

FULFILLING THE LAW APART FROM THE LAW: A DISCOURSE
APPROACH TO PAUL AND THE LAW IN ROMANS

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the Faculty of
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Doctor of Philosophy

by
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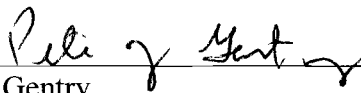
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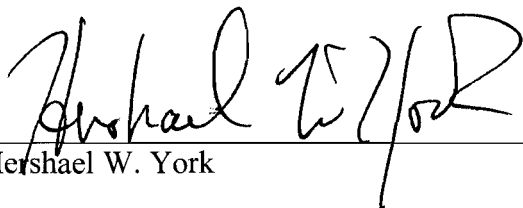
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To Kimberly Tan,
my partner, my love,
who makes my heart smile,
and to
Alberto Valencia,
my true and loyal friend

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
BAGD	Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> , 2 nd ed.
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin of Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Frederick Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> , 3 rd ed.
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> .
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BLG	Biblical Languages: Greek
<i>BJRL</i>	Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
CTL	Cambridge Textbook in Linguistics
<i>CurBS</i>	<i>Currents in Research: Biblical Studies</i>
DEL	Describing English Language
ETEL	Edinburgh Textbooks in Empirical Linguistics
<i>FN</i>	<i>Filología Neotestamentaria</i>
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship

ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
Louw-Nida	Johannes P. Louw and Eugene Nida, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> . 2 vols. 2 nd ed.
<i>MTZ</i>	<i>Münchener theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WEC	Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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PREFACE

This work represents the end of a long journey that I would not have completed without the help and support of many others. The professors on my committee, Drs. Thomas R. Schreiner, Peter J. Gentry, and Hershael W. York, were patient and gracious throughout the process. My colleague on the Opentext.org project, Dr. Matthew Brook O'Donnell, first introduced me to the wonders of corpus annotation and helped in developing the data displays, searches, and outputs without which this work would never have been completed. Dr. Robert Picirilli graciously read through the whole dissertation chapter by chapter and gave me invaluable editorial assistance and help in expressing myself more clearly. The many writings of Drs. Stanley E. Porter and Jeffrey T. Reed first drew me towards discourse analysis and especially the Hallidayan model of linguistics. Many of the ideas expressed in this study build off their work and the work of Matt O'Donnell.

Thanks to my friends who have encouraged and prayed for me. And a special thanks to Dr. Brian J. Vickers and Catherine Smith for reading parts of the dissertation and offering helpful comment. My parents in Malaysia, Tony and Tammy Tan, have supported me through a decade of schooling in a distant land. To them I owe a great debt of gratitude. My best friend, Gerlin Alberto Valencia, has been an inspiration and model to me in his devotion to God and mature godliness. My then-fiancée, Kimberly Daniels (now Tan), was a constant comfort and sweet companion, who endured my lack of

availability and bore the brunt of the preparations for our wedding. I look forward to a lifetime together with her.

To the God who called me by his grace in Jesus Christ. To him be the glory forever.

Randall K. Tan

Louisville, Kentucky

July 2004

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO Νόμος

Statement of the Problem

Paul's view on the Mosaic Law is one of the most controversial issues in the history of interpretation. The debate ranges from the meaning of expressions such as "law," "works of the law," and "legalism" to the place and function of the Mosaic Law (or lack thereof) in the life of the Christian. This dispute has intensified in the last quarter of a century in the wake of the publication of E. P. Sanders's monumental study, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* in 1977.¹ More than any other work, this tome has generated a widespread paradigm shift in Pauline studies, commonly known as the "new perspective."² As if the issue was not already sufficiently complicated, work on Paul and

¹Besides *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), see also E. P. Sanders, *Paul, Past Masters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); idem, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International/London: SCM, 1992); and idem, "On the Question of Fulfilling the Law in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism," in *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, ed. E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett and W. D. Davies (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 103-26.

²This characterization originated from James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," *BJRL* 65 (1983): 95-122 (reprinted with a rejoinder to critiques of Dunn's own position in *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990], 183-214; subsequent citations refer to the reprint.) On precursors to elements of Sanders's new perspective see Donald A. Hagner, "Paul and Judaism: The Jewish Matrix of Early Christianity: Issues in the Current Debate," *BBR* 3 (1993): 111-30. The best critique of Sanders's characterization of covenantal nomism is perhaps A. Andrew Das, *Paul, the Law, and the Covenant*

the Law post-Sanders usually faces the further complication of needing to pay considerable attention to defending, refining, modifying, or challenging Sanders's characterization of Paul and of Second Temple Judaism. One's relative appropriation or rejection of the new perspective in turn radically affects how one synthesizes Paul's statements on the Law into a coherent whole or accounts for apparent inconsistencies.³ Though certain broad agreements may be claimed,⁴ general consensus seems beyond reach.

Paradigm for Understanding Various Proposals

Much ink has been spilt to defend, modify, or challenge the "new perspective" and there is no shortage of systematic, topical treatments of Paul and the Law.⁵ Since

(Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001). Cf. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, eds., *Justification and Variegated Nomism: A Fresh Appraisal of Paul and Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1, *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Baker/Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001). For a thorough critique of Sanders's proposal that Paul argues from solution (Christ) to plight, see Frank Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans*, NovTSup 61 (Leiden: Brill, 1989). Notable recent challenges to the new perspective include A. Andrew Das, *Paul and the Jews* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003); Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origins of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001); and Peter Stuhlmacher, *Revisiting Paul's Doctrine of Justification: A Challenge to the New Perspective* (Downers Grove, IL/Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 2001).

³In this study νόμος will often be left untranslated or simply be called "law."

⁴See James D. G. Dunn, "In Search of Common Ground," in *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, ed. J. D. G. Dunn (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1996), 309-34.

⁵See, e.g., Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*; Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, WUNT 29 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Brice Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul*, NovTSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 1989); and Thomas R. Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of the Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993).

many good introductions to the developing debate are readily available, there is no need to revisit the details here.⁶ Instead, a paradigm for understanding the essential commonalities and differences between various proposals will be offered.⁷ On a general level, interpreters differ on whether Paul's thought on the Law is coherent or inconsistent. Proponents of inconsistency differ on the extent of inconsistency of which Paul is guilty; but whatever terminology individual interpreters may use, the line of division lies in whether he or she believes that Paul's statements on the Law may be held together in a logically coherent fashion. Thus at the basic level, the two camps are advocates of consistency and advocates of inconsistency.

Advocates of inconsistency either explain inconsistencies by the occasion of writing or posit that Paul did not have a logically coherent view of the Law. The occasion-of-writing explanation divides into two basic strains: Drane, Hübner, and Wilckens propose that Paul changed his mind in the interval between the two epistles to

⁶Good introductions include Douglas J. Moo, "Paul and the Law in the Last Ten Years," *SJT* 40 (1987): 287-307; Westerholm, *Israel's Law*, 1-101; Martin, *Christ and the Law in Paul*, 21-68; Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment*, 13-31; Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994), 14-47; Calvin Roetzel, "Paul and the Law: Whence and Whither?" *CurBS* 3 (1995): 249-75; and James D. G. Dunn, "Introduction," and "In Search of Common Ground," in *Paul and the Mosaic Law*, 1-5, 309-34, and 335-41. For the history of research from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the mid-1960s, see Otto Kuss, "Nomos bei Paulus," *MTZ* 17 (1966): 173-227.

⁷This paradigm is a modified adaptation of the summary in Lauri Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law*, WUNT 124 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2000), 53-57. An alternative paradigm that centers on the effects or subjective associations of the Law may be found in Veronica Koperski, *What Are They Saying about Paul and the Law?* (New York: Paulist, 2001). Koperski's categories are the Law (1) fosters pride and is rejected entirely; (2) is not denigrated in itself, but Christ is preferred over it; and (3) is not itself repudiated; what is rejected is rather a more restrictive interpretation of it. Cf. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution*, 1-27,

the Galatians and to the Romans while Beker stresses Paul's practical need to address various exigencies in different congregations.⁸ The no-solution proposal also divides into two basic strains: Sanders posits that Paul rejects the Law because of his personal experience with Christ and call to proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles while Räisänen alleges that Paul is simply an inconsistent thinker and could not solve the problem of the place and function of the Law himself.⁹

Despite differences in emphases and in the degree of inconsistency accredited to Paul, proponents of inconsistency of all stripes are united in one conviction: Paul's statements on the Law do not satisfy the canons of logical consistency and cannot be constructed into a logically coherent system. In final analysis, they all agree that Paul's statements on the Law cannot be reconciled into a coherent whole. On one end of the spectrum, Beker has noted that "it would be an error to suppose that Paul consistently

which highlights the aspect of the relationship between Paul's and first century Judaism's views of the Law.

⁸John Drane, *Paul: Libertine or Legalist?* (London: SPCK, 1982), 61-77; 132-36; H. Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought*, trans. J. Greig (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984), 55-57; 63-65; Ulrich Wilckens, "Zur Entwicklung des paulinischen Gesetzesverständnis." *NTS* 28 (1982): 154-90; and J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), esp. Part Two.

⁹E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, esp. 47-48, 85-86, 154-55; and Heikki Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*, WUNT 29 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983/Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), esp. 264-69. Sanders also holds that Paul expects Christians to obey the Law as it expresses God's will as Scripture (*Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 114). In fact, Sanders believes that Paul gives different answers to different questions, but with everything flowing from the starting point that "salvation is by Christ and intended for Gentile as well as Jew" (152). Räisänen holds that "Paul has, for all practical purposes, broken with the law, and he is now concerned to put forward 'rationalizations': it is, against all appearance, *he* who really upholds the law; and insofar as this is not the case, the fault lies with the law itself" (*Paul and the Law*, 201). For a forceful, running response to Räisänen's challenges to Paul's consistency, see Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith*.

integrates the coherent theme of the gospel and its contingent interpretation.”¹⁰ On the other end of the spectrum, Sanders could claim that he “is basically in agreement with the way J. Christiaan Beker . . . views Paul’s thought,”¹¹ and that he disagrees with Räisänen “only about terminology.”¹²

Advocates of coherence attempt to explain the obscurities and tensions while holding either to one single basic concept of law or to some form of bifurcation of the concept of law. Westerholm, for instance, holds to a single basic structure, i.e., the Law is superceded and replaced by Christ and the Spirit (without any new law).¹³ Bifurcations of the concept of law may be divided into three basic categories: (1) A distinction between proper use of the Law and misuse of it; (2) an internal distinction between ceremonial and moral law, with only moral law carrying over; or (3) the replacement of the Mosaic

¹⁰Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, x.

¹¹Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 163. Sanders, like Beker, believes that “Paul held a limited number of basic convictions which, when applied to different problems, led him to say different things about the law” (ibid., 147). He criticizes Beker only for not explaining how Paul’s different answers on the Law are related (ibid., 163).

¹²Ibid., 148. In the context, Sanders is responding to Räisänen’s statement that “Paul the theologian is a less coherent and less convincing thinker than is commonly assumed.” In discussing Paul’s problem of conflicting convictions concerning salvation by faith and the irrevocability of God’s promise to Israel, Sanders appeals to an “analogy with the problem about the law, sin, and God’s will in Romans 7” and labels Paul’s solution as “a somewhat desperate expedient”: Paul in essence “hold[s] his convictions, keep[s] asserting them, and tr[ies] ever new ways to combine them” (ibid., 198; cf. 199).

¹³See Westerholm, *Israel’s Law*, 195-97; 219-22. Cf. Andrea van Dülmen, *Die Theologie des Gesetzes bei Paulus*, SBM 5 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968); and recently Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul*, 184-85; and Colin Kruse, *Paul, the Law and Justification* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996), 103-04, 298. Herein lies Lutheran thought that rejects any instructional function of the Law for Christians (note that Kruse, however, does see a paradigmatic instructional function to the Law). Alternatively, one could bifurcate the Christian, i.e., the Law applies not to the Christian as a Christian, but as a sinner.

Law with another law. There are two major lines of development to the proper versus misuse of the Law option: Dunn posits a Jewish misuse of the Law in its social function of excluding Gentiles from membership in the people of God unless they are judaized while Cranfield holds that Paul does not reject the Law itself but rather a legalistic misuse of the Law.¹⁴ Proponents of a distinction between ceremonial and moral law may justify this distinction as inherent in the Mosaic Law itself, as found in the continuity of content or pattern between the Old and New Covenants, as based on God's own unchanging righteous character, or some combination of these elements.¹⁵ The Mosaic Law may be replaced by Messianic Law, whose content is usually derived inductively from the New Testament exhortations.¹⁶

¹⁴On Dunn's view, see James D. G. Dunn, "Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 215-41, idem, "The New Perspective on Paul," 183-214, and idem, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 128-61; 334-89; esp. 354-79. On Cranfield's view, see C. E. B. Cranfield, "'The Works of the Law' in the Epistle to the Romans," *JSNT* 43 (1991): 89-101; cf. Daniel P. Fuller's *Gospel and Law: Contrast or Continuum?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), and idem, *The Unity of the Bible: Unfolding God's Plan for Humanity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992). A third, less academically credible line posits two ways of salvation for Jews and Gentiles. The Jews are saved by being faithful to their covenant and law while Gentiles are saved by the faithfulness of Christ. To impose the Law on Gentiles is thus a misuse of the Law. See esp. Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

¹⁵Herein lie the various Reformed and modified Reformed strains of interpretation. See Willem A. VanGemenen, "The Law is the Perfection of Righteousness in Jesus Christ: A Reformed Perspective"; Greg. L. Bahnsen, "The Theonomic Reformed Approach to Law and Gospel"; and Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "The Law as God's Gracious Guidance for the Promotion of Holiness," in *Five Views on Law and Gospel*, ed. W. G. Strickland (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 13-58; 93-143; and 177-99; Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment*; and Thielman, *Paul and the Law*.

¹⁶Herein lie various strains of Dispensationalism and modified Lutheranism. See Wayne G. Strickland, "The Inauguration of the Law of Christ with the Gospel of Christ: A Dispensational View"; and Douglas J. Moo, "The Law of Christ as the Fulfillment of the Law of Moses: A Modified Lutheran View," in *Five Views on Law and*

Despite differences in emphases and in the combinations of solutions propounded, advocates of consistency of all stripes are united in one conviction: Paul's statements on the Law satisfy the canons of logical consistency and can be constructed into a logically coherent system. One basic division within this group lies in whether the Mosaic Law is entirely superceded (either replaced by another law or by Christ and the Spirit, without any new law) or retained in its essentially moral aspects.

A Way Forward?

As the above paradigmatic summary shows, virtually every possible logical solution to Paul's understanding of the Law has been proposed. Moreover, the exegesis of every major Pauline text on the Law is hotly disputed. No consensus is evident or seems possible.¹⁷ The reader may ask, "Is there a way forward?"

Systematic Analysis of Whole Discourses

While the problem appears intractable and new avenues for forging forward have not been agreed upon, this author is not convinced that every potentially fruitful

Gospel, 229-315 and 319-76; and Craig A. Blaising and Darrell L. Bock, *Progressive Dispensationalism* (Wheaton: Victor, 1993), especially 194-99. New Covenant Theology, which has received no scholarly defense, is similar on this particular point. Information on this view may be found at <http://www.solagratia.org/NCT.html>; internet. Stuhlmacher's development of Gese's distinction between a Sinai Torah and a Zion Torah in the Old Testament is distinctive but comes up with similar conclusions on a Messianic Law for Paul. See Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Law as a Topic of Biblical Theology," in *Reconciliation, Law, & Righteousness: Essays in Biblical Theology*, trans. E. R. Kalin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 110-33; and Helmut Gese, "The Law," in *Essays in Biblical Theology*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 61-90.

¹⁷There is, as Koperski, notes "a growing attempt to demonstrate that Paul's view of the Law is essentially consistent" (*What Are They Saying?*, 93). The nature of these attempts varies substantially, however. A good compendium of current agreements and differences may be found in the volume *Paul and the Mosaic Law*.

avenue has been explored. In particular, surprisingly scant attention has been devoted to investigating Paul's statements on νόμος in light of an analysis of his individual epistles as whole discourses.¹⁸ Since grasping Paul's theology of the Law "is essential for understanding his soteriology, the death of Jesus, Christian ethics, the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the new community, and the continuity and discontinuity between the Testaments,"¹⁹ every effort should be made to overcome the current impasse.

One potential avenue for progress is for all interpreters involved in the debate to provide reasoned and methodologically-explicit accounts of how they understand the syntax (both micro- and macro-structures) and semantics of the relevant Pauline texts. This study will introduce an integrative model of understanding language that would form a sufficient foundation for such an endeavor. It also will showcase the rich potential of computer-assisted studies on the Greek text of the New Testament using an annotated corpus, specifically the *Opentext.org* corpus.²⁰ Practical methods of analysis will also be

¹⁸Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, and Kruse, *Paul, the Law and Justification*, do conduct their discussions letter by letter. However, their breadth of coverage precludes detailed defense and development of their exegesis and arguments.

¹⁹According to Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment*, 13.

²⁰"OpenText.org is a web-based initiative to provide annotated Greek texts and tools for their analysis. The project aims both to serve, and to collaborate with, the scholarly community. Texts are annotated with various levels of linguistic information, such as text-critical, grammatical, semantic and discourse features. Beginning with the New Testament, the project aims to construct a representative corpus of Hellenistic Greek to facilitate linguistic and literary research of these important documents. These annotated texts will be made freely available to the scholarly community on the understanding that they will in return contribute any additions or alterations made to them. Further, it is anticipated that scholars will be involved in the text annotation process and in the use and development of analytical tools. The key features of the project are: an 'open-source' approach to encourage the use and distribution of texts; the use of an XML encoding scheme to mark-up texts; texts annotated at distinct linguistic levels; an on-line tool kit to allow searching and analysis of texts; a forum to allow the

proposed as a first step towards a comprehensive account of the various features and levels of discourse. The analytical tools developed are applied to shed light on the meaning of the text of Romans, and specifically the meaning and function of νόμος in Romans, from a variety of angles. If the methods presented here yields substantial exegetical fruit, perhaps future studies could build upon or refine them towards the harvesting of even more fruit.

Outline of This Study

This study is constructed in the following manner: Chapter 2 lays the foundational framework, chapter 3 develops the practical framework for analysis, and chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 apply aspects of the practical framework for analysis—both corroborating the framework and yielding interpretational fruit. In particular, chapter 2 explains the theoretical framework of *systemic-functional linguistics (SFL)*, while chapter 3 develops a practical model for applying the theory for analyzing an expositional New Testament text (with additional support from Appendix 1, which correlates new empirical data on the Greek writings of Paul with theoretical reflection on how *prominence* [part of *textual meanings*] works in the Greek of the New Testament [especially Paul]). Then chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 apply aspects of the analytical model to study aspects of the

exchange of ideas and to respond to requests for specific searches” (accessed on 25 February 2004; available from <http://divinity.mcmaster.ca/OpenText/home.html>; Internet). This author completed the great majority of the clause and word group annotation for Romans and all of 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. For Romans, this author implemented a tentative scheme for annotating participant reference as well. On the different levels of annotation, see chapter 2. On the concept of corpus annotation, see Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “The Use of Annotated Corpora for New Testament Discourse Analysis: A Survey of Current Practice and Future Prospects,” in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results*, ed.

ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings towards the ultimate goal of shedding light on the meaning and function of νόμος.²¹ Specifically, chapter 4 illustrates the methods developed in chapter 3 and introduces the reader to the discourse of Romans through the Opening (Rom 1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (Rom 1:8-17) sections. Chapter 5 explores νόμος from the angle of patterns of *lexical repetition* (which impinges upon both the textual component of *cohesion* and the ideational component of *semantic fields*). Chapters 6, 7, and 8 examine the functional patterns of νόμος in three separate categories: νόμος as the *head term* of a *word group* (without a genitive qualifier), as a *modifier*, and as *modified* by a genitive. Chapter 9 sums up the overall findings.

This work contends that while in Romans νόμος most often refers to the Mosaic Law, the word is used more generally to refer to an entity that prescribes standards and to a controlling principle. Through a functional analysis of what νόμος does, it is possible to uncover not only both the meaning and referent of each occurrence of the word, but also to shed light on the meaning and function of the Mosaic Law and on the theme of control in Romans.

S. E. Porter and J. T. Reed, JSNTSup 170 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 71-117.

²¹In this study, a compromise was adopted with regard to the use of technical terminology. Some new technical terms are introduced, but non-technical discussion is used when possible. Some loss of precision is inevitable in this compromise, but the benefit gained in making it easier for the reader to learn the general framework was considered worth the cost. In addition, technical terms are italicized at least when first introduced in any chapter (sometimes there is more liberal use of the italics) to alert readers to their presence and cross-references to previous explanations are often provided. As for the technical terms italicized above, the explanations will be given in chapters 2 and 3.

The overall study attempts to bring grammar, exegesis, and theological synthesis into closer harmony in a step by step building of a pyramid structure. At the ground level, the effort starts with theory building—rethinking the theoretical framework of Greek grammar in terms of systemic-functional linguistics. The next level involves developing a practical analytical framework—unveiling what kinds of meaning different linguistic features of the Greek text convey and how those meanings are interwoven into a coherent message. The subsequent level concerns the application of that analytical framework to reveal the meaning and function of νόμος within what is going on in the text of Romans (i.e., the representational content), how Paul interacts with his audience (i.e., the social roles and interaction), and how the text is put together as a coherent message. With the building process ended, the conclusion offers a bird's eye view of the overall findings.

CHAPTER 2

LAYING A FOUNDATION

Introduction

This study differs radically from standard treatments of Paul and the Law. First, it does not build a wide-ranging synthesis of νόμος, “law,” across Paul’s letters. Second, the primary research involves adding linguistic information on Romans to a reusable computerized corpus to help classify, organize, and evaluate the patterns of language within Romans. Third, data from other Pauline letters are included only for the purpose of comparing grammatical patterns (see Appendix 1). Fourth, a sustained attempt is made to articulate and apply an explicit method and clearly-defined criteria for determining what counts as evidence. Fifth, old tools are adapted and new tools developed for the analysis of Romans as a discourse and νόμος in Romans from a variety of angles. All five distinctive aspects of this work stem from the overall framework for this analysis of Romans as a discourse, i.e., a Hallidayan functional grammatical model, better known as *systemic-functional linguistics* (*SFL*, see below). Both the annotation theory behind the computer-readable annotated corpus and the new tools being developed for analysis of this corpus are also undergirded by this model.

Why a Textually-Based Discourse Approach?

The reader may ask, “Why go through all the trouble described above [i.e., why use a textually-based discourse approach]?” A basic conviction underlying this

dissertation is that the study of the biblical text (or any other written text) must focus on the language of the text itself. As Porter eloquently states,

The study of the New Testament is essentially a language-based discipline. That is, the primary body of data for examination is a text, or, better, yet, a collection of many texts written in the Hellenistic variety of the Greek language of the first century CE. Whatever else may be involved in the study of the New Testament . . . to remain a study of the New Testament it must always remain textually based, since the only direct access that we have into the world of the New Testament is through the text of the Greek New Testament.¹

From this perspective, a textually-based discourse approach (rightly) places the semantics and grammar of a text at the center of its interpretation. Conversely, it may be asked if any non-textually-based interpretations of ancient texts are properly interpretations at all.

As Halliday observes,

A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to some linguistic features that are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar, like the number of words per sentence (and even the objectivity of these is often illusory); or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or as bad as another.²

The textually-based approach of discourse analysis shares and supports the concerns of traditional interpretation to understand the nature and function of the language used in a particular text, as opposed to those who demote the place of semantics and grammar in the enterprise of interpretation or find the locus of meaning elsewhere (e.g., the reader).³

¹Stanley E. Porter, "Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies: An Introductory Survey," in *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 14.

²M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), xvii.

³There are non-textually based approaches to discourse analysis. For example, critical discourse analysis (which is sometimes not textually-based) is concerned with the ways in which texts reflect and serve dominant ideologies and reinforce asymmetrical

Furthermore, such approaches advance the interests of traditional interpretation by providing both a theoretical linguistic framework justifying a text-centered interpretation and principled methods of practical inquiry. Even when such approaches end up supporting previous conclusions (often perhaps over against competing alternatives), the accumulation of evidence contributes a firmer basis for those conclusions.⁴

Moreover, the vast potential of discourse analysis is ripe for tapping to enrich mainstream New Testament studies. As this author has noted elsewhere:

The potential contributions of linguistics and its practical subfield of discourse analysis are still largely unmined [in the field of Pauline studies]. . . . Discourse analysis is a reasoned and methodologically-explicit way of giving an account for how one is understanding the syntax (both micro and macro structures) and semantics of a text. In so far as Pauline interpretation is an interpretation of texts and thus requires an analysis of the text's lexico-grammatical structure, linguistics and discourse analysis offer substantial help in establishing clarity and rigor in method and necessary controls in quantitative analysis.⁵

power relations in societies and groups. See further Porter's assessment of critical discourse analysis in Stanley E. Porter, "Is Critical Discourse Analysis Critical? An Evaluation Using Philemon as a Test Case," in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results*, ed. S. E. Porter and J. T. Reed, JSNTSup 170 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 47-70.

⁴In defending Reed's substantiation through a Hallidayan approach that the primary participants in 1 Timothy are Paul and Timothy, Porter observes, "Some may brand it as special pleading that relies upon an obscure method to defend a traditional position. This would be to miss the point of the exercise, however, since to arrive at this conclusion, a mass of evidence has been accumulated that enables that conclusion to be quantified and hence discussed on a firmer basis" ("Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies," 29-30). Moreover, Porter aptly notes, "At this stage in New Testament research . . . it might plausibly be asked whether there are many new conclusions to be found . . . or whether any interpretive model is more likely only to support or defend theories, although perhaps on different and more substantial theoretical grounds" (ibid.).

⁵Mark A. Seifrid and Randall K. J. Tan, *The Pauline Writings: An Annotated Bibliography*, IBR Bibliographies 9 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 84. Cf. J. P. Louw, "Reading a Text as Discourse," in *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Discourse Analysis*, ed. D. A. Black with K. Barnwell and S. Levinsohn (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 17-30.

Besides endeavoring to mine some of the riches that linguistics and discourse analysis offer in lexico-grammatical analysis, this study attempts to apply a consistent method and clearly-defined criteria for evidence on the basis of an integrative theory of language.

The reader may still ask, “Why would a consistent method and clearly-defined criteria for evidence be necessary?” The answer is simply that no interpreter (however well-trained a scholar he or she may be) has a native-speaker’s familiarity with the language of the New Testament. A native speaker knows how to do things with the resources of his language, e.g., how to communicate and how to accomplish different tasks in concrete social interactions using language. He also recognizes what others are doing in their use of language. Graber provides a useful analogy from sports concerning the know-how of the native speaker:

This ability, this knowing how, is not like the ability of a knowledgeable sports fan who can recognize and talk about good and bad performance, violations of the rules, etc. It is instead like the knowledge of a well-trained athlete who knows how to play the game from years of repetition, and who recognizes moves not in order to talk about them, but so as to be able to react, seemingly without effort. In this respect, the well-trained scholar is a knowledgeable fan who will never be able to play the game. Linguistics offers to the interpreter a way of acquiring explicitly at least in part what people once possessed implicitly by living in the social context of the language of the texts. To push the sports analogy further, linguistics offers the interpreter the opportunity to become an educated play-by-play analyst or commentator, describing and explaining what the producers of the text did by means of implicit knowledge and without explicit analysis.⁶

This study will attempt to illuminate aspects of how Paul conveys meaning in the text of Romans (with νόμος as the focus and test case). The end goal is to move towards a closer integration of language study, text interpretation, and theological synthesis.

⁶Philip Graber, “Context in Text: A Systemic Functional Analysis of the Parable of the Sower” (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2001), 3. Cf. the observations on interpreters’ knowledge of the language in Moisés Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 28-31.

Why Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL)?

Given that there are different models of discourse analysis, why use systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) in particular?⁷ First, this model supplies the most integrative theory of language. On the one hand, it covers both discrete grammatical forms and larger discourse functions and correlates them into an integrated whole. On the other hand, it correlates the use of particular grammatical forms to their function in the *context of situation* (see below).⁸ Second, recent work using SFL has articulated a consistent (rather than eclectic) methodology and yielded proven fruit.⁹ This dissertation stands upon the shoulders of two previous monograph-length applications of SFL to New Testament studies: J. T. Reed's *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians* and G. Martín-Asensio's *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles*.¹⁰ Numerous studies by S.

⁷At least four schools of thought may be identified: (1) The North American Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) model, which works on the principle of levels and layers of language; (2) the English and Australian Hallidayan model (i.e., SFL), which examines interconnected groupings of choices that make up the meaningful components of language; (3) the continental European model, which divides its analysis into syntax, semantics, and pragmatics and often incorporates Greco-Roman rhetorical analysis; and (4) the South African school, which isolates colons and establishes their interconnections in diagram form. See Porter, "Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies," 24-34. Porter now divides the continental European school into Continental and Scandinavian schools (Stanley E. Porter, "Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism," in *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures*, ed. S E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 168 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 86 n. 52). This study does not survey the discipline of discourse analysis as applied in the New Testament since able surveys may be found in Porter, "Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies," and many of Reed's works listed in n. 10 below.

⁸Porter, "Discourse Analysis and the New Testament," 28. Cf. Graber, "Context in Text," 3-4.

⁹Other models of discourse analysis show either methodological eclecticism or a lack of a unified theory of language. For an assessment, see Porter, "Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies," 24-34.

¹⁰Gustavo Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the*

E. Porter and M. B. O'Donnell have also laid the foundation upon which this study wishes to build.¹¹ Third, Halliday's proposed tripartite scheme, which relates the context of situation giving rise to the text and the actual semantic choices realized in the text (i.e., what meanings the writer chooses to express by means of the language he writes), shows

Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective, JSNTSup 202 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); and Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity*, JSNTSup 136 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997). Cf. J. T. Reed, "Discourse Analysis as New Testament Hermeneutic: A Retrospective and Prospective Appraisal," *JETS* 39 (1996): 223-40; idem, "Modern Linguistics and the New Testament: A Basic Guide to Theory, Terminology, and Literature," in *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. Tombs, JSNTSup 120 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 222-65; idem, "To Timothy or Not? A Discourse Analysis of 1 Timothy," in *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics: Open Questions in Current Research*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 80 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 90-118; idem, "Identifying Theme in the New Testament: Insights from Discourse Analysis," in *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 75-101; idem, "The Cohesiveness of Discourse: Towards a Model of Linguistic Criteria for Analyzing New Testament Discourse," in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results*, ed. S. E. Porter and J. T. Reed, JSNTSup 170 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 28-46; and idem, "Modern Linguistics and Historical Criticism: Using the Former for Doing the Latter," in *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 168 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 36-62.

¹¹See Stanley E. Porter, "Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism," in *Linguistics and the New Testament*, 63-92; idem, "Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Theory," and "Register in the Greek of the New Testament: Application with Reference to Mark's Gospel," in *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts: Contributions from the Social Sciences to Biblical Interpretation*, ed. M. D. Carroll R., JSNTSup 299 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 190-208, 209-29; Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers?," in *Linguistics and the New Testament*, 206-62; idem, "Designing and Compiling a Register-Balanced Corpus of Hellenistic Greek for the Purpose of Linguistic Description and Investigation," in *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics*, ed. S. E. Porter, JSNTSup 193 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 255-97; Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation in the Book of Romans: Definitions, Proposals, Data and Experiments," in *Diglossia*, 154-204; and idem, "The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics," *FN* 14 (2001): 3-41.

great promise as a powerful way of reintegrating the study of the grammar (in this case discourse grammar), meaning, function, and historical situation of the biblical text.

What Is Systemic-Functional Linguistics?

Both adjectives in the term systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) need definition.¹² At the core of a *functional* view of language is the perspective of language as *social interaction*. From this viewpoint, language is an effective means of “doing”: “language is the primary attribute of social man (‘homo grammaticus’), and the behavioral potential of a society (i.e., what it ‘can do’) is primarily realized by its linguistic potential (‘can mean’, socio-semantics), which is itself realized in the lexico-grammar (‘can say’).”¹³ In other words, a functional analysis is interested in what the speaker/writer is doing when he says/writes something. Moreover, systemic-functional linguistics is interested in how “‘form’ relates to ‘function’ and how ‘function’ relates to ‘situation.’”¹⁴ This interest is possible because the particular form of language used in any instance is seen as connected to the social function that it serves, which social function is in turn connected to the social situation that prompted that particular language use. Stated differently, what you say and how you say it (out of the potential within a

¹²As with the application of discourse analysis to the New Testament, able surveys of systemic linguistics abound. For a complete history, see Christopher S. Butler, *Systemic Linguistics: Theory and Applications* (London: Batsford Academic, 1985). Cf. the brief sketch in Graber, “Context in Text,” 4-8. On the historical evolution of discourse analysis, see Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 16-33.

¹³Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in Acts*, 35. See M. A. K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 51-53.

¹⁴Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 37. See Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, xiii-xiv.

language of what could be said and how you could say it) reflects the social function you mean it to accomplish (out of all potential behaviors within a society).

As a distinctively *systemic*-functional grammar, SFL gives priority to *paradigmatic relations*: “It interprets language not as a set of structures but as a network of *systems*, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning. . . . [S]tructure comes in as the means whereby [these options] are put into effect, or ‘realized.’”¹⁵ Defined simply, *system* refers to *paradigmatic* choices and *structure* involves *syntagmatic* choices.¹⁶ On the one hand, these paradigmatic choices involve choosing to express particular sets of meanings out of all the possible meanings in a language. On the other hand, structural choices involve choosing what particular combinations of grammatical and lexical resources to use to express the meanings chosen. One enters a system (a set of paradigmatic choices), for instance, when choosing to express the semantic (i.e., meaning) category of person (an entry condition). The semantic choices available within the system are first, second, or third person and these choices are expressed (in English) by the grammatical forms I/we, you, or he, she, it/they. As Nesbitt and Plum explain, “A system is defined as an entry condition together with a set of mutually exclusive options

¹⁵Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 15-16.

¹⁶For readers unfamiliar with basic linguistic terminology, paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices require further definition. The distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations is originally borrowed from phonological theory. It is usually applied to sense relations. For instance, in the sentence, “The woman is running well,” woman is in paradigmatic relation with man, boy, girl, etc; running with walking, jumping, driving, etc.; well with badly, fast, slowly etc. On the other hand, woman is in syntagmatic relation with the other words in the sentence (the, is, running, and well). See further Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, rev. and exp. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 119-20; and Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1989), 155-59.

or features, one of which must be selected.”¹⁷

Stated from a different angle, SFL views the whole system of language, including grammar and lexis, as a network of options that has a functional input (i.e., the set of social functions language is called upon to serve) and a structural output (i.e., the set of linguistic features that together form a text). Within this framework, grammar and lexis are not seen as fundamentally different structures for making meaning, but as meaning-making resources reflecting two ends of a continuum of paradigmatic systems. Viewed from this standpoint, grammar and lexis are merely different forms of resources that provide different sets of options for making meaning.¹⁸ Thus, system refers to the choices available to the writer in the grammar and lexicon of a language in expressing meaning.¹⁹ The systems “at the grammatical end consist of a small, finite number of feature selections, and can thus be described as *closed-systems*, while systems at the lexis

¹⁷Christopher N. Nesbitt and Guenter Plum, “Probabilities in a Systemic-Functional Grammar: The Clause Complex in English,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics*, vol. 2, *Theory and Application*, ed. R. P. Fawcett and D. Young (London: Pinter, 1988), 7. On conscious and unconscious choices, see Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and Mood*, SBG 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 7.

¹⁸As Porter and O’Donnell note, “Systemic linguistics rejects the traditional distinction between lexis (lexical semantics treated in a lexicon) and grammar (morphological patterns discussed in grammar books). Instead, systemic theory talks about the lexicogrammar of language—that is, a continuum (or cline) of paradigmatic systems, with grammar (as traditionally described) at one end and lexis at the other” (“Greek Verbal Network,” 12). Cf. M. A. K. Halliday, “Corpus Studies and Probabilistic Grammar,” in *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honor of Jan Svartvik*, ed. K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (London: Longman, 1991), 32; and idem, “Language as System and Language as Instance: The Corpus as a Theoretical Construct,” in *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82*, ed. J. Svartvik, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 65 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 63.

¹⁹See M. Berry, *An Introduction to Systemic Linguistics* (London: Batsford, 1975, 1977), 1:142-92.

end consist of numerous sub-systems (consider, for instance, how many verbs of motion there are), and are described as *open-systems*.”²⁰ Each grammatical category in a particular system is given meaning by its relationship to the other categories in the system. An example of a closed system is the semantic category of number for nouns. A noun is either singular or plural. Plurality gains its semantic value only as a choice against (or instead of) singularity. On the lexical end, the choice of each word involves its selection from a large and expandable pool of words. Specifically, the choice of each word is understood as a selection of a particular word from a group of words in the same *meaning field* (the sub-system) and that meaning field out of all the other meaning fields (the system).²¹ The making of meaning, therefore, involves a series of choices about both grammar and lexis, which together form a coherent text.

Shaping of language by social interaction. It is perhaps profitable to explore further Halliday’s proposal about the shaping of language by social interaction. As understood within the framework of systemic-functional linguistics, language functions to serve the needs of social interaction. Conversely, the set of social functions that language is called upon to serve has shaped the functions of language (the *functional components*). The particular lexico-grammatical forms of any language (i.e., both grammatical structures and lexis as well as the specific words and grammatical patterns used in the text) in turn serve to express these functions. The success of this shaping

²⁰Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 10.

²¹Meaning fields or semantic domains refer to the components of meaning shared by a group of words. Under each meaning field (and subdivisions within the field), words that are close in meaning are grouped together. On meaning fields, see J. P. Louw and E. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic*

follows from the need of language to be an effective means of “doing.” Otherwise, language would not be able to carry out the social functions it is called upon to perform.²²

The concept of *register* is founded on this understanding of the shaping of language by the needs of social interaction. Register refers to a particular set of meanings typically associated with a particular situation.²³ As Halliday elaborates, “In any social context, certain semantic resources are characteristically employed; certain sets of options are as it were ‘at risk’ in the given semiotic environment. These define the register. Considered in terms of the notion of meaning potential, the register is the range of meaning potential that is activated by the semiotic properties of the situation.”²⁴ When restated, most people would intuitively agree with this notion: different situations require different uses of language. This notion underlies the proposed relation between the context of situation and the functional components of language. What he further asserts is that there are socially-accepted configurations of language (i.e., registers as defined by the culture) that are appropriate to different types of social situations (i.e., contexts of

Domains, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), especially x-xi.

²²This formulation places the language and the typical social functions of a society within the context of culture. The context of culture includes such extra-linguistic factors as “setting, behavioural environment, language itself, including the category of genre . . . , and extra-situational factors, often referred to as frames or scenarios” (Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 198). Thus, parallel to the constraints on particular language use by the overall system of the language would be the constraints on the particular context of situation by the larger context of culture.

²³M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language as a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 38-39. Cf. M. A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), 111.

²⁴M. A. K. Halliday, *Learning How to Mean—Explorations in the Development of Language* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 126. Cf. Halliday, *Language*

situation). For example, someone turning on the radio at random in America would have little trouble figuring out if he was listening to a sports broadcast, news broadcast, or a sermon. This idea is similar to the generally-accepted notion of genre in biblical studies,²⁵ except that Halliday suggests a way forward in distinguishing how specific linguistic components are linked to the context of situation: Every text is an instance of a particular register, which is activated by a given combination of *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*.

What are the situational and linguistic components? Halliday proposes three elements of the context of situation, *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. These three elements correspond to three functional components of language (also known as “macro-functions” or “metafunctions”)—*ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*.²⁶ The first element of the

as Social Semiotic, 31-32; and Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 197-200.

²⁵Besides the discussion in standard introductory texts, see David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987).

²⁶See Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 179. As Halliday explains, the functional components were not suggested arbitrarily, instead, “This functional complementarity is built in to the basic architecture of human language. It appears in the view ‘from above’, as distinct modes of meaning—construing experience, and enacting interpersonal relationships. It appears in the view ‘from below’, since these two modes of meaning are typically expressed through different kinds of structure: experiential meanings as organic configurations of parts (like the Actor + Process + Goal structure of a clause); interpersonal meanings as prosodic patterns spread over variable domains (like the distinction between falling and rising intonation). Most clearly, however, it appears in the view ‘from round about’—that is, in the internal organization of the lexicogrammar itself. When the grammar is represented paradigmatically, as networks of interlocking systems, the networks show up like different regions of space: instead of being evenly spread across the whole, the networks form clusters, such that within one cluster there are lots of interconnections but there is rather little association between one cluster and another. This effect was apparent when the ‘Nigel grammar’ (the systemic grammar of the English clause used in the Penman text generation project) was first represented in graphic form. When it had reached a little under one thousand systems, it was printed out in network format in about thirty large ‘tiles’, which

context of situation, the *field*, is “the total event, in which the text is functioning, together with the purposive activity of the speaker or writer; it thus includes the subject-matter as one element in it.”²⁷ It may also be described by means of a question, “What is it that the [external] participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?”²⁸ Stated differently, the field involves what is going on in the context of communication. For example, a personal explanation of Paul’s letter to the Romans to an intimate friend and a seminary class lecture on Romans represent two different fields of discourse, even though the subject-matter is the same to some extent (both being on Romans). The *field* tends to constrain the choices involving *ideational* meaning.

Correspondingly, the *ideational* component “serves for the expression of ‘content’: that is, of the speaker’s experience of the real world, including the inner world of his own consciousness.”²⁹ Ideational meaning, the “representational content” of

when assembled covered one entire wall of the office. The most obvious feature was that the systems bunched into a small number of large dense patches. One such patch was made up of experiential systems; another was made up of interpersonal systems. What this meant was that the meaning potential through which we construe our experience of the world (the world around us, and also the world inside ourselves) is very highly organized; and likewise, the meaning potential through which we enact our personal and social existence is very highly organized; but between the two there is comparatively little constraint. By and large, you can put any interactional ‘spin’ on any representational content. It is this freedom, in fact, which makes both kinds of meaning possible—but only via the intercession of a third [i.e., the textual component]” (M. A. K. Halliday, “Introduction: On the ‘Architecture’ of Human Language,” in *The Collected Works of M. A. K. Halliday*, vol. 3, *On Language and Linguistics*, ed. J. Webster [New York: Continuum, 2003], 16-17).

²⁷M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, English Language Series (London: Longman, 1976), 22.

²⁸M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, “Text and Context: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective,” *Sophia Linguistica* 6 (1980): 12.

²⁹Halliday, “Language Structure and Language Function,” 143. Halliday

language, is what people usually mean when they say that a word or sentence “means.”

The structural output of ideational meaning is the *system of transitivity*, which is the means for construing the world of experience into a manageable set of *process types*.³⁰ In the grammar of the clause, a process consists of three components: “(i) the process itself; (ii) participants in the process; [and] (iii) circumstances associated with the process.”³¹

As Halliday explains, the concepts of process, participant, and circumstance are

“semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real

explains how language comes to be used to understand the world of experience thus: “When children learn their first language, they are doing two things at once: learning language, and learning *through* language. As they learn their mother tongue, they are at the same time using it as a tool for learning everything else. In this way language comes to define the nature of learning. Most obviously, perhaps, when we watch small children interacting with the objects around them we can see that they are using language to construe a theoretical model of their experience. This is language in its *experiential* function; the patterns of meaning are installed in the brain and continue to expand on a vast scale as each child, in cahoots with all those around, builds up, renovates and keeps in good repair the semiotic “reality” that provides the framework of day-to-day existence and is manifested in every moment of discourse, spoken or listened to. We should stress, I think, that the grammar is not merely annotating experience; it is *construing* experience—theorizing it, in the form that we call “understanding”. By the time the human child reaches adolescence, the grammar has not only put in place and managed a huge array of categories and relations, from the most specific to the most general, but it has also created analogies, whereby everything is both like and unlike everything else, from the most concrete to the most abstract realms of being; and whatever it has first construed in one way it has then gone on to deconstrue, and then reconstrue metaphorically in a different semiotic guise” (Halliday, “Introduction: On the ‘Architecture’ of Human Language,” 15-16).

³⁰The main process types are: (1) material (what is going on outside oneself), (2) mental (inner experience—awareness of our own states of being and reaction to our outer experience), and (3) relational (classifying and identifying one experience with other experiences). Behavioral processes border the material and mental, being outward expressions of inner workings. Verbal processes straddle the mental and relational: symbolic relationships are recognized and constructed in human consciousness. Existential processes border the relational and the material: phenomena are recognized to exist or to happen. See Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 106-07.

³¹Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 106-07.

world are represented as linguistic structures.”³² The claim is that we both understand and express our understanding of our experiences in terms of different combinations of processes, participants, and circumstances.³³

Tenor is concerned with “the cluster of socially meaningful participant relationships, both permanent attributes of the participants and role relationships that are specific to the situation, including speech roles, [i.e.,] those [role relationships] that come into being through the exchange of verbal meanings.”³⁴ To investigate the tenor, one may ask, “What kind of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?”³⁵ Basically, tenor has to do with the relationship and social interaction between the parties taking part in the communication.³⁶ For instance, a

³²Ibid., 109. A fourth component, the logical, is often classed under the ideational component. Halliday explains that this component “embodies those systems which set up logical-semantic relationships between one clausal unit and another. Grammatically, they create *clause complexes*; sequences of clauses bonded together tactically (by parataxis and/or hypotaxis) into a single complex unit, the origin of what in written language became the sentence. These systems extend the experiential power of the grammar by theorizing the connection between one quantum of experience and another” (“Introduction: On the ‘Architecture’ of Human Language,” 17). No sustained investigation of this component was made in this study. Where applicable, it was treated as part of the textual functional component. The reason for this grouping is that these logical-semantic relationships are communicated by means of organic ties (e.g., conjunctions) and lexical ties (e.g., matching or contrasting of meanings between clauses). Cf. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 88-122.

³³See also Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 206-07.

³⁴Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 143.

³⁵Halliday and Hasan, “Text and Context,” 12.

³⁶See further Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 204-05, who notes the distinction

conversation between two intimate friends and a lecture from a professor to a group of students involve different role relationships and manner of interaction: e.g., equal vs. unequal status; more personal vs. impersonal; and more interactive vs. one-sided address. The *tenor* tends to constrain the *interpersonal* choices (how the writer portrays his relationship with his readers and what he offers or demands from them).

Correspondingly, the *interpersonal* component “serves to establish and maintain social relations: for the expression of social roles, which include the communication roles created by language itself—for example the roles of questioner or respondent, which we take on by asking or answering a question; and also for getting things done, by means of the interaction between one person and another.”³⁷ In brief, language is organized as “an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience.”³⁸ Included in this component are the writer’s/speaker’s portrayal of probability, relevance, and his attitude towards the message, which are realized in the structural output of mood and certain lexical choices in Greek.³⁹ Two types of fundamental speech roles may be identified: (1) giving, and (2) demanding. Equally

between extra-linguistic and intra-linguistic relations (e.g., questioner, responder).

³⁷Halliday, “Language Structure and Language Function,” 143.

³⁸Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 68.

³⁹Halliday asserts that the construing function of language (i.e., the ideational functional component) occurs side by side with another function of language, “that of *enacting*: acting out the interpersonal encounters that are essential to our survival. These range all the way from the rapidly changing microencounters of daily life—most centrally, semiotic encounters, where we set up and maintain complex patterns of dialogue—to the more permanent institutionalized relationships that collectively constitute the social bond. This is language in its *interpersonal* function, which includes those meanings that are more onesidedly personal: expressions of attitude

fundamental are the two types of commodity being exchanged: (1) goods and services, and (2) information. Taken together, these two variables define the four primary speech functions of (1) offer, (2) command, (3) statement, and (4) question. These four speech functions are in turn matched by a set of responses: (1) accepting or rejecting an offer, (2) carrying out or refusing a command, (3) acknowledging or contradicting a statement, and (4) answering or rebuffing a question.⁴⁰

The *mode* is the function of the text in the situation. It involves not only the channel taken by the language (whether spoken or written) but also the genre of the text.

[Mode refers to] what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic and the like.⁴¹

Underlying the notion of mode is the question,

What function is language being used for, what is its specific role in the goings-on to which it is contributing? To persuade? to soothe? to sell? to control? to explain? Or just to oil the works, as in what Malinowski calls ‘phatic communion’, exemplified by the talk about the weather which merely helps the situation along?⁴²

For example, an impromptu instruction of an intimate friend on Romans would be put together and presented in a different way than a prepared formal lecture to a group of

and appraisal, pleasure and displeasure, and other emotional states” (Halliday, “Introduction: On the ‘Architecture’ of Language,” 16).

⁴⁰Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 68-69.

⁴¹Halliday and Hasan, “Text and Context,” 12. Porter suggests that “rhetoric is perhaps better considered as a part of the interpersonal semantic component” (“Dialect and Register,” 205). For differences on what to place under each component of the proposed tripartite system, see Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*, 88-90.

⁴²Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 223.

seminary students. The lecture may be written to be read aloud, presented using visual aids, and designed to hold feedback from the audience in abeyance. In contrast, the impromptu instruction between intimate friends would be more spontaneous and punctuated with ongoing questions, answers, comments, and clarifications. In written communication, the situational constraints likewise govern the way the message is put together and presented. Thus, the *mode* (the function of language in the situation) tends to constrain the *textual* choices (the way the text is put together as a message).⁴³

Correspondingly, the *textual* component “enables the speaker or writer to construct ‘texts’, or connected passages of discourse that [are] situationally relevant; and enables the listener or reader to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences.”⁴⁴ It relates an immediate linguistic context to both the surrounding linguistic context and a context of situation. It is able to tie the text at hand, linguistic context, and context of situation together because it is composed of systems concerned with organizing the clause as a message.⁴⁵ These systems weave together the ideational and interpersonal meanings and join the particular parts of the discourse with the larger discourse so that both the whole and its parts serve the particular needs of social interaction. The end result

⁴³The degree of determination of the macro-functions by the elements of the situation cannot be expressed with precision, however. Halliday’s descriptions range from “a general tendency” (ibid., 68) to “a systematic correspondence” (ibid., 116). This imprecision is one of the major criticisms of the validity of the categories of field, tenor, and mode and their correlation with semantic choice (Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*, 88).

⁴⁴M. A. K. Halliday, “Language Structure and Language Function,” in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, ed. J. Lyons (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 143.

⁴⁵As Halliday notes, “These are the systems which create coherent text—text that coheres within itself and with the context of situation; some of them, the thematic systems, are realized in English by the syntagmatic ordering of elements in the clause.

is a text that communicates a coherent message. Conversely, without the textual component, a text would be no more than a jumble of unrelated words and sentences.⁴⁶

Summary. The model explained above is conveniently summarized by Porter:

Halliday proposes three conceptual categories of analysis of the situation: field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse. These categories constitute register. . . . Register does not directly determine the specific lexico-grammatical realizations that may be used in a given utterance, but it constrains a number of semantic or functional components. These constraints do not constitute the text, but they determine it. Thus the situational factors correlate with the semantic component, which governs formal realizations. . . . [T]he semantic component of language is divided into a triadic structure as well: ideational meanings, interpersonal meanings, and textual meanings. . . . There is thus . . . a direct, realizable correlation between the situational determinants and semantic components, such that each of the situational dimensions activates a different semantic component, and these semantic components are realized in lexico-grammatical structures.⁴⁷

Theoretically, one may investigate the three elements of the context of situation by studying the three corresponding functional components.

In practice, this author found it helpful to study all three components almost simultaneously. This is because (1) the very same clauses and stretches of text typically convey ideational and interpersonal meanings simultaneously; and (2) textual meanings

Others are realized by a variety of non-structural devices described . . . under the general heading of ‘cohesion’” (“Introduction: On the ‘Architecture’ of Language,” 17).

⁴⁶The systems in the textual component basically fall under cohesion and information flow. Cohesion refers to the various ways (both grammatical and lexical) that a discourse is tied together by meaning relations. Information flow refers to the change in status of meanings in the course of a text. See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 88-121. Some texts are more cohesive than others, but a minimal degree of cohesion is needed for intelligibility. On the relevance of communication, see Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); and H. P. Grice, “Logic and Conversation,” in *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 3, *Speech Acts*, ed. P. Cole and J. Morgan (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 41-58.

⁴⁷Porter, “Register in the Greek of the New Testament,” 209.

bind together the ideational and interpersonal meanings to form a coherent message greater than the sum of its parts.⁴⁸ Table 1 depicts the relationship among the elements of situation, functional components, structural outputs, and realizations in the text.⁴⁹

Table 1. Summary of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Elements of Situation	“tends to determine”	Functional Components	Structural Outputs	Realizations in Text
Field (“what is going on”)	Register (A context-specific, function-based language variety)	Ideational	Transitivity, Semantic Fields	Actual transitivity forms and semantic fields used
Tenor (roles of external participants)		Interpersonal	Participant Structure, Mood	Actual participant and mood forms
Mode (medium and function)		Textual	Prominence, Cohesion	Prominent features, lexical cohesion
“Can Mean” (semantics)				“Can say” (lexico-grammar)

Prospects and Cautions

The theoretical foundation of this dissertation is thus founded on the systematic correspondence between the three features of the context of situation (field, tenor, and mode) and the three functional components of language (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) with their structural outputs and actual realizations in the text. Because of this

⁴⁸Halliday notes that “it is only through the encoding of semiotic interaction *as text* [i.e., the textual component] that the ideational and interpersonal components of meaning can become operational in an environment” (*Language as Social Semiotic*, 145). Elsewhere, he points out, “By and large, you can put any interactional ‘spin’ on any representational content. It is this freedom, in fact, which makes both kinds of meaning possible—but only via the intercession of a third [namely the textual component]” (“Introduction: ‘On the ‘Architecture’ of Language,” 17). Cf. Thomas Bloor and Meriel Bloor, *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 9-10.

⁴⁹Cf. Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in Acts*, 36.

correlation, it is in principle possible to work from text to context in a systematic way by studying linguistic variation and the range of choices available and used by the writer.⁵⁰

As Halliday elaborates, a text is “an instance of social meaning in a particular context of situation. We shall, therefore, expect to find the situation embodied or enshrined in the text, not piecemeal, but in a way which reflects the systematic relation between the semantic structure and the social environment.”⁵¹

The correlation of what is expressed in language and the situation behind its expression must not lead to overconfidence about the total recoverability of the context of situation.⁵² A functional analysis of the language of ancient texts such as the New Testament documents may shed light on the context of situation, but cannot usually provide a complete reconstruction. The primary strength of such an analysis lies in its ability to identify the linguistic elements contributing to each of the three functional components and to ascertain and verify the place and function of each element, i.e., it

⁵⁰Conversely, it is in principle possible to study language variation in light of the (known) context of situation. As Butler observes, “Halliday is claiming, then, that if we compare texts differing in field, the most likely differences in the meaning choices made will be those concerned with the types of process, participant, circumstance, and the like, including the lexical characterization of relevant objects, persons, and so on; while if we compare texts differing in tenor, it is more likely that the differences in meaning will be in the areas of speech role, styles of address, lexical and intonational expression of attitude, and other such interpersonal features; and if we compare texts differing in mode, the semantic differences will tend to be located in the areas of theme, information structure and cohesion” (*Systemic Linguistics*, 66-67).

⁵¹Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 141.

⁵²This reconstruction of context of situation is not unlike traditional methods of “mirror-reading.” The difference lies in the presence of an underlying linguistic framework that allows for a systematic approach to mirror-reading as tied to the different components of language and their functions. The methodological problems with mirror-reading are ably discussed in John M. G. Barclay, *Obeying the Truth: Paul’s Ethics in*

explains what a text means and why and how it means what it does.⁵³

Conclusion

In summary, an integrated framework for understanding language, a systematic method, and explicit criteria for evidence make SFL rich in potential as a hermeneutical model for biblical interpretation.⁵⁴ SFL goes beyond interpreting a text: “it is an explanation of why and how it means what it does . . . [and] how and why it is valued as it is.”⁵⁵ This explanation of why and how a text means what it does is crucial in a time of proliferation of competing (and often incompatible) interpretations. Moreover, the evidence and the method for arriving at the explanation are replicable and open to verification. A method that is systematic and quantifiable should be a welcome addition in an era of unprecedented methodological anarchy, where interpretations are not infrequently supported by vague appeals to context, ad hoc gathering of evidence and arguments, assertions based on the subjective impressions of individual interpreters, appeal to quantity or weight of human authorities, or special pleading stemming from larger theological systems of individual interpreters or interpretive traditions or groups.

Galatians (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 36-74; and especially idem, “Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case,” *JSNT* 31 (1987): 73-93.

⁵³Cf. Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in Acts*, 37.

⁵⁴It is a “hermeneutic” “because it seeks to understand the production and interpretation of New Testament texts” (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 7). Systemic-functional linguistics has, in fact, been applied to a wide variety of tasks: e.g., the analysis of both spoken and written texts, exploring the relation between language and the context of situation and of culture, and educational applications such as teaching composition, English as a second language, or foreign languages. See the thorough listing in Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, xxx.

⁵⁵Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, 328.

Why Use an Annotated Corpus?

In this study, a systemic-functional analysis is applied to an annotated *corpus* (not just the text) of Romans. On hearing the word “corpus,” the first question the reader may ask is: “What is a corpus and what is the distinction between a text and a corpus?”⁵⁶

What Is a Corpus?

A text is basically a written discourse that is considered a unit. For instance, the epistle to the Romans is a text, and so are the Gospel of John and the third epistle of John. A corpus, however, is not simply a collection of texts. A corpus “seeks to represent a language or some part of a language.”⁵⁷ Thus, a corpus consists of an intentional grouping of particular texts, according to specific criteria.⁵⁸ For example, one could collect a corpus of the sayings of Jesus or of the letters attributed to Peter. There is no reason why all the New Testament texts or any combination of the New Testament texts cannot be considered a corpus. As used here, a corpus is “a finite-sized body of machine-readable text, sampled in order to be maximally representative of the language variety

⁵⁶The discussion in this section depends heavily on O’Donnell, “The Use of Annotated Corpora,” and idem, “Designing a Register-Balanced Corpus.”

⁵⁷Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use*, Cambridge Approaches to Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 246. Cf. Michael Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis*, Language in Society (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 28-34. O’Donnell notes that the group of text that make up a corpus are “carefully selected in order to represent a specific language or sub-language” (“Designing a Register-Balanced Corpus,” 258). He explains the criteria for representativeness in *ibid.*, 258-64.

⁵⁸On corpus-formation criteria, see Biber, Conrad, and Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics*, 246-53; Tony McEnery and Andrew Wilson, *Corpus Linguistics*, ETEL (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 21-23, 149-51; and J. Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, DEL (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 13-26.

under consideration.”⁵⁹ The body of machine-readable text sampled is a representative corpus of Paul’s letters, namely Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. The focus of investigation, however, is on Romans.

