

CHRYC C. CARAGOUNIS

The Development of Greek and the New Testament

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

167

Mohr Siebeck

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Chrys C. Caragounis

The Development of Greek and the New Testament

Morphology, Syntax, Phonology,
and Textual Transmission

Mohr Siebeck

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Σεμνή μνήμη δυοῖν εὐκλεεστάτων υἱοῖν Ἑλλάδος

Γεωργίῳ Χατζιδάκι

(1848-1941)

καὶ

Ἀντωνίῳ Γιάνναρη

(1852-1909)

οἱ τὴν περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἑλληνίδα ἐπιστήμην ἐκόσμησαν
γλῶτταν ἀτθίδα τε καὶ ὑστέραν καὶ νεωτέραν ἀκριβῶς ἠρεῦνησαν
σαφὴν τὴν ἐνότητα ἀπάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνῆς καταδείξαντες
ἡγούμενοι πᾶσι γενόμενοι τοῖς ἐς αἰὲ μέλλουσιν ἔπεσθαι
τιμῆς ἔνεκα
ἀνατίθημι

Preface

The working title of the present investigation during the period of writing has been *A Diachronic and Acoustic Approach to the New Testament*. This is exactly what this book is about. Its two main strands of diachrony and acoustics, i.e. the historical development of the language morphologically and especially syntactically as well as the way the message sounded and the consequences of this for exegesis, form the heart of this volume.

The logical point of departure is the year 1528, when Desiderius Erasmus introduced the pronunciation that bears his name. This unfortunate event led to the division of the Greek language into ancient and later Greek. In this way the unity of the language was lost and scholarship became unaware of the continuity that exists between ancient and modern Greek. Since Erasmus' time the New Testament has been interpreted in the light of classical Greek and during the past one hundred years or so also in the light of the Egyptian papyri. However, because the New Testament emerges during the time when Greek passes from its ancient to its later, modern form, many New Testament words and structures, which have acquired new meaning, cannot be 'pressed' through the old filter. They can be interpreted correctly only if the later developments are taken into account. The same applies to the pronunciation employed. Erasmus' teaching on the pronunciation of Greek was not informed either by the epigraphic or the papyrological evidence; he had only Latin as his gauge. Yet the issue of pronunciation is a far more serious matter than merely pronouncing words with a different accent. The question of pronunciation has cut deeply into the New Testament text, it has influenced its formulations, its communication, the meaning of its words (e.g. wordplays), and it is responsible for innumerable textual variants in the manuscript tradition.

At present, the science of the New Testament is applying a great variety of approaches to interpret its texts, and all of these undoubtedly have something to contribute. However, the New Testament is a text, a communication, and its message has to be deciphered in the first place on the linguistic level. The present work is an attempt to rehabilitate the Greek language: to show its unity and continuity from Mycenaean times to the present; to indicate its main developments in morphology and syntax, and to deal with the vexed issue of pronunciation; to demonstrate that many New Testament cruxes can be solved only with the help of the evidence

which later Greek supplies; in short, to prove that in the interpretation of the New Testament the entire history of the Hellenic language is important. Though my immediate interest revolves around the interpretation of the New Testament, the pages of this investigation make it clear that also classical and Byzantine scholarship have everything to gain from this new, holistic approach to the Hellenic language.

This investigation has received the generous financial assistance of the Bank of Sweden (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), which for four years paid one half of my salary in order to free me from academic duties to write it.

My thanks are due to Professors J. Frey and O. Hofius for including even this book of mine in their eminent series of WUNT. Prof Frey showed his deepest interests in it already during our first communication at the Montreal SNTS Meeting in 2001, while Prof Hofius not only read the entire manuscript but also brought to my attention a number of misprints in the submitted manuscript. Since then the manuscript has been subjected to a thorough proofreading.

My friend Prof James W. Voelz read conscientiously the first three chapters and corrected many misprints and a number of syntactical infelicities. My colleague Prof Bengt Holmberg had the kindness, amidst his many duties, to proofread chapter 5.

