ON THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN PHILIPPIANS 2:6:

A GRAMMATICAL NOTE WITH CHRISTOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

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Summary

Many commentators and grammarians see 'form of God' and 'equality with God' as semantic equivalents. This semantic equivalence is based in part on the erroneous assumption of a grammatical link between 'form of God' and 'equality with God'. This supposed grammatical link consists of an anaphoric use of the articular infinitive, the being equal with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ). This essay contends that this link has little grammatical basis and should be discarded. The exegetical result is that it is grammatically possible to regard 'form of God' and 'equality with God' not as synonymous phrases, but as phrases with distinct meanings.

1. Introduction

No introduction to an essay on Philippians 2:6 would be complete without the standard disclaimer concerning the inability of the interpreter to account for the voluminous secondary literature on this text. So I shall not shrink from offering the same here. Having written my master's thesis on this text, I have become somewhat of a connoisseur of such disclaimers. My favourite comment so far comes from a 1997 article by Markus Bockmuehl, 'none but the most conceited could claim to have mastered the secondary literature, and none but the dullest would find pleasure or interest in wading through it.'[1] In keeping with Bockmuehl's opinion, the aim of this short study

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[1]   Markus Bockmuehl, '"The Form of God" (Phil. 2:6): Variations on a Theme of Jewish Mysticism', *JTS* 48 (1997): 1.

is not to rehearse the old disputes and give a comprehensive history of interpretation. This task has already been ably done elsewhere.[2] My purpose here is to highlight an overlooked grammatical item in Philippians 2:6 and to briefly note its impact on our interpretation of this seminal Pauline text.[3]

I render the key phrase, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, as follows, 'who, although he existed in the form of God, did not regard equality with God as something that he should grasp for.' In my translation, I have already given an indication as to where I stand with respect to some of the more well-known interpretive disputes. But the grammatical issue that I wish to address concerns the double-accusative at the end of this verse – the first accusative being ἁρπαγμὸν, and the second the infinitive phrase τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ. The matter at hand centers on the significance of the article in the second accusative. The grammatical question that I will ask and answer in this essay is as follows. What is the significance of the article in the articular infinitive τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ?[4]

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[2]   A recapitulation of major interpretive issues in Philippians 2:5-11 appears in a collection of essays edited by Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd, eds, *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998); cf. I. Howard Marshall, 'The Christ-hymn in Philippians', *TynBul* 19 (1968): 104-27. On Philippians 2:6 in particular, N. T. Wright's analysis is to my mind the most insightful and carefully nuanced treatment of the various interpretations, ἁρπαγμός and the Meaning of Philippians 2:5-11', *JTS* NS 37 (1986): 321-52. The same article appeared subsequently in Wright's *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh, Scotland : T & T Clark, 1991; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992): 62-98.

[3]   Many who work in the field of Greek grammar and linguistics have noted that too many New Testament scholars think that all that needs to be said about Hellenistic Greek Grammar has already been said (see for example J. J. Janse van Rensburg, 'A New Reference Grammar for the Greek New Testament: Exploratory Remarks on a Methodology', *Neotestamentica* 27 [1993]: 135; Lars Rydbeck, 'What Happened to New Testament Greek Grammar after Albert Debrunner?' *NTS* 21 [1975]: 424-27). I want to affirm the sober judgment of Richard A. Young who said, 'The common assumption that everything in Greek scholarship has already been accomplished has stifled a generation of Greek scholarship and needs to be abandoned' (*Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* [Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994]: x).

[4]   This grammatical question is not vitiated by Roy W. Hoover's watershed thesis that this double-accusative construction comprises an idiom ('The Harpagmos Enigma: A Philological Solution', *HTR* 64 [1971]: 95-119). Even if there is an idiom present, it is still necessary to determine the syntactical and semantic contribution of the article with the infinitive. Against Hoover, see Samuel Vollenweider, 'Der "Raub" der Gottgleichheit: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vorschlag zu Phil. 2.6', *NTS* 45 (1999): 413-33; cf. J. C. O'Neill, 'Hoover on harpagmos reviewed, with a modest proposal concerning Philippians 2:6', *HTR* 81 (1988): 445-49.

