RECONSIDERING PAUL'S USE OF CREATION LANGUAGE IN ROMANS 8: EMPLOYING A CORPUS-DRIVEN MODEL OF SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL MONOSEMY

by

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ABSTRACT

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A majority of modern scholars understand Paul's use of creation language (κτίσις) in Rom 8:18–23 as part of a commentary on the state of sub-human creation, or nature—an understanding that is still disputed in some quarters. This position serves as a point of departure for an inquiry into the state of lexical study in New Testament scholarship. In light of contemporary approaches, this thesis articulates a theory of monosemy—a minimalistic semantic theory cast in the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. This theory is fundamentally corpus-driven with a special focus upon metaphorical extension. The model is applied to Paul's use of creation-language through a robust corpus analysis and an investigation into κτίσις's role in textual and ideational functions within the paragraph. I argue that κτίσις plays a role in the cohesive structure of Rom 8:18–23 and—contra the majority of interpreters—functions as a nominalized ideational metaphor for the human body.

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GPF

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Abbreviations

AJT	*Asian Journal of Theology*
BDAG	Frederick William Bauer, *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 3rd ed., revised and edited by F.W. Danker
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BLG	Biblical Languages: Greek
CILT	Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTL	Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IVP	InterVarsity Press
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JGRChJ	*Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplementary Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplementary Series
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
Louw-Nida	J.P. Louw and Eugene Nida, *Greek English Lexicon of the New FTestament based on Semantic Domains*
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
MJTM	*McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry*
NAC	New American Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PAST	Pauline Studies
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentaries
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SCL	Studies in Corpus Linguistics
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SUNY	State University of New York
TiLSM	Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs
TDNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TrinJ	*Trinity Journal*
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentaries
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Chapter One

CREATION LANGUAGE IN ROMANS 8: A SURVEY OF INTERPRETATION AND METHOD

A survey of many modern commentaries on Paul's letter to the Romans reveals an historical diversity in the interpretation of the sense of κτίσις (creation, creature) in Rom 8:19–23. While scholarly consensus seems to have been reached in recent years, there are enough dissenting voices to warrant the re-evaluation of the issue. The word κτίσις appears four times in the passage, thus recommending it as a worthwhile locus of study. Accurate determination of this word's meaning has notable ramifications for the interpretation of the passage in its immediate context, the larger argument of Romans, and Pauline theology including Pauline doctrines of new creation, soteriology, cosmology, and eschatology. In light of these concerns, this chapter will survey the historical trends of interpretation before moving into a more comprehensive assessment of recent research. An important consideration of this chapter and of the thesis as a whole is that the question of creation language in Romans 8 serves as a microcosm of the practice of word studies in biblical Greek. This chapter will address the methodologies used to approach this question and how these practices relate to the burgeoning field of linguistic criticism. Are the scholarly attempts at word studies linguistically informed and are these linguistic theories appropriate for biblical scholars to be adapting? The goal of this thesis, therefore, is to provide a model for lexical analysis that can be effectively applied to Paul's use of κτίσις in Rom 8:18–23.

1. *Interpretations of Creation language in Rom 8:18–23*

1.1. *Among the Fathers and Reformers*

Ancient commentary on Romans 8 reveals a diversity of opinion as to the sense of κτίσις. The witness of Irenaeus appears somewhat divided and it is occasionally unclear whether he has the entire created order or humanity in view. Early on in book 5 of his *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus describes the redemption and return of creation to its early pristine state, prior to a brief quotation from Rom 8:19ff.[1] According to Michaels, Irenaeus's use of the Latin term *conditio* is an unambiguous reference to "the material creation as a whole."[2] In a later chapter, however, amidst another reference to Romans 8, Irenaeus seems to stray from his original use of *conditio*, altering his terminology to the Latin *creatura*, perhaps indicating a more anthropological focus.[3] Despite this ambiguity, D.J. Bingham suggests that Irenaeus had a dual anthropological and cosmological focus—"anthropology provides the foundation for understanding cosmology."[4] Regardless of where Irenaeus truly stood, this interpretive tension provides a caricature for the subsequent history of interpretation of creation language in Romans 8. Besides a minority of alternatives, there seem to be two main interpretive streams with respect to κτίσις. The anthropological view prefers to take κτίσις as a reference to humanity, while the cosmological view prefers to see a reference to the cosmos.

[1] Irenaeus, "Against Heresies V," 561.
[2] Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 113.
[3] See Irenaeus, "Against Heresies V," 567. Note Michaels' reference to this phenomenon in Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 113–14.
[4] Bingham, "Irenaeus Reads Romans 8," 128.

Augustine is frequently cited as an early proponent of the anthropological perspective.[5] A quotation from his unfinished commentary on Romans seems to indicate as much, even to the extent that a cosmological reading should be considered heretical.

> We should not think that this implies a sorrowing and sighing of trees and vegetables and stones and other suchlike creatures—for this is the error of the Manichees—nor should we think that the holy angels are subject to futility, nor that they will be freed from the slavery of death, since they are entirely without death. Rather and without false interpretation we take "every creature" to mean man itself.[6]

The reference here to angels may be an implicit critique of Origen's interpretation. In book seven of his commentary on Romans, Origen states explicitly that the creation should be read as "rational creation."[7] Even so, Origen's position is certainly not an anthropological one and thus it seems as though angels are in his view here.[8] Championing the cosmological view is the 4th Century preacher and exegete John Chrysostom. He considers Paul's use of creation language to fall in line with the prophetic practice of personification, performing the function of emphasis.[9] Chrysostom is not alone in this interpretation (especially if Irenaeus takes a cosmological stance) and as such Cranfield is willing to reference other ancient witnesses in Ambrosiaster, Cyril, and Euthymius.[10]

The cosmological-anthropological distinctions are carried down even into the time of the Reformation. John Calvin is very explicit with respect to his cosmological

[5] See esp. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411; Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 114; Whitehouse, *The Redemption of the Body*, 11, 53; Zyro, "Neue Erörterung," 664, who reference Augustine as such.
[6] The translation is taken from Augustine, *Romans*, 22–23. Augustine continues in this manner, admitting that creatures may range from angels to beasts, however his assertion remains that human-kind is the ultimate creature (24–25).
[7] Origen, "Commentary on the the Epistle to the Romans 7.4," 68.
[8] Cranfield cites him as the main proponent of the angelic view (Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411).
[9] Chrysostom, *Homilies on Acts and Romans*, 444. Chrysostom's suggested personification is a perspective that is widely held among modern commentators as will be seen below.
[10] Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411.

stance. Apparently following Chrysostom, Calvin views personification as an important literary technique here and understands the sense of κτίσις as non-rational creation. It seems incomprehensible for nature to possess characteristics such as hope, or volition and thus such references are deemed as personification.[11] On the other hand, Martin Luther seems to hold to a more anthropological position. Luther's articulation is far more implicit than Calvin's, though he accomplishes his goals through the use of the term *creature* rather than *creation*.[12] It is notable that Luther understands most exegetes to interpret the creation as "man."[13] Despite his anthropological stance, however, Luther is far more concerned with Paul's description of creation than with the word's sense in the passage, and accordingly spends little time articulating or defending his position.

1.2. *Κτίσις in Anthropological and Cosmological Perspective*[14]

The cosmological-anthropological distinction has continued to hold sway in discussions of creation language in the recent past. John Bolt's 1995 article in *Calvin Theological Journal* takes a step back in time to come up against a "twentieth-century neo-orthodox inspired anthropological-soteriological reading of the travail of creation."[15] Bolt's rejoinder to this seemingly well-established position espouses a cosmic reading that appears to have significant environmental implications as well.[16] Such an

[11] Calvin, *Romans and Thessalonians*, 172–73.
[12] Luther, *Romans*, 107–109.
[13] Luther, *Romans*, 108. Likely, Luther means the human race or humanity.
[14] Keep in mind that such distinctions are firmly established in terms of soteriology. The question is whether it is human-centered or cosmos-centered soteriology.
[15] Bolt, "Relation Between Creation and Redemption," 35. His article views such a position as an historical aberration, pointing to many earlier writers who seem to have held a cosmological bent (see above). Anthropological views are well represented in Tenney's work on the resurrection. Though he is not explicit in his position, Tenney's only application of Rom 8:19–22 is in the context of human bodily resurrection and never with respect to the cosmos (Tenney, *Reality of the Resurrection*, 172, 185; see also Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 114, who notes this phenomenon as well). Tenney's ability to use the passage in this way without having to articulate or argue for a human-centered view speaks volumes.
[16] Bolt, "Relation Between Creation and Redemption," 35–36. The place of environmental readings of Romans 8 and κτίσις will be briefly explored below.

anthropological bent is an accurate identification; however, the state of play in the mid to late 20th Century is slightly more complicated. Notwithstanding the typical anthropological bent, κτίσις is still occasionally regarded with the sense of nature. J. Ruemann and G. Lampe are two important proponents of the anthropological perspective who nuance their view, not through an alternative understanding of the word κτίσις, but in how they see the humanity-cosmos interrelation.[17] In spite of the human-centered focus of much of this writing, a cosmological agenda does play a part, evidenced in J. Gibb's monograph *Creation and Redemption*. This Pauline theology of creation and redemption focuses especially on the lordship of Christ as a central Pauline theme. The lordship theme thus educates his view of Romans 8. For Gibbs, humanity is of concern; however, the cosmos is entwined with humanity's fate inasmuch as Christ's lordship extends beyond humanity.[18]

1.3. *Contemporary Consensus in the κτίσις Debate*

Since the writing of Gibbs et al., there have been two important developments in the conversation: (1) the old cosmological-anthropological distinctions have essentially been put aside,[19] and (2) scholarly consensus with respect to the sense of κτίσις has all

[17] See Reumann, *Creation*, 91–99; Lampe, "Doctrine of κτίσις," 449–62. Reumann's brief work best illustrates this tension. Though he is convinced that κτίσις must refer to more than believers and include the inanimate world, his ultimate position avoids viewing this passage as a "cosmic daydream." Instead, Reumann views this as an "expression of anthropology and soteriology" (99). Lampe's redemptive-historical approach takes into consideration the Old Testament background to the notion of creation, which is deemed to be primarily anthropocentric. Lampe explicitly sub-ordinates "creation" to humankind yet writes that "the hope of re-creation of the body leads naturally to the idea of the re-creation of the natural order of which it forms a part" (455–56). See also Gerber, "Röm. viii.18ff." 65, and more recently, Lambrecht, "Ecocentric or Anthropocentric?"185–86; Moo, *Romans*, 517 n.50; Barrett, *Romans*, 165, who maintain this tenuous balance.

[18] See Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 34–41.

[19] Bolt's article (see above) remains an exception.

but been reached.[20] Perhaps one of the more important contributions in these directions has been the publication of C.E.B. Cranfield's commentary on Romans. Cranfield's usual practice of surveying every available position on a topic was not abandoned in his comments on κτίσις, which reveal two notable features.[21] First, Cranfield makes no explicit mention of polarized readings. Instead, his goal is to select the most exegetically responsible sense in light of a variety of previous suggestions.[22] Second, he comes firmly down on the suggestion that κτίσις is "the sum-total of sub-human nature both animate and inanimate."[23] Both Cranfield's outline of available positions[24] and his conclusion seem to have captured the minds of most authors up to the present to the extent that the acceptance of κτίσις as nature is almost a foregone conclusion.[25]

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[20] A slight nuance appears in some articles that may prefer a cosmological reading of the text but suggest that there is an overarching theocentric emphasis in this passage, i.e., God is the one who made the creation and is in control of its fate. See, for example, Vollmer, "Theocentric Reading," 796–97.

[21] See Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411, for his list including footnotes with reference to major proponents of these views. His approach, in contrast to the dichotomous approaches immediately preceding his, is in some ways a return to former methods. See for example Whitehouse, *The Redemption of the Body*, 11, who gives a list of typical interpretations along with their major proponents. Pp. 11–9 reveals a more robust articulation of these positions, though lacking the systematic disagreement present in Cranfield's commentary. Whitehouse's treatment evidences the rich diversity of opinion present at the time that Michaels (see below) encountered in his initial research (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 92). It is notable therefore, that Cranfield's work marks the interpretive shift that has led to the contemporary consensus.

[22] In my view, this is quite remarkable considering that he writes only a few years after Gibbs and Reumann.

[23] Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411–12.

[24] See similar approaches in Witherington, *Romans*, 222–23; Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 176–81; Dumbrell, *Romans*, 90–91; Morris, *Romans*, 320.

[25] Besides Cranfield, for those who actively argue in favour of this position see Bolt, "Relation Between Creation and Redemption," 39–41; Byrne, *Romans*, 254; Dumbrell, *Romans*, 91; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 469–70; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 505–7; Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 176–81; Jackson, *New Creation*, 151–52; Jewett, "Corruption and Redemption," 34–36 Jewett, *Romans*, 511; Keesmaat, *Paul and His Story*, 102–110; Lenski, *Romans*, 532; Moo, *Romans*, 513–15; Moo, "Nature in the New Creation," 459–63; Moo, "Romans 8 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant," 75–77; Morris, *Romans*, 320; Murray, *Romans*, 301–303; Osborne, *Romans*, 208–209; Schreiner, *Romans*, 435; Witherington, *Romans*, 222–23.

For those works that simply assume (to some degree or another) this position into their exegetical or theological framework see Barrett, *Romans*, 165–6; Batey, *Romans*, 112–13; Beker, "Vision of Hope," 28–29; Braaten, "All Creation Groans," 131–32; Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 159–61; Keck, *Romans*, 210; Keener, *Romans*, 111–12; Keesmaat, "Exodus and Intertextual Transformation," 43–47; Lambrecht, "Ecocentric or Anthropocentric?" 169–71; Lawson, "Hope of Creation," 559–61; Lee, *Paul's Gospel in Romans*, 406–407; Middleton, "New Heaven and New Earth," 89–90; Mounce, *Romans*, 184;

For the purpose of this review, I would like to pay special attention to two recent works that have given serious treatment to issue of creation language in Romans 8: Harry Alan Hahne's 2006 monograph *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.19–22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* and T. Ryan Jackson's 2010 monograph *New Creation in Paul's Letters*.[26] Hahne's work seeks to articulate a relationship between Paul's thought in Rom 8:19–22 and the various patterns of corruption and redemption in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Hahne follows standard historical-critical procedures—his research consisting of a detailed analysis of important background material (in this case apocalyptic literature) that may have influenced Paul's thought. This is followed by detailed exegesis of the passage in question, beginning with an assessment of the meaning of κτίσις in the passage in question.[27] Hahne's approach to this question is reminiscent of Cranfield, though he goes into slightly greater detail.[28] While Hahne's mastery of the Second Temple literature regarding the corruption and redemption of nature is impressive, the connection he draws between these apocalyptic writings and Paul seems tenuous at best. A direct link between the two sets of literature cannot be found, a point Hahne himself admits and attempts to explain away.[29] It is

Rimbach, "All Creation Groans," 382–84; Vollmer, "Theocentric Reading," 791–92, 94; Ware, "Paul's Hope and Ours," 130–33; Wright, "Romans," 596.

[26] Another recent work that addresses this issue is J. Hyun Lee's 2010 monograph *Paul's Gospel in Romans*. Despite its recent publication, its focus is on discourse analysis of the first half of Romans. His treatment of Romans 8 is relatively brief and his comments on the meaning of κτίσις are minimal.

[27] Up until this point, the meaning of κτίσις in the context of Romans 8 (nature) seems to be assumed. This provides an interesting contrast to Nelson's 1969 Th.D. dissertation, which also provides a similar exegetical treatment while his discussion of the meaning of ἡ κτίσις immediately follows his history of interpretation (Nelson, "Groaning of Creation," 138–56).

[28] See below for a brief assessment of this approach.

[29] See Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 225–26. This is an issue noted also by Lambrecht, "Ecocentric or Anthropocentric?" 176.

questionable whether such an elaborate reading of this text is warranted given the variability in apocalyptic views and the lack of formal links present in Romans 8 itself.[30]

Jackson's monograph views Romans 8 in the broader context of a Pauline theology of new creation, especially in relation to explicit new creation passages in Galatians and 2 Corinthians. *New Creation in Paul's Letters* revisits cosmological-anthropological distinctions that still appear to maintain a hold in the Pauline "new creation" schemes. Jackson's conclusions diverge from this traditional dichotomy proposing an eschatological soteriology as the best way to understand the doctrine in Pauline thought. Unique to this genre of research, Jackson treats Romans 8 alongside explicit "new creation" texts as a third and important witness to this theme.[31] His treatment of κτίσις itself is brief and spans its occurrence in the entire book of Romans including Rom 1:25, 8:19–22, and 8:39.[32] The conclusion of his chapter does not make any novel contribution to that discussion, but simply acquiesces to scholarly consensus of the word's meaning in Rom 8:19–22 as Jackson's concern is with the broader theological implications of the passage as a whole.[33] Even so, Jackson's articulation of a balanced anthropological and cosmological soteriology can hardly be substantiated when the foundation for a cosmological emphasis is virtually assumed.

Some major implications arise from this apparent consensus. The first and most obvious is its impact on Pauline theology—specifically with respect to Paul's soteriology and eschatology. With this consensus, an anthropological soteriology is no longer a viable option and redemptive concerns extend to the entire cosmos. In

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[30] The two figures in Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 227, illustrate well the diverse views regarding the corruption of nature and its redemption in apocalyptic Second Temple literature.

[31] Namely, Galatians 6 and 2 Corinthians 5 in which the unique phrase καινὴ κτίσις appears.

[32] See Jackson, *New Creation*, 151–52.

[33] His discussion spans three short paragraphs.

eschatological terms, this also seems to imply an end-time cosmological reconstitution or renovation.[34] Of a more practical nature are the environmental sensitivities raised by many authors. For several years much of the hermeneutical work on Romans 8 (notwithstanding commentaries) has had an ecological thrust.[35] While the specific conclusions of various articles have been diverse, there remains a very strong ideological/ecological biblical theology that drives and sustains these exegetical decisions.[36] Again, this is not the place to pass judgment on these conclusions; however, it is important to be aware that certain linguistic and exegetical decisions have significant theological and pragmatic ramifications.

[34] See, for example, Wright, *Resurrection*, 224, 258. Renovation is an apt term in this context, although its usage does not seem to have caught on. See especially Bingham, "Irenaeus Reads Romans 8," 128.

[35] Jonathan Moo writes, "Romans 8.19–22 is quite possibly the text most frequently cited by those seeking to employ Christian Scripture for an environmental agenda" (Moo, "Romans 8 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant," 74). The two most recent publications in this respect are Byrne, "Ecological Reading," 83–93 (cf. his earlier work, Byrne, "Creation Groaning," 193–203; Byrne, *Romans*, 259) and Horrell, Hunt, and Southgate, *Greening Paul*, 63–86). The former article, though valuing environmental elements in the passage, provide much need balance and caution in importing modern environmental attitudes on Paul. The latter provides a brief state-of-play and narrative analysis of the passage culminating in some caution along the same lines as Byrne. Another recent and important article, Moo, "Nature in the New Creation," 449–88, responds to environmental concerns. This paper is explicitly biblical theological in nature attempting to bridge the gap between the biblical text and contemporary concerns. While not focused exclusively on Romans 8, it maintains an important position in the conversation. See also Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 139–62, a practical theologian articulating what he deems to be the four central passages relating to Christian environmentalism, though with a particular focus on Christian stewardship; Rimbach, "All Creation Groans," 379–91, who provides a significant early commentary in the context of an Asian forum on the theology of nature; and Lawson, "Hope of Creation," 559–65, who is primarily pastoral in its attempt to re-invigorate a consciousness of the surrounding world, which re-interprets the "dominion" of the world that is firmly situated within Paul's discussion in Romans.

[36] In fact, much of this work derives from a theology of response. Lynn White's 1967 article, "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis," points a direct finger at Western brands of Christianity that seem to promote an abusive relationship with the natural world (White, "Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," 1203–1207). Her comments are paradigmatic of similar attitudes. Many Christian writers since then have openly made reference to this article as a significant catalyst in an environmentally positive Christian response (see Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 141; Grizzle, Rothrock, and Barrett, "Evangelicals and Environmentalism," 4; Lawson, "Hope of Creation," 559; Moo, "Nature in the New Creation," 449; Volmer, "Theocentric Reading," 789–90, 94–95; cf. Lambrecht, "Ecocentric or Anthropocentric?" 184–88 who engages four major works on this passage and evaluates how they negotiate potential ecological implications of the passage). An important dynamic to question, therefore, is the degree of ideological influence on exegetical and linguistic decisions.

1.4. *Voices of Dissent and Viable Alternatives*

Even with much of the scholarly world taking the κτίσις = nature view, some disparate voices arise. In the context of an exploration into feminine images in the Pauline corpus, Beverly Gaventa explores creation language in terms of its relationship to birthing metaphor in Romans 8. While her emphasis is ultimately on the implications of the birthing metaphor on a reading of the passage (and of Paul more broadly), her view of κτίσις is emphatically different than the contemporary view. Rather, her position is that κτίσις carries the sense of the entire created order *par excellence*—including within its scope humanity and subhuman creation.[37]

Susan Eastman's 2002 article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, though chiefly concerned with τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (sons of God) in Rom 8:19, gives brief attention to creation language, seeing these concepts as being especially interconnected.[38] Her initial comments regarding κτίσις seem to follow Käsemann and Gaventa, suggesting that the exclusion of humanity in Paul's scheme is as much in error as the exclusion of nature.[39] Her statement here seems to be an oversimplification, however. Eastman wishes to rule out believers as part of Paul's κτίσις and include unbelieving humanity along with nature. Even so, Eastman highlights the presence of unbelieving Israel as a very particular referent in this case in light of her comments regarding the background of the "sons of God"—the sonship language attributed to Israel in the Old Testament.[40]

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[37] Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 53–54. This position is also held by Käsemann, who is actually very adamant against the nature view (Käsemann, *Romans*, 232–36), and Hultgren, who specifically makes references to both Käsemann and especially Gaventa (see Hultgren, *Romans*, 321). See also Johnson, *Reading Romans*, 137; Gerber, "Röm. viii.18ff." 64.

[38] See Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse?" 273–76, for her full discussion.

[39] Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse?" 274.

[40] Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse?" 276.

An intriguing perspective has been recently revisited in a short essay by J. Ramsey Michaels. Revisiting some exegetical work done early on in his career, Michaels links Rom 8:19–22 along with other important passages dealing with bodily resurrection (2 Corinthians 5 and 1 Corinthians 15) positing that κτίσις is used in this passage as a metaphor for the body.[41] It is reasonable to suggest that Michaels may be included in the traditional anthropological camp, though his position is slightly more nuanced.

1.5 *Conclusion*

The meaning of κτίσις in Rom 8:19–22 remains a somewhat contentious issue in contemporary scholarship. Despite its near-consensus among most commentators and writers there are enough divergent voices to warrant continued study.[42] However, this raises the question—will more studies of the same genre add a significant voice to the conversation? I suggest that more fundamental questions need to be asked vis-à-vis theories of words and word-meaning and how words contribute to the meaning of larger sections of text. Indeed, this has ramifications well beyond the scope of the "κτίσις-debate" in Romans 8.

[41] See Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 92–97, 104–114. Michaels owes a degree of credit to two works published in 1892 and 1902 by William Fitzhugh Whitehouse and William G. Williams respectively. Whitehouse explicitly states that his "main contention is that κτίσις means nothing more or less than the human body, and that it is of its present sufferings and future redemption that the Apostle is speaking" (Whitehouse, *The Redemption of the Body*, 26, with his view defended on pp. 27–34). Williams notes the difficulty of understanding this word and the subsequent impact it has on the interpretation of the entre passage. Finally as he gives a brief overview of the passage's content, he too explicitly states that "that this word 'body' gives explicitly the lucid and sufficient, and only possible, explanation of the word 'creature.' If this explanation is correct, 'the creature' is simply the human body;" (Williams, *Romans*, 253). Michaels has traced their work back to a German writer F.F. Zyro (see Zyro, "Neue Erklärung," 403–416; Zyro, "Neue Erörterung," 645–66).

[42] In fact, this is where Michaels ends his essay suggesting that the door should not be closed on this "interpretive question" (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 114). To some degree, this thesis is a response to Michaels' challenge.

2. *Evaluating Interpretive Methods: The Problem of Word Studies*

Since the publishing of James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, the importance of linguistically sound lexical studies has been brought into sharp relief.[43] The number of published works devoted to words and word meanings specifically relating to biblical exegesis has greatly increased in the wake of Barr's *Semantics*.[44] Do contemporary studies and commentaries that analyze Greek lexis—particularly κτίσις—make full use of these insights?[45]

2.1. *Where is the Method?*

As noted above, Cranfield's commentary serves as a staple reference among later commentaries and articles concerned with Romans 8. As such, what appears to be his word-study method is often duplicated. This method (if can indeed be called as such) essentially consists of setting out potential glosses (usually based upon previous suggestions) and subsequently excluding various options based on exegetical decisions drawn subjectively from the immediate context or based on broader theological orientations.[46] Consider the following example taken from Witherington's commentary on Romans—chosen for its brevity—which imitates Cranfield's procedure:

> V. 19 has prompted major debate about the meaning of *ktisis*, "creation." Basically, there are eight possibilities: all humanity,

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[43] Barr's work serves to critique the theologically driven approaches to lexical meaning present in the biblical theology movement, especially present in Kittel and Friedrich's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. See esp. Barr, *Semantics*, 206–262 for an extended critique of the *Dictionary*.

[44] Although the number of such works is far from overwhelming and has diminished in the past 10 to 20 years.

[45] For a detailed and sustained treatment of this issue with respect to select commentaries written post-James Barr, see Baxter's "In the Original Text it Says ... A Study of Hebrew and Greek Lexical Analyses in Commentaries." One of his main conclusions is that many commentaries are still riddled with lexical fallacies despite the resources available (Baxter, "In the Original Text," 20).

[46] Granted, commentaries rarely have the time or space for fully-fledged lexical studies. Even so, the few monographs devoted to the subject are not encouraging. Oddly, the best example is Nelson's work from 1969, which attempts to locate the meaning of κτίσις in light of the Liddell-Scott lexicon (representing Hellenistic usage) and LXX and New Testament usage (see Nelson, "Groaning of Creation," 139–46). Even this treatment is brief, however.

> unbelieving humanity alone, believing humanity alone, angels alone, subhuman nature (both creature and creation), subhuman nature plus angels, unbelievers and nature, and subhuman nature plus humanity in general. V. 23 clearly enough contrasts believers with creation, and this seems to rule out inclusion of believers here. V. 20 seems to rule out non-believers as well, or even humanity in general, since at least Adam was not subject to such futility or suffering without a choice. So *ktisis* here probably refers to subhuman creation and nature. Paul does not appear to think that angels in general or in toto have been subjected to the sort of decay and futility spoken of here.[47]

Interestingly, these, and other such comments in similar commentaries, are included almost as a preamble to the actual exegesis. Evidently, the word's meaning must be established prior to any exegetical discussions, perhaps in order to streamline those sections. For many of these studies, no real linguistic or lexical theory is put forth; at best, Moo makes reference to the κτίσις entry in *BDAG*.[48] Whether opting to reference *BDAG* or simply selecting one out of several potential meanings for κτίσις, these arguments reflect an extraordinary lack of linguistic sophistication. It is therefore difficult to make meaningful contributions in such a conversation that is essentially made up of subjective inferences based on context.

Authors holding to the κτίσις = nature position are not the only guilty parties. Indeed, those holding alternative views reflect similar methodological shortcomings. Eastman's article, though provocative, leans precariously close to performing

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[47] Witherington, *Romans*, 222–23. There are more options even than Witherington suggests. Cranfield has eight options as well but includes the whole creation (which includes humankind, nature, and the angels) and provides proponents of each view (Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411; see also Byrne, *Romans*, 255; Dumbrell, *Romans*, 90–91; Moo, *Romans*, 513–4; Morris, *Romans*, 320; Schreiner, *Romans*, 435). As noted above Hahne's treatment is much fuller (see Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 176–81). Witherington is very biased in his treatment of this issue. This is highlighted in the description of subhuman nature as consisting of "both creature and creation." A better and more neutral description might be flora and fauna. Indeed Witherington breezes through the alternative interpretations in order to push the traditional viewpoint.

[48] Moo, *Romans*, 513. To my mind this reveals a sort of "look it up in BDAG" mentality when dealing with lexical issues—a very prevalent practice amongst New Testament students (see Elliot, "Look it Up," 48–53, who while honouring F.W. Danker for his work in the Bauer lexicon, notes this prevalent approach to lexicography). Interestingly, Moo is one commentator who fares particularly poorly in Baxter's study in terms of committing lexical fallacies (see Baxter, "In the Original Text," 115–18, 123, 125–26, 129–33).

theological lexicography with her highly nuanced and theological proposition.[49] Michaels, on the other hand, with his suggestion of a metaphorical sense to κτίσις, lacks any discussion of metaphor theory. Given that metaphor is so important to his thesis, the lack of any sort of theoretical underpinning is conspicuous. Evidently, for all sides there is need of linguistic sophistication in this conversation.[50]

2.2 *Lexical Function?*

A curious feature of these studies is a preoccupation with the meaning of lexis in a very restricted sense. The primary role of a lexical item seems to be deemed one of semantic content and, as a result, it is simply the meaning of κτίσις that is worth discussing. What is often ignored is how κτίσις (or any other word for that matter) might perform additional functions in the pericope and larger discourse. Concerns such as the role of lexis in the organization of texts, or even in how lexis contributes to the social-relational aspect of language are at best secondary to traditional questions about semantics.[51] Even then, the meaning of κτίσις is almost always an isolated discussion with little concern for how it functionally interacts with other nearby linguistic features. For example, many authors have noted the metaphorical capability of κτίσις in Romans 8, especially in terms of personification;[52] however, little has been done to systematically inquire into

[49] See Silva, *Biblical Words*, 29. His concern in this regard stems from the lexical fallacy *illegitimate totality transfer*, a notion stemming from James Barr (see Silva, *Biblical Words*, 25; and Barr, *Semantics*, 218). These notions will be addressed in full in the subsequent chapter.

[50] To this point, even the language that I have used has been relatively "un-linguistic" in order to aptly represent the views surveyed in this review. The linguistic terminology used in subsequent chapters should indicate further the lack of sophistication present in the above material. That is not to say that modern linguistics is the "saviour" of biblical studies; however, it is to say that modern linguistic insights seem to add some necessary precision where words and word-meaning comes into play.

[51] I say traditional semantics because the linguistic model I will be adapting still asks semantic questions; however, its definition of semantics is much broader than traditional handbooks on biblical semantics would allow.

[52] For general references to κτίσις in terms of metaphor see Rimbach, "All Creation Groans," 386; Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 51–62; Keck, *Romans*, 211–12; Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 108, among several others.

the overwhelming lexical metaphorical collusion present in the pericope and how that affects the function of the individual metaphors.[53] Furthermore, the four-fold occurrence of the lexeme and the accompanying implications regarding structure have not, as yet, been explored among commentators.

2.3 *Conclusion*

Moving forward, there seems to be a general need for linguistic precision with respect to the question of κτίσις's meaning in Rom 8:19–22 and more broadly perhaps in biblical word studies. The preoccupations of traditional semantics is of course a major concern in word study, yet a broadening of scope may be an important feature that will add exegetical payoff in these undertakings. It may be more helpful to ask how a lexical item contributes to the meaning of larger discourse by way of *function*, with traditional questions about semantic content simply existing under that umbrella.

3. *Is There a Way Forward?*

3.1 *Selecting an Approach*

If previous treatments of creation language in Romans 8 are lacking in sophistication and precision, what, then, is the way forward in this discussion? Two options present themselves. The first option is to augment and supplement these previous treatments with the standard lexicographical work available for New Testament scholars including that of James Barr, Moisés Silva, J.P. Louw, and Eugene Nida.[54] However, as will be shown in the subsequent chapter, some of the theoretical elements of these works

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See Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 161; Bolt, "Relation Between Creation and Redemption," 39; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 472; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 412; Morris, *Romans*, 320; Mounce, *Romans*, 184, for specific references to personification.

[53] Exceptions exist of course, particularly seen in the work of Gaventa and Eastman.

[54] In addition to the already mentioned works of Barr and Silva, see especially Louw, *Semantics*; Nida, *Componential Analysis*; Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*; Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

contain some weakness as an accurate and applicable description of lexis and lexical function. The second, and preferred, option is to construct an alternative model for discerning lexical function that is sensitive to the present issue. Such a method may be specific enough to apply to the role of κτίσις in Romans 8 while general enough to encourage application to other lexical concerns in New Testament studies.

3.2 *Procedure and Thesis*

This thesis, therefore, will be heavily methodological and theoretical. While keeping the concerns of Romans 8 in mind, the definite preoccupation of this piece will be towards the description and defense of a robust lexical semantic methodology. This methodology will be a three pronged model which will (a) recount and defend a generic theory of words, (b) be sustained through the analysis of data from a corpus, and (c) focus specifically on metaphor theory as it pertains to lexical function. Accordingly, I will explore Charles Ruhl's theory of monosemy (from cognitive linguistics) and adapt it through a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) perspective. This model will incorporate the insights of corpus linguistics, filtered primarily through the work of Matthew Brook O'Donnell, John Sinclair, and Michael Hoey. Finally, I will explore a systemic functional theory of monosemy through its application to metaphorical extension primarily through the insights of SFL's grammatical metaphor theory. These elements of the lexical semantic model will provide a robust linguistic paradigm suitable for examining the function of κτίσις in Rom 8:19–22 and its contribution to the meaning of the paragraph. Therefore, this work will demonstrate the utility of a systemic functional monosemous perspective in lexical semantic investigation, specifically with respect to the analysis of metaphor. Its applicability will be illustrated by moving forward the discussion of lexical and metaphorical issues present in Romans 8 research by demonstrating: (1) the abstracted semantic value of κτίσις: [DEPENDENT EXISTENCE]; (2) the significance of the lexeme's repetition as it contributes to a cohesive communicative structure and functions as a central token in the coordination of adoption and redemption metaphors; and (3) the function of κτίσις in a lexicogrammatical metaphor of the human body (σῶμα), which reconstrues the readers' experience of the body at a key point in the book of Romans.

Chapter Two

SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL MONOSEMY: A THEORY OF LEXICAL MEANING AND FUNCTION

The goal of this chapter is to articulate a basic theory of systemic functional monosemy that will provide a paradigm for approaching questions related to lexical semantics as opposed to other contemporary approaches and serve as a theoretical base for further methodological development in subsequent chapters. This model is ultimately meant to speak to the primary question of this thesis, namely the function of κτίσις in Rom 8:19–22. In order to contextualize this discussion, this chapter will begin by introducing linguistic approaches to semantics via key terms and concepts including reference to polysemy, the dominating trend in lexical research. This will be followed by a survey of the development of Greek lexicography and lexical semantic theory in the sphere of biblical studies, providing further context for my model. With the linguistic state of play in place, I will proceed with a discussion of monosemy from its original cognitive linguistic context and as it comes into contact with Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) with a view to articulating a general but comprehensive theory of lexical meaning.

The primary question being asked in this thesis is this—how does lexis contribute to textual meaning? This chapter will demonstrate that this is not a question confined to an author or reader vis-à-vis one's mental processes. Rather, this is fundamentally a question of social interaction. In that sense, the writer codes meaning into a text with a view towards interpretation—both author and reader participate in a meaningful exchange through a particular medium. I will demonstrate that this meaningful exchange consists of more than traditional understandings of meaning or semantics (though this remains an important feature) but extends to questions of a more functional nature. From this perspective, it is not words that play a primary role in the making of meaning but the lexical and grammatical features interacting within a discourse. Lexical semantics remains an important analytical focus inasmuch as it seeks to evaluate the role that lexis plays in the larger question of meaning.

1. *Introducing Linguistic Semantics*

1.1. *Terms and Concepts*

An important place to start in such a discussion is an overview of salient terms and definitions that will invariably occur frequently in the subsequent discussion. Some fundamental questions need to be asked as a result that set the stage for responsible and cogent articulation of a lexical semantic theory: (a) what is a word, and (b) what is meaning? Appropriate terms and definitions will fit well into these two fundamental queries.

Though it is a common enough term, *word* can be a peculiar thing to define.[1] Without delving into differences between spoken and written languages, I will simply focus on the notion of *word* in a written language, insofar as the language under investigation—Hellenistic Greek—is entirely epigraphical. Some difficulties in Greek

[1] For succinct introductions to this question that outline many of the difficulties therein, especially as it relates to various languages, see Halliday, "Lexicology," 1–5; Lyons, *Introduction*, 68–70, 196; Crystal, *Linguistics*, 188–93. Crystal's article on "textspeak" brings this question into focus. Text messaging via mobile phones reveals the widespread manipulation of the "word," where letters are frequently dropped off (sometimes to the extent that a letter replaces an entire word) or words are forced together to form entire phrases (see Crystal, "Texting," 77–83).

lexical description do occur. An interesting phenomenon is that of the majuscule script and the documentary papyri which consist of continuous writing, devoid of any sort of spacing to distinguish between "words" and thus inhibiting a definition based on spacing between lexical items.[2] Hellenistic Greek is also a heavily morphologically inflected language. Various morphemes therefore have different semantic value—both lexical and grammatical. While identical forms in English may have different grammatical value in a clause, this is (usually) not so in Greek. Is the nominative singular κτίσις a different word than the accusative singular κτίσιν or the genitive singular κτίσεως, or are they the same word?[3] If they are deemed to be the same word then is the noun κτίσις the same word as the adjective κτίσμα or the verb κτίζω (there is certainly formal and to some degree functional relation)?[4] In Greek and indeed other languages including English, lexical meaning and grammatical meaning are difficult to differentiate and thus a precise definition for "word" becomes difficult.[5]

[2] Space is a frequently used criterion in the establishment of a word (see for example Halliday, "Lexicology," 1; Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 85). Minuscule texts eventually superseded majuscules which did put space in between words. In this way, D.A. Cruse's characteristics of a word are unhelpful. He suggests that a word is "the smallest element of a sentence which has positional mobility" and "are typically the largest unit that resist 'interruption' by the insertion of new material between their constituent parts" (Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 35–36; see also Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 85–87).

[3] Two of these forms appear in Rom 8:19–22, making this an important consideration in the development and application of semantic theory.

[4] The same question can be asked for many Greek words. Another example might be the relationship between δίκαιος (right, just), δικαιοσύνη (righteousness), and δικαιόω (to justify)—all very significant words in certain areas of New Testament studies.

[5] In his introduction to semantics, Riemer notes this exact phenomenon where a definition of word becomes precarious in the linguistic description of an inflected language such as ancient Greek. His definition of *lexeme* reflects this difficulty. Reimer therefore styles the *lexeme* as "the name of the abstract unit which unites all the morphological variants of a single word" (Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 16–17). The difficulty in such a definition is its seeming dependence on a word's function (or meaning) rather than form. At that point lexical semantics is a somewhat circular exercise. Cruse similarly addresses this question. He outlines four basic goals of lexical semantics, the final goal being the relation of word meaning and its syntactical properties. His comments are not overly helpful as he simply identifies that it is an issue with a variety of perspectives (see Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 92–93).

Meaning is an important, indeed fundamental, question in semantics.[6] For the present purposes I will address this question in terms of word (or lexical) semantics. An important perspective is a referential view of lexis. From this perspective, the lexeme is viewed as a sign that can be reduced to two constituents: form and meaning. These are often framed in terms of the "sign" and the "signified."[7] This terminology has since developed into an articulate referential view in which every word "refers to" to a certain "referent."[8] *Reference* engenders some linguistic problems when more abstract lexemes are concerned, such as a function word rather than a content word (if that is appropriate terminology), or for abstract concepts such as love or hope.[9] For example, it would be difficult to say that a preposition has a referent. Even so, reference is an important theoretical notion when dealing with propositions and assertions.[10]

A second notable concept is that of *sense*.[11] *Sense* is fundamentally concerned with relationships between linguistic elements and is therefore systemic. Words operate in *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* relations with other vocabulary items.[12] Traditional lexical semantics, however, views the paradigm as a set of choices made up of sense-

[6] John Lyons, for example, in the first volume of his *Semantics*, entertains this question on the first page (Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 1–5).

[7] See Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 95; Lyons, *Introduction*, 403–4; and especially Saussure, *Course*, 65–78. This terminology properly occurs in discussions of semiotics, a field hotly debated between structuralist and post-structuralist thinkers. To some degree this conversation is moot in light of further developments in linguistic semantic theory.

[8] Lyons, *Introduction*, 404–405. Notably, Lyons would see this relationship is an indirect one and thus his perspective differs somewhat from referential theorists. Lyons defines reference as "the relationship which holds between an expression and what that expression stands for on a particular occasion of its utterance" (Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 174).

[9] Function words and content words make up a traditional distinction that is outlined in Halliday, "Lexicology," 4; see also Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 88.

[10] See a full discussion on reference in Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 177–97; Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*, 48–59. Reference is therefore particularly important when analyzing nouns.

[11] For an extended discussion of *sense* see Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 197–206.

[12] Lyons has a brief but effective discussion of these concepts in Lyons, *Introduction*, 428–29.

relations including concepts such as synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, etc.[13] As will be seen below, frequent appeal is made to *context* in discussions of lexical sense; although, the vagueness of the term *context* is unhelpful in terms of precise linguistic investigation as it can encompass extra-linguistic elements (for example an historical or social scenario) just as easily as linguistic elements. Consequently, it is worthwhile to think of the syntagm in terms of *co-text*—the immediate linguistic environment. Notably, *sense* is essentially a paradigmatic property and not syntagmatic and is therefore not concerned with co-text.[14]

The final term for consideration is *denotation.* In Lyons' view *denotation* is an intermediate property between *reference* and *sense*. *Denotation*, like *reference*, is a property of pointing yet does so without need of placement within an utterance.[15] Instead, it points to something by way of a relevant property of that something.[16] It is therefore useful to think of *denotation* as a generic property of a word insofar as it may not have a specific referent in mind (as it would if placed within an utterance), yet also specific insofar as it may be one of many alternate ways of pointing to something.[17]

Seen together, sense, reference, and denotation do an adequate job of holistically appreciating a lexeme's semantic content.[18] The relationship between these terms is

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[13] See Lyons, *Introduction*, 443–69; Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 270–335; Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 71–3; and Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 84–111, 136–290, for extended discussions of sense relations. While Lyons' treatment of semantics is diverse, Cruse essentially restricts his entire book to detailed discussions of lexical meaning in terms of sense relations. This has become a central way of conceiving of lexical meaning.

[14] This, therefore, allows Riemer to suggest that *sense* can be viewed (in simple terms) as a lexeme's general meaning (Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 17).

[15] See Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 207–208.

[16] See Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 215.

[17] See Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 19.

[18] Riemer, among others, also mentions the term *connotation* as a fourth category that appreciates "secondary factors" along the lines of a language user's accompanying associations (Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 19). While a valuable consideration, these would be more likely thought of as pragmatics in

complex and often difficult to distinguish (especially when different theorists use the terms differently).[19] The question is whether lexical semantics is best done in these terms, or, are there more diverse, or holistic categories of meaning beyond "semantic content"?

1.2. *Cognitive Polysemy*

Moving away from the basic descriptive vocabulary of lexical semantics, I wish to engage in a discussion of one of the essential and seemingly fundamental paradigms in contemporary lexical semantics. The first consideration I should raise is the primary locus of this discussion, namely, cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics—the dominant perspective in Western linguistics and home to the terminology discussed above—views language as a mental or cognitive phenomenon. In this view, words relate to one's conception of the world and so words are deemed to have essential conceptual or mental counterparts.[20] A common way of expressing meaning in this paradigm is through the notion of *polysemy*.[21] Polysemic theory, in its most fundamental form,

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traditional semantic discussion. This does raise the question, however, as to what should be included within semantic investigation.

[19] For example, Silva differentiates between *sense* and reference so that *sense* is the mental response to a sign while the *reference* is the extra-linguistic denotation (Silva, *Biblical Words*, 102). Silva acknowledges that Lyons makes a distinction between reference and denotation while he does not (105). Lyons' distinction (as articulated above) between *sense* and *reference* is clear enough: *sense* is a property relative to the language's vocabulary, while *reference*—while also relative—is a property of the interface between word and world (therefore extra-linguistic). Confusion can be seen, however, in the relationship between *reference* and *denotation* (a distinction that both Lyons and Reimer bring up, cf. Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 19; Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 206; Lyons, *Introduction*, 424–25). *Reference* is utterance specific while *denotation* is not.

