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ABSTRACT

This article examines developments in research on the linguistic and grammatical analysis of the language and literature of the New Testament since the publication of James Barr's important work in 1961. While there have been a large number of important advances since this time, the present survey restricts its analysis to research that has been significantly informed by modern linguistics. It considers four areas, in particular: verb structure, case structure, syntax and discourse analysis. Verbal aspect theory has been treated in more detail than any other aspect of the Greek verb. Most investigation of case structure has been informed by case grammar, originating in Fillmore's work. Syntactic theories that have been applied to the language of the New Testament draw mostly from the generative tradition of linguistics, but the OpenText.org project has recently implemented a functional and relational dependency model. Discourse analysis has typically been divided into four schools, but in recent research we see a fifth, eclectic approach, emerging.

Keywords: aspect, case, discourse analysis, Greek, linguistics, syntax.

Since the publication of James Barr's significant ground-clearing work (1961), major emphasis has been placed in some circles upon a linguistically informed approach to the biblical languages. But there has not been as much as one would think or hope. The most obvious response to Barr's work has perhaps been in the area of lexicography. Lexicons like Louw and

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Nida (1989) and theological dictionaries like Brown (1978) represent substantial methodological improvements in their models of classifying lexis under broad semantic categories instead of imposing whole concepts upon individual words. As Lee (2003: 158-66) has shown, however, even lexicons like Louw and Nida's (1989; see also Nida and Louw 1992 for theory and response to criticisms), which are based upon principles of modern linguistics, have fallen into many of the same snares as traditional lexicography so that much work still remains to be done here (on lexicography and lexical semantics, see Lee 2003; Porter 1996b: 49-74; Silva 1994; Thiselton 1977; Louw 1982; 1985). Collocation analysis, for example, has been explored as one promising line of research for making improvements upon Louw and Nida's cognitive model (see O'Donnell 1999a; 2005: 314-96).

Although advances in lexicography and lexical semantics may have been one of the more obvious responses to Barr's admonition, the most significant and innovative research on the language of the New Testament has been in the areas of grammar (verb and case structure), syntax and discourse analysis. In this article, we survey and assess these developments since the time of Barr's publication with a specific focus upon theories and applications that have been significantly informed by modern linguistics. Therefore, while works that fall within our time-line like Thrall (1962), Harris (1978), Maloney (1981), Spencer (1984), Caragounis (2004) and Johnson (2004) may make contributions to our understanding of the language, these works are not developed in light of an established linguistic framework, and so are not treated in the following discussion. Likewise, broader concerns revolving around the language of the New Testament—such as the language of Jesus, Asianic, literary and Semitic influence, language formality, dialect and register variation, and the history and current state of Greek grammars and lexica—are not taken up here either. Research on many of these issues has been catalogued in other places, however (on the Greek language, see Horrocks 1997; Porter 1991; 1996b: 75-99; Rydbeck 1998; for general surveys, see Porter 1997; 2000b; 2004b; Schmidt 1981: 3-13; see also Danker with Gadd 1988; Schmidt 1999).

1. *Verb Structure*

The most significant developments regarding Greek verb structure have involved explorations in verbal aspect theory. Bernard Comrie (1970; see also 1985) published the first significant English-language work devoted to the investigation of aspect. According to Comrie (1970: 3-5), English aspects provide different perspectives on the internal temporal constitu-

ency of a situation. The perfective aspect views a situation as a whole while the imperfective aspect views the internal workings of a situation. A little over ten years later, another important linguist, Bache, published an article (1982) making important semantic distinctions between verbal aspect and *Aktionsart*. This was followed by two important books, also by Bache, further exploring aspect theory in English (Bache 1985; 1995). Since then, Dahl (1985) and Verkuyl (1993; 1999) have also explored relevant topics in aspect. These key works set the theoretical and linguistic background for much of the discussion that takes place concerning aspect in the Greek of the New Testament.

Significant Forerunners (Juan Mateos and K.L. McKay)

Juan Mateos (1977) and K.L. McKay (1972; 1974a; 1974b; 1981; see also 1985; 1992; and esp. 1994) are perhaps the most important forerunners to the application of aspect theory to the Greek of the New Testament—anticipated in some ways by Stagg (1972) and Smith (1981) who called into question conventional understandings of the aorist. Mateos distinguished three types of aspect: lexematic, morphematic and syntagmatic. However, his definitions of these terms are focused upon the various kinds of actions referenced, a form of *Aktionsart* theory that goes back to the nineteenth century (see Brugmann 1885: 538-41). McKay, in particular, published extensively on the nature and application of aspect—in both Hellenistic and classical Greek—prior to the formulation of any formally developed theories of Greek aspect. McKay, nonetheless, exhibits, even in his early writing, all of the distinctives of contemporary aspect theorists: an insistence on distinguishing aspect ('the way in which the writer or speaker regards the action in its context') from *Aktionsart* (kind of action), an emphasis on aspect as the subjective portrayal of the action by a speaker, a shift away from emphasis on morphological time-indication—even in the indicative mood, a push to escape the mixture of aspect and temporality in tense terminology and an equation of tense-forms with aspectual categories. McKay (1972: 47-57) delineates four aspectual categories: imperfective (in process), aorist (a whole action or simple event), perfect (the state consequent upon an action), and future (intention). He justifies renaming the present (while leaving the other traditional terminology intact) by insisting that 'the term "present", because of its strong temporal associations, be restricted to the indicative' (McKay 1972: 45). Thus, McKay (1972: 45) suggests 'that the term "imperfective" be introduced to describe the corresponding aspect'. Porter's analysis (1989) is inspired in many ways by McKay's work. Fanning (1990: 93, 102, 104, 121-22) and Evans (2001: 26,

37, 145-46) also draw upon McKay, mostly in their analysis of individual tense-forms rather than in their methodology.

Aspect and Procedural Character (Buist Fanning)

Buist Fanning's monograph (1990) is one of two significant European doctoral dissertations focusing on verbal aspect in the Greek of the New Testament (the other is Porter 1989; see below). Fanning (1990: 8-9) maintains that the classical Greek philologists were able to distinguish aspect from *Aktionsart* through comparative studies in Indo-European languages. Unlike the rationalist philologists, however, his definitions clearly reflect a distinction between aspect and *Aktionsart*. He (1990: 41) follows Bache (1982; cf. also Bache 1985: 5-31, 145-52; over against Comrie 1970: 6-7) in defining *Aktionsart* as the procedural characteristics of the verb and defines aspect as 'that category in the grammar of the verb which reflects the focus or viewpoint of the speaker in regard to the verb' (Fanning 1990: 84). Following Mateos (1977), Fanning combines Vendler's (1957; 1967: 97-121) and Kenny's (1963: 151-86) taxonomies as the basis of his analysis of procedural character, insisting on a tight interplay between procedural characteristics—indicated by lexis—and aspectual function (1990: 127; rejected by Porter 1989: 29-35; Verkuyl 1993: 34-50). He delineates the distinctions in 'actional character' along Vendlarian lines as follows:

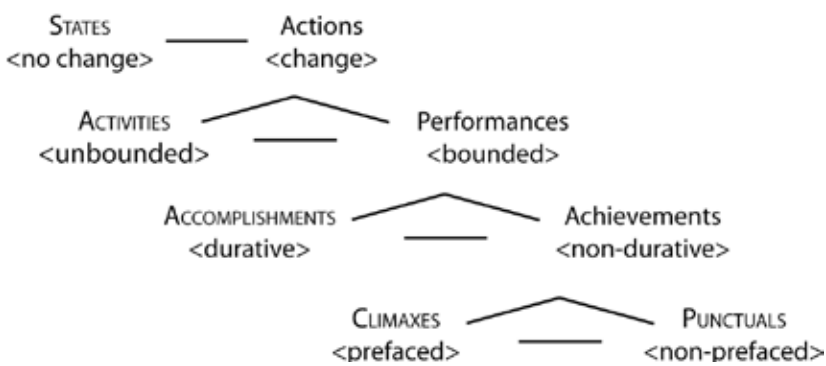

Fig. 1. *Procedural Characteristics of the Verb*

Fanning (1990: 129) claims that 'these features of meaning and their combinations in various ways in the different classes have a significant impact on the function of aspects…'. More generally, he insists that any proper understanding of aspect 'requires an interpreter to understand *both*

the basic meaning of the aspects themselves *and* their function in combination with other linguistic features' (Fanning 1990: 86). Fanning (1990: 77) has four particular meaning features in mind here: tense, procedural characteristics of verbs and actions, structural oppositions among aspects and discourse functions. This interrelational dimension of Fanning's model—specifically with respect to procedural character—is perhaps the most distinguishing and complex characteristic of his work (cf. Decker 2001: 19).