Advantages of Corpus-Based Analysis

The essential characteristics of *corpus-based analysis* are as follows:

- it is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
- it utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a “corpus,” as the basis for analysis;
- it makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
- it depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.⁶⁰

These characteristics lead to at least four advantages in using a corpus-based approach in studies of language use. First, computers can handle large amounts of language and keep track of many contextual factors simultaneously.⁶¹ Second, actual language usage in the corpus (not just a theoretical construct) is the object of analysis. Third, computer-assisted analysis facilitates the accounting of the extent to which a pattern is found and of

⁵⁹McEnery and Wilson, *Corpus Linguistics*, 24. On the history and theoretical basis for corpus linguistics, see G. Leech, “The State of the Art in Corpus Linguistics,” in *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*, ed. K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (London: Longman, 1991), 8-29; and J. Svartvik, “Corpus Linguistics Comes of Age,” in *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings in Nobel Symposium 82 Stockholm, 4-8 August 1991*, ed. J. Svartvik (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 7-13.

⁶⁰Biber, Conrad, and Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics*, 4.

⁶¹“Finding patterns of use and analyzing contextual factors can present difficult methodological challenges. Because we are looking for typical patterns, analyses cannot rely on intuitions or anecdotal evidence. In many cases, humans tend to notice unusual occurrences more than typical occurrences, and therefore conclusions based on intuition can be unreliable. Furthermore, we need to analyze a large amount of language. . . . However, with a large amount of language, it is time-consuming to carry out the analyses and difficult to keep track of multiple contextual factors” (ibid., 3).

contextual factors that influence variability. Fourth, by means of the data-handling capability of computers many previously unfeasible research questions can be asked.⁶²

The Opentext.org Corpus

OpenText.org is a web-based initiative to provide annotated Greek texts and tools for their analysis. Currently, the Opentext.org corpus available for study consists of Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians, which texts have been annotated with various levels of linguistic information. The long term goal of the project is to construct a representative corpus of Hellenistic Greek (including the entire New Testament and selected Hellenistic letters of the same period) to facilitate linguistic and literary research of the New Testament documents.⁶³ Table 2 summarizes the major categories of tags for the *clause and word group level annotations*. The vertical axis of the table delineates the four basic clause level function slots. The horizontal axis of the table gives the three clauses levels. The information within the table refers to the word groups, which fit inside the clause function slots.

Table 2. Clause and Word Group Annotations

<i>Clause Level</i>	<i>Subject (S)</i>	<i>Predicate (P)</i>	<i>Complement (C)</i>	<i>Adjunct (A)</i>
<i>Primary</i>	Head Term- Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term- Modifiers	Head Term- Modifiers
<i>Secondary Unembedded</i>	Head Term- Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term- Modifiers	Head Term- Modifiers
<i>Secondary Embedded</i>	Head Term- Modifiers	Verbal Form	Head Term- Modifiers	Head Term- Modifiers

⁶²Cf. Halliday, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 64.

⁶³O’Donnell suggests a tentative corpus of Hellenistic Greek for sociolinguistic study of the language in “Designing a Register-Balanced Corpus.”

Word group level annotation model. At the *word group level*, all words are basically either *head terms* or *modifiers*. The *head term* usually refers to the nominal that all the other words in the word group modify. For this study, the question asked of the text at the word group level sometimes stops at whether a word is a head term or a modifier. For the analysis of the functional patterns of νόμος in chapters 5-8, the distinctions among the different types of modifiers become important.

Four types of *modifiers* are identified: *specifiers* (*sp*), *definers* (*df*), *qualifiers* (*ql*), and *relators* (*rl*). A *specifier* (*sp*) is a modifier that classifies or identifies the word it modifies. Common examples of specifiers are articles and prepositions. A *definer* (*df*) is a modifier that attributes features or further defines the word it modifies. Common examples of definers are adjectives (both attributive and predicate structure) and appositional words or phrases.⁶⁴ A *qualifier* (*ql*) is a modifier that in some way limits or constrains the scope of the word it modifies. Common examples of qualifiers are words in the genitive and dative case. A *relator* (*rl*) is a word specified by a preposition (i.e., the object of a preposition) that modifies another element within the word group. For example, in the word group τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον, the term ἐμέ is in a prepositional relationship with the head term πρόθυμον.

The most important contribution of the word group level annotation is that it provides a simple scheme for accounting for the function of all words. Moreover, it clarifies the picture that most words within a clause are often just modifiers to other words (the head terms). The word group annotation thus clears the way for annotating the

⁶⁴Some who are trained in traditional grammar may find the classification of predicate structure adjectives as a word group level modifier objectionable.

clause level function slots according to a simple scheme as well. In addition, the word group annotation clarifies the level of prominence of a participant or word—if the participant or word is the head term (the modified), it is usually more prominent than if it is a word group level modifier. Often the patterns with which particular words or participants modify other words and participants yield important clues as to the meaning and function of both sets of words and participants.

Clause level annotation model. At the *clause level*, only four tags are used, excluding conjunctions between clauses (marked “conj”). To aid understanding, it is helpful to consider the clause functions in terms of function slots. All word groups fit into these function slots. There are only four function slots and they are *subject (S)*, *predicate (P)*, *complement (C)*, or *adjunct (A)*. The tag *subject (S)* is used of a word group or the word groups of which something is predicated. (In traditional grammar the distinguishing term is “grammatical subject.”) All verbal forms are tagged as *predicates (P)*.⁶⁵ A *complement (C)* is a word group or the word groups that “complete” its predicate. Common complements are direct and indirect objects. An *adjunct (A)* is a word group or the word groups that modify the predicate, providing an indication of the circumstances associated with the process. Common adjuncts are prepositional and adverbial phrases. This annotation scheme reflects Halliday’s conception of the grammar of a clause (i.e., the transitivity system at the level of a clause).⁶⁶ It may be recalled that a process is seen

⁶⁵The term “predicate” covers the indicative, imperative, subjunctive, and optative finite verbal forms as well as participles and infinitives. These predicates denote diverse process types, i.e., behavioral, existential, material, mental, relational, and verbal.

⁶⁶“The verbal group specifies the types of processes, the nominal group the kinds and types of participants, and their class, quality and quantity, and the adverbial

as composed of three components: (1) the process itself; (2) the participants in the process; and (3) the circumstances associated with the process. The subjects and complements in the clause level annotation correspond to the participants in the process; the predicates correspond to the processes; and the adjuncts typically correspond to the circumstances associated with the process, though some adjuncts are peripheral participants in a process. Participants that are functioning as adjuncts are considered peripheral because, in the first instance, adjuncts are typically the least obligatory element of the Greek clause (i.e., adjuncts can often be omitted without jeopardizing the integrity of the clause as a unit conveying meaning).

The most central contribution of the clause level annotation is that it provides a simple scheme for categorizing and analyzing the elements of a clause. Not only do the clause level tags make possible the automated retrieval of the data for constituents of the Greek clause and patterns of clause constituent order (see Tables A9 and A10 in Appendix 1), but they also form the foundation for all analyses of transitivity patterns.

Clauses are also divided into three levels: (1) *primary clauses*; (2) *secondary unembedded clauses*; and (3) *secondary embedded clauses*. The majority of *primary clauses* consist of clauses with a finite verb. Also included are verbless clauses and most clauses considered dependent clauses in traditional grammar (including ἵνα, ὅτι, ὅτε, and ὅταν clauses). This classification results from relaxing the traditional distinctions of independent and subordinate clauses (see the section “Statistics on Mood” in Appendix 1). In practice only relative clauses and the protases of conditionals (i.e., the “if” clause)

group . . . the types of circumstances” (Porter, “Dialect and Register,” 207).

are consistently retained as *secondary unembedded clauses*.⁶⁷ The majority of *secondary embedded clauses* are participial and infinitival clauses. This situation results from the annotation of all participles and infinitives as predicates, just like finite verbs. Because the predicate is regarded as the typical core component of Greek clauses (see “Statistics on Clause Order Patterns” in Appendix 1), a participle or infinitive is seen as implicitly constituting a clause on its own. At the same time, most participial and infinitival clauses are embedded as one of the components of a primary clause. In such cases, the participial or infinitival clause is considered to have been *rank-shifted* to fill the slot of subject, complement, or, most commonly, adjunct in the clause in which it is embedded.⁶⁸

Participant reference annotation model. The *participant reference* annotation is a third level of annotation, which has been applied only to Romans. The model is tentative. Because the clause level annotation analyzes every element at that level as a process, a participant, or a circumstance, by definition anything that is not a process or a circumstance is a participant. Technically, then, all entities (animate or inanimate) as well as abstracts that are involved in a process (whether as Subject, Complement, or Adjunct) are participants in a process. In the tentative annotation applied

⁶⁷The clauses classified under secondary unembedded and secondary embedded clauses are not well-defined at this stage of the Opentext.org project. For this reason, most of this study either makes no distinction of clause levels or focuses on primary clauses. When they are taken into account, secondary unembedded and secondary embedded clauses will often be considered together.

⁶⁸*Rank-shifting* refers to the embedding of a linguistic element to a level of grammar lower than the typical level at which it functions. For instance, a nominal group typically functions as a subject or complement at the clause level. When used in apposition to another nominal, it is rank-shifted to the level of the word group to further define the nominal it modifies. See further Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 188.

to Romans, the annotation of participants was intentionally limited. Animate beings, whether they occur just one time or are frequent in occurrence, were automatically annotated as participants in the discourse. Some non-animate entities were annotated as participants in the discourse if (1) they occurred frequently; and (2) in at least one of the occurrences they act upon animate beings. This more limited annotation was considered possibly more illuminating on beings and entities that may be significant Actors or Goals in the processes over the course of the discourse. For example, in processes of doing, both the Actor/Agent and the Goal/Object of the action are participants: e.g., “God [Actor] delivered them [Goal] up” (παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός). A conceptual distinction may be made between the *external participants* and the other participants in the text. The *external participants* refer to the writer and his audience (in this case Paul and the Roman believers). In the study of interpersonal meanings, the interaction between the external participants draws the main attention. In the analysis of transitivity patterns, however, external participants and other participants belong on the same playing field. The other entities annotated as participants in the text include other animate beings like God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Gentiles, human beings, the Jew, David, and Abraham and non-animate beings that act upon animate beings, such as sin, law, death, and grace.

All participants are annotated as (1) *grammatical (G)*; (2) *reduced (R)*; or (3) *implied (I)*. An instance of a participant is tagged as *grammatical (G)* when a proper name or another nominal is used. An instance of a participant is regarded as *reduced (R)* if the pronoun or an article is used to stand in place of a nominal. When the verbal suffixes mark a participant’s continued status as the grammatical subject of a process, the instance is annotated as *implied (I)*.

Semantic fields annotation. The base text used for annotation already has the parsing information and *semantic domain* tags embedded in the existing databases of the Greek New Testament used by standard Bible software like Gramcord, Bibleworks, and Logos.⁶⁹ One major difference with the Opentext.org corpus is that the semantic domains information may be searched in combination with the other levels of annotation. The meaning fields for any clause or word group pattern or element may be examined.

Advantages of the Opentext.org Corpus

The advantages that the OpenText.org corpus brings to text analysis are considerable. First, the annotation of all words into word groups and all clauses into processes, participants, and circumstances contribute comprehensive grammatical information on word group and clause structures previously unavailable in word-based software and existing reference grammars. For example, the annotation facilitated the clause constituent and clause order pattern analyses in Appendix I. In addition, a consistent framework for analyzing who causes what to/for whom is provided, which analysis may be partially aided by computerized searches because of the existing annotation information. Second, the marking of participant reference type facilitates the systematic and thorough tracing of participant roles and interactions throughout

⁶⁹The semantic domains and subdomains in the Louw-Nida lexicon involve classifying words into groupings on the basis of shared and distinctive meanings. The three major classes of semantic features are shared, distinctive, and supplementary: “The shared features are those elements of meaning of lexical items which are held in common by a set of lexical item. The distinctive features are those which separate meanings one from another, and the supplementary features are those which may be relevant in certain contexts or may play primarily a connotative or associative role” (ibid., vi).

Romans.⁷⁰ This investigation is powerfully assisted by the clause and word group annotations, which by themselves provide some (though not all) basic information on possible participant roles and relations. Third, since the annotation of each word by the domain numbers of the Louw-Nida lexicon is searchable, the database enables one to conduct a systematic and thorough tracing of the semantic domains and relations of all words in Romans. Instead of simply studying a single word in all its occurrences or only in relation to its semantic field, one can analyze entire semantic domains as they are lexicalized in the letter of Romans.⁷¹ Since individual semantic domains contain words within the same general conceptual domain, such semantic field study should provide a better starting point than traditional word studies for tracing concepts throughout the letter.⁷² Fourth, the range of possible investigation can be greatly enhanced by the

^{70c}Analysis of the person structure over the whole of the book would offer insights into some of the notoriously problematic passages, as well as offering general insight into the developing argument of Romans. [This is because this] . . . interpersonal structure is what creates much of the argumentative force of the text, as various relationships are established, and made prominent through various discourse means (such as mood, word order and voice)” (Porter and O’Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation,” 181).

⁷¹Porter and O’Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation in Romans,” 160: “Analysing entire semantic domains as they are lexicalized across a corpus, or even corpora, seems to be the way forward in lexical study.” Such analysis should refine and complement studies on “law” and “works of law” such as Michael Winger, *By What Law? The Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul*, SBLDS 128 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); idem, “Meaning and Law,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 105-10; Hilary B. P. Mijoga, *The Pauline Notion of Deeds of the Law* (San Francisco: International Scholars, 1999); and Douglas J. Moo, “Law, ‘Works of the Law,’ and Legalism in Paul,” *WTJ* 45 (1983): 73-100.

⁷²For instance, on the basis that Romans 5-8, which contains the highest cluster of words from domain 23 (physiological processes and states), comes after two chapters (3 and 4) containing the highest concentration of words from domain 31 (hold a view, believe, trust), “one might suggest that chs. 3-8 of Romans move from a discussion of belief (and unbelief) to a focus on physical (biological) states, that is, life and death”

combining of the capabilities of all these levels of annotation. For example, a semantic study could be restricted to the processes (verbal predicates), even to processes occurring in a particular type of clause structure (e.g., verb initial). Alternatively, one could study the semantic domains (and subdomains) involved in the descriptions of a particular major participant, even isolating the occurrences to a particular type of clause structure (e.g., subject initial, with the participant in the subject slot). The variations of possible searches are virtually unlimited and can be tailored to the investigation of both particular lexical or grammatical features and specific themes in the text. Fifth, patterns of language can be compared across a larger corpus of writings by applying the same annotation model. As an initial step towards building a representative corpus, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians were annotated in addition to Romans for the purpose of comparing grammatical features (see Appendix 1).

This dissertation actually makes use of only a small portion of the vast potential of corpus-based linguistics. This limitation results from two sources. First, the corpus of investigation consists primarily of the Greek text of Romans. 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians are examined largely for comparative purposes (especially on grammatical features). Second, the focus of this study is to shed light on a particular interpretational issue, namely νόμος (“law”) in Romans. Third, the Opentext.org annotation is still perhaps two years from reaching its

(Porter and O’Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation,” 163-64). Abuses of word studies and misidentifications of concepts with specific words still abounds in biblical studies four decades after the trenchant criticisms of James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). Cf. Stanley E. Porter, “Problems in the Language of the Bible: Misunderstandings that Continue to Plague

full potential. Both the computerized searches and outputs and the corpus are still in the process of development. While both theoretical reflection and new empirical data were offered on the textual phenomenon of prominence (see Appendix 1), new wide-ranging insights into the lexical-grammatical system of Greek await discovery when a more representative corpus has been annotated (consisting of at least the New Testament, and preferably including other representative Hellenistic Greek writings).⁷³ Linguistically-based analysis of the context of situation (register analysis) also would become possible with such a corpus by comparing the language of different texts or groups of texts.⁷⁴ The foundation for such analysis is that we use different varieties of language (known as registers) in different situations.⁷⁵ Especially within a SFL framework, the key premise correlating the context of situation (field, tenor, and mode) with language use (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) allows for both investigating language variation in light of the known situation of context and the converse of investigating the context of situation in

Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Nature of Religious Language: A Colloquium*, ed. S. E. Porter (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 20-46.

⁷³On the theory behind a corpus of text representative of Hellenistic Greek, see O’Donnell, “The Use of Annotated Corpora.”

⁷⁴See the pioneering work of Porter, “The Functional Distribution of Koine Greek,” in *Diglossia*, 61-72, idem, “Dialect and Register in the Greek of the New Testament” and “Register in the Greek of the New Testament,” in *Rethinking Contexts, Rereading Texts*, 190-208, 209-29. Porter makes a crucial distinction between register and genre: Genre, which reflects generic structure associated with conventional literary patterns, belongs as part of the context of culture (“Dialect and Register in the Greek New Testament,” 202).

⁷⁵As Biber, Conrad, and Reppen note, “Many times each day we use different varieties of language as we participate in different situations—from talking to a family member, to reading a newspaper, to writing a letter to a friend, to reading an academic article. The varieties of language that we use in different situations are referred to as

light of language variation.⁷⁶ For instance, on the Hallidayan thesis that texts differing in field would most likely exhibit differences in types of process, participant, and circumstance, one may be able to identify patterns of such differences that are characteristic of a number of different registers. A text of unknown register may then be classified by determining its affiliations in terms of types of process, participants, and circumstances to texts of known register. The same applies to tenor (differences in speech role, style of address, expression of attitude, etc.) and mode (differences in how the text is put together as a message).

What about Other Approaches?

While this author is obviously enthusiastic about the potential of a systemic-functional approach to discourse analysis, it would be foolhardy to ignore the contributions of other recent approaches as well as more traditional historical-critical and exegetical studies. Besides traditional commentaries and exegetical studies on Romans and standard works on Paul and the Law (with particular focus on Romans), this study will interact with representational work from *epistolary studies*, *rhetorical criticism*, *oral patterning*, and *the purpose of Romans* as dialogue partners to corroborate, correct, and refine the preliminary results of discourse analysis.

registers, and describing the characteristics of these registers is an important area of study” (*Corpus Linguistics*, 2).

⁷⁶As Porter observes, “Rather than requiring full knowledge of the context of situation before being able to appreciate the linguistic issues at play, . . . Hallidayan register encourages, on the basis of analysis of the semantic components, the reconstruction in linguistic terms of the major features of the context of situation” (“The Functional Distribution of Koine Greek,” 61).

Instead of attempting an ill-advised amalgamation of discourse analysis, rhetorical criticism, and epistolary studies, however, only certain components of epistolary studies, rhetorical criticism, and oral patterning studies will be used to refine the analysis and results.⁷⁷ In this author's judgment, these disciplines cannot be *combined* as disciplines, but *elements from* each discipline may have heuristic value within the framework of discourse analysis.

Epistolary studies as a discipline has made two major contributions to Pauline studies: (1) It has demonstrated that Paul's letters should be treated as genuine letters, which in turn casts suspicion on forms of rhetorical criticism that downplay or ignore their epistolary character; and (2) it has shed light on the opening, thanksgiving, and closing sections of Paul's letters as well as on certain transition formulae and subforms commonly embedded in ancient letters. On the structure of Romans, insights from the epistolary work of Reed, and Jervis in particular will be taken into account.⁷⁸

Rhetorical criticism has made two major contributions to Pauline studies: (1) It has brought renewed focus on investigation of the Pauline writings as persuasive

⁷⁷For annotated bibliography on these various methods, see Seifrid and Tan, *The Pauline Writings*, chap. 11. Porter's critique of uncritical attempts to integrate discourse analysis and rhetorical criticism are particularly devastating. See Stanley E. Porter, "Ancient Rhetorical Analysis and Discourse Analysis of the Pauline Corpus," in *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference*, ed. S. E. Porter and T. H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 146 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 249-74. Cf. Porter's "Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism."

⁷⁸Jervis studies the opening and closing frame of the letter. Reed has made a significant contribution in critically assessing and integrating other work on epistolography that sheds light on the epistolary structure of Philippians (including transition formula and epistolary subforms within the letter). See L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation*, JSNTSup 55 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); and Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 153-295.

communication; and (2) it has shed light on Paul's persuasive style, i.e., how Paul uses rhetorical devices to enhance communication and to impact the persuasiveness of his argumentation. The present state of the evidence indicates that full-scale rhetorical analysis of the Pauline writings in terms of ancient Greco-Roman rhetoric is theoretically ill-justified. The Greco-Roman handbooks give no precedent for systematically analyzing epistles in formal rhetorical categories.⁷⁹ Even more importantly, attempts to analyze entire letters of Paul in terms of the structure of deliberative, epideictic, or forensic speeches are simply an imposition of an alien genre. Paul's letters are, after all, genuine letters with an epistolary structure and not mere speeches. Furthermore, his purpose, communicative content, audience, and setting do not exactly parallel the purpose, communicative content, audience, and setting of the three categories of speeches that the Greco-Roman handbooks discuss. On the other hand, rhetorical studies yield fruitful insight into the rhetorical devices that Paul uses, which will be consulted in this work.⁸⁰

On the closing frame, see Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, JSNTSup 101 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).

⁷⁹See Stanley E. Porter, "The Theoretical Justification for Application of Rhetorical Categories to Pauline Epistolary Literature," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. S. E. Porter and T. H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 90 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 100-22; J. T. Reed, "Using Ancient Rhetorical Categories to Interpret Paul's Letters: A Question of Genre," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 292-324; R. D. Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, rev. ed., CBET 18 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1999); P. H. Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians: Assessing an Approach to Paul's Epistles*, SNTSMS 101 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter Writer: His World, His Options, His Skills* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), 65-86.

⁸⁰See Johann D. Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles: Rhetoric and Situation in Romans 9-11*, SBLDS 176 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); and Kieren J. O'Mahony, *Pauline Persuasion: A Sounding in 2 Corinthians 8-9*, JSNTSup 199 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). O'Mahony helpfully points out the need in rhetorical analysis to reverse the stages for the construction of a speech and work first

Study into *oral patterning* in the New Testament Scriptures is still in its infancy stages. John Harvey, however, has contributed a pioneering volume on oral patterning in Paul's letters. In particular, Harvey's study of eight rhetorical devices in Paul—chiasmus, inversion, alternation, inclusion, ring-composition, word-chain, refrain, and concentric symmetry—provides a useful dialogue partner in the identification of discourse boundaries in Romans.⁸¹ The assistance from rhetorical criticism and oral patterning studies is valuable because while discourse analysis would by itself uncover the data treated by these studies, without prior alertness to patterns of usage peculiar to Hellenistic Greek, one may fail to interpret the data adequately. In other words, such studies may provide some hypotheses for testing in terms of corpus linguistics.

As the brief survey of the broad range of studies that have been done on Romans above indicates, the range of methods and issues that this study potentially interacts with is rather substantial.⁸² To remain focused on developing and demonstrating

with the surface phenomena (*ibid.*, esp. 35-48). This study will not follow the lead of some (e.g., the Scandinavian school of discourse analysis) in attempting to integrate discourse analysis and rhetorical criticism. For an accessible model of the Scandinavian attempt, see Bruce C. Johanson, *To All the Brethren: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to 1 Thessalonians*, ConBNT, 16 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1987). For evaluation of such efforts, see Porter, "Linguistics and Rhetorical Criticism," 85-90.

⁸¹John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, ETS Studies (Grand Rapids: Baker/Leicester: Apollos, 1998). Pages 119-54 are devoted to Romans. Also helpful, but on a more limited scale, is Casey Wayne Davis, *Oral Biblical Criticism: The Influence of the Principles of Orality on the Literary Structure of Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, JSNTSup 172 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), and *idem*, "Oral Biblical Criticism: Raw Data in Philippians" in *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 168 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 96-124.

⁸²Works on the purpose of Romans were found helpful in considering larger discourse meanings. See James C. Miller, *The Obedience of Faith, the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans*, SBLDS 177 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical

how a systemic-functional approach would approach the study of a New Testament book like Romans and to make the best test case out of this attempt to shed light on νόμος in Romans, interaction with other studies was intentionally restricted. It is hoped, however, that the representational interaction that is included will fairly represent the views and contributions of those studies.

Conclusion

This chapter was designed to accomplish two purposes. On the one hand, it explains the reasons for adopting the overall framework that was chosen. On the other hand, it explains the overall framework. The framework is a textually-based discourse analysis, specifically systemic-functional linguistics (SFL). The material analyzed is the annotated corpus of the Greek New Testament from the Opentext.org project. In the course of the discussion, the concepts involved in “systemic-functional linguistics” and an annotated “corpus” as well as the basic models for the word group, clause, and participant reference annotations in the Opentext.org project were explained. As the foundational research for this dissertation and as a contribution to the Opentext.org project, this author personally annotated almost the entire corpus that is analyzed in this dissertation (i.e., most of Romans and all of 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians). Secondary literature using other methods (e.g., epistolary studies, rhetorical criticism, oral patterning, and traditional historical-critical

Literature, 2000); and Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans*. Cf. A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991). The entire debate up to 1991 is surveyed in Karl P. Donfried, ed., *The Romans Debate*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991).

studies, including work on the purpose of Romans) were consulted as dialogue partners, but not incorporated as part of the theoretical and practical framework of this dissertation.

In any given text, the three functional components—ideational, interpersonal, and textual—are interwoven in the patterns of words and grammar used.⁸³ While in the early stages of research and writing, this author experimented with different approaches to investigation and discussion of the data. In the end, it was found that unveiling how the interpersonal and ideational meanings are intertwined by the textual meanings into a coherent text was the most effective way for initial presentation. Thus chapter 3 begins with a discussion of how the three functional components of meaning are investigated and then proceeds with an overview of Romans. Part of the theory and empirical evidence for the way textual meanings is analyzed (i.e., the chapter on distributional statistics, markedness, and prominence) was moved to Appendix 1 for the interest of getting the reader to the application of the theory to text analysis sooner. The practical model for text analysis explicated in chapter 3 is then applied in different ways in chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 to investigate the meaning and function of νόμος from various angles.

⁸³H. Boers, for example, seems to misunderstand Halliday in finding alternating sections of text that are interpersonal and ideational (*The Justification of the Gentiles: Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans* [Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson, 1994], 65).

CHAPTER 3

“HOW TO STUDY A TEXT AND WHAT TO STUDY”: A PRACTICAL MODEL FOR TEXT ANALYSIS

Introduction

How do we study a text? What is it in a text that we need to study to decipher its message? This chapter attempts to answer these two questions from the perspective of *systemic-functional linguistics*.¹ It begins by instructing readers on what to study in a text and how to study it. Then a partial overview of Romans from a top-down perspective (i.e., macro-structures) serves as a preview to Paul’s own introduction (illustrative analysis of Romans 1:1-7 and 1:8-17) and the analysis of νόμος in subsequent chapters.

What Do We Study in a Text?

From the standpoint of systemic-functional linguistics, the answer to the question, “What is it in a text that we need to study to decipher its message?” is clear: The overall meaning of the text is conveyed by three functional components of meaning (explicated in chap. 2). Therefore, analyze those functional components and the meaning(s) will be discovered. Given that Greek is obviously a different language system from English, adjustments to the particular description originally applied to English by Halliday are necessary. Nevertheless, the basic approach still applies: the interpreter

¹The reader may prefer other perspectives and methods. The justification for using a systemic-functional approach was presented in chap. 1 and will not be repeated here. Cf. chap. 1 and esp. the section “What Is Systemic-Functional Linguistics?”

explores ideational meanings (“What picture of reality does the writer represent?”), interpersonal meanings (“What does the writer offer or demand from his readers?”), and textual meanings (“What message does the writer wish to convey by joining together that picture of reality and interaction with his readers?”).

How Do We Study a Text?

Strictly speaking, a complete analysis of any text requires exhaustive examination of every linguistic feature for ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings. For ideational meanings, it would involve a complete tracing of processes, participants, and circumstances expressed in all clauses in the text to wholly reconstruct the portrait of reality represented therein.² For interpersonal meanings, it would involve a comprehensive study of the roles and interactions among all the participants in the text to uncover all the social relations predicated and social exchanges performed therein. For textual meanings, it would be inclusive of all linguistic elements that tie different parts of the text together as a cohesive (and coherent) whole and advance, highlight, or support the themes to unravel how the text is put together as a message. With a machine-readable corpus and computer-assisted analysis of that corpus, a substantial portion of the work described above became achievable for this study (see “Why Use an Annotated Corpus?” in chap. 2). This author’s investment of time and effort began with annotating the corpus, along with participation in the development and refinement of the model of annotation along the way. Then, different computerized searches and perspectives of viewing the annotated data were devised and implemented. Nevertheless, the annotation database is

²The process is typically realized by a verbal group; the participant in a process by a nominal group; and circumstances by an adverbial or prepositional group.

still perhaps two years away from reaching its full potential.³ Therefore, significant limits had to be placed upon the extent of coverage aimed for in this study.

Studying Ideational Meanings

Three complementary approaches will be taken to study ideational meanings in relation to νόμος in Romans. For the sake of convenience, they shall be labeled *semantic field analysis*, *transitivity analysis*, and *semantic weight analysis*.

Semantic field analysis. One angle for analyzing ideational meanings is the meanings of words. Rather than concentrate on individual words, however, this study explores how fields of meaning are used in Romans. When words are examined, they are not studied primarily as individual lexical items, but more in terms of their fields of meaning. This kind of investigation, called a *semantic field analysis*, involves “an interplay between the conceptual domains and the individual lexical items that fall within those domains.”⁴ Words and semantic fields are explored both in terms of how they relate to Hellenistic Greek as a language system (i.e., *paradigmatic* discourse context) and how they fit into the discourse of Romans (i.e., the *syntagmatic* discourse context), which is an instance of that system. To expedite this work, the starting point was the semantic domains annotation embedded in the base text used by the Opentext.org project. The Louw-Nida lexicon and its classifications of semantic domains was thus the foundation

³The annotation model was devised by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell. The implementation of the computerized searches and displays became possible through O’Donnell’s expertise and efforts. The annotation model and the capabilities of the annotation database are still being developed and refined.

⁴M. A. K. Halliday, “Language Structure and Language Function,” in *New Horizons in Linguistics*, ed. J. Lyons (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 160.

for exploring the system of lexical meanings (i.e., the paradigmatic investigation).⁵ This author's interpretation of the text of Romans (i.e., syntagmatic study of the discourse) and previous studies and interpretations (i.e., the perspectives of other interpreters on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic contexts) guided choices on where individual words fit as instances of usage of that lexical system.⁶ Where appropriate, certain words in Romans were classed under or linked with different, though related, domains from what is found in the Louw-Nida lexicon on the basis of syntagmatic study of the text.⁷

Besides conducting overviews of how the meaning fields are deployed throughout the discourse of Romans, individual units of text were explored in terms of

⁵While the Louw-Nida lexicon has its imperfections, it is, nevertheless, a major accomplishment in lexicography. See Stanley E. Porter, *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, SBG 6 (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 69-73; and D. A. Black, review of *Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *FN* 1 (1988): 217-18. For a critical analysis of the lexicon, see J. Lee, "The United Bible Societies' Lexicon and Its Analysis of Meaning," *FN* 5 (1992): 167-89. For Louw's response, see J. P. Louw, "The Analysis of Meaning in Lexicography," *FN* 6 (1993): 139-48. For details on the theory of lexicography reflected in the lexicon, see J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*, SBLRBS 25 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); and J. P. Louw, "How Do Words Mean—If They Do?," *FN* 4 (1991): 125-42.

⁶The semantic chains are generally classified as (a) objects or entities (domains 1-12); (b) events or processes (13-57); (c) abstracts (58-88); and (d) discourse referentials (92-93). The semantic domains annotation that came with the base text simply records all possible domains for each word as cataloged in the Louw-Nida lexicon. For Romans, this author manually checked all occurrences and selected the classifications for each word, choosing the predominant one within the discourse where multiple domain classifications were involved.

⁷This method follows Reed's development of the idea that there are semantic chains in a discourse (Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity*, JSNTSup 136 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 297-331; cf. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation in the Book of Romans: Definitions, Proposals, Data and Experiments," in *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, JSNTSup 193 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 158-64).

the relationship of meaning fields among one another within those units (illustrated by Rom 1:1-7 and 1:8-17). The underlying assumption is that common fields and subfields of meaning in a text “point the focus of the subject matter in a particular direction.”⁸

Transitivity analysis. While exploring the meaning fields within a discourse is a good starting point, fuller exploration must take into account the system of *transitivity* since an author’s exploitation of fields of meaning is often not restricted to the same word class (another noun, an adjective, a verb, word groups, or even clauses could be linked to a previous noun in meaning field), let alone the same word. This study will examine how the three basic elements of process structures—the process itself, the participants in the process, and the circumstances associated with the process—are used (i.e., the transitivity patterns), with primary attention to the former two.⁹ Halliday distinguishes six process types. The three main process types are: (1) material (i.e., what is going on outside oneself), (2) mental (i.e, inner experience—awareness of our own states of being and reaction to our outer experience), and (3) relational (i.e., classifying and identifying one experience with other experiences). Stated differently, material processes basically involve a participant (the Actor/Agent) doing something to another participant (the Goa/Object). Mental processes involve the human senses—perception, affection, and cognition. Relational processes relate two terms in a variety of ways (similar to how the verb “to be” is used in English). The other three process types are located at the boundaries between the main process types. Behavioral processes border

⁸Porter and O’Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation,” 159.

⁹On the concept of transitivity in SFL, cf. “What are the situational and linguistic components?” in chap. 1 and “The Problem of Voice” in Appendix 1.

the material and mental, being outward expressions of inner workings. Verbal processes straddle the mental and relational: symbolic relationships are recognized and constructed in human consciousness. Existential processes border the relational and the material: phenomena are recognized to exist or to happen.¹⁰

This study will often collapse the distinctions by asking the fundamental question, “Who is causing what to/for whom?” Since the clause level annotation of the Opentext.org model already tags all three basic elements of the process structure, a substantial portion of the systematic implementation of transitivity analysis in this study was computer-assisted.¹¹ Even when not explicitly appealed to, this transitivity analysis informs the interpretation of every clause of the discourse of Romans.¹² The fundamental reason for relying so heavily on the transitivity patterns is that they convey Paul’s portrayal of the world of events and experience in the text.

Semantic weight analysis. In this author’s opinion, besides its cohesive function (i.e., tying different sections of texts together), lexical cohesion also contributes

¹⁰M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 106-75. Cf. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 62-69.

¹¹As noted in the section “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 1, the Subjects and Complements correspond to the participants in the process; the Predicates correspond to the processes; and the Adjuncts typically correspond to the circumstances associated with the process (though some Adjuncts are peripheral participants in the process).

¹²Because the annotations were designed for computer storage and online display on the internet without the constraints of space and extent associated with a printed format, it does not fit within the bounds of a printed page. Extensive efforts to convert the annotations into a satisfactory format for inclusion as an Appendix in this study have thus far failed. The reader may refer to one of the displays for the annotation at the website <http://divinity.mcmaster.ca/OpenText/romans/chapterx> (where x stands for the chapter number desired). The account given in “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 1 should be a sufficient guide on how to read the display (provided one knows Greek).

to the meaning of the discourse in terms of semantic markedness. From the standpoint of semantic weight, a word or meaning field that occurs frequently within a connected section of text (whether a local unit or stretching across the entire discourse) is marked and likely a prominent meaning field (roughly related to traditional notions of “important theme”). If the words involved refer to a participant in the text, that participant is marked and likely a prominent participant.¹³ Furthermore, words or participants that receive heavy semantic modification fall under suspicion as highlighted as well. The reason is that a head term’s contribution to the meaning of the clause and levels beyond the clause is that much heavier if it is modified heavily. Therefore, the arsenal of analytical tools was expanded to include the analysis of frequently-occurring meaning fields and of heavily-modified head terms.¹⁴ Note that when words or meaning fields are involved, these two criteria principally unveil ideational meanings; when participants are involved, role relationships and hence interpersonal meanings are mainly uncovered.

Studying Interpersonal Meanings

The study of interpersonal meanings shares a concern with rhetorical criticism: it seeks to answer the question, “What kind of effect was [the text] intended to achieve

¹³The term prominent is being extended to words, meaning fields, and participants here on the premise that since both grammar and lexis are on the same continuum of resources for making meaning, words and meaning fields can also be marked in opposition to the other words and meaning fields within a discourse. The usual criteria of distributional frequency would be reversed in this case—the more frequent word, meaning field, or participant is prominent over against the less frequent ones. On distributional frequency, markedness, and prominence, see Appendix 1.

¹⁴In analyzing the opening of Romans, the prominent component of meaning was found to be interpersonal and thus the focus of study ended up being on expressed participant roles and the relations among the participants. These two criteria were formulated during the process of analysis.

and what does this tell us about the situation?”¹⁵ Specifically, interpreters can learn how Paul interacts with his readers by scrutinizing the interpersonal meanings he inscribed in the text. In doing so, one unveils Paul’s rhetorical aims and the social roles and social interactions underlying and communicated through the letter.¹⁶ A study of *tenor* (see the section “What are the situational and linguistic components” in chap. 2) through interpersonal meanings also shares some of the concerns of literary approaches to the problem of the reader. The portrait of the inscribed readers derived from interpersonal meanings corresponds to the encoded explicit reader in literary approaches.¹⁷ For Greek, the analysis mainly involves the modality of the verb and the participant structure, i.e., the realization of person (first, second, and third), and what roles the external participants

¹⁵The question originated from Klaus Berger, “Rhetorical Criticism, New Form Criticism, and New Testament Hermeneutics,” in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. S. E. Porter and T. H. Olbricht, JSNTSup 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 392.

¹⁶“The interpersonal meanings are informative of how Paul interacts with his readers in the world of the text” (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 347). “The situation as envisioned by the author is more important for understanding the message, than are the ‘actual’ historical circumstances. This implicit view can be perceived from the text” (Lauri Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law*, WUNT 124 [Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 2000], 99). There is no chasm between the situation inscribed in the text and the actual historical circumstances, however. For instance, “We may assume that the epithets applied to a community, especially when unaccompanied by explanation or apology, correspond at least in some measure with the understanding with which that community has of itself” (T. J. Deidun, *New Covenant Morality in Paul*, AnBib 89 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981], 3).

¹⁷The three basic categories compatible with a wide range of literary approaches are the empirical reader, the encoded explicit reader, and the encoded implicit reader. The empirical reader refers to actual readers like the Roman Christians and interpreters like you and me. The encoded explicit reader refers to the audience explicitly inscribed in the text. The encoded implicit reader refers to the audience with all the knowledge necessary to fully understand the text—similar to the idea of the ideal reader. See Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 21.

(i.e., Paul and his audience) play in the discourse.¹⁸

Explicit social designations. In this author’s opinion, the clearest indication of interpersonal meanings may be found in the *explicit social designation* of roles and relations between the external participants. While in one sense the meanings conveyed by these designations belong under ideational meanings (i.e., as part of the representation of the world), the same meanings embody the relational foundation for the social exchange.¹⁹ Moreover, the opening formula of Hellenistic letters appears to set the social and interpersonal context for those letters.²⁰ Therefore, there will be extensive discussion of explicit social designations, especially in the Opening section of Romans.²¹

¹⁸Besides explicit labels like “all the gentiles, including you yourselves” (Rom 1:5), the encoded explicit reader includes “direct address of the audience in the second person plural and direct reference in the first person plural as well as the expression ‘brothers’” (Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 21).

¹⁹The Subject specifies the entity in the clause “in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition” (Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 76). As Reed notes, “In exchanges of information, the subject is the entity with respect to whom the statement is claimed to have validity. . . . [In] exchanges of goods-and-services the subject specifies the entity *responsible* for the success of the proposal. In the command μή ζήτει γυναῖκα (1 Cor. 7.27), the person being addressed (the unmarried man) is the one ‘responsible’ for the success or failure of Paul’s proposal. In the offer καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου (Rom. 9.25), the speaker (God) is ‘responsible’ to carry out the proposed action” (*Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 84).

²⁰Cf. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 181-92. In a letter like Romans, it seems necessary for Paul to encode his perception of his relationship with his audience, especially given that he had never visited the Roman Christians. Both explicit social designations and speech roles within the discourse inscribe the social exchange that Paul sees happening (or desires to happen) between him and his readers.

²¹For studying the expressed social designations, heavy semantic modification (see the section “semantic weight analysis” above) plays a significant role. A participant is seen as marked when it is heavily modified (e.g., when it is a head term with a heavy concentration of definers, qualifiers, and relators modifying it). On the word group annotation model, see the section “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 1.

Speech roles. For the investigation of social interaction, the classification of *speech roles* is helpful. Two types of fundamental speech roles may be identified: (1) giving, and (2) demanding. Equally fundamental are the two types of commodity being exchanged: (1) information, and (2) goods and services. Taken together, these two variables make up the four basic categories of language functioning as an exchange: (1) statements, (2) questions, (3) offers, and (4) commands.²² Table 3 summarizes the four primary speech functions and responses to them.

Table 3. Speech Functions and Responses

<i>Speech Function</i>	<i>Commodity Exchanged</i>	<i>Initiation</i>	<i>Expected Response</i>	<i>Discretionary Alternative</i>
Give	Information	Statement	Acknowledgement	Contradiction
Demand	Information	Question	Answer	Disclaimer
Give	Goods & Services	Offer	Acceptance	Rejection
Demand	Goods & Services	Command	Carrying Out	Refusal

For the analysis of speech roles, a systematic investigation of Mood and Person was conducted. The majority of speech functions (statement, question, offer, or command) can be determined through the Mood of the verb.²³ The Indicative Mood form

²²Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 68-69. Cf. Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 80-81.

²³Mood concerns “the extent to which speakers/authors commit themselves to, or distance themselves from, propositions” (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 82). Mood conveys interpersonal meanings in conjunction with the indication of the identity and role of the participants by means of Voice, Person, and Number. Where the writer is indicated as the Subject, the Mood indicates whether the writer is (1) giving or demanding information (typically indicative mood); or (2) demanding goods-and-services (commanding and prohibiting uses of the imperative, subjunctive, optative). Where the discussion is done in third person, the writer is still giving information to his audience, but cannot directly demand anything since the third person participant involved is portrayed as absent and not identical with the second person audience.

grammaticalizes an assertion about what the speaker sees as reality (whether or not there is a factual basis for such an assertion) and thus represents the primary means of giving or demanding information (statements and questions). Commands and prohibitions are primarily grammaticalized by the imperative and subjunctive. Offers are rare, coming mainly in Paul's "grace" wishes (optative or verbless).²⁴ The status and shifts in speech roles were monitored closely for the purpose of investigation.

Studying Textual Meanings

Study of the larger units of discourse and how they cohere together as a unified whole is still not a well-integrated discipline in New Testament investigation.²⁵ Within

²⁴Reed gives a more complete list: "The three moods—indicative, subjunctive and optative—may all be used in an exchange of information (statement or question), each indicating different gradations of probability from the speaker's point of view. Exchanges of goods-and-services, however, are typically expressed by the imperative, negated aorist subjunctive, 'hortatory' subjunctive (command) or future tense-form (offer). Interrogatives . . . are often indicated by means of interrogative pronouns or particles. . . . [There are also] a variety of adjuncts . . . [that] modify the verb by expressing such functions as probability, usuality, obligation, [and] inclination" (*Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 82-83).

²⁵The scene in North America is dominated by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), whose work has largely been done in relation to Bible translation and is not well integrated into mainstream New Testament scholarship. For some representative works from this school, see the essays in D. A. Black, ed., *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Discourse Analysis* (Nashville: Broadman, 1992); John Beekman, John Callow, and Michael Kopeseck, *The Semantic Structure of Written Communication*, 5th ed. (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1981); and the application of their theory by Elinor MacDonald Rogers, *A Semantic Structure Analysis of Galatians* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1981); Kathleen Callow, *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974); and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000). Also of interest is K. Callow's recent work on how people form meanings and communicate them in *Man and Message: A Guide to Meaning-Based Text Analysis* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998). The other schools of discourse analysis have either been eclectic or have not been very successful at analyzing the larger

the Opentext.org project itself, the parameters of how to determine and annotate paragraphs (as well as the status of interclausal conjunctions) are also not yet finalized. Thus a complete examination of the textual meanings was not attempted.²⁶

This study approaches the problem from two angles. One prong of attack, *lexical cohesion*, was treated under the section “Studying Ideational Meanings” above.²⁷ The other prong of attack, *prominence*, is treated in Appendix 1. The main reasons for relegating the chapter on markedness and prominence to an appendix are: (1) The lengthy discussion of further theoretical concepts (beyond the theory already laid upon the reader thus far) and the detailed empirical data in that chapter may intimidate some readers and prevent proper consumption of the text analysis in subsequent chapters; and (2) The insights gained from the chapter on prominence formed more of the background to the discussion of the text and are not as visible as the analytical approaches discussed in this chapter in the actual task of interpretation. For this reason, the insights on markedness and prominence will be summarized below and appealed to in text analysis, but readers are referred to Appendix 1 for the empirical data and theoretical justification.

Fundamentally, clauses that have both prominent participants and prominent

discourse levels. See further Stanley E. Porter, “Discourse Analysis and New Testament Studies: An Introductory Survey,” in *Discourse Analysis and Other Topics in Biblical Greek*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and D. A. Carson, JSNTSup 113 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 24-34 on the various schools of discourse analysis.

²⁶A complete study would include all elements involving cohesion and information flow. See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 88-121 (cf. Reed, “The Cohesiveness of Discourse,” 28-46) for one model of how to account for cohesion and information flow.

²⁷The meaning fields and lexical repetitions simultaneously represent content and tie the text together as a message (i.e., convey both ideational and textual meanings).

processes can be identified as semantically prominent with a high degree of certainty. Opposition of verbal aspects was found to produce marked and unmarked terms—+stative –remote (Perfect tense forms) as marked over against +imperfective –remote (Present tense forms) and +imperfective +remote (Imperfect tense forms) as marked over against +perfective (Aorist tense forms).²⁸ It was proposed that expository discourse be differentiated into mainline processes (typically processes seen as near to the writer) and supporting processes (typically processes seen as remote to the writer) and that relative prominence can be detected within both mainline and supporting material. Thus in such discourses, the typical mainline material (conveyed by Present tense forms) represents the foreground over against the typical supporting material (conveyed by Aorist tense forms). Likewise, prominent supporting material (realized by Imperfect tense forms) is foregrounded in relation to the typical (Aorist tense form) supporting material. With respect to Voice, no certain conclusions were reached. Regarding Mood, it was found that –assertive (Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative) was marked in relation to +assertive (Indicative). No certain conclusions were reached concerning the relative markedness of Imperatives and Subjunctives. Concerning Person and Number, it was argued that the semantic weight increases with the higher number of external participants involved—thus the impersonal third person singular is the least marked and first person plural is the most marked (see Table A8 in Appendix 1).

²⁸The ± symbols and the terms following those symbols represent the semantic features selected by the language user. For instance, when one wishes to express imperfective aspect (+imperfective) and nearness (–remote), one uses the Present tense form. See e.g., Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and Mood*, SBG 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 7-16.

With respect to clause constituents, it was determined that the Predicate is the most frequently-occurring and is typically the central constituent of Greek clauses (the major exception being verbless relational clauses). Especially against this background of the typical centrality of the Predicate (which also can imply the Subject through the verbal suffixes), the realization of explicit Subject, especially when not obligatory, appears marked. There is support for seeing first position (i.e. *prime* position) in the Greek clause as indicating prominence.²⁹

Where appropriate, appeal will be made to the relative markedness of Aspect, Mood, Person and Number, and clause order. On the one hand, the processes are checked for possible indications of prominence, including marked Aspect, Mood, and Person and Number. On the other hand, participants are scrutinized in terms of the following questions: (1) What kind of clause constituent (Subject, Predicate, Complement or Adjunct) is it in?; (2) Is it the head term or a modifier of its word group?; (3) Is it placed in a marked position in terms of clause order patterns (especially *prime* position)?; (4) Is it encoded more heavily than necessary?³⁰

Partial Overview of Romans

Paul's letter to the Romans can be looked at from various perspectives (e.g., meaning fields and participants). Since the epistolary structure appears to be a constant in Paul's letters despite the different situations addressed in those letters, this overview will often proceed with a basic division of the data for the Opening (1:1-7), Thanksgiving

²⁹Non-obligatory explicit Subject typically occupies this position.

³⁰E.g., if a nominal form is used when the participant might have simply been implied in the verb suffixes or been indicated by a pronoun, it is likely prominent.

(1:8-17), Body (1:18-11:36), Parenesis (12:1-15:33), and Closing (16:1-27).³¹

Meaning Fields

Prior to exploring the meaning fields in Romans, a preliminary inspection of the most frequent words in Romans can help set the context. Omitting function words (e.g., conjunctions and particles) and considering only content words (e.g., verbs, nouns, and adjectives, the twenty most frequent words in Romans are displayed in Table 4.³²

Table 4. Twenty Most Frequent Words in Romans

<i>Word</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
θεός “God”	153	πίστις “faith”	40	ἄνθρωπος “human”	27
εἶμι “to be”	113	Ἰησοῦς “Jesus”	36	σάρξ “flesh”	26
νόμος “law”	74	γίνομαι “to become”	35	ἔχω “to have”	25
πᾶς “all”	70	δικαιοσύνη “righteousness”	34	χάρις “grace”	24
Χριστός “Christ”	65	πνεῦμα “Spirit”	34	ἀποθνήσκω “to die”	23
ἁμαρτία “sin”	48	λέγω “to say”	34	ποιέω “to do”	23
κύριος “Lord”	43	ἔθνος “Gentiles”	29		

As the reader may recall from the discussion of the section “semantic weight analysis” above, words and participants that are frequently occurring come under suspicion as prominent words and participants in the discourse. Several questions arise

³¹On ancient letter forms, see W. G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, GBS (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973); J. T. Reed, “The Epistle,” in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400*, ed. S. E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 171-93; J. L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); B. W. R. Pearson and S. E. Porter, “The Genres of the New Testament,” in *Handbook to Exegesis*, ed. S. E. Porter, NTTS (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 131-66; S. E. Porter, “Exegesis of the Pauline Letters, Including the Deutero-Pauline Letters,” in *Handbook to Exegesis*, 503-53; and the works listed in M. A. Seifrid and R. K. J. Tan, *The Pauline Writings: An Annotated Bibliography*, IBR Bibliographies 9 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 94-99.

³²The table is adopted for use from Porter and O’Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation,” 161.

from the frequency information above. First, while the prominence of participants like God (θεός), Christ (Χριστός, also κύριος, “Lord,” and Ἰησοῦς, “Jesus”), and the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) are expected in a Christian religious text, how exactly do they function in the text? For instance, what are their social roles and relations with the other participants in the text (especially Paul and his audience)? Second, the participants ἔθνος, ἄνθρωπος, and σάρξ (“Gentiles,” “human being,” and “flesh”) also appear prominent. How do they function in the text? Third, νόμος, ἁμαρτία, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη, and χάρις (“law,” “sin,” “faith,” “righteousness,” and “grace”) seem to be prominent in Romans. What are the meaning and function for each?³³ Fourth, in light of the frequency of the verbs ἔχω, ἀποθνήσκω, and ποιέω (“to have,” “to die,” and “to do”), is there any emphasis on processes involving possession, physiological states, or performance?³⁴

A partial answer to the above questions may be derived from surveying the semantic chains throughout Romans. Tables 5 shows the number of occurrences per thousand words of verbs, nouns, and adjectives from the 10 most frequent semantic domains in Romans, broken down according to the Opening, Thanksgiving, Body,

³³As noted in the section “Participant reference annotation” in chap. 1, it was decided to limit the annotation of participants to animate beings and to add non-animate entities if they act upon other entities at some point in the text (e.g., as Actor; all instances of this participant in whatever function are then tagged). It was also observed that a conceptual distinction may be made between the *external participants* (the writer and his audience) and the other participants in the text. While “Gentiles,” “human being,” and “flesh” may refer to Paul’s audience in some way, these participants cannot.

³⁴The frequency of εἶμί (“to be”) verbs is expected given that frequent portrayal of relational processes is typical of all kinds of communication. The frequency of γίνομαι (“to become”), which conveys existential processes (e.g., happenings and becomings), is also not surprising. Frequent use of verbs of saying, like λέγω “to say,” also do not seem significant at first sight. The usage of πᾶς, “all,” may be significant, but must be examined in the context of the discourse.

Parenesis, and Closing sections.³⁵

Table 5. Top Ten Semantic Domains (Per Thousand Words)

<i>Section</i>	<i>Semantic Domain</i>									
	<i>33</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Opening</i>	90.9	64.9	90.9	143	39.0	13.0	26.0	26.0	0.0	13.0
<i>Thanksgiving</i>	57.3	12.7	44.6	25.5	31.9	31.9	6.4	12.7	25.5	12.7
<i>Body</i>	58.6	49.5	34.5	25.7	28.6	15.7	22.2	16.6	14.3	13.0
<i>Parenesis</i>	45.4	38.8	41.0	26.3	19.0	43.2	27.1	24.9	28.5	12.4
<i>Closing</i>	89.0	20.9	34.0	128	20.9	13.1	0.0	20.9	2.6	7.9

Key to Semantic Domains in Table 5:

33: Communication	25: Attitudes and Emotions
88: Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behavior	23: Physiological Processes and States
12: Supernatural Beings and Persons	59: Quantity
93: Names of Persons and Places	57: Possession, Transfer, Exchange
13: Be, Become, Exist, Happen	30: Think

The focus of this study, νόμος, is classified under two subdomains (33.333 under Law, Regulation, Ordinance as well as 33.55 and 33.56 under Written Language) within domain 33 (Communication). Since domain 33 occurs with high density in every section of the New Testament and it encompasses the most words in the Louw-Nida lexicon (it is the largest domain), examination of this domain as it occurs throughout a discourse often reveals little.³⁶ Thus, automated searches on νόμος using the semantic domains is not very informative without further work by the interpreter. Following the

³⁵The data in the tables are taken from Porter and O'Donnell, "Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation," 181-83, with the rounding up of decimals to fit the page. The distribution of Semantic Domains by chapter in Romans is provided in Appendix A of their article.

³⁶Ibid., 182. Note, however, the way the words from this domain shed light on the interpersonal relations between Paul and God and Paul and his audience in the Thanksgiving Section (see chap. 3 of this study).

suggestion made by Porter and O'Donnell, one avenue of research pursued in this study was the suitability of classifying νόμος under domain 37 (Control, Rule).³⁷

As expected, the names of persons and places (domain 93) are concentrated in the Opening and Closing sections, since they frame the interpersonal setting of the letter. Domain 12 (supernatural beings and powers) is not especially revealing given that “God,” “Lord,” and “Spirit” are put here, but “Jesus” is in domain 93 and “Christ” in domains 93 and 53 (Religious Activities). Analysis of the participant structure (see below; cf. “Participant reference annotation” in chap. 2) is more instructive. One notable distribution is the higher proportion of words in domain 25 (Attitudes and Emotions) than of words in domain 88 (Moral and Ethical Behavior) in the Parenesis section.

Table 6 is structured in the same way as Table 5. It shows the second ten top semantic domains in Romans per thousand words of verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

Table 6. Second Ten Semantic Domains (Per Thousand Words)

<i>Section</i>	<i>Semantic Domain</i>									
	<i>8</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Opening</i>	13.0	13.0	0.0	39.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	39.0	0.0
<i>Thanksgiving</i>	0.0	38.2	19.1	12.7	25.5	12.7	0.0	0.0	6.4	0.0
<i>Body</i>	14.3	12.5	13.0	8.7	8.1	8.3	7.4	8.3	7.2	6.3
<i>Parenesis</i>	8.1	7.3	3.7	7.3	8.8	14.6	9.5	5.1	4.4	8.1
<i>Closing</i>	7.9	7.9	18.3	23.6	20.9	0.0	13.1	15.7	5.2	2.6

Key to Semantic Domains in Table 6

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 8: Body, Body Parts and Body Products | 15: Linear Movement |
| 31: Hold a View, Believe, Trust | 67: Time |
| 28: Know | 42: Perform, Do |
| 10: Kinship Terms | 53: Religious Activities |
| 11: Groups and Classes of Persons | 37: Control, Rule |

³⁷Ibid., 182. See chaps. 5, 6, 7 and 8 for discussion of this classification of νόμος.

It was found that the highest frequency of faith words (domain 31) is in the Thanksgiving section. This finding threw significant light on the interpretation of that passage (see discussion in chap. 4 of this study). The other information in the table is less helpful because, by the second ten most frequent semantic domains, the frequencies are not high enough to prevent the short length of the Opening and Thanksgiving sections from skewing the counts.³⁸ For instance, 13.0 per one thousand of domain 8 actually represents only 1 occurrence in the Opening section. Thus, the angle of viewing the semantic domains in terms of the divisions of Opening, Thanksgiving, Body, Parenthesis, and Closing (as normalized per thousand words) seems to yield only limited insights.

More insights can be derived by comparing the semantic domain occurrences among smaller divisions of texts. For instance, Porter and O'Donnell discovered that there is a cluster of words from domain 23 (Physiological Processes and States) in Romans 5-8 and 14 after two chapters (3 and 4) with the highest concentration of words from domain 31 (Hold a View, Believe, Trust). They suggest that Romans 3-4 moves from a treatment of belief (and unbelief) to a focus on physical states, i.e., life and death.³⁹ Table 7 shows the distribution of words from domains 23 and 31.

Table 7. Distribution of Words from Domains 23 and 31

<i>Romans Chapter</i>																
<i>Domain</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>23</i>	8	2	0	4	15	28	19	18	3	3	2	5	1	29	2	0
<i>31</i>	9	0	13	17	2	1	4	0	3	10	4	2	1	5	2	3

³⁸Ibid., 183.

³⁹Porter and O'Donnell, "Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation," 163-64. Cf. Harvey's more simple word study with similar results (John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, ETS Studies [Grand Rapids: Baker/Leicester: Apollos, 1998], 125).

Though analysis by chapter can yield further insights, for the purposes of this study, the semantic domains were usually used to inform the analysis of units smaller than a chapter (in relation to νόμος texts). It was discovered that meaning fields were often used in characteristic combinations to convey important meanings in various units of text in Romans.

Participant Structure

One way of studying participant structure is by counting finite verbs and personal and intensive pronouns. Porter and O'Donnell undertook such a count and describe some interesting patterns below:

[This] is a letter that Paul writes as the only “author” in 1.1, but the first person singular is not used in the Opening (1.1-7). It does not occur until the Thanksgiving (1.8-17), where a group of second person plurals also occurs (1.6-15), [which is] the only cluster [of second person plurals] until 6.11-22. . . .

