of questions (§11.3) all occur (perhaps significantly) in polite or learned society contexts. If the time reference in such statements is ever relevant, it is made clear by the context. The aorist aspect in Ac 26:29 expresses the completeness of the activity envisaged in Paul's exclamatory response.

8.3.3. Excluded Potential. Excluded potential statements differ from open potential statements in having a secondary tense of the indicative (imperfect, aorist or pluperfect) instead of the optative, thus drawing attention to some form of exclusion of what is stated, usually because the possibility no longer exists.[1] Hence the term ***unreal*** is often applied to such statements. Most excluded potential statements in the NT are accompanied by a conditional protasis (see §21.4), and ἄν is omitted in some of them: Jn 4:10 ... σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ..., ... ***you would have asked him and he would have given you*** ... (in fact *he* had asked *her*, and she had questioned his doing so); Jn 15:22 ... ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἴχοσαν, ... *they would not have sin* (but in fact they have); 1 Jn 2:19 ... μεμενήκεισαν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν, *they would have remained (and now be) with us* (cf. the preceding statement ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθεν). For the protases accompanying these, see §21.4.

For those unaccompanied by a conditional protasis see §§10.3.2 (ἐβουλόμην, ἤθελον, ηὐχόμην), 8.3.4 (ἔδει, καλὸν ἦν, etc.) and also §15.2.3.

It should be noted that the distinction between these tenses is purely that of aspect, the time reference being understood from the context. Mostly the aorist, with its emphasis on completeness, suits a more distant focus, and effectively has past reference, but the imperfect and pluperfect are equally suitable for past and present reference. In Jn 15:22 εἴχοσαν clearly has

present reference, but if the context indicated that the possibility of having was in the past it could be translated *would have had*. In 1 Jn 2:19 μεμενήκεισαν has present reference, but is not identical in meaning with ἔμενον, for in addition to the present state of remaining it incorporates a reference to the act or decision of remaining as its starting point (see §3.4.6).

1. In earlier Greek the optative could be used even when the possibility was virtually excluded by the context, and the use of the indicative was an emphatic reference to that exclusion, but by NT times the optative is more sparingly used, and never seems to occur where the indicative could take its place. For the potential in earlier Greek see McK. *Rptd. Actn.*.

8.3.4. Impersonal expressions, including those of obligation, are sometimes used in the secondary tenses without ἄν in contexts where the English equivalent would suggest unreality. This was quite common in earlier Greek. Probably many such expressions involve the excluded potential, but in some cases there may be another reason for the choice of tense: e.g. ἔδει may imply *it was in fact necessary* (even if it wasn't done), or, if the contextual reference is clearly present or timeless, *it really is necessary*. Examples of excluded potential statements in such circumstances are: Mt 23:23 ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφιέναι, *you ought to do/have done the latter* (which you have neglected) *and not be neglecting the former* (which you carry out meticulously) (the v.l. ἀφεῖναι, *to neglect*, parallels ποιῆσαι, and ἀφιέναι keeps the balance set out in the actual behaviour, as between ἀποδεκατοῦτε and ἀφήκατε: both imperfective and aorist make good sense); Mt 26:24 καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ ..., *it would be good for him* ... (but in fact he had been born). Compare these with Lu 15:32 εὐφρανθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆναι ἔδει, *it was necessary (we had) to celebrate and be glad* (when my lost son returned home): the complaint being answered is against a celebration already begun (cf. :25–30), and the two verbs are stative, so if the meaning were intended to be *it really is necessary* εὐφραίνεσθαι and χαίρειν would be found instead of their aorist infinitives (see §§3.1.4, 3.3–4 and 9.1.1).

9. EXHORTATIONS and COMMANDS

9.1. Expressions of Will. 9.1.1. Will (what the speaker or writer wants to do or wants someone else to do) is directly expressed mainly by means of the subjunctive and the imperative, which supplement one another with a little overlapping of function (but see §9.4.2). The aspects used in such expressions are predominantly the aorist and the imperfective, but the perfect is also found. Because personal desire is intrinsic to expressions of will the subjective element in the choice of aspect is even more important than in statements. In written records the gestures and tone of voice, which in living speech are useful adjuncts to the words, are often omitted from the description. In many contexts the difference between the aorist (treating the intended activity as a whole) and the imperfective (treating it as a developing or continuing process) is in effect mainly one of emphasis, but there is no simple rule of interpretation: each case must be assessed against its context.

On the whole, stative verbs (§3.1.4) tend to be in the imperfective, and action verbs to be in the aorist, unless there is a need or desire for another aspect. In exhortations and commands to habitual activity and to continuing an already current activity the imperfective is generally used, irrespective of the verb type, but an aorist may be found if there is an overriding emphasis on completeness (which may be the completeness of each of a series of actions). The imperfective is normal also when the emphasis is on an adverbial attachment, when what is urged is that an activity (which can be taken for granted and regarded as background) be carried out *in a particular way* (e.g. Heb 12:1 in §9.2). With action verbs the conative (trying) and inceptive (beginning) realizations are usually expressed by means of the imperfective. With stative verbs, on the other hand, the inceptive realization tends to be expressed by means of the aorist, as does also the complexive realization of totally being, having, etc., which can have the effect of strong emphasis. Sometimes more than one of these realizations may be suitable to the context, so that different translations may be possible. Of course the recognition of different realizations is a matter of assessing the ways the aspects are used in different contexts in order to translate them into English or other languages (§3.1.5). It should be noted that the ancient speakers or writers may not have been fully conscious of some of the distinctions we need to make, but it is clear that those distinctions are

generally consistent with the choices they made, provided that we do not assume too rigid a pattern.[1]

1. For a fuller discussion of the possibilities, with further examples, including variations in parallel passages in the synoptic Gospels, see McK. *Imperatival*.

9.1.2. Some verbs of motion are quite commonly used in the imperfective in circumstances when the idea of getting moving is appropriate, even though that of a complete movement would also be appropriate to the context. In these circumstances the active of the usually transitive verbs ἄγειν, *lead*, and ἐγείρειν, *rouse up*, is used intransitively only in the imperfective imperative and subjunctive (in the forms ἄγε, ἄγωμεν, ἔγειρε). Of course when the emphasis is on a complete movement, the aorist is preferred, as in Mt 14:29 ἐλθέ, *come*; and see Ac 8:29 in §9.3.1.

9.2. Exhortations. Exhortations are expressed by means of the subjunctive in the first person, most commonly, but not exclusively, in the plural, with μή (or one of its compounds) if negative: 1 Jn 4:7 ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, *let us love one another* (that ἀγαπῶμεν here is subjunctive and not indicative is clear from the context, especially :11–12); 1 Co 10:8 μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν, *let us not be sexually immoral*; Gal 6:9 τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν, *let us not be weary of doing good* (cf. 2 Ths 3:13 in §9.3.2); Heb 12:1 δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, *let us persevere in running the race that is set before us*; Ro 14:13 μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρίνωμεν, *let us no longer (tend/seek to) judge one another* (although an aorist imperative, κρίνατε, follows immediately, the inclusion of ἔτι in the negative makes it likely that κρίνωμεν is imperfective); Jn 11:7 ἄγωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πάλιν, *let us go (be on our way) back to Judaea*.

Mk 4:35 διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν, *let us cross over to the other side*; Mt 21:38 δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ σχῶμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, *come on, let us kill him and get hold of his inheritance* (if ἀποκτείνωμεν is taken as imperfective instead of aorist it means something like *let us try to kill him*, which is less suitable to the narrative context, even if, as in Lu 20:14, σχῶμεν were not there); Mk 9:5 ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς, *let us make three tents*; Ro 13:13 ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, *as in daylight let us behave completely becomingly* (the aorist of the stative verb suits the urgency of the whole exhortation: cf. Heb 12:1 above); Mt 7:4 ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, *let me get the speck out of your eye*; Mt 17:4 εἰ θέλεις, ποιήσω ὧδε τρεῖς σκηνάς, *if you like, let me make three tents here* (or *I shall make*: but cf. Mk 9:5 above).

The reason for the predominance of the plural in exhortations is that they are mostly used to exhort other people to join the speaker or writer in doing something, and are often a thinly veiled substitute for a second person imperative: cf. the variations in Ro 13:12–14. The use of the singular also is often associated with influencing a second person, and is mostly preceded by ἄφες, *allow (me)*, or δεῦρο, δεῦτε, *(come) here* (as is sometimes also the plural).

9.3. Commands. 9.3.1. **Positive** commands (which may in effect be anything from a forceful order to mild advice or prayerful entreaty: and see §9.3.3) are commonly expressed by the imperative (second and third persons): Mt 14:27 θαρσεῖτε, ἐγώ εἰμι, *have confidence, it is I*; Lu 9:59 ἀκολούθει μοι, *follow me (be my companion)* (cf. Mk 14:13 below); Eph 5:1–2 γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ... καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ, *(aim to) be imitators of God ... and behave in a loving way (walk in love)*; Jn 15:18 εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκεν, *if the world hates you, recognize (be aware) that it has hated me before you.*

Mt 14:28 εἰ σὺ εἶ, κέλευσόν με ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα, *if it is you, bid me come to you over the water*; Jn 21:10 ἐνέγκατε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀψαρίων, *bring some of the fish*; Mt 10:11 εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσέλθητε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστιν· κἀκεῖ μείνατε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε, *in whatever town or village you enter, enquire who is worthy, and stay at his house until you depart* (complete acts of enquiry and staying on each of many occasions); 1 Pt 2:2 ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, *as newborn babies desire only / acquire a desire for pure spiritual milk* (the aorist of the stative verb may be complexive or inceptive in this context).

Mk 4:39 σιώπα, πεφίμωσο, *be quiet, be still (muzzled)* (the imperfective of a stative verb and the perfect passive of an action verb are very similar in their effect); Jas 1:19 ἴστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί. ἔστω δὲ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι ..., *be sure (of this), my beloved brothers. And let everyone be quick to hear* ... (but ἴστε may possibly be indicative: *you know [this]*).

1 Co 7:9 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, *if they cannot (are failing to) control themselves, let them get married*; 1 Co 7:36 εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ... ὃ θέλει ποιείτω ... γαμείτωσαν, *if anyone has lustful thoughts towards his lady-love, he should do what he is wanting (to do) ... let them (go ahead and) marry* (in

comparison with :9 there is in :36 more emphasis on the development towards marriage); Jas 5:13–14 εὐθυμεῖ τις; ψαλλέτω. ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ..., *Is somebody happy? Let him sing praises. Is anyone among you sick? Let him summon the elders* ... (habitual praising, but more specific summoning); Lu 12:35 ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι, *let your loins be (already) girded and your lamps be burning* (see §§1.9.2,4).

Eph 5:14 ἔγειρε, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, *rouse up, sleeper, and rise from the dead* (see §9.1.2, and cf. Mt 17:7 in §9.3.2); Mk 14:13–14 ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπαντήσει ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος ... ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃ εἴπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ..., *go into the city, and a man will meet you ... follow him, and whatever house he enters say to the man in charge* ... (start going, then on the given signal perform complete acts of following and saying); Ac 8:29 πρόσελθε καὶ κολλήθητι τῷ ἅρματι τούτῳ, *go up and join that chariot* (two firmly specific actions); Mt 2:13 παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον ... καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἴσθι ἐκεῖ ἕως ἂν εἴπω σοι, *take the child ... and flee to Egypt, and remain there until I tell you* (prepare immediately, proceed to flee, go on being); 1 Pt 2:17 πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, *give due honour to all: love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the emperor* (the three imperfectives of habitual attitudes spell out more fully the detail involved in the overall command).

9.3.2. Negative commands, or ***prohibitions***, are usually expressed by μή with either the imperfective (or, rarely, perfect) imperative or the aorist subjunctive; but in the third person the aorist imperative is also found: 1 Ths 5:19 τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, *do not (habitually/try to) quench the spirit*; Jas 1:13 μηδεὶς πειραζόμενος λεγέτω ..., *nobody, on being tempted, must say* ... (habitual or iterative/distributive); Eph 4:28 ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, *he who used to steal must not steal any more* (continuative); Mt 17:7 ἐγέρθητε καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε, *get up and don't be afraid* (snap out of it and don't continue in fear); Mt 9:30 ὁρᾶτε μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω, *be careful — let nobody find out/begin to know.*

Ac 7:60 κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, *Lord, do not hold this sin against them*; 1 Tm 5:1 πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, *never (do not) rebuke an elder* (habitual, but more emphatic than the imperfective: note the following ἀλλὰ παρακάλει, *but [always] appeal to [him]*); 2 Ths 3:13 μὴ ἐγκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες, *do not get tired of doing good* (inceptive of stative verb: cf. Gal 6:9 in §9.2); 2 Ths 2:3 μή τις ὑμᾶς

ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, *let nobody deceive you in any way at all*; Mt 21:19 μηκέτι (v.l. οὐ μηκέτι) ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *no more fruit is to come from you for ever* (for the v.l. μηκέτι ... γένοιτο see §10.1); Mk 13:15 ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω μηδὲ εἰσελθάτω τι ἆραι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, *anyone on the roof must not come down and go inside to get anything out of his house.*

9.3.3. Commands, positive and negative, in the above constructions may be used to express a hypothetical case or an assumption: Eph 4:26 ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, *if you have cause for anger (be angry and) do not sin (with it)*; Jn 2:19 λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, *if you destroy this temple (destroy this temple and) I will raise it up in three days.*

9.4. Alternative Expressions. 9.4.1. Commands and exhortations may also be expressed in a variety of other ways. One of these is to use an **indirect command** (see §14.2.3), with a verb of commanding, exhorting, or the like, in the first person and an infinitive (which has the aspect of the imperative it replaces): Ro 12:1 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ... παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, *I urge you therefore ... to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice*; Ac 16:18 παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, *I command you in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her*; Ac 27:22 καὶ τὰ νῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν, *and now I urge you to keep your spirits up*; Mt 5:34 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως, *but I tell you not to swear at all.* These are respectively equivalent to the direct commands παραστήσατε, ἔξελθε, εὐθυμεῖτε and μὴ ὀμόσητε.

An extension from this is the use of such a first person verb with an expression of **purpose** (see §17): 2 Ths 2:1–2 ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ... εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι, *we beg you ... not suddenly to lose your heads or to be alarmed*; Mk 6:25 θέλω ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῷς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, *I want you to give me straight away the head of John the baptizer on a plate* (cf. Mt 14:8 δός μοι ...). See also §14.3.

Some statements of obligation (see §8.1.4) come very close to being equivalent to commands and exhortations: 1 Jn 4:11 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν, *we also should love one another* (cf. :7).

9.4.2. Another **alternative** for a command is the use of the **future indicative**, with its nuance of intention being strongly expressed as will: Mt 27:4

σὺ ὄψῃ, *you see (to that)*. It is to be noted that whereas in classical Greek the negative used with an imperatival sense was usually μή, in the NT it is always οὐ: Mt 5:33 οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, *you must not swear falsely*. See also §§3.5 and 4.8.4.

9.4.3. Sometimes οὐ μή with the future indicative, but more often with the aorist subjunctive, comes close to expressing a prohibition: Jn 13:8 οὐ μὴ νίψῃς μου τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *you will never wash my feet — ever!* Cf. §§4.8.2, 8.2.2, 9.3.2.

9.4.4. Although clauses containing ἵνα and a subjunctive are in origin subordinate clauses, and were still mostly so used in the NT (see §§14.3, 17.2 and 9.4.1), they were sometimes used independently for commands and exhortations: Eph 5:33 ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα, *each man must love his wife as himself, and the wife must respect her husband*; Mk 5:23 ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῇ, *come and lay your hands on her* (cf. Mt 9:18 ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν ἐπίθες ...); Gal 2:10 μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, *only we should remember the poor* (this is really part of a report, so it is by implication subordinate to the idea of agreeing expressed in δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν in :9).

9.4.5. Occasionally in ancient Greek the **infinitive** is found in place of an imperative in a direct command, and there seems to be an example of this in Ro 12:15 χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, *rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep* (note the imperatives in the preceding sentence). The other infinitives in the NT which have been thought by some to express a direct command are probably best explained as indirect commands with an unusual (but in Greek terms not unnatural) degree of separation from their leading verbs (Ac 23:24 παραστῆσαι, Phil 3:16 στοιχεῖν), and as a consecutive or purpose infinitive (Lu 9:3 ἔχειν). The use of χαίρειν as an opening greeting in a letter, as in Ac 15:23, is a standard formula with εὔχομαι or λέγω understood.

9.4.6. **Participles** are very commonly used in conjunction with commands and exhortations, sometimes as the equivalent of an adverbial clause modifying the imperative or subjunctive verb, but more often as the equivalent of co-ordinate commands or exhortations, and sometimes with ambiguous possibilities of both. It may be that the native Aramaic background of most of the NT writers encouraged them to exploit to the full the possibilities of participial usage, but Greek was already prone to the extensive use of participles, in connection with commands and exhortations as well as in other

types of sentence, and there is no need to assume that they went beyond the natural limits of Greek in this respect.

Clear examples of adverbial clause equivalents are 2 Tm 4:13 τὴν φαιλόνην ... ἐρχόμενος φέρε, *when you come, bring the cloak* ... (the two activities are essentially parallel, so both are imperfective); 2 Tm 2:23 τὰς δὲ μωρὰς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ζητήσεις παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι γεννῶσιν μάχας, *avoid foolish and ignorant discussions, for you know that they cause quarrels*: the participles represent ὅταν ἔρχῃ and ὅτι οἶδας respectively.

Equally clear examples of co-ordinate clause equivalents are Heb 12:1–2 ἀποθέμενοι ... τρέχωμεν ... ἀφορῶντες ..., *let us lay aside ... and run ... and (while doing so) let us be looking* ... (= ἀποθώμεθα καὶ ... καὶ ἀφορῶμεν: but the preceding ἔχοντες is causal, ὅτι ἔχομεν); Mt 28:19–20 πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε ... βαπτίζοντες ... διδάσκοντες ..., *go then and make disciples: baptize ... and teach* ... (= πορεύθητε ... καὶ ... βαπτίζετε ... καὶ διδάσκετε: baptism and teaching are part of the overall programme of discipling: for the aspects cf. 1 Pt 2:17 in §9.3.1); Col 2:6–7 ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε, ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ ἐποικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βεβαιούμενοι τῇ πίστει ..., *so then, as you have received Christ Jesus as your Lord, live your life (walk) in him: keep your roots (in him), and go on being built up in him and being strengthened in your faith* ...(= καὶ ἐρρίζωσθε καὶ ἐποικοδομεῖσθε ... καὶ βεβαιοῦσθε: the roots are already there, the building and strengthening are continuing processes); Mt 2:13 ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε ..., *get up and take* ... (= ἐγέρθητι καὶ); Ac 16:37 ἐλθόντες αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν, *they must come themselves and take us out* (= ἐλθέτωσαν ... καὶ); Lu 6:35 δανείζετε μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες, *lend, and (when you are doing so) expect nothing in return* (= καὶ μηδὲν ἀπελπίζετε); Lu 9:60 ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε, *go away and start passing on the news* (= ἄπελθε καὶ); Jas 5:1 κλαύσατε ὀλολύζοντες, *burst into tears and go on wailing* (= καὶ ὀλολύζετε); Mt 20:8 ἀπόδος ... ἀρξάμενος, *pay ... and (in doing so) begin* (= καὶ ἄρξαι).

Note that whereas the imperfectives ἔγειρε, ὕπαγε, πορεύεσθε, etc., are common when a separate imperative (or subjunctive) is used (see §9.1.2), aorist participles are regularly found when they stand in place of a preceding imperative (but not always when they represent a following imperative or stand in place of an adverbial clause). This is a matter of emphasis: when the inceptive realization (*start going*, etc.) is desired it is natural to use parataxis rather than the subordination which a participle involves.

Possibly **ambiguous** examples are Mt 6:6 εἴσελθε ... καὶ κλείσας ... πρόσευξαι, *go in ..., shut ... and offer your prayer*, or ... *and after shutting ... offer* ...(= κλεῖσον ... καὶ / ὅταν κλείσῃς); Lu 5:24 ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρας ... πορεύου, *get up, pick up ..., and go on your way* (= ἆρον ... καὶ, which is the reading of some mss., and also Mt 9:6 and Mk 2:11), or ... *and after picking up ..., go* ... (= ὅταν ἄρῃς).

9.4.7. In some contexts there are grammatical anacolutha, where a participle follows the general sense instead of what is actually written: Col 3:16 ὁ λόγος ... ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν ... διδάσκοντες ..., *let the word dwell in you; teach* ... (as if something like ἔχετε τὸν λόγον ἐν ὑμῖν, *have the word in you*, had been used); Ro 12:(3–)9 λέγω γὰρ ... παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν ... φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ... . ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος· ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν ..., *for I tell every single one among you ... to direct your thinking to sober attitudes ... — your love (must be*: sc. ἔστω*) sincere — abhorring (you must abhor) evil* ... (after the explanatory matter and individual exhortations of :4–8 Paul returns to the general exhortation as if he had originally used the direct command φρονεῖτε: the line of thought is recognizable, even if the syntax is confused by its exuberant rapidity).

10. WISHES

10.1. Wish. A wish differs from an exhortation or a command in that it is a more remote[1] expression of will: the speaker feels that he has less control over its fulfilment. Consequently some of the constructions of §9 are occasionally found in contexts where they could be taken as wishes, and some of the constructions below come close to being expressions of will or obligation. It should be noted that in modern English wishes are more often expressed by *I wish that* ... and *I hope that* ... than by the older *may* ... or *would that* ..., but in NT Greek βούλομαι, θέλω, etc., are only occasional alternative possibilities. The negative used with wishes is μή.

In spite of the difficulty we sometimes have now in distinguishing will from wish, the distinction seems to have remained clear enough to speakers of ancient Greek, and apparent confusions are largely due to different subjective attitudes. In Ac 1:20 (quoted in §5.5 as a possible example of the decline of the optative), when Peter quoted Ps 109:8 and substituted λαβέτω for λάβοι he was applying it more directly to a situation which he saw as requiring action which could readily be taken, than the Psalmist's wish for God to act and proposal of desirable possibilities. In 1 Co 16:22 and Gal 1:8–9 ἀνάθεμα ἤτω/ἔστω Paul is appealing to his flock to pay no attention to certain people (to treat them as accursed) rather than praying for God's curse on them. The differences between the accounts of the cursing of the fig tree given in Mk 11:14 (§10.2.1) and Mt 21:19 (§9.3.2) are that in the former Jesus' wish/prayer concerns the potential eater, and the effect is reported as being discovered next day, while in the latter he directly prohibits the bearing of fruit (although there is a v.l. making it a wish/prayer), and the emphasis is on the speed of the tree's withering.

1. This remoteness feature is similar to that of an open potential statement (§8.3.2) as compared with a statement of fact (§8.1). It is no doubt significant that the optative is used in both wishes and potential statements, but the relationship between them can only be a matter of conjecture.

10.2. Simple Wishes. 10.2.1. A simple wish is usually expressed by means of the optative, usually imperfective or aorist (the less common perfect optative is not found in the NT). It may express a desire for anything at all, ranging from what will probably happen to what is patently

impossible (cf. §10.3.1). If any time reference is important it is made clear by the context, but in the nature of things simple wishes refer mostly to future or timeless situations. Some examples are: 1 Pt 1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη, *may grace and peace be increased for you*; 1 Ths 5:23 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελεῖς, *may God himself, who gives peace, sanctify you completely*; Ac 8:20 τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, *may your money accompany (be with) you to perdition*; Phm 20 ναί, ἄδελφε, ἐγώ σου ὀναίμην ἐν κυρίῳ, *yes, brother, please let me (may I) benefit from you in the Lord*; Ro 3:31 νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ νόμον ἱστάνομεν, *Are we then nullifying the law by means of faith? Not at all (may it not happen!) — we are establishing the law*; Mk 11:14 μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγοι, *may nobody ever again eat fruit from you* (see §10.1).

10.2.2. There is in the NT one example of a slightly modified wish with ὄφελον (see §10.3.1) and the future indicative: Gal 5:12 ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς, *I wish the trouble-makers would go so far as to emasculate themselves*. This combines elements of a simple expression of will (a few witnesses have the aorist subjunctive ἀποκόψωνται, but see §1.5.2) and an excluded wish (§10.3) in a semi-jocular expression, something like *with any luck they'll do it to themselves and cut off more than they intend*.

10.2.3. As in commands and exhortations, a simple prayer/wish may be expressed indirectly by means of a first person verb with an infinitive (see §14.2.5): 2 Co 13:7 εὐχόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς κακὸν μηδέν, *we pray to God that you will not do anything wrong*; 3 Jn 2 περὶ πάντων εὔχομαί σε εὐοδοῦσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν, *I pray that you may be prosperous and healthy in every way*; Ac 26:29 εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ ... πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον γενέσθαι τοιούτους ὁποῖος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι, *I could pray to God that ... all who hear me today may be just as I am* (see §§8.3.2, 10.3.2 n.2). The corresponding direct prayers would be μὴ ποιήσαιτε, εὐοδοῖο καὶ ὑγιαίνοις, and πάντες ... γένοιντο: note that the aspect of the infinitive is that of the optative it replaces.

10.3. Excluded Wishes. 10.3.1. An excluded wish is usually expressed by means of ὄφελον[1] with a secondary tense of the indicative, usually imperfect or aorist (the pluperfect is not found in a wish in the NT). It differs from a simple wish in that it specifically draws attention to the fact that the possibility of fulfilment (however likely it might normally be) has already

been excluded by the existing state of affairs or by irreversible events in the past. Because it signals a complete action the aorist usually implies that the excluded activity is past; and the imperfect is found with present more often than past contextual reference; but other time references (e.g. future, timeless) are not impossible: the time reference is always determined by the context, of which the verb is only one element. Examples are: 1 Co 4:8 καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε, *and how I wish you had become kings!*; Rev 3:15 ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς ἢ ζεστός, *I wish you were (now) cold or hot*; 2 Co 11:1 ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθέ μου μικρόν τι ἀφροσύνης, *I wish you could permit me a little folly* (an unlikely possibility, which Paul then proceeds either to declare as actual or to plead for, depending on whether the following ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέχεσθέ μου is a statement or a command)

1. Ὄφελον is a particle which replaces the particles similarly used in classical Greek, εἴθε and εἰ γάρ. From very early Greek ὤφελον (strong aorist of ὀφείλω: cf. English *ought* compared with *owe*) had been used in its inflected forms with the infinitive for excluded wishes (e.g. the examples in §10.3.1 would be ὠφέλετε βασιλεῦσαι, ὠφέλετε ἀνέχεσθαι and ὤφελες εἶναι respectively), and ὄφελον is presumably in origin the neuter singular of its participle. The ὤφελον found occasionally in mss. as a v.l. for ὄφελον is undoubtedly due to confusion of ω and ο (§1.5.2).