My thanks are due also to a number of Greek scholars. My friends Professors John Karavidopoulos, Petros Vassiliadis, and John Galanis, all of Thessaloniki University, arranged for me to spend part of the Autumn of 2001 in Thessaloniki in order to research in Greek literature in the libraries there. They also invited me to participate actively in their classes and research seminar. Prof Dimitris Christidis, an old friend, of the Department of Classics at Thessaloniki, introduced me to and arranged for me to have access to the literary treasures of the classical and Byzantine libraries, where Mr Stergios Sfondylis, Library Manager, showed me his ready helpfulness.

Finally, as the Christmas holidays were approaching and my progress in the editing and indexing of the work was overwhelming me, my daughter Rosanna braced herself with the task of editing. She went through the entire manuscript more than once paying minute attention to every small detail. Without her work, this complicated text with its many fonts and signs would have been far from perfect – if such an audacious thought may be entertained. However, for any inconsistencies and shortcomings that the reader may note, I am the only one responsible.

In a work such as this, ranging over the entire history of the Greek language, from Mycenaean times to the present, with so many different corpora of material from which I quote, and to which, as is well-known,

there is no standard or uniform way of referring, perfect consistency has, in spite of serious efforts thereto, proved impossible. The reader should bear this in mind if he or she sometimes notices variation. On a number of occasions the references have been given to the texts as read in the *TLG*. It should be remembered that different editions of one and the same author may use different reference systems. But this cannot be any serious impediment. The reference should be clear.

There remains now for me to thank Dr Georg Siebeck for welcoming me again to his publishing activities. My thanks are due to Dr Henning Ziebritzki, the Theology Editor of Mohr-Siebeck, for the publishing arrangements as well as to the various departments that have contributed to the successful publication and marketing of this book, Ms Ilse König for editing instructions and Ms Juliana Haag in connection with its marketing.

Lund 20th January 2004

Chrys C. Caragounis

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The Phases of the Greek Language

The following table gives the dates for the various phases of the Greek language with their approximate dates as well as the one-letter designations used in this work.

I. Ancient Greek (1500 B.C. - A.D. 600)

Linear B = Mycenaean (XV-XII B.C.) (Linear B tablets)

E = Epic (800-500 B.C.) (Homeros, Hesiodos, etc.)

A = Classical (mainly Attic) (500-300 B.C.)

P = Post-classical (300 B.C. - A.D. 600) (Transition)

H = Hellenistic (300 B.C. - A.D. 300)

EH = Early Hellenistic (300 B.C. - 1 B.C.)

LH = Late Hellenistic (A.D. 1-300)

PB = Proto-Byzantine (A.D. 300-600)

II. Modern Greek (A.D. 600-2000)

B = Byzantine (A.D. 600-1000) (Early Neohellenic)

LB = Late Byzantine [*M(ediaev.)*] (A.D. 1000-1500) (Middle Neohell.)

N = Neohellenic (A.D. 1500-2000) (Late Neohellenic)

K = Katharevousa (offic. till 1976: Atticistic, puristic, literary)

D = Demotike (following the popular oral tradition)

NK = Neohellenic Koine (official since 1976: blending *K* and *D*)

INTRODUCTION

The Greek Language as a Historical Problem

I. The Problem

The Greek language is one of the three oldest Indo-European (= IE) languages with written documentation, the other two being Sanskrit and Hittite. The written documentation for the Hittite language, which is a representative of the Western or *centum* branch of the IE Family of languages¹, takes us back to around 1700 B.C. and continues down to the XIIIth century B.C.² Sanskrit, the sacred language of ancient India (belonging to the Anatolian or *satem* branch), the earliest form of which is represented by the Vedic literature (supposed to have been composed in 1200-800 B.C. though the written form is later)³ is the language with the latest documentation of the three, whose classical form covers the period 800-400 B.C.⁴ Following the decipherment in 1952 of the Mycenaean script known as the *Linear B* tablets (XV-XII century B.C.), the Greek language came to be regarded as the second oldest documented IE language (also of the Western or *centum* branch)⁵.

