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INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUENT ORDER  
IN EIMI + PARTICIPLE (PERIPHRAISIS) CONSTRUCTIONS:  
A TEST CASE IN THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND  
APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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the Faculty of  
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In Partial Fulfillment  
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Doctor of Philosophy

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by  
Nathaniel Joseph Erickson  
May, 2022

**APPROVAL SHEET**

INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUENT ORDER  
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A TEST CASE IN THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND  
APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BDAG	Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 3rd ed.
BDF	F. Blass and A. Debrunner, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and Revision of the Ninth-Tenth German Edition Incorporating Supplementary Notes of A. Debrunner</i> . Revised and translated by Robert W. Funk.
<i>BrillDAG</i>	Franco Montanari, <i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i> . Bilingual Edition.
<i>CGCG</i>	Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, and Mathieu de Bakker, <i>The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek</i> .
<i>CGL</i>	J. Diggle, ed. <i>The Cambridge Greek Lexicon</i> .
<i>DFNTG</i>	Stephen H. Levinsohn, <i>Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek</i> , 2nd ed.
IS	Information Structure
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon: with a Revised Supplement</i> , 9th ed.
<i>Mega Lexicon</i>	Demetrios B. Demetrakos and Ionnes Spyridonos Zerbos, <i>Mega lexicon oles tes hellenikes glosses</i> .
<i>SIL Glossary</i>	SIL International. "Glossary of Linguistic Terms." <a href="https://glossary.sil.org/term">https://glossary.sil.org/term</a>
Smyth	Herbert Weir Smyth, <i>Greek Grammar for Colleges</i> , revised by Gordon M. Messing.
<i>TLG</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. <a href="http://www.tlg.uci.edu">http://www.tlg.uci.edu</a> .

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## PREFACE

The genesis of this project began the first time I read *Joseph and Aseneth* in Greek (still the only language I have read it in!) back in 2014 and noticed a lot of “periphrastic constructions.” I made a note to investigate that someday. That note has sprawled into this thesis in which I have succeeded at making the simple complicated and hopefully the complicated simple(r). I was not anticipating doing doctoral studies at this point in my life and am grateful to the many people who have enabled this journey and helped to shape it.

Foremost, I thank Maija, my wife, who has suffered long with long-suffering through this process, along with my three kids. Aside from her consistent working to support the family whilst I goofed around writing papers and reading obscure Greek books, we have gone through four major moves and added two children to our family during the years since I began. ὦ γυνή μου, ἀγαπῶ σε.

Special thanks to Ma and Pa Stenvig. I wrote most of this dissertation holed up in their house while they watched the kids. The good Lord only knows how long it would have taken to finish without their support.

To my parents, thanks for the support along the way and consistently believing in my ability to do this, even when I wasn’t so sure. The many questions and a willing ear to listen as I talked about what I was trying to do at several key junctures along the way helped me gain the needed clarity to take the next step.

Dr. Plummer’s counsel has proven extremely helpful in guiding this project into existence. He patiently helped me along the way as I floundered through grandiose ideas too large to deal with in several dissertations to a more manageable project. His insistent advice to write something that NT scholars without exposure to linguistics can

understand has been a much-needed challenge. Hopefully I have lived up to that challenge tolerably well. Dr. Plummer's heart for the church and for teaching Greek serves as a constant reminder that the value in a theory is not merely its explanatory power, but also in its usefulness for pastors and students of the word.

A conversation with Dr. Steven Runge towards the end of the project gave some critical focus to the project.

Many seminars and colloquia have informed the ideas which have grown into this work. While most of my doctoral studies have been carried out at long distance from the campus at Louisville, I am blessed to have been involved with the scholarly community at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. It is great to feel at home for a time during those days I get to mill about with other doctoral students on campus.

Lastly, I have been blessed to be a part of three church families during this season of life. During most of my doctoral work, I was at Erlanger Baptist Church in Erlanger, KY. In the final stages, two moves took us first to Houghton, MI, and a temporary church home at Evangel Community Church, and then on to Manistique, MI, to take up the pastorate at First Baptist Church of Manistique. Moving at any stage of dissertation work is a trial, but many good people helped make the transitions easier and have supported me through the years of studying the Bible and its languages. While not all biblical scholarship has immediate or obvious application to the life of the church, it all should serve in some way. Thanks for the many people who have patiently waited and endured as I have sought to figure out how.

Nat Erickson

Manistique, MI

May, 2022

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Nearly 140 years ago, W. J. Alexander kicked off the modern study of periphrastic constructions.<sup>1</sup> Since then, while a variety of advances have been made, consensus remains elusive concerning both how to identify whether a construction is periphrastic or not and what such constructions mean in distinction from their morphological counterparts. Recent works in linguistics and Greek grammar, to be profiled below, have made meaningful advances on these fronts, if still far from providing all the answers we wish they would. While these are necessary paths of inquiry, they fail to take into account another issue of concern in these constructions. Consider these three instances of periphrasis from Luke:

1. Καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν “and the people were waiting for Zachariah” (Luke 1:21)
2. αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑποχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις καὶ προσευχόμενος “Now he was in the wilderness and was praying” (Luke 5:16)
3. Ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων “Now he was teaching during the days in the temple” (Luke 21:37)

Few will dispute that each passage indeed has an instance of periphrastic.<sup>2</sup> A close look at these passages reveals that the order of constituents differs in all of them. Luke 5:16 has a subject before the copula while the subject appears after the copula in 1:21 and is null in

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<sup>1</sup> W. J. Alexander, “Participial Periphrases in Attic Prose,” *The American Journal of Philology* 4, no. 13 (1883): 291–308.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 21:37 is the most likely to run afoul of being considered periphrastic because of the locative phrase ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ between the copula and participle, making it possible to read as non-periphrastic: “and he was in the temple during the days, teaching.” The most recent major analysis of periphrastic passages in the NT considers this one periphrastic. Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament” (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 443.

21:37. Luke 21:37 has a temporal and locative phrase between the copula and the participle, as opposed to one occurring after the participle in Luke 1:21. How do we account for these differences? Do they mean anything? Are they a result of that oft-appealed to but ever-elusive creature “style difference”?<sup>3</sup> A cursory examination of the data in the NT or non-NT texts shows that constituent order variation in periphrastic constructions is pervasive, so what stands behind it? Before proceeding further with this line of thought, we need to back up and establish some provisional definitions.

For the sake of this dissertation, unless otherwise indicated, by *periphrasis* I include only constructions of the form εἰμί + participle.<sup>4</sup> As signaled in the title of this dissertation, I am not concerned only with periphrasis, but with a broader syntactic pattern. However, starting with the familiar category of *periphrasis* is a reasonable point of contact with the Greek grammar enterprise to date.

In the Greek grammatical tradition, the term *periphrasis* is primarily used in a commonsense way with little theoretical reflection.<sup>5</sup> Daniel Wallace adequately reflects the way periphrasis is used, describing it as when an anarthrous participle combines with a verb of being to form a finite verbal idea as a “*round-about* way of saying what could

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<sup>3</sup> Here I use “style difference” to refer both to stylistic variation within a given writer for rhetorical purposes as well as differences in writing styles between different writers.

<sup>4</sup> There are other types of periphrastic constructions, most notably those formed with εἶχεν as the verbal auxiliary. Indeed, at least twenty-seven different verbs in combination with participles have been considered periphrastic in the literature, not to mention many constructions with infinitives which should justly be included as well. Klaas Bentein, “Towards the Identification of Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: A Prototype Analysis,” *Acta Classica* LIV (2011): 2. The whole matter is made increasingly complex in that there is no widely agreed upon definition of periphrasis so the usage of the term in the Greek grammatical tradition results from mixing the strong arm of tradition and the idiosyncrasies of different grammarians.

<sup>5</sup> The commonsense aspect is so strong that some grammarians hardly feel the need to explain what they mean by the term *periphrasis*; assuming instead that the reader already understands the basic parameters of the word. For example, A. T. Robertson writes, “this use of the participle with various forms of the verb “to be” is so common in all languages, ancient and modern, as hardly to require justification.” A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 374. See also BDF, § 352ff. Both these works discuss periphrasis in some detail. The point here is that they give minimal theoretical reflection on the category.

be expressed by a single verb.”<sup>6</sup> Without discussing the (many) problems inherent in this commonsense approach, an obvious issue plaguing the analysis of periphrasis in the grammatical tradition is that, at the most basic level, there is chronic uncertainty regarding when a given instance of εἰμί + participle is periphrastic or not. Ernest de Witt Burton’s comment still well reflects the state of affairs:

to the Greek mind there was doubtless a distinction of thought between the participle which retained its adjective force and its distinctness from the copula, and that which was so joined with the copula as to be felt as an element of a compound tense-form. This distinction can usually be perceived by us; yet in the nature of the case there will occur instances which it will be difficult to assign with certainty to one class or the other.<sup>7</sup>

A recent spate of works on periphrastic constructions have advanced our understanding, while at the same time introducing further complexities. Leaving aside the traditional questions of how to identify periphrastic constructions and what they mean, I will focus on the largely ignored topic of constituent order in these constructions.

One of the genuine advances in the description of Greek in recent times is greater explanatory power regarding what has traditionally been called *word order variation*. The key realization standing behind these advances is that the order of elements in Greek clauses is heavily influenced by what is called information structure (see below). These advances, further described in chapter 3, enable giving a cogent account of constituent order for most clauses in the different Greek works to which the approach has been thoroughly applied. Stephen Levinsohn, in a paper published in 2017, applied this information structure analysis to periphrastic verb forms in the Synoptic

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 647. Emphasis original.

<sup>7</sup> Ernest De Witt Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1976), § 472.



Gospels and Acts.<sup>8</sup> His results, being both interesting and providing a certain challenge to the periphrastic studying enterprise to date, require further consideration.

In this dissertation, I intend to engage with the various advances in information structure analysis of Greek primarily with the aim of assessing the validity of Levinsohn’s work. I will argue that constituent order in εἰμί + participle constructions (‘periphrasis’) in the Pseudepigrapha and Apostolic Fathers is sensitive to information structure categories in line with Levinsohn’s assessment of the Synoptics and Acts. The application of Levinsohn’s model to a different corpus of texts both strengthens its validity and demonstrates the need for the grammatical tradition to integrate information structure and constituent order concerns into the way in which we describe, analyze, and interpret these copula + participle constructions.

To establish this thesis, I will argue constituent order is a pervasive feature of periphrastic forms and, as such, demands an explanation. The accounts of periphrastic constructions in contemporary grammars, and in most contemporary research, do not deal with the phenomenon of constituent order variability. My work will help fill this shortcoming by investigating whether an information structure approach can explain the variations in constituent order in copula + participle constructions which are present in the Pseudepigrapha and Apostolic Fathers. I will now discuss the reasons for this study and the methodology which I will employ in carrying it out. After that, I will discuss the history of research, and address other matters necessary for situating this research project within the on-going discussion of constituent order and Greek.

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<sup>8</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 423–41. In point of fact, his analysis is of the syntactic pattern copula + participle within the same clause, roughly speaking. This is a broader target than periphrasis but does subsume all instances of periphrasis within the analysis.

## Purpose of the Study

It is no secret that NT Greek study has become increasingly influenced by linguistics.<sup>9</sup> In this study, I will further nuance an already established research paradigm in NT Greek studies (and Greek studies more broadly). This will result in having a firmer ground on which to stand in making exegetical decisions within a set of relevant passages in the NT. I aim to (1) increase descriptive adequacy of an under-investigated aspect of periphrasis and (2) integrate various developments in periphrastic studies into an easier to grasp whole.

This study is grounded in the conviction that the value of a theory is in its explanatory power. An important way to test the explanatory power of a theory generated on NT texts is, as seems obvious, to go and study non-NT texts. Of course, there are myriads of theoretical difficulties in such a move, but it is a necessary and obvious step. In this study, therefore, I take an approach to periphrasis developed in some NT texts for a test run in a heterogenous corpus of non-NT texts. Such an exercise benefits the task of NT grammar as servant of NT exegesis in two ways.

First, it brings more data into the discussion by engaging with new texts. While more data increases the number of idiosyncrasies in the data, it also helps to ensure that what we are describing is a norm for Greek, instead of just an idiosyncrasy in the writings of Luke (the primary user of periphrasis in the NT), for example. Second, examining these non-NT texts brings more certainty to the NT exegete. If the results from a theory

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<sup>9</sup> For a history of linguistics and biblical studies, and the inescapable role which linguistic theories (known or unknown) play in NT studies, consider the recent essays of Stanley E. Porter, “Linguistic Schools,” in *Linguistics and New Testament Greek: Key Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 11–36; Nicholas J. Ellis, “Biblical Exegesis and Linguistics: A Prodigal History,” in *Linguistics and New Testament Greek: Key Issues in the Current Debate*, ed. David Allan Black and Benjamin L. Merkle (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 227–45.

Todd Scacewater recently has pointed out that we are still far from having linguistics enter into the set of core disciplines which scholars consider necessary for adequate NT interpretation. Todd A. Scacewater, “Discourse Analysis: History, Topics, and Applications,” in *Discourse Analysis of the New Testament Writings* (Dallas: Fontes Press, 2020), 1. The hermeneutical triad of history, theology, and literary concerns are well established. To these we must add at least linguistic and philosophical concerns, both of which have a great deal of input on the prospect of reading and interpreting texts in general, and ancient texts in particular.

hold valid in a different body of texts, the validity of the theory is strengthened. Whether linguistics deserves to be called a “science” or not may be a matter of debate, but such an exercise in testing a theory on a different body of texts is the norm in research and enables us to have better confidence in the knowledge produced.<sup>10</sup> Such testing strengthens the case in NT exegesis for making exegetical conclusions based on any given theory.

### Methodology of the Study

Following from my purpose of testing an established theory, in this study I will perform a *conceptual replication study* primarily in dialogue with the work of Levinsohn, and to a lesser extent various proposals concerning periphrasis, constituent order, and/or information structure in different periods of Greek.<sup>11</sup> To do this, I will take Levinsohn’s main conclusions, discussed later, and analyze a new body of texts to test their

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<sup>10</sup> One way to define *science* is that it is a method designed to produce reliable knowledge. David Deming, “Do Extraordinary Claims Require Extraordinary Evidence?,” *Philosophia* 44, no. 4 (December 2016): 1319–31. On such a definition, linguistics is certainly a science, even if it differs in some regards from the prototypical hard sciences.

<sup>11</sup> On the notion of *conceptual replication study*, see Fiona Fidler and John Wilcox, “Reproducibility of Scientific Results,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta ed., last modified Summer 2021, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/scientific-reproducibility/>. They write: “Arguably, most typologies of replication make more or less fine-grained distinctions between *direct replication* (which closely follow the original study to verify results) and *conceptual replications* (which deliberately alter important features of the study to generalize findings or to test the underlying hypothesis in a new way)” (§ 1). In this article they provide an introduction into the broader notion of the *reproducibility crisis* in the philosophy and practice of modern scientific investigation. While this crisis affects different disciplines in different ways, at its heart is the acknowledgement that the results of studies generally are either inadequately tested or never re-tested, which casts doubt on the validity of the scientific model as a means for producing reliable knowledge. With reference to NT Greek grammatical studies, Francis Pang has pointed out that there is a problem of theory-building without independent and thorough testing, writing: “whereas most of the contributions after the work of Porter and Fanning focus on construction of new theories, much is needed in terms of testing and applying the existing models using data from the New Testament.” Francis Pang, “Aspect, Aktionsart, and Abduction: Future Tense in the New Testament,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* XXIII (2010): 130. I concur with his assertion, and add that the theories also need to be tested on non-NT texts.

A conceptual replication study is open to the charge that my interpretations will “lead the witnesses” into foregone conclusions. This is possible, but not necessary. All grammatical work is done within a linguistic theory that conditions the evidence. This is even true of traditional Greek grammars, as Porter effectively points out in Porter, “Linguistic Schools,” 14–20. Since we are accustomed to the theoretical assumptions which the traditional approach makes about grammar and syntax, we often do not recognize these descriptions as theory-laden. As a positive argument, theories of what one will find in a body of text can be powerful tools that help make sense of an otherwise overwhelming amount of detail.

explanatory power within this new corpus. I will perform a syntax-oriented analysis on a corpus of texts, examining all instances of εἰμί and an anarthrous participle in the same clause.<sup>12</sup> My guiding theoretical assumption is that constituent order variations within the εἰμί + participle constructions are pragmatically motivated.

Traditional grammar is ill-suited to address the variation in constituent order which I noted above is a hallmark of periphrastic constructions. Since traditional grammar, with its focus on the sentence, lacks a framework for describing most language phenomena which operate above the level of the sentence, these features have received little attention or systematic explanations to date. As is well-known, almost any constituent order in a Greek sentence results in a grammatical sentence. To address the role of constituent order variation I will turn to the increasingly important functional linguistics models and the field of information structure analysis.

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<sup>12</sup> It is possible that an anarthrous participle is, in fact, modifying the head of a noun phrase in the manner of an attributive adjective rather than in the manner of a predicate adjective. Only the latter case is under consideration, and I have filtered out instances with an anarthrous attributive participle. The distinction must be decided on a case-by-case basis. Regarding the “syntax first” approach, I am following the example of Stephen Levinsohn who, noting the difficulty of ascertaining which instances of εἰμί + participle are actually periphrastic, took this approach to avoid biasing the data. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 311. In contrast to this syntax based approach, most studies of periphrasis gather together the clear periphrastic constructions, derive a set of necessary characteristics which defines the construction, and then go back through the data to isolate which other instances are, or likely are, periphrastic. This approach is consistent with an Aristotelian notion of linguistic categorization whereas my approach is more beholden to a prototype model notion of linguistic categorization. On this distinction, see Bas Aarts, “Conceptions of Categorization in the History of Linguistics,” *Language Sciences* 28, no. 4 (2006): 361–85.

By *same clause* I mean that the participle is in the orbit of some form of εἰμί rather than another main verb. This usage is called, variously: predicate, adverbial, circumstantial, conjunct, or participle as satellite. While these category names are not entirely identical, they overlap so extensively as to allow interchangeable use for my current project. As forms of εἰμί can readily be elided, especially in the linking of parallel clauses with καί and when the verb is a third person singular, I include instances where this is apparently the case. No effort has been made to isolate all possible instances where a form of εἰμί has been elided in contexts where there is not a form of εἰμί immediately present. I am only examining instances where εἰμί is a main verb (whether indicative, subjunctive, imperative, or optative), not where it is in a dependent verbal form (participle, infinitive). While periphrasis can and does occur in these formulations, the usage with a main verb form is the dominant usage and it seems prudent to not introduce more variables into the study.

## Information Structure: A Brief Introduction

Chapter 3 more fully engages with information structure and its role in Greek. Here a brief introduction suffices for orienting this study. *Information structure* (IS) is a description of the way that information is packaged in sentences so that the reader can understand how each sentence connects to and develops the ongoing discourse. As Nicolas Bertrand writes, “the basic assumption at the core of any theory of information structure is that it is impossible to fully understand language without taking its use into account: participants and their psychological conditions play a role in shaping discourse, as does the context of the discourse.”<sup>13</sup> To say it differently, the basic insight of IS is that authors structure sentences so that the information they convey fits both the discourse context of the utterance and what the author assumes the reader knows about the world.<sup>14</sup> They spool out information in ways which make it clear—at least mostly clear, most of the time—how the new information they are writing relates to the old information already active in the discourse.<sup>15</sup>

A helpful way to picture this dynamic is to use the analogy that *a discourse is a house*. A house is built on a foundation, which here is the assumed shared background between the author and reader—the cultural knowledge, things specific to their relationship and worldview, etc. The author then builds the house of discourse on this foundation, one sentence at a time. These sentences, in turn, group into larger themes

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<sup>13</sup> Nicolas Bertrand, “Information Structure and Greek,” in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, ed. Vit Bubenik (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 238.

<sup>14</sup> Given the focus of this dissertation on Koine Greek, for which our only access is written texts, I will skip the step of talking about speakers and hearers first. The relational dynamics between authors and readers is similar to, but not identical with, those of a speaker and hearer.

<sup>15</sup> *Information active in the discourse* always includes things which belong to the cultural background of the interaction. In the US, for instance, when we talk about George Washington everyone knows the specific individual mentioned because he is part of the cultural encyclopedia. If you intend to talk about a different person named George Washington, you must make that clear or confusion will ensue. The exact shape of the cultural background varies widely depending on many factors, such as the ages and relationships of the people communicating, education levels, whether the discussion is technical in nature, and so forth. Thus, when talking about trees it makes a great deal of difference whether the immediate context is forestry or computer programming.

which belong together, which we can consider to be rooms in our discourse house. The author builds and furnishes one room of the discourse-house at a time. Until there is some signal given—change of topic, transition word, etc.—the reader assumes each new sentence belongs in the current room and connects it in their mental model of the discourse accordingly. The author then moves on to the new room, and so on and so forth, until the entire house is built.<sup>16</sup> For the reader to follow along, the author must give directions on how each new sentence connects with the preceding discourse.<sup>17</sup> These cues come in the form of many different features of the language. The way these features of the language work together to structure the discourse is the arena of IS.

The two main IS categories necessary for this study are, briefly, *topic* and *focus*. Topic and Focus are variously defined in the literature.<sup>18</sup> I use *Topic* to refer to the “aboutness” of a sentence and *Focus* to refer to “that part of an utterance which is intended to make the most important change in the hearer’s mental representation” of the discourse.<sup>19</sup> Thinking of our house analogy in terms of Topic and Focus, we can explain them as follows. The Topic of the sentence is the particular part of a discourse room on which the sentence is doing work and the Focus is the important piece of work that the author wants to do on that piece of the room. To carry out IS analysis of Greek, an

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<sup>16</sup> This model as presented here is highly simplistic. In real discourses interconnectedness between different parts of the discourse is often much more complicated than a simple linear addition of room to room in a discourse house as I have presented it here. This model is adequate, though, to give a basic picture of how clauses work to add new information to a discourse. A more robust model must also account for the ability of discourses to make complex references to other parts of the on-going discourse, resulting in highly interconnected development, rather than a simple linear addition of information. Hyperlinked webpages come to mind as a more complex analogy.

<sup>17</sup> This assumes the author is intending to communicate clearly and following the normal patterns of communication in a language. People can make sense out of a great deal of poorly connected ideas. It is actually quite difficult to write an incoherent discourse, since humans are incredibly skilled at making the assumptions necessary to derive coherent meaning from underspecified communication. This is the mechanism which stands behind conspiracy theories, for instance. As a rule, though, discourse is structured within the conventions of a language in a way that makes the interconnectedness of ideas clear.

<sup>18</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I will capitalize both Topic and Focus (and related expressions) when they are referring to the IS categories of Topic and Focus, as opposed to other uses.

<sup>19</sup> *DFNTG*, 294.

important distinction often left unclear in traditional grammar turns out to be relevant: word order vs. constituent order.

### **Word Order vs. Constituent Order**

Greek is often called a free *word order* language, or something similar, to describe the flexible possibilities of different orderings of elements which result in grammatical sentences. Compared to English, the possible position of Greek words seems anarchic. It is more accurate, though, to call Greek a free *constituent order* language. Richard Cervin makes this distinction clear, writing “a ‘free word order’ language is a language in which any permutation of *words* within a given sentence is grammatical, whereas a ‘free phrase order’ language is one in which any permutation of *phrases* is grammatical.”<sup>20</sup> Cervin uses *phrase* for what I am calling a *constituent*. A constituent is a word or group of words which functions to fill a syntactic slot in a clause.<sup>21</sup> Constituent order is concerned with the order of these syntactic constituents relative to each other. I will avoid questions of the order of specific words vis-à-vis one another within

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<sup>20</sup> Richard S. Cervin, “A Critique of Timothy Friberg’s Dissertation: New Testament Greek Word Order in Light of Discourse Considerations,” *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 6, no. 1 (1993): 57. Emphasis original. Pages 57–59 unpack this distinction in greater detail. H. Dik makes a similar point writing: “Linguists nowadays agree that when one studies word order in the clause, one is actually studying *constituent* order: the ordering of the various words and word groups that form the basic building blocks of a clause. This distinction between words and constituents is important. I will assume here that the most adequate description of Greek word order starts by ordering constituents as opposed to single words.” Helma Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 24.

<sup>21</sup> A constituent can further be described in terms of a head and modifier(s) standing in certain relationship to the head. I prefer to make a distinction between phrase and constituent for one practical reason: a constituent can be much larger and more complex than a phrase. Compare the following two sentences:

1. *The dog* walked down the street.
2. The black dog with big, droopy jowls, which was known for ferociously barking at the mailman, walked down the street.

In (1), the subject constituent is equivalent to the noun phrase “the dog.” In (2), however, the subject constituent is composed of a complex noun phrase plus a relative clause, which is comprised in turn of several constituents. Nevertheless, in both instances the subject is a single constituent in the sentence. While constituents often are phrases like in (1), they can be composed of several phrases and, as such, I find it useful to distinguish between the terms *constituent* and *phrase* and will do so throughout.

constituents as much as possible.<sup>22</sup> Once this distinction between word and constituent order is made, it is self-evident that Greek *is not* a free word order language. There are many permutations of words which cannot occur in a grammatical sentence, such as *λόγος ὁ* instead of *ὁ λόγος* or *τὸν οἶκον εἰς* in place of *εἰς τὸν οἶκον*.<sup>23</sup>

Prototypically, Greek constituents are linearly connected, meaning all the words within a constituent are adjacent to each other. There are two systematic exceptions, one trivial and one more major. First, Greek has a variety of postpositive elements which can and do split constituents.<sup>24</sup> Since the position of postpositives is defined by the syntax of the language, the occurrence of postpositives can be largely ignored when considering constituent order.<sup>25</sup> Hyperbaton, by contrast, presents a more complicated way of breaking up constituents, requiring closer attention. The term

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<sup>22</sup> The study of *word order* variation should largely be concerned with analyzing the order of words within constituents. On this distinction and its role in study of Greek more broadly, see Stanley E. Porter, “Greek Word Order: Still an Unexplored Area in New Testament Studies?,” in *Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament: Studies in Tools, Methods, and Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 347–62. I take as a given that there is significance in different word orders within constituents. Word order variation deserves further exploration but is beyond the scope of my project.

<sup>23</sup> As is well known, some prepositions can occur after the phrase they modify in poetry, called *anastrophe*. Smyth, § 175. In Attic prose, only *περί* + genitive occurs with the preposition following its noun phrase, *CGCG*, 707. There are also certain words, such as the improper preposition *χάριν*, which are exceptions to the position rule for prepositions in that it routinely occurs as a postposition (though it also routinely occurs as a preposition as well).

<sup>24</sup> On the word order front, it is interesting to note that post-positive particles do not always break up a constituent. Consider 1 Pet 2:4, where the postpositive pair *μέν . . . δέ* occurs: *πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι λίθον ζῶντα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἀποδοκιμασμένον, παρὰ δὲ θεῶν ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον*. In the first instance, *μέν* does not break up the prepositional phrase constituent, while *δέ* does in the next clause. This is an example of the well-known and complex question of how to define the second position within the clause/phrase. For an overview of the different post-positive elements in Greek, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 12–13.

<sup>25</sup> Postpositives do play a significant role in delineating the *boundaries* of constituents within clauses. This observation is generally traced back to the foundational work of Jacob Wackernagel on the second position of postpositives. Jacob Wackernagel, “Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1, no. 1 (1892): 333–436. As such, the presence of various particles and other postpositives plays a significant role in IS studies in Classical Greek. For examples of its role consider the discussion in Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, 17–22. Presumably, the variety of postpositive particles would play a major role in recognizing boundaries in higher-register Koine Greek as well. *Vis-à-vis* Classical Greek, the usage of particles in Koine shows signs of both continuity and change, often dependent on the register of discourse, on which see Jerker Blomqvist, *Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose* (Lund, Sweden: Gleerup, 1969); Klaas Bentein, “Particle-Usage in Documentary Papyri (I-IV A.E.): An Integrated Sociolinguistically-Informed Approach,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55 (2015): 721–53. While blanket descriptions are not possible, lower-register Koine texts tend to be conspicuous in the absence of such particles rather than their presence.



hyperbaton can have either a broad or narrow usage in contemporary studies. In the traditional sense, hyperbaton refers to the separation of words which belong together.<sup>26</sup> It is also used in a more restrictive sense to refer to a noun phrase where mobile words (words which can appear anywhere in a clause) intervene between the modifier and head. This notion of hyperbaton, called discontinuous syntax, is the main form relevant in this study.<sup>27</sup> Studies suggest there are IS implications to the structure of (noun phrase) hyperbaton.<sup>28</sup> Hyperbaton is rare in my study and will be evaluated as necessary.

Greek is a free constituent order language as virtually any order of constituents in a sentence is grammatical.<sup>29</sup> This possible freedom of order invites questions about why certain orders are so common, certain orders are rare, and any given order is used when it is.<sup>30</sup> The IS approach to Greek explains constituent order as reflective, to a large degree, of the way the author connects propositions to the on-going discourse. In other words, the order of constituents is concerned with building the discourse in a certain way,

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<sup>26</sup> Smyth, § 3028. The examples listed by Smyth mostly entail a noun phrase being divided, but he notes that elements such as adverbs and particles can also be displaced. At the extreme end of this broader view, hyperbaton can be used to describe a literary technique in which even more loosely connected syntactic elements are separated from each other for literary effect, involving such elements as a verb and its complementary infinitive. Daniel Markovic, "Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006): 127–46. Following in this vein, see also Stephen Baugh's recent work in Hebrews, S. M. Baugh, "Hyperbaton and Greek Literary Style in Hebrews," *Novum Testamentum* 59 (2017): 194–213; S. M. Baugh, "Greek Periods in the Book of Hebrews," *Novum Testamentum* 60 (2018): 24–44.

<sup>27</sup> See the influential work of A. M. Devine and Laurence D. Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>28</sup> In summary fashion, *CGCG*, 709, gives the following: (1) when the modifier precedes the head it is strongly emphatic, and (2) when the head precedes the modifier there is no emphasis. This summary derives from the much more complex descriptions found in Devine and Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek*. Compare these observations with those made in *DFNTG*, 57–60. Levinsohn's account is not cast in terms of head and modifier, though judging by the examples cited the general approaches yield similar results in those instances where they are discussing the same phenomenon.

<sup>29</sup> As such, Koine Greek could be considered a discourse non-configurational language. Languages of this sort tend to "have free word order as far as grammatical functions are concerned, since the phrases that overtly express the verb's arguments are not linked to a particular phrase structure position in the sentence." Balázs Surányi, "Discourse-Configurationality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, ed. Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 424. Since the location of different phrases/constituents in Greek has little syntactic restriction, the position of elements vis-à-vis the verb can more freely encode the IS status of different sentence elements.

<sup>30</sup> This issue is classically stated in Dover, *Greek Word Order*, 1–3.

guiding the reader along in how they should relate the new information in a clause to that which is already present in the discourse. Having laid out the main aims and methods to be employed in this study, it is time to consider the corpus of texts I use in this analysis.

### **The Corpus: the Texts and their Difficulties**

As mentioned, I carry out my analysis on a corpus comprised of texts belonging to the Apostolic Fathers and Pseudepigrapha. In this section, I discuss the contents of this corpus, as well as the difficulty raised by the issue that some of these texts are, or possibly are, translations into Greek. Since Koine Greek is a text language, the way to carry out a conceptual replication study involves a corpus of texts outside the NT, where Levinsohn worked out his IS analysis.<sup>31</sup> Given the complexities inherent in language and the type of evidence we have for Ancient Greek, such a corpus should ideally share enough in common with the NT to raise minimal difficulties which arise in considering texts from different registers, eras, and social situations. To assemble a usable corpus, I aim at including works which employ a dialect of Greek similar to that found in the NT.

In treating the NT like a dialect, I am not reviving a theory of special Jewish Greek as such. Rather, I use *dialect* in the sense Michael Palmer describes: “a set of documents representing a limited speech community whose speech was distinguishable from, but not unintelligible to another community of speakers represented by other known documents.”<sup>32</sup> Dialect, in this sense, is one level in Palmer’s four-level approach

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<sup>31</sup> “Text language” simply refers to a language, or period of a language, for which the only data is extant texts, regardless of the form they are in. For Greek, all works extant are part of the text language *regardless of the language in which they originated*. For more on the significance of the concept of “text language” for language analysis of ancient languages see Suzanne Fleischman, “Methodologies and Ideologies in Historical Linguistics: On Working with Older Languages,” in *Textual Parameters of Older Languages*, ed. Susan C. Herring, Pieter van Reenen, and Lene Schøsler, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science: Series IV Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 195 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 33–58.

<sup>32</sup> Michael W. Palmer, *Levels of Constituent Structure in New Testament Greek*, ed. D. A. Carson, Studies in Biblical Greek 4 (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 21. Note that this meaning of *dialect* differs from the normal usage of the term in Greek studies to indicate one of the dialects, such as Doric or

to conceiving of language and the different levels at which grammar study can be carried out, as seen in figure 1:<sup>33</sup>

idiolect < dialect < language < language universals

Figure 1: Four levels of grammatical analysis

In terms of this typology, no grammar of Koine Greek as a language has been written, and perhaps never will be, though grammars of several dialects of Koine Greek have been. It is trivial to note that there are differences in certain aspects of grammar and usage between the NT and Philo, for example, and even more so between the NT and a thoroughly Greek writer like Dio Chrysostom (c. AD 40-c. 115). Within the above framework, the ideal corpus of texts for a conceptual replication study includes other texts within the same general *dialect* of Koine Greek as the NT. It is possible Levinsohn's ideas will turn out to be descriptive of all of Koine Greek, but that is beyond the scope adopted in this study and beyond the scope necessary for NT exegesis.

Characterizing the dialect of the NT is not simple and has spawned debate over the years. Here I follow the work of Georg Walser who has demonstrated that there are some linguistic markers which characterize the NT and various related works as compared to contemporary Greek authors. These features stretch back to translation practices in the LXX, and mostly to the Greek Pentateuch. Walser, in brief, argues that what we could call a dialect of Greek existed under the influence of the synagogue. By *synagogue* he refers to the religious and social institutions which both perpetuated this type of Greek and gave it life and significance for the community of Jews and early

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Ionic, which characterized the early period of Greek and which are relevant, to greater and lesser degrees, to the project of understanding the general characteristics of Koine Greek.

<sup>33</sup> Palmer, *Levels of Constituent Structure in New Testament Greek*, 21.

Christians. The role of the LXX in this context is undeniable. As this form of Greek had special religious connotations, it was emulated in subsequent compositions intending to speak to this religious community. There is enough consistency in usage to trace some noticeable patterns of language usage in works composed under the influence of the synagogue, aside from the characteristic vocabulary.<sup>34</sup> One can see rough parallels to the process Walser outlines in formal religious language, such as prayers sprinkled with King James English often heard on the lips of older churchgoers. Walser's work gives us reason to suppose that a variety of works produced in and for the Jewish and early Christian communities were characterized by a certain type of Greek which carried a certain religious flavor in that community. The key factor which unites these texts is that they were composed primarily for community-internal religious or quasi-religious purposes, thus using forms of composition which had come to be associated with the core religious texts.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Walser argues this perspective in Georg Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia* 8 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001). He focuses on the following syntactic patterns: predicative aorist and present participles (chapter 2), certain syntactic arrangements with a variety of conjunctions (chapter 3), and the usage of a variety of particles (chapter 4). In each case, Walser finds a degree of commonality among the texts produced in the context of the synagogue over and against the control group which was not influenced by the synagogue. Various outliers are evident in that more literary writers like Josephus and Philo fit less clearly into these patterns. It should be noted, though, that much of what these writers wrote was not done for consumption within the context of the synagogue. Walser does not argue that everyone who lived in the context of the synagogue wrote the same way, but rather that people composing texts for consumption within the social and religious context of the synagogue tended to use a certain flavor of Greek in doing so. His conclusions would be strengthened if also tested against an array of lower register Greek texts to see what features may be indicative of a register difference as opposed to a "dialect" difference. An important point is that Walser has found variations with different degrees. That is, identifying a text as "under the synagogue" is not an on/off test of certain syntactic features. However, at the broad level there are defensible syntactic patterns which mark texts composed under the synagogue. For further works supporting such a view of "biblical" Greek as a sort of Palestinian quasi-literary dialect, see the works mentioned in Vit Bubenik, "Hellenistic Koine in Contact with Latin and Semitic Languages during the Roman Period," *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 30 (2010): 40.

<sup>35</sup> As Walser points out, such a practice has ready analogy in the history of Greek. As Greek literature developed, certain dialects and/or registers of Greek became stereotyped with certain genres such that even authors who did not speak said dialect of Greek wrote in it. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 43. More contemporary to the NT, the Atticists made a practice of using certain vocabulary and turns of phrase to telegraph their writings as educated. For a brief overview of the origins and extent of Atticism, see Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 133–41. These factors paint a plausible background picture of Greek authors who have been trained in and are accustomed to imitating different writing styles dependent on the purpose which they are carrying out. The LXX influence often felt in the Gospel of Luke, for example, is a ready analogy to this phenomenon in the pages of the NT itself. For more

For the purpose of this study, I turn to the various writings produced within the Jewish and Early Christian communities primarily for community internal use which today go under the names Pseudepigrapha, Apocryphal writings, and Apostolic Fathers. I do not include the NT or the LXX, as those works were studied in developing the theoretical approaches which I am investigating.

A brief justification is in order of the way that I am using these terms, as they all refer to amorphous collections of texts, to greater or lesser extents. Of the three, only the Apostolic Fathers represents a clearly delimited corpus.<sup>36</sup> For the Apostolic Fathers, I simply follow the critical edition of Michael Holmes.<sup>37</sup> The Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha, by contrast, are unstable collections of texts. To alleviate long titles, I lump together those texts in my corpus which are not in the *Apostolic Fathers* under the title *Pseudepigrapha*. While this does some violence to the category as usually used by scholars, it is not an indefensible move.

There is no set body of works which comprise the Pseudepigrapha, either with reference to the Old Testament or the New Testament.<sup>38</sup> The category was coined by Johann Albert Fabricius, who published an influential collection under the name *Codex*

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on the role of Greek education in training writers to emulate important patterns, see Nathaniel J. Erickson, “Thucydides and the Speeches in Acts: The Importance of the Reception History of Thucydides,” *Conversations with the Biblical World* 40 (2020): 36–40.

<sup>36</sup> While *The Apostolic Fathers* is a fairly set corpus, it too has problems. The most obvious being that *The Letter of Diognetus* is sometimes not included, as in Zeller’s collection. Franz Zeller, trans., *Apostolische Väter*, vol. 35, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, 1. Reihe (Munich: Kösel, 1918). Instead, it is often counted among the 2nd century apologists. Also, 2 Clement is generally considered to be falsely attributed to Clement, thus it is technically a pseudepigraphal writing in the literal sense, though the fact that Clement is not an important figure in the OT or NT weighs against placing it in the category of pseudepigrapha. On the scope of the collection, see Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 5–6.

<sup>37</sup> Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*.

<sup>38</sup> The name *Pseudepigrapha* tends to be used more as title when describing texts relating to OT figures rather than NT ones, though there is no necessary reason for this.

*Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* in 1713.<sup>39</sup> *Pseudepigrapha* technically refers to writings which are falsely attributed to, or in some way related to, prominent biblical figures.<sup>40</sup> Scholars generally use the term *Pseudepigrapha* in one of two ways: “on the one hand it is used for all documents in which one or more biblical figures play an important role, but on the other hand, a historical criterion is often applied, and the term is restricted to writings from the period between about 200 BCE and 100 CE that are supposed to be of Jewish origin.”<sup>41</sup> While the name *Pseudepigrapha* is problematic for a variety of reasons, it continues to be widely used to describe an amorphous collection of texts related to canonical figures from the OT and NT.<sup>42</sup> I use it in the first sense above, to include documents where one or more biblical figures plays a central role, which is an elastic enough definition to encompass works pertaining to both OT and NT figures, whether Jewish or Christian in origin, within my general time period of interest (c. 300 BC-AD 300).

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<sup>39</sup> Patricia D. Ahern-Kroll, “The History of the Study of Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Fifty Years of the Pseudepigrapha Section at the SBL*, ed. Matthias Henze and Liv Ingeborg Lied, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* 50 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 104.

<sup>40</sup> Daniel M. Gurtner, *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 1. Gurtner’s definition is focused here on those texts which can be or have been identified as Jewish pseudepigraphal compositions, but the definition holds (along with the necessary caveats Gurtner discusses) for all the various texts considered to be pseudepigraphal, regardless of who composed them or when.

<sup>41</sup> M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 16–17. Since most research into the *Pseudepigrapha* from NT studies is concerned with NT backgrounds, the “supposed Jewish origin” and the pre-100 CE date are necessary constraints to ensure the researcher is probing the world of Second Temple Judaism rather than the world of a Christian redactor from AD 250. As Bauckham puts it, “For most scholars and students of the New Testament, the most important question about the indefinite category of works generally known as Old Testament Pseudepigrapha is: Which of them are reliable evidence for the Judaism of the late Second Temple period?” Richard J. Bauckham, “The Continuing Quest for the Provenance of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, ed. Gerben S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth, *Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies* (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 9–29. My interests, by contrast, are solely on the question, “which of these works are reliable evidence for the way Greek was used in a Judeo-Christian context?”

<sup>42</sup> For a brief discussion of the various ways the term *Pseudepigrapha* is problematic for denoting a certain body of texts, see Gurtner, *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism: Message, Context, and Significance*, 1–8; Marinus de Jonge, “‘Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament’: An Ill-Defined Category of Writings,” in *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

The exact works and edition of each work included in my corpus can be found in appendix 1.<sup>43</sup> I exclude those *Apocryphal* texts which are commonly considered part of the LXX.<sup>44</sup> Since I am focused on language use during a specific time frame, it is of little consequence what the precise boundaries between the various collections of text are, outside of their probable date of composition. The main criteria for inclusion in my corpus are as follows: (1) probable date of composition between c. 300 BC-AD 300, (2) extant in Greek,<sup>45</sup> and (3) extant as a non-fragmentary text.<sup>46</sup> For my purposes, it is more relevant that a text be an example of appropriate Greek usage in the general period which I am investigating than that it is “what the original author wrote.” Many of these texts are arguably of the sort that an original author or form is a difficult concept to affirm; the text critical goal is an earliest attainable form.<sup>47</sup> In summary fashion, there are 33 distinct

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<sup>43</sup> I have gathered works in consultation with the following: James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983); Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990); Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005); David W. Chapman and Andreas J. Köstenberger, “Jewish Intertestamental and Early Rabbinic Literature: An Annotated Bibliographic Resource Updated (Part 1),” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 55, no. 2 (2012): 235–72; Lorenzo DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850–1999*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 39 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>44</sup> The original rationale for this was that the initial scope of my project was different, and these texts had already been analyzed for some of the other analyses which I intended to carry out. As the scope of my project evolved, the overlap in sources ceased to be an issue. However, it was no longer practical to go back and add the data from the LXX, so I left it out. This is partially compensated for by work of some other scholars, which will be discussed as needed.

<sup>45</sup> This criterion eliminates works like *Testament (Assumption) of Moses* which are assumed to have been composed in Greek but are only extant in other languages.

<sup>46</sup> By *fragmentary* I mean works which are primarily defined by their incompleteness rather than works which do not have a perfect extant form. Many of the texts I use in this investigation are in various stages of fragmentation, or the exact scope of their original content is not known. My focus is on texts which have substantive extant remains that comprise extensive sections of continuous text, rather than those which are primarily partial in their remains.

<sup>47</sup> In such a context, the text-critical goal is to reconstruct the earliest attainable form. Johannes Tromp reflects on this in his critical edition of *Life of Adam and Eve* as he discusses some differences between text-critical work in the NT or Classical texts and in pseudepigraphical and hagiographical works. He writes: “it should be acknowledged that the *Life of Adam and Eve* in all its versions contains inconsistencies, curious transitions, and other literary imperfections. This is as true for the earliest attainable text of this writing as for its many stages of later development: the *Life of Adam and Eve* was never accomplished in the literary sense, not when it was first written, nor in its last revision.” Johannes

works in my corpus, comprising approximately 252,000 words of text.<sup>48</sup>

### **On the Issue of Translation**

The question of what was the language of composition and whether a given work is a translation or not hangs over many of these works. With a few exceptions, such as Epistle of Diognetus, the writings of Ignatius, or the Letter of Aristeas, the works under consideration here tend towards lower-register Greek. In addition to the general background influence exerted on authors familiar with a Semitic language and/or trying to emulate the LXX in certain ways, several of the works are either definitely or arguably translations from Semitic originals. While I am treating these texts as part of the corpus language of Greek, the issue of translation merits some reflection. For the research at hand, Semitic influence is important in that periphrastic constructions tend to be abnormally common in the LXX and NT, presumably under the influence of similar Semitic patterns.<sup>49</sup> This observation presses upon us the following question: if (1) periphrastic constructions are used under the influence of Hebrew/Aramaic and (2) the relative order of constituents follows the structures of Hebrew/Aramaic, then (3) how

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Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 70.

As a general rule, the textual attestation of these works is complex and late. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Pseudepigrapha and Their Manuscripts,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Fifty Years of the Pseudepigrapha Section at SBL*, ed. Matthias Henze and Liv Ingeborg Lied, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* 50 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2019), 203–29. History for the various texts can be found in the introductions to the various works. Beyond the difficulties inherent in the textual remains, there are further difficulties in that for some works there appear to be various well-developed versions of the same story extant. This is not surprising, given the nature of many of these stories, however, it makes the text-critical issues more pronounced.

There are several text-critical projects underway on a variety of the texts in my corpus, which naturally would have been desirable to utilize. However, the type of analysis I am carrying out is far less concerned with original form and precise historical data—which most scholars working in these texts are concerned about. I can be content with a representative text, even if not the best one possible.

<sup>48</sup> The word count is approximate because some of the texts I used are in print form.

<sup>49</sup> As Conybeare and Stock note, “no reader of the LXX can fail to be struck by the frequency of such [analytic verb forms].” F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek: With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes* (Boston: Ginn, 1905), § 72. They also note there that these forms are both influenced by Hebrew and participate in a development towards such forms in Greek in general.



should this affect our analysis of these constructions when considering constituent order and information structure of texts which are Greek translation?

First, the issue is largely confined to the question of the progressive aspect, that is, a formation with εἰμί and an imperfective aspect (present) participle.<sup>50</sup> One of the key ways copula + participle constructions of this sort are used is to realize a progressive aspect.<sup>51</sup> More specifically, Vit Bubenik notes the main issue is limited to formations in the following pattern: imperfect copula + present participle. Both present and future copula + present participle are rare in the biblical literature and periphrasis with perfect participles is common in all strata of Greek. Based on this limited distribution of the feature, it appears that we are not dealing with a full-fledged grammatical category for progressive aspect in Greek (that is, the copula + imperfective participle has not grammaticalized as an obligatory progressive aspect form in Greek, as in Late Hebrew and Aramaic). Rather, the progressive is one of the many (novel) aspectual constructions carried out through periphrasis which emerged and disappeared over the course of the Greek language.<sup>52</sup> The LXX and NT provide a germane body to consider the influence of Semitic languages on this construction and what degree this phenomenon may hamper the present study.

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<sup>50</sup> The use of the present participle in periphrasis in Classical Greek is primarily confined to stative verbs (thus non-progressive). Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be-Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 238. During the Koine period, this construction is expanded to non-stative verbs as a way to realize progressive aspect via a specific analytic construction rather than leaving it implied within a synthetic imperfective aspect verbal form. This follows the general pattern of periphrasis cross-linguistically: periphrastics are developed to realize specific semantic nuances which are already present in general senses in the constructions which they vie with.

<sup>51</sup> So Vit Bubenik, “The Status of the ‘Progressive Aspect’ in the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament,” *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 21, no. 2 (2016): 71–79; Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 238–73.

<sup>52</sup> Bubenik, “Hellenistic Koine in Contact with Latin and Semitic Languages during the Roman Period,” 48. Such progressive aspect periphrastic constructions all disappeared. The one exception where a periphrastic form continues to be used is the modern dialect of Tsakonian. In this dialect, though, it has replaced the synthetic forms across the verbal paradigm, thus does not have a unique periphrastic meaning or specific association with progressive aspect. Thanasis Giannaris, “The Diachrony of ‘BE + Present Participle’ in Greek and Old English: Multiple Paths in Language Change,” *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics* 19: Selected Papers from the 19th International Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, Thessaloniki 3–5 April 2009 (2011): 206.

Imperfective aspect periphrastic constructions in the LXX show two general trends: first, there is clear influence by the underlying Hebrew and second, there is significant independent usage motivated by the translator’s use of Greek. Klaas Bentein gives the following breakdown of imperfective periphrasis in the LXX, as seen in table 1.<sup>53</sup>

Table 1: Aspectual function of LXX imperfective periphrasis

<i>Aspectual Function</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Stative Function	34% (76/228)
Progressive Function	60% (137/228)
PF – Durative Progressive	(117/137)
PF – Focalized Progressive	(20/137)

Note: Categories labeled PF are subcategories of Progressive Function.

Within the LXX books which are translations, up to 82 percent of the examples are structurally influenced by the Hebrew to varying degrees, meaning that 18 percent are free uses solely determined by the translator’s usage of Greek.<sup>54</sup> For a breakdown of the degree of Hebrew influence on imperfective periphrasis in these LXX books, see table 2.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 238–47. These numbers, which do not total 100 percent, are gathered from Bentein.

<sup>54</sup> These numbers, of course, assume that the MT is the same as the *Vorlage* of the various LXX books. Bentein uses Rahlfs’s 1935 edition of the LXX in his analysis. While not as precise as one might hope, given that there is little difference in the text between Rahlfs’s and the various Göttingen LXX volumes, there is no reason to doubt the value of these numbers.

<sup>55</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 248. The threefold breakdown follows the earlier work of T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 249–55.

Table 2: Degree of Hebrew influence on LXX periphrastic constructions

<i>Degree of Influence from Hebrew</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Direct Influence	58% (104/178)
Structural Affinity	24% (42/178)
Free	18% (32/178)

The above tables show two important trends. First, the progressive usage of periphrastics dominates in the LXX. Second, the majority of periphrastic expressions in the LXX are influenced by Hebrew, but not all. Digging deeper into the data, Bentein shows that Hebrew’s influence is felt most in constructions with progressive aspect function. Those periphrastics which are structurally influenced are stative aspect 26 percent of the time, while the freely employed ones are stative 56 percent of the time. Since stative function was the most common usage for copula + participle constructions in Classical Greek, this pattern suggests that the main influence of Hebrew on the usage of periphrastics in the LXX is on the expanded use of periphrasis to fulfill progressive aspect function.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> The progressive aspectual function during Greek of this general time period is limited mostly to the LXX, which further supports the idea that the underlying Hebrew is an important influencer in this regard. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 251. Progressive aspectual usage is not absent from the Greek of this period, though quite limited.

More specifically, the Durative Progressive usage is the most strongly influenced. Durative progressive refers to progressive aspect usages which are evaluated relative to a broad time, rather than a specific one. This distinction is well illustrated in the following two sentences:

1. ἀνθρωπός τις κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Ἱεριχὼ καὶ λησταῖς περιέπεσεν (Luke 10:30).
2. μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν (John 3.22).

In these examples, taken from Bentein, we see in (1) that the event of going to Jericho occurs in close connection to the action provided in the aorist περιέπεσεν (called the *focalization point*). In terms of background-foreground, the imperfect form provides a background action which is interpreted as holding strictly in connection with the foreground event of “falling in” with the robbers. This is the default use of progressive aspect cross-linguistically. By contrast, in (2) the action ἐβάπτιζεν does not strictly relate to a single focalization point. It refers to a continuous process in a broader time frame, which results in an iterative and/or habitual interpretation, when the semantics of the verb are conducive to such a reading. For these examples and some further discussion, see Klaas Bentein, “The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive in the Septuagint and the New Testament,” *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 171–72.

The usage of copula + participle constructions with progressive aspect function continues to expand in the NT. Although, despite many claims to the contrary, progressive periphrasis in the NT does not simply follow the LXX, rather it shows a developing and changing usage of periphrastic constructions. Around the time of the NT, there is a further general expansion of imperfective periphrasis with progressive aspect function in Greek writ large. Bentein's conclusion on the matter is significant:

it should no longer be maintained that progressive εἰμί with the present participle should exclusively be viewed as a 'Semitism' or a 'Septuagintalism'. This is not to say, however, that language contact and especially the influence of the LXX as a linguistic model had no role to play whatsoever, as can be seen in the very high frequency of occurrence of the construction in the NT.<sup>57</sup>

By demonstrating that periphrastic functions change across time, even between the LXX and NT, Bentein advances our knowledge of the role of this construction in the Greek verbal system. Considering the different aspectual functions periphrastic constructions serve across time brings needed clarity to the question of how these constructions in the NT relate to those in the LXX. We can see that there is both influence from the Semitic model *and at the same time* the NT and other texts influenced by the LXX display influence from the development in how periphrastic progressives functioned within Greek as a whole.

What then, shall we say about the issue of translational substrates for our investigation? It is, of course, a meaningful issue. In the case of the LXX, it is possible to compare the LXX to the MT and consider possible direct influence. In the texts in my corpus, this is not possible, given their complicated textual histories and scant remains. What we can see from this excursus is that the general tenor of periphrastic usage in the LXX and NT is in line with the rest of the Greek language. While it shows clear imprints of influence from the Semitic substrate, it also fits within the broader patterns of Greek as

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<sup>57</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 273. On this whole issue, see especially 238–73. See also Bentein, “The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive.”

it develops in the Koine period. I will take this as indirect evidence for two points: (1) the copula + participle constructions can be analyzed as part of a Greek-internal language system which was growing in usage throughout the Greek world, not just “translations” of some unknown substrate and (2) the use of copula + participle constructions appears to be part of the linguistic community which is defined in Walser’s terms and can be thought of as at least an internally coherent system in line with developments in the language as a whole.<sup>58</sup> Thus, while there is certainly Semitic influence to some degree on these constructions, there is good reason to treat their usage in these texts as representative of normal functional patterns in Greek, with a boost from the substrate languages. We can expect that normal Greek constituent order concerns will be exhibited in the texts in this corpus, as indeed, they are in the NT. Having set the main parameters of my study, I shall now review the recent research on periphrastic constructions to situate my work in this ongoing stream.

### **Periphrasis in the Greek Verbal System: The Use and Development of the Concept**

In his recent study of periphrasis, Carl Johnson lays out well the basic issue with the role of periphrasis in the Greek verbal system as it pertains to NT study.<sup>59</sup> Following the dictum “choice implies meaning,” the periphrastic forms (when optional) should have a function which differs in some way from the synthetic form. The description of periphrasis in the grammatical tradition does suggest that periphrastic constructions do have more limited ranges of usage than the synthetic counterparts,

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<sup>58</sup> Drinka argues that this is the basic factor motivating the use of periphrastic expressions in several translations of the NT, which then further becomes influential in the development of various “have” and “be” periphrastic constructions in what eventually become the Modern European languages. Bridget Drinka, “The Sacral Stamp of Greek: Periphrastic Constructions in New Testament Translations of Latin, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic,” *Oslo Studies in Language* 3, no. 3 (2011): 41–73; Bridget Drinka, *Language Contact in Europe: The Periphrastic Perfect through History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

<sup>59</sup> Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010), 19.

suggesting a degree of specialization in their function, though the results are complex. In this vein, my interest in this study is focused around function. More specifically, on the question of how the constituent order patterns exhibited in copula + participle constructions fit within the broader constituent order patterns observed within the Greek language. To better understand this study, I will now position it within the works which have taken up this topic over the years.

### History of the Term Periphrasis in Greek Grammar and Linguistics

The term *periphrasis* is borrowed into the grammatical tradition from Greek.<sup>60</sup> The Greek grammarians, rhetoricians, and writers used the term with mild frequency.<sup>61</sup> As a rule, the Greeks used the term to denote a rhetorical figure where a single word was replaced with a multiword expression.<sup>62</sup> A stock example appearing again and again in the grammars and rhetorical handbooks is as follows: *καὶ ἡ περίφρασις· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν*

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<sup>60</sup> *Periphrasis* is a compound of the preposition *περί* ('around') and the word *φράσις* ('way of speaking'), thus signifying a round-about way of speaking, or a circumlocution. On the usage of the term in the grammatical tradition, see Martin Haspelmath, "Periphrasis," in *Morphologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, ed. Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann, and Joachim Mugdan, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 17.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 655.

<sup>61</sup> There are 480 hits for the word in the entire *TLG* corpus. It is certainly not a frequent word, but also far from infrequent.

<sup>62</sup> This is a sufficient analysis of their usage for this project. A more nuanced way of considering the usage of *periphrasis* in the Greek grammatical, rhetorical, philosophical, and commentary tradition, would be to say that *periphrasis* indicates a more poetic and less transparent way of saying something which could be said more clearly and (most of the time) succinctly. It is usually the case that *periphrasis* refers to multiple words replacing an equivalent single word. However, there are usages where it refers to a phrase replacing another phrase, such as this from Zigabenus' *Commentarius in psalterium*, here commenting on Psalm 4: *Τὸ δέ, τῆς δικαιοσύνης μου, περίφρασις ἐστὶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Ὁ Θεὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅσον πρὸς τὴν ἀδικίαν Ἀβεσαλώμ ἠδικήθην* "'The God of my justice' is a circumlocution (*περίφρασις ἐστὶν*) for 'the God of me, who am just.' in relation, that is, to the injustice of Absalom." John Raffan, trans., *Zigabenus Psalter Commentary Parallel Text*, (unpublished manuscript), 24–25, <https://independent.academia.edu/JohnRaffan>. The Greek text is from J.-P. Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)*, 128. While this commentary is from the Byzantine era (11–12th century AD), it is still illustrative that in the educated Greek tradition *periphrasis* could be used to refer to exchanging less clear multi-word expressions for other multi-word expressions which were clearer. This example also illustrates the robust usage of *periphrasis* in the interpretive tradition—both Christian and of Greek literature in general. Its usage here is in keeping with its general status as a rhetorical device rather than a grammatical one.

βία Ἡρακλέους ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆς.<sup>63</sup> This example makes clear how *periphrasis* was mainly used in the Greek tradition. The grammarians do not appear to have had much to say about the multi-word verbal forms which eventually came to be known under the name *periphrasis* in latter grammatical studies, though such an extension in meaning has obvious connections.

Providing a robust theoretical definition to *periphrasis* within the grammatical tradition is a difficult endeavor. Martin Haspelmath's statement is representative: "in general, [*periphrasis*] is used. . . in an intuitive sense, and attempts at clarifying the conceptual content of the term have remained the exception."<sup>64</sup> Some recent linguistic work attempts to define *periphrasis* more clearly. Before addressing this literature, I will present the way the term is used in the Greek grammatical tradition.

**Periphrasis in Greek grammatical tradition.** In the Greek grammatical tradition, the term *periphrasis* is reserved for describing one type of multi-word construction: an auxiliary verb (usually a form of a "to be" verb) and an associated participle.<sup>65</sup> In this tradition, *periphrasis* is understood as an instance where a main verb—for our purposes, a form of εἶμι—coalesces with a participle to form a single verbal idea.<sup>66</sup> It can be assumed that the coalescing in view here is semantic in nature,

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<sup>63</sup> "And *periphrasis*: this is saying 'the life of Hercules' instead of 'Hercules.'" This text is from the anonymous collection of rhetorical works under the section *Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ τελείου λόγου* as found in C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3 (1834; repr., Osnabruck: Otto Zeller, 1968), 570-87

<sup>64</sup> Haspelmath, "Periphrasis," 655.

<sup>65</sup> This somewhat arbitrarily excludes other constructions which are part of the tense/aspect system of Greek at various times, such as ἔχω + participle, μέλλω + infinitive, or the later emerging ἔχω + infinitive.

<sup>66</sup> This perspective is well-articulated by Guy L. Cooper III, *Attic Greek Prose Syntax*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 808.

with the semantics of any given passage being the single largest component in deciding whether the syntax is periphrastic or not.<sup>67</sup>

It has largely been assumed that periphrasis in Greek is compositional. This means that the features associated with a slot in the verbal system normally filled by an synthetic form are distributed across the two parts of periphrasis. Robert Green has recently argued that “the participle contributes aspect and lexis while the auxiliary contributes mood, person, and number.”<sup>68</sup> The one shortfall of this analysis is that, given his adherence to Stanley Porter’s tenseless indicative aspectual scheme, Green fails to account for the tense information which the auxiliary communicates in the indicative mood.<sup>69</sup> Periphrastic forms in the indicative communicate tense information along with aspectual information, as is easily recognized in the synthetic verbal forms to which they stand in relationship. A key feature of periphrasis as traditionally construed is that the copula is semantically bleached, losing independent semantic input to the construction.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Most grammarians take these constructions to be self-evident and spend very little time and effort in theoretical analysis of how they function.

<sup>68</sup> Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics,” 335. Strictly speaking, the participle is partially marked for number, as it is singular or plural in agreement with the singular or plural subject. The copula, though, is marked fully for number, including person, which is information always available in the inflectional paradigm. Only periphrastic constructions with infinitives, which are not the topic here, are prototypically compositional in that number is only marked on the main verb and not at all in the infinitive.

<sup>69</sup> The debate about whether the indicative mood in Greek involves tense or not has taken on a curious life in NT Greek scholarship. I work within the approach which views Greek as aspect prominent and as including tense in the indicative mood.

<sup>70</sup> Semantic bleaching is probably the most valuable criterion for discerning which possible Greek verbs can be an auxiliary in a periphrastic construction as traditionally understood. This accounts for why *ἔχω*, for instance, can serve as an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions. Porter’s assertion that only aspectually vague verbs (those lacking aspectual variation at the morphological level) may be auxiliaries is arbitrary and has not been followed by others describing periphrasis as it runs afoul of the obvious use of non-aspectually vague verbs like *ἔχω* as auxiliaries. Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 442–47. Porter’s observation on aspectual vagueness among auxiliaries is not off the mark, though. Even those verbs which have morphological aspectual opposition do not exhibit such opposition when functioning as auxiliaries (e.g., there are not periphrastic constructions formed with an aorist of *ἔχω*, only the imperfective aspect form). Porter here has simply totalized a criterion which requires being held as one of many. A more robust list of features which characterize auxiliaries cross-linguistically can be found in Gerry Wakker, “Future Auxiliaries or Not?,” in *Word Classes and Related Topics in Ancient Greek*, ed. Emilio Crespo, Jesús de la Villa, and Antonio R. Revuelta, Bibliothèque Des Cahiers de l’Institut de Linguistique de Louvain 117 (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Peeters, 2006), 239.



In terms of how these constructions may differ from the morphological “equivalents,” various ideas have been posited. The most common suggestions are that a copula + present participle equates to some form of what would be called progressive aspect and that a copula + perfect participle emphasizes the resultant state (as opposed to the possible emphasis on the action).<sup>71</sup> As mentioned above, Johnson acutely noted that the range of uses which periphrastic constructions occur in tends to be smaller than the equivalent morphological forms, which suggests that they are specialized in usage in some regard, though the exact nature of this specialization is not always clear.

**Periphrasis in contemporary linguistics.** For a long time, the discussion of periphrasis in linguistics was synonymous with certain facets of the Latin and Greek verbal systems. Developments in the world of linguistics at large, though, have led to more attention to the phenomenon of periphrasis, resulting in a variety of different approaches to periphrasis emerging within different linguistic theories. The attention directed towards periphrasis is often driven by one of its more intriguing facets: it stands at the boarder between word and syntax. As such, the way a theory conceptualizes words and how they are assembled into sentences has significant impact on whether periphrasis receives attention or not.<sup>72</sup> I will briefly profile two developments in linguistic theory which are relevant to this dissertation: a prototype definition of periphrasis and its role in the grammaticalization research paradigm.

Any work on periphrasis begins from the same point: “periphrasis is syntax where we expect to find morphology.”<sup>73</sup> As Dunstan Brown et al. note, “existing

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<sup>71</sup> The perfect periphrasis is widely considered to emphasize the resultant state. Present periphrastics are usually considered durative/progressive, though this is not without difficulty. For a summary of the main lines of interpretation, see Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics,” 85–87.

<sup>72</sup> On this point, see Alexander A. Biswas, “Inflectional Periphrasis in LFG” (MPhil thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford, 2017), 13; Dunstan Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” *Morphology*, no. 22 (2012): 272.

<sup>73</sup> Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” 272.

approaches to the problem [of periphrasis] typically try to address periphrasis in terms of the binary question of whether it is syntax or morphology.”<sup>74</sup> Since periphrasis straddles the syntax/morphology line, it is unclear how periphrasis relates to inflectional paradigms. One significant approach to this question, of special relevance for our analysis, is the application of prototype theory to periphrasis. Definitions resulting from this approach lay out a core set of features which define periphrasis as a category and acknowledges that actual constructions in any given language may be more or less prototypical, and thus more or less periphrastic.<sup>75</sup> While this approach does not provide a neat definition of periphrasis in any given language, it details various parameters which can account for the ways periphrasis manifests itself in actual languages. Brown et al., for example, develop four criteria for canonical periphrasis:<sup>76</sup>

1. A periphrastic construction is a canonical functional syntactic construction;
2. a periphrastic construction realizes a (canonical) grammatical feature;
3. a periphrastic construction (like canonical syntax and canonical morphology) will exhibit a transparent relation between form and meaning;
4. a periphrastic construction will occupy a cell in an otherwise inflected paradigm.

In brief, these criteria communicate the following notions of an ideal periphrasis. The words involved in periphrasis combine to fulfill a syntactic construction (which may or may not be uniquely fulfilled by said periphrasis). Periphrasis must express a regular and

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<sup>74</sup> Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” 233. For more on this see Paul Kiparsky, “Blocking and Periphrasis in Inflectional Paradigms,” in *Yearbook of Morphology 2004*, ed. Geert E. Booij and Jaap van Marle (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 113–35; Greville G. Corbett, “Periphrasis and Possible Lexemes,” in *Periphrasis: The Role of Syntax and Morphology in Paradigms*, ed. Marina Chumakina and Greville G. Corbett, Proceedings of the British Academy 180 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 169–90.

<sup>75</sup> This is the general approach of Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis’: Key Notions.” They are utilizing a Canonical Typology approach to define the notion of periphrasis as a cross-linguistic category in terms of what “could exist in principle. . . we set out the theoretical space, and only then ask how this space is populated with real instance” (235). On this approach, “a prototype phenomenon [in a specific language, NJE] may actually be one step or two steps down from the ideal, because a particular combination of properties is privileged (either because it occurs frequently in languages or because it stands out)” (236).

<sup>76</sup> Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” 267.

identifiable grammatical meaning which is independent from the lexemes in any given instance.<sup>77</sup> Lastly, an ideal periphrastic form fills a slot in a paradigm, contrasting with the other members of said paradigm which are formed via morphological means. Taking this prototype notion to Greek, we can easily see that μέλλω + infinitive can be called periphrastic but is less prototypical than εἰμί + present participle, for instance. This is because, while μέλλω + infinitive meets (1-3) of this list, to varying degrees, it is not part of a paradigm within the broader Greek verbal system.<sup>78</sup>

Once spelled out into more familiar sounding terms, this prototype model of periphrasis seems to add little of value to the already existing tradition of periphrasis analysis in Greek grammar as its points map well onto the general commonsense notion of periphrasis in the Greek tradition. This appearance is partially true. The periphrastic constructions in Greek have long been described in terms which reflect this sort of understanding, even if such a theory was never formalized. I include this prototype discussion to introduce the important theoretical base for work done in Greek periphrastic study which adopts a prototype approach and results in a description of periphrasis that departs markedly from the traditional approaches in Greek. Most approaches, until recent

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<sup>77</sup> As a general rule, the lexical meaning in periphrasis comes from one item, while the grammatical meaning may be expressed by one or more or some combination of the components. Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” 255. That this is the case in Greek is obvious from the fact that, until recently, no one has bothered to formerly spell out the way that the different pieces of periphrastic constructions relate in terms of how the different features of the verbal system and meaning are expressed on the copula and the participle.

<sup>78</sup> The role of a construction in a paradigm is generally held as important for identifying a construction as periphrastic, as in Brown et al.’s typology. This is not uncontroversial. The problems tied up with the usage of the word periphrasis and paradigmaticity are well laid out in Theodore Markopoulos, *The Future in Greek: From Ancient to Medieval* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11–13. In the canonical prototype model of Brown et al., we can say that multi-word constructions fulfilling distinct functions are periphrastic, even if they are not canonically periphrastic. Thus, we can call an English construction like the will + verb future or the currently grammaticalizing “to be going to” future as non-prototypical periphrastics in that they are either not fully part of the paradigm (“to be going to”) or do not contrast with a synthetic form in the paradigm (“will + verb” future). The Greek μέλλω + infinitive is similar in that it plays a distinct role in the verbal system—inceptive aspect—but is not part of the paradigm. Bubenik, “The Status of the ‘Progressive Aspect’ in the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament,” 75. This could also be said for the various other auxiliary + infinitive future forms under development in the Koine period, on which see Sandra Lucas, “Aspect in Greek Future Forms,” *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 14 (2014): 163–89.

times, treat periphrasis as an on/off category, resulting in disagreement over which constructions belongs in the category.<sup>79</sup> Embracing this prototype analysis opens up conceptual space to discuss periphrasis as a nuanced category, both cross-linguistically and within a language like Greek. As will be discussed shortly, Klaas Bentein has adapted a prototype analysis of periphrasis to Greek, with significant results.

From another angle, linguistic investigation into periphrasis has been driven by interest in grammaticalization. Grammaticalization “refers to that part of the study of language change that is concerned with such questions as how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions.”<sup>80</sup>

Within the grammaticalization paradigm, language is viewed as constantly undergoing change. As Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca note, “reduced to its essentials, grammaticization [their term for grammaticalization, NJE] theory begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes.”<sup>81</sup> The development of grammatical morphemes—elements in a language which serve a grammatical role—follows a number of predictable steps. Grammaticalization begins with an innovative use of language to accomplish certain communicative goals. What begins as an innovative usage can spread through the language along certain paths through repetition and widespread use, becoming entrenched. Once entrenched, the usage can develop into a grammatical morpheme

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<sup>79</sup> These debates have mainly been over which verbs can be an auxiliary. As noted above, Bentein reports that at least twenty-seven different verbs have been proposed as auxiliaries in the literature, and this list does not include all verbs which could hypothetically be periphrastic. Bentein, “Towards the Identification of Verbal Periphrasis,” 2.

<sup>80</sup> Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

<sup>81</sup> Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4.

(gram). As a gram becomes entrenched it undergoes semantic generalization. Semantic generalization describes how a gram which originates to fill a specific communicative goal expands its range of acceptable uses into broader contexts. One common marker that a construction is undergoing semantic generalization is when it expands from only being used with animate subjects to use with inanimate subjects, for instance.<sup>82</sup> Following semantic generalization, a gram often undergoes phonological reduction (for example, “n’t” is a phonologically reduced form of “not” which has lost independent word status). Finally, along with semantic generalization and phonological reduction, there is rigidification of the syntactic position of the gram.<sup>83</sup>

Periphrasis turns out to be a major force in language change:

the distinction between the periphrastic and morphological expression of a category is important for the study of grammaticalization because of two diachronic tendencies. One is for periphrastic constructions to coalesce over time and become morphological ones . . . . The second diachronic tendency that makes the periphrasis/bondedness distinction important is an example of what is known as “renewal”—the tendency for periphrastic forms to replace morphological ones over time.<sup>84</sup>

An important caveat to this second point is that “replace” can be misleading. Periphrastic forms generally have different, more specific semantics than the non-periphrastic forms which they are “replacing.” This specificity can often explain why periphrastic forms tend to be unevenly distributed across verb paradigms or lexical categories.

Analyzing a given periphrastic construction within the grammaticalization paradigm enables us to discuss diachronic development and how such development is likely to be realized in any given synchronic slice of the language. In addition to adding a diachronic element, the grammaticalization paradigm also demonstrates the complexity

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<sup>82</sup> For a summary on the role of animacy in grammar, see Östen Dahl and Kari Fraurud, “Animacy in Grammar and Discourse,” in *Reference and Referent Accessibility*, ed. Thorstein Fretheim and Jeanette K. Gundel, Pragmatics and Beyond (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 47–64.

<sup>83</sup> This paragraph is dependent on Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 1–9.

<sup>84</sup> Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 7–9.

and instability of different constructions as they develop within a language over time. Awareness of the complexity of language development should discourage overly strict categories and definitions of periphrasis which seek to clearly demarcate the boundaries of the phenomenon. In this vein, Haspelmath says, “it appears legitimate to extend the notion of periphrasis even further [beyond inflectional paradigms, NJE] to semantic categories which are never expressed by synthetic forms, but which show a sufficiently high degree of grammaticalization to be described as part of the verbal paradigm rather than only in the syntax (i.e., to categorial periphrasis).”<sup>85</sup> For example, in this view the English “going to” future would be considered a periphrastic form in some complex relationship to the future. While it is not part of the verbal paradigm, it does supply a limited and more specific meaning than the future tense in English.<sup>86</sup>

An analogy from English can clarify the questions which a grammaticalization approach forces us to consider. There once was a time when English did not obligatorily use periphrastic constructions of the form “is x-ing” when discussing present (currently underway) actions. In fact, while the construction is observed in Old English, it is rare until the fifteenth century, and relatively infrequent until the seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup> During this period of development, the simple present form was still possible in some

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<sup>85</sup> Haspelmath, “Periphrasis,” 663. He adds the following: “...it is not possible to separate morphology and syntax neatly anyway: The two are linked inextricably through the continuous and ubiquitous process of grammaticalization. In fact, most inflectional formatives arise through grammaticalization in the first place, so periphrasis is in a sense the basis of inflection” (Ibid.).

<sup>86</sup> On the development of the “going to” construction, which we can consider a non-canonical periphrasis, see Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 1–3. Interestingly, and not surprising given the wealth of periphrastic constructions generated over time in Greek, Ancient Greek had an analogous periphrasis with the use of *ἔρχομαι* + future participle to denote an immediate future intention. A discussion of this construction and its career can be found in Daniel Kölligan, “From Discourse to Grammar? *ἔρχομαι* + Future Participle in Greek,” in *Groupe Aspect* (Paris: n.p., 2012), 1–20. The usage of verbs of movement to convey future time notions is common cross-linguistically.

<sup>87</sup> John Algeo and Carmen Acevedo Butcher, *The Origins and Development of the English Language*, 7th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth Cenage Learning, 2014), 204.

contexts where Modern English has to use the periphrastic forms.<sup>88</sup> Logically, as the language developed there were periods where these constructions were at war with each other for the same territory, coexisting as different strategies to accomplish the same communicative function. This state seems to have lasted for several centuries, at least for certain verbs and/or contexts, but grammaticalization has progressed to the point where currently there are virtually no contexts in which these two verb forms are interchangeable without affecting meaning. To speak about the present time in Modern English requires the progressive “periphrastic” form, with few exceptions.<sup>89</sup>

When talking about the broad sweep of English, this change from using the simple present to an obligatory progressive form for talking about events currently underway is merely an interesting historical note. However, any analysis of English before this complete grammaticalization must consider how the “is + x-ing” form was used in comparison to the simple present. We can note a related process in Greek whereby an optional periphrasis with forms of *ἔχω* eventually grammaticalized into the obligatory form for the perfect in Modern Greek.<sup>90</sup> By contrast, it is quite interesting that periphrasis with *εἶμι* failed to follow the well-worn cross-linguistic path to become a

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<sup>88</sup> Matti Rissanen, “Syntax,” in *Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 210; Randolph Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985), 181.

<sup>89</sup> The chief exceptions are stative verbs, which almost without exception use the simple present, and the instantaneous use of the simple present. This usage is common in situations like sports broadcasting where something like “he shoots, he scores” is normal. On these uses, see Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, 179–81. As there is no viable alternative to the “is + x-ing” construction, calling it periphrastic could be debated, under certain approaches. Theoretically, this “is + x-ing” periphrastic form could undergo a further step in grammaticalization via morphological/phonetic simplification into a single word, rather than the current two-word construction. By analogy, the “going to” periphrasis is regularly reduced to “gonna.”