[20] See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 97–99, for a brief discussion of this conceptual approach.

[21] This seems to be a basic assumption both in general lexical semantics and also in lexical semantics focused on the biblical languages. For widespread assertions of a polysemic bias in linguistics in general see Nerlich and Clarke, "Polysemy and Flexibility," 3–4; Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 94; Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 160; Robert, "Words," 55; Cuyckens and Zawada, "Introduction," ix, and in biblical linguistics, see Louw, *Semantics*, 37, 40; Black, *Linguistics for Students*, 125; Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 135–39. Polysemy is generally discussed in relation to homonymy. Homonymy tends to describe different words with the same form while polysemy describes a single word with multiple senses (see Lyons, *Semantics*, II: 550–69; Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 107; Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 161–62).

proposes that words may have a single form but possess multiple senses. The way this is articulated in its specifics may vary from theorist to theorist.[22]

For a lexeme to be considered polysemous, its senses must somehow relate to one another (otherwise homonymy would be a more appropriate designation). How these senses may relate is therefore a significant question.[23] Cruse proposes several varieties of polysemy that hypothesize relationships between variant senses which are put forth to account for "contextual variation" in word meaning—broadly categorized as linear and non-linear relations.[24] One of the most significant notions among lexical theorists is the notion of a prototype. Nerlich and Clarke refer to senses linked to "a prototype by a set of relational semantic principles which incorporate flexibility."[25] Prototypes are conceptual features that represent the more common or central components of meaning as opposed to other more peripheral features—Wittgenstein's notion of *family resemblance* seems to be central to this construct.[26] Dividing the semantics of a lexeme into smaller components—called componential analysis—is another notable approach. [27] Various senses will therefore have a number of semantic components (designated within [ ]) in common with one another. Componential analysis may be useful, not only in analyzing polysemous senses, but also in the analysis of

[22] Though confined to the very specific study of the function of discourse particles, Fischer's first chapter describes that variety of approaches that can be taken in this area of study simply from a polysemous perspective, providing a good example of the diversity among polysemic theorists (see Fischer, *From Cognitive Semantics*, 3–12).

[23] Riemer notes the problem of such a simple criterion due to the fact that the mind is able to envisage semantic relationships in a very unconstrained way. In that regard there may be no need for homonymy (Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 162). Criteria are therefore necessary to provide some sort of constraint.

[24] The details of these relationships are not overly pertinent to the present discussion. See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 108–111, for his descriptions.

[25] Nerlich and Clarke, "Polysemy and Flexibility," 8. The significance of this assertion is that it appears to be a major assumption in their edited volume on polysemy and flexible meaning, signalling its wide acceptance.

[26] See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 129; Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 22 n.21.

[27] Lyons describes this as a very common method in linguistic semantics, at least in 1977 (Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 317).

hyponyms, or synonyms and antonyms in the articulation of a semantic field or domain.[28] With respect to polysemy, the relation of components as a feature of "core" or "periphery" is debated.[29]

Polysemic theory appears to be distancing itself from semantic maximalism towards a more minimalistic project. Rather than attaching a large component of inherent meaning to the lexeme itself, context begins to play a larger role in the making of meaning. Various senses are therefore context-determinate.[30] The difficulty that arises in polysemic description relates in some fashion to a semantics-pragmatics dichotomy. Weigand suggests that pragmatics is becoming an increasingly relevant topic of discussion to the extent that her semantic description involves a pragmatic model of analysis.[31] There is evident tension in lexical semantic description with respect to meaning located in the lexeme itself and the context of utterance. In fact, as Wolfgang Teubert points out, polysemic divisions of sense, especially as recorded in dictionaries and lexicons, do not seem to reflect how native speakers comprehend a particular word in a given text.[32] The important question that must be asked, therefore, is whether polysemy is truly an accurate description of lexis. Are polysemous senses indeed to be attributed to the word itself or are they better viewed as what might be called pragmatic variations? If the (linguistic) context is cause of variation then polysemy may not truly be an accurate means of identifying this phenomenon, as polysemy blurs the lines

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[28] See Lyons, *Semantics*, I: 317–35; Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 154–59, for description and critique of this perspective. Its place in biblical studies will be addressed below.

[29] For example, Fischer describes polysemy in terms of "abstract kernel meaning" that "relates to observable functional interpretations" (Fischer, *From Cognitive Semantics*, 4). On the other hand, biblical linguist J.P. Louw (as will be seen) relates senses in terms of peripheral meaning (Louw, *Semantics*, 33, 40).

[30] See for example, Taylor, "Cognitive Models," 31.

[31] See Weigand, "Contrastive Lexical Semantics," 28.

[32] See Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 93. This comment is made even in spite of his allusions to the presence of polysemy in natural language.

between the word and its context of utterance. It seems appropriate to apply a theory that more succinctly articulates the place of lexis in an utterance with a more robust understanding of context.

1.3. *Conclusion*

The issues raised above reveal some open questions in lexical semantics that must be answered if a model for an appropriate analysis of creation language in Romans 8 is to be accomplished. Contemporary semantic theories appear to resonate primarily with a cognitive linguistic perspective and are largely concerned with the correspondence of conceptual categories with lexical items. Terminology such as sense, reference, and denotation reflects this goal. However, it is difficult to appropriate this cognitive model to the realm of meaningful social interaction.[33] Indeed, this is noted even by cognitive linguists. For example, Fischer mentions in her discussion of discourse particles that contextual meaning varies according to "the speaker's aims regarding the hearer." Can discourse truly be restricted to cognition? Polysemy falls under this umbrella as well, as it seems to struggle in the attempt to delineate the relationship of a word's meaning in the context of utterance. What is required, then, is a theory of words that appreciates meaning as a function of a complete utterance (i.e., a discourse) that is framed in terms of social interaction.

[33] Fischer, *From Cognitive Semantics*, 271. From my perspective this is a candid remark from a cognitive linguist suggesting that meaning is a function of social interaction. At that point does cognitive linguistics become an insufficient paradigm from which to analyse this phenomenon?

2. *Traditional Perspectives in Biblical Lexical Semantics*[34]

2.1. *The Gloss and Translational Approaches*

New Testament and biblical scholars have also theorized about lexical meaning, employing a number of approaches in this endeavour. The most elementary form of lexicography is illustrated in the use of the most basic bi- or multi-lingual dictionaries and lexicons. When indicating the meaning of a word in another language, its meaning is appropriated by a word in the native tongue. This approach has often been adopted by New Testament lexicographers, often with a view to Bible translation. Such an appropriation is called a *gloss*.[35] The appeal of glossing is apparent as it makes the translation and interpretation of a text in a foreign language as easy as transposing its words and ideas into one's native language. However, there are obvious weaknesses in that glossing assumes (or at least promotes) a one-to-one relationship between language codes and fails to take into account the entire cultural ethos and linguistic particularities that is incorporated into the use of a language. Thus, the Greek language is no longer viewed as a language in and of itself but an alternative code of expressing English.[36]

Translational traditions have greatly impacted New Testament Greek lexicography as certain glosses or translations of a given Greek word have had some staying power in modern Bible translations. For example, John Lee notes the unanimity of "fair weather" as an apt translation of εὐδία in several English translations; from

[34] Probably the best historical survey of New Testament lexicography can be found in Lee, *New Testament Lexicography*, 3–192. Several years have passed since its publication, though it would be inaccurate to call this work outdated. Though much briefer than Lee's treatment, see also Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 21–27, for a further articulate state of play, including the impact of the Thesaurus Linguae Grecae (TLG) and corpus linguistics on New Testament lexicography.
[35] Lee, *New Testament Lexicography*, 15–16.
[36] Porter gives an interesting example with the English gloss "sin," often used to translate the Greek ἁμαρτία and παράπτωμα (Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 52–53). The same translational gloss may give the impression that ἁμαρτία and παράπτωμα, in fact, mean the same thing. Evidently, reducing a lexeme's meaning to a gloss can cause more confusion than clarity.

Tyndale and the KJV to the NIV.[37] Some further examples can substantiate Lee's observation. Most contemporary translations of Rom 3:23b gloss the phrase ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ along the lines of "*falling short* of the glory of God."[38] This translational choice finds its heritage in the King James tradition as earlier English translations such as the Geneva, Tyndale, and Wycliffe Bibles prefer a gloss along the lines of *lacking* or *having need of.* Evidently the King James tradition has had significant influence upon subsequent attempts to accurately gloss ὑστερέω in this passage.[39] Another example, very relevant to the current discussion, is the translation of the phrase πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις in Rom 8:22. Modern English translations tend to render this phrase "all creation" or "the whole creation"—a rendering that, similar to the first example, appears to have begun within the King James tradition.[40] On the other hand, several pre-KJV English versions have made different choices along the lines of "every creature."[41] This simple translational shift is a remarkable phenomenon that no doubt influences subsequent interpreters.

The historic translators' influence is felt also in Greek-English lexicons. Lee notes: "it is clear that Arndt and Gingrich, though translating from the German of Bauer, were influenced by the English versions and used their equivalents whenever

[37] Lee, *New Testament Lexicography*, 31.

[38] See KJV (1611), NKJV, ERV, NLT, ESV, NASB, RSV, NRSV, CHSB, CEB, CEV, GWT, TNIV, ASV, YLT, DT, NET, and WENT. The implication is that τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ is some standard that humanity has been unable to achieve—a notion made explicit by more paraphrastic versions such as the NLT, NIRV, and MSG.

[39] Thanks to Wally Cirafesi for pointing this example out to me. See an expanded discussion of this issue in Cirafesi, "'To Fall Short'?" forthcoming; also Enderlein, "To Fall Short?," 213–24, an article that makes a similar point even though its theoretical basis for such a conclusion is not as rigorous.

[40] See ESV, CEB, ASV, NAB, NASB, NKJV, NRSV, NLT, TNIV, HCSB. Translations that are more paraphrastic in their approach do not have this exact phrase, although it appears to be there in concept (see NCV or MSG).

[41] See Tyndale, Geneva, and Wycliffe Bibles. Some other, later translations not directly in the KJV tradition reflect this translation as well (see Douay-Rheims).

convenient."[42] One can see how this has become a circular process in which an English gloss becomes entrenched in the mind of Greek students as the English translation and subsequent editions of Bauer's lexicon have become a mainstay in Greek-English lexicography.[43]

2.2. *Theological Lexicography*

Though the gloss remains an important and perhaps necessary feature of lexicography (especially in terms of translation), lexicographers have sought more robust and inclusive theories of words. A phenomenon of the biblical theology movement of the mid 1900's, theological lexicography has and continues to hold significant sway in Greek and Hebrew word studies. This phenomenon is best represented in an emphasis on lexical etymology, relating Greek words to supposed Hebrew counterparts, as in G. Kittel and G. Friedrich's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (*TDNT*).

Barr describes a "normative strain" in the lexicography of his time (that still seems to be in vogue today) that "original" or "etymological" meaning should be a guide to a word's usage; "words are used properly when they coincide with their earliest form."[44] Porter makes a helpful distinction between "true etymologies" and "folk etymologies." True etymology has use in historical lexicography and traces the meaning of a word over time. It seems that the etymological information available for the Greek language is mostly folk etymology, that is, fanciful accounts of a word's origins. Folk etymologies are dangerous as they have little actual bearing upon how a word originated

[42] Lee, *New Testament Lexicography*, 32.

[43] Though in its most recent manifestation it is the most significant example of a gloss-based lexicon, Bauer's lexicon appears to be more advanced than lexicons such as *LSJ* or *Moulton-Milligan*. Bauer's lexicon is far more context-sensitive, and does provide more examples of lexis in context (see below).

[44] Barr, *Semantics*, 107. Hill responds to Barr's critique with sensitivity to his concerns, though he advocates fairly heavily for its use regardless (Hill, *Hebrew Meanings*, 3–4).

and developed and therefore may enable the linguist to draw false conclusions in their analysis.[45] Even so, etymological approaches place a priority on a diachronic perspective which opposes the synchronic perspective emphasized in modern linguistics.[46]

Closely related to an etymological approach is the relationship between the Greek and Hebrew languages. The Greek of the New Testament holds a unique place inasmuch as this collection of literature (written in Greek) is closely related to a corpus of Hebrew works subsequently translated into Greek (the LXX). The New Testament frequently makes quotations from the Old Testament often based on a Greek translation of the original Hebrew.[47] This has led some theorists to suggest that the meanings of many Greek words are best understood in terms of a Hebrew counterpart.[48] While this perspective was most common amid the theological lexicography movement, remnants still persist.[49]

Theological lexicography may be best represented in the *TDNT* and perhaps more recently in Colin Brown's *The New International Dictionary of New Testament*

[45] Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 57–58. Hill also warns against the poor use of etymology though advocates fairly heavily for its use regardless (Hill, *Hebrew Meanings*, 3–4).

[46] See Porter, "Studying Ancient Languages," 153; Lyons, *Introduction*, 45–50. The priority of the synchronic over diachronic was first pushed by the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (see Saussure, *Course*, 79–98).

[47] See Hays, *Echoes*, x–xi; Moyise, *Paul and Scripture*, 8–12.

[48] See for example Hill, *Hebrew Meanings*, 1–22, for some basic theoretical and methodological assumptions of this perspective. Hill's work is in many ways a response to James Barr's critique of Kittel's *TWNT* (see below) that proposes a lexical semantic that may redeem some features of the that work. As for the nature of the Greek of the New Testament and its relationship to the Hebrew Bible, LXX, and Koine Greek, it will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. See also Crouch, "Greek Word Studies," 227–28 as an example of one who cites Hill and seems to adopt a similar position, applying it to a basic rubric for Greek word study.

[49] A notable example is the 3rd edition of J. Dobson's beginning Greek textbook. Revised and edited from its original publication in 1988, Dobson notes in the preface that "often a word or passage in the New Testament that is perplexing becomes clear when it is translated back into Hebrew" (Dobson, *Learn New Testament Greek*, ix, 297–306).

Theology (*NIDNTT*).[50] As the names of the works suggest, they engage in theological-conceptual discussions organized around the vocabulary of the New Testament literature. The *TDNT* and *NIDNTT* appreciate that word-meaning exists in a history of use and thus this context is brought to bear among contemporary language users (presumably including both author and audience). Unfortunately the *TDNT* fails to draw a necessary distinction between word and concept while placing a great deal of emphasis on etymology. With such emphases, texts soon become envisaged as a string of theologies mediated through the individual words. Old Testament scholar and linguist James Barr's critique of the lexically driven biblical theology movement called many of the presuppositions of the *TWNT* into question. Potentially one of his greatest contributions was his articulation of the lexical fallacy "Illegitimate Totality Transfer" (*ITT*), which warned against the importing of a words history of usage into a single occurrence.[51]

Despite Barr's longstanding critique, theological lexicography (and closely related phenomena) endures in contemporary word study and among more theoretical works. For example, many modern commentaries persist in the attribution of "theologies" to words.[52] One of the more recent attempts to understand lexical meaning and usage is found in Ellen van Wolde's *Reframing Biblical Studies*. In the second

[50] The *TDNT* is an English translation and edition of Kittel's original *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (*TWNT*). Brown's work can be differentiated somewhat on the basis of their arrangement (which suggest a particular semantic theory); his work is organized via concept, where a particular important concept such as "faith" or "righteousness" might be discussed in terms of the lexical choices used to convey these concepts.

[51] Barr, *Semantics*, 218. *ITT* is picked up later in Silva, *Biblical Words*, 25; Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies*, 60–3; Osborne, *Hermeneutical Spiral*, 84; Baxter, "In the Original Text," 31–32; Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 115–23; Black, *Linguistics for Students*, 125 (interestingly Black cites polysemy as the cure for *ITT*). See also Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 59–63, for an extended discussion of theological lexicography and its persistent appearance in contemporary lexical study.

[52] Porter, "Lexicons (Theological)," 196. See Baxter, "In the Original Text," for analyses of several significant New Testament and Old Testament commentaries that continue to commit this fallacy.

chapter, entitled "Words as Tips of Encyclopedic Icebergs," van Wolde depicts words and their meaning as icebergs with the tip protruding from the water. Van Wolde's cognitive approach is evident as she identifies lexical meaning as a mental process. She views language as intrinsically symbolic, not symbols of a "something" per se, but symbolic of an underlying schema upon which a word "stands out as an instance on a certain ground" or arrangement of general knowledge.[53] Specific words, then, have a vast complex of meaning behind them that grows out of cultural construals and contexts of use. Such a definition extends beyond theological lexicography into something of socio-historical lexicography.[54]

2.3. *Contextual Approaches*

In many ways, James Barr's work invigorated a synchronic Saussurean structuralism in biblical studies against the backdrop of theological lexicography. Moisés Silva's statement is programmatic in this regard:

> [W]e learn much more about the doctrine of sin by John's *statement*, 'Sin is the transgression of the law,' than by a word-study of ἁμαρτία; similarly tracing the history of the word ἅγιος is relatively unimportant for the doctrine of sanctification once we have examined Romans 6—8 and related passages.[55]

From this vantage point, context is king and theology is based upon utterances rather than individual words. On the other side of the coin, in a post-Barr linguistic environment, treatments of lexical theory—reflected in Greek lexicons and more theoretical works—display a great degree of context sensitivity.

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[53] van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 51–54, 60.

[54] Consider van Wolde's assertion that "Cognitive Grammar cannot accept a dictionary view of meaning but takes an essentially encyclopedic view of meaning in which even the meaning of everyday terms is seen as being supported by a vast network of interrelated knowledge" (van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 55). See also Cruse's brief comments on encyclopedic views in relation to cognitive linguistics from a more general linguistic perspective (Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 93–94).

[55] Silva, *Biblical Words*, 28.

Some of the most significant and influential contributions to lexicography are dictionaries and lexicons.[56] Two important lexicons have made strides in the lexical description of the Greek of the New Testament.[57] Bauer's lexicon (*BDAG*) is organized alphabetically and consists of two important features: a translational gloss/definition and a brief description of contexts of use that correspond with the various definitions (meanings). This lexicon represents a tremendous amount of research manifested in the extensive and systematic entries—an important step forward in comparison to earlier lexicons which lack such descriptive detail. Context sensitivity is therefore a notable feature of *BDAG* as it highlights apparent polysemous senses due to contextual inference.[58]

Another important step forward has been made by the *Louw-Nida* lexicon which organizes its lexical entries, not alphabetically, but according to semantic domains. In this way, *Louw-Nida* seems to appreciate both syntagmatic and especially paradigmatic

[56] For an excellent discussion of the role and function of dictionaries in general (though with an emphasis on English-language dictionaries) along with their quite evident shortcomings see Yallop, "Words," 24–27.

[57] This is not the place to engage in an extended analysis and critique of these lexical tools. For significant contrasts and comparisons between the two lexicons see Poythress, "Greek Lexicography," 285–96; Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 21–23, 28–36 (though this analysis is more sporadic as it simultaneously engages some other important theoretical issues in lexicography).

[58] One of the fundamental assumptions of *BDAG* appears to be polysemy. Take, for example, the entries under πείθω. Four distinct definitions are listed with several sub-definitions underneath. The first definition: "to cause to come to a particular point of view or course of action," is subdivided by four glosses: (a) "convince," (b) "persuade, appeal to," (c) "win over, strive to please," and (d) "conciliate, pacify, set at ease/rest." The second definition: "to be so convinced that one puts confidence in someth.," is subdivided by two glosses (a) "depend on, trust in," and (b) "be convinced be sure, certain." The third definition: "to be won over as the result of persuasion," is subdivided by three glosses: (a) "be persuaded believe," (b) "obey, follow," and (c) "be persuaded by someone, take someone's advice or obey, follow someone." The final definition: "to attain certainty in ref. to something," has one gloss provided: "be convinced certain" (see Bauer, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 3rd: 791–92). This is a programmatic example of how many words are defined in the lexicon. The question is whether these can truly be considered separate senses. Each definition and gloss provided bears a marked resemblance to the other entries. In fact, the only real difference between the first and second entry is that the first is an example of use in the active voice and the second is an example of use in the passive voice. Is this truly a distinction in meaning or is it actually a grammatical difference? Whether or not the editors of the lexicon intended to push a polysemic agenda, users of this lexicon are bound to come away from it with that assumption. For a similar assessment with respect to the preposition ἐν see Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 33–34.

lexical relations. Alphabetical organization is replaced by lexical grouping according to sense relations. *Louw-Nida* appreciates the semantic significance of context as well, inasmuch as many words appear in multiple domains—thus signaling multiple contextually driven senses.[59]

The *Louw-Nida* lexicon owes much of its theoretical backing to the theory of componential analysis (CA)—made popular within biblical studies by E. Nida.[60] CA is well-accepted among linguistic semanticists in general and thus it appears to be a worthwhile resource for biblical linguists.[61] Cotterell and Turner attribute the genesis of a componential approach in the relation of lexis to molecules. They assert that while this may be inappropriate as an "exhaustive theory of meaning" it has significant practical value.[62] As noted above, CA reduces lexical meaning into distinct structures or components. An important application of this practice is the ability to establish sense relations.[63] Sense relations thus provide quantifiable evidence to divide meaning in

[59] Like *BDAG*, Louw-Nida seems to assume a polysemous view of lexis as well. Take the κτίσις family of words for example. The index indicates that it appears (in its various forms) under the domains 1.4, 37.42, 42.35, 42.38, 42.39, and 42.40 (see Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 2: 148). These numbers signify the various semantic values the word possesses. It also shows that the word has the ability to express widely divergent meanings under the domain "1", "37", and "42". The κτίσις family seems to have a fairly central cluster of meaning while also bleeding into other (though not unrelated) conceptual categories. Still, other lexemes are found to express the same semantic value as κτίσις. For example in the sub-domain "Make, create" which spans from 42.29 to 42.40 there are eight different lexemes accounted for, all of which apparently can express the idea of "make" or "create" (see Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1: 514).

[60] See especially Nida, *Semantic Structures*, 117–35; Nida, *Structure and Translation*, 1–23; Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*, 35–122 where this theory relates to the making of lexicons and dictionaries, especially the *Louw-Nida* lexicon.

[61] Cruse writes "one of the earliest and still most persistent and widespread ways of approaching word meaning is to think of the meaning of a word as being constructed out of smaller, more elementary, invariant units of meaning" (Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 95).

[62] See Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 170–71.

[63] See Nida, *Componential Analysis*, 174–93. This has also proved useful with respect to translation theory, especially Nida's dynamic equivalence model. For discussions of Nida's views on translation theory see Nida, *Structure and Translation*, 24–46, 71–101; Nida, *Semantic Structures*, 66–78, 136–49, 179–85. Lexemes are therefore often related through synonymy and antonymy. Synonyms will share components both marked positively [+], while antonyms will be distinguished by a positive [+] and negative [–].

language in terms of semantic domains. Polysemy thus becomes an important feature of this theory as individual lexemes may be placed in multiple domains.[64]

As noted above, a polysemic bias is very common among lexical semanticists—biblical scholars being no exception. Even so, there appears to be an inadvertent move towards a monosemic bias among many of these theorists, especially in this post-Barr environment.[65] Barr's excellent criticism of theological lexicography seems to have initiated a move from semantic maximalism towards semantic minimalism.[66] Two important thinkers in this regard are Moisés Silva and Anthony Thiselton.[67] Both writers explicitly hold to a polysemic bias[68] though they hint at the existence of some central unifying semantic value that holds peripheral meanings together.[69] It seems as though the greatest concern for both authors is the value of context with respect to semantics. This is to be expected as their work continues in the legacy of James Barr and the

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[64] As quantifiable as these domains may be due to their foundation on semantic components, the establishing of components seems (at times) slightly arbitrary.

[65] Though it can also be identified in general linguistic writing as well. For example, Richard Trim describes a "core semantic origin" that relates figurative senses of a (polysemous) lexeme together (Trim, *Metaphor Networks*, 95). Michael Hoey's description of collocation and polysemy indicates quite conclusively that immediate co-text plays a large role in lexical semantics. Hoey's research suggests that certain collocates are specific to a given polysemous sense and avoid alternative senses related to that particular lexeme (Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 81–113). The place of polysemy within corpus linguistics and metaphor theory is of relevant consideration in subsequent chapters.

[66] Semantic maximalism places a large amount of meaning within a word itself while semantic minimalism prefers to reduce the amount of inherent meaning in a word. This difference will be examined in greater detail below in the discussion of monosemy.

[67] In some of his earlier work, Porter also alludes to a similar phenomenon, though not definitively (see Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 54). However, as will be seen below, his most recent lexicographical work has moved away from polysemy towards an adoption of a monosemic bias.

[68] Thiselton calls polysemy an "everyday phenomenon" (Thiselton, "Semantics," 85). See also Silva, *Biblical Words*, 113–14, 151. His treatment is less explicit than Thiselton's and suggests that polysemy is such a foregone conclusion it warrants little explication. See also Black, *Linguistics for Students*, 124, who holds to similar conclusions. At the very least Black seems to be comfortable with a general or central meaning of a word.

[69] Thiselton seems to ride a tension in his lexical semantic theory. He suggests that "the meaning of a word depends not on what it is in itself, but on its relation to other words and to other sentences which form its context," but also assumes that lexemes possess a "stable core of meaning" (Thiselton, "Semantics," 78). Silva's terminology is quite similar to Thiselton's inasmuch as he refers to a "stable semantic core" (Silva, *Biblical Words*, 103). See also Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 54–55, who acknowledges this phenomenon, specifically indicating that a core or conventional meaning is what allows metaphors to "work."

continued tendency towards theological lexicography. However, the description of some sort of semantic core reveals an admission that lexemes must have a point of reference from which alternate senses might extend.

Some biblical scholars and linguists do not necessarily follow Thiselton and Silva, however. Perhaps one of the most influential Greek lexicographers, J.P. Louw, admits to common semantic components among alternative senses of a single word, yet avoids describing this commonality in terms of a "general" meaning.[70] An illustrative example is the Greek word μέρος. Louw lists five separate meanings:

1. Region, i.e. "place" or "district"
2. A "part" or "piece" of something
3. "party" or "sect"
4. The "side" or "edge" as in part of an object
5. "trade" or "business"[71]

Certainly, common components in these various "meanings" are apparent. While Thiselton and Silva might point to a semantic core relating these five meanings, Louw is adamant to simply identify "common components."[72] It seems preferable to Louw to express this as a relationship of the periphery of the meaning rather than a relationship of the core meaning of the word.

2.4. *Conclusion*

To some degree, biblical semanticists have stayed abreast of general lexical theory and have been forthright in the adoption and adaptation of general linguistic development into the field of biblical studies. The sense of appreciation for the role of context as it affects a word's meaning has aided in the rejection of theological lexicography while

[70] Louw, *Semantics*, 33. Cotterell and Turner seem to follow Louw as well. They note that while it may appear that various senses share a core meaning, it is rather shared components that only give the appearance of a core meaning (see Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 138–39).
[71] Louw, *Semantics*, 40.
[72] As would be appropriate considering his work with componential analysis.

componential analysis has provided the base for important works such as the *Louw-Nida* lexicon. However, this almost fully describes the extent of the advances of New Testament lexicography. A polysemic bias prevails and therefore word study often amounts to "sense selection."[73] Furthermore, the very traditional notion of semantics promotes an over-emphasis on words themselves, maintaining a maximalist perspective that heads in the direction of theological lexicography—perhaps indicating why it prevails in light of Barr's critique. In addition to this halt in theoretical progression, a relatively undefined notion of context added to the general shortcomings of a cognitive and polysemic view of lexis calls for re-modelling of biblical lexical semantics.

3. *Monosemy, in Cognitive and Systemic Functional Perspective*

In light of the above considerations I want to propose an alternative approach to lexical semantics. Two main features should be noted: (1) a move away from a polysemic bias towards a monosemic bias in lexical semantic description and (2) a move away from a primarily cognitive linguistic paradigm towards a more social paradigm. This model is designed to aid in the disambiguation of lexical meaning as a property of social interaction that values the discourse function of lexis. I will begin by giving a brief overview of the primary proponent of a monosemic bias, followed by a cross-section of a Systemic Functional understanding of language and lexis, and finish with an assessment of how these two perspectives can be used harmoniously.

[73] Taylor articulates some difficulties associated with sense selection (Taylor, "Cognitive Models," 33). In fact, this approach is a very simplistic way of viewing lexical meaning and relates closely to an encyclopedic view. From this perspective, a lexeme's meaning is laid out in terms of variable context-driven senses. The analyst simply chooses which sense seems to fit best in that context. This highly polysemic approach has been recently put forth in Baxter, "Meaning of Words," 89–120, demonstrating its contemporary acceptance among biblical scholars. A major shortfall of this approach is its lack of quantifiable criteria in determining which sense should be selected. Again, this relates back to a largely undefined notion of context.

3.1. *Cognitive Beginnings in the Work of Charles Ruhl*

In a fairly typical semantic theory, monosemy and polysemy might be seen as two ends of a lexical semantic continuum.[74] From this perspective, all words seem to have an essential semantic component that either has one consistent meaning or is variously extended into multiple senses. Monosemy describes the "one word, one meaning" end of the continuum, while polysemy describes the "one word, multiple meanings" end of the continuum. Cognitive linguist Charles Ruhl, however, destroys that notion with his "extreme monosemic position."[75] His monograph-length work *On Monosemy* represents the single robust theoretical treatment available which endorses monosemy as the primary assumption to be adopted for lexical study—thus a monosemic bias.[76] Monosemy is fundamentally a minimalistic program in which inherent lexical meaning is reduced and abstracted. The two main features of Ruhlsian monosemy are *modularity* and *systematicity*.[77] Modularity suggests that an abstract and core sense of a lexeme is constrained by contextual features.[78] Ruhl posits three types of modularity based upon pragmatic extensions of a lexeme's semantic content: pragmatic specialization; pragmatic generalization; and pragmatic metonymy.[79] Modularity is a feature of a lexeme's systematicity in which modularity appears on one end of a continuum with *mutuality* on the other. Modularity (weak systematicity) identifies that elements in the

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[74] This perspective is explicitly related in Riemer, *Introducing Semantics*, 167.
[75] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 122.
[76] Ruhl, *On Monosemy*, 4–5. With a monosemic bias other options (polysemy) are not ruled out; however, they are seen as the exception rather than the rule. Even then, single forms with apparent multiple meanings are better considered homonyms.
[77] Ruhl, *On Monosemy*, 5–13.
[78] Ruhl notes that "what dictionaries offer as definitions and linguists as solely lexical senses are actually complexes of a word's inherent content and lexical inference. What appears to be a number of separate senses, possibly highly different and unrelatable, can better be analyzed as a single general lexical meaning that can be variously "modulated" by a range of specific interpretations" (Ruhl, *On Monosemy*, 6).
[79] Ruhl, *On Monosemy*, 7–8, 85–95.

system relate to one other, while mutuality (strong systematicity) identifies the interrelatedness of the elements to the point that they are mutually defining.[80]

The strengths of this position are numerous. A monosemic bias provides a better theoretical distance between a word with multiple, extended-but-related senses and a word with altogether unrelated senses. Thus where polysemy and homonymy are, at times, difficult to differentiate, monosemy draws a distinct line. Monosemy also stands out against a prototype theory. Where a semantic prototype may be viewed in terms of frequency or commonality, a monosemous meaning is based on generality, abstraction, and semantic minimalism. Thus, pragmatic extensions have a more solid foundation. Monosemy also has the potential to provide an articulate notion of lexis, co-text, and context—an area that is certainly underdeveloped in biblical semantics.

Recently, monosemy has received some recognition and application among biblical scholars. In the context of the πίστις Χριστοῦ debate, Stanley Porter and Andrew Pitts depict the relation between lexical meaning and co-text as a move from a general lexical meaning that is constrained or restricted by co-textual modifiers.[81] This perspective seems to reverse the typical approach (at least in biblical studies) that begins with specific senses that are chosen or rejected based on context, to an approach that begins with a general sense constrained by co-textual and syntagmatic elements. In some more recent essays, Porter has recommended monosemy as an important way forward in biblical word study.[82] One example that may prove illustrative at this point is Porter's brief discussion of the noun πνεῦμα (spirit, wind, breath). Some difficulty

[80] Ruhl, *On Monosemy*, 8–9. Ruhl has in view both the syntagmatic axis and the paradigmatic axis.
[81] They write "the language user assumes the lexical meaning of the head term and then restricts its meaning through the use of the case system" (Porter and Pitts, "Πίστις with Preposition," 36).
[82] See Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 36–37; Porter, "Matthew and Mark," 97–119.

seems to ensue in relating variable senses with the meaning "spirit" which may act as a sort of prototype. A monosemic bias, on the other hand, presents "wind" as more fundamental and abstract lexical content, allowing for simple pragmatic applications such as "spirit."[83] Monosemy has an elegant simplicity in that respect.

Ruhl's version of "extreme monosemy" does have some shortcomings in terms of its utility in the present context. Monosemy is fundamentally a cognitive linguistic theory and in that regard is primarily concerned with a lexeme's semantics as it relates to the conceptual ordering of the mind, and thus it shares many of the shortcomings of cognitive polysemy. This theory therefore may be unable to adequately address meaning in terms of social interaction. As Porter points out, however, monosemy makes provision for "the widest pragmatic, functional contextual meaning"[84] as compared to polysemy, especially in light of its minimalistic tendencies. In that respect, monosemy avails itself of functional sophistication that appreciates lexis in its contribution to discourse meaning. To that end I adapt elements from Systemic Function Linguistics.

3.2. *Lexical Semantics from an SFL Perspective*

Three important features of SFL must be highlighted in order to fully appreciate its potential to sophisticate a monosemic perspective in lexical semantics. These features include (1) language as a social semiotic, (2) language as systemic, and (3) language as functional.

In contrast to cognitive linguistics, SFL views language as a fundamentally social phenomenon. To put it simply, language is a type of social behaviour.[85] There is thus a give-and-take relationship between a social context and the language used in that

[83] See Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 35–36.
[84] Porter, "Linguistics and Lexicography," 36–37.
[85] See esp. Halliday, "Social Perspective," 43–46; Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 1–5, 21–27.

context. Context informs language use, while language use in turn forms and re-forms the social context.[86] Systemic linguistics therefore posits a direct link between a given context and the use of language within that context.[87] This relationship is articulated through the notions of *stratification* and *realization*, often represented in the diagram below.

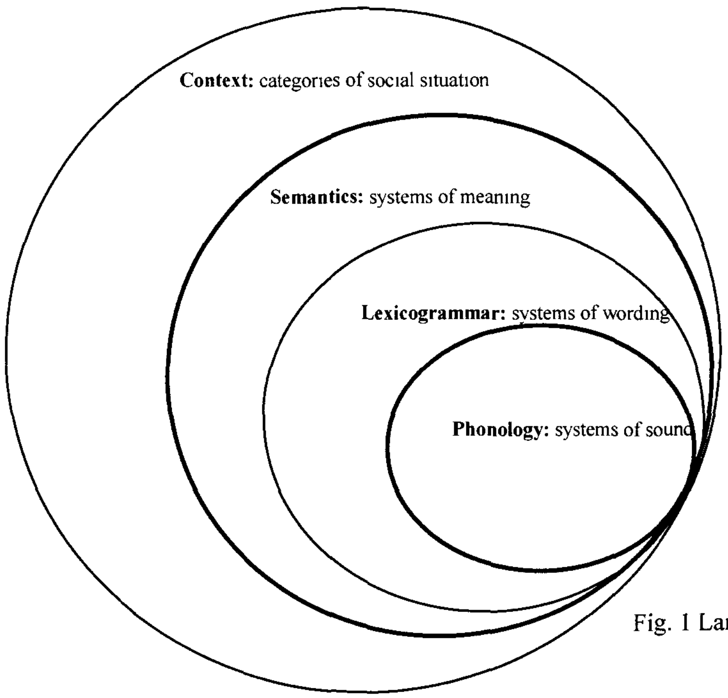

Fig. 1 Language Stratification[88]

The various strata—differentiated in terms of abstraction—relate to each other through *realization*: social contexts are realized in the semantics of language, which is in turn

[86] The difference between context and co-text as described above is an important concept to keep in mind. Again, co-text refers to immediate *linguistic* features, while context is entirely *extra-linguistic*.
[87] Geoff Thompson notes that "language and context are inextricably linked" (Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 10).
[88] Adapted from Hasan, "Semantic Networks," 105. See a similar diagram in Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 25. Note that in Halliday's diagram, semantics and lexicogrammar both fall under the heading of "content." Further, there is a lower stratum called "phonetics;" both phonology and phonetics fall under the heading "expression." For alternate diagrams see Hasan, "A View of Pragmatics in a Social Semiotic Perspective," 6; or Hasan, "Meaning of 'Not'," 274.

realized through the lexicogrammar, which is further realized through phonology.[89] The interface between context and content is a fundamental concern as the language user makes sense of his or her experience and carries out interactions with others.[90] This sort of behaviour is frequently described in terms of *meaning potential,* which leads to the next category of discussion—language as a system.

As with any social behaviour, language involves choice. Various possibilities exist with respect to how an experience or social interaction might be construed. These possibilities are related to each other within a system network—a system of choices that serve as resources for making meaning.[91] SFL is fundamentally systemic to the extent that meaning is understood in terms of the choice and simultaneous non-choice of elements within a particular system. Choices are also stratified inasmuch as systems themselves are stratified. For example, a choice made in the semantic stratum is realized through a corresponding lexicogrammatical choice. As it stands, a system network represents *meaning potential.*[92] Choices are made by the language user from the meaning potential and in doing so create a text. The choice of one element in the system over another is described as *instantiation.*[93] Thus, a text reflects a complex of instantial choices taken from system networks. Instantiation is not, however, a haphazard exercise.

[89] Hasan helpfully notes that relationship between strata are neither random nor absolute (Hasan, "Semantic Networks," 120; cf. Hasan, "The Meaning of 'Not'," 277). Thus a particular semantic value will not always be realized by another particular lexicogrammatical feature (this will be an important concept in the context of the discussion of metaphor). See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 24–26; Hasan, "Meaning of 'Not'," 274–78, for a more detailed discussion of language stratification.

[90] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 24.

[91] It is also acceptable to call this a paradigm, though Halliday seems to avoid this terminology due to its widespread use in other linguistic contexts, especially in cognitive models.

[92] See Hasan et al., "Semantic Networks," 697; Hasan, "Semantic Networks," 107; Halliday, "Social Perspective," 46–47; Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 114–25; among other places for notes on meaning potential.

[93] Halliday refers to this as a cline of instantiation with the system at one end and the text at the other. In other words, "the system of a language is instantiated as text" (Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 525; cf. Hasan, "Meaning of 'Not'," 278).

Two factors can constrain possible choices. First, Halliday suggests that "[i]t is the social context that defines the limits of the options available; the behavioural alternative are to this extent context specific."[94] Second, systemic choice is simultaneously dependent upon language structure.[95] The system and structure of a language are, from my perspective, co-dependent phenomena. That is to say, choices within a system network can be restricted by the structure, while the structure is concurrently determined by the particular choices made within the system.[96] An investigation of the meaning in a particular text consequently requires an analysis of the system (thus meaning potential) and structure of that text; in other words, what were the choices and what constrained those choices?

The final consideration relevant to an SFL approach to lexicography is the notion of language as functional. Halliday and his followers suggest that language is used to perform three generic functions, or *metafunctions—ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*. Together, the metafunctions of language make up the full range of ways and means to use language, each with their own system of choices. These metafunctions have specific relevance in ch. 4 amidst a discussion of metaphorical extension and will

[94] Halliday, "Social Perspective," 59. On the other hand, it may be appropriate to see the language choice as controlling the social situation as well.

[95] Also described as syntagmatic order (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 20).

[96] This may push back against a traditional SFL position that may place priority in the system over the structure. This is especially relevant in the relationship between lexis and grammar. John Sinclair suggests that in SFL paradigmatic axis has been primarily restricted to lexis with the syntagmatic describing grammar, resulting in a sort of slot-filler schema (see Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 140, 168–69, this seems to have Halliday in mind specifically). In biblical studies the Louw-Nida lexicon may have an important influence in this regard. Certainly the lexical organization—around semantic domains—is quite useful; defining words only in terms of their synonyms or antonyms may give a false sense of paradigmatic priority. This is an important consideration that will be explored in full in the next chapter.

receive a focused treatment there.[97] A brief description of each will therefore suffice at this point.

The ideational metafunction is primarily concerned with content and representation, functioning "as a means of the expression of our experience."[98] Transitivity tends to be a central focus of analysis represented by the phrase "who did what to whom."[99] Of course, this description is naturally geared towards the analysis of a clause. From a lexical semantic point of view, the analyst must therefore seek to determine how a lexeme contributes to the transitivity of the clause; what content does the lexeme provide? The ideational metafunction probably comes closest to the semantic content sought in traditional lexicography. Ideational lexical analysis (along with the other metafunctions as will be seen) grounds the analysis in the lexeme's interaction with other co-textual features. The interpersonal metafunction is primarily concerned with the creation and maintenance of social relationships. From this point of view, language reveals the user's thoughts, attitudes, and feelings as well as performing interaction with the other participants.[100] This metafunction explicitly reveals the social nature of language as messages are arranged with respect to participants. One of the primary applications of interpersonal analysis will be demonstrated in the subsequent discussions of corpus linguistics (ch. 3) and lexicogrammatical metaphor (ch. 4) where

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[97] For full-blown articulation into the various metafunctions see Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 64–306; and less detailed see Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 45–194. Thompson's language is slightly different than Halliday's inasmuch as he refers to the *experiential* metafunction rather than the *ideational* metafunction while adding a fourth *logical* metafunction. As Halliday sees it the experiential and logical functions are subclasses of the ideational metafunction. Thus when Thompson describes the experiential it is almost synonymous with Halliday's ideational.

[98] Halliday, "Social Perspective," 61. Here Halliday notes that the ideational metafunction also serves to express logical relations. See also Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 86.

[99] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 86; cf. Martín-Ascensio, *Transitivity-Based Foregrounding*, 41.

[100] Halliday, "Social Perspective," 61. See also Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 45–85; Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 106–167.

lexical metaphorical choices are used to perform interpersonal functions such as evaluation. The textual metafunction brings the first two functions together vis-à-vis the way in which the message is organized, enabling the other two metafunctions to perform their roles effectively. Two main foci exist from this point of view: the analysis of clausal Theme, and textual cohesion.[101] The organization of a text is what makes it a text, allowing for its message to be understood. As Halliday notes, "this component has an enabling function, that of creating text, which is language in operation as distinct from strings of words or isolated sentences and clauses."[102] If text is simply "language that is functional,"[103] the textual metafunction is that which enables textuality—the means through which other types of meaning can be construed. The textual metafunction may be an important tool in the lexical semantic tool belt as many lexical choices appear to be made more for organizational purposes than, say, ideational ones.[104]

The importance of this metafunctional perspective lies in its re-evaluation of the priorities of semantic investigation and description. In the present context (i.e., lexical semantics), lexical meaning is understood through its role in making ideational, interpersonal, and/or textual meaning—construing experience, mediating social interaction, and organizing the message. I suggest that this is significantly relevant in the context of biblical studies as it may steer the researcher away from committing lexical fallacies such as theological lexicography/illegitimate totality transfer and, more

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[101] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 141–78 (Theme), 179–94 (cohesion).

[102] See Halliday, "Social Perspective," 61.

[103] Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 10.

[104] As will be illustrated in the following chapter, certain lexemes are often used with textual motivation (see Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 129–51). In biblical studies, Westfall has also demonstrated the cohesive function of semantic chains (Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 47–52; see also Westfall, "Ties that Bind," 199–216).

importantly, will help the interpreter to arrive at a more robust understanding of lexical meaning.