[There] is a noteworthy shift in 1.15, at the end of the Thanksgiving and the beginning of the Body, from first person singular to third person, where Paul describes God's wrath being poured out on all humanity (1.16-28). A consistent use of the third person continues throughout the Body, until the Parenesis begins in 12.1. The use of the third person returns in ch. 13, though not as intensively as before, but returns to its above intensity in chs. 14-15. Within the Body, there are several noteworthy uses of person that can be correlated with discussion of particular topics. For example, the second person is used at the beginning and the second half of ch. 2, when Paul is addressing various specific groups, such as judgmental people and Jews. The first person plural is used in 5.1-11, the reconciliation section; 6.1-8, the section on identifying with Christ; and 8.15-28, again a passage on Christian identification. There is of course the notorious problem of “I” in 7.7-25. Up until 7.7, the only concentrated occurrence of the first person singular is found in the Thanksgiving section (1.8-17). As would be expected, there is an increase and consistent presence of the second person after the beginning of ch. 12, which marks the start of the Parenesis section.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Porter and O'Donnell, “Semantics and Patterns of Argumentation,” 180-81. For their statistics on the verse-by-verse distribution of person and number (counting finite verbs and personal and intensive pronouns), see Appendix D of their article.

Similar results were retrieved using the participant profile tool that is based on the participant reference annotation of Romans (see the section “Participant reference annotation” in chap. 2). Instead of using general counts, the data revealed was integrated into the treatment of the text (see subsequent chapters in this study).

Statistics on the distribution of Person and Number in the finite verbs for Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians were also collected, which are analyzed in Table A8 in Appendix 1 in terms of marked Person and Number. The higher proportion of third person singular in Romans compared to the other letters is consistent with what is previously known about its high proportion of impersonal expositional material in relation to direct address and exhortation to the readers. The second person singular is, in fact, rarely used in Paul’s letters.

Romans has the highest proportion of second person singular (8.1 percent of all instances of Person and Number or 65 occurrences). There are no instances in 2 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians. The only example in Philippians comes in 4:3, with the imperative συλλαμβάνου, “help,” addressed to the enigmatic γνήσιε σύζυγε, “true yokefellow.”⁴¹ The function of the occurrences in 1 Corinthians and Galatians are similar to each other. In 1 Corinthians 4:7, the singular can be explained as stemming from Paul’s singling out of “any individual” who “might become puffed up in favor of one against the other” (ἵνα μὴ εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθε κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου). In the

⁴¹Much speculation has arisen over this expression, which will not be reproduced here. The two most likely suggestions are: (1) An influential member of the church (not identified explicitly because known to the congregation at Philippi); or (2) an address to individual members of the church. For the former view, see Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 480-81. For the latter view, see Moisés Silva, *Philippians*, WEC (Chicago: Moody, 1988), 222. Silva, in

various occurrences in 1 Corinthians 7, individuals who belong to a certain class of people are singled out: any women contemplating leaving their unbelieving husbands, slaves discontent with their enslavement, and any Christian men who may be contemplating freedom from being bound to a wife or contemplating becoming bound to a wife.⁴² Likewise, 1 Corinthians 14:16-17 singles out any individual belonging to the class of people who speak in tongues in the church (14:13). Galatians 2:14 singles out Peter in particular while 1 Corinthians 15:36 addresses the generic “anyone” (τις) who wonders how the dead are going to be raised. All the instances of the use of the second person singular surveyed above share two characteristics: (1) The addressee is singled out (and identified) as a particular person (e.g., Peter, and perhaps a particular “true yokefellow”) or as individuals belonging to a class of people; and (2) the addressee is not identical with the recipients as a group, though some of the recipients may fall under the class of people addressed.

The examples in Galatians 4:7 and 6:1 are harder to decide. There is no clear singling out of an individual or individuals belonging to a class in 4:7. With 6:1, the class was identified as “you (pl.) who are spiritual” (ὁμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ). Perhaps no distinction between plural and singular is meant. It is also possible that the shift to the singular addresses members of the group as individuals in the midst of plurals addressing them as a group.

fact, cites Rom 2:1, 17; 8:2; 9:20; 11:17-24; 1 Cor 14:17; 15:36; and Gal 6:1 as examples of Paul’s use of the second person singular to address the recipients of his letters (ibid.).

⁴²The other occurrences are in 1 Cor 9:9 and Gal 4:27, with quotations of commands in the Old Testament (Deut 25:4 and Isa 54:1).

The backdrop of Paul's use of the second person singular in his letters sheds light on Paul's usage in Romans. In Romans 2:1-5, every human being belonging to the class of people who judge (ὁ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων) is singled out. The further definition in 2:3 (ὁ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας καὶ ποιῶν αὐτά) explicates the nature of the group more clearly: "the human being who judges those who practice such things (i.e., evil) and does the same." In 2:17-27, one who belongs to the class of Jews, who is identified with a series of other group attributes (e.g., "one who teaches another," "one who preaches against stealing," etc.), is singled out. In 9:19-20, the addressee is tagged as one who dares to question God's authority (ὁ ἄνθρωπε, μενοῦνγε σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ—"O human being, on the contrary, who are you who criticizes God in return?").⁴³ These examples seem to conform to the pattern found in the other letters: (1) The addressee is singled out (and identified) as an individual belonging to a class of people; and (2) The addressee is not identical with the recipients as a group, though some (or all) of the recipients may fall under the class of people addressed if they fit the descriptions given.

The instances in Romans 12-14 are likewise explainable, even though they may be instances of the singular used indiscriminately with the plural. In the case of Romans 12:20, the singular may be because the enemy is "your enemy"—the enemies of individual Christians are in mind, not common enemies of the congregation. The person singled out in 13:3-4 may well be anyone who belongs to the class of people who "resist

⁴³The other occurrences are quotations of the Old Testament: Rom 3:4; 7:7; 10:6; and 11:10 (3:4 and 11:10 addressees God; 7:7 is the quoted address of the ninth commandment; 10:6 is a quoted address from Deuteronomy). Romans 10:9 may be

authority” (13:2). Romans 14:4, 10, 15, and 21-22 come in the context of (at least) two classes of people being distinguished (i.e., those who observe or those who do not observe certain diet restrictions and/or special days), so that the address may be meant to single out individuals who belong in one group or the other.

The above survey of participant structure in Paul’s letters points to two characteristics of Paul’s usage of the second person singular: (1) He typically singles out and identifies the addressee(s) as a particular person or as individuals belonging to a class of people; and (2) The addressee is not identical with the recipients as a group, though some (or all) of the recipients may fall under the class of people addressed if they fit the description. As the treatment of Romans 1:18-32 and 2:1-16 in Appendix 3 indicates, even the “diatribe” uses of second person singular seem to fit this pattern of usage.

Conclusion

The first half of this chapter provided practical instruction on what to study and how to study a text (especially Hellenistic Greek letters written by Paul) from a systemic-functional perspective. Many (though not all) of the methods described either require or would be greatly expedited by a machine-readable annotated corpus such as that being undertaken by the Opentext.org project.

The study of the representational content (i.e., ideational meanings) of Romans basically involves tracing meaning fields and lexical patterns throughout the book within the context of the transitivity patterns (i.e., who is causing what to/for whom). Three angles of investigation were proposed, which were labeled semantic field analysis,

explained as following in the second singular address of the Old Testament quotation in 10:8.

transitivity analysis, and semantic weight analysis respectively. The exploration of the social relations and exchanges (i.e., interpersonal meanings) essentially involves scrutinizing explicit social designations and speech roles throughout the text.

Furthermore, the results from empirical study and theoretical reflection on the relative markedness of Aspect, Voice, Mood, Person and Number, clause constituents, and clause order in Appendix 1 were summarized and presented as ways of detecting possibly prominent meanings in the text. By investigating the text from various perspectives using the methods developed, what should be studied—the ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings—is covered systematically.

The second half of this chapter presents a snippet of the fruits available through the type of analysis advocated and developed in this study. Specifically, the fruit offered was a partial overview of Romans, which was designed to be suggestive of the potential of the Opentext.org database for top-down (i.e., macro-structure) approaches to studying a New Testament book. As the annotation model is developed and refined further and the search functionalities are improved, the possibilities for computer-assisted research will expand exponentially.

Along the way, four questions were raised by the preliminary examination of the twenty most frequent lexical forms in Romans, which were only partially answered in this chapter. The role of God and Christ will be treated extensively in the discussion of the Opening section of Romans in chapter 4. The function of the participants ἔθνος, ἄνθρωπος, and σὰρξ (“Gentiles,” “human being,” and “flesh”) and the meaning and function of νόμος, ἁμαρτία, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη, and χάρις (“law,” “sin,” “faith,” “righteousness,” and “grace”) are partially treated in the course of investigating νόμος

The function of the meaning fields involving possession, physiological states, or performance will not be examined in any significant extent.

The overview also served to introduce certain aspects of the discourse of Romans to give some context to the more detailed discussion in subsequent chapters. Some of the benefits of computer-assisted study using an annotated corpus for both bottom-up (i.e., micro-structures) analysis and additional top-down (i.e., macro-structure) analysis of texts will be showcased in those chapters. On the one hand, because the potential avenues of research are seemingly boundless and the range of material that could be covered is immense, it is necessary to focus our attention on the main interpretive goal of this study—νόμος in Romans. On the other hand, more detailed coverage of the discourse of Romans and more extensive illustration of the methods developed in this study were needed. A compromise was finally decided upon. The more detailed coverage of the text of Romans in the Opening (1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (1:8-17) serve a double purpose. On the one hand, they illustrate the methods of practical analysis more fully (cf. Appendix 3). On the other hand, they provide an introduction to the discourse of Romans from another perspective.

CHAPTER 4

WHY DID PAUL WRITE THE ROMAN CHRISTIANS?: AN INTRODUCTION TO ROMANS

Introduction

In chapter 2 the theoretical foundation of this study was laid. Then in chapter 3 a practical model for text analysis was developed. The time has come for the theory and the analytical model to come face to face with the actual linguistic details they are supposed to describe. In the interest of making the clearest case possible for how and what can be discovered through the analysis of the *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual* meanings in the Opening (1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (1:8-17) sections of Romans, this chapter focuses primarily on linguistic features that contribute notably to ideational and interpersonal meanings (with textual meanings as the organizing link). Comprehensive description of the text is neither desirable nor intended.¹ This chapter serves as an introduction to the letter of Romans to further set the context for the study of νόμος.

The observations and conclusions in this chapter are made on the basis of a combined analysis of *semantic fields*, *transitivity patterns*, *semantic weight*, *explicit social designations*, and *speech roles* (see the section “How Do We Study the Text?” in chap. 3). Besides finding out what categories of meanings are communicated (“What are

¹The purpose of this dissertation is not to write a comprehensive discourse commentary on Romans (though during the course of writing this author slipped into that mode countless times). Discourse commentaries on all the New Testament books are, however, planned for the future as part of the fruits of the Opentext.org project.

the ‘contents’ of the communication?”), two questions are relevant, “Who causes what to/for whom?” and “What are the interpersonal relations reflected in the interaction among the participants in the text (especially Paul and his readers)?” The key is to combine tools so as to cover the various lexical-grammatical features in the text that prominently convey ideational and interpersonal meaning.

Opening (Romans 1:1-7)

The opening formula in Romans is the lengthiest found in the thirteen canonical letters ascribed to Paul. Often interpreters have noted this fact and tied it to Paul’s need to introduce himself to a church that he neither founded nor yet visited.² Moreover, interpreters sometimes posit more specific reasons for why Paul wrote such a lengthy introduction: e.g., Paul desired to highlight commonality of belief with his readers,³ or to underscore his authority and message.⁴

In this author’s opinion, while all of the explanations advanced above seem supportable from the linguistic utterances in Romans (mostly in the opening formula, but also elsewhere in the text), a better starting point would be to explore how the opening

²See C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975), 1:47; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993); and Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 40.

³James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 5.

⁴Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul’s Letter to the Romans: A Commentary*, trans. Scott J. Hafemann (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 18. Some suggest that the opening was carefully crafted to give a favorable first impression because of controversy over Paul and his message among believers in Rome (e.g., A. J. M. Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988], 93). For a combination of reasons, see Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 31-45.

formula sets the social and interpersonal context for the entire letter.⁵ Indeed, it would seem that the Opening (and also the rest of the early part of the letter) serves as Paul's own introduction to why he was writing the Romans Christians. Since the genre of Romans is clearly that of a real Hellenistic letter, insights from epistolary studies aid the setting of the framework for interpretation of this opening formula.⁶

Analysis of Interpersonal Meanings

Paul follows the typical sender (superscription) to recipient (adscription) order of personal letters.⁷ As Reed points out, the "superscription and/or adscription were also often expanded with the addition of epithets, titles, terms of relationship (A to his mother B) and endearment (A to my most beloved friend B), and geographical location."⁸ Paul's practice of expanding upon the simple "A to B" (sender to recipient) obligatory element in the openings of all thirteen letters attributed to him is thus not unfamiliar to Graeco Roman readers.⁹ Nevertheless, the employment of an expanded prescript is still a marked

⁵See Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity*, JSNTSup 136 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 181-92.

⁶In agreement with Schreiner, *Romans*, 23-24, this author believes that the exact classification of the genre of Romans (whether letter-essay, protreptic, or epideictic) is premature. Once the annotation of at least all the New Testament letters is completed, register analysis using the Opentext.org corpus (cf. the section "Why Use an Annotated Corpus?" in chap. 2) may allow for the identification of register through systematic comparison of the three functional components in different letters. Nevertheless, that Paul uses the common conventions of ancient letters is beyond dispute.

⁷As Reed notes, Paul does not use the "inverted order of the prescript with the salutation omitted[, which] is sometimes [used] . . ., especially in complaints, petitions, administrative and official communication (*Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 181).

⁸*Ibid.*, 182.

⁹As Reed elaborates, "Expansions of superscriptions in Hellenistic letters

option over against the more customary simple “A to B” (on the concept of markedness, see Appendix 1). This is especially so with the degree of expansion and the liberal use of religious group identifiers in Paul’s typical practice. Nowhere is the marked nature of the prescript more evident among Paul’s letters than Romans.¹⁰ What function, then, does the extended expansion of the prescript serve in Romans 1:1-7?

Despite the length of the opening unit, there are only two (verbless) primary clauses: the first clause describes the author and his audience; the second clause represents Paul’s desire for his audience (wish of “grace” and peace”).¹¹ From a grammatical perspective, the adjectives, participial clauses, and relative clauses that contribute to its disproportionate length further define Paul and, to a lesser degree, his readers. Hence, a reasonable hypothesis is that these nominal word groups give explicit representation (from Paul’s perspective) of Paul and his audience’s social roles (cf. the section “Explicit Social Designation” in chap. 3). This suggestion is consistent with and provides more precise definition to the common opinion that Paul introduces himself to the Roman believers in this extended opening.

typically involve descriptions of the sender’s identity (e.g. ‘son of’) or location (e.g. ‘from the region of Oxyrhynchus’). . . . In some cases, the social role of the sender is mentioned. . . . Expansions of adscriptions often involve additions of words expressing honour or endearment” (*Discourse Analysis of Philipians*, 183).

¹⁰Jervis observes, “The opening formula of Romans is quite ill-proportioned in comparison with that of Paul’s other letters, with the preponderance of its abnormal length occurring in the ‘identification of sender’ unit” (L. Ann Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans: A Comparative Letter Structure Investigation*, JSNTSup 55 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991], 85).

¹¹Cf. Louw, who correspondingly finds 2 colons in this section (J. P. Louw, *A Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans* [Pretoria, South Africa: Department of Greek, University of Pretoria, 1987], 2:33).

According to the criteria of heavy semantic modification, Paul is, at first glance, the most marked participant, followed by the Christians in Rome. Paul is defined as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (“Christ Jesus’ slave”), κλητὸς ἀπόστολος (“called to be an apostle”), and ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ (“one separated for God’s gospel”). His audience, πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ (“all those who are in Rome”), are κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (“called by Jesus Christ”), ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ (“beloved by God”), and κλητοῖς ἁγίοις (“called to be holy ones”).¹² The social roles of both Paul and his audience are both qualified by Jesus Christ and God. This qualification is achieved by having these two participants as genitive qualifiers to head terms referring to Paul and the Roman Christians. The effect is to bring Paul and the Roman Christians into indirect relationship through Jesus and God. This thesis is supported by the three relative clauses. On the one hand, prior to these relative clauses, Paul, as an apostle, is related to God’s gospel (“being set apart” for it).¹³ With the first relative clause, God’s gospel is

¹²The phrase ἀγαπητοὶ θεοῦ occurs only here in the whole Bible, but may be linked to frequent Old Testament affirmations that Israel is the special object of God’s love. Especially since it is combined with ἅγιοι, the likely implication is that “not only are Christians the true object of God’s elective love, but—as with Israel of old—the effect of this love is to *separate* them from the ‘world’ and *consecrate* them to the service of the true God” (T. J. Deidun, *New Covenant Morality in Paul*, AnBib 89 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981], 6). The translations “beloved by God” and “called by Jesus Christ” reflect the understanding that ἀγαπητός and κλητός are verbal adjectives with a passive meaning. The genitive thus qualifies by supplying the agent of the verbal process. On verbal adjectives with –τος ending, see e.g., J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1, *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), 221; and A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 372.

¹³As Weima points out, “Here we meet for the first time the intimate connection between the theme of the ‘gospel’ and ‘apostleship’—correlated themes that will manifest themselves again and again in the epistolary framework of the letter” (Jeffrey Weima, “Preaching the Gospel in Paul: A Study of the Epistolary Framework of Romans,” in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard*

related to Jesus (“concerning his Son”). In the second relative clause, Paul (and other apostles?) is related to Jesus (“received grace and apostleship” through him). The goal of this reception of grace and apostleship is “obedience that is related to faith,” the scope “among all the nations,” and the purpose “for the sake of his name.”¹⁴ On the other hand, Paul’s addressees are related to “all the nations” as also “ones called by Jesus Christ” (κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) with the third relative clause. This series of linkages seems well designed to relate Paul to his audience: they are brought together as one called to be an apostle, who is separated for God’s gospel, which concerns Jesus Christ, and who through Christ received grace and apostleship for the purpose of “obedience that is related to faith” among all the Gentiles, and as ones called by Jesus Christ among all the Gentiles.¹⁵ Clearly implied in this linkage is Paul’s authority and responsibility as an apostle to the Roman Christians:

1st Premise: “I have received apostleship from Christ to preach the gospel among all the Gentiles”.

N. Longenecker, ed. L. A. Jervis and P. Richardson, JSNTSup 108 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 341).

¹⁴One could take all three prepositional word groups as adjuncts to ἐλάβομεν. Alternatively, one may construe the second prepositional word as a word group modifier to “obedience” (Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 18) or all three prepositional word groups as word group modifiers to “apostleship” (Louw, *Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans*, 2:34).

¹⁵For the perspective of rhetorical criticism, Kim sees Paul creating a strong bond with his audience by emphasizing that “both have received the calling from the same person, Jesus Christ himself” (Johann D. Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles: Rhetoric and Situation in Romans 9-11*, SBLDS 176 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 67). According to Elliott, Paul creates “a rhetorical relationship with his readers by relating himself and them to the call of God” (Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul’s Dialogue with Judaism*, JSNTSup 45 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990], 71). From the perspective of oral criticism, Harvey identifies the three occurrences of κλητός as forming an inclusion in Rom 1:1, 6-7 (*Listening to the Text*, 122).

2nd Premise: “You believers in Rome belong to that group of people, the Gentiles”.

Conclusion: “I, therefore, have a divine responsibility to share my gospel with you”.¹⁶

Even though Jesus and God are not the external participants (which are Paul and his audience) who are engaged in the communicative act and they are often modifiers (as opposed to head terms) and/or occur in embedded clauses, they are the first and second most frequently occurring participants respectively. Especially since the social roles of Paul and his audience are modified by Jesus Christ and God, more consideration should be given to how prominent those two participants are in this section of text.

The decision with God was fairly easy. First, with the exception of “beloved by God” (ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ, which is still only a modifier of a modifier—“God” modifies “beloved” and “beloved by God” modifies “all those who are in Rome”) and “from God our Father” (ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, which is from the grace wish), God as a participant occurs only in embedded clauses (and clauses embedded in other embedded clauses). Second and more specifically, God as a participant is the implicit subject of a relative clause (προεπηγγείλατο, “he promised beforehand”), the modifier of three adjuncts (εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, “for God’s gospel”; διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, “through his prophets”; and περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, “concerning his Son”) and the modifier of the complement of a doubly embedded participial clause (υἱοῦ θεοῦ, “Son of God”). Looking more carefully at the clauses involved, God appears to serve as an authenticating Associate. The gospel is “*God’s* gospel.” *He* promised it long beforehand through *his* prophets. The gospel is concerning *his* Son. Jesus was appointed *God’s* Son.

¹⁶Weima, “Preaching the Gospel in Rome,” 343. Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 45.

Therefore, Jesus and the gospel concerning Jesus are authenticated by association with God to the Roman believers, who are beloved by God and for whom God is Father. While the frequency of occurrence and strong authenticating function of God does highlight God's role, relatively speaking, Paul and the Roman Christians are in the forefront of the social interaction and God is behind the scenes.

The centrality of Jesus Christ as a participant is harder to decide.¹⁷ On the one hand, Paul is “*Christ Jesus’ slave*” (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ). Paul is separated for God’s gospel, which is “concerning his Son” (περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ). Moreover, there is heavy semantic modification of Son by two embedded participial clauses and triple apposition by nouns: (1) “who was from David’s seed according to the flesh” (τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα.); (2) “who was appointed God’s Son in power according to the Spirit that is related to holiness from resurrection from the dead” (τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν); and (3) “Jesus Christ our Lord” (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν). The two participial clauses further identify the Son—he is descended from David, he was resurrected from the dead, as well as linked to σάρκα and πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης. For our purposes, it is sufficient to indicate these two participial clauses add to the semantic markedness of Jesus the Son as a participant without getting further into the interpretational dispute over the precise significance of these participial clauses.¹⁸ The

¹⁷Louw believes that Jesus Christ is the theme of Rom 1:1-6 (*Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans*, 2:34). Cf. J. P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*, Semeia Studies (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 141-45.

¹⁸For instance, Morgan remarks that “God’s Son is . . . described and identified in a couplet which contains ideas and phrases not found elsewhere in Paul’s writings, and so looks like a quotation from some early Christian creed or confession used in worship”

triple apposition “Jesus Christ our Lord” has the effect of emphatically identifying Jesus as God’s Son concerning whom God’s gospel is about. Moreover, it is through Jesus (δι’ οὗ) that Paul (and other apostles?—the verb is first plural)¹⁹ received grace and apostleship for the obedience that is related to faith among all the Gentiles for his (Jesus’) name. Then the Roman believers were identified as also ones called by Jesus Christ among the Gentiles (ἐν οἷς ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). In addition, Paul wishes grace and peace to them from God our Father and “the Lord Jesus Christ” (κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The main observation that can be made from the data is that Paul underscores the fact that he serves Jesus the Christ—he is Christ *Jesus’ slave*, he is separated for God’s *gospel concerning Jesus*, and it is *through Jesus* that he received grace and his apostleship.²⁰ It also appears that Paul portrays the Roman Christians as servants of Christ as well—“Jesus Christ *our Lord*” and “*called by Jesus Christ*.”²¹

(Robert Morgan, *Romans*, New Testament Guides [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995], 17). Anderson points out, however, that the suggestion that Paul employs certain creedal formulae “can hardly be proved” (R. D. Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, rev. ed. CBET 18 [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1999], 207). On the issues involved, see Schreiner, *Romans*, 38-45; Moo, *Romans*, 47-51; and Gordon D. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 478-84.

¹⁹See Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 16.

²⁰If κλητός “called” (classed under domain 33, “communication”) is taken more in the sense of “summoned” rather than “invited,” more light is shed not only on the pattern of association of the words in domain 37, but also on the interrelation of the triple apposition that Paul applies to his own name: Paul designates himself as Christ’s *slave*, one *summoned* to be an *apostle*, one *appointed* for God’s gospel . . . concerning his Son . . . Jesus Christ *our Lord* . . . through whom he received his summons to receive grace and *apostleship*. Servitude and Christ’s Lordship are thus mutually interpretive (but not synonymous), and so are calling to be an apostle and appointment for God’s gospel.

²¹Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 208 thinks that Paul captures his audience’s goodwill “by emphasizing their inclusion, together with himself, as

Therefore, it seems that Christ is not so much a central theme as a central person, who is Paul and his readers' Lord. Even though Paul and his audience are the external participants involved in social interaction, Christ plays a central role in Paul's and his audience's lives, as evidenced by the frequency of occurrence, the heavy semantic modification, and the underscoring of Christ's Lordship over both Paul and his readers.

Analysis of Ideational Meanings

The portrait painted thus far can still be augmented. Three of the words in domain 33 pertain to God's communication: "God's gospel" (εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ), which "He promised beforehand" (προεπαγγέλλομαι) in the Holy "Scriptures" (γραφή). This concentration of words from domain 33 effectively affirms that God is the ultimate Agent responsible for the gospel. It is his gospel and he made prior promises concerning his Son in the Holy Scriptures (referring to the Old Testament). The significance of the other patterns of semantic field concentration is less clear.²²

subjects of Jesus Christ (1.6)."

²²A semantic field analysis of the opening of Romans reveals that the domains with the highest frequency of occurrence are domains 33 (communication, 8x), 93 (names of persons and places, 7x), 53 (religious activities, 7x), 12 (supernatural beings and powers, 7x), 88 (moral and ethical qualities and related behavior, 5x), and 10 (kinship terms, 4x). The words in domain 93 and 53, which mainly refer to the participants, have already been dealt with in the discussion above. The kinship terms may subtly remind Paul's readers that through Jesus they too are God's sons. First, while only Jesus is explicitly designated as God's "Son" (υἱός, 2x), God is "our Father" (πατὴρ ἡμῶν). Then before referring to them as those who are in Rome, who are beloved by God and called to be holy ones, Paul is careful to tag them as also ones called by Jesus Christ among the Gentiles. Three of the words in domain 88 belong to the "holy, pure" subdomain: κλητός ("holy," 2x) and ἁγιωσύνη ("holiness," 1x). The association of the Scriptures, the Spirit, and the Roman Christians as holy may or may not be intentional and significant.

Analysis of the ideational meanings in terms of processes and participant functions (transitivity analysis) yields the following insights. While there are two transitive verbs—προεπηγγείλατο (“he promised beforehand”) and ἐλάβομεν (“we received”)—only one involves a grammatical subject that is truly an active agent: God (the Agent) “promised beforehand” the gospel (the very lexical meaning of “receive” necessitates that the active agent bringing about the grace and apostleship received is not “we”).²³ Paul is passive: he is “called to be” (κλητός) an apostle, “set apart” (ἀφωρισμένος) for God’s gospel, and “received” grace and apostleship. Paul’s audience is likewise passive: they are (relational process, domain 13) “called by Jesus Christ,” “beloved by God,” and “called to be holy ones” (all nominal descriptions of reception of another agent’s actions). With respect to their social roles and the relationship between them, Paul and his readers are passive recipients.

The status of Christ as an agent is less clear. The agent of the action of calling Paul as an apostle and of setting him apart for God’s gospel and of calling the Roman believers could be either Christ or God (though in the translation used in this section thus far, “called by Jesus Christ,” we have chosen to affirm Christ’s agency).²⁴ God’s Son is

²³The use of the first person plural form of the verb may simply be epistolary convention (it refers to Paul alone; see Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:65; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 35), but may conveniently be explained as Paul including himself in a class of apostles sent to all the nations (cf. Rom 16:7). Cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 16. From the standpoint of rhetorical strategy, presenting oneself as one of the apostles, rather than the only apostle, is also understandable given that Paul neither founded nor visited the churches in Rome (Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles*, 73).

²⁴If the underlying appeal is to his personal experience of calling on the Damascus road (Acts 9:1-9; cf. Gal 1:15-16), then the agent who called is Christ. See e.g., Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles*, 66-67. Some, e.g., Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 19, appeal to Paul’s statements elsewhere (e.g., Rom 8:30; 11:29; 1 Cor 1:9) to insist that it is God who issues the summons (though even Dunn sees Paul alluding to his experience

passive in his coming into existence (γενομένου) in relation to the flesh and in his appointment (ὀρισθέντος) as Son of God in power in relation to the Spirit of holiness from his resurrection from the dead. Nevertheless, Christ is the Agent through whom (δι' οὗ) Paul received grace and his apostleship.²⁵ Since God is portrayed an authenticating Associate and ultimate Agent, the affirmation of both primary (God) and secondary (Christ) agency in the same events need not be precluded.

Conclusion: Romans 1:1-7 as a Message

Various proposals about the significance of Romans 1:1-7 may be evaluated according to the linguistic data highlighted above. The suggestion that Paul introduces himself needs qualification. Neither biographical nor activity details are offered. He does introduce his role as “Christ Jesus’ slave,” “one called to be an apostle,” and “one separated for God’s gospel.” Moreover, he seems to delineate the social roles of his addressees as well: “ones called by Jesus Christ,” “ones beloved by God,” and “called to be holy ones.” In this respect, God is highlighted as an authenticating Associate and ultimate Agent.²⁶ Jesus is even more prominently portrayed as the central Person through whom Paul and the Roman Christians are related together—as their common Lord.

with Christ at the Damascus road by ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ). It is argued in chap. 6 that the genitive construction always means x (the head term) that is related to y (the genitive qualifier). With a verbal adjective with passive meaning like κλητός, the genitive qualifies by supplying the agent, “called by Jesus Christ.”

²⁵Cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 16.

²⁶Cf. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 75-77, “Unable to appeal to a history of personal acquaintance with the Romans, [Paul] relies instead upon premises that he expects the Romans to share—the divinely authorized role of apostle, for example, and the divine origin of the gospel.” Paul, in fact, explicitly defines the divine origin of his gospel and his authority as apostle by association with God and Christ as participants.

The implication that can be drawn from above is that Paul underscores his common subservience to Christ with his audience. It is harder to find solid linguistic criteria to determine the validity of suggestions about Paul showing commonality of belief with his readers or summarizing his message. The plausibility of these suggestions hinges substantially on the widely-held hypothesis that Romans 1:3-4 reflect a pre-Pauline hymn or creedal formulation.²⁷ The linguistic evidence that these verses summarize Paul's gospel, at least as presented in Romans, is lacking.²⁸ Key lexical items like νόμος, δικαιοσύνη and cognates, and πίστις and cognates are missing ("faith" does occur in verse 5). More important than missing lexical items are missing semantic fields: the fields involving the establishment of a right relationship (domain 34; whether also more specifically involving judicial processes, domain 56) and belief (domain 31) are lacking in these verses.²⁹ Paul does use two lengthy participial clauses to further describe God's Son. The evidence of the text better supports the suggestion that Paul is further delineating who he understands God's Son to be at the outset, given that both Paul and his audience are related to Jesus Christ and through him to each other in this section. Specifically, Paul is God's appointed apostle to share the gospel with his audience.³⁰

²⁷See Schreiner, *Romans*, 38.

²⁸Pre-Pauline hymn proponents could suggest that Paul accepts a traditional formulation in Rom 1:3-4 and expounds his own personal gospel in Romans—thus the lack of correspondence. See, e.g., S. Brown, *The Origins of Christianity: A Historical Introduction to the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 127.

²⁹Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 228 asserts that the terms "gospel, grace, apostolate, commitment of faith, the Scriptures, [and] the role of Christ Jesus" "foreshadow major ideas in the body of the letter."

³⁰As Reed remarks, "The epistolary conventions which appear at the opening (and closing) of a letter establish who the participants of communication are and the nature of their immediate relationship" (*Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 192). The

Thanksgiving (Romans 1:8-17)

The form and function of Paul's thanksgivings has been the subject of extensive research.³¹ The general consensus, which this study follows, is that it partly reflects Hellenistic epistolary traditions. The end of the thanksgiving in Romans is disputed. The options are 1:12 (with the disclosure formula in 1:13 marking the body opening); 1:15; and 1:17.³² Since only a convenient starting point for discussion is needed at this stage, the most inclusive option (1:8-17) was chosen.

As with the letter opening, epistolary studies illuminate the formal elements of the thanksgiving section. Building upon and refining the classic comparative study by Schubert, Jervis has proposed that Paul's thanksgivings are consistently composed of five distinct formal units:

1. Principle verb: verb εὐχαριστῶ and its personal object τῷ θεῷ (μου);
2. Manner of thanksgiving: adverbial and/or participial constructions that serve to indicate the manner in which Paul gives thanks; the pronominal object phrase περὶ (ὕπερ) πάντων ὑμῶν typically occurs (except in Philemon);
3. Cause of thanksgiving: causal constructions in the form of phrases using ἐπί or ὅτι and/or participial clauses (usually verbs of learning or hearing) that gives the

following comment by Weima implicitly reveals the connection between the ideational and interpersonal meanings: "Paul has skillfully adapted and expanded the typical form of this opening epistolary unity such that the correlate themes of gospel and apostleship are highlighted in a most effective manner. Within the space of a few short verses, Paul presents himself to his unknown readers as the divinely appointed apostle to the Gentiles who has a God-given responsibility to share with them his gospel" ("Preaching the Gospel in Rome," 344). As words representing semantic content, "gospel" and "apostle" provide ideational meaning. As applied to participants in social interaction, the roles and relations involved simultaneously yield interpersonal meaning.

³¹See Paul Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgiving* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939); Peter T. O'Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul*, NovTSup 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Jeffrey T. Reed, "Are Paul's Thanksgivings 'Epistolary'?" *JSNT* 61 (1996): 87–99; and Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans*, 86-109. On the thanksgiving in Romans in particular, see Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome."

³²See Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans*, 104-07 for an overview of the options.

reason for Paul's thanksgiving;

4. Explanation: this section, begun either with *καθώς, γάρ* or *ὥστε*, usually modifies the preceding causal unit and so serves to elaborate on the cause for Paul's thanksgiving;
5. Prayer report: a report of what Paul prays for regarding his addressees, involving the verb *προσεύχομαι* and a *ἵνα, ὅπως* or *εἵ πως* construction that gives the content of the prayer.³³

This analysis is more successful than Schubert's precisely because the formal elements are realigned along more functional categories.³⁴ Nevertheless, this author would suggest that the variations among the thanksgiving sections in Paul's letters demonstrate that the consistent elements are fundamentally semantic and not structural. In other words, when one is giving thanks, the semantic elements that need to be conveyed are the giving of thanks, the person thanked, and the reason(s) for giving thanks. Oftentimes, the manner or frequency of giving thanks, further explanation of the reason(s) for giving thanks, and prayers and intercessions related to the reason for the thanks are communicated as well. The frequency of structural parallels has to do with the link between meaning and the structures that convey it—i.e., the typical structures come into play to convey the ideational and interpersonal meanings typically associated with the giving of thanks. And precisely because the structures serve the expression of meaning, variations in the circumstances and reasons for each particular giving of thanks are correspondingly

³³This convenient synthesis that vividly portrays Jervis's conclusions is given by Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome," 345. Jervis's discussion is found in *The Purpose of Romans*, 89-90 and her analyses of the respective thanksgivings (1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, and Romans) in *ibid.*, 91-109.

³⁴Cf. the judgment of Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome," 345. Schubert's concentration on form led to the proposal that there are two basic types of thanksgiving and a third mixed type. See Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgiving*. Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome," 344 has a convenient schematic summary of Schubert's proposed basic types.

expressed by variations in the structures and actual linguistic elements realized in the text. Thus, systemic-functional linguistics accounts for both the formal parallels and differences in the thanksgiving sections in Paul's letters.³⁵ This theoretical foundation also legitimates the investigation of differences in ideational and interpersonal meanings by means of the comparison of the differences in the structures and actual linguistic elements in each thanksgiving—the actual structures realized in the text reflect the choices made by the writer to express the specific ideational and interpersonal meanings suitable to what is going on (the field) as well as the relational context (the tenor).

Weima (following Jervis) outlines the thanksgiving in Romans 1:8-15 thus:

1. Principle verb (v. 8a)

³⁵For the concept of meaning as choice, see the section “Modified Framework” in Appendix 1. Of interest is whether the two options of using the verb εὐχαριστέω or the adjective εὐλογητός in a verbless clause as the starting structure for giving thanks is associated with different ideational and interpersonal meanings. O'Brien points out that “although either εὐχαριστέω- or εὐλογητός- formulas could have been used of thanksgiving or praise to God for blessing *either* to others *or* for oneself, Paul, in the introductions of his letters, uses εὐχαριστέω consistently of *Fürdank* for God's work in the lives of the addressees, and εὐλογητός for blessings in which he himself participated” (*Introductory Thanksgivings*, 239). O'Brien further notices that the writer is included within the scope of God's blessing in Eph 1:3; and 1 Pet 1:3 (in addition to 2 Cor 1:3). His suggestion that the εὐλογητός formula with a Jewish background is more appropriate when the writer himself came within the circle of blessing (ibid.) while possible, is perhaps unnecessary speculation. From the angle of paradigmatic choice in grammar, Paul might have used the first person singular verb when *personally* giving thanks for others and the verbless clause εὐλογητός when he wanted the participants involved in the giving of thanks to be unrestricted by the verbal features of Person and Number. When comparing the syntagmatic differences in the two types, in the three εὐλογητός thanksgivings involved (2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; and 1 Pet 1:3) participial clauses are used to further define God, the One who is blessed. The effect of those participial clauses seems to be to highlight God (the Person thanked) and his activity (for which he is thanked). Combining these two observations, the explanation appears to be that Paul uses the unrestricted εὐλογητός thanksgivings (εὐχαριστέω is restricted by its nature as a finite verb grammaticalizing Person and Number) to call for *universal* or *inclusive* praise and thanks (including the writer and his readers, and perhaps beyond) and to highlight God as the Person thanked and the activity for which he is thanked.

3. Cause of thanksgiving (v. 8b)
2. Manner of thanksgiving (vv. 9-10a)
5. Prayer report (v. 10b)
- (!) Explanation of prayer report (vv. 11-15)³⁶

The semantic weight clearly falls on the prayer report and its explanation (vv. 10b-15).

Analysis of Interpersonal Meanings

After the explicit designation of social roles in the letter opening, Paul and his audience remain in the forefront of the social interaction. The only difference is that since the social roles have already been clearly delineated, Paul proceeds with his social interaction with his readers without adding extensive role designations. In fact, the lack of new expressed role designations gives the presumptive impression that the nature of the immediate relationship between Paul and his readers has been established. Thus, the definition of the relationship between author and readers in the letter opening should be kept in mind while interpreting the rest of the letter. Nevertheless, continued sensitivity to any changes in the portrayal of the Paul or his intended audience is needed.³⁷

In terms of frequency of occurrence, Paul continues to be the prominent participant in Romans 1:8-17.³⁸ The dominant social interaction is the giving of

³⁶Weima, "Preaching the Gospel in Rome," 346. The out-of-order numbering and the exclamation mark reflect unexpected ordering of elements in Weima's scheme.

³⁷ It bears repeating that the inscribed reader(s) in any section of text need not correspond with the actual makeup of the congregation(s) in Rome. For example, parts of or the entirety of the letter may be directed particularly to only a portion of the potential audience. Thus, extra textual reconstructions of the historical situation in Rome do not answer the question of the identity of the inscribed readers of Romans. Cf. Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letters* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 76.

³⁸Paul as a participant occurs eighteen times. Moreover, he is implicitly the subject of the only unembedded secondary clause and ten out of eighteen primary clauses

information by Paul to the Roman Christians (who are next in prominence).³⁹ This speech function is reinforced by the disclosure formula “I do not want you to be ignorant” (οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν).⁴⁰ The Roman Christians are Paul’s “brothers and sisters” (ἀδελφοί). They are the beneficiaries of Paul’s thanksgiving, with their faith specifically being the reason for Paul’s thanksgiving. Paul remembers them in his prayers, asking to attain his longing to visit them.⁴¹ His purpose is to give them good and services, “some spiritual gift” (τι χάρισμα πνευματικόν), so that they might be strengthened. The disclosure formula mentioned above is used to reiterate Paul’s desire to visit them. Furthermore, Paul informs the Romans Christians that they are among those to whom he is a debtor (ὀφειλέτης) and that his eager desire (τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ πρόθυμον) is “to preach the gospel also to you who are in Rome” (καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι).

The overall portrait painted above is that of an apostle who tenderly longs for and is concerned for his charges.⁴² At the same time, that Paul feels himself responsible to further the Romans’ faith is also a secure conclusion from the data. When Paul’s

through the first person singular verbs.

³⁹Most finite verb forms are in the indicative mood. The Roman Christians are predominantly the passive goal or beneficiaries of Paul’s actions or desires in this section.

⁴⁰As Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:81 points out, Paul uses this, or a similar formula, in Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 10:1; 12:1; 2 Cor 1:8; and 1 Thess 4:13. Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 60.

⁴¹Paul even appeals to God as an authenticating witness (μάρτυς μου).

⁴²O’Brien has suggested that “the thanksgiving and petitionary prayer reports are evidence of the apostle’s deep *pastoral and apostolic concern* for the addressees. This deep concern is shown not only by Paul’s actual prayers but also by telling the recipients of his thanksgivings and intercession for them” (*Introductory Thanksgivings*, 13). This portrayal is in keeping with “the positive relationship he had already established with his audience in the prescript” (Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles*, 79); cf. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 77.

reiteration that his readers are among the Gentiles (“so that I might have some fruit also among you just as also among the rest of the Gentiles,” ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν) is given full weight, the obvious implication is that Paul’s desire to visit the Romans Christians is in line with his apostolic commission to the Gentiles (see Rom 1:5-6).⁴³ Thus, Paul’s eagerness to go visit the Roman Christians and his explicit characterization of himself as a debtor reveal another facet of Paul’s motivation—his apostolic commission. This aspect of the interpersonal meaning is depicted below:

- 1st premise: “I am under divine obligation to preach the gospel among all the Gentiles” (v. 14).
- 2nd premise: “You believers in Rome belong to that group of people, the Gentiles” (v. 13; also 1.6a).
- Conclusion: “Thus, I am most eager to preach the gospel also to you believers in Rome” (v. 15).⁴⁴

Analysis of Ideational Meanings

Immediately apparent in Roman 1:8-17 is the high concentration of communication words (9x). The meaning field of belief (6x), by virtue of repetition alone, appears to be prominent in this section. Further analysis of how the meaning field of communication and the other frequently-occurring meanings fields of time (5x), attitudes and emotions (6x), and possession and transfer (4x) interact with the meaning field of belief (6x) reveals the fuller picture.

⁴³Cf. Kim, *God, Israel, and the Gentiles*, 103-04; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 48.

⁴⁴Weima, “Preaching the Gospel in Rome,” 351. Paul’s eagerness to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians does not mean that he wanted to convert his readers or that they needed an apostolic seal of approval. In Rom 1:11, Paul links his desire to preach the gospel in Rome with the purpose that his audience might be strengthened (ibid., 352; Jervis, *The Purpose of Romans*, 109, and Elliot, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 82).

Paul’s vertical communication—his communication to God—consists of thanksgiving (εὐχαριστέω), prayers (προσευχῆ), and a request (δέω) to visit the Roman believers. His horizontal communication—his communication to the Roman believers and all others—consists of the gospel (εὐαγγελίζω, εὐαγγέλιον [2x]).⁴⁵ The locus of Paul’s service to God, in fact, lies in communicating the gospel to others (1:9). The meaning field of belief is closely tied to the meaning field of communication. The reason for Paul’s thanksgiving is that the Roman believers’ faith (πίστις) is announced (καταγγέλλεται; another communication word) in the whole world.⁴⁶ The reason for Paul’s desire to visit the Roman believers is that both he and they might be mutually encouraged through one another’s faith (1:12). The intensity of Paul’s desire to visit is highlighted by the repeated use of words of desire and longing (domain 25 “attitudes and emotions”—ἐπιποθέω, θέλω, πρόθυμος). Also used to strengthen the impression of Paul’s intense desire to visit are the time words (domain 67: πάντοτε, ἤδη, ποτέ, πολλάκις, δεῦρο). Words in the possession and transfer meaning field likewise serve to underscore the focus on faith: Paul’s purpose is to “share” (μεταδῶ) some spiritual gift (χάρισμα) with them, explained as mutual encouragement through one another’s faith (Rom 1:12). Given that Paul already described his goal as an apostle to be “the obedience of *faith* among the Gentiles for the sake of [Jesus’] name” (ἀποστολήν εἰς ὑπακοήν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ), a likely referent for

⁴⁵Some are vexed by Paul’s desire to preach the gospel in Rome as he normally plants churches where there are none (Rom 15:20-21). See Schreiner, *Romans*, 52-55.

⁴⁶“Your faith” (ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν) is prominent by first position in the clause and the use of the passive voice also highlights “your faith” by downplaying agency (not only does the goal, “your faith,” take the subject slot, but agency is omitted altogether).

“fruit” (καρπὸν) for his ministry is “the obedience of faith.” Therefore, the reason for both Paul’s thanksgiving to God and his goal in visiting the Roman believers is their “faith.”⁴⁷ In view of the overall portrait of the text, a stronger assertion can be made: faith is the central object or goal around which all of Paul’s actions and desires converge.⁴⁸

Closely related to faith is the preaching of the gospel. As already noted above, Paul’s horizontal communication to others consists of the gospel. In the opening (Rom 1:1), Paul described himself as “separated for God’s gospel” (ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ). In Romans 1:9 Paul defines God as he whom he serves in his spirit in the gospel of his Son (ὃ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ).⁴⁹ The crucial piece of the puzzle, however, is why Paul wants to go to the Roman Christians. He explicitly states that his purpose is that he might have some fruit also among them just as also among the rest of the Gentiles (Rom 1:13). When one asks, “How did Paul attain fruit among the rest of the Gentiles?,” the immediate answer that

⁴⁷Two observations concerning the nature of this faith may be made. First, “faith” is visible: (1) It is presumably seen by others and announced in the whole world (1:8); and (2) Paul and the Roman believers can be mutually encouraged by one another’s faith. Second, and by implication, this faith cannot simply involve intellectual assent. Garlington notes that Paul’s harvest among the Romans and the other Gentiles (1:13) “bears a striking resemblance to the ‘obedience of faith,’ which he seeks to engender not only among the nations but also on the part of the Romans (1:5-6). In short, this conjunction of 1:5-6 with 1:10-15 informs us that there is more at stake in faith’s obedience than the initial act of credence/trust which responds to (obeys) the gospel as preached by Paul” (Don Garlington, *Faith, Obedience, and Perseverance: Aspects of Paul’s Letter to the Romans*, WUNT 79 [Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1994], 20).

⁴⁸Similar observations and a similar conclusion are found in Louw, *Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans*, 2:36-38, 41. Cf. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*, 145-49.

⁴⁹Weima argues that “the gospel” in v. 9 is a verbal noun, so that Paul is affirming that he serves God by preaching the gospel concerning his Son (“Preaching the Gospel in Rome,” 348).

comes to mind is *by preaching the gospel*. Paul, in fact, explicitly supplies the answer in Romans 1:15: “in the same manner my eager desire is to preach the gospel also to you also who are in Rome” (οὕτως τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι).⁵⁰

If the fruit Paul sought was the obedience of faith and Paul sought to attain some fruit by desiring to go and preach the gospel to those who are in Rome, the implication is that preaching the gospel is the means by which Paul attains his goal of the obedience of faith of his intended audience. This inference sheds light on the logic of Paul’s continued statements in Romans 1:16-17. First, Paul is not ashamed of the gospel (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) because it is God’s power (δύναμις θεοῦ) leading to salvation (εἰς σωτηρίαν) for all who believe (παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι), both for the Jew first and also for the Greek. Stated differently, the gospel (the Agent) saves (Process) those who believe (the Recipients). Second, the gospel is God’s power leading to salvation for all who believe because in it (the Agent) the righteousness related to God (the Goal) is revealed from faith to faith (the Means). In other words, the reason the gospel saves those who believe is that the righteousness that is related to God (the Goal) is revealed in the gospel (the Agent) from faith to faith (the Means). Third, this assertion that the gospel saves those who believe because it reveals the righteousness that is related to God from faith to faith is consistent with the Scriptural dictum, “The one righteous, by faith, will live.” Reworded slightly, faith is the means by which one becomes righteous and one

⁵⁰Weima argues that “when the purpose statements of the first two clauses are interpreted in light of the third, then it appears that Paul’s veiled references to imparting ‘some spiritual gift’ and having ‘some fruit’ among them already have in view his desire to preach the gospel to the believers in Rome” (ibid., 350). Cf. James C. Miller, *The*

who has thus become righteous by faith will live (note that life and salvation may both refer to the eschatological life).⁵¹ In this line of reasoning, Romans 1:16-17 may be restated this way: The gospel saves those who believe. This is because the righteousness that is related to God is revealed in the gospel by means of faith going from strength to strength (ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, “from faith to faith”).⁵² As we already know from Scripture, the one who is righteous by means of faith will live (i.e., be saved). Therefore, the probable reconstruction of the interconnections among gospel, faith, salvation, and the righteousness that is related to God is as follows: (1) The gospel saves those who believe because it elicits faith; (2) Faith elicited by means of the gospel saves because it reveals “the righteousness that is related to God” (leaving this crucial term undefined);⁵³ (3) This revelation (of the righteousness that is related to God) by means of faith renders one righteous; and (4) One who is righteous by means of faith will live (i.e., be saved). The centrality of faith suggested here is consistent with the prominence that faith enjoys in the entire section of Romans 1:8-17.

Obedience of Faith, the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans, SBLDS 177 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 28-29.

⁵¹Moo, *Romans*, 78 makes this connection between life and salvation. See also Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:101-02 on the arguments for construing “by faith” with “the one righteous” rather than with “live.” For the contrary view, see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 265.

⁵²For alternatives on the meaning of “from faith to faith,” see Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:99-100. The interpretation above is consistent with the idea that faith is the origin and the goal of the revelation of the righteousness that is related to God (cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995], 250). More specifically, the view adopted is that of passage from one degree to another (cf. 2 Cor 2:16; 3:18; and Ps 84:8). Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 263 sees both alternatives as possible.

⁵³On the options, see Moo, *Romans*, 70-75. Cf. the helpful sketch in Wedderburn, *The Reasons for Romans*, 108-39.

Conclusion: Romans 1:8-17 as a Message

In the thanksgiving section (Rom 1:8-17), Paul's portrayal of his relationship with his readers is consistent with his opening sketch (Rom 1:1-7). He is related to them as an apostle and his charges. In his vertical communication with God—thanksgiving and prayer—and his horizontal communication towards others—preaching the gospel—Paul's concern is with his readers' faith. The portrait of the interpersonal relations between them is enriched by the highlighting of Paul's apostolic obligation and loving concern towards his charges. Simultaneously, the ideational picture links Paul's concern over his readers' faith with his desire to preach the gospel to them. The link from faith, gospel, and salvation to the righteousness that is related to God appears to be as follows: When one believes the gospel, one is saved. One is saved because the righteousness that is related to God is revealed by means of faith in the gospel.

CHAPTER 5

Νόμος FROM A TOP-DOWN PERSPECTIVE: PATTERNS OF LEXIS FOR Νόμος

Introduction

In an earlier study, this author explored the applicability of the concept that words of related meaning formed links across considerable distances in a text.¹ This concept was adopted from Michael Hoey's seminal work, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*.² The basic idea is that various types of repetition of lexical meanings, i.e., *lexical repetitions*, both make the overall discourse more cohesive and also signal conceptual relatedness between various parts of the discourse. Applying this concept of lexical repetitions, Hoey demonstrates that such repetition links stretch across sentence boundaries and over considerable distances in texts for the English language. Depending on the particular kind of text (some texts requiring a higher threshold of repetition links), Hoey claims that it is likely that sentences showing three or more repetition links are *bonded*, i.e., they will either be (1) intelligible together in their context when read without the intervening text;

¹Randall K. J. Tan, "Cracking the Code of the Law in Romans through Patterns of Lexis" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Toronto, Canada, 24 November 2002).

²Michael Hoey, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*, DEL (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). One qualification is that his analysis applies only to expository texts and not narrative texts. Furthermore, Hoey does not presume to suggest that patterns of lexis of the same kind as for English exist for texts of all languages. According to him, preliminary research indicates that this system of description applies to German, French, and Portuguese texts (*ibid.*, 272).

or at least (2) semantically related.³ In this author's research, it was found that certain passages involving νόμος, "law," do form lexical links.⁴ Thus, patterns of lexis for νόμος will be examined to give an initial top-down perspective on the meaning and function of νόμος in the discourse of Romans.⁵

Theoretical Justification

The phenomenon that justifies this type of evaluation is *lexical cohesion*, which involves the establishment of continuity in a text by the choice of words (besides the explanation of systemic-functional linguistics in chap. 2, see the section "Modified Framework" in Appendix 1 on meaning as choice and related concepts). As Halliday explains, "This may take the form of word repetition; or the choice of a word that is related in some way to a previous one—either semantically, such that the two are in the broadest sense synonymous, or collocationally, such that the two have a more than ordinary tendency to co-occur."⁶ These lexical repetitions give coherence to a text because repeated information is the backbone both for signaling continuity and for

³Hoey presents these claims in terms of a strong and weak claim: "*The weak claim*: each bond marks a pair of sentences that is semantically related in a manner not entirely accounted for in terms of its shared lexis. *The strong claim*: because of the semantic relations referred to in the weak claim, each bond forms an intelligible pair in its context" (ibid., 126).

⁴Even though neither its meaning nor function has been treated yet, νόμος is translated as "law" for the sake of readers who do not know Greek.

⁵Since lexical cohesion forms part of the textual functional component, the method developed in this chapter examines one facet of textual meanings (i.e., lexical repetitions) to uncover aspects of the representation of νόμος (ideational meaning) and of the larger message associated with νόμος (textual meaning).

⁶M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 310.

sequencing (expansion in logical or temporal sequence) or matching (comparison or contrast) with new information. As Hoey notes, “when we read and write, we all recognize and produce parallels in sentences that form the basis for the interpretation of new information in the light of repeated information.”⁷ Some of the patterns that are produced and recognized are lexical. Some involve recognizing regular relationships between different syntactic structures, including how clauses are joined by conjunctions. Some involve tracing the referent in the discourse.⁸

Lexical cohesion takes on a greater significance than other means of cohesion like conjunction, reference, substitution, and ellipsis for two reasons. First, it may span across any distance within the text. Second, the way it contributes to the creation and organization of text is to form lexical relations (unlike the other resources for cohesion, which are merely markers of textual relations). As Hoey observes, “While conjunction, reference, substitution, and ellipsis are markers of textual relation, the various types of lexical reiteration are in the first place types of *lexical* relations and only secondarily markers of textual relation.”⁹ In other words, while the other resources of cohesion mark immediate relations between adjacent clauses and sentences, lexical repetitions play a more expansive role in linking the larger discourse into a cohesive whole precisely by forming meaning relations as lexical items.

⁷Hoey, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*, 183.

⁸Ibid. Further discussion on reference, ellipsis, substitution, and conjunction as resources for cohesion may be found in *ibid.*, 6-7. Cf. Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 308-39; and M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, English Language Series (London: Longman, 1976).

⁹Ibid., 7.

Application to This Study

As adapted for use in this chapter's study of νόμος in Romans, a cluster of three lexical repetitions will form the basic criteria for recognizing possible conceptual relatedness between two stretches of text separated by any distance.¹⁰ As for what qualifies as a lexical repetition, four types of potential repetition of differing weight are admitted. The clearest and weightiest examples are simple repetitions of the same lexical item. Because Greek is an inflected language (e.g., the nouns change form depending on case and number and the verbs change form depending on tense, voice, mood, person, and number), *inflectional* differences do not disqualify an instance of word repetition from being considered a simple repetition.¹¹ For example, the singular ἁμαρτίας, "sin," is still considered a simple repetition of the plural ἁμαρτιῶν, "sins." Also very weighty are complex repetitions of words sharing the same morpheme, but which belong to different word classes (e.g., a verb with its cognate noun). For instance, the verb ἔγνων, "I knew," is a complex repetition of the noun ἐπίγνωσις, "knowledge." Of considerable weight but less certain are repetitions of the same meaning field and sub-meaning fields (see the section "Semantic fields analysis" in chap. 3). The least certain are appeals to conceptual relatedness based on the relatedness of semantic fields.¹²

¹⁰While some repetitions are fortuitous, the very criterion of a cluster of links would normally ferret out chance repetition.

¹¹Readers may refer to Appendix 1 for the discussion of the Greek verbal network. On the nouns, though not designed to discuss the grammar of the Greek noun, the section "The Opentext.org Corpus" in chap. 2 can be helpful.

¹²For English, Hoey's original criteria are simple lexical repetition, complex lexical repetition, simple paraphrase, and complex paraphrase. See further Hoey, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*, 53-54.

The first step in analysis was to compare all words occurring in the clauses in Romans that contain the word νόμος and to determine if any two clauses shared three or more lexical repetition links. In stage two, the net was cast wider to include complex repetitions and meaning fields by means of the semantic domain annotation of Opentext.org. Phase three involved manual analysis with the aid of the clause and word group level annotations, which included putting the clauses together to see if Hoey's claims about bonding (i.e., clauses that share multiple lexical links are intelligible when read together or are at least conceptually related) are substantiated.

Lexical Repetitions

In the study of νόμος, some difficulties were encountered in implementing automated searches for patterns of lexis with the Opentext.org annotation. The criterion of three lexical repetitions was difficult to apply when only clauses are compared because many clauses were too short to have three lexical repetitions (in English the concept was applied to sentences, which are typically longer than clauses). An additional difficulty was encountered when using the semantic domains annotation of the Opentext.org database. The major domains are often too broad in sweep, so that the majority of hits turned out to be spurious. These issues will be addressed in the future. Because the clauses analyzed are shorter and often less complete than an English sentence, one adjustment that had to be made was to pick up more of the immediate context to see if the clauses really make sense when read together in their original contexts.

Nevertheless, a search for simple lexical repetitions in the clauses containing the 74 instances of νόμος yielded a pair with three simple lexical repetitions—Romans 7:5 and 7:23, which share the words νόμος, ἁμαρτία (“sin”), and μέλος (“physical

members of the body”). When the semantic domains were used to widen the search, two more pairs were found—Romans 3:20 and 7:7 and Romans 2:14 and 2:26.

Example 1: Romans 7:5 and Romans 7:23

Romans 7:5 and 7:23 form the only instance of three simple lexical repetitions between two clauses containing the lexical item νόμος (they share the words νόμος, ἁμαρτία, and μέλος). At first sight, the two clauses appear to be related in meaning and do not share a cluster of three lexical repetitions by chance. You, the reader, are encouraged to read the text pasted below together to see if you agree that the two clauses are related in meaning. The brackets separate word groups from each other. The superscript letter in front of each bracket represents the clause level function: S = Subject; P = Predicate; C = Complement; and A = Adjunct, according to the annotation model explained in the section “The Opendot.org Corpus” in chapter 2 (cf. the sections “Transitivity Analysis” in chap. 3 and “The Problem of Voice” in Appendix 1).