In his treatment of aspect, Fanning views the 'crucial aspectual distinction' from the reference-point of the speaker to be the distinction between internal and external action:

> The aspect can be viewed from a reference-point within the action, without reference to the beginning or end-point of the action, but with focus instead on its internal structure or make-up [present aspect]. Or the action can be viewed from a vantage-point outside the action, with focus on the whole action from beginning to end, without reference to its internal structure [aorist aspect] (Fanning 1990: 85).

The present (as well as the imperfect) indicates aspect as described by the first category as within the action (Fanning 1990: 103), while the aorist expresses aspect in the way described by the second category as outside the action (Fanning 1990: 99). Temporal indications, according to Fanning (1990: 323-24), are grammaticalized on the basis of both the indicative mood-form (and non-indicative mood-forms to a much lesser degree) and the combination of tense-forms with other contextual linguistic features, such as lexical meaning, adverbs and so forth.

Fanning (1990: 72, cf. 74) also argues for a secondary discourse function for verbs, as contributing 'to the ability of a language to structure extended texts'. He identifies (1990: 72-78) three possible functions for aspect in discourse: (1) (to a limited degree) as an indicator of discourse-type, (2) as a prominence feature in narrative, and (3) as an indicator of temporal sequence in narrative. Like Porter, Fanning depends in part on Stephen Wallace's conception of backgrounding and foregrounding tenses (1982), adopting wholesale Wallace's view (based on universal grammar) of perfective verbs as foreground aspects and imperfective verbs as background aspects. Fanning (1990: 191) contends that 'As a means of showing prominence, the aorist can be used to narrate the main or "foreground" events, while the present is used to record subsidiary or "background" ones'.

Aspect and Systemic Linguistics (Stanley Porter)

Stanley Porter's analysis of aspect (1989) proceeds from the basis of systemic linguistics, a functional linguistic paradigm that views 'language in

terms of its uses as an instrument or tool for communication and social interaction' (1989: 7). Aspect is defined by Porter as 'a synthetic semantic category (realized in the forms of verbs) used of meaningful oppositions in a network of tense systems to grammaticalize the author's reasoned subjective choice of conception of a process' (1989: 88). Aspectuality is treated as one of two major systems in the Greek verbal network (the other is finiteness) (see Fig. 2 below). Within the aspectual system, Porter (1989: 8) identifies three further individual aspect-systems: perfective aspect (Aorist), imperfective aspect (Present/Imperfect) and stative aspect (Perfect/Pluperfect). (In his work, Porter [1989: 12] capitalizes forms and uses lower case for functional labels.) The perfective aspect is the least marked or semantically dense and expresses the speaker's conception (Porter also calls this visualization) of the situation as a whole, in its entirety without reference to the internal structure of the event (cf. Lyons 1977: 313-17; Comrie 1970: 4; 1985: 6; Bache 1982: 59-63; Hewson 1997a: 14-15; 1997b: 28-31). The imperfective (cf. Lyons 1977: 313-17; Comrie 1970: 4; Hewson 1997: 28-31) is more marked or semantically dense than the perfective, but less marked than the stative. The imperfective reflects the speaker's portrayal of the event as in movement or progression. The stative (cf. Lyons 1977: 313-17; Comrie 1970: 4; Hewson 1997b: 28-31) is the most marked or semantically dense aspect and expresses the speaker's conception of the action as a condition or state of affairs in existence. The perfective portrays the process externally, the imperfective comments upon the internal workings of the process, and the stative portrays the complexities or details of a process (see the verbal network below, from Porter 1989: 90; revised in Porter and O'Donnell 2001).

Fig. 2. *Aspectual System Network*
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Porter suggests that tense-forms grammaticalize aspect rather than *Aktionsart* on the basis of examples like:

Set #1:
Luke 21.10: τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς (then he was saying to them)
Luke 20.41: εἶπεν … πρὸς αὐτούς (he said…to them)
Acts 20.38: τῷ λόγῳ ᾧ εἰρήκει (the word which he spoke)

Set #2:
Luke 24.18: οὐκ ἔγνως τὰ γενόμενα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις (you don't know the state of things in [Jerusalem] in these days?)
John 5.42: ἔγνωκα ὑμᾶς (I know you)
John 21.17: οὐ γινώσκεις ὅτι… (you know that…)

He argues (1989: 83) that an explanation of these two sets of contrastive-substitutionary examples not only must convincingly account for the different temporal usage of the same forms, but also must explain several functional factors about the tense forms—particularly, 'why these two sets of three current Greek tense forms with similar temporal reference are semantically distinct'. *Aktionsart* models, according to Porter, are unable to offer satisfactory answers to such questions for two reasons. First, because of the lexical basis of *Aktionsart*, analysis at this level would tend to treat all three forms as depicting the same kind of action. This causes two problems (Porter 1989: 84): (1) it fails to satisfy the innate sense that each form depicts the action slightly differently even if this difference is not fully expressible in many receptor languages (e.g. English), and more importantly (2) it is not able to explain why the Greek language used three (perhaps four) forms that grammaticalize 'identical conceptions of the action, as well as similar temporal reference'. The second problem Porter (1989: 84) mentions is that the lexical basis of *Aktionsart* would eliminate the need to limit the number of tense-forms. Yet the tense system in Greek remained stable for over a thousand years—it is clear that a multiplying of tense-forms never took place.

These examples provide a similar set of anomalies for temporally based theories of the verb. Notice that the two sets of examples use three verb forms each for words for saying (imperfect, aorist and pluperfect forms) and for knowing (aorist, perfect and present forms). However, in each set of examples, each verb form references the same time—past time in the first set and present time in the second. Each form has similar temporal reference, yet the use of different forms seems to entail a genuine semantic distinction. To draw this distinction on the basis of time would fail to take into consideration the obvious fact that the verbs refer to the same time. Similar examples along these lines could be multiplied (see Porter 1989: 75-76). Porter (1989: 86) argues that these perplexities can be explained by an aspectually based model of the verbal system which, instead of expressing temporal connotations or differing objective portrayals of kinds of action, reflects the reasoned process of the speaker to grammaticalize his or her own conception of the action.