3.3 *Some Key Details in a Proposed Model*

With this basic architecture of linguistic analysis laid out, there remain a small number of details that warrant further articulation insofar as they provide significant sophistication in lexical semantic description. The first detail is, as already noted, a lack of articulation of the distinction and relationship between lexis and grammar in traditional lexicography—especially in a highly inflected language such as Hellenistic Greek. The notion of lexicogrammar is an important step in providing that sophistication. Rather than viewing lexis and grammar as distinct entities, lexicogrammar describes them as elements on a continuum.[105] This sort of description eliminates the difficulties in differentiation—which very well may be false in the first place. Where traditionally it may have been appropriate to refer to *lexical semantics* and *grammatical semantics*, there is simply *lexicogrammatical semantics*. There is still room in this schema for a specific analytical focus. For example it is appropriate to investigate Greek case semantics, the semantics of the Greek verbal system, or (as in this thesis) Greek lexical semantics. These elements, however, exist together on a continuum with the description based upon delicacy (with lexis being the most delicate in that cline).

The second detail relates to the direction and focus of analysis. SFL is a holistic system that enables the analyst to inquire into any number of language features from the

[105] Corpus linguist John Sinclair prefers to use the term *lexical grammar* (see Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 164–65). Sinclair's preferred terminology is an explicit contrast to lexicogrammar which, in his mind, maintains an almost hierarchical division between lexis and grammar (see n.92). This notion will be of greatest interest in the discussion of corpus linguistics which demonstrates that "the fundamental distinction between grammar, on the on hand, and lexis, on the other hand, is not as fundamental as it is usually held to be" (164). Even so, I will maintain the use of the term *lexicogrammar* so that I don't confuse any interaction with SFL theorists.

context of culture down to phonetics. The direction of this analysis also tends to be top-down, namely, contemporaneous texts are analyzed where the corresponding social and cultural contexts are given—at least inasmuch as much of the research has been and is being done on modern English. Investigation of the biblical text is restricted, however, inasmuch as the only available objects of measurement are instantiations of the lexicogrammatical stratum. A lexical semantic analysis of a biblical text (or word therein) is essentially a bottom-up exercise in which the lexicogrammatical patterning is abstracted to its semantics. The question is not, how did the author realize his or her semantic choices, but what semantic choices does this particular instantiation realize? This direction and analytic restriction is therefore important to keep in mind throughout this thesis.

3.4. *Moving from Cognitive to Functional Monosemy*

A systemic approach to lexical semantics has notable benefits over and against the way traditional (polysemic) cognitive lexicography has been done. Perhaps the difference can be highlighted through the distinction between traditional approaches to grammar as compared to the linguistic approach of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Customarily, language description has been preoccupied with the analysis of instantiations. In other words, its method has been to describe and categorize what appear to be generic patterns of language use. For example, in Daniel Wallace's intermediate Greek grammar his grammatical descriptions are exactly that—descriptions. Analysis is restricted to instances of occurrence of a particular form. Occurrences that appear to be "doing" the same thing are given a label and grouped together.[106] Such an approach amounts to descriptive generalization. In the same way, Greek lexicons seem to focus upon instances of occurrence. Semantic classification is again a case of descriptive generalities in which the lexical capability for semantic nuance is broadly categorized. The effect is a lexicographical typology lending itself to polysemous description—variant senses are noted with no concern as to how they are related or made available to the language user.[107]

Systemic linguistics is also concerned with instantiations, yet the concern rests with how they contribute to the overall semantic system network. Interpreting a specific instance is therefore accomplished as it relates to the system network. Such distinction is explicitly made by Halliday when he states that "[s]ystemic theory gets its name from the fact that the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks, not as an inventory of structures. Of course, structure is an essential part of the description; but it is interpreted as the outward form taken by systemic choices."[108] The relationship of system and structure (or paradigm and syntagm in more traditional terms) is highly developed in Systemic Functional theory, thus providing quantifiable and measurable criteria for determining sense variation in a given utterance.[109]

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[106] Consider Wallace's discussion of the dative case. In 38 pages (Wallace, *Grammar*, 137–75) his focus is primarily on categorizing the numerous nuanced functions the dative case can perform. What is lacking is a discussion of the fundamental role the dative case plays in the context of the entire Greek case system—vis-à-vis the other four cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, and vocative).

[107] See Porter's brief discussion of *BDAG*'s organization with respect to the preposition ἐν. He seems to note (however implicitly) the overtly polysemous description and lack of indication of how context influences meaning and certainly not how the variant senses may relate (Porter, "New Testament Lexicography," 54). Poythress' comparison of BDAG and Louw-Nida seems to imply that such linguistic concerns miss the primary role of lexicons—a translation aid (Poythress, "Greek Lexicography," 290).

[108] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 23. Such an approach has been widely used in New Testament studies, especially in relation to Greek grammar. For example, see Porter's preliminary discussion of the Greek case system which stands in contrast to my example of Wallace's treatment (Porter, *Idioms*, 80–83). Porter goes on to elaborate upon each case's semantics in terms of a system network in the following pages.

[109] I suggest that this comparison between grammar models and lexical models is appropriate given the perspective of lexis and grammar adopted in this thesis—hence the use of the term lexicogrammar. For an

The necessary question that needs to be asked at this point is—how does a monosemous view of lexical meaning fit with a systemic functional approach to grammar? This is especially relevant considering that the polysemy-monosemy distinction is virtually unknown amidst systemicists and the semantics-pragmatics made by someone like Ruhl is absent in systemic linguistic discription.[110] I suggest that in partial accordance with monosemic theory, lexical meaning is a minimalistic and abstract notion that is present in the social or communal consciousness of language users.[111] The importance of this assertion rests in my specific application to biblical texts with which the only measurable data is epigraphic. Where Ruhl would point to pragmatic extensions of meaning via context I prefer to employ the notions of *realization* and *instantiation*. As a language user formulates a text, s/he has particular goals to achieve through the use of language. Consequently, abstract semantic choices are made and *realized* concretely through corresponding lexicogrammatical choices. The resultant text is an instantial representation of the lexicogrammatically realized semantic choices; thus, taking into account other constraining lexicogrammatical features in the immediate linguistic context. This is a complex procedure. Motivating factors with respect to particular lexical choices stem from all three metafunctions and how they can be realized in the lexicogrammatical structure.[112] The choice of a particular lexeme is

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in depth discussion of this view see Hasan, "Grammarian's Dream," 72–103; cf. Halliday, "Text and Semantic Choice," 223.

[110] Halliday and Mattheissen note that there is no room for pragmatics in their linguistic framework (see Halliday and Mattheissen, *Construing* Experience, 12). Though, for example, polysemy appears to be an important assumption for the functionalist Michael Hoey (see Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 81–133; cf. Tsiamita, "Polysemy and Lexical Priming," 247–64).

[111] As Halliday describes the semantic system: "an abstract representation," so do I understand lexical meaning. A monosemic bias seeks to determine the abstracted meaning of a lexeme.

[112] Hasan has shown how lexical choice between synonyms may be made with variable motivations. For example, where the ideational grammatical structure may be identical for synonyms, the interpersonal or textual structure may differ (see Hasan, "Grammarian's Dream," 99). SFL's trinocular approach to

therefore a reflection of desired ideational and interpersonal meaning while it simultaneously accords with appropriate textual organization.[113] In this way, lexical meaning itself is minimal and abstract and requires co-textual constraint to make specific and direct meaning.

3.5. *Conclusion*

The basic model that I am proposing in this thesis is a Systemic Functional adaption of a monosemic approach to lexical study. It is monosemic in the sense that the meaning that is associated with a lexeme is general and abstracted, relying on co-textual and contextual features to provide further semantic and functional specification and constraint. This is, therefore, a minimalistic program which posits that any meaning added by co-text is not part of lexeme's semantic content. Meaning resides in the interaction of linguistic features, of which lexis is a necessary but small part. The virtue of this monosemic bias rests in its demand to seek beyond the word for textual meaning—an especially important consideration in biblical studies.

This model is systemic and functional in the sense that it adopts the social and semantic peculiarities of SFL. An SFL perspective re-visions monosemous lexical meaning as a feature of social and communal knowledge; holistically appreciates meaning in text through the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions; helpfully situates lexis within a lexicogrammatical continuum; and has the theoretical

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meaning may therefore bear significant fruit where lexical choice is concerned, especially when it is unclear why a certain lexeme was chosen over a synonym.

[113] A further restricting and complicating factor is the notion of *register*, though it will come into play in the next chapter. Note also that Hasan suggests that a multiple functional categories may theoretically be conflated into a single lexeme (Hasan, "Grammarian's Dream," 99). This may be an important hypothesis to test.

architecture available to relate an instance of text to a meaningful system of communicative possibilities.

Chapter Three

CORPUS LINGUISTICS: LEXICOGRAPHICAL DATA COLLECTION, THEORY, AND ANALYSIS

This chapter builds upon the theoretical foundation of the previous chapter with specific interest in the application of corpus linguistic techniques designed to provide evidence for predictable patterns of language (particularly in Hellenistic Greek)—a useful tool in lexical analysis. Four major sections will form the content of the chapter and will broach the general concerns and priorities of corpus linguistics, provide the theoretical support for a statistically sound and representative corpus for Hellenistic Greek, engage lexical priming theory as a means for identifying lexicogrammatical constraints to lexical function, and relate corpus and priming theory to systemic functional monosemy.

1. *Introducing Corpus Linguistics: General Principles and Goals*

Corpus linguistics is a fundamentally functional linguistic technique that employs digitally compiled and stored texts, which enables the processing and analyzing of significant patterns in natural language. These selected texts form a corpus from which particular linguistic phenomena can be observed and described. While it may be better to call corpus linguistics a set of techniques rather than a theory,[1] several theoretical assumptions drive these techniques.

Corpus linguistics is functional insofar as it is concerned with language as a naturally occurring phenomenon, and thus the naturally occurring utterances should be

[1] Cf. Porter and O'Donnell, "Representative Papyri," 289.

the primary focus for any linguistic investigation.[2] Functionalism in this sense has necessarily moved in the direction of corpus analysis as computers have increased their memory capacity, speed, and complexity to allow for the storage and analysis of immense quantities of texts and annotations. As corpus linguist John Sinclair suggests, "linguistics has been formed and shaped on inadequate evidence and in a famous phrase 'degenerate data.'"[3] Computer-aided corpus linguistics, therefore, is an attempt to provide a critical mass of data evidence to allow for sophisticated linguistic description (which may, in fact, overturn formerly accepted principles and conclusions).[4] A further dimension of functionalism in that systemic assumptions pervade corpus studies as typical patterns establish themselves as instantial representations of systemic choices. Corpus observations give hard evidence for oppositional choices that characterize language systems.[5]

Part and parcel with a functional perspective is the view of language as a social phenomenon.[6] Wolfgang Teubert, in an introductory essay on corpus principles, is very adamant about this point, attempting to distance his work (namely, corpus linguistics) from more cognitive, Chomskyan perspectives. Teubert suggests that in some ways, the

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[2] See Porter and O'Donnell, "Representative Papyri," 289. Given that this has been stated as a fundamental pillar of corpus research it will be important to maintain the notion of functionalism in subsequent theorizing and especially application. Michaela Mahlberg suggests that due to the increasing size of corpora (thus an allegedly higher level of objectivity of conclusions), sensitivity to functionality in certain contexts of use has fallen by the wayside (Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 191). This is a devastating observation and thus must be acted upon accordingly.

[3] Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 9. Halliday and Matthiessen raise similar concerns as they laud the role of the corpus which allows for more scientific linguistic description (Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 33–34; note similar assertions in Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 40–42).

[4] Michael Stubbs suggests that corpus linguistics makes two major contributions to linguistic study: (1) it provides "many new and surprising facts about language use," and (2) it may " help to solve paradoxes that have plagued linguistics for at least a hundred years" (Stubbs, "On Texts," 127).

[5] See Stubbs, "On Texts," 127, 153.

[6] See Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 97–98; Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 192–93; O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 255. Refer to the previous chapter for a more developed defence of a social perspective on language as it would be rather repetitive to do so here.

brand of functionalism that he holds to values the interpretive priorities of earlier philologists rather than the Chomskyan preoccupation with language faculty or competence.[7] In this way, corpus linguistics is well suited to aid in hermeneutics, aligning itself with the motivations of a linguistic approach to biblical criticism.[8]

Corpus linguistics, therefore, presents itself as an ideal (though basic) method or technique for determining lexical function in text. Its two major theoretical bases—functionalism (including its systemic dimension) and a socio-linguistic presupposition—place corpus linguistics well in line with the systemic functional monosemy presented in the previous chapter. Lexical patterning, deduced through the numerous examples provided in a comprehensive and representative corpus, should reveal the functional roles that specific lexemes tend to play in texts, thus enabling responsible exegetical conclusions with respect to specific utterances.

2. *Establishing a Representative Corpus of Hellenistic Greek*

I have suggested that the goal of a corpus approach is to enable the language analyst to provide statistically relevant evaluations vis-à-vis lexicogrammatical and semantic patterns within that language. For this thesis I am concerned with such patterns that relate to specific lexical items. Two relevant questions therefore need to be asked: what is the nature of the Greek found in the New Testament, and what will a representative corpus of that language look like?

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[7] Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 78. See also Teubert, "*Parole*-Linguistics," 57.
[8] See Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 78–79.

2.1. *The Nature of the Greek of the New Testament*[9]

A major assumption of this chapter, and indeed the entire thesis, is that the Greek found in the New Testament belongs under the heading of Hellenistic Greek and is not its own special Semitic Greek or similar. Porter provides a lengthy history of discussion into this question in his *Studies in the Greek New Testament*, and as such I will restrict myself to only a brief treatment in an effort not to be overly repetitive.[10] The Greek of the New Testament can seem peculiar in comparison to contemporaneous non-biblical texts (such as the writings of Plutarch or other philosophers) due to its relatively simple syntactical structures, and topical or thematic emphases manifested in certain lexical/semantic choices. There has been an effort in some quarters to push the opinion that there was a significant Semitic influence on the Greek language employed by New Testament writers (which then explains its uniqueness).[11] There is little question that some sort of Jewish or Semitic impact is present on New Testament language inasmuch as certain documents relay Greek translations of oral discourse, translations of Hebrew Scriptures (both by the author or the LXX translators), or other such phenomena.[12] Even so, the Hallidayan notion of register seems to clear the waters to some degree as it will account for such variations according to social and cultural contextual constraints. While granting the presence of Semitisms, the Greek of the New Testament maintains the essential grammatical coding/structure of the Hellenistic language.[13]

[9] Nelson suggests that determining what language is under analysis is this is the first step in any corpus analysis (see Nelson, "Building a Written Corpus," 57).
[10] See Porter, "Greek of the New Testament," 75–102.
[11] See Porter, "Greek of the New Testament," 80–87; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 141–50.
[12] Moisés Silva provides an excellent discussion of the relationship of the Greek of the New Testament to the Greek of the LXX (see Silva, *Biblical Words*, 56–68). His assessment is similar to Porter's discussion inasmuch as he recommends caution in over-emphasizing the Semitic influence on New Testament Greek.
[13] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 150–52.

Even when the label "Hellenistic Greek" is assigned to the Greek of the New Testament, analytical issues continue to appear. Greek is a language that has been forming and transforming for hundreds and even thousands of years. Any living language experiences shifts and changes according to geography, time, social conditions, etc. Thus it becomes important to have a clear vision in mind as to what constraints are given to a particular category of the language so as to be able to include or exclude particular texts accordingly.[14] For this purpose I adopt O'Donnell's definition of Hellenistic Greek: "*the extant Greek writing by native and non-native language users throughout the Hellenistic and Roman worlds from approximately the fourth century BCE to the fourth century CE.*"[15] If it is assumed that the Greek of the New Testament should be categorized as Hellenistic Greek, compiling a corpus for investigation into lexical and grammatical patterns in the New Testament (or any Hellenistic literature) should accord with these temporal constraints.[16] Hellenistic Greek has become the "sampling frame."[17]

2.2. *Representing Meaningful Patterns in Hellenistic Greek*

Sound conclusions require, first and foremost, a reasonable and balanced environment for observation. Applied to corpus linguistics, this necessitates the formulation of corpora that are "carefully selected in order to *represent* a specific language or sub-

[14] Cf. O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 255–56, who acknowledges these factors as important variational features.

[15] O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 2–3, italics original. See also Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 120.

[16] Notably, this is only true when concerned with synchronic linguistic description. Diachronic description, an equally valid focus in some contexts, will require a temporally broader corpus.

[17] See Meyer, *English Corpus Linguistics*, 42, who employs the term sampling frame, the determined parameters allowing for linguistic generalization (cf. Nelson, "Building a Written Corpus," 58).

language."[18] One of the most significant tools available for students of Greek language, linguistics, and literature is the online collection *Thesaurus Linguae Grecae* (TLG).[19] Though it lacks in certain areas (such as syntactical tagging), this resource allows researchers to perform extensive lemmatized searches across numerous Greek texts, an invaluable resource for New Testament scholars. Thus, the TLG recommends itself as the primary resource to be used by Greek lexicographers.

O'Donnell wishes to distinguish between an *archive* and a *corpus*, the difference being that an archive lacks the organizational structure that characterizes a corpus. Though the TLG database employs some basic classifiers, it seems best to assign the label of *archive* to the database.[20] Furthermore, TLG includes texts that do not conform to the definition of Hellenistic Greek provided above (including pre- and post-Hellenistic literature). As a result, I suggest that a representative corpus may be selected from the archive of the TLG using select criteria that allow the data to be generalized to the entire language and accord with the goals of the specific research endeavour.

To reiterate, a corpus is used to provide statistically relevant data based on patterns in language instances that can be generalized to the language as a whole, from which specific texts might be compared.[21] The potential problem with such an

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[18] O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 258, italics original. Reppen notes that representativeness is a fundamental factor when determining corpus size. However, she balances this by practicality, i.e., time constraints (see Reppen, "Building a Corpus," 32). In a study of this magnitude representativeness seems to trump practicality however. Even so, Nelson suggests that representativeness can almost be considered a non-concept given the amount of variables present. He argues that in compiling a corpus it is important to have in view exactly what the corpus is seeking to represent (Nelson, "Building a Written Corpus," 60). Similarly, Porter and O'Donnell note that the use of ancient texts in a corpus (as opposed to modern language analysis) necessitates careful selection, due to the limitation of available texts (see Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 122–25).

[19] See O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 259–60, for a brief outline of its compilation, purpose, and history.

[20] See O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 258–60.

[21] Stubbs notes that a corpus "is neither a linguistic system, nor linguistic knowledge, nor linguistic behaviour, but a sample of behaviour, designed according to a theory of language variation, so that we can

endeavour rests in the variability of language. Corpus compilers are, therefore, required to address this problem through the balanced selection of texts so as to truly allow for linguistic generalization. This balanced selection must also include a critical number of words so as to provide adequate representation. For balance to be appropriate it is useful to classify texts by means of external criteria, namely, *language style* and *genre*.[22] O'Donnell utilizes these broad categories to somewhat simplify the complex task of accumulating the situation parameters of individual texts, especially when a representative corpus must be quite large.[23] Porter suggests four broad landmarks within a continuum of stylistic variety: vulgar, non-literary, literary, and Atticistic.[24] While much of the New Testament may fit within the non-literary category, other documents may conform more closely to vulgar or literary types.[25] Therefore, O'Donnell argues that a corpus which represents the New Testament's language style should primarily incorporate documents of the non-literary variety, while including texts extending to the extremes of vulgar and Atticistic Greek so as to represent the whole of the Hellenistic language.[26]

Genre is another complex concept which has received diverse description, though in this context I wish to restrict the discussion of genre to that of a category

make inferences about typical language across many different speakers and writers" (Stubbs, "On Texts," 153; see also Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 193; Porter and O'Donnell, "Representative Papyri," 290).

[22] External criteria are preferred over internal criteria at this point as internal criteria such as topic and style are sometimes poorly defined or consist of the information the corpus investigation seeks to inquire into (see O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 268–71).

[23] See O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 274.

[24] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 153; cf. O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 277; O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 124; Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 126. Examples of *vulgar* Greek include "papyri concerned with personal matters, monetary accounts, letters etc.," *non-literary* includes "official business papyri, inscriptions, scientific texts, and longer texts, e.g., Epictetus, Apollodorus, Pausanias," *literary* may be represented by Philo, Josephus, Polybius, Strabo, Arrian, Appian, while *Atticistic* may include Plutarch, Lucian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

[25] Cf. O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 277; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 153–54.

[26] See O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 278–79.

describing a complete or whole work.[27] It may be appropriate, then, to relate genre to register, as is the tendency of some. Register is succinctly described as "a variety according to use,"[28] suggesting that language users make linguistic choices in terms of their current social context, reflected by choices in field, tenor, and mode.[29] From this perspective, diversity is a natural outcome to the extent that registers can be as individual as a single text. This may not be a useful application if the compilation of a representative corpus is to be made as simple as possible. Halliday, however, seems to restrict *genre* to the realm of mode (though it may have implications with respect to the other components) so that it seems to be a descriptor of generalized text structure.[30] With this added caveat, *genre* may be best viewed in terms of a text's organizational structure. Thus, typical textual patterns such as the opening formula typical of the Hellenistic letter may denote a specific genre.[31] Three major genres may be put forth with respect to the New Testament: letters (including the Pauline corpus, Johannine letters, and the General Epistles), biography (including the Gospels), and history (Acts).[32] Corpus analysts should, however, take into account that other "extra-biblical"

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[27] Cf. O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 278; Pearson and Porter, "Genres," 134.

[28] Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 41.

[29] See Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, 31–35; Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, 29–43; Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 40. Field, tenor, and mode are extra-linguistic categories particular to social and cultural context. They are realized through their corresponding linguistic functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. This correspondence is a function of stratification (see previous chapter). Porter provides a useful description of register in the context of biblical studies in Porter, "Dialect and Register," 197–208; cf. his subsequent application to Mark's Gospel in Porter, "Register in the Greek of the New Testament," 216–229.

[30] See Halliday, "Text and Semantic Choice," 202–203.

[31] See O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 279. Cf. Adams, "Letter Openings," 33–35; 45–48 for discussion of Hellenistic letter openings and their relationship to particular Pauline letters (at least those attributed to Paul).

[32] O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 280; cf. Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 126. Some books, especially Hebrews and Revelation, may be difficult to classify. However, when compiling a corpus that either seeks to represent the entire New Testament or those particular books, similar genres should be represented (however the analyst chooses to classify them).

genres may be included in a corpus as the three listed above are not the only genres represented across Hellenistic literature.

In light of these external criteria, an effort to provide a balanced corpus will be attentive to features of *style* and *genre* in the compilation process. O'Donnell helpfully provides an initial corpus of 596,049 words that is balanced according to style and genre.[33] This corpus is meant to be a starting point from which larger corpora can be compiled. As such, it will form the basis for my own corpus in this study. I suggest, however, that another set of factors should be considered, namely, that corpora should conform to the needs of the specific investigation at hand. This thesis is concerned with the lexical function of the word κτίσις, found in the Pauline epistle Romans. As such, the largest number of texts in the representative corpus may be from the non-literary style and letter genre.[34] A further consideration rests with the frequency of the lexeme under investigation. For very common words or grammatical patterns, there should be no problem in compiling a suitable sample size within a general corpus such as the one O'Donnell has provided. Less common or more genre-specific words may not enjoy similar frequency in a general or basic corpus.

For example the lexemes in the ῥιζόω family of words—used in such passages as Col 2:7, Eph 3:17, or the Parable of the Sower in the Synoptic Gospels—are found predominantly in medical texts written by authors such as Hippocrates, Dioscorides Pedanius, Galen, and others. In this case a corpus must be augmented to account for this

[33] See his Appendix A (O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 294–95; cf. O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 164–65) for a detailed table. The corpus is broken down according to style and genre on pp. 286–87.

[34] O'Donnell assigns the Pauline letters to the non-literary letter type (O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 133).

unique skewing of sources.[35] Though less drastic, a similar phenomenon can be seen with respect to κτίσις where a significant number of occurrences occur in the writings of Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Strabo (as will be seen in subsequent chapters). Plutarch and Dionysius are Atticists, while Strabo's *Geographica* is an example of literary Greek.[36] Inclusion of their examples is important to providing a large enough sample size to make statistically relevant conclusions, yet it may simultaneously initiate unbalance in the corpus in terms of language style and genre. In this (and similar) circumstance(s), corpora must indeed be carefully selected so as to include sufficient examples of the lexeme in question to promote statistical relevance while maintaining register-balance.[37]

2.3 *Conclusion*

The Greek of the New Testament falls under the broader category of Hellenistic Greek, the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire at the time the New Testament documents were penned. The use of a corpus that includes extra-biblical Hellenistic literature is thus an appropriate and even recommended practice in order to provide statistical relevance. A synchronic corpus should therefore include Greek literature that conforms to the definition of Hellenistic Greek provided above. Further, in an effort to supply balance to the corpus, the external criteria of *language style* and *genre* may be employed while incorporating sufficient sampling size.

[35] See Fewster, "Inquiry."

[36] Cf. O'Donnell, "Register-Balanced Corpus," 295.

[37] Sinclair suggests that corpora should be as large as possible. Much of a given text is made up of common words that are repeated over and over again with the remainder consisting of words that may appear as infrequently as once in the entire text. Investigations of rare words thus require very large corpora (Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, 18).

3. *Corpus Theory and Lexical Priming*

One of the fundamental theoretical developments brought about through corpus linguistics, especially at the hands of corpus theorist John Sinclair, has been a re-ordering of lexical and grammatical description. This re-ordering, perhaps anticipated by the Hallidayan notion of lexicogrammar (see previous chapter), is well represented by John Sinclair's notion of *lexical grammar*. A traditional lexical-grammatical description has ordinarily consisted of a sort of slot-filler schema in which grammatical categories provide slots to be filled by vocabulary items.[38] The pioneering work of Sinclair, Michael Hoey, and others in corpus research has, alternatively, revealed lexis to be a far more powerful and primary force in the process of communication. Some theoretical and practical implications arise from this notion, which greatly impacts the present study. Lexical investigation, especially in the context of New Testament and Greek language study, must take on a new and developing face accounting for the richness of analytical tools available. This section therefore seeks to outline some of these tools, namely, lexical priming theory, with an attendant description of how these tools can contribute to the present investigation and biblical lexical study in general.

3.1. *The Phenomenon of Collocation*

Probably the best starting point in this sort of discussion is a reference to the phenomenon termed collocation, namely, the frequent co-occurrence of two lexical items.[39] This is a fairly basic and easily recognized occurrence in everyday language

[38] See for example Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 87; Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 1, who describe this phenomenon in the context of traditional Chomskyan grammar.

[39] See Teubert, "Language and Corpus," 83; Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 2–5; Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, 170; Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 141; cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 38; Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 40; Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 40. See also O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 315, who suggests that collocation has been a key concept in corpus research dominated by lexical studies.

(perhaps best represented by idioms). For example, beginning students of New Testament Greek often learn to gloss the idiom διὰ τοῦτο as "for this reason."[40] The lexeme τοῦτο is thus a collocate of διὰ. Simple enough, yet phenomena such as these (a) are more common than one might realize, and (b) pave the way for other, similar phenomenal patterns. Collocation includes more than just a statistical interest, however. In fact, one of its main properties is semantic or contributing to lexical function, and as will be seen, extends far beyond simple word to word relations. Lexical disambiguation can be at least partially accomplished through the identification of stereotypical collocates[41]—"you shall know a word by the company it keeps."[42] Collocation efficiently demonstrates the minimalistic program being developed in this thesis—that lexemes themselves contribute very literal inherent meaning to the semantics of discourse. Instead, meaning is demonstrably present in and through lexicogrammatical *interaction.*

3.2. *Collocation and Beyond*

Several attempts have been made to provide explanations for collocation. To date one of the more provocative theories has been developed by Michael Hoey: lexical priming.[43] Hoey affirms that collocation (and its relatives) can be best attributed to a psychological

[40] Literally, this word-group might be translated "through this thing" or "by this thing." The gloss used above would be an "idiomatic" translation.

[41] Ellis, Frey, and Jalkanen, "Lexical Access," 89. See also Moon, "What Can a Corpus Tell Us About Lexis?," 199, who demonstrates the amount of information that can be gleaned with a very simple collocational analysis using the keyword *aphid.*

[42] Firth, *Synopsis of Linguistic Theory*, 11.

[43] See Hoey, "Corpus Approaches," 36–45, for an assessment of two alternatives to lexical priming theory: John Sinclair's "idiom principle" and Hunston and Francis' "pattern grammar." Despite their juxtaposition, Hoey is adamant that these models are not incompatible and can be equally appreciated without taking too much away from the various positions (46). In the spirit of this apparent compatibility, I will be drawing on insights from each of these theorists.

or associative phenomenon called *priming*.[44] Language users encounter words embedded within particular social contexts and linguistic co-texts. Hoey suggests that the language user subconsciously maintains an account of these contexts and co-texts, which are subsequently reproduced by that language user.[45] The relevance of this theory is extremely important to textual interpretation (and consequently in the current study, biblical interpretation). As an author communicates his or her message to a particular individual or community certain semantic/functional goals are to be achieved. Priming theory suggests that the process of achieving these semantic goals will be realized through lexicogrammatical patterning that will tend to conform to the primings of the language user.[46] The key, then, is to determine the (potential) primings of that language user—accomplished through corpus analysis.

As provocative and useful lexical priming theory may be, it contains an essential psychological component. Such a psychological dimension of priming theory—as an explanation for collocation—runs counter to the current systemic functional programme, detracting from the aims of this thesis. However, the basic tenets of corpus linguistics, as outlined by Teubert, emphasize the functional and social elements of corpus linguistic investigation. Thus, priming can be appreciated in the light of these fundamental concerns. The identification of collocational patterns is tied to the corpus and is thus bound to a social perspective on language. While an individual may have their own particular "primings," it is the large-scale collocational patterns revealed by the corpus

[44] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 4–7.
[45] See Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 8; Hoey, "Literary Creativity," 7–8.
[46] As Hoey has shown in Hoey, "Literary Creativity," 7–30, this even seems to be true in creative and novel language.

that are ultimately of interest to the interpreter.[47] Thus, the social element of lexicogrammatical patterning like collocation has implicit control over the individual's *parole*.[48] Hoey has also revealed that "priming" accounts for a broad series of phenomenal patterns. Whether or not Hoey's explanation for these patterns is to be accepted, there is no denying that these are identifiable kinds of corpus patterns with important descriptive power. As result, Hoey's "priming" classes are worthwhile to incorporate into the systemic functional monosemic rubric as phenomenal patterns that can constrain lexical function. These patterns are described in the table below.[49]

Colligation	The grammatical patterns a word appears in and the grammatical function it serves, including the grammatical categories it realizes[50]
Semantic Associations[51]	The meanings with which it is associated

[47] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 47–48. See also Hoey, "Grammatical Creativity," 31. Here he suggests that language users essentially have their own grammars based on their individual primings. In that respect, the grammar (including lexical patterning) of a language community is an abstraction or generalization from the individual primings, perhaps related to de Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* (cf. Saussure, *Course*, 9–10).

[48] See Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 9–12. Teubert echoes a similar sentiment to Hoey's priming theory, suggesting that "everything said about a discourse object becomes part of its meaning once it has been taken into account." In this way, meaning is always compounded and developed, with provision for repetition of old meaning and making of new meaning (see Teubert, "*Parole*-Linguistics," 71). Seen through the lens of priming theory, primings are confirmed or subverted in this way. Teubert's article causes some problems, however, in his conception of meaning. His article in some ways posits a philosophy of meaning suggesting that lexical meaning has no relation to the outside world but is entirely discourse centered or self referential (see also Teubert and Čermáková, "Directions," 132). From this position Teubert wishes to draw no distinction between lexical meaning and encyclopedic meaning (Teubert, "*Parole*-Linguistics," 69). This position, however, fails to acknowledge that the robust meaning that Teubert wishes to attribute to a single lexical item is still a property of the lexeme's interaction with other discourse features. I am inclined to push back against this notion in favour of a more minimalistic bent, as per my previous chapter.

[49] This table has been adapted from Hoey, "Literary Creativity," 8; and Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 13. Note that as one moves down the line from collocation onwards, it is a move of abstraction (see Stubbs, "Quantitative Data," 178) and therefore requires increasing amounts of intuition in its recognition.

[50] See also Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 142. Hoey has done further work on the grammatical end of priming in Hoey, "Grammatical Creativity," 31–56. One of the major propositions of his work therein is that primings have a large part to play in one's grammar (see above). It is not the purpose of this thesis to accept or reject his analysis. At the very least, however, this additional work shows the importance of (a) understanding lexis in terms of a lexicogrammatical (or lexical grammatical) continuum, and (b) the necessity of identifying grammatical patterns associated with particular lexemes in order to interpret lexical function in discourse.

[51] Sinclair describes the identical phenomenon, though with the title *semantic preference* (Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 142). Hoey identifies the terminological difference but maintains *semantic association* to highlight the psychological element in his theory (Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 24).

Pragmatic Associations	The pragmatics it is associated with[52]
Register Associations[53]	The genres, styles, domains, and social situations it occurs in, and/or is restricted to
Textual Collocations	The patterns of cohesion it forms in a text (or their absence)
Textual Colligations	The textual positioning of the word, e.g. whether it typically begins or ends the sentence it appears in or whether it has a tendency to appear at the beginning of paragraphs or speaking turns
Textual Semantic Associations	Its place in the larger semantics of the text, e.g. its associations with contrast relations, problem-solution patterns, narrative climax, etc.

Fig. 2 Priming Classes and their Definitions

Hoey engages in detailed description and argumentation of these principles in his monograph *Lexical Priming* as well as in other smaller essays and articles; however, his work tends to be restricted to English. An important question to ask then is how this might transfer from English to Hellenistic Greek. A primary consideration relates to the position of a collocate to a keyword in order to truly be considered related through primed association. English is a relatively uninflected language and, as such, word order is very important to the grammar. As a result, collocation (especially at the ±1 location) is quite predominant and observed without much difficulty.[54] Hellenistic Greek, on the other hand, is a highly inflected language to the extent that word order, though not irrelevant, nevertheless is not as important to "proper" syntax as in English. Hoey has indicated that the appropriate collocational range should be constrained to ±4 words.[55] It

[52] I would suggest this is closely related to what is often called connotations. Stubbs seems to call the same phenomenon "discourse prosody," a major feature of which being the motivation—which reflects the communicative purpose—of the lexical choice (see Stubbs, "Quantitative Data," 179). It seems, therefore, that pragmatic associations may be very important in evaluation (especially attitude). Pragmatic associations may therefore be an important window into the role of lexis in the interpersonal metafunction (see Hunston's recent monograph treatment of evaluation and corpus linguistics, especially Hunston, *Corpus Approaches to Evaluation*, 20).

[53] This title does not originate with Hoey.

[54] See the numerous tables provided in works pertaining to collocation. An good example can be seen in Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, 176.

[55] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 4–5. Hoey does seem to be open to a range of ±5 words, demonstrable in some of his examples (Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 5, 34).O'Donnell suggests that ±4 words seems to be a reasonable range in Greek. However, this is only based on the single study of the words ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι (O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 332; O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words," 148). The

is reasonable, then, to use the ±4 rule as a general rule though not to be overly dogmatic about it. With this established, I will provide some brief examples of Hoey's priming classes in Hellenistic Greek.[56]

E.g. 1: Matthew Brook O'Donnell's work which focuses on common words used for resurrection (ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι) in the New Testament demonstrates the presence of collocation in Hellenistic Greek.[57] From a corpus comprised of simply New Testament documents, collocates range in frequency from 132 (ὁ with ἐγείρω) to 3 (οὐ with ἀνίστημι).[58] While some of these collocates (such as ὁ) may not do much in terms of lexical disambiguation, they do much to recommend priming as an explanation. Still, other collocates such as νεκρός (50 times with ἐγείρω and 14 times with ἀνίστημι) or ἐκ (32 times with ἐγείρω and 16 times with ἀνίστημι) do much to imply the lexical function of the two lexemes in the New Testament.

E.g. 2: Paul employs the noun ὑπακοή (obedience) in Rom 1:5 and 16:26 in the phrase εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως (into the obedience of faith). It appears as though Paul uses the lexeme according to its typical primed patterns. According to a search done in the TLG, ὑπακοή frequently collocates with the preposition εἰς. There are some colligations associated with the lexeme as well, as ὑπακοή tends to be followed by a genitive modifier.

E.g. 3: Semantic associations are easily measured, especially thanks to the semantic domains provided by the Louw-Nida lexicon. The verb βαπτίζω (and its cognates), frequently found in conversion stories in Acts, tends to co-occur with lexemes involving water such as ποταμός (river), κλύδων (rough water), and ὕδωρ (water). Similarly, the verb ῥιζόω (and its cognates), found in Eph 3:17, Col 2:7, and the Parable of the Sower, tends to co-occur with lexemes denoting some sort of organic growth such as γῆ (earth), δένδρον (tree, plant), or even specific species of trees.

E.g. 4: This final example may go without saying; however it appears that within the specific genre of "letter/epistle" the lexeme (and not lemma), χαίρειν (greetings!) has a strongly primed textual colligation to appear at the beginning of a text.[59] No doubt, the opening formula of an epistle was a well established practice as evidenced in letter writing manuals.[60] Even so, from a psycholinguistic/priming perspective, the consistent positioning of χαίρειν in the opening of

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question remains whether this specific study is representative of the language as a whole or not. As a result my limitation to ±4 words is tenuous.

[56] Some of these examples have not been taken from a well-established corpus, such as the one that will be used in the analysis of κτίσις. My own brief studies (e.g. 2–4) have been selected by a fairly large sample taken from within TLG loosely according the constraints provided above.

[57] See Appendix in O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words," 162–63, for a list of common collocates ordered according to frequency.

[58] There could be collocates with less frequency but O'Donnell only provided the top 40 collocates (O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words," 149, 162–63). Even collocates occurring 3 times could be considered statistically irrelevant, especially if collocation is deemed to be a non-random phenomenon (cf. Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 3; Hoey, *Patterns*, 6–8).

[59] A brief search in the TLG database and the documentary papyri attests to this as the majority of occurrences of χαίρειν in epistolary literature in the Hellenistic period appear at in the first few lines of their respective texts. This includes letters from important figures such as Philip of Macedon (even though they appear slightly prior to the Hellenistic period) and private letters from unknown figures. Interestingly, Porter and O'Donnell hypothesize a corpus-based analysis of the documentary papyri can enable the quantification of letter parts, thus leading to a robust profile of the various features of the ancient letter (Porter and O'Donnell, "Representative Papyri," 309–310). Noting this function of χαίρειν is a step in this direction.

[60] See Adams, "Letter Openings," 35, 39–40, 45–48; Tite, "How to Begin," 60–65.

letters would have had an effect upon the individuals operating within that register to duplicate the practice even without the prompting of manuals.[61] Interestingly, it is only the letter of James that conforms to this pattern out of the New Testament epistles (cf. also Acts 15; the letter addressed to Gentile believers reflects this pattern). Among the church Fathers, however, Ignatius seems to follow this pattern quite consistently.

These examples are not comprehensive in terms of the numerous potential classes of lexicogrammatical patterning available to language users, yet they adequately demonstrate the presence of the phenomenon in the New Testament.[62] A corpus analyst of Hellenistic Greek should not necessarily expect to find each class of priming associated with the particular lexeme under investigation, though awareness of them is nevertheless a recommended practice.

A brief additional note should be made with respect to measuring such lexicogrammatical patterning. As Hoey points out, collocational analysis has traditionally been done with both lemmas and words.[63] Despite doing previous work using lemmas, Hoey is adamant that lemmatized collocational analysis can obscure important primings related to a specific form.[64] Other corpus linguists have made similar assertions.[65] The corpus analyst therefore must make decision as to whether s/he will perform lemmatized searches or whether it will be limited to a specific form. In the case of this thesis, it will mean the difference between searching for the two forms found in Romans 8 (κτίσις and κτίσεως) or a broader lemmatized search (perhaps even extending

[61] Interestingly, Adams's example (Adams, "Letter Openings," 35) divulges that the χαίρειν formula seems to be an imitation of more ancient practices which may or may not have accorded with a formalized structure. Textual colligations along these lines may be a good explanation for the establishment of such conventions.

[62] Hunston and Francis would generalize the various classes, calling them patterns. They define a lexical pattern as "all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning" (Hunston and Francis, *Pattern Grammar*, 37). Their terminology may be more helpful, as it does not possess such cognitive overtones.

[63] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 5. Utka provides a traditional definition of a lemma as "a group of words that share the same stem and belong to the same part of speech, however their endings or spelling differ," (Utka, "Lemmatization and Collocation," 107).

[64] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 5; cf. Hoey, *Patterns*, where he works with lemmas.

[65] See Utka, "Lemmatization and Collocation," 107; Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, 8; cf. Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 131.

to include the verb forms of κτίζω or the adjective forms of κτίσμα). It would be a mistake to perform a lemmatized search and conflate potentially significant priming relationships, as Hoey has pointed out. On the other hand, the close occurrence of multiple inflected forms of the noun in Romans 8 may rationalize a more general search.[66] Consequently, the wisest course of action may be to execute a lemmatized search with sensitivity to the primings that may be form specific.

3.3 *Conclusion*

Lexical priming provides necessary theory and focus in a corpus investigation. Collocation has been a useful observable pattern in general linguistics and increasingly so in New Testament studies as it provides analytical focus in the corpus analysis and aids in lexical sense disambiguation.[67] Hoey's (and others') developments of collocation through lexical priming theory appears to be reasonably extended to Hellenistic Greek and continues to add methodological sophistication and investigative focus in corpus research. These classes of lexicogrammatical patterning will prove to be important features when analyzing the corpus and applied to the determination of the function of κτίσις in Romans 8.

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[66] Cf. Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*, 8. While acknowledging Sinclair's comments regarding lemmatized searches, Porter and O'Donnell note that given the highly inflected nature of Hellenistic Greek inflected concordance listings are not nearly as revealing as they may be in a language like English (Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 131). In fact, my corpus analysis, described in full in ch. 5 will reveal similar conclusion to Porter and O'Donnell. In addition, Utka's work with Lithuanian nouns, another heavily inflected language, has justified the use of lemmas in collocational analysis. (see Utka, "Lemmatization and Collocation," 113).

[67] See O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 331n.31, where he notes several early lexical studies that make use of the TLG. An important critique of these earlier works is a lack of lexicographic methodology (or at least discussion of it). O'Donnell's work with ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι (see O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 340–69; related to the earlier work in O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words," 147–63) seems to initiate increased methodological sophistication. Interestingly Cynthia Long Westfall's paper presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society responds to the earlier work by H. Scott Baldwin (see Baldwin, "A Difficult Word," 65–80, 209–305) and Leland Wilshire (see Wilshire, "TLG Computer Database," 120–34) using a corpus analysis from Baldwin's corpus but using more sophisticated lexicographical methodology drawn from SFL and the notion of collocation (see Westfall, "The Meaning of αὐθεντέω in 1 Timothy 2:12," 1–33).

It is important to note here that these classes of lexicogrammatical patterning engender a fundamentally quantitative analysis—a focus on statistics and magnitude of data.[68] This technique can have its shortcomings as Porter and O'Donnell point out, such as an emphasis on sentence level (and below) phenomena.[69] However, notwithstanding some of Hoey's priming classes extend above the sentence-ceiling, the quantitative approach does continue to have descriptive power and is the most readily available form of analysis.

4. *Corpus Linguistics and Systemic Functional Monosemy*

It should be increasingly apparent that the contents of the present and previous chapters are intimately related and complementary. The preceding treatment of systemic functional monosemy is essentially a theory of lexical meaning (or better yet, function) which forms the foundation for application to New Testament hermeneutics. Corpus linguistics builds upon this theoretical foundation by providing the means of empirically accessing generalized/systemic lexical function to be applied to the analysis of a particular text. The corpus, including the relevant patterns associated with a particular lexeme, reveals the lexicogrammatical system for a particular lexeme. Typical patterns, here described in terms of collocation, colligation, etc., reveal particular choices available to the language user. This system can be compared to the instance (i.e., the use of a particular lexeme in a particular biblical text). The system is not exhaustive, however, inasmuch as particular linguistic arrangements create dynamic instances. Reed differentiates between the "general" and "instantial" so that certain specificity that is

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[68] This can also be called a *referential* approach (see Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 131).