2. N. T. Wright and the Conventional View

N. T. Wright proposed an answer to this question in an article that he wrote for the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1986.[5] He follows the conventional wisdom on this point and argues that the article has the same significance with verbal nouns (i.e. infinitives) as it has with any other noun. What significance does the article have with other nouns? We do well to remember that the Greek article is a *determiner*[6] and at times points back, as it were, to an antecedent noun in the preceding context. This phenomenon of the article referring back to another noun in the preceding context is called *anaphora*. A routine example of the anaphoric use of the article is found in John 4:40 where we read that Jesus 'remained' with the Samaritans for 'two days'. A couple verses later we read that, 'after *the* two days, [Jesus] went out from there into Galilee' (John 4:43). What 'two days' in verse 43? *The* two days mentioned two verses earlier in verse 40. A theologically significant example is found in James chapter two. In James 2:14 we read, 'What is the benefit, my brothers, if a man says that he has *faith* but he has no works? Can *the* faith save him?' Notice the article in the second half of the verse. It is not just any 'faith'. It is, '*the* faith' (ἡ πίστις) just mentioned in the first part of the verse. The faith that will not save is *that* 'faith' just mentioned that does not have any works. In this case, the definite article is the functional equivalent of a demonstrative

[5]   Wright, 'ἁρπαγμός and the Meaning of Philippians 2:5-11': 344; cf. *The Climax of the Covenant*: 83.

[6]   *Determiner* is a term linguists use to identify a certain class of words that appear in nominal clusters, 'articles, demonstrative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and so forth – come under the general heading of *determiners*, and all are included in this class because they may be used interchangeably, but cannot be used in combination (except with the article)' (David Alan Black, *Linguistic for Students of New Testament Greek: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Applications,* 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995]: 108; cf. Robert W. Funk, *A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek*, 2nd ed., Sources for Biblical Study [Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973]: 2:528-29, 555). Recent studies in general linguistics have raised questions concerning such conventional descriptions of *determination*. These studies have demonstrated that determiners do not mark for quantity, number, and possession. Rather, *determination* refers strictly to the devices used to mark noun phrases as definite. Heinz Vater's work in this area is critical. He argues that, 'Determination and quantification are different semantic phenomena with a different syntactic behavior' (Heinz Vater, 'Determination and Quantification', in *Semantyka a konfrontacja językowa*, ed. Violetta Koseska-Toszewa and Danuta Rytel-Kuc [Warszawa: Slawistyczny Osrodek Wydawniczy, 1996]: 120; contra Violetta Koseka-Toszewa, *The Semantic Category of Definiteness/Indefiniteness in Bulgarian and Polish* [Warszawa : Slawistyczny Osrodek Wydawniczy, 1991]: 8).

pronoun. That is why the NASB, for example, renders this verse, 'Can *that* faith save him?'[7]

Wright argues that just as the article often carries this anaphoric significance with other Greek nouns, so it could possibly have an anaphoric significance when used in connection with the Greek infinitive. In Philippians 2:6, Wright contends that '*the* being equal with God' (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) refers back to 'the form of God' (μορφῇ θεοῦ) mentioned in the first part of the verse. The exegetical result is that 'equality with God' is equal to or synonymous with the 'form of God'.[8] These two phrases ('τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ' and 'μορφῇ θεοῦ') are but two ways of referring to one reality. It is at this point that the Christological significance of the grammatical observation begins to emerge. If these two phrases are semantically connected on the basis of anaphoric reading of the articular infinitive, then we have to say that Christ had 'equality with God' in his preexistent unity with God.[9] Since the two phrases refer to the same thing, then he must have possessed both because they are one.

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[7]   These two examples are taken from Daniel B. Wallace's *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996): 219.

[8]   'A further reason, not usually noticed, for taking τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ in close connection with ὃς ἐν μοφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων is the regular usage of the articular infinitive (here, τὸ εἶναι) to refer "to something previously mentioned or otherwise well known"' (N. T. Wright, 'ἁρπαγμός and the Meaning of Philippians 2:5-11': 344).