7:5b: ^s[τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου]^p[ἐνηργεῖτο]^a[ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν]^a[εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ]

7:23: ^p[βλέπω]^{com}[δὲ]^c[ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου]

For non-Greek readers, compare the translations here:

The through-the-law-passions *that are related to sins* were working *in the physical member of our bodies*, so as to bear fruit to death (7:5).¹³ I see another law in the physical members of my body, warring against the law that is related to my mind

¹³The somewhat unusual translation, “through-the-law passions that are related to sins” was adopted to ensure that English readers do not mistake “that is through the law” as defining sins. The construction τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου clearly defines παθήματα, “passions”—“the passions that are through the law, which passions are related to sins.”

and taking me captive by means of the *in-the-physical-members-of-my-body* law that is related to sin (7:23).¹⁴

In order to verify the presence or absence of a real bond between these two passages, what is needed is to pick up more of the original context to see if they can be read together within their original contexts. Ignoring the context of 7:5 for now, 7:23 is connected to 7:22 by the conjunction δέ, which marks development.¹⁵ It is possible, then, that 7:23 is not very related to 7:22. However, 7:22 is introduced by the conjunction γάρ, “for,” which marks strengthening.¹⁶ The “for” encourages one to look back further. 7:21 is connected to 7:20 as an inference (ἄρα), which seems to be a good place to stop..

7:5b: ^s[τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου]^p[ἐνηργεῖτο]^A[ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν]^A[εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ]
 7:21: ^p[εὐρίσκω]^{conj}[ἄρα]^c[τὸν νόμον]^c[ἔμοι τῷ θέλοντι ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν]
^{conj}[ὅτι]^c[ἔμοι]^s[τὸ κακὸν]^p[παράκειται]
 7:22: ^p[συνήδομαι]^{conj}[γὰρ]^c[τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ]^A[κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον]
 7:23: ^p[βλέπω]^{conj}[δέ]^c[ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου]

The through-the-law passions that are related to sins were working in the physical members of our bodies so as to bear fruit to death. I find, therefore, for me the one who desires to do what is good this law namely that evil is present in me. For I rejoice

¹⁴The somewhat unusual translation “in-the-physical-members-of-my-body law that is related to sin” was adopted to ensure that the English reader does not mistake “that is in the physical members of my body” as modifying sins. The construction τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου clearly defines νόμῳ, “law”—“the law that is related to sins, which law is in the physical members of my body.”

¹⁵The function of δέ as a textual marker is to mark “development” and not “contrast” or “connection” as is often thought. See Stephen Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 112-18.

¹⁶As Levinsohn explains, γάρ “constrains the reader to interpret the material it introduces as *strengthening* an assertion or assumption that has been presented in or implied by the immediate context. . . . The *nature* of that strengthening, viz., explanation versus inference or cause, is deduced from the content of the material, not from the presence of γάρ” (ibid., 69).

in the law that is related to God according to my inner man, but I see another law in the physical members of my body, warring against the law that is related to my mind and taking me captive by means of the in-the-physical-members-of-my body law that is related to sin.

To this author, at least, the two passages seem to read together very well. The only real discrepancy is the first person plural versus the first person singular. If, however, Paul is illustrating from an individual, personal perspective in 7:21-23 what he described in 7:5b as the shared situation between him and his addressees, then the difficulty is removed. A greater difficulty arises when the context of 7:5b is picked up. 7:5a states, “For when we were in the flesh” (ὅτε γὰρ ἡμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί). Especially in light of the “but now” (νυνὶ δὲ) in 7:6, the situation envisioned in 7:5a is clearly something seen as remote. In contrast, present tense forms are used to portray the situation as being near and in progress.¹⁷ The difficulties universally encountered by interpreters of Paul’s statements in Romans 7 are nothing new and have been well surveyed elsewhere.¹⁸ The purpose here is to look at Paul’s statements from a new angle.

The contrast between an Imperfect tense form in 7:5b and Present tense forms in 7:21-23 is not necessarily a contrast of two different time periods since the tense forms do not automatically refer to certain times when an event occurred.¹⁹ There is,

¹⁷The present tense form realizes the meanings +imperfective (in the ASPECT system) and –remote (in the REMOTENESS system) (see Appendix 1).

¹⁸See J. Lambrecht, *The Wretched “I” and Its Liberation: Paul in Romans 7 and 8* (Louvain: Peeters, 1992); M. P. Middendorf, *The “I” in the Storm: A Study of Romans 7* (St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 1997); and Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 358-94.

¹⁹For refutation of the absolute tense conception, see Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and Mood*, SBG 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); and idem, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 25-26. On the Greek verbal network, see Appendix 1.

nevertheless, a contrast in perspective—in 7:5b the situation is conceived of and portrayed by Paul as remote while in 7:21-23 the situation is conceived of and portrayed as near. Two statements leading up to 7:21-23 bring some rapprochement between 7:5b and 7:21-23. In 7:14, Paul states, “For we know that the law is spiritual, but I am *fleshly*, in the state of being sold under sin” (οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστίν, ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν). In 7:18, he says, “For I know that what is good does not dwell in me, that is in my *flesh*” (οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἐμοί, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, ἀγαθόν). The lexical repetition of “flesh” and “fleshly” as well as “sin,” “under sin,” and “what is good does not dwell in me” makes a strong case for their conceptual similarity. Two options seem possible. On the one hand, Paul may intend to link his past and present experience. On the other hand, Paul may be talking about the same experience from different perspectives. One of the major debates in Romans 7 is precisely over whether Paul is talking about his pre-conversion or post-conversion experience (that is, if one grants that Paul is talking about his own experience at all).²⁰ The former possibility is less likely than the latter given the strong contrast

²⁰Kümmel argues that Paul’s use of the first person singular is rhetorical, not autobiographical. See W. G. Kümmel, *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen in Neuen Testament: Zwei Studien* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1974). The arguments for the pre-Christian and post-Christian views are well summarized in Schreiner, *Romans*, 379-92. Anderson identifies 7:7-25 as a personal παραδειγμα (“example”) and that Paul intends his own experience to be paradigmatic for the Roman Christians (*Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 231-32. Cf. Lauri Thurén, *Derhetorizing Paul: A Dynamic Perspective on Pauline Theology and the Law*, WUNT 124 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2000), 117-26. An interpretation that this author has not come across elsewhere that seems to make good sense is that the common confession (cf. the use of “we know,” οἶδαμεν, in Rom 2:2; 3:19; 8:22, 28) includes all of “the Law is spiritual, but ‘I’ [Paul and his addressees referring to themselves as individuals] am fleshly, sold under sin.” The “I” in Rom 7:14-25 is thus a personalized common confession of Paul and his addressees. Some support for this view may be found in the use of “our” instead of “my” at the end of 7:24-25:

between Romans 7:14-25 and 8:1-17 (note especially the $\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$ “now”).²¹ Nevertheless, this issue is not something that analysis of patterns of lexis can resolve by itself.

The view that the referent of νόμος is the Mosaic Law in every case in 7:21-25 is gaining support in recent scholarship.²² Instead of approaching the issue from the angle of the different arguments, the approach adopted here is to test the explanatory power of a general reference hypothesis (over against a specific referent of Mosaic Law hypothesis) for νόμος.

An important distinction in Paul’s description is usually lost in English translation because of the awkwardness that would be involved to bring out the distinction in English. This distinguishing feature was represented by the unusual translations, “The *through-the-law* passions that are related to sins were working *in the physical members of our bodies*” (7:5b) and “taking me captive *by means of the in-the-physical-members-of-my body law* that is related to sin” (7:23) Most English translations brought out this distinction well with regard to the former, with something like, “The

“Wretched human being that I am, who will save *me* from this body that is related to death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ *our* Lord.”

²¹For competing evaluations of the likelihood that the contrast between 7:14-25 and 8:1-17 allows for a post-conversion interpretation, see Schreiner, *Romans*, 387 (unlikely) and James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 388-89, 395-96 (likely). Winger argues that the “I” in Rom 7:14-25 refers to Paul himself presumptively and that this assumption, together with the present tense forms, favor the post-conversion view (Michael Winger, *By What Law? the Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul*, SBLDS 128 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 171-72). Harvey identifies the antithetical word pair $\sigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\xi}$, “flesh” (7:5), and $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, “Spirit” (7:6), as well as the adjectives $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ “Spiritual” and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, “fleshly” (7:14), as anticipating the dominance of that word chain in 8:1-30, where $\sigma\alpha\rho\tilde{\xi}$ occurs 11 times and $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ occurs 22 times (John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul’s Letters*, ETS Studies [Grand Rapids: Baker/Leicester: Apollos, 1998], 129-30).

²²See Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 392-96; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 376-78.

sinful passions that were through the law.” With regard to the latter, however, in the English translations this author consulted, the English reader could easily be led to believe through translations like, “the law of sin that is in the members of my body” that Paul is describing sin that is in the members of his body.²³ The grammatical relationship in Greek is clearly that “through the law” defines passions and “in the physical members of my body” defines law. That this νόμος is “in the physical members of my body” tilts the balance in favor of the interpretation that νόμος functions as a general reference to a controlling principle in 7:23c since the Mosaic Law cannot be taken to be inside Paul’s body. While it might still be possible to see the reference as some kind of stamp of the Mosaic Law, Paul’s point is more likely to be that sin, which is inside his body, has taken control of him, so that what his inner being delights in—the law that is related to God—fails to exercise controlling influence over what he does. The Mosaic Law is not inside Paul’s body (see further “Example 2: Romans 2:14 and Romans 2:26” below).

If it is granted that Paul used νόμος as a non-specific reference to a controlling principle in 7:21,²⁴ so that he has to clarify with the genitive qualifier “that is related to God” (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ) when he refers to Mosaic Law in 7:22, then “a different law” (ἕτερον νόμον) in 7:23 would be a different law from the Mosaic law, either identical with or yet different from “the law that evil is present in me the one who wishes to do good.” Indeed, one might wonder if “law that is related to God” also has a more general

²³See NASB, NIV, RSV, NRSV, KJV, NKJV.

²⁴Cf. the arguments in chap. 6. On precedents in classical and Hellenistic literature for metaphorical uses of νόμος, see H. Räisänen, “Paul’s Word-Play on νόμος: A Linguistic Study,” in *Jesus, Paul and Torah: Collected Essays*, trans. D. E. Orton (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 69-94. For a complementary approach to Rom 7:14-25, see Winger, *By What Law?*, 186-96.

reference to God’s controlling principle. In addition, given that “the in-the-physical-members-of-my-body law that is related to sin” (7:23) echoes closely both “the sin that indwells me” (7:17, 20) and “evil is present in me” (7:21), it is best to see the same controlling principle of indwelling sin as at issue. Thus “the law” in 7:21 and the “other law” in 7:23 refer to the controlling principle of indwelling sin. As for “the law that is related to my mind” (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου), it could be a reference to the Mosaic Law, but given the context of sin warring against and overpowering the mind (7:23), it more likely refers to the mind as a controlling principle. A further support of this position is its explanatory power concerning how Paul can state “I delight in the law of God according to the inward man” (v. 22) and “But if what I do not desire this I practice, I am no longer producing it, but the sin that indwells me is” (v. 17). An alien entity, indwelling sin, is warring against Paul’s mind (probably sharing the same referent with “the inward man” in 7:22) and has taken him captive, i.e., taken control over the members of his body to produce the sin that Paul does not desire to practice.

In summary, the lexical repetitions between 7:5b and 7:22 encourage the interpretation of these two texts in light of each other. The examination of these two texts from the angle of patterns of lexis does not conclusively demonstrate but favors the view that νόμος is used as a general reference to a controlling principle in Romans 7.

Example 2: Romans 2:14 and Romans 2:26

In Romans 2:14 and 2:26, the following reasoning was applied to identify three lexical repetitions between these two sets of clauses. Both ἔθνη, “Gentiles,” and ἀκροβυστία, “uncircumcised,” belong to domain 11 (Groups and Classes of Persons and Members of Such). More specifically, both belong under the Socio-Religious subdomain.

It is likely that the two terms are instantial equivalents.²⁵ “Law” is the second lexical repetition identified. It is a simple lexical repetition, with νόμος having the same word group and clause functions as a genitive qualifier of a Complement. While ποιῶσιν, “they should do,” belongs under domain 42 (Perform, Do) and φυλάσσει, “he should keep,” under domain 36 (Guide, Discipline, Follow), they are likely related in meaning. They were thus considered a possible lexical repetition. The immediate context was taken up below to determine whether these two clauses may be read together intelligibly.

2:14a: ^{comj}[ὅταν] ^{comj}[γὰρ] ^s[ἔθνη τὰ μη νόμον ἔχοντα] ^A[φύσει]
^c[τὰ τοῦ νόμου] ^P[ποιῶσιν]
 2:14b: ^s[οὗτοι] ^A[νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες] ^c[ἑαυτοῖς] ^P[εἰσιν] ^c[νόμος]
 2:26a: ^{comj}[ἐὰν] ^{comj}[οὖν] ^s[ἡ ἀκροβυστία] ^c[τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου]
^P[φυλάσσει]
 2:26b: ^A[οὐχ] ^s[ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ] ^A[εἰς περιτομὴν] ^P[λογισθήσεται]
 2:27: ^{comj}[καὶ] ^P[κρινεῖ] ^s[ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα] ^c[σὲ
 τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου]

For readers who do not read Greek, compare the translation here:

For whenever Gentiles who do not have the law do by nature the things that are related to the law, these ones who do not have the law are a law to themselves (2:14). Therefore if the uncircumcised should keep the righteous requirements that are related to the law, will not his uncircumcision be considered circumcision (2:26)? And the one who is uncircumcised by nature who accomplish the law will be expected to judge you who through writing and circumcision are one who transgresses the law (2:27).

In this author’s opinion, the two texts are not only related in meaning, but also make sense when read together without the intervening text (even while not violating

²⁵By using the term, “instancial” to qualify “equivalent” this author is saying that as used in the context, they share the same referent and share one or more meaning components that allow for the two distinct terms to share a referent.

their original context).²⁶ The discussion below proceeds on the assumption that these two texts shed light on each other. The reader is left to decide for himself whether the texts read well together and whether the mutual interpretation presented below is convincing.

Romans 2:14a is a projected temporal clause (ὅταν with the subjunctive mood verb form ποιῶσιν, “whenever they should do”). While Paul does not commit to the truth of the projected event, “Whenever Gentiles who do not possess the law should do the things of the law,” two implications may be drawn from this text.²⁷ First, Paul presupposes the fact that Gentiles do not possess (domain 57) νόμος, here clearly referring to Mosaic Law since Gentiles had many different types of νόμοι, “laws.”²⁸ Second, “the things that are related to the law” (τὰ τοῦ νόμου) is distinct yet related to νόμος. The common meaning component of νόμος is the prescribing of certain standards and thus the things that are related to an entity that prescribes standards is most likely the standards that are prescribed (see further the analysis in chap. 7 of this study). 2:14b repeats the contrast between not possessing (domain 57) law and having attributes related to the class of law (ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος, “They are a law to themselves”).²⁹ The word

²⁶Citing lexical parallels, Bell suggests that these two texts interpret each other (*No One Seeks for God*, 159). Cf. Stephen Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 107.

²⁷See Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 240. Cf. the section “The Greek Verbal Network” in Appendix 1.

²⁸The participle, which conveys the meaning +factive presupposition, is used as opposed to the infinitive, See the section “The Greek Verbal Network” in Appendix 1.

²⁹This relational clause may be identifying or attributive. But since there are other “laws,” it is most probably referring to a law out of a class of laws. So the clause is taken to be attributive. See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 66-69. Schreiner sees a reference to natural law in 2:14-15 (*Romans*, 123-24). Cf. R. D. Anderson, Jr.,

group τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, “the written-in-their-heart work that is related to the law” in 2:15 appears to shed light on the enigmatic word group, ἑαυτοῖς νόμος (a law to themselves). Note the unusual translation “the written-in-their-heart work that is related to the law.” It is used to avoid the possible misinterpretation by English readers that “written in their heart” modifies law. The New Revised Standard Version translation approximates the sense advocated here, “what the law requires is written on their hearts.” The work that is related to νόμος, coming after the statement about performing the things that are related to νόμος (2:14), likely refers to the prescriptions required to be performed by the law. This interpretation is reinforced by 2:16, which talks of the day when God judges the secrets of human beings, i.e., God judges one on the basis of performance or non-performance.

Romans 2:26 is noteworthy, even though *nomos* occurs as a genitive qualifier. Since the uncircumcised are an instantial equivalent of Gentiles who do not have the law and since the keeping of the law (φυλάσση, domain 36) is likewise at stake, it is most likely that τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου, “the righteous requirements that are related to the law” is an instantial equivalent of τὰ τοῦ νόμου, “the things that are related to the law” (2:14) and τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου, “the work that is related to the law” (2:15). This is not to say that they are equivalent in meaning. Rather, they refer to the same referent. All three expressions (as a word group, not as individual words) share the meaning component of the prescriptions that are related to the law. The unmarked expression, τὰ τοῦ νόμου (“the things related to the law”), simply conveys this sense. The other two

semantically marked expressions highlight different additional meaning components. The head term δικαιώματα may highlight the additional meaning component of the righteous nature of those prescriptions. The head term ἔργον may highlight yet another additional meaning component—the nature of those prescriptions as requiring performance. In addition, it should be noted that this identification of the requirements of the law as *distinct from, yet related to, the law* follows from the fact that the uncircumcised can be said to *keep or accomplish* (2:27; both φυλάσσει and τελοῦσα belong in domain 36) *something that they do not have*. It also means that “the written-in-their-heart work that is related to the law” does not refer to the Mosaic Law, which they *do not have*, but to the prescriptions that are related to Mosaic Law. While some readers may question the distinction between the law and the prescriptions that the law prescribes, it is crucial. It is possible to keep a law’s prescriptions without being under its authority. The tension between the strong statements about being freed from the Mosaic Law (7:6) and the fulfillment of that Law (e.g., 13:8) find their reconciliation in this distinction.³⁰ Another implication is that at least some of the prescriptions that are related to the Mosaic Law have a universal nature, such that Gentiles who are self-governing in prescribing standards end up agreeing with and even sometimes carrying out those prescriptions so that their hearts bear witness together with their consciences in accusing or even excusing them in terms of performance or non-performance (the emphasis is on accusing rather than excusing in 2:15). This interpretation accords with the accusation that humankind has suppressed knowledge expressed in Romans 1:18-32 (see Appendix 3).

³⁰This analysis is complementary to Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 201-05.

Example 3: Romans 3:20 and Romans 7:7

3:20b: ^A[διὰ γὰρ νόμου]^S[ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας]

7:7d: ^{conj}[ἀλλὰ]^C[τὴν ἁμαρτίαν]^A[οὐκ]^P[ἔγνω]

7:7e: ^{conj}[εἰ]^A[μὴ]^A[διὰ νόμου]

Romans 3:20b and 7:7d-e share two simple lexical repetitions, ἁμαρτία, “sin,” and νόμος. Moreover, the repetition of νόμος corresponds in clause function, i.e., both instances are Adjuncts in their clauses. The third lexical repetition involves the noun ἐπίγνωσις and the verb ἔγνω (from γινώσκω), which is counted as a complex repetition. Thus we have a possible bonded pair. At first sight, the pair cannot be read together. The conjunctions in both clauses, however, signal that this possible bonded pair should not be dismissed before picking up their immediate context. The γὰρ, “for,” in 3:20b gives the reason for 3:20a, which in turn grounds (διότι) 3:19.³¹ The conjunction in 3:19 is δέ “in addition,” which marks development.³² That 3:19-20 is marked off as a development is good reason to stop at this point in picking up context for 3:20b. Thus, 3:19-20 form the representative context for 3:20b. The conjunction in 7:7d is ἀλλά, “but,” which marks a contrast. The proposition that it is contrasted with needs to be picked up, which requires that we take up the previous question, “Is the law sin?” and its answer, “May it never be,” with implied “the law is not sin” (7:7b-c).³³ Thus the 7:7a-c is

³¹As Levinsohn explains, γὰρ “constrains the reader to interpret the material it introduces as *strengthening* an assertion or assumption that has been presented in or implied by the immediate context. . . . The *nature* of that strengthening, viz., explanation versus inference or cause, is deduced from the content of the material, not from the presence of γὰρ” (*Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 69).

³²The function of δέ as a textual marker is to mark “development” and not “contrast” or “connection” as is often thought (*ibid.*, 112-18).

³³“When ἀλλά links a negative characteristic or proposition with a following positive one, the negative proposition usually retains its relevance” (*ibid.*, 114).

representative context for 7:7d-e for this comparison.

3:19: ^p[οἶδαμεν]^{conj}[δὲ]
^s[^c[ὅσα]^s[ὁ νόμος]^p[λέγει]]^c[τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ]^p[λαλεῖ]
^{conj}[ἵνα]^s[πᾶν στόμα]^p[φραγῆ]
^{conj}[καὶ]^c[ὑπόδικος]^p[γένηται]^s[πᾶς ὁ κόσμος]^c[τῷ θεῷ]
 3:20a: ^{conj}[διότι]^a[ἐξ ἔργων νόμου]^a[οὐ]^p[δικαιωθήσεται]^s[πᾶσα σὰρξ]
^a[ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ]
 3:20b: ^a[διὰ γὰρ νόμου]^s[ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας]
 7:7: ^c[τί]^{conj}[οὖν]^p[ἔροῦμεν]
^s[ὁ νόμος]^c[ἁμαρτία]
^a[μὴ]^p[γένοιτο]
 7:7d: ^{conj}[ἀλλὰ]^c[τὴν ἁμαρτίαν]^a[οὐκ]^p[ἔγνω]
 7:7e: ^{conj}[εἰ]^a[μὴ]^a[διὰ νόμου]

For readers who do not know Greek, compare the translation below. 3:19-20

begins as a cognitive process,

We know that whatever the law says it says to those who are in the law with the intended result that every mouth may be shut and the whole world may become answerable to God. For [i.e., because] out of the works that are related to the law [i.e., by doing the deeds prescribed by the law] no flesh will be justified before him. For [because] through the law is knowledge that is related to sin.

7:7 begins as a rhetorical question, “What then shall we say? Is the law sin? May it never be! [The law is not sin!] Rather, I would not have known sin except through the law.”

With their immediate context included, it appears that the two passages make sense together. Indeed, in this author’s opinion, the sense they make together seems to fit well within their original contexts, i.e., they are not being read together in violation of the original contexts or in distortion of their original sense in their contexts. The possible connection between 3:20b and Rom 7:7d-e was first suggested by Bultmann, who sees 7:7-11 as expanding on the brief statement in 3:20.³⁴ This suggestion is supported also by

³⁴Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1951), 1:264-65.

Thielman.³⁵ Bultmann, however, understands “knowing” as practical knowing, of being led to sin, while Thielman interprets “knowing” as objective knowledge, providing “a clear definition of sin.”³⁶

It seems possible to make the two passages intelligible together by taking both to refer to either the objective knowledge or practical knowledge of sin. The passages have been placed side by side for the reader’s judgment. In this case, Hoey’s method, at least in the way we have applied it here, shows the possibility of interpreting 3:20b and 7:7 as referring to the same kind of knowledge of sin, but does not resolve the issue of which kind of knowledge is the preferable option.

Conclusion

In this chapter, this author presented one potential way of adapting Michael Hoey’s concept of repetition links (by means of lexical repetitions) to the analysis of non-narrative New Testament and other Hellenistic texts. In the process of demonstrating the evidence for the existence of lexical links in Romans, a contribution towards the interpretation of the law was attempted in two areas: (1) to bring to the forefront sections of text in Romans relevant to understanding Paul’s portrayal of law that may not have figured prominently in previous non-linguistic studies; and (2) to throw new light on sections of text already known to be relevant to Paul’s portrayal of law. In particular, the pattern of Paul’s use of genitive qualifiers on νόμος points towards a more general

³⁵Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 199.

³⁶Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1:264; and Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 199. Schreiner states that “the knowledge of sin transmitted through the law

reference to a controlling principle in those instances: e.g., “law that is related to my mind,” “law that is related to sin,” and “law that is related to God.” In the bottom-up analysis of all 74 occurrence of νόμος in the next three chapters, this finding will be tested from another perspective.

In chapters 6-8 an extension of the concept developed in this chapter will also be applied. Specifically, instances of νόμος that share a clause function (e.g., head term of word group that functions as Subject in a clause) and referent (e.g., Mosaic Law) will often be summarized together in connected sentences. The approach and its effect is subtle and the reader may not notice it if it were not mentioned here. Because νόμος refers to other entities besides Mosaic Law, identity of referent is the first criterion for linking texts together. The same entity (here νόμος) will often keep the same company in different contexts, so that other lexical items that are frequent companions will often be repeated with it. Thus, the second criterion is, in fact, lexical repetitions as delineated in this chapter. The third criterion is similarity of clause or word group function. This author would suggest that these three criteria can be applied broadly as controls in the task of comparative studies and integrative studies on various themes, participants, and other matters in the text.

extends beyond the mere revelation of sin already present; the law also exacerbates, provokes, and stimulates sin” (*Romans*, 366).

CHAPTER 6

Νόμος FROM A BOTTOM-UP PERSPECTIVE PART I: TRANSITIVITY PATTERNS FOR Νόμος

Introduction

As noted in the introductory chapter to this study, Paul’s understanding of “law” and the interpretation of every major text on νόμος are hotly disputed. The functional analysis of the texts where νόμος occurs in this and the next two chapters will not end the debate, but will hopefully shed new light on the linguistic evidence in the Epistle to the Romans with which all interpreters have to wrestle.

Treatments in the Standard Lexicons

A brief survey of how νόμος is treated in the standard lexicons will serve to set the context for this study. Things the reader should look out for when the treatment of νόμος in these lexica are described below are (1) the clarity of definition given to the word; (2) what kind of meanings are ascribed to the word; (3) whether the lexicons agree on the range of meanings; and (3) what the bases for ascribing different meanings are. The lexicons surveyed are the second and third editions of the English translation of Walter Bauer’s lexicon (BAGD and BDAG respectively hereafter) and the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (Louw-Nida hereafter).¹

¹Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, ed. and trans. W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979); Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-*

BAGD

BAGD provides a mixed bag of partial definitions and glosses. Five classes of usage are delineated: (1) “generally of any law”; (2) “a rule governing one’s actions, *principle, norm*”; (3) “esp. of the law, which Moses received from God”; (4) “of a collection of holy writings precious to the Jews—a. in the strict sense of the law = the Pentateuch, the work of Moses the lawgiver . . . [; or] b. in the wider sense = Holy Scripture [generally]”; and (5) “[figuratively] of Christianity as a ‘new law.’”²

The majority of instances in Romans are classified under (3). With respect to the occurrences in Romans 7:21-8:2b, BAGD states that

In general, Paul uses the expression νόμος (which dominates this context) in cases in which he [probably] would have preferred another word: he speaks of the *principle* of action that obligates him to keep the moral law as ὁ νόμος τ. νοός μου [verse] 23b ([see] νοῦς 2). Engaged in a bitter struggle w. this νόμος there is a ἕτερον νόμος which, in contrast to the νοῦς, dwells ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου *in my* (physical) *members* [verse] 23a, and hence is a νόμος τῆς ἁμαρτίας [verses] 23c or a νόμος τ. ἁμαρτίας καὶ τ. θανάτου 8:2b.³

The usage in Romans 3:27b and 8:2a is simply described as “[figuratively] of Christianity as a ‘new law.’”

BDAG

BDAG retains much of the material from its predecessor BAGD, but both expands and improves upon it. BDAG defines the “primary meaning” of νόμος as

English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, rev. and ed. F. W. Danker, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); and J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).

²BAGD, s.v. “νόμος.”

³BAGD, s.v. “νόμος.”

relating “to that which is conceived as standard or generally recognized rules of civilized conduct esp. as sanctioned by tradition.”⁴ The entry further explains that

The synonym ἔθος (cp. συνήθεια) denotes that which is habitual or customary, especially in reference to personal behavior. In addition to rules that take hold through tradition, the state or other legislating body may enact ordinances that are recognized by all concerned and in turn becomes legal tradition. A special semantic problem for modern readers encountering the term [νόμος] is the general tendency to confine the usage of the term “law” to codified statutes.⁵

After this general discussion, the entry lists three meanings or functional usages: (1) “a procedure or practice that has taken hold, *a custom, rule, principle, norm*”; (2) “constitutional or statutory legal system, *law*”; and (3) “a collection of holy writings precious to God’s people, *sacred ordinance*.”⁶

The majority of instances in Romans are classed under (2) and sub-categorized as specifically referring to “the law that Moses received from God and is the standard according to which membership in the people of Israel is determined.” Romans 3:19 and 21b are put under (3), with the former referring to Holy Scripture generally and the latter to the Pentateuch.

For the uses in Romans 7:21-8:2, BDAG states that

According to Bauer, Paul uses the expression νόμος (which dominates this context) in cases in which he [probably] would have preferred another word. But it is also

⁴BDAG, s.v. “νόμος.” Cf. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. and aug. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), s.v. “νόμος,” which defines νόμος as “that which is in habitual practice, use or possession.” It is not entirely clear what Danker means by “primary meaning.” Does he mean a common component of meaning binding all the distinct meanings together or the meaning that is used the most?

⁵BDAG, s.v. “νόμος.”

⁶Ibid. Danker explains in the foreword to BDAG (viii) that “an arabic numeral at the head of a classification signifies that all the passages contained in that classification share a given meaning structure.”

[probable] that Paul purposely engages in wordplay to heighten the predicament of those who do not rely on the gospel of liberation from legal constraint: the Apostle speaks of *a principle* that obligates one to observe a code of conduct that any sensible [person] would recognize as sound and valid ὁ νόμος τ. νοός μου [verse] 23b ([see] νοῦς 1a). Engaged in a bitter struggle [with] this νόμος there is a ἕτερος νόμος which, in contrast to the νοῦς, dwells ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου *in my* (physical) *members* [verse] 23a, and hence is a νόμος τῆς ἁμαρτίας [verses] 23c and 25b or a νόμος τ. ἁμαρτίας καὶ τ. θανάτου 8:2b.⁷

The entry further says that the sense quoted above prepares the way for the specific perspective “of life under the lordship of Jesus Christ as a ‘new law’ or ‘system’ of conduct that constitutes an unwritten tradition.” It cites Romans 3:27b—“*a law or system requiring faith*”—and 8:2a—“(=the spirit-code) of life”—as evidence for this usage.⁸

Louw-Nida

The Louw-Nida lexicon distinguishes νόμος into three senses under two distinct subdomains (subdomain G' Law, Regulation, Ordinance [33.333-33.342] and subdomain E Written Language [33.35-33.68]):

33.333: a formalized rule (or set of rules) prescribing what people must do—“law, ordinance, rule.”

33.55: the first five books of the OT called the Torah (often better rendered as “instruction”)—“the Law.”

33.56: the sacred writings of the OT—“holy writings, Scriptures, sacred writings.”

In addition, the phrase ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, “the Law and the Prophets” is classified as an idiom (under the Written Language subdomain). The justification provided is that “the meaning of this fixed phrase is really different from the total of the constituent parts, in that more [i.e., all of the sacred writings of the OT, including the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings] is included than merely ‘the Law and the

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid. Also listed under this usage are Gal 6:2; James 1:12; 2:8, and 12.

Prophets.” The expression νόμος τοῦ ἀνδρός in Romans 7:2 is also identified as an idiom: “the law which binds a woman to a man in marriage—‘marriage law’” (under the Law, Regulation, Ordinance subdomain).

Unlike BDAG and its predecessor BAGD, the Louw-Nida lexicon only gives a few illustrative texts and not an extensive list of texts that fit under a particular meaning.

In Romans 8:2, some wrestling with the referent of an instance of νόμος is evident:

The occurrence of νόμος two times in Ro 8.2 poses certain problems of both translation and interpretation: ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου “for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus freed you from the law which leads to sin and death.” In the second occurrence of νόμος, the meaning is clearly the rules and regulations of the OT law, but in the case of the first occurrence of νόμος, there is no such formulation of decrees. The reference in this instance must therefore be to certain basic principles. If, however, one understands νόμος in the sense of a type of abstract “governing power,” it is possible that the reference in the phrase νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς is to this governing power of the Spirit of life which frees one from the law which stipulates sin and death.⁹

Moreover, the entry in 33.333 claims that the difference between “a law” and “a command” is that “a law is enforced by sanctions from a society, while a command carries only the sanctions of the individual who commands.”¹⁰

Comparisons

It is not the purpose of this study to adjudicate among these lexicons about their relative merits or demerits. Moreover, the description and comparison serves the focus of introducing the lexical issues related to νόμος. Therefore, comparative

⁹Louw-Nida, 2:426-27.

¹⁰The entry continues, “When, however, the people of Israel accepted the commands of God as the rules which they would follow and enforce, these became their laws” (ibid., 2:426)

comments will be restricted to four issues: the clarity of definition, the meanings given, the range of meanings, and the bases for ascribing those meanings (if discernible).¹¹

First, many readers will notice that BDAG provides actual definitions (highlighted with bold font) in addition to glosses (which are retained and distinguished with bold and italic font), which is a significant improvement over its predecessor BAGD.¹² Thus, on the question of whether clear definitions are provided, BDAG stands together with Louw-Nida over against BAGD, which is overly dependent on glosses.

From the passages cited above, it would appear that all three lexicons agree on the basic range of meanings for νόμος, though they may disagree on the relationship among those meanings. The possible exception is BAGD's fifth sense, "[figuratively] of Christianity as a 'new law.'" BDAG modifies this identification to "of life under the lordship of Jesus Christ as a 'new law' or 'system' of conduct that constitutes an unwritten tradition" and makes it a subcategory under (1) "a procedure or practice that has taken hold, *a custom, rule, principle, norm.*" While the meaning classification of "a

¹¹For a more expansive comparison, including the arrangement of information, contextual information, and the treatment of figurative usage, see, e.g., Vern S. Poythress, "Greek Lexicography and Translation: Comparing Bauer's and Louw-Nida's Lexicons," *JETS* 44.2 (2001): 285-96.

¹²Danker explains the need for the change this way: "Traditionally, lexicons have shown a preference for definition of a word in the source language with a corresponding word or phrase in the receptor language. A series of words or glosses is then offered to cover a variety of possibilities for translation. But these alleged meanings are for the most part mere formal equivalents, and in the case of words that occur very frequently in a language they run the hazard of being devoid of semantic value. Even worse, an unwary reader may think that a given word bears all the content expressed by a series of synonyms. Not to speak of the student whose primary language is not English and who therefore may not understand distinctions between the English synonyms that supposedly define a given Greek term" (BDAG, viii). Inconsistency in the provision of extended definitions in BDAG is critiqued by Vern S. Poythress, "Extended Definitions in the Third Edition of Bauer's *Greek-English Lexicon*," *JETS* 45.1 (2002): 125-31.

formalized rule (or set of rules) prescribing what people must do—‘law, ordinance, rule’” in the Louw-Nida lexicon could accommodate that understanding, it is unclear whether BAGD’s distinction would be recognized by the compilers of that lexicon.

It is unclear what criteria were used to come up with the five distinctions in BAGD and whether they are five distinct meanings or just uses that take on the specific nuances in context.¹³ BDAG improves upon BAGD by *apparently* categorizing its three senses in terms of increasing specificity in relation to the primary meaning identified, “that which is conceived as standard or generally recognized rules of civilized conduct esp. as sanctioned by tradition.” Sense (1) simply has to do with a procedure or practice, subdivided into (a) general procedures and practices; and (b) a specific system of practice (either life under Christ’s lordship or unwritten tradition). Sense (2) relates to constitutional or statutory legal systems, further divided into (a) general constitutional or statutory legal systems; and (b) specifically “of the law that Moses received from God and is the standard according to which membership in the people of Israel is determined.” Sense (3) involves a specific collection of holy writings, whether (a) more specific to the Pentateuch; or (b) Holy Scripture generally.¹⁴ It seems that more specific components of meaning are added to the primary component of meaning from (1) to (3) and that the subdivisions have to do with general and specific reference.¹⁵

¹³Cf. the criticisms in Michael Winger, *By What Law?: the Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul*, SBLDS 128 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 22.

¹⁴In the process of improving upon its predecessor, BDAG retains and builds upon the data in BAGD. Usage (1) and (3) in BAGD are unified as sub-distinctions within usage (2) in BDAG. Usage (2) and (5) in BAGD are treated as sub-distinctions within usage (1) in BDAG. Usage (4) in BAGD is carried over into BDAG as usage (3).

¹⁵Nida distinguishes meaning and reference: “The meaning of a word consists

The Louw-Nida lexicon appears to see senses (1) and (2) in BDAG under the single meaning of “a formalized rule (or set of rules) prescribing what people must do—‘law, ordinance, rule.’” Sense (3) in BDAG is united under the subdomain of Written Language and distinguished into three entries—33.55 “the first five books of the OT called the Torah”; 33.56 “the sacred writings of the OT”; and 33.58 “(an idiom) . . . all of the sacred writings of the OT, including the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings.” The quotation above about Romans 8:2 in Louw-Nida indicates, by the sentence, “The reference in this instance must therefore be to certain basic principles,” that it decided against recognizing the sense of νόμος as “a type of abstract ‘governing power.’” It seems, then, that the Louw-Nida lexicon recognizes two meanings to the word νόμος, rules that prescribe what people must do and sacred writings,¹⁶ with the referent changing from general to more specific for both meanings in different usages in context. The only common meaning the Louw-Nida lexicon explicitly gives is communication (domain 33).

Conclusion

From the survey of the standard lexicons BAGD, BDAG, and Louw-Nida, the common thread appears to be that one of the commonly shared components of meaning for νόμος is that of a generally-recognized rule or standard. This component of meaning allows for general reference to customs, procedures, principles, rules, or statutes or

of the set of distinctive features which makes possible certain types of reference, while reference itself is the process of designating some entity, event, etc. by a particular symbol” (Eugene A. Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures* [Munich: Fink, 1975], 15).

¹⁶Winger observes that “by making ‘Pentateuch’ the designation of this meaning Louw and Nida tend to minimize the presence of elements of meaning common to ¶33.333, “formalized rule,” which lies in a separate subdomain. But they do not expressly address this issue” (*By What Law?*, 24).

specific reference to the Mosaic Law or any other particular custom, procedure, principles, rules, or statutes.¹⁷

Survey of Transitivity Patterns for Νόμος

In this study, the occurrences of νόμος in Romans will be subjected to an analysis of their function in their syntagmatic contexts. Before proceeding to the analysis, several distinctions that will be made in the discussion require articulation.

Distinctions and Focus

First, although the question, “Do the different instances of νόμος represent the same linguistic referent?” will be asked, first and foremost this study comes from the perspective of the function of the word in specific contexts.¹⁸ In particular, νόμος is analyzed in terms of its role in the *transitivity system*, i.e., what role it plays in who causes what to/for whom (see “Transitivity Analysis” in chap. 3). Second, since the analysis comes from the angle of the transitivity patterns, the meaning of νόμος is also not the primary question asked. Only after gathering the portrait of transitivity patterns will questions about the meaning(s) of νόμος be explored. Specifically, the empirical

¹⁷In the survey above, many other systematic and non-systematic treatments of νόμος were bypassed. The reader may consult Winger, *By What Law?*, 21-32 for a useful compendium (BDAG postdates Winger’s work). Moo’s article is helpful in dealing with the referents of νόμος and is suggestive for the meaning of the word, but apparently fails to take full account of the distinction between meaning and reference and even speaks of a root meaning for νόμος (Douglas J. Moo, “Law, ‘Works of the Law,’ and Legalism in Paul,” *WTJ* 45 [1983]: 73-100).

¹⁸For an approach from the perspective of referents for νόμος, see Winger, *By What Law?*, 65-121. Even Winger, however, began with the investigation of meaning to help determine the referents for his subsequent study (*ibid.*, 18-19). As Winger explains, “The distinction between *meaning* and *referent* is, generally, that the meaning of a term is

evidence adduced will be compared to two possibilities for accounting for all the occurrences of νόμος: (1) νόμος has multiple distinct senses; and (2) νόμος possesses one general sense that is modified by context. In the first instance, the word form νόμος would be ambiguous. In different contexts, one is forced to select only one of these distinct senses. In the second instance, νόμος consistently represents the same general sense. In different contexts, certain traits of its single, general sense may be highlighted (and other traits backgrounded) or some traits may be added to the general sense.¹⁹

The difference between general sense and ambiguity may be illustrated with “bank” and “cousin” respectively: 1. Sue is visiting her cousin; and 2. We finally reached the bank. As Cruse explains,

Cousin in 1 can, of course, refer to either a male or female cousin. But the sentence can function as a satisfactory communication without either the hearer perceiving, or the speaker intending to convey, anything concerning the sex of the person referred to. This is because *cousin* has a general meaning which covers all the more specific possibilities (not only with regard to sex, but also with regard to an indefinitely large number of other matters, such as height, age, eye-colour, etc.). *Bank* in 2 can also be interpreted in more than one way (e.g. “margin of river” or “establishment for the custody of money”); but it has no general meaning covering these possibilities. Furthermore, the interpretation cannot be left undecided: both speaker and hearer must select a reading (the same reading) if the sentence is to play its part in a normal conversational exchange. We shall say that the word form *cousin* is **general** with respect to the distinction “male cousin”/“female cousin”; *bank*, on the other hand, will be said to be **ambiguous** with respect to the sense distinction “financial institution”/“side of river.” In other words, the two meanings “male cousin” and “female cousin” are both associated with the same lexical unit *cousin*, whose meaning is more general than either; they therefore do not represent distinct senses of *cousin*. The meanings “financial institution” and “side of river”, on the

(for the community which uses it) implicit in the term, while the reference is supplied by the context [i.e., linguistic context] in which the term is used” (ibid., 8).

¹⁹The selection of only one of multiple distinct senses in different contexts is “contextual selection” and the modification of a single sense “modulation” (D. A. Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, CTL [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 52-53).

other hand, do represent two distinct senses, so there are two lexical units *bank* corresponding to these senses.²⁰

The question boils down to whether and to what extent the distinct senses of νόμος perceived by interpreters in various contexts originate from the word itself or from contextual modification. Stated differently, “What are components of meaning that properly belong to the word νόμος?” and “What are the elements of meaning contributed by other words and grammar in the particular contexts in which νόμος occurs?” No formal demonstration of the components of meaning will be undertaken, however.²¹ Instead, the attention of this study will focus on the transitivity patterns of νόμος in the various contexts. The implications drawn from any individual transitivity pattern, in fact, do not necessarily reveal much information about either the meaning(s) or referent(s) for νόμος. The cumulative picture, however, should shed light on both.

Overview of Transitivity Patterns

A simple word search of Romans yields 74 occurrences of the word νόμος. Using the systemic-functional framework and the Opentext.org annotation model, the data can be analyzed from multiple perspectives. For differentiating the components of meaning that properly belong to νόμος and those that are contributed by the context, the word group annotation furnishes a good starting point. The reader may recall that the word group annotation basically distinguishes between *head terms (hd)* and *modifiers* (see the section “Word group annotation model” in chap. 2). The four categories of

²⁰Ibid., 51-52.

²¹On componential analysis, see Eugene A. Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

modifiers were *specifiers (sp)*, *definers (df)*, *qualifiers (ql)*, and *relators (rl)*.²² For an initial angle on the meaning and function of νόμος, it is helpful to look at its function at the word group level for all its occurrences. Table 8 summarizes the word group function of νόμος in Romans according to whether it is a head term, a qualifier, or a relator.

Table 8. Word Group Function of Νόμος in Romans

<i>Rom 1</i>		<i>Rom 2</i>		<i>Rom 3</i>		<i>Rom 4</i>		<i>Rom 5</i>		<i>Rom 6</i>		<i>Rom 7</i>		<i>Rom 8</i>		<i>Rom 9</i>	
hd	0	hd	11	hd	8	hd	3	hd	3	hd	2	hd	22	hd	3	hd	2
ql	0	ql	8	ql	2	ql	0	ql	0	ql	0	ql	0	ql	2	ql	0
rl	0	rl	0	rl	1	rl	2	rl	0	rl	0	rl	1	rl	0	rl	0
0		19		11		5		3		2		23		5		2	
<i>Rom 10</i>		<i>Rom 11</i>		<i>Rom 12</i>		<i>Rom 13</i>		<i>Rom 14</i>		<i>Rom 15</i>		<i>Rom 16</i>		<i>Totals</i>	<i>%</i>		
hd	0	hd	0	hd	0	hd	1	hd	0	hd	0	hd	0	55	74.3		
ql	1	ql	0	ql	0	ql	1	ql	0	ql	0	ql	0	14	18.9		
rl	1	rl	0	rl	0	rl	0	rl	0	rl	0	rl	0	5	6.8		
2		0		0		2		0		0		0		74			

Table 8 provides some useful information. First, νόμος occurs for the first time in Romans 2 and fluctuates in frequency from Romans 2-10 and disappears from Romans 11-16, except for 2 instances in Romans 13. Second, the concentrations of νόμος are highest in chapters 7, 2, and 3 (23, 19, and 11 occurrences or 31 percent, 26 percent, and 15 percent respectively). Chapters 4 and 8 have 5 occurrences each (6.8 percent), chapter 5 has 3 occurrences (4 percent), and chapters 6, 9, 10, and 13 have 2 instances each (2.7 percent). At least two questions arise (which may not be answerable): (1) Why is νόμος

²²Specifiers are modifiers that classify or identify the words they modify (e.g., articles and prepositions). Definers are modifiers that attribute features or further define the words they modify (e.g., adjectives and words in apposition). Qualifiers are modifiers that in some way limit or constrain the scope of the words they modify (e.g., genitives and datives). Relators are words specified by a preposition (i.e., objects of prepositions)

missing from the Opening and Thanksgiving sections, which set the interpersonal framework of the letter, if it is indeed a central theme (as its status as a top ten frequency word might indicate; see the section “Meaning Fields” in chap. 2)?; (2) Why is νόμος so conspicuously missing from the Parenthesis section (save for 2 instances in Romans 13)?

The ratio of instances with νόμος as a head term and as a modifier is clearly skewed (74.3 percent to 25.7 percent). While word group relations may work differently from relations between grammatical features in a system (see Appendix 1), the skewed ratio suggests that the instances of νόμος as a modifier may be profitably examined distinctly from the instances of νόμος as a head term. A further classification of the data in terms of clause level functions may be helpful, however. Table 9 summarizes the functional profile of νόμος in the system of transitivity of the clause.

Table 9. Functional Profile of Νόμος at the Clause Level

	Subject			Complement			Adjunct		
	hd	ql	rl	hd	ql	rl	hd	ql	rl
Romans									
Chap. 2		2		6	5		5	1	
Chap. 3	1			2	1		5	2	
Chap. 4	2		1			1	1		
Chap. 5	2						1		
Chap. 6							2		
Chap. 7	5		1	8			9		
Chap. 8	1	2		1			1		
Chap. 9				1			1		
Chap. 10					1				1
Chap. 13				1	1				
Total	11	4	2	19	8	1	25	3	1
Percentage	15%	5.4%	2.7%	26%	10.8%	0.14%	34%	4.1%	0.14%

that modify another element within the word group (e.g., in the word group τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ πρόθυμον, the word ἐμὲ is in a prepositional relationship with the head term πρόθυμον).

A striking statistic is that νόμος is the head term of a word group that functions as the Subject of a clause only 11 times (or 15 percent). This statistic suggests that νόμος may not be portrayed as much of an Actor (i.e., one who causes something to/for someone) in the discourse. This conclusion must be corroborated by an examination of the actual instances, however. In the discussion below, the clauses where νόμος occurs are reproduced according to their word group and clause function classifications (with the relevant instance of νόμος italicized).²³ The data and the analysis of function are presented instance-by-instance under categories designed to assist in the systematic study of the function of νόμος in the transitivity framework of who causes what to/for whom. While the analyses do not always include full translations, readers who cannot read Greek will usually be given enough context and explanation to understand the issues at stake. Implications drawn specifically from each instance are also given in list form. These lists are then followed by a general portrait that builds on the specific implications.

Because there are 74 occurrence of νόμος, it was decided that the discussion would be broken into three chapters. In this chapter, only the instances where νόμος is a head term that is not qualified by a genitive are examined. These examples are divided according to whether they were Subject, Complement, or Adjunct. In chapter 6 the instances of νόμος as a qualifier and as a relator are scrutinized. The data for cases where νόμος is a head term that is qualified by a genitive are explored in chapter 7. Instances where νόμος as a head term is qualified by a genitive were distinguished and analyzed separately from the other occurrences of νόμος as a head term because possible

²³Instances of νόμος, except in citations, are usually not declined in the rest of this study for the sake of readers who do not know Greek.

differences in meaning or reference with these two types of constructions with νόμος have been suggested by previous research.²⁴

The reader should be aware that the bottom-up approach adopted in the body of discussion requires restraint with respect to drawing broad conclusions until all the data have been surveyed. Broad conclusions may be more soundly drawn and sustained when all the texts have been surveyed and are put into the contexts of their larger units of meaning (e.g., groups of clauses, paragraphs, and relationship to other clause throughout the discourse). The reader may wish to cycle back and forth between the body of discussion and the section conclusions and the overall conclusion.

Νόμος as Head Term

As a participant, νόμος (as a head term and not qualified by a genitive noun) takes part in processes as the head term of word groups that function as Subject, Complement, and Adjunct at the clause level. In other words, such instances of νόμος can fill all three roles in the transitivity system of *who* causes *what* to/for *whom*. In this scheme, “who” corresponds to the agent or actor, “what” corresponds to the object or goal, and “whom” corresponds to the recipient of the process.

Subject. There are 10 instances where νόμος is the head term of a word group (without a genitive qualifier) that functions as a Subject at the clause level:

1. Rom 3:19a: ^c[ὅσα]^s[ὁ νόμος]^p[λέγει]
2. Rom 4:15a: ^s[ὁ νόμος]^c[ὀργήν]^p[κατεργάζεται]
3. Rom 4:15b: ^A[οὗ]^A[οὐκ]^p[ἔστιν]^s[νόμος]

²⁴See Winger, *By What Law?*, chap. 6; and chap. 5 of this study. Where νόμος with a genitive qualifier is inextricably linked to the interpretation of a case of νόμος without genitive modifier, the discussion of both instances is delayed until chapter 7.

4. Rom 5:13b: ^A[μὴ]^P[ὄντος]^S[νόμου]
5. Rom 5:20: ^S[νόμος]^P[παρεισῆλθεν]
6. Rom 7:1b: ^{contj}[ὅτι]^S[ὁ νόμος]^P[κυριεύει]^C[τοῦ ἀνθρώπου]^A[ἐφ ὅσον χρόνον ζῆ]
7. Rom 7:7a: ^S[ὁ νόμος]^C[ἁμαρτία]
8. Rom 7:7c: ^{contj}[εἰ]^A[μὴ]^S[ὁ νόμος]^P[ἔλεγεν]
9. Rom 7:12: ^{contj}[ὥστε]^S[ὁ νόμος]^C[ἅγιος]
10. Rom 7:14: ^{contj}[ὅτι]^S[ὁ νόμος]^C[πνευματικός]^P[ἐστιν]

A surprising phenomenon is that, given that there are 19 occurrences in Romans 2, the first instance of νόμος as a Subject comes in Romans 3 (3:19). As a participant in the Subject slot (as head term of the word group),

1. Νόμος speaks (3:19a) to those with νόμος (τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) “with the intended result that every mouth would be shut and the whole world would become guilty before God” (ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῆ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῷ θεῷ; 3:19). Thus, νόμος is an agent of speech.
2. Νόμος works wrath (4:15a). Thus, νόμος is an agent of wrath.
3. There is no “transgression” (παράβασις) where there is no νόμος (4:15b). Thus, νόμος came into existence at some point in time.
4. Sin is not charged to one’s account when there is no νόμος (5:13b). Cf. 3 above.
5. Νόμος came in alongside for the intended result that transgression might increase (ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα; 5:20). Thus, νόμος made an entrance.
6. Νόμος rules over a human being as long as he lives (7:1b). Thus, νόμος is an agent of control.
7. Νόμος is by no means to be equated with ἁμαρτία, “sin” (7:7a). Thus, νόμος does not share an identity or attributes with sin.
8. Νόμος was speaking a prohibition (“you shall not covet,” οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσει, 7:7c). Thus, νόμος is an agent of speaking prohibitions.
9. Νόμος is attributed as ἅγιος, “holy” (7:12).
10. Νόμος is attributed as πνευματικός, “spiritual” (7:14).

The implications that ensue (with differing degrees of certainty) from the list above appear to be as follows:²⁵

²⁵By using the word “implication,” the intent is to avoid addressing either the issue of meaning or referent prematurely. The word is not used in any technical sense, but as a catchall for observations on the ideational meaning (i.e., representation) of the

1. Since what νόμος speaks to those with νόμος brings the (intended) result of universal guilt, the νόμος that speaks in Romans 3:19a is a standard of judgment.²⁶
2. Νόμος results in God's anger, signaling that it is a standard of judgment (4:15a).²⁷ This implication is confirmed by 5:13b, which states that sin is not charged to one's account when there is no νόμος.
3. 4:15b most likely articulates a general principle: "where there is no νόμος there is no transgression" = "transgression by definition requires a νόμος to be transgressed."²⁸ The implication is that a νόμος prescribes some standard that can be transgressed. 5:13b, in light of its similarities with 4:15b, may also make a generic reference to νόμοι (the plural "laws").²⁹
4. If 4:15b (and perhaps 5:13b) does, in fact, make a generic reference to νόμοι in general, then a common semantic component of the class of νόμοι, which applies to all potential referents within that class, is the prescribing of certain standards, which standards can be transgressed.³⁰
5. A possible further implication is that the standards transgressed against are the very standards that judge (see esp. 5:13b).
6. Νόμος results in God's anger, apparently because its presence results in transgression (4:15). What is not implied is that νόμος introduced sin into the world because sin was in the world before νόμος (5:13a).

clauses (and clauses immediately related to them). This study differs from Winger's (*By What Law?*) in that neither meaning nor referent is the primary focus.

²⁶Winger, *By What Law?*, 53 classifies this instance in Rom 3:19a as showing the component of meaning of νόμος as verbal. He also categorizes this instance as showing the component of meaning of νόμος as perceived, based on the verb "we know" (οἶδαμεν) (ibid., 54). The intended result (likely implying God's intention) of universal guilt that comes from νόμος speaking to those with νόμος is a fact that Paul and his addressee(s) know. Winger also identifies the referent as Jewish νόμος (ibid., 89 n. 2). Moo places 3:19 under his category of non-"legal" use with reference to the canon ("Law, 'Works of the Law,'" 76). In the treatment of meaning and reference, Winger and Moo will be the primary conversation partners because they have the most systematic treatment of all instances of νόμος among the interpreters of which this author is aware.

²⁷So Winger, *By What Law?*, 54. He sees the referent as probably Jewish νόμος (ibid., 89 n. 3). Moo denies that 4:15a refers to legalism. He argues that it refers to the body of commands in its Mosaic form ("Law, 'Works of Law,'" 88).

²⁸So also Winger, *By What Law?*, 83.

²⁹Cf. Winger, *By What Law?*, 84.

³⁰Moo finds it "difficult to decide" whether 4:15b refers to Mosaic Law or a "gnomic" statement about the nature and function of laws in general (Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996], 276).

7. 5:20 goes beyond 4:15 in asserting that the entrance of νόμος is for the intended result of increasing transgression (παράπτωμα) (5:20).³¹ If the reader doubts the presence of this close link between νόμος and transgression revealed by the interpretation of Romans thus far, 7:7a confirms the presence of this close link by the need to emphatically deny the identification of νόμος with sin (ἁμαρτία). Moreover, this resounding denial comes in the context of Romans 7, where the close link between this νόμος and ἁμαρτία is both confirmed and clarified (see further below). Romans 7:12 and 7:14 form part of the clarification of the nature of this νόμος—its attributes are incompatible with sin.
8. Of the occurrences dealt with thus far, a specific νόμος, Mosaic Law, is apparently in mind in at least 5:13a, 20; 7:7a, 12, and 14, whose referent is identified in 5:14 by indirectly tying the entrance of this νόμος with the period of Moses.
9. The specific referent of Mosaic Law is corroborated by 7:7c: this νόμος was speaking the tenth commandment from the Mosaic Law, “You shall not covet.”³²
10. In addition, the function of prescribing standards, especially human conduct (including inner processes), is clear in 7:7c with the citation of the tenth commandment, “You shall not covet.”
11. Finally, the implication from 7:1b is that νόμος is a controlling force on a person (in this case it is binding for life).³³

If the ten instances of νόμος above and their immediate contexts were the only texts involving νόμος, the overall portrait of the function of νόμος seems to be thus. One function of νόμος is to serve as a standard for judgment (3:19a; 4:15a, b; 5:13b). Implied in its being a standard of judgment is that νόμος prescribes certain standards (which

³¹Winger classifies 4:15b, 5:13b, and 5:20 under the meaning component “νόμος has a source,” i.e., that it comes to be (*By What Law?*, 61). He also sees 4:15b and 5:13b as referring to non-Jewish νόμος generically while 5:20 refers to Jewish νόμος (*ibid.*, 90 n. 7, 89 n. 2). Moo identifies νόμος in all three instances as referring to the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

³²Winger identifies 5:13a, 7:12, and 7:14 as referring to Jewish νόμος and sees 7:7a as probably referring to Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 89 nn. 2-3). He also sees the meaning component “νόμος has a source” in 5:13a and “νόμος is perceived” in 7:14 (*ibid.*, 61, 54). Moo classifies all the above instances under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

³³Winger places 7:1b under the meaning component of control (*ibid.*, 58). He also sees its referent as probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 89 n. 3). Moo puts it under body of commands in its Mosaic form, but is uncertain (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

demand compliance), the breach of which brings down judgment (3:19a; 4:15a-b; 5:13b; 7:7c). In terms of referent, a specific νόμος that came into existence at a particular time is in mind in at least the majority of the instances (5:20; probably 3:19a, 4:15a, 7:1, 7a, c, 12, and 14). The intended result of the introduction of this particular νόμος was that transgression (i.e., the breach of known standards) might increase (5:20). Nevertheless, νόμος is not to be equated with ἁμαρτία, “sin” (7:7c). In fact, its attributes, “holy” and “spiritual,” are incompatible with sin (7:12, 14). Moreover, 7:1b indicates that νόμος controls and/or has binding force.³⁴ Two instances—4:15b and 5:13b—most likely make a generic reference to a class of νόμοι, “laws,” and, therefore, the meaning component common to all νόμοι in that class is the prescribing of certain standards. Different contexts may highlight two corollaries—the standards prescribed demand compliance or the standards, if transgressed against, become the very standards that judge.