[69] See Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues," 131–32. Further work in this area could potentially benefit from the inclusion of *narrative*/qualitative modes of analysis. Ideally, a meshing of both elements would result in a robust and descriptively powerful method of analysis.

available to the reader may not be apparent vis-à-vis the system.[70] The analysis of lexical function must therefore be sensitive to the insights of the general system and the demands of the specific instance. With this word of caution in mind, I may suggest how corpus theory aids in a robust theory of systemic functional monosemy.

4.1 *Lexicogrammatical Patterning and Polysemy*

One of the major objections that could be raised to this entire endeavour is that priming theory appears to embrace lexical semantic polysemy. As with many lexicographers, Hoey is apt to allow for multiple generalized senses for a single lexeme, thus endorsing polysemy. Hoey has theorized, and ably demonstrated, that distinct polysemous senses of a word tend to hold distinct primings. This notion has been further defended and demonstrated by a student of Hoey in a corpus analysis of the word "drive."[71] They have described three general principles:

> 1. Where it can be shown that a common sense of a polysemous word is primed to favour certain collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations, the rarer sense of that word will be primed to avoid those collocations, semantic associations and colligations. The more common use of the word will make use of the collocations, semantic associations and colligations of the rarer word but, proportionally, less frequently.
>
> 2. Where two senses of a word are approximately as common as each other, they will both avoid each other's collocations, semantic associations and/or colligations.
>
> 3. Where either (1) or (2) do not apply, the effect will be humour, ambiguity (momentary or permanent), or a new meaning combining the two senses.[72]

Whether or not polysemy can be assumed here, these principles illustrate that lexical function is dependent upon co-text and that these co-textual constraints can, to some degree or another, be classified with some regularity and systematicity. Rather than

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[70] See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 98. In his example, it is the specific co-text or context of situation that alerts the reader to the fact that the phrase ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ (Oh man of God, 1 Tim 6:11) is a reference to Timothy. It is not the general system that reveals this as a typical function of that phrase.

[71] Tsiamita, "Polysemy and Lexical Priming," 247–64.

[72] Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 82; Tsiamita, "Polysemy and Lexical Priming," 248. This third option is well illustrated in Hoey's "drinking problem" hypothesis. Typical primings would indicate that the idiom "drinking problem" refers to alcoholism. The same idiom is used humourously to refer to a man who has difficulty drinking.

arguing for polysemy, I suggest that these principles succinctly demonstrate that semantic diversity is primarily (if not exclusively) an attribute of co-textual and contextual interaction with an abstract semantic value, just as a monosemic bias would imply. This certainly argues against semantic maximalism. Even so, these principles are important in order to aid the interpreter in assessing potentially variant lexical functions.

4.2 *Lexicogrammatical Patterning and Monosemy*

Mahlberg (following Sinclair) provides some welcome descriptive simplicity in regards to lexical function in context according to two levels of description. The first level is "residual meaning," which describes the retained, abstracted lexical meaning without co-textual support.[73] The second level contrasts with residual meaning and is termed "text meaning," which is meaning that is dependent upon the interaction of discourse features.[74] Mahlberg presents this two-leveled perspective in terms of a continuum (see the diagram below).

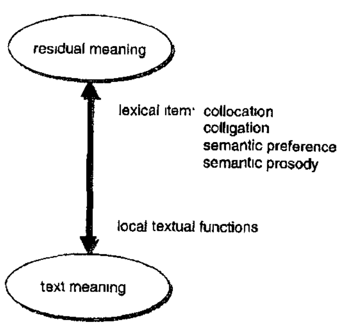

Fig. 3 Levels of Description for the Meaning of a Lexical Item[75]

This diagram depicts a movement from abstracted semantic content to broader interactional discourse meaning, both of which are very important to the hermeneutical

[73] Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 194. Ishani Maitra seems to refer to a similar phenomenon as *conventional meaning/standard meaning* which is a word's meaning which is "invariant across contexts" (see Maitra, "Moderate Contextualist," 113).
[74] Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 194.
[75] Diagram borrowed from Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 194.

aims of this model. By observing and categorizing lexicogrammatical patterns associated with a lexical item, the corpus analyst is able to make a stark distinction between abstract residual meaning of the lexeme and co-textually dependent functions to which it contributes.[76] Within this scheme, Mahlberg wishes to highlight her notion of "local textual functions" which are defined as "functions that account for the integration of lexical items in patterns of text."[77] By following the typical corpus assumption that form and function are closely related, Mahlberg is therefore able to suggest a connection between the collocational patterning surrounding a specific word and the function to which that structure performs.[78]

4.3 *Conclusion*

Textual meaning—with an emphasis on the contribution of lexis—can, therefore, be framed in the following terms. Lexemes themselves possess *residual meaning* or *abstracted semantic value*. Through observed lexicogrammatical patterns of collocation, colligation, semantic association, etc. meaning is seen to be made at the larger co-textual and contextual level.[79] These lexical interactions thus participate in the function of the broader discourse which can be described through ideational, interpersonal, and textual means. For the purpose of this thesis, my focus is on how a particular lexeme functions

[76] Mahlberg emphasizes that this is actually a complex process (Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 194). I don't want to oversimplify the process but neither do I want to make the task seem daunting. It may be sufficient to note, then, that separating textual function and semantic residue requires a measure of intuition possessed by the analyst.

[77] Mahlberg, *English General Nouns*, 3. While Mahlberg's local textual functions tend be *ad hoc* designations (see Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 195), I prefer (for the sake of continuity with my previous description of systemic functional monosemy) to use the broader functional categories of ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings.

[78] See Mahlberg, "Lexical Items in Discourse," 193.

[79] Context here is not meant to be extra-textual but is meant to represent meaning that exceeds the immediate linguistic co-text. This is especially relevant when textual collocations etc. are present.

in light of such meaningful discourse interactions and ultimately how the classification of the stereotyped patterns inform the reading of a particular text.

Chapter Four

MODELING LEXICOGRAMMATICAL METAPHOR

With the essentials of a linguistic method set in place, the requirements of the present specialized study call for further refinement and specificity. As noted in the initial chapter, Romans 8 is widely regarded as a passage full of metaphorical language—the word κτίσις playing a major part in the metaphorical expressions.[1] Consequently, this chapter will explore the theoretical and analytical implications of lexicogrammatical metaphor as it relates to a corpus-driven systemic functional monosemy. The goals of this chapter are to provide an introduction to Conceptual Metaphor Theory as one of the major contemporary strategies of analyzing lexical metaphor, to articulate SFL's grammatical metaphor theory in contrast to traditional lexical perspectives, to elucidate a taxonomy of lexicogrammatical metaphor with an emphasis on how lexis contributes to ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning in metaphorical expression, and to provide a model and criteria for the identification and analysis of lexicogrammatical metaphor. This chapter marks the final theory section of the thesis and thus is meant to provide a sense of culmination. It is my aim to conclude this chapter with a robust procedure that incorporates a theory of systemic functional monosemy that is fundamentally corpus-driven and particularly applicable to the analysis of metaphorical

[1] See Rimbach, "All Creation Groans," 386; Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 51–62; Keck, *Romans*, 211–12; Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 108, among others. See also Bullmore, "Important Passages for Christian Environmentaism," 161; Bolt, "Relation Between Creation and Redemption," 39; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 472; Cranfield, *Romans*, 412; Morris, *Romans*, 320; Mounce, *Romans*, 184, for specific references to personification.

expressions in biblical texts. While this thesis will employ this procedure towards the analysis of κτίσις's function in Romans 8, it is meant to be equally applicable (perhaps with minor augmentation) to other lexical inquiries in New Testament discourse.

1. *Traditional Approaches to Metaphor*

Metaphor is primarily a lexically-focused phenomenon about which analysts identify word senses that deviate from what may be termed expected or literal meanings.[2] So, for example, Lyons can describe metaphor and metonymy as elements in language that involve the "application of derivational principles which do not so much violate the syntactic rules of the language-system as creatively extend or transcend them."[3] As a linguistic phenomenon, it is the metaphoricity of *lexemes* that forms the center of investigation to the extent that in Lyons' *Semantics*, metaphor receives its most rigorous treatment amid a chapter on the lexicon.[4] Cruse suggests that metaphor "induces the hearer (or reader) to view a thing, state of affairs, or whatever, as being like something else, by applying to the former linguistic expressions which are more normally employed in references to the latter."[5] Included in this definition are two very important concepts: that of some sort of semantic overlap or collision, and that of normalcy or typicality.[6]

Metaphor analysis was revolutionized by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, which spawned Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). CMT moves beyond metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon but emphasizes instead its

[2] See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 198–207, for a brief discussion of the recent history of metaphor analysis including key players and concepts.
[3] Lyons, *Semantics*, II: 548.
[4] See Lyons, *Semantics*, II: 548–50.
[5] Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 41.
[6] Aaron might describe the latter concern in terms of "typicality conditions" (Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities*, 41).

cognitive element. The authors' perception was that metaphor has been viewed as anomalous or deviant from linguistic norms.[7] Instead, CMT argues for the ubiquity of metaphor and its influence into the cognitive structures of the human mind and language. Metaphor is thus presented as fundamental to human experience and communication to the effect that it maintains and alters perceptions of reality. This has been repeatedly illustrated through the famous "argument is war" metaphor, which suggests that the semantic domain ARGUMENT is consistently communicated by means of the domain WAR.[8] Thus, not only are arguments referred to in terms of war, this pattern of language engenders warlike arguments in human behaviour. Two important implications of this theory may be noted. First, metaphor has ceased to be talked about in terms of atomistic expressions and single lexemes with variant extensions. Instead metaphor is conceived of as a clash between semantic/conceptual domains. These systematic metaphors are then realized in discourse through actual lexical and grammatical structures.[9] Even so, lexis remains central to the discussion. Second, the importance of metaphor in discourse is manifest through its ability to alter human experience and conceptual mappings.

Lexical metaphor and CMT is foundational to a discussion of metaphor inasmuch as it remains as the foremost perspective in metaphor research. Even if CMT conclusions are questioned or rejected outright, lexical and domain-centered inquiries form the mainline focus. In the present articulation of a linguistically modeled New

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[7] Lakoff and Johnson open their work asserting that "metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish—a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language" (Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 1).

[8] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 4–9.

[9] The influence of this view is well illustrated in Richard Trim's recent monograph in which he draws a distinction between "underlying processes which contribute towards the creation of a metaphor" and the "actual word produced in the language" (see Trim, *Metaphor Networks*, 28).

Testament hermeneutic, CMT has significant interpretive and theological implications.[10] While CMT certainly has value in the discussion of metaphor theory and biblical interpretation, its cognitive framework is unsuitable with respect to the systemic functional theoretical framework of this thesis. What is needed is a theory of metaphorical extension that fits into such a construct. For this I turn to SFL's grammatical metaphor theory.

2. *Systemic Functional Approaches to Metaphor*

Systemic Functional theorists modify metaphorical inquiry in two fundamental ways. First (and probably fairly obvious at this point) is a move from a cognitive to a socio-functional framework. Metaphor is no longer viewed in terms of conceptual categories of understanding but in terms of social meaning. Second, SFL expands the analysis of metaphor beyond lexis and prefers to view metaphor as a grammatical phenomenon. The result, initiated by Halliday, is grammatical metaphor (GM) theory. This section will provide a robust introduction to theory, highlighting where it diverges from CMT, and a well-articulated understanding of the motivations behind grammatical metaphorical choices in discourse.

2.1 *Essential Principles of Grammatical Metaphor*

Metaphor, from a systemic functional perspective, is the ability to expand the meaning potential of language; the goal of GM is therefore to appreciate and account for the variability with which meanings can be made in discourse.[11] As I have elucidated in chapter 2, SFL is acutely focused on the ability of language to make meaning—the mapping of meaning is then accomplished through semantic networks. Therefore,

[10] One of the most notable being that metaphor makes truth-claims.
[11] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 219–20.

attention is given to the semantic stratum as it realizes the context of situation and how the language's lexicogrammar realizes semantic choice. Grammatical metaphor theory appreciates lexicogrammatical variability in its semantic realization, in other words GM is concerned with variability in wording.[12] Metaphor—from an SFL perspective—is a "**realignment** in the realizational relationship between semantics and grammar."[13] In this theory, as with all aspects of SFL, the concern is with natural language in use. In contrast to CMT (which focuses on broad conceptual domains), GM analyses and compares actual lexicogrammatical patterns in text, thus providing a firmer way forward in a corpus-driven analysis—a concern that is central to this thesis.

It is customary among GM theorists to differentiate between a "view from above" and a "view from below" or an "onomasiological perspective" and a "semasiological perspective," each of which highlights the presence of grammatical or lexical metaphor in discourse.[14] The view from below/semasiological perspective represents a typical approach which begins with lexical semantic variation. Halliday and Matthiessen compare the phrases "applauded loudly" vs. "applauded thunderously" as an example of lexical metaphor, where the latter phrase is the metaphorical realization of the former.[15] Analysis would thus involve the variety of ways in which the lexeme "thunder" can function.[16] As an example of grammatical metaphor, Halliday and Matthiessen compare the phrases "applauded loudly" and "loud applause."[17] Notice that

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[12] See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 586–87.

[13] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 614.

[14] See for example Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 232; Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 6–7; Taverniers, "Grammatical and Lexical Metaphor," 327–30.

[15] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 232.

[16] In this case, reference could be made to the "literal" notion of thunder as a sound given off in a storm as a result of lightning. It is then functioning metaphorically in the present phrase which attributes the loudness of thunder to the applause.

[17] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 232.

in this case the disparity between the two phrases is grammatical rather than lexical. Even so, these different lexicogrammatical construals realize essentially identical semantics.[18] This view from above/onomasiological perspective (which is championed by SFL theorists) revisions metaphor as a phenomenon that extends beyond conceptual and even lexical patterns but has a bearing on grammar as well.[19]

Distinguishing between variant lexicogrammatical realizations is an important feature of the onomasiological perspective.[20] Taverniers classifies metaphor as a "'second-order' phenomenon" as it relies on an alternative mode of expression for it to be classified as metaphor.[21] Thus, a fundamental notion in grammatical metaphor theory is that of *congruence*. Halliday defines congruent relations as "those that are evolutionary and developmentally prior."[22] Part and parcel with the feature of priority are the notions of typicality and markedness. A congruent expression is the typical and most basic realized structure, and is deemed to be unmarked.[23] Taverniers characterizes this "as the form of coding 'arrived at by the shortest route'."[24] The onomasiological perspective thrives on the comparison of agnates, that is, congruent and metaphorical

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[18] I say essentially because the semantics has been changed slightly. The semantics of grammatical metaphor will be treated shortly.

[19] Taverniers recognizes that grammatical metaphor is a direct result of a shift in perspective from below to above (see Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 7).

[20] A notable failing of this perspective is the assumption of lexical meaning in the metaphorical expression. This shortcoming will be dealt with shortly.

[21] Taverniers, "Grammatical and Lexical Metaphor," 326.

[22] Halliday, "On the 'Architecture'," 21. Important to this theory is the notion that in language development, children begin to use language in its most simple structures, i.e., congruent structures. As children's language ability develops they begin to increase in their ability to employ metaphorical realizations. Congruence is thus the "primary pattern of realization." Metaphor and childhood language development have been investigated and described at length in Painter, "Early Language Development," 151–68; Torr and Simpson, "Emergence of Grammatical Metaphor," 169–84; Derewianka, "Transition to Adolescence," 185–220.

[23] See Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 13–16. Markedness is thus important from a discourse analytical perspective as it gives texture to the discourse.

[24] Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 13.

expressions.[25] A metaphorical expression is, therefore, a re-construal of an agnate form—a typical lexicogrammatical mode of expression. This re-construal maintains the essential meaning of the agnate expression but is able to perform alternate functions in accordance with the goals of the language user.

In sum, three important consequences of grammatical metaphor should be noted (borrowed from Taverniers):[26]

> 1. What comes to be compared are grammatical *configurations*, whereas in the traditional perspective, the focus is on meanings of a single lexeme. It is exactly this feature which brings in grammatical variation, which can then be interpreted in terms of metaphor.
>
> 2. Various different types of configurations can be compared as expressions of the same meaning, This means that, whereas, in the traditional perspective, there is a simple opposition between literal and metaphorical, there is now a *scale of congruency*: some expressions are typical realizations of the given meaning, and are defined as congruent; others are more or less incongruent, as compared to the congruent realization(s). This feature will be important in the *description* of various types of metaphors.
>
> 3. The concept of *realization* comes to play an important role: what is compared, in this view, is different realizations of the same meaning. This aspect will be important in the *theoretical* characterization of grammatical metaphor.

2.2 *Metaphorical Construals and Motivational Factors*

Grammatical metaphor theory is able to pinpoint metaphorical features that contribute to ideational and interpersonal meaning. A metafunctional approach to metaphor is significant in two ways: (1) it articulates specific facets of meaning in the discourse, and (2) it suggests the motivation behind agnate construals.

Ideational metaphors are those that alter one's experience of an expression, often in terms of downgrading[27] and transitive recontruals.[28] Transitivity is often viewed in

[25] See Ravelli, "Grammatical Metaphor," 141.
[26] These three points taken from Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 7–8.
[27] See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 646. Halliday notes that rank-shifts tend to occur in ideational metaphor in a downward direction: from clause-nexus to clause, clause to phrase/group, or phrase to word. Thompson provides a good example of downgrading (see Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 221), where the expression "in a difficult situation because of the effects of the industrial revolution" is reconstrued by the expression "crippled with the burden of the industrial revolution." Here, the entire phrase "in a difficult situation because of the effects of" has been down-ranked to the word "crippled."

terms of the functional categories of Actor, Process, and Goal ("who did what to whom").[29] So when this standard transitivity pattern does not reflect what is going on in a given expression, ideational metaphor is often the answer.[30] Ideational metaphor thus alters the ways in which the recipient experiences the field of discourse (that is, discourse content).[31] Probably the most common form of ideational metaphor investigated in SFL is known as nominalization. Nominalization occurs when the semantic category of [PROCESS], congruently realized by a verb, is reconstrued as a noun.[32] For example, as Cirafesi has argued, the verb πιστεύειν (to believe) might be reconstrued by the phrase "ἔχειν πίστιν (to have faith). In the former expression, the process of "believing" is congruently realized through the verb "believe."[33] In the latter expression, the process of "believing" is metaphorically realized through the noun "faith."[34] Note how the recipient's experience of the expression has changed. First, what is known as a "semantic junction" occurs, in which the [+PROCESS] meaning of the expression now includes the semantic category [+THING]. Second, through this semantic junction there has been a move from an abstract semantic category of [PROCESS] to the

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[28] See Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 8; Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 224.

[29] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 86; Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 282–84. Transitivity models can get more complex, yet these three categories form the basic functional structure.

[30] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 224.

[31] Halliday and Matthiessen suggest that ideational metaphor is "a resource for ***reconstruing experience***" (Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 241).

[32] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 656–57; Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 231–5; Ravelli, "Grammatical Metaphor," 134–47; Heyvaert, "Nominalization as Grammatical Metaphor," 65–100. Interestingly, Halliday and Mattheissen point to four types of nominalization that occurs in ancient Greek including the endings -της (which experienced a shift from [process] to [+quality]), -ια (which was nominalized from [+quality]), -μα (which, as the goal of a process, shifted from an abstract to a concrete goal), and -σις (which originally indicated the act of performing an abstract process to a more concrete one). See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 243.

[33] Cirafesi, "ἔχειν πίστιν in Hellenistic Greek," 6–7, 12–15.

[34] The example I used here employs the combination of noun with the semantically empty "helping" verb ἔχω.

addition of a concrete semantic category [PROCESS+THING], which overall constitutes a more concrete experience for the recipient.[35]

Nominalization is not the only form of ideational metaphor. In fact, ideational metaphor may be present in any move from an abstract semantic category to a more concrete category, which can involve junction of [PROCESS+QUALITY], [QUALITY+THING], among many others.[36] Halliday therefore speaks of a "continuum of concretization," which describes the typical move from abstract to concrete categories in metaphorical construals.[37] For example, the phrase "Jim is reliable" may be reconstrued as "Jim is a rock." In this case, the former expression which employs the semantic category [QUALITY] (which is realized in the lexicogrammar as the adjective "reliable") has been reconstrued as [QUALITY+THING] (realized in the lexicogrammar as "rock"). Fundamental to ideational metaphor, then, is the notion of transcategorization, where the reconstrual marks a shift in semantic category.[38]

Interpersonal metaphors are primarily understood as metaphors of mood. Appraisal is a significant factor which motivates metaphorical choices in language; consequently, interpersonal metaphors often make appraisal more explicit.[39] Where ideational metaphor seems to primarily occur through downgrading, interpersonal

[35] Also called "semantic hybrid," which represents that the reconstrual is not an exact semantic replica. See Halliday, "On Language," 419; Halliday, "On the 'Architecture'," 22.

[36] The shift from abstract to concrete experience seems to be an important motivation for using metaphor (see Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 233; cf. Punter, *Metaphor*, 68, 73).

[37] See Halliday, "Things and Relations," 208–210; Halliday, "Language and Knowledge," 41–42. Note especially Halliday's typology of grammatical metaphors where he provides eight classes of grammatical metaphors.

[38] See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Construing Experience*, 242–44 for a discussion of transcategorization. Transcategorization is therefore intimately related to semantic junction; or better, semantic junction is the *result* transcategorization. Thompson suggests that when analyzing ideational metaphor a transitivity analysis of both metaphorical and congruent realizations is prudent. He suggests that language users actually understand both meanings simultaneously as they experience the metaphor (Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 224). This seems to be what the notion of semantic junction implies.

[39] Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 237, 252.

metaphor is generally accomplished through upgrading or projection.[40] For example, in English it is common to use the modal adverb "probably" to indicate chance, thus the clause "it will probably rain today." Interpersonal metaphor might reconstrue this clause using the first-person personal pronoun, thus "I think it will rain today." The language user's appraisal of the state of the weather is accordingly made more explicit with this metaphor while maintaining the modality of the phrase itself.[41] Similarly, interpersonal metaphor can occur in a mood-shift from the imperative to the indicative in the realization of commands; this includes both declarative and interrogative statements. For example, the interrogative "Can you get some napkins?" reconstrues the imperative "Get some napkins!"[42] Thus, interpersonal metaphor softens imperative commands and recasts the interpersonal relationship between speaker and recipient. In Greek, the 3rd person indicative verb δεῖ (it is necessary) fulfills a similar role. So for example, in Heb 2:1, the author uses δεῖ to convey the importance of paying attention (περισσοτέρως προσέχειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν). This phrase reconstrues what could otherwise be communicated via an imperative or hortatory subjunctive.[43]

The comparison between congruent and metaphorical realizations reveals that congruent expressions are often inelegant or unwieldy. Consider the transitivity analysis of a grammatical metaphor performed by Geoff Thompson that compares congruent and metaphorical expressions that involve "making proposals" and "adopting":[44]

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[40] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 626, 646; Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 10; cf. Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 231.

[41] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 233 for examples of the use of "probably" and "I".

[42] See Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 632; cf. Hasan, "Meaning of 'Not'," 287 who may dispute this category.

[43] Cf. Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 136–37.

[44] Table adapted from Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 225, Fig. 9.6.

Proposals	have been made	for the adoption of			critical perspectives on the teaching of literature
Scope	**Pr: mat**	**Circumstance**			
'people	have proposed	that	people	should adopt	critical perspective on the teaching of literature'
Sayer	**Pr: verbal**		**Actor**	**Pr: mat**	**Goal**

Fig. 4 Transitivity Analysis of Congruent and Metaphorical Realizations

For the sake of illustration this example may be slightly exaggerated; however, it reveals that grammatical metaphor can be a significant resource for streamlining discourse. The phrase "proposals have been made" is much more streamlined than the phrase "people have proposed." In that respect, interpersonal, and especially ideational, metaphors have important textual implications.[45] Thompson warns that when attempting to compare metaphorical and congruent expressions there may not be a satisfactory congruent rendering—resulting in awkward expressions such as the one in Figure 4.[46] Textual organization thus becomes a considerable motivating factor in the choice of a metaphorical realization.

2.3 *Conclusion*

Grammatical metaphor theory adds an important element to the description of linguistic metaphor by appreciating its grammatical component. Further, it draws metaphor analysis away from conceptual and cognitive categories, placing it firmly in the realm of functional linguistics. As a result, GM is an ideal tool to work with in order to explore metaphorical extension from a systemic functional monosemous perspective.

[45] SFL linguists tend to refrain from describing a textual metaphor in its own right; for example, a discussion of textual metaphor is not present in Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*. Thompson goes against the grain by providing a short discussion on textual metaphor (see Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 235–37), yet his statements do not diverge much from Halliday and Matthiessen's notes on the textual implications of ideational metaphor (see Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 642–45).

[46] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 236.

3. *Lexicogrammatical Metaphor*

3.1 *Metaphor as Lexical and Grammatical*

The goals of the present study—the analysis of a single lexeme's functional discourse contribution—require a model of metaphor analysis that can appreciate lexicogrammatical delicacy. GM appears to be a commendable tool with its ability to measure ideational and interpersonal meaning and the motivations therein. However, the view from above (which is typical of GM) generally assumes an expression's semantics—a practice that is not helpful when attempting to determine lexical function (especially when it includes ideational meaning). I have argued throughout this thesis for a rigorous understanding of lexicogrammar, which emphasizes the interrelation of lexis and grammar. In light of this emphasis, it is notable that Miriam Taverniers articulates that "it is hard to find alternative expressions of a given meaning which only differ from one another in one lexeme."[47] This statement is made in order to broach the presence of metaphor as a grammatical phenomenon. Turned on its head, however, this assertion highlights that metaphor is a lexicogrammatical phenomenon. Metaphorical re-construal can involve grammatical or lexical features, and oftentimes both. As a result, it is fascinating to note that many of the examples of GM provided by SFL theorists such as Halliday, Matthiessen, Taverniers, and others, consist of lexical and grammatical metaphor *at the same time*. Evidently, this close and complex inter-relationship between lexis and grammar that I have argued for is maintained in metaphorical expression. Simon-Vandenbergen provides compelling reasons why grammatical and lexical metaphor may be complementary perspectives:[48]

[47] Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 6.
[48] Adopted from Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 224.

1. GM and LM involve a realignment between a pair of strata.[49]
2. GM and LM are not simply rewording but remeaning.
3. GM and LM show a move towards thingness.

I argue, therefore, that a prudent perspective to adopt is one that emphasizes *lexicogrammatical metaphor* which views lexis and grammar on a continuum and semantic junction as a criterion for metaphor in discourse—both lexical and grammatical.[50] From this standpoint, the analysis of metaphor fundamentally focuses upon expressions rather than simply words; metaphor is a shift in wording.

3.2 *Ideational and Interpersonal Implications of Lexicogrammatical Metaphor*

Let me exemplify the lexicogrammatical features of metaphor by returning to an earlier comparison between the phrases "Jim is reliable" and "Jim is a rock." Using this example, I have already noted the transcategorization from [QUALITY] to the semantic junction of [QUALITY+THING]. However, a further semantic junction appears through the shift from the semantic quality of [STABILITY] which had been realized through the lexeme "reliable" to the lexeme "rock.'[51] It is thus the domain [STABILITY], which is associated with rocks, that allows this metaphor to work.[52] I would suggest here that the lexeme "rock" is an important constituent in an ideational lexicogrammatical metaphor. It represents a shift in lexis ("reliable" to "rock") and in grammar (adjective to noun).

The presence of interpersonal metaphor may be questionable in such examples of metaphor insofar as upgrading is one of its major features. Because interpersonal

[49] This refers to the relationship between the semantic and lexicogrammatical strata in a metaphorically reconstrued realization.
[50] Proposing the term lexicogrammatical metaphor is not my own neologism as it has been proposed elsewhere (see for example Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 224). Even so, the terms has not caught on. I will continue to use this term as it seems to fit the goals of my thesis quite well.
[51] Here, the multiple observed semantic junctions differ from one another in terms of delicacy.
[52] When lexicogrammatical metaphor exhibits semantic junction it may require what is termed *semantic resonance* (see Hanks, "Metaphoricity is Gradable," 20, 31). Semantic resonance implies that the metaphor used must somehow relate or resonate with its target or else be unremarkable and unhelpful.

metaphor appears to be primarily a feature of ranks higher than the word-level, the analysis of a single (metaphorical) lexeme does not seem to fit within that scheme. However, Simon-Vandenberg's work on interpersonal meaning and lexical metaphor provides a way forward in this regard, suggesting that interpersonal metaphor may be present even when upgrading does not occur. In her research, lexical metaphor may be used to perform an interpersonal function when particular appraisal associations accompany that lexeme. For example, Simon-Vandenbergen looks at a phrase which realizes the transfer of advice. The congruent expression is "give advice," whereas the metaphorical expression may be "ladle out advice." Here a lexical metaphor has occurred that includes the ideational effect of concretizing of the recipient's experience. However, the lexical item "ladle out" may have been chosen as an indication that "a norm of quantity has been transgressed."[53] Through the use of this lexical metaphor, interpersonal appraisal has occurred as well ideational concretization.[54]

3.3 *A Taxonomy of Lexicogrammatical Metaphor*

With the addition of GM theory to traditional approaches, there seems to be an overabundance of competing terminology that must be sorted through. Both CMT and GM employ the terms "metaphor" and "metaphorical" to refer to expressions that diverge from typical construals. However, CMT and GM use different terms to highlight the typical construals—"literal" and "congruent." Given that it is difficult to

[53] Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 238. It appears as though more advice was given than was desired.

[54] It may be argued that this is not truly interpersonal metaphor but simply an ideational metaphor with interpersonal implications. Put in a full sentence, a congruent expression may be: "Heather gives way too much advice," vs. the metaphorical: "Heather ladles out the advice." The grammatical shift occurs through downgrading where the explicit lexicogrammatically coded appraisal: "way too much" is implied through the appraisal associated with the lexeme "ladle." Halliday himself hints at the interpersonal effects of ideational metaphor (see Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 645–46). It may be, when analyzing delicate metaphors, that the ideational function takes primacy over the interpersonal—the latter simply being an additional feature.

circumscribe lexical metaphor and grammatical metaphor as discreet phenomena and that this thesis is adopting perspectives primarily from grammatical metaphor, it seems best to describe lexicogrammatical metaphor in terms of "congruent" and "metaphorical" expressions. Halliday's notion of a continuum of congruence is helpful at this point and can be set against the cline of lexicogrammar.[55] Thus, an element of a metaphorical expression—whether primarily lexical, grammatical, or some combination of the two—will be considered more or less congruent (less congruent meaning more metaphorical). Consider the following graphical representation:

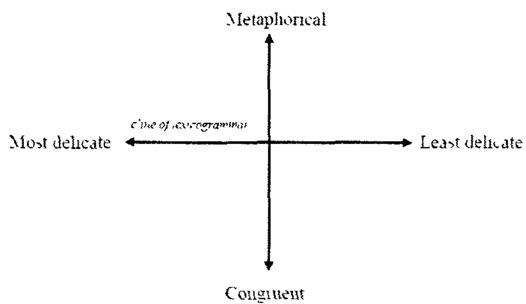

Fig. 5 Spectrum of Metaphorical Expression

3.4 *Conclusion*

A robust theory of lexicogrammatical metaphor analyses metaphor in terms of expressions rather than simply lexical choice. Within this rubric, metaphor may contain lexical and grammatical features, both of which can be important to the functional impact of metaphor in discourse. Viewing lexical metaphor from a GM perspective allows the interpreter to appreciate the diverse ideational meanings (i.e., concretization that occurs in lexical and grammatical semantic categories), make note of interpersonal

[55] Compare this with the notion of metaphorical gradability (see Hanks, "Metaphoricity is Gradable," 22–23). Gradability seems to be discussed primarily within the context of CMT, yet seems to fit with Halliday's continuum.

implications through associative appraisal, and to evaluate the textual-organizational implications effected by the metaphorical reconstrual.

4. *A Model for the Analysis of Lexicogrammatical Metaphor*

4.1 *Lexicogrammatical Metaphor in Binocular Perspective*

A concise analytical model is required that will include two important features: (1) the ability to identify lexical metaphor as it compares to congruent instantiations of that same lexeme, and (2) the ability to determine how that lexeme contributes to the larger complex of metaphorical meaning in relation to its congruent agnate. For this, I return to Miriam Taverniers' binocular perspective on lexical and grammatical metaphor which articulates a dual view "from above" and "from below." This view can be best explained through a brief analysis of the following three short expressions:[56]

1. Transamerica will sweep out the senior managers
2. Transamerica will dismiss the senior managers
3. You've got to sweep the street in front of the shelter

The view from below/semasiological perspective compares expressions (1) and (3). These two expressions display how the lexeme *sweep* can be used in two very different utterances. From a monosemous perspective, the abstract ideational meaning is that of [REMOVAL] which is instantiated in (1) with respect to removing senior managers from hired positions, and in (3) with respect to the removal of dirt from the street. A familiarity with contemporary English would suggest that the lexeme *sweep* in expression (3) is the congruent agnate of *sweep* in expression (1). The view from below thus demonstrates that this lexeme has congruent and metaphorical realizations, however it does little to elucidate how the lexeme might function in a given metaphorical utterance. The view from above/onomasiological perspective fills this gap

[56] See Taverniers, "Grammatical and Lexical Metaphor," 327.

as it compares expressions (1) and (2).[57] Such comparison reveals that the differences in the expressions are lexical, namely, *sweep out* vs. *dismiss* and demands the question "what may have influenced the choice of *sweep out* instead of *dismiss*? The answer, I suggest, is that the use of *sweep out* in an atypical co-text maintains some concrete associations that accompany *sweep* in its typical co-text. From an ideational perspective, the recipient's experience of the expression has been concretized.[58]

4.2 *The Role of the Corpus in the Binocular Perspective*

In the brief semasiological analysis above, I noted that a "familiarity with contemporary English would suggest that the lexeme *sweep* in expression (3) is the literal agnate of *sweep* in expression (1)." This statement is sufficient in an illustration; however, it lacks any sort of rigor necessary for serious scholarly investigations.[59] As such, the ability to distinguish between a metaphorical realization and its congruent agnate is necessary. Fortunately, corpus linguistics presents itself as an ideal tool in this regard.

In her discussion of lexical metaphor and interpersonal meaning, Simon-Vandenbergen asserts the value of corpus linguistics in accessing interpersonal meaning in metaphor. In her analysis of four different expressions, she looks for "usual collocations, the types of participants they attract and the interpersonal elements in the

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[57] Recall that I raised a question about the view from above regarding its inability to comment on the abstract semantics of the lexeme itself. The view from below is the missing piece. As I am arguing, these dual perspectives are complementary.

[58] See Taverniers, "Grammatical and Lexical Metaphor," 327–29, for her brief analysis of these expressions. This example has been very simple in which the grammar of the expressions is simple and congruent (i.e., both processes have been realized by verbs). In more complex agnate comparisons true grammatical metaphor may be revealed. One of the benefits of the view from above is the ability for an agnate comparison to expose lexical and grammatical shifts (see Taverniers, "Grammatical Metaphor in SFL," 8).

[59] Intuition does play a significant role (see Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 238), though it still lacks the necessary rigor.

clauses in which they tend to occur."[60] Corpus linguistics provides a degree of rigor to an analysis of metaphor in a variety ways. Corpus data are a means by which typicality can be measured. Typicality in this sense is complex and can expose a number of features of metaphor including congruent usage, systemic metaphors and dynamic metaphors, and even dead metaphors. Some expressions may diverge from such established, typical patterns to the extent that a lexeme may have functional extensions. In this way there seems to be a distinction between typical usage (i.e., congruent) and what can be termed dynamic metaphor. Hanks notes that dynamic metaphors are "coined ad hoc to express some new insight,"[61] which seems to be a potentially important resource for biblical/religious writers.[62] A neat typical-dynamic opposition is overly simplistic, especially where systemic and dead metaphors come into play.[63] One of the benefits of CMT has been its identification of metaphors which are deeply entrenched in human language patterns. From an SFL perspective, such metaphorical

[60] Simon-Vandenbergen, "Lexical Metaphor and Interpersonal Meaning," 243; cf. Deignan and Semino, "Corpus Techniques," 163, who make use of collocations and connotations. Interestingly, Stefanowitsch's essay "Words and their Metaphors" is very explicit in its contrast between a corpus approach and intuitive approaches which seems to characterize CMT (see Stefanowitsch, "Words and their Metaphors," 63–65). The volume in which this essay appears seems to be an attempt to make CMT more scientific through the use of corpus techniques.

[61] Hanks, "Metaphoricity is Gradable," 17. Similarly, Halliday writes that "all grammatical metaphors begin as instantial, created in response to the needs of the unfolding discourse" (Halliday, "Language and Knowledge," 39).

[62] Several metaphor theorists have identified that metaphor is a necessary resource for writers who propagate new theory. New concepts must necessarily be packaged in ways that will be understood—metaphor is ideal for this. Halliday asserts this principle with respect to scientific discourse (see Halliday, "On Language," 420) and Janet Soskice asserts the relationship between scientific and religious language in that regard (Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 97–117).

[63] As metaphors becomes firmly established and systematized in language they begin to lose their markedness value. Such metaphors are no longer unexpected and the accompanying rhetorical force is lost. Dead metaphor may even result in a reversal of typicality to the extent that the metaphorical usage occurs in discourse with greater frequency than the literal or congruent realization (see Halliday, "Language and Knowledge," 39; Ravelli, "Grammatical Metaphor," 142; Cruse, *Lexical Semantics*, 41–44; Punter, *Metaphor*, 146). Dynamic and dead metaphors are both important to note in discourse. Dynamic metaphors contribute to meaning through their markedness values and the ability to reconstrue experience. On the other hand, dead/systemic metaphors, while lacking markedness, maintain their ability to reconstrue experience.

realizations become systematized—a semantic choice within the system network.[64] At this point, then, typicality in a corpus may identify congruent usage as well as systemic/dead metaphors.[65] For example, the ῥίζα (root) family of words is well established in organic contexts where the lexeme plainly refers to a literal root. On the other hand, there is an established tradition of use in non-organic contexts where the ῥίζα family is used metaphorically. Both generalized functions are established within the system network, yet one is on the congruent end of the continuum and one is closer to the metaphorical end. It is important to be aware of these distinctions as they are both valuable resources to the language user and may both appear in biblical discourse at any given time. Given this distinction, it becomes evident that the corpus is a helpful tool for measuring congruence, but not necessarily the only means to discern the presence of metaphor in discourse. More on this below.

The corpus may also reveal general principles of how metaphors are realized in the lexicogrammar. The corpus may explicate the frequency of nominalization of a particular lexeme or other structural phenomena. For example, Deignan has shown that metaphors that find their source in plant or animal domains tend to be realized as adjectives or verbs rather than nominally. Thus, someone who "*ferrets* out the truth" has adopted a quality associated with ferrets.[66] This is exemplified in Pauline discourse (Col

[64] Cf. Cameron, "What is Metaphor?," 13–15 who describes systematic metaphor in terms of generalized mappings of lexical metaphor into more comprehensive conceptual domains (see also Cameron, Maslen, and Low, "Finding Systematicity," 118–30). These sorts of metaphors may be described as "systematic" or "systemic" depending on the theorist. Generally speaking they refer to the same phenomenon but variation may also occur. Charteris-Black identifies similar phenomena, contrasting what he calls conventional and creative/novel metaphors (Charteris-Black, *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, 17–19, 22).

[65] Many theorists would point to this phenomenon as an example of (or reason for) polysemy (see Charteris-Black, *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, 18; Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 110; Rakova, *Extent of the Literal*, 45).

[66] See Deignan, "Grammar of Metaphors," 110–14.

2:6–7) as well where he encourages his readers to walk in Christ, ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ ἐποικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ (rooted and built up in him).[67] Here, the author uses participial form rather than the noun ῥίζα. There is thus a connection between grammatical realization and congruence that can only be identified by patterns observed in a corpus.

4.3 *Identifying Metaphorical Expressions*

Intuition has historically been a powerful and popular resource for indentifying metaphors in discourse. However, in a project such as this one, the identification of such metaphors require more rigorous means of identification and analysis. I wish to propose select criteria that may help to identify the presence of metaphor in discourse, while also identifying some of the motivating factors behind the use of such metaphors, i.e., the functional roles performed by this metaphor.[68] Here, insights from a corpus may prove most useful.

The first criterion is the most basic and may be called the *criterion of synchronic incongruity*. The lexicogrammatical structure of a particular utterance may stand out against typical or congruent modes of expression (from a synchronic perspective) observed in a corpus analysis.[69] This not does mean that the discourse has been rendered non-sensical. However, it may suggest that a dynamic metaphor may be in play here.

[67] The Pauline author's use of the participle (a verbal adjective which realizes [PROCESS+QUALITY]) stands out against the literal realizations of the lexeme that tends to be nominal. See Fewster, "Inquiry," for a full discussion of this example.

[68] Charteris-Black provides several criteria (organized around linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive headings) stemming from his work in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). However, these criteria are not so much criteria for indentifying and analysing metaphor as descriptions of various types of metaphor. Overall these are relatively unhelpful (see Charteris-Black, *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, 21–22).

[69] Cameron and Maslen suggest that "linguistic metaphor can be operationalized [...] through identifying words or phrases that can be justified as somehow anomalous, incongruent or 'alien' in the on-going discourse, but that can be made sense of through a transfer of meaning in the context" (Cameron and Maslen, "Identifying Metaphors," 102).

This sort of incongruity will often create a new path through the semantic network (or at least reflect an infrequent instantiation) and may be motivated by the desire to engender a new and sometime jarring experience.

The second criterion I propose is the *criterion of diachronic priority*. As opposed to the criterion above, incongruity in a synchronic sense will not necessarily reveal systemic metaphors; hence the diachronic dimension is brought to bear on the analysis. As noted above, Halliday defines congruence as that which is evolutionary and developmentally prior. As a result, a diachronic corpus may provide insight into the priority of a particular generalized lexical function and will also serve to make note of the ad hoc creation of dynamic metaphors over time.[70] As noted above, the use of such systemic metaphors are often motivated by the re-construal of experience or for textual reasons.

Occasionally, however, diachronic priority cannot be measured. Porter notes that "virtually all language is in some sense anachronistic and retrogressive" insofar as written discourse is always a step behind the advances in the spoken language and sometimes (intentionally or otherwise) maintains characteristic structures in spite of evolutionary development.[71] Especially in an ancient language where the literature is sparse, a metaphor may have been systematized in the language too early for a corpus to account for it. To that end diachronic priority may not be measured.[72] The third

[70] Modern linguistics emphasizes synchronic analysis (see Saussure, *Course*, 79–98; Lyons, *Introduction*, 45–50; Porter, "Studying Ancient Languages," 153), however the analysis of metaphor presents itself as slightly anomalous in that regard as it necessitates a diachronic perspective at times. Even so, a synchronic perspective must be maintained as the essential question when looking at a specific text is how that metaphor would have meant *at that time*.

[71] Porter, "Studying Ancient Languages," 164. This may be evidenced in the Atticistic tendencies of writers such as Plutarch.

[72] This is exemplified in the use of the ῥίζα family inasmuch as some of its earliest occurrences in Greek (for example Homer's *Iliad* 21:243) are metaphorical.

criterion, the *criterion of semantic junction*, is a useful supplement.[73] As discussed above, semantic junction is a lexicogrammatical phenomenon that can occur at all levels of delicacy (i.e., in lexis and grammar). Here metaphor is discerned, not based on typicality or priority, but on the collision of semantic categories. Thus, metaphor may occur at the junction of [PROCESS+THING] meaning (in the grammatical structure), or when the quality of [STABILITY] is realized through the lexeme *rock*.

Related to the previous criterion is the *criterion of concretization*. I have already illustrated that metaphor is often used to concretize the recipient's experience. Metaphor thus involves a reconstrual of the recipient's experience. A comparison of agnates may reveal that an alternative realization of the expression would be more abstract (either in grammar, lexis, or both). When a concretization occurs it is likely that metaphor is involved.[74]

A fifth criterion is the *criterion of semantic resonance*. Metaphor works through a balance of continuity and discontinuity where there is enough overlap between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions for there to be semantic resonance but enough dissonance to still qualify as metaphor.[75] Patrick Hanks maintains this balance by suggesting that "words that are readily used to make metaphors usually denote some class of entities with at least one striking salient cognitive feature."[76] While this assertion is not entirely harmonious with the socio-linguistic and monosemous bent of

[73] Cf. Cameron and Maslen, "Identifying Metaphors," 102 who write, "Metaphorically used words or phrases must not only be semantically incongruent with the topic of the discourse at that point but must also support a transfer of meaning so that sense can be made of the word or phrase in context." In this way, the first and third criteria are complementary.