¹ The Indo-European Family of languages is divided into the Anatolian or *satem* group comprising Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, Armenian and Albanian, and the Western or *centum* group, which comprises Greek, Italic, Germanic, Celtic, Hittite and Tocharic. The terms *satem* and *centum* are the words for 'hundred', occurring in the Anatolian and Western branches of the IE languages, and has become the basis for grouping them.

² The Neo-Hittite kingdom (1425-1180 B.C.) was succeeded for a few centuries by various petty kingdoms, which, however, in time were incorporated in the Assyrian kingdom.

³ The oldest and most important of the Vedic collections of literature is the *Rig Veda*.

⁴ This is Sanskrit proper, represented chiefly by the epics *Ramayana* (c. 600 B.C.) consisting of 24,000 lines, and the huge *Mahabharata* (also c. 600 B.C.) consisting of some 100,000 doublets, i.e. about eight times the length of the Homeric epics. Sanskrit was standardized by the famous grammarian Panini (IV B.C.).

⁵ It is but a small possibility, but if the *Linear A* texts (XVIII-XV B.C.), when deciphered, turn out to be Greek, then Greek will be the oldest documented IE language.

However, although Greek at present is the second oldest documented IE language, it is the language with the longest documented history of the three, and the oldest European language still in use, being continuously documented in writing for 3,500 years. Still more important than mere figures about age and history is the fact that from the point of view of historical linguistics, Greek affords unique research material for the study of the development of dialectology and of language *per se*, material that cannot be found in any other language, simply because no other language has been written continuously for three and a half millennia (and spoken for a much longer period)⁶. Moreover, Greek is unparalleled also in another respect. The Vedic-Sanskrit language gave rise to a number of Hindi languages and dialects, while in Europe the second oldest language, Latin, broke up into the Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, etc.). Greek, on the other hand, has never given birth to any daughter languages. From the Mycenaean age (indeed, from the arrival of the Greeks in Greece in the third millennium B.C.) to the present, Greek is the same language in spite of the changes it has undergone. These changes are the normal vicissitudes of all languages that have existed for any appreciable length of time, though Greek is again unique in one more respect, namely, that the changes it has sustained are far smaller than the changes that have come over other languages with a much briefer history, as e.g. German and English⁷.

The above circumstances which differentiate Greek from its sister languages, form part of the *core* of what might be termed “the historical problem of the Greek language”, that is, the fact of the oneness or the unity of the Greek language from the beginning to the present, so that a major part of the lexical and conceptual treasure of archaic and ancient Greek forms the basis and backbone of its present phase. This solid continuity and identity, in spite of substantial developments, should be quite obvious to anyone who has become acquainted with the language as a whole. This unity carries with it certain corollaries which imply that the various phases of the language are so interrelated that no phase of it can be properly understood without reference to its other phases. In other words, the Greek language cannot be atomized. Its several phases must be investigated in conjunction with one another. Related to this core regarding the internal history of the language are particularly two language-external factors, which constitute the outer layers of the historical problem of the Greek language: pronunciation and atomization.

⁶ Its oral form is, of course, much older, see Chapter One.

⁷ See especially Chapters One through Six.

When in 1528 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his *Dialogus*, a book on how Greek and Latin were supposedly pronounced in antiquity⁸, little did he realize that the line he struck out would determine not only the pronunciation but also the approach to the study of the Greek language and its literature for almost five centuries. For not only did Greek since then come to be pronounced by European students in a novel way, but also its long, literary history was divided into two broad periods: ancient and modern. The advocates of this artificial division failed to consult the Greeks, who down to the close of the Middle Ages had continuously used and commented upon the writings of their forbears, and were, therefore, excellently equipped to speak to the feasibility of dividing Greek into ancient and modern⁹. The pronunciation adopted led to the fossilization of ancient Greek making it appear as a different language from the one spoken by the Greek Nation. Thus, severed from its living phase, Greek came to be treated as a dead language, and from this axiom gradually grew the perception, which in time became a new axiom, namely, that there was not much, if any, relation at all between ancient Greek and modern Greek.