[9]   J. D. G. Dunn continues his opposition to seeing a pre-existent Christ in this text (*Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989]: xix, 113-21; 'Christ, Adam, and Preexistence', in *Where Christology Began*: 74-83, esp. 78-79). However, it is not necessary to argue against an Adam-Christology in order to maintain Christ's pre-existence (e.g. Charles Arthur Wanamaker, 'Philippians 2:6-11: Son of God or Adamic Christology?', *NTS* 33 [1987]: 179-93). Wright correctly points out that the presence of an Adam-Christology in Philippians 2:5-11 does not rule out the possibility of Christ's pre-existence, 'Adam in Pauline Christology', *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 22 (1983): 359-89. I am in general agreement with Bockmuehl that μορφῇ θεοῦ 'refers in Phil. 2:6 to the visible divine beauty and appearance which Christ had in his pre-incarnate state, before taking on the visible form and appearance of a slave' ('"The Form of God"': 4).

3. An Alternative View

I propose an interpretation that allows for 'equality with God' to be a reality that is distinct from Christ's existing in the 'form of God'.[10] What is it about the syntax of this verse that allows me to argue for such an interpretation? Contrary to Wright, I contend that the article in the phrase τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ does not refer back to the μορφῇ θεοῦ. In other words, there is no anaphoric link between these two phrases. If I am correct in arguing that there is no anaphoric link, then this observation allows us to consider the possibility that the 'form of God' (μορφῇ θεοῦ) and the 'equality with God' (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) are not synonyms and that we should not regard them as semantically overlapped. 'Equality with God' and 'form of God' might not be two ways of referring to the same thing. Therefore, if one wants to argue that these two phrases are semantic equivalents, one will have to do so on other grounds because there is little if any grammatical basis for the supposed anaphoric link. But before we can come to such a conclusion, we have to consider the grammatical arguments that militate against the alleged anaphoric link. My argument will proceed in four parts: (1) a contrast of my thesis with the conventional view contained in the grammar book by Blass-Debrunner-Funk, (2) an argument for the grammatical necessity of the article in Philippians 2:6, (3) a brief statement of a controlling presupposition concerning the semantics of the Greek article, and (4) an exposition of how my thesis is born out in the rest of the New Testament and other related literature.

4. Wright, BDF, and the Conventional View

Although I have singled out the remarks in Wright's 1986 article, I should point out that he is merely articulating the conventional wisdom

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[10] I would introduce the word *essence* as a possible understanding of μορφῇ, 'Whereas εἰκών contemplates the external or representational features of an object, μορφῇ tends, both in classical and Hellenistic Greek, to point to the metaphysical property of an object so that it refers to *nature* or essence' (David Wallace, 'A Note on *morphē*', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 22 [1966]: 22). Yet I still agree with Bockmuehl (see preceding footnote) because this *essence* is manifest. Thus I follow Moulton and Milligan's definition which says that μορφῇ 'always signifies a form which truly and fully expresses the being which underlies it' (James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1930]: 417).

concerning the significance of the article in the articular infinitive. He
is not the only commentator making this claim.[11] As noted above, the
conventional wisdom holds that the article has the same significance
with verbal nouns (i.e. infinitives) that is has with other nouns. If one
reads Blass-Debrunner-Funk's section on the articular infinitive (the
NT grammar book that many still consider to be the state of the art
reference grammar), one finds the conventional view stated very
clearly, 'In general the anaphoric significance of the article, i.e. its
reference to something previously mentioned or otherwise well known,
is more or less evident.'[12] So Wright and others seem to be following
the settled grammatical conclusions of BDF.[13] Thus the question is
whether Wright is correct in his reliance upon BDF's judgment
concerning the articular infinitive. I think this reliance is not correct for
at least two reasons.