Complement. There are 13 cases where νόμος is the head term of a word group (without a genitive qualifier) that functions as a Complement at the clause level:

1. Rom 2:14a: extracting the embedded ^A[μὴ]^c[νόμον]^p[ἔχοντα] from its definer relation to ἔθνη
2. Rom 2:14c: extracting the embedded ^c[νόμον]^A[μὴ]^p[ἔχοντες] from below
3. Rom 2:14d: ^s[οὗτοι]^A[νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες]^c[ἑαυτοῖς]^p[εἰσιν]^c[νόμος]
4. Rom 2:17a: ^{com}[καὶ]^p[ἐπαναπαύη]^c[νόμῳ]
5. Rom 2:25a: ^{com}[ἐάν]^c[νόμον]^p[πράσσης]
6. Rom 2:27a: ^c[τὸν νόμον]^p[τελοῦσα]
7. Rom 3:31a: ^c[νόμον]^p[καταργοῦμεν]^A[διὰ τῆς πίστεως]
8. Rom 3:31b: ^{com}[ἀλλὰ]^c[νόμον]^p[ἰστάνομεν]
9. Rom 7:1a: ^p[γινώσκουσιν]^c[νόμον]
10. Rom 7:16: ^p[σύμφημι]^c[τῷ νόμῳ]

³⁴This statement introduces the “control” nuance of νόμος in Romans 7-8.

11. Rom 7:21: ^p[εὐρίσκω]^{conj}[ἄρα]^c[τὸν νόμον]^c[ἐμοὶ τῷ θέλοντι ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν]
 12. Rom 7:23a: ^p[βλέπω]^{conj}[δὲ]^c[ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου
 ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ
 νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου]
 13. Rom 13:8: ^s[ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον]^c[νόμον]^p[πεπλήρωκεν]

As a participant in the Complement slot (usually Object or Goal of processes),

νόμος displayed the following functions in relation to their Subjects:

1. Gentiles are described as those who do not have νόμος in their possession (Rom 2:14a). Thus, νόμος is an object of possession.
2. (Restated that) the Gentiles do not have νόμος in their possession (2:14c). Thus, νόμος is an object of possession.
3. The Gentiles are νόμος to themselves (2:14d). Thus persons can be, or have the attributes of, νόμος.
4. It is presupposed as true that someone who calls himself a Jew rests upon νόμος (2:17a). Thus, νόμος is an object that Jews rely on.
5. It is projected that circumcision would be advantageous if someone were to practice νόμος (2:25a). Thus, νόμος is an object of processes of doing.
6. It is projected as an expectation that someone who is uncircumcised by nature who accomplishes νόμος will judge the Jew who is a transgressor through writing (i.e., Scripture) and circumcision (2:27a). Thus, νόμος is an object of one's accomplishment.
7. It is emphatically denied that those who believe in Jesus invalidate νόμος through faith (3:31a). Thus, νόμος is an object that can be invalidated.
8. Instead of invalidating νόμος, Christians validate νόμος (3:31b). Thus, νόμος is an object that can be validated.
9. The Roman Christians are ones who know νόμος (7:1a). Thus, νόμος is an object of knowledge.
10. Paul agrees with νόμος that it is good (7:16). Thus, νόμος has the attribute of goodness. Note that 7:16 is discussed in chapter 7 with the other Romans 7 texts.
11. Paul finds a νόμος in himself, one who wants to do what is good (7:21). Thus, νόμος is something that is inside Paul (and possibly other people).
12. Paul sees *another* νόμος in the (physical) members of his body (7:23a). Thus, νόμος is something that is inside the members of Paul's (and possibly other people's) body.
13. The one who loves another has fulfilled νόμος (13:8). Thus, νόμος is an object that can be fulfilled.

Before articulating the implications from the texts above, one should note that νόμος occurs for the first time in Romans in 2:12. Since in the analysis of interpersonal meanings in Appendix 3 of this study it was found that the Jew is identified with those

who sin with νόμος and the Gentile with those who sin without νόμος, it is tempting to equate νόμος with the Mosaic code. We should not be overly hasty, however, in assigning a steady referent for νόμος, “law.” Paul may simply be pointing out that Jews have a νόμος, “a law,” whereas Gentiles do not. Nevertheless, two implications follow from the fact that the Gentiles do not have νόμος (2:14a, c). First, Paul surely does not mean that the Gentiles have no νόμος in general, for they certainly do. Therefore, Paul must be referring to a specific νόμος that the Gentiles do not have. Second, the converse is true (within the context of Rom 2:12-16): Paul is describing a specific νόμος that someone or some group other than the Gentiles has in possession.³⁵ In addition, somehow the Gentiles can be νόμος to themselves even though they do not have νόμος (2:14d).

In the following sentences, νόμος will remain untranslated so that readers can fill in their own translation for νόμος: It is not those who hear νόμος who are righteous before God (2:13a), but those who do νόμος will be justified (2:13b). When Gentiles who do not have νόμος (2:14a) by nature do the things that are related to νόμος (2:14b), they are νόμος to themselves (2:14c), even though not having νόμος (2:14d). They show that the work that is related to νόμος is written in their hearts (2:15).³⁶

³⁵Winger sees the component of meaning as νόμος is “tied to particular people” in Rom 2:14a and c and the referent being Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 60, 89 n. 2). He identifies the meaning component as “people putting themselves under νόμος” in 2:14d and sees the referent as non-Jewish νόμος indefinitely (*ibid.*, 60, 90 n. 7). Moo concurs with 2:14d referring to a general body of demands and 2:14a and c to the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

³⁶τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου, “the work of the law,” is often interpreted as a collective singular, referring to the “deeds” required by the law. See Charles E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 1:158; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993),

The initial caution in associating νόμος with the specific referent of the Mosaic code in every instance appears justified in relation to 2:14. Since they do not have νόμος, the νόμος that they are to themselves cannot be the Mosaic code. Rather, they are νόμος, “a law,” to themselves. If one is allowed to import the finding from the previous section that all νόμοι (“laws”) in a generic class share the semantic component of prescribing certain standards, which standards can be transgressed and which standards are the very standards for judgment, then the meaning may be that the Gentiles perform this function of prescribing certain standards for themselves, which standards can be transgressed and which standards become the basis for judgment (2:14-16).

In 2:17 the addressee is clearly identified as a (generic) Jew and this reference helps fix the specific referent of the instances of νόμος in 2:17-24 as Mosaic Law.³⁷ The occurrence of νόμος in 2:17a merits special comment. It is presupposed as true that someone who calls himself a Jew rests upon νόμος (2:17a). The implication is that Jews perceive νόμος as something they can rely on.³⁸ A possible answer to the nature of this reliance can be gleaned from the surrounding context. In 2:17-29, an effective contrast is

311; and Hilary B. P. Mijoga, *The Pauline Notion of Deeds of the Law* (San Francisco: International Scholars, 1999), 148. Paul may come close to the notion of common/natural law that was widespread in antiquity here (cf. R. D. Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, rev. ed., CBET 18 [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1999] 216). Note the parallel to 1:19 and 1:32, where Paul already asserted that Gentiles possess some knowledge of God and understand God’s righteous requirement (cf. Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994], 171).

³⁷Winger also notes the links to “circumcision” (περιτομή) and “uncircumcision” (ἀκροβυστία) in 2:25-27 as fixing the referent (*By What Law?*, 80).

³⁸Winger sees the meaning component as “tied to particular people” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 61, 89 n. 2). Moo agrees that the referent is the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’ 76).

established between claiming or proclaiming knowledge and failure to act according to knowledge. A series of rhetorical challenges are issued to one who “is named” (ἐπονομάζομαι) a Jew, “boasts” (καυχάομαι) in God, “knows” (γινώσκω, domain 28) God’s will, and “accords proper value” (δοκιμάζω, domain 30) to “the things that are valuable” (διαφέρω). Does their performance match the knowledge they proclaim (διδάσκω, κατηχέω, κηρύσσω, λέγω, “teach,” “instruct,” “preach,” and “say”)?³⁹ The knowledge proclaimed is traced back to possession of “the form of knowledge and truth in νόμος” (ἔχοντα τὴν μὀρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) and “being instructed out of νόμος” (κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου). Thus, the Jews likely relied on the knowledge that comes from hearing νόμος (cf. 2:13a).⁴⁰

Returning to the implications from the texts listed above (besides 2:14a, c, and d), the following (with varying levels of assurance) seem to follow.

1. Νόμος is ought to be practiced (otherwise circumcision brings no benefit, 2:25a).
2. It seems implied by the expectation⁴¹ that someone who accomplishes νόμος will judge someone who transgresses νόμος that accomplishing νόμος (2:27a) involves doing its prescriptions (as opposed to transgressing them).⁴²

³⁹Instead of using words from domain 42, words for the actions required are negated—a very effective and specific way of detailing non-compliance. As Schreiner observes, “[Jews] nullify [the] advantages [of the law and circumcision] by not keeping the very law that they treasure and teach (2:21-25). And circumcision is no better than uncircumcision if the Jews fail to obey the law (2:25)” (Thomas R. Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of Law* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993], 67). Cf. idem, *Paul: Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 108-09; and James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 145, 155.

⁴⁰Cf. the conclusion from Stephen Westerholm, *Israel Law and the Church’s Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 107.

⁴¹The future tense form conveys a projection with expectation. Cf. Appendix 1.

⁴²For 2:25a and 2:27a, Winger identifies the meaning component as “guide to

3. Νόμος can be invalidated (at least in the perception of some). Since the emphatic denial that those who believe in Jesus invalidate νόμος (3:31a) is set up by the assertion “for we reckon that a human being is justified by faith apart from works of νόμος” (λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου, 3:28), it is probable that this invalidation is perceived as stemming from faith being the instrument of justification or justification being without works of νόμος or both. The presence of διὰ τῆς πίστεως (“through faith”) in 3:31a confirms the instrumentality of faith (but does not exclude “without works of νόμος”) as the perceived problem.
4. Faith is somehow a means of validating νόμος (3:31b).⁴³
5. Nothing more can be said except that Paul’s addressees knew νόμος (7:1a).⁴⁴
6. Somehow if Paul does what he does not wish to do, he agrees with νόμος that it is good (7:16).⁴⁵ Perhaps he affirms the instruction from νόμος as good by the very desire not to do what he does end up doing (clarified as “evil” [κακὸν] in 7:19).
7. Νόμος can be fulfilled (13:8), specifically by means of loving other people (13:8).⁴⁶

The occurrences of νόμος in 7:21 and 23a require special comment. First, there is a νόμος that can be inside someone (7:21). This νόμος Paul apparently defines as “evil is present in me” (ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται, 7:21), which precludes a

conduct” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 56, 89 n. 2). Moo sees the referent as the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). Cranfield identifies keeping the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος (τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσει) and fulfilling νόμος (τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα) (*Romans*, 1:174). Schreiner notes the emphasis on keeping νόμος (Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998], 140).

⁴³Winger specifies the meaning component as “people put themselves under νόμος” for 3:31a and b and sees the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 62, 89 n. 2). Moo understands the referent as the canon (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁴⁴Winger classed 7:1 under the meaning component “νόμος is perceived” and sees the referent as probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 54, 89 n. 3). Moo is uncertain, but puts it under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁴⁵Winger gives no component of meaning, but thinks the referent is probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 89 n. 3). Moo also is uncertain, but likewise classes it under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁴⁶Winger identifies 13:8 as under the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and as referring to Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 58, 89 n. 2). Moo concurs that the referent is the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

reference to Mosaic Law.⁴⁷ Second, Paul says further that there is a νόμος that can be in the (physical) members of one's body (7:23a).⁴⁸ Given the similarity in meaning fields and transitivity patterns between 7:21 and 23a—verb of perception (“find” and “see”), presence inside Paul's body, and the relationship between evil and sin—it is likely that the principle that evil is present in me is identical to the “other” νόμος in 7:23a.⁴⁹

The above construal of Romans 7:21 is a key ingredient in resolving the prevalent confusion over the meaning and referent of νόμος in 7:7-25 (see further the treatment of the rest of Romans 7 in chap. 8). This option is a better alternative to interpreting τὸν νόμον as an accusative of respect.⁵⁰ First, the accusative of respect, as defined by traditional grammars of the Greek in the New Testament, is restricted in its

⁴⁷Cf. e.g., Winger, *By What Law?*, 81; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:361-62; and Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 475-76. Schreiner, however, leans towards taking this instance of νόμος as an accusative of reference and the referent being Mosaic Law (*Romans*, 377). Besides the internal nature of the struggle over control and the strong presence of the meaning field of control in this context, the explicit qualification of νόμος as “another” (ἕτερον) and the opposing explicit qualification “law that relates to God” (7:22, 25a) and the other qualifications seem to favor a general reference use of νόμος.

⁴⁸Winger classes 7:21 and 7:23a under the meaning component “νόμος is perceived” (*By What Law?*, 54). He sees 7:23a as having an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος and 7:21 as a reference to non-Jewish νόμος (*ibid.*, 90 nn. 6-7). Moo identifies 7:21 (certainly) and 7:23a (uncertainly) as non-“legal” uses meaning some “principle, force, or authority” (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁴⁹The meaning component of “controlling principle” is derived from the context of rule, warring, and Paul's loss of self-mastery in Romans 7 especially. It appears to be an extension of the meaning component of prescribing standards that should be kept. The law rules over someone in that it binds in obligation and prescribes the keeping of its standards. The irony is that the Mosaic Law, which prescribes standards that really should be kept, since it is from God, is powerless to impel the keeping of its standards whereas sin's “prescriptions,” which should not be followed, are carried out unflinching. Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:364-65.

⁵⁰As in Schreiner, *Romans*, 376.

usage.⁵¹ Besides adverbs indicating manner and accusatives restricted to particular meanings—like time and space—the other convincing examples involve non-active transitive verbs. Thus, in processes where the action extends to a goal, the accusative of respect is unlikely. Just because “I find with respect to the law that . . .” is good English does not mean that it is good Greek. Second, there is no evidence that any verb that takes the conjunction ὅτι to denote its content also takes an accusative of respect at the same time in the same context.⁵² Thus, the burden of proof is on those who advocate an

⁵¹While agreeing with Porter that all accusatives are accusatives of respect in terms of restricting the process with respect to some person or thing (Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994], 90), accusatives of respect as defined in terms of traditional grammar involve intransitive, middle, or passive verbs (on Greek Voice, see the section “The Problem of Voice” in Appendix 1). See the examples in *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 204; and BDF §160.

⁵²A survey of all occurrences of ὅτι in the New Testament shows no evidence that any verb that takes ὅτι to denote its content also takes an accusative of respect at the same time. There are examples of the verb taking an accusative object and the ὅτι explaining further the accusative object. See Matt 25:24; Mark 8:24, 31; John 5:42; 11:31; 20:9; Acts 3:10; 9:20; Rom 10:5; 13:11; 1 Cor 3:20; 16:15; 2 Cor 1:23; 8:1; 8:9; Gal 1:13; 1 Thess 1:4-5; Rev 3:15; and 17:8. An exhaustive systemic study of the conjunction ὅτι (in opposition to ἵνα) would involve another monograph and so was not attempted here. All examples of ὅτι in the New Testament, however, are explainable as providing an elaboration. (On the other hand, ἵνα marks a clause as a projection, which often means it is a purpose or intended result, even when used to supply the content. The sense of projection without commitment to fulfillment comes from the subjunctive mood of the process in ἵνα clauses versus the indicative [+assertive] mood in ὅτι clauses). In other words, ὅτι is a marker indicating that what follows is an elaboration. Whether it is supplying the content of direct or indirect discourse, supporting a previous assertion, or defining a previous ambiguous word depends on the company it keeps in the immediate context. With verbs of saying or perception, the elaboration is the content of the verbal or cognitive process. When no verb of saying or perception is in sight, the reader would relate the elaboration to the previous clause. The meaning elaborated in the clause is most often a reason in relation to the previous clause, though other nuances are possible depending on the interaction of the combined meaning of the two clauses. The so-called exegetical use of ὅτι completes the idea of a noun or adjective that is ambiguous (see

adverbial accusative. Romans 7:21 is best construed as saying, “I find, then, this law [i.e., controlling principle] that evil is present in me the one who wants to do what is good.”⁵³

If the thirteen instances of νόμος above and their immediate contexts were the data available, the general picture of the function of νόμος seems to be as follows. First, νόμος has both a general and specific reference. The specific reference is to the Mosaic Law, which the Jew rests upon (2:17a) and which the Gentiles do not have (2:14a and c). Instances where νόμος likely refers to another “law”—a principle of indwelling evil—are 7:21 and 23a. The other likely general reference is in 2:14d, where Gentiles are said to be νόμος to themselves, i.e., they perform the function of prescribing certain standards for themselves, which standards can be transgressed and which standards become the basis for judgment (thus in 2:14a and c having νόμος = having its prescriptions). It seems that all the occurrences of νόμος may be subsumed under the common meaning component “νόμος prescribes certain standards,” with subsidiary implications that these standards can be transgressed and that they become the basis for judgment when transgressed (which implications may be highlighted or muted depending on the context).

The rest of the implications appear to apply to the specific referent, Mosaic Law. In terms of function, although νόμος is an object of knowledge (7:1a), the fact that νόμος is the goal of material processes of doing (2:25a; cf. 2:13b) and accomplishing (2:27a) is highlighted (by means of semantic repetition). This emphasis implies that the

Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 678).

⁵³See Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:362, who thinks that this “law” is referred to more clearly in the expression ἕτερον νόμον, “another law,” in 7:23. Winger observes that “the νόμος referred to is set out explicitly as an association between wishing to do good and finding evil close at hand” (*By What Law?*, 81).

prescriptions that are related to νόμος are meant to be performed.⁵⁴ This implication is supported also by 3:31a, where at least in the perception of some people νόμος is invalidated through faith. The perceived problem appears to be with not performing the prescriptions of νόμος (cf. 3:28, which appears to have prompted the question).⁵⁵ Paul, however, affirms that νόμος can indeed be validated through faith (3:31b). If one essentially equates validating and fulfilling νόμος, Paul seems to propose another means of validation as well, namely by loving other people (13:8). It should be noticed, however, that in 13:8 Paul actually focuses on what love does not do to show how it fulfills (the purpose of) the prohibitions of Mosaic Law. This emphasis seems to reconcile the tension between justification by faith and the fact that prescriptions are meant to be performed. The prescriptions actually end up being met.⁵⁶

Adjunct. There 21 instances where νόμος is the head term of a word group (without a genitive qualifier) that functions as an Adjunct at the clause level:

1. Rom 2:12a: embedded relative clause ^s[ὅσοι]^a[ἐν νόμῳ]^p[ἡμαρτον] from below
2. Rom 2:12b: ^s[ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἡμαρτον]^a[διὰ νόμου]^p[κριθήσονται]
3. Rom 2:18: ^p[κατηχούμενος]^a[ἐκ τοῦ νόμου]
4. Rom 2:20: ^p[ἔχοντα]^c[τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας]^a[ἐν τῷ νόμῳ]

⁵⁴Cf. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 214; and Schreiner, *The Law and Its Fulfillment*, 67.

⁵⁵Cf. Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 184.

⁵⁶Schreiner observes that “the activity of love” fulfilling the law is what is in view in Rom 13:8 (*Romans*, 693). Westerholm’s distinction between fulfilling and doing the law has much to commend it (see *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 201-05). The distinction is made either with respect to the verb use (“fulfill” or “accomplish” rather than “do” or “keep”) or the description of the object (the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος [or the things that are related to νόμος] rather than νόμος itself).

5. Rom 2:23a: ^s[ὅς][^][ἐν νόμῳ]^p[καυχᾶσαι]
6. Rom 3:20b: [^][διὰ νόμου]^s[ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας]
7. Rom 3:21a: [^][νυνὶ][^][χωρὶς νόμου]^s[δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ]^p[πεφανέρωται]
[^][μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν]
8. Rom 3:21b: the embedded participial clause [^][μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν] from above
9. Rom 3:27a: [^][διὰ ποίου νόμου]
10. Rom 4:13: [^][οὐ][^][διὰ νόμου]^s[ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῷ ἄβραάμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμου][^][ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως]
11. Rom 5:13a: [^][ἄχρι νόμου]^s[ἁμαρτία]^p[ἦν][^][ἐν κόσμῳ]
12. Rom 6:14: [^][οὐ]^p[ἐστε][^][ὑπὸ νόμον]
13. Rom 6:15: ^{com}[ὅτι][^][οὐκ]^p[ἐσμὲν][^][ὑπὸ νόμον]
14. Rom 7:2a: ^s[ἡ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ]^c[τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ]^p[δέδεται][^][νόμῳ]
15. Rom 7:3: ^c[ἐλευθέρᾳ]^p[ἐστὶν][^][ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου][^][τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ]
16. Rom 7:4: ^{com}[ὥστε][^][καὶ]^s[ὑμεῖς]^p[ἐθανατώθητε][^][τῷ νόμῳ][^][διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ][^][εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι]
17. Rom 7:6: [^][νυνὶ]^p[κατηργήθημεν][^][ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου][^][ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα][^][ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος]
18. Rom 7:7b: ^{com}[εἰ][^][μὴ][^][διὰ νόμου]
19. Rom 7:8 [^][χωρὶς νόμου]^s[ἁμαρτία]^c[νεκρά]
20. Rom 7:9: ^s[ἐγὼ]^p[ἔζων][^][χωρὶς νόμου][^][ποτέ]
21. Rom 9:31b: ^s[ἰσραὴλ][^][διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης][^][εἰς νόμον][^][οὐκ]^p[ἔφθασεν]

As an Adjunct of processes, νόμος exhibits the following characteristics:

1. “Whoever sins ἐν νόμῳ” (“with law”) is juxtaposed with “whoever sins ἀνόμως” (“without law”). Thus, “law” is a sphere within which or means by which people sin.
2. Whoever sins ἀνόμως (“without law”) will also perish ἀνόμως; whoever sins with νόμος (ἐν νόμῳ) will be judged by means of νόμος (διὰ νόμου) (2:12b).⁵⁷ Thus, “law” is a means through which those who sin in the sphere of law are judged.

⁵⁷Winger classes 2:12a and b under the meaning component “νόμος is a standard of judgment” and identifies the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 54, 89 n. 2). Moo concurs on the referent (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). Dunn points out the

3. It is presupposed as true that a Jew considers as worthwhile what is valuable, being instructed from νόμος (2:18). Thus, “law” is a means of instruction.
4. It is presupposed as true that a Jew is convinced that he is a guide to others, having the form of knowledge and truth in νόμος (2:20). Thus, the form of knowledge and truth are found in the locus of “law.”
5. A Jew who boasts in νόμος (ἐν νόμῳ, 2:23a) is questioned as to whether he dishonors God by transgression of νόμος. Thus, “law” is a potential (but actual for Jews) means for boasting.⁵⁸
6. Knowledge that is related to sin comes through νόμος (3:20b). Thus, “law” is a means through which knowledge that is related to sin comes.
7. The righteousness that is related to God has now (from the perspective of Paul the writer) been revealed without νόμος (3:21a).⁵⁹ Thus, “law” is not involved as an agent, goal, or means (i.e., it is not a participant) in the revelation of the righteousness that is related to God.
8. The righteousness that is related to God has been revealed without νόμος and is being witnessed by “the Law and the Prophets” (ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται) (3:21b). Thus, “the Law and the Prophets,” i.e., the Old Testament Scriptures participate by being agents that witness to the righteousness that is related to God. The disavowal of the involvement of νόμος as a participant in the revelation in 3:21a and the declaration of ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται as an agent of witness in 3:21b implies a difference in function, if not identity.
9. The question is asked as to what kind of νόμος excludes boasting (3:27a). Thus, it seems assumed that some kinds of “law” lead to boasting and other kinds may exclude boasting.⁶⁰

“without the law/within the law,” “without the law through the law” contrast, by which Paul highlights “one of the standard Jewish definitions of the distinction between Jew and Gentile” (James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A [Dallas: Word, 1988], 95). Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 145-47.

⁵⁸Winger sees the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and the referent as Jewish νόμος in 2:18 and 20 (*By What Law?*, 57, 89 n. 2). He does not identify the meaning component for 2:23a, but identifies the referent as Jewish νόμος (ibid.) Moo agrees on the referent in all three cases (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁵⁹Winger does not identify a meaning component for 3:20b, 21a; and 7:7b. 3:21b is classed under “νόμος is verbal” (*By What Law?*, 53). According to him, the referent is Jewish νόμος in 3:21b and 7:7b and probably Jewish νόμος in 3:20b and 21a (ibid., 89 nn. 2-3). Moo categorizes 3:20b under the Mosaic body of commands, 3:21a (uncertainly) under Mosaic economy, and 3:21b under non-“legal” use referring to the canon (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). As noted previously, the Louw-Nida lexicon sees ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται as an idiom (33.58).

⁶⁰Winger sees the meaning component “νόμος controls” in 3:27a and an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος (*By What Law?*, 59, 90 n. 6). Moo sees

10. The promise to Abraham or to his descendants that he would be heir to the world does not come to pass through νόμος but through the righteousness that is related to faith (4:13). Thus, “law” is not a means through which the promise to Abraham and his descendants comes to pass.
11. Before νόμος came sin was in the world (5:13a). Thus, there was a time when “law” did not exist in the world.⁶¹
12. The Roman Christians are not under νόμος but under grace (6:14). Thus, “law” and “grace” are opposing reigns and the Romans Christians are under the reign of the latter, not the former.⁶²
13. Paul and the Roman Christians are not under νόμος but under grace (6:15). Cf. 12 above.
14. A woman who is bound to a man in marriage is bound to her husband while he is living by νόμος (7:2a). Thus, “law” is a means by which to bind a person.⁶³
15. If her husband should die, she is free from that νόμος with the result that she does not become an adulteress if she becomes bound to another man (7:3). Thus, “law” is a means of binding from which a person needs to be freed in order to be bound to another.
16. The Roman Christians have been made to die to νόμος through Christ’s body for the intended purpose that they should belong to another, namely, to Him who was raised from the dead (7:4). Thus, “law” is a means of binding to which a person’s relationship needs to stop completely in order to be bound to another.
17. Paul and the Roman Christians have been freed from νόμος, having died to that by which they were held with the intended result that they serve “by means of the newness that is related to the Spirit and not by means of the oldness that is related to the letter” (ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γραμματος) (7:6). Thus, being freed from “law” is a prerequisite to the intended result of a new service in the Spirit.⁶⁴

(uncertain) a non-“legal” use meaning “principle, force, or authority” (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁶¹Winger classes 5:13a under the meaning component “νόμος has a source” (*By What Law?*, 61), but does not classify 4:13. As for referent, 5:13a is Jewish νόμος and 4:13 is probably Jewish νόμος (ibid., 89 nn. 2-3). Moo categorizes 4:13 (uncertainly) and 5:13a under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁶²Winger gives two meaning components for 6:14 and 15: “νόμος controls” and “νόμος is tied to particular people” (*By What Law?*, 60-61). The referent is identified as probably Jewish νόμος (ibid., 89 n. 3). Moo identifies 6:14 and 15 (uncertainly) as referring to the Mosaic system or economy (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁶³Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:333.

⁶⁴Winger classes 7:2a, 3, 4, and 6 under the meaning component “νόμος controls” (*By What Law?*, 59-60). He identifies 7:4 and 6 as probably referring to Jewish νόμος and 7:2a and 7:3 as referring to νόμος τοῦ ἀνδρός of 7:2b, which he sees as

18. Paul would not have known sin except by means of νόμος (7:7b). Cf. 6 above.
19. Apart from νόμος sin is dead (7:8). Thus, the presence of “law” is a necessary (though perhaps not sufficient) condition for sin.
20. Paul was alive once apart from νόμος, i.e., sin comes alive by means of νόμος (7:9). Thus, the absence of “law” is a necessary (though perhaps not sufficient) condition for being alive.
21. Israel, pursuing νόμος that is related to righteousness (νόμος qualified by a genitive noun), did not attain to νόμος (9:31b). Thus, “law” is a potential goal for attaining.⁶⁵

A number of implications (with varying degrees of certainty) may be drawn from the above.

1. It is possible to sin either with or without νόμος (2:12a).
2. Νόμος is a standard of judgment for those who sin with νόμος (2:12b). Conversely, νόμος is not the standard of judgment for those who sin without νόμος (ἀνόμως, 2:12).
3. There is a significant distinction between νόμος and ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται—the righteousness that is related to God is revealed apart from νόμος (3:21a), but witnessed by the Law and the Prophets (3:21b). Since Mosaic Law is part of the Law and the Prophets, the distinction does not lie in complete difference in identity. A distinction in function is a likely possibility.
4. There appear to be different kinds of νόμος with differing qualities (3:27a).
5. Νόμος and δικαιοσύνη πίστεως (righteousness that is related to faith) are juxtaposed as means of obtaining God’s promise to Abraham and his descendants (4:13). It is denied that νόμος can be a means to attaining that promise.

having an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος (ibid., 89 n. 2 and 90 nn. 5-6). Moo is uncertain and classes 7:2a under the Mosaic body of commands, and 7:4 and 6 under the Mosaic system or economy. He sees 7:3 (with certainty) as referring to a single command in its Mosaic form (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). Cranfield gives an insightful explanation of the logical structure of 7:1-6—Paul’s illustration elucidates “its corollary, namely that the occurrence of a death effects a decisive change in respect to relationship to the law” (*Romans*, 1:335). Cf. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 231. For an opposing view on freedom from control of νόμος, see K. A. Burton, *Rhetoric, Law, and the Mystery of Salvation in Romans 7:1-6* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2000), who argues that the believer is transferred from a negative to a positive relationship to νόμος.

⁶⁵Winger sees the meaning component “people put themselves under νόμος” in 9:31b, but does not identify a meaning component in 7:9 (*By What Law?*, 62). He finds the referent to be Jewish νόμος in 9:31b and probably Jewish νόμος in 7:9 (ibid., 89 nn. 2-3). Moo sees the referent as the Mosaic body of commands in 7:9, but is uncertain whether 9:31b refers to the Mosaic body of commands or is a non-“legal” use meaning “principle, force, [or] authority” (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

6. The binding force of νόμος can be broken (7:3).
7. Πνεῦμα, “Spirit,” and γράμμα, “letter/written code,” are two opposing means of carrying out one’s service. Whereas formerly one was bound to νόμος and under its control, now one is bound to Christ and under the Spirit’s control (7:6).
8. In addition, it is possible to fail to attain to νόμος (9:31b) if the wrong means are employed (9:32—the reason for Israel’s failure is ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐξ ἔργω, “because they pursued it not by means of faith but as if they could pursue it by means of works).

If the 21 instances of νόμος above and their immediate contexts were the only texts involving νόμος, the portrait of the function of νόμος would appear to be as follows. First, νόμος again appears to have specific and general reference. In 3:27a, the question asked, “What kind of νόμος excludes boasting?” makes an implicit general reference to a class of νόμοι from which a suitable νόμος is requested.⁶⁶ The meaning component that these νόμοι share may well fit under the meaning component of prescribing certain standards already identified above. The standard prescribed is faith, not works. The specific references involve Mosaic Law, which is associated with the Jews (2:18, 20, 23a). “The Law and the Prophets” (ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται) appears to be an idiom and differs in function from “law” (νόμος). Unlike νόμος, which is not a participant in the revelation of the righteousness that is related to God, the Law and the Prophets function to bear witness that righteousness (3:21b).

One of the functions of the specific νόμος associated with Mosaic Law is as a standard of judgment (2:12b). Its sphere of judgment is specifically limited, however, to

⁶⁶Winger, *By What Law?*, 85. As Moo points out, “it is straining the wording to think that Paul is referring to two perspectives on the same law rather than two different laws” (*Romans*, 248). Cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 363; Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 169-70. For support of that alternative view, see Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:219-20; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 201-02.

those with (or within) νόμος (2:12 generally).⁶⁷ A second function of νόμος, at least as the Jews perceived it, is as a source of knowledge and instruction (2:18, 20; also a source of pride or confidence [2:23a]). This specific νόμος came into existence at a particular time (5:13a) and was used by sin to instigate actual sinning (compare 7:7b with 7:8). This appears to be the link as to why the righteousness that is related to God was revealed without νόμος (3:21a) and God's promise to Abraham and his descendants did not come to pass through νόμος, but through the righteousness that is related to faith (4:13). It also appears to be the reason why Israel, pursuing the standards prescribing righteousness (νόμον δικαιοσύνης), failed to attain the standards prescribed (νόμον, 9:31b—see the interpretation of this text under the discussion of 9:31a in chapter 7 of this study). A third function of νόμος is to bind a person to someone or something (7:2a, 3, 4, and 6). Thus a person's bond towards νόμος needs to be broken in order to enter into a new bond (7:3, 4, 6). Indeed the purpose for breaking the binding force of νόμος is free those bound to νόμος to belong to another (7:4)—namely the risen Christ—and to enter a new service by means of the newness that is related to the Spirit rather than the oldness that is related to the written code (7:6).⁶⁸

⁶⁷Anderson believes that Paul's point in 2:14-16 is that "the Gentiles are also considered to be subject to God's judgment in the same way as the Jews, namely, on the basis of God's law" and that in 3:19 "those in the law" include Gentiles along with Jews since Gentiles are equally condemned by the law (*Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 216). Schreiner notes that 2:12 specifically distinguishes Jews from Gentiles and that "those in the law" refers to the Jews (*Romans*, 168). Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:196; and Moo, *Romans*, 205.

⁶⁸"Letter/written code" (γράμμα) refers to the Mosaic Law (2:27; 2:29; 7:6). According to Winger, it does not share all the meaning components of νόμος (*By What Law?*, 41-42; cf. Dunn, *Paul*, 149). In opposition to the heart-renewing work of the Spirit, the contextual nuance conveyed by this word, the written code, appears to be that it is an

A curious phenomenon, not often commented on and easily overlooked, is that Paul portrays his addressees (second person plural) as experiencing a change in jurisdiction from under νόμος to under χάρις “grace” (6:14; and first person plural in 6:15) and being freed from their relationship to νόμος through Christ’s body (7:4; cf. 7:6). These passages are but some of the anomalies in Paul’s statements when using the second person plural or first person plural to include his addressees. Many interpreters seem to have come to the conclusion that large sections of Romans do not concern his Gentile audience.⁶⁹ After all, Paul had clearly stated that Gentiles did not have νόμος (2:14). More research is required into Paul’s strange use of person in Romans.⁷⁰ The section “Romans 2:1-16” in Appendix 3 and the section “Participant Structure” in chapter 3 begin to address this need. The unit-by-unit analysis of interpersonal meanings and the comparative approach to participant structure pioneered in those parts of this study may be applied to the study of Romans and all the Pauline letters as two complementary perspectives to investigating the interpersonal dimension of Paul’s letters.

address from the *outside* and thus ineffective. Thus, the distinction between meaning and reference is crucial here. Schreiner specifies γράμμα as referring to “the commands (cf. 7:7) of the law that are unable to produce the righteousness demanded” (*Romans*, 353). Westerholm argues that the Spirit-letter antithesis cannot be just an issue of inadequate understanding of the law (e.g., Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:339-40), but a contrast between the old and new dispensations (*Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 209-14; cf. Moo, 420-23). Thielman points out the links that 7:6 has to 2:26-29 (*Paul and the Law*, 197-98).

⁶⁹As Miller notes, “Uniting the letter’s frame with its body has proved difficult because large sections of the body seem unrelated to either Paul’s circumstances or those of the Roman Christians, circumstances known from information provided in the letter-frame” (James C. Miller, *The Obedience of Faith, the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans*, SBLDS 177 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000], 3).

⁷⁰Studies from the angles of literary strategy and rhetorical criticism include Brian Dodd, *Paul’s Paradigmatic “I”: Personal Example as Literary Strategy*, JSNTSup 177 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); and Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*.

Another function of νόμος is to be an instrument to bring knowledge of sin (3:20b; 7:7b). Indeed without νόμος sin is dead (7:8). Moreover, Paul was alive once without νόμος (7:9). Given the rest of 7:7 (as well as 7:8)—τήν τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ἤδειν εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. ἀφορμὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατειργάσατο ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν (“for nor would I have known covetousness if the law was not saying, ‘You shall not covet.’” Moreover, sin, taking opportunity through the command worked in me every kind of covetous desire.)—and 7:5 (τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου “the through-the-law passions of sins”), tilts the balance towards knowing in the sense of actual experience of sin through νόμος.⁷¹ The other issues in 7:7-12 are complex and need not detain us here (cf. the examination of 3:20b in relation to 7:7 in chapter 8 of this study, which does not answer all the questions but gives another perspective from patterns of lexis).⁷²

Conclusion: Νόμος as a Head Term

As a head term without a genitive qualifier, νόμος exhibits clear functional patterns. When functioning as Subject, νόμος is an agent of speech (3:19a), of wrath (4:15a), of control (7:1b), and of speaking prohibitions (7:7c). The absence of νόμος is also related to the absence of transgression (4:15b; and 5:13b) and its presence to the increase of transgression (5:20). Moreover, the attributes of are incompatible with sin (7:7a, 12, and 14). When functioning as a Complement, νόμος is an object of possession (2:14a, c), of reliance (2:17), of doing (2:25a), of accomplishment (2:27a), of knowledge

⁷¹Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 433-35; Schreiner, *Romans*, 366-69; and Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith*, 185-86.

⁷²See Schreiner, *Romans*, 358-69; and Moo, *Romans*, 423-41.

(7:1a), and of fulfillment (13:8). It is also an object that may be invalidated (3:31a) or validated (3:31b) and possesses the quality of goodness (7:16). There is also “another νόμος” that is an object perceived to be working inside (paradigmatic) Paul (7:23a, and probably 7:21). Furthermore, persons may have the attributes of νόμος (as a generic class) in themselves (2:14d). When functioning as an Adjunct, νόμος is a means of judgment (2:12b), of instruction (2:18), of boasting (2:23a), of experiencing knowledge that related to sin (3:20b; 7:7b, 8, and 9), and of binding a person (7:2a, 3, 4, and 6). It is a controlling or obligating entity (6:14, and 15). It is a locus of truth and knowledge (2:20) and a sphere in which people are included (2:12a). It is also a potential goal (9:31b). On the other hand, νόμος is not involved as an agent, goal, or means (i.e., it is not a participant) in the revelation of the righteousness that is related to God (3:21a) or in the attaining of the promise to Abraham and his descendants (4:13).

The portrait derived from the above functional data seems to be as follows.

Νόμος is a standard for judgment (as Subject: 3:19a; 4:15a, b; 5:13b; 5:20; 7:1b, and 7c; as Complement: 2:14a, c, d; 7:1a, 16; and 13:8; as Adjunct: 2:12a, b; 3:20b; 4:13; 5:13a; 6:14, 15; 7:2a, 3, 4, 6, 7b, 8, and 9). Implied in this function is the quality of prescribing certain standards, the breach of which brings down judgment (as Subject: 3:19a; 4:15a, b; 5:13b; 5:20; 7:1b, and 7c; as Complement: 2:14a, c, d; 2:17a; 3:31a; 7:1a, 16; and 13:8; Adjunct: 2:12a, b, 18, 20, 23a; 3:20b, 21a; 4:13; 5:13a; 6:14, 15; 7:2a, 3, 4, 6, 7b, 8, 9; and 9:31b). In terms of reference, while νόμος most frequently refers to a specific law (namely Mosaic Law) that came into existence at a particular time and is associated with a particular people (as Subject: 3:19a; 4:15a; 5:20; 7:1b, 7a, c, 12, and 14; as Complement: 2:14a, c, 17a, 25, 27a, 31a, b; 7:1a; and 13:8; as Adjunct: 2:12a, 18, 20,

23a; 3:20b; 4:13; 5:13a; 7:4, 6, 7b; and 9:31b), it also has a more general reference (as Subject: 4:15b; and 5:13b; as Adjunct: 3:27a) and specific references to laws other than Mosaic Law (as Complement 2:14d; 7:21, and 23a).

All the usages of νόμος appear to be based on the meaning component of “an entity that prescribes standards,” which allows it to represent different specific and general classes of referents, different kinds of νόμοι, “laws” or “principles.” In this finding, the common denominator in the standard lexicons—namely that νόμος denotes a generally-recognized rule or standard—was substantially corroborated. The Louw-Nida lexicon’s identification of ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, “the Law and the Prophet,” as an idiom referring to the Old Testament Scriptures was also confirmed. The notion of “a law is enforced by sanctions from a society, while a command carries only the sanctions of the individual who commands” (as in Louw-Nida) was not clearly detectable in the νόμος texts in Romans. It is also unclear that texts like Romans 3:27a and 8:2 denote “life under the lordship of Jesus Christ as a ‘new law’ or ‘system’ of conduct that constitutes an unwritten tradition” (as in BDAG). Nevertheless, the classifications in BDAG (and BAGD to a lesser extent) and Louw-Nida are largely corroborated. The reader is left to make his or her own additional comparisons and judgments on the basis of the texts.

In this chapter, the common meaning component was derived in two ways. First, 4:15b and 5:13b were identified as asserting a general principle to offer its implication for the specific referent, Mosaic Law.⁷³ Since this general principle would be

⁷³Also Winger, *By What Law?*, 83-84. Moo cites Winger’s view and expresses indecision (*Romans*, 276).

valid only if it applied to anything that could be called “νόμος,” the meaning component derived from these two cases—“νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards”—was adopted as a working hypothesis. Second, this semantic component was tested against the occurrences of νόμος. The findings were that “an entity that prescribes standards” fit all the usages. It was also found that there were supplementary meaning components: These additional implications were that the standards prescribe compliance and may be transgressed, and that the very same standards, if transgressed, become the standards for judgment. These supplementary meanings are highlighted or muted depending on contextual modulation. Furthermore, when νόμος refers specifically to Mosaic Law, even the common semantic component may be in the background (though a necessary common denominator) and other supplementary components highlighted (e.g., 7:7a where the Mosaic Law’s disreputable association with sin is highlighted; and 7:12, 14 where specific attributes of the Mosaic Law, “holy” and “spiritual,” are highlighted).

Apart from the generic propositions in 4:15b and 5:13b, the other cases of a different referent for νόμος involved some form of modification. In 2:14d νόμος is qualified by a dative reflexive pronoun (ἑαυτοῖς νόμος, “a law to themselves”). In 3:27a νόμος is defined by the adjective ποῖος (ποίου νόμου, “what kind of law”). With 7:21 νόμος is defined by a ὅτι clause (ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται, “namely that evil is present in me”). With 7:23a νόμος is defined by the adjective ἕτερος (ἕτερον νόμον, “another law”). This pattern gives reason to explore the likelihood of different referents for the cases of νόμος qualified by the genitive in chapter 7.

The specific referent, Mosaic Law, is an object of knowledge (as Complement: 7:1a) and gives knowledge to the Jews and is a source of reliance for them (as a

Complement: 2:17a; as an Adjunct: 2:18, 20, and 23a). It requires performance (as Complement: 2:25a, 27a; 3:31a; and 13:8). It has become an instrument through which sin works, however (as Subject: 5:20; as Adjunct: 7:7b, and 8, 9). Nevertheless, it does not share in sin's characteristics (as Subject: 7:7a). Rather it remains good (as Subject: 7:12, 14). At the same time, righteousness does not come through νόμος (as Subject: 5:20; as Adjunct: 3:21a; 4:13; and 9:31b). Freedom from νόμος is needed and is a reality in Christ (as Adjunct: 7:4, and 6) because νόμος is binding (as Subject: 7:1b; Adjunct: 3:20b; 6:14, 15; 7:2a, and 3). It can be invalidated (as Adjunct: 3:31a), but is actually validated by faith (as Complement: 3:31b) and love (as Complement: 13:8).

Along the way of examining the function and then the meaning and referent of νόμος a method of functional analysis was developed based on Halliday's systemic-functional analysis of the clause and the SFL-inspired computerized corpus of the Opentext.org project. As the corpus is expanded and the annotation model, computerized searches, and outputs are further developed, the capabilities of the corpus for assisting in a variety of grammatical, interpretational, and theological inquiries will increase exponentially. One area where research is much needed is Paul's strange use of person. The section "Romans 2:1-16" in Appendix 3 and the section "Participant Structure" in chapter 3 begin to address this need. It was suggested that the unit-by-unit analysis of interpersonal meanings and the comparative approach to participant structure pioneered in those two sections of this study may be applied as two complementary perspectives to investigating the interpersonal dimension of Paul's letters.

CHAPTER 7

Νόμος FROM A BOTTOM-UP PERSPECTIVE PART II: MODIFICATION PATTERNS FOR Νόμος

Introduction

In chapter 6 the analysis of νόμος as the head term (without a genitive qualifier) yielded a portrait of the transitivity patterns for that word. In this chapter the modification patterns for νόμος (i.e., νόμος as a modifier) will be studied. The discussion format follows that of chapter 6, except that for νόμος as a relator the specific implications list was omitted since the number of occurrences was low and the general discussion was deemed sufficient. A not too surprising finding is that clause function does not affect the modification patterns for νόμος: The meaning, function, and even referent of νόμος when it is a qualifier or relator to a head term appears unaffected whether the head term is functioning as a Subject, Complement, or Adjunct. This finding supports the distinction of grammatical levels between *clause* and *word group* levels promulgated by the Opentext.org project since it corroborates the claim that the genitive construction involves a level of grammatical relations below the clause.

Νόμος as a Modifier

One's understanding of grammatical relations at the word group level significantly affects the results of the interpretive endeavor. Nevertheless, the study of the patterns of νόμος as a modifier yields a picture of the function of νόμος that shares

substantial similarities to that derived from the examination of the patterns of νόμος as a head term without a genitive qualifier. Νόμος functions as two types of modifier in the text of Romans. It functions as a *qualifier* 11 times and a *relator* 5 times.¹

Νόμος as Qualifier

As a qualifier, νόμος is brought into a modifying relationship with verbal nouns, entity nouns, verbal adjectives, and attributive adjectives. Prior to examining what may be identified about the meaning and referent of νόμος from the instances of it as the genitive qualifier of a head term, reflection on the nature of genitive qualifiers is needed.

Proposal for interpreting genitive qualifiers. For the purpose of either interpretation or instructing students in Greek, this author would suggest that the common approach of consulting a list of possible genitive nuances and deciding which fits best in a particular context leaves much to be desired. What is proposed below is an alternative approach that comes from the perspective of the Greek linguistic units at hand in a text.

With the first two examples below—οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου and οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου (“the hearers of the law,” 2:13a, and “the doers of the law,” 2:13b)—the two nouns that are the head terms have endings that name agents (-της) and are thus verbal nouns.² With τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου (“the incapability that is related to νόμος”), the head term is an adjective that denotes a quality. With τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου (“the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος”), the head term is a noun denoting an

¹On the word group annotation of the Opentext.org project, see the section “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 1.

²Richard A. Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994), 29.

entity. From the analysis of the genitive constructions with νόμος in a systemic-functional manner, this author found that the grammatical meaning conveyed by the linguistic form of the genitive qualifier can always be construed the same way: x (i.e., the head term) that is related to y (i.e., the genitive qualifier). The different resultant meanings of the genitive construction seem explainable by (1) the word type of the two terms; (2) the lexical meaning associated with each of the two terms; and (3) the resultant meaning from the interaction of the meanings of the two terms.³ With a verbal noun, the y (i.e., the genitive qualifier) that is related to x (i.e., the head term signifying the process) is usually its Goal.⁴ Thus in both οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου and οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου, νόμος qualifies the verbal process by supplying its Goal.⁵ When νόμος is qualifying the

³The lexical origin of the specific nuances often identified with the genitive construction is most obvious in such genitives as the so-called genitives of comparison, value, time or space, and the partitive genitive, where the nuance is always associated with particular lexical items. See the examples listed in Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 92-97; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Grammar of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 78-136; and Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*. Note that these grammars were referenced because of their accessible discussions. The reader may want to consult the standard reference grammars like BDF, Robertson, and Moulton.

⁴Stricter criteria for recognizing a verbal noun are needed. It is not uncommon for interpreters to debate whether a genitive construction is a so-called objective or subjective genitive even when the genitive involved has no identifiable verbal nuance. In practice it may be advisable to restrict the “transformation” of a noun or adjective into a verbal process to nouns with clearly identifiable verbal morphemes like nouns with endings that name agents (-της, -τηρ, -τωρ, -εως) (see Young’s list in *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 29) and verbal adjectives ending with -τος (see J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1, *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908], 221; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* [Nashville: Broadman, 1934], 372).

⁵When a verbal adjective has passive meaning, the genitive qualifies by supplying its agent (as with ἀγαπητός and κλητός in Romans 1:1-7, “beloved by God” and “called by Jesus Christ”). The so-called “subjective genitive” is probably an invalid

adjective ἀδύνατος, the genitive construction simply conveys the meaning “the incapability that is related to νόμος.” To state it differently, the focus is on the quality of *incapability* that is related to νόμος, not on the incapable νόμος. The attributive nature of the meaning of the adjective is what makes it seem like it is ἀδύνατος that qualifies νόμος (especially when thought of in terms of translation into English). The head term remains what is qualified even in this case, however. With τὸ δικάϊωμα τοῦ νόμου, νόμος as an entity noun is in a qualifying relationship with another entity noun δικάϊωμα. The grammatical meaning of the genitive construction is the same: the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος. Both entities retain their distinct identity while brought into a relationship of qualification. In other words, the *righteous requirement* that is related to νόμος is the focal point of the meaning conveyed by the word group, not νόμος itself.⁶

category. The instances either involve simple relation (x that is related to y, where x = head term and y = genitive qualifier) or the genitive is definitely the object of the verbal noun. With proper nouns and nouns involving animate beings, possession and other more precise relational ideas may be a semantic extension that fits the relationship between the two entities put in a qualifying relation. Some uncertainty may remain where a plausible case may be made either for or against the presence of a verbal nuance in a word. In such cases, the immediate context typically explains the meaning of the genitive shorthand.

⁶A further distinction is needed to avoid confusion of meaning and referent. In terms of meaning, the righteous requirement is the focal point of the meaning conveyed by the word group τοῦ δικάϊωμα τοῦ νόμου. In terms of referent, it is possible that there is no distinction between the requirements of the νόμος and the νόμος itself. Nevertheless, the combinations of words selected reflect choice on the part of the language user. There are at least two possible distinctions. First, any given νόμος may involve more than just prescriptions, e.g., accompanying sanctions, rewards, qualifications, and conditions. Then the relationship between “the righteous requirement that is related to the law” and “the law” is a part-whole relationship. Second, one may fulfill a prescription from a law without being under the authority of that law. Then the relationship between “the righteous requirement that is related to the law” and “the law” is a relationship of partial identity.

A number of clarifications are in order at this point. First, the treatment of the genitive constructions above may look superficially similar to what would be done with transformational grammar, but it actually remains firmly grounded in the so-called “surface structure.”⁷ In other words, there is no appeal to a deep structure with intended meaning that is different from the linguistic items actually written. Subject to further research and corroboration, this author suggests that, as a general principle, the grammatical meaning of a genitive construction is always: x (i.e., the head term) that is related to y (i.e., the genitive qualifier). To use the distinction raised by Cruse (see the section “Distinctions and Focus” in chap. 6), the genitive construction is *general* rather than *ambiguous* with respect to the more specific nuances typically identified by interpreters.⁸ The more particular senses are the contribution of the interaction of the word type (e.g., adjective, verbal noun, noun denoting a person, entity, or state, proper name, etc.) and lexical meanings of the two terms. More specific relations may also be suggested if they have been explicitly expressed in the previous or immediate context. In those cases, the genitive construction may function as a shorthand to facilitate further discussion of the process already expressed. For example, if Paul says, “God will give you peace” and then follows with “the God who is related to peace will be with you,” the

⁷From the perspective of transformational grammar, the functional components in SFL may be deemed a form of deep structure. The relationship between the functional components and the linguistic resources used to convey the meanings involved is straightforward and not “skewed” as in transformational grammar, however. Nor is there an appeal to kernel sentences (see, e.g., Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974], esp. 39-41). On surface and deep structure, see Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 5.

⁸See, e.g., Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 72-136. Interpreters like Wallace would not disagree that the specific nuances are attributable to the context.

genitive construction that expresses “the God who is related to peace” may be construed as denoting “the God who is the source of your peace or the God who gives you peace.”

Subject. There are 4 instances of νόμος as a qualifier of a word group that functions as a Subject at the clause level:

1. Rom 2:13a: [^][οὐ]^s[οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου]^c[δίκαιοι][^][παρὰ τῷ θεῷ]
2. Rom 2:13b: ^{com}[ἀλλ]^s[οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου]^p[δικαιωθήσονται]
3. Rom 8:3: ^s[τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου]
4. Rom 8:4: ^{com}[ἴνα]^s[τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου]^p[πληρωθῆ][^][ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα]

As a qualifier to a head term that serves as Subject at the clause level, the interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

1. The hearers of νόμος (οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου) are not righteous before God by virtue of hearing νόμος (2:13a): The agential noun ἀκροατής appears to embody both the Subject and the Process of an embedded clause. It appears to be similar to the substantival participle (i.e., participle used as a noun) in this respect. As a genitive qualifier to this noun, νόμος appears to be the goal of the process of hearing, of which the people hearing are the Sensing Subjects.⁹
2. On the contrary, the doers of νόμος (οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου) will be justified by virtue of doing νόμος (2:13b): Like ἀκροατής, the agential noun ποιητής seems to embody both the Subject and the Process of an embedded clause (i.e., like a substantival participle). As a genitive qualifier to this noun, νόμος seems to be the goal of the process of doing, of which the people doing are the Agents.¹⁰

However, both theoretical reflection on the nature of context and practical instruction on how to determine the nuances involved are often in short supply.

⁹Despite this dual function of the verbal noun, the focus remains on the person or entity that is the agent of the verbal process. In other words, the meaning conveyed focuses on the person or entity denoted by the noun as precisely a “doer” (rather than just “doing”) and a “hearer” (rather than just hearing). Winger classes 2:13a under “νόμος is verbal” and as a reference to Jewish νόμος (Michael Winger, *By What Law?: the Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul*, SBLDS 128 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 53, 89 n. 2). Moo identifies it as the Mosaic body of commands (Douglas J. Moo, “Law, ‘Works of Law,’ and Legalism in Paul,” *WTJ* 45 [1983]: 76).

¹⁰Winger categorizes 2:13b under the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to

3. The incapability of νόμος is attributed to it being weak (ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει) “through the agency of flesh” (διὰ τῆς σαρκός) (8:3): The adjective ἀδύνατος when combined with the genitive qualifier νόμος appears to give an attribute of νόμος.¹¹
4. God sent Christ in human flesh and condemned sin in that flesh (8:3) for the intended result that the righteousness requirement of νόμος be fulfilled (8:4): The noun δικαίωμα appears to be simply related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, i.e., “righteous requirement” that is related to νόμος.¹²

The implications of the above examples on the portrait of νόμος seem to be:

1. 2:13a indicates that νόμος is heard—i.e., it is an object of perception and, conversely, the implication may be that it speaks.
2. With 2:13b the implication is that νόμος is to be practiced. Thus it is a guide to conduct.
3. With 8:3, the implication is that νόμος can be incapacitated by agency of σάρξ, “the flesh.”
4. With 8:4, the implication is that νόμος imposes a righteous requirement and that this righteous requirement is associated with but not identical to νόμος.

Romans 2:13a and b, which relate νόμος with justification before God and is linked to the explanation in 2:14 (which was identified as referring to Mosaic Law in chapter 6 of this study) refers to a particular νόμος, namely Mosaic Law. The Mosaic Law is an object of perception and what is heard from it is likely a guide to conduct (2:13a, and b). Having a righteous status or being justified (i.e., declared righteous) is linked with doing the standards of conduct prescribed by the Mosaic Law and not simply with hearing the prescriptions. In other words, mere knowledge without action is an

conduct” and as a reference to Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 57, 89 n. 2). Moo identifies it as the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

¹¹Winger identifies 8:3 under “νόμος is a standard for judgment” and probably as referring to Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 55, 89 n. 3). Moo sees it as either referring to the Mosaic body of commands or the Mosaic economy (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

¹²Winger classes 8:4 under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and as a reference to Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 58, 89 n. 2). Moo identifies it as the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

inadequate response to νόμος (which requires deeds) and thus does not bring a declaration of righteousness.

Romans 8:3 reveals that νόμος is incapacitated by the agency of “the flesh,” which raises the question, “In what way is νόμος incapacitated?” Romans 8:3-4 supply some clues: “For the weakness that is related to the law, in that it was weak through the agency of the flesh, God, sending Jesus in the likeness that is related to the flesh, which flesh is related to sin, and for sin condemned sin in that flesh, so that ‘the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος’ may be fulfilled in us who do not walk according to the flesh but according to the Spirit” (τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα). First, the γὰρ in 8:3 indicates that 8:3-4 strengthen 8:2 while 8:2 (also with γὰρ) strengthens 8:1.¹³ Second, the combination of ἁμαρτία, σὰρξ, and νόμος (“sin, flesh, and law”) in 8:3 indicates its relation to Romans 7.¹⁴ Third, the significance of the word groups—“the law that is related to the Spirit who is related to life” (ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς) and “the law that is related to sin and to death” (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου)—needs to be determined.¹⁵ Thus further discussion

¹³Cf. Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 399, 401.

¹⁴Cf. Schreiner, *Romans*, 401. Harvey notes that the word chain using σὰρξ and πνεῦμα is the dominant oral feature in Romans 7-8 (John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, ETS Studies [Grand Rapids: Baker/Leicester: Apollos, 1998], 130).

¹⁵The fact that the head term of the prepositional word group is in the genitive

of “the weakness that is related to the law” is delayed until the two word groups above that have a νόμος head term qualified by genitives are examined. What can be observed, though, is that sin had to be condemned in the flesh before the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος may be fulfilled. One possible implication is that νόμος was weak in that its righteous requirement was not fulfilled.¹⁶

As observed in note 6 above, there are at least two possible distinctions between “the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος” (τοῦ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου) and νόμος. First, any given νόμος may involve more than just prescriptions, e.g., accompanying sanctions and rewards. Thus, the relationship between “the righteous requirement that is related to the law” and “the law” may be a part-whole relationship. Second, one may fulfill a precept from a law without being under the authority of that law. Thus the relationship between “the righteous requirement that is related to the law” and “the law” may be a relationship of partial identity. In 8:4, νόμος prescribes a righteousness requirement and this requirement is related, but not identical, to νόμος (see “Example 2: Romans 2:14 and 2:26” in chapter 5). The process, “may be fulfilled,” is in passive voice, and thus the agency through which this fulfillment happens is left unstated. In this construction (passive voice, explicit Subject in first position), the goal, “the righteous requirement that is related to the law” (τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου), is

case results in some ambiguity as to whether “of death” is a genitive qualifier of “law” or a second object of the preposition “from.” Cf. Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 476, who produces some evidence (of differing weight) for taking the second genitive as a qualifier for “law.”