Porter's understanding of aspect and discourse structure is most clearly articulated in Porter 1994: 23, primarily because he gives an analysis of aspect function in both narrative and expositional genres (but cf. Porter 1989: 92-93). Like Fanning, Porter draws on backgrounding and foregrounding concepts in discourse analysis. However, unlike Fanning (and *contra* Wallace 1982: 208-209), Porter views the aorist as the background tense-form and the present/imperfect as the foreground form. Additionally, in accord with his three-aspect model, Porter (1989: 92-93; 1994: 23, 302-303) introduces a third discourse-oriented category to describe the stative aspect—he calls it 'frontgrounding'. Porter (1994: 23) explains that in narrative, 'aorist tense-forms are used for the narrative events, present tense-forms are used for selected or highlighted events, and the perfect tense-form is reserved for selective mention of a few very significant items…'. Similarly, in exposition, the aorist is used to frame the conceptual backdrop for more prominent ideas in the discourse which are brought to the foreground by the imperfective aspect and—in cases of special significance—to the frontground by the stative aspect. Each of these functions corresponds in discourse prominence to their semantic markedness, and thus the more marked the aspect, the more prominence or importance it conveys in the discourse (1989: 93; 1994: 23).

Aspect and Temporal Deixis (Rodney Decker)

Rodney Decker (2001) has answered several objections that have been raised against (primarily) Porter's aspect theory, and has also significantly advanced the theory through his analysis of temporal deixis in Mark (see also Decker 1995). One of the fundamental pillars of Porter's theory is that tense-forms do not grammaticalize time. Temporal properties are realized through temporal markers (i.e. deixis) (e.g. temporal lexical items [e.g. καιρός] or adjectives [e.g. νῦν]) in Greek discourse (Porter 1989: 98-102). Decker (2001: 53-59) provides a helpful classification of temporal deictic indicators in the New Testament, followed by a thorough treatment of the use of temporal deixis to grammaticalize time in Mark's narrative (2001: 63-148). Decker concludes that the evidence from Mark's use of temporal deixis is most consistent with 'Porter's nontraditional proposal' and that we should 'define the verb strictly in terms of aspect, leaving temporal reference to come from the context' (2001: 153).

Other Significant Studies on Verbal Aspect

Several other studies have supported or developed verbal aspect theory in significant ways. While a comprehensive list is beyond the modest scope

of this survey of research, a few warrant mention here. Mari Olsen (1997) has explored the semantics and pragmatics of the Greek verb with reference to lexical and grammatical aspect, but her system remains binary and dependent upon lexis. Porter and O'Donnell (2001) have responded to the claim that the aspect system is dependent upon other verbal systems with the development of a rigorous probability model that shows the independence of the aspectual system from other verbal systems. Porter (2004a) has further explored the relationship between lexis and aspect. Several studies have sought to investigate the function of verbal aspect in a book or passage (e.g. Reed 1995; Reed and Reese 1996; Klutz 1999; Louw 1975; Martín-Asensio 1999; 2000). Others have commented on the state of the discussion in significant ways (Carson 1993; Fanning 1993; Porter 1991; 1993a; Silva 1993; Schmidt 1993; Moo 1995; see also D.A. Black 1992; du Plooy 1991; Evans 2004; Picirilli 2005).

While there is still significant disagreement concerning the exact nature and role of verbal aspect in the Greek language, a consensus has clearly emerged among scholars that recognizes the importance of verbal aspect as a synthetic property of the verb. Although much work remains to be done, this marks an important development in the state of New Testament research over the last thirty years.

2. *Grammatical and Semantic Case*

Since Charles Fillmore's ground-breaking work on case grammar in the 1960s and 1970s, linguists have distinguished between grammatical or syntactic case and semantic or concrete case (Blake 2001: 31-33; Butt 2006: 4-5; cf. Palmer 1994: 12). Grammatical case refers to the system of morphologically based cases. In Greek these are the nominative, accusative, genitive and dative. (The vocative does not have a full set of forms and is probably best viewed as a subset of the nominative. See Porter and O'Donnell 2006.) Most recent work on case in the Greek of the New Testament has focused upon semantic case. Semantic case deals with functional semantic relations such as Goal, Path, Locative, Ablative, Instrumental and so on. (In case studies, semantic categories are often capitalized in order to distinguish them from forms, which are not capitalized.) As Blake notes, however, these categories are not entirely accurate descriptively, since 'it is common for a syntactic case to encode a semantic relation or role that lies outside of whatever syntactic relation it expresses' (2001: 32). The study of both grammatical and semantic case in the language of Hellenistic Greek has presented significant obstacles to scholars and linguists engaged in the

study of the New Testament. Traditional grammars usually do not offer a definition of case (e.g. Goodwin 1890: 35-36, 222; Jannaris 1897: 325-47; BDF: 79-109; Moule 1959: 30-47; Zerwick 1963: 9-26; Turner 1963: 230-48), and some even fail to define individual case forms (e.g. Jannaris 1897: 327-28; Moule 1959: 30-47; BDF: 79-109; Zerwick 1963: 9-26; Turner 1963: 230-36, 244-48; Young 1994: 10-54), merely providing lists of usage as if the contextual variations explain the meaning of the form. There has been a significant amount of recent research that has sought to make improvements in these areas.

Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System (J.P. Louw)

Johannes Louw (1966) sensed many of the problems in traditional analysis of Greek cases, especially the confusion of syntactic and semantic categories, and responded by proposing a theory of case in terms of three different levels of analysis: the semantic level, the syntactic level and the contextual level. His portrayal of the case system aligns fairly closely with the structuralist linguistic emphasis on generalized meanings and the semantic structure of cases, but goes beyond this by allowing syntactical and contextual frames to be determinative in understanding the meaning of individual case forms. Louw's study starts (1966: 77) by defining the three levels of analysis. The '*semantic level* indicates the connotation embodied in the case itself, on its own, and thus denotes its potentiality to be in a position in the constructional chain'. The '*syntactic level* indicates its position in the structure of the sentence, and the constructional role it fulfils', and 'the *contextual level* indicates the specific denotation'. Louw emphasizes, however, that the respective levels are dependent upon one another. In other words, in a one-word sentence, the syntactic level is not active and 'the contextual level functions only in its widest application, viz. within the passage in which the one-word sentence occurs' (Louw 1966: 77).

From this basic theoretical framework, Louw proceeds to analyze each of the five individual cases according to his levels. The nominative is understood at the semantic level as the case that expresses nothing 'other than the nominal stem' (Louw 1966: 79). This semantic definition then allows for the various functions of the nominative (as the subject, absolute, hanging nominative, etc.) to be explained at the contextual-syntactic level. The absolute, for example, is accounted for through anacoluthon or elision since it is independent or without construction. Therefore, on the syntactic level nominatives 'function as adjuncts qualifying the force of other words, and on the contextual level they refer to the "things" concerned as object or subject' (Louw 1966: 79). According to Louw, 'the nominative is

never used instead of a vocative' (Louw 1966: 79). The nominative and the accusative are both typical in exclamative contexts, but the nominative is less 'exclamative, less direct, more reserved and formal because it merely states the nominal idea …. [and] therefore is often found in a context where a speaker does not expect any answer' (Louw 1966: 80). The accusative denotes an undefined relation at the semantic level that can account for functions such as the appositional accusative at the syntactic-contextual level (1966: 80-81). The dative also specifies a relation at the semantic level, but in a more direct and exact way than the accusative. The semantic connotation with the help (at times) of prepositions then allows us to understand the fusion, for example, between the dative and locative or between the dative and instrumental (Louw 1966: 82-83). The genitive embodies the semantic idea of 'restriction' and represents the subjective portrayal of the speaker without a necessary correspondence to reality. The syntactic level contains the adverbial and adjectival functions of the genitive, while the contextual level contains partitive genitives and adnominal uses and genitives of 'pertaining to' (Louw 1966: 84). When each level of analysis is considered, the genitive is to be understood as 'a double application of the notion of restriction' that can be explained thus:

> The relations defined as partitive and pertaining to, are in Greek expressed by one case-form, viz. the genitive—and this is comprehensible because both relations reply to the connotation of restriction, being itself a notion which functions on the semantic level, while partitive and pertaining to are the notions of the contextual application of restriction (Louw 1966: 86).