First, a careful reading of BDF reveals that this grammar never
intended to communicate that the article *always* bears an anaphoric
significance when used with the articular infinitive. In fact, BDF says
that when the articular infinitive is 'Without this anaphoric reference,
an infinitive as subject or object is usually anarthrous.'[14] BDF concedes
that the articular infinitive is sometimes found 'Without' an anaphoric
reference. Furthermore, BDF goes on to divide its treatment between
those examples which are 'Anaphoric' and those which are 'Less
clearly anaphoric'.[15] One could reasonably argue that the only clearly
anaphoric articular infinitives are those that have a cognate term in the
near context (e.g. θανάτου . . . τὸ ἀποθανεῖν in Phil. 2:20-21). Such
is not the case with τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ and μορφῇ θεοῦ. Thus, the
prima facie argument for an anaphoric link does not hold in Philippians
2:6. The important thing to note is that even BDF allows that the

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[11] E.g. Peter T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, (NIGTC; Grand Rapids:
Eerdmans, 1991): 216; Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians*, WBC, vol. 43 (Waco, TX:
Nelson, 1983): 84; Gordan D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, ed. Gordon D. Fee
(NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995): 207; Kenneth Grayston, *The Letters of Paul
to the Philippians and the Thessalonians*, (Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge:
CUP, 1967): 27.

[12] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other
Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1961): 205, §399 [henceforth BDF].

[13] Blass-Debrunner-Funk is not alone in its judgment. See also: A. T. Robertson, *A
Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 4th ed.
(Nashville: Broadman, 1934): 1065.

[14] BDF: 205, §399 [emphasis mine].

[15] BDF: 205.

articular infinitive simply does not *always* bear an anaphoric significance – not even in the nominative/accusative examples. In the area of lexical semantics, careful scholars avoid the error of illegitimate totality transfer – that is, reading a word's entire lexical range into a given use of that word in context. In the area of grammar, scholars would do well to avoid the same fallacy as it is applied to syntax – that is in this case, to avoid attributing the entire range of grammatical functions to the article that is attached to the infinitive in Philippians 2:6. Just because *some* uses of the articular infinitive may appear to be anaphoric (a claim I contest below), that does not mean that *all* articular infinitives are anaphoric.

Second, Wright is not correct in following BDF's judgment because the NT evidence shows that BDF has overstated the significance of the article in connection with the infinitive. And here is where I will introduce the heart of my argument and contrast it with the conventional view of the articular infinitive. My thesis concerning the meaning of the article with the infinitive contains both a positive and a negative element: Whenever the definite article is connected to the infinitive, it always does so in order to signal a structural relation and/or to clarify case, not to indicate the semantic change normally associated with determiners (e.g. anaphora). Let us briefly consider both the negative and positive aspects of my argument.

Negatively stated, the article with the infinitive does not have the semantic effect of making the infinitive definite (and thereby anaphoric).[16] Any given use of the article can best be described as falling on a spectrum of significance. At one end of the spectrum is *syntactical value* and at the other end of the spectrum is *semantic*

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[16] To be precise, we should note that determiners mark nouns as definite, and in certain contexts this *definiteness* has an anaphoric value. Thus anaphora is only properly understood as a sub-category of definiteness. John A. Hawkins' work has exerted some considerable influence in the way that general linguists conceive of the semantic category of *definiteness*: 'According to my location theory the speaker performs the following acts when using the definite article. He (a) introduces a referent (or referents) to the hearer; and (b) instructs the hearer to locate the referent in some shared set of objects . . .; and he (c) refers to the totality of the objects or mass within this set which satisfy the referring expression' (John A. Hawkins, *Definiteness and Indefiniteness: A Study in Reference and Grammaticality Prediction* [London: Croom Helm; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1978]: 167). The question that I am trying to answer in this essay is whether or not the Greek article always carries with it this semantic value as a *definitizer*.

value.[17] Many uses of the article comprise a combination of both syntactical and semantic features. However, there are many uses in which one of these elements predominates – either syntactical or semantic.

Articular Infinitive

Syntactical Value |———•———————————| **Semantic Value**
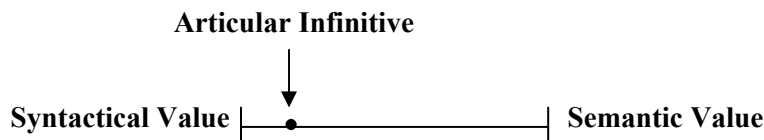
The use of the article with the infinitive consistently falls on the far left of the spectrum, which is graphically illustrated above. The evidence below will show that the article does not determine the infinitive as definite (be it *individual*, *generic*, *par excellence*, *anaphora*, etc.), thereby effecting a semantic modification to the infinitive.[18] Therefore it is completely off the mark to say that the article is used with the infinitive in exactly the same way that it is used with other nouns. With other nouns, the article's significance is all over the spectrum. With the infinitive, it is only on the left side.