10.3.2. An alternative way of expressing an excluded wish is by means of the first person imperfect tense of a verb of wishing with an infinitive:[1] Ac 25:22 ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀκοῦσαι, *I wish I too had heard the fellow*; Gal 4:20 ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι, *I wish I were with you now*; Ro 9:3 ηὐχόμην γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, *I wish I could be myself cut off from Christ, instead of my brothers.*[2] The corresponding direct wishes would be ὄφελον ἤκουσα, ὄφελον παρήμην and ὄφελον ἤμην.

Some passages remain possibly ambiguous. For example, Phm 13 ὃν ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν could be taken as either an excluded wish (*I wish I could have kept him with me*) or a simple statement (*I wanted to keep* ...): both make good sense, and there is nothing in the context to make either clearly preferable to the other (and no amount of statistical analysis of other passages will establish certainty here).

1. In classical Greek ἐβουλόμην was the verb most used in this way, sometimes accompanied by ἄν. In the NT ἄν is sometimes omitted in excluded potential statements (§8.3.3), and never found with ἐβουλόμην, ἤθελον or ηὐχόμην when they are used in this alternative excluded wish construction. The explanation for the construction is not certainly known, but it is likely that it arises by transfer of the

secondary indicative when a wish like ὄφελον ἦμην, *I wish I were*, is subordinated to a verb such as βούλομαι and the infinitive produced (εἶναι) is no different from that produced from an exhortation ὦ, *let me be*.

2. As there is some evidence that by the NT period the optative had retreated to some extent in favour of the indicative (cf. §§5.5 and 20.3.2 n.1), it is possible, although not probable, that some of these imperfect tenses may represent imperfective optatives with ἄν: of these examples Gal 4:20 is clearly an excluded wish, but Ac 25:22 would make sense if it were the equivalent of βουλοίμην ἄν ..., *I would like to hear* ..., and Ro 9:3 could conceivably make sense if it had εὐχοίμην ἄν ..., *I could wish to be cut off* ... (cf. §10.2.3, where the aorist εὐξαίμην in Ac 26:29 represents a spontaneous reaction prayer, while that in Ro 9:3 is an ongoing one). Nevertheless, both Ac 25:22 and Ro 9:3 are formally parallel with Gal 4:20, and they make sense (one might even say better sense) as excluded wishes, so there is no need to assume anything else. See McK. *Time*, 212–215.

Probably the indicative in excluded wishes, while not stating a fact, has the effect of drawing attention to the recognized facts of the existing situation.

10.3.3. An effect similar to that of an excluded wish can also be produced by means of a conditional protasis with apodosis omitted: Lu 19:42 εἰ ἔγνως ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην — νῦν δὲ ..., *if you also had recognized at this time what is relevant to peace — but as it is* ..., in form implies an apodosis such as *it would be good*, but in effect it is equivalent to a wish, *if only you also had recognized ...!*.

11. DIRECT QUESTIONS

11.1. The Form of a Question. 11.1.1. In form a question may be identical with a statement or exhortation except for the interrogative tone of voice (represented in modern texts by punctuation marks: but see §7.1.2), as in the English *He said that?*. As word order in Greek is so flexible (§1.7) it has little or no value for distinguishing between questions and statements in the way it does in English. There are a number of interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs which clearly indicate that the clause they occur in is a question (see also §13.1.1): τίς, ποῖος, πόσος, πηλίκος and ποταπός in all their inflexions, ποῦ, πόθεν, πότε, πῶς, ποσάκις, τί (also ὅτι: see §11.2.2), διὰ τί, πότερον.[1] Direct questions are also introduced by the untranslatable particles εἰ (originally confined to indirect questions: see §13.1.1) and ἆρα (in the NT only found in the writings of Luke and Paul, but very common in earlier Greek). As with statements, so also with questions connecting and emphasizing particles are more commonly used in Greek than in English: besides co-ordinators καί, ἀλλά, δέ and ἤ, causal and inferential particles γάρ, οὖν (and οὐκοῦν, a reinforced, but not negative, derivative), ἄρα (not to be confused with ἆρα), the emphasizing particle γε, and even stronger connectives such as causal ἐπεί, are found, and although these have no interrogative force they may help to establish a contextual relationship which makes a question likely. When negatives are used in questions οὐ and μή have different effects: see §§11.2.5–7.

1. Some editors add ἱνατί, but see §11.2.3.

11.1.2. When a question calls for a choice between two (or more) alternative answers, its two parts are linked by ἤ, *or*, and, as in English, there is no other distinguishing feature. The interrogative πότερον, *which of the two*, which was commonly used in classical Greek to introduce such questions, is found in the NT only in an indirect question (§13.1.1). Note, however, that when ἤ occurs in a question introduced by any other interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb (as in Mt 25:38: §11.2.1) it does not call for such a choice between alternatives. When ἤ introduces a separate question its natural English translation is often *and* rather than *or* (as in Mk 11:28: §11.2.1), or it may be best left untranslated.

11.1.3. Most questions appear to be designed to elicit information, but some questions are ***rhetorical***, designed in fact to imply an assertion, or even a command, rather than to expect an answer. In form such questions may be the same as almost any type of question, but their content in relation to their context makes their rhetorical effect either clear (as in Mt 16:11: see §11.2.5) or likely (or merely possible): see also §11.2.4.

11.2. Questions of Fact and Intention. 11.2.1. These questions correspond to statements of fact and intention (§§8.1–2), and their verbs are in the indicative mood. When such a question does not contain a negative it leaves open the possibility of different answers (contrast §§11.2.5–6), but sometimes the context in which it occurs makes one kind of answer more likely than another. Some examples are: Ac 19:2 εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; *did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?*; Ac 8:30 ἆρά γε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις; *can you understand what you are reading?*; Jn 18:22 οὕτως ἀποκρίνῃ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ; *is that how you answer the High Priest?*; Jn 18:23 τί με δέρεις; *why are you hitting me?*; Mt 26:15 τί θέλετέ μοι δοῦναι κἀγὼ ὑμῖν παραδώσω αὐτόν; *what will you (are you willing to) give me for me to (and I shall) hand him over to you?*; Mk 8:20 πόσων σπυρίδων πληρώματα κλασμάτων ἤρατε; *how many basketfuls of pieces did you take up?*; Jn 1:38 ποῦ μένεις; *where are you staying?*; Lu 24:38 τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ, καὶ διὰ τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν; *why are you disturbed, and why do questions arise in your minds?*; Ro 3:6 μὴ γένοιτο· ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον; *impossible! — for (in that case) how will God judge the world?* (see also §11.4.2).

Mt 22:17 ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὔ; *is it right to pay tax to Caesar or not?*; Gal 1:10 ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; *Is it men I am now trying to persuade, or God? Am I trying to please men?*; Mk 11:28 ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ...; *By what power do you do this? And who gave you this power?*; Mt 25:38 πότε δέ σε εἴδομεν ξένον καὶ συνηγάγομεν, ἢ γυμνὸν καὶ περιεβάλομεν; *when did we see you a stranger and bring you in, or naked and clothe you?*

Sometimes the interrogative indicator is attached to a subordinate element (e.g. a participle) rather than to the principal clause: Lu 18:18 τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; *by doing what shall I inherit eternal life?* (cf. Mk 10:17 τί ποιήσω ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; *what shall I do in order to inherit ...?*, which may in fact be a deliberative question: see §§11.4.1–2).

11.2.2. In a few passages in the NT, mostly in Mark, ὅτι[1] is used to introduce a question apparently with the meaning *why*, which is a usage clearly recognizable in the LXX, but in most of the NT passages where it possibly occurs another meaning is possible. The clearest example is Mk 9:28 οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ... ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν· Ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; *his disciples ... asked him, "Why couldn't we cast it out?"* (see §11.2.5). Less certain is Mk 9:11 καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ...; *and they asked him, "Why do the scribes say ...?"*, which could be taken, or intended, as ... λέγοντες ὅτι ..., *they began to question him, mentioning that the scribes were saying* ... (cf. the clear question in the parallel Mt 17:10 τί οὖν ...; — but see the references to parallel passages below and in §1.9.4).

More doubtful is Mk 2:16 καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς ... ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· Ὅτι (v.ll. τί ὅτι/διὰ τί/τί) μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν ... ἐσθίει; *and the scribes said to his disciples, "Why does he eat with tax-collectors ...?*, for although in the parallel passages Mt and Lu both have a question with Διὰ τί, this might most naturally be read in a ms. without modern punctuation as ... ἔλεγον ... ὅτι ... Μετὰ ... ἐσθίει., ... *said, "He is eating with ...!* (see §12.1.3). This applies even more strongly to Ac 11:3 (see §1.3.2), while Jn 8:25 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν;/., according to punctuation may be translated *Jesus said to them, "Why do I speak to you at all?"*, ... *"What I have been telling you from the beginning."* or ... *"That I speak to you at all!"*

1. Some editors and grammarians aim to distinguish the neuter of ὅστις (which this is) by spelling it ὅ τι (or even ὅ, τι), and using undivided ὅτι for the meanings *that* and *because*. This is quite artificial, with no basis in ancient Greek, but it might have been a reasonable device if scholars could agree which readings of ὅτι should be so treated. All meanings of ὅτι are derived from the neuter of ὅστις, and although in many contexts there is no doubt which of its meanings is most appropriate, ambiguity does sometimes occur, and it is better to acknowledge it as such than to be unduly dogmatic. See also §12.4.5 n.1.

11.2.3. Ellipsis of the Verb. Some short questions are made sharper or more urgent by the omission of the verb (cf. §7.1.3), which is readily understood, and some more complex questions are divided into two, with the verb of the second question understood from the first (cf.§7.2.3): Jn 21:21 οὗτος δὲ τί; *but what about **him**?* (sc. πείσεται : *what will he suffer?*); Jn 21:22 τί πρὸς σέ; *what is that to you?* (sc. ἐστίν); Ro 3:9 τί οὖν; *well then — (what then?)* (sc. ἐστίν); Lu 17:17 οὐκ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ; *Weren't the ten (all) cleansed? Where*

(are) the (other) nine? (sc. εἰσίν); Ro 4:10 πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; *How then was it reckoned (to him)? — after he had been circumcised or before?* (sc. ἐλογίσθη).

Less common is the omission of a verb in a subordinate clause to which the interrogative pronoun belongs: 1 Co 10:29 ἵνα τί γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης συνειδήσεως; *why (for what purpose:* ἵνα τί [γένηται]*) is my freedom judged by another('s) conscience?* There seems to be no valid reason for printing ἱνατί for ἵνα τί as some editors do.

11.2.4. Exclamations. In classical Greek some types of exclamation were distinguished from questions by the use of the relative adjectives οἷος and ὅσος and the relative adverb ὡς. In the NT ὡς is still found in exclamations, but mostly the interrogatives πόσος and πῶς are used, showing how close these exclamations are to questions (cf. §11.1.3): Ro 11:33 ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, *how unfathomable his judgments (are)!*; Lu 12:50 ... καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ, ... *and how I am constrained until it is completed!*; Mt 6:23 εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν, τὸ σκότος πόσον, *if then the light in you is darkness, how great that darkness (is)!*; Mt 12:12 πόσῳ οὖν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος προβάτου, *how much more a man is worth than a sheep!*; Lu 13:34 ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι τὰ τέκνα σου ... καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε, *how often I have wanted to gather your children together ... and you refused!*

11.2.5. Questions with οὐ. When a question of fact or intention contains the negative οὐ or one of its compounds, it has the effect of suggesting that a positive answer is expected, as in a negative question in English: Mt 21:42 οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ...; *have you never read in the scriptures ...? (surely you have read ...!)*; 1 Co 9:1 οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα; *Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?*; 1 Co 8:10 ... οὐχὶ ἡ συνείδησις αὐτοῦ ... οἰκοδομηθήσεται εἰς τὸ τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίειν; ... *won't his conscience ... be encouraged to eat the food offered to idols?*

For a question with a compound negative following another negative see Mk 15:4 in §7.5.4. In 1 Co 9:6 ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι; *or is it only Barnabas and I who have to work for our living (who are not permitted not to work)?*, the two simple negatives cancel one another as in the statement in Ac 4:20, quoted in §7.5.3, but the effect of οὐκ in a question adds a slight complication, and if μόνος were omitted one could translate *surely Barnabas and I have the right not to work!*. The presence of μόνος in emphatic position makes it better to

translate with a question expecting a negative answer, but of course as it follows the series of questions in :4–5 its basic meaning is quite clear.

When questions with οὐ are introduced by an interrogative pronoun, adjective or adverb there is usually a similar effect of an expected positive answer, but the question tends to be rhetorical (§11.1.3), unless the negative is closely linked to one word, usually the verb, as in Mk 9:28 (§11.2.2), where οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν signifies failure (... *did we fail* ...): Mt 16:11 πῶς οὐ νοεῖτε ...; *surely you can see ...! (how do you not perceive ...?)*. See also §§11.2.7–8.

11.2.6. Questions with μή. When a question of fact or intention contains the negative μή or one of its compounds (especially μήτι, which in the NT occurs mainly in questions), there is an implication that a negative answer is expected, feared or envisaged in some other way,[1] and such questions are sometimes referred to as ***apprehensive questions***: Mt 26:25 μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι, ῥαββί; *am I the one (I am not the one, am I), teacher?* (note that the "expected" answer is not necessarily the one given); Jn 4:12 μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ...; *are you greater than our ancestor Jacob ...? (surely you are not ...!)*; Jn 4:29 μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός; *can this be the Messiah?* (she is divided between hope and doubt); Jn 7:26 μήποτε ἀληθῶς ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός; *have the rulers really recognized that he is the Messiah?*

Questions expecting a negative response do not always contain μή, but may rely on other contextual elements, such as the impossibility of the meaning suggested: 1 Co 1:13 μεμέρισται (a few minor mss. have μὴ μεμέρισται) ὁ Χριστός; μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν; ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε; *Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Were you baptized in Paul's name?*

1. In classical Greek μή attached to a statement of fact had the effect of modifying it by adding an element of doubt, hesitancy or apprehension, but there is no clear example of such a statement in the NT: see §§8.1.2, 8.2.3. Questions with μή were at all periods more common than such statements.

11.2.7. When a question is introduced by μὴ οὐ the general effect is the same as when οὐ is used alone, but this effect is achieved by combining a question containing μή (§11.2.6) with the close association of οὐ with the verb: 1 Co 9:4 μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν; *have we no right to eat and drink?* (although the reference here is to habitual practice [cf. περιάγειν and ἐργάζεσθαι in the next questions], the emphasis on

completeness produced by the aorist infinitives has the effect of adding a certain starkness to the question: ... *to have even a bite and a drink?*).

11.2.8. Occasionally οὐ μή with the aorist subjunctive is used in a question to give the effect of a strong positive assertion (cf.§§8.2.2, 11.4.1): Jn 18:11 ... οὐ μὴ πίω αὐτό; ... *shall I not drink it?* Such questions are similar to deliberative questions (§11.4).

11.3. Potential Questions. The interrogative words and negatives are used in the same way as in §§11.1–2 for questions whose verbs have the potential constructions described in §§8.3.2–3: Ac 8:31 πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ... ; *(no —) how could I ...?* (see also §21.3.2); Ac 17:18 τί ἂν θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; *what could this babbler mean (want to say)?*; Heb 10:2 ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο προσφερόμεναι ...; *for (otherwise) wouldn't they have stopped being offered?*

11.4. Deliberative Questions. 11.4.1. The interrogative words are used in the same way as in §11.2 for questions containing the subjunctive, but the only negative used with such questions is μή, and it usually has the same effect as οὐ with the indicative (§11.2.5), but special circumstances can occur. These questions, which are sometimes reinforced by the addition of θέλεις, θέλετε, βούλει or βούλεσθε, are the counterpart of the exhortations and commands described in §§9.2–3. They are more commonly in the first person than in either the second or third person, and this is no doubt why they are commonly called *deliberative*: Mt 26:54 πῶς οὖν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ ὅτι ...; *how then are the scriptures to be fulfilled that ...?*; Jn 18:39 (see §11.4.2) βούλεσθε οὖν ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; *do you want me, then, to release (do you want [this] — am I to release) to you the king of the Jews?*; Ro 6:1 ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ...; *are we to remain in sin ...?*; Mt 26:17 ποῦ θέλεις ἑτοιμάσωμέν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα; *where do do want us to prepare for you to eat the Passover?*; Mk 12:14 δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; *are we to give or not?*; Lu 23:31 ὅτι εἰ ἐν ὑγρῷ ξύλῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται; *because if they are doing this in green wood, what is to be done when it is withered?*; Ro 3:8 καὶ μὴ καθὼς βλασφημούμεθα καὶ καθώς φασίν τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν ὅτι Ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακὰ ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθά; *and are we — as we are slanderously claimed by some people to say — "to do evil so that good may come"?* (the insertion of the parenthesis after the negative, and the use of ὅτι [see §12.1.3], together with the tone of the preceding question, have the effect of giving μὴ its apprehensive force as in §11.2.6). Cf. also §11.2.8.

11.4.2. The future is sometimes found in deliberative questions in place of the subjunctive (see §§3.5 and 4.8.4): Lu 22:49 κύριε, εἰ πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; *Lord, shall we (are we to) strike with the sword?* (cf.Ro 3:6 in §11.2.1). Of course ἀπολύσω in Jn 18:39 (§11.4.1) could be future indicative.

The future and the subjunctive are found parallel in Lu 11:5–7 τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ ... κἀκεῖνος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἴπῃ ...; *which of you will have a friend and will go to him at midnight and say ... and he will reply from inside ...?* In this case the subjunctive seems to be aligned with the future rather than the other way round.

11.4.3. An effect almost identical to that of a deliberative question may be produced by means of a verb of obligation: Ac 16:30 τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; *what must I do (what is the procedure for me) to be saved?*

12. DIRECT and INDIRECT QUOTATIONS: INDIRECT STATEMENTS

12.1. Direct Quotation. 12.1.1. When the words spoken (or thought, etc.) by a person are reported, they may be in the form of either direct or indirect quotation. In the former the actual words spoken (or, less commonly, thought, etc.) are quoted: see §§12.1.2–3. Direct quotation may include any form of discourse (statement, question, command, exhortation, wish), and any combination of simple and complex sentences. In NT Greek quotations of more than one sentence are usually either completely in the form of direct quotation, or begin with a sentence of indirect quotation and then change to the direct form: e.g. in Ac 25:5 the indirect statement of :4 (quoted in §12.3.1) is continued as direct quotation, Οἱ οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν, φησίν, δυνατοὶ ... κατηγορείτωσαν αὐτοῦ, *"So those among you who can do so," he continued (said), "should ... proceed with making accusations against him."*

The opposite, a direct quotation continued with an indirect one (in this case an indirect command), is found in Ac 23:23–24 εἶπεν· Ἑτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους ... κτήνη τε παραστῆσαι ..., *he said, "Get two hundred soldiers ready ..." ; and (he told them) to provide mounts ...*; but this is unusual.

Ancient Greek texts usually gave little or no formal indication of the beginning or end of a quotation (§1.3.2), and some of the indications that were given are to some extent ambiguous (see §12.1.3). In many instances the writer's intention is quite clear from the sense, but in many others we need to make a subjective judgment based on an assessment of the context. The difficulty of recognizing the point at which a passage of direct speech ends is well illustrated by Jn 3:10–22: because the second person verbs make it clear that the reply beginning at :10 goes at least to the end of :12; but as only third person verbs occur in the sentences from :13 to :21, it is not clear where Jesus' words end and the evangelist's comment begins. The commonly accepted break is at the beginning of :16, but it would not be impossible to argue for its being at the beginning of :13, :14, :17, :20 or :22 (where clearly the narrative has been resumed).

12.1.2. Quotation marks are not normally used for designating direct quotation in ancient Greek texts. The usual modern convention (not followed by some editors) is to indicate the beginning of a quotation by the use of an initial capital letter, but the end must be deduced by the sense of the context: see §12.1.1. Mostly the verb of saying, thinking, etc., precedes the quotation, but it is sometimes omitted, and sometimes (mostly φημί) inserted as a parenthesis in the speech. Some examples of direct quotation are: Mk 11:33 καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν· Οὐκ οἴδαμεν, *and in reply they said to Jesus, "We don't know."*; Ac 19:28 ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, *they cried out (saying), "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians."*; Ac 26:25 ὁ δὲ Παῦλος· Οὐ μαίνομαι, φησίν, κράτιστε Φῆστε, ..., *then Paul said, "I am not mad, most excellent Festus, ..."*; Ac 26:28–29 ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον· Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι. ὁ δε Παῦλος· Εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ ..., *Agrippa (said) to Paul, "In short you are urging me to play the Christian." And Paul (replied), "I could pray to God ..."*; Jn 21:15 λέγει τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρῳ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Σίμων Ἰωάννου, ἀγαπᾷς με πλέον τούτων; λέγει αὐτῷ· Ναί, κύριε ..., *Jesus said to Simon Peter, "Simon, son of John, do you love me more than these men do?" He said to him, "Yes, Lord, ..."*; Mk 15:4 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος πάλιν ἐπηρώτα (v.l. -τησεν) αὐτὸν λέγων· Οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ οὐδέν; ἴδε πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν, *again Pilate asked him, "Aren't you making any answer? See how serious the accusations are they are making against you."*; Jn 18:11 εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Βάλε τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς τὴν θήκην, *so Jesus said to Peter, "Put your sword into its scabbard"*.

12.1.3. Sometimes ὅτι, *that*, which normally is used to introduce indirect statements (see §12.4), is used as a kind of "open quotes" to introduce direct quotation: Mk 10:32–33 ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν, ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ..., *he began to tell them the things that were going to happen to him: "Look, we are going up to Jerusalem ..."*. See also Ro 3:8 in §11.4.1.

When the verb in the quoted statement is in the third person there is ambiguity whether the quotation is direct or indirect: Mk 9:31 may be read either as ... ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται ..., ... *he said to them, "The son of man is being betrayed ..."*, or as ... ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ..., *he told them that the son of man was being ...*. See also §11.2.2.

12.1.4. Occasionally a direct quotation is introduced by the neuter article: Mk 9:23 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τὸ εἰ δύνῃ, πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι, *Jesus said to him, "As to your 'if you can', everything is possible*

to the believer" (cf. :22 ἀλλ' εἴ τι δύνῃ, βοήθησον ἡμῖν); Mt 19: 17–18 ...τήρει τὰς ἐντολάς. λέγει αὐτῷ· Ποίας; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔφη· Τὸ Οὐ φονεύσεις ..., *"... keep the commandments." He said to him, "Which ones?" Jesus replied, "'You shall do no murder ...'"*; Eph 4:9 τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη ..., *what does "he ascended" mean except that he also descended ...?* (cf. :8 ἀναβάς, which is the equivalent of ὅτε ἀνέβη: Paul quotes the underlying meaning rather than the exact form, probably to make it more noticeably parallel with the following κατέβη).

12.2. Indirect Statements. There are three common constructions used for indirect statements, the infinitive construction (which in earlier Greek was the basic means of making an indirect statement, but had fallen into second place by NT times: §12.3), the ὅτι construction (which is the most common in NT Greek: §12.4), and the participle construction (which was confined to statements depending on a limited range of verbs: §12.5). In all forms of indirect statement the verb and any pronouns may be modified in person, usually in the same way as in English: e.g. *He said, "I am going"* becomes *He said that he was going*. Changes of tense in English (e.g. *was* for *am* in the above example) are usually *not* the same as in Greek. The important point about ancient Greek is that whatever changes are made (in tense or mood, or to infinitive or participle) **the aspect of the verb in the original statement remains unchanged.**

12.3 Infinitive Construction. 12.3.1. When statements of the types referred to in §8 are indirectly quoted in dependence on certain verbs, the finite verbs of their principal clauses may be changed to infinitives, but their aspect does not change: e.g. the imperfective infinitive may stand for either a present or an imperfect indicative (or indeed an imperfective optative), as may be seen by comparing, among the examples quoted below, Ro 1:22, Heb 11:4 and Lu 20:6. If the statement was potential, either open or excluded, ἄν is omitted in the infinitive construction (unlike classical Greek, in which ἄν was usually retained). For negative statements see §§12.3.2–3.

If the subject of the finite verb of such a principal clause is the same as that of the verb of saying, thinking, etc., to which the statement is subordinated (i.e. the direct statement would have a first person verb), it normally remains nominative, but is usually unexpressed unless it is emphatic; but if it refers to a different person or thing it becomes accusative (see §6.1.2). Sometimes the accusative is used where the nominative would be normal, and in this situation it is always expressed. For the use of personal pronouns with the infinitive see §12.2.

Some examples are: Ro 1:22 φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν, *claiming that they were wise, they became foolish* (← σοφοί ἐσμεν); Heb 11:4 δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος, *through which it was testified that he was righteous (he was testified to be righteous*: cf. §2.5.2*)* (← ἐστίν or ἦν); Tit 1:16 θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, *they declare that they know God* (← οἴδαμεν); Lu 24:23 ἦλθον λέγουσαι καὶ ὀπτασίαν ἀγγέλων ἑωρακέναι, οἳ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ζῆν, *they came saying that they had also seen a vision of angels who said* (see §12.6) *that he is/was alive* (← ἑωράκαμεν ... ζῇ: *we have seen ... angels who are saying that he is alive*); 2 Co 11:16 μή τίς με δόξῃ ἄφρονα εἶναι, *nobody must consider that I am foolish* (← οὗτος ἄφρων ἐστίν); 1 Co 11:18 ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν, *I hear that there are divisions among you* (← ὑπάρχει); Lu 20:6 ὁ λαὸς ... πεπεισμένος γάρ ἐστιν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι, *the people ... for they are convinced that John was a prophet* (← Ἰωάννης προφήτης ἦν); Ac 25:4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Φῆστος ἀπεκρίθη τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μέλλειν ἐν τάχει ἐκπορεύεσθαι, *Festus replied that Paul was being kept in Caesarea, and he himself was going to go there soon* (← ὁ Παῦλος τηρεῖται ... ἐγὼ δὲ μέλλω); Phil 3:13 ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν οὐ (v.l. οὔπω) λογίζομαι κατειληφέναι, *I do not (yet) consider that I myself have comprehended* (← ἐγὼ αὐτὸς κατείληφα); Ac 8:9 λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, *saying that he was someone great* (← ἐγώ εἰμι μέγας τις); Jn 21:25 οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι (v.l. χωρήσειν) τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία, *I do not think the world itself would (will) have room for the books being written* (← αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος χωρήσαι ἂν [χωρήσει]).