[74] Hanks might call this *semantic class*. He supplies a list of various nouns, verbs, and adjectives that are "productive sources of metaphor" (Hanks, "Metaphoricity is Gradable," 20). The concreteness of his list is hard to miss, thus it is the semantic feature present in the class of words that Hanks envisions is that of concreteness.

[75] See Punter, *Metaphor*, 88.

[76] Hanks, "Metaphoricity is Gradable," 20.

this thesis, the essential principle is fundamental to metaphor. It may be better to suggest that there can, or should be some sort of semantic resonance in a metaphorical expression. This could include partial synonymy, hyponymy, metonymy, etc. It is the tension between the resonant semantic relation and the semantic dissonance that creates semantic junction (see the third criterion).

As metaphors are discerned and described in textual analysis it is necessary to identify the presence of these criteria. Not all criteria must be accounted for a metaphor to be present, indeed, the criteria of *synchronic incongruity* and *diachronic priority* will probably not be realized simultaneously.

4.4 *Conclusion*

In its most basic form, a model for analyzing lexicogrammatical metaphor requires a binocular investigation consisting of semasiological and onomasiological perspectives. The former provides insight into variant uses of a lexeme while the latter can observe the functional impact of metaphor in discourse by comparing agnate expressions. Corpus linguistics is a necessary tool providing rigor in the discernment of a metaphor (systemic or dynamic) through my proposed criteria: synchronic incongruity, diachronic priority, semantic junction, concretization, semantic resonance. These criteria allow for rigorous comparison between the established patterns within the corpus and the particular utterance under investigation with an end to a robust analysis of the metaphorical expression(s) within that utterance.

5. *A Procedure for Analyzing the Metafunctional Contribution of Lexicogrammatical Metaphorical Extension*

This chapter concludes the theory section of the thesis and, as anticipated, ends with a comprehensive procedure to be applied to the question of the lexical function of creation language in Romans 8. An initial study of the passage reveals a section of discourse of somewhat ambiguous lexical structure rich with metaphorical extension. The model I am proposing is one that appeals to monosemy cast in a systemic functional mold which emphasizes lexis as a contributor to meaning through interaction with other discourse structures. The model is also fundamentally corpus-driven, valuing natural language in use and the meaningful lexicogrammatical patterns associated with a particular lexeme. Lexicogrammatical metaphor is thus a microcosm of potential functional extensions of meaning that may appear within the rubric of a monosemous perspective on lexical meaning.

Creation language, realized especially in the noun κτίσις is the primary locus of investigation. As such, that lexeme (as found in the representative corpus proposed in the previous chapter) will be subjected to a rigorous corpus analysis. The goal of this analysis is two-fold: to abstract the essential semantic value of κτίσις from which functional extensions are made; and to identify typical lexicogrammatical patterns associated with κτίσις that can have some interpretive impact upon the analysis of Rom 8:19–23. From that point my analysis will explore how the lexeme contributes to the ideational meaning of the passage vis-à-vis discourse transitivity and how κτίσις contributes to the textual organization of the passage. Throughout, these insights will be brought into conversation with the major voices in the κτίσις-debate.

Chapter Five

CORPUS INSIGHTS INTO CREATION LANGUAGE IN HELLENISTIC GREEK

This chapter is primarily meant to be one of description; namely, a description of the lexicogrammatical patterns associated with κτίσις, and secondarily, a preliminary description of how these patterns may or may not be reflected in Romans 8. I will begin by examining the simplest patterns (i.e., collocations, colligations, semantic associations) and progress through to the more complex patterns. Special note will be made of register-specific patterns as this will help to differentiate what patterns should be expected or not expected in Pauline discourse.

1. *Preliminary Data*

1.1 *Frequency of the Lexeme*

To begin, it use useful to provide some preliminary data regarding the lexeme κτίσις, as it relates to my corpus of Hellenistic Greek. Porter and O'Donnell point out that while basic frequency lists can seem "primitive and blunt," they still have the potential to be "quite revealing."[1] In my corpus, the noun κτίσις appears 189 times.[2] This seems like a significant number, yet considering that this statistic is in the context of a corpus of approximately 2.3 million words it pales somewhat. This sample size reveals that in Hellenistic literature, κτίσις has a 0.00826 % chance of occurring. For the purpose of analysis, a sample size of 189 occurrences is manageable, which enables the analyst to

[1] Porter and O'Donnell, "Argumentation in Romans," 161.
[2] See Appendix 1 for a chart of the representative corpus I have selected and compiled.

enjoy a thorough and methodical investigation in a timely manner, which simultaneously may produce relevant patterns that offer insights for application to biblical texts. This statistic has particular relevance to the present study in Romans. Romans has a word count of 7111 words (see Appendix of Chapter 3), and in this document κτίσις appears six times. Thus, κτίσις makes up 0.0844 % of the lexical content, significantly larger (by a factor of ten) than the 0.00826 % of the representative corpus. Compared to some other domains, creation language does not appear to be a major theme in the letter.

1.2 *Distribution of the Various Inflections*

Another statistically relevant feature of the lexeme κτίσις is the frequency and distribution of its various declensions across the entire corpus. Κτίσις is a feminine noun, however, it has the opportunity to vary in both case and number. Thus, I have provided below a basic chart and bar graph that represents the case/gender distribution across the corpus. As can be seen, the genitive case, followed by the nominative case, is the most frequent. Additionally, the singular form is the most recurrent.

	Nominative	**Genitive**	**Dative**	**Accusative**
Singular	37	66	15	42
Plural	2	7	0	20
Total	39	73	15	62

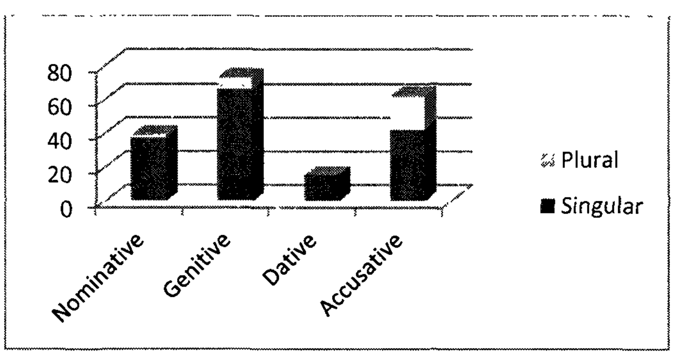

Fig. 6 Case and Number Stats for κτίσις

It might be expected, then, that this distribution would follow into the book of Romans; however, it does not. Out of the six occurrences of κτίσις in Romans, only two are in the genitive and the other four are in the nominative case. All occurrences are singular. While the majority of instances of κτίσις would seem to provide [+SPECIFICATION] due to the genitive case,[3] from a purely statistical standpoint it appears as though κτίσις is primarily used in a "purely nominal" way in Romans, allowing for other co-textual factors to restrict its function.[4]

2. *Lexical Patterning: Collocations and Semantic Associations*

The first kind of lexicogrammatical pattern of interest in this study is collocation. Provided in Appendix 2 are three collocation charts.[5] Each of these chart elucidate the most frequent collocates of the KWIC (keyword in context) including total frequency and frequency according to position (left or right) relative to the KWIC. These charts include collocates that occur within the ±4 range and occur 3 times or more. Both of these constraints are used in order to account for random and incidental data.[6] The first table represents the collocates of the lemma κτίσις (i.e., all the forms of the noun) as well as two tables which represent the collocates of the nominative singular κτίσις and the genitive singular κτίσεως.[7]

Some preliminary observations can be made. First, it is evident that there are several collocates associated with the lemma. For example, the article and several conjunctions appear frequently in the lemma chart, as well as in the κτίσις and κτίσεως

[3] See Porter and Pitts, "Πίστις with Preposition," 44 for a discussion of the meaning of the genitive case (cf. Porter, *Idioms*, 92, where he uses the term restriction).
[4] See Porter, *Idioms*, 83–87 for a discussion of the nominative case.
[5] See also Appendix 3 for a concordance chart.
[6] See O'Donnell, "Some New Testament Words," 148. See especially note 48 where O'Donnell indicates that the ±4 range, though optimal for English, was confirmed as useful in his own investigation.
[7] I have chosen to include only these specific forms as they are the two forms that occur in Romans 8.

chart. On the other hand, there are some collocates that seem to be case specific. Such collocates are a primary means for the disambiguation of sense, or better, collocation is a primary linguistic phenomenon enabling multiplicity and variability in meaning. The interaction between keyword and a particular collocate reflects meaning that is different than the interaction between the keyword and another collocate. These primary and simple lexical patterns reveal the diverse ways κτίσις functions in the meaning-making process and are of particular interest in the interpretation of Romans 8.

2.1 *Basic Collocation Patterns*

The first two notable collocates of κτίσις (including the lemma, κτίσις, and κτίσεως) are the article and καί. This is not surprising and they would probably appear as primary collocates in a KWIC search for most Greek lexemes.[8] O'Donnell notes that "words like the article and the conjunctions καί and δὲ would most likely appear as frequent collocates of the majority of words in the New Testament."[9] While they may add little in terms of disambiguating word meaning, the absence of one of these collocates in a particular occurrence may be significant. Furthermore, the "particularizing" or "pointing" function of the article can have noteworthy cohesive value in instances (such as Romans 8) when the lexeme occurs multiple times in close proximity.[10]

It will become clearer below that κτίσις functions in a variety of ways in the making of meaning and thus has a certain degree of ambiguity to it. Consequently, adjectival modifiers are key features in the discourse that provide specificity to κτίσις.

[8] See, for example, O'Donnell's work on ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι where this is the case. (O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 344).
[9] O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics*, 345. He suggests prior to this quotation that such frequent collocates add little semantic value when attempting to establish word meaning.
[10] Robertson, *Grammar*, 755–56. Porter suggests that the article may "particularize a substantive" or "make a substantive representative of a category of items" (Porter, *Idioms*, 104, cf. Wallace, *Grammar*, 216).

Following the article and καί, the adjective πᾶς (and its various inflections) is the most frequent collocate of the lemma.[11] The primary function of πᾶς is to provide specificity.[12] On the other hand, πᾶς is a resource that signifies that the entirety of κτίσις (whatever it may be) is in view, as opposed to a portion.[13] Further modifiers and other constraining features are usually present to provide specificity in addition to πᾶς, which indicates that πᾶς simply lexicalizes [+QUANTITY]. Consider some examples:

1. *Tob* 8:5

εὐλογησάτωσάν σε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ **πᾶσαι** αἱ **κτίσεις** σου (Let the heavens and **all** your **creations** bless you).

2. *T. Naph.* 2:3

καὶ οὐκ ἔστι λεῖπον ἓν ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς τρίτον τριχός σταθμῷ γὰρ καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ κανόνι **πᾶσα κτίσις** ὑψίστου (and the one is not behind the other from the third of a hair; for by weight, by measure, and by rule is **all creation** of the Most High).

3. *Acta Joannis* 23

λέγει ὃν ἐφοβήθη πᾶς ἄρχων καὶ **πᾶσα κτίσις**… (he said, which every ruler and **every creation** fears…).[14]

This pattern is highly significant for two reasons: first, it is the most common pattern particular to this lexeme;[15] and second, it is a pattern that appears in one of the four occurrences of κτίσις in Rom 8:18–23.

2.2 *Collocations Indicating Spatio/Temporal Reference*

Prepositions frequently collocate with κτίσις. This class of collocation generally seems to functions to denote a point of reference, either spatially or temporally, for a particular

[11] It is the fifth most frequent for κτίσεως.
[12] For now this is a basic assumption. Πᾶς is a significant word in Romans 8 and will be dealt with later on in this work.
[13] An additional collocate, ὅλη, though not nearly as frequent as πᾶς, seems to perform a similar function. See, for example, *Wis* 19:6.
[14] This reference is quite truncated but still gives a sense of what is going on in the example.
[15] While καί and the article are more frequent, they are also commonly associated with other nouns (see above).

action or attitude. The point of reference is not fixed across all registers and is usually specified through other lexicogrammatical patterns. Consider how these patterns play out, first according to temporal reference, and second according to spatial reference. Temporal reference is marked most often with the prepositions πρὸ, and ἀπὸ.[16] Note that in the collocation chart of the lemma, ἀπὸ is the eighth most frequent collocate, and πρὸ is forty-fifth. Thus, many of these constructions represent not only consistent, but frequent, patterns. See below for select examples.

1. *Pss. Sol.* 8:7

Ἀνελογισάμην τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ **ἀπὸ κτίσεως** οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς (I considered the judgments of God **from creation** of heaven and earth).

2. *Mark* 10:6

ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς **κτίσεως** ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς (but **from** the beginning of **creation**, male and female he made them).

3. *2 Pet* 3:4

καὶ λέγοντες· ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει **ἀπ'** ἀρχῆς **κτίσεως** (...and saying, "where is the promise of his arrival? For, since the fathers fell asleep, everything remains the same **from** the beginning of **creation**").

4. Plutarch, *Rom.* 12:2

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ **πρὸ** τῆς **κτίσεως** βοτηρικὴ τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν (but even **before** the **creation** they had a pastoral festival on that day).

5. Plutarch, *Rom.* 21:7

Γάιος δ' Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ **πρὸ** τῆς **κτίσεως** τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι (But Gaius Akilios writes that **before** the **creation** the animals of Romulus were hidden).

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[16] Several grammars attribute a temporal function to these prepositions (see Robertson, *Grammar*, 621; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 74; Porter, *Idioms*, 147, 171; Wallace, *Grammar*, 379). Other features also denote a temporal reference point. For example, Dionysius Halicarnassus writes in *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.1 περὶ τοῦ χρονοῦ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς πόλεως (concerning the time of creation and concerning the founders of the city). Here, the collocate χρονοῦ (time) indicates that κτίσεως has temporal meaning.

Spatial reference, though not as frequent as temporal, is marked with the preposition ἐν—the seventh most frequent collocate of κτίσις. In the following examples, note how the preposition casts the relationship between the subject and its adjunct (ἐν + κτίσις) in spatial terms.

1. *Sir* 16:17

μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου κρυβήσομαι καὶ ἐξ ὕψους τίς μου μνησθήσεται ἐν λαῷ πλείονι οὐ μὴ γνωσθῶ τίς γὰρ ἡ ψυχή μου **ἐν** ἀμετρήτῳ **κτίσει** (Do not say, "I will be hidden from the Lord" and "who from on high will remember me?" Among many people I am unknown, for who am I **in** a boundless **creation**?)

2. *Col* 1:23

εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὗ ἠκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθέντος **ἐν** πάσῃ **κτίσει** τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, οὗ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ Παῦλος διάκονος (if indeed you continue in faith, being stable and steadfast and not shifted from the hope of the good news that you heard, being preached **in** all **creation** under heaven, of which I, Paul, became a servant).

3. Dionysius, *Antiquites Romanae* 1.67.1

Ἐν δὲ τῇ **κτίσει** τῆς πόλεως θαῦμα μέγιστον λέγεται γενέσθαι (but **in** the **creation** of the city, a great wonder is said to have happened).[17]

In both spatial and temporal constructions, the primary function of κτίσις is to provide a point of reference for some other process or participant in the discourse. For example, in 2 Pet 3:4, κτίσεως is a point in time to judge the change of events (or lack thereof) and in Plutarch's *Rom.* 12:2, κτίσεως is a point in time to demonstrate the antiquity of a certain festival. Alternatively, in Sir 16:17, κτίσει is a spatial reference that contextualizes the perceived insignificance of the interlocutor.

Besides prepositions there are some other collocates (and one colligate) that, when in construct with κτίσις, can function as a point of reference. First, besides the

[17] This last example is slightly ambiguous and intuitively could imply a spatial or temporal reference. However, given the frequency of the spatial meaning in other examples of this construct, the spatial is more likely.

preposition ἐν, the simple dative can imply spatial reference.[18] A prime example of this can be seen in Mark 16:15.[19] καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει (and he said to them, "going into all the world, proclaim the good news in all creation [to every creature]"). Here, τῇ κτίσει seems to demarcate a particular sphere of proclamation. A further collocate of interest is ἀρχὴ—the fourteenth most frequent of κτίσις's collocates. Ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως (in some form or another) seems to be a fairly established idiom in the literature that adds further temporal constraints as a temporal reference point. Consider the following examples:

1. *1 En.* 15:9

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐγρηγόρων ἡ **ἀρχὴ** τῆς **κτίσεως** αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὴ θεμελίου (and from the holy watchers—the **beginning** of their **creation** and the beginning of a foundation).

2. Mark 10:6

ἀπὸ δὲ **ἀρχῆς κτίσεως** ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς (but from the **beginning** of **creation**, male and female he made them).[20]

3. Rev 3:14

Τάδε λέγει ὁ Ἀμήν, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ἡ **ἀρχὴ** τῆς **κτίσεως** τοῦ θεοῦ· Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, (This Amen says, the faithful and true witness, the **beginning** of God's **creation**, "I know your works").

4. *Barn.* 15:5

Τὸ σάββατον λέγει ἐν **ἀρχῇ** τῆς **κτίσεως**· Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ (He speaks of the Sabbath in the **beginning** of **creation**, and God made in six days the works of his hands).[21]

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[18] Note that Porter suggests that ἐν has "been widely used to reinforce the function of the dative case" (Porter, *Idioms*, 156). It is therefore not surprising to see this sort of functional overlap.

[19] It is of no concern here whether or not Mark 16:15 should or should not be considered authentic Markan material. This example simply illustrates a particular occurrence of a linguistic phenomenon.

[20] Note that this example has already been used above with reference to the collocate ἀπὸ. It appears as though ἀρχῆς is working along with ἀπὸ κτίσεως to provide further temporal specification. Cf. Mark 13:19 and 2 Pet 3:4.

[21] This may be an exception to the spatial function of ἐν + κτίσις, where ἀρχῇ's temporal connotations take precedence.

5. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 3:23

> ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν **ἀρχὴν** τῆς τοῦ κόσμου **κτίσεως**, ἣν ἀνέγραψεν Μωσῆς ὁ θεράπων τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου (tracing up to the very **beginning** of the **creation** of the world, which Moses—the servant of God through the Holy Spirit—recorded).

This class of collocation is notable because it establishes a common, stereotyped function that κτίσις plays in discourse. I would suggest, then, that this construct is almost semantically empty and instead functions more along the lines of spatial/temporal deixis.[22] It is notable that none of these collocation patterns appear in Rom 8:19–23. Far from being irrelevant to this thesis, such patterns are useful when analyzing a particular text. The use or non-use of particular collocation patterns has bearing upon the meaning of that text. Thus I am able to suggest that κτίσις does function as a spatio/temporal deictic marker in Rom 8:19–23 given that the requisite patterns do not occur in the text.[23]

2.3 *Creation and the Cosmos*

The lexeme κόσμος, or more properly its inflected form κόσμου, collocates with κτίσις enough to have semantic significance (eight times in my corpus). This collocation seems to indicate that the natural order is in view; however, it does so as it contributes to a larger idiomatic structure. Consider three examples:[24]

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[22] Lyons defines deixis as "the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of a variety of other grammatical and lexical features which relate utterance to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance" (Lyons, *Semantics*, II: 636). See also Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 98–102; Decker, *Temporal Deixis*, 53–59 (note that Decker includes a selection of "prepositional indicators").

[23] I admit such a conclusion seems slightly anti-climactic given the amount of space given to its description; however, it is necessary to demonstrate what is not going on in Romans 8 in order to highlight what is going on.

[24] There are more examples in the corpus; however, they all are in *Ad Autolycum* as well. In addition, this pattern appears in connection with related lexemes. For example, in 2 Macc 7:23, reference is made to the ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης (the creator of the world); τοῦ κόσμου constrains the content of the creative action.

1. Rom 1:20

τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ **κτίσεως κόσμου** τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται (for his invisible things have been clearly understood from the **creation** of the **world** in the made things).

2. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2:9

δι' ἧς σοφίας εἶπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς **κτίσεως** τοῦ **κόσμου**, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων (through which wisdom they spoke concerning the **creation** of the **world**, and all other things).

3. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 3:23

εἰπὼν γὰρ τὰ περὶ **κτίσεως** καὶ γενέσεως **κόσμου**, τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου...(for speaking the things concerning the **creation** and the genesis of the **world**, of the first-formed person)...

These first two examples elucidate the most common construction, in which κτίσεως is governed by a preposition and subsequently modified with the genitive κόσμου. It should be noted, then, that this collocation is a sub-class of the semantically empty deictic construction noted above; an occasional difference from this pattern occurs when the preposition is περὶ. Κτίσεως is also modified by a genitive, which adds [+SPECIFICATION].[25] specifying which creation is in view—the "of the world" creation. Rom 1:20 marks the first occurrence of this collocation in the literature. Theophilus' *Ad Autolycum* is the only other text in the corpus where this pattern is found; however, it appears to have caught on in early Christian literature outside of my corpus.[26] Τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου (or some variation) quickly becomes an established idiom, perhaps because of its use in Romans. The third example is somewhat different than the first two. In this case, κόσμου does not directly modify κτίσεως but γενέσεως (which follows κτίσεως). While κτίσις is not specified as the "of the world" creation, κόσμου still has

[25] See Porter and Pitts, "Πίστις with Preposition," 44.

[26] Not including the numerous quotations of Rom 1:20 by the early Fathers. See, for example, Origen, *Hom Jer.* 1:10; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 19:22:149; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 6:33:1; Hippolytus, *Haer* 7:23:5; Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Quast. Gen. ad Christ.* 210:A; Gregorius Nysennus, *Contra Eunomium* 2:1:223; Eusebius, *Comm. Pss.* 23:1133; Athanasius, *Synopsis Sciptura Sacrae* 28:381.

some bearing on how κτίσεως is understood due to the lexemes' proximity and the fact that καὶ separates κτίσεως and γενέσεως κόσμου. When κτίσις collocates with κόσμου, the "natural order" is unambiguously in view—lending itself to what might be termed a cosmological reading of κτίσις (or at least the clause). Even so, the constructions in Rom 1:20, *Ad Autol.* 2:9, and others, maintain the semantic near-emptiness of the deictic construct; the authors concern is not with κτίσις as some entity, but as some sort of spatio-temporal reference.

2.4 *Creation Language and the Founding of Cities*

The first and most common collocates that have significant semantic content (i.e., not a preposition, etc.) are the lexemes πόλεων and πόλεως (of city/cities). In these cases κτίσις is used in terms of the creation or founding of a city. This collocation pattern extends into a significant semantic association CITY that includes city names such as Ῥώμης (Rome), Κασρχηδόνος (Carthage), and others. Consider some examples.

1. Polybius, *Hist.* 10:21:3

καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν τῶν **πόλεων κτίσεις** τοὺς συγγραφέας, καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐκτίσθησαν (For also it is out of place on one hand for historians to record the **foundings of cities** and when and how and through whom they were founded).

2. Strabo. *Geog.* 11:5:4

κτίσεις γοῦν **πόλεων** καὶ ἐπωνυμίαι λέγονται, καθάπερ Ἐφέσου καὶ Σμύρνης... (at least the **foundings** of **cities** and the saying of names, just as Ephesus and Smyrna...)

3. Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.* 1:15:2

ἀμφισβητεῖται δ᾽ ἡ **κτίσις** τῆς **πόλεως** ταύτης οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν (And the **founding** of this **city** is disputed not only concerning the documentation).

4. Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.* 3:55:6

τῆς δὲ δορικτήτου χώρας ἐκλεξαμένην τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους εἰς **πόλεων κτίσεις** οἰκοδομῆσαι πλείους **πόλεις** (But in the places won by the spear there were chosen suitable places for the **founding of a city**, to build full **cities**...).

5. Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1:6:2

τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν **κτίσιν** τῆς **πόλεως** γενόμενα κεφαλαιω δῶς ἐπέδραμεν (and it only summarizes the beginnings after the **founding** of the **city**).

6. Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 1:73:3

ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς **Ῥώμης** τὰς **κτίσεις**· τὴν μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν γενομένην (so that there were two accounts of the **foundings** of Rome: one occurring after Troy).

7. Theophilus, *Autol.* 3:22

συνάγεται οὖν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερώμου βασιλείας μέχρι **Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως**... (The whole time, therefore, from the reign of Hiram to the **founding** of **Carthage**...).

8. Strabo, *Geog.* 5:2:2

μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσιν Δημάρατος ἀφικνεῖται λαὸν ἄγων ἐκ Κορίνθου (But after the **founding of Rome**, Demaritus came, leading a people from Corinth).

Note that these examples are limited to Greek and Roman authors and occasionally fall under the larger category of spatial/temporal deixis. For writers who are neither Jewish nor Christian, κτίσις is understood in purely human terms, simply as the beginning point of a city's existence. Cities are not eternal, they were made in a particular time and space, and thus they can serve as a reference point for other events or places. This pattern seems to be restricted to Greco-Roman authors; the only occurrences beyond this constraint appear in the works of Josephus.[27] For example, in *Ant.* 15:1, Josephus writes: κτίσεις πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἅς Ἡρώδης ἐποιήσατο (the foundings of a Greek city that

[27] Another questionable example is found in *Sib Or.* 14:130. Here Ῥώμης is a collocate but it may not function in the same way that it does in the other examples.

Herod made). It may be that Josephus adopts this pattern in accord with his Roman audience.

Greco-Roman authors employ the association between κτίσις and CITY with such frequency that, at times, the association is present without being lexicalized. It is at that point that other collocates come in to play that imply this particular function of κτίσις. For example, Strabo writes:

> γενομένης δ' οὖν στάσεως φασὶ κατὰ τὴν **κτίσιν** ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ῥῶμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν **κτίσιν** ἀνθρώπους σύγκλυδας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἤθροιζεν (and therefore there was a rebellion, it is said that at the **creation**, Remus was killed. But after the **creation** Romulus gathered men...).[28]

Nothing in the immediate co-text hints that this κτίσις refers to the founding of a city; however, several factors in the account recommend this reading. First, the broader linguistic context makes it clear that Strabo is engaging in a discussion of the city of Rome. Strabo indicates at the beginning of this section that Ἑξῆς δ' ἡ Λατίνη κεῖται, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πόλις (and in the next place lies Latinium, in which also is the city of Rome).[29] This topic sentence sets the stage for the rest of the discourse, enabling the reader to understand κτίσις in terms of the founding of the city. In addition, 5:3:2 is being used within a particular, specialized register in which the author consistently describes the history and founding of cities.[30] The register itself provides constraints on the function on the function of κτίσις within its co-text. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the introduction to Book 9 of Polybius's *Historae*. Polybius provides a brief defence of his style of history-writing and makes reference to elements present in other historical writings:

[28] Strabo, *Geog* 5:3:2.
[29] Strabo, *Geog* 5:3:2.
[30] Note that I have already included two examples above that exemplify the κτίσις + CITY semantic association. This pattern seems to be the norm for Strabo.

> τὸν μὲν γὰρ φιλήκοον ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τπόπος ἐπισπᾶται, τὸν δὲ πολυπράγμονα καὶ περιττὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτίσεις καὶ συγγενείας, καθά που καὶ παρ' Ἐφόρῳ λέγεται, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν[31] (for the genealogical style is indeed attractive to the eager, and to the inquisitive and extraordinary concerning colonizations and creations and kinships even as it is found in Ephorus, and to the political concerning deeds of the people and the city and the dynasty).

Here, Polybius's use of κτίσις is situated within (or at least contrasted to) an historical register where matters such as genealogy, family ties, cities and their beginnings, etc. are concerned. On this level, κτίσις is essentially shorthand for the founding of a city. Furthermore, Polybius seems to parallel the two contiguous groups of historical concerns. Ἀποικίας (colonizations) parallels τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἐθνῶν (the deeds of people), συγγενείας (kinships) parallels δυναστῶν (dynasties), and κτίσεις (creation) parallels πόλεων (cities). Each parallel seems to be partially synonymous with the other; thus, κτίσις is quite evidently a term used for the founding of a city. Here, it is not a collocation structure that provides this meaning but the influence of a register-specific constraint and particular parallel structure. Interestingly, two of the lexemes ἀποικίας and συγγενείας are actually common collocates of κτίσις, especially in Polybius but also in other historical writers.[32] Both of these terms also appear in historical discourse in general. Collocational patterns like these, while not providing direct semantic constraints, are important features that aid in the establishment of a particular register, which may in turn provide meaning constraints.

Despite this apparent distinction, many of the "city" narratives are not entirely mundane. Several passages, particularly in the work of Dionysius Halicarnassus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, employ lexemes in the κτίζω-family when discussing the

[31] Polybius, *Hist.* 9:1:4–5,

[32] See Polybius, *Hist.* 9:2:2, 12:26d:3, 31:4:1; Diodorus Siculus 12:35:2; Pseudo-Scymnus, *Ad Nicomedum regem.* 67; Posidonius, *Grag.* 309a; Strabo, *Geog.* 10:3:5.

foundation of the city of Rome in connection with the myth of Romulus and Remus. In these instances, κτίσις (and occasionally κτίζω) collocates primarily with Ῥωμης (Rome)—part of the semantic association CITY—as well as notable character names such as Ῥωμύλος (Romulus), Ῥῶμον (Remus), and Αἰνείου (Aeneas).[33] For example, Diodorus Siculus writes:

> Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγπραφέων πλανηθέντες ὑπέλαβον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐκ τῆς Αἰνείου θυγατρὸς γεννηθέντας ἐκτικέναι τὴν Ῥώμην· τὸ δ᾽ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρονῳ τοῦ τ᾽ Αἰνείου καὶ Ῥωμύλου γεγονότων βασιλέων, ἐκτισμένης δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ὑστερεῖ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσι τρισὶ πλείοσι τῶν τετρακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα. Αἰνείας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἐτῶν τριῶν παρελθόντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Λατίνων βασιλείαν, καὶ κατασχὼν τριετῆ χρόνον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη καὶ τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἀθανάτων. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχην διαδεξάμενος Ἀσκάνιος υἱος ἔκτισεν Ἄλβαν τὴν ὦῦν καλουμένην Λόγγαν.[34]
> (Therefore, some of the historians have assumed incorrectly that Romulus, born of the daughter of Aeneas, was the founder/creator of Rome. The truth is different, as there were many kings in the time of Aeneas and Romulus. But Rome was founded/created in the second year of the Seventh Olympiad, for this founding was after the Trojan War by four hundred and thirty-three years, for three years elapsed after the capture of Troy before Aeneas took up the kingship over the Latins. And holding fast for three years, he was unrecognizable by people and recieved immortal honours. And when Ascanius succeeded to the rule, his son founded Alban which is now called Longan.)

This pattern suggests that while the κτίζω-family has a non-divine antecedent, it often operates as part of a formative mythos. For Greco-Roman authors, creation language is part of the recounting and interpretation of a narrative that is considered at least somewhat formative to that society.

2.5 *Creation in Theological Discourse*

An alternative semantic association contrasts CITY. Frequently κτίσις occurs along with theological language, what can be classified as the semantic association GOD. In these

[33] Ῥώμης is the twelfth most frequent collocate of κτίσις (three below πόλις), and occurs twelve times in the corpus.
[34] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib Hist.* 7:5:1. See also Strabo, *Geog.* 5:3:2, Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1:73:3.

instances theological language such as θεοῦ or κυρίου/ον appears in the immediate co-text along with κτίσις. This pattern locates creation language as a theological notion, something that is contingent upon a divine being, usually the Jewish/Christian God. Note the following examples.

1. *Pss. Sol.* 8:7

Ἀνελογισάμην τὰ κρίματα τοῦ **θεοῦ** ἀπὸ **κτίσεως** οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς (I consider the judgments of **God** from **creation** of heaven and earth).

2. Rev 3:14

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς **κτίσεως** τοῦ **θεοῦ** (the beginning of the **creation of God**).

3. Hermas, *Pastor* 91:5

εἰ οὖν πᾶσα ἡ **κτίσις** διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ **θεοῦ** βαστάζεται (therefore since each **creation** is born through the son of **God**).

4. Hermas, *Pastor* 78:8

καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς **κτίσεως** τοῦ **κυρίου** ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ ὄρους ἐκείνου (and every descendent of the **creation of the Lord** has drunk from the springs of that mountain).

Notably, these occurrences all appear in the context of Jewish and early Christian literature. This pattern marks a stark distinction between Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman literature regarding the antecedent of created things. In Judeo-Christian writings, created things or creative processes occur in relation to a deity. On the other hand, in Greco-Roman literature, created things or creative processes occur on an anthropological level vis-à-vis the creation or founding of a πόλις.[35] Except for Josephus, it is prudent to presume that Jewish and Christian writers often have their creative deity in mind when creation language is employed.

[35] Interestingly, this is a pattern that does not seem to have widespread use prior to the Hellenistic period. This may suggest that such usage is a metaphorical extension based upon earlier theological uses of the κτίσις family in connection with Greco-Roman deities. Such a conclusion, however, would require further research.

3. *Grammatical Patterning: Κτίσις as Nominalization*

The most significant grammatical pattern related to κτίσις is that it is a nominalization. As noted in previous chapters, nominalization is the construal of a verbal [PROCESS] using a nominal form. From a SFL perspective, nominalization is a class of grammatical metaphor that creates a semantic junction—the recipient experiences [PROCESS] meaning, but concretely as an entity. In English, "creation" can be a nominalization. Thus, the phrase "I created this chair" is re-construed as "The chair is my creation." Similarly, in Greek, αὐτός ἐστιν κτίσις τοῦ θεοῦ (he is the creation of God) re-construes ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν αὐτόν (God created him). As Thompson points out, congruent and metaphorical expressions are experienced simultaneously by the language user;[36] therefore, the [PROCESS] meaning realized by ἔκτισεν is understood in the nominal κτίσις, but now in a more concrete fashion. This example is tenuous inasmuch as the nominalized construal is slightly more cumbersome than the verbalized form. When nominalization occurs in real language it is usually because it makes for more streamlined (as well as concrete) communication. This will be elucidated in the following examples.

A first and basic example can be seen in 2 Cor 5:17: ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις (whoever is in Christ, is a new creation). This may be a reconstrual of the agnate expression, ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐκτίσθη καινῶς (whoever is in Christ, has been newly created). This reconstrual marks a simple shift from verbal form (ἐκτίσθη) to the nominal form (κτίσις), as well as a shift from the modifying adverb (καινῶς) to the adjective (καινὴ). This simple shift reveals that a nominalization does not simply involve a verb-to-noun shift but also affects co-textual constituents as well. The "Christ-

[36] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 224.

hymn" of Col 1:15–20 marks an interesting case where the nominal form appears in close co-textual relationship with its congruent agnate. After coming to a description of the kingdom of God's τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης (loved son, 1:13), this character is described as follows: ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης **κτίσεως**, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ **ἐκτίσθη** τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (he is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all **creation**,[37] for in him all in the heavens and upon the earth **were created**). Initially, the son is expressed as πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (the firstborn of all creation) using the nominal form κτίσις. In the clause immediately following, the author shifts to the verbal ἐκτίσθη (it was created) to affirm that everything that was created was done so ἐν αὐτῷ (in him). I prefer to read this latter clause as a reiteration or elaboration of the first so that πάσης κτίσεως and ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα are agnates of one another; the latter clause makes the semantic junction of [PROCESS+THING] explicit.[38] The choice of nominalization often has textual motivation. In this case, the structure of the hymn may give some clues. Some have suggested a parallel structure to the hymn that incorporates several "things" that the son is. Included in this structure phrases πρωτότωκος πάσησ κτίσεως (firstborn of all creation) and πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν (firstborn from the dead).[39] The construal of the creative act as a noun allows the phrase to fit into the larger schema of the hymn. Besides the

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[37] Or "every creature."

[38] This reading may be strengthened if ὅτι can be understood causally (see Porter, *Idioms*, 237). Bruce renders the passage "firstborn of all creation, *because* in Him all this were created" (Bruce, "Christ Hymn," 110, italics mine, so also Dunn, *Colossians and Philemon*, 90). Cf. Wright who suggests that the author makes "a statement about Christ, amplifying it with the title, amplifying it with the title 'firstborn', and then explaining it (ὅτι, 16a/19a) in relation to Christ's position vis-à-vis the created order" (Wright, "Poetry and Theology," 449).

[39] See for example Helyer, "Colossians 1:15–20," 169. Wright also argues for a poetic parallel structure and notes that some scholars have acknowledged that ὅς ἐστιν εἰκων ...πρωτότοκος/ὅς εστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος structure. However, his schema does not place the two πρωτότοκος clauses in parallel (see Wright, "Poetry and Theology," 446, 449–51).

passage in Col 1:16, there are several other instances in the corpus where congruent agnates appear in the immediate co-text. For example, Polybius writes: καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων **κτίσεις** τοὺς συγγραφέας, καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων **ἐκτίσθησαν** (for also it is out of place on one hand for historians to record the **foundings** of cities and when and how and through whom they **were founded**).[40]

Based on these examples it is appropriate to say that when the nominal form of κτίσις is used, not only does it realize [+THING] as nouns typically do, but it also realizes [+PROCESS] as well. This nominalized construal, functions, first and foremost, to concretize the reader's experience of a creative act, that is to say, a creation always implies a creative act. How this creative act is to be understood is subject to other linguistic constraints that are register-specific. The phenomenon of nominalization also implies motivation, in other words, one must ask why the nominal form was chosen instead of the verbal form. Nominalization is a criterion of grammatical metaphor. If metaphor is a feature of expressions as I have argued, there may be other relevant metaphorical features in the discourse as well. Nominalization also occurs due to textual motivation such as in the structure of Col 1:15–20. It is important to seek out what structural implications a nominalized form has on the pericope.

4. *Textual Patterning*

Functional linguists frequently point out the phenomenon of cohesion vis-à-vis linguistic grouping/chaining; lexical reiteration is one of the more obvious of these features.[41] A noticeable characteristic of Rom 8:18–23 is the repetition of κτίσις (four

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[40] Polybius, *Hist.* 10:21:3. See also Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.* 7:51; 3 Macc. 2:7–9 for some clear examples.

[41] With reference to cohesion and gouping in Hellenistic Greek, see Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 89–101; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 47–55.

occurences in four verses)—what Reed would call REITERATION.[42] In the representative corpus, this is the only place that κτίσις enjoys such repetition. Thus, κτίσις seems to contribute to the meaning of the passage in a way that is not common to Hellenistic Greek. Even so, there are several texts in the corpus that posses some degree of chaining with two occurrences of κτίσις, and occasionally with other forms such as the verb κτίζω (I create) or the noun κτίστης (creator). Hoey argues that there can be detectable textual patterning associated with particular lexemes.[43] As such, it is necessary to analyze these occasions in order to see if any patterns provide insight into the chaining in Romans 8. Westfall notes that chaining is important in providing clues to the topic of the pericope.[44] Obvious instances of grouping, such as in Romans 8, "point the focus of the subject matter in a particular direction."[45] This insight is not entirely profound but it begins to demonstrate how a particular lexeme—in this case κτίσις—may function in a discourse.

4.1 *Semantic Chaining and the Founding of Rome*

Chaining patterns have an impact upon both the ideational and textual semantics of a pericope. In fact, the organization and the content are integral to the success of one another. For example, returning to Dioscorus Siculus's discussion of the founding of Rome, the κτίζω-family plays an important cohesive role.

> Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγπραφέων πλανηθέντες ὑπέλαβον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἐκ τῆς Αἰνείου θυγατρὸς γεννηθέντας ἐκτικέναι τὴν Ῥώμην· τὸ δ'ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρονῳ τοῦ τ' Αἰνείου καὶ Ῥωμύλου γεγονότων βασιλέων, ἐκτισμένης δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ὑστερεῖ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσι

[42] Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 98.
[43] See Hoey, *Lexical Priming*, 115.
[44] See Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 47. Note that Westfall uses terms such as chaining, grouping, cluster, reiteration, etc. to refer to approximately the phenomenon.
[45] Porter and O'Donnell, "Argumentation in Romans," 159.

τρισὶ πλείοσι τῶν τετρακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα. Αἰνείας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἐτῶν τριῶν παρελθόντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Λατίνων βασιλείαν, καὶ κατασχὼν τριετῆ χρόνον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη καὶ τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἀθανάτων. τὴν δ᾽ ἀρχην διαδεξάμενος Ἀσκάνιος υἱος ἔκτισεν Ἄλβαν τὴν ωῦν καλουμένην Λόγγαν.[46]
(Therefore, some of the historians have assumed incorrectly that Romulus, born of the daughter of Aeneas, was the founder/creator of Rome. The truth is different, as there were many kings in the time of Aeneas and Romulus. But Rome was founded/created in the second year of the Seventh Olympiad, for this founding was after the Trojan War by four hundred and thirty-three years, for three years elapsed after the capture of Troy before Aeneas took up the kingship over the Latins. And holding fast for three years, he was unrecognizable by people and recieved immortal honours. And when Ascanius succeeded to the rule, his son founded Alban which is now called Longan.)

Lexemes from this word family occur at key points in Diodorus's account. The lexical repetition allows the reader to understand what is at issue here—the misidentification of Rome's founder. The cessation of the reiteration then suggests that this point of discussion has passed. Further, creation lexemes serve as "central tokens" between two particular chains—PERSON NAMES and PLACE NAMES.[47] This organizational structure is crucial to the cogence of Diodorus's argument, that Romulus was not the founder of the city of Rome.

4.2 *Semantic Chaining and the Eucharist*

Book 5 in Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses* provides one of the best examples of an instance where κτίσις functions in a lexical chain.[48] Irenaeus engages in a brief discourse regarding the death of Christ and the Eucharist that is infused with the language of old and new creation. Irenaeus's goal at this point is to clarify the significance of the elements of Christ's death (the body and blood) paired with the elements of the eucharist

[46] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib Hist.* 7:5:1. See also Strabo, *Geog.* 5:3:2, Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1:73:3.
[47] Reed distinguishes between "relevant tokens" and "central tokens," where relevant tokens are "all linguistic items in the text which are part of one or more chains," and central tokens are "linguistic items in chains which interact with linguistic in other chains" (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 100).
[48] This example actually falls outside the purview of the representative corpus; the corpus only includes books 1 and 2 of *Adversus Haereses*. I have included this example here because it is too important to ignore.

(the cup and the bread) and to frame them in terms of God's creation. Lexical repetition—particularly of the lexemes κτίσις, αἷμα (blood), and σῶμα (body)—plays a significant role in cohering the unit and providing insight into the topic and semantic relationships of the passage.[49] Consider how this plays out below:

> Ἐπειδὴ μέλη αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν καὶ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρεφόμεθα, τὴν δὲ κτίσιν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν παρέχει, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων καὶ βρέχων καθὼς βούλεται, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον ἴδιον αἷμα ὡμολόγησεν, ἐξ οὗ δεύσει τὸ ἡμέτερον αἷμα, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἄρτον ἴδιον σῶμα διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὔξει σώματα.
> (Since we are his body parts and nourished through the creation, and he himself offers the creation to us, as his sun rises and the rain falls even as he wills. He acknowledges the cup from the creation—his own blood—from which he shed our blood, and he confirms the bread from the creation—his own body—from which he strengthens our bodies).[50]

Fig. 7 Semantic Chaining in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5:2:3

Repetition of lexemes from the BODY domain (αἷμα, σῶμα, and μέλος) link humanity with God, i.e., "his own blood" (ἴδιον αἷμα) relates to "our blood" (ἡμέτερον αἷμα) and "his own body" (ἴδιον σῶμα) relates to "our own body" (ἡμέτερα...σώματα).[51] On the other hand, the repetition of κτίσις holds throughout this section. The provision of the eucharistic elements is framed in terms of God's offering of creation. At this point, the lexical/semantic chains collide; the elements (αἷμα, σῶμα, and μέλος) exist under the rubric of God's creation and as a result are mutually defining. For Irenaeus, creation—though more generally understood as the natural world—has specific application in the body and blood, and more importantly, the body and blood are re-visioned under the rubric of creation.