   Positively stated, the article with the infinitive functions primarily as a syntactical marker. As such the article appears with the infinitive for one of two reasons: (1) to mark the case of the infinitive or (2) to mark some other syntactical function that can only be made explicit by the presence of the article. In other words, the definite article gets connected to the infinitive in order to mark a structural relation. The article clarifies the syntactical relation of the infinitive phrase to its context and is used only as a function word.[19]

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[17] By 'semantic value' I am referring rather narrowly to the article's value as a *definitizing* determiner, not to the potential value associated with the article's case.

[18] This is Funk's list (*A Beginning*: 2:555-56), though more could be added (e.g. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*: 216-31).

[19] Associated with the distinction between structural meaning and lexical meaning is the distinction between *content* words and *function* words. *Content* words are those items which possess little structural meaning but great lexical meaning. *Function* words are those items which have little lexical meaning but great structural meaning. Eugene Van Ness Goetchius writes, 'The most important function words are prepositions (*to, for, with, by,* etc.), conjunctions (*and, or, but, because,* etc.), and the articles (*a, an, the*)' (*The Language of the New Testament* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965]: 25). One way to think about the difference between *function* words and *content* words is by analogy. If structure words make up the mortar of a language, then content words are the bricks that provide the substance of a language (David Alan Black, *Linguistic for Students of New Testament Greek*: 98).

5. The Grammatical Necessity of the Article in Philippians 2:6

What syntactical relationship needs clarifying in Philippians 2:6? As Daniel Wallace observes, without the definite article we would not be able to distinguish the accusative object from the accusative complement following the verb 'consider' (ἡγήσατο).[20] The article is required in order to mark the components of this double accusative phrase. Because our focus is on the double accusative, it will therefore be necessary to elaborate on the syntax of the object-complement construction. Whereas most transitive verbs take only one accusative direct object, there are at least fifty-six verbs in the New Testament which can take two accusatives.[21] In this scenario, one accusative is the direct object, and the other accusative is the complement.[22] The complement *predicates* something about the direct object. For example, Paul writes, 'I consider these things a loss' (ταῦτα ἥγημαι . . . ζημίαν, Phil. 3:7). *These things* (ταῦτα) and *a loss* (ζημίαν) are both in the accusative case. *These things* is the direct object, and *a loss* describes *these things*.

   Sometimes there is the potential for confusion in distinguishing the accusative object from the accusative complement. For this reason, Wallace has set forth a set of rules that help to distinguish the accusative object from the accusative complement.[23] The object will either be a *pronoun* or a *proper name*, or it will have the *definite article*. In Philippians 2:6, the only way we can distinguish the accusative object from the accusative complement is by the definite article at the beginning of the infinitive. If the article were absent, the syntactical relation of the infinitive phrase to the rest of the sentence

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[20] Wallace first raised this grammatical issue in his *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*: 186, 602.

[21] For Wallace's complete list of such verbs, see his article titled, 'The Semantics and Exegetical Significance of the Object-Complement Construction in the New Testament', *Grace Theological Journal* 6 (1985): 96, n. 23. An abbreviated list can be found in his *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*: 183.

[22] This is of course notwithstanding the *person-thing double accusative* in which the accusative of the person functions like the more typical dative of the person (C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge: CUP, 1959]: 33).

[23] These rules correspond directly with the rules for distinguishing subject from predicate nominative (Wallace, 'Object-Complement Construction', 103-5; *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*: 184-85). Wallace notes that Goetchius first suggested the analogy between these two constructions (Goetchius, *The Language of the New Testament*: 46; 142-44).

would be unclear. So the article does not show up here in order to link 'equality with God' to the 'form of God'. The definite article appears here to distinguish the object (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) from the complement (ἁρπαγμὸν).