¹⁶Anderson sees the point as “by means of the power of the gift of the Spirit ... believers are enabled to do what was thought impossible, namely, not only to want to obey God, but to actually *do it*” (R. D. Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and*

foregrounded. The prepositional word group, “in us” (ἐν ἡμῖν) tilts the balance in favor of a fulfillment in the persons involved rather than a fulfillment outside of them in Christ. The participial clauses that define “us,” “who do not walk according to the norm of the flesh but according to the norm of the Spirit” indicate the characteristics of the persons in whom τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου is fulfilled—namely persons who live out their lives according to the norm of the Spirit and not of the flesh.¹⁷ The rest of Romans 8:5-13 indicates that this involves practical living that repudiates the control of the flesh but follows the control of the Spirit. Thus, the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος is fulfilled by means of living under the control of the Spirit rather than of the flesh.¹⁸

Complement. There are 7 instances of νόμος as a qualifier of a word group

Paul, rev. ed., CBET 18 [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1999], 232-33).

¹⁷The prepositional marker κατά is interpreted as marking a “norm of similarity or homogeneity” (BDAG, s.v., “κατά”).

¹⁸Overemphasis on the passive voice to say that the process is not envisioned as “something that we are to do but to something that is done in and for us” (Moo, *Romans*, 483) is misguided. Agency, means, and manner can be indicated in various ways even in passive constructions and, in this case, it appears that the participial clause functions to define how the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος is fulfilled in the persons involved—though it is the characteristics of the person that is emphasized. Cf. Schreiner, who gives other considerations as to why God’s work and human activity are not mutually exclusive (*Romans*, 40). What can be emphasized, though, is that the intended purpose originates from God (God sent his Son . . . so that the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος may be fulfilled in us . . .). The manner of fulfillment appears to involve much work for the persons involved, though the divine Spirit’s power and aid enable that effort as well (8:5-13). Cf. Charles E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 1:385; and J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Inquiry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 204. Moo, however, agrees that the participial clause characterizes those in whom τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου has been fulfilled but denies that it describes the manner of fulfillment (*Romans*, 484-85). Cf. T. J. Deidun, *New Covenant Morality in Paul*, AnBib 89 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981), 73; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 405.

that functions as a Complement at the clause level:

1. Rom 2:14b: ^{com}[ὅταν]^s[ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα]^a[φύσει]^c[τὰ τοῦ νόμου]
^p[ποιῶσιν]
2. Rom 2:15: ^s[οἵτινες]^p[ἐνδείκνυνται]^c[τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς
καρδίαις αὐτῶν]
3. Rom 2:25b ^{com}[ἐὰν]^c[παραβάτης νόμου]^p[ἧς]
4. Rom 2:26: ^{com}[ἐὰν]^s[ἡ ἀκροβυστία]^c[τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου]^p[φυλάσσει]
5. Rom 2:27b: ^p[κρινεῖ]^s[ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα]^c[σὲ τὸν
διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου]
6. Rom 10:4: ^c[τέλος νόμου . . . εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι]^s[Χριστὸς]
(Note that “Christ” fits where the ellipsis is in word order.)
7. Rom 13:10: ^c[πλήρωμα νόμου]^s[ἡ ἀγάπη]

As a qualifier to a head term that serves as Complement at the clause level, the interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

1. Whenever Gentiles, who do not have νόμος, by nature do the things that are related to νόμος (τὰ τοῦ νόμου; 2:14b), they are a νόμος to themselves: The neuter plural article, “the things,” is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, apparently denoting an entity or concept, “the things that are related to νόμος.”¹⁹
2. Who show the work of νόμος written on their hearts (2:15): The noun ἔργον is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, apparently denoting the work or task related to νόμος.²⁰
3. It is projected that if the Jew is a transgressor of νόμος (παραβάτης νόμου; 2:25b), his circumcision becomes uncircumcision (ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν): The agential noun παραβάτης appears to embody both the Subject and the Process of an embedded clause. It appears to be similar to the substantival participle in this respect. As a genitive qualifier to this noun, νόμος appears to be the goal of the process of transgressing, of which the people who are transgressing are the Agents.
4. In a rhetorical question (with the implied answer, “yes”), it is projected that if someone who is uncircumcised keeps the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος (τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου), his uncircumcision will be considered as circumcision

¹⁹Thielman identifies a link to 1:19 and 1:32: “The Gentiles possess some knowledge of God and understand God’s ‘just requirement’” (Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994], 171).

²⁰Winger classes 2:14b under the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and 2:15 under this grouping and “νόμος is perceived” (*By What Law?*, 57, 56, 53). He sees the referent as Jewish νόμος for both cases (ibid., 89 n. 2). Moo categorizes both (uncertainly) as the basic divine demand (“Law, Works of Law,” 76).

(2:26): The plural noun δικαιώματα is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, denoting the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος.²¹

5. Someone who is uncircumcised by nature who accomplishes νόμος will judge the Jew who is a transgressor of νόμος by means of writing and circumcision (2:27b).²²
6. Christ is the end of νόμος for righteousness to everyone who believes (10:4): The noun τέλος is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, apparently denoting the end or goal that is related to νόμος.
7. Love is the fullness of νόμος (13:10): The noun πλήρωμα is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, denoting the complete content or fulfillment that is related to νόμος.²³

The implications that ensue (with varying degrees of certainty) from above are:

1. First, the things related to νόμος are to be done (2:14b). The implication seems to be that νόμος prescribes conduct, which prescriptions are to be done.
2. Second, the work that is related to νόμος is written on the hearts of Gentiles (2:15), i.e., it is internal. With the mention of accusing and excusing on the Day of Judgment, this νόμος is also a standard of judgment.
3. In relation to 2:25b, the validity of the (status?) related to one's circumcision is ruined if the Jew is one who transgresses νόμος. The Jew who transgresses νόμος (i.e., one who sins against knowledge [knowledge by means of Scripture and circumcision]) will be judged by one who is uncircumcised by nature who accomplishes νόμος (2:27b). The underlying assumption is that the prescriptions of νόμος are meant to be kept.
4. In 2:26, the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος likely share the same referent as the things related to νόμος in 2:14b, i.e., prescriptions that are to be kept.
5. In 10:4, Christ is somehow the end (or goal) that is related to νόμος.²⁴

²¹Winger classes 2:26 under the two meaning components, “νόμος controls” and “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 58, 57, 89 n. 2). Moo is uncertain whether 2:26 fits under the Mosaic body of commands or the basic divine demand (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). Westerholm translates this expression “the precepts of the law” and links it with the things that are related to the law in 2:14 (Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988], 107).

²²Winger identifies 2:25b and 2:27b under the meaning component “νόμος is a standard for judgment” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 55, 89 n. 2). Moo sees 2:25b as the Mosaic body of commands and 2:27b as either the Mosaic body of commands or the basic divine demand (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

²³Winger categorizes 10:4 and 13:10 under the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and the referent as Jewish νόμος in 13:10 and probably Jewish νόμος in 10:4 (*By What Law?*, 58, 89 nn. 2-3). Moo classes 13:8 as the Mosaic body of commands and 10:4 (uncertainly) as the Mosaic economy (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

²⁴Badenas argues that the typical connotations of τέλος in biblical Greek and

6. 13:10 appears closely related to 13:8. “Love” (ἀγάπη) is somehow the complete content that is related to νόμος, i.e., it represents the fulfillment of νόμος.

The implication from 2:25b and 2:27b is that if Jews are transgressors of νόμος, their status as true Jews is called into question²⁵ and they can expect to be judged by non-Jews who keep the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος (2:26). While ἔάν with the subjunctive is used in 2:25b and 2:26, which means that the conditions are projected and Paul does not commit himself to their reality,²⁶ in the context of Paul’s denunciation of Jewish hypocrisy, these projected conditions function as challenging scenarios. If the scenarios were to happen, the addressee is compelled to agree that the “then” clauses will hold true—the use of the future tense form in 2:26b and 27 signals that hypocritical Jews can expect that the implication (the “then” clause) will come true—the Gentiles who accomplish νόμος will judge them who are transgressors of νόμος by means of Scripture and circumcision.²⁷

cognate literature are “primarily directive, purposive, and complete, not temporal” and that only 3 to 5 instances (in eschatological contexts) out of 13 in the New Testament have a possible terminal sense (Robert Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10.4 in Pauline Perspective*, JSNTSup 10 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985], 79). Cf. Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 207-08; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 584; Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:519. Schreiner argued for a terminal sense as primary in *Romans*, 545-46, and *The Law and Its Fulfillment: A Pauline Theology of the Law* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 133, but has changed his mind: “Paul probably means that the law points toward Christ and culminates in him” (*Paul Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001], 122).

²⁵Circumcision was “the covenant sign that one belonged to the people of God” (Schreiner, *Romans*, 140-41).

²⁶See Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and Mood*, SBT 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 306-11.

²⁷Cf. the study of 2:14 and 2:26 from the perspective of lexical repetitions in chap. 6. Rom 2:25-29 is sometimes seen as alluding to Gentile Christians. See Schreiner,

In 2:15, τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου is usually taken as a collective singular, referring to the deeds that νόμος prescribes.²⁸ An alternative is to see “the task [i.e., the normal function] that is related to νόμος” as being in their hearts and carried out in conjunction with their conscience.²⁹ In other words, what is written in the hearts of Gentiles is either the deeds that νόμος prescribes or the task that νόμος normally does, namely to prescribe standards.³⁰ In the latter view, the function of the co-witness, conscience—to accuse or excuse—sheds light on the task that νόμος normally does: they prescribe their own standards and accuse or excuse themselves in relation to the extent to which they live up to them. On either view the statement in 2:14 “they are νόμος to themselves” is explained.

With respect to 10:4, while how one understands the function of the phrases, “leading to righteousness” and “for everyone who believes” substantially changes how one understands the meaning of this clause, they are surprisingly often overlooked.³¹ While some have tried to link the phrase with “Christ” or even made the phrases a separate clause, there seems to be only one likely option for construing the clause and

Romans, 136-45; and Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:173. Against this view, see Moo, *Romans*, 170-71; and Richard H. Bell, *No One Seeks for God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 1.18-3.20*, WUNT 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 194-200.

²⁸Hilary B. P. Mijoga, *Pauline Notion of Deeds of the Law* (San Francisco: International Scholars, 1999), 148.

²⁹Barrett’s view is similar to this, though his suggestion that the construction is a subjective genitive and that τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου (considered “the effect of the law”) is identical with the conscience is not tenable (see C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, rev. ed. BNTC [London: A & C Black, 1991], 50-51).

³⁰One meaning for ἔργον is “what one normally does” (Louw-Nida 42.42).

³¹So also noted by Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law*, 115.

word group relations in light of the following considerations.³² First, this clause is verbless and almost certainly an identifying relational clause, i.e., Christ is identified as the end or goal that is related to νόμος.³³ Second, the phrase would most likely go with either the identified (Christ) or the identifier (goal that is related to νόμος) of the identifying relational clause (rather than a modifier like νόμος). Third, the directional and purposive sense of τέλος makes it the natural candidate to be linked with the preposition εἰς, which itself usually signals a directional and purposive function. Thus, the clause identifies Christ as the goal that relates to νόμος, which goal is to lead to righteousness for everyone who believes (i.e., the goal that is related to νόμος was righteousness and Christ realizes that goal of attaining righteousness for everyone who believes).

As observed in the treatment of 13:8 in chapter 6, Paul focuses on what love does not do to show how it fulfills (the purpose of) the prohibitions of Mosaic Law. Indeed, the inference in 13:10, “therefore, love is the fulfillment that is related to the law” (πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη) follows from “love does no harm to its neighbor” (ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται, 13:9). As with 13:8, the fulfillment of νόμος in 13:10 comes from the angle of the prescriptions actually ending up being met.

Adjunct. There are 3 instances of νόμος as a qualifier (without another genitive modifying it) of a word group that functions as an Adjunct at the clause level:

1. Rom 2:23b: ^s[ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι][^][διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου]^c[τὸν

³²See Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law*, 115-16 on various suggestions.

³³With Moo, this author believes that τέλος usually denotes “an end that is the natural or inevitable result of something else” so that the termination point is also the point of reaching the goal (*Romans*, 641). “Goal” was selected above to emphasize the teleological sense, though termination is also involved.

θεὸν]^p[ἀτιμάζεις]

2. Rom 3:20a: [^][ἐξ ἔργων νόμου][^][οὐ]^p[δικαιωθήσεται]^s[πᾶσα σὰρξ][^][ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ]
3. Rom 3:28: ^p[δικαιούσθαι][^][πίστει]^s[ἄνθρωπον][^][χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου]

The interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

1. [The Jew] who boasts in νόμος through the transgression that is related to νόμος dishonors God (2:23b): The noun παράβασις is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, denoting the transgression that is related to νόμος.³⁴
2. From the works that are related to νόμος no flesh will be justified before him (i.e., God) (3:20): The plural noun ἔργων is related to its genitive qualifier νόμος, denoting the works or deeds that are related to νόμος.³⁵
3. Paul and the Roman Christians reckon that a human being is justified without deeds that are related to νόμος (3:28): Cf. point 2 above.³⁶

The implications that ensue from the above texts are as follows:

1. Νόμος can be transgressed (2:23b). More specifically, it must be the standards prescribed that are transgressed.
2. While νόμος is meant to be done, it is denied that doing νόμος (i.e., doing the standards prescribed) brings justification for any flesh (3:20a).
3. A human being is justified by an alternative means, namely faith, without the accompaniment of doing the standards νόμος prescribes (3:28).

Even from just these three texts, some interesting implications arise. God is dishonored by the transgression of the standards prescribed by νόμος. Yet, a human being can be justified before God apart from doing the prescriptions of νόμος. Indeed, it is denied that any human being (i.e., all flesh) can be justified by doing νόμος.

³⁴Winger categorizes 2:23b under the meaning component “νόμος is a standard for judgment” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 55, 89 n. 2). Moo identifies it as the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

³⁵Cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 363; Mijoga, *Pauline Notion of Deeds of the Law*, 151; and Westerholm, *Israel Law and the Church’s Faith*, 116-21.

³⁶Winger classifies 3:20a and 3:28 under the meaning component “νόμος is a guide to conduct” and the referent as probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 56, 89 n. 3).

Νόμος as Relator

As a relator, νόμος is brought into a modifying relationship with the Greek article. The resultant construction functions either as a noun or a word group definer. There are only 5 occurrences: 3 times as a noun and 2 times as a word group definer.

Subject. There are 2 instances of νόμος where it functions as a relator in a word group that functions as Subject at the clause level:

1. Rom 4:14: ^{ων}[εἰ]^ς[οἱ ἐκ νόμου]^ς[κληρονόμοι]
2. Rom 7:5: ^ς[τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου]^ς[ἐνηργεῖτο]^ς[ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν]^ς[εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ]

As a relator to a head term that serves as Subject at the clause level, the interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

1. If those who are from νόμος are heirs, faith is caused to lose its power and the promise is invalidated (4:14): The plural article is modified by the prepositional relator ἐκ νόμου to denote a class of people who are related to νόμος. The significance of the preposition ἐκ is disputed.³⁷
2. The through-νόμος passions that are related to sins were working in the (physical) members of Paul's and his audience's body, so as to bear fruit to death (7:5): The prepositional relator διὰ τοῦ νόμου modifies an article that signals its function as defining the passions that are related to sins. If the article had been left out, the typical interpretation of the grammar would take the prepositional phrase as an adjunct to the process, "was working."³⁸

Moo categorizes both uses under the Mosaic body of commands ("Law, 'Works of Law,'" 76).

³⁷See Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:240; James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 213; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 229-30. Winger categorizes 4:14 under the meaning component "νόμος is tied to a particular people" and the referent as probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 60, 89 n. 3). Moo identifies it as the Mosaic body of commands ("Law, 'Works of Law,'" 76).

³⁸Winger does not identify a meaning component for 7:5, but sees the referent as probably Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?* 89 n. 3). Moo places 7:5 (uncertainly) under the Mosaic economy ("Law, 'Works of Law,'" 76).

These two texts also reveal interesting features about νόμος. There are people who are related to νόμος (4:14), whatever the significance of ἐκ, “out of” (see the next section below). By relation of co-reference (i.e., referring to the same entity) in the text, these people may be identified as those who are circumcised, i.e., the Jews (4:12). In 7:5, the unusual translation, “the through-νόμος passions,” was adopted to highlight the fact that νόμος modifies “passions” and not “sins.” Thus, νόμος is portrayed as a means or agent instigating the passions that are related to sins. The passions, not the law, are working inside Paul’s body. It is thus inaccurate and potentially confusing to say that Paul portrays νόμος as an ally of sin.³⁹ The focus is on the fact that νόμος stimulates passions for sins, which 7:7-8 indicates as stemming from passions for what the prescriptions that are related to νόμος prohibit.⁴⁰ There are two ways of seeing the genitive construction here. Following the criteria for interpreting genitives articulated in the section “Proposal for interpreting genitive qualifiers” above, the reasoning may be briefly articulated for illustrative purposes. The word class for both the head term and the genitive is that of a noun. The so-called genitive of quality is thus ruled out because under the criteria above, the genitive would have to be an adjective to fit under that interpretation.⁴¹ On the first alternative, παθήματα, “passions,” may be construed as a

³⁹See the balanced statements by Thielman, *Paul and the Law*, 198; and Moo, *Romans*, 420.

⁴⁰Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 420.

⁴¹The qualitative sense, however, is popular among the commentators who are the main dialogue partners in this chapter. See Moo, *Romans*, 419 n. 52; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 459, and Schreiner, *Romans*, 350. Cranfield sees a genitive of quality or an objective genitive as possible and does not see a reason to commit to either view (*Romans*, 1:337). Dunn suggests that it could be a genitive of content (“passions which

verbal noun. The genitive noun ἁμαρτιῶν “sins” would then qualify by supplying the Goal of the affective process. On the second alternative, both nouns are allowed to stand as entities and are simply related—“passions that are related to sin.” On either interpretation, the meaning of the word group is not exactly “*sinful* passions.” The distinction can be articulated this way: Paul is not saying that *sinful* passions are aroused through the law—i.e., passions that are inherently sinful are stirred up by the law. Rather, he is saying that *passions* that are related to sin are aroused through the law—i.e., passions for what turns out to be sinful because prohibited by the law. In 7:7-12 he explains how this comes about: the passions that are related to sin = the desire to do what the law prohibits. Thus, the genitive construction in 7:5 is a shorthand for what is only articulated in 7:7-12—the through-the-law passions that are related to sins = passions to do what is prohibited by the law.⁴²

Complement. There are 2 instances of νόμος as relator of a word group that functions as Complement at the clause level:

1. Rom 3:19b: ^s[ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει]^c[τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ]^r[λαλεῖ]
2. Rom 4:16: ^r[εἰς τὸ εἶναι]^c[βεβαίαν]^s[τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν]^c[παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως ἀβραάμ]

As a relator to a head term that serves as Complement at the clause level, the interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

1. The plural article τοῖς is modified by the prepositional relator ἐν τῷ νόμῳ to denote a class of people who are related to νόμος. Paul and his addressees know that whatever νόμος says speaks to those in νόμος (3:19b).

are sins”) or genitive of direction (“passions which come to expression in or as sins”) (*Romans 1-8*, 364).

⁴²By making the distinction above, it is clearer that both desire and the law are not sinful. It is desire for what the law prohibits that makes that desire sinful.

2. The singular article δ is modified by the prepositional relator $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ to denote a class of people. The promise comes through faith with the intended result that it may be according to grace, with the intended result that it may be certain for all the descendants, not only for the one who is out of $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, but also for the one who is out of the faith that is related to Abraham (4:16).⁴³

Theoretically speaking, since the instance of $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in 3:19a speaks to those with $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (3:19b; cf. 2:12 for the “with” and “without” idea), it is tied to either a particular group (specific reference to a group with a particular $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) or a class of people (general reference to a class of people with $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in general). In other words, either the Jews (the specific group of people) with Mosaic Law (the particular $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) or people in general who have some kind of $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ are the linguistic referents. In this context, the Mosaic Law is in view and the Jews are the referent of “those in the law.”⁴⁴

Romans 4:16 appears jarring if “the one who is out of law” ($\tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$) is thought to mean those who rely on doing the law. Nevertheless, if Paul *refers* to Jews (regardless of the meaning of the epithet), is he saying that the promise can be attained either by (unbelieving) Jews or those who belong to the faith that is related to Abraham? This interpretation is ruled out by 4:16, which indicates that the promise comes through faith. Note that the opposition is not between $\tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ (“the one who is out of law”) and $\tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (“the one who is out of faith”) simply, but between $\tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ and $\tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \text{Ἀβραάμ}$ (“the one who is out of faith

⁴³Winger identifies 3:19b and 4:16 under the meaning component “ $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is tied to a particular people” and the referent as Jewish $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (*By What Law?*, 60, 61, 89 n. 2). Moo places 3:19b under the Mosaic economy and 4:16 under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁴⁴Cranfield argues that this instance of $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ refers to the Old Testament Scriptures (*Romans*, 1:196). Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 205. Schreiner thinks that a definite

that is related to Abraham”). “Faith that is related to Abraham” (πίστεως Ἀβραάμ) is a shorthand for what has already been defined in the context: τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ, “the faith while in the state of uncircumcision” (4:11). Thus believing Gentiles are meant. As for “the one who is out of the law,” the specific referent was fixed in 4:12: τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν τῆς ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ πίστεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, “those who are not only out of circumcision but also walk in the footsteps of the in-uncircumcision faith that is related to our father Abraham.” If this identification is correct, τῶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου is a shorthand reference to a clearly established referent, Jewish believers. Thus, the referents for the two groups are circumcised (i.e., Jewish) believers and uncircumcised (i.e., Gentile) believers.⁴⁵ In terms of meaning, the first term denotes one who is in the class of people related to the law; the second denotes one who is in the class of people related to Abraham’s faith—faith apart from the law since it was faith while in the state of uncircumcision (which is a sign of the covenant of law).⁴⁶ An alternative construal is that the promise (understood as needing appropriation through faith) is certain both for Jews and for believers (after the pattern of Abraham), both Jewish and Gentile. The means of attaining the promise is still faith, however—so Jews would still have to believe.⁴⁷

distinction should not be made (*Romans*, 168). Bell sees both Jews and Gentiles as condemned by the Mosaic Law and so are “in the law” (*No One Seeks for God*, 223).

⁴⁵Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:242-43. It is unnecessary to posit a different sense between the instances of ὁ ἐκ νόμου in 4:14 and 4:15 (as Schreiner does, *Romans*, 232).

⁴⁶Dunn notes that Jewishness—specifically relation to the Mosaic Law—is highlighted even if Jewish Christians were the referent in 4:16 (*Romans 1-8*, 216).

⁴⁷Cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 385.

Adjunct. There is only one example of νόμος as relator of a word group that functions as Adjunct at the clause level:

Rom 10:5: ^s[Μωϋσῆς]^p[γράφει][^][τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου]

The interaction of νόμος with its head term seems to be as follows:

The singular article is modified by the prepositional relator ἐκ τοῦ νόμου to form an adjectival construction that further defines τὴν δικαιοσύνην: Moses wrote about the righteousness that is out of νόμος that the one who does these things [i.e., the precepts of the law] will live by means of them (10:5).⁴⁸

Two implications that explain why “works that are related to νόμος” and faith (in Christ) are juxtaposed as means of attaining righteousness arise.⁴⁹ First, νόμος is a potential means of attaining righteousness (whether or not it actually happens). Second, doing the precepts of νόμος appears to be the means of attaining that righteousness.

Conclusion

As a modifier in a word group, νόμος appears to have a consistent reference to the Mosaic Law. As a genitive qualifier, νόμος exhibits the following modification

⁴⁸Winger classes 10:5 under the meaning component “νόμος is a standard for judgment” and the referent as Jewish νόμος (*By What Law?*, 89 n. 2). Moo sees it as the Mosaic body of commands (“Law and ‘Works of Law,’” 76). This example is perhaps the best case for an accusative of respect. As discussed in chapter 5 with regard to the suggestion of an accusative of respect for 7:21, an alternative construal fits better. Here “the righteousness that is out of the law” is probably the Goal of “write” and the ὅτι clause elaborates on that righteousness.

⁴⁹The precepts of νόμος also incite desires to transgress them (see 7:7-12). As Westerholm observes in relation to 9:31, “Though the righteousness of the law is indeed a matter of works, and life is promised to those who perform the works (10:5 restates the principle of 2:13), those required to perform the works do not achieve that goal” (*Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 129). Also “God’s law promised righteousness to those who did its commands (10:5; cf. 2:13, 25), though righteousness was in fact never achieved that way” (*ibid.*, 130). On the differences of view on the relationship between

patterns. With a verbal noun denoting an agent, it is the object of the action of the agent denoted by the noun: The ones who hear νόμος (οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου, 2:13a); the ones who do νόμος (οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου, 2:13b); and one who transgresses νόμος (παραβάτης νόμου; 2:25b, 27b). With an adjective, an attribute of νόμος is the focus: “the incapability that is related to νόμος” (τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, 8:3). With an entity noun, two entities are brought into relationship: “the righteous requirement that is related to νόμος” (τοῦ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου, 8:4); “the righteous requirements that are related to νόμος” (τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου, 2:26); “the things that are related to νόμος” (τὰ τοῦ νόμου, 2:14b) “the work that is related to νόμος” (τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου, 2:15); “the goal that is related to νόμος” (τέλος νόμου, 10:4); “the fulfillment that is related to νόμος” (πλήρωμα νόμου, 13:10); “through the transgression that is related to νόμος” (διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου, 2:23b); “out of the works that are related to νόμος” (ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, 3:20a); and “apart from the works that are related to νόμος” (χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου, 3:28).

The common meaning component “νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards” (identified in chapter 6) is strongly confirmed by the examples examined in this chapter. From the word groups with an agential head noun, νόμος is the object of hearing, doing, and transgressing, implying its function of prescribing standards (2:13a and b, 25b, 27b—likewise the non-agential occurrence in 2:23b). The righteousness requirements that are related to νόμος” (2:26; singular in 8:4) denote prescribed standards that are specifically related to the referent, Mosaic Law (and probably add the

“righteousness that is related to the law” and “righteousness that is related to faith,” see Moo, *Romans*, 645-50; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 551-56.

meaning component of the “righteous” nature of those standards). “The things that are related to νόμος” (2:14b) shares the same referent and denotes the same prescriptions (but probably does not have the additional meaning component of “righteous”). “The works that are related to νόμος” (3:20a and 28) denote the deeds that the prescribed standards require. “The work that is related to νόμος” (2:15) may be a collective singular denoting the deeds that the prescribed standards require or the task that νόμος usually does (i.e., its usual function), namely to prescribe standards.

The other 3 instances of νόμος reveal three other facets of the specific referent, Mosaic Law. First, the quality of “incapability” is related to Mosaic Law (8:3). Second, Christ is identified as the specific goal that is related to that law (10:4). Third, love is identified as the content that fulfills the standards that are related to that law (13:10).

As a relator, νόμος exhibits the following modification patterns. Used in conjunction with an article, it is made into a noun denoting groups of people: “Those who are out of νόμος” (οἱ ἐκ νόμου, 4:14, 16); and “those who are in νόμος” (τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, 4:16). This usage confirms the finding in chap. 6 that this specific νόμος is tied to a particular people. In 7:5 and 10:5, the relators are made into adjectives by means of articles and function as definers to their head terms. “The through-νόμος passions that are related to sins” (7:5) and “the righteousness that is out of νόμος” (10:5) function to further identify and give definition as to what passions and what righteousness are involved in these texts. Romans 7:5 confirms and clarifies the role that νόμος plays in increasing sins (cf. 4:15b; 5:13b, 20—human desires for what is prohibited by the Law are the problem, not the Law itself). 10:5 indicates that there is a righteousness that can be derived from νόμος (which in light of 9:31-32 and 10:4, is known to be unattainable).

CHAPTER 8

Νόμος FROM A BOTTOM-UP PERSPECTIVE PART III: Νόμος as Modified by a Genitive

Νόμος as Modified

Whereas chapter 6 dealt with νόμος as a head term and unmodified by a genitive and chapter 7 covered νόμος as a modifier, this chapter investigates the cases where νόμος is a head term that is qualified by a genitive. Like chapter 7, this chapter forgoes the specific implications list used in chapter 6 since the number of occurrences was low and the general discussion was deemed sufficient to cover the material.

The general reference usage of νόμος that was discovered in chapter 6 comes fully into its own in this investigation of νόμος as qualified by a genitive. As was shown in chapter 6 of this study, 4:15b and 5:13b are most likely generic propositions, which are offered because of their implications for the particular case. All the other cases involve some type of modification of the word νόμος. Strictly speaking, those cases and the instances of νόμος as qualified by a genitive fall under the same category of “νόμος as modified.” As a reminder, the other cases where a reference other than Mosaic Law was identified involved the following: in 2:14d, νόμος is qualified by a dative reflexive pronoun (ἑαυτοῖς νόμος, “a law to themselves”); in 3:27a νόμος is defined by the adjective ποῖος (ποίου νόμου, “what kind of law”); in 7:21 νόμος is defined by a ὅτι clause (ὅτι ἔμοι τὸ κακὸν παράκειται, “namely that evil is present in me”); and in 7:23a νόμος is defined by the adjective ἕτερος (ἕτερον νόμον, “another law”). All

cases share the meaning component “νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards,” but refer to an entity or a class of entities other than Mosaic Law. The patterns of νόμος as qualified by a genitive reinforce this finding. Indeed, the pattern is so strong that even if individual cases are doubted, the cumulative pattern is hard to deny.

Νόμος as Head Term

Only 11 percent (1 out of 11) of occurrences of νόμος as head term of a word group that functions as a Subject at the clause level are qualified by a genitive. The proportion of νόμος as head term of a word group that functions as Complement and as Adjunct, where νόμος is also qualified by a genitive, are 54.5 percent (6 out of 11) and 36.4 percent (4 out of 11) respectively.¹

Subject. There is only one instance of νόμος that is qualified by a genitive noun where the word group functions as a Subject at the clause level:

Rom 8:2a: ^s[*ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς*][^][ἐν Χριστῷ ἰησοῦ]
^r[ἠλευθέρωσέν]^c[σε][^][ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου]

As a head term that is qualified by a genitive that serves as Subject at the clause level, the function of νόμος seems to be as follows:

Three nouns are related to each other by two genitive constructions. Since they are all non-verbal nouns denoting different entities, each noun must be retained and properly related to each other: The law that is related to the Spirit who is related to life (8:2a), by means of Christ Jesus,² has set you free from the law that is related to

¹While νόμος as a qualifier and as a relator were analyzed according to the clause functions of Subject, Complement, and Adjunct in chap. 7, they really function at the word group level and thus no differences in usage were expected and none were found. Νόμος as a head term, however, even when qualified by a genitive, should show more functional differences at the clause level representation of a process.

²The prepositional word group, “in Christ Jesus,” could be a word group

sin and death.³ Thus, ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς (“the law that is related to the Spirit who is related to life”) is an Agent who sets Christians free.

To avoid redundancy, the discussion of 8:2a will be conducted together with 8:2b under the “Adjunct” heading below.

Complement. There are 6 instances of νόμος that are qualified by a genitive noun where the word group functions as a Complement at the clause level:

1. Rom 7:22: ^p[συνήδομαι]^c[τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ]^a[κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον]
2. Rom 7:23b: ^p[ἀντιστρατευόμενον]^c[τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου]
3. Rom 7:25a: ^s[αὐτὸς ἐγὼ]^a[τῷ νοῶ]^p[δουλεύω]^c[νόμῳ θεοῦ]
4. Rom 7:25b: ^a[τῇ σαρκὶ]^c[νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας]
5. Rom 8:7: ^c[τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ]^a[οὐχ]^p[ὑποτάσσεται]
6. Rom 9:31a: ^p[διώκων]^c[νόμον δικαιοσύνης]

As a participant in the Complement slot (usually Recipient or Goal of processes), νόμος when qualified by a genitive displayed the following functions:

1. Paul rejoices in the νόμος that is related to God according to the inward man (7:22). Thus, τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ (“the law that is related to God”) is an object in which Paul (and possibly other people) rejoices.⁴

relator to “life.” However, prepositional word group relators are often explicitly signaled in various ways. For example, it is made an explicit definer by use of the article or it is placed between the article and the noun to which it is a relator.

³Winger classes both 8:2a and b under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and sees an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος (Michael Winger, *By What Law?: the Meaning of Νόμος in the Letters of Paul*, SBLDS 128 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992], 58, 60, 90 n. 6). Moo is uncertain, but places both under non-“legal” uses denoting a “principle, force, or authority” (while suggesting that Mosaic body of commands is a possible interpretation for 8:2b) (Douglas J. Moo, “Law, ‘Works of Law,’ and Legalism in Paul,” *WTJ* 45 [1983]: 76).

⁴Winger does not classify 7:22, but classes 7:25a under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and 8:7 under the meaning component “People put themselves under νόμος” (*By What Law?*, 59, 62). He argues that all three cases make an implicit reference to a class of νόμος (ibid., 90 n. 6). Moo identifies all three instances (uncertainly) under the basic divine demand (giving the alternative as the Mosaic body of

2. Paul sees another νόμος in the (physical) members of his body warring against “the νόμος that is related to his mind” (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου, 7:23b) and taking him captive by means of the in-the-(physical)-members-of-his-body νόμος that is related to sin. Thus, “the law that is related to my mind” is an object against which some other entity (here “another law”) may war.⁵
3. I myself, on the one hand, with the mind serve νόμος that is related to God (7:25a). Thus, νόμῳ θεοῦ (“law of God”) is an object to which service is rendered by the mind.
4. On the other hand, with the flesh [I serve] νόμος that is related to sin (7:25b). Thus, νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας (“law that is related to sin”) is an object to which service is rendered by means of the flesh.⁶
5. [The mind that is related to the flesh] is not subject to the νόμος that is related to God (8:7). Thus, τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ (“law that is related to God”) is an object to which the mind is subject (but to which the mind that is related to the flesh is not subject).
6. Israel, pursuing νόμος that is related to righteousness (νόμον δικαιοσύνης, 9:31a), did not attain to νόμος. Thus, νόμον δικαιοσύνης is a (potential) object of pursuit.⁷

The conjunction γάρ, “for,” signals that 7:22-23 explains the principle articulated in 7:21. “Another” (ἕτερον) is used to distinguish this principle from the νόμος that is related to God (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, 7:22).⁸ This other νόμος Paul

commands in 7:22 and 25a) (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76). Cf. A. Feuillet, “Loi de Dieu, loi du Christ et loi de l’Esprit d’après les épîtres pauliniennes: Les rapports de ces trois lois avec la Loi Mosaique,” *NovT* 22 (1980): 29-65.

⁵Winger categorizes 7:23 b and c under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and as having an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος (*By What Law?*, 59, 90 n. 6). Moo tentatively puts 7:23b under the basic divine command and 7:23c under “principle, force, [or] authority” (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁶Winger classes 7:25b under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and sees an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος (*By What Law?*, 59, 90 n. 6). Moo classes it under either non-legal uses, denoting “principle, force, or authority,” or the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁷Winger sees a specific reference implied in 9:31b, which is “evidently to the νόμος δικαιοσύνης of 9:31a, which, because it is pursued by the Jews, is evidently Jewish” (*By What Law?*, 81). The meaning component for both is “People put themselves under νόμος” (*ibid.*, 62). Moo is uncertain if they belong under “principle, force, or authority” or the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

⁸Besides pointing out that “another” (ἕτερος) always refers to a different entity, Moo offers additional arguments of differing force in favor of the view that

describes as warring against the νόμος of his mind (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου, 7:23b) and taking him captive “by means of the in-the-(physical)-members-of-his-body νόμος that is related to sin” (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου, 7:23c). In other words, in 7:21, 23a, b, and c all the entities (7:21 being the same entity as 7:23a) referred to by the use of the word νόμος are *internal to Paul’s body* (this is one of the reasons the referent is unlikely to be Mosaic Law) and are engaged in an internal struggle over control. The principles struggling for control thus take on a control nuance by contextual modulation (see the section “Distinctions and Focus” in chapter 6 on this concept). Specifically, it is especially when “sin” is made a genitive qualifier to νόμος, in opposition to νοός, that the controlling nuance is introduced. In addition, 7:1a had brought to the forefront the supplementary meaning component of control associated with νόμος: “νόμος rules over a human being as long as he lives” (which reign probably has to do with the binding nature of the prescriptions that are related to νόμος). The controlling principle that is related to the evil present in Paul works in this manner: While Paul rejoices in the controlling principle that is related to God according to his inner being (Paul’s inner being = the controlling principle that is related to Paul’s mind), he sees another controlling principle in the (physical) members of his body (= the controlling principle that is related to the evil present in Paul), warring against the controlling principle that is related to his mind (= his inner being that delights in the

“another law” is not Mosaic Law or God’s Law in any form (Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996], 463-64). For the alternative view that Paul consistently refers to Mosaic Law, see James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A [Dallas: Word, 1988], 392-96. Dunn speaks of “the two-sidedness of the law [meaning Mosaic Law] . . . as the law of God . . . [and] as the law used by sin” (ibid., 392). Cf. Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 375-79.

controlling principle that is related to God) and taking him captive by means of the in-the-(physical)-members-of-his-body controlling principle that is related to sin. In other words, *the evil that is present in Paul has seized control over Paul's body and controls him by means of sin* (cf. the treatment from the perspective of lexical patterning in chap. 5 of this study). As further corroboration of this construal, 7:16 makes sense in this context as Paul (= the controlling principle that is related to Paul's mind) agrees with the Mosaic Law (probably also portrayed as a controlling principle, in this case one that is related to God) that its prescriptions are good when he disapproves of his own actions (cf. 7:17 where he denies that "he" [= the controlling principle of his mind in 7:23b] is performing what he does not wish, but attributes responsibility to indwelling sin).⁹

With respect to 9:31a, Israel, pursuing νόμος that is related to righteousness (νόμον δικαιοσύνης), did not attain to νόμος (9:31b). Since every other instance of νόμος that is qualified by a genitive has a referent other than Mosaic Law and shares the common meaning component "νόμος prescribes standards," it is likely that 9:31a is no exception. To see if such a construal makes sense, the interpretation adopted here substitutes the common meaning component "νόμος prescribes standards" in place of the word νόμος in 9:31a. Moreover, if νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards, to attain that entity one has to attain the standards prescribed. Thus, in 9:32b the goal (εἰς νόμον) would be "the standards prescribed." What is meant is that they pursued the νόμος that is related to righteousness (i.e., the standards prescribing righteousness) as if they could attain "the standards prescribed" (νόμος). Specifically, they pursued the standards

⁹For additional arguments for the general reference usage of νόμος, see Moo, *Romans*, 441-67. Cf. Winger, *By What Law?*, 167-94.

prescribed not by means of faith but as if they could be attained by means of deeds, which is the wrong means (9:31-32).¹⁰ As noted in the treatment of 10:5 in chapter 7 of this study, νόμος is a potential means of attaining righteousness (whether or not it is actually achieved) and doing the precepts of νόμος is a means of attaining that righteousness. What Israel failed to realized was that this means is bankrupt.

Adjunct. The occurrences of νόμος that are qualified by a genitive noun where the word group functions as an Adjunct at the clause level are:

1. Rom 3:27b: ^{conj}[ἀλλὰ]^A[διὰ νόμου πίστεως]
2. Rom 7:2b: ^P[κατήργηται]^A[ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός]
3. Rom 7:23c: ^{conj}[καὶ]^P[αἰχμαλωτίζοντά]^C[με]^A[ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου]
4. Rom 8:2b: ^S[ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς]^A[ἐν Χριστῷ ἰησοῦ]
^P[ἤλευθέρωσέν]^C[σε]^A[ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου]

As an Adjunct of processes, the occurrences of νόμος that are qualified by a genitive noun exhibits the following characteristics:

1. Where then is boasting. It is excluded. By what kind of law? [a law] that is related to works? No, rather by means of a law that is related to faith (διὰ νόμου πίστεως, 3:27b). Thus, “law that is related to faith” is a means of excluding boasting.
2. But if her husband should die, she is free from the law that is related to the husband (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός, 7:2b). Thus, “the law that is related to the husband” is a constraint from which a wife is set free if her husband should die.
3. And taking me captive by means of the in-the-(physical)-members-of-my-body law that is related to sins (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου, 7:23c). Thus, “the in-the-(physical)-members-of-my-body law that is related to sins” is a means by which Paul (and possibly other people) is taken captive.

¹⁰Cf. Schreiner, *Romans*, 537-39 on νόμον δικαιοσύνης, “law that is related to righteousness” and the various views. The solution proposed above has similarities with Moo’s proposal (*Romans*, 625-26), i.e., that “law” remains the topic and that law is conceived as a means to righteousness. Cf. Robert Badenas, *Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10.4 in Pauline Perspective*, JSNTSup 10 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 101-08.

4. The law that is related to the Spirit who is related to life, by means of Christ Jesus, has set me free from the law that is related to sin and to death (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, 8:2b). Thus, “the law that is related to sin and to death” is something from which one is set free.¹¹

In 3:27a, the question is asked as to what kind of νόμος excludes boasting. Thus, it seems assumed that some kinds of “law” lead to boasting and other kinds may exclude boasting. The plural genitive τῶν ἔργων, “that is related to works,” is given as a potential answer, but rejected in favor of διὰ νόμου πίστεως, “through a law that is related to faith.” The most likely interpretation is that the common meaning component “an entity that prescribes standards” is applied to a different referent from its usual association with the Mosaic Law.¹² Here faith is conceived of as a principle or an entity prescribing standards that replaces the principle of works. As articulated in the section “New Proposal for Understanding Genitive Qualifiers” in chapter 7, the immediate context often helps to disambiguate a genitive usage if it is a kind of shorthand reference. Most likely, this “principle of faith” is a shorthand reference to what is articulated in 3:28: δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου (“a person is justified by means of faith apart from the deeds that are related to the law”).¹³

¹¹Winger categorizes 3:27b; 7:2b, 23c; and 8:2b under the meaning component “νόμος controls” and sees an implicit general reference to a class of νόμος in all of these cases (*By What Law?* 58-60, 90 n. 6). Moo identifies 3:27b; 7:23c; and 8:2b as either under the non-legal use “principle, force, or authority” or the Mosaic body of commands. He sees 7:2b as a single command under the Mosaic body of commands (“Law, ‘Works of Law,’” 76).

¹²Cf. Moo, *Romans*, 249-50; Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 182-83; and Stephen Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 122-26.

¹³Moo, *Romans*, 249-50; Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith*, 126; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and*

Whether one sees the two instances of νόμος in 8:2 as a general or specific reference significantly affects its interpretation. Does νόμος, conceived as a specific reference to Mosaic Law, become empowered by the Spirit to free believers from νόμος, also conceived as a specific reference to Mosaic Law but sabotaged by sin?¹⁴ Or does the Spirit who is related to life, conceived as a law that prescribes and enforces standards (i.e., as a controlling entity), by means of Christ Jesus, free believers from sin and death, conceived as laws that prescribe and enforce standards (i.e., as controlling entities)?¹⁵

Several considerations (derived from chap. 6 of this study as well as the discussion of the other general reference usage texts in Romans 7 above) make a reference to the Spirit and sin and death as controlling entities more likely. First, the common meaning component of νόμος is that of “an entity that prescribes standards.” Moreover, the beginning of Romans (“νόμος *rules* over a human being as long as he lives,” 7:1) highlights the control nuance of νόμος. Furthermore, Romans 7:21 and 23a refer to a νόμος other than Mosaic Law—a principle of indwelling evil/sin. In addition, the opposition between σάρξ (“flesh”) and πνεῦμα (“Spirit”) in Romans 8 likely carries forward the duel of controlling powers begun in Romans 7. It was a losing battle in Romans 7, with the mind usurped by the controlling principle of sin in the conduct of the

Commentary, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 6. For the opposing view, see Charles E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 1:219-20; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 185-87; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 201-02.

¹⁴Schreiner, *Romans*, 399-401; and Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 416-19.

¹⁵Moo, *Romans*, 473-77; Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 523-24. Thielman sees 8:2a as the new covenant and 8:2b as the Mosaic Law (*Paul and the Law*, 202).

physical members of the body; but it is a won battle in Romans 8.¹⁶ The interpretation of 8:2 is thus likely: The related-to-life Spirit, as a controlling principle, has set you free by means of Christ Jesus from sin and death, as controlling principles.

In light of all interpretation advanced thus far for the other examples of νόμος qualified by a genitive, it seems likely that “the law that is related to the husband” (ὁ νόμος τοῦ ἀνδρός, 7:2b) does not refer to the Mosaic Law either. Even if Mosaic Law is involved (if a Jewish addressee and Jewish marriage is envisioned), it is specifically the law as it relates to marriage that is in view.¹⁷ Thus, this example also fits the finding that all usages of νόμος that are defined or qualified, except for ὁ νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ (“the law that is related to God,” 7:25a; and 8:7), refer to different laws from Mosaic Law. The exception, “the law that is related to God,” actually supports this view because it appears precisely in contexts where the other modified uses of νόμος are found and would be explained as needed to identify a specific reference to Mosaic Law.¹⁸

Corroboration of Findings

From the discussion above, it is likely evident to the reader that the findings of chapters 6 and 7 are corroborated. Specifically, the meaning component “an entity that prescribes standards” identified for νόμος also fits well the examples of νόμος that are

¹⁶Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 519-91.

¹⁷Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 360; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 457; and Schreiner, *Romans*, 347-48. On the various views, see Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:333-35.

¹⁸In the context of dueling controlling principles in Rom 7:7-25, the semantic nuance (as opposed to reference) “the law of God” takes on is that of a controlling principle on the losing side of the battle. Even though Mosaic Law is likely the referent, what is at stake is that the controlling principle that is related to God is losing the battle

qualified by a genitive. As shown in chapter 6 of this study, 4:15b and 5:13b are generic propositions (οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις, “moreover, where there is no law there is neither transgression,” and ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἔλλογεῖται μὴ ὄντος νόμου, “moreover, sin is not reckoned when there is no law”). Aside from the cases of νόμος that are modified (qualified in particular) by a genitive, a strong case can be made that every instance where νόμος is modified in some way has a different referent from Mosaic Law. Strictly speaking, those cases and the instances of νόμος as qualified by a genitive fall under the same category of νόμος as modified. The instances are reproduced again for comparison with the cases of νόμος with genitive qualifier below: 2:14d (ἑαυτοῖς νόμος, “a law to themselves”); 3:27a (ποίου νόμου, “what kind of law”); 7:21 (τὸν νόμον . . . ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται, “the law namely that evil is present in me”); and 7:23a (ἕτερον νόμον, “another law”).

In 3:27b διὰ νόμου πίστεως, “through a law that is related to faith,” is most likely a shorthand reference to the principle of faith articulated in 3:28: δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου (“a person is justified by means of faith apart from the deeds that are related to the law”). In 7:21, 23a, b, and c all the entities (7:21 being the same entity as 7:23a) referred to by the use of the word νόμος are internal to Paul’s body and engaged in an internal struggle over control. “Another” (ἕτερον, 7:23a) νόμος is distinguished from the νόμος that is related to God (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, 7:22). Paul describes this other νόμος as warring against the νόμος of his mind (τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου, 7:23b) and taking him captive “by means of the in-the-(physical)-members-of-

for control over the mind of the human subjects who are supposed to give their allegiance to it. Stated differently, the issue of who is in control is in the foreground in Romans 7-8.

his-body νόμος that is related to sin” (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου, 7:23c). While it is a losing battle in Romans 7, the intervention of the Spirit shifts the balance of power in Romans 8: “The related-to-life Spirit, as a controlling principle, has set you free by means of Christ Jesus from sin and death, as controlling principles” (ὁ . . . νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, 8:2). Even 7:2b at least refers to something more specific than the Mosaic Law—the law that relates to a husband (ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός; whether “law” in general or a specific reference to part of the Jewish regulations on marriage). The three exceptions, ὁ νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ (“the law that is related to God,” 7:22, 25a; 8:7), refer to Mosaic Law. However, these exceptions actually supports the view espoused here because they appear precisely in contexts where the other modified uses of νόμος are found and where there would be confusion if a specific reference to Mosaic Law was not clearly indicated.

Conclusion

The reader may ask at the end of this chapter, “What is the contribution of this chapter to the debate over these passages? Others have pointed out that these texts do not refer to Mosaic Law.” First, the distinctions are made on the basis of a functional analysis of all 74 occurrences of νόμος with an explicit account of how each instance was analyzed and understood. Second, a grammatical pattern was uncovered that gives further empirical evidence for the so-called “metaphorical” view. Specifically, it was found that a strong case could be made that νόμος has a different referent in *every* case (except “the law that is related to God,” 7:22, 25a; and 8:7) where it is modified—whether by an adjective (3:27a and 7:23a), a ὅτι clause (7:21), a dative qualifier (2:14d), or a genitive

modifier (3:27b; 7:2b, 23b, c, 25b; 8:2a, b; 9:31a). Third, the linguistic basis for this ability of the word νόμος to make other references (than Mosaic Law), both general and specific is explained: All cases share the meaning component “νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards,” which is apparently the common meaning component for this lexical item. This meaning component represents the core identity of any entity that can be called νόμος—this is the class of νόμος that lies behind every usage of the term, whether to appeal to the class generically (e.g., 2:14d; 3:27a; 4:15b; 5:13b) or to a specific “law” or “principle” (7:2b, 22, 23a, b, c, 25a, b; 8:2a, b, 7; 9:31a). Fourth, the specific “control” nuance present in the usages in Romans 7 and 8 is explained as the result of contextual modulation highlighting a supplementary meaning component often associated with the word νόμος.

CHAPTER 9

FULFILLING THE LAW APART FROM THE LAW: OVERALL CONCLUSION

By What “Law”?

The interpretation of Paul’s statements on νόμος impinges upon various areas of Christian theology and ethics and is a veritable hotbed of contention. Not all the issues could be dealt with in this study. Nor were all the relevant texts covered. Instead, the investigation was confined to Paul’s epistle to the Romans. In many ways, this inquiry ended up with a narrower scope than was initially intended. As originally conceived, the examination would have included a complete analysis of Romans as a discourse and the uncovering of the meaning and function of νόμος within the discourse in light of the whole. This goal proved ultimately elusive and will not be achievable for perhaps a few more years. What was accomplished in this work is to provide a prolegomena to a new approach to studying the Greek New Testament and some insights into the empirical data on νόμος in Romans from new angles.

The reader who has read this work from the start to finish will have traversed a long journey. In chapter 1, the reader was initiated into the world of interpretational debates and uncertainty over an issue of substantial importance—the meaning and function of law. The paradigm presented for understanding the various proposals categorized the alternatives from the perspective of consistency and inconsistency and the manner in which the consistency or inconsistency is sustained. An important underlying

current in the debates is the ever-present issue of the proper place of the Mosaic Law in the life of the Christian and the Christian Church. In the face of an intractable impasse on a crucial issue, the question was asked, “Is there a way forward?” By what “law” may we endeavor to resolve the impasse? It was suggested that one potential avenue for progress is for all interpreters to provide reasoned and methodologically-explicit accounts of how they understand the syntax and semantics of the relevant texts.

The foundation for this author’s own attempt at a comprehensive approach to the Pauline texts was the adoption of an integrative model of understanding of language, namely systemic-functional linguistics. In a call to return to a vigorous empirical study of the Greek text of the New Testament, this author set forth a proposed framework for a renewed integration of grammar, interpretation, and theology. First and foremost, the interpreter must be convinced of the centrality of the biblical text and its corollary—the preeminent place that the investigation of the semantics and grammar of the text must have in the task of interpretation. Second, he or she should be willing to explore new avenues that provide a consistent method and clearly-defined criteria for evidence. It was suggested that the discipline of discourse analysis meets this need. Third, he or she would want to adopt the most integrative theory and practically-fruitful method available. By adopting and expounding upon systemic-functional linguistics, it was implied that careful consideration should be given to this as-yet largely unknown approach. In essence, this framework links the context giving rise to language use to the actual linguistic expressions inscribed in the text by means of the semantic choices of the language user. This link is achieved by the correspondence between three types of meaning to three elements of the situation. At the risk of oversimplification, they may be explained thus:

Ideational meanings represent the processes in the world (i.e., represent one's understanding of the world of experience), interpersonal meanings maintain and facilitate social exchange (i.e., carry out social interaction), and textual meanings bind the other two meanings into a coherent message (i.e., provide cohesion and a flow to the expression of content and social interaction). The corresponding contexts of situation are what is happening that is communicated (i.e., the field), the roles and relations between the participants in the communication (i.e., the tenor), and the type and manner of communication selected (i.e., the mode).

The central pillar to this study is the development of and reliance upon a machine-readable, annotated corpus of the Greek text. The Opentext.org corpus, which is constructed on the foundation of systemic-functional linguistics, was recommended as eminently suitable for application towards rigorous empirical study of the Greek New Testament. It was suggested that a corpus linguistics approach (i.e., using machine-readable texts to study language patterns) using the Opentext.org corpus opens up new avenues for systematic analysis of grammatical patterns, interpersonal structure, semantics, interpretational issues, or any other issue that can be studied from the text.

Building upon the foundation of systemic-functional linguistics and the central pillar of the Opentext.org corpus (as explained in chap. 2), various analytical tools were developed as supporting pillars to the text analysis. These tools were explained in chapter 3 and Appendix 1. A partial overview of Romans from the perspective of the overall meaning fields and participant structure was then presented. In chapter 4 most of the tools developed were applied in a partial attempt at a discourse commentary on the Opening (Rom 1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (Rom 1:8-17) sections of Romans. This chapter

illustrates the methods more fully and provides an introduction to the discourse of Romans from another perspective. This fuller illustration was necessary in part because the functional analysis of νόμος in chapters 6-8 of this study only partially implements these methods. In part, it is hoped that many readers will find the tools and the analysis suggestive and adopt and refine them for future studies. When combined and implemented in a rigorous fashion, these methods are designed to build towards the writing of a full discourse commentary on Romans.

Chapter 5 introduces yet another angle at investigating the text, namely patterns of lexis. The central thesis—that texts that are bonded by lexical meanings are related and likely susceptible to being read together—provides another useful tool towards synthesizing the analysis of individual parts of the text into a coherent whole. Indeed, it is suggested that this approach may serve as a useful control on the task of comparing and synthesizing themes and other matters in a discourse or a corpus of discourses.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 represent an initial endeavor at a comprehensive accounting for the linguistic data on νόμος in Romans. All 74 occurrences of νόμος are categorized and analyzed in terms of the transitivity system according to the method explained in part in chapter 3 and according to the clause and word group annotation models of the Opentext.org corpus explained in chapter 2. (The understanding of the Greek verbal network and the concepts of markedness and prominence delineated in Appendix 1 were also in the background). It was found that all the usages of νόμος share the common meaning component “νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards.” This meaning component allows for different specific and general classes of referents,

different kinds of νόμοι, “laws” or “principles.” Supplementary meaning components were also found: (1) The standards prescribe compliance and may be transgressed; and (2) the very same standards, if transgressed, become the standards for judgment.

These findings are foundational and important in at least three ways. First, the awareness that νόμος is not simply some proper name for Mosaic Law and that it refers to other “laws” and “principles” as well preclude many interpretive difficulties in relation to texts such as 2:14d; 3:27a and b; and 7:21-25. Second, the identification of the common meaning component as “νόμος is an entity that prescribes standards” serves as a sieve through which all potential suggestions about the meaning of that lexical item must pass. While one of the findings in this study is that supplementary meaning components of νόμος—i.e., its standards prescribe compliance and, if transgressed, the very same standards become the basis for judgment—are contextually modulated, suggestion of instances of contextual modulation have to be supported by the empirical evidence of the linguistic data at hand. For instance, the suggestion that νόμος sometimes denotes “legalism” is not borne out by the texts in Romans and appears to be foreign to the common or supplementary meaning components attested for that word.¹ Very strong contextual modulation, with clear linguistic expressions to the effect, would be necessary

¹Cranfield suggested that “the Greek language used by Paul had no word-group to denote ‘legalism,’ ‘legalist,’ and ‘legalistic’ This means, surely that he was at a very considerable disadvantage. . . . We should, I think, be ready to reckon with the possibility that sometimes, when he appears to be disparaging the law, what he really has in mind may be not the law itself but the misunderstanding and misuse of it for which *we* have a convenient term” (C. E. B. Cranfield, “St. Paul and the Law,” *SJT* 17 [1964]: 55). However, Greek has sufficient resources for indicating the concept of legalism even if no suitable single word was found and this sense of legalism is not evidently in the passages where it is claimed (cf. Stephen Westerholm, *Israel’s Law and the Church’s Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988], 132).

for to be used in the sense of “legalism.” It is very doubtful, therefore, that such a sense is intended by Paul. Another dubious set of proposals is the attempt to limit Paul’s statements about Christian having died to the Law (Rom 7:4) or not being under the Law (Rom 6:14-15) to simply the condemnation, curse, misunderstanding, or misuse of the Law (e.g., as a means of justification).² Besides the insuperable barrier of the range of meaning of the word νόμος (especially as understood in terms of meaning components), another formidable obstacle is the fact of reference. The word both means and refers. The referent in texts like Romans 6:14-15 and Romans 7:4 is undoubtedly Mosaic Law (especially in light of the pattern found in this study—every non-reference to Mosaic Law is indicated by some form of modification on the word νόμος; see especially chap. 8). Thus the freedom and the lack of obligation denoted are in reference to Mosaic Law as an entity. Understood thus, the two findings above support the position of advocates of consistency in relation to Paul’s conception of the law, it is merely necessary to distinguish among the meaning and referent Paul has in mind in particular passages (see further the summary below). Finally, the proper identification of the function, meaning, and referent of νόμος in each of its occurrences is a necessary foundation for any further comparative or synthesizing work.