The use of μέλλειν with an infinitive strictly belongs here, for it is as a verb of thinking that it comes to be so used, and this provides a simple explanation of the use of the future infinitive with it (which had in classical Greek been its main construction). The use of the imperfective infinitive with it may well come from the use of the present tense with future reference (§4.2.3), but it may represent an indirect expression of will or wish (§14), and this last may be the reason for the use of the aorist infinitive with it. For examples see §§1.9.5, 4.8.3 and below. It is of course possible that by the time of the NT μέλλειν was beginning to be felt as simply a verb used routinely with the infinitive as a substitute for the future, but the continued occasional use of the future infinitive with it suggests that its origins were not entirely obscured.

There is one instance in the NT of an indirect statement with an infinitive introduced by ὅτι: Ac 27:10 θεωρῶ ὅτι μετὰ ὕβρεως ... μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν, *I see that this voyage is going to be disastrous* ... . This kind of

anacoluthon is found also, but rarely, in earlier Greek, and is the result of a change of construction when the verb is held back until near the end of a long sentence.

12.3.2. Unlike classical Greek, in which the negatives of direct speech normally remained unchanged in any form of indirect quotation, the negative with the infinitive in NT Greek is regularly μή: Ac 25:24–25 ... βοῶντες μὴ δεῖν αὐτὸν ζῆν μηκέτι. ἐγὼ δὲ κατελαβόμην μηδὲν ἄξιον αὐτὸν θανάτου πεπραχέναι, ... *shouting that he ought not to live any longer. But I gathered that he had done nothing worthy of death* (← οὐ δεῖ ... οὐκέτι ... οὐδὲν πέπραχεν); Heb 3:18 τίσιν δὲ ὤμοσεν μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθαι εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ ...; *to whom did he swear that they would not enter his rest ...?* (← οὐκ [or οὐ μὴ] εἰσελεύσεσθε: but in fact a less direct form of oath had been quoted in :11, which could not meaningfully be subordinated without change).

In passages where οὐ is found it goes with the leading verb rather than the infinitive: see Phil 3:13 and Jn 21:25 in §12.3.1. A special case is Ac 26:26 λανθάνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τούτων οὐ πείθομαι οὐθέν, *for I do not believe that he is unaware of any of this*: because οὐθέν strengthens οὐ it remains, although it goes with the infinitive: if οὐ had not been with πείθομαι, μηθέν could be expected.

12.3.3. Because the original direct statement would have contained a negative, μή is sometimes found with an infinitive representing a statement depending on a verb which contains a negative idea in itself, e.g. *deny*: Lu 20:27 οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες (v.l. λέγοντες) ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι, *who deny that there is any (say that there is no) resurrection* (← ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν).

This use of a negative had been regular in classical Greek, but had become much less common by the time of the NT, and the negative content of the meaning of the leading verb was often treated as sufficient indication of the negative form of the original statement: Lu 22:34 ... ἕως τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ (some early mss. add μὴ) εἰδέναι, ... *until you deny three times that you know me* (cf. Lu 22:57 ὁ δὲ ἠρνήσατο λέγων· Οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν). See also Ac 14:18 in §6.1.8.

12.4. With Finite Verbs (the ὅτι construction). 12.4.1. Statements of the types described in §8 may be indirectly quoted by means of a clause containing a finite verb introduced by ὅτι, or, less commonly, ὡς (and even πῶς, which strictly makes it an indirect question [§§13.1.1, 13.2.1]:

cf. the use of English *how* to introduce an indirect statement): for ὡς ὅτι see §15.2.6. The principal verbs of such statements are changed in person in the same way as in English, but sometimes the person of the original statement is retained, so that there may be doubt whether direct or indirect statement was intended: see §§12.1.1, 12.1.3. The aspect of the verb is not changed, and the tense also is usually what it would be in the original statement (always so in ***primary sequence***, when the leading verb is a primary form: present, future or perfect indicative, or any form of the subjunctive): see also §12.4.3. The negative of direct speech (usually οὐ and its compounds) is retained in the indirect statement. The ὅτι construction is the most common form of indirect statement found in the NT dependent on a wide range of verbs of saying, thinking, knowing and perceiving, etc., and other expressions similar to them.

Some examples are: Jn 11:13 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔδοξαν ὅτι περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ὕπνου λέγει, *they thought he was speaking about waking from sleep*; Jn 16:26 οὐ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐρωτήσω τὸν πατέρα ..., *I am not saying (telling you) that I shall ask my (the) father ...*; 1 Tm 1:15 πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, *the saying (is) reliable, and worthy of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners*; Ac 19:26 ... λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι, ... *claiming that gods (the ones) that can be made by hand are not gods*; Jn 6:65 εἴρηκα ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ δεδομένον αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, *I have told you that nobody can come to me unless it has been granted to him by my father*; Lu 21:32 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, *indeed I tell you that this generation will not pass until all (this) happens*; Jn 9:18 οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἦν τυφλὸς καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν, *now the Jews did not believe that he had been blind and had begun to see*; Mt 20:10 οἱ πρῶτοι ἐνόμισαν ὅτι πλεῖον λήμψονται, *the first ones thought that they would receive more* (← λημψόμεθα); Jn 6:22 ὁ ὄχλος ... εἶδον (v.l. ἰδὼν) ὅτι πλοιάριον ἄλλο οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ ..., *the crowd ... saw (seeing) that there had been no other boat there ...*; Ac 23:27 ... μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν, ... *learning that he was a Roman citizen*; 2 Co 5:14 ... κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ... *when once we have reached this conclusion, that one has died for all*; 2 Tm 1:12 πέπεισμαι ὅτι δυνατός ἐστιν ..., *I am convinced that he is able ...*; 1 Co 15:3 παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ... ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, *I passed on to you (the news) ... that Christ died for our sins*; Lu 24:6 μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ..., *remember that he spoke to you ...* (the v.l. ὅσα for ὡς [*all that he told you*] is, of course, not an indirect statement: cf.

§13.2.4); Ac 10:28 ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ..., *you understand that it is not lawful for a Jewish man to associate* ...; 1 Co 8:4 οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς, *we know that an idol (is) nothing in the world and that (there is) no God but one* (sc. ἐστίν ... ἐστίν: for the ellipsis see §7.1.3); Gal 4:15 μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατέ μοι, *I bear witness to you that if (it had been) possible you would have plucked out your own eyes and given them to me* (sc. ἦν: see §21.1.8; for the omission of ἂν see §8.3.3).

12.4.2. Sometimes the subject of the verb (or another important word) in the indirect statement is given prominence by being expressed as the object of the leading verb or brought in some other way into close association with it: Mt 25:24 ἔγνων σε ὅτι σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος, *I realized that you are a hard man*; Jn 9:8 οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν ἔλεγον ..., *those who had previously seen that he was a beggar began to say* ... (i.e. *who had previously seen him [and knew] that he had been* ..., but see §15.2.4); Lu 24:7 ... λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι ..., ... *saying that the son of man had to be betrayed* ...; 1 Jn 4:3 ... ὃ ἀκηκόατε ὅτι ἔρχεται ..., ... *which you have heard is coming* ... (the relative pronoun must be kept at the beginning of its clause, and may here be intended as nominative rather than as the object of ἀκηκόατε, but as it is neuter its case is not clear). This form of anticipatory emphasis is called ***prolepsis***.

12.4.3. Occasionally in ***historic sequence***, i.e. when the leading verb has (contextually) past reference, the verb in the indirect statement is changed from a primary to a secondary tense (in statements in the NT only from present to imperfect, but see §13.2.3), as is usual in English: Ac 3:10 ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ ... καθήμενος, *they recognized that he was the one who had been sitting* ... (← ἐστιν ὃς ... ἐκάθητο). This change to a secondary tense of the same aspect is found occasionally in earlier Greek, but more commonly a change to the same aspect of the secondary mood, the optative, which is not found in indirect statements in the NT (but see §13.3.2). It had always been only an alternative to the more vivid retention of the original tense, and it is not surprising that NT writers preferred to use the original tense almost without exception when they chose to deviate from their usual preference for direct speech.

12.4.4. Sometimes an indirect statement with ὅτι (or ὡς) is added to another form of indirect quotation or implied indirect quotation: Ac 14:22 ... παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων

δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ,... *encouraging us to remain faithful, and (saying) that (it is) through many tribulations (that) we must enter God's kingdom* (for ἐμμένειν see §14.2); Lu 8:47 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἥψατο αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλεν ... καὶ ὡς ἰάθη παραχρῆμα, *she admitted the reason why she had touched him, and that she had been healed immediately* (cf. §13.2.4).

12.4.5. Verbs expressing **emotion**, especially θαυμάζειν, are found with clauses introduced by ὅτι which may be regarded as indirect statements (emotion implies thinking, if not speaking) or as causal clauses[1] (§15.2 5): Gal 1:6 θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ... εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, *I am surprised that you are turning so soon away from the one who called you ... to another gospel*; Mk 4:38 οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα; *aren't you concerned that we are facing death?* (in this the ὅτι clause, if it is not causal, is the subject of the impersonal verb, whereas it is usually the object of a verb with a personal subject: cf. §§6.1.4–7). Other types of clauses used with verbs of emotion are indirect questions (§13.2.5) and conditional protases (§21.1.7), both introduced by εἰ. It should be noted that the English translation most natural to the context does not always correspond to the type of clause used in the Greek.

1. In the much more abundant evidence of classical Greek it is quite clear that both indirect statements and causal clauses were used with such verbs. In the more limited range of examples in the NT either could be supported. The two meanings of ὅτι had both developed from a vaguer use of what was also the neuter of the indefinite relative pronoun (something like *as to which*), and there must have been some overlap from very early times: see §11.2.2 n.1.

12.4.6. The ὅτι construction is also used sometimes apart from a verb of saying, thinking, etc., to express something as fact (cf. §§6.1.3, 6.1.5): Mk 12:26 περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται ..., *but concerning the rising of the dead (concerning the dead, that they do rise) ...*; Ro 9:6 οὐχ οἷον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, *(it is) not as if the word of God has failed* (sc. ἐστίν); Phil 4:17 οὐχ ὅτι ἐπιζητῶ τὸ δόμα ... , *(it is) not that I am looking for your gift ...* (sc. ἐστίν or λέγω). Οὐχ ὅτι had become so common that it was sometimes used unnecessarily: in Phil 4:11 οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑστέρησιν λέγω, *it is not that I say this because of my need*, the omission of ὅτι would simplify, and even clarify, the sentence (*I do not say this because of need*), but with it there we must assume an ellipsis of ἐστίν and transposition of ὅτι because of its frequent use with οὐχ (*it is not because of need that I say this*). See Eph 4:9, quoted in §12.1.4.

12.5. Participle Construction. 12.5.1. When statements of the types referred to in §8 are indirectly quoted in dependence on most verbs of knowing and perceiving, the verbs in their principal clauses are sometimes expressed as supplementary participles, with case usage the same as in the infinitive construction (§12.3.1: but in the NT the nominative is rare, found only in dependence on a passive verb, the ὅτι construction being used in other circumstances where it might have been used), and of course with the aspect unchanged: Mt 1:18 εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, *it was found that she was (she was found to be) pregnant* (← ἔχει: the subject of εὑρέθη is *she*, however it may be translated); Ac 7:12 ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰακὼβ ὄντα σιτία ..., *Jacob hearing that there was food* ... (← σιτία ἔστιν); Ac 17:16 ... θεωροῦντος κατείδωλον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν, ... *as he saw that the city was full of idols* (← κατείδωλός ἐστιν ἡ πόλις); Ac 8:23 εἰς γὰρ χολὴν πικρίας καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας ὁρῶ σε ὄντα, *for I see that you are full of bitterness and bound by sin* (← σὺ εἶ); Ac 24:10 ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος ..., *as I realize that you have been a judge over this nation for many years* (← σὺ εἶ κριτής: §4.2.4); 2 Co 8:22 ... ὃν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν ἐν πολλοῖς πολλάκις σπουδαῖον ὄντα, ... *whom we have often in many circumstances found to be zealous* (← ὃς σπουδαῖός ἐστιν); Ac 9:12 καὶ εἶδεν ἄνδρα ... εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ χεῖρας, *and he has seen a man come in and lay hands on him* (← ἀνὴρ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐπέθηκεν); 2 Co 12:2 οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ... ἁρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, *I know a man ... that this (such a) man was caught up to the third heaven* (← ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡρπάγη); Lu 8:46 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν (v.l. ἐξελθοῦσαν) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, *for I perceived that power has gone out from me* (← δύναμις ἐξελήλυθεν [ἐξῆλθεν]); Heb 13:23 γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον, *I want you to know that our brother Timothy has been released* (← Τιμόθεος ἀπολέλυται).

There seem to be no negative examples of the participle in indirect quotation in the NT.

12.5.2. Physical Perception. The participle construction is used for both physical and mental perception, and it is possible to distinguish between the two only to the extent that the context makes clear, but when ἀκούειν is used with the genitive instead of the accusative (mostly in Luke and Acts) the emphasis always seems to be on physical perception. If the reference in Ac 9:12 (quoted in §12.5.1) were not to a dream the seeing would obviously be a physical perception, but even then it would be possible that the speaker actually intended to give greater weight to the mental perception involved (which he could have made quite clear by using the ὅτι

construction). Some clear examples of physical perception are: Mk 12:28 ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητούντων, *hearing them arguing* (not *that they were arguing*); Lu 18:36 ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου, *hearing (the noise of) a crowd going by*; Jn 1:37 ἤκουσαν οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος καὶ ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, *the two disciples heard him speaking and became Jesus' followers*; Ac 22: 7 ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι ..., *I heard a voice saying to me* ... .

12.5.3. The participle construction is also found with a few verbs of holding or expressing an opinion, sometimes with the addition of ὡς and/or the omission of the participle of the copula: Phil 2:3 ... ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν, ... *each considering that others are better than yourselves* (← ἄλλοι ὑπερέχουσίν μου or σὺ ὑπερέχεις μου); 2 Ths 3:15 μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, *do not regard him as an enemy* (ὄντα [← ἐχθρός ἐστιν] could have been added); 2 Co 10:2 τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας, *those who consider that we behave in a worldly manner (walk according to the flesh)* (← ἐκεῖνοι περιπατοῦσιν); 1 Jn 4:2 πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, *every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God* (← Ἰησοῦς ἐλήλυθεν); Ro 10:9 ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν ..., *if with your mouth you acknowledge Jesus as Lord* ... (ὄντα [← ἐστὶν κύριος Ἰησοῦς] could have been added); Lu 14:18 ἔχε με παρῃτημένον, *consider (treat) me as excused.*

12.6. Subordinate clauses in indirect quotation are normally unchanged from what they would be in the original form of the quoted statement, except for the usual changes of person: see, in §12.3.1, Lu 24:23 (οἳ λέγουσιν); in §12.4.1, Jn 6:65 (ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ δεδομένον αὐτῷ ...) and Lu 21:32 (ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται). In Ac 25:16 ἀπεκρίθην ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαί τινα ἄνθρωπον πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγόρους τόπον τε ἀπολογίας λάβοι ..., *I replied that it is not customary for the Romans to make free with anyone until the accused should have his accusers before him and be given a chance to defend himself* ..., it may be, as many assume, that the optative is used because of the historic sequence (§12.4.3) and represents πρὶν ἢ ... ἂν ἔχῃ ... λάβῃ (§20.7), but even in classical Greek it was quite rare for πρίν to be used with the optative, and in Hellenistic Greek the optative in historic sequence is at least unusual. It seems more likely that what Festus did was apply the potential optative to his πρίν clause in order to suggest a certain remoteness of possibility (in his expectation, at any rate, but this is the governing factor in his grammatical choice).

13. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

13.1. The Form of Indirect Questions. 13.1.1. When a question is quoted indirectly, usually in dependence on a verb of asking or some other expression implying a question, it is introduced either by one of the interrogative pronouns, adjectives or adverbs listed in §11.1 (sometimes with a particle such as ἄρα added: §11.1.1) or by εἰ *whether*, but the indirect interrogative words ὁποῖος (for ποῖος), ὅτι (for τί: see §11.2.2 n.1) and ὅπως (for πῶς) are also found.[1] Occasionally a neuter article is attached to an indirect question. Because most of the interrogative words are used for both direct and indirect questions, some questions may be taken as either: Ac 10:29 πυνθάνομαι οὖν· Τίνι λόγῳ μετεπέμψασθέ με; *so I ask you, "Why (by what reasoning) did you send for me?"* may be punctuated ... οὖν τίνι ... με, *so I want to know why you sent* ... .

1. In classical Greek a complete range of indirect interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, which were identical with the indefinite relative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs (§§19, 20) were commonly used in indirect questions, but the direct interrogative words could also be used. In Hellenistic Greek most of the indirect interrogative words were no longer used in indirect questions, and in the NT only ὁποῖος seems to flourish: ὅτι and ὅπως are rare and sometimes uncertain.

13.1.2. In all types of indirect question the principal verbs are treated similarly to those in statements with ὅτι (§§12.4.1, 12.4.3): they differ in person from the corresponding direct question according to context in the same way as in English; the original mood and tense of the direct question is usually retained, but in historic sequence (see §12.4.3) a secondary tense is occasionally substituted for a primary tense (§13.2.3), and there may be an example or two of the optative being substituted for a primary indicative form (but see §13.3.2); the aspect is never changed even when the tense (or mood) is changed. Sometimes the subject of the verb in the question is given prominence by prolepsis (see §§12.4.2, 13.2.2).

13.2.1. Some examples of indirect questions of fact are: Jn 8:14 οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἴδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω, *I know where I have come from and where I am going; you don't know (either) where I come from or where I am going*; Jn 2:9 οὐκ ᾔδει πόθεν ἐστίν, *he did not know where it was from*; Ac 12:18 ἦν

τάραχος ... τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο, *there was a commotion ... (as they tried to find out) what had happened to Peter* (← τί ἄρα ... ἐγένετο; *[he is not here,] so what has P. become ...?*); Gal 6:11 ἴδετε πηλίκοις (v.l. ἡλίκοις: see §11.2.4) ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί, *see how big the letters are I write myself!*; Jas 1:24 κατενόησεν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπελήλυθεν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο ὁποῖος ἦν, *he looks at himself and goes away, and immediately forgets what he was like (when he was looking)* (← ποῖος ἦμην;); 1 Ths 1:9 αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὁποίαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε ..., *for they themselves report what kind of visit we made to you, and how you turned* ... (← ποίαν ... ἔσχον; πῶς ἐπέστρεψαν;); Gal 2:6 ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει, *it makes no difference to me what(ever) they were* (see §4.3.6); Ac 9:6 λαληθήσεταί σοι ὅτι (v.l. τί) σε δεῖ ποιεῖν, *you will be told what you must do*; 1 Ths 4:1 ... καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ περιπατεῖν ..., ... *as you learnt from us how you must behave* ... .

Mt 27:49 ἄφες ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἠλίας ..., *let us see if Elijah is coming* ...; Mk 15:44 ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πάλαι ἀπέθανεν (v.ll. ἤδη and τέθνηκεν: see §13.2.5), *he asked him if he had died long before* (v.ll. *if he was already dead)*; Lu 14:28 τίς ... οὐχὶ πρῶτον καθίσας ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν; *who ... does not first sit down and calculate the cost, (to see) whether he has (enough) to complete it?*; Ac 19:2 ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔστιν ἠκούσαμεν, *but we have not even heard if there is a holy spirit.*

13.2.2. Some indirect questions of fact with prolepsis are: Lu 4:34 οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, *I know who you are*; Jn 9:29 τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν, *but this fellow — we don't know where he's from*; Jn 7:17 ... γνώσεται περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ, ... *he will know about the teaching, whether it is from God or I am saying (it) from myself.*

13.2.3. Change from present to imperfect, and from perfect to pluperfect, **in historic sequence** is apparent or possible in: Jn 6:6 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἤδει τί ἔμελλεν ποιεῖν, *for he himself knew what he was going to do* (← τί μέλλω;); Jn 2:25 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν τί ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, *for he himself could see what is (really is) in man* (← τί ἐστιν; or τί ἦν; : see §4.3.6); Ac 19:32 οἱ πλείους οὐκ ἤδεισαν τίνος ἕνεκα συνεληλύθεισαν, *the majority did not know why they were assembled* (← τίνος ἕνεκα συνεληλύθαμεν;).

13.2.4. Alternative Means of Expression. In some circumstances, when the leading verb is a verb of knowing, or something similar, what might have been an indirect question is in fact expressed as a relative clause: 1 Tm 1:7 ... μὴ νοοῦντες μήτε ἃ λέγουσιν μήτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιοῦνται, ... *not understanding either the things they say or the subjects they profess to expound (or what they are being dogmatic about)*, the relative clause ἃ λέγουσιν could have been expressed as an indirect question τίνα λέγουσιν, suggesting that somebody was asking that question, but the force of the context is that these teachers are saying certain already known things in ignorance, and the appropriate question is rather *what is all the talk about?*, and the grammatical forms used are exactly suitable. In Ac 9:16 ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ ὅσα δεῖ αὐτὸν ... παθεῖν, *I shall show him all that he must suffer*, balances Ananias' ὅσα κακὰ ... ἐποίησεν (:13), which referred to Saul's known actions, and has less need to be a question than the clause in the Lord's similar statement to Saul himself in :6 (quoted in §13.2.1).

Similarly in Lu 11:6 οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ, *I haven't anything to offer him* (cf.§17.5.1), the man is represented as knowing what he intends or wants to offer (he specifies three loaves), but simply not having it: the story could have been told with an indirect question (τί παραθήσω αὐτῷ) based on his trying to think of something to give. Such variations in presentation are found also in earlier Greek, and do not necessarily imply confusion between relative and interrogative pronouns: indeed this usually indicates a sensitivity to the distinction between them.

In Lu 24:20 (εἶπαν) ... ὅπως τε παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ..., (*they told*) ... *and the way (in which) the high priests ... handed him over ...*, is most naturally taken as a relative clause (cf. §20.5.1), as it follows closely on a report of facts (τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ ... ὃς ἐγένετο ..., referring back to :18 τὰ γενόμενα), but as it is part of the answer to the question ποῖα; (:19), it could be taken as an indirect question (*and how ...*), ὅπως being capable of introducing either relative clause or indirect question, although not common in either. The meaning amounts to the same thing either way, and one early ms. reads ὡς, which may mean *that*: see §12.4.1.

13.2.5. Verbs expressing **emotion**, especially θαυμάζειν, are found with clauses introduced by εἰ, some of which are indirect questions and some conditional protases. In the NT the distinction between the two types is clear: see §21.1.7, and cf. §§12.4.5 and 15.2.5. An example of an indirect question is Mk 15:44 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἤδη τέθνηκεν, *Pilate was surprised that he was already dead (wondered whether he was already*

dead). As noted in §12.4.5, the translation most natural to the context does not always conform to the literal rendering of the Greek: in this case the translation *that* ... better suits the following context, as Pilate asks the centurion whether he had died long before (the v.ll. ἤδη and τέθνηκεν quoted in §13.2.1 are clearly echoes of the clause quoted here).

13.3. Indirect Potential Questions. 13.3.1. While there are apparently no examples of indirect excluded potential questions in the NT, there are enough examples in Luke and Acts of indirect open potential questions (cf. §8.3.2) to demonstrate the persistence of the type. It is interesting, but not significant, that a number of them are preceded by the neuter article (§13.1.1). There can be no doubt about those examples in which the optative is accompanied by ἄν: Lu 1:62 ἐνένευον δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτό, *they made signs to his father (to ask) what he would like the child's name to be*; Lu 6:11 διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, *they began to discuss among themselves what they could do to Jesus* (whereas Mt and Mk have a more specific deliberative question [see §13.4.1], the reference here is more to the survey of possibilities in their plotting); Lu 9:46 εἰσῆλθεν δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν, *an argument arose among them as to which of them was (might be) the greatest* (the potential suggests some restraint in the way they argued, but its force does not translate very satisfactorily into English); Ac 5:24 διεπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο, *they were worrying what could have (what this could be that had) happened to them* (the past implication is from the context, not the use of the aorist: cf. Lu 6:11 above); Ac 10:17 ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος τί ἂν εἴη τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν ..., *while Peter was puzzling over the meaning of the vision he had seen (what the vision ... could be)* ... .

13.3.2. There are also a few examples of indirect questions in which the optative is not accompanied by ἄν, and scholars are divided whether these also are potential or are rare examples of the survival of the optative in historic sequence (§12.4.3).[1] The omission of ἄν in potential expressions was not unknown in earlier Greek, especially in subordinate clauses, and appears to have been more common in Hellenistic Greek, so the only real criterion is the appropriateness or otherwise of the potential idea to the context. All the indirect questions in the NT with the optative unaccompanied by ἄν are of the type most common among those found with ἄν, and are therefore best taken as potential: Lu 1:29 ... καὶ διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος, ... *and was trying to work out the significance of the greeting (what the greeting could be)*; Lu 8:9 ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τίς αὕτη εἴη ἡ παραβολή, *his disciples*

asked (began to ask) him what this parable meant (could be); Lu 18:36 ἐπυνθάνετο τί εἴη (v.l. τί ἂν εἴη) τοῦτο, *he enquired what this could be*; Lu 22:23 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν, *they began to ask among themselves which of them, then, could be the one who would do this*; Ac 21:33 ... καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί ἐστιν πεποιηκώς, ... *and (then) enquired (proceeded to enquire) who he was (might be) and what he had done* (the question of his identity was on a different level from that of his alleged guilt: for the perfect see §3.4.5).[2]

1. The fact that they all occur in the writings of Luke is not proof either way: Luke may have used some literary idiom which was by his time somewhat archaic, but he was also very sensitive to nuances of language, both in the way Greek was spoken by his contemporaries and in the effect on the Greek idiom of translation from Aramaic.

2. Of course in all of these εἴη could (in classical Greek at least) represent ἐστίν in historic sequence, and in some of them *was* seems a more idiomatic English translation than *could be* or *might be*, but in Greek terms it is the potential that seems more idiomatic. The difficulty of translating some optatives in a recognizably potential clause (because modern English makes less use of the potential) seems to have led some grammarians to play down the potential in ancient Greek.