6. Presupposition Concerning Syntax and Semantics

I have just demonstrated that the article is syntactically required in Philippians 2:6 in order for the double-accusative construction to be intelligible. This observation is important because of a presupposition that many linguists make when analyzing the Greek article. This assumption can be summarized as follows: When it can be demonstrated that the Greek article is syntactically required, one should not look for any further semantic significance in the article. In these situations, the article appears as a function word with little to no semantic weight as a determiner. In this way I am following the methodological assumption of Haiim B. Rosén in his work on the Greek article in Heraclitus.

> The recognition of grammatical features is also essential for the exegete or semanticist, that is, for one whose objective is to explain the meaning of an expression or text, since … only a total elimination of all grammatical features permits us to arrive at true semantic statements … the first step of linguistic analysis aimed at defining the function of a given element of expression is to exclude all its uses in environments where it appears to be compulsory or grammatically induced.[24]

According to Rosén, when the article appears in contexts where it is grammatically obligatory, one cannot press the usual semantic value that the article has as a *determiner*. This procedure is consistent with Robert Funk's observation concerning the significance of the article in Hellenistic Greek, 'Where the article functions more or less exclusively as a grammatical device, i.e. where it is lexically entirely empty.'[25] He elaborates that in such situations, 'The article in Greek is often a purely grammatical device and should be assigned only

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[24] Haiim B. Rosén, *Early Greek Grammar and Thought in Heraclitus: the Emergence of the Article*, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, VII:2 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1988): 30, 37.
[25] Funk, *Beginning*: 2:557. However, Funk's use of John 8:37 as an example of a purely grammatical use of the article is incorrect. This text is actually an example of the article's function as a determiner.

grammatical "meaning."'[26] The rest of this essay builds upon the same presupposition. Therefore, in the following analysis of articular infinitives in the New Testament, whenever it can be demonstrated that the article is required as a function marker or case-identifier, we cannot conclude that the article *definitizes* the infinitive (thereby making it anaphoric).

7. An Analysis of the Articular Infinitive in the New Testament in Light of Related Literature

My argument against Wright and Blass-Debrunner-Funk is borne out by the fact that no articular infinitive in the NT is clearly anaphoric and that the overwhelming majority of them are clearly not anaphoric. There are at least 320 occurrences of the articular infinitive in the NT.[27] We can divide the occurrences of the articular infinitives of the New Testament between those that follow prepositions and those that do not. In order to demonstrate the value of the Greek article in such contexts, we will first explore the uses of the articular infinitive as object of prepositions, and then we will consider the articular infinitives that are not governed by prepositions.

7.1 Articular Infinitives Following Prepositions

Well over half of the 323 articular infinitives in the New Testament (201 to be exact) are the object of a preposition.[28] Two observations

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[26] Funk, *Beginning*: 2:558.

[27] A computer search of the GRAMCORD database produced this number. The statistics that follow are the result of my own search of the GRAMCORD database and of a comparison of these results with Votaw and Boyer (James L. Boyer, *Supplemental manual of information: infinitive verbs* [Winona Lake, Indiana: Boyer, 1986]; Clyde W. Votaw, *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek* [Chicago: Published by the Author, 1896]). Because Votaw worked from the Westcott and Hort text, our final tallies are not quite identical.

[28] Matt. 5:28; 6:1, 8; 13:4, 5, 6, 25, 30; 20:19 (3x); 23:5; 24:12; 26:2, 12, 32; 27:12, 31; Mark 1:14; 4:4, 5, 6; 5:4 (3x); 6:48; 13:22; 14:28, 55; 16:19 (!); Luke 1:8, 21; 2:4, 6, 21, 27, 43; 3:21; 5:1 (2x), 12, 17; 6:48; 8:5, 6, 40, 42; 9:7, 18, 29, 33, 34, 36, 51; 10:35, 38; 11:1, 8, 27, 37; 12:5, 15; 14:1; 17:11, 14; 18:1, 5, 35; 19:11 (2x), 15; 22:15, 20; 23:8; 24:4, 15 (2x), 30, 51; John 1:48; 2:24; 13:19; 17:5; Acts 1:3; 2:1; 3:19, 26; 4:2 (2x), 30 (2x); 7:4, 19; 8:6 (2x), 11, 40; 9:3; 10:41; 11:15; 12:20; 15:13; 18:2, 3; 19:1, 21; 20:1; 23:15; 27:4, 9; 28:18; Rom. 1:11, 20; 3:4, 26; 4:11 (2x), 16, 18; 6:12; 7:4, 5; 8:29; 11:11; 12:2, 3; 15:8, 13 (2x), 16; 1 Cor. 8:10; 9:18; 10:6; 11:21, 22 (2x), 25, 33; 2 Cor. 1:4; 3:13; 4:4; 7:3 (2x), 12; 8:6, 11; Gal. 2:12; 3:17, 23; 4:18; Eph. 1:12, 18; 6:11; Phil. 1:7, 10, 23 (2x); 1 Thess. 2:9, 12, 16; 3:2 (2x), 3, 5, 10 (2x), 13; 4:9; 2 Thess. 1:5; 2:2 (2x), 6, 10, 11; 3:8, 9; Heb. 2:8, 17; 3:12, 15; 7:23, 24, 25; 8:3, 13;