[49] I also include the lexeme μέλος (member/limb) with αἷμα, and σῶμα as it falls under domain 8 in *Louw-Nida* along with the other two lexemes.
[50] Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5:2:3.
[51] This concept also seems to be thematized in the passage by the phrase Ἐπειδὴ μέλη αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν (since we are his body parts).

I do not wish to overburden this section with examples, so some concluding comments can be made.[52] Most importantly, κτίσις readily participates in lexical and semantic chaining. In these cases, κτίσις contributes to a cohesive structure and gives clues to discourse topic. Instances of chaining are juxtaposed to instances of single use insofar as they generally play a larger role in the making of meaning. For example, the notion of founding a city, realized through the semantic association κτίσις + CITY, plays a much larger role in the account of *Bib. Hist.* 7:5:1 than it does in *Ant. rom.* 1:6:2, because of this reiteration. Further, the interaction of cohesive chains (including lexical, semantic, and other types) is an important feature to analyze in a given discourse. As was seen in *Haer.* 5:2:3, the interaction between the κτίσις chain and the BODY chain has implications for structure and, most importantly, how Ireneaus conceives of the eucharist. Lexical repetition is able to make his observation clear.

5. *Summarizing the Various Functions of κτίσις in the Corpus*

This chapter has illuminated the various lexicogrammatical patterns associated with κτίσις in Hellenistic Greek. Evidently, κτίσις is able to combine with an assortment of lexicogrammatical features to perform a variety of functions. It is important to highlight, then, that these patterns are entirely co-textual and contextually driven. The fact that such strong collocational patterns can be identified is evidence of this. Conversely, it seems as though there is a particular semantic value that can be abstracted from each occurrence: DEPENDENT EXISTENCE. It is this abstracted semantic value that is construed in the lexicogrammatical realization κτίσις and further constrained by other co-textual

[52] For other examples where lexemes of the κτίζω-family participate in semantic chains, see Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1:73:3; Claudius Ptolemais, *Apot.* 2:4:6; Hermas, *Pastor* 12:1–2; Theophilus, *Autol.* 1:5; Theophilus, *Autol.* 3:23; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1:11:1; Menander *Frag* 1; Rom 1:24–25; Col 1:15–18; Strabo, *Geog.* 5:3:2.

structures. It is only these additional features that bring out more specific and definite meaning. For example, the nominal form rather than the verbal for of κτίσις realizes [DEPENDENT EXISTENCE+THING]. This observation confirms the monosemous approach adopted in this work and provides a way forward in the analysis of Rom 8:18–23.

The corpus patterns above also provide insight into how κτίσις contributes to the meaning of a discourse. Collocational patterns are evident, such as the collocates πὰς, κόσμου, and πολέως. As Hoey has pointed out, variant lexical functions are instantiated in particular patterns. If certain collocational patterns are not present in an utterance, then the associated function is probably not in play. The same goes for broader semantic associations. The most significant grammatical pattern that I noted was that κτίσις functions as a nominalization of the verb κτίζω. With that in mind, it is important to understand that the nominal form κτίσις always incurs the semantic junction of [PROCESS+THING]. Κτίσις also occasionally occurs in close co-textual relationship with other instances of κτίσις, κτίζω, or κτίστης. Consequently, the lexeme is a ready participant in lexical and semantic chains, providing cohesive structure in a pericope along with notable ideational implications.

As a final observation, there are times in which κτίσις performs a particular function yet the typical concordant lexicogrammatical patterning is not present. At that point, other constraining features come into play, such as registers denoted through topic sentences or other stereotyped vocabulary and other structural features. This marks an interplay between system and instance. The language user seems to have a vaster array of meaning-making resources than can necessarily be statistically quantified in a study like this one. I suggest, therefore, that the observations from a corpus analysis are important and foundational to lexical study; however, they must be accompanied by a close analysis of the passage itself. Thus, the significance and function of lexicogrammatical features in a particular discourse are informed and educated by the generalities of the corpus.

Chapter Six

THE CONTRIBUTION OF κτίσις IN THE TEXTUAL ORGANIZATION OF ROMANS 8:18–25

The final two chapters of this thesis are meant to be a linguistic analysis of Rom 8:18–23 with a focus on the contribution of the lexeme κτίσις in the making of meaning. This first chapter, then, will inquire into the textual organization of this pericope, and particularly how κτίσις contributes to this structure. This will be accomplished in two parts. First, I will center my attention upon the phenomenon of semantic chaining, tracing the main semantic chains woven throughout the passage. Important to this analysis is the interaction of these chains through *central tokens*.[1] Second, I will explore the organization of the passage through *organic ties*, namely, the conjunctive system by which the discourse is carried forward.[2] Especially important is how the conjunctive system relates discourse participants and manages the flow of information. This analysis reveals how lexis coheres the pericope, and specifically how the lexical repetition of κτίσις interacts with other repeated lexemes. Further, analyzing the conjunctive systems begins to show how the paragraph is structured and where κτίσις fits in the development of Paul's thought in two distinct roles.

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[1] See, Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 100.
[2] See, Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 89; Reed, "Cohesiveness," 32–33.

1. *Semantic Chaining in Romans 8*

Several notable semantic chains run throughout Romans 8:12–25 that come to a head in vv.18–23, only one of which is the chain that includes κτίσις.[3] For the purposes of this section, I wish to analyze the function of the CREATION chain in Rom 8:18–25. This will consist of a preliminary description of its position within the pericope and will be followed by observing how this chain interacts with three other important semantic chains including ADOPTION, REDEMPTION, and EXPECTATION. The intersection of these domains is important to the interpretation of this passage, especially given that these domains are used metaphorically in this passage. The intersecting domains reveal a coordination of metaphorical expressions.

1.1 *Preliminary Observations regarding the* CREATION *Chain*

> 18 Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν
> δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. 19 ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς **κτίσεως** τὴν
> ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται· 20 τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ **κτίσις**
> ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ' ἑλπίδι 21 ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ
> **κτίσις** ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς
> δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ. 22 οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ **κτίσις** συστενάζει καὶ
> συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· 23 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ
> πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν
> ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ **σώματος** ἡμῶν. 24 τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι
> ἐσώθημεν· ἐλπὶς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς· ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει; 25 εἰ δὲ ὃ
> οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Fig. 8 Semantic Chaining of CREATION

As opposed to some of the other semantic chains, CREATION only occurs in vv.19–23. With reference to the observations made in the previous chapter, this phenomenon is striking. First, κτίσις appears primarily in the nominative case, which stands out against the primarily genitive occurrences in the corpus. In this case, κτίσις

[3] While my main focus of the thesis is on vv. 18–23, the extension of several chains into prior verses demands my inclusion of the entire previous paragraph (vv. 12–17).

only adds [+SPECIFICATION] with respect to its first co-text and is otherwise simply nominal. Second, κτίσις does not often occur more than twice within a short span of text. As I observed, there were some texts with clusters of two or three nominals and still other texts with clusters that included nominal and verbal forms. The only exception to this rule was Ireneaus's *Haer.* 5:3:2.[4] On the basis of expectation from the corpus patterns, the CREATION chain in Rom 8:18–25 is a marked occurrence, the primary function of which is cohesion. Besides the first instance of κτίσις in the genitive modifying ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία (the eager expectation), each occurrence appears in the nominative as the subject of its clause complex. The frequent nominal repetition then reminds the reader of the subject of each clause or clause complex in spite of the participant shifting throughout the pericope.[5] For example, when Paul shifts to the first person plural οἴδαμεν he signals a shift in the primary participant. The subsequent repetition of ἡ κτίσις keeps the CREATION topic at the fore and continues to cohere Paul's discourse. While the CREATION primarily consists of the lexeme κτίσις, I will argue below that this chain should include the lexeme σώματος, though for now I will leave it out of my chaining figures.

1.2 *Creation and Adoption*

The domain ADOPTION is arguably the controlling chain in this pericope.[6] Adoption permeates this segment of Romans, extending beyond the scope of vv. 18–25. In effect, adoption is central to Paul's discussion in the latter half of the chapter, and included

[4] Interestingly, in this example three of the four occurrences of κτίσις are genitive, which is, statistically speaking, more expected.

[5] Later on, I will use the terminology of *prime* and *subsequent* to articulate the implications of this participant shifting.

[6] As far as Pauline soteriological metaphors go, adoption is one of the less common ones. Burke acknowledges this point in one of his many treatments of the adoption metaphor (see Burke, "Adopted as Sons," 259). Particular attention is often given to Paul's forensic metaphors, which include justification (see especially, du Toit, "Forensic Metaphors," 213–46).

within that discussion are comments that utilize other soteriological metaphors. Adoption language occurs with the greatest density prior to v. 18, where Paul writes affirmatively regarding the believer's adoption by God.[7] Several lexemes are used in this chain including υἱοθεσίας (adoption) itself. Other key terms emerge as well including υἱοὶ θεοῦ (sons of God) and τέκνα θεοῦ (children of God), which denote the child and the adopter, the adopter as πατήρ (father), and finally those as adopted as κληρονόμοι (heirs).[8] Lexical repetition continues, though with less frequency, in the following verses, which signals the continuation of the adoption theme and, as will be seen, functions as connecting points with the other semantic chains. The lexical density in vv. 14–17 followed by the intermittent occurrences of adoption lexemes seems to establish adoption as a (if not *the*) central topic which is carried through the next paragraph. That adoption can function as a controlling metaphor does not entirely distract from the other metaphors employed throughout, allowing for diversity in Paul's expression. As Burke points out, "the global description given by Paul in this passage needs to be recovered but it is also important to bear in mind the manner in which the passage unfolds because it suggests that adoption is the dominant idea."[9] The semantic chaining bears out at least the latter of half of this observation. See below for a graphical representation of the ADOPTION chain, including how it relates to the CREATION chain.

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[7] See Jewett, *Romans*, 506. Burke suggests that the vv. 12–17 represent the "now" aspect of Paul's articulation of adoption, while vv. 18–25 contain the "not-yet" (Burke, "Adopted as Sons," 279). See also Scott, *Adoption as Sons*, 244–66, who argues for present and future adoption in this passage.

[8] Also συγκληρονόμοι (co-heirs). Further on in the chapter, adoption language continues especially when Paul calls Jesus the πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (firstborn of many siblings). See especially Scott's comments regarding πρωτότοκον and its link with Paul's earlier adoption discussion and read against Davidic and Abrahamic messianic promises (Scott, *Adoption as Sons*, 252–55).

[9] Burke, "Adopted as Sons," 280.

[12]Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμέν, οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν [13]εἰ γὰρ
κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε μέλλετε ἀποθνῄσκειν, εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος
θανατοῦτε ζήσεσθε. [14]ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν. [15]οὐ
γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας,
ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν, Αββα ὁ πατήρ [16]αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν
ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα θεοῦ. [17]εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν
θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν.
[18]Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν
δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. [19]ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς **κτίσεως** τὴν
ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται [20]τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ **κτίσις**
ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι [21]ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ
κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς
δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ. [22]οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ **κτίσις** συστενάζει καὶ
συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν [23]οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ
πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν
ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. [24]τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν
ἐλπὶς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει; [25]εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ
βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Fig. 9 Semantic Chaining of ADOPTION

The dominance of the adoption theme must be accounted for, despite the lack of interaction between the ADOPTION and CREATION chains. Rom 8:19 contains the only clause in which tokens from each chain co-occur. Here, τῆς κτίσεως, or more properly the eager expectation of the creation, waits for τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (sons of God) to be revealed.[10] With only one point of interaction, these tokens remain *relevant* tokens and thus may not contribute much to the cohesiveness of the discourse. As Reed points out (following Halliday and Hasan), there should be at least two instances of such links for this these lexical items to be truly considered as *central tokens*.[11] However, the tokens κτίσεως and τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ may be appropriately considered as *central tokens* in

[10] Eastman is of the opinion that Paul, in his use of the term "sons of God," has in mind the nation of Israel. Thus, he anticipates the redemption and adoption of unbelieving Israel, probably looking forward to his more extensive discussion of this issue in chs. 9–11 (Eastman, "Who's Apocalypse?" 270–72; see also Keesmaat, "Exodus and Intertextual Transformation," 39). The interaction of κτίσις and τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ at this point in the passage help her to establish her "three-fold" view of κτίσις.

[11] Halliday and Hasan, "Text and Context," 57; Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 100–101. At that point, the *central tokens* add another element of cohesiveness to the discourse; thus, creation and adoption become coherent themes.

this instance if the ADOPTION chain is extended.[12] It may be permissible to extend the ADOPTION chain to include συνωδίνει (groan together). This lexeme more obviously links with the other groaning words in the passage (συστενάζει in 8:22 and στενάζομεν in 8:23), forming its own semantic chain (GROAN) and thus contrasting variant Actors of the processes. Although, as many authors point out, this lexeme is often associated with labour pains and the process of giving birth.[13] The sonship language of Romans 8 extends beyond the notion of adoption and includes birth language, suggesting a more complex web of lexical relations. Adoption language has already been seen to interact with suffering language in 8:17 where heirs of God are expected to suffer as co-heirs with Christ (κληρονόμοι μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν). What is seen here is a complex interaction of adoption, birth, and suffering language brought together by tokens in the CREATION chain.[14]

Here, again, the adoption theme is dominant. While the birth language provides some sort of expectation as to what will be birthed, Gaventa insightfully points out that what results is not actually a birth but an adoption.[15] Thus, the interaction of these semantic chains pictures a structure wherein the adopted children, as co-heirs with Christ, are to experience suffering—adopted children whose disclosure is expected by

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[12] See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 100, where he distinguishes between central and relevant tokens (also ch. 5 n. 46 of this thesis).

[13] See especially Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 56–57. Gaventa notes forcefully elsewhere in her monograph (32–34) that the ὠδίνειν word-group is used by Paul in Gal 4:19 in a birthing context. See also Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 202–205; Waetjen, *Romans*, 219; Hultgren, *Romans*, 325. This understanding is disputed, however, especially in Braaten, "All Creation Groans," 133–37, though his dispute is primarily with the attempt to link the "birthpangs" with those promised in Gen 3:16.

[14] Note also the function of the temporal particle νῦν, which occurs in 8:18 and again in 8:22. In the former verse, suffering is said to be associated with the τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ (the now time/present time) and in the latter verse the creation is said to groan ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν (until now). This particle solidifies the link between creation and the suffering/birth language. Notably, the suffering in 8:18 seems to be associated with the adopted children, while in 8:22 the groaning is associated with the κτίσις.

[15] Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 57.

the created thing.[16] This suffering theme then continues, with overtones of expectant birth-pangs that the creation itself experiences before returning again to the suffering (στενάζομεν) of those who await adoption.

1.3 *Creation and Redemption*

The REDEMPTION chain is another cohesive element in this passage that first appears in 8:15 where the gift of the spirit of adoption (πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας) is contrasted to a spirit of slavery (πνεῦμα δουλείας). This early reference hints at the slavery-adoption contrast that will continue on for several verses.[17] REDEMPTION is a domain that is realized with a number of different lexemes and contains within it important contrasting semantic relations.[18] Thus, freedom and slavery are consistently contrasted with one another in Rom 8:19–23 in concert with other redemption lexemes. The contrasting lexemes within the REDEMPTION chain (i.e., slavery-freedom) and the additional relation between slavery and adoption, while hinted at in 8:15, is overt in 8:21 and 8:23. The delivery of the created thing from slavery (redemption) is into the glory of the children of God (adoption) and adoption as sons is placed in apposition to the redemption of the body—

[16] From here I will primarily be employing the gloss "created thing" for the lexeme κτίσις. Justification for this translational choice will be given in the subsequent chapter. I begin to employ the gloss now for the sake of continuity.

[17] The lexeme δοῦλος will later be contrasted with freedom and occurs in the same semantic domains as some of the other lexemes in the REDEMPTION chain (according to *Louw-Nida*). See domains "87 E Slave, Free" and "37 E Control, Restrain." Despite the debate regarding the exact antecedent to Paul's redemption metaphors, there seems to be a consensus that redemption involves the purchasing of a slave's freedom. Dunn makes note of several extra-biblical references to this effect (Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 227). On the other hand, Wright prefers to see slavery language in terms of the Exodus; thus, Paul now envisions a new exodus (Wright, "Romans," 596, see also Keesmaat, "Exodus and Intertextual Transformation," 35–43). See Tolmie, "Salvation as Redemption," 247–51, for a recent and concise survey of important studies on the background to redemption metaphors in Paul. This social antecedent to the redemption metaphor further recommends the inclusion of δοῦλος in the REDEMPTION chain.

[18] Tolmie points to the lexemes ἀγπράζειν, ἐξαγοράζειν, ἀπολύτρωσις, and ἐλευθερία/ἐλευθεροῦν/ἐλεύθερος as important words in Pauline redemption metaphor (Tolmie, "Salvation as Redemption," 247). The latter two lexemes appear in Romans 8 and are included in the REDEMPTION chain. Two lexemes that Tolmie does not include in this list are ὑποτάγω and δοῦλος (which occur in Romans 8 as well), which, as I note above, I include given their semantic relationship as suggested in *Louw-Nida*.

freedom and adoption become (at least partially) synonymous. At this point, adoption and redemption metaphors become intertwined as they begin to interact with the CREATION chain.

> [12]Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμέν, οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν· [13]εἰ γὰρ
> κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε μέλλετε ἀποθνῄσκειν, εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος
> θανατοῦτε ζήσεσθε. [14]ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν.
> [15]οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα
> υἱοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν, Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ· [16]αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ
> πνεύματι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα θεοῦ. [17]εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι
> μὲν θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ, εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ
> συνδοξασθῶμεν.
> [18]Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν
> δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. [19]ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς **κτίσεως** τὴν
> ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται· [20]τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ **κτίσις**
> ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ' ἑλπίδι [21]ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ
> **κτίσις** ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς
> δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ. [22]οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ **κτίσις** συστενάζει καὶ
> συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· [23]οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ
> πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν
> ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. [24]τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν·
> ἐλπὶς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς· ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει; [25]εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ
> βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Fig. 10 Semantic Chaining of REDEMPTION

The interaction of the CREATION chain and the redemption chain occurs at key intervals throughout this paragraph. The created thing (κτίσις) is first subjected (ὑπετάγη) to futility, and in the next verse the redemption metaphor is elaborated vis-à-vis the created thing's delivery from slavery to decay (δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς) and into the freedom of the glory of the children of God (εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ).[19] Therefore, both the REDEMPTION chain and the extended ADOPTION chain come into contact with the CREATION chain. The CREATION chain is, therefore, integral in the interface of these two metaphorical domains. In 8:15 the contrast between slavery

[19] Given this parallel, many commentators propose that subjection to futility and slavery to decay should be considered as almost synonymous concepts (Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 470; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 413; cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 507, who suggests that "*Mataiotēs* is a broader concept than *phthora*"). However, the structure of the two clause complexes does not seem to allow for such close identification.

and adoption is brief and quickly passed over. However, as Paul moves on in his thought, these domains come together forcefully in a cohesive soteriological metaphor with token of the CREATION chain functioning as *central tokens.*

The implication of this structure already suggests a shift in the reading of this passage. In his discussion of Romans 8 and the concept of new creation, Jackson suggests that in this passage creation and redemption become "*coordinate* concepts."[20] This statement falls in line with his articulation (following many other writers) that the redemption of humanity coincides with the redemption of the sub-human creation (his understanding of κτίσις).[21] However, the structure that I have identified seems to articulate the coordination of redemption and *adoption*. Rom 8:21 and 8:23 mark important points in this passage where the redemption and adoption metaphors coincide and are linked together by tokens from the CREATION chain; creation language provides the point at which adoption and redemption can coordinate. Therefore, contra Jackson et al., it is not the redemption of two separate entities that are brought together in these verses by a single metaphor, but two different metaphors (adoption and redemption) are brought together with reference to a single entity (the created thing/body).

1.3 *Creation and Expectation*

The final semantic chain of relevance to this discussion is the EXPECTATION chain. This chain is first realized in the lexemes νῦν (now) and μέλλουσαν (it is about to be) as they provide temporal contrast between present suffering and future glory. Thus, the suffering that is associated with being adopted children of God is only temporal and

[20] Jackson, *New Creation*, 161, emphasis his.
[21] See, for example, Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 161; Lawson, "Hope of Creation," 561; Lambrecht, "Ecocentric or Anthropocentric," 184; Vollmer, "Theocentric Reading," 791–92; Waetjen, *Romans*, 215 among others. Commentators often use the terminology of an "inextricable link."

passing in light of the future expectation of glory. This contrast is repeated throughout the paragraph, realized by two lexemes—ἀπεκδεχόμενοι and ἐλπὶς—which are exhibited in both nominal and verbal forms. The lexical tokens in this chain cluster at the beginning and end of the paragraph and occur in relation to the creation theme, as can be seen in the figure below. The positioning of these clusters with reference to the various other metaphors in the passage creates a sense of eschatological tension throughout.

18 Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν
δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. 19 ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς **κτίσεως** τὴν
ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. 20 τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ **κτίσις**
ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι 21 ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ
κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς
δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ. 22 οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ **κτίσις** συστενάζει καὶ
συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· 23 οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ
πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν
ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ **σώματος** ἡμῶν. 24 τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι
ἐσώθημεν· ἐλπὶς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς· ὃ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει; 25 εἰ δὲ
ὃ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

Fig. 11 Semantic Chaining of EXPECTATION

It is probably best, at first, to view the EXPECTATION chain as it relates to the ADOPTION and REDEMPTION chains. As can be seen above, EXPECTATION extends beyond the boundaries of the REDEMPTION-ADOPTION collusion in 8:19b–23. It is on the fringe of the EXPECTATION clusters that such interaction begins to happen. In 8:19, expectation first interacts with κτίσις and adoption, where the created thing is said to eagerly await the revelation of the sons of God (ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται). With this statement Paul moves from a description of expectation into the adoption-redemption collusion identified above. As this complex theme develops in the next three verses, expectation language is noticeably absent until 8:23. When the EXPECTATION chain picks up again, adoption and redemption language is still present. Paul is then able to bring this paragraph to a close as he continues to describe the characteristics of hope.

A noticeable shift has taken place in the span of the two lexical clusters. Whereas in the first cluster it was created thing that waited in expectation of adoption (or at least the disclosure of their identity), in the second cluster it is those who have the first-fruits of the spirit who wait for adoption (ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι). With the recurrence of the EXPECTATION chain, κτίσις is conspicuously absent, an absence that is heightened in that the redemption-adoption collusion has continued on into this verse—κτίσις had been the central token that held the chains together.

Two alternative readings present themselves as a way to account for the absence of κτίσις in the second cluster. The first reading suggests that a shift in focus has taken place around 8:22, which now marks believers as those expecting adoption and redemption. This shift functions as a means to identify the believer with the created thing through shared characteristics (i.e., groaning, redemption, etc.) and future expectations. While not expressed in explicit linguistic terms, this explanation finds common acceptance among commentators.[22] However, from a linguistic standpoint, this explanation affects the cohesion of the paragraph that results from viewing the tokens of the CREATION chain as *central tokens*.

The alternative (and recommended) reading is that the cohesive structure of the paragraph can be maintained by extending the CREATION chain to include the lexeme

[22] This is usually expressed as some sort of inextricable link between the fate of humanity and creation that extends forward from the fall and now includes redemption. For this view, see especially, Bullmore, "Christian Environmentalism," 161; Lawson, "Hope of Creation," 561.

σώματος. Thus, κτίσις has been functioning as some sort of metaphor for the body.[23] Westfall makes provision for such a phenomenon when she describes "grouping with metaphors, analogy, typology and word picture." Under this category, cohesion is created in chains that are realized by lexemes that do not occur in the same domain and may not have had connection with one another in the first place.[24] Therefore, given that κτίσις consistently functions as a *central token* in the coordination of redemption and adoption metaphors, and has already provided a link between these metaphors and the EXPECTATION chain, the use of the lexical item σώματος is the final central token that relates adoption and redemption metaphors.

2. *Conjunctive Systems in Romans 8*

Semantic chaining is only one window into the cohesive structure of Rom 8:18–25. The other window that I wish to look through is cohesion through organic ties, i.e., the conjunctive systems that hold the various levels of discourse together.[25] While there are several conjunctions and conjunction complexes even in Rom 8:18–25, in this exercise I am concerned with the clauses and clause-complexes in which κτίσις occurs and the conjunctions that unite them. Generally speaking, the most common of these conjunctions is γάρ, while the transition from 8:20–21 is marked by ὅτι καὶ,[26] and the transition from 8:21–22 is marked by γὰρ ὅτι. Of greatest interest is the idiomatic phrase οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ, which marks the transition from 8:22–23. Several theorists are helpful in an analysis of the conjunction system including Westfall and Reed's work in

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[23] This point will be argued in greater detail in the next chapter.

[24] Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 54.

[25] Reed defines organic ties as "the conjunctive systems of language, such as particles which serve as markers of transition (e.g., γάρ, ἀλλά, δὲ, καί)" (Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 89; Reed, "Cohesiveness," 32).

[26] Some manuscripts such as ℵ, D, F, G, have the conjunction complex διότι καὶ instead. This is not an issue that has direct relevance for the role of κτίσις in Rom 8:18–25 and thus will not be subject to any complex discussion.

discourse analysis.[27] Further, Porter and O'Donnell articulate a conjunction cline, which accounts for the connections of different levels of discourse (vertical); continuity-discontinuity (horizontal 1);[28] and similarity, proximity, and co-ordination (horizontal 2).[29] Moving from left to right, the conjunctions in these clines increase in their markedness values.

2.1 *The Role of the Simple Conjunctive Systems*

As noted above, the first two componential ties consist of the conjunction γάρ. Reed includes γάρ as a causal-conditional conjunction (specifically under the heading "reason") of *enhancement*, which "'expands' the primary clause by qualifying it with a circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition."[30] Porter and O'Donnell advocate that γάρ only operates at or above the clause level (including clause, clause complex, and paragraph) as opposed to word or word-group.[31] This appears to be an accurate description of how γάρ functions in 8:19 and 8:20 where clauses and clause complexes are joined together. Thus, in this paragraph γάρ will most likely combine elements at or above the clause level and signify a causal relationship between the elements, suggesting causal progression as subsequent elements are joined by γάρ.

Paul begins in 8:18 with the explicit evaluation λογίζομαι (I consider). He continues with a declarative that the present sufferings cannot compare to the future glory. This declarative is then joined to a further assertion regarding the eager expectation of the created thing with the conjunction γάρ. Following this statement, γάρ

[27] See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 91; Westfall, *Discourse Analysis of Hebrews*, 66.
[28] This cline is established primarily according to frequency (Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 10).
[29] Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 8–12.
[30] Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 92; Reed, "Cohesiveness," 34. *Enhancement* is one of three subheadings (including also *elaboration* and *extension*) under the larger heading of EXPANSION.
[31] Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 9.

adds another clause complex regarding the futility to which the created thing has been subjected. The conjunctive system here seems to reflect a series of positive, causal enhancements of the main clause in 8:18. Each clause or clause complex adds to the prior clause with further information that provides the reason for the earlier clause. While 8:19 seems to add information with respect to the apocalyptic glory (i.e., it is κτίσις that waits), 8:20 adds information regarding κτίσις. The combination of organic ties (conjunctions) and componential ties (semantic chaining) provides a cohesive discourse that is able to build and develop in its focus. At the point of 8:20, κτίσις has moved from simply functioning as a genitive restrictor (it restricts the content of ἀποκαραδοκία) to the subject of the clause. While κτίσις remains in focus in the development of the paragraph, the information surrounding is enhanced and built upon. Again, the succession of γάρ conjunctions implies a certain causal progression.

From this point, the conjunctive system varies somewhat inasmuch as conjunction complexes are used: ὅτι καὶ and γὰρ ὅτι. Taking each conjunction by itself can be problematic as they operate at different levels and perform various expansion functions. According to Porter and O'Donnell's schematic noted above, besides the vertical axis signifying different levels of discourse, there are two horizontal axes. With regards to the conjunction complex in 8:21, each conjunction operates on a different horizontal axis. Thus, ὅτι fits on the axis of logical-semantic inference implying an inferential or casual relationship, while καὶ fits on the axis of continuity-discontinuity and signifies the least discontinuous relationship.[32] The clause complex in 8:21 seems to continue the "causal progression" brought about by the succession of γάρ since ὅτι can

[32] See Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 10–11. Note that διότι also falls under this category. Thus, if διότι is a better reading that ὅτι it does not affect the present reading with great significance.

perform similar causal enhancement that γάρ does in vv. 19 and 20.[33] The relationship of elements separated by ὅτι is different than in the previous clauses, however, in that it seems to project the content of hope (ἐλπίδι). It may be best here to view the phrase καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις together. The inclusion of καὶ along with intensive pronoun αὐτὴ adds an element of intensive continuity to the clausal relation, or perhaps more specifically ἡ κτίσις. Thus, it seems as though the subjection of κτίσις and the deliverance of κτίσις from slavery to decay are seen on continuous terms.

The transition from 8:21 to 8:22 is noticeably different from the causal enhancement that has developed thus far. In fact, 8:22 looks very much like 8:18. In both these instances, explicit evaluation (signified by the first person verb) is followed by the postpositive γὰρ ὅτι. This conjunction complex enhances the discourse. Here, it may be helpful to evaluate the conjunctions separately. While γάρ signifies mild discontinuity along the continuous-discontinuous axis, ὅτι implies an inferential or causal relationship, as noted above.[34] Thus, γάρ relates the former and latter clause complexes in terms of their continuous and causal relationship just as it has done in the earlier verses. On the other hand, the ὅτι is used to introduce content of the "knowing."[35]

The significance of these componential ties in relationship to the role of κτίσις in the passage can be best expressed through enhancement and mild discontinuity. As κτίσις remains a prominent focal point in the discourse, the information given about this κτίσις develops from clause complex to clause complex. The relationship of these elements does not imply discontinuous propositions about κτίσις nor are these elements

[33] See Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 92.
[34] See again, Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 10–11.
[35] See Porter, *Idioms*, 238, where ὅτι with the indicative can be used to introduce particular content. This occurs in much the same way that ὅτι projects the content of hope in 8:21.

adverse to one another. Instead, Paul's comments stack upon one another and enhance one another, progressing with a degree of causality. The only break from this pattern occurs when the relationship of the subjected κτίσις and the freed κτίσις is emphatically continuous and when the enhancement is made more explicit through evaluation. However, this pattern breaks down significantly with the final conjunction complex related to κτίσις in 8:23.

2.2 *The Role of the* οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ *Complex*

One of the most significant arguments against any sort of anthropological reading of Paul's creation language lies in what has been called a contrast between the κτίσις and the "we" of the pericope. In vv. 22 and 23 Paul writes: οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι (for we know that every created thing has been moaning and groaning together until now, and not only that, but even we—who have the firstfruits of the Spirit—even we ourselves groan as we wait for adoption as children). There are several participants in the discourse that are identified by a variety of means. First, there is Paul, the author of letter, whose evaluation of the content of the letter breaks through occasionally. This is accomplished primarily through the use of first person singular verbs, such as in 8:18 where Paul uses the first person singular λογίζομαι (I consider). Of course there are the recipients of the letter, who are often referred to using second person forms, though they are occasionally included with Paul in first person plural forms such as in 8:22 (οἴδαμεν).[36] Other participants enter into the paragraph through the use of nominal

[36] Thus, the use of a first person plural "editorial we" seems unlikely in this case given that Paul has already used first person singular forms in the same paragraph.

forms and corresponding third person verbs. Thus, the created thing, the sons/children of God, the subjector (i.e., the subject of ὑποτάξοντα), and the body function as discourse participants. Given some of the conclusions drawn in light of the alleged participant shift from every created thing to "we," it is important to understand how the idiomatic clause complex οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ relates the opposing clauses and, more importantly, what this implies for an understanding of the function of κτίσις.

Two participants appear in 8:22—Paul and his readers, who are said to know (οἴδαμεν) something, and the κτίσις, who is said to moan and groan together until now. In 8:23, then, the pronoun αὐτοὶ returns the participant reference once again to Paul and his readers, noted again in the next clause with ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ (even we ourselves). The phrase οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ separates these clauses and thus the two participants and their corresponding processes.

> οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν· **οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ** αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν.

Fig. 12 Participants in Rom 8:22–23

A "literal" rendering of the phrase might read "and not only, but also," which immediately highlights the adversative function of ἀλλὰ and δέ.[37] Thus, the argument can be made, following Fitzmyer, that the "contrasting phrase makes it clear that Paul has been speaking of material creation in the preceding verses."[38] If this argument stands

[37] See Porter, *Idioms*, 205, 208; Reed, *Discourse Analysis of Philippians*, 91; Wallace, *Grammar*, 671; Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 29, 55–56; Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 112–14, for the adversative function of these conjunctions.

[38] Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509. See also Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 180, 205; Hultgren, *Romans*, 321; Morris, *Romans*, 323 n.98; Murray, *Romans*, 305, who make similar statements or imply this sort of reading.

(which I do not think it does), it does serious damage to the reading I proposed above, in which κτίσις is used as a metaphor for τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν.

With reference to Porter and O'Donnell's cline, while καὶ and δέ are able to join high ranks of discourse, ἀλλὰ tends to link middle to lower discourse ranks, suggesting that together οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ operates at a lower rank (i.e., clause level or below). Further, ἀλλὰ, δέ, and καὶ appear on the continuity-discontinuity axis rather than the axis of logical-semantic inference. Porter and O'Donnell suggest that ἀλλὰ displays high discontinuity and markedness, καὶ displays low discontinuity and markedness, with δέ appearing somewhere in the middle.[39] What results is a conjunctive phrase with noticeable texture due to varying markedness values. There is a tension between continuity and discontinuity between the preceding and following clauses, and heightened by οὐ μόνον.

A caveat to the comments above is the "idiomaticity" of this complex; οὐ μόνον δέ/μὴ μόνον δέ is an established idiom in Hellenistic Greek. Furthermore, the construct οὐ μόνον δέ...ἀλλὰ καὶ is well attested, appearing as a stereotyped idiomatic construction that places two clauses in some sort of contrastive relationship with one another.[40] Two forms of the construct appear as follows: Proposition 1– οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ – Proposition 2 (undivided); and οὐ μόνον δέ – Proposition 1, ἀλλὰ καὶ – Proposition 2 (divided). Of primary importance, therefore, is to track the participant references and processes involved in the clauses that are linked through the οὐ μόνον δέ...ἀλλὰ καὶ construct, the typical implied semantic relationship between the participants, and what sort of elements are being contrasted (i.e., verbs, nouns, clauses,

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[39] Porter and O'Donnell, "Conjunctions," 10.

[40] Porter, referring to the construction in Romans 5, calls οὐ μόνον δέ an "elliptical contrastive construction reinforced here with ἀλλὰ καί" (Porter, "Argument of Romans 5," 222).

etc.). In the New Testament, this construct appears ten times (this includes the separated and attached constructs)—twice in Acts and eight times in the disputed and undisputed Pauline letters.[41]

Acts 19:26–27 well exemplifies the divided construct in narrative, where each of the idioms introduces a propositional clause. Thus, in Acts 19:27, the speaker Demetrius places the phrases τοῦτο κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἐλθεῖν (there is danger that our trade will be discredited) and τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐθὲν λογισθῆναι ([there is danger that] the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be of no account) in tension with one another. The first clause occurs in the midst of Demetrius's speech where he mentions the idol trade, which he suggests will be affected by Paul's anti-idol preaching. There appears to be an ellipsis of the verb κινδυνεύει (he/she/it is in danger) following ἀλλὰ καὶ; both propositions imply the same process—a danger or risk. Although the two discourse participants (the temple of Artemis and the idol trade) in this case are distinct from one another, the construct οὐ μόνον δέ…ἀλλὰ καὶ links the two participants together, yet with an element of contrast. Interestingly, the second clause (τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐθὲν λογισθῆναι) is further expanded upon with μέλλειν τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος αὐτῆς ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται (and soon she whom Asia and the whole world worship will be pulled down from her magnificence). This lexicogrammatical bulk that follows the latter half of the construct (ἀλλὰ καὶ) implies an emphasis or escalation in the flow of the

[41] In Verbrugge's recent treatment of this construct (in the context of Rom 5), he provides a count of thirty-six occurrences of οὐ μόνον in the New Testament (Verbrugge, "ΈΧΟΜΕΝ in Romans 5:1," 562). He specifically leaves out the δέ in his search because "the conjunction δέ merely connects with the preceding material." This is understandable, as Verbrugge is interested in contrasting the οὐ μόνον construct with a paradigmatic variant μὴ μόνον. Even so, I wonder if compartmentalizing the construct is not unhelpful when looking for consistent patterns associated with a particular construct.

discourse. Three features, therefore, are present with the οὐ μόνον δέ...ἀλλὰ καὶ construct: continuity, contrast, and emphasis. Continuity is suggested vis-à-vis the ellided verb (κινδυνεύει), contrast is created between the two separated clauses, and emphasis is provided by the expansion of the second clause.

Similar constructions appear in Acts 21:13, 2 Cor 7:7, 1 Tim 5:13, and 2 Tim 4:8. In the case of 1 Tim 5:13, for example, all three features (continuity, contrast, and emphasis) are present and it is the participant and the process that stays constant (the widow learns to be). Thus, the younger widows οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀργαὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι ([are] not only lazy, but even gossipy and prying).[42] Note that it is the discourse participant that is elided in the construction (assumed from v. 11) and that the lexicogrammatical bulk lies in the second clause, hence some sort of emphatic escalation. In these two examples and in the other instances there are notable consistent features: (1) the construct οὐ μόνον δέ...ἀλλὰ καὶ introduces two discourse elements in contrastive relationship with one another; (2) continuity is suggested in the ellision of the discourse participant or process;[43] (3) emphasis is generated by the increased lexicogrammatical bulk in the second clause (i.e., following ἀλλὰ καὶ).

The undivided form of the construct operates in a slightly different manner, insofar as the two conjunctive elements, rather than being separated by the first clause, are placed together, separating the two clauses. Thus, rather than οὐ μόνον δέ introducing the first clause, it follows it. There are several examples of this combined construct in the Pauline corpus, four in Romans and one in 2 Corinthians, with no

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[42] This example reflects a relationship between elements at the level of lexis rather than clause, as in the previous example.

[43] More often it is both. In 2 Cor 7:7 the participant ὁ θεὸς and the process παρεκάλεσεν elide into v. 7, while in 2 Tim 4:8 ὁ κύριος and ἀποδώσει are elided.

examples found elsewhere in the New Testament.[44] The first two examples of this construct appear in close proximity to one another in Rom 5:2–3 and 10–11. Both of these examples reflect the three features identified in the construction above: continuity, contrast, and emphasis. In 5:2–3 continuity exists between participants and process. In fact, the same verb is used in both clauses—καυχώμεθα (we rejoice)—and thus he continuity is made explicit (rather than implicit through verbal ellision). It is the content of the rejoicing that changes from clause to clause; not only do Paul and his audience rejoice in hope of the glory of God (ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ), they also rejoice in tribulation (ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν). It is the entire clauses that are contrasted in this verse and, as is typical of this construct, there is additional information given in the second clause—in this case the notion of tribulation is expanded upon. Porter briefly suggests that in Rom 5:3 ἀλλὰ, though it follows οὐ μόνον δέ, retains an adversative sense.[45] Thus emphatic continuity is present, however the ἀλλὰ is able to mark the contrast between the content of the rejoicing. Rom 9:9–10 follows the same typical pattern. Paul asserts the "word of promise" that Sarah will give birth to a son. Continuity is expressed in the following clause-complex insofar as the birthing process continues. However, the participants in this process are different and are thus the point of contrast; it is Rachel now rather than Sarah. The emphasis is realized in that Rachel conceives two sons rather than simply one. Again, the tension between continuity and contrast is seen as the argument progresses through the increase in the number of children conceived or born. Thus, even as there may be continuity in the process, the exact details of the process always shift. The elements separated by the conjunction complex are joined together,

[44] There is some attestation to this construct prior to Paul, though not much. Following the Pauline examples, most appear among the writings of the Early Church Fathers.

[45] As opposed to emphatic, Porter, *Idioms*, 205.

often through an ellided verb, but there remains a contrastive relationship between the two elements.

From these examples, it is evident that the features of continuity, contrast, and emphasis are consistent when the οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ construct is employed. However, the elements that are continued, contrasted, and emphasized vary from utterance to utterance. Thus it is not accurate to suggest that, say, the process is always constant while the participants vary, or some similar assertion. How, then, do these considerations affect a reading of the construct in Rom 8:22–23? As with the examples above, Rom 8:22–23 exhibits the standard features. Continuity is expressed through the repetition of the GROANING domain, realized by συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει and στενάζομεν. There is also significant emphasis as the discourse moves along; lexicogrammatical bulk increases after the complex.[46] The first clause describes the simple groaning of πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, while the participants and the process are heightened. The participants are now described as αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ (we who have the firstfruits of the spirit, even we...), while the second process is described as ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι (we groan as we wait for adoption). Contrast is also seen in the shift of participants.

There are two ways to interpret the identity of these participants and their relationship to the GROANING process. The first is to view the participants as distinct groups. In this case, Paul draws a distinction between the group known as πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις (every created thing) and the ἡμεῖς (we, i.e., Paul and his readers). With this construction, Paul is able to join these two groups in solidarity with each another while they both groan together in the present age, similar to what Paul does in Rom 9:10. The

[46] So also Schreiner asserts (Schreiner, *Romans*, 438).

implication here is that κτίσις must be essentially non-human; thus, an anthropological reading of κτίσις does not reflect Paul's thought.[47]

On the other hand, such a reading may not give proper consideration to the thematization and information flow of the clauses and indeed the larger structure of the paragraph. In this way, a good reading of this section is aided by the interface of textual features: cohesion and thematization. Porter, as well as Dvorak, organize clausal structure in terms of "prime" and "subsequent," where "prime" establishes a scaffold from which "subsequent" elements develop.[48] Dvorak notes that the "Prime orients the reader to the message of the clause, telling them how to understand the 'news' conveyed by the clause; the Subsequent is the 'news' (or 'newsworthy') part of the clause—the part that the writer wants the reader to remember."[49] In Rom 8:19–21 κτίσις functions as the prime in each clause and "news" is provided about it (it eagerly waits, it has been subjected to futility, and it will be delivered).[50] However, it is in 8:22 (not 8:23) that the participant structure shifts with οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι. Κτίσις is no longer the prime of this clause; instead, Paul and his readers (the implied subject of οἴδαμεν) become the prime. With this participant shift, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις is relegated to the role of subsequent—the content of the "knowledge." Or better, the entire clause πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν is made subsequent.[51]

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[47] Michaels gets around this by seeing a shift in the sense of κτίσις in 8:22 based on the πᾶσα. Here Paul is seen to employ a common Greco-Roman metaphor of the travailing created order that serves as paradigmatic for the specific redemptive expectation of the body-κτίσις (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 111). Whether this reading is acceptable is not to be judged at this point, but in the subsequent chapter.

[48] See Dvorak, "Thematization," 19–20; Porter, "Prominence," 74.

[49] Dvorak, "Thematization," 20.

[50] The whole structure ἡ...ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως makes up the prime element, which is almost longhand for ἡ κτίσις.