13.4. Indirect Deliberative Questions. 13.4.1. There is no problem about indirect questions with the subjunctive, for they follow the pattern of direct deliberative questions (§11.4.1), and the substitution of the optative in historic sequence (which was an option sometimes used in earlier Greek, and incidentally could obscure the difference between factual and deliberative questions) is not found in the NT. Some examples are: Mk 15:24 ... βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ τίς τί ἄρῃ, ... *casting lots for them (to determine) who was to take what*; Mt 8:20 (and Lu 9:58) ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει **ποῦ τὴν** κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ, *the son of man has nowhere to lay his head* (← ποῦ ... κλίνω; *where am I to lay ...?*); Mt 12:14 (and similarly Mk 3:6) συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν, *they consulted (against him) as to how they were to destroy him* (← πῶς ἀπολέσωμεν;), or perhaps more likely (see §17.2.2) *they plotted against him in order to destroy him* (cf. Lu 6:11 in §13.3.1).

13.4.2. Although the future indicative is found in direct questions with deliberative force (§11.4.2), the only NT example of it in an indirect question may be intended as less forceful than the subjunctive: Phil 1:22 καὶ τί αἱρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω, *and I don't know what I shall choose*, rather than

... what I am to choose. Of course a simple change of punctuation would make it a direct question: *and what shall I (am I to) choose? I don't know.*

13.4.3. In Heb 8:3 ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον **ἔχειν** τι καὶ τοῦτον ὃ προσενέγκῃ, *therefore it (was) necessary for him also to have something to offer*, the subjunctive may be explained as *jussive*, (*what he must offer*, similar to ἔδει προσενεγκεῖν), which of course is the same as what in a question is called *deliberative* (cf. §11.4.3). The context here is hardly appropriate for an indirect question with ὅτι or τί, as this would imply the notion τί προσενέγκω; *what am I to offer?*, so a relative clause is used in preference. This type of relative clause is found in earlier Greek (as is a similar use with the future indicative), but mostly with negative expressions such as οὐκ ἔχω: see also §13.2.4.

14. INDIRECT COMMANDS and WISHES

14.1 The Form of Indirect Commands, etc. Indirect commands, exhortations and wishes are mostly expressed by means of an object infinitive (§14.2), but commands are sometimes expressed by means of an object clause with ἵνα and the subjunctive (§14.3). The verbs on which indirect commands depend are those of commanding, exhorting, urging, advising, persuading, telling, asking, etc. (including κελεύειν, ἐπιτάσσειν, προστάσσειν, διατάσσειν, διαστέλλεσθαι, παραγγέλλειν, ἐπιτιμᾶν, πείθειν, παρακαλεῖν, λέγειν, ἐρωτᾶν), and any equivalent expressions; those for indirect exhortations are verbs and expressions of wanting, wishing, appealing, etc. (including θέλειν, βούλεσθαι, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι); and those for wishes are verbs and expressions of hoping, praying, wanting and wishing (especially ἐλπίζειν, εὔχεσθαι). The distinctions between these are rarely important.

As with all other forms of indirect quotation, the *aspect* of the verb of the direct command, etc., is retained in the infinitive or subjunctive representing it in the indirect form; and if the direct command, etc. was negative, the negative μή is retained in the indirect form.

14.2. Infinitive Construction. 14.2.1. When the infinitive is used it is, of course, grammatically the object of the leading verb (§6.1.7), even when there is another (personal) direct object. The subject of the infinitive is treated as in §12.3.1, but is usually unexpressed if the leading verb has an object; so that when the leading verb is one which normally takes a dative (indirect object), the dative rather than the accusative is usually found with the infinitive. In indirect exhortations the subject of the infinitive, being the same as that of the leading verb, is usually not expressed.

14.2.2. Some examples of **indirect exhortation** are: Mt 20:26 ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν μέγας γενέσθαι ..., *whoever wants to become great (achieve greatness) among you* ... (← γένωμαι); Mt 20:27 ὃς ἂν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος ..., *whoever wants to be first among you* ... (← ὦ); Mt 1:19 μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν, *not wishing to make an example of her, he determined to reject her privately* (← δειγματίσω, ἀπολύσω); Ac 15:37 Βαρναβᾶς δὲ ἐβούλετο συμπαραλαβεῖν (v.l. -λαμβάνειν: see :38) καὶ τὸν ... Μᾶρκον, *Barnabas wanted to*

take ... Mark along too (← συμπαραλάβωμεν); Ac 15:38 Παῦλος δὲ ἠξίου τὸν ἀποστάντα ... μὴ συμπαραλαμβάνειν τοῦτον, *but Paul thought it better not to take (go along with taking) him, as he had deserted ...* (← μὴ συμπαραλαμβάνωμεν: the minor v.l. in :37 is undoubtedly derived from the change to the imperfective in :38, where the idea of taking is no longer a new entity, but under review: cf. Ac 25:21 below); Ac 15:19–20 ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς ..., *it is my judgment that we should not (continue to) make it difficult for the Gentiles who are turning to God, but write to them ...* (← μὴ παρενοχλῶμεν, ἐπιστείλωμεν); Jd 3(–4) πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας, ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει· παρεισέδυσαν γάρ τινες ἄνθρωποι ... ἀσεβεῖς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριτα μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν ..., *I was making every effort to settle down to writing to you about the salvation we all have, but I (although I was ..., I) just had to write (without delay) to encourage you to keep up the struggle on behalf of the faith that has been delivered once for all to God's people; for some ungodly men have slipped in among you and are trying to change the grace of our God into licence for immorality ...* (← γράφω, γράψω, ἐπαγωνίζεσθε: the process of planning a letter has been jolted into prompt action by the news of false teaching: for παρακαλῶν see §17.6.2). Some indirect exhortations could conceivably be indirect wishes (e.g. in Mt 20:26 γενοίμην), but the contexts seem to indicate the exercise of will rather than a more remote desire.

In Ac 25:21 τοῦ δὲ Παύλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρηθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν, ἐκέλευσα τηρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἕως οὗ ..., *when Paul appealed to be kept for judgment by the Emperor, I ordered that he be kept until ...* (← τηρηθῶ, τηρείσθω), as in Ac 15:37,38 above, the request to be kept (i.e. not sent to Jerusalem) is naturally aorist, but the response both takes it into account and puts a certain emphasis on the continuity of keeping until arrangements could be made. The use of an accusative in τηρηθῆναι αὐτόν, where the (unexpressed) nominative would be normal, is less common in exhortations than in statements (§12.3.1).

14.2.3. Some **examples of indirect commands** are: Ac 21:33 ὁ χιλίαρχος ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευσεν δεθῆναι ἁλύσεσι δυσί, *the tribune arrested him and ordered (him) to be bound with two chains* (← δεθήτω); Ac 21:34 ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, *he ordered that he be taken into the barracks* (← ἀγέσθω: the taking was a natural continuation of the arrest procedure, and therefore imperfective); Ac 25:6 ἐκέλευσεν τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι, *he gave instructions for Paul to*

be brought (in) (← ἀχθήτω: the bringing in is seen as a distinct complete action); Jn 21:22 ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι ..., *if I want him to remain until I come (while I am coming*; cf. 1 Tm 4:13 in §14.2.3) ... (← μενέτω); Jn 4:40 ἠρώτων αὐτὸν μεῖναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, *they started asking him to stay with them* (← μεῖνον: a limited stay, envisaged as a whole); Rev 13:14 ... λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι **εἰκόνα** τῷ θηρίῳ, ...*telling those who live on the earth to make an image in honour of the beast* (← ποιήσατε); Ac 21:21 διδάσκεις ... λέγων μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, *you teach ... saying that they should not circumcise their children* (← μὴ περιτεμνέτωσαν or -τέμνετε: habitual activity); Ac 21:4 οἵτινες τῷ Παύλῳ ἔλεγον ... μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, *they told (were telling) Paul not to go on (continue his journey) to Jerusalem* (← μὴ ἐπίβαινε); Ac 11:12 εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμά μοι συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρίναντα, *the Spirit told me to go with them and not to make distinctions* (← σύνελθε ... μηδὲν διακρίνας ← μηδὲ μηδὲν διακρίνῃς: for the participle see §9.4.6, and for its case see §6.1.2); Ac 27:33 παρεκάλει ὁ Παῦλος ἅπαντας μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, *Paul began to exhort them to take some nourishment* (← μεταλάβετε); Ac 13:43 ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς προσμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ, *they urged them to continue in God's grace* (← προσμένετε); Ac 15:20 ... ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι ..., ... *but write to them (telling them) to abstain* ... (← ἀπέχεσθε: but the genitive of the article may indicate that this is a purpose clause, *so that they will abstain* ...: see §17.3.2, but also §§6.1.1, 6.1.5). For other examples, depending on first person verbs, see §9.4.1.

14.2.4. In earlier Greek the passive infinitive was relatively little **used** in indirect commands, and in circumstances where the recipients of a command are not specified (where in English a passive infinitive is natural) the active infinitive was normal wherever an active verb was used in the original command. This is found in the NT in Ac 16:22 οἱ στρατηγοὶ ... ἐκέλευον ῥαβδίζειν, *the magistrates ... proceeded to give orders for him to be beaten* (← ῥαβδίζετε [αὐτόν]). There is another example in one early ms. of Mk 5:43 εἶπεν δοθῆναι (v.l. δοῦναι) αὐτῇ φαγεῖν, *he said something should be given to her to eat* (← δοθήτω [τι], v.l. δότε), presumably because the scribe felt this to be more natural.

14.2.5. Examples of indirect wishes are: Lu 6:34 ... παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, ... *from whom you hope to get (something)* (← λάβοιμεν); 1 Tm 3:14 ... ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ τάχιον, ... *hoping to come to you fairly soon* (← ἔλθοιμι); Ac 27:29 ηὔχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι, *they were praying for day to break* (← ἡμέρα γένοιτο). For other examples, depending on first person verbs, see §§10.2.3 and 10.3.2.

14.3. Ἵνα Clauses. 14.3.1. By the time of the NT ἵνα with the subjunctive was no longer confined to purpose clauses (cf. §17.2.8), and ἵνα clauses were sometimes used instead of the infinitive for indirect commands (cf. also §9.4.4): Mk 9:9 διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ ἃ εἶδον διηγήσωνται, *he instructed them to tell nobody what they had seen* (← διηγήσησθε); Ac 17:15 λαβόντες ἐντολὴν πρὸς τὸν Σιλᾶν καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα ἔλθωσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν, *receiving instructions to Silas and Timothy that they should come to him as soon as possible the men set out on their journey* (← ἔλθατε or possibly ἐλθάτωσαν); Rev 6:11 ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται (v.l. -παύσονται, but see §1.5.2) ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν, *they were told to hold back for a little longer* (← ἀναπαύσασθε); Col 4:16 καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῇ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε, *and when the (this) letter has been read among you, arrange for it to be read also in (a meeting of) the Laodicean church, and for you to read the one from Laodicea* (← ἀναγνωσθήτω, ἀνάγνωτε); Rev 9:5 καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθήσονται (v.l. βασανισθῶσιν) μῆνας πέντε, *and they were given (permission), not to kill them, but that they should be tortured for five months* (← μὴ ἀποκτείνητε, βασανισθήσονται or βασανισθήτωσαν: the ambiguous form ἀποκτείνωσιν is undoubtedly aorist; the change from active to passive is clumsy Greek, and the change from subjunctive to future may have been intended to help clarify it); Rev 3:9 ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἥξουσιν (v.l. ἥξωσιν) καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν (v.l. -ήσωσιν) ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, καὶ γνῶσιν (v.l. γνῶσῃ) ὅτι ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε, *I will make them come and worship at your feet, and recognize that I have loved you,* (← ἥξετε/ἥξατε, προσκυνήσετε/-ήσατε, γνῶτε: the reading γνῶσιν must be correct, for *and you will know* does not suit the context; and the two preceding verbs would be more normal as aorist subjunctives [the aorist ἦξα is attested elsewhere as being in use soon after this period]; nevertheless it is possible that their future form is a direct echo of LXX Ps 85 [86]:9, but see §17.2.6; and for the prolepsis of αὐτοὺς see §12.4.2). For another example with first person verb see §9.4.1.

14.3.2. Occasionally ὅπως is found instead of ἵνα in an indirect command: Mt 9:38 (and Lu 10:2) δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ, *so ask the Lord of the harvest to send workmen out to his harvest*; Mt 8:34 αὐτὸν παρεκάλεσαν ὅπως (v.l. ἵνα) μεταβῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν, *they appealed to him to move away from their area.*

14.3.3. Some of these clauses may be taken as purpose clauses (§17.2) instead of indirect commands, and it is not clear whether there was always a clear distinction between the two in the minds of the writers: e.g. much the same effect is produced if we translate Ac 17:15 (§14.3.1) as ...*so that they would come* ..., or Mt 9:38 (§14.3.2) as *pray to the Lord* ..., *so that he will send* ... . The neatness of the most natural English translation does not prove that the ancient Greek construction was exactly parallel to it.

15. The EXPRESSION of CAUSE

15.1. Cause. As has been pointed out in §7.4, the expression of cause and effect relationships in Greek can sometimes seem a little surprising from the point of view of English, but mostly in the expression of cause NT Greek is parallel to English. Causal clauses may be subordinate to or co-ordinate with the clause they explain (§§15.2, 15.3). Participles are found in place of subordinate causal clauses (§15.4), and so are prepositional phrases containing an articular infinitive (§15.5). In some circumstances cause may be expressed without any verb form, either by a prepositional phrase or the simple dative case (§15.6).

15.2. Subordinate Causal Clauses. 15.2.1. Cause is very commonly expressed by means of a subordinate clause introduced by ὅτι, *because*, less often its compound, διότι (not found in Mt, Mk or Jn),[1] τί (probably),[2] ἐπεί, *since*, and its lengthened forms ἐπειδή and (in Lu 1:1 only) ἐπειδήπερ. As some relative clauses can have causal implications (see §15.2.7), καθότι (← καθ' ὅτι), *to the extent that*, ἀνθ' ὧν, *in return for which*, ἐφ' ᾧ, *on condition that*, καθώς, *just as*, and ὅπου, *where*, can sometimes be translated as if they were causal conjunctions.

The verb in causal clauses is usually indicative, and is treated much the same as in statements (§8) in simple sentences and principal clauses (§7.1.2), with the exception that the aorist tense seems not to be used with timeless or present reference, and the present tense seems not to be used with past reference. The negative used in causal clauses is usually οὐ, but μή is occasionally found (see §7.5.1).

1. Note that διότι is simply the preposition διά, *because of*, combined with the pronoun ὅτι, so its causal meaning is obvious. On ὅτι see §11.2.2 n.1.

2. This v.l. is probably correct in Mt 7:14: see *New Docs.* 5, p.71.

15.2.2. Some examples of subordinate causal clauses are: Mt 5:3 μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, *the poor in spirit (are) blessed because the kingdom of heaven is theirs*; Mt 5:8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται, *the pure in heart (are) blessed because they will see God*; Jn 12:6 εἶπεν

δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅτι κλέπτης ἦν, *he said this not because he had any concern for the poor, but because he was a thief*; 1 Tm 1:12 χάριν ἔχω τῷ ... Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... ὅτι πιστόν με ἡγήσατο θέμενος εἰς διακονίαν, *I thank Christ Jesus ..., that (because) he considered me faithful, appointing (and appointed) me to his service* (see §15.2.5); Lu 4:41 οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, *he would not let them speak, because they knew he was the Messiah*; Jn 8:20 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπίασεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὔπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ, *and nobody seized him, because his time had not yet come*; Jn 3:18 ὁ μὴ πιστεύων ἤδη κέκριται, ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ..., *anyone who does not believe is already under judgment because he has not believed in the name* ...; 2 Co 11:11 διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; *why? — because I don't love you?*; Mt 20:7 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο, *they said to him, "Because nobody has hired us."*; 1 Co 10:17 ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἓν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί ἐσμεν, *because (there is) one loaf, we who are many are one body* (sc. ἐστίν); Mk 14:27 πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε, ὅτι γέγραπται ..., *you will all be offended, because it is written* ...; Mk 4:29 ὅταν δὲ παραδοῖ ὁ καρπός, εὐθὺς ἀποστέλλει τὸ δρέπανον, ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ θερισμός, *and when the grain permits* (i.e., *is ripe) he immediately puts the sickle to it, because the harvest time has come*; Jn 16:21 ἡ γυνὴ ὅταν τίκτῃ λύπην ἔχει, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτῆς· ὅταν δὲ γεννήσῃ τὸ παιδίον, οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, *when a woman is in labour she is distressed because her time has come, but when she has the child she no longer thinks about her affliction because of her joy that (because) a human being has been born into the world* (within the framework of a timeless situation, the aorist indicatives in these two causal clauses reinforce the time logic of the respective situations by signalling complete action, so the natural translation into English involves expressions of pastness,[1] although the form of the English verbs is the same as that in the previous example which translates the current state of affairs of the Greek perfect: see also §15.2.5).

Ac 18:(9–)10 λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπήσῃς, διότι ἐγώ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ, *go on speaking, and don't be silent, because I am with you*; Jas 4:3 αἰτεῖτε καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετε, διότι κακῶς αἰτεῖσθε, *you ask and do not receive, because you ask wrongly*; Jn 19:31 οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν, ... ἠρώτησαν ..., *as it was the day of preparation, ... the Jews asked* ...; Mt 21:46 ἐφοβήθησαν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπεὶ (v.l. ἐπειδὴ) εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον, *they feared the crowds, for* ***they*** *looked on him as a prophet*; Heb 2:14 ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μέτεσχεν τῶν αὐτῶν, *since the children by nature*

have (are in a state of having) in common flesh and blood, he also partook of the same nature (things); Heb 9:17 διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος, *for a will is in force in the case of a dead person, for it cannot be effective during the testator's lifetime* (the negative μή is no doubt used to add emphasis: §7.5.1); Lu 11:(5–)6 χρῆσόν με τρεῖς ἄρτους, ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ, *lend me three loaves, for a friend of mine has come in from a journey*; 1 Co 15:21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν, *for since death (came/is) through a man, through a man also (comes/is) resurrection of the dead* (sc. ἐστίν in both clauses, or possibly ἐγένετο ... ἐστίν/ἔσται: the two ellipses give the benefit of some ambiguity); Lu 1:1(–3) ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν ... ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ ... σοι γράψαι ..., *since many (others) have undertaken to set out an account ... I also decided ... to write to (for) you ... .*

Ac 2:24 ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *but God raised him up and brought his pangs of death to an end, because it was impossible for him to be held by it*; 2 Ths 2:10 ... τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ... *those who are perishing because they have not accepted love of the truth*; 2 Co 5:4 καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκήνει στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, *for we who are in this tent groan and are burdened for we do not want to be unclothed but to put on (our heavenly clothing)*; Ro 1:28 καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ..., *and because they did not consider it worthwhile to hold the knowledge of God, he gave them over ...*; 1 Co 3:3 ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζῆλος καὶ ἔρις, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε ...; *for since (to the extent that) there is jealousy and strife among you, are you not worldly ...?*

1. See McK. *Tmless*, 206

15.2.3. A causal clause can have a potential nuance (§8.3). In the NT there is no example of a causal clause with its verb in the optative with ἄν (open potential), but there are examples of the excluded potential, some complete with unreal protasis: Mt 11:21 οὐαί σοι, Βεθσαϊδά· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ... μετενόησαν, *woe to you, Bethsaida, for if the miracles that have been done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented ... long ago*; 1 Co 5:10 ... οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... ἐπεὶ ὠφείλετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελθεῖν, ... *not at all (referring to) the sexually immoral of this world ... for otherwise (if I were including these) you*

would have to get right out of the world (for the omission of ἄν cf. §§8.3.4, 10.3.2); see also Heb 10:2 in §15.3.2.

Sometimes ἐπεί is used in the sense of *for otherwise*, in order to present as a reason an idea which ought to be excluded or avoided, but without the signal given by an excluded potential construction: Ro 11:22 ... ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ χρηστότης θεοῦ, ἐὰν ἐπιμένῃς (v.l. -μείνῃς) τῇ χρηστότητι, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐκκοπήσῃ, *and to you (there is) God's kindness, if you remain in (the sphere of) his kindness — for otherwise you too will be cut off* (the aorist v.l. simply gives extra emphasis: *remain completely*). See also 1 Co 7:14 in §15.3.2.

15.2.4. Because of the different meanings of ὅτι (see §12.4.5 n.1), there is sometimes possible ambiguity in its use: in Jn 9:8 οἱ οὖν γείτονες καὶ οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν τὸ πρότερον, ὅτι προσαίτης ἦν, ἔλεγον ..., *his neighbours and those who had seen him previously, for he was a beggar, began to say* ..., could, with only a slight change of punctuation, mean ... *those who had previously seen that he was a beggar* ... (see §12.4.2). Similarly 1 Tm 1:9 ... εἰδὼς τοῦτο, ὅτι δικαίῳ νόμος οὐ κεῖται can be taken either as *knowing this* (i.e. *that the law is good*, as in :8), *because the law does not affect a righteous man*, or, probably more likely, as *knowing this, namely that the law does not* ... .

In Heb 2:6 (quoting LXX Ps 8:5) τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ; *what is man that you are mindful of him?*, the ὅτι clause really gives the reason for the question, even if *in that* or *considering that* would be a more likely translation than *because*. The Hebrew conjunction in the original form of Ps 8:5 has consecutive force, *with the result that*; but, as has been pointed out in §7.4, languages may differ in their expression of cause and effect, so the Hebrew is unlikely to be certain evidence for the meaning of the Greek in this instance, especially as the Hebrew conjunction in some contexts means *because*, and in any case this kind of expression is attested in early (Homeric) Greek, and there are other NT examples which are not quotations from LXX, e.g. Jn 2:18 τί σημεῖον δεικνύεις ἡμῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς; *what sign can you show us, since you are doing this?* (which could be paraphrased ... *to justify this action of yours?*).

15.2.5. This type of ambiguity is common with verbs expressing **emotion**, which are often found with a ὅτι clause which could be either causal or an indirect statement. As pointed out in §12.4.5, the form of the most natural English translation does not prove what the basic meaning of the Greek was intended to be, but in most contexts this does not matter. In Mk 4:38

(quoted in §12.4.5) the ὅτι clause could be taken as causal (*are you not concerned because we are perishing?*) instead of as the subject of the impersonal verb. While none of the examples of ὅτι with an expression of emotion in the NT can be recognized as either certainly an indirect statement or certainly a causal clause, as can be done with several of the examples in classical Attic, some NT examples are probably best taken as causal: Lu 10:20 μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσσεται, *do not rejoice that (because) the spirits are submitting to you*; Jn 21:17 ἐλυπήθη ὁ Πέτρος ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ τρίτον ..., *Peter became annoyed because the third time he said* ...; 2 Jn 4 ἐχάρην λίαν ὅτι εὕρηκα ἐκ τῶν τέκνων σου περιπατοῦντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, *I was very pleased to find some of your children walking in the way of truth* (the perfect adds to the event of finding the continuing effect on the finder, and so reinforces the statement of pleasure). See also (in §12.4.5) Gal 1:6, and (in §15.2.2) 1 Tm 1:12 and Jn 16:21(b) (in this last the emotion is expressed by means of a noun phrase: see §15.6).

15.2.6. There are in the Pauline epistles three examples of clauses introduced by the unusual combination[1] ὡς ὅτι which may be taken as causal, but probably with slight modification, as ὡς was commonly used in earlier Greek for alleged, rather than actual, reasons. In 2 Co 5:(18–)19 τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς, ὡς ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ ..., *all (this is) from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the ministry of reconciliation, because, as it were, God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself* ..., the addition of *as it were* indicates the type of modification ὡς introduces: but it is possible that the ὅτι clause is not causal but gives the content of the reconciliation entrusted to us, with ὡς suggesting that it is *our* ministry only in that it offers the message that *God was in Christ* ... . In 2 Co 11:21 κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἠσθενήκαμεν (v.l. ἠσθενήσαμεν), *I say (this) to my shame, for in a sense we have become weak* (i.e. in comparison with your exploiters), the whole passage carries a nuance of sarcasm (cf. :17 οὐ κατὰ κύριον λαλῶ ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ, *I do not speak at the Lord's direction, but in a kind of foolishness*): but if, omitting the comma, it is translated *to my shame I say that we* ..., the addition of ὡς seems quite pointless. In 2 Ths 2:2, on the other hand, ... μήτε διὰ λόγου μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, ... *nor through any report or letter allegedly sent by us (... letter, that is, as though through us* [in contrast with a spirit]*) to the effect that the day of the Lord has already come (is already here)*, the ὅτι clause appears to be introducing an indirect statement depending on the

implication of λόγου and ἐπιστολῆς, and ὡς emphasizes the discrediting effect introduced by ὡς δι' ἡμῶν.

1. I have observed that when a writer, in any language, develops an unusual word or expression, he tends to use it again fairly soon, but its use may be confined to a small section of his writings.

15.2.7. Sometimes a **relative clause** has within its context the effect of expressing cause: Ro 6:2 οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ; *we who (since we) have died to sin, how shall we continue to live in it?*; 2 Co 8:10 τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλειν προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι, *for this is the best course for you, who (seeing that you) took the initiative a year ago, not only in taking action but in wanting (to do so).*

15.3. Co-ordinate Causal Clauses. 15.3.1. By far the most common causal particle in co-ordinate clauses (§7.2.1) is γάρ, *for*, which is sometimes best left untranslated in English: Mt 7:25 ... καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν· τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ... *and it did not fall, for it had its foundation on rock*; Ac 8:31 πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ...; *(not really, for) how could I ...?*

15.3.2. Sometimes conjunctions which normally introduce subordinate clauses, and also phrases containing relative pronouns, have weakened force and introduce co-ordinate clauses : Phil 4:10 ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι ἤδη ποτὲ ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε, ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ, *I have gained great joy in the Lord because now at last you have renewed your concern for me. Indeed you were concerned (all the time), but you lacked opportunity for it* (the modification explains the kind of renewal meant); Ro 3:6 μὴ γένοιτο· ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον; *Not at all! In that case (For) how will God judge the world?*; Heb 10:(1–)2 ὁ νόμος ... οὐδέποτε δύναται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο προσφερόμεναι ... ; *the Law can never make perfect those who approach (God) ...; for (if it could) wouldn't they (the sacrifices) have stopped being offered ...?*; 1 Co 7:14 ... καὶ ἡγίασται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ ἀδελφῷ· ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν, νῦν δὲ ἅγιά ἐστιν, *and the unbelieving wife has become God's (been made holy) by (her relationship with) her Christian husband (the brother): otherwise your children are (would be) unclean, but in fact they belong to God (are holy)* (see §15.2.3).

15.3.3. Of course a reason for a statement may be indicated from another direction by means of a co-ordinate clause with an inferential particle or an equivalent phrase: see §16.