Louw's article makes a significant contribution to the current understanding of case that has not been appreciated in the grammars published since (but see Porter 1994: 80-100). His multi-leveled analysis and explicit definitions for individual case forms make huge steps forward in the discussion. Surprisingly, however, like traditional grammarians, he fails to provide an adequate definition for the case system itself. One also wonders whether his categories can be refined. The restrictive feature of the genitive may be too broad, and understanding the dative as the case of relation probably does not sufficiently distinguish it from the other oblique case forms that also grammaticalize relations.

Case Grammar (Paul Danove and Simon Wong)

In 1968, Fillmore published his landmark article 'The Case for Case'. His research fit solidly within the generative tradition of linguistics, but proposed a 'non-transformational' version that went against the current Chom-

skyan trend. The work initiated a movement now commonly referred to as case grammar or, more recently, construction grammar (though there are subtle differences between the two). On this theory, cases are understood functionally as semantic or case 'roles' required by a predicator within its complement structure. As an analogy from traditional grammar, transitivity, where particular verbs (i.e. transitive verbs) require a direct object, is a syntactic phenomenon, while case grammar is concerned with semantics. Case grammar asks what semantic roles are required by a predicator (e.g. Goal, Path, Agent, etc.). The resultant complement (or *argument*) structure of a predicate is referred to as its *valence*, and a *valence description* provides analysis of the semantic roles required by a predicator. American valence analysis has typically restricted investigation to semantic roles, while European models have extended investigation beyond semantic roles to adjuncts and syntax.

Paul Danove introduced case grammar to mainstream New Testament studies as part of a method (1993a: 30-39) developed for plot analysis (although the theory was incorporated into a Greek grammar, Müeller 1978). Since case grammar isolates predicators (1993a: 30), and determines their semantic and syntactic requirements (e.g. whether a verb requires a Benefactor/direct object), it is sufficient to linguistically analyze the clause, the largest unit dependent upon a predicator, according to Danove (1993a: 31-32).

In Danove's plot analysis, syntactic functions correspond to the rules governing the organization of narrative events into high level or macro-events, and semantic functions instantiate states of affairs within the narrative. These plot categories are used in place of—but in correspondence with—Fillmore's linguistic categories. Danove calls the resultant narrative-critical model 'plot valence' analysis (last used by Danove in 1993a).

Danove has continued to employ case grammar. In 1993b, Danove provides a fuller description of case grammar and valence descriptions (the explanations here are similar to the general descriptions given in Danove 2002a: 10-27), filling out the theory with information regarding cognition, schemata and semantic frames (1993b: 121-24). He expands his method and descriptions in 2002a, for example, by treating adjuncts (non-obligatory complements). While Danove (2002a: 25-26) portrays his analysis of adjuncts as an adaptation of the theory, this fails to recognize that syntactic and adjunct valence descriptions, while not advocated by American linguists like Fillmore (e.g. 1971a: 370-92, esp. 374-80) or W.A. Cook (1989: 1) are quite popular among European linguists (on these two schools see Pinkster 1985: 164; Wong 1997: 8; cf. also Lyons

1977: 481-88; Dik 1978: 27) so that, instead of expanding the theory at many points, he is actually aligning himself with the European tradition of valence analysis.

In addition to the 17 semantic roles instantiated in required complements, 10 *semantic functions* cast in more traditional terminology (e.g. Cause, Comparative, Manner) are employed that are typically realized in adjuncts (Danove 2002a: 40; extended treatment in 2002a: 41-45). The result of this investigation in 2002a is a lexicon and parsing guide of generalized valence descriptions containing syntactic, semantic and lexical information associated with Markan predictors. This valence lexicon and other forms of valence analysis then serve as the basis for the applications of the method to narrative/rhetorical criticism (Danove 1993a: 132-66; 1996; 1998; 2001c; 2002a: 120-39; 2002b; 2003; 2005), text-critical issues (1993a; 2002a: 68-83), translation theory (2001b; 2002a: 84-118) and lexical semantics and rules for noun phrase distribution (1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2001a; 2001b; the theory behind the approach is presented in 1993b; see also 2002a: 96-119).

Like Danove, Simon Wong's application of case grammar leans upon Fillmore. But one of the most obvious distinctives of Wong's proposal is its eclecticism. Wong (1994; 1997) draws elements from several divergent case grammarians in developing his method and case role inventory, including Chafe (1970), W.A. Cook's Matrix Model (1972; 1977; 1979; 1989; see also W.A. Cook 1998) and Longacre (1983; cf. 1996).

Wong employs 'more case roles than other studies with a total of fourteen cases' (1997: 24, cf. 27-35; yet in Wong 1994, 15 roles are listed; cf. Danove's 27: 17 for arguments imposed by various verbs and 10 reserved for adjuncts; 2002a: 30-40). This large inventory is justified, according to Wong, since it 'avoid[s] overloading the content (i.e. definition) of each case' (1997: 24). He further distinguishes between primary (obligatory) and peripheral (non-obligatory) cases. The definitions he provides for the individual case roles reflect the eclecticism of his model. He begins with the primary or propositional case roles Agent, Experiencer, Instrument, and Measure (following Longacre's definitions). W.A. Cook's notion of Benefactive is incorporated and in the place of Patient two more specific categories are offered which have not previously been proposed: Complement (similar to Fillmore's 'Factitive' [1971b: 42]) and Reference (represents a later state of the Patient [Wong 1997: 25]). The peripheral cases he mentions are Path, Instrument, Comitative, Manner and Measure. The Instrument, however, cannot be considered an adjunct in the fullest sense since, when the Agent is not present, the Instrument often functions as the 'surface Subject' (1997: 25). Adjuncts (including Instrument), nevertheless,

are said to have a pragmatic function signaling prominence or, in Wong's terminology, 'markedness' within the clause in which they occur (1997: 26).

Wong adopts the common case-grammatical notion of verb-centeredness in the clause (Chafe 1970: 96ff.). In his analysis of verb-types, however, he departs from Chafe (1970: 98-100) and W.A. Cook (1979: 195) (who propose three verb-types: Action, Process, and State), incorporating the notion of State, but conflating Action, Process, and Action-Process into what he calls Event verbs. This leaves Wong with two classifications for verb-types: Event and State. Event verb-types are intended by Wong to 'denote a cognitive category which refers to either a change of state or an action'. State verbs link 'the nominal with its predicative features, signifying or identifying the existential nature and the occurrence of the nominal, though in and of itself it does not specify anything about the nature of the occurrence' (Wong 1997: 37). Following W.A. Cook (1989; 1979; 1972; see also W.A. Cook 1998) and Longacre (1983; *contra* Chafe 1970), Wong also acknowledges the classification of verbs according to broad semantic fields of meaning such as Basic, Benefactive, Experiential and Locative verbs (encompassing all directional categories) (Wong 1997: 38). These broad semantic classifications then provide the basis for Wong's discussion of individual 'sub-domains' or case roles within Pauline predicators (1997: 49-208).

In Wong's descriptions of Pauline vocabulary, case roles and verb-types provide the backbone for his analysis. He organizes verbs according to case roles, starting with the identification of the verb-type and then representing the syntactic-semantic mappings of each case (called semantax) with surface structure requirements according to a two-level specification. Each Pauline verb is classified according to its occurrences within a given 'case frame' (i.e. valence description). The first level of notation analyzes the case role and the surface subject used to encode it. For example, if the Agent case role encodes the surface subject, the notation would be Agent-subject. The surface subject may be instantiated (and therefore represented) in a variety of case roles including Instrument (for an Agent), Experiencer, Benefactive, Patient and Complement. Various surface realizations are also represented by Wong, including noun phrase (NP), clauses (CL), infinitive clauses (CL-inf), finite clauses (CL-fin) and prepositional phrases (PP).