[51] Lee articulates three classes of participant in this paragraph: divine, believers, and subhuman creation (Lee, *Paul's Gospel in Romans*, 406–407). He goes on to note that the participant reference gives clues to

The identification of prime and subsequent elements implies a different reading of this construction than writers such as Fitzmyer have provided. It is better to suggest that the main verb οἴδαμεν is ellided in the second clause.[52] Contrast is thus being drawn between two propositions—the content of Paul and his readers' knowledge. Thus, Paul and his readers know that every created thing groans and they also know that "we ourselves" groan. Paul seems to be interested, not in contrasting believers with every created thing, but in the status of believers and their perceived relationship to κτίσις. Paul takes the "we" from simple knowledge about κτίσις to sharing in similar (if not identical) experiences, namely, expectant groaning. The role of the conjunctive complex joining these clauses is to enable this transfer where the main verb remains the same but the readers' relation to the groaning process shifts from external onlooker to immediate participation. To return to the issue at hand, the reading I have suggested here invalidates the suggestion made by Fitzmyer and others that Paul draws a marked distinction between believers and πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις. While the reading I propose does not definitely substantiate any sort of anthropological reading, it does provide a better description of the information flow of the paragraph, suggesting a more profound relationship between κτίσις and believers than one of simple solidarity.

3. *Conclusion*

Two important features of the textual organization of Rom 8:18–25 have been identified in this chapter: semantic chaining and conjunctive systems. The lexeme κτίσις plays an important role in both of these structures. Semantic chains permeate the passage,

the structure, i.e., 19–22 (creation), 23–25 (believers) and 26–30 (God/Holy Spirit). However, according to my schema above, the shift actually takes place in 8:22 with οἴδαμεν thus blurring the lines between these two groups and the proposed structure.

[52] Rather than κτίσις. See, for example, Lenski, *Romans*, 539; Morris, *Romans*, 323, who make such a reading explicit.

especially those that participate in metaphorical expressions. In this passage, κτίσις functions as a *central token* that links the REDEMPTION, ADOPTION, and EXPECTATION chains together in a coordinated and blended soteriological metaphor. One of the most significant observations is the inclusion of σῶματος within the CREATION chain, as it maintains the continued connection between expectation, redemption and adoption. The conjunctive systems reflect movement in the discourse that is characterized by causal momentum. This is primarily accomplished by the conjunction γὰρ but at times by ὅτι καὶ and γὰρ ὅτι. The combination of conjunctive systems and prime-subsequent structure reveals a development in participant reference. Initially Paul uses κτίσις as the prime of each clause, while providing "news" about it. However, as he is concerned with the perspective of his audience, Paul shifts the participant reference to third person plurals. The conjunction complex in 8:23 enables the perspectival shift that links the experience of every created thing with the experience of the "we."

Chapter Seven

THE ROLE OF κτίσις IN DISCOURSE TRANSITIVITY

This final chapter of application will shift focus and explore the ideational components of Rom 8:18–23. As many functional linguists have noted, ideational meaning is primarily carried by way of verbs, which is problematic inasmuch as the primary locus of the current investigation is a lexeme that is a noun.[1] However, the analysis of the ideational role of verbs is usually accomplished vis-à-vis the notion of transitivity. While verbs are central to the transitivity of a clause or clause-complex, other discourse features are necessarily part of that schema. Nominal forms such as κτίσις therefore fit into the transitivity of a clause as an important feature of ideational meaning. This chapter will consist of several transitivity analyses that include within its scope the lexeme κτίσις as the question is asked, how does κτίσις contribute to the paragraph's ideational meaning? Transitivity is the basic means of expressing linguistic content, the "what of the discourse."[2] In this type of analysis each constituent part of a clause is assigned a functional role, the basic roles are *participant*, *process*, and *circumstance*. The roles can be further specified depending on the type of process in question: *material*, *mental*, *verbal*, *relational*, *existential*, *behavioural*, etc. More specific types of participant and circumstance follow.[3] As noted at several points throughout this thesis,

[1] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 87; Ravelli, "Grammatical Metaphor," 134.
[2] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 86–87.
[3] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 88–112, Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 170–75, for a general overview of these principles.

Romans 8 involves a significant number of metaphorical features. Transitivity analyses have the benefit of providing a helpful rubric for detecting lexicogrammatical metaphor and, as such, will be applied to each main clause. These analyses will reveal that the meaning of κτίσις is highly ambiguous throughout this paragraph; however, Paul is able to use this ambiguity to articulate his view of the redemption of the body. In this way, Paul can identify the redeemed body with the "created thing"—κτίσις.

1. *Initial Observations*

Before getting into specific clausal analyses, some preliminary observations must be made that will have a bearing on the analysis of transitivity of each of the clauses, especially with reference to the earlier corpus analysis. A major observation of that analysis was the function of κτίσις as a nominalization. Thus, κτίσις realizes [PROCESS] meaning despite its nominal form. Nominalization causes the lexeme to shift roles in a transitivity scheme from *process* to *participant*. This shift has already had implications for how Paul is able to shape the discourse (see previous chapter), and now has further implications with respect to the transitivity of each clause. The primary consequence of this shift is that κτίσις can undergo adjectival modification (such as πᾶσα, and the intensifying pronoun αὐτὴ) as well as take part in *processes* such as expectation, subjugation, etc. In addition, as a clause participant, the lexeme has a new set of functional choices from which the language user (Paul) can choose. Thus it may function as an Actor, or Senser, etc.[4]

Nominalization is a criterion for ideational metaphor, which implies a choice in how the process meaning is to be realized. In the case of the nominalization κτίσις, this is a choice between the nominal form and the verbal form κτίζω. Two observations can

[4] This is dependent upon which type of process is in view.

be made here. First, the creative *process* implies a participant, i.e., a creator. In each of these examples, Paul does not employ any of the collocational patterns that imply a human source or creation in terms of the founding of a city. Therefore, Paul seems to have his deity in mind as the actor behind the creative process. This is confirmed by the theological lexemes used in nearby clauses.[5] Second, the use of the nominalized form streamlines the communication. A lot of lexicogrammatical bulk would need to be added to construe the same information that is easily construed by the single noun. If the verbal form was used, an attendant subject and object would be necessary. Despite its bulk, such a construal would make one thing explicit: the semantic contribution of κτίσις. The nominalized form certainly streamlines the flow of the clause, though that form creates a degree of ambiguity. Nominalization also recommends a particular translation of the lexeme. In the context of Romans 8, various schools of thought will choose between glossing κτίσις as "creature" or "creation."[6] These glosses often provide hints toward particular interpretations. In an effort to appreciate the lexicogrammatical nuance of κτίσις and to adjudicate fairly between these polarized alternatives, I prefer to employ the gloss "created thing."

2. *Transitivity of Rom 8:19*

The first clause, Rom 8:19, is a basic *mental process*. Mental processes are those that are characteristic of the mind and, according to Thompson, have four sub-types: *emotion*,

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[5] Other theological language is used in the immediate linguistic context such as πνεῦμα (spirit), as per the semantic association noted in ch. 5.

[6] For "creation" see NIV, TNIV, NLT, NKJV, NASB, MSG, HCSB, ESV. For "creature" see Wycliffe, Tyndale, Geneva, KJV, Douay-Rheims, Darby. Variant translations can also be seen in some German commentaries vis-à-vis the choice between using the gloss "Schöpfung" (creation, see Michel, *Der Brief*, 200) or "Kreatur" (creature, see Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, 256). Interestingly, Schlier's translation shifts to Schöpfung in 8:22.

cognition, *perception*, and *desideration*.[7] This final category, *desideration*, is the best description of what goes on in this clause, as ἀπεκδέχεται (it eagerly awaits) expresses wanting or desire. In relation to this desideration mental process, the nominal complex ἡ...ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως (the eager expectation of the created thing) functions as the Senser, while τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν θεοῦ (the revelation of the sons of God) functions as the Phenomenon. Consider how this appears in a transitivity diagram.

ἡ	γὰρ	ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως	τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	ἀπεκδέχεται
	conj.	**Senser**	**Phenomenon**	**Process: mental**

Fig. 13 Transitivity of Rom 8:19

This transitivity schema is straightforward and does not contain any complicating embedded clauses or the like. The most problematic feature is what I have identified as Senser: the nominal complex ἡ...ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως. Many commentators make note of this peculiar idiom as a feature of the personification of nature.[8] In this instance, an adjective (ἀποκαραδοκία) is used substantively as the subject of the verb ἀπεκδέχεται; both share semantic content, hence an element of redundancy. Furthermore, ἀποκαραδοκία is modified by the genitive noun τῆς κτίσεως, which restricts the range of the eager expectation to that particular "thing." Many commentators implicitly identify that ἡ ἀποκαραδοκία reflects a process even as it is grammatically a "thing"—a description of nominalization. Given that τῆς κτίσεως also functions as a nominalization, there appears to be a double nominalization in the clause,

[7] Thompson notes that *desideration* is not one of Halliday's original categories (Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 94, cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 208, where *desiderative* is now included). However, as Thompson defines desideration (wanting) it seems to accommodate a notable class of mental processes.

[8] See Adams, *Constructing the* World, 180; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 412; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 506; Jewett, *Romans*, 512; Murray, *Romans*, 302; Lenski, *Romans*, 532; Morris, *Romans*, 320–21. Nelson calls this double personification (Nelson, "Groaning of Creation," 189 [155–58]). So also, Hultgren describes this as "anthropomorphic imagery" (Hultgren, *Romans*, 321).

which together make up the main participant—the Senser. This is indeed an emphatic construction since the process of eagerly expecting is realized in both verbal and nominal forms—as both process and participant. Paul could very easily have written this in simpler terms, without the substantive adjective and with the genitive τῆς κτίσεως in the nominative form. Thus the clause, ἡ γὰρ κτίσις τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται (for the created thing eagerly expects the revelation of the sons of God). Comparing these alternative modes of expression highlights the emphasis of expectation in this clause, rather than the thing that participates in the expectation.

As noted, lexicogrammatical metaphor also occurs with the noun τῆς κτίσεως, since it is a nominalization of the verb κτίζω. Thus, as Thompson suggests, a double transitivity analysis is useful for unpacking a congruent realization.[9] Below I have provided a plausible congruent agnate for comparative purposes. Note that for the sake of simplicity I have not included ἀποκαραδοκία as it can be reasonably subsumed within the finite verb ἀπεκδέχεται.

ἡ	γὰρ	ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως			τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	ἀπεκδέχεται.
	conj.	**Senser**			**Phenomenon**	**Process: mental**
ἡ	γὰρ	[*noun*]	ἐκτίσθη	καὶ	τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	ἀπεκδέχεται.
	conj.	**Goal**	**Pr: material**	**conj.**	**Phenomenon**	**Process: mental**

Fig. 14 Double Transitivity of Rom 8:19

The most significant change with respect to the entire clause is the addition of another process. To be sure, this makes the clause slightly unwieldy (even more so if ἀποκαραδοκία is included somehow) and the processes are slightly disjunctive as one is material and one is mental. At the outset this reveals that the choice of employing grammatical metaphor helps to streamline the structure of the clause.

[9] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 225.

More specifically, the two elements on the right hand side of this table are identical and, as such, do not warrant much investigation. It is the left side of this table that requires some further inquiry. First, I should comment on some of the choices made here. The first process (ἐκτίσθη) is passive rather than active for two reasons. While it may be inferred that the Actor is God (ὁ θεὸς), it adds unnecessary bulk to the analysis. Furthermore, the passive form is attested in (pseudo) Pauline literature as an agnate, congruent to the nominal form (see Col 1:14). Thus there is actual epigraphical evidence for such a construction. This agnate form reveals that embedded within the nominalization is a noun—the Goal of the material process (if the process is passive). Nominalization of this sort is lexicogrammatical metaphor at its clearest; there has been a shift in the grammar of the passage, yet there are lexical implications as well. The choice of the nominal κτίσεως in this clause is metaphorical in the classical sense—one thing is being referred to in terms of another. While Paul may have had a more congruent means of expressing this "other," the notion of [DEPENDENT EXISTENCE], that is, the abstracted semantic value of κτίσις, is apparently more suitable to his purposes in Rom 8:19 (and the following clauses). This metaphorical choice, therefore, has significant implications for a reading of this text—the use of the creation metaphor must have some positive experiential/ideational value with respect to the aims of this passage. In a similar vein, it is important to determine the embedded Goal of the agnate process.[10] It is using this terminology that I will answer the question raised by many commentators: what is the meaning of κτίσις in Rom 8:19–23? This Goal is not made explicit in these initial verses, which has probably led to the extensive discussion on the

[10] Given this present uncertainty, I simply inserted a place-holder in the transitivity table.

subject.[11] I will argue below that the human body—expressed in 8:23 as τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν (our body)—is the embedded Goal of the creative process.

Two important considerations apply regarding the identity of the embedded Goal. First, my earlier corpus investigation has already revealed the meaningful lexicogrammatical patterns associated with the lexeme. These reveal, in generalities, how the lexeme can participate in the making of meaning. Second, these insights must interface with the particular lexicogrammatical structures in the immediate linguistic context. This latter step has been attempted by some commentators in the effort to arrive at the "meaning" of κτίσις in Romans 8. So, for example, Hahne writes: "since κτίσις and even πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις have a wide range of possible meanings in the LXX and the NT, the context of Rom. 8.19-22 must determine the meaning of κτίσις."[12] The rigour of Hahne's approach in this regard is questionable, however. Oddly enough, except for in Rom 8:22, none of the frequent lexical patterns (collocation, etc.) appear alongside any of the occurrences of κτίσις in Romans 8, thus other constraining factors must be considered.[13] As shown in the previous chapter, this lack of common lexicogrammatical patterning is not uncommon. Thus, it can be inferred that in *Geog.* 5:3:3, Strabo uses τὴν κτίσιν as a term for the founding of Rome because (a) an earlier topic sentence frames the subsequent discussion, and (b) the section occurs within a particular register that

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[11] Halliday suggests that grammatical metaphor and ambiguity are closely connected. "Grammatical metaphors tend to leave many semantic relationships implicit" (Halliday, "Lexicogrammatical Features," 221). This aptly identifies what is occurring in these passages; the embedded Goal of κτίσις is ambiguous due to the grammatical metaphorical construction.

[12] Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 179, so also Adams, *Constructing the World*, 175–78. Hahne, and others, do not treat this issue in terms of a "range of meaning" but rather as a variety of options to be selected from. See especially Cranfield who provides such a list that is based on suggestions made by earlier commentators (Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 411; cf. Witherington, *Romans*, 222–23; Murray, *Romans*, 301–302; Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 177–80).

[13] While it is not directly relevant to the present transitivity analysis, this implies that some of the particular stereotyped functions of κτίσις—such as κτίσις as spatio-temporal deixis, and κτίσις as city origin—do not occur in this paragraph.

typically uses the term in such a way. The same principle can be applied in Rom 8:19 (and extended to the other clauses as well).

As most commentators are willing to admit, Paul's main concern in this passage seems to be with the human race.[14] Indeed, the semantic chaining identified in the previous chapters suggests that the controlling metaphor in this section is adoption, a fundamentally anthropocentric (or at least anthropomorphic) metaphor. In fact, the topic sentence of this section, which I take to be located at 8:12, and the following clauses firmly establish the topic of discussion as the believer's life in the Spirit as adopted children.[15] Human concerns permeate the paragraph, especially if the οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ construction is meant to cause a shift in the readers' perceived relationship with the κτίσις and not to create a contrast of identity. These factors suggest a section of discourse that is governed by the eschatological human experience; by this I mean, the consistent contrast in modes of existence reflected in the binary categories of Spirit/flesh, slave/free, life/death, and suffering/glory, all of which are used with reference to the now-and-future experience of τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (those in Christ Jesus, Rom 8:1). This "register" controls how other elements in the discourse will be understood.

At this point, with reference to Rom 8:19, this is probably all that can be said regarding the Goal of the implied creative process. Paul uses two nominalizations (grammatical metaphors) to serve as the Senser in the mental process of desideration—those who expect the revelation of the sons of God. The subject of the clause ἡ

[14] See for example, Moo, *Romans*, 517n.50; Barrett, *Romans*, 165. However, Wright argues that while Paul's focus has indeed been on the humans race, in these verses Paul has "turned a corner" and is now expands his view to the entire cosmos (Wright, "Romans," 596; see also Batey, *Romans*, 112).

[15] Indeed, this is established earlier in 8:1–2.

αποκαραδοκία implies a redundancy of the process of expectation, while its modifier τῆς κτίσεως implies an embedded Goal. Moving forward, this latter nominalization will be repeated in three other clauses, which suggests that the embedded Goal of κτίσις is repeatedly interpreted in light of the additional information provided by Paul. A final note with respect to the mental (desideration) process is the ability of such to *project.*[16] Thus, rather than labelling τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ as Phenomenon, it should be labelled as Projection.[17] This particular Projection is important to the transitivity of this paragraph inasmuch as it is the first piece of information provided about κτίσις and it is done so in terms of one of the major semantic chains EXPECTATION. Consequently, throughout the rest of the paragraph, it is important be attentive to (a) any repetition of that which is projected, (b) the continuation of the EXPECTATION chain, and therefore (c) how this may provide further information about κτίσις.

3. *Transitivity of Rom 8:20*

The second section of interest is a complex made up of two clauses (separated by the conjunction ἀλλὰ) and includes ἡ κτίσις, now as a nominative subject of the verb. While the former clause centered on a mental process, the first clause in 8:20 involves a material process (ὑπετάγη); the same process is ellided in the subsequent clause. Material processes make up the most basic type of transitivity and essentially involve physical actions. The participants in material processes are described as Actor and Goal—the Actor directs a particular action towards a Goal.[18]

[16] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 117. Usually it is verbal processes that project, projections being the content of the verbalization, what may traditionally be called a quotation.
[17] Therefore, not technically a participant.
[18] Halliday and Matthiessen, *Functional Grammar*, 179–80; Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 90.

In this case, ὑπετάγη is a passive material process and thus the subject of the verb is the Goal rather than the Actor.[19] Passive processes of this sort can relate significantly to the preceding clause(s) based on the continuity of participants. Thompson uses as an example the complex: "Your son didn't kill himself. *He was murdered.*"[20] An important feature of this example is the use of the third person singular pronoun in the second clause, which demonstrates the choice, available to language users, to use nouns or pronouns in their participant reference. Rom 8:20 falls into this genre as a passive process that follows an active process. Paul, however, chooses to repeat the noun rather than use a pronoun. This performs two important functions. First, it allows the reader to be clear as to which participant is in view. Paul wishes to continue discussion regarding the κτίσις itself and not the ἀποκαραδοκία. Second, the repetition (continued throughout the paragraph) creates cohesive ties and hints at the topic of the paragraph. As for the Actor in this clause, it is implied in the grammar of the passive verb, though logically it is included later on in the clause complex with the substantive

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[19] The Actor is implied within the verb. The identity of the Actor is hotly debated among commentators (though not in these terms). Several authors see God as the one who subjects κτίσις (see Murray, *Romans*, 303; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 507–508; Jewett, *Romans*, 513; Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 188–89; Schreiner, *Romans*, 436; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 470, who asserts that this understanding has reached consensus), while others have preferred to see Satan or Adam (cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 141; Bruce, *Romans*, 172–73; Jackson, *New Creation*, 157, who suggests [contra Dunn] that the Adam interpretation is more common). Most frequently, these arguments stem from an understanding that lying behind Paul's statement is an interpretation of the Fall narrative often connected then with the curse of the ground. It was at that point that the natural order (κτίσις) was subjected (see Adams, *Constructing the* World, 175; Byrne, *Romans*, 257–58; Murray, *Romans*, 303; Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 413; Batey, *Romans*, 113; Hultgren, *Romans*, 322; Moo, *Romans 1–8*, 552; Witherington, *Romans*, 223–24; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 467; Eastman, "Whose Apocalypse?," 273; Gerber, "Röm. viii.18ff." 68; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 505; Jewett, *Romans*, 513; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 134; Waetjen, *Romans*, 215–16; Michel, *Der Brief*, 202–203). Still others push against this reading and suggest a variety of alternatives such as Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah 24 (see especially Fewster, "Intertextuality of ματαιότης," 39–61; Braaten, "All Creation Groans," 131–59; cf. Moo, "Romans 8 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant," 78, 83–88, who, while accepting the presence of Genesis 3, prefers to emphasize elements of Isaiah as intertext). At any rate, the identity of the "subjector" does not make any major impact on my investigation here and should be left for another study.

[20] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 91 (italics his).

participle τὸν ὑποτάξαντα. Even with the participle, the ambiguity of the Actor's identity is not clarified in the least.

Of greater interest to Paul is the status of ἡ κτίσις and the attendant process.[21] Here, ἡ κτίσις is joined with another token of the major semantic chains, REDEMPTION; however, this clause only expresses the "slavery" element of the contrast-relation that often makes up this semantic unit.[22] An interesting caveat to material processes is the distinction, made by Thompson, between *intentional* or *involuntary* processes. Involuntary processes demand the question, "What happened to the participant?"[23] Rom 8:20 reflects an occasion where the implications of this question are made explicit. In this instance, it is unclear whether the subjection of ἡ κτίσις is intentional or not, thus Paul adds circumstances and even another clause to make the intentionality clear.

τῇ	γάρ	ματαιότητι	ἡ κτίσις	ὑπετάγη	οὐχ ἑκοῦσα			
	conj.	**Circ: product**	**Goal**	**Pr: material**	**Circ: quality**			
					ἀλλα	διά	τὸν ὑποτάξαντα	ἐφ᾽ ἐλπίδι
					conj.		**Actor**	**Circ: condition**
						Circ: means		

Fig. 15 Transitivity of Rom 8:20

Nominalization is, again, an important feature of this clause. However, unlike the previous clause, ἡ κτίσις is the only lexeme involved in grammatical metaphor, which makes this clause simpler to some degree. There is more clarity here regarding the primary participant of the clause, as I noted above. As with the previous clause, the nominalized κτίσις has within it an embedded Goal, likely the same as the previous

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[21] Paul has also fronted the product τῇ...ματαιότητι (to futility), which draws attention to the primary circumstance of the clause (see Fewster, "Intertextuality of ματαιότης," 49).

[22] Hahne acknowledges the conceptual relationship of ὑπετάγη in 8:21 and δουλείας in 8:20, though he suggests that the enslavement to corruption is not identical to the subjection to futility (Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 196).

[23] See Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 91.

embedded Goal. With this new clause, the identity of this Goal receives further description, as something that has been enslaved or subjected. Multiple circumstances (quality and means) appear throughout the clause-complex, providing additional content, which is informative to the process and how it relates to its main participant.

With the inclusion of κτίσις in this second clause, the lexeme has now taken part in two processes, in fact, two different types of processes. The result is that κτίσις performs two different functional roles up to this point in the paragraph, that of Senser and Goal. If personification is a feature of the former process, it continues on with this next process (the enslavement of the created thing) so that this particular understanding of the created thing is developing and multifaceted. Even with two of the clauses broken down into the different elements of transitivity, it becomes clear that a robust view of the created thing in the passage comes from the interaction of the lexeme with its processes. This second sentence helps to clarify the earlier clause. The involuntary subjection of the created thing helps to explain why that same created thing may eagerly await the revelation of the sons of God.

4. *Transitivity of Rom 8:21*

Rom 8:21 is very similar to the previous clause (complex) for a number of reasons. It involves a passive material process in which ἡ κτίσις functions as Goal. This process is also part of the REDEMPTION chain, though the verb expresses the "freedom" aspect of the typical contrast-relation. In that sense, Rom 8:21 forms the antithesis to 8:20. The structure of the two passages is similar as well (compare Fig. 15 and Fig. 16). Both main processes are modified by two contrasting circumstances that help to clarify and provide detail with respect to the main verb; although, unlike in the previous clause, there is no indication of the Actor of the main verb.[24] The relationship of 8:20 and 8:21 is notable with respect to the conjunction complex joining the two verses. I noted in the previous chapter that the ὅτι καὶ of 8:21 disrupts the repeated γὰρ structure in 8:19 and 8:20. This serves to link the conditional circumstance of the created thing's subjection—ἐφ' ἐλπίδι (in hope)—with the content of that hope. Eschatological tension is thus created between the two material process, that of current subjection and future deliverance.[25] Two prepositional circumstances modify the process of deliverance, each restricted by a genitive, which explicate more fully the REDEMPTION contrast. There is then a sense of eschatological movement where κτίσις is transferred from a state of slavery to a state of freedom.[26] The second circumstance is further modified by the genitive phrase τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ (of the children of God). This clause therefore brings together three of the major semantic chains noted previously CREATION, REDEMPTION, and ADOPTION; adoption and redemption metaphors are synthesized in relation to κτίσις. In fact, the modifier τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ brings the creation discussion full circle as the initial expectation of the created thing was with reference to τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ (of the sons of God).[27] Paul envisions a scenario in which the created thing awaits the revelation of God's children, only to be part of that same adoptive process.

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[24] Interestingly, this issue has not engendered the type of debate present with the implied Actor of ὑπετάγη in Rom 8:20.

[25] Dunn describes this as "the eschatological tension of a liberation from the complex hegemony of sin and law, corruption and death, which has begun but is not yet complete" (Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 472; cf. Johnson, *Reading Romans*, 136).

[26] Dunn suggests that this is a deliberate rehashing of the theme of deliverance as previously presented in Rom 6:18, 22 (Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 471; cf. Lee, *Paul's Gospel in Romans*, 410). An important difference between these sections is that in Romans 6 Paul draws a contrast between the kind of slavery, whereas in Romans 8 there is envisioned an actual deliverance from slavery.

[27] This assumes that the two phrases can be considered paradigmatic variants of one another.

ὅτι καὶ	αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις	ἐλευθερωθήσεται	ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς	
conj.	**Goal**	**Process: material**	**Circ: location**	
			εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης	τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ
			Circ: location	**Circ: role**

Fig. 16 Transitivity of Rom 8:21

A notable feature of this clause is the use of the intensive pronoun αὐτὴ in predicate relationship with κτίσις.[28] This construction is emphatic, especially when compared to the previous use of κτίσις that does not have the pronoun.[29] In this way, Paul emphases or intensifies his use of the lexeme. On the other hand, Cranfield sees this emphasis as a means for Paul to (implicitly) contrast the created thing and the children of God, with Paul's main interest on the "certainty of the coming glory of believers."[30] This reading seems to push against the function of the intensive pronoun, which draws attention to the noun and implies that ἡ κτίσις is of central focus for Paul. It is preferable to see the emphatic structure aiding in the contrast between the created thing's subjection and its deliverance. The fact that κτίσις will be redeemed from its former slavery is evidently a significant piece of information amid the descriptive momentum that is building throughout these verses. In the contrast between the two material clauses, the prediction of the created thing's liberation is timely and worthwhile information and thus it is marked with the intensive pronoun.

While it may be getting redundant to mention the use of the nominal κτίσις as grammatical metaphor, it is, yet again, an important structure in the clause. The use of the nominal κτίσις allows for the addition of the pronominal intensifier, enabling the

[28] See Porter, *Idioms*, 130; Moule, *Idiom Book*, 121 for brief discussions of such a construction.

[29] The presence of καὶ may also aid in the intensive structure (cf. Moo, *Romans*, 516n.46; Hahne, *Corruption and Redemption*, 194; Nelson, "Groaning of Creation," 207).

[30] Cranfield, *Romans*, 1: 415.

momentum described above. Further, the use of the nominal form in both 8:20 and 8:21 provides clarity in the contrast between the two material processes. In both cases, the nominalized form has an embedded Goal, which is not made explicit by immediate co-textual features in these verses.

5. *Transitivity of Rom 8:22*

Rom 8:22 requires a multi-level transitivity analysis given that it contains an embedded clause. The primary clause involves a Mental process of cognition followed by a lengthy Phenomenon that consists of another full clause. For the purposes of this chapter, it is the embedded clause that is of interest since it contains the lexeme κτίσις. Interestingly, this is the first place in the paragraph that κτίσις itself is an active participant in the clause; previously it has functioned as a genitive modifier or the Goal of a passive material process. In spite of this shift, the active participant role of κτίσις is still minimized, to a degree, by its being embedded within the Phenomenon of the controlling mental process. The embedded clause that contains κτίσις involves yet another type of process: behavioural. Behavioural processes wend the way between mental and material processes and are usually identified on semantic, rather than grammatical, grounds.[31] In this case, κτίσις is assigned the functional role of Behaver, who engages in a particular behaviour (or set of behaviours): συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει. This clause does not include a Range but simply adds the Circumstance, the extent to which the behaviour takes place.

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[31] Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 103.

οἴδαμεν	γάρ	ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν
Pr: mental, cognition	**conj.**	**Phenomenon**

ὅτι	πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις	συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει	ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν
conj.	**Behaver**	**Pr: Behavioural**	**Circ: extent**

Fig. 17 Transitivity of Rom 8:22

Probably the most significant feature of this embedded clause, with respect to the role of κτίσις, is the addition of the adjective πᾶσα (every, all), a significant collocate according to my earlier corpus analysis. However κτίσις is functioning in this clause, the modifier πᾶσα consistently signifies that the entirety of that subject is in view. Paul is, in this clause, describing the behaviour of the whole of κτίσις, not simply a portion of it. In light of the inclusion of the adjective πᾶσα in this clause, some writers have suggested that κτίσις has a different sense at this point. While Michaels argues forcefully for his reading of κτίσις as "body metaphor" in 8:19–21, he suggests that it cannot be sustained in 8:22.[32] Instead, following Dunn, Michaels considers that the shift from ἡ κτίσις (the creation) to πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις (all creation) marks a shift to include the entire created order including the human and non-human creation.[33] As a result, Michaels articulates a position that maintains his metaphorical reading, yet allows for a brief cosmological "truism" reflected by πᾶσα and the exclamation οἴδαμεν (we know).[34] Two comments can be made in response. First, these judgments draw a false distinction between what is

[32] In fact Michaels distances himself from Whitehouse and Williams (two early commentators on which he relies, cf. chapter 1), suggesting that their attempt to maintain this position is not as successful (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 110, cf. Whitehouse, *The Redemption of the Body*, 49; Williams, *Romans*, 206).

[33] Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 110–11. Dunn writes: "However widely encompassing was Paul's earlier use of κτίσις (see on 8:19), here certainly it is nonhuman, and, as we would say, inanimate creation which is primarily in view" (Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 472). As noted above, I would prefer to use the glosses "created thing" and "every created thing."

[34] Thus, Paul is able to move from a generalized truth—the groaning creation—to a more specific application, i.e., the plight of the body (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 111).

seen as ἡ κτίσις and πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις as if these are the only two "creation" participants in the paragraph.[35] In fact, as the transitivity analyses have revealed, each clause that lexicalizes the "created thing" exhibits slightly different features. Rom 8:19 uses the genitive, Rom 8:20 uses the nominative, and Rom 8:21 uses the nominative and the intensifying pronoun. Thus, none of the occurrences of creation language in Rom 8:19–22 are precisely identical. From this standpoint it becomes problematic to draw a distinction in sense between the ἡ κτίσις in 8:20 and πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις in 8:22. Second, it is not appropriate to draw such a distinction based on the presence of πᾶσα. As noted previously, the collocation of πᾶσα and κτίσις does not necessarily correspond to the "entire created order" but simply to the entirety of the group whatever it may be. Instead, it is better to see this collocation as a further means of intensification beyond what has been done in 8:21 with the pronoun. Paul is able to highlight the universality of the processes associated with κτίσις, particularly the σῦν-compound words (συστενάζει and συνωδίνει). In fact the use of πᾶσα in relation to the σῦν-compounds is important. The relationship of πᾶσα and the σῦν prefixes articulates a plurality of participants. Κτίσις is cast in such a way that it is seen to experience a particular set of processes as a collective group. The addition of πᾶσα, therefore, does not imply a different participant but enables Paul to speak of a common experience of suffering.[36]

This is the final occurrence of κτίσις in this paragraph; and as such, here is a good place to recount how κτίσις has participated in the ideational structure of the passage. Including the present construction, κτίσις has been a participant in three

[35] This is a critique also raised in Moo, "Romans 8 and Isaiah's Cosmic Covenant," 76, directed specifically at Michaels.
[36] This probably relates back to Rom 8:17 where Paul makes reference to common suffering (συμπάσχομεν) of God's adopted children.

different types of processes and, as a result, has also performed three different functional roles—as Goal, as Senser, and as Behaver. On a functional level, the meaning of κτίσις shifts slightly depending on its immediate linguistic environment. Co-textual features, especially verbs, enable the noun to function in diverse participant roles. With these subtle shifts, the reader is able to experience the created thing in a variety of ways, which facilitates a robust understanding of κτίσις.[37] In addition, κτίσις, as a nominalization of the verb κτίζω, participates in lexicogrammatical metaphor in each instance. Embedded in each nominal form is the passive material process of "creating" and the subject (Goal) of that process. One of the important aims of this chapter, then, is to discern what that implied Goal is. Stereotyped collocational patterns have not been helpful in this regard; thus, other features in the immediate linguistic context must provide some constraints.[38]

Variant participant roles (including the attendant processes) give some important clues regarding κτίσις. Κτίσις is an entity that functions as both subject and object of a verb; it can act and be acted upon. Κτίσις is able to exhibit certain behaviours (groaning) and cognitive processes (expecting) while it also has the ability to be subjected, enslaved, and subsequently released. As noted, this seems to imply that a running

[37] This reveals an important feature of systemic functional monosemy that I am defending and employing in this thesis. Monosemy, as a lexical semantic theory, enables the analyst to view a text through the lens of a particular lexeme, while appreciating this lexeme in light of its immediate co-text. The systemic functional element provides particular constraints as to how this lexeme–co-text relationship works, here in terms of the ideational structure of the paragraph. A lexeme is able to have unique meaning in unique contexts. In this case, κτίσις means or functions differently based on the type of process it is involved in yet maintains semantic grounding in the form itself. I propose that these functional variations would not be so apparent without the perspective I have suggested.

[38] This is not entirely accurate. It is important to note what patterns do not appear in these co-texts and therefore the functions that are not performed here. For example, the patterns characteristic of κτίσις as spatio-temporal deixis are not present, though they are in Rom 1:20. This occurrence also reflects the κτίσις-κόσμος collocation, a pattern that is conspicuously absent here, in spite of attempts at "cosmological" readings of this text. For a more extensive discussion of divergent uses of creation language throughout Romans based upon an analysis of lexicogrammatical patterning, see Fewster, "Functional Monosemy," in preparation.

metaphor is taking place—personification. These are actions that are typically acted out by or upon human beings. In fact, Paul goes on in the subsequent verse to attribute the same processes (groaning, adoption, redemption) to those who have the firstfruits of the Spirit—believers. Therefore, based on repetition of these three processes, there is a close relationship between the created thing and the believer. As will be seen, however, it is not precisely the believer (i.e., those who have the firstfruits) that is the focus of adoption and redemption, but the body (τοῦ σώματος). The connection between the redeemed body and the created thing is one that needs to be teased out further.

6. *Transitivity of Rom 8:23*

At this point I am only concerned with the latter half of Rom 8:23. I have already dealt with the phrase οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ in the previous chapter and the extended participant reference αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες (we who have the firstfruits of the Spirit) can be colluded into ἡμεῖς...αὐτοί (we ourselves) as a participant in the transitivity analysis.[39] This verse is probably the most syntactically complex and involves several clauses and sub-clauses. Besides the complex participant reference (it functions as a Behaver), there are two processes that make up the core of this sentence στενάζομεν (we groan) and ἀπεκδεχόμενοι (as we wait). These two processes are intertwined, one being a finite verb and the other being a modifying participle. Thus, the main verb στενάζομεν is constrained by the participle ἀπεκδεχόμενοι.[40] Interestingly, these processes are from different classes; στενάζομεν is a behavioural process and

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[39] Jewett calls this firstfruits formula "a unique Pauline combination of the concept of the firstfruits of the harvest to be dedicated to God and the Christian concept of the Spirit as the identifying mark of believers" (Jewett, *Romans*, 518; Jewett, "Corruption and Redemption," 43–44).

[40] Porter notes that in general, when the participle follows the finite verb it will tend to refer to simultaneous or subsequent actions (Porter, *Idioms*, 188). This comment is only relevant if indeed ἀπεκδεχόμενοι provides temporal constraints. I would further argue that this participle is complementary to the verb (it completes the idea of groaning) rather than providing causal, instrumental, or some other sort of inference (see Porter, *Idioms*, 192–93).

ἀπεκδεχόμενοι is a mental process. This combined idea thus captures a particular behaviour and its corresponding mental state. I have labelled the two objects as Phenomenon 1 and 2 (rather than Range) since they correspond more closely with the mental element of the process rather than the behavioural process. The Phenomena appose one another so that they are seen to be equivalent, i.e., Paul views adoption and the redemption of the body to be equivalent or defining concepts in this context. This has already been hinted at in Rom 8:21 where the creation's freedom is characterized by the glory of the children of God.

ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ	ἐν ἑαυτοῖς	στενάζομεν	υἱοθεσίαν	ἀπεκδεχόμενοι
conj. **Behaver**	**Circ: location**	**Pr: Behavioural**	**Phenomenon 1**	**Pr: mental**
			τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν	
			Phenomenon 2	

Fig. 18 Transitivity of Rom 8:23b

The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate the relationship between the body (τοῦ σώματος) and the created thing (ἡ κτίσις) in the paragraph vis-à-vis the redemption and adoption metaphors. Both items function as participants in the discourse and are related to particular processes. However, the relationship of κτίσις to the redemption metaphor is, in the first place, as a participant in the process of redemption (Rom 8:20–22); adoption is a circumstance cast in terms of redemption. By the time Paul comes to 8:23, both metaphors are nominal Phenomena. This is particularly interesting with respect to τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν (the redemption); while redemption was previously a process to be experienced it is now a thing to be expected. The body fits into this schema as that which is to be redeemed and is thus a part of Phenomenon 2. The shift from a redemptive process to redemption as a thing suggests that grammatical metaphor vis-à-vis nominalization is underway again. While the formal agnate of ἀπολύτρωσις is ἀπολύω (I redeem, release), the various other synonymous verbs in this paragraph can function as semantic agnates.[41] Phenomenon 2 thus implies a process meaning with the body (σῶμα) functioning as the embedded redeemed subject—in the same way that κτίσις does in 8:21.

I propose that given the repetition of κτίσις throughout the paragraph and its connection especially with redemption and adoption metaphors throughout, the addition of τοῦ σώματος in 8:23 is surprising and actually is placed where κτίσις might be expected. Therefore, this serves as a means for Paul to disambiguate the embedded Goal of κτίσις; it is the body (σῶμα).[42] In other words, σῶμα is the embedded Goal of the creative process implied in the nominalized form κτίσις (and κτίσεως).

It is appropriate here to invoke the criteria proposed in ch. 4 for the identification of lexicogrammatical metaphor in discourse. Of the five criteria proposed, four appear to be present. The first criterion that is fulfilled in the passage is *synchronic incongruity*. Notwithstanding the collocation πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις in 8:22, many of the stereotyped patterns associated with κτίσις that were identified in the corpus are not present in Rom 8:19–23. Thus, the use of the lexeme by Paul in this context is incongruous in relation to typical usage. An important implication of the fulfillment of this criterion is the presence of neologism, or dynamic metaphor. The second criterion that is met is *semantic junction*. Junction occurs when two different semantic domains are realized in a single lexicogrammatical construal. If κτίσις here is a construal of "our body" then there is a juncture of meaning in play. Such a junction is implied by the sharing of other

[41] ἐλευθερόω (I set free, release), and ἐλευθερία (freedom) are, according to *Louw-Nida*, found in the same semantic domain as ἀπολύω — J. Release, Set Free.

[42] Michaels suggests that creation is being used as a metaphor for the body (Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 93) but this may be too imprecise a designation. Instead, a better designation would be *hyponymy* (see below).

metaphorical elements, particularly redemption and adoption language.[43] Junction of this sort necessarily demands a reconstrual of experience, thus fulfilling the criterion of *concretization.* The readers' experience of τοῦ σώματος is changed given the juncture of domains so that the body is understood in terms of its created status—the Goal of the creative process. Finally, a fourth criterion that is realized is *semantic resonance.* A requisite of successful metaphor is a resonance between the semantic domains. In this case resonance is created by the hyponymous relationship between κτίσις and σῶμα. As I have argued, κτίσις is a super-ordinate term that, at its most abstract, simply implies dependent existence. On the other hand, σῶμα can be viewed as a subordinate term under the rubric of created things.[44] Semantic resonance is present in light of this hyponymous relationship. In light of the fulfillment of these criteria it is reasonable to suggest that κτίσις functions to metaphorically reconstrue the body as the object of redemption and adoption.

As this paragraph unfolds, Paul envisages a created thing that awaits redemption and adoption and that groans as an expression of the expectation. In the same way, Paul and his audience groan with a similar expectation. This latter expectation, however, is not focused on Paul and his audience in a broad sense, but upon their body. With the repetition of redemption and adoption metaphors, but with an alternative subject, the created thing is identified as the body. This explanation helps to clarify the metaphoricity of the paragraph somewhat. The body is indeed something that can

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[43] It is interesting that despite his cosmological interpretation, Fitzmyer draws a connection to the bondage to decay in his discussion of the redemption of the body (Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 510). This connection is not warranted unless the body and the created thing are seen to be equivalent, since it is only the creation that is said to be corrupted in this passage.

[44] In fact, this sort of hyponymy is attested in the corpus. See especially *Test. Naph* 2:2–5, where the author uses the metaphor of the potter and the clay to describe the relationship between the creator and the creation, particularly the body.

exhibit personified activities such as expectation and groaning. In conjunction with the thoroughgoing soteriological and eschatological metaphors in this paragraph (redemption, adoption, etc.), another is added, that of creation or perhaps even new creation.

7. *Lexical Choice and its Exegetical Implications*

An important question to ask then is—why does Paul make the choice to employ the lexeme κτίσις in this way rather than using σῶμα throughout? As Hasan points out, lexical choice between related lexical items such as synonyms can be motivated by particular metafunctional goals.[45] This is especially relevant in metaphorical expressions, where metaphor is often selected on the same basis, i.e., to fulfill particular aims. In this case, the question is with reference to two lexemes in hyponymous relationship: are there textual, experiential, or interpersonal reasons for this choice? On the textual level, I have shown that that an important function of κτίσις is its role in creating cohesion in this text. Of course, the repetition of σῶμα could accomplish a similar task and the cohesion between 8:22 and 8:23 would be more explicit. However, where κτίσις does not typically function in such roles (i.e., lexical repetition), σῶμα does. Thus the repetitive use of κτίσις in this text is less expected and more marked than the use of σῶμα. While this may provide some motive for Paul's lexical choice, there is probably greater significance in terms of the ideational metafunction. With the use of κτίσις throughout Rom 8:19–22 and its subsequent identification with τοῦ σώματος, Paul is able to reconstrue his readers' experience of the body in his letter. Michaels has aptly noted how Paul employs body terminology throughout the letter to the Romans. While it is important not to overstate this case, it is interesting how Romans 8 marks a

[45] See Hasan, "Grammarian's Dream," 99.

shift from negative to positive connotations associated with the body.[46] Notwithstanding Romans 8, it is remarkable that Paul can shift from denigrating the body as τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου (this body of death, Rom 7:24), to later employing the body as a positive extended metaphor with reference to the proper functioning of the church (cf. Rom 12:1, 4–5). In fact, throughout the first chapters of Romans, σῶμα is consistently associated with sin and/or death.[47] It seems that the concept of the redeemed body serves as a point of transition that allows what was formerly dead and sinful to be used positively. The use of κτίσις, a lexicogrammatical metaphor, transforms the readers' experience in two ways. First, the implied process within the nominal construal allows the reader to concretely experience the transformation of the body. Second, the use of the lexeme κτίσις provides unique semantic content with reference to Paul's eschatological programme that otherwise would not be present, thus transforming the readers' experience of the redeemed body. As the corpus analysis revealed, the created thing implies someone to create it; in the case of Jewish and Christian writers this someone is God. For Paul, the created status of the body provides the means and the justification for the body to be redeemed. Metaphor—specifically the dynamic creation of new metaphor—is an exceptional resource in the propagation of new ideas.[48] Such dynamic metaphor creates a novel path through the system network and the reconstrues the language user's experience of the world. The transforming power of metaphor is foundational and essential to arguments such as the one made here by Paul.

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[46] See Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 98–99. Some authors who give a more cosmological reading also draw a connection to Rom 7:24 (cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 510; Waetjen, *Romans*, 219).

[47] See Rom 1:24; 4:19; 6:6, 12; 7:4, 24; 8:10, 11, 13.