15.4. Participles. A circumstantial participle may take the place of a subordinate causal clause, as pointed out in §6.2.5: Heb 10:1 σκίαν γὰρ ἔχων (← ὅτι ἔχει) ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ..., *because it offers (only) a shadow of future good things, the law ...*; Mk 12:24 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες (← ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε) τὰς γραφὰς ...; *aren't you in error (for this reason, namely) because you don't know the scriptures ...?*

15.5. Infinitives. An articular infinitive with the preposition διά may take the place of a subordinate causal clause, as noted in §6.1.10: Heb 10:2 ... διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἔτι συνείδησιν ἁμαρτιῶν τοὺς λατρεύοντας (= ὅτι οὐδεμίαν ἂν εἶχον ... οἱ λατρεύοντες) ἅπαξ κεκαθαρισμένους, ... *because the worshippers, once purified, would have no more consciousness of sins*; Ac 8:11 προσεῖχον δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξεστακέναι (= ὅτι ἐξεστάκει) αὐτούς, *they paid attention to him because for a long time he had amazed them with his magic.*

There is one example in the NT of the dative of the articular infinitive without any preposition expressing a similar meaning: 2 Co 2:13 οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματί μου τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον, *I had no peace of mind because I didn't find Titus.*

15.6. Instead of any of the above expressions involving a verb form, cause is occasionally expressed by means of a noun, usually with a preposition, but sometimes simply in the dative case: Heb 5:7 εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, *heard because of his reverent behaviour*; Jn 16:21 οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ..., *she no longer thinks about her affliction because of her joy ...*; Ro 11:30 νῦν δὲ ἐλεήθητε τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ, *and now you have received mercy because of their disobedience.*

16. CONSEQUENCE

16.1. Consequence. As has been pointed out in §7.4, the expression of cause and effect in Greek does not always correspond exactly with the most natural English mode of expressing them, and in particular there is a notable area of possible ambiguity between **consecutive** (or *consequence* or *result*) **clauses** and purpose clauses (§17). Consequence is expressed in subordinate clauses mainly by means of ὥστε with the infinitive[1] (§16.2), less often by the infinitive alone (§16.3) or by ὥστε with the indicative (§16.4), and in co-ordinate clauses introduced by ὥστε or the inferential particles οὖν or ἄρα, with the verb in the appropriate mood (§16.5).

1. In earlier Greek, and still in the koine, ὡς was occasionally used instead of ὥστε, but in the NT this is found only in a few v.ll. where the evidence for ὥστε is much stronger.

16.2. Ὥστε with Infinitive. 16.2.1. The most common type of subordinate consecutive clause in ancient Greek is ὥστε with the infinitive (imperfective, aorist or perfect). The subject of the infinitive is nominative (usually unexpressed) or accusative, as in the infinitive construction of indirect statement (§12.3.1). The negative used in this construction is μή.

Some examples are: Mt 15:33 πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἄρτοι τοσοῦτοι ὥστε χορτάσαι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον; *where can we get ([is there] for us) enough bread in (this) remote area to feed (... so many loaves ... as to feed) such a large crowd?*; Ac 14:1 ἐγένετο δὲ ... αὐτοὺς ... λαλῆσαι οὕτως ὥστε πιστεῦσαι ... πολὺ πλῆθος, *it happened that ... they spoke so effectively (in such a way) that a large crowd ... believed (came to faith)*; Mt 10:1 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά, *he gave them power over unclean spirits, to cast them out (so that they could cast ...)*; Mt 13:2 καὶ συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλοι πολλοί, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι, *and great crowds gathered round him, so that he got into a boat and was sitting there*; Ac 5:(14–)15 μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ ... ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ..., *people trusting in the Lord were joining them more and more ... with the result that they were bringing their sick into the streets ...*; Ro 15:(18–)19 οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω τι λαλεῖν ὧν οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ ... ὥστε με ... πεπληρωκέναι τὸ

εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished (anything that Christ has not accomplished) through me ... with the result that I have completed (the preaching of) the gospel of Christ* ... (the effect of the perfect is to emphasize his state of having completed, and so suggest the satisfaction gained from the completion: otherwise the aorist would do); Mk 2:2 καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοί, ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν, *and many people gathered together, so that there was no longer any room even around the door*; 1 Co 1:(5–)7 ... ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ ... ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι, *in him you have been enriched in every way ... so that you are not lacking in any spiritual gift*. See also §16.4.

16.2.2. There are in the NT a number of passages in which ὥστε with the infinitive is best translated as if it were a purpose clause (see §§7.4 and 16.1). Some examples are: Mt 27:1 συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ... κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατῶσαι (v.l. ἵνα θανατώσωσιν) αὐτόν, *all the chief priests ... consulted together against Jesus to put him to death*; Lu 4:29 ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους ... ὥστε (v.l. εἰς τὸ) κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, *they took him to the brow of the hill ... to throw him down*. The v.ll. found in just a few mss. show that even in times when the koine was still spoken some copyists felt that an expression of purpose was more natural. Nevertheless this phenomenon, although not common, is so clearly preserved, not only in the NT, but in documents written long before it, when there was less overlap in the typical means of expressing consequence and purpose, that we need to recognize that the ancients had a different way of assessing these logical and grammatical relationships. See also §16.3.

16.3 Infinitive without ὥστε. 16.3.1. Although the infinitive when used to express consequence is almost always accompanied by ὥστε, it should be realized that in ancient Greek understanding the construction would be essentially the infinitive, with ὥστε attached merely to confirm the type of relationship it was intended to express: cf. §6.1.8. There are in the NT a few examples of infinitives without ὥστε which seem effectively to express consequence: Heb 6:10 οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν ..., *God is not unjust so as to forget (in respect of / to the extent of forgetting) your work ...*; Rev 16:9 οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν, *they did not repent so as to glorify him* (i.e., *did not show their repentance by giving glory to him*); Gal 5:7 τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; *who has blocked you, that you are not obeying the truth?* (but in earlier Greek this use of μή with the infinitive was very common with expressions of preventing, apart from κωλύειν, so that this

may equally well be translated *who has stopped you from obeying ...?*: see also §12.3.3).

16.3.2. Even more rarely such an infinitive is articular and in the genitive case: Mt 21:32 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ, *but although you saw you did not afterwards repent and so believe him*; 1 Co 10:13 ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν, *but he will provide, with the temptation, a way out, so that you are able (... a way out consisting in the ability) to bear (it)*. In this last example the genitive really defines τὴν ἔκβασιν, and the idea of consequence arises from the logic, rather than the grammar, of the sentence. It might also be taken as expressing purpose (*in order that you may be able ...*), which is in fact a more common use of τοῦ with the infinitive (§17.3.2).

16.4. Ὥστε with Indicative. As has been indicated in §16.3, the use of the infinitive with or without ὥστε is a special case of the use of the infinitive described in §6.1.8. Its basic function therefore is to express a natural tendency for the stated effect to follow the stated cause (e.g. *get so much ... as to/can feed*, as in Mt 15:33, the first example quoted in §16.2.1), and in Greek it is normal to use the infinitive as above even when it is clear that the natural tendency did, or has, become actual, as may be seen in most of the examples quoted above.

When there is any need to put extra emphasis on the actual occurrence (which in English might be indicated by *actually* or *in fact*, but may not be specifically expressed, as the natural English translation is already more emphatic in this direction), ὥστε is used with the indicative,[1] and the negative used in such clauses is οὐ: Jn 3:16 οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν ..., *for God loved the world so much that (in fact) he gave his only Son ...*; Mk 10:8 καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν, ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο ἀλλὰ μία σάρξ, *and the two will become one flesh, so that they are (indeed) no longer two, but one flesh* (see also §16.5); Gal 2:13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει, *and the rest of the Jews joined him in his hypocritical behaviour, with the result that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy*.

1. The use of ὥστε with infinitive and indicative in the NT is essentially the same as in classical Attic: see McK. *Gram.* §39. Arguments to the contrary are based on assumptions that the details of Greek constructions can be equated exactly with parallel English (or German, etc.) constructions.

16.5. Co-ordinate Consequence. A milder but very common expression of consequence is by means of a co-ordinate clause introduced by the inferential particle οὖν,[1] less often ἄρα, and sometimes ἄρα οὖν, τοιγαροῦν or τοίνυν (§§7.2.1, 15.3.3), and for slightly more emphasis ὥστε is sometimes used in place of these. Such clauses may be statements, exhortations or commands, and their verbs are indicative, subjunctive or imperative, as appropriate: Eph 2:19 ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι ..., *consequently, you are no longer strangers ...*; Gal 3:24 ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, *and so the Law has turned out to be the attendant leading us to Christ*; 1 Co 5:(7–)8 καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός. ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ ... ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις ..., *for our passover lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed. Therefore let us keep the festival, not with the old yeast ... but with the unleavened bread ...*; 1 Co 10:12 ὥστε ὁ δοκῶν ἑστάναι βλεπέτω μὴ πέσῃ, *and so he who thinks he is standing firm must beware of falling.*

The distinction between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses with ὥστε is not always clear: Mk 10:8, quoted in §16:4, may well be regarded as co-ordinate, particularly as it is introducing an inferential comment on a quotation.

1. It should be noted that οὖν is not always noticeably inferential, but sometimes merely resumptive (*well then, ...*).

17. PURPOSE

17.1. Purpose. As has been pointed out in §§7.4 and 16.1, Greek and English are not always completely parallel in their distinctions between consecutive and ***purpose*** (or *final*) ***clauses***. Purpose in NT Greek is expressed by ἵνα, ὅπως or μή with the subjunctive, or, much less commonly, the future indicative (§17.2); by the infinitive, mostly alone but sometimes with τοῦ, and occasionally with ὥστε (§17.3); by a prepositional phrase, usually containing an infinitive (§17.4); by a relative pronoun with the future indicative (§17.5); by a participle, either future or imperfective (§17.6); or by εἰ with either the subjunctive or the optative (§17.7). The negative used with all expressions of purpose is μή.

17.2. Ἵνα, etc., with Subjunctive, etc. 17.2.1. Purpose clauses very commonly consist of ἵνα with the subjunctive, whatever the context may be: Jn 3:(14–)15 ... ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ... *the Son of Man must be lifted up, so that whoever believes in him may have eternal life*; Jn 4:8 οἱ γὰρ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπεληλύθεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἵνα τροφὰς ἀγοράσωσιν, *for his disciples had gone to (were away in) the town to buy food*; Jn 5:(22–)23 ... τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ, ἵνα πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν υἱὸν ..., ... *he has given all judgment to his Son, so that all may honour the Son* ...; Jn 6:28 τί ποιῶμεν ἵνα ἐργαζώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ; *what must we do (be doing) in order to be carrying out God's works?*; Jn 10:38 ... τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύετε, ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε ὅτι ..., ... *believe my deeds, so that you may know (get to know) and recognize (go on recognizing) that* ...; Jn 15:2 καὶ πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον, καθαίρει αὐτὸ ἵνα καρπὸν πλείονα φέρῃ, *and every one (branch) that does not bear fruit, he prunes it so that it will bear more fruit*; Jn 17:19 καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα ὦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, *and I am consecrating myself for them, in order that they too may be consecrated (in a state of consecration) in (by) the truth*; Mk 5:12 πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν, *send us to the pigs so that we may get into them*; 1 Co 1:27 τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς, *God has chosen the foolish things of the world to shame the wise* (καταισχύνῃ is undoubtedly aorist: cf. the parallel καταργήσῃ in :28); Phil 1:27 μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε, ἵνα εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἴτε ἀπὼν ἀκούω

τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ..., *just conduct yourselves worthily of the gospel of Christ, so that whether I come and see you or stay away I may (always) be hearing about you that* ... (the v.l. ἀκούσω is unlikely to be correct because the aorist would not make the hearing parallel to both the coming and the being absent); Heb 5:1 πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς ... ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ..., *every high priest ... is appointed on behalf of men in relation to God, to offer (habitually) gifts and sacrifices* ...; 1 Jn 5:13 ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ..., *I have written this to you so that you may know (be established in your knowledge) that* ...; Mk 4:21–22 μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον τεθῇ ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην; οὐχ ἵνα ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν τεθῇ; οὐ γάρ ἐστίν τι κρυπτόν, ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν, *Surely a lamp is not brought (doesn't come) to be put under a bowl or a bed! Isn't it (brought) to be put on a lampstand? For nothing is concealed except to be revealed, and nothing gets hidden except to come into the open.*

Mt 7:1 μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε, *do not judge (habitually) so that you won't be judged (finally)*; 1 Jn 2:1 ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν ἵνα μὴ ἁμάρτητε, *I am writing this to you so that you will not sin (commit a sin)*; Jn 18:36 εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμή, οἱ ὑπηρέται ἂν οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, *if my kingdom belonged to this world my servants would be putting up a fight to prevent me being (so that I may not be) handed over to the Jews.*

17.2.2. Much less often ὅπως is found with the subjunctive, sometimes apparently for variety, to avoid having a ἵνα clause dependent on another ἵνα clause, and occasionally ἄν accompanies the subjunctive: Mt 6:(17–)18 σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἄλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι, ὅπως μὴ φανῇς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων, *but when you are fasting, anoint your head and wash your face so as not to appear to men to be fasting*; Jn 11:57 δεδώκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ... ἐντολὰς ἵνα ἐάν τις γνῷ ποῦ ἐστιν μηνύσῃ, ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν, *the chief priests ... had given instructions that if anyone found out (got to know) where he was they should report it, so that they might arrest him* (ἵνα ... μηνύσῃ is an indirect command [← μηνυσάτω]: see §14.3); 1 Co 1:(28–)29 ... τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ, ὅπως μὴ καυχήσηται πᾶσα σὰρξ ..., *God chose ... the worthless things — non-existent things — to bring to nothing the things that do exist, so that no flesh may boast* ...; Lu 16:26 μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν, *between us and you a great gap is fixed,*

so that those who wish to cross over from here to you may not be able to, and so that they may not cross from there to us; Ac 3:19–20 μετανοήσατε οὖν ... ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν ..., *repent then ... so that times of refreshing may come from the Lord and he may send the Messiah appointed for you ... .*

In some circumstances ὅπως with a subjunctive may be taken as an indirect deliberative question (§13.4.1) or as an indirect command (§14.3), with much the same effect as a purpose clause.

17.2.3. Rarely a negative purpose clause with the subjunctive is introduced by μή alone: Mk 13:(35–)36 γρηγορεῖτε οὖν ... μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὕρῃ ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας, *stay awake ... so that if he comes suddenly he will not find you asleep*. See also §18.2.

17.2.4. Sometimes ἵνα or ὅπως with the subjunctive is most naturally expressed in English as a consecutive clause (see §7.4): Mt 2:15 καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς Ἡρῴδου· ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ..., *and he was there until the death of Herod; and so was fulfilled the Lord's word through the prophet ...*; Mt 2:23 καὶ ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέθ· ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ..., *and he went and lived in a city called Nazareth; and so was fulfilled the saying of the prophets ... .*

17.2.5. There are also a number of examples of purpose clauses with ἵνα and the **future indicative** (cf. §§4.8.2, 4.8.4). Most of these have variant readings with the subjunctive (mostly aorist), and in many it is likely that the future and subjunctive forms were virtually, if not entirely, identical in sound, either at the time the NT was first written or soon afterwards. The relevant confusions are ει and η, and ο, ου and ω (§1.5.2). Some examples are: Lu 14:10 πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον, ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκώς σε ἐρεῖ (v.l. εἴπῃ) σοι ..., *go and sit in the lowest place, so that when your host comes he will say to you ...*; Rev 22:14 μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, *blessed are those who wash their robes so that the right to the tree of life may be theirs and they may enter the city through the gateway.*[1] See also Rev 3:9, quoted in §14.3.

1. Some passages are sometimes quoted wrongly in this respect: e.g. in 1 Co 9:21 some modern editors have printed κερδανῶ, the future of κερδαίνω, instead of

κερδάνω, its aorist subjunctive (see §1.3.2); and in 1 Co 9:19, etc., κερδήσω, the alternative aorist subjunctive of the same verb, has sometimes been regarded as a future. The two futures, κερδανῶ and κερδήσω, are both well attested elsewhere, as are the two aorists, ἐκέρδανα and ἐκέρδησα. As the subjunctive is by far the commoner verb form with ἵνα, it is preferable to assume it rather than the future indicative when the two forms are identical, or differ only in accents which are unlikely to have been added in the earliest copies.

17.2.6. While there is no doubt that both ἔσται and εἰσέλθωσιν are introduced by ἵνα in this last example (Rev 22:14), there is no such certainty when a future follows a subjunctive in formally similar circumstances. The possibility that the future is in a co-ordinate purpose clause cannot be excluded, but it is also possible that it is not, and the probabilities must be judged from the context: Lu 22:(29–)30 κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν ... βασιλείαν, ἵνα ἔσθητε καὶ πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ... καὶ καθήσεσθε (v.l. καθῆσθε) ἐπὶ θρόνων ..., *and I am making you kings ... so that you may eat and drink at my table ..., and you will sit on thrones ...* (... *and sit* ... is possible, but it seems more effective to regard καθήσεσθε as co-ordinate with διατίθεμαι); Ro 3:4 (LXX Ps 50:6 [51:4]) ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις (v.l. νικήσῃς) ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε, *so that you may be proved right in your words and prevail in any dispute* (the limited quotation seems to rule out any alternative to co-ordinate purpose clauses, and even in the Psalm both verbs seem to go with ὅπως).

Even when the purpose clause contains a likely future, a further future may not be co-ordinate with it: Ac 21:24 ... καὶ δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἵνα ξυρήσονται (v.l. ξυρήσωνται) τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ..., *and pay their expenses so that they may have their heads shaved: and then everyone will know that ...* .

17.2.7. There are also in the NT rare examples of apparently present indicatives in ἵνα clauses, but these must be either copyists' errors or due to phonetic confusion (§1.5.2): 1 Co 4:6 ... ἵνα ἐν ὑμῖν μάθητε ..., ἵνα μὴ εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου, ... *so that you may learn among yourselves ... and so may not be too proud about the one against the other*; Gal 4:17 ... ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε, *but they want to shut you off so that you may be zealous for them.* These are the only examples without v.ll., and both involve -οω verbs, so they are best taken as subjunctive rather than indicative. Comparison with the future is not helpful: when the present tense is used with future reference in statements (§4.2.3) the effect is obtained from the natural ongoing process meaning of the imperfective aspect, but when a future tense is used in a purpose clause the effect is obtained from the *intention* meaning of the

future aspect, which is very close to the *will* meaning of the subjunctive mood (§§3.5, 4.8.4).

17.2.8. Extended Use of Ἵνα. By the time of the NT ἵνα clauses with the subjunctive (or the future) had developed beyond their common sphere of expressing purpose to replace the infinitive in various ways, usually with some similarity to a purpose clause (§§14.3, 9.4.1), and even came to be used for direct commands (§9.4.4). That they always contain some expression of will is made clearer by comparison with the extended use of ὅτι clauses (§12.4.6), which are always statements of fact. The following supplement the examples given in §§6.1.4, 9.4.1, 9.4.4 and 14.3): Jn 15:8 ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν πολὺν φέρητε καὶ γενήσεσθε (v.l. γένησθε) ἐμοὶ μαθηταί, *in this my Father is glorified, (namely) that you should bear much fruit, and (so) you will prove to be my disciples* (the v.l. *and that you should become* ... seems much less likely); Jn 13:1 εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα ἵνα μεταβῇ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ..., *Jesus knowing that his time had come for going from this world* ...; Mt 18:6 ... συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ ..., *it is fitting for him that a millstone be hung round his neck* ...; Lu 17:2 λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ ... ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα, *it is (more) fitting for him if a millstone is hung round his neck ... than that he should offend one of these little ones*; Jn 18:39 ἔστιν δὲ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ πάσχα, *you have a custom that I release one person for you at Passover*; Lu 7:6 οὐ γὰρ ἱκανός εἰμι ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσέλθῃς, *I am not worthy that you should come under my roof*; Jn 1:27 ... οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος, ... *the thongs of whose sandals I am not worthy to undo*; Jn 17:3 αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν (v.l. γινώσκουσιν: see §17.2.7) σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ..., *this is eternal life, to (that they should) recognize you as the only true God* ... .

17.3. Infinitive. 17.3.1. The anarthrous infinitive quite commonly expresses purpose in NT Greek:[1] Lu 23:26 ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν φέρειν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *they put the cross on him, to carry it behind Jesus*; Mt 5:17 μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ... οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, *do not get the idea that I have come to abolish the law ...; I did not come to abolish (it), but to fulfil (it)*; Lu 18:10 ἄνθρωποι δύο ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι, *two men went up to the temple to pray (to say a prayer)*; Jn 6:31 ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν, *he gave them bread from heaven to eat*;

Jn 21:3 ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν, *I am going off to do some fishing*; Ac 20:28 ... ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ... *the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to be shepherds of God's church*; Lu 1:17 καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ... ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ..., ἑτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον, *and he will go before him ... to turn the hearts of fathers to their children ..., to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.*

1. Its frequency in NT Greek is much more like that in Homer (early Ionic) than its very restricted use in classical Attic.

17.3.2. Purpose is sometimes expressed by the genitive of the articular infinitive (**τοῦ with infinitive**),[1] but in some instances the notion of purpose may be no more than incidental to the writer's grammatical intention: Phil 3:(8–)10 ... καὶ ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω καὶ εὑρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ ... τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ..., *and I consider it only refuse, in order that I may gain Christ and be found in him ... to know him* ... (τοῦ γνῶναι could be either parallel to or dependent on the ἵνα clauses); Lu 21:22 ... ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὗταί εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ... *because that is the time of retribution, for all the scriptures to be fulfilled ([the time] of the fulfilment of all the scriptures*: the genitive could be descriptive, dependent on ἡμέραι, and parallel to ἐκδικήσεως); Ac 9:15 πορεύου, ὅτι σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον ἐθνῶν ..., *go, because he is my chosen instrument to carry my name before (the) nations* ... (grammatically the infinitive could be directly dependent, as a descriptive genitive, on σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς). See also §§6.1.8, 16.3.2.

1. This is probably in origin a partitive genitive, showing one activity as part of another ultimate activity. It is not found in the works of most classical authors, but was used by Thucydides and Demosthenes.

17.3.3. As has been pointed out in §16.2.2, **ὥστε with the infinitive** sometimes needs to be translated as a purpose clause, and it is difficult, from the point of view of modern English, to see the logic of a consecutive clause: Lu 9:52(–53) εἰσῆλθον εἰς κώμην Σαμαριτῶν ὥστε ἑτοιμάσαι αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτόν ..., *they went into a Samaritan village to make preparations for him; and the Samaritans did not receive him* ... . Other examples are quoted in §16.2.2.

17.4. Prepositional Phrases. 17.4.1. Another way of expressing purpose is by means of the prepositions εἰς and πρός and the articular

infinitive: Ro 1:11 ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς, *I am eager to see you, and to share some spiritual gift with you, so that you may be strengthened*; 1 Co 11:33 ... συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν ..., ... *when you are assembling for a meal* ...; Heb 11:3 πίστει νοοῦμεν κατηρτίσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι, *by faith we perceive that the universe has been fashioned by God's word, so that the visible may not be established as having come from what can be seen*; 2 Co 3:13 ... καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου, ... *as Moses used to put a veil over his face so that the Israelites would not see the end of what was fading*; Mk 13:22 ποιήσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, *they will produce signs and wonders in order to lead astray, if possible, (even) the chosen ones*. See also the examples in §6.1.10.

17.4.2. Purpose, like cause (§15.6), is sometimes expressed by means of a preposition with a noun or pronoun, occasionally with another expression of purpose attached to increase the effect: Ro 3:25–26 ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον ... εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ... πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ ..., *whom God presented as a sacrifice of atonement ... in order to demonstrate his justice ... in order (I repeat) to demonstrate his justice at the present time, so as to be just himself and ...*; Jn 1:7 οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, *he came as a witness (for testimony), to testify about the light*; Ro 14:9 εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ, *for Christ died and came to life for this reason, (namely,) so that he might become lord of both the dead and the living*.

17.5. Relative Clauses. 17.5.1. Occasionally purpose is expressed by means of a relative clause in which the verb is in the future indicative (a construction much more in use in earlier Greek): Lu 11:6 οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ, *I haven't anything to offer him* (see also §13.2.4). The final effect is usually clear enough when the relative pronoun, as in this example, has an indefinite antecedent (§20.2.3), but may be less obvious when the antecedent is definite (§20.2.1): Mk 1:2 ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδοῦ σου, *see, I am sending my messenger ahead of you to prepare (and he will prepare) the way for you*; 1 Co 4:17 ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον ..., ὃς ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδούς μου ..., *I am sending you Timothy ... to remind (; he will remind) you of my ways* ... .

Like ἵνα with a subjunctive (§17.2.8), ὅς with a future may be attached to appropriate adjectives: Lu 7:4 ἄξιός ἐστιν ᾧ παρέξῃ τοῦτο, *he is worthy for you to do this for.*

17.5.2. A somewhat similar effect is achieved by means of a relative clause in which there is a subjunctive of exhortation: Mk 14:14 ποῦ ἐστιν τὸ κατάλυμά μου, ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου φάγω; *where is my guest room, where I am to eat the Passover with my disciples?*; Ac 21:16 ... ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν, Μνάσωνί τινι ..., *bringing (us) (to the man) with whom we were to stay (overnight), Mnason* ... (the aorist signals that the stay was to be a complete one, and so temporary, at a staging point on the 100-km. [60-mile] journey, as the Western text indicates, rather than the intended stay in Jerusalem, for which an imperfective would be natural unless it was being portrayed as of fixed duration: for the incorporation of the antecedent in the relative clause, see §20.1.6).

17.6. Participles. 17.6.1. Also found in the NT, but less commonly than in earlier Greek, is the use of the future participle to express purpose (cf. §3.5): Mt 27:49 ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἠλίας σώσων (v.l. σῶσαι) αὐτόν, *let us see if Elijah is coming to save him*; Ac 22:5 εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐπορευόμην, ἄξων καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ὄντας δεδεμένους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἵνα τιμωρηθῶσιν, *I was going to Damascus to take the people there to Jerusalem under arrest for punishment.*

17.6.2. As the imperfective can have the effect of an activity going on into the future (§4.2.3), the imperfective participle is sometimes used similarly to imply purpose: Ac 3:26 ὑμῖν πρῶτον ἀναστήσας ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ..., *when God raised up his servant he sent him first to you, to bless you (giving you blessing)* ...; Ac 15:27 ἀπεστάλκαμεν οὖν Ἰούδαν καὶ Σιλᾶν καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλλοντας (v.l. ἀπαγγελοῦντας) τὰ αὐτά, *therefore we are sending Judas and Silas with* (v.l. *to tell you) the same message by word of mouth* (for ἀπεστάλκαμεν see §4.5.2); see also Jd 3 in §14.2.2.