From this time on, Greek was approached, as were all other defunct languages, through internal comparison of its written documents, and sense was extracted by the only means available to this approach: the language's own dumb written evidence. The NT, for example, was at first interpreted in the light of classical Greek (e.g. Winer¹⁰) with many an awkward result, but when the Egyptian Papyri were discovered, they were hailed as a new light from the ancient East¹¹, and the NT was 're-read' in the light of their evidence. In the course of this re-reading many 'new discoveries' were made in lexical and syntactical points, discoveries that had been known all along in Byzantine, Mediaeval, and modern Greek.

The problem averred here can be exemplified by the following cases: (a) for over two centuries, NT scholars have debated whether the NT was written in "pure Greek", in "Biblical Greek", in "Jewish Greek", or in "Holy Ghost Greek"¹², all of which are, from the Greek point of view, misguided positions. (b) F. Blaß, who in language matters has influenced NT scholarship more than anyone else, entertained some very inaccurate views

⁸ Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus*, Basiliae 1528. For particulars on this incident and its significance for the pronunciation of Greek, see Ch. 6.

⁹ On the various circumstances and factors, see Ch. Six.

¹⁰ For example, G. B. WINER, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh, 1882.

¹¹ Cf. A. DEISSMANN's famous book by that title. See also his *Bible Studies*, *passim*.

¹² See Chapter Three, III Atticism, in particular the reference to VOELZ's study.

both about the nature of Neohellenic *and* about the Greek pronunciation¹³. (c) More recently, in a debate that has flared up about Time and Aspect in the Greek verb, it has been triumphantly declared that the Greek verb expresses only Aspect, no Time¹⁴. This has been described as a 'new discovery' to the extent of speaking of the "pre-verbal aspect literature" as well as of "grammarians before the advent of verbal-aspect"! The very propagation of this doctrine, let alone the question of its being a "new discovery", would never have seen the light of day, if its advocates had understood that ever since the time of Homeros there has never been a day when Greeks have not expressed *both* Time *and* Aspect through their verbs.

The above are only three brief examples that demonstrate how important the holistic approach to the study of Greek is, and equally that many inaccurate statements about Greek have been made, to the extent of involving downright misunderstandings and misrepresentations, because the historical, diachronic perspective on the language was missing. All these matters constitute the heart of the historical problem of the Greek language and its consequences.

II. The Present Approach

The avowed aim of the present investigation is to approach the Greek language holistically and historically, as a living organism evolving and developing. Its two scarlet threads are, therefore, diachrony and acoustics (which includes pronunciation). These two areas have been used as grounds for dividing the language into two clear-cut periods: ancient and modern. Thus, the change of pronunciation, which is thought to divide ancient from modern Greek, is placed roughly in NT times and subsequently. And as for diachrony, the emphasis has been laid solely on the differences between ancient and modern Greek (that is, on the basis of a few selected points from Neohellenic). In a sober scientific investigation, however, the issues of pronunciation and diachrony actually demonstrate the oneness and unity of the language.

As amply documented in Chapter Six through the citation of a wealth of inscriptional and other evidence, already in the VIth century B.C. Greek began to assume what is mistakenly called the "modern Greek pronunciation", but which actually is the *Historical Pronunciation of Greek* (that is, the pronunciation that took shape gradually, naturally and unforcedly by

¹³ See in particular Chapter Six.

¹⁴ See Chapter Five, IX. Time and Aspect in the ancient and modern Phases of the Greek Language.

language-internal processes till it reached its present stage of development in Neohellenic), with virtually all of the changes having occurred during the Vth and IVth centuries B.C. This development in pronunciation went hand in hand with the completion of the alphabet and the consequent standardization of the orthography during the Vth and IVth centuries B.C. This implies that there is no such thing as a “modern Greek pronunciation”. Ever since classical times we are concerned with the Historical Greek Pronunciation (= *HGP*). The issue of pronunciation, then, properly understood, i.e. in its historical setting and evolution, shows the unbroken, continuous use of the language and its unity and has far-reaching consequences.