[48] See, again, Halliday, "On Language," 420, where he notes the importance of dynamic metaphor in the propagation of theory in scientific discourse.

From an exegetical standpoint this is a stunning moment for the author. Throughout the paragraph, Paul has demonstrated that expectations are consistently overturned in light of the present reality in Christ. On a micro scale, this is exemplified in the waiting of κτίσις for the revelation of the sons of God. In Rom 8:19, this is cast only as expectation for a class of people to be disclosed. However, by 8:21 this expectation is overturned so that the expectant party is one and the same as the adopted and redeemed party. On a larger scale, this overturning is seen in the experiential shift with respect to the body. Paul makes a striking petition in 7:24 when he asks who will deliver him from (ἐκ) the body of death. This appeal colours the way in which body-language is read in the subsequent chapter; it is put away and discarded as a useless and ultimately harmful thing. In spite of this overtly negative evaluation of the status of the body, there is room in Paul's mind for its redemption.[49] The use of the lexeme κτίσις plays a pivotal role in this shift. There is clear tension, therefore, between the dead and sinful body, and its redeemed counterpart. However, the eschatological tension in Rom 8:18–25 bears this out well. It stands to reason that the dead and sinful body which the believer should be redeemed *from* (Rom 7:24) may groan for redemption and adoption. In fact, the suffering that characterizes God's adopted children (Rom 8:17) is precisely the impetus for the created thing, and indeed Paul and his audience, groan.

8. *Conclusion*

By carrying out transitivity analyses for each of the main clauses in Rom 8:19–23, I have demonstrated how the lexeme κτίσις participates in the ideational structure of the paragraph. The lexeme is involved in a variety of processes throughout the paragraph

[49] This is not a new concept in Paul and has been expressed, in slightly different terms, especially in 1 Corinthians 15 and 2 Corinthians 5 (cf. Jackson, *New Creation*, 164–66; Jewett, *Romans*, 519; Jewett, "Corruption and Redemption," 46).

and thus participates in a variety of participant roles such as Goal and Senser. It becomes clear at that point that the functional contribution of a particular noun has much to do with the process (verb) it is involved with. Lexical meaning is inherently lexicogrammatical, an important perspective to maintain when doing an analysis such as this one. Noting that κτίσις performs different functional roles within a single paragraph helps to develop a more robust and structured understanding of the lexeme's overall role in the meaning making process and, as a result, in interpreting the passage.

Grammatical metaphor is an important feature of this paragraph, most importantly vis-à-vis the nominalized form κτίσις. The nominal form reconstrues a passive material process of [CREATING] along with the Goal of that process. A valuable perspective to take is to understand κτίσις with the gloss "created thing." As the paragraph unfolds, additional information is provided with respect to that created thing; this provides the reader with a robust understanding of that created thing. Κτίσις is described in personal terms, able to expect and groan and be acted upon in terms of adoption, subjection, and deliverance. These characteristics are eventually placed in the context of the believers in 8:23. However, the experience of the believers is turned on its head when Paul reveals that these processes—particularly redemption—take place with reference to τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. This assertion intimately links the body and the created thing and, given the lexemes' hyponymous relationship and the overarching language of personification, suggests that the body itself serves as the embedded goal of κτίσις.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Results

By way of conclusion, this study requires some additional comments that draw together the theoretical and applicational insights of both the linguistic model and the function of creation language in Rom 8:18–23. In addition to summary I will provide comment regarding the implications of this project and directions for further study.

1. Evaluating Theory and Method in Greek Lexical Studies

I suggested in my second chapter that the current state of biblical lexical study demands a revisiting of the basic assumptions brought to such investigations. While lexicography has developed significantly since James Barr, an overemphasis on context-sensitivity (even when context is ill-defined) and polysemy continues to create problems for lexicographers, especially where metaphor is concerned. Adapting Charles Ruhl's theory of monosemy is a significant tool in this re-modeling. A monosemic bias suggests that the basic assumption for lexical semanticists should be that lexical items possess a single (not multiple) abstracted meaning that is constrained and specified in particular contexts. This is a theory that implies descriptive simplicity and functional precision. In light of its (occasionally unhelpful) cognitive beginnings, I have shifted the notion of the monosemic bias into a systemic functional framework. In this light, abstracted semantic values are understood as meaning potential which is realized in the lexicogrammar of discourse. Systemic functional monosemy thus appreciates lexis as a feature that contributes to the metafunctions of discourse (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) as it relates and interacts with other discourse features. Corpus linguistics makes up a significant part of systemic functional monosemy. It allows the researcher to observe a lexeme as it occurs in actual discourse along with the generic lexicogrammatical patterns that co-occur with that lexeme. The patterns come to bear on textual analysis when these patterns and their attendant functions may or may not appear in the portion of text in question.

A final theoretical issue in this thesis was the notion of metaphor. As noted throughout, it is widely asserted that Romans 8 contains many and significant metaphorical features. Systemic functional monosemy, therefore, must be able to account for such metaphorical variation, if indeed κτίσις participates in this manner of expression. Adapting SFL's grammatical metaphor theory is ideal to this end as it already fits within the rubric of systemic functional linguistics and has the ability to account for a wide but robust definition of metaphor. Here, metaphor is not simply viewed as a lexical or conceptual phenomenon, but is fundamentally lexicogrammatical. Thus, metaphor can be understood to have ideational, interpersonal, and textual implications, which fits easily into the systemic functional monosemic rubric already developed.

Corpus-driven, systemic functional monosemy provides an overarching paradigm for entering into lexical analysis. It adopts a monosemic bias, which establishes a stable abstracted meaning in accordance with a robust definition of context mediated especially through corpus linguistics. This theory also appreciates the functionality of lexis in that lexis is able to contribute to different types of meaning (i.e., metafunctions) at and above the level of the clause. Furthermore, systemic functional monosemy is dependent upon language-in-use, thus providing viable and practical insight into the analysis of text and recommending itself as a worthwhile hermeneutical tool.

2. The Function of κτίσις in Rom 8:18–23

The above theory is an important contribution to the study of lexis in the Greek New Testament. Lexical meaning is frequently debated among New Testament commentators, not least with respect to the meaning of κτίσις in Rom 8:18–23. This model was adapted to engage this question, in light of the interpretive debate that has raged since the time of Augustine. While most scholars simply seek to define the sense (or whatever other term they use for "meaning") of κτίσις in Romans 8, my concern has been to approach this question using a wider net: how does κτίσις function in the meaning-making process in Romans 8, particularly vv. 18–23. As such, I have been able to demonstrate that the lexeme is integral in the cohesive structure of the paragraph. The semantic chain CREATION interacts with several other semantic chains, aiding in the flow of information and the organization of the paragraph. The CREATION chain is fundamental to the blending of soteriological metaphors attributed to Paul and his audience. This insight, I believe, is important for a reading of this passage, and an insight not offered by commentaries and other studies, especially under the rubric of traditional lexical study. I have also been able to analyze the role of κτίσις in the ideational structure of the paragraph. Κτίσις participates in a variety of functional roles with respect to the various processes it is involved in. Functional variability is demonstrated here, as well as the close relationship between lexis and grammar.

With these analyses underway. I have been able to address what is traditionally understood as the meaning of κτίσις in Romans 8. While the majority of interpreters understand κτίσις as sub-human creation (i.e., nature), and a smaller contingent argue for the entire created order, my analysis has allowed me to argue for a minority position: that Paul maintains an anthropological focus throughout this passage and uses κτίσις as a metaphorical construal of the body. Insights from the corpus have been helpful in this regard, even when particular patterns are not present in Romans 8. For example, none of the spatio/temporal deixis patterns are present in the paragraph, and κόσμος, a common collocate implying a natural or cosmological reading, is lacking as well. Textual and ideational insights also aid in this conclusion as they help to focus the relationship between κτίσις and the body vis-à-vis the soteriological metaphors of redemption and adoption.

3. Implications and Directions for Further Study

In light of the work that I have done in this thesis, several open questions remain, both on the side of lexical study and on the side of creation language in Romans 8. First to the lexical considerations. Operating with a monosemic bias in Greek lexical study is still very new in New Testament studies.[1] As such, it has yet to stand the test of time and work out any weaknesses in the theory. There is a great need for revitalization in New Testament lexical semantics, especially from the perspective of the monosemic bias. Particular studies like this one would be a welcome means of providing further sophistication to the theory and provide a service to New Testament scholars who wish

[1] To my knowledge this is the first sustained piece of work of this kind, not withstanding two forthcoming book chapters of mine (see bibliography) and the essays by Stanley Porter mentioned in previous chapters.

to inquire into lexical meaning in a particular passage.[2] In addition, New Testament scholarship could benefit from a new type of lexicon, one that does not hold to such an extreme polysemic bias and one that does not rely so much on intuition in the selection of senses, such as *BDAG* and *Louw-Nida*. A monosemic lexicon would employ insights from corpus research providing insight into patterns associated with variant functions, enabling the interpreter to make rigorous and informed decisions when doing translation and exegetical work.[3] Baxter's thesis (see note 2) and the present work on creation language demonstrate that perspectives on lexis in text, and particularly interpretation, do not reflect many linguistically informed decisions—an unfortunate situation in a discipline that is centered around the meaning of texts written in an ancient *language*. Monosemy, especially from a systemic functional perspective, is a clarion call to revisit the way that lexical research is understood and accomplished in New Testament studies.

Despite the potential for unique and valuable insight from corpus studies as, demonstrated in a number of volumes including this thesis, the use of corpus techniques still remains under-developed with reference to Hellenistic Greek. Tools for corpus annotation and analysis abound for the investigation of English texts, while their use for Greek is less than satisfactory.[4] Collocation is certainly an important and somewhat accessible phenomenon to be attentive to; however, it is more difficult to identify semantic associations, colligations, and especially higher-level lexical patterns. It would serve the New Testament scholarly community greatly to have tools that can readily

[2] This is true especially in light of Baxter's thesis (Baxter, "In the Original Text,").
[3] New Testament scholars could take their cue from such works as the Collins COBUILD project, which uses collocation and other statistically relevant features in the division of variant senses or functions.
[4] KWIC analyses are possible using specialized and expensive programs such as BibleWorks and Accordance but even these are only available for biblical and related texts. Other freeware programs generally do not handle Greek characters well (even when in Unicode) and can often do little more than simple collocation tables. Furthermore, detailed corpus annotation is extremely time consuming.

appreciate these phenomena. In addition, fully annotated texts including and certainly not restricted to New Testament documents would add another dimension to corpus analysis, not readily available at present. Development and sophistication in the annotation of Hellenistic Greek documents and the tools to analyze them would make studies like this one far more rigorous and insightful.

As for the proposed reading of Rom 8:18–23, several considerations remain. The thrust of my proposed reading is by no means radical or new, as the literature review revealed. Anthropological perspectives have seen acceptance since Augustine, while viewing κτίσις as a metaphor for the body has been defended by Zyro, Whitehouse, Williams, and most recently Michaels. However, these voices have made almost no impact on contemporary readings that continue to push the cosmological or "nature" perspective.[5] If my reading can be sustained on the linguistic grounds presented in this thesis, it deals a devastating blow to the theological "spin-off" readings associated with this passage, i.e., new creation theology, and ecological hermeneutics.

Jackson has been helpful enough to include Rom 8:18–25 in his study of Pauline New Creation theology.[6] However, his attempt to balance an anthropological and cosmological soteriology in Paul is severely weakened if Paul's concern rests with humanity and the redemption of the body and not the redemption of the cosmos. His proposal that there is a cosmological focus as well in Galatians 6 and 2 Corinthians 5 may also need to be reconsidered in light of a rereading of Romans 8.[7] Similar attempts

[5] Another feature revealed in my research was the absence of these works in creation language discussions, or, if present, they were used sparingly and in passing.

[6] Jackson, *New Creation*, 150–69. Jackson's inclusion of Romans 8 in his discussion of the Pauline concept of new creation is juxtaposed to previous works which do not include any sort of sustained discussion of the passage (see Hubbard, *New Creation*; and Mell, *Neue Schöpfung*). It is curious that Hubbard ignores this text given his treatment of portions of Romans 6 and 7.

[7] See Jackson, *New Creation*, 83–149.

to argue for an eschatological renewal of the earth that appeal especially to Romans 8 are revealed here as questionable.[8] There is room, therefore, for further study that delves into Pauline eschatology and especially his understanding of new creation in light of Romans 8 and the emphasis on the redemption of the body.[9]

Perhaps a more significant implication can be seen with reference to the burgeoning field of ecological hermeneutics. Since at least 1987, with Rimbach's exploratory article on Romans 8, the use of this passage in Christian ecological critique has exploded.[10] Efforts to reread Paul and other portions of the New Testament in light of an alleged environmental crisis consistently return to Romans 8, which functions as a "mantra text." This interpretation rests firmly on a particular reading of Romans 8 that sees, with the majority, κτίσις as sub-human creation. Consistent with my comments above, my proposed reading abruptly removes the foundation of an ecological reading based on Pauline cosmological sentiments. Attempts to elucidate such sentiments from this passage must begin again at square one. It is not my place at the current juncture to adjudicate the legitimacy of ecological re-readings or of the movement itself, but as Michaels points out, the proposed interpretation "does less than some might wish to further the cause of ecology."[11] My hope is, however, that, in both the areas of ecological hermeneutics and new creation theology, a rigorously defended interpretation, such as my own, can reinvigorate these discussions beyond the present

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[8] See especially Wright, *Resurrection*, 224, 258.

[9] This may take place along the same lines as Moyer Hubbard's work on new creation, except that, as I noted above, his work did not give any sustained treatment to Rom 8:18–23 (see Hubbard, *New Creation*).

[10] Rimbach, "All Creation Groans," 379–91. For the most recent treatments see especially Byrne, "Ecological Reading," 83–93; Horrell, Hunt, and Southgate, *Greening Paul*, 63–86.

[11] Michaels, "Redemption of Our Body," 112. Though Michaels appends the caveat that other texts may redeem ecological readings.

state of affairs. At the very least, this may cause a reassessment of first-principles that are often needed in stagnant and recapitulated dialogues.

This thesis has attempted to develop and sustain an approach to lexical analysis that is theoretically rigorous and hermeneutically relevant. It has implications for the way lexis is understood and lexical study is undertaken, seeking to ask different questions of lexis in text. Furthermore, it presents alternative and fresh perspectives in the debate over the role of κτίσις in Romans 8. While work still may be done to strengthen or overturn these conclusions, it is my hope that this work can further the conversation in both areas.

APPENDIX 1: OUTLINE OF SPECIALIZED CORPUS

TEXT	AUTHOR	GENRE	STYLE	LENGTH
Historiae	Polybius	History	lit.	327805
Letter of Aristaeus	?	Letter	non.lit.	13551
Judith	?	History	non.lit./trans.	9736
Tobit (Vatt/Alex)	?	History	non.lit./trans.	5853
Sirach	?	History	non.lit./trans.	18760
Wisdom of Solomon	?	Wisdom	non.lit./trans.	6985
Psalms of Solomon	?	Poetry	non.lit./trans.	4969
3 Macchabees	?	History	non.lit./trans.	5484
Fragment	Menander	History		987
Muller Fragment	Apollodorus	Grammar		12901
Theiler Fragment	Posidonius	Philosophy		106815
Sibylline Oracles	?	Apocalypse	non.lit.	29475
1 Enoch	?	Apocalypse		8642
Testament of the 12 Patriarchs	?	Apocalypse	non.lit.	21042
Bibliotheca	Diodorus Siculus	History	non.lit./ lit.	419934
Ad Nicomedum Regem	Pseudo-Scymnus	Geography	non.lit./lit.	5676
Roman Antiquities	Dionysius Hallicarnassus	History	Atticist	295833
Geographica	Strabo	Geography/ History	lit.	299833
Fragment	Antiochus	Astrology		2970
Matthew	Matthew?	Biography	non.lit.	18346
Mark	Mark?	Biography	vulgar/non.lit.	11304
Luke	Luke?	Biography	non.lit.	19482
John	John?	Biography	vulgar/non.lit.	15635
Acts	Luke?	History	non.lit./lit.	18450
Romans	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	7111
1 Corinthians	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	6829
2 Corinthians	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	4477
Galatians	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	2230
Ephesians	Paul?	Letter	non.lit.	2422
Philippians	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	1629
Colossians	Paul?	Letter	non.lit.	1582
1 Thessalonians	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	1481
2 Thessalonians	Paul?	Letter	non.lit.	823
1 Timothy	Paul?	Letter	non.lit.	1591
2 Timothy	Paul?	Letter	non.lit.	1238
Titus	Paul?	Letter	non.lit	659
Philemon	Paul	Letter	non.lit.	335

Hebrews	?	Letter	non.lit./lit.	4953
James	James?	Letter	non.lit./lit.	1742
1 Peter	Peter?	Letter	non.lit./lit.	1684
2 Peter	Peter?	Letter	non.lit.	1099
1 John	John?	Letter	vulgar/non.lit.	2141
2 John	John?	Letter	vulgar/non.lit.	245
3 John	John?	Letter	vulgar/non.lit.	219
Jude	Jude?	Letter	non.lit.	461
Revelation	John?	Apocalypse	vulgar	10244
Antiquities	Josephus	History	lit.	322394
Cato Minor	Plutarch	Biography	Atticistic	17099
Romulus	Plutarch	History	Atticistic	9727
Epistle of Barnabas	?	Letter	non.lit.	7057
Acts of John	?	History	non.lit.	12788
Apotelesmatica	Claudius Ptolemaeus	Mathematics	non.lit./lit.	39745
Dialogue with Trypho	Justin Martyr	Dialogue	non.lit.	53732
Shepherd	Hermas	Apocalypse	non.lit.	27917
Against Heresies	Irenaeus	Letter	non.lit.	22657
Ad Autolycum	Theophilus	Apology	non.lit.	21963
Oration to the Greeks	Tatian	Apology	non.lit.	16694
TOTAL				2287436

APPENDIX 2: COLLOCATION CHARTS FOR κτίσις

Chart for the lemma:

Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Collocate
284	171	113	article/demonstrative
90	43	47	καὶ
46	38	8	πας/πᾶσα/παν
40	25	15	δὲ
40	14	26	αὐτός
26	20	6	περὶ
25	14	11	ἐν
16	13	3	ἀπὸ
14	4	10	πόλεως /πόλεων
13	10	3	γὰρ
12	4	8	τε
12	8	4	Ῥώμης
11	7	4	μὲν
10	7	3	ἀρχὴ(ς)
10	6	4	κατὰ
9	7	2	μετὰ
9	6	3	ὅτι
8	1	7	διὰ
8	5	3	ἐπὶ
8	3	5	θεοῦ
8	2	6	κόσμου
8	2	6	σου/σοὶ
7	3	4	εἰς
7	3	4	πόλις/ν
7	2	5	συγγενείας
6	2	4	ἐστὶ(ν)
6	0	6	ἔτη
6	1	5	ὑπὸ
5	1	4	ἀνθρώπου
5	1	4	θεοῦ
5	5	0	Καρχηδόνος
5	1	4	οὗ
5	3	2	οὕτως
5	1	4	τοῦτο
4	4	0	ἀποικίας
4	1	3	γενέσθαι/εως
4	0	4	ἐκ
4	1	3	ἦν
4	1	1	κτίστα/ντα
4	0	4	κυρίου /ον
4	1	3	λέγοντες
4	1	3	μῆνες
4	2	2	οὖν
4	3	1	παρὰ
4	3	1	πρὸ
4	3	1	πρῶτος/ν
4	4	0	πρωτότοκος/ου/ον
4	2	2	τις
4	3	1	ὕστερον
3	2	1	ἀλλὰ
3	3	0	ἄχρι
3	2	1	βασιλείας
3	2	1	εἶναι
3	2	1	Ἔφορον
3	2	1	Ἡράκλεια
3	2	1	ἱστορεῖ
3	3	0	Κορινθίων
3	1	2	Μεγαρέων
3	2	1	μέχρι
3	2	1	νῦν
3	3	0	πρός
3	0	3	τοιαῦτα

Chart for κτίσις:

κτίσις			
Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Collocate
20	16	4	ἡ
19	8	11	καὶ
8	8	0	πᾶσα
6	6	0	γάρ
5	3	2	τῆς
5	1	4	τε
5	2	3	ἐν
4	1	3	τοῦ
7	3	4	ἐστι(ν)
8	2	6	δέ
3	1	2	τῷ
3	2	1	τις
3	2	1	πόλις
3	3	0	μέν
3	3	0	Κορινθίων
3	2	1	Ἡράκλεια
3	3	0	ὅτι

Chart for κτίσεως:

κτίσεως			
Freq	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Collocate
37	34	3	τῆς
31	13	18	καὶ
16	12	4	περὶ
16	5	11	τοῦ
15	13	2	πάσης
11	10	1	ἀπὸ
11	2	9	τῶν
9	7	2	δέ
8	2	6	κοσμοῦ
6	4	2	ἡ
6	2	4	τά
5	3	2	ἀρχὴ
5	1	4	αὐτοῦ
5	2	3	ἐν
5	0	5	ἔτη
5	3	2	θεοῦ
5	5	0	Καρχηδόνος
5	2	3	ὁ
4	1	3	λέγοντες
4	1	3	μῆνες
4	1	3	οὗ
4	1	3	τὴν
4	3	1	τῆς
3	0	3	ἀνθρώπου
3	3	0	ἄχρι
3	2	1	βασιλείας
3	2	1	γὰρ
3	0	3	ἦν
3	2	1	μέχρι
3	3	0	πρὸ
3	0	3	τῇ
3	0	3	τοιαῦτα
3	1	2	τοῦτο
3	2	1	τῷ

APPENDIX 3: CONCORDANCE CHART FOR κτίσις

ις ἐδοξάσθησαν, και ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει Αδαμ.
ἐνδόξῳ βουλῇ περιθεὶς την εὐπρέπειαν τῇ κτίσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ ῥήματι πήξας τ
on 13 line 1. Ὑποταγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπε
ύρεσιν, παντελῶς ἀνόητον· τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κτίσει λαβόντες τινὰ συνέθηκαν καὶ προσυπέ
ύδει, καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητ
θεοῦ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ περιέχον σὺν τῇ κτίσει περιέχεται ὑπὸ χειρὸς θεοῦ ὥσπερ ο
δίκας, ὡς δὲ τἀληθὲς εἶχεν ἀχθόμεναι τῇ κτίσει τε καὶ αὐξήσει τῆς Ῥώμης δι' ὀλίγου
ου οὗ ἠκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθεντος ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπο τὸν οὐρανόν, οὗ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ
chapter 67 section 1 line 1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ κτίσει τῆς πόλεως θαῦμα μέγιστον λέγεται γ
σωμεν τῶν ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρησώμεθα τῇ κτισει ὡς ἐν νεότητι σπουδαίως οἶνου πολυ
δατος ὁ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς ζωογόνησιν τῇ κτισει, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχήν,
ν ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτισει. ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσετ
πεντετηρικοὺς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ Καισαρείας κτισει. πρεσβεία τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης καὶ Ἀσίας
γνωσθῶ, τίς γὰρ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν ἀμετρήτῳ κτισει; ἰδοὺ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ ο
ενα κατεσκεύασται, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλίπῃ τῇ κτισει τῶν ἐνδεχομένων γενέσθαι. οὐδὲ ταῦ
chapter 5 section 4 line 1. ἢ τὰ νῦν κτισεις γοῦν πόλεων καὶ ἐπωνυμίαι λέγονται
ν ποιησαμένους, ἐφ' ὧνπερ καὶ πρῶτον αἱ κτ.σεις ἐγένοντο, λέγω δὲ τῶν περι Μίλητον
στα συμπεπεισμένος, Ἐφόρῳ τε καὶ τῷ τὰς κτ.σεις εἰρηκότι ἐν πέντε βίβλοις Χαλκιδεῖ
ρὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ καιναὶ κτ.σεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἄφιξις
γαρ ἐθνῶν εἴρηκεν οἰκισμοὺς καὶ πόλεων κτ.σεις ἐπελήλυθε, βασιλέων τε βίους καὶ τ
ion 8 line 3. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰς κτισεις εὐστοχῆσαι μάλιστα δοξάντων, ὅτι κ
τὴν δόξαν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτισεις καὶ συγγενείας ἀποφάσεων ἐν γὰρ τ
να καὶ περιττὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτισεις καὶ συγγενείας, καθά που καὶ παρ'
ἴδον ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκόσμησεν πάσας τας κτίσεις καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸν
ησεται. Τριγωνίζουσα δὲ τούτῳ καλὴ πρὸς κτισεις καὶ φυτείας δένδρωνκαὶ συνουσίας κ
πρὸς ὠνήσεις παντοίας καὶ ἀκροάσεις καὶ κτισεις καὶ φυτεύσεις δένδρων καὶ σπείρειν
ξαμένην τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους εἰς πόλεων κτίσεις οἰκοδομῆσαι πλείους πόλεις, καὶ το
διέσωσε τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἡρώδης. κτίσεις πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἃς Ἡρώδης ἐποιήσα
λογείτωσάν σε οἱ ἅγιοί σου καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κτίσεις σου, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοί σου καὶ
ὑλογησάτωσάν σε οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κτίσεις σου. σὺ ἐποίησας Αδαμ καὶ ἔδωκας α
ύγας καὶ Μυσούς, ἔπειτα Διονύσιος ὁ τὰς κτίσεις συγγράψας, ὃς τὰ κατὰ Χαλκηδονα κα
9. ἑξῆς τε τῶν σύνεγγυς Ἀσίᾳ κειμένων, κτίσεις τε πόλεων τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς φερομένων,
7. ἐν ἐπιτομῇ σοι γέγραφα τὰς ἀποικίας κτίσεις τε πόλεων, τῆς ὅλης τε γῆς σχεδόν
μένου μου εἰς Κούμας καὶ δοξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς
σιον. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τὰς μὲν τῶν πόλεων κτίσεις τοὺς συγγραφέας, καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς
ερὶ τὰς ἀποικίας, ἔτι δὲ συγγενείας καὶ κτισεις, λοιπὸν ἢ τὰ ἀλλότρια δεῖ λέγειν ὠ
μεναι ἐπὶ τοῦ στενωποῦ Λεσβίων δ' οὖσαι κτίσεις. Εἶτ' ἔστι Κριθώτη πόλις τε Πακτύη
λαβεῖν· ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κτίσεις
λαβεῖν ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς κτίσεις τὴν μὲν ὀλίγον ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶ
line 3. καθ' ὧν ἐν ταῖς καταρχαῖς τῶν κτίσεων αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ γενέσεως ὁ τε ἥλιος κ
μαι συμβαλεῖν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιῶν κτίσεων ἱκανὰ ἡγοῦμαι τὰ προειρημένα.
ὶ πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγγέλων πάντων καὶ κτίσεων λεγομένων καὶ αἰώνων ὅλων πρεσβύτε
τὸ ὡροσκοποῦν ἐφ' ὧν δὲ οἱ χρόνοι τῶν κτίσεων οὐχ εὑρίσκονται,
ξον, κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων συγγενειῶν μεταναστάσεων ἀρχηγετῶν
Μενεκράτης γοῦν ὁ Ἐλαίτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ κτίσεων φησὶ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν νῦν Ἰωνικὴν
ξον, κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγε
βίβλοις δηλούμενα περί τε τῆς κοσμικῆς κτίσεως <καὶ> τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσεως καὶ
hapter 3 section 2 line 1. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κτίσεως Ἀντίοχος λέγων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦ Μεσση
ξαν, ὅτι τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς κτίσεως ἀπέδοντο τοῦ λιμένος τὰ τέλη,
ὸν ὕστερον τῆς Κρότωνος καὶ Συρακουσσῶν κτίσεως ἀποικισθέντες ὑπὸ Εὐάνθους· Ἔφορος
pter 10 section 6 line 1. ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς ἐν
ἀσύνετε. ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν, ὥστε σύ
ῶν ὁ πάντων κυριεύων καὶ ἔχων πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν οὐ μνησικακεῖ τ
ε συμβουλον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παλαιὰ ἡ πέτρ
, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐγρηγόρων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὴ θεμελίου· πνεύματα
ὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὴ θεμελίου πνεύματα
tion 2 line 2. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως βοτηρική τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ κατὰ
section 3 line 5. ἀπόρθητον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως γεγενημένην, πλουσιωτάτην δὲ σχεδὸ
δὲ ἐμπιστεύσαντας ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι σώους διεκόμισας, οἱ
1 section 3 line 1. Εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κτίσεως ἔνια μὲν ἀνάκειται τῷ Θεῷ, ἔνια δὲ
ς οἰκοδομήσεως τοῦ ναοῦ ἄχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τρία, μῆνε
τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομῆς μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρμγ , μῆνες η΄."
ὁ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας ἄχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε΄ μῆνες η . Ἐπεὶ δὲ δωδεκάτ
τῆς Ἱερώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε , μῆνες ὀκτώ. τῷ δὲ δωδεκ
ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀφορμάς, ἤτοι περὶ κόσμου κτίσεως ἢ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὐδὲ τ
θλῖψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ
διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. εἰπὼν γὰρ τὰ περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως κόσμου, τοῦ πρωτοπλάσ
δὲ πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς κτισεως καὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν τῆς πόλεως

n 9 line 1. διὰ τοῦτο ἔσχατόν ἐστι τῆς κτίσεως καὶ πρῶτον τῆς νεότητος, ὅτι ἀγνοί
ιο καὶ ἀνθρώποις μέγα τέρμα βλαπτομένης κτίσεως καὶ σῳζομένης πάλι Μοίραις, κλῦθι
ιο καὶ ἀνθρώποις μέγα τερμα βλαπτομένης κτίσεως καὶ σῳζομένης πάλι Μοίραις, ὕβρι,
ύτερος πάνυ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι, τῆς δὲ Ἰλίου κτίσεως καὶ τοῦ Τρωὸς καὶ Δαρδάνου λίαν ἀρ
καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καταπτήσσοντος, καὶ πάσης κτίσεως κλονουμένης, καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμ
χρόνος κεφαλαιωδῶς οὕτως κατάγεται. ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως κατακλυσμοῦ ἐγένοντο ἔτ
τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων, περί τε κτίσεως κόσμου καὶ ποιήσεως ἀνθρώπου,
λίου Οὐήρου τελευτῆς ἔτη ψμα´. Ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου συνάγονται τα πάντα ἔτη
ion 20 line 1. τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθ
οις. (10) Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως οἰκηθεῖσα χρόνον ἐτῶν διακοσίων τε
η. Ἀνελογισάμην τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, 18. Septuaginta
τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἄχρι τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως Τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέ
. 4) Section 8 line 439. *σῷ παιδὶ πρὸ κτίσεως πάσης στέρνοις ἴσοισι πεφυκώς* σύμ
αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης. διὰ τούτων οὖν τελεσθήσεται
ᾳ θάπτει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ζῶν τοῦ χωρίου τῆς κτίσεως περιείχετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης τε
τα καλοῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τῆς κτίσεως ποιητήν. Τοῦτον δὲ τῇ Αὐθαδείᾳ συν
κοστῇ καὶ δευτέρᾳ, γίνεται ὁ καιρὸς ἀπὸ κτίσεως Ῥώμης ἔτη σκ´, ᾧ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦρξεν
ος γενόμενος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου, ὃς ἀπὸ κτίσεως Ῥώμης μέχρι τελευτῆς τοῦ ἰδίου πάτ
ς γῆς, κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων, βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου, σὺ εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου
ναι. Γάιος δ' Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀ
φθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀ
11 section 1 line 1. ΚΑΙ περὶ μὲν τῆς κτίσεως τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέ
οῖς ἀναθεῖναι. σημεῖον δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς κτίσεως τὸν τῶν Νηλειδῶν ἐναγισμόν· ἠφανίσ
άρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι οὔ
ν. ἐᾶσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰ παλαια καὶ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς θέσεως τοῦ
6. δι' ἧς σοφίας εἶπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων
ὅρος πηγῶν πλῆρες ἦν, καὶ πᾶν γένος τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν
Περὶ δὲ τῆς κτίσεως τῶν Γαδείρων τοιαῦτα λέγοντες μέμν
οδίοις εὐδαιμονίαν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης κτίσεως τῶν τριῶν πόλεων „τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν
ἄνθρωπος ἐμπεριεχόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ὑπὸ χειρὸς θεοῦ οὐ δύναται θεωρεῖν
ine 2. ὁ γὰρ Χριστός, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὤν, καὶ ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γ
, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ δέσποτα πάσης κτίσεως, ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις, μόναρχε, παντοκρά
θεὸς πάσης βασιλείας καὶ δέσποτα πάσης κτίσεως, δὸς τῇ κόρῃ ταύτῃ πνοὴν ζωῆς. Καὶ
ς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως, ἣν ἀνέγραψεν Μωσῆς ὁ θεράπων τοῦ
τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεννηθέντος καὶ
πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, οὐ κενωθεὶς αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ
χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχω
καιωμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δημιουργοῦ πάσης κτίσεως, τὰ νῦν αὐτάρκως ἡγούμεθα ἐπιμεμνῆ
ῦ καὶ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως, τοῦ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πᾶν ἔργον ἀνθ
. καὶ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως, τοῦ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πᾶν ἔργον ἀνθ
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τ
μήθησαν, πάντα οὕτως διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως. Λανθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο θέλοντ
ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνα κτίσεως.
ξεν οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατ' εἶδος κτίσεως πεποίηκε συνάπτων ἀλλήλοις τῇ κατ
ντος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φύσει τῆς πάσης κτίσεως τὴν εἰκόνα, δι' ἃ καὶ μικρὸς κόσμ
ine 1. Τὸ «σάββατον» λέγει ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως· «Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραι
line 1. Ἔφορος δ' οὕτω λέγει περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίοι
γενομένης δ' οὖν στάσεως φασὶ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ῥῶμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
ίσιν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ῥῶμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κτισιν ἀνθρώπους σύγκλυδας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἤθροι
γουμένου Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου, τὴν ἀρχαίαν κτίσιν ἀπολαβεῖν ὥστε διττὰς εἶναι τῆς Ῥώ
er 85 section 1 line 1. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν αὐτὴν γενόμενα (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι μοι τ
ασσαν, καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον καὶ ἤματα καὶ κτίσιν αὐτήν εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρ
διατηρεῖν ἡ δυσχερῆ καὶ πολυχρόνιον τὴν κτίσιν αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι.
κόσμον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
ne 4. οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δε
εις ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων οὖσαι γένους καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἀφ' υμῶν ἔχουσαι, αἳ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑ
οσηγορεύετο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Κάις, κτίσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον
ατείας ποιεῖσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ῥωμης κτίσιν Δημάρατος ἀφικνεῖται λαὸν ἄγων ἐκ Κ
. το δὲ ὕδωρ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι τρέφῃ τὴν κτίσιν διικνούμενον πανταχόσε. ἐν μὲν τὸ π
ίαν τὸν ζῆλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπλοποιήσει τὴν κτίσιν εἰς ἄμυναν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδύσεται θώρακα
έους, ἑξηκοστῷ καὶ διακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἔτει, μελλούσης εἰς τούπιὸν τῆς ἑβδ
λευταῖον γενόμενον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν ἢ ὅτι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν Τιμαιος μὲ
. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν δόξῃ, ἀλλ' ὡς βροτὸς εἰς κτίσιν ἥξει οἰκτρὸς ἄτιμος ἄμορφος, ἵν' οἱ
δῶμεν.' γνώμης οὖν ταύτης μεμνημένος ἐς κτίσιν ἥξει ἀντίτυπον μίμημα φέρων εἰς παρ
ne 1. ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ δέ σοι καὶ ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν κτίσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τῶν ἀοράτων ὑπὸ τοῦ δημ
Ἐκ τῆς δὲ Κύμης τῆς πρὸς Ἀόρνῳ κειμένη; κτίσιν κατὰ χρησμὸν ἔλαβεν ἡ Νεάπολις.]
προφυλάττεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συνάψαι τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν ἑαυτῇ, ὡς ἤδη εἴρηται. ὅτι δὲ
όγιον, τετράπουν αὐτῷ καθηγήσεσθαι πρὸς κτίσιν πόλεως· μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ θύειν ὗν
ἀρ Μωυσῆς, φασί, ἀρχόμενος τῆς κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν πραγματείας, εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν μητέ
ἀποικίαν ἔστειλαν ὅσα τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ἱστόρηται πολλοῖς μὲν εἴρητα
r 4 section 1 line 1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ὁ Νίνος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν

ἡ χρόνον ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπειδη τα περὶ τὴν κτισιν τῆς ὁμωνύμου πόλεως συνετέλεσε, στρ
ιβῶς ἀνέγραψε, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαῖα τὰ μετὰ τὴν κτισιν τῆς πόλεως γενόμενα κεφαλαιω δῶς ἐπ
ειλήφθω καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν κτισιν τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλευόμενοι διετέλεσαν
e 2. Τριακοστῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτι μετὰ τὴν κτισιν τοῦ Λαουινίου πόλιν ἑτέραν οἰκίζει
ὀλίγας παρεσχηκέναι παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν κτισιν τῶν Θουρίων, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀποι
στερον μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαρεων Χαλκηδόνος κτισιν χρηστηριαζομενοις προστάξαι ποιήσασ
ς τίνες τῶν πόλεων ἤτοι ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν κτισιν ὡροσκοπίας καὶ φωσφορίας ἢ ἐκ τῆς τ
ἐκ ῥίζης βλαστὸς νέος ὄμματα φύσῃ, *τὴν κτ.σιν* ἥ ποτε πᾶσι τροφὴν διέδωκε περισσή
θεὲ τὴν πᾶσαν διακυβερνῶν ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς κτ.σιν, ἔπιδε ἐπὶ Αβρααμ σπέρμα, ἐπι ἡγιασ
ὀγδοήκοντα ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίας κτ.σιν, ἔτη ἑξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς,
τὸ ἅγιον τὸ προόν, τὸ κτίσαν πᾶσαν τὴν κτ.σιν, κατῴκισεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς σάρκα ἣν ἠβού
III 78), ὃς δοκεῖ πρῶτος ἐκδοῦναι Ῥώμης κτ.σιν, ὕποπτον μὲν ἐνίοις ἐστὶ τὸ δραματι
ion 1 line 1. Τετάρτῳ δε μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν κτ.σιν, ὡς Φάβιος ἱστορεῖ, 158. Plutarc
Line 214. Τίμαιος οὕτως ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὴν κτ.σιν. Εἶτεν μετὰ ταύτην Ταυρόεις καὶ πλη
3 section 1 line 1. εἰς πόλεως μεγάλης κτισιν. ἐπιφανεστάτας γὰρ πράξεις τῶν πρὸ
ισθεῖσα γὰρ τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἔλαβ' Ἰωνικὴν κτίσιν. κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας
ὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτισιν. Ὅθεν οἱ Αἰγυπτιων καθηγεμόνες ἱερε
ὥστε μίαν εἶναι καὶ συγγενῆ τὴν πᾶσαν κτισιν. ἐξ οὗ μάλιστα δείκνυται εἷς ὢν ὁ
ργον (τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας κτίσιν· τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
Book 1 section 5 line 15. οὕτως ἡ πᾶσα κτίσις περιέχεται ὑπὸ πνεύματος θεοῦ, καὶ
στοιχεῖα κελεύσματι πείθετο τῷ σῷ, καὶ κτισις ἀίδιος συνετάσσετο πλάσματι θνητῷ,
ter 4 section 13 line 1. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμν
τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει. εἰ οὖν πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάζεται,
er 8 section 21 line 1. ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆ
ῖνοι δὲ ξένον εὕρωσι θάνατον. ὁλη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ἐν ἰδίῳ γένει πάλιν ἄνωθεν διετυποῦ
δωσιν οὐ πιθανήν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τῆς Κυρήνης κτίσις ἐν χρόνοις φέρεται μνημονευομένοις,
μνησα δικαίως τούτου γὰρ *φανέντος* ὅλη κτίσις ἐξετινάχθη καὶ βασιλεῖς ὤλοντο, κα
έμοισί τε Πέρσαις. καὶ τότε δ' αὖ Ῥώμης κτίσις ἔσσεται ἀγλαοτεύκτου χρυσῷ ἠλέκτρῳ
τούτων οὐκ ἄπωθεν κειμένη νῆσος Παρίων κτίσις ἐστὶν ἥ τε λεγομένη Μέλαινα Κόρκυρ'
μὲν οὖν ἡ μάλιστα πιστευομένη τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσις ἐστίν. ἄλλη δέ τις προτέρα καὶ μυθώ
line 1. οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρίσαι ἀπὸ τῆ
603. Ἐχῖνος οὗ πόλις ἐστὶ, τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ κτίσις Ἐχίονος, καὶ Μαλιέων ἄλλαι πόλεις.
ρουσία καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδανίας κτίσις ἥ τε ἐκ Φοινίκης τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴ
ter 12 section 1 line 1. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ κτίσις ἡμέρᾳ γένοιτο τῇ πρὸ ἕνδεκα καλανδῶ
ection 1 line 75. Ἀλκιβιάδου φυγή, καὶ κτίσις Θέρμων ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Ναυμαχία Συρακοσ
.) Line 1016. (Ἡράκλεια πόλις) Βοιωτῶν κτίσις καὶ Μεγαρέων, ἐντὸς δὲ ταύτην Κυανέ
αἱ θαυμάσια ἔργα, ποικιλία παντὸς ζῴου, κτίσις κητῶν. δι' αὐτὸν εὐοδοῖ ἄγγελος αὐτ
ὃν δαίμονες ἀκούοντες φρίττουσιν ὃν ἡ κτίσις ὅλη καταμαθοῦσα μετριάζει δοξασθήτ
629. Αἴνειαν ἡ πρὶν γενομένη Κορινθίων κτίσις Ποτίδαι' ἐστὶ, Δωρικὴ πόλις, μετὰ
ὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλέλησται δυνάμεως. Ἡ γὰρ κτίσις σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ὑπηρετοῦσα ἐπιτεί
ύι, ἀνυπέρβλητος. σοὶ δουλευσάτω πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις σου ὅτι εἶπας, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν
tion 22 line 2. οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ ν
ν, ἐνί ους δε Θήβας. ἀμφισβητεῖται δ' ἡ κτίσις τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖ
όου, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ πολλαὶ πηγαὶ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ κυρίου ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν,
ἀπὸ Κιμμερίων μεν βαρβάρων κεκλημένη, κτίσις τυράννων δ' οὖσα τῶν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, Κῆ
section 20 line 2. τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑπ
ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος αὕτη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις ὑστερεῖ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσι τρισὶ πλε
ς· σταθμῷ γὰρ καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ κανόνι πᾶσα κτίσις ὑψίστου. καὶ καθάπερ οἶδεν ὁ κεραμε
οῦ Ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ; Ὅτι, φησίν, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φοβεῖται τὸν κύριον, τὰς δὲ ἐντολὰς
ρα, λέγει ὃν ἐφοβήθη πᾶς ἄρχων καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις, δύναμις, ἄβυσσός τε καὶ σκότος ἄπα
465. Λευκὰς μὲν ἐν πρώταις, Κορινθίων κτίσις, εἶθ' ἡ Κεφαλλήνων, Ἰθάκη δὲ πλησίο
Line 440. Κορκυραίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων κτίσις, Ἑλληνὶς Ὠρικός τε παράλιος πόλις·
ıne 578. ἡ δ' Ἑστίαια γεγονε Περραιβῶν κτίσις. Κεῖνται δὲ καὶ νησῖδες αὐτῆς πλησί
Line 67 . αὕτη δὲ Χίων ἐγένεθ' ὕστερον κτίσις. Πέραν Σαμοθρᾴκη δ' ἔστι νῆσος Τρωι
μή τί ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσου
εν. (17.) ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν κ

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