17.7. Purpose with Εἰ. Purpose of a slightly more remote kind (usually translatable into English as *in case, in the hope that*, or the like) is expressed by εἰ with either the subjunctive or the optative, often with the addition of the indefinite adverb πως: Phil 3:(10–)11 ... συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ, εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ... *in growing conformity with his death, in the hope that (if only) I may attain to resurrection from the dead*; Phil 3:12 ... διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ..., ... *but I press on in the hope that*

indeed I may take hold of that for which I was taken hold of ...; Ro 11:(13–)14 ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν οὖν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐθνῶν ἀπόστολος, τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάζω, εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, *to the extent that I am the (an) apostle to the gentiles, I make much of my ministry, in the hope of arousing my fellow Jews to envy and saving some of them*; Ac 27:12 οἱ πλείονες ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν, εἴ πως δύναιντο καταντήσαντες εἰς Φοίνικα παραχειμάσαι, *the majority favoured a plan that we should leave the harbour in the hope that we might be able to reach Phoenix and winter there*; Ac 17:(26–)27 ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων ... ζητεῖν τὸν θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν, *he made from one every nation of men ... so that they might be seeking God, in case they should reach out for him and find him.*

It is true that the examples above in which the subjunctive occurs are in primary sequence, and those in which the optative occurs are in historic sequence, but the difference of mood is more likely to result from the difference in the directness of the purpose expressed: in the first three Paul is expressing his will, what he wants to do, whereas in the historical passages the desire is more remote, a matter of wish or potential desire[1] (cf. §13.3.2).

1. It is likely that originally this type of expression arose from parataxis of an expression of will or a wish with another sentence (just as purpose clauses with ἵνα and ὅπως arose from clauses expressing will). Although in most ancient Greek it occurs predominantly with the meaning *if* or *whether* (in conditional protases and in questions: §§21, 11, 13), εἰ seems to have been originally a demonstrative adverb or interjection (*so* or *thus*), and as such it was commonly used in earlier Greek (in combination with the reinforcing particles γάρ and -θε) to introduce wishes.

It is possible in some cases to explain this type of clause as a conditional protasis with a suppressed apodosis, which if expressed would be a purpose clause: e.g. in Ac 27:12 this might be ἵνα παραχειμάσωσιν εἰ δύναιντο. There are a few examples in classical Greek which need to be explained this way (and it may be significant that in classical Greek the subjunctive in such clauses is normally introduced by ἐάν rather than εἰ), but for most examples at all periods the direct expression of a slightly more remote purpose seems the better explanation.

As conditional protases with the subjunctive and optative had an origin similar to that of purpose clauses, it is not surprising that similarities and overlaps occur.

On such clauses in earlier Greek see McK. *Gram.*, 187–188, and G. C. Wakker, 327–343.

18. VERBS of FEARING

18.1. Fear Constructions. Constructions with verbs and other expressions of fearing have some similarities, and in some areas overlap, with expressions of purpose, but there are some differences. The most common construction is the use of μή with the subjunctive (§18.2), like the purpose clause of the same form (§17.2.3), but μή with the indicative is used when the fear is that in fact something already has happened or is happening (18.3); and in some circumstances an object infinitive is used (18.4).

18.2. Μή with Subjunctive. Fear that something may happen or prove to have happened is expressed by μή with the subjunctive (often with an indefinite adverb, ποτέ, πως or που added), and when the fear is a negative one (that something may not happen) οὐ is added to the clause: Ac 5:26 ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἦγεν αὐτούς, οὐ μετὰ βίας, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν, μὴ λιθασθῶσιν, *the captain with his assistants proceeded to bring them in, using no force, for they were afraid of the people, (fearing) that they would be stoned*; Ac 27:29 φοβούμενοί τε μή που κατὰ τραχεῖς τόπους ἐκπέσωμεν ... ηὔχοντο ..., *fearing that we would be cast up on rocky parts ... they were praying ...*; Ac 23:10 φοβηθεὶς ὁ χιλίαρχος μὴ διασπασθῇ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσεν ..., *becoming afraid that Paul would be snatched away by them, the tribune ordered ...*; Heb 4:1 φοβηθῶμεν οὖν μήποτε, καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ, δοκῇ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκέναι, *let us therefore entertain the fear that, although the promise of entering his rest remains valid, any of you may be considered to have fallen short*; 2 Co 12:20 φοβοῦμαι γὰρ μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἵους θέλω εὕρω ὑμᾶς, κἀγὼ εὑρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἷον οὐ θέλετε, *for I am afraid that when I come I may not find you as I want (to find you), and that I may appear to you what you positively do not want (to find me).*

This type of construction is by no means confined to use with specific verbs of fearing, but is found in any circumstances in which a fear is implied, and thus it merges with the expression of purpose, and may in fact be the origin of purpose clauses with μή alone[1] (§17.2.3): Heb 12:(14–)15 εἰρήνην διώκετε ... ἐπισκοποῦντες μή τις ὑστερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ, μή τις ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλῇ καὶ διὰ ταύτης μιανθῶσιν οἱ πολλοί ..., *aim to be at peace ... but watch out lest (for fear that)*

anyone missing out on God's grace — lest (that) any root of bitterness shooting up should cause trouble, and through it the majority be defiled ... (the writer has produced an anacoluthon by revising the clause half way through, substituting for the rebellious person a metaphorical phrase from LXX Deut 29); Lu 14:8(–9) ὅταν κληθῇς ὑπό τινος εἰς γάμους, μὴ κατακλιθῇς εἰς τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν, μήποτε ἐντιμότερός σου ᾖ κεκλημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας ἐρεῖ σοι ..., *when you are invited to a wedding breakfast, don't take the position of honour, in case (for fear that) someone more important than you may have been invited (may be among the guests) — and then the one who invited you both will say* ... (it could be argued that καὶ ... ἐρεῖ is co-ordinate with the μήποτε ... ᾖ κεκλημένος clause, with change from subjunctive to future, but it is more natural, with better dramatic effect, if an anacoluthon is assumed, as in the translation: for the future in timeless contexts see §4.8.1).

1. This use of μή with the subjunctive arises from an independent expression of will, what one wants **not** to happen, in parataxis with a statement that one is afraid, and a natural development to its being regarded as subordinate (e.g. in Ac 5:26 above ἐφοβοῦντο, and their desire was μὴ λιθασθῶμεν). Negative fears were no doubt much less common, and the addition of οὐ for them must have come after the μή clause had become firmly established as subordinate.

18.3. Μή with Indicative. When the fear is that something actually is or was so, the indicative is found with μή, as in independent apprehensive statements (§8.2.3): Gal 4:11 φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα (v.l. ἐκοπίασα) εἰς ὑμᾶς, *you make me afraid — afraid that in fact I have laboured for you to no effect*; 1 Ths 3:5 ἔπεμψα εἰς τὸ γνῶναι τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν, μή πως ἐπείρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ πειράζων καὶ εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν, *I sent to find out about your faith, apprehensive whether the tempter had (already) tempted you, and that our labour may prove ineffective*; Col 2:8 βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ..., *see that nobody turns out to be your captor through philosophical argument* ... (this may be an example of the future taking the place of the subjunctive); for Lu 11:35 see §8.2.3.

18.4. Infinitive. An object infinitive is used with a verb of fearing in the same general circumstances as in English: Mt 2:22 ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν, *he was afraid to go there (through fear he decided not to go there)*; Lu 9:45 ἐφοβοῦντο ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου, *they were afraid to ask him about this saying*; Ac 9.38 μὴ ὀκνήσῃς διελθεῖν ἕως ἡμῶν, *come over our way straight away (don't hold back from coming ...)*. See also §6.1.7.

19. PARTICULAR and GENERAL in Relative and Conditional Clauses

19.1. Particular and General. In most relative clauses (including those of time, place, manner, etc.) and conditional protases in ancient Greek an important distinction in verb usage is made, which cannot always be fully represented in English translation, and which may sometimes be confusing to the modern reader. ***Particular*** relative clauses and conditional protases have verbs referring to definite activities which can be regarded as occurring at a definite time or times, or to less specifically located activities which are being emphasized by an indication of actuality (e.g. *in fact, really*), while ***general*** relative clauses and conditional protases have verbs referring to activities which may occur or have occurred at any appropriate time, mostly in contexts with timeless or future time reference. This distinction is obscured in clauses with potential meaning (§§21.1.4–5, 21.4–5).

Normally a general relative clause or conditional protasis has ἄν with the subjunctive (§§20.3, 20.6.3, 21.3), and in some circumstances in historic sequence ἄν with the imperfect indicative (§20.6.4). A particular relative clause or conditional protasis usually has the indicative, but occasionally this is replaced by an exhortation, command or wish construction (§§20.2.1–2, 20.6.1, 21.2.1–2)

19.2. Definite and Indefinite Antecedents. 19.2.1. In relative clauses there is a further distinction, which is represented in English (mostly by the addition of *-ever*, as in *whoever*, *wherever*, etc.), but not completely parallel with Greek usage: the distinction between relative clauses with *definite* and with *indefinite* antecedents. A ***definite antecedent*** is conceived as a definite individual entity, although the relative clause may add so significantly to its description as to be an essential factor for identifying it: e.g. in ***the man who told me that was present when it happened***, the antecedent to the *who* clause (*the man*) is vague apart from that clause, but it is quite specifically identified in the speaker's mind; and there is no expressed antecedent (such as *at the time*) to the *when* clause, but its reference is to a specific event. On the other hand an ***indefinite antecedent*** is really defined *as a class* by the relative clause: e.g. in ***the***

man who believes that** is happy even **when he is slandered, the antecedent to the *who* clause (*the man*) is not a definite individual but a class (*any man* or *the kind of man* or *whoever*), and the unexpressed antecedent to the *when* clause is similarly indefinite (*at any time*). An alternative way of expressing a sentence containing a relative clause with indefinite antecedent is by means of a conditional sentence (e.g. *if a [any] man believes that he is happy even if he is slandered*), and such relative clauses are sometimes referred to as ***conditional relative clauses*** (but this does not mean that the two alternatives are equally valid in every context).

19.2.2. In respect of its verb a relative clause with definite antecedent is necessarily particular and not general (§19.1). The majority of those with indefinite antecedent are general, but some are particular, when the generic description involves a specific activity (e.g. *nobody who is listening to this speech will forget it*, where the listening is conceived as actually going on now, but the person referred to is anyone among the listeners). It is not always easy to appreciate the distinctions in the Greek, and sometimes they seem to be used to achieve a kind of comparative emphasis rather than to express an essential difference of meaning. Some comments are added to the examples given in §20.

In classical Greek the indefinite relative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs (e.g. ὅστις, ὅποσος, ὅποτε) were confined to use with indefinite antecedents, although the simple relative forms (e.g. ὅς, ὅσος, ὅτε), which alone were used with definite antecedents, could also be used with indefinite antecedents when there was in the clause clear evidence of indefiniteness, i.e. when the subjunctive with ἄν signalled generality (§19.1) or the negative μή occurred with the indicative (§20.2.3); but by the time of the NT some of the indefinite relative forms had fallen out of common use, and others (especially ὅστις, but only in the nominative of the masculine and feminine, and in the nominative/accusative of the neuter) were used interchangeably with the simple forms, apparently more to suit the sound and rhythm of the sentence than to signal the quality of the antecedent. For example in Ro 16 there are a number of relative clauses, all with definite antecedent, but some have forms of ὅς and others forms of ὅστις. In verses 4 and 7 two relative clauses are linked, with ὅστις in the first and ὅς in the second, but in :4 οἵτινες ὑπὲρ ... runs more smoothly than οἳ ὑπὲρ ..., and οἷς is the only dative plural masculine of the relative pronoun found in the NT; and in :7 οἵτινές εἰσιν ... and οἳ καὶ ..., each runs more smoothly than its alternative; and with οἵτινές εἰσιν compare ὅς ἐστιν in :5, again a more euphonious choice. Attention will be drawn to significant points in the examples quoted in §20.

19.2.3. When a demonstrative pronoun (οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος) is used as a definite antecedent it usually precedes the relative clause which adds definition to it. A demonstrative pronoun may also be found in connection with a relative clause with indefinite antecedent, but here it is used solely to focus within its own clause the generic definition contained in the relative clause, and it usually follows the relative clause. In contexts where the emphasis of a demonstrative pronoun is not needed, a personal pronoun may be found if it follows the relative clause (but where it would precede it is more likely to be unexpressed).

19.3. The three main aspects, imperfective, aorist and perfect, may occur in both particular and general clauses. A definite (or particular) activity may be represented either as process, complete action or state arising from completed action; and so may a general activity. The future is, as usual, more limited. When the time reference is to the future, relative and conditional clauses are usually general, and the use of a future indicative instead of ἄν with the subjunctive makes such a clause particular, usually to add emphasis, but in some contexts the difference is not very noticeable. It needs to be remembered that in the choice of aspects there is often room for subjective judgment.

20. RELATIVE CLAUSES

20.1–4. Clauses with Relative Pronouns and Adjectives. 20.1.1. While relative clauses of all kinds have more similarities than differences, there are enough distinctive features to warrant separate treatment of those introduced by relative pronouns and adjectives on the one hand, and those introduced by relative adverbial conjunctions on the other: for the latter see §§20.5–6. For the distinction between particular and general relative clauses, and between those with definite and indefinite antecedents see §19; for concord of relative pronouns with their antecedents (whether definite or indefinite) see §§20.1.2–7; for verb usage in most types of relative clauses see §§20.2–3 and 20.6; and for relative clauses expressing cause and purpose see §§15.2.7. and 17.5.

20.1.2. Concord with Antecedent. Normally a relative pronoun (or a relative adjective acting as a pronoun) agrees with its antecedent in person, number and gender, but its case is determined by its relationship to the words in its own clause: Heb 2:13 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, *here I am and the children God has given me*; 1 Tm 6:4 ... νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας, ἐξ ὧν γίνεται φθόνος, ἔρις ..., *... having an unhealthy concern for arguments and controversies, from which arise envy, strife* ...; 1 Tm 6:9 ... ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς ... ἐπιθυμίας πολλὰς ἀνοήτους καὶ βλαβεράς, αἵτινες βυθίζουσιν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς ὄλεθρον ..., *... they fall into ... many senseless and harmful desires, which plunge men into ruin* ...; 1 Tm 6:10 ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία ἧς τινες ὀρεγόμενοι ἀπεπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, *a root of all evil is the love of money, aiming at which some have wandered away from the faith*; Ro 6:3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, *all of us who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death*; Mk 12:44 αὕτη δὲ ... πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, *but she ... has put in all she had*; Lu 9:5 καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ... τὸν κονιορτὸν ... ἀποτινάσσετε εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς, *and (those) who do not receive you, ... shake off the dust ... as a testimony against them* (see §19.2.3).

Where both the antecedent and the relative pronoun would be in the same case and governed by the same preposition, the preposition is sometimes omitted in the relative clause: Ac 13:2 ... εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ (← εἰς ὃ)

προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς, ... *for the work to which I have summoned them*; cf. Ac 20:18 ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέβην ..., *from the first day when I came* ... .

20.1.3. Sometimes the number and gender of a relative pronoun follow the sense rather than the grammatical form of the antecedent, especially when a singular collective noun implies a number of people, when inanimate things are referred to (e.g. when the antecedent is composite, whatever the gender of its components, and when the antecedent refers to a name or a saying), and when a person is referred to impersonally (e.g. as a being or entity): Lu 6:(17–)18 ... καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ ... οἳ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ ..., ... *and a great crowd of the people ... who had come to hear him* ...; Jn 6:9 ἔστιν παιδάριον ὧδε ὃς ἔχει πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους ..., *there is a lad here who has five barley loaves* ... ; Eph 5:4 καὶ αἰσχρότης καὶ μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία, ἃ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, *similarly (not to be mentioned are) obscenity, foolish talk or coarse jesting, (all of) which are out of place*; Jn 20:16 ἐκείνη λέγει αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστί· Ῥαββουνί (ὃ λέγεται, Διδάσκαλε), *she said to him in Aramaic, "Rabbouni!" (which means "Teacher!")*; 1 Co 15:10 χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμι ὅ εἰμι, *by the grace of God I am what I am.*

20.1.4. Attraction of the Relative. When the relative pronoun would by the normal rule be accusative and its antecedent is genitive or dative, the relative is very commonly attracted into the case of its antecedent: Jn 4:14 ... ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ (← ὃ) ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, ... *from the water I shall give him*; Eph 1:6 ... τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἧς (← ἣν) ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς, ... *of his gracious gift which he has freely given us* (ἣν would be an internal accusative [§1.11.2], and the v.l. ἐν ᾗ is no doubt influenced by ἐν ᾧ in the next clause); 2 Co 1:4 διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς (← ἣν) παρακαλοῦμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, *through the consolation with which we ourselves are consoled by God* (ἣν also would be an internal accusative); Jn 17:5 καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ (← ἣν) εἶχον ..., *and now you glorify me in your realm with the glory which I had* ...; Mk 7:13 ... τῇ παραδόσει ὑμῶν ᾗ (← ἣν) παρεδώκατε, ... *by your tradition which you have handed down*; Lu 2:20 ... αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς (← ἃ) ἤκουσαν καὶ εἶδον, ... *praising God for all the things they had heard and seen*; Lu 19:37 ἤρξαντο ... αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν ... περὶ πασῶν ὧν (← ἃς) εἶδον δυνάμεων, ... *began to praise God ... for (concerning) all the miracles they had seen* (here the relative clause is inserted between the two parts of the antecedent: this is different from the incorporation described in §20.1.6).

Attraction other than from the accusative into the genitive or dative is rare. There is one clear example in the NT of attraction from the dative to the genitive (with antecedent incorporated: Ro 4:17, quoted in §20.1.6), and a few possible, but unlikely, examples, such as Ac 1:22 ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς (← ἧς or ᾗ) ἀνελήμφθη, *until the day on which he was taken up*: while the dative denoting point of time (*on which*) is possible here, the genitive denoting time within which (*in the course of which*) is equally possible, or even preferable, so there is no need to assume a type of attraction which in clearly attested use is so rare.

20.1.5. Occasionally the opposite is found, when the relative clause comes between the antecedent and the rest of its clause, and the antecedent is attracted into the case of the relative pronoun, without the same limitation of cases: Lu 12:48 παντὶ (← παρὰ παντὸς) δὲ ᾧ ἐδόθη πολύ, πολὺ ζητηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ, *from everybody to whom much has been given, much will be asked* (cf. §20.1.7); 1 Co 10:16 τὸν ἄρτον (← ὁ ἄρτος) ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; *the bread we break, isn't it a sharing in the body of Christ?*; Mt 21:42 (LXX Ps 117 [118]:22) λίθον (← ὁ λίθος) ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας, *the stone which the builders rejected has turned into the main cornerstone* (this is poetic, and such variations are more common in poetry: cf. Lu 1:73, where ὅρκον has no firm grammatical basis, but the idea flows naturally from the context).

20.1.6. Incorporation of Antecedent. Sometimes the antecedent is incorporated in the relative clause, either with attraction of the case of the relative (§20.1.4) or when both have the same case. If the antecedent is a pronoun it sometimes disappears, being entirely replaced by the relative pronoun; and if it is a noun it stands in apposition with the relative and loses its article. Some examples are: Mt 7:2 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι (← ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρίματι ἐν ᾧ) κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε, *you will be judged by the standard by which you judge*; Lu 8:47 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν (← τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν) ἥψατο αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλεν, *she declared the reason for which she had touched him* (cf. §13.2.4); Ac 21:16 ... ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ (← παρὰ Μνάσωνά τινα Κύπριον παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν), ... *bringing (us) to (the home of) Mnason, a Cyprian, with whom we were to stay* (see §17.5.2); Ro 9:(23–)24 ... ἐπὶ σκεύη ἐλέους ... οὓς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ..., ... *to vessels receiving mercy ... (that is) us, whom he also called ...*; Ro 4:17 κατέναντι οὗ ἐπίστευσεν θεοῦ ... (← κατέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ ᾧ ἐπίστευσεν), *before the God in whom he put his faith* (see §20.1.4); Mt 22:9 ὅσους ἐὰν εὕρητε καλέσατε εἰς τοὺς γάμους, *invite all you find to the wedding* (cf. :10 συνήγαγον πάντας οὓς εὗρον);

Gal 3:27 ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, ***all** you who have been baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ*; Ro 15:18 οὐ γὰρ τολμήσω τι λαλεῖν ὧν (← ἐκείνων ἃ) οὐ κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ ..., *I will not presume to mention any of the things Christ did not achieve through me* (i.e. *I will make bold only to speak of those things Christ did through me*); Jn 17:9 περὶ ὧν (← τούτων οὓς) δέδωκάς μοι, *concerning those you have given me.*

20.1.7. Other Variations. Occasionally, but more frequently in the NT than in earlier Greek, and probably influenced by Aramaic idiom, a superfluous personal pronoun is added to a relative clause: Mk 7:25 γυνὴ ... ἧς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, *a woman ... whose daughter had an unclean spirit*; Rev 7:2 ... τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ἀγγέλοις οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν, ... *to the four angels to whom it was **granted** to harm the earth.*

On the other hand it is quite normal Greek, although not very common (partly due to the prevalence of participles), for a clause following a relative clause and referring to the same antecedent to have a personal pronoun instead of a relative pronoun: Rev 17:(1–)2 ... τῆς πόρνης τῆς μεγάλης ... μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς, ... *the great harlot ... with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with the wine of whose fornication the inhabitants of the world have become drunk* (in English too it runs more smoothly as *and the inhabitants ... with the wine of her fornication*); 1 Co 8:6 ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, *but for us (there is) one God, the Father, from whom everything (is derived) and to whom we (relate)* (the unexpressed verbs would be ἐστίν, ἐστίν and ἐσμέν).

This reduction to a personal pronoun is even more natural when the relative clause is loosely attached to its antecedent, and effectively a co-ordinate clause (see §7.2.1): 2 Pt 2:3 οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει, *but for them judgment has long been in preparation (for long has not been idle), and their destruction is not asleep.*

20.2. Particular Relative Clauses. 20.2.1. For the distinctions between particular and general clauses and between definite and indefinite antecedents, see §19. A particular relative clause **with definite antecedent** not only adds information about its already identifiable antecedent, but has a verb (usually indicative, but see §20.2.2) which signals an activity regarded as occurring or to occur at a particular time (or over a particular

period) even if the time reference is not clearly given. Such clauses are very common, and most of the examples given in §20.1 are of this type. The definite antecedent may be a person or thing, concrete or abstract, in any kind of context, including the figurative, the metaphorical and the general, and in any kind of discourse, and a particular relative clause may occur within a general relative or conditional clause: Lu 16:1 ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν οἰκονόμον, *there was a rich man who had a steward*; 1 Co 2:7 λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ ... ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ..., *we speak God's secret wisdom ... which God predestined ...*; Eph 2:10 αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς (← ἃ) προητοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς ἵνα ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν, *for we are his handiwork, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God has prepared beforehand so that we may devote ourselves to them*; Gal 4:26 ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν, *but Jerusalem above, which is our mother, is free*; Gal 3:19 ὁ νόμος ... προσετέθη ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, *the law ... was added ... until the seed should come, for whom the promise stands.*

20.2.2. Ancient Greek was flexible enough for the use of other moods in particular relative clauses (sometimes requiring circumlocution in an English translation), and a few examples are found in the NT: 1 Pt 5:12 ... ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς ἣν στῆτε (v.l. ἑστήκατε), ... *testifying that this is God's true grace, on (in) which you must stand* (v.l. *you are standing*). In English this is more effectively conveyed by a co-ordinate clause (... *grace. Stand firm in it.*), but the Greek is probably best taken as subordinate: see §7.2.1. For subjunctive examples see §17.5.2.

20.2.3. With Indefinite Antecedent. As explained in §19.2.1–2, a particular relative clause with indefinite antecedent defines its antecedent *as a class* in terms of the specific activity of its verb. The formal distinction by means of the indefinite relative pronouns and adjectives (predominantly but not exclusively observed in earlier Greek) is not at all effective in NT Greek. While there may be some passages in which there is uncertainty whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite, most are reasonably clear. In some passages there seems to be little distinction between the particular usage, with indicative verb, and the general, with ἄν and subjunctive; but sometimes what appears in translation to be a completely general statement is really a specific statement about the current situation, although its concept is also generally applicable; and sometimes it appears that a general truth is made more emphatic by being expressed in a particular form. The

earlier use of μή in relative clauses with indefinite antecedent still applies partly in the NT, but οὐ is more often found in particular relative clauses of this kind, presumably as part of the spread of οὐ to almost all indicative uses: see below.

Some examples are: Phil 3:7 ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα ἥγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν, *but all the things that were profitable to me I have come to consider as loss because of Christ*; Phil 4:9 ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί, ταῦτα πράσσετε, *put into practice what you have learnt and received (from me), what you have heard and seen in me*; Jn 3:11 ὃ οἴδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὃ ἑωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν, *we say what we know and testify to what we have seen*; Mt 19:12 εἰσὶν γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτως, *there are eunuchs who were actually born in that condition* (this is unusual in having an expressed antecedent, itself a class description, which serves to emphasize, by prolepsis, what could have been expressed within the clause in place of οὕτως: note that in the two following parallel statements the verb in the relative clause is specific); Phil 4:8 ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνά ..., εἴ τις ἀρετὴ ..., ταῦτα λογίζεσθε, *whatever is true, whatever is noble, ...whatever is excellent ..., these you should dwell on in your minds* (the change to conditional protases, with the same verb understood, illustrates the virtual equivalence of these two types of clauses: §19.2.1).

Tit 1:11 ... διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν, ... *by teaching what they ought not (teach), for dishonest gain*; 2 Pt 1:9 ᾧ γὰρ μὴ πάρεστιν ταῦτα τυφλός ἐστιν μυωπάζων, *a person in whom these (qualities) are not present is (as good as) blind in his shortsightedness*; 1 Jn 4:3 πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, *every spirit that does not (so) acknowledge Jesus is not from God* (the expressed antecedent serves to confine to a specific group the classification expressed by the relative clause); Col 2:1 ... ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ... καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ἑόρακαν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐν σαρκί, ... *for you ... and for those who have not seen my face in the flesh (who do not know me personally)*. Mostly in the NT the negative in such clauses is οὐ, as in this last example; and the others are the only well attested examples of the persistence of the normal classical μή. These may be accidental literary survivals, but all three are in condemnatory passages, and μή may well have been chosen for emphasis: in Tit 1:11 the teaching is characterized as completely vitiated rather than as merely containing some undesirable details; in 2 Pt 1:9 the absence of the qualities is more than a minor weakness; and in 1 Jn 4:3 the failure to acknowledge amounts to rejection (which is no doubt why the v.l.