<sup>90</sup> In Modern Greek the Perfect is formed with *ἔχω* followed by a special non-finite verb form (traditionally called the infinitive) which only serves the purpose of forming the Perfect/Pluperfect. This form is always identical with the third person singular *dependent* form (a non-past perfective aspect verb form). Compare the Perfect and Pluperfect: *ἔχω διαβάσει* “I have read” and *εἶχα διαβάσει* “I had read.” David Holton, Peter Mackridge, and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*, Routledge Grammars (London: Routledge, 1997), 112–13. Unlike their Ancient Greek counterparts, these verb forms are linearly fixed (that is, with the exception of a few adverbs, they cannot be separated by other elements), and are systematized (there is no morphological perfect/pluperfect), indicating their full grammaticalization. Amalia Moser, “The History of the Perfect Periphrases in Greek” (PhD diss, University of Cambridge, 1988), 280.

grammaticalized (obligatory) part of the Greek verbal system.<sup>91</sup> The main contribution of the grammaticalization approach within broader linguistics is that it opens up conceptual space to consider copula + participle constructions as a heterogeneous category, rather than being embroiled in the endless debates about what does or does not count as periphrasis. Indeed, the difficulty in the grammatical tradition in defining exactly what constitutes periphrasis suggests that a grammaticalization approach has much to offer.

This brief and non-encompassing summary of two areas of linguistic work regarding periphrasis lays out some important conceptual space which will be important in my analysis. The two approaches—prototype theory and grammaticalization—both provide an approach for dealing with a complicated verbal category, as opposed to approaches which seek to create clear linguistic categories. These categories will prove important in assessing the data in my corpus and in sketching out a way to unite constituent order concerns into the Greek grammatical tradition regarding periphrasis. While it can be argued—and I will follow Levinsohn in making this argument—that copula + participle constructions in Greek lean towards the syntax side of the syntax/morphology interface, only attending to syntax and not regarding how these constructions fit within the broader verbal system is too narrow an approach to do justice

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<sup>91</sup> Browning suggests that the grammaticalization pathway in Greek was diverted because of the pervasive aspectual distinction between imperfective and perfective effectively trumping any pressure for the periphrasis to systematize in the language. Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 32. This aspectual distinction has actually grown across the history of the language, on which see Amalia Moser, “From Aktionsart to Aspect: Grammaticalization and Subjectification in Greek,” *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics* 46, no. 1 (2014): 64–84. Structurally, this is most evident in that Modern Greek has dedicated future forms for both imperfective and perfective aspect. Amalia Moser, “Tense and Aspect after the New Testament,” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 543. While there were some periphrastic expressions allowing aspect distinctions in future time referring expressions in Koine, these were not systematized and not part of the morphology of the language, see Lucas, “Aspect in Greek Future Forms.”

On the general grammatical development of these progressive forms using a form of the verb “to be” in the European languages, see Pier Marco Bertinetto, Karen H. Ebert, and Casper de Grout, “The Progressive in Europe,” in *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, ed. Östen Dahl, *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology*: EUROTYPE (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 517–58.



to the matter at hand. With this observation, I now turn to examine contemporary research on periphrasis in Greek.

### **A Summary of Recent Research on Periphrasis in Greek**

Others have recently given a general history of research on periphrasis during the last century, making such a description superfluous here.<sup>92</sup> The canonical approach is that of Willem Aerts, who developed a threefold classification of periphrastic constructions: (1) substitute periphrasis, (2) suppletive periphrasis, and (3) expressive periphrasis.<sup>93</sup> *Substitute periphrasis* is when there is no obvious change in meaning between forms, such as γεγραμμένον ἦν alongside ἐγγέγραπτο (though how one decides the equivalence of meaning is left unclear). *Suppletive periphrasis* is when the periphrasis is used to replace a non-, or no longer extant, synthetic form, for example γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν instead of \*γεγράφονται. Finally, *expressive periphrasis* is a catchall category to describe a periphrastic construction that appears to have meaning beyond what an “equivalent” synthetic form would have. On this approach, only *expressive* periphrastic constructions are considered to have any meaning beyond that conveyed by the equivalent synthetic form.<sup>94</sup> The work of the following scholars can be seen as developments within this tradition, either further refining it or reacting against the weaknesses of this model.

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<sup>92</sup> See the broad history of research documented by Klaas Bentein, “Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: *A State of the Art*,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’histoire* 90, no. 1 (2012): 5–56. See also Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” chap. 2. Stanley Porter’s brief discussion is also helpful in delineating the approaches and assumptions of several important studies in a short space, Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 447–49.

<sup>93</sup> Willem Johan Aerts, *Periphrastica: An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 3. Aerts notes that this threefold classification precedes his work but gives no specific attribution.

<sup>94</sup> That *equivalence* between the forms is assumed rather than proved is a weakness in this approach.

**Carl E. Johnson.** Johnson’s 2010 dissertation focuses on one construction in Luke’s NT writings: an imperfect form of εἰμί + imperfective (present) participle.<sup>95</sup> Johnson, contrary to the main tradition, assumes that periphrastic constructions must have some distinct function since they have a distinct form.<sup>96</sup> This function-based approach is a novel contribution to the literature. Johnson makes extensive use of cross-linguistic typology in his approach. First, he notes the Greek imperfect is a well-developed tense-form, fulfilling all the common functions of an imperfect tense cross-linguistically, and then some.<sup>97</sup> As the Greek imperfect covers such broad territory, he takes his starting point in the one projected cross-linguistic function of the imperfect which the morphological imperfect does not fulfill, the Continuative. Bybee et al. give the following definition of the Continuative meaning: “*Continuative* includes progressive meaning—that a dynamic situation is ongoing—and additionally specifies that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going. Continuative is the meaning of ‘keep on doing’ or ‘continue doing.’”<sup>98</sup> Johnson postulates that the imperfective periphrastic developed in Greek to cover the category of Continuative, thus fulfilling a more specific function/meaning than what is conveyed in the bare imperfect form.

Hand in hand with this cross-linguistic function, Johnson also considers the development of imperfect periphrastics as measured against Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca’s proposed grammaticalization pathway. In short, he argues that the Greek imperfect periphrastic would have developed from a locative construction of the sort “she

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<sup>95</sup> Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect.”

<sup>96</sup> Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” iv.

<sup>97</sup> He compares the uses of the imperfect in Greek to the list of common cross-linguistic categories laid out in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 126–27. The universal categories listed are: progressive, continuous, habitual, iterative, frequentative, and continuative.

<sup>98</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 127. Emphasis original.

is at x doing y.”<sup>99</sup> In combining lines of thought from Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca’s grammaticalization pathway and earlier work of Levinsohn on Greek constituent order, Johnson generates a default constituent order form for imperfect periphrastics: copula + (subject) + participle + (locative).<sup>100</sup>

Following these observations, Johnson builds on Longacre’s work regarding the role of different verb-forms in structuring Greek narrative to argue that imperfective periphrastics are a *narrative discourse form* which provide highlighted background

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<sup>99</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 136. Note that the proposed development pathway which Klaas Bentein follows also suggests that a locative construction stands at the head of progressive periphrasis. However, Bentein argues that a stative source construction also plays a key role in the initial development of this periphrasis. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 291. In principle, his proposal is more complex than Johnson’s model, but does not rule out Johnson’s proposed development of the construction. In point of fact, these two suggested development pathways of the construction are complimentary in all areas where they are discussing the same phenomenon.

<sup>100</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca theorize that imperfect periphrastics develop from locative expressions. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 136. Thus, the source of this construction in Greek can be assumed to be a locative expression of the sort: “He was at X, doing Y” where X is a locative phrase and Y is a participial phrase. Adding to this idea, Johnson draws various observations from Levinsohn’s work on Greek constituent order. The default narrative constituent order in the NT is VSO. Further, the default ordering of constituents follows two main principles: (1) verb – pronominal constituents – nominal constituents, and (2) core constituents – peripheral constituents. Uniting these two lines of thinking leads to the following proposal. In older stages of Greek a copula + participle expression would have originated as a locative: “She was at X, doing Y.” In this locative expression, the locative adjunct would have been one of the core constituents of the clause; the main predication of the clause was “She is at X.” As the locative was core to the clause, it would have defaulted to preceding the peripheral participial phrase. Over time, the expression was reanalyzed so that the copula and the participle became a semantic/syntactic unit, and the locative came to be viewed as an optional (thus peripheral) addition to this core phrase. At this stage of development, we have a default periphrastic form: copula + participle + (locative). This is where the expression is at in NT Greek, where, according to Johnson, more than one third of periphrastic imperfects have no locative. Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” 50. Finally, when an overt subject occurs with a periphrastic it should follow the copula and precede the participle. The copula forms the default left periphery of the clause, and the subject precedes the participle because participles are not inflected with regard to person, thus the default tendency of Greek word order, verb – pronominal constituents – nominal constituents, will favor the subject to default to following the copula and preceding the participle, as the subject is a core nominal constituent.

This argument provides a cross-linguistically defensible typology for the origin of a certain type of periphrastic expression through a well-attested cross-linguistic pattern of grammaticalization and syntactic re-analysis. The obvious weakness in Johnson’s argument is that it is entirely based on cross-linguistic typology; he does not analyze the periods of Greek prior to the NT (nor even Koine Greek more broadly). Bentein’s detailed work spanning the development of periphrasis across the span of Greek fills in this gap to a certain extent. He also concludes that a locative construction was key at the beginning of periphrasis in Greek and that, as the construction developed, the locative component of meaning ceased to be central, such that in Koine Greek it was no longer a core component of many of the uses of imperfective periphrasis. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 291. Bentein also considers the development of periphrasis in the Perfect and Perfective aspect stems as well, across the history of Ancient Greek. In summary fashion, he argues that the Ancient Greek periphrastic forms developed in ways that are mostly in line with cross-linguistic patterns observed elsewhere in the development of periphrastic constructions.

material.<sup>101</sup> In Luke-Acts, imperfect periphrastics tend to cluster at the beginnings or ends of pericopes. Johnson argues that they “highlight the spatial or temporal setting of the action to follow”<sup>102</sup> or link narrative sections in a marked way,<sup>103</sup> respectively. This analysis ranges from insightful to unconvincing. Johnson does not demonstrate that these forms cluster at the beginning and ends of pericopes because they serve a specific discourse function, rather than that their general function is germane to appearing in such a position. Perhaps the greatest hinderance in his argument is the lack of investigation outside Luke’s writings and lack of historical engagement to demonstrate his proposed grammaticalization pathway.

Johnson’s work, while not entirely convincing, advances the discussion in three ways. First, he provides a function-oriented account of one type of periphrastic, which moves away from the semantic-only analyses that have failed to account for the usage of periphrastic constructions. Second, he brings robust cross-linguistic analysis, uncovering many possible complexities in the analysis of Greek periphrasis which have often been overlooked. Finally, he considers the development of periphrastic constructions within the language. While this is not new, Johnson introduces constituent order analysis into the mix, which will play an increasingly significant role in describing periphrasis.

**Robert E. Green.** Robert Green’s 2012 dissertation assumes Aerts’ three categories and builds on them.<sup>104</sup> His work focuses on the NT and has two goals: “(1)

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<sup>101</sup> Robert E. Longacre, “Mark 5.1–43: Generating the Complexity of a Narrative from Its Most Basic Elements,” in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jeffrey T. Reed, *Studies in New Testament Greek* 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 179.

<sup>102</sup> Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” 136.

<sup>103</sup> Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” 136.

<sup>104</sup> Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics.”

identifying the periphrastics and (2) understanding the meaning associated with the periphrastic construction.”<sup>105</sup> Point (1) makes clear that Green is concerned with “true” periphrasis, or traditional periphrasis, wherein the copula and participle coalesce into one verbal idea. A great deal of his work is devoted to discerning which possible tokens in the NT are periphrastic. As already noted, he also considers how the form of εἰμί and the participle contribute aspect, tense, mood, and other verbal and lexical information to a periphrastic.<sup>106</sup> Green gives Aerts’ approach its most developed form in the NT Greek grammatical tradition.

After working through a variety of analyses, Green gives the following definition for periphrasis:

the combination of a form of εἰμί used as an auxiliary with an anarthrous, nominative case participle, normally adjacent, so that the participle contributes aspect and lexis while the auxiliary contributes mood, person, and number. The periphrastic combination regularly supplements verb forms that are fading from use, substitutes for the equivalent finite form, and can, on occasion, be expressive. Pragmatically, periphrastics formed with present participles sometimes have a continuous notion; while periphrastics formed with perfect participles emphasize the resulting state or condition. The auxiliary may be implied in cases where there is more than one periphrastic in the same sentence.<sup>107</sup>

As can be seen, Green concludes that periphrastic constructions rarely contribute semantic notions which are distinct from those of the morphological verbs to which they are related. As such, he ends with a caution that exegetes should not overinterpret the presence of a periphrastic form.<sup>108</sup>

As my analysis is concerned with pragmatics as opposed to semantics, the chief value of Green’s study is his demonstration of which elements may come between

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<sup>105</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” iv.

<sup>106</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 10.

<sup>107</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 335. While restricting periphrasis to nominative participles appears valid within the NT, it should be noted that accusative participles can also occur in periphrasis with an infinitive form of εἰμί serving as an auxiliary.

<sup>108</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 337–38.

εἰμί and the participle in a periphrastic construction.<sup>109</sup> He argues the following nine elements can all appear in this position, though acknowledging that the last two are controversial in the literature: (1) postpositive, (2) translation of an element,<sup>110</sup> (3) direct object, (4) indirect object, (5) prepositional phrase, (6) adverb, (7) comparative clause, (8) subject, and (9) a locative phrase (modifying the participle, not εἰμί).

**Klaas Bentein.** Klaas Bentein has published extensively on periphrasis in Ancient Greek, culminating in a major work describing the diachronic development of periphrasis—both with ἔχω and εἰμί—from Homeric to early Byzantine Greek.<sup>111</sup> Showing influence from the above profiled developments in linguistics, Bentein develops a prototype-based understanding of periphrasis with sensitivity to the process of grammaticalization across the span of Greek’s history. A prototype approach defines class membership as a continuum with fuzzy boundaries where members are more or less central. A widely used example is that a robin is considered to be a prototypical member of the class *bird* (in North America, at least). It has most features associated with birds: it flies, lays eggs, is small, sings, etc. An ostrich and a penguin, by contrast, are non-prototypical members of the class *bird*. They have some attributes in common with a prototypical bird but are largely noteworthy for how different they are from the central notion of the category.

In cognitive linguistics, not only are lexical items defined in prototype-based

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<sup>109</sup> Grammarians generally assume different elements can come between the form of εἰμί and the participle, though do not discuss what these are and or why they would do so. By “come between” it should be understood that the element is between the form of εἰμί and the participle regardless of which order they appear in.

<sup>110</sup> By this he means a translation from a different language (not the moving of a constituent to a non-expected position in the clause). This is seen in the following passage (only exemplar): Matt 27:33 Καὶ ἔλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἐστὶν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος.

<sup>111</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*; Bentein, “The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive”; Klaas Bentein, “Adjectival Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: A Cognitive Analysis,” *Onomázein* 27 (June 2013): 15–34; Bentein, “Towards the Identification of Verbal Periphrasis”; Klaas Bentein, Mark Janse, and Jorie Soltic, “‘And the Mass Was Praying Outside’: A Note on Luke 1:10,” *Neotestamentica* 46, no. 1 (2012): 1–8.

categories, but certain aspects of grammar as well. This approach pairs naturally with grammaticalization theory in recognizing that at any given point in a language a construction may be more or less prototypical in its category and may have members which are themselves more or less prototypical.<sup>112</sup> Bentein nicely summarizes the advantages of a prototype definition of periphrasis:

(a) It takes into account the fact that each construction occupies a position along a scale and is ‘always on the move’. We have seen the examples of ἔρχομαι with future participle or τυγχάνω with present participle, among others, showing signs of grammaticalisation in Ancient Greek. (b) It anticipates the fact that the category may be ‘re-shaped’ in Post-classical Greek, with some members becoming more central, and others more marginal. (c) It is in line with research on other languages, where similar observations have been made. (d) It explains the considerable amount of confusion in earlier publications on verbal periphrasis in Ancient Greek. In summary, I believe my proposal improves upon previous analyses – which have not bothered to define this grammatical category at all, or have defined it in terms of a list of necessary (though partially artificial) criteria – by providing a flexible but theoretically well-founded approach.<sup>113</sup>

To establish this prototype definition, Bentein evaluates different forms of periphrasis on the following three major points: (1) phonology, (2) functional generalization, and (3) morpho-syntactic processes. First, regarding phonology, he considers the degree of continuity/adjacency of the construction, since a highly grammaticalized construction typically has its elements adjacent to each other, e.g. *I have been going to the store*, not *\*I have been to the store going*. As such, his phonology category is measured by the proxy of linear proximity in absence of actual phonological data. Second, regarding functional generalization, he attends to whether the construction occurs with inanimate subjects and is compatible with a wide variety of lexical classes (both indicative of a high degree of grammaticalization). Finally, regarding morpho-syntactic processes, he attends to the following areas: “paradigmaticization, which describes the process of a construction becoming integrated into the conjugational

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<sup>112</sup> On the notion of prototype and its importance, see Aarts, “Conceptions of Categorization in the History of Linguistics,” 376–79.

<sup>113</sup> Bentein, “Towards the Identification of Verbal Periphrasis,” 22.

paradigm, obligatorification, which assesses whether there are other constructions available for the same function, and rigidification, which determines the degree of syntagmatic variability of the component parts of the construction”<sup>114</sup> Within this approach, the most prototypical periphrastic constructions are syntactically contiguous, paradigmatically integrated, and semantically idiomatic.<sup>115</sup>

For a way to compare the usage and development of various periphrastic constructions across time, Bentein turns to the parameter of transitivity. Transitivity here is viewed as a scalar phenomenon influenced by a variety of interrelated factors, only one of which is the presence or absence of an object.<sup>116</sup> On this view, verbs can be low or high in transitivity. For a basic example, consider the following two English examples:

1. He eats the ice cream.
2. She likes the ice cream.

In (1) we have a prototypical transitive clause, or a verb high in transitivity, in which the object is totally affected by the action of the subject. By contrast, in (2) the object is not affected by the action of the subject at all. Even though in terms of surface grammar (2) is identical to (1), (2) is less transitive than (1). In general, perfect periphrasis involves low

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<sup>114</sup> Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 71–72.

<sup>115</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 102. The prototype account also allows shedding the traditional, and often times rather arbitrary, distinction between “adverbial” and “adjectival” periphrasis. Bentein proposes that the usage often called “adjectivized/adjectival periphrasis” should be termed *property referring* and that the participle should not be considered to have become an adjective. Rather, these uses can be defined on a continuum of verb-like to noun-like participles, with the perfect being the most noun-like, the aorist being the most verb-like, and the present having a middle position. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 98. Combining these insights, he argues the following: the default understanding of εἶμι + perfect participle is that it is referring a property (thus, least likely to have the total semantic integration of copula and participle that has traditionally been used to define periphrasis); the combination εἶμι + aorist participle has a default understanding of non-property referring (that is, it would traditionally be called periphrastic); εἶμι + present participle is the most complex, with a property-referring understanding being default for lexically stative verbs, whereas non-lexically stative verbs do not have a default property understanding (that is, they are what would traditionally be called periphrastic). Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 100–1.

<sup>116</sup> In traditional grammar, a verb is transitive or intransitive based on the parameter of having an object alone. The seminal work developing the view of transitivity as a scalar phenomenon, which is now a part of many linguistic theories, is that of Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson, “Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse,” *Language* 56, no. 2 (June 1980): 251–99.



transitivity, the rare aorist periphrasis involves high transitivity, and present periphrasis involves both low and high, dependent on the meaning of the lexeme.

Aside from such a general level categorization of the different main types of periphrasis, attending to transitivity also allows Bentein to trace how the usage of different periphrastics develops across time. For example, he notes that over the sweep of Ancient Greek perfect periphrasis “became used in increasingly more transitive contexts when it comes to the number of participants, the volitionality of the subject, the affectedness of the object, the kinesis of the event (single vs. repeated), etc.”<sup>117</sup> Tracing the development of these constructions is a major advance in the discussion which both demonstrates the grammaticalization approach to Greek is fundamentally sound and highlights that periphrastic constructions were continually in flux throughout their usage in Ancient Greek. The usage of periphrastic constructions starts off limited and expands over the course of their careers until, for most of them, they for some reason failed to become part of the verb system and died ignominious deaths.

Bentein’s work is noteworthy in dealing with the major types of periphrasis, as well as providing a detailed historical background against which to consider the usage of any one period. It will form the background to my general approach to periphrasis. Periphrasis is a complex category in Greek with unclear boundaries which is demonstrably under development throughout the course of its career, ultimately leading to the demise of almost every Ancient Greek periphrastic construction. Therefore, analyzing these constructions should not begin with the assumption that all possible instances of periphrasis are created equal.

**Stephen H. Levinsohn.** Stephen Levinsohn, a linguistics consultant with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has contributed a paradigm-challenging approach to

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<sup>117</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 201–2.

periphrastic constructions.<sup>118</sup> Levinsohn’s approach to periphrasis, as indeed to NT Greek study in general, is functional. That is, he seeks to describe why a feature of the language is used in a given instance rather than to describe the potential constructions which could be used with a similar function.<sup>119</sup> A major feature in his analysis is a focus on the significance of constituent order. Levinsohn’s functional orientation and concern with constituent order bears fruit in his novel study of the εἰμί + participle syntactic pattern.

Levinsohn argues that the same factors which account for constituent order variation in clauses traditionally called periphrastic (εἰμί + participle with complete semantic integration) also account for constituent order in constructions of the form εἰμί + predicate participle (that is, non-periphrastic constructions with εἰμί).<sup>120</sup> For instance, when an εἰμί + participle clause is in a topic-comment sentence,<sup>121</sup> the default position of the subject (when expressed by an explicit nominal) is the same regardless of whether the

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<sup>118</sup> Levinsohn has published extensively on a variety of issues relating to Greek, most of which link together in some fashion. Most relevant of his works for this project are two articles: Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’)”; Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί.” The article published in 2017 actually predates the one published in 2016 and is necessary reading in order to understand how Levinsohn approaches periphrasis.

In certain aspects, Levinsohn relies heavily on the work of another SIL worker, Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with εἰμί ‘be’, γίνομαι ‘occur’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἰδοῦ/ἴδε ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of ὁράω ‘see’” (Academisch Proefschrift, Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, 2009). This work will be cited mostly in chapter 6, when addressing thetic sentences. While most thetic sentences do not fit within the copula + participle syntactic pattern under consideration, there is a partial overlap, for which Bailey’s work is an important dialogue partner.

<sup>119</sup> *DFNTG*, vii-ix. As a generalization, traditional grammars of Greek take a *descriptive* approach where they describe the possible patterns in the language but tend to offer little, if any, guidance on the significance of an author using one possible construction rather than another. The emergence of functional linguistic approaches in NT Greek study has been a major advance of the last few decades.

<sup>120</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 424. Levinsohn does not address the issue of how to disambiguate adjectival (attributive) from adverbial (predicate) participles, but he does point to a work which provides some guidance in that direction, Phyllis Healey and Alan Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles: Tracking Participants with Participles in the Greek New Testament,” *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics* 4, no. 3 (1990): 179–80.

<sup>121</sup> A topic-comment sentence is a sentence which “has a topic (which is usually the subject of the sentence) and a comment giving information about the topic,” *DFNTG*, 7. Most sentences in most discourses are topic-comment sentences.

construction is periphrastic or not.<sup>122</sup> This similarity of constituent order raises the question of the status of periphrasis as traditionally understood within the Greek verbal system. If the constituent order patterns are the same regardless of the degree of semantic integration, the question arises as to what sense periphrasis, as traditionally understood, is a feature of Greek syntax as opposed to a feature of translations into modern European languages.<sup>123</sup>

Regarding how copula + participle constructions function within the verbal system, Levinsohn's proposes that the εἰμί + imperfective participle form differs from the morphological imperfect by being *more stative*, meaning, it emphasizes the adjectival-like notion of a verb rather than the continuity of the action.<sup>124</sup> The periphrasis of εἰμί + perfect participle is *less dynamic* than the morphological perfect. That is, copular perfects “portray states that result from completed events as ongoing,” as opposed to simple perfects which “portray events as completed with ongoing (usually stative) results.”<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> He also argues that the position of the other non-verbal elements, whether part of the participial clause or independent of it, is accounted for in the same way for periphrastic and non-periphrastic constructions, and for the (rare) instances where the participial clause is partially or entirely fronted before εἰμί. See Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί.”

<sup>123</sup> Levinsohn suggests he does not see periphrasis in the traditional sense—semantic and syntactic integration—as a valid category in Greek, though he leaves this possibility open. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” 323 n73. I will have more to say about this in subsequent chapters.

<sup>124</sup> Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” 323. He discerns three main uses of this construction: 1) to describe states that are ongoing, 2) to present iterative events with the actor portrayed as performing the action from time to time during the period envisaged instead of continuously, and 3) to background scene-setting events at the beginning of pericopes. All of which are compatible with this stative nuance he discerns. This distinction in meaning is premised on a cross-linguist pattern. He writes: “cross-linguistically, if a language has two imperfectives and one of them involves the copula, the norm is for the copular form to be more stative than the other. So, for Greek, the εἰμί plus participial combination can serve “to emphasize the adjectival [stative] idea inherent in the [participle] rather than the concept of action expressed by the finite verb.” Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 436; internal citation is BDAG, “εἰμί 11.f.” For support he draws on Carlota Smith, who comments about the function of the Chinese imperfectives *zai* and *-zhe*, noting that *-zhe* “imposes stative coloration on non-stative situations,” in other words, it makes verbal notions more stative. Carlota S. Smith, *The Parameter of Aspect*, 2nd ed., Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 43 (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer, 1997), 77. This is an intuitively helpful cross-linguistic example and Levinsohn’s work demonstrates its heuristic value; however, it should be noted that Smith never says in so many words that *-zhe* is copular or that its usage is comparable to a periphrastic construction in other languages. Perhaps Levinsohn is reading between the lines on this point.

<sup>125</sup> Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” 324. Note, this contrast is only relevant in instances where the verb in question has both a synthetic and “periphrastic”

Of greater relevance for this study is Levinsohn’s account of constituent order in copula + participle clauses. He argues that the order of constituents in these clauses—including those traditionally called periphrastic—can be explained by the same three basic principles as those in any other clause. These principles are:

1. Distinguishing the three different sentence articulations: “whether it makes a comment about a topic (topic-comment), presents a new entity to the discourse (“thetic”), or is identificational (with “narrow focus” on a single constituent”;
2. The Principle of Natural Information Flow, “which concerns the order in which established and non-established information is presented”;
3. Simon Dik’s clause template, which postulates a pre-verbal slot for topical constituents and one for focal constituents.<sup>126</sup>

The implication is that copula + participle constructions are not a verb phrase, as is more or less assumed in traditional views of periphrasis, but a main clause with an embedded participial clause. By *verb phrase*, I mean that in the traditional view, periphrasis has the syntactic role of a simple verb (more or less) and that the elements are semantically integrated.<sup>127</sup> The premium put on adjacency in deciding if a copula + participle is periphrastic or not betrays the way that the traditional view treats them as a verb phrase. The resulting model of these constructions, to be discussed further in subsequent chapters, can be seen in figure 2:<sup>128</sup>

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perfect. Not all verbs do, or at least, not all authors can be demonstrated to make such a distinction even if a morphological one exists in the language.

<sup>126</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 424. See also Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order and ‘Emphasis’ in the Greek New Testament” (Tyndale House, Cambridge, 2014), 1–2.

<sup>127</sup> See *SIL Glossary*, “Verb Phrase.”

<sup>128</sup> Thanks to Steven Runge for suggesting this way of representing the clause relationship, personal communication.

<i>Main Clause</i>	<i>Embedded Clause</i>
(P1) (P2) Copula (Subject)	(P1) (P2) Participle X

Figure 2: Clause model of copula + participle construction

Levinsohn’s research departs from the mainline in several ways. Most significant for this dissertation, he develops the front of constituent order analysis in copula + participle constructions. Traditional grammatical analysis, while having some things to say about constituent order, largely focuses on meaning. Notably, Levinsohn is not investigating periphrasis as such, but the syntactic pattern *εἰμί* + participle. This differs from traditional approaches where defining periphrasis is the primary concern. As Levinsohn’s work charts the main course within which this dissertation will travel, I will have more to say about his contribution in further chapters.<sup>129</sup>

Having reviewed the main issues necessary to situate this study in relation to the ongoing project of describing Greek grammar, I devote the remainder of this chapter to address a few specific aspects of relevance for this study. Finally, I will finish the introduction with a brief overview of my argument as laid out in this dissertation.

### **Key Issues in Analysis**

Some key concepts and methodologies remain to address before turning to the next chapter. I will address in turn identifying periphrasis, a distinction between the terms *clause* and *sentence*, and finally an introduction to different clause types as identified in the information structure approach.

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<sup>129</sup> One area where Levinsohn’s explanation could be strengthened would be further attention to how copula + participle constructions which are obligatory members of the verbal paradigm function. While we will see that their constituent order varies as well, they do play a definite role in the verbal system. This will be addressed in chapter 2.

## Criteria for Identifying Periphrasis

In many studies, careful delineation of which constructions are or are not periphrastic in the traditional sense is of great concern. Following Levinsohn, I instead begin by analyzing a syntactic pattern, which removes the question of identification at the outset. Thus, my initial data gathering includes all possible instances of εἰμί and a participle where a non-articular participle can be construed as part of the same clause as the copula.<sup>130</sup>

Even with this syntax-based approach of examining all copula + participle constructions regardless of whether periphrastic or not, there remains a role for considering whether a given construction is periphrastic in the traditional sense. The main importance is that periphrasis as a category pervades the Greek grammatical tradition. In order to contextualize this study within that tradition and offer correctives to that tradition, some effort has to be given to showing how the tools of the tradition prove inadequate. Tracking which tokens would be considered periphrastic in a traditional sense and then discussing this at points adds a degree of terminological complexity, which is unfortunate. There would be advantages to not using the term periphrasis at all. However, to facilitate applying the insights of this work to NT Greek grammar, I will give some attention to periphrasis in the traditional sense. Here I will give a brief description of how I have decided on and kept track of which tokens in my study would be considered periphrastic in the traditional sense of the term.

In most cases, whether a given copula + participle is periphrastic in the

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<sup>130</sup> During initial gathering of data, I excluded the minor pattern in which an anarthrous substantive participle appears with a copula. An example of this is evident in *Herm.* 13.5: Οὗτοί εἰσιν ἡμαρτηκότες καὶ θέλοντες μετανοῆσαι. Based on syntax alone, these participles could be periphrastic and, even if not, would merit inclusion in this study. However, in context the participles must be understood as anarthrous substantives. This understanding is supported by two facts from the context. First, the passage appears in a section of question and answer turns. The participles here are parallel to other noun phrases in the answer portion of the Q-A exchange in these other conversation turns. Second, and most important, the question which prompts this response is τίνας εἰσίν; As the question is inquiring “who,” rather than “what are they doing?” these participles must be understood as anarthrous nominal participles. This passage should be translated as “these are the ones who had sinned and who are desiring to repent.”

traditional sense of semantic integration is self-evident. There are, though, cases which are difficult to decide (which is exactly what is expected in a prototypically organized category, testifying further to an inadequacy in the traditional approach). I have marked all the tokens in my text as either periphrastic, non-periphrastic, or possibly periphrastic.<sup>131</sup> The point of keeping tracking of which tokens would be considered periphrastic in the traditional sense is to be able to show clearly the need for accounting for constituent order variation, and then the way in which constituent order variability shows the traditional approach to periphrasis inadequate.

To assess whether a token is periphrastic in this traditional sense, I center focus on whether there is any reason for a form of *εἰμί* to be present in the clause with an independent function. If there is no syntactic reason for a copula to be present in the clause on its own, I consider the token to be periphrastic. This provides a generic dataset of tokens which would mostly be considered periphrastic in the traditional sense.

Since the key to periphrasis as traditionally understood is that the two parts make one, rather than two, predications, if we isolate those instances where *εἰμί* makes a complete predication, we can decide with reasonable clarity when periphrasis occurs, and when not. If there is no compelling reason for *εἰμί* to be in a clause with a participle on its own, I track this as periphrasis. The following six categories describe ways that *εἰμί*

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<sup>131</sup> Throughout the study, I will use *token* to refer to a specific occurrence of a copula + participle construction. Thus, a given passage can have multiple tokens in it, as it is possible for multiple copula + participle constructions to all be in the same passage.

By “marked,” I refer to the XML file I used to tag each token on the basis of a variety of different parameters. This XML markup scheme evolved throughout the project, stemming back to an original tagging scheme designed for visual usage in an Excel spreadsheet. While the XML file approach has obvious advantages in terms of allowing me to query the data using the XQuery language to see patterns across the tokens, the inadequacies of my original tagging scheme for this new approach quickly became apparent. My XML document tends to be over-tagged for certain types of features (especially those which belong to aspects of the project which fell to the wayside as it developed) and under-tagged for a variety of helpful features, especially details on how the various constituents were ordered vis-à-vis one another. Compensating for this shortcoming required a lot of manual assessment of data and far more than desired changes to the XML document during the course of analyzing the data. The result of this is that I have learned a great deal about bad ways to use XML to tag a dataset to avoid in the future.

makes a complete predication: (1) existential statement,<sup>132</sup> (2)thetic (aka presentational)<sup>133</sup>, (3) with subject + predicate nominative, (4) with dative of possession, (5) with a spatial or temporal adjunct/argument, and (6) various (quasi-)impersonal uses.<sup>134</sup> In each of these uses, εἰμί is a syntactic center of gravity that is complete, that has its own arguments and adjuncts. In such instances, periphrasis in the traditional sense is ruled out as εἰμί is not readily available to fuse together with a participle phrase in terms of semantics. It can have a predicate/adverbial/conjunct participle as a further modifier, but it will not blend together with one.<sup>135</sup>

Again, the point of this is to make a quick decision of whether a given token would generally be considered periphrastic in the traditional sense or not. Much more elaborate and time-consuming work could go into analyzing and defending which tokens should be called periphrastic in this traditional sense. For my purpose of demonstrating the inadequacy of the traditional approach, exhaustive accuracy is not necessary, only a reasonable representation of core examples of the phenomenon at hand.

### **Syntactic Distinctions: The Clause and the Sentence**

Above I made a distinction between word order and constituent order. While these partially overlap, they are distinct phenomenon. In a similar fashion, here I will

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<sup>132</sup> These partially overlap with thethetic usage, but this category is common in grammars and easily recognizable, so included here.

<sup>133</sup> Thethetic usage will be addressed and explained in chapter 6.

<sup>134</sup> Here including ἔσται + infinitive and the various expressions formed with ἐστί and a predicate noun such as ἀξίον, δίκαιον, δυνατόν, etc., see Smyth, § 1982, 1985. I have filtered these sorts of expressions out of my data as they do not involve participles.

<sup>135</sup> The one major modification to this is the common instances in which εἰμί has a subject and is predicating a variety of adjectival modifiers to that subject, e.g., “the dog is brown and lazy.” A participial phrase can also occur in this sort of context, e.g., “the dog is brown, lazy, and drooling on the floor.” I would argue, contrary to many traditional representations of periphrasis, that the Greek equivalent of these instances is a case of periphrasis. Klaas Bentein has argued this most completely and effectively in *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be- Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). It is not periphrasis of the same degree as the “traditional periphrasis,” but it is periphrastic, nonetheless. This will be considered more fully in chapter 5.



stake out the fundamental syntactic unit of interest in this study: the clause.

A clause is a grammatical unit which includes at least a predicate and a subject (explicit or implied) and expresses a proposition.<sup>136</sup> In other words, a clause is a predicate along with its arguments and/or adjuncts. A sentence is a grammatical unit composed of one or more clauses.<sup>137</sup> A clause may be a sentence by itself, or a sentence may contain more clauses. While our Greek texts which we read have punctuation which demarcates sentences (and often clauses), these are, as a rule, editorial additions which aid modern readers but are of dubious relationship to anything in the history of composition.<sup>138</sup> The

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<sup>136</sup> *SIL Glossary*, “Clause.”

<sup>137</sup> *SIL Glossary*, “Sentence.”

<sup>138</sup> Punctuation of sorts was known and used in and before the Koine period in the scholarly endeavor to comment on, edit, and correct literary texts, for which see Franco Montanari, “Correcting a Copy, Editing a Text. Alexandrian *Ekdosis* and Papyri,” in *From Scholars to Scholia: chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari and Lara Pagani, Trends in Classics—Supplementary Volumes 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 1–16. Many of our extant NT manuscripts show various punctuation and punctuation-like features intended to make reading out loud easier. Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2006), 131. However, the situation in Greek is not one of widespread usage of punctuation in the act of composing texts. Composing works in text-sentences is a modern innovation. Studies in English demonstrate that it is not until widespread literacy and the printing press that the text-sentence emerged as a consistent and distinct phenomenon. Even as late as during the Renaissance, people simply did not write in text-sentences because they did not yet exist. As Nunberg writes, “although sentence-like indicators are used in these [Medieval and Renaissance] texts, the units they mark do not correspond either functionally or syntactically to the modern text-sentence.” Geoffrey Nunberg, *The Linguistics of Punctuation*, Center for the Study of Language and Information Lecture Notes 18 (Stanford: CSLI, 1990), 130. He goes on to write the following: “for this reason it is not possible to “modernize” the punctuation of these texts in a manner faithful to their original sense . . . . The practice of modernization in fact involves a mistaken assumption about modern punctuation: that punctuation marks informational units and relations in a neutral way, and hence should be applicable to any text that is coherently organized on independent grounds. It is this misconception that underlies the critics’ frustration with manuscript sources, the assumption being that the failure of such texts to yield up a structure that can be regimented according to modern text-categories must be an indication of a lack of clarity or organizational rigor in the original,” (131). That there is no obvious Ancient Greek word equivalent to *sentence* is preliminary evidence that our modern concept would have an uneasy relationship at best with Ancient Greek views of syntax.

Supporting this general skepticism over the existence of text-sentences in Greek are other lines of argument. Some have argued that the principles of composition of Ancient Greek (probably to a lesser extent lower-register Koine) were based around a unit called the *colon*, which bears no specific relationship to a modern sentence, or even consistently to any single grammatical unit in modern terms. The most recent such argument, drawing from the stream reaching back to Wackernagel, is that of Frank Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis: Word Order, Discourse Segmentation and Discourse Coherence in Ancient Greek* (Brussels: VUBPRESS, 2011). This argument is intriguing, but I find it unlikely that generally lower-register Koine texts, the like of which I am primarily working with, followed the recommendations of the rhetoricians and the Classical patterns in any profound way. The colon approach seems unhelpful for my corpus and aims.

nature of this study requires attention at the level of clauses and their relationships.

### **On Clause Types: Topic-Comment and Thetic Sentences**

Finally, not all clauses fulfill the same function in a discourse. This tautological observation is relevant in that different types of clauses fulfilling different types of functions also show different patterns of constituent order and information structure. For this dissertation, two main types of sentences are necessary to hold distinct: (1) topic-focus and (2) thetic.<sup>139</sup> In brief, *topic-comment* sentences provide new information about an entity already involved in the discourse, increasing the reader's knowledge of the entity. In terms of traditional grammar, a topic generally correlates to *subject* and comment generally correlates to *predicate*. The key is that the topic in such a sentence is already accessible to the reader. By contrast, *thetic* sentences introduce a new entity into a discourse. I will provide more robust description of these sentence types as relevant.

Since I am concerned with how information structure influences Greek constituent order, these two sentence types require separate treatment as they have different information structure concerns. table 3 gives a high-level view of the data in this study analyzed in terms of these two sentence articulations:

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In sum, while the punctuation inserted by editors into our Greek texts are immensely helpful and more often than not unobjectionable, they are a modern overlay onto the text and, as such, do not serve as the proper basis for close study of the text.

<sup>139</sup> We will have cause later to briefly discuss the third main type, the focus/presupposition sentence. These sorts of sentences have a presupposition that is already known by the reader and place the focus entirely on a variable within the presupposition. Ellen F. Prince, "Informational and Rhetorical Structure," in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. William J. Frawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 281.

Table 3: Summary of tokens in dataset

<i>Sentence Articulation</i>	<i>Tokens</i>
Topic-comment	292
Thetic	38
Total	330

As can be seen, thetic sentences are a clear minority in my data, and they will receive much less attention throughout the study.<sup>140</sup>

### Overview of the Argument

Having laid out the necessary conceptual categories to orient the contribution of this dissertation, I conclude this introduction with an overview of my argument. While the majority of the work, chapters 3-6, are devoted to information structure and constituent order analysis, I will begin in a different place, namely, with the category of suppletive periphrasis. Suppletive periphrasis is when a periphrastic form is obligatory because there is no synthetic form for that slot of the verbal system.<sup>141</sup> I begin my analysis here because this is the heart of periphrasis in Greek—obligatory multi-word constructions for which there are no synthetic form forms. I will demonstrate that constituent order variation pervades suppletive periphrasis. This argument supports the necessity of engaging with Levinsohn’s novel approach. From the point of view of the NT grammatical tradition, chapter 2 demonstrates that Levinsohn’s approach is not a mere novelty, but a necessity for a robust description of these copula + participle constructions.

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<sup>140</sup> This data does not give any clear insight into the prevalence of thetic sentence in the corpus in general. Only those thetic sentences which contain a form of *εἶμι* and a participle within the same sentence (loosely defined) appear in this dataset.

<sup>141</sup> Haspelmath, “Periphrasis,” 656.

As such, in chapter 3 I lay out key aspects of the theoretical framework developed to date for analyzing and describing constituent order and information structure in Greek. Here I lay out Levinsohn's functionalist approach to Greek in general, and his specific adaptation of his approach to copula + participle constructions. Building on the theory work of chapter 3, chapter 4 focuses on analyzing the information structure role of Topic in topic-comment clauses in terms of constituent order. This is followed in chapter 5 by an analysis of Focus (as well as everything else) and constituent order in topic-comment clauses. Finally, chapter 6 is concerned with information structure and constituent order inthetic clauses. My basic conclusion in this work is that Levinsohn's constituent order description of copula + participle constructions from the Synoptics and Acts is able to explain the constituent order in copula + participle clauses of this alternate corpus of Koine Greek texts. This suggests Levinsohn's approach is on the mark and that grammarians need to include such information structure considerations in how copula + participle constructions are discussed.

In the conclusion, I will summarize my findings regarding information structure and constituent order as well as take up the practical question of how this information structure analysis should be integrated into the Greek grammatical tradition. This concluding chapter will lay out how Levinsohn's constituent order analysis can be brought into the bigger perspective of a prototype and grammaticalization approach to periphrastic constructions, resulting in a more robust descriptive framework for these constructions.

CHAPTER 2  
PERIPHRAISIS IN INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS:  
EVIDENCE FOR THE CENTRALITY OF  
CONSTITUENT ORDER VARIATION

The burden of this chapter is to discuss instances of *suppletive periphrasis*, that is, instances where periphrasis is obligatory. My main argument is that the usage of periphrastic forms in suppletive periphrasis is significant because it brings into play syntactic possibilities which are absent from synthetic verbs. These syntactic possibilities bring with them the possibility, and reality, of constituent order variation, raising the possibility that these variations are subject to pragmatic ordering. This claim supports my overall contention that an adequate description of periphrastic constructions must attend to the pragmatic concerns of word order within the phenomenon.

The value of studying instances of suppletion at the outset of this dissertation is that suppletion within the paradigm represents periphrastic in its most fundamental, that is, its most grammaticalized, form in the Greek verbal system. These occurrences are members of the verbal paradigm.<sup>1</sup> Klaas Bentein has demonstrated that periphrasis can profitably be studied in Greek under the rubric of grammaticalization, arguing that periphrastic constructions which are more grammaticalized have decreasing variability in word order, which is in line with general patterns of grammaticalization.<sup>2</sup> If it can be

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<sup>1</sup> I say *grammaticalized* here in claiming that there is no other possible way to express what they express. These suppletive periphrastics are obligatory members of the verbal paradigm. As we will see, though, they are not fully grammaticalized in that linear adjacency is not required.

<sup>2</sup> In grammaticalization verbs and nouns “tend to lose their canonical verbal or nominal properties...and linear order becomes more rigid.” Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be- Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 53. Bentein addresses contiguity of elements in periphrastic constructions in a variety of places. For a concentrated overview, see Klaas Bentein, “Towards the Identification of Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: A Prototype Analysis,” *Acta Classica* LIV (2011): 14–16.

demonstrated that constituent order varies in pragmatic ways even at the level of these obligatory periphrastic constructions, then this strengthens the overall case that accounting for constituent order is a necessary component of robustly describing periphrastic constructions in Greek.

In this chapter, I am going to use the term ‘periphrasis,’ rather than copula + participle constructions, as the primary aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that traditional accounts for periphrasis are problematic because they do not account for constituent order even though constituent order pervades the category of periphrasis. At the outset, we will review the main tenets of grammaticalization and the different factors at play influencing grammaticalization in periphrasis.

### **Summary of Grammaticalization**

Within the grammaticalization paradigm, language is viewed as constantly undergoing change. As Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca note, “reduced to its essentials, grammaticization [their term for grammaticalization, NJE] theory begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes.”<sup>3</sup> The development of grammatical morphemes—elements in a language which serve a grammatical role—follows a number of predictable steps. Grammaticalization begins with an innovative use of language to accomplish certain communicative goals. What begins as an innovative usage can spread through the language along certain paths through repetition and widespread use. Through repetition, the innovative language use can, over time, become entrenched and develop into a grammatical morpheme (gram). As a gram becomes entrenched it undergoes semantic generalization. Semantic generalization describes how a gram which originates to fill a specific communicative

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<sup>3</sup> Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4.

goal expands its range of acceptable uses into broader contexts. One common marker that a construction is undergoing semantic generalization is when it expands from only being used with animate subjects to use with inanimate subjects, for instance.<sup>4</sup> Following semantic generalization, a gram often undergoes phonological reduction (for example, “n’t” is a phonologically reduced form of “not” which has lost independent word status). Finally, along with semantic generalization and phonological reduction, there is rigidification of the syntactic position of the gram.<sup>5</sup>

As an example to illustrate the phenomenon in question, consider the English phrase “be going to.”<sup>6</sup> The phrase “be going to” exists in multiple senses in English today. Compare the following two examples. Each sentence is paired with the phonologically reduced “gonna” to demonstrate how this phrase has grammaticalized in English:

1. Bill is going to go to college after all.
2. Bill is gonna go to college after all.
3. Bill’s going to college after all.
4. \*Bill is gonna college after all.

In sentence (1), “going to” can be replaced by the phonologically reduced form “gonna” as in (2). This is not the case with sentence (3), where the result in (4) unacceptable. The phonological reduction is possible in (1) because there “going to” is a grammatical morpheme: Bill [is going to] go to college after all. In (3), by contrast, the sentence is analyzed as: Bill [is going] to college after all. These two sentences illustrate the

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<sup>4</sup> For a summary of the role of animacy in grammar, see Östen Dahl and Kari Fraurud, “Animacy in Grammar and Discourse,” in *Reference and Referent Accessibility*, ed. Thorstein Fretheim and Jeanette K. Gundel, Pragmatics and Beyond (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 47–64.

<sup>5</sup> This paragraph is dependent on Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 1–9.

<sup>6</sup> For more detail, see Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1–3.

development of “going to” from indicating purposive directional movement to a purposive immediate future meaning. This change, which has been underway since at least the fifteenth century, is far progressed down the grammaticalization pathway. “Gonna” fills a functional slot in English future time reference constructions which cannot be filled with “will.” In this example, we see the result of a long grammaticalization process in English. Note that “gonna” does not replace “is going to,” but the two forms still function alongside each other in their respective meanings. The once innovative use of “is going to” to indicate purposive future has spread, become generalized, and undergone phonological reduction—all the hallmark steps in the grammaticalization process.

This brief summary of grammaticalization puts us in position to appreciate the complexity involved in Greek periphrasis. Within the development of Greek, there are multiple and competing interests around the development of periphrastic constructions. At least the following four motives factor into the on-going development of Greek periphrastic expressions as it was undergoing grammaticalization: (1) phonological issues, (2) semantic nuance, (3) pragmatic nuance, and (4) pragmatic simplification of complex forms.

First, in the perfect—which is agreed to be the oldest type of periphrasis in Greek—some periphrastic forms are used to avoid certain consonant combinations which Greek does not allow. These will be discussed below. For now, note that one factor in the existence and use of periphrastics in Greek is the restriction of certain phonological patterns.

A second motive in play is that of semantic nuance. For example, the imperfect periphrasis can be used to introduce a state of affairs which will serve as the background for the scene that is unfolding, as in Luke 5:17: *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς*



ἦν διδάσκων.<sup>7</sup> Here the action “was teaching” describes an ongoing action which serves as background to the mainline actions of the following pericope.<sup>8</sup> This usage, as well as other proposals, is an example of using a multi-word construction for semantic specificity which is not available in the synthetic verb.<sup>9</sup>

A third motive at play in Greek, which has received little attention, is pragmatic nuance. Greek constituent order is pragmatically motivated and the presence of a two-part verbal form allows pragmatic reordering of the clause. As I will argue in this dissertation, pragmatic ordering is evident in all types of periphrastic constructions, indicating that periphrasis, as a rule, was not highly grammaticalized in Greek. The fact that most Greek periphrastic constructions died out in the course of the development of the language rather than became syntactically rigidified, could be taken as further evidence that most forms never achieved a high degree of grammaticalization.

Finally, a fourth motivation, also pragmatic, has to do with the simplification of complex forms which were falling out of use from Classical Greek. During the expansion of Greek as an international language, the language was simplified in various ways: the gradual limitation and loss of the optative, the weakening of the dative case, as well as the weakening of the morphological perfect system, and so forth. The perfect in Greek is morphologically complex. Based solely on how often they were used, it is more likely that speakers were competent in the formation and use of the perfect participles rather than, say, the future perfect. Thus, if a need ever arose to indicate the semantics which could be conveyed by the morphological future perfect, a periphrastic form was

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<sup>7</sup> “And it happened on the first day of the week, and he was teaching...”

<sup>8</sup> This usage is what stands behind the name of Björck’s significant study. Gudmund Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ: Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1940).

<sup>9</sup> For other similar proposals, see Klaas Bentein, “The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive in the Septuagint and the New Testament,” *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 168–92; Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010).

ready at hand. Avoiding complex forms for pragmatic reasons also provided speakers with the opportunity to use ordering patterns for pragmatic purposes as well.<sup>10</sup>

These factors are competing influences in the grammaticalization trajectory of various periphrastics in Greek. For example, the usage of multi-word constructions for novel semantics puts pressure for further grammaticalization (like the “going to” becoming “gonna” example). At the same time, the desire to exploit pragmatic possibilities through constituent order variation resists further grammaticalization as it actively subverts rigid word orders. Within grammaticalization theory, we can see a variety of competing influences at work. The question of relevance for this chapter is whether there is evidence that periphrastic constructions in Greek had achieved a high degree of grammaticalization. To assess this question, I will examine instances of suppletive periphrasis and see if constituent order variation (which is a force “resisting” grammaticalization) is evident in these constructions. To begin this analysis, we first will discuss the nature of the verbal paradigm and the way periphrastic constructions relate to it.

### **The Relationship of Periphrasis to the Verbal Paradigm in Greek: Suppletive and Categorical Periphrasis**

Martin Haspelmath, in his important reference work on periphrasis, provides two key categories for discussing how periphrasis—as traditionally understood—relates to the verbal paradigm: suppletive periphrasis and categorical periphrasis. Suppletive periphrasis refers to situations where a multi-word combination fills a gap in a paradigm. Categorical periphrasis (or expressive) refers to cases where a multi-word combination

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<sup>10</sup> That certain forms such as the future perfect and the perfect optative have little attestation even in Classical Greek suggests that avoiding complex forms was already a well-established reason for periphrastic constructions even among Greeks prior to the spread of Hellenism and the Greek language.

expresses a unique semantic distinction.<sup>11</sup> The relationship of copula + participle constructions to the verbal paradigm is important for understanding the history of periphrasis research and for seeing the necessity of attending to constituent order variation within these constructions.

On a traditional view in Greek grammar, a verbal paradigm is an idealized representation of all the different possible conjugated forms of a Greek verb. Students memorize paradigms, grammars contain elaborate charts and discussions illustrating how they are formed, and so forth. On this view, a paradigm can be defined as “the set of all elements filling the cells defined by the inflectional categories that can be expressed for the lexeme.”<sup>12</sup> In practice, very few verbs are attested in all the possible slots of the Greek verbal system. Many are missing large portions of these forms.<sup>13</sup> Typically, a verbal paradigm is built around one verb stem, which is modified through various affixes and/or ablaut to form the different conjugated forms.<sup>14</sup>

The Greek verbal paradigm is primarily organized along the axis of aspect, and encodes grammatical information regarding person, number, mood, voice, and, in the indicative mood, tense.<sup>15</sup> Each of these features is morphologically marked. Periphrasis

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<sup>11</sup> Martin Haspelmath, “Periphrasis,” in *Morphologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung*, ed. Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann, and Joachim Mugdan, *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 17.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 656.

<sup>12</sup> Haspelmath, “Periphrasis,” 663. This view of a paradigm is the assumed understanding running throughout essentially the entirety of the Ancient Greek grammatical tradition.

<sup>13</sup> Given that Koine Greek is a corpus language, it is always possible that certain omissions in the verbal paradigm of a given verb are accidental and a result of the nature of the extant data. Still, it is clear that many verbs do not form certain parts of the verbal system, for various reasons.

<sup>14</sup> A significant complication evident in Greek is that many key Greek verbal paradigms are built from more than one lexeme. Strictly following Haspelmath’s definition cited above would require considering the different sections of these paradigms to be distinct paradigms that are semantically related. In practice, multi-lexeme paradigms are considered united around a semantic idea. These suppletive roots belong to the archaic stage of the language and various morphological changes across time, especially in the Koine period, slowly phase most out of usage. Angela Ralli, “Suppletion,” in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 343.

<sup>15</sup> For an overview of the structure of a Greek verb, see John Hewson, “The Verbal System of Ancient Greek,” in *Tense and Aspect in Indo-European Languages: Theory, Typology, Diachrony*, by John Hewson and Vit Bubenik, vol. 145, *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science* v.

as traditionally understood—that is, as an ‘equivalent’ of a morphological verb—conveys all the grammatical meaning typically encoded in morphology through syntactic means.<sup>16</sup> Robert Green has recently argued how the grammatical meanings of the verbal paradigm are mapped between the two portions of a periphrastic construction. The copula conveys the mood, person, and tense (where relevant); the participle conveys the voice and aspect. Both copula and participle convey the number.<sup>17</sup> In this way, a periphrastic form conveys all the same basic information as an equivalent synthetic form for any given slot in the verbal paradigm. On this understanding, since a periphrastic form conveys the same information as a synthetic form, it raises the question of whether it belongs in the verbal paradigm. Indeed, in instance of suppletive periphrasis, to be discussed below, periphrastic forms are the only possible way to fill a slot in the verbal paradigm.

The forgoing discussion assumes a certain view of the Greek verbal paradigm: namely, that it is composed of elements *derived morphologically* rather than elements making *distinct semantic or pragmatic contributions* within the language. To handle the uneasy relationship which periphrasis has with the verbal paradigm, the traditional view imports a threefold typology of periphrasis, dating back at least to Aerts’ influential study: (1) suppletive, (2) substitute, and (3) expressive periphrasis.<sup>18</sup> Suppletive

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145, IV-Current Issues in Linguistic Theory (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 24–45. Periphrasis in Greek overwhelmingly occurs in the indicative mood, so tense is almost always involved.

<sup>16</sup> Syntax conveying grammatical features is the core of periphrasis. Dunstan Brown et al., “Defining ‘Periphrasis,’” *Morphology*, no. 22 (2012): 234.

<sup>17</sup> Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament” (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 248–56. This distribution of elements between the copula and participle has always been assumed. Green’s analysis is heavily dependent on the work of Stanley Porter, thus it is subject to the various problems inherent in a tenseless indicative model. However, since the nomenclature used in their approach overlaps with traditional accounts, there is little difficulty in using the discussion from a different perspective.

<sup>18</sup> On the typology developed by Willem Aerts, the most common type of periphrasis is “substitute periphrasis,” which is “when the periphrasis replaces a monolectic form without any, or scarcely any distinguishable change in meaning.” Willem Johan Aerts, *Periphrastica: An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 3. As a relative measure of the prevalence of *substitute periphrastics*, Green considers just 25 of the 243 periphrastic constructions he detects in the NT (less than

periphrasis, which will be dealt with below, refers to instances where the periphrastic form fills in for a non-existent morphological form. The other two, equivalent and expressive, are based on semantic distinctions. If the analyst feels a periphrastic form in context has no difference in meaning from a synthetic form that could have been there, it is considered equivalent. It is emphatic if a difference is felt. Green, who has taken this line of study to its ultimate conclusion in the NT, concludes that twenty-five of what he considers periphrastics are expressive in the entire NT.<sup>19</sup> He suggests there may be pragmatic motivation for periphrastics, but no semantic distinction.

The guiding assumption in my approach, following Levinsohn, is that copula + participle constructions have distinct semantics and pragmatics involved. Before turning to that analysis in the following chapter, In the remainder of this chapter, I will show that even the category of suppletive periphrasis itself requires a different sort of analysis than it has received, because constituent order variation pervades even this level of periphrasis.

### **Suppletive Periphrasis**

To establish the point of this chapter, that constituent order variations pervades ‘periphrasis’ as traditionally defined to its very core, I will now turn to the category of suppletive periphrasis. Adopting Haspelmath’s terminology, suppletive periphrasis refers to when a multi-word combination fills a gap in a paradigm.<sup>20</sup> While many instances of a copula + participle construction which are referred to as ‘periphrasis’ are clearly optional forms, there are three instances within the verbal system where the use of a multi-word construction is either obligatory or close to it.

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10 percent) express semantics different in some way from the indicative form. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 333.

<sup>19</sup> Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics, 314–30.

<sup>20</sup> Haspelmath, “Periphrasis,” 656.

### Three Categories of Suppletive Periphrasis

In Hellenistic Greek, there are three portions of the verbal system which should be treated as suppletive periphrasis, all in the perfect: (1) future perfects, (2) perfect subjunctives and optatives, and (3) indicative third plural perfect/pluperfect middle-passive periphrastics of certain verbs.<sup>21</sup> These three instances of suppletive periphrasis differ both with respect to their extent throughout the language system and their motivating factors. The first two are system-wide and motivated by syntactic and semantic concerns (meaning the parts semantically add up to the expected meaning of the slot in the verbal system), while the third type is driven by phonology.<sup>22</sup> All three categories of suppletive periphrasis occur within the perfect portion of the verbal system. Several factors contribute to the tendency for periphrastic perfects in Greek, including: relative morphological complexity,<sup>23</sup> the significant changes in the semantics of the perfect verb over the course of the language,<sup>24</sup> as well as the centrality of the perfective/imperfective (aorist/'present') aspectual opposition in Greek (to which the perfect sometimes seems like an awkward third wheel).<sup>25</sup> The exact reasons or the

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<sup>21</sup> Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Morphology (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica, 1981), 307.

<sup>22</sup> The morphology/morphosyntax difference in motivation is one key component for describing the nature of periphrasis. Greville Corbett's typology of periphrasis, Greville G. Corbett, "Periphrasis and Possible Lexemes," in *Periphrasis: The Role of Syntax and Morphology in Paradigms*, ed. Marina Chumakina and Greville G. Corbett, Proceedings of the British Academy 180 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 171.

<sup>23</sup> Morphological complexity is a common factor in determining where gaps appear in a verbal paradigm. Paul Kiparsky, "Blocking and Periphrasis in Inflectional Paradigms," in *Yearbook of Morphology 2004*, ed. Geert E. Booij and Jaap van Marle (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 126. There is no inherent reason why Greek could not form a synthetic perfect optative, for instance, but this portion of the verbal system is a likely spot for periphrasis to occur, if it is going to occur.

<sup>24</sup> For a description of the major semantic changes the perfect system underwent throughout its history as a morphological tense-form see Rutger J. Allan, "Tense and Aspect in Classical Greek: Two Historical Developments; Augment and Perfect," in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 81–121. The degree to which various changes in the perfect were present in Koine Greek is debated. There is certainly evidence that the general collapse of the aorist and perfect in certain contexts was underway, but in general the perfect holds its own in Koine Greek.

<sup>25</sup> The centrality of the imperfective/perfective aspectual opposition can be surmised from the fact that it is the morphological perfect which undergoes extensive semantic changes throughout the course of the language and eventually dies out, while the aorist and 'present' continue in much the same capacity throughout the entire recorded history of Greek. This view of relative stability of the aspectual system of

exact time frame need not detain us here. We can note that the plentitude of periphrastic perfects as opposed to presents, futures, or imperfects, is not limited to Greek, but is a well-attested cross-linguistic phenomenon, suggesting that there may be something inherent in the semantics of the perfect which make it attractive to use periphrasis for this category in languages where periphrasis is an option.<sup>26</sup>

**Future perfect periphrastics.** The future perfect in Hellenistic Greek is functionally limited to periphrastic forms. The future perfect serves to express “that a resulting state will exist, or that the effects of a completed action will be relevant at some point in the future.”<sup>27</sup> In Attic Greek, the future perfect was formed morphologically by adding a *-σ-* to the perfect stem.<sup>28</sup> Synthetic forms of the future perfect were rare even in Classical times, excepting the common use of forms of *θνῆσκω* and *ἵσταμαι*. The general preference in Attic Greek was to use periphrastic forms comprised of a future copula and a perfect participle, especially in active future perfects.<sup>29</sup>

In Koine, the tendency to avoid the morphological future perfect is far advanced.<sup>30</sup> It is too strong to claim that the synthetic form did not exist, as there are examples found in the papyri as well as some of the literature relevant to this study. Regarding the papyri, Edwin Mayser observes that instances of the synthetic future perfect are limited to forms of *ἵστημι* and its derivatives, citing an occurrence of

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Greek is challenged in Amalia Moser, “From Aktionsart to Aspect: Grammaticalization and Subjectification in Greek,” *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics* 46, no. 1 (2014): 64–84. Whether Moser is correct or not does not detract from the point that the perfect, as central as it is to the Greek verbal system, is less central than the other two aspect-stems, from a diachronic point of view.

<sup>26</sup> Kiparsky, “Blocking and Periphrasis in Inflectional Paradigms,” 128.

<sup>27</sup> *CGCG*, 427.

<sup>28</sup> *CGCG*, 222.

<sup>29</sup> *CGCG*, 222.

<sup>30</sup> The following discussion will focus on the indicative mood forms. Along with the evidence cited here, future perfect participles are also attested in Koine, though quite rare.

παρεστήξομαι.<sup>31</sup> Basil Mandilaras adds one synthetic form, *προεστήξομαι* (*P.S.I.* 441, 9-10), dating from third century BC.<sup>32</sup> In addition, Gignac cites an instance of *κεκράξομαι* occurring in the magical papyri of the fourth century AD.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to these meager instances in the papyri, the future perfect indicative is occasionally attested in related literature. In the NT there is an “inferior reading” of Luke 19:40 with *κεκράξομαι*.<sup>34</sup> Hebrews 8:11 has *εἰδήσουσιν* which, as A. T. Robertson notes, is probably a future perfect active form of *οἶδα* cited from the LXX.<sup>35</sup> The LXX contributes a few tokens, such as *κεκλήσεται* in Lev 13:45 (and possibly Hos 12:1), as well as *τεθνήξομαι* (equivalent to the older Attic *τεθνήξω*) three times in the Atticizing work *4 Maccabees*.<sup>36</sup> The Greek works included in the Pseudepigrapha,<sup>37</sup> most of which are included in this study, yield seventeen future perfect indicatives spanning eight different verbs, which can be seen in table 4:

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<sup>31</sup> Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. II part I: Satzlehre (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1926), 215, 225. That future perfects of *ἵστημι* and its derivatives would last longest should not be surprising given that it was one of the more robust verbs in Classical Greek which appeared with a synthetic future perfect (see *CGCG*, 222; Smyth, § 408).

<sup>32</sup> Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), § 525.

<sup>33</sup> Gignac, *Morphology*, II, Morphology:307. The papyrus in question is *PGM* 5.270, from the fourth century. The form *κεκράξομαι* poses a difficulty. According to morphology, it is a future perfect, and it is treated as such by some, *BrillDAG*, “κράζω”; BDF, § 65(1b). However, others treat it as a plain future indicative, BDAG, “κράζω”; LSJ, “κράζω”; *Mega Lexicon*, “κράζω”; Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint: Introduction, Orthography and Accidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), § 24; Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 91. This formal ambiguity is exacerbated in that the simple future in Koine can convey the semantics of the future perfect.

<sup>34</sup> BDF, § 65(1b). The text in NA 28 has the future indicative *κράξουσιν*. On the difficulty with this form, see the previous note.

<sup>35</sup> A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 361.

<sup>36</sup> BDF, § 65(1b); Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint: Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*, § 24. Assessing the number of future perfects in the LXX is made difficult in that different bible software programs use different tagging systems, providing contradictory results. The most obvious variable factor is how *κεκράξομαι* and its related forms are tagged. The texts cited here are illustrative of both the existence and the rarity of the future perfect in the LXX.

<sup>37</sup> By the Pseudepigrapha, I here refer to the fifty-two Greek texts included in the Accordance Module of the Greek texts.



Table 4: Synthetic future perfects in the Pseudepigrapha

<i>Lexeme</i>	<i>Number of Occurrences</i>
δέχομαι	1
θνήσκω	8
καλέω	2
κράζω	1
οἶδα	2
παύω	1
πορεύομαι	1
χολόω	1

The higher register Sibylline Oracles and the Atticizing 4 Maccabees (also cited in the LXX data) account for twelve of these seventeen occurrences. Further searches would certainly turn up more tokens, but these figures illustrate the general trend that the synthetic future perfect was (1) essentially defunct, (2) associated with Atticizing writing, and (3) most common in those same lexemes where it was most common in Attic Greek.

Considering the evidence from the papyri and literary texts, the general picture is clear: the future perfect is confined to periphrastic forms in Hellenistic Greek, if it is used at all.<sup>38</sup> Based on the evidence cited, it is best to treat periphrastic tokens of the future perfect as an instance of suppletive periphrasis.<sup>39</sup> Future perfects are typically

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<sup>38</sup> Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, § 455 (1); 525; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, 1926, II part I: Satzlehre:225.

<sup>39</sup> The most well-known such instance in the NT occurs in the oft-debated Matt 16:19: δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃ

formed from a future copula and perfect participle, though the aorist participle is used in this capacity as well.<sup>40</sup>

**Perfect subjunctive and optative periphrastics.** The perfect subjunctive and optative only occur as periphrastic forms, comprised of a subjunctive/optative form of εἰμί and the perfect participle: πεπαυμένος ᾧ or πεπαυμένος εἶην.<sup>41</sup> The exception is that εἰδῶ occurs as the perfect subjunctive of οἶδα.<sup>42</sup> It is hardly surprising that οἶδα, with its distinct place in the verbal system in terms of its morphology and meaning, would follow its own path in this regard.<sup>43</sup> Aerts well summarizes the state of the perfect subjunctive and optative in Koine:

It may be assumed that the living usage of the monolectic and periphrastic perfect subjunctive and optative was to all intents and purposes reduced to nil in the Koine

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ἐὰν λύσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (cf. 18:18). These two instances are clearly periphrastic and suppletive. The theological weight this text is asked to carry is directly proportional to the difficulties in understanding it, largely due to the rarity of the future perfect category in Koine Greek, giving few examples for understanding how it functions. Given that this is a conditional, the probable meaning at the level of the Greek is that in the event “you” bind something on earth, relative to that generalized point in time it will be in a state of boundness in heaven. Compare Stanley E. Porter, “Vague Verbs, Periphrastics, and Matthew 16:19,” in *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, *Studies in Biblical Greek* 6 (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 109–12. See also Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 266–67.

<sup>40</sup> Gignac, *Morphology*, II, Morphology:307. A possible explanation for this overlap is that the semantics of the perfect and aorist became increasingly overlapped throughout the Koine period and beyond. Also, given that the perfect could be used to emphasize the already complete notion of an action (the anterior perfect usage) it is easy to turn to the aorist participle, which inherently profiles that aspectual notion.

<sup>41</sup> A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar, Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity Down to the Present Time: Founded upon the Ancient Texts, Inscriptions, Papyri and Present Popular Greek* (London: Macmillan, 1897), § 764; Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. I: Laut- und Wortlehre (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1923), 325; Smyth, § 599; Francis Thomas Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Morphology (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica, 1981), 305. For specific mention of the optative, see Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, 1923, I: Laut- und Wortlehre:327.

<sup>42</sup> The state of the perfect subjunctive/optative is well represented by the evidence in the LXX and NT. There are 17 morphological perfect subjunctives between the two, 16 of which are the perfect subjunctive of οἶδα. The lone exception is ἐνέχω in 3 Macc 6.10.

<sup>43</sup> As Levinsohn points out, οἶδα cannot be used to gain insight into the normal function of the perfect as it does not share the same aspectual contrasts as a normal verb does. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Gnomic Aorist: No Problem! The Greek Indicative Verb System as Four Ordered Pairs,” in *Mari Via Tua: Philological Studies in Honour of Antonio Piñero*, ed. Israel M. Gallarte and Jesús Peláez, *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria*, II (Córdoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 2016), 192–93.

period and later. The fact that, within the framework of Ancient Greek, a shift occurred from the monolectic to periphrastic perfect subjunctives (and optatives) can be concluded from the practice in the Attic inscriptions where, at least in the fourth century, only the periphrastic formation was used.<sup>44</sup>

### **Third person middle-passive perfect and pluperfect forms of certain**

**verbs.** The final case to be considered under the head of suppletive periphrasis differs from the first two in that it only affects a single slot of the verbal paradigm. The third person plural middle-passive of the perfect and pluperfect exhibits a certain phonological complexity which affects the ability of many verbs to form a synthetic form related to the lack of thematic vowel in the perfect. This complexity is relevant to this study as these periphrastic constructions are very common.

The phonologically motivated use of periphrastic forms for the third plural middle-passive perfect and pluperfect was already common in Classical Greek. Due to the lack of a thematic vowel, verbs whose stem ends in a consonant or which add a *-σ-* to form the perfect stem result in an impossible consonant combination if the endings *-νται* and *-ντο* were affixed to the perfect stem.<sup>45</sup> These verbs use *εἰσ(ν)* paired with the perfect middle-passive participle to form the perfect third plural middle-passive or *ῆσαν* to form a pluperfect.<sup>46</sup> These periphrastic forms occur in middle-passive perfect and pluperfect paradigms that are otherwise fully composed of synthetic forms.

Scholars have also noted a tendency in Koine towards the usage of a periphrastic perfect for middle-passive forms in general, even when not morphologically

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<sup>44</sup> Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 40–41.

<sup>45</sup> Smyth, secs. 405, 408. To make the same point in a different way, a synthetic third person plural of the perfect middle-passive only exists when the perfect stem ends in a vowel or diphthong. Such morphologically motivated uses of periphrasis to fill a portion of the verbal paradigm are attested cross-linguistically. Corbett, “Periphrasis and Possible Lexemes,” 171–74.

<sup>46</sup> Smyth, se. 405. An aorist passive participle can also be used with *ῆσαν* as an equivalent to a pluperfect passive, though this is less common. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, § 501.

motivated.<sup>47</sup> Two trends in the language seem to support this tendency. First, the existence and common usage of the periphrastic third plural perfect middle-passive within the paradigm serves as a ready analogy. As these forms are common, they provide a strategy for handling perfect middle-passive forms if the speaker desires to avoid the morphological form for any reason. This periphrasis then crept it is into other parts of the perfect system.<sup>48</sup> The second process at work was the general loss of distinct perfect semantics in the morphological perfect. The perfect and aorist gradually coalesced in meaning, with some evidence indicating the process was underway already in the NT.<sup>49</sup> Over time, this appears to have led to an increased usage of periphrastic perfects to signal perfect semantics when the morphological perfect was no longer seen to unambiguously do so, as noted by Stamatios Psaltes:

Eine Folge dieser Ausglei­chung beider Tempora war, daß die Perfektformen auf -κα und -μαι ihre Perfektbedeutung eingebüßt haben, und so versuchte man jetzt auf andere Weise die Perfektbedeutung klarer zum Ausdruck zu bringen. So wurde das periphrastische Perfekt mit εἶμι, dessen vereinzelter Gebrauch auch bei den Ättikern zu beobachten ist, mehr und mehr verwendet.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Gignac, *Morphology*, II, Morphology:297; Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 466; Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with εἶμι ‘be’, γίνομαι ‘occur’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἰδοῦ/ἴδε ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of ὁράω ‘see’” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2009), 195 note 317.

<sup>48</sup> On this process in general, as well as the role of the religious influence of the Greek Bible on the development of perfect periphrasis in Greek, see Bridget Drinka, *Language Contact in Europe: The Periphrastic Perfect through History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), chap. 5 The Periphrastic Perfect in Greek.

<sup>49</sup> For an overview of this process in general, see Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 174–78.

The degree to which it is already underway in the NT has been debated. For recent work arguing the usage of the perfect as a simple past is evident in the NT, see Hanbyul Kang, “Three Nuances of the Perfect Indicative in the Greek New Testament” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2020), chap. 5; Robert Crellin, “The Semantics of the Perfect in the Greek of the New Testament,” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 453–54.

<sup>50</sup> “A result of this equalization of both tenses was that the perfect forms in -κα and -μαι lost their perfect meaning, so people now turned to other ways to express the perfect semantics more clearly. Thus, the perfect periphrasis with εἶμι, whose isolated use is already seen in the Attic writers, was used more and more frequently.” Stamatios B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken*, Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), § 344.

This semantic erosion was also accompanied by a tendency toward loss of the morphological features distinct to the perfect, in the form of lost reduplication or the adoption of other endings, often from the aorist.<sup>51</sup> The semantic and formal erosion between the perfect and aorist was a motivating factor for the eventual complete loss of the non-periphrastic perfect in all voices, as is the case in Modern Greek.<sup>52</sup> I am not suggesting that in Koine this process was far along, merely that the beginnings were evident.

Regardless of how far advanced the weakening of the perfect—or better, the encroachment of other forms, often periphrastic, to fill functions once fill by the analytic perfect—this process was far from complete. Morphological perfects, including morphological perfects of verbs capable of forming them in the third plural middle-passive, are still in use in both literary and non-literary texts.<sup>53</sup> The only version of the perfect/pluperfect which can justly be considered a case of suppletive periphrasis is that of the verbs which lack the ability to form the third plural middle-passive perfect for phonological reasons.

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Psaltis does note the usage of some morphological perfects with perfect semantics in his corpus, indicating their continued existence at least in the literary language of Byzantine times.

<sup>51</sup> Gignac, *Morphology*, II, Morphology:242–44, 353.

<sup>52</sup> In Modern Greek, the perfect is formed using *έχω* as an auxiliary verb plus “a non-finite verb form consisting of the perfective verb stem plus the suffix *-ει*, e.g. *έχω γράψει* ‘I have written.’” Likewise, the pluperfect is formed by the “past tense of the auxiliary verb *έχω* followed by the non-finite form, e.g. *είχα γράψει* ‘I had written.’” David Holton, Peter Mackridge, and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*, Routledge Grammars (London: Routledge, 1997), 112–13. The perfect passive is formed with the corresponding passive forms of the lexeme in question.

<sup>53</sup> The on-going usage of the morphological middle-passive perfect is well-attested, even if showing signs of weakness. Mandilaras notes that its weakness is attested throughout the middle-passive perfect, with only two verbs attested in his corpus showing all persons of the perfect: *ποιέω* and *ρώννυμι*. Different persons are more or less well attested. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, § 435. In the LXX there are 37 instances of a 3.pl.mp.perf; in the NT there are 9. The Apostolic Fathers yield 5, as also the Pseudepigrapha. The Apocryphal Acts contain 6. These numbers are illustrative that in this same body of texts which are under investigation, the morphological perfect is not yet defunct, even in the very point of the paradigm where it has the most pressure to change.

**Summary of suppletive periphrasis.** Suppletive periphrasis with periphrastic forms is well established in the grammatical literature and can be described by system-wide rules with few exceptions. At the level of suppletive periphrasis, periphrastic forms fill gaps in the verbal paradigm where a synthetic form is lacking. Because these occurrences are system-wide, it is possible to dismiss them when considering any special meaning associated with the usage of periphrastic constructions. After all, if one has no choice but to use a suppletive form, there may be no semantic choice involved.<sup>54</sup> While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the implications of this work will at least open up the question of whether a suppletive periphrastic form would be felt to have the semantics of the theoretical analytic form which it is ‘replacing’ or if it would have the sort of semantic nuances associated with other periphrastic forms. Perhaps that is a question beyond our ability to answer. Having established the three suppletive periphrasis categories, I now turn to examine the prevalence of constituent order variation within these categories.