Wong rightly notes that one of the major difficulties with applying case grammar to Hellenistic Greek is the complexity of syntactic possibilities. The problem arises from the fact that there is no direct correspondence or one-to-one semantic mapping between case roles and their realization in the surface structure. As a result, 'one verbal frame (e.g. [Event: AGENT, PATIENT,

(INSTRUMENT)], or [Event: EXPERIENCER, COMPLEMENT]), can have many syntactic representations' (Wong 1997: 228). He suggests that we can overcome this difficulty by noting that 'despite the great number of syntactic possibilities for a relation, there are certain preferences' (1997: 228). (Following a standard linguistic convention, Wong uses all capitals to denote semantic roles, e.g. AGENT.) On the basis of these perceived preferences, Wong forms a case role hierarchy typical to case role hierarchies in English: Agent, Experiencer/Benefactive, Patient, Complement, Instrument (1997: 229). This means that if an Agent is present, it is most likely the role that will take the surface subject slot. Therefore, according to Wong, in a case frame like [Event: Agent, Experiencer, Complement], 'one can predict that AGENT has a better chance to take the Subject position' (1997: 229). Wong (1997: 229) suggests that major case roles are drawn to specific grammatical cases as well. Patient typically converts to accusative whereas Experiencer and Benefactive seem to have an equal possibility of being dative, 'especially when the dative case points to something which is [+animate]' (1997: 229).

Although semantic case analysis introduced a potentially useful set of grammatical categories, linguists have recognized for some time that the case grammar introduced by Fillmore (1968; 1977; 1982; 1985) is not as descriptively helpful as it initially promised to be. It did not take long for case grammar to fall 'somewhat into disrepute' (Blake 2001: 75; cf. Porter 1996a: 17) among linguists in favor of more typologically-based approaches (Palmer 1994: 1), which typically contrast grammatical roles with grammatical relations (subject, object, etc.) instead of employing universal case roles. In fact, as early as 1985, it was already appropriate for Radden (1985) to 'look back' on 'the short history' of case grammar as a phenomenon that failed to answer the major questions asked of it. Despite this, Danove and Wong present case theory as if it were still on the cutting edge of twentieth-century linguistics and show little to no awareness of the near universal abandonment of the theory among recent linguists (see for example Wong 1997: 8; cf. Porter 1996a: 17; however, Wong at least shows some awareness of criticisms [Wong 1997: 8]). Radden's article and the many other criticisms of case and construction grammar do not even show up in the bibliography of Danove's work and are mentioned only in passing by Wong.

There are numerous reasons for the widespread rejection of case grammar. The biggest criticism has been the difficulty of defining and delimiting case roles. As Blake observes (2001: 66), 'To a great extent establishing roles and ascribing particular arguments to roles involves extra-linguistic classification of relationships between entities in the world', and since these are

not grounded in morpho-syntactic criteria there seems to be no formal basis for delineating individual language-specific instantiations which can then be reset in universal terms. As Starosta observes (1977: 465), without solid criteria for delimiting deep cases, there seems to be 'no limit to the number of distinct underlying structures or relational networks that could be associated with a given (surface) sentence, and therefore no limit to the number of grammars that could be assigned to a given language. It is hard to imagine any set of data which could not be accommodated in principle in a transformational or network grammar, which means that such theories can't be falsified and thus have no empirical content'. It is not surprising, therefore, that Fillmore (1977: 70) confesses that this is 'a truly worrisome criticism'.

Many of the criticisms made of case grammar more generally surface in a direct way in attempts to apply the theory to Greek (see Porter 1996a: 18-19, on Wong; cf. also Lyons 1977: 483). This is evidenced further not only in the variations of notation and syntactic requirements in complementation structure (cf. Danove 1993a: 34 and 2001a: 66; 2002a: 28-29; 1999c: 145, for different representations), but also, more importantly, in the wide diversity among accounts of the universal inventory. Danove has ranged from two (1993a), to 13 (1999c), to 14 (1999b: 263-64), to 27 (2002a), to 8 (2005: 30) case roles in his inventory. Wong's list of case roles has also varied between his two publications (1994 [15 case roles]; 1997 [14 case roles]). This highlights the difficulties of establishing a convincing inventory of case roles since such wide variation exists, not only from theorist to theorist; but in this case, even within the same theorists. On top of this, neither theorist can convincingly account for how case roles are encoded in the morpho-syntax of the language. Danove does not attempt to make this connection in his published writings. Wong's analysis of case frame tendencies is not convincing, since counterexamples are built into the definition.

Both Wong and Danove also go far beyond what mainstream case grammatical theory has allowed with their bloated case inventories. There is a general consensus in case grammar that the universal inventory should be kept relatively small (Blake 2001: 70; Fillmore 1975: 5; W.A. Cook 1989: 189). This was one of the three pre-conditions that Fillmore (1975: 5) set out for establishing a universal inventory. The motivation for this principle is that the larger a list grows, the more potential it has to become *ad hoc*. No contemporary linguist working in case grammar today posits over ten roles. (Blake [2001: 70] interprets this principle to mean a list between 'six and ten or so'.)

Louw initially set the agenda for studies in grammatical case and set up a very promising framework that was followed by the semantic case analysis

of Danove and Wong. Semantic case potentially refocuses the attention to the semantics of the Greek language (instead of offering merely functional descriptions as in traditional analysis), provides healthy critiques of traditional grammatical analysis of case, and introduces a potentially useful set of categories, but the current difficulties defining and delimiting the case inventory and the failure to ground case roles in morpho-syntactic features of the language continue to pose significant obstacles for case grammatical analysis of the Greek of the New Testament.

3. *Syntax*

Grammar has traditionally been divided into two categories: morphology and syntax. Grammar addresses issues of language formation and rules for interpretation. Morphology is the study of the smallest meaningful unit of language (the morpheme) and how words are formed out of these smaller units. Syntax is concerned with the way words are arranged to show connections between words, phrases, clauses and sentences (cf. Radford 1997: 1-2; Matthews 1981: 1; Van Valin 2001: 1). The scope of syntax, therefore, is very broad. It addresses issues such as grammatical roles and relations, grammatical constructions, constituency and dependency, predication, complementation, adjuncts, head marking, modification and coordination (cf. Matthews 1981).

'Constituency' and 'dependency' represent the two most significant approaches to syntax. Immediate constituency analysis (IC-analysis) attempts to represent syntagmatic (i.e. linear) relations in phrase structure, while dependency syntax focuses upon dependency relations. Phrase-structure representation was pioneered by Bloomfield (1933), developed within the structuralist movement in the 1950s, and employed exclusively within the Chomskyan tradition of transformational-generative grammar. Whereas constituency syntax was prominent in North America during the twentieth century, dependency grammar dominated the European scene (see Tesnière 1959), especially among scholars working with Indo-European languages (a contemporary approach to dependency syntax can be found in Mel´čuk 1988).

There are also two very broad schools in contemporary syntactic theory: (1) functional and (2) generative. While several variations exist, at its core, *functional syntax* places prominence on *iconicity* or the principles that govern form-function correlations. Functional grammarians insist that the correlation between linguistic code and function is non-arbitrary. As Givón asserts, 'It is only because the coding relation between structure and function

in syntax is non-arbitrary, or in some sense iconic, that one could proceed to infer function from common structure' (1984: 33). *Generative grammar*, founded by Chomsky (1957), comes in several versions, but the essence of these theories is that the goal of syntactic investigation is 'the construction of a grammar…for producing the sentences of the language' (Chomsky 1957: 11), instead of simply labeling linguistic items (i.e. descriptive linguistics) as was common in the structuralist tradition. Generative grammar produces or 'generates' the precise structural sequences for the instance of language under analysis, assigning to them their structural description and relations. One of the key distinctions between these two linguistic models is that functional linguists typically seek to analyze *language in use* while linguists writing in the Chomskyan tradition analyze *hypothetical instances of language*.