ὅ λύει, *which sets aside*, arose in some patristic quotations and became accepted in some Latin versions).

20.2.4. Often in the NT any problem with the negative is avoided by the use of a participle (§20.4) with μή (see §6.2.1) instead of a relative clause: **Mt** 7:24, 26 πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς ... καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ..., *everyone who is hearing these words of mine and putting them into practice ... and everyone hearing these words of mine and not putting them into practice ... .*

As mentioned above, some relative clauses with indefinite antecedent are cast in the particular mould as a means of achieving emphasis (by signalling actuality) in comparison with general concepts, general clauses or the ambiguity of participles: Lu 17:1 ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν· οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται, *it is impossible that offences should not occur, but woe to the person through whom they **do** occur*; Mt 10:38 καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, *and whoever does not effectively take up (is not taking up) his cross and follow in my footsteps, is not worthy of me* (cf. the participles before and after this); Lu 17:31 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὃς ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, μὴ καταβάτω ἆραι αὐτά, *at that time anyone who is on the roof, while his goods are in the house, must not come down to collect them* (the detailed description is specific to the future event, and is separated from the general statement of :33 which interrupts the description: the parallel passages simply have ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω); Mt 10:32 πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου, *so whoever **does** (is going to) acknowledge me before men, I too will acknowledge him before my Father* (in a context of encouraging faithfulness it is appropriate for special emphasis on positive acknowledgement, in comparison with the general clause in :33 referring to denial: the parallel Lu 12:8 is general, πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ...).

There are in the NT a number of instances where the mss. are divided between future and subjunctive, but most of these must be due to phonetic confusion (§1.5.2): e.g. in Lu 12:8 there is a v.l. ὁμολογήσει for ὁμολογήσῃ, but the evidence for ἂν with the future indicative is very limited, and usually accounted for by assuming the misspelling of an identical (or almost identical) sound, such a common feature that it is to be preferred as an explanation to what is so rare and doubtful. See also §§20.5–6.

For further examples of particular relative clauses with indefinite antecedents see §§13.2–4 and 17.5.1.

20.3. General Relative Clauses. 20.3.1. A general relative clause naturally has an indefinite antecedent, and its verb refers to an activity that may occur or may have occurred in circumstances which can be generally recognized; but just as a particular relative clause with indefinite antecedent may have an implied general application, so a general relative clause may have a special application to the particular circumstances of the context. Most commonly general relative clauses are found in **primary sequence** (§12.4.1), where the contextual time reference is timeless, general present, or future; and in these circumstances the verb in the relative clause is subjunctive[1] with ἄν or ἐάν,[2] and the negative used is μή (for historic sequence see §20.3.2): Mt 10:33 ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσηταί με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ... , *and anyone who denies me before men, I will deny him too* ... (cf. :32 in §20.2.4); Mk 11:23 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ ... καὶ μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ (v.l. -σῃ) ὅτι ὃ λαλεῖ γίνεται, ἔσται αὐτῷ, *I tell you that if anyone says to this mountain ... and does not get a doubt in his heart, but believes (has a steady belief /* v.l. *exercises faith) that what he is saying can happen, it will be (done) for him*; Mt 7:12 πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς, *so everything that you want men to do (be doing) to you, do likewise yourselves to them* (cf. the parallel Lu 6:31 καθὼς θέλετε ... ὁμοίως, *in the same way as you want [are wanting]* ...); Mk 3:28 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι, ὅσα (v.l. ὅσας) ἐὰν βλασφημήσωσιν, *I tell you, all their (other) sins and all the (other) blasphemies they utter will be forgiven the sons of men*; Lu 9:4–5 καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθητε, ἐκεῖ μένετε ... καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξερχόμενοι ... τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινάσσετε εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς, *and whatever city you enter, stay there ... and if any people are not hospitable to you, as you go out ... shake the dust off your feet as a testimony against them*; Ac 2:39 ὑμῖν (v.l. ἡμῖν) γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία ... καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακράν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, *the promise is for you (*v.l. *us) ... and for all who are far off, however many the Lord our God may call to himself*; Jn 14:13 ὅτι ἂν (v.l. ὃ ἐὰν) αἰτήσητε (v.l. αἰτῆτε) ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσω, *I will do whatever you ask in my name* (the aorist focuses on each asking event as a whole, the imperfective on its being in process when answered, and either is possible); 1 Co 6:18 πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν, *every (other) sin a man commits is external to his*

body; Gal 5:10 ὁ δὲ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα ὅστις ἂν ᾖ, *the one who is troubling you will be punished, whoever he may be*; Gal 5:17 ...ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε, ... *so that you may not do what you want* (the doing and the wanting are parallel, but the doing is also habitual).

1. As noted at the end of §20.2.4, the occurrence in some mss. of future forms with ἄν is probably simply misspelling due to the similarity or even identity of the sound of those aorist subjunctive and future indicative forms.

2. In earlier Greek ἐάν was only a contraction for εἰ ἄν (§21.3), but by NT times it was also being used as an alternative for ἄν in general relative clauses.

20.3.2. In **historic sequence** (§12.4.3), a much less common occurrence with relative pronouns than with relative adverbs (§20.6.4), a general relative clause has the indicative in a secondary tense,[1] usually with ἄν: Mk 6:56 καὶ ὅσοι ἂν ἥψαντο αὐτοῦ ἐσῴζοντο, *and all who touched him were healed* (cf. the parallel Mt 14:36 καὶ ὅσοι ἥψαντο διεσώθησαν, *and all who touched were completely healed*, where the emphasis on completeness overrides the distributive idea, and the relative clause is probably best taken as particular); Mk 15:6 κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα δέσμιον ὃν (v.l. ὃν ἂν) παρῃτοῦντο, *every year at the festival (at each festival) he would release one prisoner to them — whom(ever) they requested (were then requesting).*

1. In classical Greek the optative (without ἄν) was regularly used in such clauses; and in principal clauses there was the option of using, for habitual activity, ἄν with the imperfect or aorist indicative instead of the simple imperfect tense, thus indicating the aspect of each item of the activity: for more details of this last see McK. *Rptd. Actn.*, 41–42. In NT Greek the optative was no longer used for historic sequence in relative clauses, and it looks as if the ἄν with secondary tense option had been transferred to that function; but the link is not completely clear.

20.4. Participles (Attributive). A relative clause introduced by a pronoun in the nominative may be replaced by a participle of the same aspect as the verb it replaces (§6.2.2). Such participles are very common, and mostly have the article, whether the antecedent is definite or indefinite. Because the participle obscures the mood of the clause it represents it sometimes introduces a certain ambiguity, but it is often quite clear from the context what type of relative clause is represented. The negative used with participles in the NT is usually μή, even if the clause represented would have οὐ; but οὐ is sometimes found (§6.2.1). Some examples are: Lu 12:9 ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με, *anyone who denies me* (cf. the parallel Mt 10:33

ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσηταί με); Lu 12:10 τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι (v.l. βλασφημοῦντι) οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται, *whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven (it will not be forgiven him)* (cf. the parallel Mk 3:29 ὃς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν: the v.l. would represent ἂν βλασφημῇ); Mk 3:3 καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντι (← ὃς ... εἶχεν) ξηράν, *and he said to the man with (who had) the withered hand*; Mk 2:17 οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες (← οἳ ἰσχύουσιν, or perhaps οἳ ἂν ἰσχύωσιν) ἰατροῦ, *those who are strong do not need a doctor*; Jn 15:2 πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον (← ὃ ἂν μὴ φέρῃ) καρπόν, αἴρει αὐτό, καὶ πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον (← ὃ ἂν ... φέρῃ, or with contrasting emphasis, ὃ ... φέρει) καθαίρει αὐτό, *every branch in me that does not bear fruit, he removes, and every branch that does bear fruit, he prunes* (the absence of the article with the first φέρον brings it closer to the equivalent of ἐὰν μὴ φέρῃ (§21.6), but it is most readily understood as a relative clause substitute: see §19.2.1). See also the examples in §§6.2.2–4, and also 3.4.1, 3.4.7–8, 3.5, 4.3.4.

20.5–6. Clauses with Relative Adverbial Conjunctions. 20.5.1. Relative clauses introduced by adverbial conjunctions are predominantly temporal clauses, but include also those of place and manner (including comparison). The conjunctions used to introduce them are ὅτε (or ὁπότε), ἐπεί (or ἐπειδή: see also §§15.2, 15.3.2), ἡνίκα, *when*; ὡς, *when, while, as* (for ὅπως see §13.2.4); ἕως, *while, until*; ἄχρι(ς), μέχρι(ς), *until*; ὁσάκις, *as many times as*; οὗ, ὅπου, *where*; ὅθεν, *from where*; ὥσπερ, καθώσπερ, καθό, καθά, καθάπερ,[1] *just as*; and a number of prepositional phrases with relative pronouns, including ἕως οὗ/ὅτου, ἄχρι(ς) οὗ, μέχρι(ς) οὗ/ὅτου, *until* (ὅτου being a shortened form of οὕτινος, the neuter singular genitive of ὅστις): for πρίν see §20.6.6. When ἄν is added to a clause introduced by ὅτε or ἐπεί the composite forms ὅταν and ἐπάν are used. The verbs in such clauses follow the pattern of those in §§20.2–3, with few deviations. It should be noted that most relative clauses with future time reference are treated as general, and those containing the future indicative usually have a strong emphasis. For particular relative clauses of this kind see §§20.6.1–2; for general see §§20.6.3–4; and for participles replacing such clauses see §20.6.5.

1. These are sometimes written καθ' ὅ, καθ' ἅ, καθ' ἅπερ, which were their original forms.

20.5.2. **Attraction** of the relative adverb to the form of its antecedent is found in the NT only in Mt 25:24 ... συνάγων ὅθεν (← ἐκεῖθεν οὗ) οὐ

διεσκόρπισας, ... *gathering (from) where you have not scattered*, and similarly Mt 25:26.

20.6.1. Particular with Definite Antecedent. Particular relative clauses (§19.1) of time, place and manner normally have verbs in the indicative mood, and the negative used with them is οὐ. Usually they contain the whole description of the time, etc., referred to (§19.2.1), and no antecedent is expressed, but in most instances the unexpressed antecedent is definite: for indefinite antecedent see §20.6.2. Particular temporal clauses occur mostly in contexts with past time reference. Some examples are: Lu 7:1 ἐπειδὴ (v.l. ἐπεὶ δὲ) ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ ... εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ, *when he had finished his talk ... he went into Capernaum*; Lu 6:3 οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε ὃ ἐποίησεν Δαυίδ, ὁπότε (v.l. ὅτε) ἐπείνασεν ...; *haven't you even read what David did when he got hungry ...?*; 1 Co 13:11–12 ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος ...· ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου, *when I was a child I used to speak like a child ...; now that I have become a man, I have finished with childish ways*; Rev 5:8 καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον ... οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου, *and when he took the scroll ... the twenty four elders fell down before the lamb*; Ac 10:17 ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος ... ἰδοὺ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου ... ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα, *as Peter was wondering ... the men sent by Cornelius ... arrived at the entrance*; Mk 11:1 καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν (v.l. ἤγγιζον) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ... ἀποστέλλει (v.l. ἀπέστειλεν) δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, *and when he was nearing Jerusalem ... he sent two of his disciples* (cf. §4.2.5); Lu 7:12 ὡς δὲ ἤγγισεν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο τεθνηκὼς ..., *and when he came near the city gate, a dead man ... was just being carried out* ; Jn 16:25 ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε οὐκέτι ἐν παροιμίαις λαλήσω ὑμῖν, *the time is coming when I shall no longer speak to you figuratively*; Lu 17:22 ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν, *the time will come when you will (really) long to see one of the days of the Son of Man*; Rev 8:1 καὶ ὅταν (v.l. ὅτε) ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν ἑβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίωρον, *and when he opened the seventh seal there was a silence in heaven for about half an hour* (if ὅταν is the original reading it is an indication of the uncertainties in the use of ἄν at the time: cf. §20.6.4).

Mt 1:25 καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, *and he did not (begin to) lie with her until she gave birth to a son*; Mt 2:9 ὁ ἀστὴρ ... προῆγεν αὐτοὺς ἕως ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον, *the star ... led them on until it arrived and stopped above where the child was*; Mt

5:25 ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου ταχὺ ἕως ὅτου εἶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, *try to make friends with your adversary quickly, while you are still on the way (to court) with him*; 1 Tm 4:13 ἕως ἔρχομαι πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει ..., *until I come (while I am coming) devote yourself to the (public) reading (of scripture)* ... (cf. 3:14, where Paul says he is coming, but may be delayed: the uncertainty of the time does not detract from the definiteness of the expectation, and once the decision to come is taken the activity of coming can be treated as in process).

Jn 6:23 ... ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον, ... *near the place where they had eaten the bread*; Jn 7:34 ζητήσετέ με καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσετε, καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν, *you will look for me, and you won't find me: you cannot come (to the place) where I am (then)* (cf. §4.2.3); Ro 6:4 ... ἵνα ὥσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ... οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν, ... *in order that, just as Christ rose from the dead, ... so we too might enter into a new life (begin to walk in newness of life).*

20.6.2. Particular with Indefinite Antecedent. Most temporal, etc., relative clauses with indefinite antecedent (in which the clause describes a class of circumstances rather than specific circumstances) are treated as general (§§20.6.3–4), and in some passages there is uncertainty whether the subjunctive or the indicative is the correct reading. In many such clauses that are treated as particular the use of the indicative seems to be to achieve emphasis without removing the general framework. Some examples are: 1 Co 7:39 γυνὴ δέδεται ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, *a woman is bound for as long as her husband remains alive*; Jas 3:4 τὰ πλοῖα ... μετάγεται ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστου πηδαλίου ὅπου ἡ ὁρμὴ τοῦ εὐθύνοντος βούλεται (v.l. ὅπου ἂν ... βούληται), *ships ... can be steered by means of a tiny rudder wherever the will of the steersman determines*; Mt 18:20 οὗ (v.l. ὅπου) γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν **μέσῳ** αὐτῶν, *for wherever two or three are assembled in my name, I am among them*; Mk 11:25 καὶ ὅταν στήκετε (v.ll. στήκητε/στῆτε) προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατά τινος, *and when you stand praying, if you have a complaint against anyone, forgive him* (the particular conditional clause may lend some support to the reading στήκετε, but does not prove it: more significant is the context of adding a practical warning to an open invitation; and cf. Rev 8:1 in §20.6.1).

20.6.3. General in Primary Sequence. Most general relative clauses of time, etc., occur in timeless and general present contexts, and in those with future time reference (for historic sequence see §20.6.4). As with

general relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns (§20.3.1), the verb is regularly subjunctive and it is usually accompanied by ἄν or ἐάν. When the conjunction is ὅτε or ἐπεί, ἄν combines with these to form ὅταν and ἐπάν respectively; and when it is ἕως, ἕως οὗ/ὅτου, ἄχρι(ς), ἄχρι(ς) οὗ, μέχρι(ς) οὗ, ἄν is often omitted. Some examples are: 2 Co 12:10 ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι, *(it is) when I am weak (that) I am strong*; Mt 6:2 ὅταν οὖν ποιῇς ἐλεημοσύνην, μὴ σαλπίσῃς ἔμπροσθέν σου, *so when you are performing an act of charity, don't have an announcement made with a trumpet*; Mt 6:16 ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποί, *when you are fasting, don't (try to) have a gloomy look, like the hypocrites*; 1 Co 16:5 ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω· Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι, *I shall come to you after passing through Macedonia — for I am coming via Macedonia* (the aorist signals completeness, which in the context implies a time sequence); 1 Co 16:2 ...ἵνα μὴ ὅταν ἔλθω τότε λογεῖαι γίνωνται, *... so that collections will not be being made when I come (arrive)*; Mk 9:9 διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ ἃ εἶδον διηγήσωνται εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ, *he instructed them to tell nobody what they had seen except when the Son of Man rose (would rise) from the dead*; Mt 17:9 μηδενὶ εἴπητε τὸ ὅραμα ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθῇ, *speak to nobody about the vision until the Son of Man rises from the dead*; Jn 7:27 ὁ δὲ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔρχηται, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἐστίν, *but at the time of the Messiah's coming nobody can know where he is from*; Jn 7:31 ὁ χριστὸς ὅταν ἔλθῃ, μὴ πλείονα σημεῖα ποιήσει ...; *when the Messiah does come, will he give more signs ...?* (here the coming is contextually regarded as a complete event, whereas in the previous example it is regarded as a process still being judged for authenticity); 1 Co 3:4 ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις· Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παύλου, ἕτερος δέ, Ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποί ἐστε; *for when one (of you) says (starts saying), "I am Paul's", and another, "I (belong to) Apollos", aren't you being merely human?*; 1 Co 4:5 ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, *therefore do not make any judgment before the proper time — until the Lord comes*; 1 Co 11:26 ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ, *for every time you are eating this bread and drinking this cup, you are proclaiming the Lord's death, (and this remains so) until he comes*; Lu 21:24 καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν, *and Jerusalem will remain trampled on by Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are completed.*

Lu 9:57 ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ, *I will follow you wherever you go*; Mk 6:10 ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐκεῖ μένετε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε ἐκεῖθεν, *wherever you enter a house, stay there until you depart (altogether) from there*; 1 Co 16:6 ...ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε οὗ ἐὰν πορεύωμαι, ... *so that you may help me on my journey, wherever I am going*; 2 Co 8:12 εἰ γὰρ ἡ προθυμία πρόκειται, καθὸ ἐὰν ἔχῃ εὐπρόσδεκτος, οὐ καθὸ οὐκ ἔχει, *for if his desire (to give) is evident, a person (is) accepted in accordance with whatever he has, not in accordance with what (in fact) he doesn't have*; Lu 13:28 ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς ... ὅταν ὄψησθε (v.ll. ὄψεσθε, ἴδητε) ... ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω, *there will be weeping ... when you see ... and yourselves being thrown outside* (the most likely explanation for ὄψησθε is that it is an aorist subjunctive, formed on the root ὀπ-, like ὄψομαι and ὤφθην, so the variants would be attempts to correct this unusual form). See also the examples in §§4.4.3–4.

20.6.4. General in Historic Sequence. Much less commonly, relative clauses of time, etc., referring to repeated or distributive activity in a past time context have ἄν with the indicative in a secondary tense, as in §20.3.2, the aorist signalling a complete action on each occasion, and the imperfect a process: Mk 3:11 καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν, προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ ..., *and whenever unclean spirits saw him (had him in view), they would fall down before him* ...; Mk 11:19 καὶ ὅταν (v.l. ὅτε) ὀψὲ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο (v.l. -εύετο) ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, *and when it got late they (he) would go out of the city* (with ὅτε the reference is to the day in question, and the imperfect is inceptive, *they/he set out from*, but with ὅταν their regular practice over these few days is indicated, although the context seems to be dealing with one day at a time: see §20.6.1).

Mk 6:56 καὶ ὅπου ἂν εἰσεπορεύετο εἰς κώμας ... ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθεσαν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, *and wherever he was entering villages ... they would put the sick in the marketplaces* ...; Ac 2:45 διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν, καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, *they would distribute them to all, according to the need of each (to the extent any person had a need)*; 1 Co 12:2 οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε πρὸς τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ ἄφωνα ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι, *you know that when you were pagans you were (all) being led off to dumb idols, whatever the ways in which you were (separately) being led* (if ὅτι is correct here there is an anacoluthon, with the participle construction replacing ὅτι ... ἀπήγεσθε).

20.6.5. Participles (Circumstantial). Temporal relative clauses, whether particular or general, are very often replaced by participles. For examples see §§6.2.5–6.

20.6.6. Infinitives and Πρίν. For prepositions with articular infinitives expressing the equivalent of temporal clauses, see §6.1.10. In the NT the temporal conjunction/adverb/preposition πρίν (or πρὶν ἤ), *before, until*, is mostly used with an anarthrous infinitive, but there are two passages in which it is used with finite verbs: Mt 1:18 πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, *before they came together she was found to be pregnant by the action of the Holy Spirit*; Mt 26:34 πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρὶς ἀπαρνήσῃ με, *before a cock crows you will deny me three times* (πρὶν ἂν ἀλέκτωρ φωνήσῃ would have been used in classical Attic); Jn 4:49 κατάβηθι πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν τὸ παιδίον μου, *come along before my child dies*; Lu 2:26 καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν ἢ ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου, *it had been revealed to him that he would not die until he saw the Lord's Messiah.* For the optatives with πρίν in Ac 25:16 see §12.6.

21. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

21.1. Conditional Sentences. 21.1.1. A conditional sentence consists of two clauses of the following general pattern: *if he did that, he will be punished*; *if he had said that, we would not have stayed*; *if he says that, tell him he is wrong*. In each of these there is a subordinate clause introduced by *if*, and another clause on which it depends. The subordinate clause is called the ***protasis*** (πρότασις), and contains a proposition to which a measure of uncertainty is attached. The other clause, which is usually a principal clause of some kind (statement, question, command, exhortation, wish), but may be a subordinate clause (causal, purpose, relative, etc.), is called the ***apodosis*** (ἀπόδοσις): its truth or fulfilment depends (formally or grammatically at least) on that of the proposition (condition) in the protasis. In Greek the protasis is introduced by εἰ, *if*, or, if it is general in form, by ἐάν (← εἰ ἄν), which in a few NT passages is contracted to ἄν (as sometimes in Attic), and when in crasis with καί becomes κἄν; and the apodosis may have the form of almost any type of independent sentence or subordinate clause. Εἰ and ἐάν are occasionally strengthened by the addition of the enclitic -περ (εἴπερ, ἐάνπερ). For the use of εἰ in questions and in purpose clauses see §§11.1.1, 13.1.1, 17.7.

The measure of doubt introduced by a conditional protasis depends partly on the form of the protasis, but mainly on the context as a whole: in *if he said that, he is wrong*, the speaker may be shown by the context not to have any doubt that *he said that*, and in that case the sentence amounts to a firm statement of disagreement with what was said. Similarly a formal conditional protasis may be shown by the context to have the logical implications of another type of clause: in *if he did that, he will be punished*, the context may give a clear indication that the speaker has no doubt that *he did that*, and is implying ***because he did that, he will be punished***; and conversely the context may give a clear indication that the speaker is sure that *he did **not** do that*, and is therefore dismissing the accusation; or there may be no clear indication either way, and therefore no more than a linking of punishment to conduct, leaving the present case undecided. Sometimes, of course, the speaker (or writer) chooses the grammatical form in order to avoid an unequivocal statement, or even to encourage confusion, and a conditional protasis is often the best means of doing so. For the replacement of a protasis by a participle see §21.6.

The negative used in a conditional protasis whose verb is in the indicative mood is usually οὐ, but it is usually μή in an unreal protasis (§21.4),[1] and if the verb is in the subjunctive mood it is regularly μή: see also §20.1.8. In the apodosis, of course, the negative will be the one appropriate to the form of the clause.

1. In classical Greek the normal pattern was μή in all conditional protases unless the negative was closely attached to one word in the clause rather than to the clause as a whole; and the few exceptions in the NT to *its* normal pattern may be due to the influence of earlier literature: see §7.5.1.

21.1.2. The distinction drawn in §19.1 between particular and general is very important in conditional protases, and may help to determine the implications of the apodosis. As noted in §19.2, relative clauses with indefinite antecedent are virtually equivalent to conditional protases, and the constructions used in both types correspond. Not all conditional protases are equivalent to relative clauses. For particular conditions see §21.2, and for general conditions see §21.3.

21.1.3. An ***open condition*** is one stated as if there is an open possibility either way, whatever the context states or implies about the truth or otherwise of the proposition. The logic of the context must be considered along with the form of the protasis, which may be particular or general, in order to assess the writer's (or speaker's) intended meaning: for an example, see the end of §21.1.1.

21.1.4. An ***unreal condition*** is one in which there is a speculation on a proposition acknowledged or presented as contrary to fact, and the apodosis is normally an excluded potential statement or question (§§8.3.3–4, 11.3), for the form of the protasis (§21.4) is identical with that of an open condition, and without such an apodosis there would need to be some other indication of unreality. In *if he had said that, we would not have stayed*, the natural implication is that *we did stay*, and therefore *he did not say that*. There is no distinction between particular and general in unreal conditions.

21.1.5. A ***remote condition*** is one in which the proposition is a possibility only, with a hint of not being likely. In Greek its verb is in the optative (§21.5). Very commonly, but not in any NT passage, the apodosis is an open potential statement or question (§§8.3.2, 11.3): in *if I were to tell you, you would not believe me*, the possibility of telling or not telling is left open, but the probability that *I shall not tell* is suggested. There is no distinction between particular and general in remote conditions.

21.1.6. The flexibility of ancient Greek permitted the expression of a great variety of nuances, and while it is convenient to introduce the study of conditional sentences with the above divisions, it is important to recognize that in actual usage various combinations (***"mixed" conditions***) are possible. For example, in *if he should come, I shall not see him*, the protasis makes the expected possibility of his coming more remote than in the open condition *if he comes*, without in any way weakening the force of the apodosis. In some instances it looks as if the speaker (or writer) has changed his mind about the precise form of expression between the uttering (or writing) of the two parts of the conditional sentence, but often the combination is obviously carefully formulated. As noted in §21.1.4, there are some circumstances in which ambiguity is difficult to avoid, but the general logic of the context is often sufficient to cover this. The examples of the various types of protasis set out in §§21.2–5 illustrate not only the more common combinations but also some of the less common..

21.1.7. Verbs expressing **emotion** are sometimes found with a conditional protasis: 1 Jn 3:13 μὴ θαυμάζετε, ἀδελφοί, εἰ μισεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ κόσμος, *do not be surprised, my brothers, if (that) the world hates (is hating) you.* As pointed out in §13.2.5, in the NT εἰ clauses occurring with such verbs are easily recognizable either as indirect questions or as conditional protases, but the most natural English translation may differ from the form of the Greek: see also §§12.4.5, 15.2.5.

21.1.8. Ellipsis and Εἰ μή. Occasionally there is an ellipsis of the verb *to be* (usually ἐστίν: see §7.1.3) in a conditional protasis: 2 Ths 1:6 ...εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν, ... *if indeed (it is) right for God (in God's judgment) to repay with affliction those who afflict you*; Ro 12:18 ...εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες, *if (it is) possible, to the extent that it depends on you, being at peace with all men*; Mk 13:22 ποιήσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, *they will perform signs and wonders in order to lead astray, if (it should be) possible, those God has chosen* (sc. εἴη, more likely than ἐστίν in such a context); and see Gal 4:15 in §12.4.1.