Along the way, various proposals on grammar (e.g., “proposal for interpreting genitive qualifiers” and the elaborating function of the marker ὅτι) were also inspired by this empirical study of the text that endeavored to move from grammar, text analysis, to theological synthesis. It is hoped that many readers will take up such issues and pursue

²Cf. Westerholm, *Israel Law and the Church’s Faith*, 205-09 for a forceful critique of these untenable positions.

further research. Before concluding this study, a brief summary of the findings on the overall theological picture conveyed in part through the word νόμος may be given.

Fulfilling the Law Apart from the Law

In Romans, νόμος most frequently refers to Mosaic Law. However, the more general reference usages are more significant in the context of the discourse. In Romans 2, the Gentiles who do not possess Mosaic Law and do the prescriptions that are related to that Law upend the advantage of the Jews, who possess Mosaic Law. Those who sin without the Law will also perish without the Law. Those who sin with the Law will be judged by the Law (2:12). The Law itself, in fact, is relativized, in that Paul projects that Gentiles who do not have it (2:14a) may do the things it prescribes (2:14b). Indeed, Gentiles are a law to themselves (2:14d), showing that the work that is related to the Law is written in their hearts. Whether “the work that is related to the Law” (2:15) refers to that Law’s prescriptions (i.e., the Gentiles somehow have knowledge of the precepts that are related to Mosaic Law, whether by some form of natural law or knowledge through exposure to Diaspora Jews) or Law’s usual function of prescribing (i.e., the Gentiles govern themselves, prescribing their own standards and living by or transgressing them for which they will give an account on Judgment Day, 2:16), the effect is to put Mosaic Law in its place as only one among a class of νόμος.³

³The former interpretation was favored in chapter 5 of this study when the text was examined from the angle of patterns of lexis. The latter interpretation was favored in chapter 6 of this study from the perspective of functional analysis. This author let both readings stand to illustrate how examining the text from different angles may challenge interpretive complacency and open up different avenues of viewing the text towards coming to a more reasoned and accurate interpretation of it.

In Romans 3, the righteousness that is related to God is revealed apart from the participation of the Mosaic Law (i.e., Mosaic Law plays no part in the process of revealing the righteousness that is related to God, 3:21a). The principle of faith—namely that a human being is justified by means of faith without doing the Law (3:28)—dwarfs the role of the Mosaic Law (3:31). Indeed the promise to Abraham and his descendants was never meant to come to pass by means of the Law, but by means of faith (4:13). Faith with Christ as its object is likely what is meant (cf. the centrality of faith uncovered in the discussion of the Thanksgiving section in chap. 4 of this study). As 10:4 indicates the goal that is related to νόμος was righteousness (cf. 9:31-32; 10:5) and Christ realizes that goal of attaining righteousness for everyone who believes. Indeed, the Law is incapable of bringing this righteousness because it only brings knowledge (whether practical, experiential knowledge or objective, indicting knowledge) of sin (3:20).

The Law results in God's wrath (4:15) and came in alongside for the intended result that transgression might increase (5:20). How this comes about is explained in 7:5 and 7:7-12—the through-the-law passions that are related to sins = passions to do what is prohibited by the law. It was necessary, then, for believers to be set free from the reign of Law so as to become bound to Christ (7:1-6). The reign of law corresponded with the reign of sin (νόμος used in a general reference to a controlling principle; 7:21-25). The human mind was on the losing side of the struggle for control with indwelling sin. The controlling principle of the Law that is related to God exercised no control over the human being because of the dominance of indwelling sin. The controlling principle that is related to the Spirit who is related to life has set the Christian free from the controlling principle that is related to sin and death, however (8:2). The result is the reign of the

Spirit and fruit of eternal life.⁴ In the portrayal of this struggle for control, the word νόμος is used effectively to represent the various actors involved.

Just as faith in Christ attains the righteousness that could not be achieved through doing the works that the Law prescribes (cf. 3:20; 9:31-32), love accomplishes the goal of the Law in terms of ethics. Christian love replaces Mosaic Law in that it fulfills its content—it encapsulates any and all commandments and does no harm to one's neighbor. Love is thus the fulfillment of the Law (13:8, 10).

From the data surveyed in this study, the function of νόμος, when referring to Mosaic Law, thus appears to be: (1) to prescribe standards, which are meant to be kept and which represent the standards for judgment; (2) to give (objective, indicting or practical, experiential) knowledge of sin; and (3) to increase transgressions. The consequence of the presence of the Law was wrath (negative judgment for violating the standards). This situation results from sin's effective overpowering of both the Law and the human mind in the struggle for control. Since the Law brings negative judgment, its reign had to be ended and replaced with grace's reign—thus addressing the issue of objective condemnation. The issue of loss of internal self-governance is addressed by the entrance of the reign of the Spirit. The issue of the loss of objective standards is addressed by love fulfilling all of the Law's righteous prescriptions. Therefore, Christians who by means of faith in Christ are freed from the Law's reign and justified and are Spirit-led and loving, fulfill the Law and they do so by fulfilling the Law apart from the Law.

⁴ It is precisely because Christians are not under the reign of νόμος, but under the reign of grace (χάρις) that they are free from the reign of sin (ἁμαρτία) (6:14, 15).

APPENDIX 1

“HOW DO YOU TELL WHAT IS IMPORTANT IN A TEXT?”: DETERMINING MARKEDNESS AND PROMINENCE

Introduction

The aim of this appendix is to integrate empirical data and theoretical analysis of *marked* and *unmarked* grammatical features of the Greek of the New Testament and to develop a working model for analyzing *prominence* in the Pauline epistles in the process.¹ With a better understanding of how certain linguistic elements in the text are highlighted and supported, the further goal is to gain insights into how the ideational and interpersonal meanings in the text are weaved into a coherent message.

Theoretical Justification for Statistical Study

In essence, the procedure and analysis in this chapter rest on the theoretical links from *distributional statistics*, *markedness*, and *prominence* to meanings highlighted in the text. The theoretical underpinning is Halliday’s systemic-functional linguistics, which was introduced in chapter 2. Besides serving to introduce the reader to the linguistic concepts of prominence and markedness as well as to a *probabilistic* perspective on Greek *lexicogrammar*, the following discussion provides theoretical justification for a statistical study of grammatical features and the use of distributional data to help define the meaning of those features.

¹On “marked,” “unmarked,” and “prominence,” see explanations below.

Prominence

While many New Testament scholars may not be familiar with the linguistic concept of prominence, most will have either encountered claims or made claims themselves that certain grammatical constructions are “emphatic.” The most frequent type of claim probably concerns word order. For instance, one finds the following assertion in an intermediate grammar: “Generally, any element placed before the verb signals prominence.”² As another example, the classic reference grammar by Blass, Debrunner, and Funk states that “[a]ny emphasis on an element in the sentence causes that element to be moved forward.”³ Another classic idea is articulated by Robertson: “Emphasis consists in removing a word from its usual position to an unusual one.”⁴

The concept of *prominence* has to do with how language users mark various items to differentiate their importance in the discourse and to guide the audience in the best way to “read” their communication. Prominence has also been referred to as emphasis, grounding, relevance, or salience.⁵ As Reed explains, “Prominence typically refers to the means by which speakers/writers draw the listener/reader’s attention to important topics and motifs of the discourse and support these topics with other less-

²Richard A. Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994), 263.

³BDF §472(2).

⁴A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 417.

⁵Jeffrey T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity*, JSNTSup 136 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 105. Reed discusses prominence in terms of background, theme, and focus (*ibid.*, 107-110). Stanley Porter posits three planes of discourse—background, foreground, and frontground (*Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament: With Reference to Tense and*

prominent material.”⁶ In essence, important themes and participants are more prominent and supporting material is less prominent. Thus the study of prominence reveals the resources that are used to highlight and background material and helps uncover both the important and the supporting material as well as their interrelations.

Markedness

For the study of prominence, however, the analysis of *markedness* comes in as the intermediate step. Markedness was first developed by the Prague School of Linguists to describe the presence or absence of phonetic features.⁷ In principle, pairs of linguistic features are seen to be in opposition and given different values of positive (marked) and neutral or negative (unmarked). In a previous study, this author treated markedness not as a paired opposition, but as a cline of relative markedness values.⁸ Westfall explains this extension of the theory of markedness to such a cline this way:

According to the theory of markedness, some formal features are default and unmarked and some formal features are marked. Default features will tend to ground marked features. While markedness is generally described in relationship to polarities, many selections from the grammatical system involve more than two choices, and those choices can be arranged on a cline from the least marked or unmarked choice to the marked choice.⁹

Mood, SBG 1 [New York: Peter Lang, 1989], 92-93; and *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994], 23).

⁶Ibid., 106.

⁷For the evolution of the theory, see E. Andrews, *Markedness Theory: The Union of Asymmetry and Semiosis in Language* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990).

⁸The earlier version referred to is Randall K. Tan, “Application: Prominence in the Pauline Epistles” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA, 22 November 2003).

⁹Cynthia Westfall, “A Method for the Analysis of Prominence” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA, 22 November 2003), 2. Many of the ideas here originated from my involvement as one of

At least two questions arise: (1) What are the criteria for assigning different choices in a grammatical system on different points of the cline?; and (2) How can the proposed cline be verified?

Part of the answer lies in *distributional statistics*, which formed the core of this author's earlier answer. In that work, the statistical distribution for clause constituents and clause order patterns as well as the features of aspect, voice, mood, and person and number were examined primarily on the basis of relative distributional frequency to propose a cline of relative markedness. It was also recognized that distributionally-marked elements are not necessarily prominent. The solution proposed was to correlate statistically marked elements with their context of occurrence. As Battistella observes, "Marked elements tend to occur in marked contexts, while unmarked elements occur in unmarked contexts."¹⁰ In practice, this involved applying tentative clines of markedness to the analysis of text. Table A1 summarizes the proposed link from distributional statistics, to markedness, to prominence, to prominent semantic features of the text.

Table A1. From Distributional Statistics to Semantics

<i>Statistics on distribution</i>	<i>Markedness</i>	<i>Likely Prominence</i>	<i>Likely Semantics of the Text</i>
Highest frequency	Unmarked	Less prominent	Supporting material
Lower frequencies	Marked according to cline	More prominent according to a cline	More important material according to a cline

the panelists at the dedicated session on prominence in the Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics Section. Where possible, I have given credit to my co-panelists Stan Porter and Cindy Westfall as well as Matthew Brook O'Donnell, who presided over the session by citing their (as yet) unpublished work. Any errors or misapplications are my own.

¹⁰Edwin L. Battistella, *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 4 and 7.

Modified Framework

Recent work by Porter and O'Donnell has indicated the need to modify the above understanding, however.¹¹ Two modifications were revealed as necessary in light of their study: (1) A reemphasis on (primarily) binary opposition while taking into account a cline of combined factors like morphology, semantics, and distribution (see below); and (2) the requirement of a more disproportionate statistical ratio between the more frequent and less frequent member for recognition of unmarked and marked opposition. In order to understand the reasons for the above modifications, four interrelated concepts emphasized in Halliday's recent work require explanation.¹²

Language as a network of systems for making meaning. The first concept is the view of language as composed of interrelated sets of options (i.e., a network of systems) for making meaning. As the reader may recall from the discussion of the section

¹¹Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "The Greek Verbal Network Viewed from a Probabilistic Standpoint: An Exercise in Hallidayan Linguistics," *FN* 14 (2001): 3-41.

¹²See M. A. K. Halliday, "Corpus Studies and Probabilistic Grammar," in *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honor of Jan Svartvik*, ed. K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (London: Longman, 1991), 30-43; idem, "Language as System and Language as Instance: The Corpus as a Theoretical Construct," in *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82*, ed. Jan Svartvik, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 65. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 61-77; idem, "Quantitative Studies and Probabilities in Grammar," in *Data, Description, Discourse: Papers on the English Language in Honour of John McH. Sinclair*, ed. M. Hoey (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 1-25; idem, "Towards Probabilistic Interpretations," in *Functional and Systemic Linguistics: Approaches and Uses*, ed. E. Ventola, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 55 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 39-61; and M. A. K., Halliday and Z. L. James, "A Quantitative Study of Polarity and Primary Tense in the English Finite Clause," in *Techniques in Description: Spoken and Written Discourse*, ed. J. M. Sinclair, M. Hoey and G. Fox (London: Routledge, 1993), 32-66. These concepts were not absent from Halliday's earlier work. The counting and analysis of adequately large amounts of

“What Is Systemic-Functional Linguistics?” in chapter 2, these interrelated sets of options are called *systems* and they encompass both lexis and grammar (i.e., *lexicogrammar*). As Porter and O’Donnell explain,

Systemic linguistics rejects the traditional distinction between lexis (lexical semantics treated in a lexicon) and grammar (morphological patterns discussed in grammar books). Instead, systemic theory talks about the *lexicogrammar* of language—that is, a continuum (or cline) of paradigmatic systems, with grammar (as traditionally described) at one end and lexis at the other.¹³

In other words, words and grammar are interrelated sets of choices for making meaning. Thus every expression of meaning through words or grammar implies choice. On the one hand, words are selected from a large and expandable pool, with various subgroupings of fields of meaning (these large systems are called open systems). For example, in the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, νόμος is defined as “a formalized rule (or set of rules) prescribing what people must do.”¹⁴ It is also part of the subdomain “Law, Regulation, Ordinance.” This subdomain is in turn part of the larger domain of “Communication.” The selection of νόμος should be interpreted as a choice against (or instead of) other words in the subsystems (e.g., the subdomains and domains) and system of words (e.g., all the words in the lexicon—though the words

linguistic data has only recently become feasible with computer readable corpora (Halliday, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 64).

¹³Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 12. On Halliday’s own statements, see M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 15; idem, “Corpus Studies and Probabilistic Grammar,” 32; and idem, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 63. Cf. Ruqaiya Hasan, “The Grammarian’s Dream: Lexis as Most Delicate Grammar,” in *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics*, vol. 1, *Theory and Description*, ed. M. A. K. Halliday and R. P. Fawcett (London: Pinter, 1987), 184-211.

¹⁴Louw and Nida, 1:426. See also the subdomain “Written Language” (*ibid.*, 1:393).

used in the New Testament are but a small subset of the Hellenistic Greek lexical system) that could have been chosen. On the other hand, the selection of each grammatical option from their respective sets of options (i.e., systems) involves a much smaller pool of choices (these small systems are called closed systems). For instance, the semantic choices of singular and plural form a two member system. When a noun is singular, it is singular as a choice against (or instead of) plural. When a noun is plural, it is plural as a choice against (or instead of) singular.¹⁵ As a clarification, by “choice,” Halliday does not imply that the language user is always consciously aware that she is making such choices. The native speaker, in fact, often makes use of the resources of her language without conscious thought. However, the system of language requires that those choices be made to express meaning through language. In sum, the first required concept is meaning as choice—in particular *all expressions of meaning using a language involve making interrelated sets of choices in the network of systems in that specific language.*¹⁶

Language as both system and instance. The reader may say, “The premise

¹⁵Graber notes, “System represents the potential of the language, the possibilities for what speakers can say. This potential is defined by paradigmatic relationships, relationships between signs in the system. For example, in Standard English, there are two choices for first person pronouns in the subject position: ‘I’ and ‘we.’ In the sentence, ‘x went to work,’ a speaker referring to . . . himself can say ‘I went to work,’ or, if others are included, ‘We went to work.’ The significance of the choice of terms in this case is determined by the fact that there are only two terms for this purpose in the system, one singular and one plural. If, however, there were also a choice of a dual term, then the significance of ‘we’ as a plural would be different, because choosing it would exclude the dual meaning. Furthermore, if there were an additional term for inclusive plural (‘we including you’) and ‘we’ were used for exclusive plural (‘we but not you’), the significance of the term ‘we’ would once more be changed because its relationship to other terms in the system would be different” (“Context in Text,” 4-5).

¹⁶See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 9 on conscious and unconscious choices. Non-native speakers who learned a language as adults may be more aware of such choices.

sounds reasonable. How is it a big deal?” First, mainstream twentieth-century linguistics has largely put a dividing wall between language as a system and actual language use, originating from Saussure’s distinction between *langue* (i.e., language as system shared by a community of speakers) and *parole* (i.e., the concrete act of speaking in actual situations by an individual).¹⁷ This divide became a chasm when Chomsky restated the distinction as linguistic competence (i.e., the ideal speakers’ knowledge of the language) and linguistic performance (i.e., the flawed specific utterances by the speakers). Indeed, Chomsky, whose theories have widely influenced linguistics in the past forty years, believed that grammar—especially syntactic structure—is autonomous and independent of meaning.¹⁸ Thus, Halliday’s view that grammatical choices reflect choices in meaning contradicts much of modern linguistic tradition and the Chomskyan school of thought in particular.¹⁹ Second, Halliday’s ideas lead to positive use of empirical studies of actual

¹⁷For Saussure’s original statement, see Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye, trans. W. Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 9-15. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, 114-15 notes the preoccupation with language as an abstract system and also the increasing attention devoted to linguistic variation by sociolinguistics. For a sociolinguistic study that critiques this separation of language system and language instance, see J. K. Chambers, *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), 25-33. Cf. Talmy Givón, *Functionalism and Grammar* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), 176, who offers trenchant warnings against reductionism.

¹⁸For Chomsky’s thought, see N. Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, *Janua Linguarum*, Series Minor 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1957); idem, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1964); idem, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, *Janua Linguarum*, Series Minor 38 (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); idem, *Topics in the Theory of Generative Grammar*, *Janua Linguarum*, Series Minor 56 (The Hague: Mouton, 1966); and idem, *Language and Mind*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972).

¹⁹As Porter and O’Donnell note, “Chomskyan linguistics and its offspring have developed in many different directions, especially in terms of the question of meaning” (“Greek Verbal Network,” 5, n. 8). On the differences of opinion, see R.A. Harris, *The Linguistics Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); G. J. Huck and J. A.

language use, just as Chomsky's ideas on the independent nature of syntactic structure led him to dismiss the value of probabilistic models. For instance, Chomsky wrote,

Despite the undeniable interest and importance of semantic and statistical studies of language, they appear to have no direct relevance to the problem of determining or characterizing the set of grammatical utterances. I think that we are forced to conclude that grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning, and that probabilistic models give no particular insight into some of the basic problems of syntactic structure.²⁰

Chomsky's influence, in fact, led to the marginalization of empirical studies and consigned the data of real texts to applied linguistics.²¹ Halliday, however, emphasizes that language as system and language as instance are complementary. He illustrates this complementary view with the relationship between climate (weather viewed as a system over a period of time) and day to day weather patterns (weather viewed as an instance):

There is only one set of phenomena here: the meteorological processes of precipitation, movement of air masses and the like, which we observe in close-up, as text, or else in depth, as system. But one thing is clear: the more weather we observe, as instance-watchers, the better we shall perform as system-watchers when we turn to explaining the climate.²²

Thus, instead of placing an artificial barrier between actual language use and the theoretical linguistics (as Chomsky did), Halliday advocates that theoretical reflections on language and the study of actual language use should inform one another.²³

Goldsmith, *Ideology and Linguistic Theory: Noam Chomsky and the Deep Structure Debates* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Frederick J. Newmeyer, *Generative Linguistics: Historical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1997).

²⁰Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 17. Cf. idem, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, 3, where he speaks of an ideal speaker-listener and perfect language knowledge.

²¹Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," 4-5.

²²Halliday, "Language as System and Language as Instance," 66.

²³Cf. Michael Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis: Computer-Assisted Studies of Language and Culture* (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 44-45.

Language as inherently probabilistic. Since actual language uses are instances that make up the system of language, studies of the statistical distribution of linguistic phenomena in texts represent a direct path to understanding the system of which those texts are a part. This reasoning follows from the concept of system as the long-term view of multiple instances of language use and each instance of language use as meaningful choice. Thus statistical data on any particular set of options for making meaning (i.e., any of the particular systems in the system of language) reflects the relative frequency of occurrence for different members within that set of choices for making meaning. The fact that different choices in various sets of options for making meaning differ in relative frequency, then, is what Halliday means by language is “inherently probabilistic.”²⁴ Viewed from another angle, what Halliday means is that a person is more likely to use certain words and certain grammatical constructions over others. For example, it seems intuitive that one more often uses the word “go” than the word “walk,” and “walk” more often than “stroll” to describe motion in English. Likewise, one is more likely to use an active rather than a passive construction, and a positive rather than a negative clause.²⁵ Thus, “with choice as the basis of our theory of language, grammar can be modeled as sets of possibilities, as a potential for making meaning.”²⁶

²⁴Halliday, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 65.

²⁵Halliday, “Quantitative Studies and Probabilities in Grammar,” 3. Halliday found that there is more resistance to applying this probabilistic understanding to grammar than to words: “The resistance seems to arise because grammar is buried more deeply below the level of our conscious awareness and control; hence it is more threatening to be told that your *grammatical* choices are governed by overall patterns of probability” (ibid.).

²⁶Nesbitt and Plum, “Probabilities and a Systemic-Functional Grammar,” 7.

Equiprobable and skewed systems. At this point, the reader may remain skeptical and ask, “Even if I grant that language is probabilistic, how do we interpret the statistics from empirical studies of text?” In his work on Chinese and small samples of English, Halliday developed a typology of systems.²⁷ Generally, the grammatical systems he examined fell under one of two groups: (1) Those whose two terms had an approximately equal probability of occurring (0.5) and thus there is no unmarked or marked term; and (2) Those where there is an unmarked term and a marked term with roughly 0.9 vs. 0.1 probability of occurring. He calls the first type *equiprobable systems* and the second type *skewed systems*.²⁸ In addition, Halliday posits that a language will primarily be composed of equiprobable and skewed systems because of the *semiotic* function of language (i.e., the function of language as symbolic representations of meaning). For instance, if systems in a language were scattered throughout a whole range of distributions, from 0.5/0.5 all the way up to 0.99/0.01, then the “semiotic system . . . would be virtually impossible to learn.”²⁹ On the other hand, if systems were either equiprobable (0.5/0.5, with no marked terms) or skewed (0.9/0.1, with a clearly marked term in comparison to the other), the language learner is able to recognize and master the systems more readily. Halliday has, in fact, tested this hypothesis in a computerized language generation project called the Penman project, which produced a grammar of

²⁷M. A. K. Halliday, *The Language of the Chinese “Secret History of the Mongols,”* Publications of the Philological Society 17 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), esp. 207-26.

²⁸Halliday, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 65.

²⁹Halliday, “Corpus Studies and Probabilistic Grammar,” 36. Cf. the discussion in Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 14-15.

English based on “a network of 81 systems each with a probability attached to the individual terms.”³⁰ He describes the results of the implementation of the grammar thus:

It was run as a random generator, without the probabilities attached; and it produced garbage as unconstrained grammar generators always do. But when it was run with the probabilities also being implemented [i.e., when each system was designated as either equiprobable (0.5/0.5) or skewed (0.9/0.1)], then . . . it produced garbage that now actually looked like English—it bore some family resemblance to possible human language.³¹

Greek Verbal Network as Probabilistic

In their groundbreaking article, Porter and O’Donnell test Halliday’s concepts against frequency information on the Greek verbal network.³² Their aim is to integrate empirical and theoretical linguistic analysis and to present a model paradigm for future statistical studies of the Greek of the New Testament. The frequency information is correlated with Porter’s theoretical work in *Verbal Aspect*.³³

³⁰Halliday, “Language as System and Language as Instance,” 65.

³¹Ibid.

³²Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal System.”

³³In *Verbal Aspect*, Porter described tendencies in Greek verbal form usage in terms of *material* markedness, *distributional* markedness, *implicational* markedness, and *semantic* markedness. Elsewhere, Porter elaborates on these criteria (adding positional markedness as a fifth): “Markedness can be divided into five categories: material, implicational, distributional, positional and semantic markedness. *Material* markedness relates primarily to the *morphological* substance or *bulk* of a set of related forms. For example, the present verb stem typically has greater morphological bulk than the aorist stem (e.g. suffixes, lengthened internal vowels, and even occasional reduplication), and hence is more materially marked; the genitive case form of a noun or adjective has greater morphological bulk than the nominative case (e.g. lengthened vowel, uncontracted ending, or even consonant stem), and hence is more materially marked; and the subjunctive mood form has greater morphological bulk than the indicative mood form (e.g. lengthened theme vowel), and hence is more materially marked. *Implicational* markedness concerns the nature and kinds of *irregularities* to be found in a set of related *forms*. Those forms with heavier markedness have fewer irregularities, with the less heavily marked forms having greater irregularities. For example, concerning the verb

The Greek Verbal Network

In Porter's original work, only *ASPECTUALITY* and *ASPECT* (conveyed by tense forms) and *FINITENESS* and *ATTITUDE* (conveyed by mood forms) were covered.³⁴ Basically, Porter argued that future tense form conveys the meaning of

tense-forms, the present tense-form has fewer irregularities in opposition to the aorist, with its use of *omega* and *mi* forms, as well as strong and weak aorist forms; the present and perfect tense-forms have syncretised middle/passive voice forms, whereas the aorist realizes all three voices in separate forms; concerning noun forms, dative endings have fewer irregularities than accusative and nominative forms. *Distributional* markedness . . . is complicated by a failure to establish the meaning of *statistical results*, as well as a lack of sufficient information for an ancient language such as Greek. Nevertheless, general statistical patterns show that, with regard to most mood and related forms in the Greek of the New Testament, the aorist tense-form outnumbers instances of the present, and each clearly outnumbers the perfect. Regarding the cases, the nominative is more frequent than any of the oblique cases, and the accusative is more frequent than any of the other oblique cases. Positional markedness defines markedness in relation to the position of an element within a given linguistic unit, for example, the position of a noun or verb group within a clause, or a word within a group. When elements are found in certain positions, they take on marked value in relation to the other units. For example, Greek is a prepositional language with regard to connecting words such as prepositions. Thus, when in some forms of Greek the preposition is post-positional (as it is occasionally in Herodotus, Plato, the tragedians, and some poets), this indicates positional markedness. Semantic markedness indicates that the elements that have more precisely defined semantic features are those that have greater semantic markedness. Thus the genitive case is used in a number of more precise distinctions, such as so-called subjective and objective genitive constructions, and is semantically more heavily marked than is the accusative case, which is more heavily marked than the nominative, with its relatively few broadly defined and imprecisely connected categories of usage" (Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, p. 9). This method follows the cross-linguistic distributional analysis first pioneered by Greenberg (J. H. Greenberg, *Language Universals: With Special Reference to Feature Hierarchies* [The Hague: Mouton, 1966]) and developed by others (e.g., B. Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*, CTL [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976], 111-22; A. M. Zwicky, "On Markedness in Morphology," *Die Sprache* 24 [1978]: 129-43; T. Givón, "Markedness in Grammar: Distributional, Communicative and Cognitive Correlates of Syntactic Structure," *Studies in Language* 15 [1991]: 335-70; and idem, *Functionalism and Grammar*, 25-69).

³⁴See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 109. In their recent work, Porter and O'Donnell have made the labels for the systems more distinctive. The names of the terms in the systems are now consistently English adjectives that describe their meaning and the

expectation (i.e., the expectation of the speaker/writer on a process) and that this meaning and the meaning of *aspect* (i.e., the perspective of the speaker/writer on a process)³⁵ are an either-or choice. This level of choice between representing a meaning of expectation or aspect is termed “*ASPECTUALITY*.” If the speaker chooses to represent expectation (+expectational), then the future tense form is selected to convey that meaning. If he chooses to represent aspect (+aspectual), he enters the sub-system of ASPECT1, where he is faced with two further choices. He could choose to represent the process with perfective aspect or not (\pm perfective). If the choice is perfective aspect (+perfective), the aorist tense form is used to realize that meaning (i.e., the process is conceived as a complete, undifferentiated process). If the perfective aspect is not selected ($-$ perfective), he enters the sub-system of ASPECT2, where he could opt for imperfective (+imperfective; i.e., the process is conceived as being in progress) or stative aspect (+stative; i.e., the process is conceived as reflecting a given state of affairs). In addition, there is a further choice for both options—the sub-system of REMOTENESS, where the meaning of remoteness is added or not (\pm remote). If stative aspect and non-remoteness are selected (+stative, $-$ remote), the perfect tense form realizes that meaning (stative

names of the systems are consistently nouns in all caps. This convention is followed here. See further Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 18.

³⁵“If I am a television correspondent in a helicopter flying over the parade, I view the parade in its immediacy from a vantage outside the action as ‘perfective’; that is, in its entirety as a single and complete whole. If I am a spectator standing with others along the side of the road watching the parade pass by in front of me, I view the action immersed within it as ‘imperfective’; that is, as an event in progress. And if I am the parade manager in corporate headquarters considering all of the conditions in existence at this parade, including not only all the arrangements that are coming to fruition but all the accompanying events that allow the parade to operate, I view the process not in its particulars or its immediacy but as ‘stative’; that is, as a complex condition or state of affairs in existence” (Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 24).

aspect with remoteness [+stative, +remote] is realized by the pluperfect tense form). If imperfective aspect and non-remoteness are picked (+imperfective, –remote), the present tense form conveys that meaning (imperfective aspect with remoteness [+imperfective, +remote] is realized by the imperfect tense form). Using more precise terminology that portrays language as a network, Porter and O'Donnell state:

There are at most four choices to be made by the language user who wishes to speak of a process, with the choice from a previous system becoming the entry condition for the next systemic choice: (1) a choice must be made with regard to the system of ASPECTUALITY (+expectational or +aspectual), (2) if the choice is +aspectual then the ASPECT1 system is the entry condition for the next choice (+perfective or –perfective), (3) if –perfective is selected then two further coordinated systems must be entered: (a) ASPECT2 becomes the entry condition for one set of choices (+imperfective or +stative) and (b) REMOTENESS for the other (–remote or +remote). It is clear how at each point an “either this or that” selection must be made, and that there are only a finite number of such choices, thus the aspectual system can be described as a closed-system.³⁶

The FINITENESS system conveys a meaning distinction between limitation on the verbal expression through Person (+finite) and lack of limitation (–finite). If the choice is –finite, the speaker must further choose between +factively presupposition and –factively presupposition. If the speaker wishes to convey her commitment to the truth of the proposition, she opts for +factively presupposition, which is realized by a participle. If she does not wish to convey her commitment, she picks –factively presupposition, which is realized by an infinitive. The choice +finite leads to choices in *attitude*, i.e., the speaker's view of the process in relation to her conception of reality. The first system of options is +assertive or –assertive. If +assertive is chosen (realized by the indicative mood), the speaker expresses her commitment to the truth of the statement. If –assertive is selected (realized by the non-indicative moods), the next choice is between +projective

³⁶Porter and O'Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 12.

and +directive. Depending on whether she wants to express her volition simply or volition with visualization, she opts for +directive (realized by the imperative mood) or +projective. Two more options come under +projective: ±contingent. If she wants to portray her will as contingent, she chooses +projective and +contingent, which is realized by the optative mood. If she wants to portray her will as non-contingent, she opts for +projective and –contingent, which is realized by the subjunctive mood.

In their recent work, Porter and O'Donnell have extended this type of analysis to the other systems of the Greek verb (termed *causality*, *number*, and *participation*):

CAUSALITY is one of the three major systems in the Greek verbal network, and involves a set of simultaneous choices with the other two, leading to two further sub-systems, realized by the Greek voice system. The first system requires choice between +active (realized by the active voice form) and –active. The choice of –active is the entry condition for the required choice of +passive (realized by the passive voice form) or +ergative (realized by the middle voice form). The NUMBER system, realized by singular and plural forms, requires that one have chosen either the +finite or the +factively presuppositional features as a singular entry condition (i.e. –factively presuppositional, realized by the infinitive, does not lead to the NUMBER system). The NUMBER system is realized by singular and plural forms. Lastly, the PARTICIPATION system, realized by personal reference, has the entry condition of +finite, and is a system on the same level as attitude. The participation system has two sub-systems, the first requires choice of –included (realized by the third person form) or +included, and the second requiring choice of +direct (realized by the first person form) or –direct (realized by the second person form).³⁷

Predicted and Actual Results

Porter and O'Donnell made predictions on whether each of the systems above would be equiprobable or skewed on the basis of Porter's prior work in *Verbal Aspect* (e.g., elementary distribution, morphology, and semantics; cf. n. 43).³⁸ Then the

³⁷Ibid., 17-18.

³⁸Ibid., 20-22. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 89-97, 109, 178-81. Cf. Porter and

predictions were tested against the actual counts of the occurrences of each form that realizes those features. For the sake of discussion, they regarded any ratio greater than 0.7/0.3 as skewed and any ratio less than that as equiprobable. What they found is that most systems are clearly equiprobable or skewed.³⁹ They suggest that “These probabilities not only provide information about general patterns of grammatical features within a language, but they can also be used to help define the semantics of these features.”⁴⁰ Their understanding of the Greek verbal network will be tested in this chapter (their data is reproduced in Appendix 2).

In the ASPECTUALITY system, the +aspectual/+expectational opposition, which is realized by future forms and other verbal forms (e.g., aorist, present, and perfect) respectively, was predicted to be skewed, with +expectational being the marked term.⁴¹ The actual result (for the whole New Testament) was a 0.94/0.06 ratio, which confirms the prediction. In the ASPECT1 system, the ±perfective opposition, which is realized by aorist and non-aorist forms (e.g., present [imperfect] and perfect [pluperfect]) respectively, was forecast to be equiprobable. This forecast was verified by the actual count, which showed a 0.48/0.52 ratio. The ASPECT2 system with the +imperfective/+stative opposition, realized by the present (imperfect)/perfect (pluperfect) tense forms, was expected to be skewed in favor of +imperfective. This expectation was met by the 0.87/0.13 ratio. With the REMOTENESS system, the ±remote opposition,

O’Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, pp. 7-9.

³⁹Porter and O’Donnell, “Greek Verbal Network,” 22-23.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., 20. The discussion of the predictions is found in *ibid.*, 20-22.

realized in imperfect and pluperfect vs. present and perfect tense forms, was predicted to be skewed in favor of –remote. This prediction was substantiated by the 0.1/0.9 statistical ratio. No forecast was made for the ±active opposition, realized in active and non-active voice verb forms respectively, in the CAUSALITY system, which revealed a 0.72/0.28 ratio. As for the +passive/+ergative opposition, they expected a skewed ratio.⁴² The data was at the border (0.64/0.36) and could be considered skewed. No predictions were made for the ±finite opposition, which are realized by verbal forms limited by person (and usually number) and those that are not, in the FINITENESS system. The result was a 0.66/0.34 borderline ratio. In the FACTIVE system, the ±factively presuppositional opposition, realized in the participle and infinitive verbal forms respectively, met the expectation of being skewed, with a 0.75/0.25 ratio. The NUMBER system with ±singular opposition, realized in singular and plural forms, was forecast as equiprobable, but the ratio of 0.66/0.34 was on the border of being skewed. With the PARTICIPATION system, the ±included opposition, realized in non-third person and third person forms respectively, was expected to be equiprobable, but the ratio of 0.35/0.65 was again on the border of being skewed. In the DIRECTION system, the ±direct opposition, realized in first and second person forms respectively, was predicted to be equiprobable, which the

⁴²Ibid., 18-19. On the concept of ergativity, see Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 161-75; K. Davidse, “Transitivity/Ergativity: The Janus-Headed Grammar of Actions and Events,” in *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Davies and L. Ravelli (London: Pinter, 1992), 105-35; P. J. Hopper and S. A. Thompson, “Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse,” *Language* 56 (1980): 251-99; Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “Some New Testament Words for Resurrection and the Company They Keep,” in *Resurrection*, ed. S. E. Porter, M. A. Hayes, and D. Tombs, JSNTSup 186 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 136-63; and Gustavo Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in the Acts of the Apostles: A Functional-Grammatical Approach to the Lukan Perspective*, JSNTSup 202 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 69-79.

0.55/0.45 ratio verified. The ATTITUDE system with \pm assertive opposition, realized in indicative and non-indicative (excluding participles and infinitives) mood forms, was expected to be skewed, which the 0.80/0.20 ratio corroborated. With the NON-ASSERTION system, the +projection/+directive opposition, realized in subjunctive/optative vs. imperative mood forms, was forecast as equiprobable, which the 0.54/0.46 ratio supports. Finally, in the CONTINGENCY system, the \pm contingent opposition, realized in optative and subjunctive mood forms respectively, was predicted to be skewed, which the 0.03/0.97 ratio backed up.

Probabilistic Study of Markedness

The features that indicate prominence in the Greek New Testament are all features of the written text since the message was conveyed in a written form and thus does not rely on the conventions of spoken language.⁴³ Theoretically, these features fall within the network of systems for making meaning proposed by Halliday. Thus, instances of the written text give a glimpse of the system of the Greek language of the New Testament and vice versa. Therefore, the probabilistic study pioneered by Porter and O'Donnell is suitable for adaptation to the study of markedness and prominence.

The first stage of this study involved collecting statistical data on various linguistics features. To this end, this author undertook to annotate the Greek texts of Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians for the

⁴³This is not to deny that there may be many similarities between the conventions of spoken and written language. The failure to adequately account for the essential difference in medium is the main fallacy of rhetorical criticism, i.e., it applies the rhetorical conventions of Greco-Roman speeches to letters. Cf. the discussion in the section "What about Other Approaches?" in chap. 2.

Opentext.org project.⁴⁴ Initially, the data from the annotated texts is arranged according to morphological form (e.g., all tense forms together) and compared with the data from Porter and O'Donnell, which covers all thirteen Pauline letters and is arranged according to semantic features. The comprehensive framework suggested by Porter and O'Donnell for understanding the semantic features of the various systems of the Greek verbal network will play an important role in distinguishing marked and unmarked terms.

Statistics on Aspect

Table A2 displays the tense form distribution of predicates from Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. The verb εἶμι, “to be,” has been removed from the count because it is aspectually vague.⁴⁵ The percentages reflect the proportion that a tense form occurs in relation to all the other tense forms (3728). Because of space limitations of the page, the percentages were often rounded to the nearest integer and the combined totals and percentages for the six books are listed here: Aorist (1210 or 32.5 percent); Imperfect (48 or 1.3 percent); Present (1920 or 51.5 percent); Perfect (307 or 8.2 percent); Pluperfect (1 or 0 percent); and Future (242 or 6.5 percent).

⁴⁴The corpus was chosen to be non-controversial and manageable in size. It has no bearing on this author's views on Pauline authorship of the thirteen letters. On the annotation model, see the section “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 1. Because the annotations were designed for computer storage and online display on the internet, the annotations could not be reproduced within the bounds of a printed page.

⁴⁵Aspectually vague verbs are verbs that do not enter into paradigmatic opposition in their tense forms. First, there is no differentiation of an Aorist/Imperfect dichotomy in the Indicative Mood. Second, a single set of forms is used for the non-Indicative Moods, including the Participle and Infinitive. See Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 441-47.

Table A2. Tense Form Distribution in Paul

<i>Tense</i>	<i>Rom</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1 Cor</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>2 Cor</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Gal</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Phil</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1 Thess</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Aor</i>	365	35	313	27	246	35	139	38	68	28	79	34
<i>Impf</i>	10	1	12	1.0	8	1.1	13	3.6	3	1.3	2	0.9
<i>Pres</i>	499	48	650	57	346	49	165	45	133	56	127	55
<i>Pf</i>	78	7.5	96	8.3	67	9.6	28	7.7	20	8.4	18	7.8
<i>Plpf</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Fut</i>	91	8.7	78	6.8	33	4.7	20	5.5	15	6.3	5	2.2
<i>Total</i>	1044		1149		700		365		239		231	

From the data above, a number of observations concerning tense form distribution may be made.⁴⁶ First, if we follow Porter and O'Donnell and see the future tense form and the other tense forms as in opposition (+expectational vs. +aspectual), the marked term is clearly +expectational.⁴⁷ Second, the Present tense form is consistently the most frequently occurring form in Paul's letters. For expository texts like Paul's letters, as opposed to narrative texts, the present tense form appears to be "default."⁴⁸ Third, the Aorist tense form also consistently makes up about a third of all tense form occurrences. The ratio of +perfective vs. -perfective (Aorist vs. Present, Imperfect,

⁴⁶Statistics on the grammatical features of the verb can also be obtained through existing computer databases like Gramcord, Bibleworks, and Logos. There may be slight discrepancies in the actual counts. In fact, it has been noted that there are discrepancies even in different versions of the same database or with the same version when the searches are specified in a slightly different way. See H. Hahne, "Avoiding the Pitfalls of Computer-Assisted New Testament Grammatical Analysis," in *Bible and Computers: Desk and Discipline. The Impact of Computers on Biblical Studies: Proceedings of Association Internationale Bible et Informatique*, ed. F. R. Poswick (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1995), 223-36. For our purposes, what is important is the distributional ratio, which is not significantly affected by slight differences in raw counts.

⁴⁷The ratio for the six undisputed Pauline Epistles was 0.923/0.067, which is virtually identical to the 0.94/0.06 listed for all thirteen letters by Porter and O'Donnell.

⁴⁸Cf. Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, p. 10, who note that the mainline of discursive material is carried by Present tense verbs.

Perfect, and Pluperfect tense forms) is 0.35/0.65 (virtually identical with Porter and O'Donnell's ratio). This ratio is at the border of being considered skewed. Nevertheless, it is perhaps better to consider the two terms +perfective and –perfective as equiprobable since the Aorist is the “default” tense for grounding expositional discourse in other events, usually seen to be in the past.⁴⁹ Fourth, the frequency of the Perfect, Imperfect, and Pluperfect tense forms goes from rare, to very rare, to almost non-existent (only 1 occurrence, found in Romans). It appears, then, that the Pluperfect was not among the options Paul chose to portray aspectual oppositions in his letters.⁵⁰ Thus, any meaningful aspectual opposition has to be among the Aorist, Present, Imperfect, and Perfect tense forms. If one grants that the Present and Imperfect tense forms share in the aspect +imperfective and put them in opposition to the aspect +stative (Perfect tense forms), the marked term is clearly +stative (0.87/0.13, virtually identical to Porter and O'Donnell's ratio). Within the imperfective aspect system, +remote (Imperfect tense forms) is clearly marked in relation to –remote (Present tense forms). Fifth, the statistical distribution of all tense forms is fairly consistent throughout the six letters. The only significant discrepancy is the proportion of Imperfect tense forms in Galatians in relation to the other five letters (3.6 percent vs. 1 percent).

Initial analysis of the usage of the Imperfect tense forms indicates that they are used to ground the discourse in remote events. The higher proportion in Galatians can be attributed to the extended “autobiography” in Galatians 1-2 (9 out of 13 occurrences in Galatians), where Paul grounded the veracity of his claims concerning the divine origin

⁴⁹Ibid., 10.

⁵⁰Excluding the Gospels and Acts, ἡδεῖν in Rom 7:7 is the only NT example.

of his apostleship and gospel in remote events. With the aspectually vague “to be” (εἶμί) verb forms removed from consideration, the Imperfect tense forms are typically clearly marked in comparison with the Aorist tense forms also used to ground the discourse in remote events.⁵¹ The imperfective aspect appears to portray the (remote) processes from the perspective of the writer as immersed in them. Initial analysis of the usage of the Perfect tense forms indicates that they are used to foreground states of affairs, usually seen as present from the perspective of the writer. In expository discourse, it appears to be fair to claim that +stative (realized in the Perfect tense forms) is the marked term in comparison with +imperfective –remote (realized in the Present tense forms) to portray processes that are seen as near (rather than remote) from the perspective of the writer.

If we work under the assumption that marked terms are usually used to indicate prominence, the implications for the above findings for developing a tentative working model for analyzing prominence appears to be as follows. First, the marked terms are +imperfective + remote (indicated by the Imperfect tense forms) and +stative (indicated by the Perfect tense forms). Second, from the perspective of usage (i.e., syntagmatic relations) in expository discourse, the aspectual choices in the text appear to be +imperfective –remote (realized by Present tense forms) versus + stative (realized by Perfect tense forms) in the mainline of the discourse (where the processes are seen as near from the perspective of the writer). In the supporting material, with which the writer grounds the mainline material (where the processes are seen as remote from the

⁵¹For instance, the Aorist tense form is used primarily for denoting linear movement (domain 15) in Gal 1:12-24. In a context where Paul grounds his assertion that “the gospel preached by me is not according to the norm of human beings” in remote events, the Imperfect tense form seems to highlight processes with greater semantic

perspective of the writer), the aspectual choices in the text seem to be +perfective (realized by Aorist tense forms) versus +imperfective +remote (realized by Imperfect tense forms). Thus, the tentative scheme summarized in Table A3 is applied to the analysis of ideational and interpersonal meanings in this study.

Table A3. Tense Forms, Markedness, and Prominence

<i>Tense</i>	<i>Markedness</i>	<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Prominence Function</i>
Present	Unmarked	Imperfective	Default for mainline of expository discourse (usually portrayed as present processes the writer is immersed in)
Perfect	Marked	Stative	Foregrounding definite, contoured process (usually portrayed as a present state of affairs from the perspective of the writer)
Aorist	Unmarked	Perfective	Default for supporting material (portrayed as complete processes [usually past], which the writer uses to ground present processes)
Imperfect	Marked	Imperfective	Foregrounding supporting material (usually portrayed as remote processes [usually past] the writer was immersed in, which the writer uses to ground present processes)

The Problem of Voice

Several difficulties attend to a study on Greek voice. First, the Middle and Passive are morphologically ambiguous in the Present and Imperfect (imperfective aspect) and the Perfect and Pluperfect (stative aspect) tense forms (the raw statistics are thus useless).⁵² Second, the meaning of the Middle Voice is problematic.⁵³ Third, there is

weight in opposition to the background processes conveyed by the Aorist tense form. Cf. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 22.

⁵²See O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words for Resurrection," 154.

⁵³As Porter notes, "there does not appear to be an exact grammatical [English] equivalent" (*Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 66). Most grammarians agree that the

the problematic concept of “deponency.” Typically, verbs found only in Middle or Passive forms that appear to have an Active meaning are called “deponent,” though the phenomenon covers all Voices where one Voice form is not used and another Voice form of the verb appears to take its place and meaning.⁵⁴ In light of these difficulties, it was decided that to engage in a monograph-sized discussion of Voice would be tangential to the purpose of this study. Instead, the usage of Voice will be appealed only when relevant to the discussion of a text. In terms of statistical frequency, the data from Porter and O’Donnell, which disambiguates the Middle/Passive forms indicates a borderline skewed ratio (0.64/0.36), with the Middle forms (+ergative) being marked.

Traditional analysis of Greek Voice. In traditional analysis, Greek voice is defined as a form-based semantic category that describes “*the role that the grammatical subject of a clause plays in relation to an action.*”⁵⁵ When the grammatical subject of the verb is the agent performing the action, the active voice is used. When the grammatical

reflexive middle sense (“he washed himself”) in which the agent (subject) and recipient (object) of an action are the same is not the prevalent one in the Hellenistic period. See Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 806; Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 155-56; Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3, *Syntax* (Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1963), 54; G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882), 316; H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmilan, 1927), 158; and Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 415-18.

⁵⁴Porter explains that “Deponency is the phenomenon whereby for a given verb one voice form (or more) is not found and the semantics (meaning) of the voice are grammaticalized by substitution of another Voice form of the verb” (*Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 70). Cf. Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 332-33.

⁵⁵Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 62. Cf. Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 798; Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 408; and Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek*, 133.

subject of the verb is the goal of the action, the passive voice is selected. When the grammatical subject of the verb is not only the agent performing the action, but is also more directly implicated in the action (i.e., he is the goal or beneficiary in some way), the middle voice is chosen. As Porter and O'Donnell elaborate,

The active voice, by far the most frequent voice form in the Greek New Testament, is the least prominent form, indicating that the agent or person or thing represented as performing an action is the subject of the verb (note that of course the Greek verb is monolectic, so the subject does not need to be grammaticalized explicitly). It is the background voice form, since it does nothing to alter the means by which an agent is presented as performing an action. The Greek passive voice verb is used to indicate causality, with the object or recipient of the action being foregrounded as the grammatical subject of the verb. Agency is not central to the use of the passive voice, although agency can be introduced in varying ways. In fact, in many if not most instances, the passive voice is used to move explicit agency out of consideration. In those instances where agency is introduced, Greek has a variety of means by which agency is specified but not required, such as primary (ὑπό), secondary (διά) and tertiary (έν or the simple dative). For example, in Phil. 3.8, Paul says that τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην ('I was made to suffer loss with respect to all things'), where causality is emphasized, but specific agency is not even in the background. Explainable by this analysis are instances of verbs where the passive form is used, but only a general sense of causality is in evidence, such as Matt. 2.20 with ἐγερεῖς ('be caused to get up'). The Greek middle voice is the most prominent, indicating more direct participation or specific involvement of the subject performing an action. Thus, the Greek middle voice is used to foreground the agent involved in an action, as in Luke 2.5: ἀπογράψασθαι ('participate in registering'). In the light of this reassessment of Greek voice, it may well be advisable to re-name the forms as the active, direct and causal voice forms.⁵⁶

New paradigm? Porter and O'Donnell have recently hinted at a new paradigm based on Halliday's *ergativity* model of understanding transitivity.⁵⁷ In the classical notion of transitivity, the question being asked is, "Does the process extend beyond the

⁵⁶Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, pp. 17-18. Cf. Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," 17.

⁵⁷O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words for Resurrection," 155-62; and Porter and O'Donnell, "Greek Verbal Network," 17.

actor to a goal?”⁵⁸ The variable is extension. In Halliday’s ergativity-based interpretation, the question being asked is, “Is the process brought about from within or from outside?” The variable is causation. Whereas in transitivity-based interpretation the nucleus of the clause consists of the actor and the process; in ergativity-based interpretation the nucleus of the clause consists of the medium and the process.⁵⁹ “Medium” refers to the entity through which the process comes into existence.⁶⁰ Halliday explains this perspective thus:

Some participant is engaged in a process; is the process brought about by that participant, or by some other entity? In this perspective, *the lion chased the tourist* relates not so much to *the lion ran* as to *the tourist ran*: “the tourist did some running; either the running was instigated by the tourist himself (intransitive *the tourist ran*), or else by some external agency (transitive *the lion chased the tourist*).” Note however that the terms “transitive” and “intransitive” are no longer appropriate here, since they imply the extension model. The pattern yielded by this second interpretation is known as the “ergative” pattern. The clauses *the lion chased the tourist/the tourist ran* form an ERGATIVE/NON-ERGATIVE pair.

If we examine the lexicon of modern English, and look up large samples of verbs, we find that many of them, including the majority of those which are in common use, carry the label “both transitive and intransitive.” If we investigate these further, we find that where the same verb occurs with each of these two values the pair of clauses that are formed in this way, with the given verb as Process, are not usually intransitive/transitive pairs, like *the tourist hunted/the tourist hunted the lion*, where *the tourist* is Actor in both. But the majority of verbs of high frequency in the language yield pairs of the other kind, like *the tourist woke/the lion woke the tourist*, where the relationship is an ergative one. If we express this structure in transitive terms, the tourist is Actor in the one and Goal in the other; yet it is the

⁵⁸Transitivity has a broader and narrower meaning. In the broader meaning, the system of transitivity consists of the various types of processes together with the structures that realize these processes. The narrower meaning (the one with which most readers are familiar) involves the verb’s relationship to dependent elements of structure. Transitive verbs take a direct object and intransitive verbs do not. Stated differently, the action of the verb extends to another entity in a transitive clause, but not in an intransitive clause. For example, the difference between “The tiger (Actor) pounced (Process)” and “The tiger (Actor) ate (Process) the deer (Goal)” is that the action “eat” extends to “the deer.” Cf. Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 109-12.

⁵⁹Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 161-75.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 163-75. By implication, the nucleus of the clause does not necessarily convey any information about the cause of the process (i.e., the actor).

tourist that stopped sleeping, in both cases. Compare *the boat sailed/Mary sailed the boat, the cloth tore/the nail tore the cloth, Tom's eyes closed/Tom closed his eyes, the rice cooked/Pat cooked the rice, my resolve weakened/the news weakened my resolve*.⁶¹

The reader may be confused by the quote above because Halliday actually discusses ergativity in two senses above. On the one hand, he contends that all processes can be viewed from the perspective of ergativity, i.e., who causes the process—the medium or an external agent.⁶² On the other hand, he argues that most verbs in English form ergative/non-ergative pairs, which are labeled as transitive/intransitive in English lexicons. O'Donnell seems to be referring to Halliday's non-ergative term in the ergative-non-ergative pair when referring to the difference between the ergative and Passive form. O'Donnell illustrates the continuum of agency thus:

- (3a) I closed the door
- (3b) the door was closed *by me*
- (3c) the door was closed
- (3d) *the door closed *by me*
- (3e) the door closed *by itself/on its own*
- (3f) the door closed⁶³

The choice of the Active (3a) is the most direct expression of agency, followed by the Passive with a preposition indicating the Agent (3b). If the language user wishes to imply external agency but avoid explicit reference to the identity of the agent, he would use the Passive without reference to Agent (3c). The hypothetical ergative construction with prepositional reference to the Agent (3d) is ungrammatical. Thus the ergative can have a

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²“External” refers to a cause outside of the medium (i.e., the medium is not also the agent), not to anything external to the text. See Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 164-65.

⁶³O'Donnell, “Some New Testament Words for Resurrection,” 159.

reflexive sense (3e) or avoid implying external agency completely (3f).⁶⁴

This perspective raises some questions. First, “Should some Greek verbs be seen as ergative or should the Greek Middle Voice be defined in terms of ergativity?”⁶⁵ If the answer is the latter, two more questions arise. If the Greek Middle Voice is defined in terms of ergativity, “How do ‘deponent’ Middle forms fit into the picture?” and “How do the reflexive and ‘self-directed’ uses of the Middle Voice fit into the picture?”⁶⁶

Statistics on Mood, Participles, and Infinitives

It is commonly agreed that the Indicative Mood form is the most frequent and “the normal mode to use when there is no special reason for employing another mode.”⁶⁷ The relative prominence of Greek Mood forms, however, is a relatively unexplored area of research. The Participle and the Infinitive share many qualities with finite verbs.⁶⁸ The main difference is well captured by the classification by Porter and O’Donnell that Participles and Infinitives realize the –finite term of the FINITENESS system in opposition to the finite verbs, which realize the +finite term. In other words, Participles and Infinitives differ from finite verbs mainly in the lack of limitation by Person (and by Number for Infinitives). The similarities are so great, in fact, that it seems to this author

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵O’Donnell advances both suggestions as possibilities (ibid., 160). Porter and O’Donnell appear to suggest the latter (“Greek Verbal Network,” 17, 21).

⁶⁶Porter and O’Donnell indicate that Porter hopes to contribute a monograph on Voice that will attempt to resolve these and other questions (“Greek Verbal Network,” 21, n. 74).

⁶⁷Robertson, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 915.

⁶⁸On the verbal characteristics of the Participle and the Infinitive, see Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 181, 194; and idem, *Verbal Aspect*, 366, 369.

that the +factively presuppositional meaning attributed to Participles and the –factively presuppositional meaning attributed to Infinitives parallels the +assertive/–assertive opposition for finite verbs.⁶⁹ Table A4 displays the distribution of Mood from Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. Table A5 displays the distribution of Participles and Infinitives. Table A6 compares the non-finite verbs with the finite verbs. Three distinct comparisons are made in these three tables: (1) The Mood forms in relation to one another; (2) The Participles and Infinitives in relation to each other; and (3) The Mood forms as a whole in relation to the Participles and Infinitives as a whole. To fit the data within the constraints of the page, the combined totals and percentages for the six books are listed here. For the finite Mood forms, the totals and percentages are: Indicative (2280 or 78.1 percent); Imperative (246 or 8.4 percent); Subjunctive (371 or 12.7 percent); and Optative (23 or 0.8 percent). For the non-finite forms, the totals and percentages are: Participles (824 or 68.2 percent); and Infinitives (385 or 31.8 percent). The non-finite to finite verb totals and percentages are: non-finite (1209 or 29.3 percent) versus finite (2920 or 70.7 percent).

Table A4. Distribution of Mood in Paul

<i>Mood</i>	<i>Rom</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1 Cor</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>2 Cor</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Gal</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Phil</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>1 Thess</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Ind</i>	652	81	769	75	402	81	244	81.3	117	73.1	96	68.6
<i>Impv</i>	60	7.5	98	9.6	22	4.4	21	7.0	25	15.6	20	14.3
<i>Subj</i>	77	9.6	154	15	71	14.3	32	10.7	18	11.3	19	13.6
<i>Opt</i>	12	1.5	3	0.3	0	0	3	1.0	0	0	5	3.6
<i>Total</i>	801		1024		495		300		160		140	

⁶⁹Factively presuppositional has to do with the speaker's commitment to the truth to the proposition. The Participle is said to presuppose this commitment and the Infinitive does not (Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 390-91).

Table A5. Distribution of Participles and Infinitives in Paul

	<i>Rom</i>	%	<i>1 Cor</i>	%	<i>2 Cor</i>	%	<i>Gal</i>	%	<i>Phil</i>	%	<i>1 Thess</i>	%
<i>Part</i>	253	72	179	64	195	73.6	83	72.2	56	58.9	58	56.3
<i>Inf</i>	99	28	100	36	70	26.4	32	27.8	39	41.1	45	43.7
<i>Total</i>	352		279		265		115		95		103	

Table A6. Percentages of +Finite and –Finite in Paul

	<i>Rom</i>	<i>1 Cor</i>	<i>2 Cor</i>	<i>Gal</i>	<i>Phil</i>	<i>1 Thess</i>
<i>+Finite</i>	69.5%	78.6	65.1	72.3	62.7	57.6
<i>–Finite</i>	30.5%	21.4	34.9	27.3	37.3	42.4

From the data in table A6, there seems to be a significant variation in the Pauline letters in the relative proportion of +finite (realized in finite verbs) versus –finite (realized in Participles and Infinitives), from clearly skewed (e.g., 1 Corinthians) to clearly equiprobable (e.g., 1 Thessalonians). From the data in table A5, it appears that there is significant variation in the Pauline letters also in the relative proportion of +factively presuppositional (realized in Participles) and –factively presuppositional (realized in Infinitives), from the clearly skewed (e.g., 2 Corinthians) to clearly equiprobable (e.g., 1 Thessalonians). The reasons and significance of both sets of variations were treated as tangential questions that are best left for future research.⁷⁰

From the data in table A4, a number of observations may be made. First, the Indicative Mood is predominant, as expected. Second, Optatives are very rare. Upon examination of the contexts, it appears that they occur only in certain set forms.⁷¹ Third,

⁷⁰Perhaps the different syntagmatic uses of the Participle and Infinitive need to be analyzed separately, with the relative proportion of each having its own rationale and significance. For instance, a Participle used as a nominal in the Subject slot and a Participle used as a circumstance in the Adjunct slot may stand at two ends of a spectrum.