Unfortunately, there has not been a significant amount of application of modern syntax theory to Hellenistic and biblical Greek. Much of what has been done has employed phrase-structure models grounded in traditional generative theory. But the work that has been done is significant enough to warrant discussion here.

Rules for Nominalization and X-Bar Theory (Daryl Schmidt and Micheal Palmer)

Daryl Schmidt's (1981) development of transformational rules for nominalization in Hellenistic Greek was one of the first Chomskyan analyses of ancient Greek syntax to appear (he was preceded by Wonneberger's generative analysis of 1 Cor. 5 and Rom. 3.21-26 [1979]; see also Wonneberger 1987). Nominalizations are 'the syntactic devices which allow an embedded sentence (traditionally, dependent clause) to function nominally' (Schmidt 1981: 41). But embedded sentences can function adnominally and adverbially as well (Schmidt 1981: 41-42). Transformations in Chomskyan theory describe the process whereby kernels or deep structure sentences (underlying universal meanings) are 'transformed' into various surface realizations. Schmidt's study, therefore, attempts to formulate rules for nominalizations, one type of embedding transformation. Schmidt then argues for a new grammar of Hellenistic Greek based upon these and other transformational rules for governing phrase structure.

Schmidt was followed later by Micheal Palmer (1995), who attempts to apply Chomsky's X-bar theory to a selection of passages from Luke–Acts and the undisputed Pauline epistles. Much of the book is devoted to demonstrating the inadequacy of the two-level approach to phrase structure (word-level and phrase-level) advocated by Schmidt (1981) and Wonneberger (1979).

Following the lead of Jackendoff's X-bar syntax (1977), Palmer suggests three levels of phrase structure in order to deal with some of the ordering problems for two-level generative schemes in phrases that contain both a demonstrative and an attributive adjective. In addition to the word-level and phrase-level, he proposes N-bar, a third category intervening between the word- and phrase-levels to account for the problematic constructions not explained by two-level approaches. The N-bar level allows for a noun phrase to be 'reduced' (i.e. separated from its modifiers) so that various constituents associated with the noun phrase can be spread across the clause.

Perhaps the biggest problems that continue to plague Chomskyan analysis of Hellenistic Greek syntax emerge from some of the same typological issues (issues involving language comparison) confronting Chomskyan analysis of other non-configurational languages. The distinction between configurational and non-configurational languages was originally introduced by Hale (1983) in his study of Warlpirl, showing that the standard assumptions of X-bar theory were only applicable within languages in which syntactic relations are governed by phrase structure. Hale identified three non-configurational properties: free word order (not tied directly to grammatical relations), the possibility of discontinuous constituents (e.g. distribution of a noun phrase across a clause) and null anaphora (an explicit subject is often not grammaticalized). To the degree to which a language exhibits these properties, it conforms to non-configurational standards. Hale discovered that X-bar theory had difficulty handling phrase structure in non-configurational languages, insisting that this called into question the universal nature of generative syntax. Since Hale there has been much discussion of the distinction between configurational and non-configurational languages. Hale's three properties, nevertheless, still function as helpful criteria for determining the (non-)configurational status of a language.

Ancient Greek possesses all three non-configurational features at some level, though not to the degree of Warlpirl, Hungarian or many Australian languages. But it is certainly distinct from clearly configurational languages such as English, Thai, Indonesian and Vietnamese. Word order in Ancient Greek is very flexible, even if not entirely free—for example, an article appears before the word it modifies. As a highly inflected language, grammatical relations are not determined by the ordering of syntactic constituents. Hale (1983: 6) defines a discontinuous constituent as a nominal element that

> appears in a position linearly non-adjunct to another nominal with which it may form a single expression in the logical form of the sentence, taking

> logical form, in general, to be that level of linguistic representation which expresses the manner in which the meaningful elements appearing in a sentence are related to one another.

For example, the structure τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα (1 Pet. 1.11) is discontinuous since the noun phrase (τὰ…παθήματα) is distributed across the prepositional phrase. Attempts to account for this phenomenon with a Chomskyan phrase-structure tree would cause branches in the tree diagram to cross, violating the no-crossing condition (Radford 1988: 122; van der Hulst and Ewen 2001: 40-41; Van Valin 2001: 141). Discontinuous syntax continues to pose a significant problem for those who advocate Chomskyan analysis as the way forward for the analysis of Greek syntax (but cf. Devine and Stephens 1999 on discontinuities in Ancient Greek). Hellenistic Greek is also monolectic, meaning that the subject of a sentence can be non-explicit through coding in the tense-form. More often than not a full subject or object noun phrase argument (usually the subject) is absent in a subject–object construction—less than 50 percent of clauses across the New Testament grammaticalize a subject through the use of an explicit subject and even less through a full noun phrase (i.e. 'null anaphora'). These properties point to Greek as being distinctly non-configurational. Some recent forms of Chomskyan linguistics have sought to account for some of these issues, but these studies have not been carried over into the study of the language of the New Testament. Palmer's study (1995), in particular, represents a fairly outdated Chomskyan model, given how recently it was published. Further, discontinuities in the language remain unaccounted for since, in a 'reduced' noun phrase, constituents are still disconnected from elements in their phrase structure. Research in non-configurational languages also disconfirms Schmidt's claim (1981: 41) that transformational-generative grammar is applicable to Hellenistic Greek since it is based in a universal grammar (for further criticisms, especially of Schmidt's proposal for a grammar based on generative principles, see Porter 1999; see also Porter 1996b: 12-13). This research calls into question the very notion of a universal grammar.

It may turn out that Chomskyan syntax has much to offer to the study of the Greek language, but what is needed in future explorations is the application of more typologically adequate generative models. Generative theories designed with non-configurational considerations in mind were readily available when Palmer published his analysis of constituent structure in the New Testament. And, among the available generative approaches, it is these models that will have the most promise for the analysis of syntactic structure in non-configurational languages like Hellenistic Greek.

The OpenText.org Project (Matthew Brook O'Donnell, Stanley Porter and Jeffrey Reed)

The OpenText.org project has recently applied a functional and relational dependency model of syntax to the word group and clause structure of the Greek New Testament. The origins of this model are in the works of Porter (1993b; 1994), Reed (1997b) and O'Donnell (1999b; 2005) and their joint work (e.g. O'Donnell, Porter and Reed 2003; Porter and O'Donnell 2003). Several important applications of this level-based model of syntax have been made, such as O'Donnell's (2005) application of corpus linguistics to the Greek of the New Testament and discussion of the annotation techniques used in the OpenText.org project, and Kwong's (2005) application to the syntax of Luke's Gospel. This syntactical model has also been developed into a discourse model (Porter and O'Donnell forthcoming). This dependency-based syntactical model employs a version of Halliday's theory of register (see Porter 2000a) and its linguistic levels (i.e. co-text), modified for analyzing Greek discourse. The major levels assume morphology and then posit the word group, clause, paragraph and discourse. Syntax is understood in terms of dependency relations, clause types and complementation structure. The major application of the model to the New Testament so far has been the word group, clause and (to a limited degree) paragraph levels. Word groups consist of a single head term and its various types of modifiers. These modifiers may specify, define, qualify or relate, in relation to the head term. The word group annotation has sought to label the entire Greek text of the New Testament with this information. The clause level annotation marks clause constituents (subject, predicator, complement and adjunct). These individual clause constituents consist of one or more word groups, or rank shifted clauses filling the structure of the clause constituent. There are also three clause types (primary, secondary and embedded), and notation of projected discourse (i.e. reported direct speech). The language of dependent/independent clauses is avoided. Instead, primary clauses are those clauses that are free-standing and constitute the horizontal or linear flow of the discourse; secondary clauses are those clauses that are related to primary clauses and constitute the vertical or developmental flow of the discourse (e.g. relative clauses, protases of conditional clauses, etc.). Embedded clauses are formed around predicators with participles or infinitives as the head-term of a verbal word group, and are rank shifted often to adjunct or complement level in clausal syntax. Some information is marked at levels beyond the clause through functional displays. This portion of the annotation seeks to capture semantic domains, process patterns (aspect, mood, voice) and word order information. O'Donnell provides substantial application of the OpenText.org

model in the final three chapters of his book (2005), but O'Donnell's work is primarily an exercise in corpus linguistics (see also O'Donnell 1999b).