For ellipsis of other verbs in parallel conditional protases see §7.2.3. Such an ellipsis may be found when a negative alternative condition is put forward, in which circumstance the negative is regularly μή, and εἰ is used as the conjunction more often than ἐάν, even where the latter might seem appropriate: Lu 10:6 καὶ ἐὰν ἐκεῖ ᾖ υἱὸς εἰρήνης ἐπαναπαήσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀνακάμψει, ***and if a man***

of peace is there, your peace will rest on him; if not, it will return to you (cf. the parallel Mt 10:13 ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ἡ οἰκία ἀξία ... ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀξία ...); Lu 13:(8–)9 ἄφες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος ... κἂν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπόν, εἰς τὸ μέλλον· εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐκκόψεις αὐτήν, *leave it just this year ... and if it bears fruit, (leave it) for the future; but if not, cut it out* (sc. ποιήσει: the negative alternative may be intended to have greater emphasis as the more likely); Jn 14:2 ... μοναὶ πολλαί εἰσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, εἶπον ἂν ὑμῖν, ... *there are many places: if there weren't, I would have told you* (sc. ἦσαν: for the possibility of a question here see §1.3.2); 1 Co 7:5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν ..., *do not deprive one another, unless perhaps (you do so) by agreement for a time* ... (sc. ἀποστεροῖτε, *you should deprive*, more natural than -εῖτε, *you are in fact depriving*: ἂν is an unusual insertion in such a clause, and some early mss. omit it, but if εἰ ... ἂν was intended as ἐὰν the omitted verb would be ἀποστερῆτε); 1 Tm 5:19 κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων, *do not accept an accusation against an elder except (unless it is being brought) on the evidence of two or three witnesses* (sc. γίνεται or the like).

From ellipses such as these last examples it was an easy step to treat εἰ μή (and rarely ἐὰν μή) as a standard phrase meaning *except* and *otherwise*, in contexts in which it would be awkward to supply a satisfactory verb form, and even where the negative seems illogical, so that it hardly qualifies as a conditional protasis: Lu 10:22 οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι, *nobody can know who the Son is except the Father, and who the Father is except the Son and whoever the Son chooses to reveal him to*; Mk 2:22 οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκούς, *nobody puts new wine into old skins; otherwise (if they do) the wine will burst the skins*; 2Co 11:16 μή τίς με δόξῃ ἄφρονα εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή γε, κἂν ὡς ἄφρονα δέξασθέ με, ἵνα κἀγὼ μικρόν τι καυχήσωμαι, *no-one should think I am a fool; but if you do, then accept me really as (just as you would) a fool, so that I may have my little bit of boasting* (even *otherwise* will not do here; the following κἂν is either, like εἰ μή, a standardized expression, for emphasis, or an ellipsis for κἂν ἐδέχεσθε, transferred, for emphasis, from after ὡς); 2Co 12:13 τί γάρ ἐστιν ὃ ἡσσήθητε ὑπὲρ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμῶν; *what detail is there in which you were treated as inferior to the other churches except in the fact that I didn't burden you?*; Jn 10:10 ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ ἔρχεται εἰ μὴ ἵνα κλέψῃ ..., *the thief doesn't come except to steal* ...; Mk 4:22 οὐ γάρ ἐστίν τι κρυπτόν, ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς

φανερόν, *for there is nothing hidden except to be revealed; nor is anything put into concealment except to be brought to light* (note the equivalence here of ἐὰν μή and ἀλλά); Gal 2:16 εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ ..., *knowing that a man is not (cannot be) justified by doing what the law requires, but only through faith in Christ* ... (this is really an anacoluthon, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου being inserted, for emphasis, into what would otherwise be a normal clause with ellipsis of δικαιῶται); 1 Co 7:(16–)17 ἢ τί οἶδας, ἄνερ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις; εἰ μὴ ἑκάστῳ ὡς μεμέρικεν ὁ κύριος, ... οὕτως περιπατείτω, *And how do you know, husband, whether you will save your wife? But all the same, each one must order his life according to what the Lord has apportioned to him* ... (here εἰ μή begins a new stage in the argument).

21.1.9. Protasis without Apodosis. In some contexts a dramatic effect is produced by the use of a protasis by itself, so that the appropriate apodosis is either merely suggested by the context or left to the imagination: Jn 6:(61–)62 τοῦτο ὑμᾶς σκανδαλίζει; ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον; *Does this offend you? Well, (how will you feel) if you see the Son of Man going up to where he was formerly?* Ac 23:9 οὐδὲν κακὸν εὑρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος —, *we can find nothing wrong in this man; but if a spirit has spoken to him, or an angel* — (some late mss. add μὴ θεομαχῶμεν, *let us not resist God*); Ro 9:22 εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ὀργὴν ... ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν ... ; *and if God, while wanting to demonstrate his wrath ... very patiently put up with the objects of his wrath, prepared as they are for destruction ... (what then)?* (here the length and nature of the sentence suggest anacoluthon rather than dramatic effect: the intended climax gets lost in the build-up of detail).

Based on a Hebrew form of oath in which the apodosis is a curse (cf. Ruth 1:17, Ps. 7:4–5), a positive protasis sometimes has the effect of a strong negative assertion (cf. §8.2.2): Heb 3:11 (LXX Ps.94 [95]:11) ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου· εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου, *as I swore in my wrath, they shall **not** enter into my rest*; Mk 8:12 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ σημεῖον, *truly I tell you, a sign will **not** be given to this generation* (cf. the parallel qualified denial in Mt 16:4 and Lu 11:29 οὐ δοθήσεται ... εἰ μὴ ...). See also §10.3.3.

21.2. Particular Conditional Protases. 21.2.1. For the distinction between particular and general clauses, see §19.1. A particular conditional

protasis, which is usually part of an open condition (§21.1.3), is one whose verb represents an activity as being definite, in that it can be regarded either as occurring at a definite time (or over a definite period) or as having an emphasis on actual occurrence, although the context may suggest that a more general application is also appropriate. The verb of a particular conditional protasis is usually indicative (but see §21.2.2), with the same limitations as in causal clauses (§15.2), and the negative used is mostly οὐ. The introductory conjunction is regularly εἰ, and if the verb is in the future tense the clause will be to some extent emphatic. Some examples are: Mt 16:24 εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν ..., *if anyone wants (is wanting) to come after me, he must deny himself* ...; Jas 3:2 εἴ τις ἐν λόγῳ οὐ πταίει, οὗτος τέλειος ἀνήρ, *if anyone (really) doesn't speak a wrong word, he (is) a perfect man*; 1 Co 15:2 ... δι' οὗ καὶ σῴζεσθε ... εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε, ... *through which you are being saved ... if indeed you are holding fast (to it) — unless you believed in vain* (ἐκτὸς adds nothing but emphasis); Gal 2:17 εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἆρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος; *but if in seeking to be justified in Christ we were proved (to be) sinners ourselves, (is) Christ an agent of sin?* (the reference is specifically to the event of faith in :16 ἐπιστεύσαμεν); Jn 15:20 εἰ ἐμὲ ἐδίωξαν, καὶ ὑμᾶς διώξουσιν, *if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you too* (all the incidents of opposition in chapters 7 to 11 are summed up in the one aorist); Ro 3:3 τί γάρ; εἰ ἠπίστησέν τινες, μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσει; *but (what about this? —) if some (of them) proved unfaithful, will their unfaithfulness nullify God's faithfulness?* (the protasis obviously refers to the history of the Jews, to whom, as stated in :2, God's message to the world was entrusted); 2 Co 2:5 εἰ δέ τις λελύπηκεν, οὐκ ἐμὲ λελύπηκεν ..., *if anyone has caused (is responsible for causing) pain, he has not done it to me* ...; 1 Tm 6:3(–4) εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ καὶ μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγοις ... τετύφωται, *if anyone is teaching otherwise and does not agree (disagrees) with sound statements ...he is conceited*; Gal 5:11 ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι; *and, my brothers, if I am still preaching circumcision, why am I still being persecuted?* (i.e. *I am not preaching circumcision*); 1 Tm 3:5 εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστῆναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται; *if anyone doesn't know how to manage his own household, how will he care for God's church?*; 1 Co 7:9 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται, γαμησάτωσαν, *but if they cannot control themselves, let them get married*; 1 Co 15:13–14 εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, *if there is no resurrection of the dead, not even Christ is risen; and*

if Christ is not risen, then our preaching is without substance; Ro 8:9 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ, *but you are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God is dwelling in you. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him*; Lu 17:6 εἰ ἔχετε (v.l. εἴχετε) πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως ἐλέγετε ἂν ... καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν, *if your faith is (you have faith) as (big as) a mustard seed you could say ... and it would obey you* (the v.l. is clearly an attempt to regularize the form of the condition: the apodosis seems to amount to much the same as if its verbs had been optative, λέγοιτε ... ὑπακούσαι). See also the examples in §21.2.3–4.

21.2.2. Although the mood in **almost** all particular conditional protases is indicative, a few have a subjunctive verb, with a jussive (cf. §13.4.3) nuance : Lu 9:13 οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἢ ἄρτοι πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες δύο, εἰ μήτι πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον βρώματα, *we have no more than five loaves and two fish, unless we are to go and buy food for all these people*; 1 Co 14:5 μείζων ὁ προφητεύων ἢ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσαις, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύῃ, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκοδομὴν λάβῃ, *the person who prophesies is greater than the one who speaks in (strange) tongues — unless he is to add an interpretation (be interpreting), so that the church may be edified* (the third person imperfective subjunctive with jussive force is unusual [cf. §9.3.2], but the tautology ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ abruptly modifies the argument, and the whole tenor of the passage is prescriptive: and cf. :13); 1 Ths 5:10 ... ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν, ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν, ... *so that, whether we are (at that time) to be awake or asleep, we may live (rise to life) with him.*

21.2.3. Because the difference between particular and general is sometimes mainly one of emphasis, there are some passages in which they may at first sight appear to be equivalent, and it is necessary to allow for the subjective choice of the writer in "grey areas", but often the context provides some indication of the reason for the choice: Lu 16:31 εἰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, οὐδὲ ἐάν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ πεισθήσονται, *if they are not heeding Moses and the prophets, they will not be persuaded even if someone rises from the dead* (here the distinction between particular and general is obvious and necessary); Ac 5:38–39 ... ἄφετε αὐτούς· ὅτι ἐὰν ᾖ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη ἢ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, καταλυθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν, οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι αὐτούς ..., ... *leave them alone; for if this purpose or activity of theirs is of human origin, it will fail; but if it really is from God, you will not be able to stop them* ... (Gamaliel puts a subtle factual emphasis on the possibility which

will prove the more difficult to resist); Lu 6:32–34 καὶ εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; ... καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀγαθαποιῆτε τοὺς ἀγαθαποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς ... καὶ ἐὰν δανείσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν ..., *If you love those who love you, what credit is that to you? ... If you do good to those who do good to you ... And if you (go so far as to) lend to those from whom you expect to get something ...* (loving is an attitude, and, expressed in particular form, is postulated more confidently than the more concrete types of possible activity which can arise from it [καὶ γὰρ pointing to these being illustrations of the attitude], and a change to aorist occurs in the verb with most specific meaning).

In the parallel passages Mt 18:8–9 εἰ δὲ ἡ χείρ σου ἢ ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτὸν ... καὶ εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτὸν ..., *but if your hand or foot is causing you offence, cut it off ... and if your eye is causing you offence, pluck it out ...*, and Mk 9:43–47 καὶ ἐὰν σκανδαλίσῃ σε ἡ χείρ σου, ἀπόκοψον αὐτήν ... καὶ ἐὰν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ἀπόκοψον αὐτόν ... καὶ ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ἔκβαλε αὐτόν ..., *indeed, if your hand causes you offence, cut it off ... and if your foot starts causing you offence, cut it off ... and if your eye starts causing you offence, put it out...*, Mt heightens the effect by first adding the "woe" against anyone causing offence and then treating the illustrations as particular, while Mk omits the "woe" and generalizes, but gains effect by separating the three items, putting the first verb before its subject, and making it more dramatic by treating it as a complete action. In Mk 9:35 εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος εἶναι, ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος ..., *if anyone is wanting to be first, he must (will) be last of all ...*, Jesus is addressing a situation where disciples are in fact claiming to be first, so the particular form is natural, although a general proposition would also be appropriate; whereas in Jn 7:17 ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, γνώσεται ..., *if anyone wants to do his will, he will know ...*, Jesus is beginning a discourse with more general application. Similarly in 1 Co 7:11 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἄγαμος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγήτω, *but if she does separate (from him), she must remain unmarried, or else become reconciled to her husband*, Paul notes, in general form, a possible deviation from the Lord's prescription against divorce of Christians, in contrast to the particular propositions of :9 (§21.2.1) and :12–15 dealing with the types of practical problems he has been asked to comment on.

21.2.4. In some circumstances the occurrence of a particular protasis where a general protasis could have been used indicates a change in the immediate contextual focus, and may be an indicator of time reference. Ro 3:7 εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς

τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, τί ἔτι κἀγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς κρίνομαι; *if by my falsity God's truth has been magnified to his glory, why am I myself still under judgment as a sinner?* is commonly translated and explained as if the protasis were either general (ἐὰν ... περισσεύσῃ), or particular with general present time reference (εἰ ... περισσεύει), parallel to :5 εἰ ... συνίστησιν, but this is to ignore the obvious change in both aspect and personal reference. In :5 Paul refers to the unrighteousness of mankind in general, acknowledging his own inclusion by using the first person plural ἡμῶν, and in :8 he uses, with the same degree of validity, the first person plural to state a general Christian position; but in :7 he not only changes to the singular, but uses the emphatic κἀγώ, thus turning the focus on himself, as one who is both Jew and Christian, and referring to what *has happened* in his life; and by placing ἔτι at the earliest point it could occupy in the apodosis, instead of with the verb, he gives it an emphasis which suggests a time contrast. Even by itself ἐπερίσσευσεν is enough to suggest pastness, simply by specifying complete action in the indicative, for in the absence of any indicator of timeless, present or future reference, and in contrast to the prevalent use of a general protasis when distributive complete action is to be signalled, this implies viewing the action from a distance, as either past or unreal, and there is no indicator of unreality.

Another change from more general comment to specific reference to past events may be seen in the different ways the synoptic evangelists treat Jesus' rebuttal of allegations that he is motivated by Beelzebul: Mt 12:26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; *and if Satan is in fact casting out Satan, he has become divided against himself — how then will his kingdom be established?*; Lu 11:18 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν διεμερίσθη, πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; *but if indeed Satan has become divided against himself, how will his kingdom be established?*; Mk 3:26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στῆναι, *and if Satan has risen up against himself and become divided, he cannot make a stand.* In all three Jesus changes at this point from general comment and applies his argument to the current allegations, which in all three are indeed in the form of general statements (ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια ... , *he casts out demons* ...), but either refer to a specific recent event (Mt, Lu) or imply specific events (Mk). Mt echoes the allegation in his protasis and draws a conclusion on what must have happened for it to be true; while Mk and Lu make this deduced event their protasis and, with present or future reference, draw a conclusion which Mt makes a separate sentence; yet all achieve the same purpose.

21.3. General Conditional Protases. 21.3.1. For the distinction between particular and general clauses see §§19.1, 21.2.3. A general conditional protasis, which is usually part of an open condition (§21.1.3), is one whose verb represents an activity that may occur or may have occurred in circumstances which can only be generally recognized. In the NT such clauses occur only in primary sequence, mainly in timeless or future-referring contexts, and they are introduced by ἐάν (rarely ἄν), their verbs are in the subjunctive mood (but see §21.3.2), and the negative used in them is μή. Some examples are: 2Tm 2:5 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις, οὐ στέφανοῦται ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ, *if someone is in a competition, he is not awarded the prize (crowned) unless he competes in accordance with its rules* (the first protasis introduces the overall process of competing, the second views the activity as a whole with reference to its legality); Jas 2:14 τί τὸ ὄφελος, ἀδελφοί μου, ἐὰν πίστιν λέγῃ τις ἔχειν, ἔργα δὲ μὴ ἔχῃ; *what (is) the good, my brothers, if someone claims to have faith, but has no deeds?*; Jas 5:19 ἐάν τις ἐν ὑμῖν πλανηθῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐπιστρέψῃ τις αὐτόν, γινώσκετε ὅτι ..., *if one of you wanders from the truth and someone turns him back, be sure that ...*; 1 Jn 1:6 ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι κοινωνίαν ἔχομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει περιπατῶμεν, ψευδόμεθα ..., *if we assert that we have fellowship with him and (at the same time) live (walk) in darkness, we lie ...*; (*we* here amounts to *any nominal Christian*); Heb 3:14 μέτοχοι γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν, ἐάνπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν κατάσχωμεν, *for we have (really) come to share in Christ if we keep our initial attitude firm to the end*; Ro 14:8 ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνῄσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνῄσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνῄσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν, *for if we live we are living to the Lord, and if we die we are dying to the Lord. So whether we live or die we are the Lord's* (the focus is on attitudes, so for dying it is the process rather than the event which is relevant); Jn 3:2–3 οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ... ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ ... ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, *for no-one can do (be doing) these miracles ... unless God is with him ... if a person is not born (does not come to birth) again (from above), he cannot see (catch sight of) the kingdom of God*; Jn 6:65 οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐλθεῖν πρός με ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ δεδομένον αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, *nobody can come to me unless it has been given him by (it is his gift from) the Father* (the perfect subjunctive is rare, but state, rather than process or event, is appropriate here); Jn 13:20 ὁ λαμβάνων ἄν τινα πέμψω ἐμὲ λαμβάνει, *he who receives (is welcoming towards) anyone I send (if I send anyone, he who receives him) receives me* (here ὃν ἂν πέμψω would mean the same). See also the examples in §§4.4.3–4.

21.3.2. There are in the NT a few passages in which some of our best mss. have an indicative, mostly future, instead of a subjunctive in a protasis introduced by ἐάν, but almost all of the forms involved are capable of explanation as examples of phonetic confusion (see §§1.5.2, 20.2.4, 20.3.1 n.1), perhaps aided by the fact that the future overlaps with the subjunctive in some uses (§§3.5, 4.8, 17.2.5–8): 1 Ths 3:8 ὅτι νῦν ζῶμεν ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε (v.l. στήκητε) ἐν κυρίῳ, *for now we (really) live if you are standing in the Lord* (this differs from most in that ε and η were not tending to have identical sounds; and the context suggests that *because you are standing* would be appropriate, so a particular conditional protasis would seem more natural than a general one: cf. Mk 11:25 in §20.6.2); Ac 8:31 πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσει (v.l. -ση) με; *No — how could I unless someone guides me?* (here an open potential question [§11.3] is linked with a protasis that would most naturally be general, if it is not to be potential itself, for the emphasis of a particular protasis, *unless someone is going to guide me*, seems less appropriate: the subjunctive must be right); Rev 2:22 βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλῖψιν μεγάλην, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν (v.l. -σωσιν) ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς, *I shall put (am putting) her on a bed, and also those who commit adultery with her, for great tribulation, unless they repent (and turn away) from her activities*; Lu 19:40 ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν (v.l. -σωσιν), οἱ λίθοι κράξουσιν, *if these fall silent, the stones will cry out*. In these last two there is more to be said for the emphasis of a particular protasis with the future, but a general protasis is completely appropriate, and again phonetic confusion is likely.

21.4. Unreal Conditional Protases. The protasis of an unreal conditional sentence (§21.1.4) has εἰ and a secondary tense of the indicative, used as in excluded potential statements (§8.3.3), but without ἄν, and its negative is normally μή: Jn 4:10 εἰ ᾔδεις τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ ... σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄν σοι ..., *if you knew the gift of God ... you would have asked him and he would have given you ...*; 1 Jn 2:19 εἰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἦσαν, μεμενήκεισαν ἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν, *if they really (had) belonged to us they would have remained (and now be) with us* (cf. the preceding statement ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν: it is impossible to be sure whether the reference here is primarily to that statement or to a present excluded belonging); Jn 15:22 εἰ μὴ ἦλθον καὶ ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς, ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχοσαν, *if I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin* (for these three examples see also §8.3.3); 1 Co 11:31 εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα, *if we were examining ourselves properly, we would not be being judged (in the way I have just mentioned)*; Mk 13:20 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ

ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ, *if the Lord had not shortened those days, no living creature would be saved* (the cutting short is already done, in God's plan, but the being saved is clearly future — except in God's plan); Ac 26:32 ἀπολελύσθαι ἐδύνατο ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος εἰ μὴ ἐπεκέκλητο Καίσαρα, *this fellow could (now) be a free man (have been set free) if he were not on appeal to Caesar* (the appeal to Caesar prevented his case being dealt with by any lower authority, even for acquittal); Mt 26:24 καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, *it would be good for that man if he had not been born* (see also §8.3.4).

21.5. Remote Conditional Protases. The protasis of a remote conditional sentence (§21.1.5) has εἰ and the optative, used as in open potential statements (§8.3.2), but without ἄν, and none of the few examples in the NT is linked with an open potential apodosis: Ac 24:19 ... οὓς ἔδει ἐπὶ σοῦ παρεῖναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν εἴ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ, ... *who ought to be appearing before you and laying a charge, if by any chance they have (if they should have) anything against me* (see §8.3.4: the excluded potential apodosis is a firm protest, while the remote protasis does not go beyond casting doubt on the genuineness of the charge — a nicely balanced combination); 1 Pt 3:14 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι, *but if you should suffer for what is right, (you are) fortunate*; 1 Pt 3:17 κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιοῦντας, *(it is) better that you suffer (for) doing good, if that should be God's will, than (for) doing evil*; 1 Co 15:37 ... ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον, εἰ τύχοι σίτου, ἤ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν, ... *but a bare grain — say of wheat, or of something else* (the insertion of εἰ τύχοι, *if it should happen*, and so, *one might say, perhaps*, suggests that the illustration is chosen at random).

21.6. Participles (Circumstantial). A conditional protasis may be replaced by a participle (§§6.2.5–6) with the same aspect as its verb would have, the negative being μή, but there are not many examples in the NT: Heb 11:32 ἐπιλείψει με γὰρ διηγούμενον (← ἐὰν διηγῶμαι) ὁ χρόνος περὶ Γεδεών ..., *my time will run out if I go on to tell about Gideon ...*; Mk 13:36 ... μὴ ἐλθὼν (← ἐὰν ἔλθῃ) ἐξαίφνης εὕρῃ ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας, ... *so that if he comes suddenly he will not find you asleep* (the adverb ἐξαίφνης is placed for emphasis after its verb: if it were omitted the participle would more naturally represent ὅταν ἔλθῃ). Some participles may have a possibly conditional meaning when there are other types of clause they more specifically represent: see Jn 15:2 in §20.4.

22. CONCESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

22.1. A **conditional protasis** (§21) may assume a concessive force if εἰ or ἐάν is preceded or followed by καί, *even*. This can only be judged by considering the context, for a preceding καί may mean *and* (and in the NT καὶ εἰ is probably always *and if*), and a following καί may mean *both (... and ...)*. Καὶ ἐάν frequently becomes κἂν (by crasis). Some examples are: Lu 11:8 εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει αὐτῷ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ εἶναι φίλον αὐτοῦ, διά γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεὶς δώσει αὐτῷ ὅσων χρῄζει, *even though he will not get up and give him (anything) because of his being his friend, yet because of his shameless persistence he will get up and give him all he needs* (the use of γε in the apodosis reinforces the contrast and helps make the meaning **clear);** Lu 18:4 εἰ καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐ φοβοῦμαι οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐντρέπομαι, διά γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν ..., *even though I don't fear God and have no concern for man, because of the trouble this widow causes me I will give her justice ...;* Jn 8:14 κἂν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου, *although I testify about myself, my testimony is true.*

22.2. The concessive construction most commonly found, however, is a **circumstantial participle** (§§6.2.5–6), either alone or accompanied by καίπερ, καί γε, καίτοι or καὶ ταῦτα, the negative mostly used being οὐ (see §6.2.1): Mt 14:5 καὶ θέλων αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἐφοβήθη τὸν ὄχλον, *and although he wanted to kill him he was afraid of the people*; Jn 9:25 ἓν οἶδα, ὅτι τυφλὸς ὢν ἄρτι βλέπω, *one thing I do know, that although I was blind, now I can see*; Phil 3:(3–)4 ἡμεῖς ... οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες, καίπερ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποίθησιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί, *we ... having no confidence in the flesh — although I myself have grounds for confidence even in the flesh*; Ac 17:27 ... εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὕροιεν, καί γε οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα, ... *in case they should reach out for him and find him, although he is in fact not far from each one of us*; Heb 4:3 εἰσερχόμεθα γὰρ εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες ... καίτοι τῶν ἔργων ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου γενηθέντων, *for (it is) we who have come to believe (who) enter his rest ... although his works were completed at (from) the foundation of the world*; Heb 11:12 διὸ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ ταῦτα νενεκρωμένου, καθὼς τὰ ἄστρα ..., *therefore from one man, and he virtually already dead, there came into being people (as many) as the stars ...*; Ac 19:37 ἠγάγετε γὰρ τοὺς

ἄνδρας τούτους οὔτε ἱεροσύλους οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεὸν ἡμῶν, *for you have brought these men here although they are neither sacrilegious nor blasphemers against our goddess* (ὄντας would normally be added to ἱεροσύλους in such a context, but it can be understood because of the link with another participle).

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The articles and their **key letters** are as follows:

AP *B.J.C.S.* 12 (1965), 1–21: "The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect down to the end of the Second Century AD"

IN *Nov. T.* 27 (1985), 201–226: "Aspect in Imperatival Constructions in New Testament Greek"

PN *Nov. T.* 23 (1981), 289–329: "On the Perfect and Other Aspects in New Testament Greek"

RT *Expos. T.* 84 (1973), 330–332: "Some Linguistic Points in Marxsen's Resurrection Theory"

SE *Tynd. Bull.* 23 (1972), 39–57: "Syntax in Exegesis"

SS *Nov. T.* 27 (1985), 319–333: "Style and Significance in the Language of John 21:15–17"

TA *Nov. T.* 34 (1992), 209–228: "Time and Aspect in New Testament Greek"

TC A. Rijksbaron *et al.*, *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner* (1988), 193–208: "Aspectual Usage in Timeless Contexts in Ancient Greek"

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