### **Constituent Order Variation in Suppletive Periphrasis**

To assess the prevalence of constituent order variation in suppletive periphrasis, I first collected the various instances which would be so counted. In my dataset there are 365 tokens. On a traditional understanding, 300 of these have a good claim to be periphrastic in the commonsense sort of definition discussed in chapter 1. Among these tokens, instances of suppletive periphrasis are identified by their distinction features. As discussed above: future perfects are comprised of a future form of  $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$  and a perfect participle or, much more rarely, an aorist participle; a perfect subjunctive or optative is formed with a subjunctive or optative form of  $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$  and a perfect participle; and

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<sup>54</sup> This is the route which Aerts’ previously mentioned threefold typology of periphrastics, along with those in his wake, takes.

the third person indicative middle-passive perfect and pluperfect of certain verbs whose stem ends in a consonant are always expressed periphrastically.<sup>55</sup> In examining the data, we will see that constituent order and distance between the copula and participle exhibits two tendencies: (1) a tendency towards adjacency between copula and participle and (2) the ability for variation in order of elements and the possibility of separation between elements, even among these forms which are always periphrastic.

**Constituent order in suppletive periphrasis.** In my corpus there are thirty-three tokens which fit within these categories of suppletive periphrasis. The breakdown is shown in table 5.

Table 5: Suppletive periphrasis tokens by category

<i>Suppletive periphrasis Type</i>	<i>Total Number of Tokens</i>
Future Perfect	12 <sup>56</sup>
Perfect Subjunctive	6 <sup>57</sup>
Perfect Optative	2 <sup>58</sup>
Perfect/Pluperfect 3pl.mp	13 <sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The information about the general equivalencies between different periphrases and analytic forms is available in any reference grammar, though often in a scattered fashion. As a rule, the aorist periphrases—which are both rare and less standardized in usage—receive inadequate treatment in the grammatical tradition. Their equivalencies require close consideration on a case-by-case basis.

<sup>56</sup> 1 Clem. 58.2; 1 En. 98.6a; 1 En. 98.6b; Herm. 21.4; 51.9; 55.4; 57.2a; 57.2c; Let. Aris. 40; Sib. Or. 1.286; T. Levi 18 2B.58; 18 2B.64

<sup>57</sup> 1 Clem. 35.5; 1 En. 18.12; 2 Clem. 4.5; 17.3; Acts John 76.7; Let. Aris. 255.

<sup>58</sup> 1 Clem. 43.2; Acts John 25.4

<sup>59</sup> Let. Aris. 22; 26; 61; Herm. 62.4; 78.7; 81.6b; 100.2; Barn. 18.1; T. Job 41.6; Acts Thom. 122.8; Herm. 18.1; Jos. Asen. 3.6b; Pol. *Phil.* 13.2

As argued above, these instances of periphrasis are best considered not freely chosen, that is, there is not a way to express this collocation of verbal features with a synthetic form. The only viable way to do so is with a periphrastic form.

Noting that these thirty-three tokens are cases of suppletive periphrasis does not exhaust their significance for this study and understanding the pragmatics of periphrasis in Greek. Two important features emerge upon closer inspection. First, the relative order of the participle to the copula is not fixed. Fifteen of the thirty-three tokens—a sizeable percentage—have the participle preceding the copula. This differs from the assumed normal ordering of periphrastics in both the grammatical and Levinsohn’s work.<sup>60</sup> That constituent order variation occurs even in suppletive periphrasis, where the periphrastic is an obligatory feature, is instructive of how deeply pragmatic influence appears to operate in these constructions. On the one hand, suppletive periphrasis is a *de facto* member of the verbal paradigm, as traditionally construed, yet the ability of variability in constituent order suggests that even these *de facto* paradigm members have not reached a high level of grammaticalization. To return to an English example, “I go, I am going, I will go, I have gone, etc.” The multi-word verbs exhibit fixed order, allow phonetic reduction, and other features associated with a high level of grammaticalization. While copula + participle constructions more often than not follow an order of copula then participle, with the two being adjacent, the evidence shows that these suppletive periphrastic constructions in Greek have not reached a high level of grammaticalization in Koine Greek. Order variation between the copula and

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<sup>60</sup> These tokens are: 1 Clem. 35.5; 1 Clem. 58.2; 2 Clem. 17.3; Acts Thom. 122.8; Herm. 18.1; 62.4; 78.7; 100.2; Let. Aris. 26; Pol. *Phil.* 13.2; Sib. Or. 1.286; 8.237; T. Job 41.6; T. Levi 18 2B.58; 18 2B.64

For the sake of comparison, Green lists twenty-eight instances of suppletive periphrasis, what he calls paradigmatic suppletion, in the NT. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 263–67. Of these, three exhibit the order of participle preceding the copula. This order is exhibited in each possible type of suppletive periphrasis. Given that Green’s definition of periphrasis differs from that used here, the final numbers in the NT could be different, but this data suffices to demonstrate that variance in constituent order is attested in the NT.



participle is a possibility even here. Whether suppletive periphrastic forms exhibited semantics more in line with the synthetic forms than those proposed for the non-obligatory copula + participle forms is an interesting question worth considering, but here the significant observation is that the order of the copula and the participle are not fixed vis-à-vis one another even when the form is obligatory.<sup>61</sup> These differences will be the focus of chapters 3-6. At this juncture, it suffices to point out that variable order is a fundamental feature of periphrasis, so much so that even in those instances where a periphrastic construction is obligatory, the order of the copula and the participle vis-à-vis each other is not fixed.

The second point to notice from the tokens exhibiting suppletive periphrasis is that other constituents can intervene between the copula and participle. Five of the thirty-three tokens have an element intervening between the copula and participle. These texts are listed in table 6 with the periphrastic construction in italics and the intervening element in square brackets:

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<sup>61</sup> The question of differences in semantics between analytic and synthetic forms has been the main one in periphrastic research.

Table 6: Intervening elements in suppletive periphrasis tokens

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Intervening Element</i>
1 Clem. 43.2	ὅποια αὐτῶν εἶη [τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι] κεκοσμημένη	Prepositional phrase
2 Clem. 4.5	Ἐὰν ἦτε [μετ' ἐμοῦ] συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου	Prepositional phrase
Jos. Asen. 3.6	καὶ ἦσαν [τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν Αἰγυπτίων] ἐγκεκολαμμένα πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ψελίοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις	Subject
Let. Aris. 61	πάντες δ' ἦσαν [διὰ τρημάτων] κατειλημμένοι χρυσαῖς περόναις πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.	Prepositional phrase
Let. Aris. 255	ἵνα πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐπινοήσαντες ὤμεν [εὔ] βεβουλευμένοι.	Adverb

These five texts represent several of the same classes of elements which are found intervening in periphrastic constructions which are not instances of suppletive periphrasis.<sup>62</sup>

The suppletive periphrasis tokens evidence two complementary tendencies. First, constituent order variation is a foundational possibility in periphrastic constructions. There is a relatively free ability to place the participle in front of the copula and the possibility exists to place other elements between the copula and the participle.

<sup>62</sup> Green found nine different types of adjuncts that can intervene between the copula and participle: (1) postpositive, (2) the translation of an element from a different language, e.g. Mt 27:33 Καὶ ἔλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἔστιν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος,, (3) direct object, (4) indirect object, (5) prepositional phrase, (6) adverb, (7) comparative clause, (8) subject, and (9) a locative phrase, Green, "Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics," 239–40.

Even in categories where a periphrastic construction is obligatory, it is still possible to move the various elements around in relation to each other.

Second, while variation is possible, constituent order tends towards being linearly fixed. The strongest word order tendency is that the participle is directly adjacent to the copula, ignoring the intervening of a postpositive particle. Adjacency of the copula and participle has long been recognized as a strong marker for periphrasticity.<sup>63</sup> This tendency fits well with Bentein’s argument that the more grammaticalized a periphrastic construction is the stronger the tendency for the copula and participle to be adjacent. The result of this grammaticalization process is the almost complete fusion which characterizes an English periphrastic tense like “she had been going,” which strongly resists allowing any elements within the “had been going” unit. Close attention to the constituent order of paradigmatic suppletive tokens both supports and nuances this idea. Paradigmatic suppletive tokens exhibit some features of progressed grammaticalization, yet they still allow for the movement of elements. In the coming chapters, I will argue that the movement of constituents is pragmatically motivated.

**A note on lexical suppletion.** At this junction, I want to make a brief note of a different category of suppletive periphrasis proposed by Green in his dissertation: lexical suppletion. Green uses the category of lexical suppletion as a catch-all category for any idiosyncratic periphrastic usage that is limited to a lexeme, or perhaps a group of lexemes. That is, an instance of suppletive periphrasis which is motivated below the system-wide level like the above three. So far as I can tell, the name “lexical suppletion” in the Greek grammatical tradition is unique to Green and his work. In linguistic study at large this category does not appear to be discussed as a separate sub-category of

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<sup>63</sup> For a summary of scholarly opinions on the matter, see Klaas Bentein, “Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: *A State of the Art*,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’histoire* 90, no. 1 (2012): 40–42. In the NT, >90 percent of instances where a participle is adjacent to the copula are periphrastic. Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics,” 239–40.

periphrasis in the inflectional paradigm. It should be noted that, while there is cross-linguistic evidence indicating certain lexemes occasionally behave in odd ways with regard to periphrasis, I have found no discussion of the phenomenon which suggests such a thoroughgoing class of lexical suppletion as Green proposes.<sup>64</sup>

The ideas behind Green's category of lexical suppletion are sensible. There may be instances where, for a given author, there is no equivalent synthetic form of the verb available to use.<sup>65</sup> Throughout the course of the development of a language it is theoretically possible for certain slots of a paradigm to become idiosyncratically periphrastic. Whether a particular form was morphologically complex or little-known (a factor internal to Greek) or whether native-language sub-strata interfered to prefer a certain form for some verbs (a factor external to Greek), the result was that a slot in the verbal system became filled by a periphrastic form by default. For example, Acts Pil. 7.1 contains the following periphrastic construction: *αἰμορροῦσα ἡμην, καὶ ἥψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ*.<sup>66</sup> In the extant data from the period under consideration, *αἰμορροέω* is never attested as an imperfect (in fact, there are no attestations of it as a secondary tense in the indicative mood at all and most of its occurrences are as participles). This could be an accidental omission from the data, given that there are only forty-four uses attested, many of which are discussions of the biblical account to which this text alludes.<sup>67</sup> However, it could also be the case, that *αἰμορροέω* idiosyncratically forms its secondary tenses periphrastically rather than synthetically. Within the Greek

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<sup>64</sup> For example, Corbett's discussion of various types of periphrasticity within the system includes instances of isolated lexemes which exhibit periphrasis, as well as system-wide periphrastic constructions. Corbett, "Periphrasis and Possible Lexemes," 169–71. We could call instances of isolated lexemes "lexical suppletion," but this is unnecessary. Such isolated occurrences already fit within the category of suppletive periphrasis as they are an instance of a multi-word construction filling in a slot in the paradigm. The evidence that this occurs in Greek is underwhelming.

<sup>65</sup> Green, "Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics," 268.

<sup>66</sup> "I had a hemorrhage of blood, and I touched the fringe of his garment..."

<sup>67</sup> The participle *αἰμορροῦσα* occurs only in Matthew's version of this story (Matt 9:20). Mark and Luke both use the phrase *οὔσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος* instead (Mark 5:25 and Luke 8:43).

language, the existence of periphrasis provides a means to generate any needed form in the Greek verbal system through using a known participle and the requisite form of the copula. While this category is conceptually valid and cross-linguistic patterns give some attestation in living languages, it is rife with problems. Here I will address two: (1) lack of speakers and (2) pragmatic motivation.

First, and most difficult, is that there is a lack of speakers of Koine Greek. As our evidence of Koine Greek is based entirely on texts—whether literary texts intentionally preserved, inscriptions, graffiti, letters, or any other form that has somehow survived—we are never in a position to know what was possible for a Greek speaker to say. Said differently, we have a record of what *was written* but can only guess as to what was possible in Greek outside of what we have written records of.<sup>68</sup> We can never attempt to elicit a periphrastic or non-periphrastic version of a verb in question from a particular author using a well-designed questionnaire.<sup>69</sup>

Green attempts to work around this through using a broader corpus search. He searched for comparable verb forms within a corpus consisting of the NT, LXX, Josephus, Philo, Apostolic Fathers, and the Pseudepigrapha.<sup>70</sup> He describes his approach

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<sup>68</sup> While writing this dissertation, the practical limit of searching large databases of texts for specific details was highlighted when I was making use of a corpus of German works. I had cause to verify whether speakers of German would accept *ein Bild von einem Hund* as an appropriate way to express the idea *a picture of a dog*. As expected, this form is largely rejected by the older Germans who weighed in on the debate. They strongly prefer *ein Bild eines Hundes*. By contrast, *ein Bild von einem Hund* is considered acceptable and is used among younger Germans. Of interest is that the newer phrase *ein Bild von einem Hund* was not attested at all in a database of German texts containing several million words while the phrase *ein Bild eines Hundes* was. Based on this corpus alone, one gets a skewed picture of how German is currently used. This omission is easily compensated for by simply asking native speakers of the language how they would express the notion. We are unable to do that with Ancient Greek. Any word or phrase that happens to lie outside the recorded corpus is entirely lost to us and can only be speculated upon. This is limiting when trying to detect the sort of fine nuances in usage that are commonly represented by periphrastic constructions.

<sup>69</sup> For a perceptive critique highlighting the inherent problems of this line of approach in working with text languages, see Suzanne Fleischman, “Methodologies and Ideologies in Historical Linguistics: On Working with Older Languages,” in *Textual Parameters of Older Languages*, ed. Susan C. Herring, Pieter van Reenen, and Lene Schøsler, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science: Series IV Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 195 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 40–43.

<sup>70</sup> Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics,” 262–63.

as follows: “if no equivalent form of a periphrastic is found in this sampling of Koine documents, then it is assumed that the periphrastic supplements the verb paradigm.”<sup>71</sup> In assessing the validity of this category, I undertook a similar project, only with two modifications: (1) I used a much larger corpus and (2) I looked for a broader set of related possible forms rather than just exact equivalence.

First, I made use of two large corpuses of Greek: (1) the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG)<sup>72</sup> and (2) the papyri database at Papyri.info.<sup>73</sup> In the period between 300 BC and AD 300—the rough timeframe of the texts in my corpus—the TLG corpus contains 3,537 distinct texts from 1,336 authors. These texts contain 28,897,276 words comprised of 153,592 distinct lemmata. Over roughly the same time frame, Papyri.info includes 61,304 documents. This does not mean there are 61,304 unique papyri. Some papyri appear in multiple different places in the database, sometimes under different names, and it is unclear how multiple listings figure into the count of documents in the search. While the exact number of papyri is unknown, there are tens of thousands of documents in this search group. Analyzing data across such large corpuses has its own problems, among them being that they are not register and genre balanced,<sup>74</sup> and most significantly that they lack native speaker intuition as already mentioned. The non-inclusion of a word or construction in even such a large corpus as provided by TLG or

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<sup>71</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 263.

<sup>72</sup> Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. <http://www.tlg.uci.edu> (accessed March 2021).

<sup>73</sup> Papyri.info “aggregates material from the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP), Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (HGV), Bibliographie Papyrologique (BP), and depends on close collaboration with Trismegistos, for rigorous maintenance of relationship mapping and unique identifiers,” accessed March 2021, <https://papyri.info/>.

<sup>74</sup> On register balanced corpuses and an attempt to build one for NT studies, see Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “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. Stanley E. Porter, Studies in New Testament Greek 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 255–97. My own corpus is neither register nor genre balanced, though it has a central coherence in that these texts all emerge from sociologically related groups, even though covering a range of registers and genres.

Papyri.info is not proof-positive that such a form did not exist or could not be used in certain contexts.

After extensive searching through these databases, I came to the following conclusion: the category of lexical suppletion is not valuable.<sup>75</sup> What I found is that tokens which could be a case of lexical suppletion were primarily found in the perfect and pluperfect middle-passive.<sup>76</sup> That the perfect and pluperfect, especially middle-passive, were increasingly being formed via periphrasis has long been recognized. Among other possible reasons, there is good reason to suspect that this change was driven by a pragmatic reason: using easier (because more frequent) participle forms to avoid more complex indicative forms. In addition to telling us nothing we did not already know, it turns out that the various tokens which exhibited ‘lexical suppletion’ exhibit the same potential for constituent order variation as seen in the above cases of suppletive periphrasis.

The second major issue with lexical suppletion as a category is that it is based on a semantics-only consideration. Green sets out to answer the question of whether an instance of suppletive periphrasis means anything different than an ‘equivalent’ synthetic verb form.<sup>77</sup> While this is an interesting question, Green brings to his task certain assumptions which do not seem justified. Namely, he does not wrestle sufficiently with the implications of the pervasive nature of constituent order. This pervasive constituent order variation, as demonstrated in this chapter in reference to the most restricted

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<sup>75</sup> As I searched, I weighed the various factors regarding each word: (1) register of attestation, (2) frequency of attestation of lexeme, (3) existence of related parts of the paradigm, (4) existence of overlapping forms, and (5) the morphological complexity of the form. *TLG*’s ability to search for words by grammatical category proved indispensable; even still such searching is time consuming for a variety of reasons, mostly tied to the fact that *TLG* does not search a tagged database, thus often returns false positives when forms overlap. I assigned each possible token to a category based on how likely it might be a case of lexical suppletion: definitely, probably, possibly, definitely not.

<sup>76</sup> This accounts for thirty-eight of fifty-seven lexemes I ranked as probably or definitely lexical suppletion

<sup>77</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 262–63.

category of suppletive periphrasis, suggests that usage of copula + participle constructions—including those traditionally called periphrasis, but not limited to that group—has a strong pragmatic component. In light of our inability to know for sure if a given periphrasis is actually replacing a “non-existent” synthetic form and the possibility of pragmatic constituent order variation provided by a multi-word construction, it seems best to assume that lexical suppletion is an empty category in Greek. Theoretically interesting, but not possible to work with and unlikely to provide insight into the nature of the phenomenon under consideration. In light of the underwhelming nature of the data, I would suggest that appeals to the category of lexical suppletion as made by Green, and any exegetes following in that wake, are misguided.

### **Conclusion: On Semantics and Pragmatics**

In this chapter, I have taken up a category from the traditional approach to periphrasis: suppletive periphrasis. On this view, certain periphrastic constructions are obligatory.<sup>78</sup> I have reviewed the three instances where a Greek writer had no real choice but to use a periphrastic construction. In each case, we have seen that constituent order variation is both possible and common. These findings suggest that analyzing periphrastic constructions through the lens of how they semantically relate to their synthetic counterparts is not an adequate description of how they are used in the language. As I will detail in the next chapter, constituent order in Greek has a strong pragmatic motivation. That we find constituent order even in the most foundational types of periphrasis suggests that a robust account of their use in Greek requires attending to why

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<sup>78</sup> I note here that these constructions are in fact obligatory. That the only way to convey a third person middle-passive perfect indicative of verbs whose stem ends in a consonant is through a multi-word construction is evidence that these constructions are, in fact, periphrastic in the traditional sense. However, it is important that they still exhibit constituent order variation. This suggests that Greek writers made use of pragmatic possibilities in the construction on the analogy that the participle related to the copula much like a normal embedded participial clause. Said differently, rather than serving as impetus for further grammaticalization of the copula + participle construction, it appears that the pragmatic opportunities afforded by a multi-word construction proved so attractive to Greek users that these constructions stalled along the grammaticalization path.



a given constituent order is present. The rest of this dissertation will explore further the pragmatic nuances of different constituent orders in copula + participle constructions. Any description attempting to adequately account for copula + participle constructions must consider the reality of constituent order variations, as these are attested even in the most periphrastic of these copula + participle constructions: suppletive forms.

CHAPTER 3  
INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUENT  
ORDER IN GREEK: THEORY AND MODELS

In chapter 2, I considered the issue of suppletive periphrasis. I argued there that variation in the order of elements is a foundational reality in εἰμί + participle constructions. Even in cases of suppletive periphrasis, where a multi-word construction is the obligatory way to fill a slot in the verbal system, there is observable constituent order variation in these constructions. The systematic presence of variation in constituent order throughout all types of copula + participle constructions demands an explanation.

The accounts of periphrastic constructions in contemporary grammars do not deal with the phenomenon of constituent order variability in any systematic way, a shortcoming in their descriptions. Stephen Levinsohn, in an important paper, sketched out how his functional approach can account for constituent order variation in copula + participle clauses in the Synoptics Gospels and Acts.<sup>1</sup> In addition to and predating this work by Levinsohn, portions of dissertations by Nicholas Bailey and Carl Johnson address the phenomenon of constituent order variation in copula + participle constructions, both working within Levinsohn’s general functional model.<sup>2</sup> Levinsohn’s

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 423–41. In addition to this paper, he also addresses issues of semantics associated with copula + participle constructions in a related paper. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 307–27. This paper, though published earlier, was written after the investigation of copula + participle constructions in the Synoptics and Acts.

<sup>2</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί”; Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with εἰμί ‘be’, γίνομαι ‘occur’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἰδοὺ/ἴδε ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of δρᾶω ‘see’” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2009);

explanation of constituent order in copula + participle constructions appears promising. It is based on cross-linguistic typological principles and accounts for variation within the corpus he analyzed.

In this study I look to expand Levinsohn's work by extending his analysis over a distinct corpus of texts from his original work to test its explanatory power. The motives behind this are multiple. The general feelings between NT scholars and linguists working with Koine Greek are well represented by Nicholas Ellis when he writes:

And yet, the bible translation guild has, for the most part and until recently, been seemingly unwilling and uninterested in engaging with the biblical studies academic guild, and vice versa, possibly due to an increasing gap in mutually unintelligible vocabulary and theoretical frameworks that would enable the two communities to collaborate in their biblical analyses.<sup>3</sup>

Levinsohn has labored to make his work more accessible to general biblical studies, but it is still quite exotic when compared to the approaches toward grammar and language most biblical scholars learn and use. In this study, I aim to: (1) assess whether Levinsohn's account of copula + participle constructions can explain observed constituent order variation for texts other than those it was developed on and (2) provide more data illustrating the constituent order phenomena under consideration. I will conclude that Levinsohn's model does in fact account for constituent order variation in these constructions, which suggests that the historical treatment of 'periphrasis' in Greek grammars requires substantial revision. The cause for revising traditional approaches will be helped by a broader study of the phenomenon under consideration than Levinsohn's own article provides.

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Carl E. Johnson, "A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas J. Ellis, "Biblical Exegesis and Linguistics: A Prodigal History," in *Linguistics and New Testament Greek: Key Issues in the Current Debate*, ed. David Allan Black and Benjamin L. Merkle (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 229.

Recognizing the aforementioned gulf between linguistic work and biblical studies and writing as one standing mainly on the biblical studies side who has ventured out into linguistic-oriented analysis, I will begin this chapter with a general overview of the required theoretical background for this investigation into the information structure of Greek as pertains to εἰμί + participle constructions. While information structure as applied to Greek is no longer cutting edge, that is not to say it is well recognized and acknowledged across the field.<sup>4</sup> As such, I will introduce the key concepts which underly Levinsohn’s approach, then move on to outlining his approach, and finally introducing the way in which he accounts for copula + participle constructions within his approach.

### Information Structure

Information Structure (IS) in linguistics at large is a robust and complicated field of study with a developing vocabulary and wide array of methodologies.<sup>5</sup> IS is related both to some of the central disciplines of linguistics (semantics, pragmatics, syntax, morphology, and prosody) and to some extra-linguistic aspects such as interlocutors’ psychological perception of the world.<sup>6</sup> At the heart of the discipline is a conviction that language cannot be fully understood without considering its use by discourse participants in real contexts.<sup>7</sup> IS examines how sentences are structured in

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<sup>4</sup> Consider the evidence of the recent Classical Greek grammar Evert van Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Its inclusion of information structure based description of Greek syntax in what is effectively a reference grammar shows how far the field has come in general recognition.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of the field in its various forms, see Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara, “Introduction,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, ed. Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–18.

<sup>6</sup> Féry and Ishihara, “Introduction,” 1.

<sup>7</sup> Nicolas Bertrand, “Information Structure and Greek,” in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, ed. Vit Bubenik (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 238. One might say that the approach of IS is driven by a simple fact: the same semantic content can be uttered (or written) in many ways, with different word order or intonation, which result in different communication. IS aims to describe some of the reasons such variability occurs. As Lambrecht puts it, “the structure of a sentence reflects in systematic and theoretically interesting ways a speaker’s assumptions about the hearer’s state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of an utterance.” Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*:

discourse into different kinds of information blocks which are sensitive to the context. There are a wide array of approaches in the study of IS due (at least in part) to the wide array of ways the phenomena under consideration are expressed in different languages, including prosody, morphology, syntax, semantics, as well as pragmatic means.<sup>8</sup>

From the many different models of IS, Knud Lambrecht's model has emerged as dominant in Ancient Greek study.<sup>9</sup> Lambrecht describes IS as "that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts."<sup>10</sup> Noteworthy in this definition is that, first, IS belongs to the grammar of a sentence. Thus, IS is a determining factor in the structure of sentences.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, studies across a wide variety of languages show that many variations in word and/or constituent order in sentences can be accounted for by IS concerns.<sup>12</sup> Second, Lambrecht's definition emphasizes that IS only considers what is expressed in the structure of the language. While IS involves considering such psychological phenomena as what speakers and hearers believe about the mental states of one another during

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*Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Féry and Ishihara, "Introduction," 2.

<sup>9</sup> This model is laid out in the now classic work, Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*. Lambrecht's other writings develop and tweak this major proposal, but no substantive changes are made to it.

<sup>10</sup> Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 3. In Lambrecht's conceptualization, IS partially overlaps both with traditional grammar and with the field of discourse analysis (or, text-grammar/text-linguistics). It shares the concern of traditional grammar in focusing on the organization of a sentence. It shares the concern of discourse-analysis/text-grammar in considering how the discourse at large is put together and how this influences the structure of sentences within the discourse. As such, it sits between these two approaches (7).

<sup>12</sup> Balázs Surányi, "Discourse-Configurationality," in *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, ed. Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 422.

communication, it considers these only insofar as they can be observed in actual language usage, including morphosyntax and prosody.<sup>13</sup>

Given the discourse approach in Lambrecht's IS model, communication involves minimally a speaker and hearer in conversation.<sup>14</sup> Since this study is concerned with written texts, I will discuss the author and reader as the participants in discourse and the text as the central medium of communication, though the basic mechanics are the same as with a speaker and hearer in conversation.<sup>15</sup> At the core of the IS model is the notion of *Common Ground*.<sup>16</sup> The Common Ground (CG) is a way to model the information which is shared by both parties in communication. It includes the large amount of information and beliefs which are presupposed as the basis for the communication as well as the new information which is added throughout the discourse. While communication is underway, the CG is continuously modified. The goal of communication is to develop the CG until it reaches such a state that the communicative objective is reached: both parties share roughly the same information about the topic at

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<sup>13</sup> Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> As Lambrecht's model is most influential in Greek, and informs Levinsohn's work as well, I will use it as the backdrop for discussing the general concerns which animate IS approaches.

<sup>15</sup> There are several ways in which the author/reader dynamic differs from natural conversation. In live conversation, the main medium of linguistic communication is the spoken word, which entails a wide variety of vocal cues including changes in pace, stops, vocal stress, changes in pitch, and so on, all of which are an important part of the message and contribute to the IS concerns that will dominate this dissertation. Another key difference is that the author/reader dynamic lacks the complex, spontaneous turn-taking in the communication which defines live conversation. The turn-taking structure of conversation is studied under the rubric of conversation analysis, building on the foundational work of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson, "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation," *Language* 50, no. No. 4, Part 1 (December 1974): 696–735. These differences put real limitations on the author/reader dynamic, as well as provide opportunities which are not possible in live-conversation. The most basic difference between the speaker/hearer and author/reader versions of the communication model could be summed up as follows: live conversation is dialogical, while texts are authorial monologues (true even when the author is writing dialogue). From an IS point of view, the author is in control of content of the common ground and the reader is not in position to ask for further clarification when they do not understand something. While this difference is real, it should not be over-stressed. For communication to be successful, the author has to communicate in ways which piggy-back on the normal dialogical patterns of language. The basic language moves which authors use to structure their communication follow the same communicative principles as those used in conversation.

<sup>16</sup> On Common Ground, see Herbert H. Clark and Edward F. Schaefer, "Contributing to Discourse," *Cognitive Science* 13 (1989): 260–62.

hand. As communication progresses, the CG is always changing, requiring information to be structured in correspondence to the state of the CG at the point of utterance.<sup>17</sup>

Tracking the development of the CG throughout a discourse requires paying attention to the way propositions relate to one another as the discourse unfolds. As such, propositions are a key concept in this model. Propositions are used to model the discourse participants' knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions about the world and the state of the discourse. Propositions include both the *text-external* world (the spatio-temporal setting of the language exchange, in both the immediate and broad cultural sense) and the *text-internal* world (the always evolving set of linguistic expressions of the ongoing discourse). In terms of propositions, then, the CG is the sum of these shared propositions at the time of communication. As such, it includes a rich array of propositions relating to the culture in which the communication takes place, the participants intentions in the communication, and the degree of relationship which the participants share with each other, among other things.<sup>18</sup> The CG evolves throughout a discourse as new propositions are added to it and old ones slip out of focus and memory. Propositions which were once part of the CG can cease to be. An author may feel it necessary to re-introduce an entity which was previously part of the CG because they assume the entity is no longer in the reader's mind, thus no longer in the CG. The key reality regarding the CG in texts is that

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<sup>17</sup> Manfred Krifka, "Basic Notions of Information Structure," *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55, no. 3–4 (2008): 245. Krifka makes a further distinction between the sub-system which manages the input of content to the CG and the sub-system which is used to express the communicative interests and goals of the participants which are not strictly informational (246). For example, questions often do not contribute new information to the CG; rather, they serve the purpose of indicating a need one party has that should be satisfied by the communicative move of another. For the purposes of this study, such distinctions are not necessary, though a robust description of Greek certainly requires attention to these details.

<sup>18</sup> In practice, the CG varies widely in different communicative exchanges based on factors such as age, setting (conversing with a colleague versus someone with a different area of expertise), relationship, socio-economic factors, education status, etc. Since little to no communication takes place to establish the exact contents of the CG at the beginning of communication, it is clear that the CG is built upon the assumptions each party has about the mental state of the other party. For more on this process, see E. A. Isaacs and H. H. Clark, "References in Conversation between Experts and Novices," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 116, no. 1 (1987): 26–37. A key element of coming to understand communication in a culture—whether spoken or written—is to learn the different sets of background knowledge—different CGs—which are appropriate to assume in different contexts.

the author is in control of what gets assumed to be the CG as well as what is added to the CG.<sup>19</sup> The author's job is to write in such a way that it is clear how each utterance added to the discourse connects with the CG, modifying it in various ways.<sup>20</sup>

In many ways, an author writing a discourse is analogous to building a house.<sup>21</sup> The author assumes a shared CG with the reader, which is the foundation, and goes about building and furnishing different rooms, moving from room to room with major changes of topic. A skilled author builds a coherent house of discourse by guiding the reader through how each new proposition is meant to be integrated into the whole. When building a discourse, authors hold together various concerns to guide the reader along, ranging from issues like assessing the likely language skills of the audience all the way to the proper packaging of their message within the culture's conventional patterns of communication (i.e., rhetoric and genre). IS pays attention to the linguistic means through which the author guides the reader on how to integrate new propositions into the already

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<sup>19</sup> A category from literary theory now well-known in NT scholarship, that of the "implied reader," can helpfully illustrate how the author, reader, and CG relate. In terms of IS, the implied reader could be defined as the reader who shares the exact CG with the author as the author assumes the reader does at each step in the discourse. As the implied reader of literary theory has all the knowledge necessary to understand the text like the author desires, so in IS terms such a figure would always share the intended mental representation of the discourse the author builds, including having all the necessary propositions in the CG. There is no reason to expect this is ever the case in real communication. If the author assumes certain propositions as part of the common ground which the reader does not have access to, the communication is hampered.

<sup>20</sup> This paragraph is dependent on Bertrand, "Information Structure and Greek," 239.

<sup>21</sup> Another common metaphor in the literature is that of a filing cabinet. In this metaphor, each new proposition is like a new note put into the CG filing cabinet, with the expectation that it is there for future references when it will be called on again. An obvious modification to this metaphor would be to use the modern equivalent of a filing-system—hyperlinked websites or electronic filing systems. Elements can be hyperlinked to other elements, once added into the discourse. An obvious limitation to all these models is that they over-represent how information lasts in the mind once added to the discourse both in terms of permanence and specificity. Human beings do not remember every new detail added to the CG. And those elements which are added tend to lose their grammatical specificity as they are integrated into what has been called episodic memory. After a period of 2–5 clauses, or about 8–20 seconds of language, grammatical form ceases to be preserved in memory. T. Givón, "Coming to Terms with Cognition: Coherence in Text vs. Coherence in Mind," in *Functionalism and Grammar* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 486. In their place, we build an episodic, generalized representation of the discourse. Accepting that our memories are summative and faulty, rather than detailed and full, these metaphors are helpful.



established discourse structure on a clause-by-clause basis.<sup>22</sup> Before entering into more detail on the different components of IS as applied to Greek within Levinsohn's system, I will lay out some broad considerations which helpfully situate the concerns of IS and its value when applied to Koine Greek.

### **Information Structure and Greek: An Overview**

In this section, I move on to discussing the basic value of IS for Koine Greek study. IS is well-suited for investigating the different orders of constituents attested within Greek. Traditional grammar offers few compelling explanations for the variation in constituent order found in grammatical clauses. This lack of explanation can be attributed to the focus of traditional grammar on explaining how the pieces of a sentence relate to each other to make a grammatical sentence. The essential difference between IS and traditional grammar is that IS does not focus on describing the internal logic of cases

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<sup>22</sup> A technical way to say this is that an author makes use of different forms of cohesion to make a text that is coherent. For a brief explanation of the distinction between and roles of cohesion and coherence, see Robert A. Dooley and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts* (Dallas: SIL International, 2001), 21–34. Making a coherent text involves using language cues as well as the conventions which govern discourses in a given language (genre and rhetoric). A coherent text is one where a hearer/reader can fit all the pieces into a single mental representation. As Dooley and Levinsohn point out, coherence is technically a property of the reader, not the text, which explains why a text may cohere to some readers and not others, or to the same reader at different points in time (24). In point of fact, it is quite difficult to make a non-coherent (that is, ill-formed) text as almost any series of sentences can be combined into a coherent mental representation if the reader supplies enough inferences. Carlota S. Smith, *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 44–45. Acknowledging the reader-dependence of coherence and the fact that there is no direct correspondence between “text-grammar” and sentence grammar, coherence can still be studied as a phenomenon of a text with useful results because the way in which the pieces of discourse are assembled by a writer has a profound impact on how easy it is for the reader to create a mental representation. In general, authors follow the normal conventions of a language community to render their discourses understandable, rather than subverting the normal expectations. Since the aim of a text is communication, paying attention to the way an author puts the pieces of the discourse house together at the level of sentence grammar is a valuable endeavor, even though it cannot exhaustively explain coherence.

This study—and IS analysis in general—is primarily concerned with cohesion rather than coherence. Cohesion leads to (but is not the only factor involved in) coherence. Dooley and Levinsohn write: “...cohesion is pervasive in discourse, and this suggests that it carries a heavy communicative load. Its importance to coherence is the importance of what we say to what we mean. That is, cohesion represents “hard data” to guide the hearer toward an adequate mental representation. Since cohesion is valuable for the hearer, knowledge of how to furnish the right kinds of cohesion is also valuable for the speaker.” Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*, 33. Analyzing the string of Topic and Focus elements does not demonstrate the macro-structures of a text (though it can help), nor testify to an author's purpose in writing (though it can help); it tracks how the author uses language to connect each new clause to the preceding discourse.

and phrases in isolated sentences; rather, it focuses on the how sentences are used in communicative contexts. An example from English will clarify IS analysis in practice.

The following four sentences are all written the same (in normal circumstances), but the communicative contexts which they most naturally fit in are different (capital letters indicate the main accent in a spoken sentence):<sup>23</sup>

1. JOHN gave the book to Paul.
2. John GAVE the book to Paul.
3. John gave the BOOK to Paul.
4. John gave the book to PAUL.

In terms of traditional grammar, these sentences are all identical: John (subject) gave (verb) the book (object) to Paul (indirect object). This is an accurate description of how the words work with each other to render a meaningful sentence in English, as opposed to an obtuse string of words. However, it does not describe what justifies or controls the variable placement of stress in spoken English.<sup>24</sup>

Considering these four sentences through the tools used in IS analysis, we can explain why they differ from each other. The stressed element receives some sort of emphasis which matches the appropriate context, that is, it is Focus. One appropriate context for each sentence is easiest to see when the sentence is framed as an answer to a question:

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<sup>23</sup> “Most naturally” is a key here. In real discourse, there are very few limits on where any given sentence—better yet, version of a sentence—can occur. A speaker has almost unlimited freedom in what they say, how they say it, and what context they say it in. However, the same sentence in different contexts has different implications, so also Knud Lambrecht and Laura A. Michaelis, “Sentence Accent in Information Questions: Default and Projection,” *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21 (1998): 477 n2. Where a sentence “most naturally” fits is a discourse context where the implications it raises are expected by a hearer.

<sup>24</sup> For the point of this example, it suffices to note that an English speaker skilled at reading who was to read these texts out loud within a meaningful context would produce the appropriate stress-pattern version of the sentence unconsciously.

1. Q. Who gave the book to Paul?      A. JOHN gave the book to Paul.
2. Q. What did John do with the book?      A. John GAVE the book to Paul.
3. Q. What did John give to Paul?      A. John gave the BOOK to Paul.
4. Q. To whom did John give the book?      A. John gave the book to PAUL.

The piece of information being asked for receives phonological stress in each response.<sup>25</sup>

The most appropriate form of the sentence to use as a response is limited by the communicative context. While we write each version of the sentence the same and describe them the same in the categories of traditional grammar, they are not the same.

Every skilled speaker of English knows when to use which stress pattern as well as the pragmatic effects of using a stress pattern other than what the question expects. Consider the following question and answer pair in which the expectations of the question are thwarted in the answer:

(Q) Who did John give the book to?

(A) PAUL gave the book to TIM.

Placing the stress on the unexpected PAUL enables the respondent to correct the faulty presupposition of the question—the person giving the book was John rather than Paul—as well as answer the question in one economical sentence. An expanded version of this would be something like, “It was PAUL, not John, who gave the book to Tim.” Stress patterns play a significant, though not exclusive, role in conveying IS in English.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This is an example of a presupposition-focus clause, which is common in question-and-answer pairs seeking information. The answer fills in the open presupposition in the following manner:

Presupposition implied in question: John gave *something* to Paul

Answer with Focus: John gave the BOOK to Paul

The Focus in the answer is the element which fills in the empty slot of the presupposition. In this way, even the verb can receive Focus. In topic-comment sentences, by contrast, a verb receiving Focus on its own is rare.

<sup>26</sup> The role of vocal stress and intonation in English is part of the reason texts read by digital readers sound wrong. Even when they pronounce the words correctly, the prosodic shape of clauses is lacking, stripping away key information used to structure English.

Koine Greek syntax, by contrast, conveys IS by constituent order.<sup>27</sup> Others have argued that several IS categories play a significant role in shaping the constituent order of utterances in Greek, making them recoverable to a high degree from the order of constituents in written texts. For example, a plausible Koine Greek equivalent to each of the four examples question-answer pairs in English is as follows:<sup>28</sup>

1. τίς ἔδωκεν τὸ βιβλίον τῷ Παῦλι;      ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔδωκεν τὸ βιβλίον τῷ Παῦλι.
2. τί ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ βιβλίῳ;      ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ βιβλίον τῷ Παῦλι ἔδωκεν.
3. τί ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Παῦλι;      τὸ βιβλίον ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Παῦλι.
4. τίνοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ βιβλίον;      τῷ Παῦλι ἔδωκεν ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ βιβλίον.

The Greek constituent order shifts to convey the IS of each assertion, with the element filling in the gap in each question fronted (except in (2) where the verb is moved from its default clause-initial position to the end of the clause for Focus).<sup>29</sup> From the perspective of Koine Greek, to answer the four questions posited above with the exact same syntax, as English does, would sound as unnatural as it would be to answer them all with the

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<sup>27</sup> I am not arguing the validity of this approach; rather, I accept the work of others who have demonstrated its general validity. There is no reason to doubt that prosody played some role in Ancient Greek IS, both on typological grounds and internal evidence. Vocal stress and other elements of prosody are associated with the IS category Focus in a variety of typologically and genetically diverse languages and are commonly considered a universal part of the way languages convey Focus. Jeanette K. Gundel and Thorstein Fretheim, “Topic and Focus,” in *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 183. Their relative importance, however, varies between languages. Maticić points out that there are certain constructions which cannot be distinguished as is in the text, and would likely require prosody to distinguish in speech (naturally, those reading the text would have to make an informed decision on the meaning). Dejan Maticić, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Studies in Language* 27, no. 3 (2003): 587–88. It is likely that at least part of the difficulty experienced in analyzing εἰμί + participle constructions is that in many borderline cases, the distinction between a one clause and a two clause analysis was made by prosody, not syntax.

<sup>28</sup> Naturally, it is not possible to say these are the exact representations as there are no native speakers to verify them in real communicative contexts. These sentences are meant to be illustrative of some basic, well-established constituent order patterns in Greek which convey the basic principles of IS in a shorter space of time than the necessary work of citing evidence from a wide variety of Greek texts.

<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, it is astounding how little discussion there is of the order of elements in question-and-answer pairs in the grammatical tradition. As Aubrey points out, the NT grammatical tradition is quite weak on the question of questions. Michael Aubrey, “How Are Greek Questions Formed?,” *Koine-Greek*, November 30, 2020, <https://koine-greek.com/2020/11/30/how-are-greek-questions-formed/>. Several works in my corpus involve extensive usage of question-and-answer-based discussion. While questions are common in the NT, it is worth noting that questions there very often are not answered.

exact same intonation pattern in English. With this example in hand, we will now move on to describing the history of IS analysis in Greek and the main results which have been established to date.

### **Applying Information Structure to Greek**

Kenneth Dover noted long ago that variance in constituent order between sentences which are identical in structure and content requires an explanation at levels above the sentence.<sup>30</sup> The IS approach aims to explain these variations in constituent order by attending to IS concerns. This investigation is carried out at the level of the clause and involves attention to the type of sentence articulation.

**The Clause and its look-alikes.** At this stage it is important to clarify the proper unit of analysis for IS investigation: the clause. The clause can be defined as the smallest linguistic unit making a complete predication and it is composed of a verb and a subject (implicit or explicit), along with any other arguments and adjuncts.<sup>31</sup> A clause needs to be held in distinction from two other related notions which appear in analysis of Greek constituent order: the sentence and the colon.

A sentence is “a grammatical unit that is composed of one or more clauses.”<sup>32</sup> A single clause can be a sentence, but sentence is a higher ordering level and as such is able to include much greater complexity than a clause. In common usage, a sentence refers to all the text which comes between an initial capital letter and final period. While text-sentences often are a clause as defined above, there is no direct equivalence.<sup>33</sup> Text-

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<sup>30</sup> K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 32.

<sup>31</sup> See *SIL Glossary*, “Clause.”

<sup>32</sup> See *SIL Glossary*, “Sentence.”

<sup>33</sup> Geoffrey Nunberg, *The Linguistics of Punctuation*, Center for the Study of Language and Information Lecture Notes 18 (Stanford: CSLI, 1990), 22–23. A text-sentence contrasts to what Nunberg calls a “lexical-sentence,” by which he refers roughly to what I mean by the term clause. Nunberg notes three different ways that lexical-sentences are defined: (1) syntactically, (2) prosodically, or (3) semantically. These different definitions result in the same basic concept, with bleeding around the edges.

sentences in Greek texts should be considered editorial insertions and thus reflect an implicit (or explicit) theory of syntax rather than functioning as an appropriate means of close analysis.<sup>34</sup> Analyzing text-sentences is appropriate for its own purposes, but it is not the domain of IS. Since it is well known that the text-sentences in Ancient Greek manuscripts are most likely not original, the text-sentence has not been a productive domain for constituent order analysis in Ancient Greek.

Another recent major proposal aiming to explain Greek constituent order makes extensive use of a different concept: the colon. A colon is a difficult concept to delineate. It corresponds most closely to the modern concept of an Intonation Unit, which is roughly equivalent to a grammatical phrase, though neither colon nor intonation units can be applied to any syntactic or grammatical unit with complete consistency.<sup>35</sup>

Research on cola (the plural of colon) flows from Jacob Wackernagel's famous law about the second position of post-positive elements, through the work of Eduard Fraenkel, into its most recent permutation in the major work by Frank Scheppers arguing that the colon

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Traditional grammatical analysis and modern linguistics focuses on lexical-sentences, or, to use my terminology, clauses. Text-sentences share many similarities with lexical-sentences, but, as Nunberg argues, have their own properties which differ in fascinating ways.

<sup>34</sup> As text-sentences require punctuation, they are dependent on a punctuated text. This is a problem when dealing with Ancient Greek texts. Tromp's comment on punctuation in his edition of *Life of Adam and Eve* shows the general relation of punctuation in manuscripts to critical editions: "The manuscripts' indications of commas and stops, separation of words, accents and breathings are ignored... It is normal editorial usage to ignore the commas and stops written in the manuscripts." Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 29. Scheppers well captures the role of editorial punctuation in critical texts: "punctuation is a self-contained traditional orthographic practice which fits quite well with our traditional reading habits and the traditions in the field of Classical scholarship." Frank Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis: Word Order, Discourse Segmentation and Discourse Coherence in Ancient Greek* (Brussels: VUBPRESS, 2011), 444. On punctuation regarding the NT manuscripts, see BDF, § 16.

<sup>35</sup> Research on modern spoken European languages finds that IUs tend to coincide with grammatical units, with the clause being a major domain, but lower level units are also very common. Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis*, 26–32. Scheppers is not unique in making use of the concept of an Intonation Unit. It also appears in various versions of IS work in the Classical Greek stream. Most notably, Allan appeals to the IU to account for various extra-sentential elements which, nevertheless, are closely tied to the main sentence. Rutger J. Allan, "Changing the Topic: Topic Position in Ancient Greek Word Order," *Mnemosyne* 67, no. 2 (2014): 183–85. While he does not go into any detail about the concept of an IU, in practice Allan's use of IU always accords with a grammatical unit ranging from a noun phrase to an entire clause.

is the fundamental unit of Greek composition, not the clause or sentence.<sup>36</sup> As part of his project, Scheppers gives the colon a more precise definition than it has yet enjoyed in its long history as a concept. He sees the colon as an Intonation Unit (IU). An IU comprises everything spoken under one accent contour and can range in size from a single word to everything that can be said in one breath. In Scheppers' account, the colon is the most basic ordering unit of Greek. The clause (and by extension any units larger than the clause) is a by-product arising out of composing/speaking in cola, not an actual unit of composition itself.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> On the development of the concept of the colon in Classical studies and an analysis of its idiosyncrasies, see Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis*, 4–17.

<sup>37</sup> Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis*, 435, 437–38. While Scheppers' work is impressive, it will be dealt with in summary fashion here because (1) it is not easily adaptable to lower register texts which make much less usage of particles and (2) my goals are to work within the established tradition of Levinsohn's functionalism, rather than engage a different one. In principle, Scheppers' approach bears many similarities to the functional grammar approach taken here and it accounts for many of the IS features in the same basic ways. The major differences, which Scheppers summarizes on pages 438–440 are as follows. First, Scheppers views clauses as derivative rather than a properly basic unit of composition. Thus, his model is not an extension of grammar "beyond the clause," as is functional grammar. Rather, he explains the existence of the clause and larger phenomenon in terms of pragmatics rather than syntax. Second, his approach is not functional, that is, he does not view language as a tool for communicating pre-linguistic content, emphasizing instead parallels between other modes of cognition/perception and between discourse and other non-communicative types of action (438). In practice, this results in a unit of analysis markedly shorter than a clause. Since cola are usually shorter than a clause and the colon forms the basic unit of composition, it follows that constituent (and word) order phenomenon are to be explained not in terms of clauses, but cola.

Part of his disagreement with the IS approach stemming from adapting functional linguistics appears to be a quibble with the early model of H. Dik as presented in her published dissertation, as the specific points he raises on page 439 are not evident in the subsequent development of her model, nor of the independently developed model of Levinsohn. In practical terms, one way Scheppers' approach affects the reading of Greek is how he understands circumstantial participles. In the functional grammar approach, the finite verb is the core of the clause and participles are subordinate to it. This means that in some way they are less important, background, as it were, no matter how central they are to the semantics of the clause or the development of the discourse. They have a lower syntactic rank. In Scheppers' view, participles are not inherently backgrounded to the main verb and the relative salience which the main verb seems to be afforded has to do with "the sentence closure affect." When sentence closure is achieved—by a variety of different means—the final segment tends to seem more salient than other segments. For Scheppers, this relates to general principles of human cognition and need not be explained in terms of subordination (see especially 401–08).

What to say of Scheppers' work? It is sweeping, intriguing, and yet it seems limited to the Classical Greek on which it was developed. Many features of Greek which are key to his approach are absent in the texts in my corpus. For example, part of his argument against the notion that (certain) participles are background is that this would leave the foreground of Greek narrative incredibly sparse. While this may be a compelling observation in many Classical compositions, it lacks applicability in lower-register Koine texts where participles manifestly fill background roles vis-à-vis the main verb and are justly considered background, on which see the important work of Robert E. Longacre, "Mark 5.1–43: Generating the Complexity of a Narrative from Its Most Basic Elements," in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jeffrey T. Reed, Studies in New

**Sentence articulation: not all sentences are created equal.** Another important assertion about the nature of the clause is that not all clauses are the same in terms of IS. There are three distinct types of clauses which have different IS patterns and properties, resulting in different functions. These three sentence types are: (1) topic-comment, (2) focus-presupposition, and (3)thetic.<sup>38</sup> *Topic-comment* sentences have a topic (most often the subject of the sentence) and a comment about that topic.<sup>39</sup> Most sentences in a discourse are topic-comment. *Focus-presupposition* sentences have a presupposition which is known to the hearer and a Focus element which fills in the information the speaker assumes the hearer wants to know.<sup>40</sup> Focus-presupposition articulation is most common in questions seeking information where all the elements of the clause except the question word (or answer to the question) is presupposed.<sup>41</sup> Lastly, the *thetic* articulation is distinct in lacking a Topic; the entire sentence is Focus.<sup>42</sup> Thetic sentences are used for introducing new participants into the discourse.

Distinguishing between the different clause articulations is important because

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Testament Greek 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 169–96. Given the extensive overlap in approach between Scheppers and the functional grammar approach within which I am working, there are points where comparison to his results is appropriate, but his fundamental assertion that the colon is the base unit of Greek composition is not a compelling approach for the texts with which I am working, at least not in the form in which his hypothesis currently sits.

<sup>38</sup> Ellen F. Prince, “Informational and Rhetorical Structure,” in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. William J. Frawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Topic-comment sentences map consistently onto the traditional distinction between a subject and predicate.

<sup>40</sup> “In this kind of articulation, there are again two components. One, the presupposition, presents incomplete information about a situation of which the speaker presumes the hearer to be aware. The other, the Focus, is the missing information, which the speaker presumes that the hearer wants to know.” Avery D. Andrews, “The Major Functions of the Noun Phrase,” in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, ed. Timothy Shopen, 2nd ed., vol. 1: Clause Structure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 150.

<sup>41</sup> Lambrecht characterizes these as identificational sentences. Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 122. Levinsohn points out that in these sentences in Greek, as the question word is the Focus, it is no surprise that the interrogative precedes the verb in the focal position, *DFNTG*, 53.

<sup>42</sup> “Inthetic articulation, the entire sentence can be taken as a comment whose topic is the ambient situation rather than some specific, delineated component thereof that has been accepted as something to talk about.” Andrews, “The Major Functions of the Noun Phrase,” 150.



they have different IS features. I will focus on topic-comment andthetic sentence articulations and will analyze them separately throughout. Within the flow of clauses, a way of tracking and describing how different pieces of information are handled and how they relate to the Common Ground is needed.

**Categories for Describing Propositions.** Information Structure analyzes discourse along several independent but interacting dimensions, the exact expression of which varies from theory to theory. Within Lambrecht’s model, there are three central dimensions for describing propositions and how they relate to the CG: (1) presupposition and assertion, (2) identifiability and activation, and (3) Topic and Focus.<sup>43</sup> First, the categories of *presupposition* and *assertion* attend to how propositions are structured into portions based on what a speaker assumes an addressee already knows or does not know (does the hearer already know this, or do I need to assert it?). Second, *identifiability* and *activation*, refer to the speaker’s assumptions about the status of the mental representations of discourse referents in the addressee’s mind at the time of an utterance (is a referent already identifiable, or does it need to be activated?). Finally, the categories of *Topic* and *Focus* are concerned with the speaker’s assessment of the relative predictability or unpredictability in the relationship between a new proposition and its elements to the ongoing discourse.<sup>44</sup> Taken together, these sets of parameters provide a way to analyze and describe how an utterance is informative, that is, how it relates to the CG and modifies it.

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<sup>43</sup> Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 5–6. Another summary set of categories are the following three pairs: focus-background, topic-comment, and given-new. Malte Zimmermann, “Information Structure,” Oxford Bibliographies Online, last modified July 27, 2016, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0130.xml>. These differ from Lambrecht’s threefold distinction, though they are clearly dealing with the same concerns. One could rearrange Lambrecht’s categories to be the same, if so inclined. For my purposes, a simple adaptation of Lambrecht with free borrowing from other related theories is sufficient.

<sup>44</sup> This paragraph summarizes Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 5–6.

As is apparent, these categories interrelate in many ways, but there is value in keeping them distinct. Of Lambrecht's three sets of categories, *Topic* and *Focus* will dominate this study. The other categories will not be ignored; rather, they will be assumed throughout the analysis and appealed to as needed. Due to the importance of *Topic* and *Focus* for this study, there is need for further clarification on what they are and what features of language they describe.

**Topic and Focus: The Central Parameters.** *Topic* and *Focus* are variously defined in the literature. In line with Levinsohn, I will use *Topic* to refer to the “aboutness” of a sentence and *Focus* to refer to “that part of an utterance which is intended to make the most important change in the hearer’s mental representation.”<sup>45</sup> These concepts require further explanation to clarify what they are and how they function.

First, the *Topic* is the entity which the sentence is “about.” In Greek, the default *Topic* is the subject.<sup>46</sup> This holds for *Topic-Comment* sentences, sentences which function to add new information about a *Topic* (this is the default type of sentence). The *Topic* is presupposed information, that is, it is accessible to the hearer/reader “as the most useful frame in which to interpret his/her sentence.”<sup>47</sup> As a part of the CG, a *Topic* is either already active in the discourse or is an entity which is assumed to be accessible to

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<sup>45</sup> *DFNTG*, 294.

<sup>46</sup> *DFNTG*, 7. For literature on the assumption that the grammatical subject is the default topic more generally, see Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 186 n13. Because of its syntactic complexity, Greek allows a wide variety of constituents to serve as *Topic* in various types of clauses, including: a subject noun phrase, oblique noun phrases, independent noun phrases (“pendent nominative”), prepositional phrases (mainly *περί* serving as a Theme), complement clauses, or a verb or verb phrase. Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis*, 409–11. For the purpose of this study, the strong association between the IS role of *Topic* and the grammatical role of subject is sufficient.

<sup>47</sup> Nicolas Bertrand, “A Handbook of Homeric Greek Word Order: Expressing Information Structure in Homer and Beyond,” *CHS Research Bulletin* 7 (2019).

the hearer/reader without introduction, for a variety of possible reasons.<sup>48</sup> The function of the Topic in each clause is to highlight which portion of the CG the new clause must be interpreted in relation to.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the Topic can be thought of as an anchor point which ties a new sentence to the preceding discourse.<sup>50</sup> As is apparent, Topic in the sense I am using the term in this dissertation differs from *topic* used to denote the theme of a section of discourse as in such uses as “the topic of this section of the argument is X.” The Topic, in this dissertation, is a component of sentence grammar and does not directly relate to anything above the level of the sentence.<sup>51</sup> In short, the Topic is a referent which the author aims to increase the hearer’s knowledge of through giving more information.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The possible set of Topics which an author assumes a reader already knows is much broader than the set of Topics which have been introduced into the discourse. Entities which are commonly known or which belong to a given social or spatial context are two examples of entities which can be directly introduced as Topic. Practically speaking, this means that entities in the immediate surroundings during communication (less a factor in written texts), entities recently mentioned in the text, and entities which are well-known can all be used as Topic without special mention or introduction.

<sup>49</sup> Topics can further be discussed under the labels of ratified and non-ratified. A ratified Topic denotes a referent which has already been introduced as a Topic and is being restated. As a rule, ratified topics in Greek show some combination of the following features: occur after the main verbal element in the clause, are articular (as relevant), expressed as a nominative pronoun in place of a noun phrase, or are omitted as a null Topic. A non-ratified Topic, by contrast, introduces a referent as a new Topic of a given sentence. This is not to be confused with introducing a new entity into the discourse, which is usually achieved via a Topiclessthetic construction, however it does overlap some. A non-ratified Topic can be discourse new, provided it is part of the CG of the discourse and thus assumed to be accessible even though it has not been introduced into the discourse yet. Non-ratified Topics usually are used to indicate a change in Topic from the preceding clause. Non-ratified Topics occur before the verb in Greek, at the beginning of the clause. This distinction between ratified and non-ratified topics is helpful to keep in mind but will not generally be used under those terms in this work. For the language of ratified and non-ratified topics, see Bertrand, “A Handbook of Homeric Greek Word Order.”

<sup>50</sup> This aspect of a Topic is brought to the fore in H. Dik’s definition of Topic as “an element which the speaker regards an appropriate foundation for constructing a message which is relevant to the subject matter of the discourse.” Helma Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 31. Also defining Topic specifically in terms of presupposed information in a clause, see *CGCG*, 711–12. Topic is equivalent to what Matic’ calls a presupposition in his work, Matic’, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 578–79. See also Allan’s definition, drawing from the work of Lambrecht, Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 186.

<sup>51</sup> The Topic of a clause often relates to the topic of the discourse, but this is incidental. The topic of a discourse may never be an overt Topic of a sentence and it may even never be mentioned. For instance, one could say that the topic of George Orwell’s book *Animal Farm* is communism, but that word never occurs in the book. The key distinction to keep in mind is that Topic is an overt syntactic element in each clause (remembering that “overt” may be represented by a null element in line with the patterns of Greek syntax).

<sup>52</sup> This notion follows Lambrecht’s definition of Topic in terms of propositions: “a referent which a proposition is construed to be about in a given discourse situation; a proposition is about a referent if it expresses information which is relevant to, and which increases the hearer’s knowledge of, this

A key distinction needs to be drawn between different, related terms: (1) a *Topic* and (2) the *Topic Position(s)*. I will follow Levinsohn’s terminology and call the Topic Position P1 and/or a point of departure.<sup>53</sup> P1 differs from the Topic in that all topic-comment sentences have a Topic, but many do not have a constituent in P1.

Consider the following sentences:

1. Mark 1:8  $\text{Topic}[\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma]$  δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς
2. Luke 6:10 ἀπεκατεστάθη  $\text{Topic}[\acute{\eta} \chi\epsilon\iota\rho \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon]$
3. 1 Cor 1.8 οὐ γὰρ  $\text{Topic}[\emptyset]$  θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν

In (1) the Topic *αὐτός* occurs in the dedicated pre-verbal P1 position. In (2) the Topic follows the verb, while in (3) the Topic is null. All three sentences have a Topic; only one has a Topic in P1. The appearance of a Topic in P1 in a clause with a finite verb form is a pragmatically motivated move which conveys certain nuances of meaning, the most common being that the Topic is in somehow contrastive in the context, whether a new Topic or changing attention from a different Topic.<sup>54</sup> A central aim of the following

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referent,” Lambrecht and Michaelis, “Sentence Accent in Information Questions: Default and Projection,” 494.

<sup>53</sup> Levinsohn’s point of departure appears at the beginning of the clause and has two features: (1) it provides a starting point for the communication and (2) it anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something already in the discourse. *DFNTG*, 8. Two other names which appear in biblical language literature for this position are a frame of reference and contextualizing constituent, for which see respectively Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), 193–94; Randall Buth, “Word Order in the Verbless Clause: A Generative Functional Approach,” in *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Cynthia L. Miller, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 1 (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 81. Along with clause Topics, setting elements—ranging from temporal or spatial adverbials all the way to participial clauses and subordinate clauses—are routinely found in P1. Lambrecht describes how an author using these elements “[creates] the presupposition in the reader’s mind and [makes] it available as background for the assertion in the following main clause,” Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 69. While these setting elements often introduce new information which could not have been known other than it being asserted, they do not function as Focus. Rather, certain types of information can be introduced as already known and/or predictable, allowing the author to treat setting elements as though the reader will accept them as true already by virtue of the author mentioning it. This ability to present new, background information as part of a knowledge presupposition makes discourse remarkably more compact than if every new piece of information had to be introduced as the Focus of a clause.

<sup>54</sup> To use Runge’s terms, an element in the pre-verbal Topic/P1 position establishes “an explicit frame of reference for the clause that follows.” Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 209. Runge includes a variety of elements in P1. The most significant of these uses for this study are what Runge calls “topical-frames” which (1) highlight the introduction of a new participant or topic and/or (2) draw attention to a change in topics (210).

chapters will be tracking the position of the Topic in the sentence and considering pragmatic motivations for the various positions it occurs in vis-à-vis the parts of the εἰμί + participle construction.

If a Topic is the entity which a sentence is “about,” then Focus is the new information which a sentence asserts, the information with which the speaker/writer intends to update the hearer’s mental model.<sup>55</sup> This is an intuitive definition. To give slightly greater precision, Lambrecht defines the Focus of a proposition as “the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other.”<sup>56</sup> For example, consider the following two sentence:

1. John is at the table.
2. He is reading the newspaper.

In (2), the Focus is “is reading the newspaper.” The presupposition is that John, who we know to be at the table, is doing something. Thus, the Focus is piece of information by which the assertion and presupposition differ. In principle, most instances of Focus are covered by the much simpler definition, “the most important new piece of information in

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<sup>55</sup> Defining Focus in this way pervades the Greek IS tradition. In addition to the already cited definition used by Levinsohn of Focus as “that part of an utterance which is intended to make the most important change in the hearer’s mental representation” (*DFNTG*, 294), consider Helma Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus*, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 5 (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1995), 25; Helma Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 31; *CGCG*, 712–13.

<sup>56</sup> Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 207; Knud Lambrecht, “When Subjects Behave like Objects: An Analysis of the Merging of S and O in Sentence-Focus Constructions,” *Studies in Language* 24 (2000): 612.

A similar way to frame Focus is to consider it in terms of possibility of alternatives for interpretation, Krifka, “Basic Notions of Information Structure,” 247. Consider the following example from Manfred Krifka (capital letters indicate the position of the stress accent):

- 1) Mary sat down at her desk. She <sub>Focus</sub>[took out a pile of NOTES].

The pronoun “she” does not refer to any possible alternative (it is presupposed), whereas the predicate singles out the necessary information to understand Mary’s action against the array of many possible actions which could be performed after having sat down at her desk. The alternative at play which is relevant for interpretation can be expressed as the answer to the implied question, “What did Mary do?” Krifka, “Basic Notions of Information Structure,” 251.

the clause,” which is what has prevailed in the application of IS to Ancient Greek.<sup>57</sup>

As an important caveat regarding Focus, just because information is new does not mean it is the Focus. This distinction is important because information which is technically new to the discourse and unknowable were it not provided by the author can be presented in a clause as pragmatically presupposed and/or accessible to the reader, thus not focal. This is common with elements dealing with the spatial or temporal setting, which are like the Topic in that they provide an orientation for how the new information in the clause is to be integrated into the Common Ground.<sup>58</sup>

Following Levinsohn’s model, there is a special pre-verbal position, P2, which can house a Focus element moved before the verb for prominence. Placing a constituent in P2 increases its saliency as the most important element of the clause.<sup>59</sup> A constituent in P2 is an instance of marked focus. The default position for Focus in topic-comment constructions is for Focus to fall on the comment.

As just mentioned, clauses which do not have a marked focus element in P2—a common occurrence—do not lack Focus. Each new clause adds a new element to the discourse and as such has Focus.<sup>60</sup> For example, in Matt 4:5 there is no element in the P2:

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<sup>57</sup> The similarity of the different definitions of Focus is acknowledged in Krifka, even as he points out the theoretical problems with this simpler definition as an attempt to understand the linguistic core of Focus. Krifka, “Basic Notions of Information Structure,” 256–57.

<sup>58</sup> These new elements are either in Levinsohn’s P1 as a point of departure or, with more complex elements such as participial clauses, they occupy their own pre-nuclear position. Working within a slightly different paradigm, H. Dik also observed that these setting elements generally require being read as pragmatically presupposed, even though they give information that has not previously been given. Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, 36–37. Setting elements can give focal information, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Allan provides further helpful discussion of the various sorts of setting elements in Greek. Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 184. Though, it is to be noted that the Allan’s notion of setting differs slightly from both Levinsohn’s and H. Dik’s.

<sup>59</sup> By definition, the Focus is the most important piece of new information. This attracting extra attention to what was already most important in a clause can be called *emphasis*, see Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 271–73. This term must be used carefully, however, as it is easy to mistake for less technical usages which are common in the grammatical and commentary tradition.

<sup>60</sup> By “new element” here I do not mean that the entity in Focus is brand new to the discourse. Most basically, Focus has to do with how the assertion differs from the presupposition. The Focus can be thought of as the new semantic assertion of the clause, even when the pieces involved in the clause are all known already in the discourse. Consider the opening of the Gospel of John, for example:  $\iota[\text{E}\nu \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\tilde{\iota} \tilde{\eta}\nu \acute{\omicron}$

τότε παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν. Here we have a pre-verbal temporal point of departure—τότε in P1—which locates the action in temporal proximity to the prior clause. It is not a Focus constituent in the marked focus position. The new information added to this clause is not singled out by a special position, rather it is a combination of the verb and the prepositional phrase: παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν . . . εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν. The subject ὁ διάβολος is the Topic. By contrast, consider Herm. 90.2: εἰς μάτην ἔση τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν.<sup>61</sup> Here the prepositional phrase εἰς μάτην has been moved from its default position following the participle φορῶν to the pre-copula P2 position.

In the preceding paragraph, Matt 4:5 does not have a Focus constituent in P2; it is unmarked with respect to Focus. I will call this usage default, or unmarked focus. The Focus in such a sentence is on the predicate, or comment, broadly. The verb forms the left boundary of the Focus domain. Note that in predicate Focus clauses, the default position for the Topic, if not null, is inside the Focus domain. Predicate Focus is exceedingly common in narrative contexts where the main point of the discourse often falls not on a specific piece of information, but the quick succession of actions carried out by an actor.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to the predicate Focus pattern seen in the example from Matt, Herm. 90.2 has a constituent in P2. I will call this arrangement marked focus, or just P2. Here a single constituent of the predicate is extracted and moved forward for extra attention. As should be apparent, the topic-comment sentence defaults to predicate (or comment) Focus. The marked version is when a constituent is moved to P2 for marked

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λόγος], καὶ <sub>2</sub>[ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν], καὶ <sub>3</sub>[θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος]. Clause 3 does not add any new entities—both λόγος and θεός are already active. The Focus, here on θεός, is the newly asserted information in the clause.

<sup>61</sup> “You will bear his name in vain.”

<sup>62</sup> So Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 585.

focus.<sup>63</sup>

In summary, Topic and Focus are two key concepts for describing how information in a clause relates to the Common Ground. The Topic is what the clause is “about,” and the Focus is the most important piece of new information the clause conveys. Two pre-verbal positions play an important role in this system. P1 can house one or more marked topics (or a point of departure) and P2 is available for a marked focus constituent. The systems of Topic and Focus operate independent of one another in Greek.<sup>64</sup> This explains why whether a pre-verbal constituent is analyzed as Topic or Focus is dependent on if it is presupposed or new, since both can occur preverbal and, whenever only one is present, their position vis-à-vis the verb is the same.<sup>65</sup> Topic and Focus will be key components in the analysis throughout this dissertation for explaining the variation of constituents within the clause in copula + participle constructions. Before

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<sup>63</sup> The Classical Greek stream of analysis—which is related in the adaptation of S. Dik’s functional model, though not identical—uses two different clause templates to make this distinction: a broad focus and a narrow focus template. This is one of the modifications to H. Dik’s adaptation of functionalism to Herodotus that Dejan Matić made in his important work. He writes, “In A[ncient]G[reek] the narrow focus occupies the position immediately before the verb, whereas the broad focus is expressed by means of a focus domain formed by the verb and the postverbal material, the verb serving as the left border of the domain.” Matić, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 588. This model, while a helpful place to start, does not have an obvious way to distinguish between argument-presupposition constructions and the fronting of part of the predicate into the P2 position for marked focus. On this distinction, see Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 11–13.

There are actually three types of Focus, as per Lambrecht: (1) predicate-focus, (2) constituent focus, and (3) sentence-focus, Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 11. See *DFGNT*, 7–8, for Levinsohn’s adaptation of these three sentence articulations.

<sup>64</sup> Topic and Focus are independent systems cross-linguistically. Surányi, “Discourse-Configurationality,” 423. Allan writes, “the clausal word order of full noun phrases can be described as a combination of a focus construction that is optionally combined with one or more topic constructions.” Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 207. Note that he only indicates full noun phrases as described via this system. This is one area where Levinsohn’s model argues a higher degree of specificity in that he proposes IS ordering principles for non-noun phrase elements of the sentence as well, relying heavily on the principle of natural information flow, as well as various other cross-linguistic typological observations. *DFNTG*, 32–40; Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order and ‘Emphasis’ in the Greek New Testament” (Tyndale House, Cambridge, 2014), 9.

<sup>65</sup> The distinction between a pre-verbal Topic and Focus position is theoretical. When only one element is present before the verb, it is not possible to tell by its mere presence which position the element falls in. When multiple elements are present, the distinction between the two positions is obvious. This point is implicit in all the models, but is clarified in Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 190.



beginning the IS analysis in the next chapter, it remains to lay out and examine the way these various principles are realized in Levinsohn's clause model.

### **Stephen Levinsohn's Approach as applied to Copula + Participle Constructions**

Stephen Levinsohn is one of the pioneers of adopting IS study to Greek.<sup>66</sup> We have seen several aspects of his work already and now it remains to lay out his clause template in more detail, followed by a discussion of how he accounts for copula + participle constructions within this approach. Levinsohn's work begins with the adaptation of Simon Dik's general clause template, seen in figure 3:

P1 PØ V X

Figure 3: Simon Dik's general word order schema

Simon Dik developed this typologically based schema to account for the basic constituent order patterns in languages which have flexible constituent order. It was initially developed to describe Hungarian, in which subject and object play no distinct role in the

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<sup>66</sup> At around the same time as Levinsohn's early work, Helma Dik also adapted S. Dik's framework in an analysis of Herodotus. Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus*. While differing in various particulars, the work of Levinsohn and H. Dik share a great deal of overlap in the way they construe Greek and in the results they achieve. Some further important works in the Classical Greek tradition of IS analysis (by no mean exhaustive) include: Matić, "Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure"; Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*; Nicolas Bertrand, "L'ordre des mots chez Homère: structure informationnelle, localisation et progression du récit" (PhD diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010); Allan, "Changing the Topic." The recent *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* includes a section on syntax following these basic principles in a simplified manner, van Emde Boas et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*, § 60.20–37.

Of general interest is that these two research traditions appear to have developed largely independent of each other. Simon Dik's work first appeared in 1989, now in a second edition, *The Theory of Functional Grammar Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, ed. Kees Hengeveld, 2nd, rev. ed. ed., Functional Grammar Series 20 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997). Levinsohn's initial work was published in 1992 and H. Dik's dissertation in 1995. The second edition of Levinsohn's work came out in 2000. Neither cites the other. In fact, there is little to no cross-citation in the tradition until Nicolas Bailey's 2009 dissertation, on which Rutger Allan, a Classical scholar and linguist, was involved. Bailey interacts with the work of the Classical tradition and some subsequent works in the Classical tradition reference his work, though rarely. The seemingly independent adaptation of Simon Dik's Functional Grammar on two different periods of Greek resulting in two extremely similar models for describing Greek is significant.

syntax, but two special preverbal slots are necessary to account for the form sentences take.<sup>67</sup> The P1 slot can have one or more Topic constituents and the PØ can have one Focus constituent. Constituents which are neither Topic nor Focus go in the X slot.<sup>68</sup> Throughout this study, I will use Levinsohn’s more common formulation of the model, using P1 and P2 rather than P1 and PØ, giving a basic clause model of: P1 – P2 – V – X.<sup>69</sup> This basic template accounts for many Greek clauses as is, however it requires further nuancing.<sup>70</sup> The need for nuancing the template is unsurprising, given that S. Dik’s basic framework is intended as a cross-linguistic generalization.

S. Dik’s functionalism is just one of the various strands which play a role in Levinsohn’s approach. He most compactly summarizes the development of his discourse analysis approach in the recent essay, “Discourse Analysis: Galatians as a Case Study.”<sup>71</sup> He outlines the various discourse insights from other linguists which he draws on. Among the various influences, three emerge as most relevant for this study:

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<sup>67</sup> Scholarly rigor requires noting the P1 PØ V X template does not actually originate from the work of S. Dik, as comments from several scholars imply. He passes on the work of a variety of scholars—most notably of De Groot on Hungarian—on languages which have a special preverbal position aside from a P1/Topic position. S. Dik’s contribution is to integrate this schema into a wider functional theory, which then was adapted into Greek studies.

<sup>68</sup> Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, 424–25. S. Dik points out that the most common position before the verb in languages which use special pre-verbal positions, besides the P1 Topic position, is a position used for focal constituents.

<sup>69</sup> Levinsohn discusses this schema in many different publications and his terminology is inconsistent, sometimes following S. Dik’s P1 PØ Verb pattern and sometimes using the P1 P2 Verb scheme. The version with P1 and P2 is the most stable one throughout his work and is also adapted by other scholars following in his wake. I will use it throughout, unless citing an instance where Levinsohn uses the P1 and PØ names.

<sup>70</sup> For example, Matic’ analysis of Book II of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* in terms of H. Dik’s basic model found it to cover ~50 percent of the clauses. Matic’, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 578. It will be noted that H. Dik’s basic model is a straightforward adaptation of S. Dik’s model, with little modification. With his modifications to the model, Matic’ is able to account for constituent order in ~91 percent of clauses (615).

One of the chief differences between the Classical tradition and Levinsohn’s work is the way that they handle the further nuancing of the template.

<sup>71</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Discourse Analysis: Galatians as a Case Study,” in *Linguistics and New Testament Greek: Key Issues in the Current Debate*, ed. David Allan Black and Benjamin L. Merkle (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 103–10.

1. Distinguishing the three different sentence articulations: “whether it makes a comment about a topic (topic-comment), presents a new entity to the discourse (“thetic”), or is identificational (with “narrow focus” on a single constituent”;
2. The Principle of Natural Information Flow, “which concerns the order in which established and non-established information is presented”;
3. Simon Dik’s clause template, which postulates a pre-verbal slot for topical constituents and one for focal constituents.<sup>72</sup>

In addition to these factors, the concept of marked and default (or neutral) forms plays an important role in Levinsohn’s approach.

In the background behind and working with these three commitments outlined above, Levinsohn utilizes markedness theory to establish an expected default form. As Steven Runge describes it,

markedness theory . . . presupposes that asymmetrical sets of linguistic oppositions exist which function as markers for the presence or absence of a particular feature. The sets are said to be asymmetrical in that one member of the set indicates the presence of a particular feature (called the ‘marked’ form), while some other member of the set (the ‘default’ form) is considered to be *unmarked* for the feature. The recognition of asymmetry to this view of markedness is crucial, in that the default form does *not* signal the *opposite* of the marked form. Instead, the feature in question *may* or *may not* be present; the default form is not explicitly marked for the feature.<sup>73</sup>

The marked/default distinction seeks to understand and describe the grammatical or pragmatic feature which the marked choice marks as present. One of the implications of this approach is that within any given marked/default pair, the use of the default does not require explanation. Default simply means the speaker/writer has chosen not to mark the presence of any feature. It need not follow that said feature is not present; merely that it is not marked.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 424. See also Levinsohn, “Constituent Order and ‘Emphasis’ in the Greek New Testament,” 1–2.

<sup>73</sup> Steven Edward Runge, “A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative” (LittD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2007), 22.

<sup>74</sup> This paragraph is indebted to Runge, “A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative,” 22–24. As is often the case, he more clearly and simply explains Levinsohn’s work than Levinsohn does.