⁷¹In Romans, 10 out of 12 occurrences come in the emphatic denials, μή

in the opposition between +assertive and –assertive (realized in the Indicative and non-Indicative Mood forms respectively), –assertive is the marked term.⁷²

The statistics are compatible with previous research on the Mood forms.⁷³ The Indicative Mood, which makes an assertion about what is put forward as a condition of reality, would be the expected default Mood in an expository discourse. The Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative moods, which share the common semantic feature of “projection” (i.e., to project a world for consideration), would correspondingly be expected to be less frequent. The Optative is virtually extinct except in several set forms (i.e., emphatic denials, prayers, and an idiom, “probably”).⁷⁴ The relative distribution of Imperatives and Subjunctives in traditional independent clauses cannot be determined

γένοιτο, “May it never be!” (3:4, 6, 31; 6:2, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14; 11:1, 11) The other two occur in the prayers in Rom 15:5 and 15:13. In 1 Corinthians, there is one instance of μή γένοιτο (6:15) and two instances of εἰ τύχοι, “probably” (an idiom indicating a degree of probability; 14:10; and 15:37). In Galatians, all three occurrences involve μή γένοιτο (2:17; 3:21; 6:14). The five occurrences in 1 Thessalonians are all prayers (3:11; 3:12 [2x]; and 5:23 [2x]).

⁷²Cf. Porter and O’Donnell who come to this conclusion from reasoning about the semantic weight of these forms (*Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, 15-17). Reed, however, reasons that the non-indicative moods are background because an audience is more likely to be interested in what is asserted as real than what is merely projected to happen (*Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 115). Cf. J. E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 65.

⁷³“The indicative mood-form grammaticalizes assertive attitude and the non-indicative mood-forms non-assertive attitude. The non-indicative forms also grammaticalize semantic features. The imperative grammaticalizes the attitude of direction of a process, directing or commanding another to perform an action. The subjunctive mood grammaticalizes the attitude of projection of a process with no expectation of its fulfillment. . . . The optative mood-form grammaticalizes the attitude of projection of a process with a contingent expectation of fulfillment, that is, fulfillment is contingent upon other processes” (Porter and O’Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, p. 15).

⁷⁴Cf. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 335.

using the Opentext.org annotation database in spite of the distinction made between primary and secondary clauses, however. This situation results from the annotation of traditional dependent clauses containing subjunctive predicates as primary clauses.⁷⁵ Because the Subjunctive Mood is used in different syntagmatic contexts,⁷⁶ its markedness cannot be determined solely on the basis of the statistics presented here.⁷⁷

Statistics on Person and Number

The Greek finite verbal forms encode person and indicate the grammatical relationship between the subject and the participants involved in the process by taking appropriate endings.⁷⁸ The traditional categories are first, second, and third person. The Greek finite verbal forms also encode number, which often correlate with the number of the subject (Participles encode number as well though the statistics below are only for finite verbal forms).⁷⁹ Table A7 summarizes the distribution of Person and Number in Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians.

⁷⁵One of the reasons that the Opentext.org annotation relaxes the distinction between independent and dependent clauses is that certain clauses traditionally considered dependent often appear to have greater semantic weight (e.g., purpose and result clauses with subjunctive forms).

⁷⁶For example, it conveys a command, a prohibition, an intended result, and a condition. The common feature in all four uses is projection. The first three project the writer's volition whereas the so-called third class condition simply projects a world for consideration.

⁷⁷The relative prominence of the Mood forms will be explored during the discussion of the discourse of Romans. On the Mood forms, see further Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 167-77, 181, 321-62; and idem, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 52-61.

⁷⁸Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 76.

⁷⁹A major exception to the correlation of number to actual numbers is the frequent use of singular verbs with neuter plural subjects. See Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 73-75.

Table A7. Distribution of Person and Number in Paul

	<i>Rom</i>	%	<i>1 Cor</i>	%	<i>2 Cor</i>	%	<i>Gal</i>	%	<i>Phil</i>	%	<i>1 Thess</i>	%
<i>1st Sg</i>	113	14	191	19	145	29.3	68	22.7	65	40.6	2	1.4
<i>1st Pl</i>	78	9.8	71	6.9	93	18.8	24	8.0	4	2.5	47	33.6
<i>All 1st</i>	191	24	262	26	238	48	92	30.7	69	43.1	49	35.0
<i>2nd Sg</i>	65	8.1	23	2.2	0	0.0	9	3.0	1	0.6	0	0.0
<i>2nd Pl</i>	73	9.1	155	15	68	13.7	54	18.0	45	28.1	52	37.1
<i>All 2nd</i>	138	17	178	17	68	13.7	63	21	46	28.7	52	37.1
<i>3rd Sg</i>	376	47	487	48	169	34.1	115	38.3	38	23.8	32	22.9
<i>3rd Pl</i>	93	12	96	9.4	20	4.0	30	10.0	7	4.4	7	5.0
<i>All 3rd</i>	469	59	583	57	189	38	145	48.3	45	28.2	39	27.9
<i>Total</i>	798		1023		495		300		160		140	

What is immediately apparent from the data in Table A7 is the significant variation in the usage of Person and Number in each letter. For instance, the use of third person ranges from 59 percent (Romans) to 27.9 percent (1 Thessalonians). Second person singular usage ranges from 8.1 percent (Romans) to 0.0 percent (2 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians).⁸⁰ First person occurs 48 percent of the time in 2 Corinthians, but is much less frequent in Romans (24 percent). The ratio of singular to plural is 69 percent to 31 percent in Romans and 1 Corinthians, 63.44 percent to 36.56 percent in 2 Corinthians, 64 percent to 36 percent in Galatians, 65 percent to 35 percent in Philipians, and 24.3 percent to 75.7 percent in 1 Thessalonians.

Two schemes help to shed light on the data above. The first is previous understanding of the function of Person and Number. The first person is used when the author (or speaker) participates in the process. First person singular usually refers to the author (potentially rhetorical uses like in Romans 7:7-25 possibly excluded). First person

⁸⁰Comparison of the use of Second Person Singular in Paul's letters may shed as much light on Paul's use of diatribe in Romans as a comparative study of diatribe in Hellenistic writings.

plural may refer to many authors, the author and those she wishes to include with herself (but who are not co-authors), or the author and her audience (portrayed as united in some way). Second person is used by the author to refer to the hearer (or hearers), though the hearer(s) involved could be real or imagined for the sake of discussion (as perhaps in the diatribe sections of Romans). Third person is used by the author to refer to persons or things other than the author and hearer.⁸¹ The second scheme is the semantics of Person and Number in the Greek verbal network proposed by Porter and O'Donnell—±singular (singular vs. plural forms): ±included (non-third person vs. third person forms); and ±participation (first person vs. second person forms). Combining the above two schemes the following conclusions may be drawn. First, the higher degree of impersonal exposition in Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Galatians accounts for their higher proportion of Third Person (esp. singular) usage (–inclusion). The phenomenon of diatribe accounts for the significantly higher proportion of second person singulars in Romans (+inclusion, but perhaps imaginary person). A higher degree of inclusion of the audience appears responsible for the higher proportion of second person plurals in 1 Thessalonians and Philippians (+inclusion, audience as a group). A greater degree of participation by the author accounts for the higher proportion of first person forms in 2 Corinthians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians (+participation, perhaps plural authors for many of the first person plural forms).⁸²

⁸¹Porter, *Idioms of the Greek of the New Testament*, 76-77.

⁸²It is hardly an accident that 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians abound in the First Person Plural forms. Initial analysis suggests that the co-authors (Silvanus and Timothy in the former and Timothy in the latter) have a greater participation in the experiences and events recounted by Paul. Thus, there may be reason to reassess the validity of the theory of the “epistolary plural,” i.e., Paul refers only to himself in using

The variation in the statistics for each letter suggests that the different tenor— i.e., the different roles and interaction between the author(s) and the audience— determines the relative proportion of the forms realizing different Person and Number. Nevertheless, it is still possible to suggest a scheme of relative prominence by reasoning in terms of relative semantic weight. Specifically, we can reason in terms of the degree of involvement of the author and the audience. The third person would be unmarked because neither the author nor his audience is included. The second person would be marked because the audience is involved. The first person singular is marked because the writer is involved. The first person plural would be the most marked because either plural authors or both the author and the hearer(s) are involved.⁸³ Table A8 summarizes the proposed scheme of relative prominence of Person and Number.

Table A8. Relative Prominence of Person and Number

<i>Person</i>	<i>Markedness</i>	<i>Semantic Function</i>	<i>Prominence Function</i>
3 rd Sg	Unmarked	Absence of External Participants	Background
3 rd Pl	Unmarked	Absence of External Participants	Background (plural participants)
2 nd Sg	Marked	Presence of Hearer(s)	Foreground Hearer(s) as an individual
2 nd Pl	Marked	Presence of Hearers	Foreground Hearers as a Group
1 st Sg	Marked	Presence of Author	Foreground Author as Subject of Process
1 st Pl	Most Marked	Presence and social solidarity of Author and all whom he includes with him	Frontground social solidarity of Writer and all whom he includes with him

the First Person Plural in his letters. This issue will not be pursued further here as it is tangential to the purpose of this study.

⁸³Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, pp. 19-20. According to Battistella, the plural is commonly taken to be more marked than the singular in studies of universals in language (*Markedness*, 84-86).

Conclusion

Analysis of the statistics on Tense Form, Voice, Mood, Participles and Infinitives, and Person and Number in Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians supports the picture of the Greek verbal network proposed by Porter and O'Donnell. In any case, the systems of oppositions they advance seem to shed light on the data. The Aspectual oppositions are fairly consistent across all six letters. When paradigmatic (i.e., the system of ASPECTUALITY) and syntagmatic considerations (i.e., actual context of occurrence in text) were combined, it was suggested that there are skewed oppositions between Present and Perfect (+imperfective vs. +stative) in the mainline and between Aorist and Imperfect (+perfective vs. +imperfective +remote) in the supporting material of expositional discourse. While all terms contribute meaning to the verbal component of the clause, the Perfect and the Imperfect are the marked terms in their respective contexts of occurrence.⁸⁴

Judgment was withheld on the relative markedness of the Voices, +finite (finite verbs) versus –finite (Participles and Infinitives), and +factively presuppositional (Participles) versus –factively presuppositional (Infinitives). For the Moods, it was proposed that –assertive (Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative) is marked in opposition to +assertive (Indicative) and that the Optative (+projective +contingent) is not in meaningful opposition with the other Moods in Paul's letters. Judgment was also withheld on the markedness of the Imperative (+directive) and the Subjunctive (+projective –contingent) in relation to each other. For Person and Number, the proposal

⁸⁴Porter notes that “even within the binary oppositions all members contribute semantic weight to the verbal component of the clause” (*Verbal Aspect*, 90). That is, each aspect, while not identically weighted, contributes meaning to the clause.

was that the semantic weight increases with the higher number of external participants involved—thus the impersonal third person singular is least marked and first person plural (especially when both the author and the audience are included) is most marked. Tentatively, it may be suggested that the above mentioned marked terms are also the semantically prominent terms.

Clause Constituents and Constituent Order

While the analysis of Aspect, Voice, Mood, Participles and Infinitives, and Person and Number above was (largely) an exploration of the contribution of paradigmatic choice to prominence, the analysis of clause constituents and the patterns of ordering of those constituents is (largely) a study of which syntagmatic chains are potentially more prominent than others. The statistics considered below are the distribution of clause constituents (i.e., the occurrence of the elements of Subject, Predicate, Complement, or Adjunct in clauses) and of constituent order patterns (i.e., patterns of the relative positional order of the clause constituents in clauses).

Statistics on Clause Constituents Patterns

Since all word groups in a clause (aside from connecting words) are tagged as Subject, Predicate, Complement, or Adjunct, the Opentext.org database readily provides clause constituent pattern statistics for all clauses. Since the distinguishing of clause levels is still an unresolved question in the annotation model (see the section “The Opentext.org Corpus” in chap. 2), investigation of basic clause constituent patterns was judged to be best conducted only on primary clauses at this stage of research.⁸⁵ Table A9

⁸⁵Relative clauses and the “if” clause of conditionals make up the bulk of the

provides the data on constituent structure of primary clauses in Paul, as derived from Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. The data is arranged according to the presence or absence of Subject (S), Predicate (P), Complement (C), or Adjunct (A).

Table A9. Constituents of Greek Clauses in Paul

Pattern	Rom	%	1 Cor	%	2 Cor	%	Gal	%	Phil	%	1 Thess	%
All	838		1029		546		285		165		154	
Contain S	407	49	529	51	204	37	127	45	66	40	71	46
Contain P	619	74	784	76	389	71	224	79	123	75	119	77
Contain C	508	61	594	58	268	49	149	52	102	62	80	52
Has S (no P)	132	16	197	19	80	15	42	15	34	21	32	21
S & C only	37	4	58	6	21	4	9	3	12	7	7	5
S & A only	41	5	58	6	25	5	17	6	8	5	7	5
S only	28	3	48	5	20	4	14	5	10	6	14	9
Has P (no S)	344	41	452	44	265	49	139	49	91	55	80	52
P & C only	97	12	120	12	50	9	29	10	28	17	19	12
P & A only	89	11	161	16	97	18	47	16	31	19	30	19
P only	50	6	55	5	35	6	21	7	10	6	8	5
C & A only	17	2	18	2	12	2	5	2	3	2	2	1
C only	31	4	19	2	22	4	5	2	5	3	0	0
A only	39	5	11	1	43	8	9	3	0	0	1	1

From the data above, a number of statements concerning the constituents of Greek clauses in Paul can be made. First, clauses in Greek do not necessarily consist of a subject and a predicate (as may appear in English translation). Second, the most frequent constituent is the predicate (over 70 percent in all six letters).⁸⁶ Third, between 20-30

secondary unembedded clauses. Participial and infinitival clauses make up the bulk of secondary embedded clauses.

⁸⁶This finding confirms Porter's thesis that the predicate is the basic element in the Greek clause. See Porter, *Idioms of the Greek of the New Testament*, 293-95; and

percent of clauses are verbless. Fourth, the subject is expressed in a higher proportion of instances (ranging from 37 percent in 2 Corinthians to 51 percent in 1 Corinthians) than might be expected since the subject is not obligatory (i.e., the subject can be implied in the verb).⁸⁷

More observations may be drawn by comparing the various statistics. For practical purposes, the column “S only” can be regarded as giving the count of vocatives (which are tagged as Subjects forming a clause on their own). Thus by removing the “S only count” from the mix, the percentage of verbless clauses is actually 23 percent in Romans; 19 percent in 1 Corinthians; 25 percent in 2 Corinthians; 16 percent in Galatians; 19 percent in Philippians; and 14 percent in 1 Thessalonians.⁸⁸ The approximate percentage of verbless relational clauses, i.e., S with C or A or both, may be derived by subtracting the percentage of vocatives from the “Has S (no P)” percentage—13 percent in Romans; 14 percent in 1 Corinthians; 11 percent in 2 Corinthians; 10 percent in Galatians; 15 percent in Philippians; and 12 percent in 1 Thessalonians.⁸⁹ The

idem, “Word Order and Clause Structure in New Testament Greek,” *FN* 6 (1993): 192.

⁸⁷As Porter explains, “Greek verbs are monolectic; that is, the one form contains information regarding the verbal action (aspect, mood, voice), as well as information about the subject (even though it does not explicitly specify or express that subject)” (*Idioms of the Greek of the New Testament*, 293).

⁸⁸That is 100 percent subtracted by the “Contain P” percentage, which is then subtracted by the “S only” percentage.

⁸⁹Thus the percentage of verbless relational clauses in relation to verbless clauses in general (minus the vocative) is 57 percent in Romans; 74 percent in 1 Corinthians; 44 percent in 2 Corinthians; 63 percent in Galatians; 79 percent in Philippians; and 86 percent in 1 Thessalonians. The count of relational clauses with εἰμί is 10 percent in Romans; 14 percent in 1 Corinthians; 9 percent in 2 Corinthians; 16 percent in Galatians; 7 percent in Philippians; and 6 percent in 1 Thessalonians. The overall ratio of relational clauses with εἰμί versus verbless relational clauses is thus

actual percentage of potentially “redundant” Subjects is significantly reduced when verbless relational clauses (where the Subject is obligatory) is removed from the count—36 percent in Romans; 37 percent in 1 Corinthians; 26 percent in 2 Corinthians; 35 percent in Galatians; 21 percent in Philippians; and 34 percent in 1 Thessalonians. An additional consideration is the sizable number of explicit Subjects that are required, e.g., when a new participant is introduced or when switching among participants. It appears, then, that the ratio of explicit Subjects versus implied participant (in the verbal suffixes) is skewed, with explicit Subjects, especially when “redundant,” being marked. Furthermore, the “C only,” “A only,” and “C and A only” structures form a clearly skewed ratio when seen against clauses with a Predicate and verbless relational clauses and may be marked.

The implications for the investigation of the Greek New Testament suggested by the above statistics are as follows. First, the freight of meaning of most clauses probably rests heavily on the Predicate, given that it is most frequent and central constituent. A semantic field analysis should thus focus first and foremost on the processes in the predicate slot. Second, the presence of a significant number of verbless clauses makes an analysis solely on the Predicate incomplete. Further research is needed to determine the reasons for omission of the verb. In cases where the verb is assumed (usually from a previous clause), possible hypotheses include heightened matching of the S, C, and/or A with the S, C, and/or A of the previous clause and simple linguistic

equiprobable (54 percent vs. 46 percent). Besides marking Person and Number of the participant who is the implied Subject, εἰμί seems to add the semantic feature of ±remote respectively in its Present and Imperfect forms where the verbless version does not.

economy (elided because linguistically unnecessary).⁹⁰ Third, the small ratio of “redundant” expressed Subjects invite investigation as to why they are used in those contexts.

Statistics on Constituent Order Patterns

As with clause constituent patterns and for similar reasons (see above), the exploration of constituent order patterns (i.e., word order patterns) was judged to be best conducted only on primary clauses at this stage of research. Table A10 shows the data on the order of clause constituents in Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians. Unlike the other tables, pairs of clause constituents are put in opposition and the percentages reflect their ratios in relation to each other.

Table A10. Ordering of Clause Constituents in Paul

Pattern	Rom	%	1 Cor	%	2 Cor	%	Gal	%	Phil	%	1 Thess	%
S P Order	195	71	244	73	88	71	56	66	26	81	28	72
P S Order	80	29	88	27	36	29	29	34	6	19	11	28
S C Order	151	72	187	69	57	70	47	76	27	77	21	66
C S Order	58	28	83	31	24	30	15	24	8	23	11	34
S C (no P)	38	60	53	58	21	60	7	64	14	88	9	82
C S (no P)	25	40	38	42	14	40	4	36	2	12	2	18
S A Order	129	55	131	50	59	52	47	60	25	71	21	49
A S Order	106	45	131	50	55	48	31	40	10	29	22	51
S A (no P)	36	54	46	51	18	46	14	74	10	83	5	45
A S (no P)	31	46	45	49	21	54	5	26	2	17	6	55
P C Order	197	56	189	46	106	59	60	49	40	58	41	65
C P Order	154	44	226	54	73	41	62	51	29	42	22	35
P A Order	110	32	110	25	60	32	40	31	30	41	28	44
A P Order	232	68	326	75	129	68	90	69	44	59	36	56

⁹⁰A possible explanation of the difference in meaning between the use of εἰμί or its omission in a relational clause was suggested in the immediately preceding note.

The data above is limited because of problems with doing clause constituent searches that have yet to be resolved in the Opentext.org database. What can be discerned from the above are as follows. First, in clauses with a predicate the subject most frequently precedes the other clause constituents (S P order/P S order = 0.71/0.29 in Romans; S C order/C S order = 0.72/0.28 in Romans). In verbless clauses, the ratio is surprisingly equiprobable (S C [no P]/C S [no P] = 0.60/0.40 in Romans. Second, the pair of predicate-complement versus complement-predicate ratio is equiprobable (0.56/0.44 in Romans). There is significant variation in the percentages across the books in the other categories. Also the sample for some categories is too small to make any significant judgments on patterns.

From the data above, two statements can be made concerning the ordering of clause constituents in Paul. First, when the subject is expressed, the most common pattern is for the subject to occur first. Second, the proportional difference between predicate-complement and complement-predicate structures is surprisingly close.

The implications for the investigation of the Greek New Testament suggested by the statistics are as follows. First, the frequency of subject in prime (i.e., first) position coheres with the theory that it is used as a topic marker or shifter.⁹¹ Second, the narrow difference in frequency of predicate-complement order and complement-predicate order lessens the likelihood of prominence indicated simply by the order complement-predicate

⁹¹See Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 295-96. The term “prime” is adopted from Porter and O’Donnell, who state that “The prime can be defined as *who or what the clause is focused upon*, realized by the first group element in the clause” (Porter and O’Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 3, which is tentatively entitled “Theme, Topic and Information Structure,” p. 58).

over against predicate-complement (or vice versa). Fourth, the data argues against the frequent analysis of Greek clause structure as verb-subject-object.⁹²

Conclusion

In conclusion, the following working schemes may be applied to the analysis of interpersonal and ideational meanings based on the distributional data on clause constituents and clause order patterns. First, semantic field analysis should focus primarily (though not exclusively) on the processes (predicate slot). Second, expressed subjects in prime position should be checked for topic marking or shifting functions. Third, other clause constituents in first position also should be scrutinized.

Combining Schemes for Text Analysis

Having gone through a whole series of linguistic elements that may indicate relative levels of prominence, at least two major sets of questions arise. First, how does one apply these relative prominence schemes in the actual analysis of texts? Is the presence of one of the more marked features enough to indicate prominence? Must a minimum number of marked features be present together before prominence is confirmed? Second, can these schemes of relative prominence be combined in analysis? Are they even compatible with one another?

⁹²For instance, BDF §427(1) states, “The verb or nominal predicate with its copula stand immediately after the conjunction (the usual beginning of a sentence); then follow in order the subject, object, supplementary participle, etc.” Besides noting that VSO is the norm for storyline clauses in narrative, Levinsohn feels that the “presence of adverbial or nominal constituents before the verb in individual sentences is . . . a marked order, motivated by the desire either to establish the constituent concerned as a point of departure or in order to focus on or emphasize that constituent” (Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Informational Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. [Dallas: SIL International, 2000], 17).

As already noted in chapter 2, the system of transitivity is the means for construing the world of experience into a manageable set of process types.⁹³ These process structures consist of three basic elements: the process itself, participants, and circumstances. In this author's opinion, the answer to both set of questions lies in the correlation of the participants—whether subject, complement, or adjunct—to the verbal processes through the system of transitivity and the consequent intertwining of interpersonal and ideational meanings. While the formal features (e.g., the verb prefixes and suffixes) and prominence functions of aspect, mood, person, number, and voice are indicated by the predicate itself, the semantic functions of aspect, mood, person, number, and voice pertain to how the participants are involved in the process. The relative prominence of every process is precisely the relative prominence of a social *interaction between the participants* in the text. Prominence, thus, may be used to highlight one or more of the participants (indicated especially by the Subject and Complement word groups), the interaction itself (indicated by the predicate), or both. Moreover, since every process is a *social* interaction between the participants in the text, interpersonal meanings (the social “function” of the interaction) are always intertwined with ideational meanings (the “content” of the interaction itself).

The workings of this intertwining may be described as follows. The marking of person and number in the Greek verb serves to tie the verb to the participant that serves as its grammatical subject, even when the subject is implicit. This is the grammatical function of person and number. (This tying together of linguistic elements is part of textual meanings.) The semantic function of person (part of ideational meanings),

⁹³Halliday, *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 106-07.

however, is to indicate the presence or absence of the participants in the immediate social interaction between the writer and his audience. When the first person plural is used to place the writer and his audience together in the same social group, the first person plural has the additional semantic function of inclusion. As Porter and O'Donnell note,

The third person is used to create a discourse in which the speaker and hearer are not participants in the action. . . . Second and first persons enjoy a closer semantic relationship with each other than does third person. Second person is used by the speaker or writer to refer to the hearer or hearers, and it implies that the participants are present, if not in fact at least in conception. . . . First person is used by the speaker or writer when the participant is included either actively or conceptually in the action. First person singular usually refers to the speaker, but first person plural is not necessarily more than one speaker, but may be used to refer to the speaker and those whom the speaker wishes to include in his sphere of discussion. This might even include in an inclusive fashion those whom the speaker wishes to address.⁹⁴

The prominence function of person and number stems from the semantic function. When the hearer(s) are addressed (second singular and plural) or the writer is inscribed as the subject (first singular), the social interaction between the external participants is brought to the fore (thus the prominence involved is prominence of interpersonal meanings in the first instance—prominence of ideational meanings can easily be added as well by combining other prominent features). When both the writer and the hearers are inscribed as the subject (the inclusive use of the first plural), the social solidarity of the external participants is foregrounded.

Voice ties the process and the participants together by means of indicating the role of the grammatical subject in the process. The semantic functions of the voices are Active (Subject = Agent), Passive (Subject = Medium = Goal), and Middle (Subject = self-engendering and self-directed Agent). In this respect, the semantic function is mainly

⁹⁴Porter and O'Donnell, *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament*, chap. 4, pp. 19-20.

ideational in the first instance—in representing the role of the participants in the process, through indicating which participant is the Subject. It is also interpersonal, especially when more than one participant is involved and the process is a social interaction between the participants as well.⁹⁵ The prominence function of the Passive (especially when the Medium is realized as an explicit Subject) and Middle concerns the promotion of the participant that is the Subject, which may have primarily ideational or interpersonal implications depending on the participants and processes involved.

Mood and Aspect are related to the participants more indirectly than Person, Number, and Voice. Mood indicates the writer's perspective on the relation of the verbal process to reality (which falls under ideational meanings). Interpersonal meanings are realized in conjunction with the indication of the identity and role of the participants by means of Voice, Person, and Number. For example, where the writer is indicated as the Subject, mood indicates whether the writer is (1) offering information (or goods and services) or demanding information (indicative mood); or (2) demanding goods and services (commanding and prohibiting uses of the imperative, subjunctive, optative).⁹⁶ The prominence function of Mood probably stems predominantly from the heavier involvement of the external participants in the non-indicative mood processes. Aspect indicates the writer's perspective on the verbal process (which falls under ideational meanings). Like Voice, Aspect also contributes to interpersonal meanings, especially

⁹⁵Role portrayals that reflect the social situation may still be active even when only one participant is involved, however. Even the lack of social interaction falls under the purview of interpersonal meanings.

⁹⁶This author would class the deliberative uses of the future, subjunctive, and optative as basically involving goods and services or information projected for deliberation (with different degrees of expectation as to whether they would be obtained).

when more than one participant is involved and the process is simultaneously a social interaction between the participants (involving offers and demands) and a represented event (construing and representing reality). The prominence function of Aspect focuses on the verbal process itself and only secondarily affects the participants in the process.

The explication of the indivisibility of the process from the participants above leads to the following proposal. Though marked features of the predicate may indicate prominence by themselves, when marked features of the predicate can be correlated to marked participants, the detection of prominence is more secure. In light of the discussion of how ideational and interpersonal meanings are intertwined through Person, Number, and Voice, on the one hand, and Mood and Aspect, on the other, it is possible to be more specific: Clauses that have both prominent participants (through first or second person primarily, secondarily through Middle and Passive Voice) and prominent processes (through Aspect primarily, Mood secondarily) can be identified as semantically prominent with a high degree of certainty. Moreover, participants that are placed in prime position in a clause are marked. Also, the frequent occurrence of non-obligatory Subject in prime position suggests that explicit subjects might serve a function in indicating prominence. For a narrative text such as the Stephen episode in Acts, Martín-Asensio has suggested that (1) a character is more central the more frequent he or she appears as a full or abbreviated explicit subject; and (2) a character is less central when he or she appears as non-explicit subjects or non-subject participants.⁹⁷ This cline for the encoding of participants is adapted for use in Table A11 (the encoding in Greek is underlined).

⁹⁷Martín-Asensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding in Acts*, 93.

Table A11. Cline of Relative Markedness of Encoded Participants

<i>Encoding</i>	<i>Realization in text</i>	<i>Markedness</i>	<i>Example of Encoding</i>
Non-Subject Participant	Complement (direct or indirect object)	Unmarked	Ἐρεῖς <u>μοι</u> οὖν
Non-explicit Subject	Personal Verb Suffixes	Unmarked	Πρῶτον μὲν <u>εὐχαριστῶ</u> τῷ θεῷ μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
Abbreviated explicit Subject	Pronoun (or article)	Marked	Πέπεισμαι δέ, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ <u>αὐτὸς ἐγὼ</u> περὶ ὑμῶν
Full-explicit Subject	Nominal (including proper names)	Most Marked	<u>Παῦλος δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος</u>

In expository discourse as well as narrative discourse the participant is more likely prominent if expressed rather than implied. In addition, a full nominal Subject conveys semantic (role) information on the participant and thus is likely more prominent than an abbreviated substitute (pronoun or article). It is a little harder to decide when the non-subject participant or the implied subject is more prominent. If this distinction is encoded at all, it would have to be indicated by clause order or heavier encoding of the participant than necessary.⁹⁸ Specifically, the non-subject participant could be made prominent by placement in prime position and/or expressed with a full nominal (when not obligatory). Otherwise, the implied subject is usually relatively more prominent because the verb itself is sufficient to signal the continued role of the previously introduced participant (especially when the implied subject is a major participant).

Conclusion

In this appendix, the textual component was studied from the angle of the

⁹⁸Some helpful rules on “default encoding” of subjects may be found in Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 136. More research is needed.

various structural outputs that may indicate prominence. The theoretical link from distributional statistics to markedness, prominence, and prominent semantic features of the text was exploited to develop a practical model for text analysis from the angle of prominence. Empirical data on the distribution of various sets of linguistic elements previously suspected to indicate prominence was first collected. Then the statistical data for each set was examined to determine schemes of relative markedness. By comparing the statistics with known semantic features of each set of elements, ways in which those elements that are relatively marked likely indicate relative prominence was suggested.

On the basis of the data from Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 1 Thessalonians, the following linguistic elements were found to indicate relative levels of prominence: (1) Marked clause order patterns; (2) Marked Aspect; (3) Marked Mood; (4) Marked Person and Number; (5) Marked Voice; and (6) Marked Encoding of the Participants.

This chapter culminates with observations on how to combine the various schemes of relative markedness for the purpose of text analysis. Basically, clauses with both marked participants (through first or second person primarily, secondarily through Middle and Passive Voice) and marked processes (through Aspect primarily, Mood secondarily) are almost certainly semantically prominent. The participants can also be marked by means of placement in prime position in the clause or by way of explicit encoding (especially using full nominals when the participant could have simply been implied in the verbal suffixes).

APPENDIX 2

SYSTEM PROBABILITIES BY SUB-CORPUS
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Table A12. System Probabilities

	<i>Synoptic Gospels & Acts</i>	<i>Pauline Letters</i>	<i>Johannine</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Whole New Testament</i>
<i>(1)ASPECTUALITY</i>					
+expectational	767 0.06	294 0.06	175 0.05	198 0.06	1434 0.06
+aspectual	13015 0.94	4635 0.94	3401 0.95	2936 0.94	23987 0.94
<i>(2)ASPECT1</i>					
+perfective	7222 0.55	1651 0.36	1413 0.42	1318 0.45	11604 0.48
-perfective	5793 0.45	2984 0.64	1988 0.58	1618 0.55	12383 0.52
<i>(3)ASPECT2</i>					
+imperfective	5203 0.90	2576 0.86	1595 0.80	1351 0.83	10725 0.87
+stative	590 0.10	408 0.14	393 0.20	267 0.17	1658 0.13
<i>(4)REMOTENESS</i>					
+remote	4864 0.84	2929 0.98	1780 0.90	1565 0.97	11138 0.90
-remote	929 0.16	55 0.02	208 0.10	53 0.03	1245 0.10
<i>(5)CAUSAL1</i>					
+active	10010 0.73	3244 0.66	2930 0.82	2148 0.69	18332 0.72
-active	3772 0.27	1685 0.34	646 0.18	986 0.31	7089 0.28
<i>(6)CAUSAL2</i>					
+passive	2290 0.61	1115 0.66	405 0.63	691 0.70	4501 0.64
+ergative	1482 0.39	570 0.34	240 0.37	294 0.30	2586 0.36
<i>(7)FINITENESS</i>					
+finite	8771 0.64	3318 0.67	2884 0.81	1898 0.61	16871 0.66
-finite	5011 0.36	1611 0.33	692 0.19	1236 0.39	8550 0.34
<i>(8)FACTIVE</i>					
+fact presuppositional	3744 0.75	1137 0.71	534 0.77	980 0.79	6395 0.75
-fact presuppositional	1267 0.25	474 0.29	158 0.23	256 0.21	2155 0.25
<i>(9)NUMBER</i>					
+singular	5680 0.65	2176 0.66	2000 0.69	1268 0.67	11124 0.66
-singular	3091 0.35	1142 0.34	884 0.31	630 0.33	5747 0.34
<i>(10)PARTICIPATION</i>					
+included	6300 0.72	1608 0.48	1786 0.62	1255 0.66	10949 0.65
-included	2471 0.28	1710 0.52	1098 0.38	643 0.34	5922 0.35

Table A12—Continued. System Probabilities

	<i>Synoptic Gospels & Acts</i>		<i>Pauline Letters</i>		<i>Johannine</i>		<i>Other</i>		<i>Whole New Testament</i>	
<i>(11) DIRECTION</i>										
+direct	1608	0.65	724	0.42	536	0.49	365	0.57	3233	0.55
-direct	863	0.35	986	0.58	562	0.51	278	0.43	2689	0.45
<i>(12) ATTITUDE</i>										
+assertive	7138	0.81	2417	0.73	2407	0.83	1483	0.78	13445	0.80
-assertive	1633	0.19	901	0.27	477	0.17	415	0.22	3426	0.20
<i>(13) -ASSERTION</i>										
+projective	808	0.49	492	0.55	335	0.70	205	0.49	1840	0.54
-projective	825	0.51	409	0.45	142	0.30	210	0.51	1586	0.46
<i>(14) CONTINGENCY</i>										
+contingent	790	0.98	461	0.94	335	1.00	198	0.97	1784	0.97
-contingent	18	0.02	31	0.06	0	0.00	7	0.03	56	0.03

APPENDIX 3

GOD'S WRATH AGAINST SUPPRESSION OF KNOWLEDGE: ROMANS 1:18-32 and 2:1-16

Romans 1:18-32

In chapter 4, the Opening (1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (1:8-17) sections of Paul's letter were explored. In those sections, Paul set the interpersonal context of the letter—divinely-appointed apostle to charges whom he cares deeply for and to whom he feels a strong sense of obligation—and revealed his central concerns to be faith and the preaching of the gospel. An abrupt change of tone, however, appears between Romans 1:1-17 and 1:18-32. Instead of developing further his theme of the gospel as God's power for salvation for everyone who believes or how God's righteousness is revealed from faith to faith, he unleashes God's wrath on human unrighteousness upon his audience. Two connections between Romans 1:18 and Romans 1:15-17 must not be ignored, however. The first link is the conjunction γάρ, "for," which signals that God's wrath being revealed upon all human ungodliness and unrighteousness forms part of Paul's rationale for wanting to preach the gospel to the Roman Christians.¹ A second significant

¹Cf. Neil Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism*, JSNTSup 45 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 111, who notes the four γάρ conjunctions in 1:16 (2x), 17, and 18. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 277 points out the γάρ conjunctions not only link vv. 16-18 with one another, but also with v. 15. Other explanations of the function of γάρ in v. 18 are summarized in Richard H. Bell, *No One Seeks for God: An Exegetical and Theological Study of Romans 1:18-3:20*, WUNT 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 13-14.

link between Romans 1:17 and 1:18 is the parallel between God's righteousness and God's wrath being revealed (δικαιοσύνη . . . θεοῦ . . . ἀποκαλύπτεται vs. ἀποκαλύπτεται . . . ὀργή θεοῦ).² Nevertheless, "whilst δικαιοσύνη and ὀργή are set off against each other, they are not strictly speaking opposites. God's δικαιοσύνη is contrasted with man's ἀδικία. The true opposite to God's ὀργή against man's ἀδικία, is his χάρις manifested to men through faith in Jesus Christ (cf. 1.5; 3.24; 4.4-5)."³ How then does Romans 1:18-32 fit with Romans 1:1-17, especially 1:16-17? Specifically, how is God's wrath related to the gospel and to God's righteousness?

Analysis of Interpersonal Meanings

The abrupt shift in tone from 1:8-17 to 1:18-32 corresponds with an equally surprising shift from first person (Paul as subject) to third person. Paul and his audience are not portrayed as involved in the processes Paul informs his readers about (at least not by means of person in the verbal form).

The shift from first person to third person actually began in 1:16 when gospel became the implied subject, followed by God's righteousness in 1:17. The beneficiaries of the gospel were also universalized ("all those who believe," both to the Jew first and to the Greek). Nevertheless, the shift in participants in 1:18-32 is surprising since "gospel,"

²John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, ETS Studies (Grand Rapids: Baker/Leicester: Apollos, 1998), 122 identifies this as a chiasmus. Some, such as Bell, understand the revelation of God's wrath as future (*No One Seeks for God*, 14-16). Schreiner rightly retorts that both God's eschatological righteousness and God's eschatological wrath are being currently revealed (Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, BECNT [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998], 85).

³R. D. Anderson, Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, rev. ed., CBET 18 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1999), 210. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 278, who notes that ἀδικία is the opposite of δικαιοσύνη, "wickedness" as opposed to "uprightness."

“God’s righteousness,” and “all those who believe,” who would be the expected replacement participants, do not take Paul’s and his readers’ place. Instead, human beings and God supplant Paul and his audience as the principle participants.

Human beings are first mentioned in the adjunct word group “upon all ungodliness and unrighteousness of human beings, who suppress the truth in unrighteousness” (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων), which designates the target of God’s wrath. Indeed, the opposition between human beings and God is highlighted over and over again. The most prominent is perhaps the repeated refrain of παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, “God delivered them up,” in 1:24, 26, 28, which is effectively paralleled with the repetition of ἤλλαξαν . . . μετήλλαξαν . . . μετήλλαξαν (“exchanged”) in 1:23, 25, 26 to underscore the foolish human action and God’s punitive response.⁴ The interpersonal implication is that human beings are offenders against God and God is their Judge, Jury, and Executioner.

Analysis of Ideational Meanings

Not surprisingly, domain 88 (moral and ethical qualities and related behavior) dominates the statistics, given the long vice list. Included in the list are people guilty of two kinds of sins of speech—“gossipers” (ψιθυριστάς) and “slanderers” (καταλάλους). Besides these two (horizontal) sins of speech, the failure of fallen human communication

⁴Cf. Harvey, *Listening to the Text*, 123; and Anderson, who sees Paul emphasizing his point rather dramatically by this three-fold repetition (*Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 211). Interpreters differ on whether there is progressive heightening in the three occurrences. For instance, according to Anderson, the attack appears heightened each time, with more explicit and extended details and examples (ibid.) Bell sees the first and second as parallel and the third as a progression (*No One Seeks for God*, 54). Moo is content to simply point out the parallel, without comment on any possible progression (Douglas J. Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996], 107).

is striking: human beings did not “glorify” (δοξάζω) God or “give thanks” (εὐχαριστέω). Moreover, they are left “without excuse” (ἀναπολόγητος)—speechless before God, the ultimate breakdown in vertical communication.

Insight into this theme of the breakdown of communication leads to further insight into the progression of thought in this section. This failure in communication stems from suppression of knowledge, which in turn led to loss of understanding. The lack of understanding, stemming from the suppression of knowledge, forms the backbone of Paul’s indictment. First, Romans 1:18-19 grounds the revelation of God’s wrath on the undeniable clarity of the knowledge of God among human beings (who, however, suppress the truth in unrighteousness). Romans 1:20 explains how this knowledge came to be manifest—God made it manifest in created things.⁵ As a result, human beings are without excuse. No room is left for a plea of ignorance and culpable suppression of knowledge is established. After quashing the ignorance plea, Paul continues to ground human inexcusability by detailing inappropriate human response to God (1:21-22). Even though human beings knew (γινώσκω) God, they did not respond with understanding. They failed to communicate with ascription of glory and thanks vertically.⁶ Instead, their thought processes (διαλογισμοί, classed under domain 30, but related to domains 28 and 32) became worthless (ματαιόμοι, classed under domain 65, but to say that the thought processes became worthless is to assert lack of understanding). Their foolish

⁵Harvey sees φανερόν . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς (“manifest among them”) and αὐτοῖς ἐφάνερωσεν (“made it manifest to them”) as a chiasmus (*Listening to the Text*, 122).

⁶Harvey identifies γνόντες . . . θεὸν and θεὸν ἐδόξασαν as a chiasmus (*ibid.*, 123).

(ἄσύνετος) hearts became darkened (ἐσκοτίσθη; again highlighting lack of understanding). While claiming (φάσκοντες) to be wise (σοφοί), they really lacked understanding (μωραίνω) and perpetuated an idiotic exchange (ἀλλάσσω) of God for created things: the glorious, imperishable God for perishable, created things made to image his likeness (1:22).⁷

This inappropriate human response is in turn the ground for God’s punishment, described in terms of “giving up” (παραδίδωμι, 3x—domain 57: possession, transfer, exchange). The first description states the purpose of the punishment—that their bodies would be dishonored by themselves (τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς). By describing “them” as those who exchanged (μεταλλάσσω) “the truth that is related to God” (τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ) “for what is false” (ἐν τῷ ψεύδει), a connection between the fittingness of the punishment to the crime is most likely signaled. The second description details how this dishonor is accomplished and in the process confirms the hypothesis of “punishment that fits the crime”: God’s delivering up involves men and women exchanging (μεταλλάσσω) “natural function” (τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν) “for what is contrary to nature” (εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν). In this context, what is true in contrast to what is false is juxtaposed with what is natural against what is contrary to nature. Moreover, what is false and what is against nature is precisely what they desire (ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν; εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας). The crime is an exchange and the punishment is an exchange. By doing “what is shameful” (τὴν

⁷Schreiner, *Romans*, 87; idem, *Paul Apostle of God's Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 104-07; Fitzmyer,

ἀσχημοσύνην), they are receiving in themselves the fitting recompense for their error (τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες).

Likewise, the whole vice list flows from God's giving up human beings to punishment that fits the crime. Just as they saw it unfit to keep God in knowledge, God delivered them up to an unfit mind, from which mind flows unfitting deeds (καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα).⁸ In this manner, words in domain 57 (ἀλλάσσω, παραδίδωμι, μεταλλάσσω, ἀπολαμβάνω, ἔχω) are used effectively to match up crime and punishment. An obvious implication is that God, with perfect right, punishes these crimes in a fitting manner.⁹ From an interpersonal standpoint, God's role as a righteous Judge and the role of human beings' as justly punished offenders are at stake.

Conclusion

As uncovered in the discussion above, in Romans 1:18-32 links between the meaning fields of truth (vs. falsity), value (vs. devaluing), and propriety (vs. impropriety) are masterfully woven together. God has clearly revealed knowledge of himself to human

Romans, 271; and Moo, *Romans*, 106-07.

⁸Cf. Schreiner, *Romans*, 92-93. The manner in which human thinking, desire, and actions have deviated from what is natural and proper supports the contention that the lost of self-mastery (e.g., slavery to sin) is a major theme. See Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 42-43. While it is not the most palpable issue in Romans 1-8 (as Stowers claims in *ibid.*), the lost of self-mastery is important and related to νόμος in Romans 7.

⁹Cf. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, 118; and Morna D. Hooker, "A Further Note on Romans 1," *NTS* 13 (1966-67): 182.

beings through created things, but human beings suppress the truth in unrighteousness.

This human response of suppressing knowledge has led to loss of understanding. The lack of understanding, stemming from the suppression of knowledge, forms the backbone of Paul's indictment. Instead of valuing God, they have perpetuated an idiotic exchange: God for created things. Ascribing value to what is true is proper. Valuing what is false is improper and the proper punishment is for God to give one up to one's own desires, i.e., to value what is false, which leads to the devaluing of oneself.

In summary, human suppression of knowledge that is related to God has led to the following interpersonal situation: God, the Creator, stands opposed to human offenders as Judge, Jury, and Executioner. What Romans 1:18-32 represents as happening may be summarized this way: By suppressing knowledge, human beings have become idiotic. They value what is false and have become offenders against God. In response, God has dealt out punishment proper to their crimes.

Romans 2:1-16

The lexical repetition of ἀδικία (“unrighteousness”: 1:18, 29; 2:8; 3:5) and ἀλήθεια (“truth”: 1:18, 25; 2:2, 8, 20; 3:4, 7) tie 2:1-29 with 1:18-32 and 3:1-8.¹⁰ The connection between 1:18-32 and 2:1-16 is not immediately clear, however. First, how is the inferential conjunction διό, “therefore,” being used? Second, why is everyone who judges without excuse? Third, why is the second person singular used in 2:1? Fourth, what is the connection between the people condemned in 1:18-32 and those condemned

¹⁰Cf. James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 77. Bassler has contended for the argumentative unity of Rom 1:18-2:11 (Jouette Bassler, *Divine Impartiality: Paul and a Theological Axiom* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982], 123-37).

in Romans 2? Fifth, do some or all of Paul's readers fall under condemnation? (Question 5 was partially answered in the section "Participant Structure" in chap. 3 of this study.)

Analysis of Interpersonal Meanings

The general consensus is that Paul uses a diatribal style in Romans 2.¹¹ In this view, Paul engages in a dialogue with an imaginary student or opponent, in which he anticipates possible objections to his argument. Stowers explains that diatribe may be present when "(1) the second person singular is used and (2) the author speaks as if to an individual who stands before him rather than to his actual audience."¹²

Even if we grant that a diatribal style is used, questions remain. Paul's readers remain the ones to whom Paul gives information. Moreover, the use of an imaginary addressee does not preclude the possibility that part or all of Paul's readers are being indirectly condemned.¹³ The use of the singular vocative address ὦ ἄνθρωπε, "O human being," and the second person singular may simply turn the focus away from the group towards the individual.¹⁴ Perhaps only some individuals among the readers are guilty.

¹¹Schreiner, *Romans*, 105. On diatribe, see Stanley K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, SBLDS 57 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

¹²Stowers, *Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, 85. Stowers lists typical elements (*ibid.*, 86-93).

¹³Louw believes that Paul now turns to his audience, with the progression from 1:18-32 to 2:1-16 to be as follows: "Do you find it shocking to hear about man's depravity? Don't judge mankind to be wicked without looking at yourself. You have no excuse, for . . . you are guilty of the same" (Johannes P. Louw, *A Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans* [Pretoria: Dept. of Greek, University of Pretoria, 1987], 2:45); cf. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, 212. Moo, however, argues that the use of the second person singular, "you," indicates that Paul does not accuse his readers: "[its use] does not mean that Paul is now accusing his readers of these things; were he to do that, the second person plural would have been needed" (*Romans*, 125).

¹⁴Louw sees Paul turning from the general humankind to the individual human

In this author's opinion the questions above are premature before examining the full extent of the text. The approach adopted here is to explore the clues as they come. The one addressed is also intentionally designated the "addressee," in distinction from "audience," since it is unclear whether part or all of Paul's readers are addressed here.¹⁵ First, the use of a participial clause to define the addressee clarifies how one should identify the addressee. The guilty party is "everyone who judges" (πᾶς ὁ κρίνων). Second, why, then, is everyone who judges "without excuse" (ἀναπολόγητος)? Paul explains that in that which they judge others, they condemn themselves because they, the ones who judge, practice the same things as the people they judge (2:1). Then he highlights this clarification by using a participial clause that is a virtual repeat of its content to define the second singular vocative address ὦ ἄνθρωπε, "O human being." Therefore, the identity of the addressee is further defined as "one who judges those who practice such things [i.e., evil] and does the same" (ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας καὶ ποιῶν αὐτά).

What kind of inferential connection between 1:18-32 and 2:1-16 is signaled by διό, "therefore," is harder to decide.¹⁶ One clue is the repetition of ἀναπολόγητος ("without excuse"). Since this word occurs only here and in 1:20 in the New Testament,

being (*Semantic Discourse Analysis of Romans*, 2:45).

¹⁵Cf. the clarification of the distinction between "audience" and "addressee" in Kent L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment According to Deeds*, SNTSMS 105 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 149. The inscribed readers of Paul's letter to the Romans (= the audience) remains Gentile Christians, regardless of the identity of the addressee in 2:1-16.

¹⁶On the range of suggestions advanced, see Charles E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977), 1:140-42; and Moo, *Romans*, 129-30.

the likelihood is that it ties Paul's inference to the preceding indictment where human inexcusability was stressed.¹⁷ The most important clue, however, is the train of thought in 2:1. Schreiner represents the flow of thought that clarifies the inference as follows:

God's wrath is revealed against all those who suppress the truth of God (1:18-32).
Therefore you are without excuse when you judge others (2:1a)
Because you practice the very things you condemn in others (2:1b).¹⁸

This suggestion is perhaps the best construal of the relationship. Another complementary account may be advanced, however. Romans 1:32 has caused difficulty for interpreters because many cannot see how approving those who practice evil is portrayed as worse than personally practicing evil.¹⁹ This difficulty is resolved if the emphasis is on the suppression of knowledge (note the extended description of the identity of those involved, "who knowing God's righteous decree that those who practice such things are worthy of death" [οἵτινες τὸ δικάϊωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν]).²⁰ On the one hand, one could practice evil while knowing it is evil (and in that sense disapproving of it). On the other hand, if one approves of those practicing evil, the suppression of the knowledge of God's truth has progressed further. The more direct inferential connection between 1:32 and 2:1 would be based on the common suppression of knowledge—one party not only practices evil but also approves of others who do the same; the other party, while disapproving of others

¹⁷Cf. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 79.

¹⁸Schreiner, *Romans*, 106. Cf. Moo's similar solution (*Romans*, 129-30).

¹⁹See Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:133-35; and Moo, *Romans*, 121-22.

²⁰The flow of thought reproduced from Schreiner, *Romans*, 106 might indicate that he gave the same solution as suggested here. A perusal of his discussion, however, shows that the link he points out is merely that Jews likewise sin (*ibid.*, 106-10).

who do evil, practices the same evils. This suppression of knowledge for the latter party is evident in their practicing the same evils, even when judging others for them—thus knowing (prior condition of judging) and then suppressing their knowledge (in acting against their knowledge).

From the above discussion, the reason for condemnation and the identity of the participant addressed is clarified: it is everyone who, while judging others who do evil, practices the same evils. The next step is to explore the relationship between this group of people and God. First, God judges according to truth those who practice evil (2:2) and hypocritical people who judge others and do the same will not escape God's judgment (2:3).²¹ Second, God is said to have shown "kindness" (χρηστότης) to the addressee and the addressee has failed to take advantage of that kindness. A response is demanded from him as to whether he has despised God's rich kindness, patience, and longsuffering, being ignorant that God's kindness should lead him to repentance. Third, the addressee will face God's wrath in accordance with his stubbornness and unrepentant heart on the day when God's wrath and righteous judgment is revealed. The question that comes to mind is "In what sense is this person obstinate and unrepentant?" The answer may be simply "by continuing to sin" or "by continuing to judge." Given the explicit definition of the identity of the person by Paul, however, the answer is almost certainly, "by continuing to judge other evildoers, while being an evildoer yourself" (2:1, 3). In summary, the characteristics of the addressee derived thus far are that he: (1) judges other evildoers; (2)

²¹This statement in 2:2 introduced with οἶδαμεν, which emphasizes that the truth stated (namely that God's judgment against those who practice evil is according to truth) is a common understanding between Paul and his addressee. See Stowers, *Diatribes and Paul's Letter to the Romans*, 94; Halvor Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict: Studies in*

practices the same evil; (3) has been shown special kindness by God; and (4) is stubborn and unrepentant in continuing to judge other evildoers while being an evildoer himself.

Romans 2:6-11 develops further the portrait of God. He will recompense each person according to his deeds (2:6). On the one hand, He will give eternal life to those who seek glory, honor, and immortality by persevering in doing good (2:7). On the other hand, he will pour out wrath and fury on those who out of selfish ambition disobey the truth, but obey unrighteousness (2:8).²² The implication is that God is a righteous Judge who gives righteous recompense to everyone.²³ This picture is underscored and specified in 2:9-10.²⁴ On the one hand, tribulation and distress will come upon every human being who does what is evil, *upon the Jew first and also upon the Greek* (2:9). On the other hand, glory, honor, and peace will come upon every one who does what is good, *upon the Jew first and also upon the Greek* (2:10). The reason is that God is an impartial Judge (2:11).²⁵ At this point, the specification of the division between Jew and Greek and the

Paul's Understanding of God in Romans, NovTSup 53 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 35; Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, 80; and Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:142-43.

²²Note the conceptual and lexical ties that “disobeying” τῆ ἀληθείᾳ (“the truth”) and “obeying” τῆ ἀδικίᾳ (“unrighteousness”) in 2:8 has to the ἀδικία and “suppression” of τὴν ἀληθείαν (“the truth”) in 1:18.

²³The principle of judgment according to works (2:6) is commensurate with judgment according to truth (2:2). Cf. Don Garlington, *Faith, Obedience, and Perseverance: Aspects of Paul's Letter to the Romans*, WUNT 79 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1994), 52; and Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*, 149-58.

²⁴See Harvey, *Listening to the Text*, 123 on the inverted structure and parallels. Louw, *Semantic Discourse Analysis*, 2:45-47 provides an illuminating analysis of the semantic relationships. Cf. Schreiner, *Romans*, 112-13; and Moo, *Romans*, 138-39.

²⁵This chiasmic structure emphasizes God's impartiality. Cf. Glenn N. Davies, *Faith and Obedience in Romans: A Study in Romans 1-4*, JSNTSup 39 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 53. Contrary to Bassler's raising of the principle of impartiality to

emphasis on Jew *first* (πρῶτον) raises suspicions that the addressee is actually the (generic) Jew.²⁶ If “first” has to do with some special advantage or disadvantage, it would accord with the mention of God’s special kindness shown the addressee (cf. 3:1-8).²⁷

2:12-16 clarifies the picture derived thus far. On the one hand, those who sin without the law will also perish without the law (2:12). On the other hand, those who sin with the law will be judged by the law. Given that the division between Jew and Greek was mentioned in 2:10, the natural interpretation is that (1) Jew = those who sin with the law; and (2) Gentile = those who sin without the law. If law is considered a form of knowledge that the Jew has suppressed (which it is in 2:17-29; see chap. 6), then it seems certain that the addressee whom Paul seeks to instruct in 2:1-16 is the (generic) Jew.²⁸

Conclusion

The picture derived above is complementary with the portrait obtained in the

preeminent position (*Divine Impartiality*, 137-54), however, Elliott correctly point out that divine impartiality supports the principle of inevitable accountability to God’s judgment on the basis of works (2:6-11 and 2:12-16) (*The Rhetoric of Romans*, 122). Schreiner notes that three themes permeate 2:6-11: (1) God will reward each person according to his or her works; (2) he will reward each person; and (3) he will reward each person without partiality (*Romans*, 112).

²⁶Cf. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment According to Deeds*, 155.

²⁷Yinger claims that the two-fold reference “the Jew first and also the Greek” harks back to 1:16 and is Paul’s means of springing his trap on his target (*ibid.*, 154).

²⁸Given that most interpreters see Jews as the addressee in Rom 2:1-16 (see Schreiner, *Romans*, 103), some may question the need for the step-by-step investigation of the interpersonal meanings above. The marshalling of empirical evidence and the clarification of how the linguistic elements build up this portrait are sufficient justification for the enterprise, even though a majority position was vindicated. The investigation was conducted without a view to supporting either the majority or minority position (that 2:1-16 addresses both Jews and Gentiles and that Jews are not singled out until 2:17). On the minority view, see Bell, *No One Seeks for God*, 137-40.

section “Participant Structure” in chapter 3. As noted there, there are two characteristics to Paul’s usage of the second person singular: (1) He typically singles out and identifies the addressee as a particular person or as individuals belonging to a class of people; and (2) The addressee is not identical with the recipients as a group, though some (or all) of the recipients may fall under the class of people addressed if they fit the description. In Romans 2:1-16, the class identification is first that of every human being who judges (2:1), then further clarified as “the human being who judges those who practice such things (i.e., evil) and does the same” (2:3). During the course of the passage (as traced above), however, different specific characteristics narrow the referent of the addressee further. The class identifications in 2:1 and 2:3 are thus explainable as general reference identifications that could cover anyone who fits the description—the hypocritical judge who judges other people who practice evil but does the same evil things. The reference to the class is, nevertheless, meant to gradually identify Jews as falling into that category. Indeed, it was argued that Jews were linked to the Gentile sinners condemned in 1:18-32 as sinners having in common the suppression of knowledge. Whether any Jewish Christians among Paul’s audience fit the description or not cannot be discovered from what is inscribed in the text of Romans. By use of the second person singular and the identification of the addressee as a hypocritical Jew, Paul most probably differentiates his readers, the Christians in Rome, from his direct addressee.

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ABSTRACT

FULFILLING THE LAW APART FROM THE LAW: A DISCOURSE APPROACH TO PAUL AND THE LAW IN ROMANS

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This dissertation represents a prolegomena to a new approach to the study of the Greek New Testament, with νόμος in Romans as a test case. Chapter 1 introduces the seemingly intractable interpretive debates concerning the Mosaic Law.

Chapter 2 outlines an integrative model of understanding language—systemic-functional linguistics (SFL)—that forms the foundation of this study and the central pillar for the application of that theory—corpus linguistics using the annotation database of Opentext.org project.

Chapter 3 develops a number of tools on the basis of SFL and corpus linguistics as supporting pillars for text analysis. Specifically, it provides a map on what to study in a text and how to do it.

Chapter 4 illustrates the methods developed in chapter 3 and introduces the reader to the discourse of Romans through the Opening (Rom 1:1-7) and Thanksgiving (Rom 1:8-17) sections. Ultimately, a more comprehensive study building upon this initial attempt at a bottom-up analysis will be needed for a full discourse commentary on Romans.

Chapter 5 explores the portrait of νόμος from the angle of patterns of lexical repetition. Different passages on νόμος are shown to be mutually interpretive.

Chapters 6 and 7 examines the functional patterns of νόμος as the head term of a word group (without a genitive qualifier) and as a modifier respectively. The common meaning component and reference patterns for νόμος are uncovered in the process.

Chapter 8 investigates the patterns of νόμος as modified by a genitive. It was discovered that νόμος has different reference patterns when modified. Chapter 9 is the overall summary.

This work contends that while νόμος most often refers to the Mosaic Law, the more general reference usage of the word as an entity that prescribes standards and as a controlling principle (in Romans 7-8) shed light on the meaning and function of the Mosaic Law and on the theme of control in Romans.

VITA

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