The issue of diachrony, as demonstrated, for example, in Chapters Three and Four, shows not only that there have been developments, i.e. changes from the ancient to the modern phase of the language, but also continuity, so that in addition to the lexicon, which is still to a large extent identical, continuity obtains also in conceptualization, phraseology¹⁵, and even syntax. This is particularly true of the NT. The NT is actually the greatest beneficiary of the process of transition from ancient to modern Greek. The transition period is roughly the period of the so-called Koine form of Greek or post-classical Greek (= *P*), more precisely, a period of 900 years, from Alexander to Justinian (335 B.C.- A.D. 565), during which classical Greek changed to Neohellenic. The fact that the NT appears in the middle of this period, implies that many morphological and syntactical developments are rather new for the NT, or even occur in the NT for the first time. Such linguistic phenomena cannot be elucidated by reference to the classical period. It is in the post-NT literature that these neologisms find their explanation, because by this time these grammatical phenomena have had the time necessary for them to develop and to come to their full bloom. This post-NT literature, which takes us all the way to the present day, in addition to the oral tradition of the spoken form of Neohellenic, has a considerable contribution to make for a more correct or precise understanding of the text of the NT, and indeed, of ancient texts generally. Examples of this abound especially in Chapters Four and Five.

The aim of the present volume, therefore, is to bring to bear on the NT the later evidence of the Greek language. This will be done by comparing syntax points of the NT with corresponding syntactical points both of the earlier period and of the later period by citing a large number of classical examples (including epic) as well as passages from Hellenistic to Neohellenic times. This comparison shows that the NT often belongs together with the later rather than the earlier literature. The purpose is not merely theoretical. By citing and discussing an immense amount of evidence from all

¹⁵ On conceptualization and phraseology, see, in particular, Ch. Two.

periods of Greek literature, always with the NT as the reference point and center of interest, the attempt is made to elucidate concrete NT problems, and to show that the later evidence often leads to different solutions than the ones heretofore proposed, and that these solutions are more satisfactory and convincing, because they are in line with the spirit of the Greek language and its own natural evolution.

Although this volume is concerned in the first place with the exegesis of the NT, it would have been a denial of the very principles underlying the holistic approach enunciated here, if the earlier periods of the Greek language were neglected. Hence, although a NT scholar might feel, for example, that the first two chapters take up for discussion matters of no immediate interest to a theologian, the procedure is justified in a holistic approach such as this. Besides, if one perseveres carefully and reflectively, one will, it is hoped, find these chapters most rewarding; they will help place the NT in perspective within the long and wide stream of the Greek language and its literature.

III. The Concerns of the Present Investigation

The two scarlet threads of diachrony and acoustics that go through the present investigation will come to expression through (a) two introductory chapters of a more general nature, one treating the language as a whole and one showing the deepgoing connections between classical Greek and Neohellenic; (b) three chapters treating morphological and syntactical aspects and their impingement on the interpretation of the NT; and (c) three chapters taking up the acoustic dimension, that is, the change of pronunciation (to the *HGP*) in classical times, the acoustic dimension in communication and the significance of pronunciation in the transmission of the NT text. More analytically:

Chapter One will be a broad historical outline of the Greek language from its beginnings, which are lost in the mist of pre-historical times, to the present day. It will take up for discussion the different periods of the Greek language and try to show by means of text extracts from its various phases the unity of the language. The last period, the Neohellenic, will be treated at greater length, both because of its complicated history and current state and in order to show its present stage, thus making it easier to gauge its importance for the NT. This chapter will set the stage for the succeeding chapters.

Chapter Two is an attempt to show the continuity in phraseology and conceptualization between ancient and modern Greek. The relation be-

tween ancient and modern Greek is not merely one in which the latter has simply evolved from the former, as e.g. French from Latin, and has in ancient Greek its ultimate source, a source that can be discovered only by the painstaking efforts of the specialist linguist, but which has for the ordinary user only academic significance. The intention here will be rather to show that much of the life-stream of the ancient phase still forms the backbone of present Greek, and that the modern user is no stranger to the ancient form of Greek. This can be exemplified, for example, in the areas of phraseology and conceptualization. Neohellenic preserves *i.a.* a large number of ancient phrases and concepts, and its thought patterns often reflect the ancient way of thinking. Because of this continuity, Neohellenic can often be used to elucidate obscure constructions and, generally, to enliven the ancient texts. These considerations are further augmented and corroborated by comparisons with the Homeric and the NT vocabulary still used in Neohellenic.