Levinsohn develops and expounds on this model in several works, applying it both to Koine Greek and Biblical Hebrew, as well as supervising its implementation in a wide variety of Bible translation workshops.<sup>75</sup> In its most robust form, Levinsohn's default clause template for Koine Greek is as follows, in figure 4:

P1 – P2 – V – Pronominals – Nominal Subject – Other Nominal Arguments – Adjuncts

Figure 4: Levinsohn's detailed default clause model<sup>76</sup>

The influence of S. Dik's template is obvious. Levinsohn's distinctive work among those who have applied this approach to Greek of various periods, is tracing out the way the principle of natural information flow results in default orderings of various constituents in the post-verbal field.<sup>77</sup>

At this stage, a brief example of how the template works in describing Greek clauses is in order. After a basic introduction of the template to a clause with a synthetic main verb, I will introduce Levinsohn's work specifically on copula + participle clauses.

### **How IS Template Slots Function**

The slots in each clause template are hypothetical and defined by the IS status of the elements. First, they are hypothetical in that they are not required to be filled. It is

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<sup>75</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, "NP References to Active Participants and Story Development in Ancient Hebrew," *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session* 44 (2000): 1–13; Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, "The Relevance of Greek Discourse Studies to Exegesis," *Journal of Translation* 2, no. 2 (2006): 16. Note that this clause template applies to *verbal* clauses. As all of the clauses in my data are verbal clauses, I am not making comments on constituent order in verbless clauses.

<sup>77</sup> Naturally, despite similarities in various functional approaches to Greek, there are various theoretical assumptions which undergird the various approaches. The Classical Greek work done in the tradition of S. Dik's functionalism, by contrast, has not said much about the ordering of constituents in the post-verbal field. Various reasons could stand behind this, including that there are inherent differences between Classical and Koine Greek. One likely motivation is Levinsohn's work with minority languages, and interest in developing tools for Bible translators working in minority languages as opposed to the Greek (and Latin) focus in Classics.

common for one or more of the slots to not be filled. Second, they are defined by the IS of the element. This means that whether a pre-verbal element is understood to be in P1 or P2 is dependent on its information status, not simply on its position in the sentence. The following example, Hist. Rech. 3.1, demonstrates this point: Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξέστην ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν τούτοις.<sup>78</sup> Organizing these elements into a clause template yields the analysis seen in figure 5 (note, δέ is post-positive and not relevant for this analysis, so left out):<sup>79</sup>

P1	P2	V	Subject	Adjuncts
Ἐγὼ	---	ἐξέστην	---	ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν τούτοις

Figure 5: Example of clause template

In the above sentence the Topic is ἐγὼ. The main goal of this sentence is to add to the reader’s mental representation of “I” (Zosimos) at this point in the story through giving some new information about him. The Topic is in P1 here signals a switch of attention from the previous character in the story, a cloud wall keeping everyone out of the land of blessed, to Zosimos, the main Topic of the next section.

By contrast, there is no constituent in P2. This slot is reserved for a marked focus element, a new piece of information which is asserted in the sentence and is elevated to special prominence. As discussed above, an empty P2 does not mean there is no Focus in this sentence, but that no element of the Focus has been promoted in a special

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<sup>78</sup> “Now I was astounded by these words.”

<sup>79</sup> There are three possible elements in the slot I have labeled subject: (1) a pronominal, (2) a nominal subject, or (3) non-subject nominal. For the sake of space, I have simply used subject here.

way.<sup>80</sup> This sentence has predicate focus. That is, no single part of the clause is elevated for special prominence, instead, the whole focal domain is prominent, with the verb as the left boundary. The remaining elements of the clause follow along in the expected post-verbal position (which would could call the Rest/Remainder, for short). Since there is only one constituent in the post-verbal portion, there is nothing more to be said about the IS of this clause. This brief overview of the template slots demonstrates the singular importance of the notions Topic and Focus for this sort of analysis.

### Information Structure and Copula + Participle Constructions

Traditionally, grammarians have been concerned with clear periphrastic constructions, by which they mean when the copula and participle have complete semantic integration.<sup>81</sup> Stated in its strongest form, on traditional accounts periphrasis is a *verb phrase*. On this view, the copula and participle function as a semantic and syntactic unity, in other words, like a morphological verb.<sup>82</sup> This analysis appears adequate when considering the common scenario where the copula and participle are adjacent.<sup>83</sup>

It is unclear, though, whether the fact that in translation we *feel* a copula and

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<sup>80</sup> Runge helpfully defines P2 as a syntactic means to attract attention to what was already the most important information in the clause. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 272.

<sup>81</sup> They generally have a high degree of syntactic integration as well, meaning that the copula and participle are either adjacent or close to one another. As is widely commented upon, the further removed a participle is from the copula, the less likely it is to be periphrastic.

<sup>82</sup> John Anderson, “What Are ‘Grammatical Periphrases’?,” in *Periphrasis, Replacement and Renewal: Studies in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Irén Hegedűs and Dóra Pödör (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 15. Part of the difficulty plaguing periphrasis work is that the term “periphrasis” tends to be used as though its meaning is self-evident. In the Greek grammatical tradition, the general sense of what “periphrasis” means is stable: two verb forms (a main verb and a participle auxiliary) coalesce into a single verbal idea, more or less equivalent with a synthetic verb. However, even within the stability of the concept, there is variation throughout the tradition in terms of which constructions count as periphrastic, Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be- Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 59.

<sup>83</sup> For instance, in the NT—the only corpus for which such data is readily available—the copula and participle are adjacent in 126 of the 243 instances which Green considers to be periphrastic. Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἶμι Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament” (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 152–75. Adding the 11 instances where a postpositive separates the elements, which are trivial, brings the total up to 137. In either case, over half of the instances which Green considers to be periphrastic in the NT have the participle and copula directly adjacent.

participle have a semantic unity is evidence to a syntactic unity in the Greek of the sort exhibited in the Modern English periphrastic verb form, “I have been running.” The elements in this English periphrasis have fixed order vis-à-vis one another and only rarely do they permit any other constituents to come between any of the elements. The pervasive variation in constituent order observed in chapter 2 suggests that, whatever semantic notions we feel at work in various copula + participle constructions, syntactically they are not as far grammaticalized as the periphrastic constructions we use in many modern European languages.

Because of the obvious variability of constituent order, traditional studies have made *some effort* to address it, though the results are mixed. In his article, the first modern study of periphrasis, W. Alexander discusses the order of constituents.<sup>84</sup> Various elaborations, corrections, and refinements have been offered across the years, often insightful, all focused in one way or another on constituent order.<sup>85</sup> The primary consensus emerging from various studies is that in *true* periphrastic constructions the participle tends to be close to the copula (with the notion of close being undefined, though adjacent is preferred). These various observations, though, are mainly focused on defining what is or is not periphrasis in the sense of complete semantic integration and lack integration into a wholistic model of constituent order. Even in Bentein’s voluminous and insightful studies, IS constituent order concerns are overlooked.<sup>86</sup> While

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<sup>84</sup> Alexander argues there are two word order phenomenon which can be used to decide whether a construction is periphrastic in the sense of making a single verbal predication. W. J. Alexander, “Participial Periphrases in Attic Prose,” *The American Journal of Philology* 4, no. 13 (1883): 291–308. First, instances of periphrasis following the order participle + copula assert that a certain quality exists in the subject (i.e., the participle is like an adjective); these are not “true” periphrasis. By contrast, instances following the order copula + participle order can convey some sort of “emphasis” (i.e., they are “true” periphrasis). Alexander’s presentation is not entirely clear, nor is it clear why word order should be so determinative of function. Even in his position-based proposal, however, many functional and semantic considerations are necessary, thus position alone is only a guide in his scheme.

<sup>85</sup> For an overview of various proposals, see Klaas Bentein, “Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: *A State of the Art*,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’histoire* 90, no. 1 (2012): 40–43.

<sup>86</sup> He does note the role of linear adjacency of elements in grammaticalization. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 51–53. Further, in his test application of the prototype model to three

considering constituent order for the purpose of defining when a copula + participle is or is not periphrastic may be common, attending to IS in these constructions is a new phenomenon. The groundbreaking analysis comes from Levinsohn.<sup>87</sup>

### **Levinsohn on Copula + Participle Constructions in the NT**

We have already met Levinsohn's work in the review of constituent order approaches to Greek. His analysis of εἰμί + participle constructions departs from the mainline approach in some key ways. Most studies of periphrasis take the following approach: gather all possible tokens, remove the texts which are clearly not periphrastic, distill a set of common characteristics, and then re-assess marginal cases for inclusion in the category. Levinsohn approaches the issue not as an investigation of periphrasis, per se, but of constituent order. Noting the difficulty of discerning what is or is not periphrastic in the traditional sense of semantic integration, he begins with analyzing all the possible constructions of the form εἰμί + participle in the Synoptics and Acts, whether periphrastic or not, on the basis of IS and constituent order.<sup>88</sup>

First, Levinsohn provides a novel, though not unanticipated, definition of

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different possible periphrastic constructions, he considers linear adjacency as a key factor in assessing how "periphrastic" a construction is (72–79). What is lacking, though is any largescale data regarding constituent order and discussion of what motivates it. Bentein's concerns, while helpful, are quite different than the concerns of this study. In general, Bentein approaches periphrasis as a prototypical category functionally arranged. Multi-word verbal expressions are included based on the criterion of whether they serve a consistent functional role in the verbal system across time. While he maintains the name "periphrasis," Bentein's analysis has already departed quite widely from most traditional analyses.

<sup>87</sup> The first to take a "Levinsohnian" approach to this problem was Johnson in his dissertation. Johnson, "Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect." Levinsohn's influence is felt mostly in the postulating a default word order template. Next, Bailey's dissertation, focused on thetics. Finally, Levinsohn's own work on the issue. While following these other works, Levinsohn is the first to give robust consideration to IS in εἰμί + participle constructions.

<sup>88</sup> Levinsohn, "Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί." This study was done before but published after the whole NT study which builds upon it but is mainly focused on the meaning of periphrastic constructions, Levinsohn, "Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations ('Periphrastics')."

Levinsohn does rule out "adjectival" participles (meaning those in attributive adjectival position) on the basis of some criteria developed by Phyllis and Alan Healey. Phyllis Healey and Alan Healey, "Greek Circumstantial Participles: Tracking Participants with Participles in the Greek New Testament," *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics* 4, no. 3 (1990): 177–259. Unfortunately, he does not provide any of the data on which tokens he ruled adjectival and why.



periphrasis: periphrasis is εἰμί plus a *participial clause*.<sup>89</sup> Levinsohn notes the grammatical tradition assumes elements of the sentence which are arguments or adjuncts of the participle can intervene between the copula and the participle.<sup>90</sup> He takes this as evidence that discussions of periphrasis in Greek have often been focusing on erecting a clear boundary between members of a broader prototypical category—the copula in interaction with a participial clause—which does not clearly exist.

Second, Levinsohn relies on and develops the typological work of Carl Johnson. Johnson—himself building from earlier work of Levinsohn—argues that “the earliest forms of the periphrastic would be ordered as follows: verb + locative + participle. If an overt subject were provided, the likely order would be verb + subject + locative + participle.”<sup>91</sup> Over the life of the construction, the locative became less important. This reanalysis resulted in the constructions changing from functioning to highlight an agent located temporally in the midst of an activity at a reference time to one highlighting an agent in the midst of an activity with the option of expressing location.<sup>92</sup> This typological commitment, bolstered by several others, serves as the base for Levinsohn’s constituent order approach.

After analyzing the NT data, Levinsohn comes to the following conclusion: “the same principles explain variations in the order of constituents in sentences that contain εἰμί and an anarthrous participial clause, including those constructions that are

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<sup>89</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 424.

<sup>90</sup> He appeals to Porter’s observation in *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., Biblical Languages: Greek 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 45. This observation is representative of the work on periphrasis in general.

<sup>91</sup> Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” 25. For a fuller description of this development pathway, see the discussion of Johnson’s work in chapter 1.

<sup>92</sup> This follows the cross-linguistic typological pathway developed by Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, which has wide cross-linguistic attestation. Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 131–37.

commonly referred to as ‘periphrastic.’<sup>93</sup> These “same principles” he mentions are the above mentioned three major factors of constituent order:

1. Distinguishing the three different sentence articulations: “whether it makes a comment about a topic (topic-comment), presents a new entity to the discourse (“thetic”), or is identificational (with “narrow focus” on a single constituent”;
2. The Principle of Natural Information Flow, “which concerns the order in which established and non-established information is presented”;
3. Simon Dik’s clause template, which postulates a pre-verbal slot for topical constituents and one for focal constituents.<sup>94</sup>

In essence, Levinsohn argues that periphrastic constructions are not different in any obvious way from non-periphrastic εἰμί + participle constructions in terms of constituent order and IS. While there may be differences in terms of semantic integration between various copula + participle constructions, the order of constituents appears to be governed by the same pragmatic considerations. The construction behaves much like a copula with a subject as a nuclear clause which has a predicate participial clause in its orbit.

Consider the following analogy. A clause is like a solar system. The main verb (we will just consider clauses with main verbs here, as that is all I deal with in this study) is like the sun at the center of the solar system, with various other elements in its orbit. Participles can function like planets in the solar system—they orbit the sun, yet also have satellites of their own. This relationship can be visualized as in figure 6:

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<sup>93</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 424.

<sup>94</sup> Levinsohn, 424

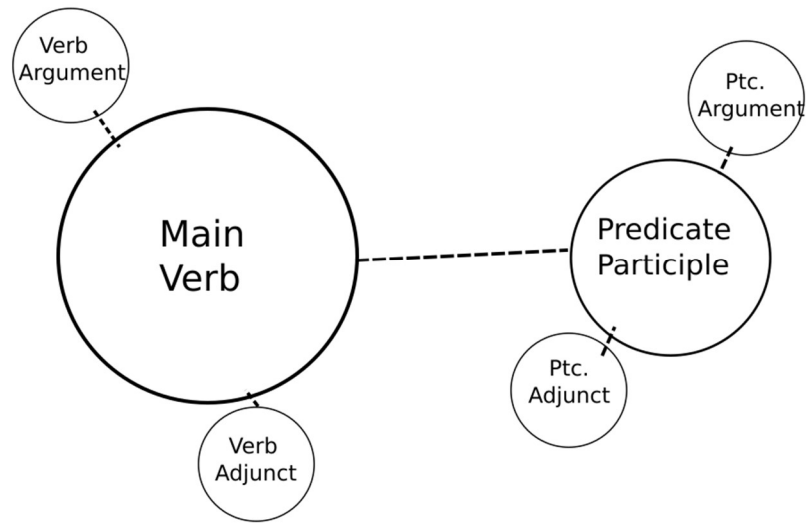


Figure 6: Clause as solar system

In traditional accounts, periphrasis is conceived something more like the following, where a copula and a participle have melded together into a corporate core of the clause, as in figure 7:

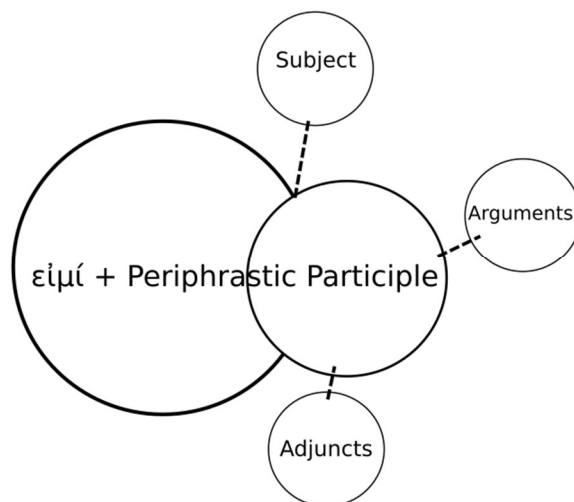


Figure 7: Periphrasis as solar system

This situation is analogous to an English periphrastic construction such as “I am going,” in which “am” and “going” function as an inseparable unit, that is, they are highly grammaticalized.<sup>95</sup> Traditional approaches to periphrasis tend more towards looking for analogous constructions in Greek, with a recognition that some syntactic separation is possible in Greek periphrasis, but the copula and participle are essentially one unit. It is necessary to state, though, that the fusion between the copula and participle taken as the hallmark of the traditional understanding of periphrasis is *semantic* in nature, with some syntactic correlates.<sup>96</sup> The key observation raised by attending to constituent order variation, though, is that there is a lack of *syntactic* fusion in these constructions. The variation in constituent order observed in chapter 2 suggests that the various Greek ‘periphrastic’ constructions with a copula and participle in use in Koine Greek had not reached such a level of grammaticalization as we see in various periphrastic constructions in Modern European languages.

In terms of this solar system model, Levinsohn effectively argues that copula + participle constructions behave like a main verb and its attendant predicate participle, in terms of syntax. That is, the constituent order variation is describable using the same principles as when a clause has a main verb and a predicate participle in its orbit. Levinsohn analyzes the participial clause and its constituents as an embedded clause. This results in a clause model as follows, with brackets indicating the embedded clause: (P1) (P2) Copula [(P1) (P2) Participle X].<sup>97</sup>

The main clause and embedded clause function together as a topic-comment

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<sup>95</sup> As per grammaticalization theory, they could theoretically grammaticalize further via phonetic reduction into a single element. That the form of “to be” can already phonetically reduce with the pronoun—“I am” becomes “I’m”—may prevent this further reduction of the “to be” verb with the other verbal element.

<sup>96</sup> Few would argue, on the traditional view, that the copula and participle must be adjacent in order to be periphrastic.

<sup>97</sup> Thanks to Steven Runge for suggesting this template, personal communication.

sort of clause. The Topic is situated at the level of the main clause; the comment is the embedded participial clause. As noted in the model, each portion has a P1 and P2 associated with its verbal element. These function in accordance with the normal usage of P1 and P2 within any verbal clause. Whether there is notable semantic integration or not between the two components and whether this semantic integration is dependent on different constituent orders is an open question which this current research does not set out to resolve.

### **Conclusion**

Levinsohn's claim is a novel approach to copula + participle constructions. It requires a reanalysis of how these constructions are approached in reading, how they are identified, and how they are described. The following chapters explore in detail Levinsohn's claims via analysis of a separate corpus of texts from within the Koine period to assess whether his proposed IS patterns for *εἰμί* + participle constructions in the NT have explanatory power elsewhere in Greek compositions. If this is the case—and I will argue that it largely is—then constituent order analysis needs to become an integrated part of our apparatus for describing periphrastic constructions and considering what they are doing in any given context.

To carry out this analysis, I will organize the investigation in the following ways. First, I will analyze the tokens within the breakdown of topic-comment andthetic sentences. As these two types of sentences have different IS properties, it should not be surprising that they differ from one another in structure. Second, I will analyze the occurrence of the Topic in topic-comment sentences in terms of its position in the clause and what IS motivations may stand behind the different orders observed. Various sub-investigations are necessary to do justice to the variety of constituent orders exhibited in the tokens. After analyzing the Topic positions, I will move on to consider the Focus elements (as well as the more “generic” elements of the clause) in topic-comment

sentences. Finally, I will move tothetic sentences and consider them in light of IS and constituent order concerns. After carrying out these analyses in chapters 4-6, I will return to the question of how Levinsohn's proposal about the nature of periphrastic constructions—namely, that they are mostly indistinguishable from a copula + predicate participle—should be assessed and how the implications of this IS analysis of periphrastic constructions should be incorporated into the broader understanding of periphrasis in the Greek tradition.

## CHAPTER 4

### INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN TOPIC-COMMENT CLAUSES, PART I: TOPIC POSITION IN COPULA + PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTIONS

In chapter 3, I laid out the theory and basic results of information structure (IS) analysis of Greek. IS, with its focus on explaining the shape of sentences in meaningful contexts, is well suited to handle the question of why certain constituent orders are common in Greek sentences and others are not, despite being equally grammatical. From its beginnings in the independent adaptation of Simon Dik’s general clause template by Stephen Levinsohn and Helma Dik, the IS approach has spread into all different eras of Ancient Greek and has proven to be effective at explaining constituent order in clauses. IS analysis in Koine Greek has been especially influenced by the work of Levinsohn.

Chapter 3 ended with an outline of Levinsohn’s work on the Synoptic Gospels and Acts addressing how copula + participle constructions, including those traditionally called periphrasis, should be understood from an IS perspective.<sup>1</sup> Levinson’s approach departs in some key ways from the tradition, most notably in concluding that the same

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 423–41. His later study on the function of εἰμί + participle constructions in the whole NT assumes this work, though does not explicitly argue how it applies to the rest of the NT. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 307–27.

Constituent order investigations played a role in the earlier works of Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010); Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with εἰμί ‘be’, γίνομαι ‘occur’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἰδού/ἴδε ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of ὁράω ‘see’” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2009). Their theoretical orientation towards constituent order is heavily dependent on Levinsohn’s prior adaptation of S. Dik’s clause template. Likewise, Levinsohn’s treatment of thetic clauses, which will be the topic of chapter 6, is heavily dependent on Bailey’s work.

constituent order principles explain both periphrastic and non-periphrastic constructions of the form εἰμί + participle. This implies that periphrasis as traditionally understood—that is, that there exist certain periphrastic constructions which have achieved a high level of grammaticalization—is problematic. I will withhold further comment on the implications of this claim by Levinsohn until reviewing the data at hand.

Levinsohn’s work will be the starting point for this chapter. He developed a series of claims about constituent order in copula + participle constructions, treating them as an instance of a main clause template with an embedded participial clause following the normal patterns within the broader IS approach to the language. This chapter begins the detailed work of testing how well these claims explain the data in a separate, though related, corpus of texts. I will begin this analysis by considering what turns out to be the most difficult of the constituents to account for in a simple way: the Topic.

### **On Topics in Topic-Comment Clauses: Positions and Roles**

Levinsohn proposes that constituent order in the copula + participle constructions must be explained in terms of a copula and participial clause. In its most basic form, the proposal can be presented as a clause template, as in Levinsohn’s example of Luke 1:21, seen in figure 8:<sup>2</sup>

Copula	Subject	/	Participial Clause
Καὶ ἦν	ὁ λαὸς	/	προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν

Figure 8: Levinsohn’s clause diagram of Luke 1:21

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<sup>2</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 426.



In a topic-comment sentence, such as this one, the Topic is the subject and the comment is the participial clause.<sup>3</sup> The copula is, naturally, the verb. A more expanded form of such a template is as follows, with the brackets representing the embedded participial clause: (P1) (P2) Copula [(P1) (P2) Participle X].<sup>4</sup> Note that in this formulation the (P1) in the embedded participial clause may hold a point of departure (on which, see the next chapter), but does not house the Topic of the main clause. Such a situation would entail the embedded clause having a different Topic from that of its main clause, which would be highly odd indeed. From this basic model, we are in position to begin analyzing Levinsohn's claim about the Topic.

### **Levinsohn's Claims on Topic Position in Topic-Comment Clauses in the NT**

Levinsohn takes as default in topic-comment sentences this Copula + (Subject) + Participial Clause ordering. It is important to remember that for Levinsohn *default* is not simply a statistical measure. Default has to do with the most neutral way to present a given feature.<sup>5</sup> Since default has to do with whether a particular order is marked or unmarked for a given feature, I will use default and unmarked interchangeably.

Levinsohn notes that, in terms of statistics, in the NT the subject precedes the copula about as often as it follows it in a copula + participle construction.<sup>6</sup> While the statistics in the NT are not decisive, Levinsohn argues that “typologically and functionally, however, it is more insightful to treat the post-copular position of the

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<sup>3</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 426.

<sup>4</sup> The P1 of the embedded clause does not hold a distinction Topic from the main clause, but it can house a point of departure. On points of departure, see *DFNTG*, 8–11.

<sup>5</sup> For a good explanation of how a default is established and functions in this approach, see Steven Edward Runge, “A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative” (LittD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2007), 22–24. As is often the case, Runge explains Levinsohn's approach more clearly than Levinsohn does.

<sup>6</sup> Five of each order in Matthew; twenty-six with the subject preceding the copula versus twenty-two with it following in Luke; three versus thirteen in Mark. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 426.

subject as default.”<sup>7</sup> Typologically, this order conforms with Levinsohn’s proposal that Koine Greek was a VS/VO language. Thus, we would expect that a subject will, all other things being equal, tend to follow the verb rather than precede it. A preverbal subject in main clauses with verbs other than a copula is in the P1/Marked Topic position, which has functional implications.<sup>8</sup> As I will shortly show, the post-copula subject position is the most frequent in my corpus.

Based on this model, Levinsohn projects that a Topic in a topic-comment clause, when expressed overtly, defaults to between the copula and participle: εἰμί + (subject) + participle. Null subjects, which are common, are considered unmarked.<sup>9</sup> When the subject occurs before the copula it indicates a “switch of attention from the previous subject-as-topic” or a “renewal of attention, following a discontinuity in the flow of the discourse or in connection with a new point.”<sup>10</sup> In summary, Levinsohn argues that a Topic which is conveying its basic semantic content and signaling that it is an on-going Topic should occur between the copula and participle, while ones occurring before the copula should play a functional role in relating the Topic to the preceding context by virtue of marking the Topic.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 426.

<sup>8</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 425. On VS/VO order of Greek, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis* (Dallas: SIL International, 2011), 6. The form of εἰμί overwhelmingly precedes the participle in the NT as well as in my corpus. The grammatical tradition assumes this order is the norm.

<sup>9</sup> If one wanted to mark a Topic which is grammatically unnecessary and thus not overt in the Greek text (as is commonly the case), merely including a pronoun would give it a higher degree of salience in the context. However, including a pronoun in the marked Topic position would be the clearest way to mark the Topic.

<sup>10</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 428.

<sup>11</sup> It is possible, though rare (six times in my corpus), for the subject to occur post-copula while the participle is moved to a pre-copula position, such as in T. Levi 18 2B.61: καὶ νῦν, τέκνον Λευί, εὐλογημένον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων. I consider the subject to be in its default position in such cases. More commonly, a null subject occurs in this arrangement (twenty-eight times in my corpus). Other elements may also be moved around and occur following the copula and before the subject. I also consider this order (copula – object or adjunct – subject) to be a subject in default position.

To test the explanatory power of Levinsohn's proposal, I analyze the topic-comment copula + participle clauses in my corpus and consider the position of the Topic as well as its IS role. Since a post-copula subject is considered unmarked in IS terms, and thus requiring no explanation as per Levinsohn's model, the key claim to consider is whether the Topic occurring in P1 does correspond to a marked usage of the Topic.

### **On Unmarked Topics**

I begin my analysis with a restricted subset of clauses from my corpus, excluding two types: (1) relative clauses, since the position of the relative pronoun is syntactically fixed, and (2) clauses where the participle is in parallel with adjectives. Relative clauses are initially left out because the position of the relative pronoun or relative adverb is fixed via the syntax of the language. These will be considered below. The status of participles in parallel with adjectives is heavily debated in the tradition. Many scholars argue that such participles 'switch classes' and become adjectives. The status of such participles, along with constituent order considerations, will be discussed in chapter 5.

Within these parameters, there are eighty-one tokens in my data which follow the default pattern, containing no elements in positions outside of Levinsohn's expected pattern of copula + (sub) + participle + (object) + (adjuncts).<sup>12</sup> Of these, twenty-two have an overt subject in the post-copula slot.<sup>13</sup> As there is no obvious difference between the use of an overt subject or a null subject (both are unmarked), I lump the tokens together as instances of a topical-subject in default position. In addition to the eighty-one default tokens, there are seventy-nine which, while not following the default pattern, have either

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<sup>12</sup> They routinely lack an element in one or more of these positions, but no element ever violates the projected position.

<sup>13</sup> 3 Baruch 11.2; Acts Paul 23.1; Acts Pil. 5.2; Apoc. Paul 24, 31; Barn. 11.9, 14.2; Did. 9.4, 2.1a; Jos. Asen. 2.1a, 2.4, 2.7a, 2.8, 3.6b, 5.5a, 18.3, 22.6; Prot. Jas. 22.3a; T. Benj. 9.4; T. Iss. 1.11; T. Job 19.4; T. Jud. 7.11; T. Sol. 19.1a

a null subject (sixty-six) or a subject in Levinsohn’s default post-copula position (thirteen total, eight of which have the subject immediately post-copula<sup>14</sup>). Taken together, this gives one-hundred sixty tokens where the topical-subject is in the default position. Table 7 summarizes the data of these different formations.

Table 7: Post-copular topics assessed for various topicality measures<sup>15</sup>

	<i>Total number of tokens</i>
<i>Default</i>	81
<i>Non-default post-copular subject</i>	13
<i>Non-default null subject</i>	66
<i>Total</i>	160

### Unmarked Topics: The Major Pattern

Here I will include a few examples to illustrate various forms in which an unmarked Topic can be seen within a copula + participle construction. In each of the

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<sup>14</sup> There are no appreciable differences between those tokens where the subject is immediately post copula and those which are not. Those where the subject is not immediately post-copula are: Acts Thom. 9.5; Herm. 2.4; Jos. Asen. 2.2b (there is no copula in this phrase); Mart. Pet. 12.6; and T. Levi 7.2.

My guiding assumption in treating all these instances together is that other constituents can be moved around before or after the subject, but its relationship vis-à-vis the copula (not the participle) is tied to the P1/Topic or Default expectations of the IS model. This assumption seems largely justified, though there is possibly more to the story than what it assumes.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the statistics in this table note the following: (1) topic persistence and referent accessibility are two separate systems, so the numbers have no necessary relationship with each other; (2) as referent accessibility and contrast are essentially, though not exactly, mirror image concepts, these numbers on each line come out to roughly 100 percent. This is primarily due to accounting for tokens like Acts of Pilate 7:1: *Καὶ γυνή τις, ὄνομα Βερνίκη, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν κράζουσα εἶπεν· αἰμορροῦσα ἦμην, καὶ ἠψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ*. Here there is a change in notional topic from “she” to “I,” which is contrastive in some sense, but not a change in the actual subject. The purpose of this table is to give an overall impression of the data at the outset, not to explain all the difficulties.

following examples, the subject appears in square brackets, with a null symbol ( $\emptyset$ ) indicating the lack of an overt subject.

First, Acts Paul 23.1 shows an example of a fully default clause, with the subject in the projected position after the copula and before the participle: Ἦν δὲ [ὁ Παῦλος] νηστεύων μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐν μνημείῳ ἀνοικτῷ.<sup>16</sup> Compare this to Barn. 4.7 where the Topic is again in the default position, but another element is moved forward into the P2 position of the participial clause: <sup>17</sup> Καὶ ἦν [Μωϋσῆς] ἐν τῷ ὄρει νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα.<sup>18</sup> Whatever position we understand the prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ ὄρει to be in, the topical-subject is default here. There is nothing requiring further explanation on that point.

In the prior paragraph, I provided two examples where the subject appeared in the unmarked Topic position. Now we will see two analogous examples where the Topic is a null subject. As stated above, null subjects are default Topics in that they are unmarked. To make such a subject marked would require first including the requisite pronoun and second, placing it in the Marked Topic position. First, consider 1 En. 14.14a: καὶ ἤμην [ $\emptyset$ ] σειόμενος καὶ τρέμων.<sup>19</sup> Note that there is no overt subject. In all other respects, this clause exhibits default constituent order. Compare this to Acts Paul 9.4, which also has a null-subject but does not exhibit default constituent order in other

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<sup>16</sup> “Now Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife and children in an unoccupied tomb.”

<sup>17</sup> Whether the prepositional phrase should be considered as being in the default position with regard to the copula, or in the P1 of the participial clause, or the P2 of the participial clause is difficult to say. The single largest reason this difficulty is that 4.7 is an embedded quotation (probably a loose citation from memory as it does not correspond to anything in any extant LXX manuscript). This is difficult in that it is hard to assess, in the context given, whether the point of the sentence is to predicate “Moses was on the mountain, fasting for 40 days and nights,” or to make an emphatic statement of the order, “Moses was fasting *on the mountain* for 40 days and nights.” As it stands in context in Barn., I lean towards favoring the reading with the prepositional phrase in the P2 slot of the participial clause for Marked Focus, however, one cannot be dogmatic on this point.

<sup>18</sup> “And Moses was fasting on the mountain for forty days and forty nights,” or “and Moses was on the mountain fasting for forty days and forty nights.” The ambiguity between these two readings is evidence of a blurry boundary between copula + participle constructions of the sort traditionally called periphrasis and those that are not.

<sup>19</sup> “And [I] was shaking and trembling.”

respects: σοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν [Ø] ἡρμωσμένη.<sup>20</sup> The second person singular pronoun σοὶ is in the marked focus position, to be addressed in the next chapter. The null-subject is supplied easily from context.

In the above two paragraphs, we see the main formulations in which a topical-subject occurs in an unmarked position. Within Levinsohn's approach, there is no further explanation of these constituent orders required. This does not mean that a subject in the unmarked Topic position do not exhibit similar roles within the flow of discourse to topical-subjects placed in the Marked Topic position. In point of fact, it is not infrequent to find a subject in the unmarked topic position which seems to fill exactly the role Levinsohn assigns to the marked topic position: indicating a "switch of attention from the previous subject-as-topic" or a "renewal of attention, following a discontinuity in the flow of the discourse or in connection with a new point."<sup>21</sup> In fact, over 40 percent of the tokens in my data have a subject in the unmarked topic position which appears to exercise the role associated with the marked topic position. This is a point to which I will return in the conclusion as it ventures into territory beyond what is necessary for this current investigation. Before turning to subjects in the marked topic position, we will first consider a minor unmarked pattern.

### **Unmarked Topics: The Minor Pattern**

As already argued, in εἰμί + participle constructions the topical-subject defaults, from an IS perspective, to either null or between the copula and the participle. Within Levinsohn's model of a copula and a participial clause, the subject belongs with the copula. To put that more technically, the copula and the subject are the matrix clause, and the participial clause is an embedded clause. This dynamic is implicit in our default

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<sup>20</sup> "For [she] is engaged to you."

<sup>21</sup> Levinsohn, "Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί," 428.

clause template, reconstructed from Levinsohn’s work, seen again as (P1) (P2) Copula [(P1) (P2) Participle X]. The relationship of the subject to the copula is significant in accounting for a minor pattern in which the subject follows both the copula *and* the participle. Levinsohn never discusses such a pattern in his analysis. It is likely that the subject is unmarked with respect to the main verb in the matrix clause, at least in many such instances.<sup>22</sup> I will argue that at least some of these should be described in terms of motivated ordering, that is, marking the constituent for focus (the topic of the next chapter), though the pattern as a whole appears to be unmarked.

In the initial tagging of my data, I tagged subjects which followed the participle without paying attention at the same time to their position vis-à-vis the copula. As it turns out, there are no instances in my corpus of an εἰμί + participle construction where there is a pre-verbal participle along with a pre-verbal subject, which would look like this: participle + subject + copula + (rest).<sup>23</sup> This is interesting given it is common for a subject to occur pre-verbal following a participial clause in prototypical sentences, which looks like this: [participle + subject] + verb + rest.<sup>24</sup> For example, consider Levinsohn’s markup of Acts 6:2: [προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν] εἶπαν. Here the brackets delineate the prenuclear participial clause.<sup>25</sup> The subject is best

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<sup>22</sup> Levinsohn never directly treats this pattern, likely from lack of exemplars in his corpus. He would likely have considered it default for the reasons discussed here, so Steven Runge, personal communication.

<sup>23</sup> By contrast, the order subject + participle + copula is represented (17x in main clauses in my data), as well as a pre-copula participle with a null subject (27x). This state of affairs is the same in Levinsohn’s data from the Synoptics and Acts where the construction subject + participle + copula occurs twice (Luke 1:7 and 24:32), but never the construction participle + subject + copula. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 434–35.

<sup>24</sup> Allan argues that the subject occurring postverbally in a Setting (that is, following the participle in a pre-nuclear participial clause) has the pragmatic function of a Given Topic, that is, an already established topic., Rutger J. Allan, “Changing the Topic: Topic Position in Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Mnemosyne* 67, no. 2 (2014): 208. In my data, the most common realization of such a Given Topic is a null subject, though a subject in the default position is also used. Levinsohn similarly points out that pre-nuclear participles generally signal continuity in the situation, which is analogous to Allan’s Given Topic, *DFNTG*, 187–89.

<sup>25</sup> Here the brackets correspond to Levinsohn’s various levels of indentation in his BART markups, “BART Displays Enhanced for Discourse Features,” SIL International, accessed June 14, 2021,

understood as being situated in the unmarked topic position of the prenuclear participial clause as opposed to being in the P1 of the matrix clause. Compare this to Matt 11:2-3: ‘Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ χριστοῦ πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ <sup>3</sup> εἶπεν αὐτῷ. In such an instance, the subject ὁ Ἰωάννης, is in the marked topic position. Reading in my corpus indicates both of these orders are attested in sentences where the main verb is not a copula. However, when the verb in the matrix clause is a copula, if the subject follows the participle then it also follows the participle as well. Whether this holds true in other texts would be interesting to observe and could relate to the peculiarities of εἶμι + participle constructions in some way.<sup>26</sup>

There are thirteen instances where all or part of the subject noun-phrase occurs following the participle. Of the thirteen tokens, three syntactic groupings are evident. First, there are four tokens where the entire subject noun phrase is post-participle and clause final. Second, there are five tokens where the entire subject noun phrase is post-participle, but not clause final. Lastly, there are four tokens where discontinuous syntax (discontinuous syntax) is involved such that part of the subject noun phrase is post-participle and part of it is pre-participle.<sup>27</sup>

Of these three groups, the first two can be lumped together since the mechanics of why a subject noun phrase is or is not clause final have to do with the same factors: (1)

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[https://scholars.sil.org/stephen\\_h\\_levinsohn/bart.](https://scholars.sil.org/stephen_h_levinsohn/bart.)” Within Levinsohn’s system, such prenuclear participial clauses are often, if not always, to be considered a special sort of point of departure. *DFNTG*, 8–28. Compare to Runge’s treatment of them as a circumstantial frame in comparison to a variety of other framing devices which occupy P1. Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), 207–68.

<sup>26</sup> I conjecture that this pattern of having the subject on the side of the participle which is further away from the copula helps avoid some of the ambiguity concerning how the subject and participle relate to the copula. In prototypical clauses with the common pre-nuclear participle as setting clause, the Topic routinely follows the participle, but belongs to the setting clause (i.e., it is part of the intonation unit of the setting clause). By contrast, in copula + participle clauses the syntactical coherence between the participle and copula is higher (especially the further along the periphrastic continuum the token is), which perhaps excludes the ordering participle + subject + copula, which would strike the hearer reader as an intonation unit comprised of a participle and subject initially, only then to have to reanalyze it once the copula appears.

<sup>27</sup> One token, Let. Aris. 114, is counted twice as it both has the entire subject phrase clause-final and exhibits discontinuous syntax-like ordering.



whether there is anything in the clause that could follow and (2) whether other elements have been promoted from their default locations following the participle. What remains, then, is to consider why the topical-subject is post-participle, rather than why it is clause-final.<sup>28</sup> Discontinuous syntax raises its own issues which are distinct from those mentioned above and will be treated separately.

**Post-participle Topics not involving discontinuous syntax.** There are nine tokens where the topical-subject occurs post-participle.<sup>29</sup> There does not appear to be a clear unifying reason for post-participle topical-subjects. I suggest that topical-subjects in this position have different IS purposes, ranging from default with respect to the main clause to focal prominence, dependent on a variety of features.

A few of these tokens appear to convey prominence via a topical-subject in the post-participle slot. For example, Jos. Asen. 2.3 reads: *καὶ ἦσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκείνου εἰς τοὺς τοίχους πεπηγμένοι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.*<sup>30</sup> In a long section introducing and describing various facets of Aseneth's living arrangements, this sentence stands out as important because it introduces the presence of "the gods of Egypt" in a prominent place in her living quarters. These gods play a significant role in the plot and development of the narrative, as opposed to the other parts of Aseneth's living arrangements, which function merely as the stage on which the drama plays out, and thus some degree of prominence would not be out of place. In prototypical sentences, moving a subject to the end can sometimes indicate marked focus, and this is a workable explanation for this

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<sup>28</sup> A topical-subject that is clause final may be an intentional right-dislocation, but that must be decided on a case-by-case basis as there is no definitive way to recognize such a construction in written texts. Sometimes there is a pronoun present that the right-dislocated element clearly links to, providing further information. However, since a verb inherently has a null pronoun subject, an overt pronoun is not required with a right-dislocation.

<sup>29</sup> 1 En. 10.21b; Herm. 6.1; Jos. Asen. 2.3; 19.8b; LAE 5.3; Let. Aris. 114; T. Dan 6.6; T. Sim. 4.1; T. Sol. 24.4a

<sup>30</sup> "And the gods of Egypt were fastened to the walls in that [i.e., the first] room."

token.<sup>31</sup> The position of topical ταῦτα in Herm. 6:1 may also be a movement of ταῦτα to the end of the clause to give it focal prominence, highlighting the information about to appear:<sup>32</sup> ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα.<sup>33</sup> I will argue below that οὗτος defaults to clause initial. It is also possible, though, that here ἦν γεγραμμένα is functioning jointly in the verb slot of the main clause, thus ταῦτα would be default.

Two passages have a subject following a participle when there is a null copula, that is, the εἰμί portion of the εἰμί + participle construction is in the prior clause with another participle. In 1 En. 10.21b the subject is the same as in the previous clause and is partially restated: εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοί.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, in Jos. Asen. 19.8b, a quasi-new subject is introduced after the participle: καὶ εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.<sup>35</sup> Here, though, the subject is only new in the sense that the words are unique. It has the

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<sup>31</sup> *DFNTG*, 34–35. The other Topics introduced in the description of her living quarters are eitherthetic or exhibit normal IS positions. The clause-final position of the subject in Jos. Asen. 2.3 seems unlikely to be a right-dislocation/Tail in the sense of an independent Intonation Unit as this is the first specific mention of the subject, which is unknown until the end of the sentence is reached. Due to world-knowledge and “the gods” being articular, there is no compelling reason to take this token asthetic. I find it more likely that the author was holding back the key piece of information needed to make the whole sentence make sense and fit into the surrounding context until the last possible moment, a technique often utilized in discontinuous syntax, for instance. Daniel Markovic, “Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006): 132–34. Delaying the subject in this way contributes a sense of prominence to the element by closing an open phrase.

<sup>32</sup> Given that pronouns rarely occur clause final (when other elements are present in the clause), one way to emphasize them is to move them to the final position in the clause, so *DFNTG*, 34–35. Note well that cataphoric occurrences of οὗτος are not required to be clause-final/on the right-periphery of the clause. They can occur in the normal P1 position as in the 2 Esdras example in the next paragraph.

An alternate explanation for the position of ταῦτα in Herm. 6.1 is that εἰμί + a perfect middle-passive of γράφω is grammaticalized to a high degree. If this is the case, we would expect the elements to remain together linearly, rather than allowing a topical-subject into the default position. Consider Levinsohn’s discussion in Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” 317–19; Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament” (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 285–86. This is a problematic answer, though, as a text like Let. Aris. 176 shows the same verbal construction with the Topic in the default position between the copula and the participle.

<sup>33</sup> “Now this was written...”

<sup>34</sup> “All (of them) will worship me.” The full subject is πάντες οἱ λαοί, which appears in the prior clause.

<sup>35</sup> “And your name (is/will be) blessed into the ages.” There is a copula in the prior clause. This formulaic “be blessed” phrase occurs some 10x in my data.

same referential content (or nearly the same) as the previous subject  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ .<sup>36</sup> These tokens represent what appears to be a rare occurrence: a null copula clause where a topical-subject is present as opposed to null (same as prior clause).

Usually, a clause with a null copula has a null subject—24 out of 28 times in my data.<sup>37</sup> Of the four in my dataset where this is not the case, two have a pre-participle subject (Jos. Asen. 2.2b and T. Sol. 7.1b) and the two mentioned in the prior paragraph have a post-participle subject. The two with a pre-participle subject both have a subject in P1 indicating contrast. Since P1 in a participial clause is pre-participle, with the participle establishing the default left-periphery of its clause, a pre-participial subject in absence of a copula would usually be prominent, most likely signaling a switch of attention.<sup>38</sup> Assuming the validity of the pre-participle P1 slot, the position of the Topic in these four null-copula tokens follows the normal pattern: the subject in the participle's P1 indicates contrast and a subject following the participle is unmarked. This suggests that in null copula clauses where a topical-subject is expressed in  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$  + participle constructions, the

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<sup>36</sup> In this passage there are two blessings in poetic parallel with one another. This, coupled with the cultural background in which *name* and *identity* are similar concepts, makes it easy to see these two subjects as equivalent in content, though grammatically different.

<sup>37</sup> These numbers only consider non-thetic non-relative clauses.

<sup>38</sup> On IS positions in participle clauses, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, "Adverbial Participial Clauses in Koiné Greek: Grounding and Information Structure" (Paper, Universeit Ghent, Belgium, May 2008), 5–10.

default position of the subject is post-participle.<sup>39</sup> This means the position of the subject in 1 En. 10.21b and Jos. Asen. 19.8b is default.<sup>40</sup>

Two further passages are beset with difficulties: T. Dan 6.6 and Let. Aris. 114. Testament of Dan 6:6 reads, ἔσται δὲ ἐν καιρῷ ἀνομίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀφιστάμενος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κύριος, which could be taken as either periphastic or non-periphastic in the traditional sense.<sup>41</sup> The translations I have consulted understand this text in different ways: one emends the text by adding a negative,<sup>42</sup> both English translations are unified in taking a non-periphastic reading, and the German translation reads this as periphastic.<sup>43</sup> There are two reasons this passage is probably not periphastic in the traditional sense: (1) the copula and participle are far-removed from each other (linear adjacency is strong evidence for periphasis) and (2) the general metaphorical similarity between spatial and temporal adjuncts makes it likely that the ἐν καιρῷ phrase makes a complete predication

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<sup>39</sup> If this is correct, it means that the participle portion of the construction, when removed from the overt copula by a clause boundary, follows the expected IS structure of a normal participial clause, with the participle forming the left-periphery of the clause and having its own P1 and P2 positions. In point of fact, this is similar to the IS of the participle portion of the εἰμί + participle construction, where, by default, the participle portion follows the same IS as a participle clause in a prototypical sentence, forming the left periphery with its arguments and adjuncts following. In the εἰμί + participle constructions this becomes complicated when elements of the participial clause are moved around, as they can appear both before the copula and before the participle (that is, between the copula and the participle). What this suggests is that the participle clause in εἰμί + participle constructions behaves like a standard participial clause, with a few modifications. I will argue that this holds true both in periphastic and non-periphastic copula + participle constructions.

<sup>40</sup> Within the flow of the narrative, in literary terms one would be inclined to say there is rhetorical play in each of these two instances.

<sup>41</sup> Periphastic: “The Lord will depart from them in the time of Israel’s lawlessness.” Non-periphastic: “It will be in the time of the lawlessness of Israel, when the Lord departs from them...”

<sup>42</sup> “But in Israel’s period of lawlessness it will be the Lord who will *not* depart from her.” H. C. Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigraph*, vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments (Garden City (NY): Doubleday & Company, 1983), 775–828. The “not” in this reading follows a conjectural emendation which is present in the older critical text of Charles, R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Edited from Nine MSS, Together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908). There is no textual evidence for this reading and it is not offered as a conjecture in the critical text of de Jonge, followed here. M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece, Primum (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

<sup>43</sup> “Es wird aber zur Zeit der Gottlosigkeit Israels der Herr von ihnen gehen.” E. Kautzsch, “Die Testamente der 12 Patriarchen,” in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautzsch (Hildesheim (Germany): Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962).

with ἔσται in the matrix clause.<sup>44</sup> On this reading, ἔσται functions like a future equivalent of καὶ ἐγένετο, so often used in the LXX and literature influenced by it, to demarcate a section.<sup>45</sup> In addition, ἀφιστάμενος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κύριος functions much like a setting clause for the following main clause καὶ μετελεύσεται ἐπὶ ἔθνη ποιῶντα τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ.<sup>46</sup> On this understanding, κύριος is a post-participle subject in a participial clause loosely connected to the prior and following main clause. Regardless of how the macro-structure of these clauses relates, κύριος is likely given focal prominence by violation of the principle of natural information flow. In a default clause—participial or matrix—we would expect the prepositional phrase ἀπ’ αὐτῶν to follow rather than precede the subject κύριος.<sup>47</sup>

A related difficult case appears in Let. Aris. 114: ἐργάσιμος γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένη ἡ χώρα.<sup>48</sup> The difficulty here is accounting for why χώρα occurs post copula + participle. One possible reading is that it is a right-dislocation, which would explain why it is clause-final. While this theory is attractive, it is

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<sup>44</sup> Copula + participle constructions with a locative tend to be non-periphrastic as the locative makes a complete predication with εἰμί, blocking periphrasis as an option. I surmise that temporal adjuncts emphasizing position in time as opposed to the flow of time can have much the same effect, making a complete predication with εἰμί. For a summary of the main patterns with εἰμί which exclude periphrasis see Willem Johan Aerts, *Periphrastica: An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 12.

<sup>45</sup> On this see, *DFNTG*, 177–79; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Paris: Louvain, 2009), “γίνομαι, 6.” The text of Charles follows this understanding with the first ἔσται forming a clause to which he adds a postulated second ἔσται in periphrasis with the participle.

<sup>46</sup> “And he will pursue the nations doing his will.” The presence of καὶ at the beginning of this clause is a further complication in how to construe this passage.

<sup>47</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order and ‘Emphasis’ in the Greek New Testament” (Tyndale House, Cambridge, 2014), 5–7.

<sup>48</sup> “For the land is tillable and (the land) is well-fitted for trade.” The syntax here is complex and compact with a shared subject attached to two separate, though related, predications. These form a hendiadys of sorts summarizing the discussion of the land of Israel so far in Let. Aris.—it has good crop yield and is good for trading. ἐργάσιμος is a predicate adjective to ἡ χώρα and πρὸς τὴν ἐμπορίαν is a purpose clause modifying ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένη. In IS terms, both are fronted before the verb in P2 marking them as the most significant information in the clause. The Topic, while technically new in the discourse, is highly predictable and thus able to appear in the post verbal default position. As this token also exhibits issues related to discontinuous syntax, it will be addressed below as well.

unsatisfactory. The following clause, *καὶ πολύτεχνος ἡ πόλις*,<sup>49</sup> is syntactically and semantically parallel and does not involve a Tail, lessening the chance that *ἡ χώρα* is a right-dislocation. It is best to conclude that the subject here is in an unmarked topic position. Based on the small survey of samples here, it seems likely that when the copula and participle are adjacent, a post-copula post-participle subject is the default, that is, unmarked topic position.

This unmarked topic reading accounts well for the three other similar tokens. First, T. Sol. 24.4a reads: *ἦν κρεμάμενος ὁ κίων ὑπερμεγέθης διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων βασταζόμενος*.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, LAE 5.3 reads: *ἦν γὰρ οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ εἰς τρία μέρη*.<sup>51</sup> Last, T. Sim. 4.1, *καὶ ἦν ἐρωτῶν ὁ πατήρ περὶ ἐμοῦ*.<sup>52</sup> Each of these texts has a prepositional phrase following the subject. The prepositional phrase appears in its default location, thus not attracting any focal prominence. To give focal prominence to a post-copula post-participle subject in this clause arrangement would most likely be accomplished through moving the subject to the clause final position, thus violating the principle of natural information flow. As is, these three examples serve to corroborate the position that, without further evidence to the contrary, a post-copula post-participle subject is in the default position.

Before concluding this section, one alternate solution merits brief discussion. If there is impetus for the participle to stay close to the copula, it is possible that it will cling to the copula and not allow even a subject element to assume its default position between the two. The theory of grammaticalization predicts that as a construction grammaticalizes, it eventually loses linear mobility as a pattern, ending in complete

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<sup>49</sup> “And the city is skilled in many arts.”

<sup>50</sup> “And the enormous pillar was hanging in/by (?) the air, being held up by the spirits.”

<sup>51</sup> “For the earth was settled into three parts.”

<sup>52</sup> “And my father was inquiring about me”

adjacency.<sup>53</sup> As perfect periphrasis (or, copula + perfect participle constructions) are the oldest such constructions in Greek, it would be possible that they are on the leading edge of grammaticalization, and instances where like the previous following the pattern copula + participle + subject testify to a rigidifying constituent order. Further, the complex role of suppletive periphrastics within the perfect system might have provided further impetus to see such analytic constructions as essentially equivalent to synthetic verb.<sup>54</sup> Such progress along the grammaticalization pathway would result in a verbal construction whose unmarked topic position in topic-comment clauses is post the verbal complex, like this: Verb Phrase[copula + participle] + subject + (remainder).<sup>55</sup>

This explanation is hypothetically possible, but ill-supported by the data. In fact, the variability in constituent order chronicled both in this chapter and, more pointedly, in the prior chapter, indicate that constituent order variability was a live possibility throughout the perfect system. From a functional perspective, we can speculate that part of the reason the perfect system failed to grammaticalize to a higher level, despite its long usage and the analogy of suppletive periphrasis, is that users of the language availed themselves of the pragmatic possibilities inherent in constituent order variation.

**Post-participle subjects involving discontinuous syntax (discontinuous syntax).** In Greek, elements of phrases and constituents tend to stay together linearly,

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<sup>53</sup> Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7–9.

<sup>54</sup> Indeed, Modern Greek perfect constructions—primarily formed from a different verb (*έχω* rather than *είναι*; note the different accents as these are Modern Greek), thus having a distinct, though not unrelated, history from these—have reached a high level of grammaticalization such that constituent order variation between the copula and participle-like form (what exactly to call the form used is a matter of contention in Modern Greek grammar) is not tolerated. Amalia Moser, “The History of the Perfect Periphrases in Greek” (PhD diss, University of Cambridge, 1988), 280.

<sup>55</sup> I elect to call the combination of *είμι* + participle a verb phrase in this instance because it would, theoretically, be behaving as a unit that has syntactically fused together, not just semantically. In such an instance, it would be close to, if not entirely equivalent to a periphrastic construction in one of the modern European languages.

though with intra-constituent variability (e.g., the various attributive adjective positions). Discontinuous syntax—hyperbaton in traditional grammars—can be defined as “a wider than necessary separation of two or more syntactically closely connected words or group of words.”<sup>56</sup> While discontinuous syntax is possible and well-attested in Greek, it is a non-default syntax pattern. In other words, I assume discontinuous syntax is used to add something to the discourse rather than to communicate the most semantically neutral meaning of the sentence as possible. It appears to function in several possible ways, including marking a modifier for focal prominence or demarcating units and sub-units within rhetorically structured compositions.<sup>57</sup> The main aim of this section is to explore how the four instances of discontinuous syntax cohere with the IS constituent order observations made up to this point.

Two of these texts can be accounted for as discontinuous syntax which demarcates a syntactical unit: Let. Aris. 22 and 26. The two texts are a minimal pair addressing the same sentence, and can be dealt with together:

1. Let. Aris. 22 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά εἰσιν εἰσηγμένοι τῶν

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<sup>56</sup> Markovic, “Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence,” 127. A more precise and restrictive definition of discontinuous syntax is an instance where a mobile word intervenes between the modifier and head of a noun phrase, *CGCG*, 709. This is the notion of discontinuous syntax coming out of the landmark study of A. M. Devine and Laurence D. Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). It is more restrictive in the sense that it only applies to noun phrases, while Markovic embraces a wider set of possible constructions whenever “a part of speech is arguably placed farther away from its governing word (or vice-versa) than it should be.” Markovic, “Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence,” 128. This difference is of little consequence to the texts I have to deal with and reflects at the least a different orientation towards the text: Devine and Stephens are working within a linguistic paradigm seeking to explain the mechanics of discontinuous syntax, while Markovic is dealing with discontinuous syntax as a stylistic feature of literary language which authors utilized in a variety of ways to demarcate units of text in the quasi-oral fashion of writing in the absence of punctuation.

<sup>57</sup> Smyth reports that in discontinuous syntax the displacement “usually gives prominence to the first of two words thus separated, but sometimes to the second also.” Smyth, § 3028. Devine and Stephens calculate a variety of Focus notions related to different types of discontinuous syntax. Devine and Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek*. A summary of current views on noun phrase discontinuous syntax is similar to that of Smyth: (1) when the modifier precedes the head, there is strong emphasis on the modifier, but (2) when the head precedes the modifier there is no emphasis, contra Smyth’s presentation, rather some additional information is given about the head which is predictable or not very relevant. *CGCG*, 709; *DFNTG*, 57. Markovic’s work provides a unique contribution in demonstrating that discontinuous syntax, in a wider sense of the term, was used to display the structure of a discourse, at various levels of organization, Markovic, “Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence,” 145. It is not necessary to consider these different understandings of discontinuous syntax mutually exclusive options as the line between “grammar” and “style” is ever blurry.



τοιούτων.

2. Let. Aris. 26 Καὶ εἴ *τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσηγμένοι εἰσὶ τῶν τοιούτων*.<sup>58</sup>

The whole subject phrase is *τινες . . . τῶν τοιούτων* “some of these” referring to Jewish slaves in Egypt. Within the body of the letter, the whole of the passage cited from Let. Aris. 22 is an aside, which is explained in v. 26 as a latter addition made by Pharaoh to the original letter. The usage of discontinuous syntax here demarcates this as a syntactic unit that is separate from the surrounding discourse—the entire comment is sandwiched between the two pieces of the subject noun phrase (which is the subject for both verbs in the section).<sup>59</sup> The indefinite pronoun *τινές* here is in P1 as a contrastive topic. It demarcates a different group of Jewish captives from that previously under discussion.

The other two cases of discontinuous syntax, 1 En. 10.21a and Jos. Asen. 10.1, share an interesting feature. In both cases, the element which intervenes between the discontinuous portions of the noun phrase is the participle of the *εἰμί* + participle construction.<sup>60</sup> In Jos. Asen. 10.1, the important element comes first, *καὶ ἦν αὕτη γρηγοροῦσα μόνη*.<sup>61</sup> The adjective *μόνη* adds nothing to the predication which the reader does not already know from context. I suggest this discontinuous syntax pattern is

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<sup>58</sup> “And in the same way if *any* were present or even after that time were brought in *of them*.” The discontinuous phrase is in italics.

One possible explanation for the difference in the order of the copula and participle is that the participle portion of Let. Aris. 26 is emphasized, which would be in order with the broader context where this section appears. The passage makes the point that Pharaoh was magnanimous in making this addition to the original letter, which did not have it until he added it.

<sup>59</sup> Markovic calls this “Framing Discontinuous syntax,” Markovic, “Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence,” 134–35.

<sup>60</sup> Discontinuous syntax, in the limited noun phrase sense of the term, requires that at least one of the intervening elements be the element on which the discontinuous syntax depends, *CGCG*, 709. It is interesting that both cases sandwich the participle rather than the copula or the entire copula + participle construction inside the discontinuous syntax. Perhaps the reason is that the participle is more central to the meaning of the periphrastic construction than the copula. Devine and Stephens point to the following example, which shows discontinuous syntax sandwiched around the form of *εἰμί*, indicating such a formation is possible: *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον πεπραγμένον* (Lys. *De Vuln.* 19), “Nothing of this kind have I ever done.” Devine and Stephens, *Discontinuous Syntax: Hyperbaton in Greek*, 132. I have done no further analysis into discontinuous syntax and copula + participle constructions.

<sup>61</sup> “And she was keeping vigil alone.”

analogous to Levinsohn’s proposal for discontinuous syntax with focal elements: sometimes the discontinuous syntax indicates that only the first part is in focus. By analogy, . First Enoch 10.21a is more difficult to account for. It reads: *καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκυνοῦντες.*<sup>62</sup> The repetition of *πάντες* gives it topical prominence. Possibly the position allows for a rhetorical play in which each repetition of the noun phrase is reduced throughout its three repetitions: *πάντες οἱ λαοί > πάντες > ∅.*

Discontinuous syntax is an interesting feature in Greek which minimally affects the current study. The most relevant factor is that discontinuous syntax operates within the broader patterns of IS which motivate constituent order. The main contribution of this section is to demonstrate that the position of a topical-subject within copula + participle constructions allows for the normal modifications required by the reality of discontinuous syntax in Greek syntax.

### **Unmarked Topics: Conclusion**

The forgoing work has investigated the major and minor patterns of unmarked topics in copula + participle constructions. Both statistical and typological grounds point to the pattern copula + (subject) + participle as the unmarked topic position for topic-comment clauses in copula + participle constructions. As a subject in the default topic position is considered unmarked, the main explanatory burden for this model is to explain the presence of a subject in the P1 pre-copula position, the marked topic position. The next section seeks to account for these marked topics, after which we will turn to consider the position of subjects in relative clauses.

### **On Marked Topics**

In addition to the default position between the copula and participle, the

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<sup>62</sup> “And all the peoples will be serving and all will bless me and will worship.”

subject can also appear in P1 as a marked topic.<sup>63</sup> By way of reminder, such a copula + participle construction takes the following basic form, with brackets indicating the embedded participial clause: P1<sub>subject</sub> + copula + [participle + (object) + (adjuncts)].<sup>64</sup> Within this functional model, the occurrence of a subject in the P1 position requires explanation. Levinsohn argues that the usual function of a subject in P1 is to switch attention from the previous topic-as-subject. It can also function to renew attention to a topic after a discontinuity in the flow of the discourse.<sup>65</sup> The explanatory power of this model can be tested by observing the function of pre-verbal subjects in my heterogenous corpus.

In my corpus there are fifty-one instances where the topical-subject occurs in the pre-copula position. Of these, forty (78 percent) signal a switch of attention.<sup>66</sup> The remaining eleven (22 percent) share the same topical-subject as the prior clause. Of these eleven, all deal with uses of οὗτος and πᾶς.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the main explanation for a subject in

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<sup>63</sup> In the preceding section in discussion of the minor unmarked topic, I also noted that on some occasions the subject can be moved to the end of the clause for a sort of focal prominence.

<sup>64</sup> The data in this section is only concerned with the position of the subject vis-à-vis the copula. Other elements can and do move around, including the presence of participles which occur before the copula but after the pre-copula topical-subject. The possible significance of the movement of these other elements will be addressed elsewhere. Also, as before, I am not considering relative clauses or instances where a participle is in syntactic parallel with adjectives in this section. Those will be addressed later.

<sup>65</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 428. This is analogous to the normal usage of the preverbal position for contrastive subjects with synthetic verbs. In a similar proposal, also based on a functional model of the Greek clause, though with some different theoretical commitments, Allan writes, “Contrastive Topics [his term for a topic in P1, NJE] are found in first position in the main clause. The function of clause-initial Contrastive Topics is to signal that the referent is a member selected from a limited set of candidates which belong to the same semantic class.” Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 193. See also *CGCG*, 714–16; Dejan Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Studies in Language* 27, no. 3 (2003): 591.

<sup>66</sup> I have primarily measured a switch of attention through observing whether the subject in the clause in question is also the subject of the preceding main clause. This is the most common trigger for placing a topical-subject in the marked topic position.

<sup>67</sup> Herm. 78.8 has a preverbal non-contrastive ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος as topical-subject. ἄλλος shares several semantic and syntactic features with πᾶς and will be lumped in with the other data here. J. William Johnston, *The Use of Πᾶς in the New Testament*, Studies in Biblical Greek 11 (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 115. The usage of ἄλλος here is in line with what is normal in the NT: ἄλλος stands in predicate position and modifies a definite noun.

the marked topic position which is not signaling a switch of attention in my corpus is an explanation of the peculiarities of two peculiar words. Before turning to these words, I will provide a few examples of the most common use of a marked topic signaling a switch of attention.

### Marked Topics as Switching Attention

The following examples give an overview of the routine usage of a subject in P1 to switch attention from a preceding topic to the topic of the current clause. First, in Acts John 47.7, the articular participial phrase establishes as the new topic the man whom the Apostle John had just raised from the dead: Ὁ δὲ αὐτόθι πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἦν λοιπὸν προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ.<sup>68</sup> The P1 topic corresponds to the switch in actor between this clause and the prior section. The marked topic position explicitly signals a change in the ‘aboutness’ of the clause. It marks that this clause is about something different than what the prior clause was about.

It is common in discourse for an oblique case element from the prior clause to be promoted to the topical-subject in the following clause.<sup>69</sup> An example of a P1 topic signaling a switch of attention in this common pattern can be seen in Ign. *Eph.* 19.2: αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα.<sup>70</sup> The prior clause reads: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἠλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι.<sup>71</sup> Here the marked topic position switches attention back to the star as topic. Note that the pre-verbal subject “the rest of the stars, etc.,” itself is a marked topic signaling a switch of attention away from

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<sup>68</sup> “And the man who believed upon the Lord Jesus right then and there clung to John thereafter.”

<sup>69</sup> This is often the pattern of focus-topic chaining in which a new or important piece of information (focus) is introduced in a clause in order to comment on it in the next clause. Carlota S. Smith, *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 245–46.

<sup>70</sup> “But the [star] itself was prevailing with regard to its light over all the other stars.”

<sup>71</sup> “And the rest of the stars, together with the sun and moon, became a chorus to the star.”

the star as topic in the clause prior to it.

Finally, the following three examples all show a marked topic used to switch attention between different items within a group. First, two examples from Jos. Asen. 2.7. At the beginning of this verse we are told that there are three windows in Aseneth's room. The first is distinguished by its large size. Each of the next two windows is described with an identical copula + participle clause describing the direction which the window faces. In each case, the subject is in the marked topic position to indicate the particular window which is the center of attention for the clause out of the set of three possible windows.<sup>72</sup> The passage reads: *καὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἦν ἀποβλέπουσα εἰς μεσημβρίαν καὶ ἡ τρίτη ἦν ἀποβλέπουσα εἰς βορρᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμφοδον τῶν παραπορευομένων.*<sup>73</sup> In a related, inverse way, Herm. 81.2 shows a P1 topic used to gather two prior important elements from the immediate discourse into one compound topic: *ἡ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη ἦν βαστάζουσα ὅλον τὸν πύργον.*<sup>74</sup> The prior topic is the ten great stones which formed the foundation for the tower.

Along with switching attention, sometimes a subject appears in P1 for what can best be described as emphasis proper. Levinsohn distinguishes between three types of prominence which are expressed via constituent order: (1) thematic (topic-like—‘what I am talking about’), (2) focus (‘what is relatively the most important information in the given setting’), and (3) emphasis proper (expressing strong feelings about an item or

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<sup>72</sup> This is an example of the value of thinking about the P1 position as associated with contrast. Allan describes such topics in the following way: “Contrastive Topics [his term for a topic in P1, NJE] are found in first position in the main clause. The function of clause-initial Contrastive Topics is to signal that the referent is a member selected from a limited set of candidates which belong to the same semantic class.” Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 193. See also *CGCG*, 714–16; Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 591. The note on the semantic class of the limited set of candidates is driven by Allan’s concern not just to describe the clause pattern, but to also account for what changes in discourse topic cue different topic positions within the clause. This question will be briefly considered in the conclusion. It is beyond the scope of the current work, though it certainly has implications for work at the clause level.

<sup>73</sup> “And the second [window] looked to the south and the third [window] looked to the north on the street which people passed by.”

<sup>74</sup> “Now the rock and the gate were supporting the entire tower.”

indicating that an event is unexpected).<sup>75</sup> In Jos. Asen. 21.12, we find ἐγώ in P1 despite maintaining the already clearly established subject as topic, thus not switching attention. Note that the use versus non-use of pronouns, especially those other than the third person, has long been described in terms of *emphasis*.<sup>76</sup> In more specific terms, the pronoun in this instance appears in P1 to express a degree of strong feelings, rather than the more common form of prominence achieved in P1 of switching attention from the prior subject as topic. The text reads as:

ἥμαρτον κύριε ἥμαρτον  
 ἐνώπιόν σου πολλὰ ἥμαρτον  
 ἐγὼ ἤμην εὐθηνούσα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός μου.<sup>77</sup>

As is evident, ἐγὼ at the beginning of the third line continues on with the same subject. This is part of a multi-stanza prayer of penitence, with each stanza beginning with the lines ἥμαρτον κύριε ἥμαρτον, ἐνώπιόν σου πολλὰ ἥμαρτον. Given that the lines vary markedly in length, it is unlikely that ἐγὼ is dictated by structural concerns to get a certain number of syllables in the line. Within the context of a prayer of penitence, it makes sense that this pronoun is a marked topic to give prominence in the form of emphasis proper, that is, in the sense of expressing strong feelings.<sup>78</sup> Note well that emphasis proper is not a common reason for placing the subject in P1.

The forgoing examples demonstrate various ways in which a pre-copula subject functions in copula + participle constructions. A topical-subject in P1 most often

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<sup>75</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “The Relevance of Greek Discourse Studies to Exegesis,” *Journal of Translation* 2, no. 2 (2006): 13 n4.

<sup>76</sup> “The nominatives ἐγώ, σύ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς are employed according to the standards of good style as in classical Greek for contrast or other emphasis.” BDF, § 277. Note that BDF uses emphasis in a less technical sense than it is used in IS.

<sup>77</sup> “I have sinned, Lord, I have sinned; before you I have sinned greatly; I was thriving in my father’s house.”

<sup>78</sup> This sense of “emphasis,” which Levinsohn calls emphasis proper, needs to be distinguished from the generic use of “emphasis” to describe anything which seems to depart from what a commentator expects. Levinsohn, “The Relevance of Greek Discourse Studies to Exegesis,” 13 n4.

signals a switch of attention, either to a new topic or back to a previous topic. This is fully in line with Levinsohn’s description in the NT. From here, we must address the instances which appear to be exceptions to this pattern.

### **On Demonstrative Pronouns: οὗτος (and ὅδε)**

As mentioned in the introduction to this section on marked topics, there are eleven tokens where the subject in P1 does not signal a switch of attention. These are split between tokens with a form of the demonstrative pronoun or of πᾶς in the P1 position. First, seven of the eleven tokens with a pre-copular Topic have a form of οὗτος (6x) or ὅδε (1x) as Topic.<sup>79</sup> While these two words are formally distinct demonstrative pronouns, the Classical distinction in meaning has effectively collapsed in Koine Greek.<sup>80</sup>

Demonstrative pronouns function in two main ways: (1) to modify a noun phrase to which they stand in predicate position or (2) as a noun. When functioning as a noun, they most often are anaphoric, but may also be cataphoric.<sup>81</sup> Given these distinct possible usages of demonstrative pronouns, attention to details is necessary. A few tendencies are evident in accounting for the regular occurrence of a demonstrative pronoun in the P1/Topic position without contrastive semantics.

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<sup>79</sup> οὗτος: Diogn. 5.3; Herm. 62.4; Hist. Rech. 1.2; Inf. Gos. Thom. 7.2; Jos. Asen. 2.6; T. Reu. 4.6. ὅδε: Sib. Or. 1.51–52.

<sup>80</sup> BDF, § 289; Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentlich Grammatik: das griechisch des Neuen Testament im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*, Zweite, erweiterte Auflage, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925), 74. In Classical Greek, ὅδε “refers to something immediately near/present to the speaker (physically or mentally),” while οὗτος “refers to something within the reach of the speaker and/or addressee (physically or mentally).” *CGCG*, 352–53. That such a subtle distinction in usage would disappear is not surprising.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. BDF, § 290(2–3). As a sub-usage of their anaphoric noun function, they can play a processing role to signal the end of an elaborate left-dislocation structures and the resumption of the main clause, on which see Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 297–301. In addition to these main uses, the case can be made that the near and far demonstratives could be used with diminished demonstrative force as third person pronouns, so Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 328. Such a use is the inverse of using αὐτός with demonstrative force, on which see BDF, 288(2); A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 709.

First, when a demonstrative pronoun functions as a noun with anaphoric reference it has a strong tendency to occur pre-copula, even though usually not corresponding to a switch in reference. In five of the six instances where a demonstrative pronoun is so used, it stands before the copula. The one exception is Jos. Asen. 10.1, καὶ ἦν αὕτη γρηγοροῦσα μόνη,<sup>82</sup> where the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun is in the default position between the copula and participle and its adjectival modifier is split around the participle.<sup>83</sup> The final time the demonstrative pronoun is used as a noun in my data it occurs post-copula—indeed, clause final—and has cataphoric function. In Herm. 6.1 the demonstrative denotes the contents of the following letter: ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα.<sup>84</sup> While these few cases are insufficient to base far-reaching conclusions on, the data may suggest that demonstrative pronouns functioning as a noun with anaphoric reference default to the pre-copula position.<sup>85</sup> Even if this turns out to be true—which requires

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<sup>82</sup> “And she kept watch alone.”

<sup>83</sup> This discontinuous syntax pattern—head before modifier—suggests that the adjective is not important; rather, it adds predictable information, *CGCG*, 709. In this instance the reader already knows that Aseneth is alone in her room. The new information added by this clause in Jos. Asen. 10.1 is not that she is alone, but that she—and no one else in the house—is keeping vigil.

<sup>84</sup> “Now these things were written...”

<sup>85</sup> Scheppers finds a similar tendency for nominative demonstrative pronouns to occur in this position. Frank Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis: Word Order, Discourse Segmentation and Discourse Coherence in Ancient Greek* (Brussels: VUBPRESS, 2011), 120–22. Allan also finds that οὗτος follows different constituent order patterns than full nouns, though the patterns he detects differ in some details from my data. Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 205–6. These different streams of evidence point to one conclusion: οὗτος follows different constituent order rules than normal nouns.

A possible explanation is that the linear position of demonstrative pronouns in the clause is iconically related to their function as anaphoric or, less often, cataphoric deictic devices. Interestingly, the one instance that a demonstrative pronoun is used as a noun with *cataphoric* function (Herm. 6.1), it occurs not pre-copula, but post, at the end of the clause. For a proposal presenting a unified linguistic description of demonstratives, with some limitations, across genres, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Towards a Unified Linguistic Description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος,” in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 204–16.

Some preliminary investigation into the NT data demonstrates that the preverbal position of demonstrative pronouns as topical-subjects is by far more common than post-verbal, with pre-verbal occurring around 120 times and post-verbal only a few times. The data are taken from an Accordance Greek Syntax module search and are fuzzy by nature of there not being (or just me not knowing) a clear way to isolate only those instances where a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a noun is in question, not including those instances where it functions as a modifier. Visual scanning of the results indicates that the base results for a pre-verbal search (123x) are reasonable, while the result attempting to find post-verbal



further consideration—it need not be an exhaustive explanation.

A second point regarding demonstrative pronouns in my data is that none of the tokens with a form of οὗτος as topical-subject exhibit a strong notion of contrast, despite the P1 position; that is, they are not marking a switch of attention.<sup>86</sup> Only one has a topical-subject which differs from that of the immediately prior clause: Diogn. 5.3. Note that Diogn. 5.3 differs from the others as well in that τοῦτο is a modifier in a topical-subject noun phrase rather than a noun: οὐ . . . μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον.<sup>87</sup> The pre-copula subject μάθημα τοῦτο is technically contrastive, differing from the prior topical-subject, but only weakly so. It stands in relationship of “details to summation” where “this teaching” is roughly equivalent to “the mental model of the discourse up to this point.” As is common in written texts, it is deictic with regard to the position of arguments in a text and refers to an immediately accessible concept “up the page” in the text.

Finally, in one passage the position of the demonstrative is part of a rhetorically structured sequence in which τοῦτο is repeated five times in a pre-verbal position, three times in P1 and then twice in P2 (marked focus). The repetition gives added prominence to the referent in question throughout the passage.<sup>88</sup> Infancy Gospel of Thomas 7.2 reads in part: τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον γηγενῆς οὐκ ἔστι, τοῦτο δύναται καὶ πῦρ δαμάσαι· τάχα τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἐστὶν γεγεννημένον. ποία γαστήρ τοῦτο

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instances (53x) were grossly inaccurate, mostly returning false hits (possibly indicating an unknown error in my search). Broader investigation into this phenomenon is in order, though roughly speaking there is solid base of evidence indicating pre-verbal position is statistically dominant for anaphoric reference when the demonstrative pronoun is part of a topical noun phrase.

<sup>86</sup> By definition, anaphoric demonstrative pronouns are not a new topic. In terms of semantic and IS, demonstrative pronouns as anaphoric topics share more in common with topical-subjects in default position than those in P1 in most usages.

<sup>87</sup> “This teaching of theirs has not been discovered (by)...”

<sup>88</sup> This is “emphasis” in a sense associated with conveying strong feeling and surprise. In Levinsohn’s terms, this is *emphasis proper*. Levinsohn, “The Relevance of Greek Discourse Studies to Exegesis,” 13 n4.