lead us to the conclusion that the article is grammatically obligatory when an infinitive serves as the object of the preposition. The first observation consists of a simple description of the data as it stands in the New Testament. As has already been pointed out, every infinitive that serves as a prepositional object in the New Testament is articular. There is no exception to this pattern in the New Testament literature, and this pattern is consistent with other koine writings of the period.[29] As a second observation, we can see that the article is necessary in order to mark the infinitive as the object of the preposition.[30] Because of the absence of spaces between words in Greek, one would not be able to distinguish infinitives as objects from those that are being used in composition.[31] Thus, great ambiguity would result if only anarthrous infinitives were used following prepositions.[32] Theoretically, there

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9:14, 28; 10:2, 15, 26; 11:3; 12:10; 13:21; Jas 1:18, 19 (2x); 3:3; 4:2, 15; 1 Pet. 3:7; 4:2.

[29] The exceptions in literature outside of the New Testament are very rare: 'Der in der klassischen Sprache überaus seltene Gebrauch einer Präposition oder eines Präpositionaladverbium mit dem artikellosen Infinitiv … Sicher steht der auch in Rechnungen nachchristlicher Jahrhunderte nicht seltene Ausdruck εἰς πιεῖν … Alle anderen in Betracht kommenden Fälle sind höchst zweifelhaft' (Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit einschluss der gleichzeitigen ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten inschriften*, vol. 3, *Satzlehre* [Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1926]: 324). Robertson agrees, 'The instances without the article are clearly very few' (Robertson, *Grammar*: 1069). According to Moulton, the Greek of the New Testament follows Attic in its use of the article. Moulton says that the frequent use of εἰς πιεῖν in the papyri is the result of Ionic influence. That is why this exception exists in the papyri and not in the New Testament (James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek,* vol. 1: *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908]: 81). There are many textual problems with the exceptions in the LXX (e.g. Judg. 6:11; Ps. 122:2; 1 Macc. 16:9: Robertson, *Grammar*: 1071-1072 and Votaw, *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*: 17-18).

[30] This is not to say that the article make the infinitive substantival. As Robertson argues, 'It is not true that the article makes the inf. a substantive as Winer has it. It is not just a substantive, nor just a verb, but both at the same time … One naturally feels that the articular inf. is more substantival than the anarthrous . . ., but that is not correct … The addition of the article made no essential change in the inf. It was already both substantive and verb' (Robertson, *Grammar*: 1057, 1058, 1063).

[31] Robertson, *Grammar*: 1069.

[32] There is also a semantic ambiguity that would occur in some instances because without the article the case of the infinitive would be ambiguous. As Robertson has argued, 'It is the *case* which indicates the meaning of the *preposition*, and not the preposition which gives the meaning to the case' (Robertson, *Grammar*: 554). Compare this with the recommended procedure for interpreting prepositional phrases in Murray J. Harris, 'Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament', in *NIDNTT*, (1978): 3:1173; cf. Robertson, *Grammar*: 568. According to Robertson and Harris, one cannot understand prepositional phrases without first understanding the case of the object.

would be at least two syntactical possibilities for an anarthrous infinitive following a preposition. The first possibility is that the infinitive might be functioning as the object of the preposition. The second possibility is that the preposition may be combining with the verb to form a compound. Because of this potential ambiguity, the article is needed in order to distinguish the first situation from the second situation.