In Chapter Three the transition from ancient Greek to Neohellenic will form the center of interest. Unlike other languages, whose modern form is of a comparatively recent vintage, *MGr* has its roots in the Koine period. The basic changes, morphological and syntactical, that differentiate it from ancient Greek, actually go back to the 900 year period from Alexander to Justinian, during which the NT came into being. Thus, the basic development of Neohellenic coincides with such developments as are met with also in the NT. It is for this reason that the NT has been described as the first book in the more modern, simpler Greek. This chapter will also discuss the notorious problem of Atticism, and through detailed comparisons of its recommendations and warnings with the NT vocabulary and the Neohellenic equivalents, some general conclusions will be attempted as to the then current state of Greek.

The Fourth Chapter will plough the hard evidence of syntax, though in a representative rather than exhaustive fashion. Here, the ambition will be to say something on each and every major point of syntax in order to show the language developments from ancient to modern times, which characterize so much of the NT. But development does not necessarily mean break. Not infrequently developments aver continuity. The importance of this chapter can be gauged by the following circumstance. Over one hundred years ago the exegesis of the NT was carried out by means of the classical and post-classical evidence. With the discovery of the Egyptian papyri, we became aware of another standard of Greek in use among the populations that found themselves within Alexander's empire. Since then it has been usual for scholars to cite papyrological evidence for preferring a particular meaning or understanding of a NT word or phrase. But in spite of the interesting evidence of the papyri, the Hellenic language has continued

to be treated atomistically. Here, for the first time in the NT discipline, the attempt is being made to treat the Greek language and its literature as a whole, to place the NT within its long history of syntactical development, and to see it as part of the Hellenic literature and how it fits within main line Greek. The reader should not be surprised if he finds that the NT quite often belongs together with the later Hellenic literature, evincing the developments that led to the formation of Neohellenic.

Chapter Five will take up for detailed discussion a number of cruxes in NT interpretation. The constructions involved here have caused many problems to the exegetes, with some of them having been interpreted in a complacent way, and others in conscious resignation of the hope of ever being able to arrive at the correct meaning. By bringing to bear evidence from post-classical, Byzantine, and Neohellenic, it is hoped that the meaning of these texts will be illuminated in an unprecedented way, and that not merely new and fresh interpretations will be forthcoming – which in itself is not remarkable – but, what is more important, these interpretations will, hopefully, be seen to be in accord with the genius of the Greek language; in other words, they will be the natural meanings of the linguistic structures evaluated against the ongoing process of development within the axis from ancient to modern Greek. This chapter, the longest in this volume, can never be completed, in as much as the nine topics that are discussed could be increased almost *ad infinitum*. However, this limited number of topics will exemplify in the most concrete manner how much NT interpretation can profit from a diachronic approach.

The Sixth Chapter is pivotal. It was the unfortunate error of Erasmus with regard to the pronunciation of ancient Greek that became the catalyst for the partly misguided investigation of the Hellenic language ever since. The introduction of the Erasmian pronunciation affected more immediately the way in which the Greek language came to be pronounced. As such it has kept from us the facts of orthographic errors in the production and transcription of texts. One of the most obvious effects of the *HGP* was the immense number of orthographical mistakes in the NT MSS. Many of these spelling mistakes, if taken into account, can help solve text-critical problems and enable us to understand why a particular variant came into being. This will often help us choose the right variant. But a still more important, though less direct, consequence of the Erasmian pronunciation was that it divided the language into two: ancient and modern. As was to be expected, non-Greek scholarship concentrated on the ancient period and treated the later period as unimportant¹⁶. Later Greek, up to the present, thus became *terra incognita* and has largely remained such for the NT scholar to the

¹⁶ See Ch. Six, III. Historical Circumstances etc.

present time, despite the fact that already in the second part of the XIXth century K. Krumbacher established Byzantine studies as a scientific discipline, A. Thumb worked on the Greek dialects, and certain grammarians showed signs of having been alerted to the importance of modern Greek. This division of the Greek language resulted in treating Greek as a dead language and trying to make sense of it without all the benefits that accrue from the living phase of it, which has preserved many of the linguistic traditions of the past: vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, and conceptualization.