ἐβάστασεν, ποία δὲ μήτρα τοῦτο ἐξέθρεψεν, ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ.<sup>89</sup> In all three instances where it is the topical-subject (or part of the topical-subject noun phrase), τοῦτο occurs in P1. The first occurrence does correspond to a switch of attention, changing the topical-subject from “I” (the teacher speaking) to “this child.” After the initial demonstrative pointing to the child Jesus on the scene, the other four demonstratives are unnecessary for the syntax of the sentence. The repetition highlights the teacher’s consternation in his attempt to teach Jesus.

In summary, demonstrative pronouns seem to follow different position rules than most other nouns and noun phrases which appear as topical-subjects. Six of the eleven non-contrastive P1 topical-subjects can be accounted for by recognizing that οὗτος plays by different rules. However, the data is slim. Even among these uses profiled above, we can see that the demonstrative pronoun can appear in P1 to mark a switch of attention and to give prominence to a topic, especially associated with emphasis proper in the example from Inf. Gos. of Thom. Further conclusions would require more data.

### **On πᾶς (and ὅλος)**

Similar to the P1 demonstrative pronoun topical-subjects, it is reasonable to argue that when a form of πᾶς (or ὅλος) occurs as a pre-verbal subject (5x) it follows different ordering patterns than prototypical nouns.<sup>90</sup> This appears to hold true whether

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<sup>89</sup> “*This child* is not earth-born, *this one* is able even to tame fire; perhaps *this one* was born before creation. What sort of womb bore *this one*, and what sort of womb nourished *this one*, I do not know.”

<sup>90</sup> 2 Clem. 17:3; Let. Aris. 61; Sib. Or. 1.286; Sib. Or. 3.272. Herm. 78.8 has a preverbal non-contrastive ὅλον τὸ ὄρος as topical-subject, which is similar. This discussion is focused on when πᾶς is the subject or a nominative modifier, not when it is an oblique modifier of the subject noun phrase, as in Jos. Asen. 3.6c: καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν εἰδώλων πάντων ἦσαν ἐκτετυπωμένα ἐν αὐτοῖς “and the faces of all the idols were engraved in them.” Here πάντων modifies “of the idols” rather than directly modifying the head noun τὰ πρόσωπα. Two other passages are worth mentioning, both of which involve discontinuous syntax and πᾶς functioning as a modifier: (1) Prot. James 18.2, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἦν τὰ πρόσωπα ἄνω βλέποντα “but the faces of everyone were looking up” and (2) 1 En. 10.21a, καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ “and all the people will serve (him).” These passages are discussed above. In Jos. Asen. 2.11, πάντα occurs in a complex noun phrase on the right periphery, but this token is thetic and will be dealt with in chapter 6.

πᾶς is functioning as a noun or as a nominative modifier of the subject.<sup>91</sup> Consider Let. Aris. 61: πάντες δ' ἦσαν διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι χρυσαῖς περόναις πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.<sup>92</sup> Note, πάντες is the topical-subject and it sits in the P1 position, despite being the same as the prior topical-subject.<sup>93</sup> Generalizing from this limited data, it may be the case that when a form of πᾶς is an independent topical-subject it prefers to occur in the marked topic position.<sup>94</sup>

The semantics of πᾶς seem relevant in explaining its behavior. I suggest these pre-copula uses of πᾶς follow a similar constituent order to that of the demonstrative pronouns because they perform a similar function.<sup>95</sup> πᾶς serves to select some group

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<sup>91</sup> πάντες in 2 Clem. 17.7 is the one instance where it functions as a modifier, in this case of the null pronoun subject: ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζώην. πάντες here is most likely indicating emphasis proper much the same way that an English speaker would say the following: “so that we, ALL of us, thinking the same...”

<sup>92</sup> “All were fastened down with golden pins through holes for safety.” The exact rendering of this passage is difficult for reasons not relevant to what we are considering.

<sup>93</sup> There is some complexity here. Two clauses back the subject is clear (extraneous elements removed): λίθων πολυτελῶν διαθέσεις “arrangements of precious stones.” This subject is carried on in the next clause (the clause immediately prior to the one of interest) as the grammatically singular ἕτερος παρὰ ἕτερον with the plural verb εἶχον. I assume that a 3.pl subject equivalent to English “they” carries through this clause. We might say that πάντες here clearly reestablishes the topical-subject as the totality of the stones, as opposed to highlighting something true of each one individually.

<sup>94</sup> 1 En. 1.21b is a partial exception, which reads: καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκυνοῦντες “And all the people will serve and all will bless me and will praise (me).” The exception is partial in that the copula is null in the second clause, rendering questions of order vis-a-vis the copula complicated. It is further unusual in that when the copula is not repeated when it relates to a series of participles, as is the case here, the subject does not change, thus it is not present in the subsequent clause(s). The repetition of πάντες in this case is odd and must be emphatic as it is semantically unnecessary.

<sup>95</sup> In traditional grammar, these words are dealt with separately, though acknowledging their peculiarities when it comes to the use of predicate and attributive position. They are, though, both related at a functional level and in modern linguistic approaches both are classed together in a group of words called determiners (also, “specifiers”), which are words or affixes that “belong to a class of noun modifiers that expresses the reference, including quantity, of a noun,” *SIL Glossary*, “Determiner.” Demonstrative pronouns belong in the demonstrative sub-grouping and “all” belongs in the quantifier sub-grouping. For a brief discussion of these categories as they apply to Koine Greek, see Andrew W. Pitts, “Greek Word Order and Clause Structure: A Comparative Study of Some New Testament Corpora,” in *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development*, Linguistic Biblical Studies 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 317–21.

In Scheppers’ corpus, he finds πᾶς and some related quantifiers showing only a weak preferential tendency to clause initial position. Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis*, 123. Given the different theoretical assumptions in which Scheppers asserts that the colon and not the clause is the basic unit of Greek order (while I am focusing on primarily the clause), it is not easy to compare his findings. Aside from his general comment already cited, Scheppers includes πᾶς in a category of words “which may be

against any other possible group in the current discussion, which is a contrastive function and at least implicitly (and often explicitly) involves a switch of attention to the group demarcated by  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$ . In selecting a group of already present entities, it functions much like an anaphoric pronoun.<sup>96</sup> This function of selecting one possible subject as topic out of an array of possible subjects as topics at any given point in the discourse is associated with the marked topic position.

### Conclusion on Marked Topics

In summary, subjects in the marked topic position track very strongly with Levinsohn's findings from the NT. The primary function which a subject in P1 serves is to indicate a switch of attention from the previous subject as topic. I have also noted that, at least once, the best explanation is that a marked topic can indicate emphasis proper (that is, communicate strong feelings). Along with the general topics, I made some comments about the status of  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\text{o}\zeta$  and  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  as topical-subjects. These may follow slightly different constituent order tendencies than other topical-subjects. However, the data here is quite limited and any firm conclusions would require more investigation into their function in clauses other than the copula + participle type. Aside from that, many of their uses in my corpus follow the normal patterns of usage for a marked topic.

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, Levinsohn's model of marked and unmarked usages is premised on the idea that the marked member of the pair conveys some feature which is not marked (though not necessarily absent) from the unmarked member. The different constituent orders of the subject in relation to the copula can be

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expected to be liable to undergo emphatic fronting" (124), which sounds similar to the claim I am making here.

<sup>96</sup> In the NT, the most common use of independent  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  is pronominal or substantival. Johnston, *The Use of  $\Pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  in the New Testament*, 111. Referring to the anaphoric use of  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$ , he notes that the most common element pointed to is a nearby antecedent in the text (104). Johnston's analysis is concerned with the semantics of the different positions of  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  in terms of word groups or phrases, thus he does not deal with IS implications of the various positions of  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  in the clause, which is unfortunate, as it would provide a helpful point of reference for comparing my data.

successfully accounted for on the model that the copula and subject form a matrix clause with the unmarked topic position being copula + subject and the marked being P1<sub>subject</sub> + copula. At this point, we move on to consider the marked or unmarked topics in relative clauses.

### On Marked and Unmarked Topics in Relative Clauses

Up to now, I have only been discussing the subject of topic-comment sentences in main clauses where the subject is a word whose position in the clause is not fixed by syntax. As there are syntactic restrictions on the position of relative pronouns, examining IS motivated constituent ordering in relative clauses requires some different considerations. I assume that the principles at work in main clauses are at work in relative clauses, with the necessary modifications for the syntactic requirements of relatives that when the relative pronoun is the subject, it always appears in P1 without regard to its function. As will be seen, this hypothesis is able to explain the evidence from the text.

### IS in Relative Clauses: Relative Pronouns and Adverbs

Relative clauses (RCs) can be headed by a relative pronoun or the related adverbial forms.<sup>97</sup> These have a fixed position at the beginning of the RC.<sup>98</sup> As it is fixed

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<sup>97</sup> Adverbial relatives include both adverbial derivations from the relative pronouns, such as ὅπου and ὅθεν, and several stock prepositional phrases which contain a relative pronoun, such as ἀφ' οὗ. Herman C. du Toit, "Some Syntactic Features of Relative Constructions in the Greek New Testament," *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 45 (2016): 61–62.

<sup>98</sup> There are two exceptions to this rule. First, the syntactic demands of prepositions as prepositive in their phrase wins over relatives' demand to be first in their clause. As such, when a relative is in a prepositional phrase, the preposition occurs first in the clause. Second, it is possible, though unusual, for other elements which belong in the RC to precede the relative pronoun for prominence. For example, in 2 Cor 15:36, σύ precedes the relative pronoun in whose clause it belongs: σὺ δὲ σπείρεις.

Within the sentence, relative pronouns most often follow as close as possible the noun phrase in which their antecedent is located. However, separation is possible. An extreme example of this separation occurs in Pol. *Phil.* 13.2: [τὰς ἐπιστολάς] Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἶχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· [αἰτίνας] ὑποτεταγμένα ἐῖσιν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ "The epistles of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and whatever others we have here, we have sent to you, just as you requested—which [epistles] are appended to this epistle." This RC is an example of what du Toit calls a "conjoined relative sentence," where the RC functions in all respects like a main clause with

by the syntax of the language, the position of a relative pronoun in its clause requires no explanation, from an IS perspective.

While relative pronouns and relative adverbs share the same position rule, they differ in terms of how they relate to the main clause. Relative pronouns modify a noun phrase antecedent. Certain adverbial relative pronouns also modify a noun phrase antecedent, such as the common *οὗ* and related spatial relatives, but most are free, that is, they do not have a noun antecedent.<sup>99</sup> All of the relative adverbs in my data modify an overt antecedent. While they share the same basic function as the relative pronouns in this capacity, they differ in that they have a more generic syntactic relationship to their head noun, since they do not inflect for case, gender, or number. Relative pronouns do all this while also appearing in a variety of prepositional phrases. In my dataset, there are eight RCs headed by adverbs<sup>100</sup> and twenty-four headed by relative pronouns.<sup>101</sup> I will consider the adverbial RCs first.

**Adverbial relative clauses.** Of the eight adverbial RCs, two have a subject in P1. Since the relative adverbial is never the subject, RCs headed by relative adverbials always have a subject element which differs from the relative adverb. The most common pattern in my data, occurring six of eight times (75 percent), is for the subject to be null or to occur between the copula and participle, the default position in main clauses. One token exhibits a pre-copula subject in the P1 position (T. Ab. 5.7) and one token exhibits

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the relative pronoun functioning as a substitution for a demonstrative pronoun. du Toit, “Some Syntactic Features of Relative Constructions in the Greek New Testament,” 70.

<sup>99</sup> du Toit, “Some Syntactic Features of Relative Constructions in the Greek New Testament,” 62. Relative adverbs which have an overt antecedent are restrictive modifiers. On restrictive relative clauses in Greek, see Michael Hayes, “An Analysis of the Attributive Participle and the Relative Clause in the Greek New Testament” (PhD diss., Concordia Seminary, 2014), 59–143.

<sup>100</sup> Acts Pil. 12.1; 15.6, 7; Acts Thom. 16.3; 170.6; Herm. 104.1; Jos. Asen. 11.1a; T. Ab. 5.7

<sup>101</sup> 1 Clem. 43.2; 1 En. 1.2; 98.6b; Acts John 76.3; Acts Pil. 11.3; Acts Thom. 38.3; Apoc. Paul 12; Barn. 18.1; Herm. 70.2; Hist. Rech. 19.6; Ign. *Rom.* 10.2; Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2; Jos. Asen. 3.6a; 13.6; 18.6; LAE 20.1; Let. Aris, 106; 176; 182a; 219; Mart. Pet. 11.2; Pol. *Phil.* 13.2; T. Job 41.6; T. Reu. 2.5.

a subject following the copula and participle at the end of the clause (Acts Pil. 12.1).

Before discussing the two tokens with a non-default subject position, a general note on Topics in these tokens is in order.

Within Levinsohn's marked vs. unmarked schema, a subject in the unmarked topic position is not singled out for the feature switch of attention, or one of the other minor uses of a marked topic. This does not mean that such a feature is absent; rather, that the author has not marked it through placing the subject in P1. As we saw in main clauses, it is common here for a subject in the default topic position to play a role that could be marked by a subject in P1. In seven of the eight tokens in this category, the default position subject actually marks a switch of attention from the prior subject as topic to the current topic of the RC.<sup>102</sup> The one instance where the topical-subject in the adverbial RC is the same as in the main clause is Jos. Asen. 11.1a: *καὶ ἀνένευσε μικρὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς Ἀσενέθ ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς τέφρας οὗ ἣν ἐπικειμένη*.<sup>103</sup> In the conclusion, I will further discuss the phenomenon of unmarked topics filling a function associated with a marked topic.

In addition to eight tokens where the subject is either null or between the copula and participle, there is one which exhibits what I am calling the minor unmarked pattern: copula + participle + subject. Acts of Pilate 12.1 shows a subject in the clause final position: *καὶ ἐσφράγισαν τὴν θύραν ὅπου ἦν ἐγκεκλεισμένος Ἰωσήφ*.<sup>104</sup> I have argued above that this position is most likely an unmarked topic position. It may also be the case that Ἰωσήφ is a type of right-dislocation here, indicating in this case that it will cease to

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<sup>102</sup> By which I mean one that differs from the immediately preceding topical-subject.

<sup>103</sup> "And Aseneth moved her head a little from the floor and the ashes where she was laying." One could say the author is using the more generalized οὗ relative here in place of a more specific preposition + relative pronoun matching number and gender. Such a prepositional phrase would be a less general way of conveying the same restrictive idea.

<sup>104</sup> "And they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in."

be an active participant in the next scene.<sup>105</sup> Whether right-dislocated or not, it is reasonable to argue that Ἰωσήφ here should be considered an unmarked topic.

There is one adverbial relative clause where the topical-subject appears in P1, T. Ab. 5.7: καὶ [Ἰσαὰκ] ἦλθε δρομαίως ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ ἔνθα ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἦν κοιμώμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου.<sup>106</sup> The most common reason for a subject in P1 in a main clause is mark a switch of attention from the prior topical-subject, which fits the context here.

In summary, the one time where the topical-subject appears in P1 in an adverbial RC it marks a switch of attention. This is consistent with the usage of P1 in main clauses. Further consideration is in order regarding the prevalence of topical-subjects in the unmarked position which are in a clause where the topical-subject differs from the prior clause. This will be taken up in the conclusion.

**Pronominal relative clauses.** The relative pronouns are ὅς or ὅστις.<sup>107</sup> They can occur in any case as well as appear within a prepositional phrase. In contrast to the

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<sup>105</sup> This would be in line with Allan’s finding for what he calls Tails, which are right-dislocated subjects. Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 202–4. In his profile of Tail constructions, Allan notes that they are subjects which add minimal content to the sentence and this position has a strong tendency to be used when the subject will cease to be the topical-subject, or even an active participant, in the following clause and beyond. It is intriguing that this instance of “Joseph” in Acts Pil. 12.1 is anarthrous, when the preceding instances in this passage have all been articular. In Allan’s data, there is a tendency for Topics as a Tail to be anarthrous even though all the subjects in his dataset are main characters who are generally active in the surrounding contexts, thus articular. Only two of the eleven instances have an article. Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 187. While there are many possible explanations for the lack of an article in Acts Pil. 12.1—from a text-critical fluke to other currently unexplained variation of articles with names—the anarthrous “Joseph” here may very well be signaling that the Topic of this clause is on its way out in terms of the development of the narrative.

<sup>106</sup> “And [Isaac] came running into the triclinium where his father was sleeping with the archangel.” Subject added for clarity.

<sup>107</sup> As is widely acknowledged, the Classical distinction between ὅς and ὅστις is all but defunct in Koine, with exceptions to the distinction being the norm. BDF, § 293; Radermacher, *Neutestamentlich Grammatik: das griechisch des Neuen Testament im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*, 75. Indeed, Victoria Spottorno argues that in the NT the relative pronouns use a default mixed declension, borrowing a few forms from the ὅστις paradigm into the ὅς paradigm, Ma Victoria Spottorno Diaz-Caro, “The Relative Pronoun in the New Testament: Some Critical Remarks,” *New Testament Studies* 28, no. 1 (January 1982): 132–41. This mixed paradigm suggests that, at least for many speakers, these two words had lost any distinction in meaning and were well on their way towards losing status as distinct words in normal usage. I assume that there is no benefit from trying to discern distinctions in meaning in the few usages which occur in my dataset, even if such meanings might be observed in texts in my corpus at large.



adverbial relatives, relative pronouns can be, and often are, the Topic of the RC. In such a case, the position before the copula is fixed by the syntax of the language, regardless of what IS role it plays in relation to the surrounding context. It is also important that relative pronouns agree with their antecedent in gender, which often is sufficient information to show how the relative pronoun and RC relate to the broader context: if only one probable referent is masculine/feminine/neuter in the immediate context, then the gender of the pronoun itself signals continuity/discontinuity. Before examining the different instances of relative pronouns and the various IS considerations related to them, I will discuss a few summary points.

First, the position of the topical-subject in relative clauses is overwhelmingly accounted for by two factors: (1) nominative relative pronouns are clause-initial and (2) most other subjects are null/default. Only two tokens have a topical-subject in P1 where it is not syntactically required. In total, five relative clauses have a null subject.<sup>108</sup> Of these, three are first or second person, for which a null subject is normal in my dataset.<sup>109</sup> The other two instances both involve verbs of clothing and the gender of the participle clearly indicates who the Topic is, obviating the need for a more specific Topic to indicate how this RC should be added to the mental model.<sup>110</sup> Statistically speaking, the most common

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<sup>108</sup> Acts John 76.3; Acts Thom. 38.3; Hist. Rech. 19.6; Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2; LAE 20.1.

<sup>109</sup> In main clauses, first and second person subjects are null 43 times and present 10 times. The pronoun is a contrastive Topic in many of the 10 where it is present, with various other features evident in other examples. While this is a small sample size, it fits nicely with the larger data indicating that overt use of a subject pronouns in Koine Greek is a device associated with prominence, BDF, § 277.

<sup>110</sup> Acts John 76.3; Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2. For example, in Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2 the text reads *ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλῖον ὅπερ ἦν βεβλημένος*. Since Jesus is masculine and “the garment” is neuter, the neuter relative *ὅπερ* finds its clear antecedent in *τὸ παλῖον* and Jesus is the obvious antecedent of the null Topic.

Acts John 76.3 is an internally-headed RC (Smyth calls these incorporated, Smyth, § 2536, cf. BDF, § 294(5)). It is the only one in my dataset. The text reads *ἀποσυλήσαντός μου ἤδη ἅπερ ἦν ἡμφιεσμένη ἐντάφια* “while I was already stripping off the grave clothes which she was wearing.” As the translation makes plain, the antecedent, *ἐντάφια* (which is the syntactic head to which the relative clause is a modifier, hence the name “internally-headed”), is inside the RC. The relative pronoun, *ἅπερ*, points “back” to this antecedent. Internally-headed RCs are rare in all phases of Ancient Greek. For reference, they make up <5 percent of the relative clauses in the NT. Martin M. Culy, “A Typology of Koine Relative Clauses,” *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session 33*, no. 3

situation in RCs when the relative pronoun is not the Topic, is for an overt subject to appear between the copula and participle (the default position in main clauses). While the position tendency appears the same as with independent clauses, the IS factors differ. The Topics in default position in the RCs have a strong tendency to be contrastive and a low tendency to persist as Topic.

Before dealing with default position topical-subjects, the seven nominative relative pronouns can be briefly addressed.<sup>111</sup> As seen in the following two examples, the relative pronoun sits in the clause-initial position regardless of whether there is a switch of attention or not. In Jos. Asen. 13.6, the topical-subject of the RC is the same as of the main clause: ἰδοὺ τὸ ἔδαφος...ὃ ἦν τὸ πρότερον καταρραϊνόμενον μύροις.<sup>112</sup> By contrast, in Let. Aris. 182a, we see the more common occurrence of a RC whose topical-subject differs from the topical-subject of the prior clause: ὁ δὲ ἀρχεδέατρος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τούτων ἀποτεταγμένος.<sup>113</sup> While there is a switch of attention between the main clause and the embedded relative clause, the position of the relative pronoun in this and related tokens is due to the syntax of relative pronouns.

In addition to the above tokens where the relative pronoun is nominative, and thus the subject of the RC, there are two tokens with an oblique case relative pronoun. In each of these, the topical-subject is in P1. First, 1 En. 1.2: Ἐνώχ· (Ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός ἐστιν,

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(1989): 76. On the characteristics of internally-headed RCs, see Stefanie Fauconnier, “Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 14, no. 2 (2014): 141–62. I am unaware of any attempt to analyze the IS of internally-headed RCs and will make no attempt with this one instance, merely subsuming it into the broader discussion.

<sup>111</sup> 1 Clem. 43.2; Jos. Asen. 3.6a; 13.6; Let. Aris. 182a; Pol. *Phil.* 13.2; T. Job 41.6; T. Sol. 1.2. This count includes 1 Clem. 43.2, although technically this passage has the correlative pronoun ὁποῖος rather than a relative: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ζήλου ἐμπεισόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ στασιαζουσῶν τῶν φυλῶν ὅποια αὐτῶν εἶη τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι κεκοσμημένη, ἐκέλευσεν “For that one, when jealousy arose concerning the priesthood and the tribes were dissenting about which of them was to be adorned with the glorious title, he commanded....” Here the correlative is functioning like a relative, on which see BDAG, “ὁποῖος, οἷα, οἷον.” This usage appears in wider Greek contexts as well. The antecedent of ὅποια is “tribes.”

<sup>112</sup> “Behold the floor . . . which formerly was sprinkled with myrrh.” See also T. Sol. 1.2.

<sup>113</sup> “So the chief steward Nicanor summoned Dorotheus, who was assigned over them [that is, the Jewish delegation, NJE].” For other examples, see the texts in footnote 111.

ὧ ὄρασις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεωγμένη ἦν...<sup>114</sup> The topical-subject, in addition to the entire participial clause, occurs before the copula. Related, Acts Pil. 11.3 reads: καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω ἦν κείμενος.<sup>115</sup> The P1 topical-subject in each token can be explained as a switch of attention from the prior topical-subject.

The tokens just discussed all have an overt topical-subject before the copula, whether as a nominative relative pronoun or another nominal. The majority of relative pronoun tokens, by contrast, have either a null topical-subject (five) or one between the copula and participle (nine). These fourteen (of twenty-four) show a topical-subject in the unmarked position.<sup>116</sup>

Note that RC routinely have a different subject than the immediately prior clause, the matrix clause in which the antecedent of the relative pronoun stands. In the many instances where this is the case, the default topic position is normal. Within Levinsohn's proposal, calling these default ends the explanation necessary at this level of attention. There may be value in paying further attention to what scenarios appear to allow a change of topic between clauses with or without placing a subject in P1. This quest, though, steps beyond the scope of this dissertation and I will return to some comments on it in the conclusion.

As an example, consider Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2, where the default topical-subject—null in this case—is the same as the prior clause: ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλιὸν ὄπερ ἦν βεβλημένος.<sup>117</sup> More common are instances where the subject of the

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<sup>114</sup> “Enoch (he is a righteous man to whom a vision from God was opened up to him...)” Note the pleonastic pronoun, one of many clues that this text is not an original Greek composition.

<sup>115</sup> “And he placed it [i.e., the corpse of Jesus] into a hewn-tomb in which no one had yet been laid.” The preverbal οὐδεὶς distinguishes the subject of the RC from the other persons active in the discourse at the time.

<sup>116</sup> Remember that there are nine pre-copular relative pronouns, seven of which are nominative and obligatory. There is one token where the Topic occurs after the participle. In total, ten tokens are non-default.

<sup>117</sup> “Now Jesus, having opened up the cloak which he was wearing...”

RC differs from that of its matrix clause. Such an arrangement is evident in Hist. Rech. 19.6: *καὶ διήγαγέν με δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ ἤμην κατοικῶν.*<sup>118</sup> Likewise, Let. Aris. 176 shows the same situation: *παρελθόντων δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀπεσταλμένοις δώροις καὶ ταῖς διαφόροις διφθέραις, ἐν αἷς ἦν ἡ νομοθεσία γεγραμμένη χρυσογραφία τοῖς Ἰουδαίκοις γράμμασι...*<sup>119</sup> In both these instances, the common pattern of a topical-subject in the default position in the RC (whether null or between copula and participle) plays the role of switching attention from the prior topical-subject, but does so from a default position. Such a tendency raises to the question of what factors are involved in cuing a writer to use P1 within a RC. As seen above, this does happen, though not frequently in my data. Such a question is interesting, though need not be answered here.<sup>120</sup>

As seen in the main clauses, a topical-subject can also appear clause-final in a RC. There is one such example in my data from Epistle of Barnabas 18.1, which reads: *ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ.*<sup>121</sup> With respect to the main verb, the topical-subject is probably in an unmarked position here. An alternate possibility is that the topical-subject has been moved to the

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<sup>118</sup> “And he led me through (the wilderness) for forty days to the cave, in which I had been staying.”

<sup>119</sup> “When they entered with the gifts that had been sent and the superior-quality parchments, in which the law was written in gold in Jewish letters...” Note that here the copula ἦν is marked as textually uncertain, but accepted by A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*, Sources Chrétiennes 89 (Paris: Cerf, 1962).

<sup>120</sup> Consider Allan’s findings in his sample from Herodotus. There, “in subordinate clauses, topics are often placed clause-initially due to a contrast of the topic for the subordinate clause with the topic of the main clause. For example, there are 20 relative clauses in my data of which in 15 cases the topic occurs at the beginning of the clause (that is, after the relative pronoun). In these 15 cases, the topic of the subordinate clause marks a contrast with a competing discourse topic—typically another principal character in the story.” Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 194.

Part of the difference here could be a skew introduced by different parameters of analysis. Allan tracks instances where certain names are nominative, thus his data always involves a topical-subject in which the relative pronoun is non-nominative and the topic is always an animate main character in the discourse. By contrast, many of the subjects in my data are inanimate. Aside from this, there is also the time and register differences between the texts under consideration.

<sup>121</sup> “For over the one (way) light-bringing angels of God are posted, but over the other angels of Satan.”

end of the clause to draw focal prominence to the contrast between the two types of angels—the light-bearing angels of God and the angels of Satan.<sup>122</sup> One further factor which may influence our decision here is that *εἰσιν τεταγμένοι* is a case of suppletive periphrasis, with a 3.pl.mp.perf participle of a verb-stem ending in a consonant. We saw in chapter 2 that suppletive periphrasis often involves the participle and copula adjacent to each other. However, variation in the order between the participle and copula in suppletive periphrasis is well-attested, indicating that the pressure for this construction to grammaticalize further and adopt a more rigid order was one of many competing pressures in how the constructions were used.

Among the default tokens, one subset requires further comment: periphrastic constructions with an impersonal verb.<sup>123</sup> There are four of these (out of 24 total tokens):

1. Ign. Rom. 10.2 πάντες γάρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρόπον ὑμῖν ἔστιν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι.<sup>124</sup>
2. Let. Aris. 219 τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον, ὃ δέον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὑποκρίνεσθαι.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Compare this to Gal 2:20: ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ξῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός. Levinsohn argues that the position of the topical-subjects *ἐγώ* and *Χριστός* here at the end of their respective clauses puts focus on the contrast. *DFNTG*, 35. This may be the case in Barn. 18.1, though that is less clear. In the example from Galatians, the presence of non-core constituents in each clause makes it clear that the topical-subject is indeed in a marked position at the end of the clause. Since there are no other constituents in Barn. 18.1, the current structure may be marked or unmarked; it is ambiguous as written. Assuming that vocal stress and/or pitch played some sort of IS role in Ancient Greek such an order would have been clear in spoken Greek, but any reader would have to make an intelligent guess from the context. On the role of intonation in marking a constituent as focus in Modern Greek, see David Holton, Peter Mackridge, and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*, Routledge Grammars (London: Routledge, 1997), 438–39.

<sup>123</sup> By impersonal verbs I have in mind what Smyth calls *quasi-impersonal* verbs, including the verbs *δοκεῖ*, *ἔξεστι*, *πρέπει*, and *δεῖ*, to name a few. The subject of these verbs is an “it” that may be derived from context (associated with the accompanying infinitive phrase) as opposed to true impersonal verbs which have a vague subject not corresponding to anything, such as the “it” in “it is raining” for *ῥεῖ* or *βρέχει*, Smyth, § 933. Several scholars, starting with Björck and furthered in Aerts, argue *εἰμί* with a participle formed from one of these verbs (among others) is not periphrastic as the participle has changed class to function as an adjective. Gudmund Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ: Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1940), 17–40, specifically 17–25; Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 12–17. As discussed in chapter 1, I find Bentein’s analysis to be a more persuasive framework within which to work.

<sup>124</sup> “For all of them are worthy of God and of you, whom (i.e. “all of them”) it is fitting for you to refresh in every way.”

<sup>125</sup> “For the role which it is necessary for them to play.” This is a sentence about actors.

3. Mart. Pet. 11.2 Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, μηδὲ γνώμην τινὸς λαβὼν, ὃ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν.<sup>126</sup>
4. Let. Aris. 106 ὅπως μηδενὸς θιγγάνωσιν ὧν οὐ δέον ἐστίν.<sup>127</sup>

(Quasi-)Impersonal verbs generally have an infinitive, often with an accusative, which functions as the subject.<sup>128</sup> By virtue of being impersonal, these tokens have a different subject than the previous clause and technically involve a switch of attention.<sup>129</sup>

### Conclusion on Topic in Relative Clauses

Topical-subjects in RCs follow the general pattern seen in main clauses, with some important exceptions. Since the relative pronoun can itself be the topical-subject and its position is fixed as clause initial in the syntax of the language, this position is default, that is, unmarked. It may or may not correspond to a switch of attention. But in either case, it is not marked. When the relative pronoun is an oblique case, the topical-subject most frequently is either null or occurs in an unmarked position. The topical-subject can appear in P1, in which case it marks a switch of attention, supporting that RC have the same basic marked and unmarked pattern.

### Conclusion on IS of Topics in Topic-Comment

In concluding this discussion on the position of the topical-subject, I want to briefly revisit Runge’s useful description of how marked/unmarked functions within

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<sup>126</sup> “Now Marcellus, not taking the opinion of anyone, which was not right.”

<sup>127</sup> “So that they touch nothing of which there is no need.”

<sup>128</sup> Other subordinate clauses can also serve as subject, but infinitives are the most common. Whether it is better to say the infinitive subordinate clause is the subject, so *CGCG*, 465–67, or to say that it forms the logical (and by extension not the grammatical) subject, as Smyth, § 933.a, is not necessary to deal with here. Since Greek has some true impersonal verbs—verbs which have zero arguments, such as ὕει or βρέχει (“it is raining”)—there is an obvious difference between the verbs in question and “true impersonal” verbs, hence the name “quasi-impersonal.” However, the *quasi-impersonal* verbs also differ from standard verbs and the subjects differ in syntactic form. I am unaware of an instance where the entire “subject phrase” precedes an impersonal verb. In these examples, the accusative portion does as it is the relative pronoun in all but the last one. In Let. Aris. 106, δεῖ is construed as a true impersonal with a genitive complement, “there is need of, it is necessary.” On this meaning see BDAG, “δεῖ 2.a.”

<sup>129</sup> The attentive reader may note that in all four the participle precedes the copula. I will deal with this position in the chapter 5.

Levinsohn's theoretical approach:

markedness theory . . . presupposes that asymmetrical sets of linguistic oppositions exist which function as markers for the presence or absence of a particular feature. The sets are said to be asymmetrical in that one member of the set indicates the presence of a particular feature (called the 'marked' form), while some other member of the set (the 'default' form) is considered to be *unmarked* for the feature. The recognition of asymmetry to this view of markedness is crucial, in that the default form does *not* signal the *opposite* of the marked form. Instead, the feature in question *may* or *may not* be present; the default form is not explicitly marked for the feature.<sup>130</sup>

The marked/default distinction seeks to understand and describe the grammatical or pragmatic feature which each choice specifically marks as present. One of the implications of this approach is that within any given marked/default pair, the use of the default does not require explanation. Default simply means the speaker/writer has chosen not to mark the presence of any feature. It need not follow that said feature is not present; merely that it is not marked.<sup>131</sup>

This distinction of asymmetrical markedness is important for understanding the distribution of topical-subjects. In this chapter, following Levinsohn's lead, I have analyzed the relationship between IS and the position of topical-subjects within both main clauses and RCs. In each case, a topical-subject in P1 exhibits marked features, primarily marking a switch of attention. I have also noted that many unmarked topics also exist in contexts where a switch of attention could be marked, but is not. Within the marked/unmarked framework, as noted above, the absence of a marked feature (a topical-subject in P1) does not mean the function associated with the marked feature is also absent, though it frequently is. This interesting result will receive further comment in the conclusion.

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<sup>130</sup> Runge, "A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative," 22.

<sup>131</sup> This paragraph is indebted to Runge, "A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative," 22–24. As is often the case, he more clearly and simply explains Levinsohn's work than Levinsohn does.

Within main clauses, the main areas of discussion were accounting for topical-subjects at the end of the clause and the presence of demonstratives and forms of  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  in P1 which appear to only weakly correspond to the usual marked features of this position. Regarding clause-final topical-subjects, I have argued that this position is likely default, in the event that there is nothing else in the clause to further disambiguate. The topical-subject follows the verbal complex at the level of the main clause, which is its default position. However, when there are other constituents following the participle which the topical-subject also follows, this position is probably a way to give the topical-subject focal prominence. Finally, the position of demonstratives and  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\zeta$  as topical-subjects, I suggest these may have a tendency to default to P1 even when not marking a feature usually associated with P1. In the majority of their occurrences, they do not mark a switch of attention from the prior topical-subject. Sometimes they are clearly associated with other forms of prominence. This is a suggestive conclusion based on very limited data, requiring further examination within the corpus at hand.

Within RCs, the same marked/unmarked pattern is evident as within main clauses, with the necessary adjustment that a nominative relative pronoun is always clause initial due to the syntax of the language, and thus its position there does not correspond to the marked P1. When the topical-subject is not the relative pronoun, P1 functions in the same way as in main clauses.

In sum, Levinsohn's adaptation of the IS clause analysis to  $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$  + participle constructions provides strong explanatory power for the position of topical-subjects in these constructions in my corpus. From this base, we will turn in the next chapter to considering the order of other elements involved in marked and unmarked focus as well as consider how this IS analysis impacts the question of how to handle participles in parallel with adjectives.



CHAPTER 5  
INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN TOPIC-COMMENT  
CLAUSES, PART II: FOCUS POSITION IN COPULA +  
PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTIONS

In chapter 4, I addressed the significance of different placements of the topical-subject of a clause in terms of Information Structure (IS). The Topic is the constituent which a clause is “about” and thus deals with how a clause relates to the ongoing mental model of the discourse. Stephen Levinsohn’s proposed IS motivated template for copula + participle constructions proved to provide an adequate account for the position of the Topic in the clause. A topical-subject occurring in P1 is a marked topic, usually indicating a switch of attention, and a topical-subject following the copula is unmarked.<sup>1</sup>

As is evident from a moment’s thought, the fundamental reason a clause exists is not to state a Topic, but to add information to the ongoing discourse. Adding newsworthy information is the Focus function in IS. In topic-comment clauses the Focus is the part of the comment which is the most important piece of information in the clause. In spoken English, the Focus constituent receives a stress accent, iconically marking it out as the most important element by virtue of being louder than the rest.<sup>2</sup> Koine Greek, by contrast, uses constituent order to indicate Focus.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, we move to

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<sup>1</sup> Recall that unmarked does not mean it is opposite of marked, rather that the feature associated with markedness is not singled out.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Focus is indeterminate in written English because we do not formally mark out stress accents, though there appears to be some role that punctuation plays in the matter, on which see Nick Moore, “What’s the Point? The Role of Punctuation in Realising Information Structure in Written English,” *Functional Linguistics* 3, no. 6 (2016): 1–23.

<sup>3</sup> There is good reason to believe that Ancient Greek utilized intonation in marking out Focus, in some capacity. Dejan Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Studies in Language* 27, no. 3 (2003): 586. By comparison, Modern Greek, which shares many of the same basic IS patterns reflected in constituent order as Ancient Greek, also makes use of a stress accent to mark out the Focus in certain situations. This accent can appear on any constituent which is available for Focus

consider constituent order and Focus in copula + participle clauses. By way of reminder, the clause does not consist solely of a Topic and Focus constituent. One cannot locate the Topic and conclude that everything else is Focus.

In this chapter, I will assess the position of the “non-Topic” elements in the clause. The primary goal is to assess how Focus function relates to constituent order, which necessarily involves considering the position of any other non-topical constituents in the comment portion of the clause. As in the previous chapter, I will run the initial analysis on the hypothesis that Levinsohn’s proposal explains the constituent order of non-Topic constituents and seek to falsify this hypothesis. Levinsohn’s template suggests the following default order, copula + (subject) + participle + (object) + (adjunct), where the copula and subject form the main clause and the rest is an embedded participial clause. The expectation is that if an element is moved from the default position, there is a pragmatic reason, suggesting the constituent is focal. After analyzing variations from this order in different constituents, I will conclude that Levinsohn’s analysis of constituent order and Focus in the NT is a valid explanation for the IS implications of constituent order in these non-NT texts as well.

### **On Focus: Positions and Roles**

The Topic is nearly always the subject of the clause. Focus, on the other hand, is a more diffuse in its realizations. Focus refers to that part of the clause which conveys the most important piece of information the speaker aims to convey. It is the central way in which the speaker aims to update the reader’s mental model.<sup>4</sup> When all the extraneous and decorative material is stripped away from a sentence, what is left is a Topic (what it

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in any position in the sentence. David Holton, Peter Mackridge, and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton, *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*, Routledge Grammars (London: Routledge, 1997), 438–39. Whether Ancient Greek could make any element the Focus through vocal stress without somehow signaling the Focus syntactically is not possible to know from the study of constituent order.

<sup>4</sup> For a fuller discussion of Focus within the IS model I am using, see chapter 3.

is about) and a Focus (the chief point the clause makes about the Topic).<sup>5</sup> As a rule, clauses have only one Focus, one element selected as the most important piece of information in the clause (which is generally a new piece of information, but not always).<sup>6</sup>

In the previous paragraph I defined focus as *the most important* piece of new information in a clause. This distinction is important as not every new piece of information in a clause is focal.<sup>7</sup> In fact, information which has not been mentioned in the discourse—thus technically new—can be presented into the discourse as non-focal. Such non-focal new information is pragmatically presupposed and can be considered background information.<sup>8</sup> Greek sentences often begin with a presupposed element functioning as a setting on which the main action plays out on, including adverbs of time and space or a pre-nuclear participle clause. In Levinsohn’s model, these are points of departure and are placed in P1.<sup>9</sup> The key distinction is that these elements play a different

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<sup>5</sup> In terms of Halliday’s original formulation of IS, we can say that each clause has one obligatory new “newsworthy” piece of information—here the Focus—and one optional (though in most instances obligatory) old piece of information—here the Topic. For a summary of Halliday’s approach, see Moore, “What’s the Point?,” 3. Note that here I am merely borrowing some useful terminology from Halliday. His IS model differs in key regards from the functional model employed here, in the stream of S. Dik.

<sup>6</sup> Helma Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32. Givón calls this the “one-chunk-per-clause constraint,” T. Givón, “Coming to Terms with Cognition: Coherence in Text vs. Coherence in Mind,” in *Functionalism and Grammar* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 356. The general expectation is that an author/speaker introduces something new to the discourse as the Focus in each clause, however, this expectation can be flouted for any number of reasons. Knud Lambrecht and Laura A. Michaelis, “Sentence Accent in Information Questions: Default and Projection,” *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21 (1998): 477.

<sup>7</sup> As H. Dick puts it, “the Focus is not merely any piece of new and/or salient information in a clause: it is the reason why that clause came to be formulated in the first place.” Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, 32.

<sup>8</sup> Pragmatically presupposed refers to “the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.” Lambrecht and Michaelis, “Sentence Accent in Information Questions: Default and Projection,” 493.

<sup>9</sup> Levinsohn points out that such pre-nuclear participial clauses are usually backgrounded with respect to the mainline of the narrative. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Adverbial Participial Clauses in Koiné Greek: Grounding and Information Structure” (Paper, Universeit Ghent, Belgium, May 2008), 3. In this respect he follows the detailed study of Phyllis Healey and Alan Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles: Tracking Participants with Participles in the Greek New Testament,” *Occasional Papers in Translation and*

role in the discourse. They function as scenery on which the main discourse plays out and belong more to the structural organization of the text and are not, or only rarely, Focus.

With this definition of Focus in hand, it is necessary to make a further distinction between marked and unmarked focus. Marked and unmarked focus are two different ways that Focus is realized in a clause. Unmarked focus describes the situation when all the constituents follow the default clause pattern. In such a situation, the Focus is identical with the comment portion of the topic-comment sentence (excepting, of course, the topical-subject if it is present in its unmarked position).<sup>10</sup> Marked focus, by contrast, refers to when a constituent is moved from its default post-verbal position to the P2 position, immediately before the verb.<sup>11</sup> All clauses have a *Focus* in the first sense, but many do not have one in the second sense. Marked focus is used to give heightened prominence to what is already the most important portion of the clause by moving it to the syntactic position of prominence.<sup>12</sup>

It is common to find many clauses with no constituent in P2, especially in narrative.<sup>13</sup> In these clauses with unmarked focus, one constituent within the focus is not highlighted for prominence; rather, the verb forms the left-periphery of what could be called a predicate focus domain which is comprised of all the non-topical constituents following the verb.<sup>14</sup> The entire predicate conveys the major updating of the mental

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*Textlinguistics* 4, no. 3 (1990): 177–259. Note that these pre-nuclear participle clauses have their own IS and thus can have their own focal element within their clause, distinct from that of the main clause.

<sup>10</sup> This corresponds to what is called a predicate focus construction in the Classical Greek IS stream. See *CGCG*, 712–13; Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 588; Rutger J. Allan, “Changing the Topic: Topic Position in Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Mnemosyne* 67, no. 2 (2014): 206–8; Nicolas Bertrand, “A Handbook of Homeric Greek Word Order: Expressing Information Structure in Homer and Beyond,” *CHS Research Bulletin* 7 (2019).

<sup>11</sup> For a more robust discussion of the different terminologies and models, see chapter 3.

<sup>12</sup> Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 269.

<sup>13</sup> Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 585.

<sup>14</sup> On the structure of Predicate focus constructions, see Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 582–88; Bertrand, “A Handbook of Homeric Greek Word Order.” Prototypically, Focus falls on a noun phrase constituent which is placed before the verb. However, in such Predicate focus constructions,

model which such a predicate focus clause aims to carry out. Predicate focus clauses are common in my corpus.

The difference between marked and unmarked (predicate) focus can be seen in the following sequence of clauses from Herm. 1.2: (1) *μετὰ χρόνον* marked focus [*τινά λουομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν*] εἶδον, (2) *καὶ* unmarked focus [*ἐπέδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν χεῖρα*] (3) *καὶ* unmarked focus [*ἐξήγαγον αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*].<sup>15</sup> The opening prepositional phrase is a temporal point of departure in P1, and is topical.<sup>16</sup> The newsworthy piece of information in this clause, placed in P2 for marked focus, is *τινά* (“a certain woman”), along with the attributive participle restrictively modifying it (“who was bathing in the river”). In other words, the most important update to the mental model which this clause contributes is that “he” saw a CERTAIN WOMAN (and not a different one). The following two clauses lack a constituent in P2 position, instead having unmarked (predicate) focus. The rest of the information in (2) and (3) is highly predictable within the context.

More pointedly, in terms of IS (2) does not give special prominence to the fact that he gave her his “hand” (as opposed to maybe his stinky foot) and (3) does not give prominence to the fact that the location from which she was pulled was “the river.” These are new pieces of information in context and do update the mental model but are not singled out for prominence. In both cases, the entire predicate updates the mental model: (2) he goes to help her and (3) he pulls her out of the river. After reading these clauses,

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there is no specific focal element. This is an attractive explanation for situations where a single subject continues as the Topic for several clauses. In LXX influenced Greek, this is common, often with a string of clauses comprised of nothing but a verb. In such instances, the Focus is the entire event reported with reference to the Topic (minus any topical elements which occur in the focal domain). In terms of traditional grammar, one could call Predicate focus clauses predicate-focus constructions.

<sup>15</sup> “After a while I saw a certain woman bathing in the Tiber river and I gave her a hand and helped her out of the river.” The marked focus in (1) most specifically falls on *τινά*, rather than the entire complex of *τινά* and its modifiers.

<sup>16</sup> 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), 8.

our mental model has the main character and this certain woman both out of the river and interacting with each other. That the Focus is on the whole complex is confirmed by how the narrative continues. There is no further concern about the speaker's hand or the notion in the prepositional phrase "out of the river." In other words, the whole fact that he helped her out of the river and in doing so sees her (predicate focus) is important for the on-going narrative, but the "hand" and "out of the river," while not unimportant, are not significant in and of themselves. The essence of unmarked (predicate) versus marked focus is this distinction between whether a single constituent or the broader complex of the verbal domain carry the most important update to the mental model. Both marked and unmarked focus are found in the copula + participle constructions, though their manifestation is more complicated because of the main clause and embedded clause dynamic of these constructions.

### **Focus in the Copula + Participle Construction**

The *εἰμί* + participle construction involves two verbal elements: the copula in the main clause and the participle in the embedded clause. By way of reminder, the default copula + participle clause follows this order: (P1) (P2) Copula [(P1) (P2) Participle X].<sup>17</sup> Each of these has a P2 position for marked focus within its clause level. To analyze how these two hypothetical P2/Focus positions work, we must begin at the beginning, with collecting and categorizing actual constituent orders that occur and considering possible IS motivations and implications of where constituents appear. Since the default position for constituents which are part of the participial clause is following the participle, placing any of these elements before the copula is a departure from the norm and should be accompanied by pragmatic implications, in this case, focal

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<sup>17</sup> Brackets demarcate the embedded participial clause.

prominence.<sup>18</sup> This basic model is borne out in the distribution of objects and adjuncts in the corpus (the numbers will be given in each section), suggesting that this analysis, following Levinsohn, is on the correct path.

It is also possible for a constituent from the participial clause to be placed between the copula and the participle. As argued in chapter 4, this is the default position for a subject constituent, when one is present.<sup>19</sup> Moving a non-subject constituent here should also result in focal prominence, as Levinsohn argues: “when an object or adjunct placed between *εἰμί* and the participle conveys non-established information, such preposing typically makes it focally prominent (emphasizes it).”<sup>20</sup> This finds a ready analogy in post-nuclear participial clauses with non copulative verbs, where the participle can use its P2 slot independent of its main verb.<sup>21</sup> Since there are two positions in which a marked focus element can appear, an adequate account of Focus in copula + participle constructions requires considering both of these positions, what elements occur in them, and what IS implications they appear to have.

### Negative Particles and Focus

At the outset, I will address the role of negative particles in the copula + participle syntax. Negatives operate on a string of discourse to change the meaning. They

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<sup>18</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 430, 434.

<sup>19</sup> That the position between the copula and participle regularly holds the Topic, aka subject, is instructive that this position is not inherently a Focus position.

<sup>20</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 432. Levinsohn’s language of “non-established information” is intended to exclude from this statement topical dative pronouns found in this position in the NT. This will be dealt with more fully below.

<sup>21</sup> Indeed, this analogy is part of the reason Levinsohn is skeptical about the fittingness of the term “periphrasis” for describing any of these copula + participle constructions. As he concludes that the same principles account for the constituent order of clauses containing *εἰμί* and an anarthrous participial clause whether they be periphrastic or not, he suggests that periphrasis, as traditionally used, is not valid in Greek. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 424. I will return to this discussion later.

prototypically occur before the word they negate, especially with verbs.<sup>22</sup> Since the negative defaults to immediately preceding the verb in a prototypical sentence, it can aid in identifying constituents which are in P1 as a point of departure (loosely, to fulfill a setting function) and those which are marked focus.<sup>23</sup> The few negatives in my data (21x) fall in line with this interpretation, suggesting that negation interfaces with IS the same in εἰμί + participle sentences: elements may be highlighted as marked focus via placing them between the negative particle and the verb. In my data the following negatives occur: οὐ, οὐχί, οὐδέπω, οὐκέτι, and μή.<sup>24</sup> In terms of order, οὐ and its derivatives precede the verb in the clause, while μή occurs right before the participle except when negating a subjunctive sentence. In the one negated subjunctive in my data, μή stands at the beginning of the subjunctive clause it negates.

The negative οὐ and its derivatives (15x) always precede the verb, usually immediately.<sup>25</sup> There are five instances where another constituent occurs between the negative and the verb.<sup>26</sup> In these cases, the constituent which the negative occurs before is marked focus. As an example, Diogn. 5.1 reads: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῆ οὔτε φωνῆ οὔτε ἔσθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων.<sup>27</sup> Here three dative nouns

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<sup>22</sup> BDF, § 433.

<sup>23</sup> Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 48–51.

<sup>24</sup> Of the οὐ forms listed here, only οὐ and its combinations with the postpositive particles δέ or τε are involved in the focal constructions to be discussed. It is possible that words like οὐδέπω and οὐκέτι are felt to have Focus on the semantic notion carried in the compounded portion of the word. Thus, οὐκέτι may have been felt to place focal prominence on the component of the word carried in ἔτι. This is speculative and would require intentional searching whether these compound forms occur in clauses with elements in P2, which would be evidence against interpreting the compound portion of the word as focal. For a similar suggestion regarding the related negative content words such as οὐδεὶς, see Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 49–50.

<sup>25</sup> Ignoring the presence of any postpositives.

<sup>26</sup> 1 En. 18.12; Diogn. 5.1, 3; Herm. 81.6b; Sib. Or. 1.245–46.

<sup>27</sup> “For Christians are distinguished from other people not by land or language or clothing.”



(dative of means), each preceded by a negative particle, occur in P2.<sup>28</sup> In this case, the most important information (Focus) in the clause is the characteristic ways different people groups can be distinguished from each other—by their land, language, and clothing—is singled out in the marked focus position. The argument in Diogn. is continued via more focalized negations in vs. 3 (with non-periphrastic verbs) and it is not until v. 4, after two long predicate participial clauses, that the corresponding positive focalized assertion appears in the adjective pair “remarkable and admittedly unusual” (*θαυμαστήν και ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον*). These dative nouns in Diogn. 5.1 could have occurred in the default position with only one negative particle occurring before the verbal complex and the semantic content would have been the same. The author utilizes this syntactic arrangement to give them focal prominence.<sup>29</sup> The other instances with an οὐ negative exhibit similar marked focus on the constituent which the negative precedes.<sup>30</sup>

Working alongside οὐ and exhibiting no obvious difference in meaning, we find the negative particle μή. It often negates an entire verb phrase, as in Apoc. Paul 24: ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπέν μοι ὅτι διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν τὰ δένδρα μή καρποφοροῦντα.<sup>31</sup> While μή occurs before the participle, its negation is best understood as stretching over the entire verbal complex: “they are not bearing fruit.”<sup>32</sup> The position of μή is always immediately

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<sup>28</sup> Note, they are in P2 of the participial clause, which has itself been moved to P2 of the main clause.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the following ways of doing this same basic distinction in English: (1) “Christians are not distinguished from other people by land, language, or clothing,” versus (2) “Christians are distinguished from other people neither by land, nor by language, nor by clothing.” The formulation in (2) seems to me to lend greater prominence to the ‘land, language, clothing’ set of nouns than in (1).

<sup>30</sup> Note that in both 1 En. 18.12 and Sib. Or. 1.245–46 the constituent the negative precedes is the topical-subject. It is reasonable to see these Topics as focal in these cases, so Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 49.

<sup>31</sup> “The angel said to me, ‘For this reason the trees are not bearing fruit.’”

<sup>32</sup> In other words, the predication here is the verb phrase εἰσιν . . . καρποφοροῦντα. Contextually, there is no reason to read εἰσιν as making a predication apart from the participle; it is periphrasis in the traditional sense. The negation does not function over just the participle—something like “there are trees, not bearing fruit.” Rather, it negates the entire verb phrase: “they are not bearing.”

before the participle, as here. The one exception is when μή serves to negate a verb in the subjunctive mood.<sup>33</sup> There is no obvious difference in meaning between οὐ and μή. They can both even be used to negate a periphrastic construction with a null copula.<sup>34</sup>

A peculiarity observed with μή is that its position does not change even when its syntactic role does. In the above example, μή negates a verbal complex. It is also used to negate predicate participles (non-periphrastic) in the same syntactic position. Consider Hist. Rech. 11.7: καὶ μετὰ τὸ δύο τέκνα ποιῆσαι, ἀφίστανται ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ εἰσιν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μὴ γινώσκοντες ὅτι....<sup>35</sup> Here ἐν ἀγνείᾳ functions as a location in metaphorical space, completing the predication with εἰσίν: “they are in chastity.”<sup>36</sup> The negative μή negates the predicate participle communicating what the formerly (married?) couple no longer know. As μή can function with two different scopes of negation within the same syntax, its position in the clause is not a reliable indicator of its function.<sup>37</sup>

To summarize, both οὐ and μή function in ways that are indistinguishable from each other in terms of meaning. The negative οὐ can be used to indicate marked focus by placing a constituent between οὐ and the copula.<sup>38</sup> Throughout analysis of the other

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<sup>33</sup> Ign. *Tral.* 12.3 ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ᾧ ἐν ὑμῶν γράψας. This text is not periphrastic in the traditional sense of the term. The particle μή negates the main clause, which is subjunctive, and the following aorist predicate particle expands upon the central predication of the copula.

<sup>34</sup> Both are used this way in Herm. A null copula periphrasis negated with οὐ appears in Herm. 81.6b. This token also contains a focal prepositional phrase (either an adjunct or an oblique argument). By contrast, Herm. 57.2b has a null copula periphrasis negated by μή. A noticeable difference between the two is that the prior clause in 81.6b, also periphrastic, is negated with οὐ, which may tip the scales in favor of οὐ there. In 57.2b, this is not the case. However, given the paucity of instances, explanation is speculative.

<sup>35</sup> “And after having two children they separate and are in chastity, not knowing that (they were formerly in the intimacy of marriage).”

<sup>36</sup> On metaphorical space, see Carlota S. Smith, *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 115–18.

<sup>37</sup> By “same position,” I am commenting on the clause as a linear reality in written text. A syntactic diagram of any sort would represent these instances differently and they would presumably be spoken with different intonation patterns. However, these distinctions are not transparent in the text as a written entity and only become clear at the level of interpreting the meaning of the clause as it is processed.

<sup>38</sup> μή can also function in this way, but does not do so in my data, where every occurrence is directly pre-participle and none of the tokens with μή have a marked focus constituent.

constituents, this function of οὐ will periodically be helpful in interpreting the data.

### Focus and the Position of Objects

The default position of an object is after the participle. I am here using *object* as shorthand for any second argument of a verb, whether in the prototypical accusative case or in the genitive or dative.<sup>39</sup> Thus, here I am discussing such examples as the following:

1. Hist. Rech. 1.2 οὗτος ἦν παρακαλῶν τὸν θεόν.<sup>40</sup>
2. Hist. Rech. 10.2 καὶ ἔσεσθε ὑπακούοντες θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ.<sup>41</sup>

Syntactically, both the accusative τὸν θεόν and the dative θεῷ are the second argument of their respective verb.<sup>42</sup> In both cases, the object (aka, second argument) occurs in the default position. The variation in type of second argument is a germane place to note that the presence of any second argument in the clause (or third, in the case of δίδωμι) is due to the syntactic demands of the participle.<sup>43</sup> The copula cannot have an object.<sup>44</sup> Using

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<sup>39</sup> In the Greek grammatical tradition, a non-accusative second argument is also called a complement. *Second argument* (the first argument is the subject) is a more precise term than (direct) object. Greek grammarians seem to reserve (direct) object for accusatives, even though many verbs have an obligatory second argument in the genitive or dative case. These two arguments, along with the obligatory third argument of some verbs (also called the second object), can be called *terms* or *direct arguments*, as opposed to *oblique arguments*. Paul R. Kroeger, *Analyzing Syntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14–16. I will use object as interchangeable with second argument.

<sup>40</sup> “This one was asking God...”

<sup>41</sup> “You will obey/be obedient to God and the King.”

<sup>42</sup> That different types of verbs select an argument in different cases, and some in multiple cases, is well-known. While the case of the argument is relevant in certain regards, such as the ability to form a passive, the specifics need not detain us here.

<sup>43</sup> The number of arguments which a verb requires is commonly discussed under the term *valency* (or *complementation*). A verb with a valency of: 0 has no arguments; of 1 has one argument (the subject); of 2 has two arguments (subject and object). Rarely does a verb have a valency of 3.

<sup>44</sup> Some of the other verbs used as auxiliaries in Ancient Greek, such as ἔχω, can have an object when not used as auxiliaries, but that is not an issue with εἰμί. When εἰμί has a second argument it is either a predicate nominative or dative of possession. It can also have a temporal or spatial argument/adjunct (only spatial adjuncts not conveying motion). For a convenient summary of constructions with εἰμί which render periphrasis impossible see Willem Johan Aerts, *Periphrastica: An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 12. These will be discussed as relevant.

the theoretical term *argument* forces our attention onto one further complexity in this analysis: the reality of *oblique arguments* in Greek.

**On oblique arguments.** An *oblique argument* is when a prepositional phrase occurs as an argument of the verb. This is common in English, such as in the following:

1. Susan gave the ball *to John*.<sup>45</sup>
2. The paper was written *by Derrick*.

In (1), *to John* is an argument of the verb *give* (a three-argument verb) and is necessary for a well-formed usage of the verb.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, the agent expression *by Derrick* in (2) is an argument in the passive construction *was written* (agent arguments can routinely be omitted). When presented in this light, it is obvious that Greek, while defaulting to filling the argument structure of a verb with nouns marked for case, also makes use of oblique arguments. The analogues of both these English constructions can be found in Greek, for example:

1. T. Abr. 10.3 καὶ ἔδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην εἰς τὸν κριτὴν.<sup>47</sup>
2. 3 Bar. 9.6 ἦν γεγραμμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ.<sup>48</sup>

Here we see in (1) an instance of a prepositional phrase encroaching upon a function of the dative case as an indirect object and in (2) the normal Greek means of indicating the agent in a passive construction via a prepositional phrase. These two examples suffice to demonstrate that Greek uses oblique arguments in much the same way English does

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<sup>45</sup> Compare to “Susan gave John the ball,” which uses a “true” indirect object rather than an oblique argument.

<sup>46</sup> There are contexts where a necessary argument can be omitted in both English and Greek, but its presence must be recoverable/assumable from the context.

<sup>47</sup> “And he gave that soul to the judge.” This is from the shorter “B” recension of T. Abr, which is not the one used in this study, but is representative of the phenomenon in question. The verb *δίδωμι* occurs three times in my data and in each instance the order of the arguments varies with respect to the copula and participle.

<sup>48</sup> “[It] was written *by God*.”

(though to a lesser degree), both in functions where they overlap with cases and in functions for which there is no non-oblique argument equivalent.

The complicating factor for this project is that the argument structure of Greek verbs is generally understudied and underspecified in reference resources.<sup>49</sup> At what point does a spatial prepositional phrase move from being a spatial adjunct modifying a verb in an adverbial manner to a spatial argument? I raise this issue not because I have an answer, but to indicate it is a problem, and one which I deal with provisionally in my analysis. A starting point in assessing whether a given prepositional phrase may be an oblique argument is to check in the lexicons whether an entry exists for a specific verb and preposition combination. Such entries can be cues to the presence of oblique arguments which are required for a well-formed usage of a verb in a given meaning. This is little more than a starting point and requires further consideration.

Aside from scanning the lexicons, I have applied two other tests: (1) whether the prepositional phrase appears in a transparently similar role as a noun, suggesting it is filling an argument of the verb and (2) whether the result fits a semantic role of argument functions. As an example of (1), consider Jos. Asen. 22.13a: ὅτι ἦν προσκείμενος πρὸς τὸν κύριον.<sup>50</sup> The verb *πρόσκειμαι* takes a dative argument indicating the person to whom one is devoted.<sup>51</sup> Here, in place of the dative, we find the prepositional phrase *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*,

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<sup>49</sup> Lexicons often note differences in meaning when a verb is transitive or intransitive, which is a difference in argument structure, but neither lexicons nor grammars deal systematically with the question of how oblique arguments function in Greek syntax. The difficulty is even more acute in that lexicons routinely do not make plain the principles standing behind the structure of their entries. In the entry for a verb, does the inclusion of a prepositional phrase in one of the sub-senses mean that this should be understood as an oblique argument, in the terms I am using? Answers to these questions can only be deduced through guesswork based on extensive reading of the entries themselves. A welcome exception is found in the brief note at the beginning of the recent *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, which suggests that prepositional phrases singled out in that lexicon are part of the inherent meaning of the sense of the word under discussion, suggesting that they are oblique arguments. See the discussion on how the entries are structured in *CGL*, 1: xi-xii.

<sup>50</sup> “Because he was devoted to the Lord.”

<sup>51</sup> LSJ, “*πρόσκειμαι*, A.II.2.” BDAG, “*πρόσκειμαι*.”

which is transparently replacing the dative as an argument of the verb.<sup>52</sup> As an example of (2), consider Jos. Asen. 2.3: καὶ ἤσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκείνου εἰς τοὺς τοίχους πεπηγμένοι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.<sup>53</sup> Here the perfect middle-passive of πήγνυμι, meaning “to be fixed (in),” necessarily implies a location where the subject is “fixed.” The prepositional phrase εἰς τοὺς τοίχους appears to be an oblique argument fulfilling this role on the basis of filling the semantic role of the spatial reference point for the event.<sup>54</sup> This token also has a spatial adjunct prepositional phrase, ἐντὸς τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκείνου. While there is a good deal of intuition involved in such assessments, it seems “in the wall” is more central to the meaning of “fixed in” than “in that room.” One could presumably multiply such spatial adjuncts with further specifications like, “in that room, in Pentiphres’ house, in Egypt.” I would expect this to work in Greek something like: ἐντὸς τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκείνου, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Πεντεφρῆ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. While arguing from the intuition of modern readers has its problems, there appears to be a meaningful semantic difference between the surface to which the subject is fixed and the place where the surface happens to be located. The prepositional phrase indicating the surface to which the subject is affixed is unique in the phrase, whereas other forms of location are not.<sup>55</sup>

This approach is an *ad hoc* solution to a complex problem which requires greater attention than I can give it here, but which also cannot be ignored. There are

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<sup>52</sup> On the tendency in Koine to reduce usage of the dative and replace it with various prepositions, see Pietro Bortone, *Greek Prepositions: From Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 181–82. Note that Uta Fink, in her semi-critical edition of Jos. Asen. (closely related to Burchard’s text used here, though differing in a few regards), adopts a reading with the dative in 22.13: ὅτι ἦν προσκείμενος κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ. Uta Barbara Fink, “Joseph Und Aseneth,” ed. Eckart Reinmuth (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 56–129. For the manuscript evidence, see Christoph Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 276.

<sup>53</sup> “The gods of Egypt were fixed into the walls inside that room.”

<sup>54</sup> Paul R. Kroeger, *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 54. That it is an oblique argument may be further supported by the fact that, at least in earlier periods of Greek, the location in which something is fixed can be supplied by a dative noun in addition to a variety of prepositions, or be left unspecified. For examples, see LSJ and *BrillDAG*, “πήγνυμι.” This analysis also finds support in the entry in *CGL*, “πήγνυμι,” sense 1 or 3.

<sup>55</sup> Uniqueness is a key feature of arguments as opposed to adjuncts. Kroeger, *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*, 58–60.

sixteen instances I deem oblique arguments, five of which are agents.<sup>56</sup> With this point of clarification, we can now address the main data.

**Objects and Focus.** There are 112 objects in the main body of clauses, meaning just under half of the main clauses have an object.<sup>57</sup> Of these, ninety occur in the default post-participle position. While raw statistics are not definitive, the numbers here support the conclusion that the default position of the object is post-participle. Of these ninety default tokens, fifty of them are in fully default clauses, meaning there are no constituents outside the order Levinsohn argues is default. The most common variation from fully default is for the topical-subject to be pre-copula and the object default (19x). One other common factor is the nine instances where the participle precedes the copula, but the object remains in its default position (five of these also have a pre-copula topical-subject). Further, among the ninety defaults, ten have a null copula. I have indicated elsewhere that when a copula is null, the participle forms the default left-periphery of the clause (as in normal participial clauses). Most null copula clauses have no overt subject and all the constituents occur to the right of the participle.

The remaining twenty-two tokens have an object in some variation of a non-default position, either between the copula and the participle (10x) or preceding the copula (12x). The different element order positions can be seen in table 8:

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<sup>56</sup> 2 Clem. 17.3; 3 Bar. 9.6; Acts Paul 23.1; Herm. 81.6a; 100.2; Jos. Asen. 2.3, 7a, 7c; 15.12x; 22.13a; Let. Aris. 182b; Mart. Pet. 4.1a, b, 12.6b; Sib. Or. 3.75–76a; T. Levi 9.8b. The five agentive examples are: 3 Bar. 9.6; Herm. 81.6a; 100.2; Let. Aris. 182b; Sib. Or. 3.75–76a.

<sup>57</sup> This count does not include relative clauses, clauses where the participle is in parallel with adjectives, and those with a predicate nominative. There are 234 main clauses in the initial set I analyze. The prevalence of perfect middle-passive participles in the copula + participle construction—the most common type of periphrasis in my dataset and in Greek in general—explains the relative low amounts of objects.

Table 8: Marked object orders and types

<i>Order of copula, participle, and object</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
copula + object + participle	10x
object + participle (null copula)	1x
participle + object + copula	1x
object + participle + copula	7x
object + copula + participle	3x

Levinsohn suggests these non-default position objects are marked focus and there are some clear trends indicating this is the case in my data.

First, we expect that an object in the default position is default in terms of IS, meaning it is not marked focus. In my data, objects in the default position are routinely not discourse new and/or presupposed, as indicated by the high incidence of pronouns and of articular nouns.<sup>58</sup> It is possible for new entities to be introduced into the discourse as objects in default position, as in Prot. Jas. 22.3a: *Καὶ ἦν τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο διαφαῖνον αὐτῇ φῶς.*<sup>59</sup> Here *φῶς* is discourse new. Such discourse new objects are generally predictable and unremarkable within the immediate context of the story.<sup>60</sup> Consider the following two texts from Jos. Asen.:

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<sup>58</sup> The general pattern in Greek—subject to many variations and complexities—is that nouns which are cognitively identifiable (that is, either not discourse new or presupposed) are articular. This is the case in both Classical and Koine. See *DFNTG*, 134–68; *CGCG*, 328–30; Steven E. Runge, “Towards a Unified Understanding of the Greek Article from a Diachronic, Cognitive Perspective,” in *The Article in Post-Classical Greek*, ed. Daniel King, SIL International Publications in Translation and Textlinguistics 10 (Dallas: SIL International, 2019).

<sup>59</sup> “And the mountain was shining a light on her.”

<sup>60</sup> That is, they are predictable and have obvious ties to both what is present in the immediate context and the important, though less easy to establish, information present in the cultural encyclopedia the author assumes the reader shares.



1. Jos. Asen. 2.8 καὶ ἦν ἡ κλίνη ἐστρωμένη πορφυρᾷ χρυσοῦφῃ.<sup>61</sup>
2. Jos. Asen. 5.5a καὶ ἦν Ἰωσήφ ἐνδεδυμένος χιτῶνα λευκὸν καὶ ἕξαλλον.<sup>62</sup>

The verbs for spreading out and wearing imply the existence of some sort of blanket and clothing, thus the presence of these discourse new fabric items is predictable. Further, since we already know Aseneth (2.8) and Joseph (5.5a) are wealthy and powerful it is not newsworthy that they have expensive clothes. These sentences are predicate focus. If, instead of these posh garments and bedspreads, Aseneth and Joseph were introduced wearing itchy goatskins, one would expect the object to be in P2 for marked focus since it violates the expected norms and is thus significant for interpreting the discourse. These two tokens may be contrasted with the marked focus second argument (placed between the copula and participle) seen in Jos. Asen. 2.2.b (null copula): καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι αὐτοῦ λίθοις ποικίλοις καὶ τιμίοις πεπλακωμένοι.<sup>63</sup> Here focal prominence falls not on the fact that the room has a façade on the walls—which would presumably be common in such opulent towers as the one in which Aseneth lives—but that the façade in her tower is made of precious stones.<sup>64</sup>

In general, an object appearing in the post-verb domain is highly consistent with a clause having either marked focus on some other constituent or predicate focus where the main point of the clause is the entire focus domain comprised of the verb and everything following rather than one specific member of it.<sup>65</sup> It is possible to introduce

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<sup>61</sup> “And the couch was covered with gold-woven purple (coverings).”

<sup>62</sup> “And Joseph was wearing a white and distinctive garment.”

<sup>63</sup> “And its walls were faced with varied and precious stones.”

<sup>64</sup> This is in parallel with the focal “purple stones” of the prior clause which is in P2 (λίθοις πορφυροῖς κατεστρωμένος). These stones are on the floor. Highlighting them as precious becomes important in the latter narrative when Aseneth dumps ashes and dirt on the floor to lay in while doing penance.

<sup>65</sup> It is perhaps chance based on this corpus, but it is quite uncommon for a clause to have both a default position object and an adjunct in P2. It does happen, but not often. In other words, deviations from default order when the object is in the default position are almost always a topical-subject in P1 not the result of another element being in P2. Consequently, in my corpus an object in the default position reliably pairs with the predicate focus construction. Put differently, noun phrases are the most likely items to move around within the clause for focus.

discourse new material into the clause as an object in default position, though this is generally limited to predictable information.

The main difficulty with describing objects in IS terms is attempting to parse out the significance of the different non-default positions in which they occur: in P2 of the main clause or between the copula and participle in P2 of the embedded participial clause.<sup>66</sup> First, there are clear instances where an object in the ultimate P2/Focus position has Marked focus. Consider the following passage from Sib. Or. 3, lines 594-96:

594 ... μέγα δ' ἔξοχα πάντων

595 ἀνθρώπων ὁσίης εὐνήης μεμνημένοι εἰσίν

596 κοῦδὲ πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παῖδας μίγνυνται ἀνάγνωσ.<sup>67</sup>

Here the argument ὁσίης εὐνήης (“of the purity of the marriage bed”) occurs in P2 before the copula (the Focus is not on “beyond all people,” which is a point of departure in P1, but on the fact that the Jews are mindful of the purity of marriage). That “marriage bed” is focal is confirmed in line 596 where πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παῖδας also occurs in P2, giving a contrastive example of how the nations violate the purity of marriage via pedophilia.<sup>68</sup> The two clauses, then, form a contrasting pair with marked focus on the ways the two groups differ in terms of sexual morality. Not only is there a clear contrast between the two groups, but in the second of these clauses, πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παῖδας sits in the P2/Focus position relative to its main verb.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> When the object appears at the beginning of the clause it precedes the copula. On occasion, a participle also precedes the copula, in which case the object also precedes that, with one exception. The significance of a participle preceding the copula will be addressed below.

<sup>67</sup> “And beyond all other people they are mindful of the purity of marriage, nor do they have impure intercourse with boys.”

<sup>68</sup> πρὸς ἀρσενικοὺς παῖδας is an oblique argument in the slot which a dative second argument can also occur in the verb μ(ε)ίγνυμι/μείγνυω. On this verb see *BrillDAG*, “μ(ε)ίγνυμι/μείγνυω, 3”; *CGL*, “μείγνυμι sense 11.”

<sup>69</sup> While Sib. Or. is poetic, we can see that it regularly follows the same constituent order principles as evident in non-poetic texts, on which see Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*. Book 3 of Sib. Or. was composed in Egypt in the second century BC, most likely between 165–43 BC. Collins,

Pre-posing the object/second argument to the beginning of the clause before the copula can also be associated with what Levinsohn calls “emphasis proper,” that is, communicating strong feeling or surprise.<sup>70</sup> This usage is evident in Acts Paul 9.4: ἀλλὰ πρόσελθε αὐτῇ σὺ καὶ λάλησον· σοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡρμωσμένη.<sup>71</sup> Here Thecla’s mother speaks to Thamyris, the fiancé of her daughter. “To you” is emphatic because the behavior of Thecla chronicled by Thecla’s mother in the prior verses shows that, by appearances, Thecla is affianced to Paul and his teachings instead of to Thamyris. A translation like, “She’s *your* fiancée, after all,” represents the intention here.

In addition to the pre-copula P2 marked focus position, objects are also found with marked focus between the copula and participle. In Herm. 81.6a an oblique argument appears in this position: οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιδομένοι, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηγεμένοι.<sup>72</sup> Here the oblique agentive argument “by the virgins” is in parallel with “through the gate,” each marked focus in their respective clause. The important information updating the mental model is neither the fact that the stones were handed along nor carried somewhere, as is obvious from the context. The Focus is that *the virgins* did not carry the stones and that these stones did not come *through the gate*.<sup>73</sup>

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“Sibylline Oracles,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 354–55.

<sup>70</sup> Levinsohn discusses a distinction between different types of emphasis in several places. See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 7. The typology he uses is borrowed from Kathleen Callow’s work *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God*, 1984.

<sup>71</sup> “But you go to her and talk (to her). After all, she is betrothed *to you*.” The verb ἀρμόζω in the passive with a dative argument means “betrothed to *someone*,” CGL, “ἀρμόζω, sense 6.”

<sup>72</sup> “For they (the stones) were neither handed on by virgins, nor carried through the gate.”

<sup>73</sup> The prepositional phrase διὰ τῆς πύλης may be an oblique argument of παραφέρω. Either way, it is in syntactical and conceptual parallel with “by the virgins” and both are focal in their respective clause. The stones under discussion stand out in being unfit even though they initially made it into the tower construction. The two clauses in Herm. 81.6a highlight the reason they are unfit. According to Krifka, Focus is about the presence of alternatives relevant for interpretation. Manfred Krifka, “Basic Notions of Information Structure,” *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55, no. 3–4 (2008): 247. The default assumption is that these stones came into the tower like all the other stones, an assumption which the Focus constituents in these clauses corrects. The negative here precedes the verb to negate all or part of the proposition made about the Topic, so Levinsohn, *DFNTG*, 48. Interestingly, Focus here is that portion of the clause which is semantically necessary for the negated sentence to be true. If the Focus constituents were removed, the result would be a false statement.

That this is the case is confirmed by the next sentence, which is concerned with the fact that these stones, as opposed to the others in the tower, were unfit: “These stones, therefore, were unsuitable for the building of the tower.”<sup>74</sup>

In summary, regarding the position of objects and IS the following is clear. Objects following the copula and participle should be considered default. This is evidenced statistically and that their usage in this position correlates with non-focal information—discourse old and/or presupposed. Interestingly, default object position also correlates with predicate focus clauses in this corpus. Objects with marked focus can appear in both the “main” P2 at the beginning of the clause as well as the P2 of the embedded participial clause. It is not easy to tell why one or the other position is used or if there is any meaningful difference between the two.

### **On the Position of Adjuncts**

Adjuncts are non-necessary components of a clause which add meanings such as time, manner, and place, among others. They can be freely added or deleted from a clause, differing from arguments in that their presence is never necessary for a verb to be used appropriately.<sup>75</sup> In a prototypical sentence (non-εἰμί + participle), adjuncts follow the verb, appearing after any arguments. Levinsohn argues this is also the case in εἰμί + participle constructions.<sup>76</sup> Adjuncts in these constructions are by default clause final in the embedded participial clause portion of the construction. Supporting this position as default is the fact that in my corpus every time an adjunct occurs in the projected default

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<sup>74</sup> Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> Traditional descriptions of Greek grammar do not have a unified term corresponding to adjuncts. Adjuncts fall into such categories as adverbs and adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, as well as some uses of the oblique cases such as an oblique case indicating time. Kroeger points out that there is no definitive way to define an adjunct (or an argument), but that whether an element is an adjunct or argument is established by a collocation of various features which can be described but which are not exhaustive. Kroeger, *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*, 58–60.