The study of syntax is an important emerging discipline in the study of the language of the New Testament. Older generative models have not been entirely successful in analyzing the syntactic structure of Ancient Greek, but the benefit of more recent generative theories for understanding Greek syntax remains to be seen. There is still much work to be done in developing functional models of syntax as well, especially the application of the OpenText.org model to Hellenistic Greek texts.

4. *Discourse Analysis*

The use of discourse analysis (sometimes referred to as textlinguistics) in New Testament interpretation is a relatively new and developing enterprise. Stubbs (1983: 1) defines discourse analysis as 'the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring *connected* spoken or written discourse'. Thus, discourse analysis has come to be characterized by its emphasis on the way that large frames of context constrain meaning at multiple levels of language (word, word group or phrase, clause, and so on). This is not to say that prior to the advent of discourse analysis all linguists understood language to be disconnected from its context. Several important linguistic models emphasized the role of context in understanding meaning and were, therefore, significant forerunners to discourse analysis, including the Prague School of Linguistics, British systemic-functional linguistics and especially American tagmemics (de Beaugrande 1997: 40). The problem with analyzing discourse has always been closely tied to the fear of its complexity. As de Beaugrande (1997: 40) notes, 'the majority view in linguistics has usually been that discourse is too rich and diversified, too intimately tied to the ordinary world of human activities, such as casual conversations among friends or family, to be the proper object of science'. Recent advancements in the development of rigorous analytic models, however, show that the task may be more manageable than was once supposed, though it is still far from being an exact science.

The standard handbooks and introductions to discourse analysis (Grimes 1975; van Dijk 1977b; 1985; 1997; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Brown and Yule 1983; Stubbs 1983; Hoey 2001; Longacre 1996; Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2001) cover a wide range of topics. These include issues such as cohesion and coherence (the way units hang together), prominence (what is important in a discourse), reference (anaphora, pronominalization, etc.), information structure and flow (levels of meaning: word, word group,

clause, etc.), given (information believed by the addresser to be known by the audience) and new (information believed to be unknown by the audience), various levels of topicalization (e.g. discourse topic, paragraph topic, etc.), segmentation (e.g. paragraph/episode marking), peak marking (where a discourse climaxes), participant tracking (which participants are central and which are background), staging (setting the stage for a character or event) as well as issues like relevance (how linguistic features are relevant to the conversation), maxims of conversation and politeness (cf. Brinton 2001). Most of these emphases have been carried over significantly into the analysis of Greek discourse.

Brown and Yule (1983: 234-36) discuss two broad approaches to discourse analysis based upon the way text is processed: top-down and bottom-up. Discourse analysis is based upon the assumption that language has multiple levels of meaning (Tomlin *et al.* 1997). The morpheme is the smallest unit of meaning. But the word, word group, clause, paragraph and discourse levels all have a significant impact on meaning as well. Top-down approaches (e.g. Longacre 1996; Hellholm 1980; 1993), therefore, begin their analysis with the highest levels of discourse and work down to see how larger structures constrain meaning at lower levels, while bottom-up analyses begin their investigation at lower-level components—typically the word—and work their way up. Some believe the text should be analyzed from both perspectives (Reed 1997a: 191-92).

Louw (1973) was one of the first to introduce discourse analysis to New Testament studies. Since that time, four distinct schools of discourse analysis have emerged within New Testament studies: the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) school of discourse analysis, the Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) school of discourse analysis, the Continental European school of discourse analysis and the South African school of discourse analysis (Porter 1995; Porter and O'Donnell forthcoming; see also Westfall 2005: 23-27). Some eclectic models have also recently emerged (for a sampling of essays from the key practitioners that represent each of these schools, see Porter and Reed 1999).

The SIL School

The Summer Institute of Linguistics school of discourse analysis has an impressive linguistic pedigree based on Nida's semantic model (see 1964; 1975a, 1975b; Nida and Taber 1969), Lamb's stratificational grammar (1966) and Pike's tagmemic theory (1967) as incorporated especially by Longacre (1965; 1979; 1983; 1985; 1996). The model emerges out of efforts toward developing a model for Bible translation. Although based in

North America, the SIL model is influenced by the South African school, especially Louw (1973; 1982; 1987; 1999). Unfortunately, SIL has tended to isolate itself from mainstream New Testament scholarship in many ways, remaining focused on Bible translation and not directly considering the impact that discourse analysis might have upon biblical interpretation more broadly. One of the concerns with the model that has been raised is that the analysis that comes out of SIL has often been confined to analysis of conjunctions and other lower-level features without considering wider frames of context in discourse. There is also a tendency to rely on sentence grammars, dated linguistic models and traditional grammars such as BDF, Robertson and Moulton/Turner (Porter 1995: 25-26). These emphases have especially characterized the collection of essays oriented toward the SIL model like Black, Barnwell and Levinsohn 1992 and Levinsohn 1992 (see also Levinsohn 1987). Kellum (2004: 141) has asserted that this criticism does not apply to SIL analyses of whole books (e.g. Sterner 1998). But this misses the point entirely. Porter's criticism of those treatments was not their focus on conjunctions (functioning at lower levels of the discourse) and other sentence-level phenomena as much as it was their 'tendency to focus upon idiolect, or even the language of a single book, such as Galatians' (Porter 1995: 26). Kellum fails to take up this criticism. Levinsohn (2000), by contrast, has responded positively to Porter's critique of SIL's sentence grammar with a revised edition of his coursebook that attempts to take into consideration higher levels of meaning. The work of Kathleen Callow (1974), who also fits within the SIL model, is an important exception to this criticism, since her insightful analysis of the impact of discourse on translation focuses upon larger units (other exceptions [to some degree] include Allen 1992; Neely 1987; Longacre 1999; Kellum 2004: 136-204). Surprisingly, Callow's treatment was not well received in SIL circles. The importance of the SIL model has been the significant insights that it has brought to issues in Bible translation and specific linguistic phenomena.

The SFL School

Developed primarily in England and Australia, the systemic-functional (SFL) approach to discourse analysis, also known as the Birmingham school, is founded upon the work of Firth (1951; 1968), and especially Halliday (1973; 1976; 2004; see also Halliday and Hasan 1976; 1985). What is often missed, however, is that these linguists are not known primarily for their pioneering work in the field of discourse analysis proper (to say nothing of application to an ancient language, such as Greek). Martin (1992) was actually the first linguist to rigorously apply the systemic-functional approach to text

and lexico-grammar advocated by Halliday and Hasan to discourse analysis. These efforts were closely followed by several scholars who employed SFL as the basis for developing and implementing a model for New Testament discourse analysis including Porter (1994; 2000a), Reed (1992; 1993; 1995; 1997a; 1997b; Porter and Reed 1991), Martín-Asensio (1999; 2000), Klutz (1999; 2004), Adams (2000), Porter and O'Donnell (2000; forthcoming), O'Donnell (2005: 397-484; in some ways this is an eclectic model since it employs corpus linguistics, which draws from diverse linguistic models, but the heart of his theory is systemic-functional), and most recently Westfall (2005). There have also been applications of this model to Greek grammar (Porter 1986; 1989; 1991; 1993a), conjunctions (S.L. Black 2002) and transitivity-based foregrounding (Martín-Asensio 1999; 2000). And it is the only model for discourse analysis that has been integrated into an intermediate grammar (Porter 1994; but cf. Young 1994).