Chapter Seven will apply the *HGP* to text internal aspects in order to indicate how the pronunciation used at the time of the NT could affect the message, the communication. Here a number of rhetorical aspects, such as parallelism, *captatio benevolentiae*, *parechesis*, *paronomasia*, and word-play will be examined. In all these the application of the *HGP* has the effect of enlivening the communicatory situation, endowing it with vitality, freshness, and life. It is no longer a dead letter that confronts us; we hear the voice of the past: we perceive the emotion, the joy, the anger, the sadness, the expostulation, the remonstrance. The text becomes alive, because it becomes the address that a Greek would have heard, not a dead text he would have read. Finally, the *HGP* is furthermore responsible for a number of wordplays that in the Erasmian pronunciation are lost.

Lastly, Chapter Eight will attempt to demonstrate the relevance of the *HGP* for text-critical work. Following a discussion of current principles and terminology as well as the production of MSS, the acoustic factor in the transmission of texts is exemplified by reference to the statistics of several manuscripts. The emphasis is on the earliest MSS (particularly the papyri), partly in order to show that the NT text, too, shows that from the very beginning of its history it was written and transmitted under the influence of the *HGP*, and partly in order to show that the pages of our oldest and 'best' MSS are filled with orthographical errors due to pronunciation. To this intent all of the orthographic errors of $\P^{66}$ are presented in a long conspectus. Since the purpose is also practical, a large number of variation units are taken up for discussion, some more briefly, others in greater detail, in order to show that practically all the various mistakes that could be made on account of the currently used *HGP* have actually been made in our MSS. This proves conclusively that the first Christians pronounced Greek in the *HGP*, and hence there is no reason whatsoever for NT scholars to persist in a pronunciation (the Erasmian), which not only has never been used, but which actually also hampers the exegetical task in so many ways.

IV. The Procedure of the Investigation

The emphasis in the present investigation will be on the evidence of the primary sources. To this effect the evidence will be drawn from authors of all the twenty-eight centuries of Hellenic literature, that is, 800 B.C. (Homeros) to A.D. 2000. This is necessary in order to show what a particular construction was like in classical times, what it became once the process of change and modernization set in that led to Neohellenic, and to what stage during this process the NT belongs. One of the concerns here is to exemplify a particular construction diachronically, indicating the date of the particular work cited, for the reader to perceive the permanence or preservation of the construction and hence the light cast on it by later literature, while another concern is to cite rich and variegated evidence to show that the phenomenon under discussion is of no sporadic occurrence, but well-documented. The works of the usual classical authors, that is, the Tragedians, Comedians, Historians, Philosophers, Rhetors, etc. are amply represented. However, in a diachronic investigation such as this, the emphasis must be to bring forth the evidence of authors who are less well-known or completely unknown, particularly those from Byzantine, mediaeval and neohellenic times. It is in particular this evidence that is the most interesting, in as much as it shows the present state of the process of developments begun in Hellenistic times. The classical evidence is important in indicating the point of departure in the evolution of the language, within which the NT morphology and syntax can be compared.

In citing the Greek literature, I have made it my concern to translate all citations from all periods of the language except for quotes from the LXX and the NT. Only in rare cases have I desisted from translating a phrase or brief quote from Greek literature, because I judged it unnecessary to translate it, thus saving space. In a few cases I translate only the gist of the quote, where the point lies. For the same reason I have in one or two cases not given the Neohellenic text of a long quote from Hatzidakis. Should the reader not be content with my translation, the reference to the quoted work is given, and it can always be checked. In presenting examples I have judged it necessary to give the Greek wording for the reader to make his own objective evaluation.

With regard to the secondary literature, the impression may be received that Greek works are utilized unusually frequently. Now, whereas an adequate number of the works by non-Greek scholars are given, the inclusion of the work of Greek scholars and in Greek is intentional. This is so for several reasons:

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