<sup>76</sup> This claim is based on cross-linguistic typology and is born out statistically in the texts he examines from the NT. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 430.

position it is the final element in the clause, unless followed by another adjunct which is then clause final. There are no instances where an argument of the verb follows a default position adjunct.

There are 129 adjuncts present across 113 tokens in my main clause dataset.<sup>77</sup> Thus, about half of the 234 main clauses have at least one adjunct and half have none. Among clauses where an adjunct is present, the most common location to find one is at the end of the clause, as is the case for seventy-one adjuncts across sixty-four tokens.

The three most common types of adjuncts are those expressing time, manner, and space, accounting for 101 of the 113 adjuncts.<sup>78</sup> Due both to the centrality of these classes and the difficulties of establishing “adjunthood” of some of the others, I will limit my comments on adjuncts to these groups. In assessing any IS significance of the placement of adjuncts, I do not here take up the question of whether default position adjuncts ever have specific IS implications, especially when there is more than one adjunct in a clause.<sup>79</sup> In terms of position, adjuncts are found in every possible permutation with the copula and participle. When an adjunct occurs before the copula or between the copula and participle, it is in a non-default position and would be expected to display pragmatic motivation.

Before discussing the adjuncts with marked focus, it is important to remember that an adjunct can appear in P1 as a point of departure. Both temporal and spatial adjuncts can fill this role, connecting the new assertion to the space and time of the on-going discourse. There is only one definitive instance in my data, Sib. Or. 5.98: *καὶ τότε*

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<sup>77</sup> Fourteen tokens contain two adjuncts, and one contains three.

<sup>78</sup> This is unsurprising, considering how central these categories are to the function of adverbials. There are some trace categories as well, such as comparison, modals (*τάχα*), adversative, purpose/reason, and so forth. These other categories make up a small amount of the data and I will not focus on them here.

<sup>79</sup> As noted in the statistics above, it is rare for more than one adjunct to occur in a clause. Levinsohn suggests that there is pragmatic ordering among multiple adjuncts, with the more focal constituent (the one more relevant for the continuation of the discourse) following the less focal one. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 32–33. I have not investigated this idea.

ἔση, πόλεων πολύολβος, πολλὰ καμοῦσα.<sup>80</sup> Here τότε refers to the on-going temporal complex of a time of future judgement, adding another action that will occur at that time to the mental model. Adjuncts conveying this sort of topical setting material occur more often between the copula and participle, as will be discussed below.

**Adjuncts as marked focus in P2.** An adjunct occurring in P2 at the left side of the clause is, as a rule, focally prominent. This is the case whether the order is adjunct + copula + participle or the less common adjunct + participle + copula. Consider the following examples.

First, illustrating the more common ordering, Herm. 90.2: εἰς μάτην ἔση τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορῶν.<sup>81</sup> This clause occurs in the interpretation of a parable where it is already established that the topical-subject, “you” (null in this case), bears the name of Jesus. The clause in question is the apodosis in a third-class conditional. Putting it into context, it is clear that “in vain” is focally prominent: “if you bear the name but do not bear his powers, you will bear his name *in vain*.” The newly asserted information in this clause which updates the mental model is the adjunct “in vain.” The P2 position marks this already most important new information out.

Adjuncts appearing before the participle when the participle precedes the copula are also Focus. Consider Acts Thom. 122.8: καὶ πῶς νῦν ἀνεωγμένα εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ δεσμῶται ἔνδον;<sup>82</sup> Strictly speaking, there is no new information in this clause as it is a focus-presupposition clause.<sup>83</sup> As usual in information interrogatives, the question word

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<sup>80</sup> “And then you will, o most blessed of cities, suffer greatly.”

<sup>81</sup> “You will bear his name in vain.”

<sup>82</sup> “And how are they (i.e., the doors of the prison) now open and the prisoners inside?”

<sup>83</sup> In this type of clause, there is an open presupposition which is known to the hearer (or presented as already known) and the Focus lies on how this open presupposition came to be. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 7. Here, the focus is on “how” the state of the door being open occurred, marked out with the question word πῶς.

πῶς precedes the verb in the focal position.<sup>84</sup> It is instructive to consider the constituent arrangement of the portion of the sentence presented as presupposed. Why is the temporal νῦν first and why does the participle precede the copula? The fuller context is informative: <sup>6</sup>Εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα οἱ φύλακες διπνίσθησαν καὶ εἶδον πάσας τὰς θύρας ἀνεωγμένας καὶ τοὺς ἐγκατακλείστους. <sup>7</sup>καὶ ἔλεγον καθ' ἑαυτούς· Οὐχ ἡμεῖς τὰς θύρας ἠσφαλισάμεθα; <sup>8</sup>καὶ πῶς νῦν ἀνεωγμένοι εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ δεσμῶται ἔνδον;<sup>85</sup> The force of the question “how” is not on the fact that the doors are open (an unremarkable state for a door to be in from time to time); rather, the Focus falls on why they are in such a state “now.”<sup>86</sup> Since the guards closed the doors before sleeping, and to their knowledge nothing else has happened since, the doors should be closed “now.”

**Adjuncts intervening between copula and participle.** When adjuncts intervene between the copula and participle the same position can have two different IS implications. Remember, in the embedded clause model this area between the copula and the participle can host a P1 and/or P2 of the embedded participial clause: copula + (subject) + [(P1) + (P2) + participial clause] (where brackets denote the embedded participial clause).<sup>87</sup> First, adjuncts can be in P2 for marked focus here, as in Ign. *Phld.* 3.2: καὶ οὗτοι θεοῦ ἔσονται, ἵνα ᾧσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες.<sup>88</sup> As part of Ignatius’ rhetoric of church unity centered on allegiance to the bishop, he concludes here that those

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<sup>84</sup> *DFNTG*, 53.

<sup>85</sup> “After he had said these things, the guards woke up and saw all the doors open and the people shut inside. <sup>7</sup>And they said to each other, “Did we not seal the doors? <sup>8</sup>And how is it that they are now open and the prisoners inside?”

<sup>86</sup> See also *DFNTG*, 54.

<sup>87</sup> The P1 position here can host points of departure, not a topical-subject. A topical-subject belongs in the main clause portion, rather than to the embedded clause.

<sup>88</sup> “And these will belong to God so that they might be living in accordance with Jesus.”

with the bishop are living according to Jesus Christ.<sup>89</sup> Presumably, Ignatius could have written this ὧσιν ζῶντες κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν and conveyed the same basic semantic context. Moving the adjunct from its default position lends a degree of focal prominence to it, indicating that it is the most important information and setting up the reader for the negative part of the comparison to follow (following a schismatic rather than the bishop). It is not uncommon for focal adjuncts to occur in the P2 of the embedded participial clause.<sup>90</sup> There is no obvious difference between focal adjuncts between the copula and participle and those which occur in P2 position of the entire verbal complex.<sup>91</sup>

In addition to focal adjuncts intervening, it is also common to find an adjunct between the copula and participle which is non-focal. Such an adjunct is in P1 of the participial clause and serves to either temporally, spatially, or textually anchor the clause to its context.<sup>92</sup> For example, Mart. Pet. 4.1a: Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀγαλλιώμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ.<sup>93</sup> Here the information that Peter is ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ is already known. The chief assertion of this sentence, then, is not Peter’s location, but the activity of rejoicing with the brothers. The locative adjunct serves to anchor the clause to the preceding context by connecting this action specifically to the geographical locale which has served as the center of the story to date. In this way, the author accomplishes a change

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<sup>89</sup> On Ignatius’ rhetoric of unity centered on the bishop, see Kevin M. Clarke, “‘Being Bishoped by’ God: The Theology of the Episcopacy According to St. Ignatius of Antioch,” *The Catholic University of America Press* 14, no. 1 (2016): 230–36.

<sup>90</sup> For other examples see (possible) Barn. 4.7; Jos. Asen. 8.5b; 12.2; (possible) Let. Aris. 187; Mart. Pet. 12.6; Prot. Jas. 18.2; Sib. Or. 5.98

<sup>91</sup> IS analysis does not solve every problem of constituent order, but it does advance the explanatory power further than traditional explanations have done so. The exception is those instances where the adjunct could be construed as belonging to the main clause rather than the participial clause, in which case it would be default. An example of this is ready at hand in Hist. Rech. 11.7 καὶ μετὰ τὸ δύο τέκνα ποιῆσαι, ἀφίστανται ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ εἰσιν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μὴ \*γινώσκοντες ὅτι... (“and after producing two children they separate from each other and they are in chastity, not knowing that...”). Here the adjunct (or oblique argument) ἐν ἀγνείᾳ belongs with the copula and is not part of the participial clause at all.

<sup>92</sup> On this in the NT, see Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 430–31.

<sup>93</sup> “Now Peter was in Rome rejoicing with the brothers in the Lord.”



of scene back to Peter (from Simon Magus) without distracting attention from the main point: reestablishing Peter as subject for the ensuing discourse unit.<sup>94</sup>

Another helpful example, also from Mart. Pet., is 12.6: *καὶ ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφραϊνόμενοι*.<sup>95</sup> The adverbial *τὸ λοιπὸν* functions here as part of the special set of textual deictic markers which orient the reader in the text.<sup>96</sup> This adjunct should be understood as anchoring to the context. This deictic marker signals the impending end of the narrative.<sup>97</sup> The adjunct *ὁμοθυμαδὸν*, also in the intervening position, is Focus, probably to draw attention to the unified response of joy in God in the face of the martyrdom of Peter and then the reprieve granted by the same God who is displayed as sovereign over the entire persecution.

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<sup>94</sup> This token is a “background progressive,” to use Bailey’s useful label. Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with *εἰμί* ‘be’, *γίνομαι* ‘occur’, *ἔρχομαι* ‘come’, *ἰδοῦ/ἴδε* ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of *ὄραω* ‘see’” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2009), 195. The usage of imperfective periphrasis to report a state of affairs which functions as the background for a punctual event was first described by Björck, leaning on insights from the English grammatical tradition. Gudmund Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ: Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1940), 41–45.

<sup>95</sup> “Finally, the brothers were rejoicing with one accord...”

<sup>96</sup> Discourse deictics, as Stephen Levinson calls these (note, a different Stephen *Levinson* linguist from the Stephen *Levinsohn* working with Greek), serve to orient the current point the reader/hearer is at in a text with the rest of the episodic structure of the text as though it is all unfolding in space. Stephen Levinson, “Deixis,” in *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 118–20. Variations of the phrase *τὸ λοιπὸν* are common to indicate that the reader/hearer is close to the end of a discourse.

<sup>97</sup> This also is a valid explanation for the one instance where an adjunct occurs in the following order: participle + adjunct + copula. In Sib. Or. 8.237–38, the text is *γῆ γὰρ φρυχθεῖσα τότε ἔσται* 238 *Σὺν πηγαίς*. Here the temporal adverb *τότε* refers to an already known time which is an ongoing point of interest in the immediate context—a coming day of eschatological wrath. While the poetic nature of the text renders ordering decisions more difficult, it is clear that *τότε* is not new information and is thus not canonically focal. The new assertion of the clause is not the time period, but the state of the earth as being “scorched (by the sun).”

This text is interesting in that it uses a rare form of periphrasis—future plus aorist participle to equal the future perfect. It is also part of an extended acrostic stretching from lines 217–50. The first letter of each line spells out *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ* (note the itacistic spelling of *Χριστός*). The sigma in *σύν* of Sib. Or. 8.238 ends the word *ΥΙΟΣ*. The demands of the acrostic and the line lengths are perhaps what account for the use of the *σύν* prepositional phrase here instead of a compound subject. This prepositional phrase could probably be classed as an oblique argument instead of an adjunct.

To sum up the discussion of an adjunct between the copula and participle, these uses are explainable as the normal functions of P1 and P2 of an embedded participial clause. First, as Levinsohn pointed out, many of these adjuncts are non-focal and serve to anchor the clause to the preceding discourse (point of departure in P1). They are, then, one of many ways that Greek achieves discourse cohesion.<sup>98</sup> This P1 of the participial clause position seems attractive for spatial or temporal adjuncts which are anchoring the clause to the context, as opposed to occurring clause initial where such setting material routinely appears in prototypical clauses. Second, marked focus adjuncts can also occur in P2 of the participial clause, though it is difficult to weigh what distinctions—whether in degree of prominence or types of constituents allowed—between this position and the more common P2 before the copula.

**Adjunct position when the copula is null.** When there is no copula in the clause, that is, when a participle is “borrowing” a copula from a prior clause, the participle is the default left-periphery of its clause. We expect, then, that any constituent before the participle is in either P1 or P2, with any adjunct appearing there filling an expected function associated with those positions.

Among the 101 temporal, manner, and spatial examples considered above, there are ten tokens with a null copula.<sup>99</sup> Of these, seven have a clause final adjunct and three have an adjunct which precedes the participle.<sup>100</sup> Two of these three pre-participle adjuncts are clearly marked focus. I have argued above that the prepositional phrase in Herm. 81.6b is Focus, marked out as such by placement between the negative *οὐ* and the

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<sup>98</sup> Cohesion refers to the ways an author builds connections from clause to clause via linguistic means to guide the reader in how the discourse fits together. Robert A. Dooley and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts* (Dallas: SIL International, 2001), 21–34.

<sup>99</sup> 1 En. 90.2b; Acts Pil. 17.1b; Herm. 10.8d; Herm. 79.4c; 81.6b; Jos. Asen. 19.8b; 22.13c; Mart. Pet. 4.1b; T. Dan 5.7b; T. Sol. 7.1b

<sup>100</sup> The three with an adjunct preceding the participle are: Herm. 79.4c; 81.6b; Jos. Asen. 22.13c.

participle: οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ..., οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηνεγμένοι.<sup>101</sup> Joseph and Aseneth 22.13c is another instructive instance (with italics indicating the copula + participle): καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ συνίων καὶ προφήτης ὑψίστου καὶ ὀξέως βλέπων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ.<sup>102</sup> The main assertion of the clause ὀξέως βλέπων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ is further fleshed out in the following sentence where we learn Levi was able to see the secret things of God written in the skies. The most newsworthy part of 22.13c is not that he sees but that he sees *keenly*, in a way other mortals do not. This explains why ὀξέως is in the marked focus position. These examples confirm that in absence of a copula, the marked focus position is immediately before the participle.<sup>103</sup> This pre-participle slot can be used to lend focal prominence to a constituent, even an adjunct, which the writer wishes to highlight.

**Summary on Focus and adjuncts.** With regard to adjuncts, the following IS possibilities are evident. First, most adjuncts appear clause final and are non-focal and/or part of a predicate focus. An adjunct may be placed in P2 of the copula for marked focus. While an adjunct can occur in P1 of the copula as a point of departure, this only occurs once in my data. It is far more common for adjuncts functioning as a point of departure to occur in the position between the copula and the participle, that is, the P1 of the participial clause. We also note that the participial clause has a P2 here as well for a marked focus constituent, thus the IS status of an adjunct between the copula and

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<sup>101</sup> “For they were neither..., nor had they been carried through the gate.”

<sup>102</sup> “And he was a wise man and a prophet of the Most High and saw keenly with his eyes.” This example presumes the discussion below that it is legitimate to consider participles in coordination with adjectives/nominals within this construction.

<sup>103</sup> The other text, Herm. 79.4c, is less clear: περιεζωσμένοι ἦσαν εὐπρεπῶς, ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσαι τοὺς δεξιούς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν (“they were prettily dressed, having their right shoulders out as if about to carry a burden”). Here the participle is not in periphrasis but is a satellite of the prior two periphrastic predications. It is unclear to me exactly how to describe the relationship of ἔξω to the participle. I initially considered it as an adjunct, hence why I am discussing it here, though it seems to function more like an English phrasal verb—“to have out, to be uncovered”—in which case it is not optional to the semantics of the verb, and thus not an adjunct. Either way, its clause initial position is likely significant.

participle is not obvious merely by their placement in this position.<sup>104</sup> Lastly, when the copula is null the participle's P2 functions as normal, for marked focus.

### **Focus and the Position of the Participle**

The participle has a marked preference to follow the copula in copula + participle constructions. It can, though, appear in front of the copula. This phenomenon, which occurs at all phases of Ancient Greek, has not gone unnoticed. Various scholars have attributed different significance to it, ranging from arguing that the copula first order is required for periphrasis to asserting that variation is merely stylistic.<sup>105</sup> The most popular approach among grammarians is to assume that the ordering of constituents may or may not have any significance when considering periphrasis, in other words, both orderings are possible. Within this functional approach, defining whether the order makes a difference in whether the construction is periphrastic in the traditional sense is of little concern. Of greater relevance is to consider why such an order might occur that is, what function does it serve.

Of the 234 main clauses in my data, sixty-three tokens have a participle preceding the copula.<sup>106</sup> Within the IS framework, variation in order is considered significant. Levinsohn argues that in the NT pre-copula participles are focal, writing, “when part or all of a participle clause is placed before εἰμί, instead of in its default

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<sup>104</sup> In the next chapter, we will see that thetics make similar use of this position between the copula and participle for a variety of topical and focal elements. This appears to be a feature of Greek syntax unique to these constructions.

<sup>105</sup> For a brief discussion of the main proposals regarding the syntax of these constructions, see Klaas Bentein, “Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: *A State of the Art*,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 90, no. 1 (2012): 40–41. There are even examples in my data of pre-copula predicate participles which modify what would be called periphrasis, such as in 2 Clem. 17.3: ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες συνηγμένοι ὦμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν “so that all of us, thinking the same, may be gathered to life.” This is not a common occurrence.

<sup>106</sup> These numbers relate to non-relative clauses, non-predicate nominatives, and not in parallel with adjectives.

position after εἰμί, the effect is to give it focal prominence.”<sup>107</sup> In situations where a participle precedes the copula, it is common for the participle to be the only part of the participial clause which does so (so also in the NT data Levinsohn works with), though other portions of the participial clause may accompany the participle.

Levinsohn gives two arguments to support that fronting the participle (clause) is done to lend it focal prominence: cross-linguistic typology and statistics. He notes, “typological studies predict that, in V[erb]O[bject] languages, the default will be for auxiliaries to precede the verb or clause that they govern.”<sup>108</sup> For our purposes, this means the copula (the verbal auxiliary) is expected to precede the participial clause which it governs. This assumption is supported statistically in the NT, with only fifteen of 160 tokens in the Synoptics and Acts displaying the participle first ordering.<sup>109</sup> While the phenomenon is decidedly more common in my corpus than in the NT, the participle first order is still a minority.<sup>110</sup> Levinsohn draws the implication that positioning the participle

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<sup>107</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 434. By focally prominent, Levinsohn has in mind the same sort of Focus notions as we have been discussing regarding objects and adjuncts in Marked focus. The portion of the participial clause is marked out as the relatively most significant portion of the clause by positioning it in the pre-copula slot. We have already established the general validity of considering an adjunct or argument belonging to the participial clause as focal when preposed before the copula.

<sup>108</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 425.

<sup>109</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 425. Johnson, arguing a cross-linguistic grammaticalization pathway (partially dependent on Levinsohn’s arguments that Koine Greek is a VSO language) has also concluded that copula followed by participle is default. His argument is basically that the imperfect periphrastic began as a copula + locative phrase + post-nuclear participle with the meaning, “She was at X, doing Y.” When the construction was reanalyzed as a semantic/syntactic unity, the default ordering remained with the copula followed by the participle. Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010), 25.

That the participle would normally occur post-copula in the originally postulated locative expression (largely lost to us in the history of Greek) is supported by Diessel’s cross-linguistic typology of placement of adverbial elements. The grammaticalization pathway postulated would entail εἰμί + locative + purpose participle clause. Diessel found that VO languages which use adverbial modifiers before and after the main verb, like Greek, have a strong tendency for purpose clauses to occur after the main verb. Holger Diessel, “The Ordering Distribution of Main and Adverbial Clauses: A Typological Study,” *Language* 77, no. 2 (2001): 443–46.

<sup>110</sup> Note that variation in order between auxiliaries and the clause/verb they govern is not unremarkable in Greek. It occurs in a wide variety of different periphrastic and periphrastic-like constructions. For example, Markopoulos demonstrates that in both Classical and Koine Greek the periphrastic-like μέλλω + infinitive future occurs in both orders, though the infinitive following the

in the non-default pre-copula position achieves focal prominence because it is a salient (non-default) order. This claim is more difficult to analyze than the other IS claims so far investigated. However, there is some indication that pre-copula participles are focal.

General overview of the data. Table 9 shows a breakdown of the instances of participle first constructions by aspect-stem and voice. This table demonstrates that this constituent order cuts across the entire spectrum of copula + participle construction usage.

Looking at the different texts with the participle first ordering, there are instances where it is appropriate to see the participle as marked for focal prominence. For example, consider the already discussed Acts Thom. 122.8: *καὶ πῶς νῦν ἀνεωγμένα ἐῖσιν καὶ οἱ δεσμῶται ἔνδον*;<sup>111</sup> The state of affairs of the prison doors being open now is surprising to the guards who had closed them before sleeping. “Now open” can be explained as fronted for emphasis proper—here indicating the surprise of the guards—within this focus-presupposition question.

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auxiliary verb is far more common, see the charts on Theodore Markopoulos, *The Future in Greek: From Ancient to Medieval* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 27, 52. The periphrastic constructions with *ἔχω* also exhibit both word orders, as seen in the examples cited in Bentein, “Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: *A State of the Art*,” 16–20. Unfortunately, Bentein does not report on whether the participle precedes or follows the auxiliary (either for *εἰμί* or *ἔχω*) in his larger study, so there is no data on how regular this is outside of the NT and now this corpus which I have investigated.

<sup>111</sup> “And how are they [i.e., the gates] now open and the prisoners inside?”

Table 9: Participle first constructions by aspect and voice

Participle Type	Voice	Number of occurrences
Present		27
	Active	22 <sup>112</sup>
	MP	5 <sup>113</sup>
Perfect		32
	Active	2
	MP	30
Aorist		4
	Active	2
	MP	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>63</b>

Consider further Herm. 62.4: οὔτοι οὖν κατεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.<sup>114</sup>

This token occurs in the explanation of a parable which contrasts τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν (62.2, “some are to death, and some to corruption”). The construction in 62.4 is Focus in that it selects one of the destinations/states instead of the other possibility, marking a contrast in outcomes between groups: this group is “corrupted” but not “turned away completely,” like the first group had been. Here the fronted participle cues the reader to an interpretively relevant selection among two

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<sup>112</sup> Fourteen of these are “adjectivized” forms of the special stative verbs which have become “fossilized” in such usage and are considered, by many, to be non-periphrastic. They will be discussed below.

<sup>113</sup> Four of these are the verb εὐλογέω in a set expression of blessing.

<sup>114</sup> “These, therefore, are corrupted from the truth.”

possible outcomes which are under discussion.

As a final example of a pre-copula participle which is probably Focus, see 4 Bar. 5.2 (or the almost identical 5.4): ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθην ἂν ἄλλο ὀλίγον, καὶ βεβαρημένη ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ μου.<sup>115</sup> The most important piece of information in this clause is the state of “being heavy” which is conveyed in the participle. The passage continues “because I did not get enough sleep” (ὅτι οὐκ ἐκορέσθην τοῦ ὕπνου μου), which explains the heavy-headed state. Presumably, the constituent order here places more prominence upon the adjectival semantics of the participle (the state of being heavy) than would occur leaving it in the predicate focus construction.<sup>116</sup> These examples can reasonably be construed as having the participle fronted for focal prominence. What exactly is in focus is more difficult to articulate than with the other constituents so far discussed.

These above examples illustrate a common tendency in the tokens which have a pre-copula participle: they are perfect middle-passive verbs or ones that are stative in meaning. There are exceptions to this pattern, as can be seen in Inf. Gos. Thom. 2.1, where a present verb denoting an activity appears: τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον Ἰη(σοῦ)ς πενταέτης γενόμενος παίζων ἦν ἐν διαβάσει ρύακος.<sup>117</sup> The thirteen present participles and aorist participles to be discussed in this section are tabulated in table 10, showing the general types of verbs which appear in this construction (I have excluded the “adjectivized” present active participles, such as δέον and πρέπον as they will be dealt with below).

From this table, it is evident that present participles which occur prior to the copula are strongly skewed toward stative/activity verbs, which are similar in lacking an

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<sup>115</sup> “I gladly would have slept a little more, and my head is heavy....”

<sup>116</sup> BDAG, “εἰμί 11.f.” states that periphrasis can be used “to emphasize the adjectival idea inherent in the ptc. rather than the concept of action expressed by the finite verb.” It is widely agreed that perfect periphrasis emphasizes the resultant state/condition (the resultant meaning of the perfect). I suggest that the order reflected here is even more emphatic in this regard than the periphrastic perfect as opposed to a synthetic perfect (note, the verb βαρέω does form synthetic perfect forms).

<sup>117</sup> “This child Jesus, being five years old, was playing in a ford of a flowing river.”



inherent endpoint (i.e., they are non-telic). The exception is the difficult text T. Dan 5.7a. Here, the verb ἐγγίζω on its own is like an Activity in that it is dynamic, however it implies (and often includes) a goal, thus the category Active Achievement is best. In context, it is implied that the subject “my sons” does in fact reach a goal of being ‘near’ the sons of Levi.<sup>118</sup> Alongside non-telicity, these verbs are all united in having low transitivity, either having no object or an object which is minimally affected by the verb.<sup>119</sup>

Judging the verb class for the aorist participles is more complex in that they are equivalent to various perfect forms (perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect). Thus, the verb class in some ways depends on which portion of the action is emphasized: “to set sail” is an Achievement, but the resulting action of “being sailing” is an Activity. I have judged each meaning within the context and reported that. All these verbs share with each other and the present participles the feature that they are low transitivity. While Acts Thom. 91.5 appears to be an exception in that it involves the subject acting upon an object, “tasting” is lower in transitivity than “eating” and the context emphasizes that the person relating the dream did not actually eat the partridge in question, just tasted it.

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<sup>118</sup> One wonders if this might bleed into a stative notion of “will be near,” though that may do violence to the Greek

<sup>119</sup> In traditional grammar, transitivity is an on/off feature: a verb with a direct object is transitive, one without is intransitive. Following the important work of Hopper and Thomson, transitivity is now widely considered a scalar notion, with clauses being more or less transitive based on a variety of parameters. Paul J. Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson, “Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse,” *Language* 56, no. 2 (June 1980): 251–99. Bentein demonstrates the relevance of a scalar notion of transitivity applied to Greek in both synchronic description and diachronic analysis of periphrasis. Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be- Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 45–51.

Table 10: Present and aorist participles by verb class in the participle first order

Participle Type	Text	Lexeme	Voice	Verb Class <sup>120</sup>
Pre.act	Acts Pil. 7.1	αἰμορροέω	a	Activity
	Herm. 61.6a	τρυφάω	a	State
	Herm. 78.8	εὐθηνέω	a	State
	Inf. Gos. Thom. 2.1	παίζω	a	Activity
	Let. Aris. 165	ιδιάζω	a	State
	Let. Aris. 235	προέχω	a	State
	Sib. Or. 3.272	προσοχθίζω	a	State
	T. Dan 5.7a	ἐγγίζω	a	Active Achievement
	T. Levi 1.2	ὕγιαίνω	a	State
aor.act	Acts Thom. 105.6	ἀναχωρέω	a	Achievement
	Acts. Thom. 16.2	πλέω	a	Achievement/Activity
	Sib. Or. 8.237	φρύγω	mp <sup>121</sup>	State/Achievement
aor.mp	Acts Thom. 91.5	γεύομαι	mp	Achievement

<sup>120</sup> Here I am using a straight-forward adaptation of Vendlerian verb classes. Acknowledging all the difficulties inherent in the system and its adaptation to Greek, it is productive and widely used. These different categories can all be derived from the features [ $\pm$ stative], [ $\pm$ dynamic], [ $\pm$ telic], and [ $\pm$ punctual]. The parameter [ $\pm$ dynamic] distinguishes between Accomplishments and Active Achievements. This system results in 6 verb classes, shown in the following table with their features:

Class	$\pm$ Static	$\pm$ Dynamic	$\pm$ Telic	$\pm$ Punctual
State	+	-	-	-
Activity	-	+	-	-
Accomplishment	-	-	+	-
Semelfactive	-	$\pm$	-	+
Achievement	-	-	+	-
Active Achievement	-	+	+	-

For further discussion, see Michael Aubrey, “Greek Prohibitions,” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 497–501.

<sup>121</sup> This form is a -θ(η) mp.

In light of this data, I suggest that the participle first order is largely limited by verb class. We do not find any high-transitivity verbs occurring in this position, either in my data or in the instances Levinsohn discusses in the NT.<sup>122</sup> Further, there is a strong preference for non-telic actions among participles in this position—states primarily, but also activities. In addition to the data on present and aorist participles in the above table, when the perfect participle is found in the pre-copula position, as a rule it denotes a state and is middle-passive (thus intransitive).

In light of the above data, I suggest the participle first ordering is used mainly to give a non-telic clause marked focus rather than predicate focus. Instances with a participle first ordering often have few or no other constituents in the clause which could be focal. The sparsity of elements in the clause may result in a default predicate focus, or an ordering which is ambiguous in terms of IS. A copula + participle construction opens up the possibility to vary constituent order by putting the participle in the canonical Focus position. This appears to be limited to low-transitivity verbs, especially to State and Activity verbs. The pre-copula participle can reasonably be construed as Focus in many instances, which gives general credence to the notion that moving the participle in these constructions results in Focus, as typologically expected.

In terms of semantics, the difference between a copula + participle and participle + copula version of the same verb would be negligible. A pre-copula marked focus participle may give more prominence to the adjectival meaning inherent in the participle rather than on the verbal complex as a whole, as would be the case in predicate focus.<sup>123</sup> As perfect participles are the most adjective-like participle, it is unsurprising

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<sup>122</sup> For Levinsohn's data and discussion, see Levinsohn, "Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί," 434–35.

<sup>123</sup> See BDAG, "εἰμί 11.f" on the emphasizing adjectival meaning inherent in the participle.

that they—especially as middle-passives—are the most frequent in this word order.<sup>124</sup> This proposed usage of non-telic, low-transitivity participles in a pre-copula position to give a clause marked focus could explain why a word order like *δέον ἔστιν* became largely fossilized: it began as a live way to lay greater prominence on the notion of necessity in the semantics of the participle and then, through repeated usage, became bleached into meaning essentially the same as the synthetic verb.<sup>125</sup>

This entire discussion is premised on the assumption that constituent order variation is possible for the given copula + participle pair. That this is the case for fourteen of the verbs is obvious, since they appear in my data in both constituent order configurations.<sup>126</sup> However, thirty-seven of the verbs which appear in the participle + copula order do not occur in the default order in my data. I assume that they have live variation as an option. There are a few verbs, though, where it seems reasonable to treat them as having a default order with the participle first.

**Participles which default to pre-copula.** There is a group of present participles, often problematically called *adjectivized*, which require further consideration in terms of default ordering.<sup>127</sup> I will take these participles together as a class here to discuss the order of the participle and the copula. It appears that several of these may have a default order, usually with the participle before the copula. table 11 summarizes these participles, their occurrences, and the order:

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<sup>124</sup> On the adjectival nature of the perfect participle, see Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 98–99.

<sup>125</sup> Note that the order *ἔστιν δέον* is attested in other stages of Greek literature, though sifting through the data is time consuming and outside the scope of this study.

<sup>126</sup> These verbs are: *ἀρμόζω, ἐνδύω, ἀναγράφω, γεύομαι, πλανάω, ὑποτάσσω, θεμελιόω, δίδωμι, γεννάω, παίζω, ἀγαπάω, εἰσάγω, συνάγω, εὐλογέω.*

<sup>127</sup> Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ*, 17–40; Aerts, *Periphrastica*, 12–17.

Table 11: Occurrence and ordering of “adjectivized” participles

Participle	Occurrences	Ordering
δέον <sup>128</sup>	6	participle + copula
πρέπον <sup>129</sup>	5	participle + copula
καθηῶν <sup>130</sup>	2	participle + copula
προσῆων <sup>131</sup>	2	copula + participle
εἰκός (ἔοικα) <sup>132</sup>	1	participle + copula
ἐξόν <sup>133</sup>	1	participle + copula
Total	17	

Note that none of these participles occurs in varied position vis-à-vis the copula in my data. All but *προσῆων* occur before the copula. Levinsohn treats a few of these—namely *δέον*, *πρέπον*, and *ἐξόν*—as having a pre-copula default position.<sup>134</sup>

As there is no variation in word order attested in my corpus, I defer on the question of default order. Preliminary searching via *TLG* reveals that these participles do not have equally stringent ordering principles, generally showing some degree of

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<sup>128</sup> 1 Clem. 34.2; Let. Aris. 7; 31; 147; 200; 250

<sup>129</sup> Ign. Eph. 2.2; Ign. Magn. 3.2; 4.1; Ign. Phld. 10.1; Ign. Smyrn. 7.2

<sup>130</sup> Let. Aris. 19; 297

<sup>131</sup> Jos. Asen. 8.5a, 7

<sup>132</sup> Let. Aris. 223

<sup>133</sup> Mart. Pet. 11.2

<sup>134</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 324.

constituent order variability.<sup>135</sup> The clear exception is that only once in my time period of interest does *δέον* follow the copula. This occurs in a 3-2nd century BC mechanical writer, writing as follows: *καὶ εὐτονίαν εἶχεν πλείονα ἢ ὅσον ἦν δέον*.<sup>136</sup> Given the paucity of counter examples, it is safe to assume on purely statistical grounds that *δέον ἐστίν* is the default order and the pre-copular participle is not focal.

The above “adjectivized” present participles were widely used and attest some degree of variation in order. It would in principle be possible to consider IS implications of the different orders in different writers, but this is beyond the scope of my project. As there is no variation attested in my corpus or the related NT or LXX, I treat these tokens as default order. This is an assumption until further work is carried out.

**Summary of Focus and the participle.** In the above discussion I have demonstrated general support for considering the pre-copular participle to be Focus. The pre-copula position of the participle is a viable position within copula + participle constructions, though I have noted that there appear to be restrictions on which verbs can appear there. These verbs are overwhelming low transitivity State and Activity verbs, predominated by perfect middle-passive participles. This suggests that the participle is fronted to emphasize the adjectival meaning of the verb in the marked focus position, rather than leave the clause with a predicate focus on the action of the entire verbal complex.

Various difficulties attend this assessment and further analysis could shed light

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<sup>135</sup> I checked for each of these participles within five words of a third singular indicative form of *εἶμι*. This is not an exhaustive search, but representative. *TLG* is not clause sensitive, by default, making these searches laborious. My findings are impressions from scanning through hundreds of results, full of instances which were false positives.

<sup>136</sup> “Und sie hatten eine größere Festigkeit, als nötig gewesen wäre” (“And they have a greater strength than would have been necessary”). Text and translation taken from Hermann Diels and Erwin Adelbert Schramm, *Philons Belopoiika*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosph.-hist. Kl. 16 (Berlin: Reimer, 1919), 63, lines 28–30. At the end of this section stands [*καθῆκον*], which is of uncertain significance. As it is bracketed and not included in the translation, I assume it is either an alternate reading for *δέον* or belongs somehow to the structuring of the text.

on whether this position is limited to such verb types as appear in my data in other texts as well, beyond the NT and my corpus. Finally, treating the order of various participles traditionally called *adjectivized* is problematic. While the position of *δέον* can be fixed as default pre-copula, others of this class are more complicated, requiring further investigation beyond the scope of this project. In the literature most closely aligned with my own corpus, the position tendencies of these participles are constant. In short, Levinsohn’s assertion that the participle can be treated as Focus when it occurs before the copula in these constructions appears reasonable, though it is established with much less certitude than the prior investigations.

### **Focus in Relative Clauses.**

Focus in relative clauses (RCs) can be dealt with in short order as there is little data to report. Theoretically, the copula and participle a relative clause both have a P1 and P2 which are independent from the main clause, though with some restrictions based on the function the relative clause serves. As seen in chapter 4, RCs can have either the same or a different topical-subject from the noun phrase they modify. Thus, the presence of a constituent in P1 is not unusual.<sup>137</sup> However, P2 is rarely occupied. While the relative pronoun and/or the prepositional phrase which it is part of could be Focus, this is ambiguous due to the syntactic requirements of Greek. Furthermore, pronouns are not often focal.

Two RC tokens which appear to have a constituent in P2 for marked focus are actually ambiguous with regard to IS and constituent order:

1. Acts Pil. 11.3 *καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω ἦν κείμενος.*<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> In most instances, P1 is occupied by a relative pronoun whose position there is syntactically fixed, thus not actually a marked topic. However, non-relative pronoun subjects can occur in P1 as marked topics. For details, see chapter 4.

<sup>138</sup> “And he placed him in a hewn-out tomb in which no one had yet laid.”

2. 1 En. 1.2 Ενώχ· (Ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός ἐστιν, ᾧ ὄρασις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεωγμένη ἦν...).<sup>139</sup>

In Acts Pil. 11.3, it is possible that the negative οὐδέπω is Focus. However, since negatives of the οὐ variety have a strong tendency to occur pre-copula, this likelihood is diminished. One could argue that the temporal notion in the particle -πω is Focus here, though this is speculative.<sup>140</sup> In 1 En. 1.2, the dative pronoun αὐτῷ in P2 is pleonastic, following the Semitic source text, and falls outside clear Greek IS pattern.<sup>141</sup> There is no other possible person in the narrative for this statement to be about, rendering Focus a less attractive interpretation governing the position of this pronoun. The prepositional phrase ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, while possibly giving an agent, is most likely epexegetical, indicating the source of the vision (“a vision *from God*”), and thus part of topical-subject in P1.

In the RCs, there is only one clear instance of Focus functioning like in a main clause. In Acts Thom. 38.3 we find the following: Οὐ καταψηφίζεται ὑμῶν οὐδὲ λογίζεται ὑμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἃς ἐν πλάνῃ ὄντες διεπράξασθε, ἀλλὰ παραβλέπει ὑμῶν τὰ παραπτώματα ἃ κατὰ ἀγνωσίαν ἤτε πεποιηκότες.<sup>142</sup> While the syntax of the two clauses in parallel around ἀλλά differs, they work the same. In each case, the element before the main verb—the predicate participle phrase ἐν πλάνῃ ὄντες or the prepositional phrase κατὰ ἀγνωσίαν—functions to restrictively modify in what way the main verb of the RC

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<sup>139</sup> “Enoch (he is a righteous person to whom a vision from God was opened to him.” Note the participle before copula ordering here. This also occurs in relative clauses in Pol. *Phil.* 13.2, and T. Job 41.6, aside from the instances where a pre-copula participle is treated as default ordered.

<sup>140</sup> Lexicons disagree on whether to treat οὐδέπω as a lexical item. In Homeric Greek, it is found with a word between οὐδέ and πω several times, such as οὐδέ τί πώ μοι in *Iliad* 1:542. Homer, *Homeri Ilias*, ed. Thomas W. Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931). This suggests that for Homer οὐδέπω was a collocation of two words which could be separated. BDAG, by contrast, treats οὐδέπω as a lexical item. Even if it is a lexical item, this does not remove the possibility that -πω was felt as focal. Such a suggestion has been made regarding negative content words such as οὐδέίς. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 49.

<sup>141</sup> Whether this work was composed in Hebrew or Aramaic is disputed. Matthew Black and Albert-Marie Denis, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 5.

<sup>142</sup> “He does not condemn you nor reckon against you the sins which you committed while being in error, instead he will overlook the trespasses which you committed according to ignorance.”



makes a true statement. In both, a prepositional phrase is in P2 as marked focus. The contrasting focus on error and ignorance echoes the pleas of those Thomas is working among who can only become followers of God if he sets them free ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν ὧν διεπραξάμεθα ἐν πλάνῃ ὄντες (“from the evil things which we did while being in error”). Focus falls on the key portion of each relative clause.

In brief, RCs can have a marked focus constituent like in a main clause, but this is rare. P2 is generally unoccupied.

### **Additional Concerns: Null Copula Clauses and Participles in Parallel with Adjectives**

Before leaving Topic-Comment clauses for Thetic clauses in the next chapter, there remains an important loose end to revisit. First, throughout this analysis I have focused on the behavior of main clauses, with secondary attention to RCs. I have excluded instances where a participle is in coordination with an adjective. This move is motivated by the history of periphrasis studies, where many have argued that these sorts of tokens cannot be periphrastic (in the traditional sense of the term) and that the participles in such arrangements should be considered as adjectives. After addressing this issue, I will make summary observations about constituent order and information structure in topic-comment clauses. To begin the discussion of participles in parallel with adjectives, I will first focus on the way null copula clauses function.

#### **The Behavior of Null Copula Clauses**

Throughout, I have been noting the behavior of different constituents when they are in a periphrastic constructions with a null copula. These occur when the participle “borrows” the copula from a prior clause, most often the immediately prior clause, though several such participles can be strung along in a row. This has been an ongoing point of concern for two reasons: (1) it is not uncommon in the data and (2) these examples play a significant role in my argument below about how to assess the IS

of participles in parallel with adjectives. I have noted that in null copula clauses the participle forms the default left-periphery of the clause, rather than the copula. This explanation is confirmed in the behavior of arguments and adjuncts. These can occur in the participle's P2 for Focus.<sup>143</sup> When there is no copula explicit in the clause, the participle forms the default left-periphery and the Focus domain is defined entirely in terms of the position of the participle.<sup>144</sup> This behavior, it turns out, forms a ready analogy to instances where a participle is in parallel with adjectives, to which we now turn.

### **‘Adjectival/Adjectivized’ Participles and Participles in Parallel with Adjectives? On Participles as a Class**

Up to this point, I have excluded from analysis instances where the participle is found in parallel with adjectives. This occurs some nineteen times in my data. Scholars have tended to reject such instances as periphrastic in the traditional sense of the word (total semantic integration of copula and participle). Further, many have assumed that this syntactic parallelism between participles and adjectives indicates the participles are

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<sup>143</sup> It would presumably be possible to have a point of departure in P1 in a null copula clause, though I do not have this in my data.

<sup>144</sup> A null copula participle in these copula + participle constructions virtually never involves a change of Topic, thus the P1/Topic position is not used. It is possible that this occurs in T. Sol. 7.1: (1) *καὶ ἦν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιφέρων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνω ὑψηλὸν* (2) *καὶ τὸ ὑπόλειπον τοῦ σώματος εἰλούμενον ὡσεὶ κοχλίας*. This text is difficult for a variety of reasons. The subject in clause (1) is “he,” carried on from the prior clause and referring to the demon who is presenting himself to Solomon (note the masculine participle *ἐπιφέρων*, ruling out *τὸ πρόσωπον* as the possible subject). In clause (2), by contrast, the participle is now the neuter *εἰλούμενον*. This suggests that the neuter *τὸ ὑπόλειπον τοῦ σώματος* has become the subject and the participle is borrowing the copula from clause (1). On this view, the translation is: “he was carrying his face high above in the air and the remainder of his body was crawling like a snail.” It is also possible that *τὸ ὑπόλειπον* is an object in coordination with *τὸ πρόσωπον* with *εἰλούμενον* being a predicate participle modifying the nuclear clause *ἦν...ἐπιφέρων...τὸ ὑπόλειπον*, which would be translated as “he was carrying...the remainder of his body, being rolled up like a snail.”

Against understanding (2) as borrowing the copula from (1) is the fact that no other null copula clauses involve a change of subject between the participles. Against understanding (2) as a coordinate object with a predicate participle modifying it is that this is semantically unlikely. The demon carries its face high up in the air, while its body has a different sort of movement—rolling on the ground. This makes it unlikely that “he was carrying” is the same main verb for both (1) and (2). It is better to take this as an exceptional instance of periphrasis where the topical-subject changes between two participles even though both embedded participial clauses use the same copula.

equivalent to adjectives and thus would not belong to the εἰμί + participle construction at all. Rather, they should be considered an instance of a subject and an anarthrous attributive adjective.<sup>145</sup> For example, Green points to Titus 3:3 saying that the participles here function as adjectives: Ἕμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους.<sup>146</sup> Here four participles are in coordination with three adjectives. If considered “adjectivized,” the participles are, for all intents and purposes, attributive adjectives and would not belong in my analysis. Various tests have been proposed to assess when participles can be considered to have changed class and become (or at least function like in a given sentence) mere adjectives. The most relevant such test here is the phenomenon under consideration: coordination with an adjective.<sup>147</sup> In short, if the participle is in syntactic coordination with an adjective, this view argues that it is adjectival (meaning here that it should be considered an attributive adjectival

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<sup>145</sup> Both Green and Johnson, for instance, take this view. Robert E. Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament” (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 115–17; Johnson, “Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect,” 200. Porter, however, goes against this interpretation, denying that the syntactic parallel between a participle and adjective is determinative in whether it is periphrastic or not. Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 454.

<sup>146</sup> “For we too were once foolish, disobedient, *deceived, slaves to various passions and pleasures, living in evil and vanity*, hated, *hating one another.*” I have italicized the participles.

<sup>147</sup> Bentein categorizes the various proposed tests supporting adjectivization of present participles. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 82–88. In sum, they fall into three main categories: (1) phonological, (2) morphological, and (3) syntactic. The phonological criteria involves whether the participle has undergone phonological reduction and/or no longer has a recognizable verb stem from which it is derived. While this is a strong argument for adjectivization, it is so rarely applicable to Greek as to be useless. Second, two morphological criteria have been proposed, involving the ability of a participle to form an adverb or whether the participle can appear in the comparative and superlative degrees. Bentein points out that these criteria are weak in that they fail to take into account semantic factors. Not even all adjectives can form adverbs or comparatives. This suggests that the limiting factor for forming these forms is not whether a word is an adjective, but semantic factors inherent in the meaning of the word. Thus, some participles can and some cannot form adverbs and comparatives because of the meaning of the verb. Finally, a variety of syntactic arguments have been brought forward to support adjectivization including “frequent” attributive and substantival use, the ability to combine with an adverb of degree (as this functionally never happens, it is not a useful criterion), and finally, syntactic parallelism with regular adjectives.

participle).<sup>148</sup>

In response to this assumption, two important arguments should be considered. First, Bentein raises the important point that “while some scholars take [coordination, NJE] as an indication of adjectivization, it is unclear whether coordination indicates a categorical identity, or simply functional likeness.”<sup>149</sup> That a participle occurs with adjectives need mean nothing more than that it is functioning in a more adjective-like manner, not that it has become an adjective. Further, coordination does not even require functional likeness. There are examples, albeit rare, in which non-functionally similar participles are coordinated to the same copula, as in Acts Phil. 124.2-3, which reads: *καὶ ἦν ὀργιζόμενος σφόδρα καὶ λέγων πρὸς τοῦ ἱερεῖς . . .*<sup>150</sup> Here *ὀργιζόμενος* indicates a state “he” is in, thus adjective-like, and *λέγων* an action.

A more significant factor than such a rare instance is the simple fact that participles in parallel with adjectives retain their argument structure. The prototypical adjective has one argument—the noun it modifies. Even in Green’s example from Titus 3:3, we find the participle *δουλεύοντες* retaining its argument structure, indicating who/what is served in the dative case, as well as the participle *μισοῦντες*, with an accusative reflexive argument. Similarly, *διάγοντες* has a temporal adjunct. It is noteworthy that the only participle in Titus 3:3 which does not have its own

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<sup>148</sup> The whole terminology surrounding participles becomes extremely murky around the usage of the category name “adjectival.” First, all participles both have adjectival morphology and are in the syntactic roles of adjectives, so in the broadest sense they are all “adjectival.” Many grammarians use “adjectival” in contrast to “adverbial,” thus splitting participles up by different semantic contributions to the clause. This approach is intuitive, but problematic in that there are predicate participles which do not adverbially modify a verb. On such a schema, participles in periphrasis are wholly other—they are not adverbial and they are not adjectival. Last, the waters are muddied further in that the term “adjectivized” and/or “adjectival” is often used in periphrasis research to describe a certain type of “fake” periphrasis where the participle is believed to have become an adjective in a certain group of words. Thus, “adjectival” can mean any participle, a participle which is functioning more like an adjective than a (ad)verb, or a participle that is judged to have become an adjective in a certain construction.

<sup>149</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 86.

<sup>150</sup> “And he was very angry and said to the priests...” Translation and example from Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 87.

argument or adjunct is *πλανώμενοι*. As a middle-passive present participle it has one obligatory argument—the subject. This participle, along with *διάγοντες*, is low on the transitivity scale. In other words, its meaning is germane to having no arguments and thus “looking” like a normal adjective, while the other participles in this passage have meanings less inclined to occurring without arguments. Thus, as Bentein points out, the primary factor limiting how “adjective-like” a participle looks appears to be the semantics of the participle.<sup>151</sup> It is easy to read some participles as “adjectives” simply because their meaning is germane to such a reading (they have low transitivity, referring more to a property than an action). This does not mean, though, that they change class to a different part of speech. A higher-transitivity participle in the same context obviously retains its argument structure, which is a feature of its verbal nature.

From an IS perspective, we note that any arguments and adjuncts accompanying a participle belong to that participle and raise the question of IS motivated placement within the participial clause. The temporal adjunct of *διάγοντες* in Titus 3:3, for example, precedes rather than follows the participle. This position is the default expected marked focus position for a participle.<sup>152</sup> These variations in position are much easier to describe on the hypothesis that the participles in parallel with adjectives are in fact still participles and have not changed class to adjectives. This suggests that these participles function like normal predicate participles and are, as such, members of the *εἰμί* + participle construction. Within Bentein’s framework, these participles tend strongly towards property-reading, meaning in summary that they tend to profile a state or constant activity as opposed to verbal actions which involve an end point.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 88–99..

<sup>152</sup> Levinsohn analyses this temporal adjunct here in Titus 3:3 as Focus in his BART markup, “BART Displays Enhanced for Discourse Features,” SIL International, accessed June 14, 2021, [https://scholars.sil.org/stephen\\_h\\_levinsohn/bart](https://scholars.sil.org/stephen_h_levinsohn/bart). I consider it Focus as well.

<sup>153</sup> Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 98–101.

A brief examination of the texts in my data lends support to the idea that participles in parallel with adjectives do not become adjectives. Eleven of nineteen participles in parallel with adjectives have either an argument or an adjunct and can be seen in table 12. These participles are State or Activity class verbs, as a rule, and show variation in constituent order:

Table 12: Participles coordinated with adjectives

	<i>Text</i>
Participle with Argument	1 Clem. 17.3 ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰὼβ οὕτως γέγραπται· Ἰὼβ δὲ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος, ἀληθινός, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντός κακοῦ. <sup>154</sup>
	Herm. 70.6 τινὲς δὲ οἶαι ἦσαν ἡμίξηροι καὶ σχισμάς ἔχουσαι.
	Herm. 10.8a ἦσαν γάρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμάς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν
	Herm. 1.3 ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων <sup>155</sup>
	Herm. 43.8 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα ἡ τὸ θεῖον ἡ τὸ ἄνωθεν πραῦς ἐστι καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων καὶ ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ματαίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
	Herm. 43.12 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ... καὶ εὐθύς ἰταμός ἐστι καὶ ἀναιδής καὶ πολύλαλος καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις πολλαῖς ἀπάταις, καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ

<sup>154</sup> ἀπέχω in the middle voice takes a genitive argument, here replaced by the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ as an oblique argument, which is common in certain (ablative) meanings in Koine. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 514–15. See also Herm. 43.8 in this list.

<sup>155</sup> Here the perfect active ἀπορρήσω takes an oblique agent argument. This verb is a late form of ἀπορρήνυμι, and the perfect active is used in a passive sense (LSJ A.II.2).

Table 12 continued

	Text
	Herm. 46.4 Κύριε, αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐταὶ μεγάλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ δυνάμεναι εὐφραῖναι καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δυναμένου τηρῆσαι αὐτάς <sup>156</sup>
	Let. Aris. 292 ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸν ἡγούμενον, ὅταν μισοπόνηρος ᾖ καὶ φιλάγαθος καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου σώζειν <sup>157</sup>
Participle with Adjuncts	Barn. 10.5 οἵτινες εἰς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ <sup>158</sup>
	Herm. 18.5 ἰλαρὰ δὲ εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ συμψελίου καθημένη
	Herm. 43.12 πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δοκῶν ... καὶ εὐθύς ἰταμός ἐστι καὶ ἀναιδής καὶ πολύλαλος καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις πολλαῖς ἀπάταις, καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ <sup>159</sup>

This Table demonstrates that in my data participles which are in parallel with adjectives still function like participles in retaining their argument structure and ability to have their own adjuncts, neither of which is a feature of adjectives.

<sup>156</sup> While the infinitive phrase would more accurately be called a complement than an argument, I include it here to minimize complexity of the list and because it demonstrates the same basic point: the participle retains its normal verbal features in terms of syntax.

<sup>157</sup> Here ποιούμενος + περὶ πολλοῦ + inf. is an idiom meaning “to consider *something* as great” with the infinitive phrase ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου σώζειν supplying the object considered great. This syntactic position can also be filled with a simple noun, (*BrillDAG*, 2.f; *LSJ* A.5).

<sup>158</sup> It is difficult to categorize the precise relationship between κρίνω and the dative case τῷ θανάτῳ. While it is syntactically possible for the dative here to be an instrumental dative with the passive verb, such an understanding does not make great sense in the context. Conceptually, “to death” is envisioned as a metaphorical location to which the people have been condemned. Compare this usage to the similar phrase in Herm. 95.2: διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ ἐγνωκότες θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενοι κεκριμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς θάνατον (“For this reason those not knowing God and doing evil are condemned to death”). Here the notion “to death” is represented by a locative prepositional phrase, supporting the metaphorical notion I see behind the dative usage. One can argue that this is an oblique argument.

<sup>159</sup> One could argue that the prepositional phrase in ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος is an oblique argument.

Fundamentally, the participles in this position retain their role as making a (quasi-)independent predication, something that adjectives do not do. Of course, there are instances of participles in parallel with adjectives where the participle does not have its own argument or adjunct, such as Herm. 12.3: λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔξωθέν ἐστὶν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα ἐστὶν.<sup>160</sup> However, given that a perfect middle-passive verb takes only one argument (with few exceptions), this participle occurs without an argument not because it is an adjective but because of the meaning and function of the verb. Perfect participles are more adjective-like than the other participles in that they refer to temporally-stable (non-changing) states of affairs. While high-transitivity participles can occur in parallel with adjectives, as with λαβῶν in Herm. 43.12 above, the examples in my data are as a rule low-transitivity and stative in meaning.

Having observed that participles in parallel with adjectives maintain the participle properties as opposed to becoming prototypical adjectives, we can further note that the arguments and adjuncts do not have a set position but can appear on either side of the participle. This should be explained in IS terms. I suggest these participles should be analyzed as follows. Each item in the listing of a chain of predicate adjectives forms its own distinct clause. The subject and copula are null for each subsequent adjective, but implied.<sup>161</sup> An implied copula is not uncommon in the copula + participle constructions, as we have seen elsewhere. It stands to reason that participles in parallel with adjectives

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<sup>160</sup> “Say to them that all these things are true and nothing is besides the truth, but all are strong and sure and established.”

<sup>161</sup> That these lists could be expanded into a long and boring set of distinct clauses is obvious. This even happens in my data in Barn. 19.4, which expansively repeats the copula before each element: ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας “be humble, be quiet, tremble at the words which you hear” (in context it is clear that the future is imperatival in force, in line with common LXX usage). This text provides an example where periphrasis in the sense of full semantic integration occurs in the context of coordination with adjectives.



function, from an IS point of view, like their close analogues the participle in a null-copula clause.

Aside from an analogous IS construction, there is another reason to treat these participles in parallel with adjectives like normal participles. In Bentein's framework, such participles are generally property-referring participles, having low-transitivity (though as observed, even high-transitivity participles can occur here, such as in Herm. 43.12). They are thus very similar to perfect participles (especially middle-passive perfects) in periphrastic relationship as these are property-referring by default, meaning they are "adjective-like." Within the history of periphrasis study one point of agreement stretches across almost all research: copula + participle constructions with perfect participles is the most basic and oldest form of periphrasis in Greek.<sup>162</sup> That participles in parallel with adjectives function analogously to this perfect participle periphrasis further strengthens the case that they should be treated as being normal participles. Given the patterns already argued for and that we have seen that participles in parallel with adjectives are legitimate members of the copula + participle construction, we conclude that they have normal functional implications for constituents in P2 (and in P1, if that were ever the case).

By way of example, Herm. 43.12 contains one instance of a fronted adjunct and one of a fronted argument: *πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν ὑψοῖ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θέλει πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἔχειν, καὶ εὐθύς ἰταμός ἐστι καὶ ἀναιδής καὶ πολὺλαλός καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πολλαῖς ἀπάταις, καὶ μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ.*<sup>163</sup> An IS analysis suggests that in spoken English these

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<sup>162</sup> Periphrasis with the perfect participle is clearly attested in Archaic Greek, albeit infrequently, while periphrasis with an imperfective participle is debated in that period and, if the examples are legitimate, quite infrequent. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 107, 208. Periphrasis with a perfective participle is rare in most periods of Greek.

<sup>163</sup> "First, the one who seems to have a spirit exalts himself and wants to have a seat of honor, and immediately is arrogant and shameless and talkative and well-acquainted with many luxuries and with many other pleasures, and receiving wages for his prophesying."

portions would be pronounced with vocal stress, indicated here with capital letters:  
“...and conducts himself in various PLEASURES...and receive WAGES for his prophesying.”

Because of the sparse data, these tokens do not require any further explanation. I have argued that they should be considered part of the  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$  + participle construction and that there is no need to consider the participles as having changed class. Instead, they function like participles and find their IS analogue in null copula tokens, which have been encountered throughout. This argument suggests that NT data on periphrastics must be reassessed including participles in parallel with adjectives, as such tokens have been excluded on false premises.

### **General Conclusions on Topic-Comment Clauses**

Having examined constituent order and IS in the topic-comment clauses of my data, the following conclusions are evident. First, Levinsohn’s proposed default clause template and IS motivated deviations from it are remarkably successful at describing the data at hand in my corpus. As pointed out in chapter 1, it is reasonable to assume there is some underlying linguistic unity between these texts and the NT. However, my corpus includes a mix of genres and registers, diverging from the NT both in terms of more and less literary Greek, and is roughly twice the size of the NT. This heterogenous corpus is well-described by Levinsohn’s model. This study provides further data suggesting that Levinsohn’s IS model applies to all Koine Greek.

Having examined topic-comment sentences, I conclude that IS provides a framework to make sense of why different constituents appear where they do in any given context in copula + participle constructions. Constituent order variation is a facet of periphrastic studies which has to date received inadequate attention. Levinsohn’s exploratory analysis, here expanded upon, makes an advance in our ability to describe the syntax of these constructions. Before turning in the conclusion to some further issues

requiring attention, we turn to those εἰμί + participle constructions which fall into thethetic sentence articulation, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6  
INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUENT  
ORDER IN THETIC CLAUSES

In the prior two chapters, we have considered the relationship between constituent order and Information Structure (IS) in topic-comment clauses in copula + participle constructions. In this chapter, we turn our attention to thetic clauses to address the same basic issues. Thetic clauses, which serve to introduce a new entity or state of affairs into the discourse, are less common than topic-comment sentences. Although thetic clauses and topic-comment clauses differ from each other in many regards, they are united in this study in that both occur in *εἰμί* + participle constructions. Since *theticity* is a recent innovation in linguistic analysis, there is no category in traditional Greek grammar which covers the same territory as the term *thetic*.<sup>1</sup> In light of its recent origin and the widespread usage of the term *thetic* in linguistic literature, I will use this name

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<sup>1</sup> The category *thetic* was first developed in philosophy, as Ana Ojea explains: “at the end of the nineteenth century, the philosophers Franz Brentano and Anton Marty challenged the notion of a single type of judgment composed of a subject and a predicate in the Aristotelian sense (Brentano 1874; Marty 1918). The idea behind this is that sentences do not always make a statement about an entity but may merely serve to recognize some state of affairs; therefore, the standard bipartite structure of logical subject-predicate should not be the only possible one in intentional terms.” Ana Ojea, “The Syntax of Thetic Statements in English,” *Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies* 42, no. 1 (June 2020): 145. This philosophical innovation was brought into the linguistic tradition in the now classical work of S.-Y. Kuroda, “The Categorical and the Thetic Judgment: Evidence from Japanese Syntax,” *Foundations of Language* 9, no. 2 (1972): 153–85. In short, thetic sentences are those sentences devoted to describing situations without a logical bipartite structure (a subject and a predicate about that subject). Instead, they present an entity or state of affairs as a totality.

Regarding the relationship of *thetic* to traditional Greek grammar categories, it shows partial overlap with a few categories. For instance, Björck notes times when *εἰμί* is equivalent to the German “es gibt,” which is the prototypical thetic in German. Gudmund Björck, *HN ΔΙΑΣΚΩΝ: Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1940), 14. The lack of an equivalent category is unremarkable given the relatively new development of the term *thetic* within the linguistic tradition.

throughout.<sup>2</sup>

Sentences with thetic function differ in several important ways from topic-comment sentences. First, topic-comment clauses link the clause with a currently relevant portion of the mental model by either picking up the same topical-subject to further modify it or signaling the selection of another active subject as topic in the discourse.<sup>3</sup> Thetic clauses, by contrast, are a break in the continuity of the discourse. They open up a new section in the mental model by virtue of introducing a new entity (or state of affairs) which can then serve as the topical-subject for further clauses. This break in the discourse need be nothing significant. Thetics may begin a new discourse, a new subsection, or simply represent a blip in the progress of an ongoing discourse by bringing a new participant into it. Whatever the case may be, thetics involve directing the attention of the reader to a new entity or state of affairs. In short, topic-comment clauses tie into an already present aspect of the discourse, while thetic clauses have a conceptual unity of their own which is presented into the discourse.

As thetic clauses serve a different function, it is unsurprising that their IS differs from topic-comment sentences in a significant way: thetic clauses do not have a Topic. While thetic clauses have a subject, this subject does not have the IS role of Topic.

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<sup>2</sup> A label for this type of sentence which is more transparent to their function is *presentational*, which is also used in reference to Greek and in technical discussions of the phenomenon in other languages. *DFNTG*, 7; Frank Scheppers, *The Colon Hypothesis: Word Order, Discourse Segmentation and Discourse Coherence in Ancient Greek* (Brussels: VUBPRESS, 2011), 128–29; Rutger J. Allan, “Changing the Topic: Topic Position in Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Mnemosyne* 67, no. 2 (2014): 197; Dejan Matić, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order,” *Studies in Language* 27, no. 3 (2003): 586; Ellen F. Prince, “Informational and Rhetorical Structure,” in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. William J. Frawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). However, the foundational study of the phenomenon in Greek uses the term *thetic* and I will follow in that step. Nicholas Andrew Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek with Special Attention to Clauses with εἰμί ‘be’, γίνομαι ‘occur’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἰδού/ἴδε ‘behold’, and Complement Clauses of ὁράω ‘see’” (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, 2009). In a related field of study, Daniel Wilson has recently analyzed Biblical Hebrew using the category of thetic. Daniel J. Wilson, “Copular and Existential Sentences in Biblical Hebrew” (PhD diss., University of the Free State, 2018); Daniel J. Wilson, “WAYHÍ and Theticity in Biblical Hebrew,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 45, no. 1 (2019): 89–118.

<sup>3</sup> Active Topics include Topics which are presupposed as part of the discourse and can be activated without introduction. For further details, see chapters 3 and 4.

Instead,thetic clauses consist only of a broad focus domain.<sup>4</sup> In sum,thetic clauses differ from topic-comment clauses in that they do not make a predication about a Topic (which requires that the Topic already be active in the discourse); rather,thetic clauses introduce a new entity within a broad focus construction. Once introduced, this entity can be used as a Topic, most often in the immediately following clause.

In this chapter, I will discuss the interaction between constituent order and IS in  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}$  + participle clauses which have thetic function. Stephen Levinsohn, following closely the work of Nicholas Bailey, argues that constituent order in thetic constructions is also explainable in terms of IS. In this chapter, I will analyze the thetic tokens in my corpus, considering whether the constituent order variations appear to be explainable in functional terms. I will argue that Levinsohn’s IS model works well for accounting for constituent order in thetic constructions, though it includes a variety of points which yield unclear results. Much of this chapter is devoted to explaining the residual difficulties in the data. Before discussing Levinsohn’s claims in greater detail, I will first give a more robust description of thetics in general and how they are typically expressed in Greek, since thetic is a novel category and a basic understanding is imperative for understanding both the work in this chapter and how it fits within the broader analysis carried out in this dissertation.

### **On Thetics and Theticity, or, What is a Thetic?**

In the introduction of this chapter, I noted that *thetic* is an innovative concept in the grammatical tradition and that, at its most basic, it describes clauses which do not

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<sup>4</sup> In terms of IS, they can be summarized as follows: “a thetic construction has a broad focus domain that includes the subject and the predicate, and it functions to introduce an entity into the discourse.” Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 385. In the Classical Greek tradition, following Matic, they are accordingly classed as a type of broad focus construction and are dealt with via the generic broad focus template. Matic, “Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure,” 586. Subsuming thetics into the class of broad focus constructions is helpful in some ways and fails to be specific enough for the current investigation in other ways. For limitations of treating thetics as simply a type of the broader broad focus construction, see the summary in Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 122.

serve to give further information about an already established or accessible discourse Topic, instead introducing a subject (or state of affairs) into the discourse. Ellen Prince gives the following overview of thetics in English: “[thetic constructions] apparently serve simply to introduce new entities and/or situations into the discourse model. The most frequently cited are *there*-sentences.”<sup>5</sup> Most thetic sentences in English use “there is/are” to introduce a new entity, such as:

1. Once upon a time there was a princess.
2. There is a fly in my soup.

Both sentences (1) and (2) introduce an entity into the discourse. The key point to grasp regarding thetics is that prior to the thetic clause, the entity/state of affairs introduced in the thetic is not available as a discourse participant. Prior to the thetic in (1), *princess* is not a character in the story who can serve as a Topic in a topic-comment clause.<sup>6</sup> Once introduced, we can use her as a Topic, such as saying, “she was very beautiful.”

Likewise, prior to thetic sentence (2), *fly* is not a discourse participant and thus not able to serve as a Topic.<sup>7</sup> Once introduced, a sentence like “and it is doing the backstroke” can follow, as *fly* is now an active discourse participant. Both (1) and (2) also illustrate that thetic clauses rarely are contextless. That is, within each of these thetic clauses there is

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<sup>5</sup> Prince, “Informational and Rhetorical Structure,” 281.

<sup>6</sup> This example illustrates the common role of thetics in narrative to introduce a new story world, whether beginning a story or introducing a new story within another story. Thetics are commonly used at the beginning of narratives to indicate the reader needs to open up a new mental space on which the story will play out.

<sup>7</sup> The ability to use something as a Topic is not an on/off phenomenon. A writer is always free to talk about an entity which has not yet been introduced into the discourse as though it already is an active discourse participant. This works fine, provided the entity they use as the Topic is accessible to the reader (i.e., part of the common ground of the discourse). If the entity is not part of the common ground, using it as a Topic without first introducing it into the discourse makes it difficult for the reader to understand the discourse. In general, communication precedes along the lines of showing how the discourse fits together, rather than assuming the reader will be able to figure it out. This insight is formalized in the Relevance Theory approach, based on two principles that (1) human cognition is geared towards the maximization of relevance and that (2) in communication utterances are assumed to be maximally relevant in the given context, see Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, “Relevance Theory,” in *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 607–32.

background information—time and space—against which the new entity is presented. In IS terms, the phrase “once upon a time” in (1) and “in my soup” in (2) are both topical material (either pragmatically presupposed or already known within the discourse) but they are not a topical-subject.

Since the term *thetic* is completely opaque to its meaning as well as a newcomer in Greek grammar, further elaboration on the category within the context of Greek is useful.<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Bailey uses *thetic* to refer to “a sentence that serves primarily to introduce an entity or state of affairs into the discourse (what is also called ‘presentational’ function),” which sentence is “prototypically expressed cross-linguistically by ‘sentence-focus’ constructions (i.e. where the subject is in some way marked as non-topical).”<sup>9</sup> Said differently, a thetic sentence is one in which both the subject (which is not a Topic, in IS terms) and the verb provide newly asserted information and thus both appear in the focus domain of the sentence.<sup>10</sup> As already noted, a thetic sentence introduces the entity or state of affairs without it being linked to an already established Topic or to an open presupposition.<sup>11</sup>

The following examples, taken from Bailey’s study of the NT, demonstrate the basic way that εἰμί functions as a thetic, as compared both to a copular use and an instance of periphrasis which is thetic:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The interested reader should consult Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek.” This is the most comprehensive study of theticity in relation to any period of Greek.

<sup>9</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 1. Bailey uses a distinction here between the form of the sentence, called *sentence-focus*, and the function, which he calls *thetic*. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 13. I will collapse this distinction and simply call these *thetic clauses* or, more simply, *thetics*.

<sup>10</sup> Allan, “Changing the Topic,” 197.

<sup>11</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 13.

<sup>12</sup> There is the relatively rare *existential* use of εἰμί which overlaps with thetics, such as in Heb 11:6: ὅτι ἔστιν “that [God] is.” In such sentences, the point at issue is the existence versus non-existence of the entity in question, hence why they are more common in philosophical literature. Thetic sentences are far more common than pure existentials. Most of the time when a new participant is introduced into a discourse, their existence vs. non-existence is not the issue. On this distinction, see Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 69–75.



1. Matt. 25:2 <sub>Topic</sub>[πέντε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν] <sub>Focus</sub>[ἦσαν μωραί]<sup>13</sup>
2. Mark 12:20 <sub>Focus</sub>[ἐπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν]· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα...<sup>14</sup>
3. Luke 5:17 καὶ <sub>Focus</sub>[ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι]<sup>15</sup>

In (1) we see the common copular use of εἰμί. Note that “five of them” refers to an already present Topic—the ten virgins of Jesus’ parable. This instance cannot bethetic as it relates to an already existing discourse Topic and includes a predicate nominal. By contrast, in Mark 12:20 “seven brothers” is a new entity which could not possibly be known except that it was introduced. Further, it lacks any predicate nominal. In English, the rendering “there were seven brothers” brings out thethetic usage. Both the brothers and their presence in the example story are novel pieces of information, belonging to the Focus. Finally, Luke 5:17 functions the same as Mark 12:20 with the added facet that a copula + participle construction isthetic here. The ‘periphrastic’ construction introduces the new discourse participants. Copula + participle constructions used in this way convey more specific semantic notions than εἰμί, but their discourse function is the same—introducing a new participant. While much more could be said about thetics in Greek, this general orientation tothetic clauses suffices for the discussion at hand.

### Levinsohn’s IS Model of Thetic Clauses

Regarding the position of constituents, Levinsohn, drawing heavily on Bailey’s work, makes the following claims which I will examine in my corpus.<sup>16</sup> First, he claims

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<sup>13</sup> “Now five of them were foolish”

<sup>14</sup> “There were seven brothers. The first took a wife...”

<sup>15</sup> “And Pharisees and teachers of the law were sitting there.”

<sup>16</sup> Levinsohn proposed this description based on an analysis of the Synoptics and Acts in the paper Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 423–41. His subsequent paper (published before but done after) on the function of copula + participle constructions in the NT does not advance the investigation of thetics in any significant way. Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations (‘Periphrastics’),” in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 307–27. The limitation to the

that the default position of the subject in a thetic copular + participle construction is to follow the copula and participle as long as the subject persists as in argument in the first subsequent predication.<sup>17</sup> This end of the clause position suggests that a thetic subject which will continue on in the discourse has a special syntactic relationship with any subsequent predication that follows. Levinsohn claims also that pre-copular subjects in thetic sentences are prominent, with “the referent temporarily replace[ing] the global VIP of the section as the centre of attention.”<sup>18</sup> Lastly, Levinsohn considers the default position of the subject in a thetic construction to be immediately following the copula.<sup>19</sup> As I carry out the investigation, I will further note how Levinsohn’s views relate to the two different subtypes of thetics which occur in my data.

### **Thetic Clauses, Constituent Order, and Information Structure**

With this orientation toward the concept of *thetic* and Levinsohn’s IS claims, we can move to consider how thetic clauses interface with the copula + participle construction in the Greek texts at hand.<sup>20</sup> Thetic clauses are a type of broad focus construction. The default form of the broad focus construction in Greek is for the verb to

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Synoptics and Acts is not a significant handicap in the analysis, since the Synoptic Gospels and Acts contain most of the copula + participle constructions in the NT.

<sup>17</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 429. This principle borrows directly from Bailey, who writes “all this suggests something of a **rule**: *If an entity will persist as an **argument** in its first SP, then the thetic subject normally comes finally in its clause.*,” Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 272. Since Levinsohn’s model is a simplification of Bailey’s, who predicates two default orders with different roles, Levinsohn’s adaptation of Bailey’s observation is necessarily simplified. For example, Baily notes that his rule does not apply to thetics with preverbal subjects. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 272 n447. These subjects can persist as an argument as well.

<sup>18</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 429.

<sup>19</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 429.

<sup>20</sup> Thetics involved in the copula + participle construction comprise only a small portion of thetic clauses in the works under consideration. Most thetic constructions simply use a copula, though some other verbs are used in thetic utterances as well.

form the left boundary of the focus domain.<sup>21</sup> Certain types of topical constituents can appear in the focus domain of a broad focus construction, which we will see is also true ofthetic constructions. Before moving to analysis of thethetic data, though, there are a few difficulties to acknowledge tied up with thetics which complicate this study.

First, while the distinction between topic-comment andthetic clauses is clear in theory, in practice it can be quite murky. Even thoughthetic utterances introduce new participants as their reason for existence, a discourse new constituent can also be introduced in a topic-comment clause. The mere fact that a sentence introduces a new participant is not a sufficient criterion for judging a clausethetic. There are a variety of ways new participants can be introduced into the discourse, including via assumed world knowledge or through anchoring them to already active participants, obviating the need for using athetic clause.<sup>22</sup> In short, a discourse new (or even new to the context but not the discourse) entity in a clause is not proof positive that the clause isthetic. This is a necessary but not sufficient condition.<sup>23</sup>

Second, and more specific, both plain copulas and copula + participle constructions can bethetic. However, it is often unclear when a token with the syntactic pattern  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\iota$  + participle is boththetic and periphrastic (in the traditional sense of the term). As Nicholas Bailey wisely notes, we should not assume any instance where a

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<sup>21</sup> On this default model, see chapter 3. Here the Classical model of a narrow and broad focus construction helps to make plain the syntactic similarity whichthetic clauses share with other types of broad focus constructions. While they do perform a unique role and have some IS peculiarities, they also fit within a broader pattern which is strikingly common, especially in our literature. As such, the deeper regularities are helpful in making these constructions seem less exotic. On broad focus constructions in non-thetic clauses, see chapter 5.

<sup>22</sup> I address the ways participants can be introduced into a discourse in terms of the common ground model in chapter 3.

<sup>23</sup> Thetic clauses are most often used to introduce a discourse new participant, as opposed to re-introducing an already active participant, which is usually carried out through placing said participant in P1. They can, though, be used to reintroduce a participant if the author feels it necessary. Again, in the IS model I am using, we must be mindful that the author structures the discourse clause by clause based on what he/she assumes is the current content of the common ground (see chapter 3). If the author feels a character has completely left the common ground, a reintroduction via athetic could be used.

clause with an εἰμί + participle construction has thetic function means that said εἰμί + participle construction is also periphrastic.<sup>24</sup> It is possible for periphrasis and theticity to overlap, though this is comparatively rare.<sup>25</sup> It is far more common that a thetic clause of the εἰμί + participle sort follows a different pattern where the copula is thetic and the participle functions as a subsequent predication (to be further explained below). There is no definitive way to differentiate between an instance of a thetic copula with a participle making a subsequent predication and a periphrastic construction which is thetic, though a variety of factors can be drawn upon in making this judgement.<sup>26</sup>

Acknowledging these two basic difficulties, we are in position to examine the data. There are thirty-eight thetic tokens in my data. These tokens fall into two groupings: (1) those with thetic function where the copula + participle construction is periphrastic and (2) those where the copula has thetic function and is followed by a participle making a further predication about the subject introduced in the thetic clause.

In terms of constituent order and IS concerns, two general patterns can be noted at the outset. First, in both types of thetics the participle always follows the copula, whether periphrastic or in an εἰμί + SP construction.<sup>27</sup> While variation of constituent order is possible within these thetic constructions, this much appears fixed: the copula precedes the participle in thetic sentences of the εἰμί + participle type. Second, since they function to introduce a new entity/state of affairs into the discourse, thetic clauses always

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<sup>24</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 197.