The model is characterized by its Hallidayan understanding of language as a system of social-semiotic relationships. Applications typically involve an arrangement of linguistic features drawn from the Greek language system under the components or metafunctions of 'register' (the social and linguistic situations in which language occurs) and their semantic textual realizations (how features of the language encode aspects of the linguistic and social situation). A major strength of this model is found in its ability to classify linguistic features within the context of the overall structure of Greek discourse. It is not merely an extension of sentence grammar, but a model that approaches the text with discourse in view. Recent studies have begun to overcome the fact that the theory had not been applied as much as some other models. With these analyses, it should be possible to comparatively evaluate its potential for producing interpretive results.

The Continental European School

Two separate schools are associated with the Continental European model: the Scandinavian and the German school (for a survey see Olsson 1985). Although the differences between the two schools may seem to warrant dividing the continental model into two entirely separate models, the reason that they should be understood together is that they rely on similar linguistic models (cf. Westfall 2005: 24), most notably de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981; see also de Beaugrande 1990a; 1990b; Dressler 1980), Kinneavy (1971), Gülich and Raible (1977), and van Dijk (1977a; 1977b; 1981), along with the communications model of Jakobson (1960). These scholars all tend to emphasize the 'macro-structure' (higher-level structure) of discourse and analyze the text in terms of its various dimensions: syntax, semantics and

pragmatics. The discourse analysis associated with the German school is characterized by a focus upon linguistic and communicative functions (see Breytenbach 1984; Schenk 1999), whereas the Scandinavian school is not only influenced by discourse analysis, but also significantly incorporates modern rhetorical and communication theory (esp. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; Perelman 1979; 1982). Hellholm, working in New Testament and patristic studies, has applied Jakobson's discourse-communication model (1960) to the *Shepherd of Hermas* (1980) as well as to the book of Romans (1993) (see also Olsson 1974; 1999). His analysis takes a top-down approach and delineates textual units on the basis of the syntax-semantics-pragmatics discourse theory mentioned above. Johanson (1987) has also developed a discourse model that has affinities with the Scandinavian school in attempting to unite discourse analysis with modern rhetorical criticism. The resultant theory is applied to 1 Thessalonians. Other applications include Olsson's studies of John (1974) and 1 John (1999), J.G. Cook's investigation of Mark's gospel (1995) and Schenk's analysis of Mark 13 (1999). One of the weaknesses that remains for this approach is its lack of theoretical cohesion and appropriate definitions. And while its willingness to combine discourse analysis with modern communication theory is one of its distinguishing features, it is also one of its weaknesses. In attempts to integrate discourse analysis with communication theory, inadequate attention is often given to discourse components such as semantics, syntax and pragmatics. This creates a significant disjunction in attempts to apply a holistic linguistic approach in textual analysis.

The South African School

The discourse analysis represented by the South African school has undoubtedly been one of the most influential models in New Testament studies. The most important biblical linguist associated with this school is J.P. Louw (1973; 1982; 1987; 1999; cf. also Nida *et al.* 1983; Nida 1972). Louw's colon analysis, which involves dividing a text into its various 'cola' formed around nominative and predicate structure, is the most defining feature of this analytic school. This model became foundational to Nida's theory of Bible translation (e.g. De Waard and Nida 1986). Cotterell (1985), Cotterell and Turner (1989: 230-92), D.A. Black (1987), Snyman (1991), and Wendland (1992, 1999) all rely heavily on this model in their presentation and application of discourse analysis. While this approach has had a great deal of influence in New Testament studies there is still opportunity for development and methodological clarification. The theory is still in need of greater precision, for example, in its definitions of cola and other key

terminology. Another concern is the subjectivity that is introduced into the discussion by the notion of 'semantic understanding'. While it is a potentially useful category, significant work remains to be done in establishing a more formal basis for assigning semantic values to a word. A more rigorous method for applying the approach is also needed.

Eclectic Models

A range of eclectic discourse models have also recently emerged. These methods attempt to draw from one or more of the schools mentioned above and are often characterized by an integration of traditional literary criticism (especially the use of chiasmus and inclusio as a means of unit delineation) with discourse analysis. This category includes scholars like Guthrie (1994; see also Guthrie 1995; Guthrie and Quinn 2006), who uses many of Halliday's categories, but incorporates other linguistic models as well, and depends heavily on the literary analysis of Vanhoye (1976) (for criticisms of this model see Westfall 2005: 18-20). Another eclectic approach is found in Van Neste (2004), who employs elements found in the models of Halliday and Hasan (1976), Guthrie (1994) and Callow (1974), as well as classical rhetorical and epistolary theory and traditional literary criticism, in his analysis of cohesion and structure in the pastoral epistles. Taylor (2006) represents a quite recent form of eclecticism inspired mainly by Guthrie's model. It is telling that though Taylor recognizes four distinct schools of discourse analysis (2006: 37), he fails to situate his own approach in relation to them. Christopher (1990), though he borrows heavily from Longacre's categories, is also eclectic in his approach to Col. 2.16–3.17, drawing from traditional literary models. His attention to the formal features of the text is commendable, but his assessment of the passage as a macro-chiasmus based upon genre distinctions is highly suspect. The strength of these models is found in their ability to draw out the strengths of several approaches (both linguistic and non-linguistic). The downfall is that the analysis at times appears convoluted and *ad hoc*.

Discourse analysis is an important and emerging field in New Testament interpretation. It has much to offer since it grounds its analysis in the formal features of the Greek language. While terminology and approaches are not yet fixed—as with any theory based in the humanities and social sciences (especially theories so popular in contemporary biblical studies)—a consensus is emerging regarding the key concerns of discourse analysis—some studies have even sought to restrict their analysis to such central concerns (see especially Varner 2007, an insightful discourse analysis of Matthew's nativity, and Porter 1994). Discourse analysis, however, is not intended

to provide a mechanistic approach to the text that removes interpretation. Instead, its major contribution is its ability to provide New Testament interpreters with a formally grounded framework according to which they can discuss the data. Each of the schools mentioned above has made important contributions in illustrating how such a framework can illumine issues in the translation and interpretation of the New Testament.

5. *Conclusions*

This article has sought to track some of the most significant advancements in the study of the Greek language since Barr's ground-clearing publication in 1961. While there have been several important innovations in lexicography, most recent research has been conducted in the areas of grammar (verb and case structure), syntax and discourse analysis. Each of these areas has been surveyed and assessed. Much work, however, remains to be done. Work remains to be done not only in lexicography, but also in grammar (especially problematic areas like grammatical voice [but see Porter 2002; O'Donnell 2005: 370-84] and case [but see Porter 1996a: 21-27]), syntax (more development and application of modern generative and functional syntactic theories and especially issues associated with the non-configurational status of Hellenistic Greek) and discourse analysis (continued development and application of available models and exploration of newer theories, like historical discourse analysis [for an introduction see Brinton 2001], for example). Applications of pragmatic theories to Hellenistic Greek discourse, linguistic studies in word order (but see Porter 1993b; Levinsohn 2000: 2-67; Kwong 2005), conjunctions (but see S.L. Black 2002), prepositions, negative particles and many other significant aspects of the Greek language still remain underexplored as well.

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