<sup>25</sup> As a rough example, Bailey argues that only around 30 of the 235 constructions which are tagged as periphrastic in SIL’s Bible Analysis and Research Tool (BART) database are also thetic. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 197.

<sup>26</sup> Bailey developed a list of five such factors: (1) constituent order, (2) inherent aspectual meaning of different verbs and how this relates to durative and progressive aspect, (3) the highlighting function, (4) various information structure categories, and (5) the use of locatives. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 199–206.

<sup>27</sup> Given the sampling of around 40 tokens here, it is premature to say the participle *must* follow the copula. However, the evidence here and in the NT (neither Bailey nor Levinsohn ever mention a participle first order) supports this as a valid generalization.

have an overt subject.<sup>28</sup> There is some variability in the position of the subject, as well as objects and adjuncts. Following my hypothesis, we expect that these variations can be explained in terms of IS motivated changes from a default pattern. For the remainder of this section, I will first address the nine thetic tokens which are or could be periphrastic, then move to discussing IS concerns of the εἰμί + SP thetic tokens.

### **Thetic Periphrastic Tokens**

First, it is possible for a copula + participle construction which would be considered periphrastic in the traditional sense to have thetic function, although not common. In such a case, εἰμί and the participle are semantically unified into one predication which is used to introduce an entity or state of affairs into the discourse. In place of one presumed default constituent order for these constructions, Levinsohn offers three principles regarding the order of the subject, with the most important factor being whether it will continue on as an argument in the next clause. These three principles are:<sup>29</sup>

1. the order copula + participle + subject indicates thetic periphrastic;
2. “when a construction is Thetic but the subject is placed between εἰμί and the participle, the subject does not feature as an argument in the next clause and/or the participial clause is adjectival;”<sup>30</sup>
3. a subject preceding the copula and participle has marked focus.

We can summarize that the subject before the copula is non-default and a subject following the copula and participle is default when the subject will continue on as an argument in the next clause.

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<sup>28</sup> This need not be the case for atmospheric thetics of the sort “it is raining,” but is always true in my data. On atmospheric and time thetics, see Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 206–12.

<sup>29</sup> These points come from Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 427–29.

<sup>30</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 427.

There are nine tokens in my data that can arguably be considered both thetic and periphrastic.<sup>31</sup> Of these nine, the projected default order copula + participle + subject occurs four times.<sup>32</sup> The subject of the thetic continues on as an argument in the following clause in eight of nine times (four times as subject and four times as an oblique pronoun). table 13 shows a breakdown of the tokens regarding a variety of different constituent order parameters as well as in what manner the thetic subject continues on in the discourse.

Table 13 is to be read as follows. First, each token is classed by the constituent order it follows. Second, each token is marked whether the thetic subject continues on as a subject or an oblique pronoun in the next clause (the one exception is Jos. Asen. 5.4, where the subject does not continue at all). This table primarily demonstrates that there is no clear statistical tendency when it comes to constituent order. Levinsohn postulates that the primary factor in the position of the subject is whether it will continue on as topical—either as subject or a topical pronoun—in the ensuing discourse.<sup>33</sup> There is no clear support for this assertion in my data. Each token requires examination to consider what possible factors are in play in each situation. Given a lack of any clear or compelling tendencies, each main permutation of subject position deserves its own discussion.

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<sup>31</sup> Acts Thom. 9.5; Apoc. Paul 29; Hist. Rech. 6.3; Inf. Gos. Thom. 3.1; Jos. Asen. 2.11; Jos. Asen. 2.8a; 5.4; Let. Aris. 94; Liv. Pro. 10.4; Martyrdom of Paul 1.1; T. Sol. 22.7.

Jos. Asen. 5.4 is a marginal token that could arguably be a topic-comment. While it looks thetic and works taking it as such, it is also odd to consider the need to introduce horses as connected to a chariot that just arrived, so non-thetic is attractive.

<sup>32</sup> Hist. Rech. 6.3; Jos. Asen. 2.11; 5.4; Martyrdom of Paul 1.1.

<sup>33</sup> This is less specific than Bailey's nuanced schemes arguing differing degrees of prominence depending on the various syntactic patterns. These orders and their significance are summarized in Bailey, "Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek," 275–76. Bailey does not explicitly apply these schemes to thetics which are periphrastic. We might expect, given the behavior of thetics generally, that a pre-copula subject is marked focus and one which follows the copula (and usually the participle as well) is unmarked. See Bailey, "Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek," 278 on the marked versus unmarked thetic construction and its correspondence to the marked versus unmarked object position. That a thetic subject usually will continue on in the next clause as an argument lends further support to the idea that moving the subject to the position before the copula is associated with focal prominence. Bailey suggests that this order, in certain contexts, is default, serving as the generic way to indicate a relative lack of discourse continuity, since the verb + subject order generally has a relative degree of continuity (279).

Table 13: Syntactic orders of thetic periphrastic constructions

<i>Text</i>	<i>Constituent Order</i>			<i>Role of Thetic Subject in Following Clause</i>
	<i>S + C + P</i>	<i>C + S + P</i>	<i>C + P + S</i>	
Apoc. Paul 29	—	1	—	Obl. Pro.
Hist. Rech. 6.3	—	—	1	S
Inf. Gos. Thom. 3.1	1	—	—	S
Jos. Asen. 2.11	—	—	1	Obl. Pro.
Jos. Asen. 2.8a	—	1	—	S
Jos. Asen. 5.4	—	—	1	---
Let. Aris. 94	1	—	—	Obl. Pro.
Liv. Pro. 10.4	—	1	—	S
Martyrdom of Paul 1.1	—	—	1	Obl. Pro.
Total Tokens	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	
Total Possible	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	
Percentage	<b>22%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>44%</b>	

Note: S = subject, C = copula, P = participle, Obl. Pro. = oblique pronoun

**Pre-copular subject order.** First, we will address the two tokens where the subject occurs before the copula (but not necessarily clause initial). Levinsohn argues that the subject first constituent order indicates either (1) that the subject temporarily replaces the global VIP and does not continue as an argument in the next clause or (2) that the participle is attributive. As I am not considering attributive participles in this study—such

instances where the participle should clearly be considered attributive have already been removed. Both tokens with a pre-copula subject—Let. Aris. 94 and Inf. Gos. Thom 3.1—are marginal tokens in that they could reasonably be either non-thetic or non-periphrastic.

First, Let. Aris. 94 could be either thetic periphrastic or non-thetic: *πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τόπος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀποτεταγμένος*.<sup>34</sup> The chief issue here is whether *αὐτοῖς* is a dative of possession or an argument of the verb *ἀποτάσσω*. If the former, then the token is not thetic periphrastic.<sup>35</sup> The following facts supporting taking this as an instance of a thetic periphrastic. First, the combination of copula and perfect middle-passive is often periphrastic. Second, the verb *ἀποτάσσω* is similar in meaning to verbs of being/existence which dominate in thetic constructions. Finally, the usage of *ἀποτάσσω τινί* is common in the meaning of “set apart, assign specially (for someone),” which lends support to reading *αὐτοῖς* as an argument of *ἀποτάσσω*, thus allowing for thetic periphrasis.<sup>36</sup> In light of these reasons, I judge this token as thetic periphrastic. After its mention here the topical *τόπος* features as an oblique relative pronoun in the next clause and then fades entirely from view.

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<sup>34</sup> Read as a thetic periphrastic: “A place is appointed for them for the purpose of resting”, or “there is a place appointed for them for resting.” Read as a non-thetic, “they have a place for resting set aside.” The translations of this text which I consulted represent both ways of understanding it. In favor of the thetic-periphrastic reading is the rendering of Thackeray “And there is a place set apart for them to rest.” Henry St. John Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas Translated into English* (London: Macmillan, 1904). So also Wendland’s rendering: “zur Ruhe ist ihnen ein Ort bestimmt.” Paul Wendland, “Der Brief des Aristeas,” in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautzsch (Hildesheim (Germany): Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), 1–31. By contrast, Shutt gives a decidedly non-periphrastic rendering: “they have a rest room set aside.” J. H. Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2: Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works (Garden City (NY): Doubleday & Company, 1985), 7–34.

<sup>35</sup> On dative of possession being incompatible with periphrasis see Willem Johan Aerts, *Periphrastica: An Investigation into the Use of εἶναι and ἔχειν as Auxiliaries or Pseudo-Auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the Present Day* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), 12. Bailey argues that the possessive dative construction is a thetic existential construction. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 191. However, the point here is that the dative fills up the syntax of the copula. When a participle is present in such an instance, it is attributive.

<sup>36</sup> LSJ, “ἀποτάσσω;” *BrillDAG*, “ἀποτάσσω.” On this reading, this is an instance of suppletive periphrasis.



The other token with a pre-copula subject, Inf. Gos. Thom. 3.1, is also a marginalthetic in that it could be construed as a topic-comment clause. I judge that it is more likelythetic. The text reads: ‘Ο δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τοῦ γραμματέως ἦν ἐστῶς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ.<sup>37</sup> I marginally favor athetic reading of this sentence based on three grounds: (1) neither Annas nor his son have been (individuated) discourse participants up to this point, (2) the text indicates that all the people who were just present with Jesus in Inf. Gos. Thom. 2 just left, creating a clean slate of participants, and (3) the combination ἦν ἐστῶς often functions as athetic.<sup>38</sup> Weighing against this reading is the presence of the article with the subject—theticstend to be anarthrous (though not exclusively so).<sup>39</sup> Either way, this passage marks out “the son of Annas the scribe” as an exception to the exodus away from the child Jesus—either by introducing him as a distinct participant (thetic) or contrasting him as the exception to the rule of everyone leaving (topic-comment). He continues on as a major character in the following pericope, though he ceases to be an actor after the following clause when he disperses the pools of water Jesus had gathered on the Sabbath.<sup>40</sup>

These two tokens provide underwhelming evidence. They are both marginal tokens in this category in that they could arguably be either a different type ofthetic or

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<sup>37</sup> As athetic: “now the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph.” As a topic-comment: “Now the son of Annas the scribe was (there), standing with Joseph.”

<sup>38</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 203. To further this case, Johannessohn has argued that ἵσθημι in these sorts of constructions in “biblical” Greek has lost its lexical value and is equivalent to εἶμι. Martin Johannessohn, “Das biblische καὶ ἰδοὺ in der Erzählung samt seiner hebräischen Vorlage (Schluß),” *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 67, no. 1/2 (1940): 54–55. He writes: “Daß diesen Verben keine besondere Bedeutung beizumessen ist, sondern daß sie nur Hilfsverba sein wollen, die dazu dienen, verblose Sätze, wie sie im A.T. noch gang und gäbe sind, zu umgehen, ersieht man schon daraus, daß es eigentlich immer dasselbe Verbum ist” (“That no special meaning is to be attributed to these verbs but that they only intend to be a helping verb which serves to circumvent verbless sentences, which are commonplace in the Old Testament, is clear in that it is always the same verb”). While his specific focus is on a different syntactic construction, it fits in line with the general usage of this verb inthetic constructions. Semantically, ἐστὶν ἐστῶς is simply a way to say, “someone is present.”

<sup>39</sup> See Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 272–73.

<sup>40</sup> He continues as a non-actor subject of one passive verb and remains on the seen in a variety of pronouns throughout the pericope.

non-thetic altogether. We see that the subject continues on as an argument in the subsequent clause in both of them. Bailey articulates that the order subject + verb in thetic constructions is default when they are opening up a new mental space and lack anaphoric continuity.<sup>41</sup> Neither of these tokens fit this description well. They both mark a minor unit in the narrative, but the unit unfolds on the already established scene: at the temple and at the river where the child Jesus was playing, respectively. It may be the case that these thetic subjects are focal in some way, though this is difficult to say. In sum, subject first order occurs but it is unclear what significance it has in my data. This difficulty is compounded in that the two tokens are marginal.

**Copula + subject + participle order.** The next constituent order to discuss is when the thetic subject comes between the copula and the periphrastic participle, which occurs three times.<sup>42</sup> Concerning this order, Levinsohn writes, “when a construction is Thetic but the subject is placed between *εἰμί* and the participle, the subject does not feature as an argument in the next clause and/or the participial clause is adjectival.”<sup>43</sup> Contrary to Levinsohn’s findings, in all three tokens with this order in my data, the subject of the thetic continues as topical in the next clause either as subject or, in the case of Jos. Asen. 2.8a, as an oblique pronoun.

Two tokens involve the usage of *ἴσθημι* and can be dealt with together. Both could arguably be an instance of a thetic copula + subsequent predication (addressed below). On the strength of the usage of *ἴσθημι* as a thetic, in context it is reasonable to take both the following as thetic periphrastic:

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<sup>41</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 246.

<sup>42</sup> Apoc. Paul 29; Jos. Asen. 2.8a; Liv. Pro. 10.4.

<sup>43</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of *εἰμί*,” 427.

1. Αποκ. Paul 29 καὶ ἦν τις ἐστὼς πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.<sup>44</sup>
2. Jos. Asen. 2.8a καὶ ἦν κλίνη χρυσῆ ἐστῶσα ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ ἀποβλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν θυρίδα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς.<sup>45</sup>

Assuming these tokens are thetic periphrasis, the position of the subject in these tokens has no obvious IS implications. It is default.

The third of these tokens, Liv. Pro. 10.4, is also difficult. It reads: Ἔην τότε Ἰλίας ἐλέγχων τὸν οἶκον Ἀχαάβ.<sup>46</sup> The main point arguing in favor of thetic here is that it introduces a new entity into the discourse, and the pattern in Liv. Pro. is to introduce each new prophet via a thetic construction. Most of the prophets are introduced in a subject first construction (usually with a thetic copula) as each one opens up its own distinct section which does not have any necessary relationship to the prior section.<sup>47</sup> Assuming this token is thetic, the order of copula + subject here is likely due to this section being uniquely linked to the preceding one via the temporal setting adverb τότε.<sup>48</sup> The position of τότε prior to the subject is likely a marked point of departure, stressing the temporal continuity between the two prophets (Elijah and Jonah, the one who is the subject of the prior section of the work), which is a point of continuity between two sections in a work

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<sup>44</sup> Read as thetic periphrasis: “and a certain man was standing next to the altar.” Read as a thetic + subsequent predication: “there was a certain man, standing by the altar.” Additionally, the participle could possibly be attributive: “there was a man who was standing by the altar.” I judge this last option unlikely in context. There is variability in the position of a subject τις in thetics in the NT, thus the position here may be of little consequence. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 174–79.

<sup>45</sup> Read as thetic periphrasis: “and a golden couch was standing in the room, looking out through the eastern window.” Read as a thetic + subsequent predication: “and there was a golden couch, standing in the room...” Note that this thetic periphrastic is modified by a subsequent predication.

<sup>46</sup> “At that time Elijah was rebuking the house of Ahab.”

<sup>47</sup> This fits Bailey’s observation about thetic subjects which lack any anaphoric continuity. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 275–76. Note that the prophets being introduced in Liv. Pro. are, as a rule, anarthrous as well, in line with what Bailey observes in the NT.

<sup>48</sup> It is possible to analyze this as a topic-comment clause as well. On such an analysis, τότε links this clause closely to the former one and the topical-subject is in the default position. That Elijah is well-known and accessible via the cultural encyclopedia could facilitate such a change of Topic without using P1. Though, on this reading, the position of τότε is odd. If focal, it would generally appear prior to the participle in P2. As it is topical, pre-copula would be a normal place for it to occur. By contrast, if a thetic reading is correct, then the position of a topical temporal constituent anchoring the thetic utterance to the context in this position is not unusual. Adjudicating between the likelihood of these two readings would require more specific analysis of the IS patterns within Liv. Pro. than I have done.

where the rule is that there is no continuity between narrative units. The position of the subject, though, shows no obvious IS motivation. It is likely default.

**Copula + participle + subject order.** Lastly, in four tokens the subject follows both copula and participle.<sup>49</sup> As mentioned above, this is the default predicted position, as per Levinsohn, for a subject to occur in a periphrasticthetic when it continues on as topical in the following clause. In three of the four tokens the subject does in fact continue on as topical.<sup>50</sup> On closer examination, it is evident that merely noting the subject follows the copula and participle is inadequate, as there are other factors in play.

Two tokens, Jos. Asen. 2.11 and Martyrdom of Paul 1.1, technically have a clause final subject. The questions raised in these tokens is less one of the position of the subject and more of how do we account for the other constituents which follow the participle and precede the subject. In each case, there appears to be a pragmatic effect in positioning another argument or adjunct immediately following the copula + participle and before the subject. Martyrdom of Paul 1.1 demonstrates this pragmatic effect: Ἦσαν δὲ περιμένοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Λουκᾶς ἀπὸ Γαλιλιῶν καὶ Τίτος ἀπὸ Δαλματίας.<sup>51</sup> This sentence introduces the compound subject, “Luke from Galilee and Titus from Dalmatia.”<sup>52</sup> After this introduction, the attention shifts from Luke and Titus to Paul, who is reported as “seeing them” (οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος), at which point they lose any

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<sup>49</sup> Hist. Rech. 6.3; Jos. Asen. 2.11; 5.4; Martyrdom of Paul 1.1

<sup>50</sup> The exception is Jos. Asen. 5.4.

<sup>51</sup> “Now Luke from Galilee and Titus from Dalmatia were waiting for Paul in Rome.”

<sup>52</sup> I am operating under the necessary assumption that this passage is the beginning of the work and can properly be taken as such. This text is part of a cycle of works known as Acts of Paul, which may have been a complete composition, though the textual evidence indicates that parts circulated independently from each other. For a history of the text, see Wilhelm Schneemelcher, “Acts of Paul,” in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, Rev. ed., vol. 2: Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses, and Related Subjects (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 213–35. In a hypothetical original composition, it would be possible that this sentence is notthetic at all (though this would not be a necessary consequence). Acknowledging that difficulty, it is also right to read this text as is, as the beginning of a quasi-independent story, as that is the form in which it is extant and has been read for as long as we have textual attestation.

individuated role in the story, melting into the generic group “the brothers,” until mentioned again in 5:4. By contrast, the elements which are promoted via placement before the subject —“Paul” and “in Rome”—are immediately and continually relevant. It appears that the position of the subject has been demoted from its expected post-participle position to clause final to signal its general unimportance for the ongoing narrative and/or that another facet of the state of affairs introduced will have greater immediate relevance.<sup>53</sup>

**Concluding thoughts onthetic-periphrastics.** Thetic εἰμί + participle constructions which are also periphrastic are rare. Several of the tokens counted here could be argued to belong elsewhere, as noted under each category. Within the rather tentative data, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, it is clear that thetic sentences can overlap with periphrasis. A second observation is that the default orderings proposed by Levinsohn from his sample in Luke-Acts weakly correlate to the tokens found here. In general, there is little obvious IS motivation for variation in the position of the subject. The only reasonably strong explanation is that tokens in the order copula + participle + subject can move another element before the subject to emphasize the topical constituent as more relevant for the ongoing discourse than the thetic subject. While there are some clear points of connection between these tokens and the ideas developed by Bailey and Levinsohn, clear relationships are not evident. Given the difficulty in establishing whether a token even belongs in this category or not, it should not be surprising that the category does not yield clear results. The next section, by contrast, yields much more

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<sup>53</sup> A similar explanation works for the other related token, Jos. Asen. 2.11. There the promoted constituent—two spatial prepositional phrases—elevates a new spatial framework within the ongoing description of the house of Pentephres which occupies most of chapter 2. On this line of thought, the fact that the author is describing a new section of the house is of greater importance to highlight than the specific entity introduced in Jos. Asen. 2.11. This structure would be akin to panning the camera to a new section of the house on which it will focus for the next short while in a movie.

consistent results, thus we turn to the tokens showing a thetic εἰμί with a participle following as a subsequent predication.

### **Thetic εἰμί + Subsequent Predication (SP)**

In addition to situations where a periphrastic copula + participle construction is thetic, there is a more common scenario where the form of εἰμί functions thetically and the participle follows making a further predication about the subject just introduced. These combinations of a thetic copula and a participle making a subsequent predication differ in a key way from the previous thetic periphrastic ones: the participle is not semantically or syntactically integrated with the copula (there is no question of periphrasis as traditionally understood). The participle stands in a normal predicate participle relationship to the main thetic clause (as a quasi-independent clause), making a further predication about the entity introduced by the thetic.<sup>54</sup>

Levinsohn claims that the default position of the subject in these non-periphrastic thetics is for the subject to follow the copula: copula + subject + participle.<sup>55</sup> Put into the terminology here, the copula and subject form what I will call the thetic core, which is a broad focus domain. The participle is syntactically dependent on this thetic

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<sup>54</sup> The participle in predicate position both modifies its head noun as well as “the state of affairs encoded by the main predication.” Anna Pompei, “Participles as a Non-Prototypical Word Class,” in *Word Classes and Related Topics in Ancient Greek*, ed. Emilio Crespo, Jesús de la Villa, and Antonio R. Revuelta, Bibliothèque Des Cahiers de L’Institut de Linguistique de Louvain. Antiquité 117 (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Peeters, 2006), 362. The exact status of the participle is not always clear, given the syntactic ambiguity when an anarthrous participle is in close proximity to the noun it stands in syntactic subjugation to. In many cases, it is difficult to tell whether the result should be considered an attributive or predicate participle. I have made little effort to untangle this difficult question, having included all tokens which could reasonably be construed as a copula + predicate participle. This problem is also felt in an English example such as: “there is a dog outside, *barking*” vs. “there is a dog outside, which is barking.” There is little overt difference in meaning between the two. Since Greek syntax does not formally require a distinction between predicate and attributive participles (though when an article is present the distinction is clear), the limited difference in meaning makes judging between the two difficult.

<sup>55</sup> While he does not make this claim in so many words, it can be extrapolated from various other constituent order claims he makes, especially in claiming that a subject which precedes the copula and participle is focal, Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 429. Levinsohn leans heavily on Bailey’s work here, who states that “when the participle is independent [that is, a subsequent predication, NJE] it presumably always follows the thetic subject.” Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 200.

core, further modifying the entity or state of affairs introduced therein, but is not properly part of the thetic core in the sense that the participial clause has its own distinct IS. We can consider the thetic core and its attached participle(s) as a thetic complex. There is a clear boundary between the thetic core and the participle, and we can surmise that there would have been some sort of prosodic break between them. The participle clause functions like a normal post-nuclear participial clause in terms of IS.

Bailey, in his study, calls participles in this position a subsequent predication. He uses the term *subsequent predication* (SP) to describe a predication where the new entity introduced by the thetic persists in any sort of topical role (subject most common, but also oblique pronouns).<sup>56</sup> I will use SP throughout this discussion. Consider the following two English examples of SPs:<sup>57</sup>

1. Once there was a wizard *who was very wise and live in an old castle*.
2. There was a dog *running down the street*.

In both examples the thetic subject—the wizard in (1) and the dog in (2)—continues on as the subject of the following predication. Both predications are SPs. For this study, SPs of the sort in (1) which use a relative clause are not relevant. Only SPs which are the Greek equivalent of (2) are, as these participial SPs follow the syntactic pattern of εἰμί + participle which I am investigating.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 66.

<sup>57</sup> These examples are inspired by Bailey’s examples. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 65–66.

<sup>58</sup> Of course, it is often the case that an anarthrous subject can be construed as having an anarthrous participial relative clause, or the participle can be construed as periphrastic in some cases. The line between such uses in Greek can be blurry in the extreme. A good example of this can be found in Acts 25:14: Ἄνθρωπος τις ἐστὶν καταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Φήλικος δέσμιος. . . . If taken as periphrastic, the whole thetic sentence reads “A certain man was left behind by Felix as a prisoner.” It could also be understood as thetic + SP: “there is a man, *being left behind* as a prisoner by Felix.” It is even possible to read it as a thetic where the subject is modified by an attributive participial clause: “there is a certain man *who was left behind* as a prisoner by Felix.”

An example illustrating the thetic εἰμί + SP in Greek can be seen in Inf. Gos. Thom. 2.2: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παιδιά πολλὰ παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ.<sup>59</sup> This token shows the ambiguity often present in these SP participles regarding whether they are predicate or attributive. With no (or different) context, one could be inclined to translate this as “now there were many other children who were playing with him.” Without any context, there is no necessary formal distinctions between an SP and an attributive participle reading when no article is present.<sup>60</sup> In context, this group of children is not defined in distinction to any other group of children (restrictive modification, which is the main function of an attributive participle<sup>61</sup>), thus it is better to take this as thetic introducing a group of children into the narrative with a subsequent predication indicating something about them. In this case, that they are playing with Jesus.

There are twenty-nine tokens following the thetic core + SP pattern. This includes counting each SP as an independent token in the two texts where multiple participial SPs are attached to one thetic copula: Acts John 3.2 (2 SPs) and Jos. Asen. 17.4 (3 SPs).<sup>62</sup> As a strong rule, the thetic subject continues on in the discourse after the SP as a topical element.<sup>63</sup> As tokens of this pattern involve two distinct parts, there are

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<sup>59</sup> “Now there were also many other children *playing with him*.”

<sup>60</sup> For some general guidelines on making these distinctions, see Phyllis Healey and Alan Healey, “Greek Circumstantial Participles: Tracking Participants with Participles in the Greek New Testament,” *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics* 4, no. 3 (1990): 179–80.

<sup>61</sup> As per Hayes, in the NT subject attributive adjective clauses are mainly used for restrictive modification (adding more information necessary to establish the linguistic identity of the subject). Michael Hayes, “An Analysis of the Attributive Participle and the Relative Clause in the Greek New Testament” (PhD diss., Concordia Seminary, 2014), 236.

<sup>62</sup> For each subsequent SP it is naturally not possible for the subject to vary in position or to change.

<sup>63</sup> By this I mean that the thetic subject continues on as topical in the first non-SP clause. This is the case in twenty-two of the twenty-nine tokens: 10x as subject (counting 2x where subject continues in logical or reduced form) and 12x as oblique. By definition, the thetic subject is the subject of any SP and so continues on as the topical-subject of those clauses. It is not surprising that an entity which is explicitly introduced into the narrative continues on as a relevant part of the narrative, or else why introduce it at all? While there are instances where the thetic subject ceases as a participant after the SP(s), this is the minority occurrence.



two distinct areas to consider in terms of IS. First, concerning the order of constituents in the thetic core we must consider whether the subject can move and if so, why. In this investigation, I will also note that topical/setting constituents are able to appear in the thetic core, even though it is a broad focus construction.<sup>64</sup> Second, we will consider the SP and ways that constituents in the SP interface with IS. Building on previous discussion, I postulate that both the thetic core and the participial SP are subject to pragmatically ordered constituent order variations. The thetic core, as a broad focus clause, allows a few specific variations in constituent order, while the SP, as a predicate participial clause, follows the normal IS patterns of predicate participles. First, we will consider IS and the thetic core.

**IS in the thetic core: position of the subject and other elements.** In thetic + SP constructions, the core broad focus domain is comprised of the thetic copula and the subject, rarely with another constituent present. The SP is syntactically dependent on the thetic core yet, in IS terms, is independent, having its own IS. There are two broad types of constituent order variation which occur in the thetic core: variation in the position of the subject and the intrusion of a topical/setting constituent. First, we will discuss the rare variation of subject position.

Since thetics are broad focus and the SP is not syntactically integrated with the copula (that is, not periphrastic), we expect that εἰμί will form the left boundary of the thetic core of the clause as it is fitting given its status as the verb. As such, the subject should default to post copula. This is normally the case, occurring in twenty-seven of the twenty-nine clauses with this form in my data. Variation from this pattern should be associated with some sort of pragmatic implication within the discourse. We will begin

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<sup>64</sup> This is one of the ways that, from an IS perspective, thetics work like other broad focus constructions, which also admit certain types of topical constituents. The types are more limited with thetics, though, given their more specific function.

analyzing these constructions by considering the two instances where the subject precedes thethetic copula.

The two tokens where the subject precedes rather than follows the copula are Prot. Jas. 22.3b and T. Job 11.2 (possible). Both of these introduce a participant into an already established discourse frame, thus the subject + thetic verb order in these tokens does not correlate to Bailey’s projected pattern of subject + thetic at the beginning of a discourse unit, where that order is default.<sup>65</sup> This implies that the subject-first order here is not-default, thus pragmatic. Protoevangelium of James 22.3b reads: ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου ἦν μετ’ αὐτῶν, διαφυλάσσων αὐτούς.<sup>66</sup> In this passage, anarthrous ἄγγελος introduces a new participant who ceases to be in the discourse as soon as the SP finishes. The fact that ἄγγελος drops out of the discourse immediately comports with Levinsohn’s findings in Luke-Acts that a subject which precedes the copula and participle temporarily replaces the most important participant in the discourse but does not continue on.<sup>67</sup>

Testament of Job 11.2 is complicated by the fact that it is unclear whether the participle is predicate, thus a SP, or attributive.<sup>68</sup> Assuming that this participle is predicate and thus a SP, the subject before copula order here seems driven by an alternate IS consideration in that this thetic introduces a group that is in contrast with the previously introduced group (also thetic): <sup>11.1</sup>Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξένοι τινές...<sup>11.2</sup> καὶ ἄλλοι τινές ἦσαν ποτε ἀποροῦντες.<sup>69</sup> The subject before the copula and participle here functions very similar to a P1 subject in a topic-comment sentence: to mark the group being introduced

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<sup>65</sup> Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 275–76.

<sup>66</sup> “For there was an angel of the Lord with them, guarding them.”

<sup>67</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 429. See also Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 276.

<sup>68</sup> The copula is definitely thetic. The issue is entirely whether the participle relates as an SP or as a modifier of the subject. If we were to read the participle in T. Job 11.1 as attributive, it would be a restrictive modifier of the subject τινες (“some people”).

<sup>69</sup> “And there were also some strangers...<sup>11.2</sup> and there were some others not having resources at the time...”

as distinct from the former one (contrast). The use of a thetic by definition marks contrast to that which has come before, telling the reader to open up a new slot in their mental model. In this token, the pre-copula subject appears to further strengthen this notion of contrast. The effect in this context is to introduce a complex group united around a single focus of emulating Job in his goodness to the poor yet composed of two distinctly recognizable sub-groups—those who have resources of their own to use and those who do not. The second half of this complex group, introduced in 11.2, receives most of the attention in the ensuing discourse, indicating that it is the more important part of the two-part group for the ongoing discourse. Perhaps the subject is fronted here (as it is not in 11.1) to mark this sub-group out as the more important of the two. In any case, if it is right to read the participle here as an SP instead of attributive, this passage is an exception to Levinsohn’s argument from Luke-Acts that a fronted subject will cease as an argument in the next clause.<sup>70</sup>

These above two tokens with the order subject + thetic εἰμί + SP provide insufficient evidence to draw clear conclusions. They may be explainable in similar terms to Levinsohn’s proposal, but the data is limited and unclear. It is better to suspend conclusions on these two and merely note that it is possible for a subject to appear before a thetic copula, but this is rare in the copula + SP construction.<sup>71</sup> If it is correct to take the participle in T. Job 11.2 as an SP, then the circumstances in which a subject may precede the thetic copula in said constructions are quite specific: introducing a complex group

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<sup>70</sup> Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 427–28. If the participle is attributive, by contrast, it would fit within Levinsohn’s pattern, which could weigh in favor of treating it as attributive. However, without having clear access to Levinsohn’s data and the decisions behind which participles in Luke-Acts he judged as attributive and which as SPs, such evidence is not compelling as it is unclear what data stands behind his findings.

<sup>71</sup> Another possible alternative is to analyze such constructions as presenting the new participant as already topical. *CGCG*, 716–17. This interpretation is attractive in that it makes syntactical parity between these instances and instances of topic-comment sentences where a Topic that is discourse-new is presented as presupposed information (old/given) due to a variety of factors. On this reading, we could still class this token as presentational, in some respect, but it would not be thetic. However, the weakness of this approach is that the pre-copula subjects have the hallmark appearances of thetic subjects: discourse new, non-articular, and using a form of τις (in the case of T. Job).

whose members are of unequal relevance for the on-going discourse.

Outside of these two examples of a pre-copula subject, there are two further tokens where the subject follows the copula but not in Levinsohn's default projected position of immediately after εἰμί.<sup>72</sup> First, Jos. Asen. 17.4 departs from this pattern in that a prepositional adjunct rather than the subject immediately follows the copula: κύριε, εἰσὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι ὑπηρετοῦσαι μοι συντεθραμμέναι μοι ἐκ νεότητός μου τεχθεῖσαι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί.<sup>73</sup> The constituent promoted to the normal position of the subject is a prepositional phrase. In this context, it connects thethetic utterance to the narrative situation, namely, the location of Aseneth.<sup>74</sup> Within the flow of narrative, treating σὺν ἐμοὶ as placed in the normal position of thethetic subject for marked focus within the broad focus construction makes sense. In other words, the most important aspect of the state of affairs introduced in thisthetic is not that there are “seven virgins” but that they are “virgins *with [Aseneth]*.” The virgins around Aseneth have little narrative identity apart from her. Aseneth's basic request to her angelic visitor underscores the connectedness between the virgins and Aseneth, as she asks him to treat these virgins like her and count them in the “salvation” which she has experienced. The centrality of their relationship to her is further highlighted in the repeated dative pronoun μοι in each SP. While these pronouns (and the one prepositional phrase) are not in P2, the rhetorical force of repetition makes it stand out to the reader. I conclude we have a case here where an adjunct is promoted before the subject for the sake of prominence. Moving the adjunct

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<sup>72</sup> In this count, I am ignoring the presence of post-positive particles which occasionally occur directly following the copula, such as δέ in *Acts John* 3.2b ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος “there is a new and strange *ethnos*,” and the occurrence of non-conjunction (adverbial) καί, as in *Acts Thom.* 57.2 εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τινες “and there are also some.”

<sup>73</sup> “And there are seven virgins with me, serving me, having been raised with me from my youth, born in one night with me.”

<sup>74</sup> Levinsohn notes such usage in the NT where established information appears within thethetic to anchor it to the context. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί,” 430–32. For more detailed analysis of possible adverbials inside thethetic, see Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek,” 267–72. It is conceptually similar to a point of departure however, unlike a point of departure, it is not clause initial.

in such a way that it displaces thethetic subject from its normal position places pragmatic prominence on the prepositional phrase “with me.”

There is one other text, Jos. Asen. 2.10b, which could be a partial exception to the copula + subject + SP pattern. It is possible that the subject constituent here is a case of discontinuous syntax with the first portion coming immediately post-copula and the remainder following an intervening locative element. The text reads as follows: ἦν τοῖχος κύκλω τῆς αὐλῆς ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα λίθοις τετραγώνοις μεγάλοις ὠκοδομημένον.<sup>75</sup> The subject phrase could be construed in two ways: (1) as a noun phrase τοῖχος ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα (“a very high wall”) which is discontinuous or (2) as a subject τοῖχος with an appositional modifier ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα (“a wall...being very high”).<sup>76</sup> On the assumption that option (1) is correct, this token shows a subject noun phrase which has been split by a topical setting phrase anchoring thethetic to the context. In hyperbaton, when the head of the noun phrase which is discontinuous precedes the modifier, there is usually no prominence present on the head; the modifier merely provides some additional information which is not of great relevance for the ongoing narrative.<sup>77</sup> I suggest the locative phrase is

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<sup>75</sup> “There was a wall around the court, exceedingly high, built from large, squared stones,” or “there was an exceedingly high wall around the court...”

<sup>76</sup> The syntax in Jos. Asen. is not generally elegant, which leaves both these options as real possibilities. Both these options have been taken in the translations. Fink renders this passage: “und den Hof umringte eine sehr hohe Mauer” (“and a very high wall surrounded the courtyard”). Uta Barbara Fink, “Joseph Und Aseneth,” ed. Eckart Reinmuth (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 56–129. Burchard opts to handle the passage as a subject + appositional phrase: “and a wall was around the court, very high.” C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. Volume 2: Expansions of the Old Testament and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic works (Garden City (NY): Doubleday & Company, 1985), 177–248. Though, Burchard’s general approach in his translation is to follow the Greek word order as much as possible, even when this results in stretching English in odd ways, thus his translation is not proof-positive of how he construes the exact relationship between τοῖχος and ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα.

<sup>77</sup> On the different IS implications in the order of elements of hyperbaton see *CGCG*, 709. They write, “[the head before modifier type] does not involve emphasis; some additional information about the head is given, which is either predictable or not particularly relevant.” This is manifestly the case here where anything other than a high wall surrounding the estate of a wealthy and powerful official would be noteworthy and unpredictable.

Levinsohn discusses two reasons for discontinuous syntax: a processing and pragmatic one. Concerning processing, he states a phrase may be discontinuous because it is complex and its parts are unequally relevant. It would be gratuitous to call the phrase in question here “complex,” eliminating “processing function” as an explanation. Levinsohn also detects two possible pragmatic motivations for

considered by the author as more relevant than the stock “very high” modifier, justifying placing the locative adjunct within the subject constituent.

Alongside the rare variation in the position of the subject are two other rare occurrences in thethetic copula + SP construction: a topical setting constituent or a topical locative constituent included as part of thethetic core. First, a topical setting constituent occurs 3 times.<sup>78</sup> Joseph and Aseneth 2.12 illustrates how a topical setting element functions within thethetic core: *καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τῆς πηγῆς ἦν ληνὸς μεγάλη δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς πηγῆς ἐκεῖνης.*<sup>79</sup> This is a setting element, functioning primarily in terms of discourse organization, and its pre-copula position is analogous to a point of departure. Such constituents serve the function not of highlighting an important new piece of information but instructing the listener how to integrate the new information into their mental model of the discourse. Thus, while it is technically part of the broad focus domain and is fronted before the copula which usually serves as the left boundary, it is not marked focus. Instead, the chief function of such a prepositional phrase is to build discourse cohesion rather than highlighting particularly salient information. It should be considered in the copula’s P1.

Related to topical setting material, we also find three instances where a topical locative constituent appears within thethetic core following the copula (thus, before the

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splitting a constituent: (1) only the first part is Focus or (2) only the second part relates to what follows. *DFNTG*, 57–60. Option (2) is clearly not the case here, as the height of the walls does not feature in the narrative again, either immediately or later.

Examining the examples Levinsohn gives, it appears that his suggestions and those in *CGCG* can be harmonized into a general observation (though, note, they are *not* claiming the same thing in all details). Using different language, they both suggest that in a case like this where the head of a noun phrase precedes the modifier in discontinuous syntax the most important part of the phrase for the on-going narrative is the head—the modifier is relatively unimportant. This is clearly the case in the text under discussion.

<sup>78</sup> Jos. Asen. 2.1d; 12; and T. Ab. 12.7. While the function of this topical setting element is similar to a point of departure, on Levinsohn’s definition points of departure occur clause initial, which is not the case in these examples. Such constituents belong in the broader class of what could be termed coherence bridges, which indicate the way new information coheres with prior information.

<sup>79</sup> “And below the spring there was a big cistern, receiving the water from that spring.”

SP clause begins). Table 14 shows a graphical comparison of these passages (omitting the SP portions):

Table 14: Non-verbal constituents in thetic core

Jos. Asen. 2.10	ἦν τοῖχος [κύκλω τῆς αὐλῆς] ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα
Jos. Asen. 17.4	κύριε εἰσὶ [σὺν ἐμοὶ] ἑπτὰ παρθένοι
Prot. Jas. 22.3	ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου ἦν [μετ' αὐτῶν]
Liv. Pro. 10.4	Ἦν [τότε] Ἡλίας ἐλέγχων τὸν οἶκον Ἀχαάβ

This collection of assorted texts, which have all already been discussed, serves to illustrate one main point: there is a limited range of possible non-subject elements which can occur in the thetic core. This should not be surprising, given the semantics of the copula. Locative and temporal constituents can both occur, while no other type of non-subject constituent does. By way of comparison, I have included the thetic periphrastic Liv. Pro. 10.4, which is the only thetic periphrastic where a non-subject is found between the copula and participle and the only instance in my data of a temporal constituent serving as an anchor to the context.<sup>80</sup>

Summing up the description of IS and constituent order in the thetic core, there are a few clear trends. The subject overwhelmingly follows the copula directly. Variation in the position of the subject is possible, though rare, and when it does occur in my data its significance is unclear. Such a pre-copula subject may be related to prominence in

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<sup>80</sup> Aside from the similar anchoring function, temporal adjuncts share a good degree of similarity, at an abstract level, with spatial ones as the cognitive systems of space and time overlap extensively in their linguistic realizations, although maintaining some important differences, see Carlota S. Smith, *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 115–18.

certain contexts and/or signal that the subject of the thetic clause will not carry on in the discourse. We have also seen that there are two types of topical constituents which can appear in the thetic core. A topical setting element can occur clause initial in P1 (which we could call a point of departure), and a topical locative (or temporal) constituent can follow the copula. These function to anchor the thetic entity to the discourse. I have argued that clause initial setting constituents are not focal, but those which are placed between the copula and the subject appear to be a type of narrow focus within the broad focus domain.

**IS in the SP.** Within the thetic + SP tokens, the participle domain shows normal IS motivated constituent order. Since it is a participial clause, we would expect the SP to have the ability to show the normal IS motivated variations, with the exception that there cannot be a topical-subject in P1, as the thetic subject is the topical-subject of the participle.<sup>81</sup> In practice, it is not common for a constituent to appear in the participle's P2 slot.<sup>82</sup> A particularly enlightening example is the pre-participle constituent in the four participial SPs of Acts John 3.2 (constituents in P2 are italicized): *ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος, μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσιν ὑπακοῦον μήτε ταῖς Ἰουδαίων θρησκειαῖς συνευδοκοῦν, ἀπερίτμητον, ἀπάνθρωπον, ἄνομον, ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπον, ἄνθρωπον θεὸν καταγγέλλοντες.*<sup>83</sup> In each SP, the object of the participle is fronted in the P2 position. In

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<sup>81</sup> In fact, there may be some value in simply envisioning the thetic core as a sort of “topical-subject domain” for any SP. It differs in the information status of its subject in that it introduces a non-presupposed and non-accessible entity. However, the entire thetic construction functions like a P1 constituent in relation to the participial SP. As rule, thetic subjects are contrastive in introducing a new subject which the participial clause picks up like a Topic and gives further information about it. In this observation, I am not arguing some specific syntactic theory, merely noting a useful way to think about how the thetic + SP construction relates to IS more broadly.

<sup>82</sup> It occurs in the following tokens: Acts Thom. 57.2; Acts Andr. 2.3; Acts John 3.2a, b, c, d; Jos. Asen. 2.10b; T. Job 11.2.

<sup>83</sup> “There is a new and strange nation, neither listening to other nations, nor consenting to Jewish religious practices, uncircumcised, inhuman, lawless, overturning entire households, proclaiming a man as God.”



each case, the rhetorical punch falls less on the verbal notion and more on the noun.<sup>84</sup> In the context of the Greco-Roman world, the Jewish interlocutors present it as remarkable that the Christians—the group being mentioned in this passage—are not devoted to the religious tradition of any *ethnos*, and especially not to the Jewish ἔθνος and its religious practices.<sup>85</sup> The focal prominence on these noun phrases pairs well with the fact that these four participial SP are in parallel with a variety of adjectives, all emphasizing that the Christians do not belong to the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>86</sup> In sum, SPs allow the normal IS motivated constituent orders, though as a rule the elements follow the default order of participle + (argument) + (adjunct).

**Summary on IS and thethetic + SP patter.** We find that variation in constituent order is possible in thetic + SP clauses, both in the thetic core and in the SP. In practice, though, it is very limited. In the thetic core, the subject rarely occurs before the copula in my data, for reasons which are not entirely clear, possibly for some pragmatic notion or to indicate that the subject will not continue on as a participant in the ensuing discourse.<sup>87</sup> More definitely, it is possible for topical setting and locative constituents to appear within the thetic core. These help to situate the entity introduced in the thetic in the ongoing narrative, usually in terms of a spatial relationship. Such

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<sup>84</sup> Under the discussion of negatives in chapter 5, we found clear evidence that the position of οὐ can indicate when a constituent is focal, but evidence showing μή with this function was lacking in the main clauses. This token shows the same use for the negative particle μή. Each of the two repeated μήτε are followed by the focal element of the participial clause.

<sup>85</sup> On the significance of *ethnos* terminology with relation to the Jewish people, see Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 (2007): 457–512. The rhetorical import of this letter reported within the narrative of Acts of John is that the Christians are not members of the Jewish *ethnos* and thus should not fall under the empire’s tolerant behavior towards Jews.

<sup>86</sup> This interpretation is in line with the perspective argued in chapter 5 that participles in parallel with adjectives still function as participles and belong in this investigation considering copula + participle constructions.

<sup>87</sup> Despite sounding like different claims, these two suggestions could have a unifying motive. Introducing a subject that will not continue on (most thetic subjects do continue on) in a special position could in fact be a type of prominence. Such a subject is noteworthy in that it is immediately relevant, but at the same time it will have limited on-going relevance.

elements can occur clause initial as a setting (point of departure), or post copula and on either side of the subject. Of these three positions, only instances following the pattern copula + topical constituent + subject appear to be a type of marked focus on the topical constituent. There is no evidence that any other type of constituent can occur in the thetic core. This behavior is consistent with the thetic core having broad focus.

The SP portion of these constructions is a distinct information unit with its own IS concerns. It exhibits normal IS motivated changes, as would be expected by virtue of it being functionally a normal predicate participle clause. The SP can have either a constituent in P2 for marked focus, though broad focus is much more common. Since the Topic of an SP is, by definition, the thetic subject from the thetic core, there is no possibility of an element occurring in the participle's P1.<sup>88</sup> While focal elements can occur in P2, this is uncommon. In practice, variation in constituent order is rare in thetic + SP constructions. I would surmise that their function is already specialized enough as to not regularly require moving constituents around to draw added prominence to the constructions.

### **Summary Observations on IS and Constituent Order in Thetics**

The copula + participle syntactic pattern includes thetic clauses which fill the special function of introducing entities or states of affairs into the discourse. As they are functionally different, I have analyzed them separate from the much more common topic-comment clauses. The analysis of this chapter has borne out that there are both similarities and differences in these constructions in terms of constituent order and IS. The two sub-patterns of copula + participle constructions which have thetic function are best analyzed distinct from each other.

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<sup>88</sup> Setting elements would be theoretically possible in this position, though none are attested in my data.

When *εἰμί* + participle clauses arethetic and periphrastic in my data, few conclusions can be made about how the IS implications of the constituent order. Levinsohn's proposed default ordering of a subject following the copula and participle when it will continue on in the discourse is only weakly evident in the data in my texts. I have found little obvious IS motivation for constituent order variation in these tokens. It is possible that closer investigation of each work would yield results on this front. One pattern is that the order copula + participle + non-subject constituent + subject places prominence on the non-subject constituent and/or suggests the subject is less relevant for the on-going discourse than the topical material.

Tokens of the formthetic copula + SP yield much clearer results. These tokens are composed of athetic core—the copula and the subject (as well as any other constituents which are adjuncts of the copula)—and a participial clause (the SP). Both portions have essentially independent IS concerns. In these cases, the subject overwhelmingly follows the copula, with unclear significance in the few instances this is not the case. Thethetic core can also include a pre-copula setting constituent or a topical locative (or temporal) constituent following the copula. The order copula + topical locative + subject in thethetic core places marked focus on the topical locative. Constituent order in the SP is describable in the same terms as any other post-nuclear participial clause.

In general, the two subtypes share certain features. First, there is a strong expectation that thethetic subject will continue on in the discourse. Deviations from this expectation may even be signaled by constituent order variation. Second, there is a strong preference for the subject to follow the copula. Third, they both include the possibility of a post-copula narrow (marked) focus position. Fourth, there are few other clear IS tendencies associated with constituent order variance in the few instances where an entity

does not continue on as topical, which differs from Levinsohn's proposal.<sup>89</sup> Finally, the territory between the copula and participle is usually only occupied by a subject, though other elements can occur there, generally with IS implications.

This final point leads to an interesting comparison betweenthetic and topic-comment constructions of the copula + participle construction. In both cases, the subject is generally the only IS neutral constituent which can consistently appear between the copula and participle. This observation is a germane bridge to the concluding chapter of this work where we will step back and consider how the disparate pieces of this investigation covering periphrasis, non-periphrastic copula + participle constructions, IS, and constituent order all fit together.

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<sup>89</sup> The variance observed in this chapter admits some ready IS motivated reasons, and in other cases the rationale is unclear. In addition to the possible influences on constituent order mentioned throughout, the effect of the discourse mode (or "micro-genre") could be a live factor in some cases. Briefly, two passages in Jos. Asen. 2 havethetic subjects which do not continue on in the subsequent clause. This section of the work describes the layout of Pentephres' house, belonging to the discourse mode "description," on which see Smith, *Modes of Discourse: The Local Structure of Texts*, especially chapters 2 and 10. There is a strong expectation in the descriptive discourse mode of motion through space from object to object, area to area, and this strong expectation of development may make it easier to introduce entities that will have no lasting impression as the camera pans through the scene, so to speak.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS: INFORMATION STRUCTURE, CONSTITUENT ORDER, AND A PROTOTYPE MODEL OF PERIPHRAISIS

Periphrasis is syntax where we expect morphology.<sup>1</sup> The Greek grammatical tradition includes extensive attention to the phenomenon of periphrasis in Greek. As has been pointed out by others, though, the attempts to delimit and describe periphrasis in the various stages of Ancient Greek have proven problematic.<sup>2</sup> This difficulty has Klaas Bentein to describe periphrasis in terms of prototype and grammaticalization theory. Throughout the period from Homeric to Early Byzantine Greek, constructions of the form copula + participle existed, made more or less specific semantic contributions to the verbal system, and exhibited various features consistent with the phenomenon of grammaticalization across time.<sup>3</sup> This approach is a significant advance over the approaches to periphrasis taken in traditional Greek grammatical discussions. However, Bentein's approach, along with traditional studies, lacks a satisfactory attempt to reckon with constituent order variation.

Constituent order variation calls attention to a motive for periphrastic constructions which has received little attention. We can summarize the competing motives interacting over the use of copula + participle constructions in Greek as follows: (1) phonological, (2) semantic nuance, (3) pragmatic nuance, and (4) pragmatic simplification of complex forms. Of these interacting motives, (1), (2) and (4) have

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<sup>1</sup> Dunstan Brown et al., "Defining 'Periphrasis,'" *Morphology*, no. 22 (2012): 272.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty is acknowledged by all scholars working in the area.

<sup>3</sup> On which, see Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be-Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

received extensive attention. Some verbs cannot form analytic third singular perfect middle passive indicatives because it results in an unacceptable consonant sequence (reason 1). A copula + participle form often appears to add distinct semantic nuances which are not present in the synthetic form (reason 2).<sup>4</sup> And there is the widely observed increase in periphrasis in place of synthetic perfect and pluperfect forms (reason 4). Of the four competing reasons, very little has been said about (3). The rising tide of evidence from functional approaches to Greek that constituent order is pragmatically motivated suggests that (3) is an important feature of copula + participle constructions as well—the ability to make use of pragmatic ordering principles afforded by a multi-word construction which a synthetic verb does not have.

In this dissertation, I have focused on the phenomenon of constituent order variation. Having spent several chapters investigating constituent order in all copula + participle constructions—not just ones that would be considered periphrasis on the traditional understanding—we find that there is strikingly little obvious difference between sentences with this surface pattern that are periphrastic and those which are not. The order of constituents is largely the same, and describable in terms of the same basic information structure (IS) patterns. In this conclusion, I will first summarize the arguments about IS and constituent order I have made and then turn to consider how these findings should be integrated into the study and description of periphrastic constructions in the Greek grammar tradition.

### **Summary of the Findings**

In the introduction, I laid out that I will be working with a prototype model of

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<sup>4</sup> The most widely agreed upon is that an imperfect copula + present participle regularly has a durative sense. Some would argue that copula + participle constructions always have a unique semantic contribution, even if it is not possible to feel them or translate them as such. This position generally represents Levinsohn's work. Stephen H. Levinsohn, "Functions of Copula-Participle Combinations ('Periphrastics')," in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven E. Runge and Christopher J. Fresch (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), 307–27. I have not made semantics a priority in this investigation.

periphrasis, paying attention to the development of periphrasis via the phenomenon of grammaticalization. The main aim of my study is to assess the contributions from Stephen Levinsohn’s novel constituent order analysis carried out on the Synoptic Gospels and Acts via a conceptual replication type study. To do so, I gather a corpus of texts distinct from the NT, though related in that they share a common socio-religious origin and certain “dialect” features. In validating Levinsohn’s analysis over a different corpus, I aim to integrate it into a wider view of copula + participle constructions which acknowledges the complex diachronic and synchronic position of these constructions.

Within this framework, I begin my argument in chapter 2 by examining the phenomenon of suppletive periphrasis. Suppletive periphrasis is where a periphrastic construction is obligatory within the verbal system. An IS analysis of constituent order in suppletive periphrasis clearly illustrates that constituent order requires more attention than given to it in traditional approaches. Variation in constituent order is common even in these obligatory forms of periphrasis in Greek. Suppletive periphrasis turns out to be a touch point both to encourage further exploration of IS and constituent order in copula + participle constructions as well as to require further work on how to integrate this model into a more robust theoretical model of periphrasis in Koine Greek.

In chapters 3-6, I examine different constituent order patterns in light of common IS concerns. The key theoretical construct is that of an asymmetric marked/unmarked pair. That is, for a given feature—in this case, the position of either the Topic or Focus element in the clause—there is a marked and unmarked possibility. The marked possibility explicitly signals the feature—either marked topic or marked focus with their attendant functional implications. The unmarked possibility does not signal the feature. That does not mean it is opposite of marked; rather, it is *unmarked* for the given feature. It may or may not be present, but the writer has not singled it out.<sup>5</sup> Within

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<sup>5</sup> For more on this, see chapter 3.

Levinsohn's functional approach, the burden is to establish which feature is marked and be able to explain the implications of the marked feature.

Levinsohn's model for copula + participle clauses can be represented as follows: (P1) (P2) Copula [(P1) (P2) Participle X].<sup>6</sup> Each chapter takes Levinsohn's model as a starting point and seeks to falsify it by analyzing whether his model accounts for the texts in my corpus. Due to differences in the function and IS of topic-comment andthetic clauses, I analyze these constructions separately. In analyzing the data, the following main points came to light.

Concerning topic-comment clauses, the position of the topical-subject defaults to between the copula and participle when present: copula + (subject) + participle. This is in line with Levinsohn's findings. Also as noted by Levinsohn, when the subject appears before the copula—the marked topic position—the most common reason is to signal a switch of attention to the current topical-subject from the prior one.<sup>7</sup> Also, I noted that in relative clauses the same ordering principles are followed. When the relative pronoun is the subject, there is no significance to its clause initial position as that is required by syntax. In the rare instances where a non-pronominal subject is in P1, it signals a switch of attention.

In terms of Focus, I argue that deviations from Levinsohn's projected copula + (subject) + participle + (object) + (adjunct) pattern can usually be explained in terms of marked focus. The most interesting feature of copula + participle constructions in this regard is that there are two marked focus positions (P2), one before the copula as well as one between the copula and participle.<sup>8</sup> The relative significance of these two different

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<sup>6</sup> The brackets demarcate the embedded participial clause.

<sup>7</sup> It also appears that certain words default to P1, though this explanation would require further investigation.

<sup>8</sup> Here we find that putting all the tokens with a copula + participle surface-level pattern adds a level of complexity in that in periphrasis vs. non-periphrasis the exact status of the "between copula and



positions is unclear.

Regarding thetic clauses in chapter 6, there is much less clarity in the data. First, I acknowledge that judging when a token is or is not thetic is often difficult in practice, even if the distinction is clear in principle. This difficulty comes on two fronts: (1) discourse new entities can be introduced in topic-comment clauses when they are assumed to be part of the common ground, the exact content of which can be difficult to assess without culture-insider knowledge of the language, and (2) theticity and periphrasis can overlap, but they do not always do so. Regarding those few instances where a copula + participle construction was both thetic and periphrastic, I found little obvious connection between Levinsohn's projected IS orderings and those in my data.<sup>9</sup> This category fails to yield clear results. By contrast, the other subtype of thetics, where a thetic copula is followed by a participial clause(s) making a subsequent predication (SP) in which the subject introduced in the thetic core of the clause continues on in some form as an argument, has some very clear patterns. In terms of IS, the thetic core and the SP behave independently from one another (analogous to an *εἰμί* clause modified by a predicate participle). The subject follows the copula with the possibility of placing a topical locative (or temporal) constituent between the copula and subject for focal prominence within the broad focus construction. The constituent order in the SP (which does not vary much, as a rule), follows the normal patterns evident in participial clauses.

These variations in constituent order are all accountable on the premise that copula + participle constructions are comprised of a main clause and an embedded participial clause. Note that like Levinsohn, I have found no appreciable differences in constituent order variation between tokens which would traditionally be called

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participle" differs. When there is no periphrasis, any Focus constituent in this middle ground is usually explainable in terms of occurring in the participle's P2/Focus Position.

<sup>9</sup> Likewise, for those ideas suggested by Nicholas Bailey which are not taken up by Levinsohn.

periphrasis and those which are not but also follow the pattern copula + participle clause.<sup>10</sup> While the trajectory of grammaticalization provides reason to believe there was pressure towards rigidification in constituent order in these copula + participle constructions of the sort associated with periphrasis in the grammatical tradition, the reality of constituent order variation across types indicates that a high-level of grammaticalization was not achieved in Koine Greek.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that much of what the grammatical tradition calls *periphrasis* in Greek is a feature of translating Greek constructions into Modern European languages—many of which have highly grammaticalized periphrastic constructions in the verbal system—rather than a feature of how Greek works as such.

In sum, throughout this analysis, I have found Levinsohn’s framework to be fundamentally sound when applied to this different corpus of texts, even if lacking explanatory power for some fringe cases. Based on the success of this approach at explaining the data in a different body of texts from which it developed, I would further expect it to show validity in analyzing copula + participle constructions outside of the “dialect” of Koine Greek in which my texts and the NT are situated. Having established the fundamental validity of Levinsohn’s IS model in my corpus, the main burden of this conclusion is to consider how to integrate the two approaches to periphrasis into a larger explanatory framework which facilitates attending to both sets of concerns: those which have dominated in NT Greek grammar (and which will not go away) and those raised via this functional approach. Following this discussion, I will consider the implications of this integrated approach for NT Greek grammar and exegesis.

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<sup>10</sup> Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί: Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts,” in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 439.

<sup>11</sup> The fact that most periphrastics from stages of Ancient Greek died out is suggestive that, as a whole, they did not achieve a high level of grammaticalization. The possibility of pragmatic ordering within the different portions of the constructions is likely a contributing factor to why this was the case.

### **Integrating the Models: Adding Constituent Order to Periphrasis**

To integrate Levinsohn's model with a more traditional approach characteristic of Greek grammar requires a framework which can account for the concerns raised in both streams of analysis. The traditional approach can be characterized as focusing almost exclusively on the morphology-like facets of periphrasis (that is, how it fits within the verbal system). By contrast, Levinsohn's functional model can be characterized as focusing on the syntax pole, with a special aim at pragmatics. As suppletive periphrasis is part of the verbal paradigm, the traditional approach is right to inquire how it fits within the paradigm and what meaning a periphrastic form may have compared to its related synthetic form, in such cases where both forms exist. Since periphrasis fills slots in the verbal paradigm, questions about how it relates to the rest of the morphologically formed verbal system are necessary.

However, the morphology-central approach to periphrasis fails to account for at least two important issues. First, it has proven impossible to satisfactorily delimit the class *periphrasis*. While some periphrastics are suppletive, and thus form part of the paradigm, most are not. While it is usually obvious when a copula + participle construction would be called periphrastic in the traditional sense, in many cases it is possible to argue either way. The fact that there is doubt about the boundaries of periphrasis suggests the traditional way of viewing the category is inadequate. Second, there is rampant constituent order variation within periphrastic constructions. Since constituent order variation is pragmatic in Koine Greek, we should expect that the order variations attested in copula + participle constructions (periphrastic or not) is motivated.

I suggest that a prototype model of periphrasis, with attention to the phenomenon of grammaticalization, provides a theoretical approach that is both robust and flexible enough to account for the valid concerns which both approaches have. A prototype definition claims that periphrasis in Greek is an inherently uneven category,

with certain types and forms being more central and others being marginal members.<sup>12</sup> Grammaticalization (leaning on Klaas Bentein's survey of Ancient Greek as well as knowledge of what comes after in the development of Greek) suggests that few if any of the various periphrastic constructions around in Koine Greek were fully grammaticalized.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the evidence across Koine and the history of Greek demonstrates that periphrasis was unevenly distributed across the verbal system.<sup>14</sup> Within a prototype definition, we find room for forms traditionally considered periphrastic and forms which are ambiguous with relation to periphrasis, bleeding out into instances of copula + participle constructions which no one would consider periphrastic. Levinsohn's functional analysis further supports this prototypical arrangement in demonstrating that the same pragmatic ordering principles are observable in all different types of copula +

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<sup>12</sup> At this point in the grammatical tradition, fighting to get rid of the word *periphrasis* seems a lost cause. It should be noted that adopting a prototype/grammaticalization based definition following in the stream of Bentein is actual a major departure from what the word periphrasis is traditionally conceived of as meaning. It should be instructive that Bentein never gives a concise definition of *periphrasis*. In his work, periphrasis becomes a loose assortment of analytic constructions which are grammaticalized to various degrees. They are unified in serving functions similar to synthetic verbs (though Bentein does little with the question of how the semantics differ between an analytic and synthetic form). In sum, periphrasis ceases to denote a discrete class of constructions which any given token either belongs to or does not. Much of the grammatical discussion in the NT tradition turns out to be an exercise in crafting clear definitions that artificially break up a prototype-category into discrete categories. Levinsohn's functional approach, taken here, also points out that differences between tokens traditionally considered periphrastic and those not are hard to come by. While we often feel a difference in how we translate them, and I suspect that part of this difference is actually real in how various of these constructions were used in Greek, we must admit that periphrasis as traditionally conceived likely says more about our translation practices than about how Greek functions.

<sup>13</sup> Most died in the further development of Greek, with two main exceptions. The periphrastic form continues to be used in the modern dialect of Tsakonian, though, it has replaced the synthetic forms across the verbal paradigm, thus does not have a unique periphrastic meaning or specific association with progressive aspect. Thanasis Giannaris, "The Diachrony of 'BE + Present Participle' in Greek and Old English: Multiple Paths in Language Change," *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics 19: Selected Papers from the 19th International Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*, Thessaloniki 3–5 April 2009 (2011): 206.

Also, the perfect in Modern Greek is formed with various periphrastic perfect forms, most notably the *έχω γραψει* type. On these and their relationship to each other, see Amalia Moser, "The History of the Perfect Periphrases in Greek" (PhD diss, University of Cambridge, 1988). These all appear to have fully grammaticalized and no longer allow linear variation between the two parts of the construction.

<sup>14</sup> It would be interesting to analyze a corpus to see if there are differences in the way suppletive periphrastic forms are used from those which are not suppletive. Given the already great difficulty in describing how periphrastic forms differ from inflectional ones, this question is probably too specific for us to answer.

participle constructions—those that would traditionally be considered periphrastic and those that would not be. And, in so doing, it also provides tools for describing why writers vary the order of constituents in these constructions—an area sorely lacking in description.

Within such a prototype model, we have room to discuss the various degrees of semantic integration which occur in copula + participle constructions. These semantic concerns have been central in the history of periphrastic research to date. Consider the following three examples, demonstrating a variety of different copula + participle relationships:

1. T. Benj. 9.5 καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ᾗδου ἔσται ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν.<sup>15</sup>

First, note that the circumstantial frame participle ἀνελθὼν could be removed or replaced without altering the meaning of the main predication. By contrast, ἀναβαίνων cannot be removed from the clause.<sup>16</sup> It is semantically essential, even though, from the point of view of syntactic ordering, ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν follows the same principles as other post-nuclear participle clauses. In principle, either adjunct could occur in P2 of the participle for marked focus, for instance. Likewise, ἐκ τοῦ ᾗδου could appear in P2 of ἀνελθὼν as marked focus. The two participial clauses here dependent on the copula in the main clause share similar syntactic considerations. However, they are unequal in terms of semantics. That is, ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν is necessary to the semantics of the main assertion of this clause, while the pre-nuclear participial clause is not.

Consider also the following two examples:

2. T. Sol. 24.4 καὶ ἦν κρεμάμενος ὁ κίων ὑπερμεγέθης διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων

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<sup>15</sup> “And having come up from Hades, he will ascend from earth to heaven.” This is transparently a Christian interpolation in the text, though its origin is not an issue for my study.

<sup>16</sup> A morphological future form of ἀναβαίνω is available, however the choice to use the periphrastic future form is a choice which requires the presence of the participle.

βασταζόμενος.<sup>17</sup>

3. Herm. 81.6 οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιδεδομένοι, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηγεγμένοι.<sup>18</sup>

In these two texts, we see a post-nuclear predicate participle in (2) in comparison to the repetition of a second participle in periphrastic relationship with a copula in the prior clause (30).<sup>19</sup> The point to note here is that in (2) *κρεμάμενος* is central to the semantics of the main predication of the sentence, whereas *βασταζόμενος* functions like a predicate participle, providing non-necessary information about the enormous pillar. By contrast, both participles in (3) are semantically necessary to their respective clauses, with the clause boundary signaled by *οὐδέ*.<sup>20</sup> Note that in both (2) and (3) the agent phrase is in P2 signalling marked focus, as well as *διὰ τῆς πύλης* in (3).

In the above three examples, we see that the relative order of constituents can be explained by the same basic pragmatic principles. However, while the syntax is similar on the surface, there are clear semantic differences depending on whether the participle is periphrastic or predicate, and these distinctions cannot be ignored in a robust account of periphrasis. How then can we account both for the similar IS motivated constituent order patterns while at the same time acknowledging that there is a fundamental difference in the way these participles relate to the copula in their clause? For the final step of how I envision constituent order and periphrasis relating within a broad prototype model of periphrasis, we now need to turn to consider how Greek sentences are formed.

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<sup>17</sup> “And the enormous pillar was hanging in/by (?) the air, being held by the spirits

<sup>18</sup> “For [the stones] were not handed along by the virgins, nor had they passed through the gate.”

<sup>19</sup> Note that *παρενηγεγμένοι* is a suppletive periphrasis. Not only does it allow syntactic parallel between the two clauses to have each use a copula + participle construction, but there is no synthetic form of the verb which could have occurred in the second clause here.

<sup>20</sup> A clause boundary is not always clearly signaled in cases where multiple participles are periphrastic in relation to the same copula, especially when the participle is in syntactic parallel with adjectives.

## The Formation of Greek Sentences, in the Abstract

While sentences always proceed into existence one word at a time, linguistic theories assume that they are generated in various nested hierarchies.<sup>21</sup> Without embracing one particular theory of how humans move from an intention to communicate all the way to articulating a fully formed sentence, we can note a variety of concerns or logical choices along the way to forming a coherent sentence.<sup>22</sup> Let us consider, for instance, the intention of communicating the following skeletal idea: [person: *first person singular*][to write: *present time, on-going action*][book: *indefinite*].

To communicate this skeletal idea in English, we begin by going to the mental lexicon where each of the requisite words for such a construction is stored. This lexicon is a mental listing of all the different words a speaker knows, along with their attendant syntactic restrictions. The skeletal idea requires that we select the transitive version of the verb “to write,” the first-person singular pronoun “I,” and the word “book” along with the indefinite article “a.” Filtering these lexemes through the syntax patterns of English dictates that “I” precedes the verb and that “a book” follows it.<sup>23</sup> Combining everything together yields the sentence “I am writing a book.” In spoken communication, an English-speaker would run this sentence through another set of filters to choose the appropriate part of the sentence on which to place the stress-accent given the current state

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<sup>21</sup> These hierarchies are based on words from noun, verb, etc. classes which serve as the heads of phrases and constituents, see David Lightfoot and Jeff Connor-Linton, “The Structure of Sentences,” in *An Introduction to Language and Linguistics*, ed. Ralph Fasold and Jeff Connor-Linton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 100. The field of neurobiology is increasing our knowledge of the physiological production of language, lending support to the phrase-structure approaches assumed in many linguistic theories. For example, see Matthew J. Nelson et al., “Neurophysiological Dynamics of Phrase-Structure Building During Sentence Processing,” *Psychological and Cognitive Sciences* 114 (April 2017): E3669–78.

<sup>22</sup> For an overview of these concerns, see Lightfoot and Connor-Linton, “The Structure of Sentences,” 100–111. The following discussion is meant to be illustrative rather than an exhaustive and robust description of any linguistic theory’s way of modeling how sentences would be formed in Greek. It is a generic description of the process. Naturally, “choice” here is meant only in the logical sense of the word. A great many of the “choices” here discussed occur at the subconscious level in language production.

<sup>23</sup> Of course, in poetic contexts it would not be unusual to encounter something like “a book write I.” While completely understandable, this violates the normal patterns of language production in English.

of the ongoing discourse and communicative intentions.<sup>24</sup> This description is detailed enough for the point at hand.

Note that in this example we did not have to choose the type of verb we wanted to use. In Modern English, the meaning of *present* and *on-going* for an action like “to write” can only be expressed by one verbal form: the present progressive.<sup>25</sup> In turning this skeletal idea [person: *first person singular*][to write: *present time, on-going action*][book: *indefinite*] into a sentence, there is no choice involved in which verb form to use. We must use the present progressive “is writing” form to convey this idea.<sup>26</sup>

Let us now consider turning the same skeletal idea [person: *first person singular*][to write: *present time, on-going action*][book: *indefinite*] into a sentence from the point of view of Greek.<sup>27</sup> The structure of Greek requires many of the same choices as well as several different ones from those required to generate the English sentence. Again, without aiming at theoretical purity or deciding which order said steps logically occur in a Greek speaker’s brain, the following sorts of choices must be made. In our mental lexicon we find several different forms of the lexeme *γράφειν/γράφαι*, from which we select the lexeme *γράφω*, as this form conveys the appropriate tense-aspect for

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<sup>24</sup> Such vocal stress is fundamental in spoken English—every spoken piece of language, no matter how small, has vocal stress somewhere (Focus, in IS terms). The role of IS in written English is less obvious, though it would be fair to surmise that even in composing written text we make mental decisions about the prosodic structure of a sentence, even if it is never audibly articulated. There is some reason to believe that one of the roles which punctuation fulfills in written English is to help demarcate what is Focus in a given clause. Nick Moore, “What’s the Point? The Role of Punctuation in Realising Information Structure in Written English,” *Functional Linguistics* 3, no. 6 (2016): 1–23. Similarly, various forms of expression which are common in written English but not in spoken English presumably serve an IS function within the language (among other purposes).

<sup>25</sup> There are complicated exceptions to the obligatory usage of the present progressive to indicate on-going action. The most noteworthy are stative verbs, which use a simple present, and the much less common instantaneous present which is restricted to certain types of usage, such as in sports broadcasting: “she swings and hits...”

<sup>26</sup> In the introduction chapter, I discussed the development of the English present progressive. In the not too distant past, as far as language timescales are concerned, there was a live choice between what we now call the simple present and present progressive, at least in certain contexts, to convey the semantics of *present, on-going action*. Whatever cued different forms in different contexts is not the concern here.

<sup>27</sup> By “indefinite” here I simply mean *discourse-new* and am not making any comment about the role of “definiteness” in Greek.



*present, on-going* actions, as well as indicating a first-person singular subject.<sup>28</sup> Selecting this lexeme logically also involves deciding whether we will use the pronoun ἐγώ or not (a decision largely made in terms of how this clause relates to the on-going discourse). We also choose the lexeme βιβλίον to complete the semantics of the sentence. Unlike our English example, we also need to choose the order we put each constituent among the allowable choices—which is influenced by how our clause relates to the ongoing discourse.

Also, unlike our English example, we have a further possible choice to make with how we represent our lexeme γράφειν. We could, of course, use γράφω, which would be the default choice for this verb. However, we could also use a periphrastic construction εἰμι γράφων. Granting that the exact parameters which would cue such a usage are unclearly known, it is a possible way to convey the categories of *present, on-going* action.<sup>29</sup> In traditional grammar, the investigation focuses on the semantic implications of this choice to include a periphrastic term (along with figuring out whether it is periphrastic or not). We search high and low to see if the periphrastic εἰμι γράφων *means* anything different than the synthetic form γράφω would have in its place.<sup>30</sup>

What I am suggesting is that the choice to use the copula + participle form (here talking about periphrasis proper, as opposed to εἰμι followed by a predicate

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<sup>28</sup> Naturally, it also conveys the mood and voice which I am leaving out for simplicity's sake.

<sup>29</sup> This does not imply that in any given discourse context a speaker/writer was free to choose one or the other form. There appear to be distinct uses of the periphrastic forms where they serve specialized tasks. At the same time, periphrastics give seem at times to be used for style variation alone. Robert E. Green, "Understanding εἰμι Periphrastics in the Greek of the New Testament" (PhD diss., Baptist Bible Seminary, 2012), 287–313; Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 17–18. At the very least, Bentein's study has indicated that periphrastics can be accounted for across the sweep of Greek in the same general usage categories as their morphological counterparts. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*. In broad terms, what we see is that periphrastic constructions both overlap extensively with synthetic verbs as well as displaying some independence in their usage. It appears that periphrastic forms were probably more specific/limited in their meaning, rather than different in kind, at any given point in the history of the language.

<sup>30</sup> The answer is that it probably does have a difference in meaning, but in many (most?) cases such a difference is likely unrecoverable and/or impossible to represent in translation.

participle, which has the same constituent order choices), opens another choice that must be made in producing a Greek sentence. Our Greek speaker must now decide the order of constituents, including the possibility of how the copula and participle will stand in relation to each other. In this study, I have laid out a variety of different IS-motivated patterns we find consistently in a large corpus of texts. These appear to be the sorts of factors our Greek-speaker takes into consideration in deploying a periphrastic construction: regardless of the semantics, the pragmatics of the constituent order is describable in terms of the copula and subject in a main clause along with an embedded participial clause. There is a default pattern, and then various ways to modify it for different purposes. These different choices are not semantic in nature; rather, they are pragmatic. That is, the following all *mean* the same thing:

1. εἰμι γράφων βιβλίον,
2. βιβλίον εἰμι γράφων,
3. εἰμι ἐγὼ γράφων βιβλίον, etc.

The differences between them are on the order of pragmatics, rather than semantics.<sup>31</sup>

What Levinsohn suggests based on the Synoptics and Acts, and I further argue here based on my broader corpus, is that in selecting for a periphrastic form—for whatever reason—the choices to be made about constituent order are largely independent of the choice periphrastic vs. non-periphrastic. In terms of grammaticalization and prototype, during

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<sup>31</sup> It is an open question to what degree the semantics of periphrastic constructions differ from synthetic verbs. I tend to think that, in most cases, (1)-(3) mean basically the same thing as γράφω βιβλίον. The question I think more insightful than whether they *mean* something different is “what are the discourse situations which predispose an author to select a periphrastic form?” That there are some meaningful differences is certain, at least for some types of periphrasis, but in many cases, it is more enlightening to focus on the function of the periphrasis within the discourse than on its meaning as such. For example, Johnson argues that imperfective periphrastics served a discourse-segmentation function in Luke’s writings, occurring at pericope boundaries. Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2010). Bentein argues that these same constructions are a specialized development of the progressive aspect function in Greek, following a pattern evident in Modern European languages. Klaas Bentein, “The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive in the Septuagint and the New Testament,” *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 168–92. Which explanation is better is not at issue here. What is important is that both are asking the right kind of question: how do the periphrastics *function* in Greek discourse, as opposed to only focusing on what they *mean*.

Koine Greek typical IS patterns exerted a stronger influence on constituent order than the grammaticalization and paradigmaticization of periphrastic constructions. In simple terms, when periphrasis was deployed in discourse, the main factor in how a speaker ordered the constituents was the same IS patterns which account for how a copula and participle relate to each other in general. While grammaticalization is certainly a force—most obviously in that the copula and participle elements in periphrasis occur within close proximity to one another, and sometimes exhibit fixed order patterns—IS is the stronger one. There are signs both of freedom and constraint within the constructions.

### **Selecting for Periphrastic Copula + Participle Constructions**

An important idea here is that there are different reasons why a copula + participle construction appears in a sentence. Sometimes it is selected because the only way to communicate a certain idea requires selecting a slot in the verbal system which is only filled via a periphrastic form—that is, the only form which exists in the mental lexicon is a periphrastic one, thus there is no choice. This is suppletive periphrasis. Sometimes, though, a copula + participle form is selected in place of a morphological form which fills the same slot in the verbal paradigm. These copula + participle forms may or may not be periphrastic in the traditional sense of the term. The selection in such cases is probably based on a variety of factors which are hard to pin down, including subtle shades of meaning distinctions (many of which are probably lost to us as second language readers far removed in time from Koine Greek), genre concerns,<sup>32</sup> register

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<sup>32</sup> One interesting result of Bentein's large-scale analysis is that we can see periphrastic forms are much more common in certain genres than others. Several explanations recommend themselves, including that genre and register often co-vary to certain extents and that the fine shades of semantic meanings presented in periphrastic forms recommend themselves more commonly in certain types of discourse than others. For example, the use of *εἶμι* + present participle is most frequent in biography and scientific prose, two genres where giving descriptions and generic information are common. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 263. As suggested in chapter 1, the NT, Apostolic Fathers, and Pseudepigrapha all emerge from a similar socio-religious context in which there were certain idiosyncrasies in the writings, traceable to LXX influence in creating a sort of "religious" dialect of Greek. While Bentein has shown that simple imitation of the LXX is not a valid explanation for the use of periphrasis in subsequent Jewish-Christian writings, the impulse to use periphrastic forms could be one of the "genre"

concerns,<sup>33</sup> dialect, as well as the idiolect of a writer. Lastly, given that copula + participle is a syntactic pattern, sometimes its selection is due to the desire of the speaker/writer to add a further predication modifying the subject and/or the entire verbal phrase (predicate participle).

Regardless of why a given copula + participle form was selected, the reality of a multi-word construction in Greek means the possibility of word order and/or constituent order variation, influenced by IS concerns. At the same time, the grammaticalization process suggests an increased tendency resisting linear separation between the copula and participle, and there is reason to believe in our data this can be seen.<sup>34</sup> However, even true periphrastic constructions in Koine are not grammaticalized to the extent that constituent order variation within the copula + participle construction is eliminated.

While default patterns are obvious, these patterns can be manipulated.

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features in this corpus. That is, in writing for this particular socio-religious community, writers may have been “primed” for selecting periphrastic forms more often than normal because of their familiarity with the key religious texts, making these constructions “sound religious” to them. Drinka argues along this line that periphrastic perfects in a variety of European languages were directly influenced by their regular presence in the Greek scriptures (and in the Latin translations), lending them a religious “air” that was intentionally used to telegraph one’s alignment to the church. Bridget Drinka, “The Sacral Stamp of Greek: Periphrastic Constructions in New Testament Translations of Latin, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic,” *Oslo Studies in Language* 3, no. 3 (2011): 41–73. While speculative, it does not seem unlikely that this sort of dynamic was at work inside the socio-religious world of Greek-speaking/writing Jews and Christians who produced these texts.

<sup>33</sup> For example, the periphrastic form of a middle form of *ποιέω* + accusative noun in place of a lexical verb with basically the same meaning is frequently encountered in higher register Koine Greek texts, but rather rare in low register ones (while not infrequent in the NT, for example, the usage is restricted almost entirely to Paul and Luke’s writings). One would expect this is a feature of register of language use. In like vein, copula + participle constructions tend to be more frequent in lower register texts, broadly speaking.

<sup>34</sup> In addition to the strong tendency found in instances of suppletive periphrasis to have limited constituent variation, consider also Bentein’s analysis of three periphrastic constructions, *διαγίγνομαι* + present participle, *ἔχω* + aorist participle, and *ἔρχομαι* + future participle, none of which are instances of prototypical periphrasis. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek*, 72–79. The details of the test can be found in his work. For our purpose, the most significant finding is that different periphrastic constructions exhibit different degrees of grammaticalization as measured by such properties as how often the parts are adjacent, use across genres and writers, and their semantic generalization. In the NT, we see that linear adjacency of elements is the norm in periphrastic constructions. One hundred twenty (approximately half) of periphrastics in the NT have the copula and participle adjacent. Green, “Understanding *εἰμί* Periphrastics,” 152–75. If we count only the intrusion of the subject as a normal ordering reflex, not yet fully shed in the grammaticalization development of the construction, then we have 152 of 243 tokens which exhibit almost no constituent order variation within the core of copula + (subject) + participle. These elements occur linearly adjacent and other constituents, as a rule, do not intervene. Departures from this order are exceptional, rather than normal.

Taken together, these factors suggest that selecting for a copula + participle form involves selecting a default IS pattern as part of the selection process. Here we must separate the factors at play in selecting for different copula + participle patterns, as the selection for a predicate participle modifier is different than the selection for a form with greater semantic integration or one that is suppletive. That the constituent orders are explainable by the same pragmatic mechanisms argues that copula + participle constructions have not yet fully grammaticalized, although being in various stages along the way. Thus, the constituent orders of all the different copula + participle constructions look alike because they are alike. Once this default IS pattern is selected, it is filtered through the IS concerns of the ongoing discourse.<sup>35</sup> IS does not dictate certain patterns be used.<sup>36</sup> Rather, IS concerns allow a certain degree of reorganization of the pattern which has been selected.

In sum, I suggest that the choice of a writer to select the set of features which result in what is traditionally called a periphrastic form (whatever exactly those be) does not remove the constituent order choices, though it at least constrains them in cases where the construction is further grammaticalized and/or in line with some of the peculiar restrictions in play for copula + participle constructions. Periphrasis is syntax where we expect morphology. The morphology-like pole of this relationship calls for a certain combination of features distributed between the copula and participle but does not dictate a certain order. There is a basic IS pattern in Greek by which a copula relates to a

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<sup>35</sup> Theoretically, in live communication any grammatically correct Greek version of a Greek clause could occur at any given point. That most Greek clauses follow clear IS patterns rather than being random orderings of elements could be taken as evidence that IS influenced constituent ordering logically happens after the sentence is “built” according to the default pattern. At the very least, IS concerns are a part of the process of generating sentences, much like vocal stress is a choice in English, though the actual usage of vocal stress in any given instance ranges from a conscious to unconscious decision.

<sup>36</sup> As Lambrecht and Michaelis point out, speakers have essentially unrestricted freedom to model their response in ways that are out of line with the expected IS-motivated patterns. Knud Lambrecht and Laura A. Michaelis, “Sentence Accent in Information Questions: Default and Projection,” *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21 (1998): 477. Such variations come with implications that differ from the expected response, but they are valid choices a speaker can always employ.

participle. This pattern is activated as the base pattern from which variations can occur. After selecting for the periphrastic constructions, the syntactic possibilities within the context are then brought to bear in terms of the writer's communicative intentions and the normal IS patterns of Greek, resulting in the possibility of flexible constituent order. In a word, selecting for the pattern which conveys the semantics does not, at the same time, select for the exact constituent order (unless the particular function has grammaticalized to the extent that speakers no longer could conceive of it as allowing linear separation or variation between the elements).

In considering the Greek grammatical tradition, the significance of these findings is that the same pragmatic ordering principles account for constituent order variation regardless of whether the copula + participle construction is what would be considered periphrastic or not. This adds further evidence to Bentein's prototype analysis which suggests that the category of periphrasis as traditionally conceived is an artificial attempt to impose boundaries upon Greek syntax that do not fit. The endeavor to clarify exactly what tokens are or are not periphrastic is, it seems, an impossible task.<sup>37</sup>

### **Value for NT Greek and Exegesis**

While the Apostolic Fathers and Pseudepigrapha texts in my corpus are of interest on their own, the main interest most NT scholars find in them is historical and theological, rather than grammatical. What value does this study add to the NT scholar working with the Greek NT? The value of this study for both grammarian and exegete is found on two fronts: (1) providing explanations for constituent order variation within periphrastic constructions, which is a previously ignored or under-explained phenomenon, and (2) demonstrating a broader set of concerns which future discussions of

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<sup>37</sup> At this point, I will acknowledge that I share Levinsohn's skepticism of the value of the category *periphrastic*. While I think there are clear semantic differences among different types of copula + participle constructions in terms of the degree of integration between the copula and the participle, this is a scalar phenomenon, not having clear boundary markers along the way from "true periphrasis" to a copula + participle construction which is manifestly not periphrastic.

periphrasis need to include.

Regarding (1), IS analysis provides reason for exegetes and grammarians to pay attention not just to what a construction *means*, but how it is presented. Robert Green concludes his recent study of periphrasis in the NT with the caution that exegetes not over-interpret the presence of a periphrastic construction in a text.<sup>38</sup> This is generally sound advice, given that the exact nuances of meaning are often elusive.<sup>39</sup> However, IS and constituent order opens new vistas in analyzing these constructions. No longer should the exegete ask only “what does this periphrasis mean?” but also include the question, “what does the order of constituents communicate?” In other words, following this study, the exegete is on solid ground drawing conclusions in texts about the pragmatic implications of constituent order in these constructions. While such conclusions are sometimes underwhelming in terms of their exegetical value, they are significant in providing explanations for a phenomenon present in the text, rather than just ignoring it.

In practical terms, the single largest constituent order variation (in the NT and my corpus) is movement of the topical-subject, which generally signals nothing more than a switch of attention to a different topical-subject. However, having established this at least serves as a guard from drawing inaccurate conclusions on the placement of the subject.<sup>40</sup> When non-subject constituents deviate from their default position, the exegete is entitled to consider why, and can know that lending the constituent marked focus is one of the main reasons this occurs. Naturally, this must be carried out in close analysis of the text and the flow of discourse as the same constituent in the same location may have different IS implications. Consider the example of Ephesians 2:5 and 2:8 where (τῆ)

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<sup>38</sup> Green, “Understanding εἰμί Periphrastics,” 337–38.

<sup>39</sup> Though, I would suggest Green is overly cautious in some of his analyses.

<sup>40</sup> On the value of discourse analysis in adjudicating what is and is not “emphatic” in a given sentence, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, “The Relevance of Greek Discourse Studies to Exegesis,” *Journal of Translation* 2, no. 2 (2006): 11–21.

χάριτι is in the pre-copula slot of a periphrastic two times in close proximity: <sup>5</sup>καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν συνεζωοποίησεν τῷ Χριστῷ, — [χάριτί] ἐστε σεσωσμένοι — ... <sup>8</sup> [Τῇ γὰρ χάριτί] ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον.

In Eph 2:5 *χάριτι* is in the P2/Focus position as emphatic, new, marked focus material. In practical terms, what is emphasized here is not “you are (being) saved,” but rather that this is occurring “by grace.” An appropriate way to bring this focal prominence out in English is “you are (being) saved by GRACE” (capitals indicating vocal stress). By contrast, in Eph 2:8 *τῇ χάριτι* is no longer discourse new or particularly surprising. Rather, it serves a topical function as a point of departure, being a setting-like element indicating how the new addition of the clause—the broad focus “you are (being) saved by FAITH”—relates to the on-going discourse. While in the same syntactic position, in IS terms it is in P1 here. An appropriate way to make the distinction in English would be a translation like “you are (being) saved by grace through FAITH.”

Attending to constituent order variations allows the exegete to be sensitive to the way an author develops the text clause by clause as well as to see when the author selects out a piece of information to highlight as the most important one (marked focus). While noting a Focus element may yield little in terms of ground-breaking exegetical conclusions, it does increase our explanatory power and guide us in placing our emphasis in the right places.

Finally, regarding (2), this study has confirmed that Levinsohn’s novel approach to periphrasis highlights a valid facet of these constructions. In this conclusion, I have sketched out a way to take the concerns which have dominated discussions of periphrasis (especially in NT Greek grammars) as well as Levinsohn’s new concerns and integrate them into the broader model of periphrasis recently developed by Bentein. This approach is attractive in that it gives a framework within which to be able to talk both



about the constituent order concerns as well as traditional concerns of meaning all together.<sup>41</sup> It also acknowledges that periphrasis, by nature, is a category with ambiguous boundaries. Debates over whether any given text is periphrastic or not will, of course, continue. Likewise, further investigation is in order regarding the situations which cue the usage of a periphrastic construction as opposed to a synthetic form (when there is an option).<sup>42</sup> My goal in this work is not to establish the situations in which a choice between periphrasis and non-periphrasis is a free choice and when it is dictated by other factors. Instead, I have argued that when this choice is made, whatever stands behind it, it comes with attendant pragmatic choices within Greek's largely IS motivated constituent order patterns.

### **Future Research**

At several points along the way I have noted an issue which deserves further research: how the discourse level Topic interacts with and influences the position of the clause Topic. This research has focused on the position of Topic within its clause, whether it be a marked topic or default, and explanations of this phenomenon within the clause. Within Levinsohn's functional framework, this is an adequate explanation. However, it was observed that the position of Topic appears more complex and requires further evaluation.

Examining the different tokens in context shows that it is common for a topical-subject to appear in the default position between the copula and the participle when it corresponds to a switch of attention from the prior topical-subject (~40 percent of tokens with a default position topical-subject). The primary reason why a topical-subject appears in P1 in a topic-comment clause is to mark a switch of attention. It is interesting

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<sup>41</sup> At the same time, it recognizes the entrenched nature of the term *periphrasis* in the grammatical tradition.

<sup>42</sup> Analysis along these lines is more likely to give us insight into what these constructions *mean* by helping clarify how they were *used*.

that such a switch of attention is carried out so frequently in my data. In Levinsohn's clause template, it is not necessary to explain the unmarked topic position. Unmarked means the position of the topic is not marked for switch of attention (or one of the other uses), not that such a feature is actually absent. However, it is intriguing that certain broad features regularly occur in clauses where a switch of attention is carried out by a default position topic.

A promising approach to describing what cues putting a topical-subject in P1 as a marked topic signaling a switch of attention as opposed to leaving the topical-subject in the default position is the notion of processing effort. Processing effort refers to the relative ease of attaching a new utterance to the mental model. To successfully integrate a new utterance into the mental model requires the hearer/reader to process the utterance and decode how it is intended to connect. The reader assumes each new clause is relevant to the discourse and somehow connected to the discourse context, comprised of what has come before, the time/space context, as well as the shared cultural encyclopedia. Within the vast potential number of ways a new utterance can connect to this context, the reader moves from the linguistic encoding through various possible connection points following the path of least interpretive effort until a successful connection is made which results in a satisfying mental representation of how the new utterance connects to the ongoing discourse.<sup>43</sup> The less local the connection (accessible), the more processing effort is required to connect the new information to the mental representation.<sup>44</sup> Constituent order is one system (and not the only one) an author can use in Greek to clue the reader about how to connect the Topic of the current utterance to the mental representation.

Changing the Topic necessarily involves using a topical-subject which is less

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<sup>43</sup> The process outlined here follows the tenets of Relevance Theory as outlined in Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, "Relevance Theory," in *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward, Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 607–32.

<sup>44</sup> Mira Ariel, *Accessing Noun-Phrase Antecedents*, Routledge Library Editions: Linguistics (London: Routledge, 1990), 2–4.

accessible than the prior one. However, certain patterns of Topic change appear to be so predictable as to require little processing effort, lessening the need to cue a change in Topic via the P1/Topic position. I found seven common factors in instances where a default position topical-subject carried out a switch of attention. These are: (1) a change in the grammatical person and/or number of the Topic, (2) promotion of an oblique noun or pronoun from the prior clause to topical-subject, (3) differences in animacy between possible referents, (4) instances where world knowledge makes the subject of the clause clear, (5) changes of scene within a story, (6) when a logical rather than grammatical subject continues on as subject from the prior clause, and (7) when a default position topical-subject follows a subordinate clause rather than a main clause.

As a preliminary example of these categories, consider the following passage from Acts of Paul (Paul and Thecla) 9.4: *ἀλλὰ πρόσελθε αὐτῇ σὺ καὶ λάλησον· σοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡρμοσμένη.*<sup>45</sup> Here the subject is promoted from an oblique pronoun in the prior clause (category 2). The cast of characters in this scene only includes one significant 3.fem.sg. character, other than the speaker (category 5). Also, there is a change from 2nd person to 3rd person (category 1). All these factors contribute in making this change in Topic easy to process—there is no difficulty understanding who the Topic is and how she relates to the current mental model. The ease of accessibility of the Topic from context enables the use of a null subject here even though the Topic is contrastive.

Such a suggestion goes beyond the scope of this investigation and would require further theoretical work, as well as broader work in the data. I mention it here as work worthy of future research.

## Conclusion

In sum, the order of constituents in copula + participle constructions can

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<sup>45</sup> “But you go to her and talk (to her); for she is engaged to you.” Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

adequately be described in the Apostolic Fathers and Pseudepigrapha in terms of the IS model developed by Levinsohn.<sup>46</sup> The same pragmatic principles which lie behind constituent order in normal clauses in Greek also account for the constituent order in copula + participle constructions. These principles demonstrate that, in terms of their constituent order, copula + participle constructions function as a main clause with an embedded participial clause. This model accounts for the constituent order variation evident in my corpus.

This finding should give greater confidence in NT exegesis and grammar studies in the handling of copula + participle constructions, and more specifically those which are considered periphrastic. To exegetes, we can say that the order of constituents has a rationale, even if that may not result in any exciting findings for individual texts. To the grammarian, these results add to the growing body of evidence that many of our descriptive categories and approaches to grammar stand to benefit from being updated to provide a more robust description of Greek. Constituent order in Greek is not random.<sup>47</sup> This study has demonstrated that a robust description of periphrasis requires attention to constituent order. Periphrasis is inherently interesting in that it sits at the interface of morphology and syntax. We cannot do justice to describing periphrasis by only attending to its relationship to inflectional verbs (paradigmatic status) or its meaning (semantic). We must also describe periphrasis in terms of how it is deployed in clauses (syntax) as part of the communicative strategy of an author. The constituent order patterns observed in this capacity are not random and should not be treated as such

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<sup>46</sup> This is a more modest claim than to say that the IS proposals describe constituent order *in general* in this corpus. Such an investigation is a worthwhile eventual aim but cannot be substantiated by the level of study carried out here. Though, the general success of this approach in accounting for periphrasis lends support to assuming that the IS proposals will, in fact, explain constituent order in these texts.

<sup>47</sup> This is partially a demonstrable reality and partly a methodological commitment involving an element of faith in the face of seemingly inscrutable evidence. We are far from explaining everything. IS analysis, though, has clearly advanced the discussion and is positioned to continue in that capacity for some time.



## APPENDIX 1

### CORPUS AND RATIONALE

My corpus includes the Apostolic Fathers and the Pseudepigrapha. The first of these is a well-defined set of texts, of which all the extant works in Greek will be examined.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, the body of texts which belong to the OT or NT Pseudepigrapha is amorphous and varies from list to list. I have taken advantage of the ill-defined nature of this category to further include works often considered as NT apocrypha.

As a starting point, I consider the lists found in in James Charlesworth and Wilhelm Schneemelcher's works, to which I added other possible works from lists by Craig Evans, David Chapman and Andreas Köstenberger, Lorenzo DiTommaso, as well as Bart Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše's collection of Apocryphal Gospels.<sup>2</sup> I exclude writers such as Josephus and Philo who are significant exemplars of Greek usage from this same period and cultural location but who have left substantive literary remains which justify their own treatment. I also exclude the apocryphal texts which are commonly considered part of the LXX, since these texts are considered in some of the investigations with which

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<sup>1</sup> The principles separating the texts in the Apostolic Fathers from those in the Pseudepigrapha are, at times, rather vague. There has even been some discussion in modern scholarship to include them within the pseudepigrapha, as noted by Schneemelcher, Wilhelm Schneemelcher and R. McL Wilson, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha, Volume 2: Writings Relating to the Apostles; Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, Rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 16.

<sup>2</sup> James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983); Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990); Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005); David W. Chapman and Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Jewish Intertestamental and Early Rabbinic Literature: An Annotated Bibliographic Resource Updated (Part 1)," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 55, no. 2 (2012): 235–72; Lorenzo DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850-1999*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 39 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

I interact. As I am focused on language use during a specific time frame, it is of little consequence what the precise boundaries between the various collections of text are, outside of their probable date of composition.

Several of the texts from the above lists are extant in a variety of forms, occasionally with are multiple critical editions as well.<sup>3</sup> In addition, there are on-going text-critical projects which will impact the shape of several of these texts.<sup>4</sup> For my purposes, any extant form which can reasonably be taken as an example of appropriate Greek usage in the general time period of interest is sufficient; an original text is unnecessary. I give preference to text editions in digital form (which is an essential feature to make my project feasible) and/or to those which have available resources like an exhaustive concordance.

The OT Pseudepigrapha texts in my corpus are listed below in Table A1, which gives the edition I use and its word count, where known (an ~ indicates the word count is for a different edition, thus a close approximate value rather than exact; an \* that the work is in Denis' concordance;<sup>5</sup> an ^ indicates the work listed is a module in Accordance software):

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<sup>3</sup> *Joseph and Aseneth*, for example, has an unusual wealth of critical texts which differ from each other quite remarkably: a (semi)critical text by Batiffol (~11,700 words), which appeared in 1889-90; a critical edition of the so-called "shorter-recension" by Marc Philonenko (~8,270 words), which appeared in 1986; a critical edition of the so-call "longer-recension" by Christoph Burchard (~13,400 words), which first appeared in 1979 (and which has been slightly revised by Uta Barbara Fink, 2009; her edition is only slightly shorter). By comparison, many texts are still in the (hardly critical) form in which they were first published.

<sup>4</sup> The website for the CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM, for instance, lists critical texts in preparation for many of the early Christian Pseudepigrapha texts which I use here, <https://www.corpuschristianorum.org/ccsa>.

<sup>5</sup> Albert-Marie Denis and Yvonne Janssens, *Concordance Grecque des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament: Concordance, Corpus des textes, Indices* (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1987).

Table A1. OT Pseudepigrapha text editions

<i>Text</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Word Count</i>
Life of Adam and Eve	Tromp, Johannes. <i>The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 6. Leiden: Brill, 2005.	~4,813
1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)*	M. Black. <i>Apocalypsis Henochi graece</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 3. Leiden: Brill, 1970.	9,888
Testament of Abraham* <sup>6</sup>	Fr. Schmidt. <i>Le Testament grec d'Abraham, Introduction, édition critique des deux recensions grecques, traduction</i> . Text Stud. A.T., 2. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr. 1986.	6,900
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*	de Jonge, M. <i>The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 1. Brill: Leiden, 1978.	21,852
Joseph and Aseneth* <sup>7</sup>	Burchard, Christoph. <i>Joseph und Aseneth</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 5. Leiden: Brill, 2003.	13,403
Psalms of Solomon	Wright, Robin B. <i>The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text</i> . Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.	~4,928
4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)	Herzer, Jens. <i>4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)</i> . Writings from the Greco-Roman World 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.	~4,189
3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)*	Picard, J.-Cl. <i>Apocalypsis Baruchi graece</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece 2. Brill: Leiden, 1967.	3,155

<sup>6</sup> I will be using the longer recension of this work.

<sup>7</sup> The text of Burchard's full critical edition of *Joseph und Aseneth* listed here is the same as his earlier version which is incorporated in Denis' *Concordance Grecque des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament*.



Table A1 continued

<i>Text</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Word Count</i>
Lives of the Prophets*^	Schermann, Theodor. <i>Prophetarum vitae fabulosae</i> . Leipzig: Teubner, 1907.	4,106
Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*	Wahl, O. <i>Apocalypsis Esdrae graeca</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 4. Brill: Leiden, 1977.	2,629
Apocalypse of Sedrach*	Wahl, O. <i>Apocalypsis Sedrach</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 2. Brill: Leiden, 1977.	2,307
Testament of Job*	Brock, S.P. <i>Testamentum Jobi</i> . Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 2. Brill: Leiden, 1967.	6,804
Letter of Aristeas*	Pelletier, A. <i>Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate</i> . Sources chrétiennes 89. Cerf: Paris, 1962.	12,963
Sibylline Oracles*^	Geffcken, J. <i>Die Oracula Sibylline</i> . GCS 8. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902	10,471
Testament of Solomon^	McCown, C.C. <i>The Testament of Solomon</i> . UNT 9. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1922.	8,169
History of the Rechabites^	James, M. R. <i>Apocrypha Anecdota: A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments</i> . Texts and Studies 2/3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893.	3,566
	Total Word Count	120,143

The NT Pseudepigrapha in my corpus are listed below in Table A2 (an ~ indicates the word count is for a different edition, thus a close approximate value rather than exact; an ^ indicates the work listed is a module in Accordance software; % indicates the text is in Ehrman's and Pleše's work<sup>8</sup>).

Table A2. NT Pseudepigrapha text editions

<i>Text</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Word Count</i>
Protoevangelium of James%	de Strycker, E. <i>La Forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques</i> . Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961.	~4,179
Infancy Gospel of Thomas (Greek A)^	Tischendorf, C. von. <i>Evangelia Apocrypha</i> . Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1877.	2,211
Acts of Pilate (The Gospel of Nicodemus A) and Descent into Hades^	Tischendorf, C. von. <i>Evangelia Apocrypha</i> . Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1877.	9,384
Acts of Andrew^	Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Max Bonnet. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> . 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.	2,417
Acts of John^	Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Max Bonnet. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> . 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.	12,429
Acts of Paul (comprising Acts of Paul and Thecla and Martyrdom of Paul)^	Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Max Bonnet. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> . 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.	4,842

<sup>8</sup> Ehrman and Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations*.

Table A2 continued

<i>Text</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Word Count</i>
Acts of Peter (the Martyrdom of Peter)^	Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Max Bonnet. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> . 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.	2,510
Acts of Thomas^	Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, and Max Bonnet. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i> . 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959.	28,627
Apocalypse of Paul^	Tischendorf, C. von. <i>Apocalypses Apocryphae</i> . Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1866.	4,957
1 Clement^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	9,889
2 Clement^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	3,018
Letters of Ignatius^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	7,781
The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	1,141
The Martyrdom of Polycarp^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	2,638
The Didache^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	2,203
The Epistle of Barnabas^	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	6,714

*Table A2 continued*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Word Count</i>
The Shepherd of Hermas <sup>^</sup>	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	26,738
The Epistle to Diognetus <sup>^</sup>	Holmes, Michael W. <i>The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations</i> , 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: BakerAcademic, 2007.	2,616
	Total Word Count	132,091

APPENDIX 2  
COPULA + PARTICIPLE TOKENS USED  
IN THIS STUDY

This appendix contains all the tokens used in this study. Table A3 contains all the topic-comment tokens and Table A4 contains all the thetic tokens.

Regarding the references, successive letters for a given verse number indicate each successive token within a verse. An asterisk (\*) in the text of the verse marks the copula and participle under consideration. A null symbol ( $\emptyset$ ) indicates that the token has either a null subject or a null copula. In the case that both are null, \* $\emptyset$  indicates a null copula.

As a rule, I include only the portion of the verse which is part of the clause in question. Exceptions occur for two main reasons: (1) to give important context for understanding the token and (2) for verses with multiple tokens, to include the entire stretch of text where the tokens occur.

Table A3. List of topic-comment tokens used in this study

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Token text</i>
1 Clem. 10.3	καὶ Ø *ἔση *εὐλογημένος
1 Clem. 17.3	ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰώβ οὕτως γέγραπται· Ἰώβ δὲ *ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος, ἀληθινός, θεοσεβής, *ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.
1 Clem. 34.2	*δέον οὖν *ἐστὶν προθύμους ἡμᾶς εἶναι εἰς ἀγαθοποιΐαν
1 Clem. 35.5	ἐὰν *ἐστηριγμένη *ἡ ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν διὰ πίστεως πρὸς τὸν θεόν· ἐὰν ἐκζητῶμεν τὰ εὐάρεστα καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτῶ· ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀμώμῃ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας,
1 Clem. 40.5	τῶ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἴδιαι λειτουργίαι *δεδομένοι *εἰσὶν
1 Clem. 43.2	ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ζήλου ἐμπεσόντος περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ στασιαζουσῶν τῶν φυλῶν ὅποια αὐτῶν *εἶη τῶ ἐνδόξῳ ὀνόματι *κεκοσμημένη, ἐκέλευσεν
1 Clem. 58.2	οὗτος *ἐντεταγμένος καὶ ἐλλόγιμος *ἔσται εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σφζομένων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
1 En. 1.2	Ενώχ· Ἄνθρωπος δίκαιός ἐστιν, ὃ ὅρασις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶ *ἀνεωγμένη *ἦν·
1 En. 10.17	καὶ Ø *ἔσονται *ζῶντες ἕως γενήσωσιν χιλιάδας
1 En. 10.19	καὶ Ø *ἔσονται *φυτεύοντες ἀμπέλους
1 En. 10.21a	καὶ *ἔσονται πάντες *λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκυνοῦντες.
1 En. 10.21b	καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ *Ø *εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκυνοῦντες.
1 En. 10.21c	καὶ ἔσονται πάντες λατρεύοντες οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ Ø *Ø *προσκυνοῦντες.
1 En. 101.3	ἐὰν ἀποστείλῃται τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, οὐχὶ Ø *ἔσεσθε *δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ;
1 En. 102.2a	καὶ ὅταν δῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, 2 Ø *ἔσεσθε *συνσειόμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι ἤχῳ μεγάλῳ
1 En. 102.2b	καὶ ὅταν δῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, 2 ἔσεσθε συνσειόμενοι καὶ Ø *Ø *φοβούμενοι ἤχῳ μεγάλῳ
1 En. 12.3	Καὶ ἐστὼς Ø *ἡμῖν Ἐνώχ *εὐλογῶν τῶ κυρίῳ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης,

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
1 En. 14.14a	καὶ Ø *ἤμην *σειόμενος καὶ τρέμων
1 En. 14.14b	καὶ ἤμην σειόμενος καὶ Ø *Ø *τρέμων
1 En. 14.24	Κἀγὼ *ἤμην ἕως τούτου ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου *βεβλημένος καὶ τρέμων,
1 En. 14.24b	Κἀγὼ ἤμην ἕως τούτου ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου βεβλημένος καὶ Ø *Ø *τρέμων,
1 En. 16.1	ἀπὸ ἡμέρας σφαγῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας καὶ θανάτου, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πνεύματα, ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν, Ø *ἔσται *ἀφανίζοντα χωρὶς κρίσεως
1 En. 18.12	οὔτε γῆ *ἤ *τεθεμελιωμένη ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ
1 En. 7B.2	καὶ Ø *ἦσαν *αὐξάνομενοι κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν,
1 En. 90.2a	ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ κατακαυθήσεται καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ Ø *ἔσται *κατακαιόμενον καὶ τηρόμενον ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρός
1 En. 90.2b	ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ κατακαυθήσεται καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται κατακαιόμενον καὶ Ø *Ø *τηρόμενον ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ πυρός
1 En. 98.6a	ὅτι τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν τὰ πονηρὰ *ἔσται *ἀνακεκαλυμμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἄδικον.
1 En. 98.6b	ὅτι τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν τὰ πονηρὰ ἔσται ἀνακεκαλυμμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· οὐκ *ἔσται ὑμῖν ἔργον *ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἄδικον.
2 Clem. 17.3	ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες *συνηγμένοι *ᾤμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν.
2 Clem. 17.7	οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι, εὐπραγήσαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασάνους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ, *ἔσονται δόξαν *διδόντες τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν
2 Clem. 4.5	Ἐὰν Ø *ἦτε μετ' ἐμοῦ *συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου,
3 Bar. 9.6	Ἄκουσον, ὦ Βαρούχ· ταύτην ἣν βλέπεις ωραία Ø *ἦν *γεγραμμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλη.
3 Baruch 11.2	καὶ *ἦν ἡ πύλη *κεκλεισμένη.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
4 Bar. 5.2	Ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθην ἂν ἄλλο ὀλίγον, καὶ *βεβαρημένη *ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ μου
4 Bar. 5.4	Ἦθελον κοιμηθῆναι ἐὸλίγον, ὅτι *βεβαρημένη *ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ μου
Acts John 25.4	Κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν αὐτῷ ἔφησαν· Ἐλπίς ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ σου, ἀλλὰ μάτην Ὁ εἶημεν ἐγγεγεμενοί, ἐὰν μὴ μείνης παρ' ἡμῖν.
Acts John 47.7	Ὁ δὲ αὐτόθι πιστεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν *ἦν λοιπὸν *προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Ἰωάννη.
Acts John 50.1	καὶ τὸν πατέρα σου δεῖξόν μοι ποῦ Ὁ *ἐστι *κείμενος.
Acts John 73.2	παρὰ βραχὺ γὰρ Ὁ *ἤμην *εὐρών αὐτήν
Acts John 76.3	ἀποσυλήσαντός μου ἤδη ἄπερ Ὁ *ἦν *ἠμφιεσμένη ἐντάφια,
Acts Paul 10.6	ἀλλ' Ὁ *ἦν *ἀτενίζουσα τῷ λόγῳ Παύλου.
Acts Paul 23.1	*Ἦν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος *νηστεύων μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐν μνημείῳ ἀνοικτῷ,
Acts Paul 28.4	ἡ γὰρ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Φαλκονίλλα *ἦν *τεθνεῶσα, καὶ κατ' ὄναρ εἶπεν αὐτῇ
Acts Paul 9.4	σοὶ γὰρ Ὁ *ἐστὶν *ἠρμοσμένη.
Acts Pil. 11.3	καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς οὐδέπω *ἦν *κείμενος.
Acts Pil. 12.1	καὶ ἐσφράγισαν τὴν θύραν ὅπου *ἦν *ἐγκεκλεισμένος Ἴωσήφ
Acts Pil. 15.1a	ὅτι αὐτοὶ *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν *εἰσιν καὶ ἄνδρες εὐπορίας, μισοῦντες πλεονεξίαν, ἄνδρες εἰρήνης·
Acts Pil. 15.1b	ὅτι αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν εἰσιν καὶ ἄνδρες εὐπορίας, Ὁ *Ἦ *μισοῦντες πλεονεξίαν, ἄνδρες εἰρήνης·
Acts Pil. 15.6	καὶ παραφύλακες ἐτήρουν ὅπου Ὁ *ἦς *κεκλεισμένος.
Acts Pil. 15.7	καὶ ἐξέβαλέν με ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου Ὁ *ἤμην *πεπτωκώς,
Acts Pil. 17.1a	αὐτοὶ δὲ *εἰσι *ζῶντες καὶ διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Ἀριμαθίᾳ.
Acts Pil. 17.1b	αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσι ζῶντες καὶ Ὁ *Ἦ *διατρίβοντες ἐν τῇ Ἀριμαθίᾳ.
Acts Pil. 5.2	*ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι *ἐμβριμούμενοι καὶ τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου.



Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Acts Pil. 5.2b	ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμβριμούμενοι καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου.
Acts Pil. 7.1	Καὶ γυνή τις, ὄνομα Βερνίκη, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν κράζουσα εἶπεν·*αἰμορροοῦσα $\emptyset$ *ἤμην, καὶ ἠψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ,
Acts Thom. 105.6	Μυγδονίαν δὲ οὐ κατέλαβεν, *ἀναχωρήσασα γὰρ $\emptyset$ *ἦν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ἐγνωκυῖα ὅτι ἐμηνύθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἦν.
Acts Thom. 122.8	καὶ πῶς νῦν $\emptyset$ *ἀνεωγμένοι *εἰσὶν καὶ οἱ δεσμῶται ἔνδον;
Acts Thom. 16.2	Ἀπελθόντες οὖν περιῆλθον ζητοῦντες αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ εὔρον αὐτόν· $\emptyset$ *πλεύσας γὰρ *ἦν.
Acts Thom. 16.3	ἀπῆλθον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον ὅπου $\emptyset$ *ἦν *καταλύσας,
Acts Thom. 170.6	λαβῶν δὲ κόνιν ὅθεν *ἦν τὰ ὀστα̃ *κείμενα* τοῦ ἀποστόλου
Acts Thom. 27.2	οὐδέπω γὰρ $\emptyset$ *ἦσαν *δεξάμενοι τὸ ἐπισφράγισμα τῆς σφραγίδος.
Acts Thom. 38.3	ἃ κατὰ ἀγνωσίαν $\emptyset$ *ἦτε *πεποιηκότες
Acts Thom. 9.5	οὐδέπω γὰρ *ἦν ἐκεῖ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος *ἀποκαλυφθεὶς
Acts Thom. 91.5	διότι *γευσάμενος *ἤμην τοῦ πέρδικος
Acts Thom. 91.6	ὁ δὲ ἀετὸς οὗτος οὐκ *ἦν *γευσάμενος πέρδικος ἕως τοῦ νῦν.
Apoc. Paul 12	κατέχοντας βραβεῖα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς *ἦν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου *ἐγγεγραμμένον
Apoc. Paul 24	καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπέν μοι ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο *εἰσὶν τὰ δένδρα μὴ *καρποφοροῦντα
Apoc. Paul 31	καὶ *ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *τεθεμελιωμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ
Apoc. Sedr. 10.2	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἔστι *διεσπορισμένη εἰς πάντα τὰ μέλη σου;
Barn. 10.5	οἵτινες εἰς τέλος *εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ *κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ,
Barn. 11.9	Καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐπαινουμένη παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Barn. 14.2	Καὶ *ἦν Μωϋσῆς *νηστεύων ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα.
Barn. 18.1	ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ *εἰσιν *τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ.
Barn. 19.4	ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, Ø *ἔση *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας
Barn. 4.7	Καὶ *ἦν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει *νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα
Did. 9.4	Ὡσπερ *ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα *διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων
Diogn. 5.1	Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῆ οὔτε φωνῆ οὔτε ἔσθεσι *διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν *εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων.
Diogn. 5.3	οὐ μὴν ἐπινοία τι καὶ φροντίδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς *ἔστιν *εὐρημένον,
Herm. 1.3	*ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ *ἀπερρηγῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων
Herm. 10.6a	Ø *ἠρμοσμένοι γὰρ *ἦσαν καὶ συνεφώνουν τῇ ἀρμογῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων λίθων·
Herm. 10.8a	*ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν *ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν.
Herm. 10.8b	ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς *ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν.
Herm. 10.8c	ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ *κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν.
Herm. 10.8d	ἦσαν γὰρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐψωριακότες, ἕτεροι δὲ σχισμὰς ἔχοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ κεκολοβωμένοι, ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ στρογγύλοι, μὴ *ἀρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν.
Herm. 100.2	καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλαλιῶν ἑαυτῶν Ø *μεμαρασμένοι *εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει·
Herm. 104.1	οὐ *ἦσαν δένδρα *σκεπάζοντα πρόβατά τινα

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Herm. 11.2	*πεπληρωμένοι γάρ Ø *εἰσιν.
Herm. 12.3	λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, καὶ οὐθεν ἔξωθεν ἐστὶν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ βέβαια καὶ *τεθεμελιωμένα *ἐστίν.
Herm. 16.7	κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ Ø *γεγεννημένοι *εἰσίν
Herm. 17.8	Ø *ἐνεσκιρωμένοι *ἐστὲ καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθαρίσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν
Herm. 18.1	τούτων τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ εἶδον, ὅτι Ø *ἀπεστραμμένοι *ἦσαν.
Herm. 18.5	ἰλαρὰ δὲ εἰς τέλος Ø *ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ συμψελίου *καθημένη
Herm. 2.1a	κἀγὼ ὄλος *ἤμην *πεφρικῶς καὶ λυπούμενος
Herm. 2.1b	κἀγὼ ὄλος ἤμην πεφρικῶς καὶ Ø *Ø *λυπούμενος
Herm. 2.4	*ἐστὶν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλή ἀμαρτίαν *ἐπιφέρουσα
Herm. 21.4	οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὀλοτελῶς νέοι *ἔσονται καὶ ο *τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες.
Herm. 34.8	καὶ Ø *ἔση *εὕρισκόμενος μετὰ τῆς σεμνότητος τῆς ἠγαπημένης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου
Herm. 43.12	πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν ὑψοῖ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θέλει πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἔχειν, καὶ εὐθύς ἰταμός *ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναιδῆς καὶ πολὺλαλος καὶ ἐν τρυφαῖς πολλαῖς ἀναστρεφόμενος καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις πολλαῖς ἀπάταις, καὶ μισθοὺς *λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ
Herm. 43.8	πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον τὸ ἄνωθεν πραῦς *ἐστὶ καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων καὶ *ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ματαίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
Herm. 46.4	Κύριε, αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐταὶ μεγάλαι καὶ καλαὶ καὶ ἔνδοξοί *εἰσι καὶ *δυναμέναι εὐφρᾶναι καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δυναμένου τηρῆσαι αὐτάς
Herm. 51.9	ἀλλ' Ø *ἔσται *ἐπιγεγραμμένος εἰς τὰς βίβλους τῶν ζώντων.
Herm. 57.2a	μάτην Ø *ἔσομαι *ἑωρακῶς αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ νοῶν τί ἐστὶν
Herm. 57.2b	μάτην ἔσομαι ἑωρακῶς αὐτὰ καὶ Ø *Ø μὴ *νοῶν τί ἐστὶν
Herm. 57.2c	καὶ μὴ ἐπιλύσης μοι αὐτάς, Ø εἰς μάτην *ἔσομαι *ἠκουκῶς τι παρὰ σοῦ.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Herm. 6.1	Μετὰ δὲ δέκα καὶ πέντε ἡμέρας νηστεύσαντός μου καὶ πολλὰ ἐρωτήσαντος τὸν κύριον ἀπεκαλύφθη μοι ἡ γνώσις τῆς γραφῆς. *ἦν δὲ *γεγραμμένα ταῦτα·
Herm. 61.6a	ὡσεὶ Ø *τρυφῶντα *ἦν καὶ λίαν σπαταλῶντα,
Herm. 61.6b	ὡσεὶ τρυφῶντα ἦν καὶ λίαν Ø *Ø *σπαταλῶντα,
Herm. 61.6c	καὶ ἰλαρὰ Ø *ἦν *σκιρτῶντα
Herm. 62.4	οὗτοι οὖν *κατεφθαρμένοι *εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
Herm. 67.7	ἀλλ' Ø οὐκ *ἦσαν *βεβρωμένοι ὑπὸ σηγῆς·
Herm. 70.2	ὧν *εἰσὶν αἱ ῥάβδοι *πεφυτευμένοι
Herm. 70.6	τινὲς δὲ οἶαι *ἦσαν ἡμίξηροι καὶ σχισμὰς *ἔχουσαι.
Herm. 78.7	μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς Ø *μεμαρασμένοι *ἦσαν
Herm. 78.8	καὶ ὄλον τὸ ὄρος *εὐθηνοῦν *ἦν,
Herm. 79.4a	*ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ Ø *ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεζωσμένοι ἦσαν εὐπρεπῶς
Herm. 79.4b	ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ Ø *περιεζωσμένοι *ἦσαν εὐπρεπῶς,
Herm. 79.4c	περιεζωσμένοι ἦσαν εὐπρεπῶς, ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους Ø *Ø *ἔχουσαι τοὺς δεξιούς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν
Herm. 81.1	καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ λίθου Ø *ὑποδεδυκίαι *ἦσαν·
Herm. 81.2	ἡ δὲ πέτρα καὶ ἡ πύλη *ἦν *βαστάζουσα ὄλον τὸν πύργον.
Herm. 81.6a	οὐ γὰρ Ø *ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων *ἐπιδεδομένοι, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης παρενηνεγμένοι
Herm. 81.6b	οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιδεδομένοι, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης Ø *Ø *παρενηνεγμένοι
Herm. 86.7a	ὁ γὰρ πύργος οὕτως *ἦν *ᾠκοδομημένος, ὥστε με ἰδόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ
Herm. 86.7b	οὕτω γὰρ Ø *ἦν *ᾠκοδομημένος,
Herm. 90.2	εἰς μάτην Ø *ἔση τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ *φορῶν.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Herm. 90.4	τούτων τῶν παρθένων τὴν δύναμιν $\emptyset$ *ένδεδυμένοι *εἰσί
Herm. 95.2	διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὴ ἐγνωκότες θεὸν καὶ πονηρευόμενοι *κεκριμένοι *εἰσὶν εἰς θάνατον,
Herm. 98.4	ἤδη $\emptyset$ *παραδεδομένοι *εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναίξιν ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν.
Hist. Rech. 1.2	οὗτος *ἦν *παρακαλῶν τὸν θεὸν
Hist. Rech. 10.2	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἔσεσθε *ὑπακούοντες θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ
Hist. Rech. 10.4	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἤμεθα *διανυκτερεύοντες τὴν νύκταν ἐκείνην.
Hist. Rech. 11.4	$\emptyset$ *ἔσμεν δὲ καὶ *προσευχόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας·
Hist. Rech. 11.7	καὶ μετὰ τὸ δύο τέκνα ποιῆσαι, ἀφίστανται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ $\emptyset$ *εἰσὶν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μὴ *γινώσκοντες ὅτι ...
Hist. Rech. 13.5	$\emptyset$ *ἔσόμεθα γὰρ *ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας τρεῖς.
Hist. Rech. 19.6	καὶ διήγαγέ με δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ $\emptyset$ *ἤμην *κατοικῶν.
Hist. Rech. 19.7	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἤμην *αὐλιζόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.
Hist. Rech. 2.2	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἤμην *προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς·
Hist. Rech. 2.6a	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἤμην *προσευχόμενος καὶ πορευόμενος·
Hist. Rech. 2.6b	καὶ ἤμην προσευχόμενος καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *πορευόμενος·
Hist. Rech. 7.2	παραλαβὼν με οὖν ὁ ὑπηρέτης, ἀπήγαγέ με εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον αὐτοῦ· καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἤμεθα ὑποκάτω δένδρου *διοικούμενοι·
Hist. Rech. 7.6a	$\emptyset$ *ἦσαν οὖν *ἐπερωτῶντές με πάντα· καὶ ἤμην ἀναγγέλλων αὐτοῖς
Hist. Rech. 7.6b	ἦσαν οὖν ἐπερωτῶντές με πάντα· καὶ ἤμην *ἀναγγέλλων αὐτοῖς
Ign. Eph. 19.2	αὐτὸς δὲ *ἦν *ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα
Ign. Eph. 2.2	*πρέπον οὖν *ἔστιν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ἡμᾶς,
Ign. Eph. 5.3	σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα $\emptyset$ *ᾶμεν θεοῦ *ὑποτασσόμενοι

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Ign. Magn. 3.2	εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς *πρέπον *ἔστιν ὑπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν·
Ign. Magn. 4.1	Πρέπον οὖν ἔστιν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς,
Ign. Phld. 10.1	*πρέπον *ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐκκλησίᾳ θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ θεοῦ πρεσβείαν,
Ign. Phld. 3.2	καὶ οὗτοι θεοῦ ἔσσονται, ἵνα Ø *ᾧσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν *ζῶντες.
Ign. Rom. 10.2	πάντες γάρ εἰσιν ἄξιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς *πρέπον ὑμῖν *ἔστιν κατὰ πάντα ἀναπαῦσαι.
Ign. Smyrn. 7.2	*πρέπον οὖν *ἔστιν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων,
Ign. Tral. 12.3	εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον Ø *ᾧ ἐν ὑμῖν *γράψας.
Inf. Gos. Thom. 11.2	ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλῖον ὅπερ Ø*ἦν *βεβλημένος, ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἤνεγκε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ.
Inf. Gos. Thom. 19.5	ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἠκολούθησεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ø *ἦν *ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς γονεῖσιν αὐτοῦ.
Inf. Gos. Thom. 2.1	Τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον Ἰη(σοῦ)ς πενταέτης γενόμενος *παίζων *ἦν ἐν διαβάσει ρύακος
Inf. Gos. Thom. 7.2	τάχα τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς κοσμοποιίας *ἔστιν *γεγεννημένον.
Jos. Asen. 1.2	καὶ Ø *ἦν *συνάγων τὸν σῖτον τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.
Jos. Asen. 1.3	...καὶ ἦν σύμβουλος τοῦ Φαραῶ ὅτι Ø *ἦν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας Φαραῶ *συνίων.
Jos. Asen. 10.1	καὶ *ἦν αὕτη *γρηγοροῦσα μόνη
Jos. Asen. 11.1a	καὶ ἀνένευσε μικρὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς Ἄσενεθ ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς τέφρας οὗ Ø *ἦν *ἐπικειμένη ὅτι ἦν κεκμηκυῖα σφόδρα καὶ παρειμένη τοῖς μέλεσι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν.
Jos. Asen. 11.1b	καὶ ἀνένευσε μικρὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς Ἄσενεθ ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς τέφρας οὗ ἦν ἐπικειμένη ὅτι Ø *ἦν *κεκμηκυῖα σφόδρα καὶ παρειμένη τοῖς μέλεσι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Jos. Asen. 11.1c	καὶ ἀνένευσε μικρὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς Ἄσενέθ ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς τέφρας οὗ ἦν ἐπικειμένη ὅτι ἦν κεκμηκυῖα σφόδρα καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *παρειμένη τοῖς μέλεσι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν.
Jos. Asen. 11.1x	καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς *ἦσαν *ἀπλούμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς τέφρας
Jos. Asen. 11.2	καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς *ἦν *κεκλεισμένον
Jos. Asen. 12.2	ἀλλ' $\emptyset$ *εἰσὶν ἕως τέλους *ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημά σου
Jos. Asen. 13.6	ὁ *ἦν τὸ πρότερον *καταρραϊνόμενον μύροις
Jos. Asen. 15.12x	τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς *ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τοῦ ὑψίστου *γεγραμμένον τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου πρὸ πάντων
Jos. Asen. 18.3	καὶ ἰδοὺ *ἦν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς *συμπεπτωκὸς ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως καὶ τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν
Jos. Asen. 18.6	ἐν ᾧ *ἦσαν λίθοι πολυτελεῖς τίμιοι *ἡρτημένοι ἀναρίθμητοι
Jos. Asen. 19.8	*εὐλογημένη *εἶ σὺ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ
Jos. Asen. 19.8b	καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
Jos. Asen. 2.1a	Καὶ *ἦν Ἄσενέθ *ἐξουθενοῦσα καὶ καταπτύουσα πάντα ἄνθρωπον.
Jos. Asen. 2.1b	Καὶ ἦν Ἄσενέθ ἐξουθενοῦσα καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *καταπτύουσα πάντα ἄνθρωπον.
Jos. Asen. 2.2b	καὶ * $\emptyset$ οἱ τοῖχοι αὐτοῦ λίθοις ποικίλοις καὶ τιμίοις *πεπλακωμένοι.
Jos. Asen. 2.3	καὶ *ἦσαν ἐντὸς τοῦ θαλάμου ἐκείνου εἰς τοὺς τοίχους *πεπηγμένοι οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
Jos. Asen. 2.4	Καὶ *ἦν ὁ δεύτερος θάλαμος *ἔχων τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα καὶ τὰς θήκας Ἄσενέθ
Jos. Asen. 2.6	Καὶ αὗται *ἦσαν *διακονοῦσαι τῇ Ἄσενέθ
Jos. Asen. 2.7a	Καὶ *ἦν ἡ μία θυρὶς ἡ πρώτη μεγάλη σφόδρα *ἀποβλέπουσα ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν εἰς ἀνατολὰς
Jos. Asen. 2.7b	καὶ ἡ δευτέρα *ἦν *ἀποβλέπουσα εἰς μεσημβρίαν
Jos. Asen. 2.7c	καὶ ἡ τρίτη *ἦν *ἀποβλέπουσα εἰς βορρᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμφοδον τῶν παραπορευομένων

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Jos. Asen. 2.8	καὶ *ἦν ἡ κλίνη *έστρωμένη πορφυρᾶ χρυσοῦφῆ ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ βύσσου καθυφασμένη
Jos. Asen. 21.12	ἐγὼ *ἦμην *εὐθνηοῦσα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός μου
Jos. Asen. 22.13a	ὅτι $\emptyset$ *ἦν *προσκείμενος πρὸς τὸν κύριον
Jos. Asen. 22.13c	καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ συνίων καὶ προφήτης ὑψίστου καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ ὀξέως *βλέπων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ
Jos. Asen. 22.6	καὶ *ἦν *Ἰσραὴλ *καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ
Jos. Asen. 22.8	$\emptyset$ *εὐλογημένη *ἔσται τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ
Jos. Asen. 27.1	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἦν *φοβούμενος τὸν κύριον σφόδρα
Jos. Asen. 3.1	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἦν *συνάγων τὸν σῆτον τῆς εὐθηνίας τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης.
Jos. Asen. 3.6a	καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς οἵτινες *ἦσαν *περιηρημένοι πάντοθεν
Jos. Asen. 3.6b	καὶ *ἦσαν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν Αἰγυπτίων *έγκεκολαμμένα πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ψελίοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις
Jos. Asen. 3.6c	καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν εἰδώλων πάντων *ἦσαν *έκτετυπωμένα ἐν αὐτοῖς.
Jos. Asen. 5.5a	καὶ *ἦν *Ἰωσήφ *ένδεδυμένος χιτῶνα λευκὸν καὶ ἕξαλλον
Jos. Asen. 8.5b	καὶ *ἦσαν οἱ μασθοὶ αὐτῆς ἤδη *έστῶτες ὡσπερ μῆλα ὠραῖα.
Jos. Asen. 8.5a	οὐκ *ἔστι *προσῆκον ἀνδρὶ θεοσεβεῖ...φιλησαι γυναῖκα ἀλλοτρίαν
Jos. Asen. 8.7	ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικὶ θεοσεβεῖ οὐκ ἔστι προσῆκον φιλησαι ἄνδρα ἀλλότριον
Jos. Asen. 8.8	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἦν *ἀτενίζουσα τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἀνεωγμένων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς
LAE 20.1	καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι γυμνὴ ἦμην τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἣς $\emptyset$ *ἦμην *ένδεδυμένη.
LAE 21.4	ἄμα γὰρ φάγης, $\emptyset$ *ἔσει *γινώσκων καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.
LAE 5.3	*ἦν γὰρ *οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ εἰς τρία μέρη
Let. Aris. 106	ὅπως μηδενὸς θιγγάνωσιν ὧν οὐ *δέον *ἔστιν.
Let. Aris. 114	ἐργάσιμος γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐμπορίαν *ἔστι *κατεσκευασμένη ἡ χώρα.
Let. Aris. 147	ὅτι *δέον *ἔστι κατὰ ψυχὴν, οἷς ἡ νομοθεσία διατέτακται, δικαιοσύνη συγχρηῆσθαι καὶ μηδένα καταδυναστεύειν



Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Let. Aris. 165	τό τε τῆς γαλῆς γένος *ιδιάζον *ἔστί
Let. Aris. 176	ἐν αἷς *ἦν ἡ νομοθεσία *γεγραμμένη χρυσογραφία τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς γράμμασι,
Let. Aris. 182a	ὅς *ἦν ἐπὶ τούτων *ἀποτεταγμένος
Let. Aris. 182b	*ἦν γὰρ οὕτω *διατεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως,
Let. Aris. 187	ὅ *ἦσαν γὰρ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν ἀνάπτωσιν *πεπονημένοι
Let. Aris. 19	μεγίστως γὰρ τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπὲρ τοὺς προγόνους, εἰ καὶ μέγιστα ποιήσεις χαριστήρια, *καθῆκόν *ἔστι σοι.
Let. Aris. 200	Οἶομαι διαφέρειν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀρετῇ καὶ συνιέναι πλείον, οἵτινες ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις λαμβάνοντες, ὡς *δέον *ἔστιν ἀποκέκρινται, πάντες ἀπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ λόγου τὴν καταρχὴν ποιούμενοι.
Let. Aris. 219	τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον, ὃ *δέον αὐτοῖς *ἔστιν ὑποκρίνεσθαι,
Let. Aris. 22	ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά ὅ *εἰσιν *εἰσηγμένοι τῶν τοιούτων,
Let. Aris. 223	τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ βρωτὰ καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς *εἰκός *ἔστι κεκλίσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ χώρας κατάκτησιν, κατὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος·
Let. Aris. 235	καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ *προέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅ *ἦσαν
Let. Aris. 250	*δέον δ *ἔστι κατὰ τὸ ὑγιὲς χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἔριν ἀντιπράσσειν.
Let. Aris. 255	ἵνα πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐπινοήσαντες ὅ *ᾤμεν εὖ *βεβουλευμένοι,
Let. Aris. 26	Καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅ *εἰσηγμένοι *εἰσὶ τῶν τοιούτων,
Let. Aris. 292	ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸν ἡγούμενον, ὅταν ὅ μισοπόνηρος *ἦ καὶ φιλάγαθος καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ *ποιούμενος ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου σώζειν·
Let. Aris. 297	ψεύσασθαι μὲν οὖν οὐ *καθῆκόν *ἔστι περὶ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων
Let. Aris. 304	*προστεταγμένον γὰρ ὅ *ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.
Let. Aris. 31	*δέον δέ *ἔστι καὶ ταῦθ ὑπάρχειν παρά σοι διηκριβωμένα,
Let. Aris. 40	γράφων δὲ καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἐὰν βούλη *κεχαρισμένος ἔση

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Let. Aris. 61	πάντες δ' *ἦσαν διὰ τρημάτων *κατειλημμένοι χρυσαῖς περόναις πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.
Let. Aris. 7	φιλομαθῶς γὰρ ἔχοντί σοι περὶ τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελῆσαι διάνοιαν *δέον *ἔστι μεταδιδόναι,
Liv. Pro. 1.7	καὶ Ø *ἔστιν ἕως τῆς σήμερον τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ἱερέων *ἀγνοουμένη,
Liv. Pro. 12.4	ὡς δὲ ἐπέστρεψαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι οἱ ὄντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατέβησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, Ø *ἦν *παροικῶν τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ.
Mart. Paul 3.8a	ὁ δὲ Παῦλος *ἦν μὴ *σιωπῶν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ κοινούμενος τῷ πραιφέκτῳ Λόγγῳ καὶ Κέστῳ τῷ κεντυρίωνι.
Mart. Paul 3.8b	ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἦν μὴ σιωπῶν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ *Ø Ø *κοινούμενος τῷ πραιφέκτῳ Λόγγῳ καὶ Κέστῳ τῷ κεντυρίωνι.
Mart. Pet. 11.2	ὁ μὴ *ἔξον *ἦν
Mart. Pet. 12.6	Καὶ *ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν *εὐφραϊνόμενοι καὶ ἀγαλλιῶντες ἐν κυρίῳ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
Mart. Pet. 12.6b	Καὶ ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφραϊνόμενοι καὶ Ø *Ø *ἀγαλλιῶντες ἐν κυρίῳ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
Mart. Pet. 12.6c	Καὶ *ἦσαν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφραϊνόμενοι καὶ ἀγαλλιῶντες ἐν κυρίῳ, *δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι
Mart. Pet. 3.3	ἀλλ' οὕτω Πέτρος ὁ ἐλέγχων αὐτὸν *ἦν *ἐνδημῶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ,
Mart. Pet. 4.1a	Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος *ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ *ἀγαλλιώμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εὐχαριστῶν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ τῷ καθημερινῷ τῷ προσαγομένῳ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἀγίῳ τῇ τοῦ κυρίου χάριτι.
Mart. Pet. 4.1b	Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀγαλλιώμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Ø *Ø *εὐχαριστῶν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ ὄχλῳ τῷ καθημερινῷ τῷ προσαγομένῳ τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἀγίῳ τῇ τοῦ κυρίου χάριτι.

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
Pol. Phil. 1.3	εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾶ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένη εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτι $\emptyset$ *ἔστε *σεσωσμένοι
Pol. Phil. 13.2	αἵτινες *ὑποτεταγμένοι *εἰσὶν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ
Prot. Jas. 12.1	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἔση *εὐλογημένη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς
Prot. Jas. 18.2	ἀλλὰ πάντων *ἦν τὰ πρόσωπα ἄνω *βλέποντα
Prot. Jas. 22.3a	Καὶ *ἦν τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο *διαφαῖνον αὐτῇ φῶς
Prot. Jas. 4.1	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἔσται *λειτουργῶν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.
Prot. Jas. 7.2	καὶ ἐγένετο τριετὴς ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ· Καλέσατε τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς ἀμιάντους καὶ λαβέτωσαν ἀνά λαμπάδα, καὶ *ἔστωσαν *καιόμεναι,
Sib. Or. 1.245-46	οὔτε γὰρ ὕδωρ 246 *ἦν *κοπάσαν,
Sib. Or. 1.286	ὅτι πάντα θεῶ *μεμελημένη *ἔσται.
Sib. Or. 1.51-52	τόδε γὰρ *τετελεσμένον *ἦεν θνητῶ ἐνὶ χώρῳ μεῖναι,
Sib. Or. 13.24-25	ἐπὶ πρώτου κείκοστοῦ πένθ' ἑκατοντάδες *εἰσὶ *τεθειμένοι.
Sib. Or. 3.272	πᾶς δὲ *προσοχθίζων *ἔσται τοῖς σοῖς ἐθίμοισιν.
Sib. Or. 3.595	μέγα δ' ἔξοχα πάντων 595 ἀνθρώπων ὁσίης εὐνῆς *μεμνημένοι $\emptyset$ *εἰσὶν·
Sib. Or. 3.721	ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθανάτοιο τρίβου *πεπλανημένοι *ἤμεν,
Sib. Or. 3.75-76a	καὶ τότε δὴ κόσμος ὑπὸ ταῖς παλάμησι γυναικός *ἔσσεται *ἀρχόμενος καὶ πειθόμενος περὶ παντός.
Sib. Or. 3.75-76b	καὶ τότε δὴ κόσμος ὑπὸ ταῖς παλάμησι γυναικός ἔσσεται ἀρχόμενος καὶ * $\emptyset$ *πειθόμενος περὶ παντός.
Sib. Or. 5.162	$\emptyset$ *ἔσσει ἐν θνητοῖσι κακοῖς κακὰ *μοχθήσασα,
Sib. Or. 5.98	καὶ τότε $\emptyset$ *ἔση, πόλεων πολυόλβος, πολλὰ *καμοῦσα.
Sib. Or. 8.237	γῆ γὰρ *φρυχθεῖσα τότε *ἔσται 238 Σὺν πηγαῖς,
T. Ab. 5.7	ἐνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ *ἦν *κοιμώμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου.
T. Benj. 11.4	καὶ ἐν βίβλοις ἀγίαις $\emptyset$ *ἔσται *ἀναγραφόμενος,

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
T. Benj. 5.2	ἐὰν $\emptyset$ *ἦτε *ἀγαθοποιούντες
T. Benj. 9.4	καὶ *ἔσται τὸ ἄπλωμα τοῦ ναοῦ*σχιζόμενον
T. Benj. 9.5	καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου $\emptyset$ *ἔσται *ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν.
T. Dan 5.7a	καὶ υἱοὶ μου *ἐγγιζόντες *εἰσι τῷ Λευὶ καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνοντες αὐτοῖς ἐν πᾶσιν
T. Dan 5.7b	καὶ υἱοὶ μου ἐγγιζόντες εἰσι τῷ Λευὶ καὶ $\emptyset$ * $\emptyset$ *συνεξαμαρτάνοντες αὐτοῖς ἐν πᾶσιν
T. Dan 6.6	*ἔσται δὲ ἐν καιρῷ ἀνομίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ *ἀφιστάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν κύριος
T. Iss. 1.11	εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἂν *ἦς σὺ *ὄρῳσα πρόσωπον Ἰακώβ
T. Job 18.4	*ἠτονημένος γὰρ $\emptyset$ *ἦμην ὡς γυνὴ παρειμένη τὰς ὀσφύας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὠδίνων
T. Job 19.4	*εἶη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου *εὐλογημένον
T. Job 41.6	οἵτινες *ἀναγεγραμμένοι *εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς παραλειπομένοις τοῦ Ἐλιφᾶζ
T. Jos. 9.5	πάνυ γὰρ $\emptyset$ *ἦν ὡραία μάλιστα *κοσμουμένη πρὸς ἀπάτην μου
T. Jud. 7.11	καὶ *ἦσαν οἱ Χαναναῖοι *φοβούμενοί με καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου.
T. Jud. 9.8	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἦσαν *διδόντες ἡμῖν πυροῦ κόρους διακοσίους, ἐλαίου βεθ φ', οἴνου μέτρα χίλια πεντακόσια, ἕως ὅτε κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον
T. Levi 1.2	*ὕγιαίνων $\emptyset$ *ἦν ὅτε ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτόν
T. Levi 18 2B.56	καὶ οὐκέτι $\emptyset$ *ἔση *ἔσθίων ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος
T. Levi 18 2B.58	καὶ *ἠγαπημένος $\emptyset$ *ἔση ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου
T. Levi 18 2B.61	καὶ νῦν, τέκνον Λευί, *εὐλογημένον *ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων.
T. Levi 18 2B.64	ὅτι *ἐκβεβλημένος *ἔσται αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱερωσύνης
T. Levi 4.6	ὅτι ὁ εὐλογῶν αὐτὸν *εὐλογημένος *ἔσται, οἱ δὲ καταρώμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπολοῦνται
T. Levi 7.2	*ἔσται γὰρ ἀπὸ σήμερον Σίκιμα *λεγομένη πόλις ἀσυνέτων.
T. Levi 9.8	καὶ $\emptyset$ *ἦν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν *συνετίζων με

Table A3 continued

Reference	Token text
T. Levi 9.8b	καὶ εἰς ἐμέ *ἀσχολούμενος Ø *ἦν ἐνώπιον κυρίου
T. Reu. 2.5	τέταρτον πνεῦμα ὀσφρήσεως, μεθ' ἧς *ἔστι γεύσεις *δεδομένη εἰς συνολκὴν ἀέρος καὶ πνοῆς.
T. Reu. 3.13a	ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γάδερ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλέεμ, Βάλλα *ἦν *μεθύουσα καὶ κοιμωμένη ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι
T. Reu. 3.13b	ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γάδερ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλέεμ, Βάλλα ἦν μεθύουσα καὶ Ø *Ø *κοιμωμένη ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι
T. Reu. 4.6c	ὅτι αὕτη *ἔστι *πλανῶσα τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν
T. Sim. 4.1	Καὶ *ἦν *ἔρωτῶν ὁ πατὴρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἐώρα με σκυθρωπόν
T. Sim. 5.2	καὶ Ø *ἔσεσθε *εὐρίσκοντες χάριν ἐνώπιον θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.
T. Sol. 1.2	καὶ ἐλεπτύνετο τὸ παιδίον ὅπερ *ἦν *ἀγαπώμενον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σφόδρα
T. Sol. 16.2	οὕτως Ø *εἰμὶ *ἐπιθυμῶν σωματῶν,
T. Sol. 19.1a	Καὶ *ἤμην ἐγὼ Σολομῶν *τιμώμενος ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.
T. Sol. 19.1b	καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου *ἦν *εὐθύνοσα.
T. Sol. 20.17	οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *τεθεμελιωμένοι *εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι.
T. Sol. 24.4a	καὶ *ἦν *κρεμάμενος ὁ κίων ὑπερμεγέθης διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων βασταζόμενος
T. Sol. 25.9a	καὶ Ø *ἤμην *χαίρων καὶ δοξάζων αὐτόν.
T. Sol. 25.9b	καὶ ἤμην χαίρων καὶ Ø *Ø *δοξάζων αὐτόν.
T. Sol. 7.1a	καὶ Ø *ἦν τὸ πρόσωπον *ἐπιφέρων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνω ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπόλειπον τοῦ σώματος εἰλούμενον ὡσεὶ κοχλίας.
T. Sol. 7.1b	καὶ ἦν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιφέρων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἄνω ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπόλειπον τοῦ σώματος *Ø *εἰλούμενον ὡσεὶ κοχλίας.

Table A4. List of thetic tokens used in this study

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Token text</i>
3 Baruch 2.3	καὶ *ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι *κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ
Acts Thom. 57.2	*εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τινες τελείως *καταναλισκόμεναι, καὶ εἰς ἄλλας κολάσεις παραδίδονται.
Acts Andr. 2.3	καὶ *ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀγαλλίασις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς *γενομένη, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἔσχεν ὁ Αἰγεάτης ἔννοιαν ἐπεξελεθεῖν τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον αἰτίαν.
Acts John 3.2a	*ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος, μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσιν *ὑπακοῦον μήτε ταῖς Ἰουδαίων θρησκείαις *συνευδοκοῦν, ἀπερίτμητον, ἀπάνθρωπον, ἄνομον, ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπον, ἄνθρωπον θεὸν *καταγγέλλοντες,
Acts John 3.2b	*ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος, μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσιν ὑπακοῦον μήτε ταῖς Ἰουδαίων θρησκείαις *συνευδοκοῦν, ἀπερίτμητον, ἀπάνθρωπον, ἄνομον, ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπον, ἄνθρωπον θεὸν *καταγγέλλοντες,
Acts John 3.2c	*ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος, μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσιν ὑπακοῦον μήτε ταῖς Ἰουδαίων θρησκείαις συνευδοκοῦν, ἀπερίτμητον, ἀπάνθρωπον, ἄνομον, ὅλους οἴκους *ἀνατρέπον, ἄνθρωπον θεὸν *καταγγέλλοντες,
Acts John 3.2d	*ἔστιν δὲ καινὸν καὶ ξένον ἔθνος, μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔθεσιν ὑπακοῦον μήτε ταῖς Ἰουδαίων θρησκείαις συνευδοκοῦν, ἀπερίτμητον, ἀπάνθρωπον, ἄνομον, ὅλους οἴκους ἀνατρέπον, ἄνθρωπον θεὸν *καταγγέλλοντες,
Acts Thom. 51.1	*Ἦν δὲ τις νεανίσκος *διαπραξάμενος πρᾶγμα ἀθέμιτον, προσελθὼν δὲ ἔλαβεν τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῷ ἰδίῳ στόματι,
Apoc. Paul 29	καὶ *ἦν τις *ἔστῳς πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
Barn. 11.10	Καὶ *ἦν ποταμὸς *ἔλκων ἐκ δεξιῶν,
Hist. Rech. 6.3	καὶ *ἦσαν *παριστάμενοι νεανίσκοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις
Inf. Gos. Thom. 2.2	*ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παιδιά πολλὰ *παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ.
Inf. Gos. Thom. 3.1	Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τοῦ γραμματέως *ἦν *ἔστῳς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ,

Table A4 continued

Reference	Token text
Jos. Asen. 17.4a	κύριε *εἰσὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι *ὑπηρετοῦσαί μοι συντεθραμμένοι μοι ἐκ νεότητός μου τεχθεῖσαι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί
Jos. Asen. 17.4b	κύριε εἰσὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι ὑπηρετοῦσαί μοι *συντεθραμμένοι μοι ἐκ νεότητός μου τεχθεῖσαι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί
Jos. Asen. 17.4c	κύριε εἰσὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἑπτὰ παρθένοι ὑπηρετοῦσαί μοι συντεθραμμένοι μοι ἐκ νεότητός μου *τεχθεῖσαι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτί
Jos. Asen. 2.10a	Καὶ *ἦν αὐλὴ μεγάλη *παρακειμένη τῇ οἰκίᾳ κυκλόθεν
Jos. Asen. 2.10b	*ἦν τοῖχος κύκλω τῆς αὐλῆς ὑψηλὸν σφόδρα λίθοις τετραγώνοις μεγάλοις *ᾠκοδομημένον.
Jos. Asen. 2.11	καὶ *ἦσαν *πεφυτευμένα ἐντὸς τῆς αὐλῆς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος δένδρα ῥαῖα παντοδαπὰ καὶ καρποφόρα πάντα.
Jos. Asen. 2.12	καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τῆς πηγῆς *ἦν ληνὸς μεγάλη *δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς πηγῆς ἐκείνης
Jos. Asen. 2.1c	καθότι *ἦν πύργος τῷ Πεντεφρῆ *παρακείμενος τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς σφόδρα
Jos. Asen. 2.1d	καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ πύργου ἐκείνου *ἦν ὑπερῶν *ἔχον θαλάμους δέκα.
Jos. Asen. 2.8a	καὶ *ἦν κλίνη χρυσῆ *ἐστῶσα ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ ἀποβλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν θυρίδα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἦν ἡ κλίνη ἐστρωμένη πορφυρᾷ χρυσοῦφῃ ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ὕσσου καθυφασμένη
Jos. Asen. 2.8b	καὶ *ἦν κλίνη χρυσῆ ἐστῶσα ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ *ἀποβλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν θυρίδα κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἦν ἡ κλίνη ἐστρωμένη πορφυρᾷ χρυσοῦφῃ ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ὕσσου καθυφασμένη
Jos. Asen. 5.4	καὶ *ἦσαν *ἔζευγμένοι ἵπποι τέσσαρες λευκοὶ ὡσεὶ χιῶν χρυσοχάλινοι
Let. Aris. 94	πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τόπος αὐτοῖς *ἔστιν *ἀποτεταγμένος,
Liv. Pro. 10.4	*Ἦν τότε Ἡλίας *ἐλέγχων τὸν οἶκον Ἀχαάβ
Martydom of Paul 1.1	*Ἦσαν δὲ *περιμένοντες τὸν Παῦλον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Λουκᾶς ἀπὸ Γαλλίων καὶ Τίτος ἀπὸ Δαλματίας.
Prot. Jas. 19.2	Καὶ *ἦν νεφέλη φωτεινὴ *ἐπισκιάζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον.
Prot. Jas. 22.3b	ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν *διαφυλάσσων αὐτούς.
Sib. Or. 8.52	*ἔσσειτ' ἀναξ πολιοκράνος *ἔχων πέλας οὐνομα πόντου

Table A4 continued

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Token text</i>
T. Ab. 12.7	ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς τραπέζης ἦν βιβλίον *κείμενον,
T. Ash. 2.1	*Ἔστιν οὖν ψυχὴ *λέγουσα, φησί, τὸ καλὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ κακοῦ,
T. Ash. 2.3	καὶ *ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος *ἀγαπῶν τὸν πονηρευόμενον
T. Ash. 4.3	*ἔστι τις *μισῶν τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ ἄδικον
T. Dan 2.2	καὶ οὐκ *ἔστι τις *ὁρῶν πρόσωπον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ·
T. Job 11.1	*Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξένοι τινὲς *ιδόντες τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπηρετῆσαι τῇ διακονίᾳ.
T. Job 11.2	καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς *ἦσαν ποτε *ἀποροῦντες
T. Sol. 22.7	καὶ *ἦν Ἱερουσαλήμ *ῥυτιωμένη



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## ABSTRACT

### INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUENT ORDER IN EIMI + PARTICIPLE (PERIPHRAISIS) CONSTRUCTIONS: A TEST CASE IN THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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In this study, I carry out a conceptual replication study of Stephen Levinsohn's recent approach to copula + participle constructions ("periphrasis") on a corpus of texts from the Apostolic Fathers and Pseudepigrapha. Levinsohn argues that in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts the constituent order of all such constructions can be described by the same information structure (IS) principles, regardless of whether they are periphrastic or not, casting doubt on the traditional category of periphrasis. By examining all the cases in my corpus where a periphrastic form is obligatory in the Greek verbal system, I note that constituent order variation pervades periphrastic constructions, substantiating Levinsohn's IS analysis and demonstrating the need for attending to constituent order in describing copula + participle constructions.

Having validated the theoretical concerns animating Levinsohn's approach to Greek as implemented in Levinsohn's functional analysis, I analyze its explanatory power in my corpus. I test Levinsohn's IS constituent order claims over all the copula + participle constructions in my corpus. I conclude that Levinsohn's model of constituent order in copula + participle constructions is adequate for describing the constituent order of this alternate corpus of Koine Greek texts. This demonstrates that the same pragmatic principles which lie behind normal Greek clauses also explain constituent order in copula + participle clauses, suggesting that the copula is the main clause and the participial



clause is an embedded clause. As such, analyzing periphrastics in terms of Topic and Focus and other IS categories must be included in grammatical and exegetical considerations of these constructions.

Finally, I consider the way that these pragmatic patterns are implemented in sentences with copula + participle clauses, drawing on Klaas Bentein's prototype-based model of periphrasis and grammaticalization theory. Whatever distinct semantic or grammaticalization features lead a writer to select a copula + participle form, once selected it opens up the possibility of pragmatic ordering in both the main copular clause and the participial clause. Periphrastic constructions in Greek are more sensitive to the IS constituent order patterns which allow for pragmatically motivated constituent order variations than the grammaticalization-driven tendency for the copula and participle to remain adjacent to each other.

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