We can illustrate the function of the Greek article in these kinds of prepositional phrases by thinking about how English distinguishes prepositional objects from compound words. In English this distinction has both morphological[33] and phonetic aspects. Morphologically, English readers distinguish 'infields of gold' from 'in fields of gold' by the use of spaces between words. In the first phrase, we know 'infields' to be a compound word simply by observing that there is no space between the prepositional prefix 'in' and the noun 'fields'. The space separating 'in' from 'fields' in the second phrase shows us that 'fields' is intended to be the object of the preposition. English speakers also make a phonetic distinction between 'infields' and 'in fields' through the use of accent. 'Infields' is articulated with an accent on the first syllable, while 'in fields' would normally have an accent on the second. The point is that English users utilize both morphological and phonetic conventions in order to disambiguate what would otherwise be very unclear.

Such morphological and phonetic distinctions would have been important to the authors of the New Testament since their original audience would have included both readers and hearers.[34] The original

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[33] Technically, this is a morpho-syntactic distinction because English relies so heavily upon word order.

[34] Modern readers often fail to recognize this fact. The proliferation of printed Bibles in our own day makes it difficult for modern readers to relate to the oral culture that existed two millennia ago. Yet we know that both Jews and Christians of the first century relied upon the spoken word for their scriptural training, not the written (Luke 4:16; Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21, 30-31; 2 Cor. 3:14-15; Eph. 3:4; Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 5:27; 1 Tim. 4:13; Rev. 1:3). Robert Stein has recently reminded New Testament scholars of the importance of remembering that the New Testament materials were written with the knowledge that they were to be read aloud in the Christian assembly: 'Another important implication that flows out of the presupposition that Mark thought of his 'readers' as 'hearers' having his Gospel read to them, is that he wrote clearly enough that his hearers would be able to understand what he said *as the Gospel was being read to them* … Thus Mark, and even Paul's letters, should be interpreted in light of the ability of their hearing audiences to process the information being read to them, *as it was being read*' (Robert H. Stein, 'Our Reading of the Bible vs. the Original Audience's Hearing It', *JETS* 46 [2003]: 73-74).

reader of a given use of the articular infinitive in the New Testament would have needed a morphological way to distinguish compound infinitives from infinitives as object of the preposition. Just as the space marks the noun as the prepositional object in English, so the article marks the infinitive as prepositional object in Greek. The original hearers of the spoken New Testament materials also would have needed such signals. The spoken article would have enabled the original hearers to make this syntactic distinction. The point is that the article is grammatically obligatory when an articular infinitive is governed by a preposition. None of them indicate an anaphoric link to some other element in the immediate context, and I have not found anyone who would dispute that claim.[35]

7.2 Articular Infinitives Not Following Prepositions

Of the other 122 articular infinitives not governed by a preposition, the vast majority are clearly not anaphoric.[36] Of the 81 genitive and 1 dative examples, the article clearly appears to encode a meaning associated with the article's case. Of the 23 nominative and 18 accusative infinitives (which are identical in form), the article appears to clarify a syntactical relation. All of these infinitives have the article in order to clarify a grammatical relationship or to encode a meaning associated with the article's case. If there are any that denote anaphora, it would only be among the nominative/accusative examples, and even then there is only a handful.[37]

The one dative example in 2 Corinthians 2:13 deserves little comment because there is general agreement that the article appears to

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[35] In a private conversation with Peter Gentry on this matter, he suggested that I exclude from my study all instances of articular infinitives governed by prepositions. He pointed out that since the article is grammatically required to mark the case of the infinitive, one should not attempt to discover additional semantic meaning in its use.

[36] Matt. 2:13; 3:13; 11:1 (2x); 13:3; 15:20; 20:23; 21:32; 24:45; Mark 9:10; 10:40; 12:33 (2x); Luke 1:9, 57, 73, 77, 79; 2:6, 21, 24, 27; 4:10, 42; 5:7; 8:5; 9:51; 10:19; 12:42; 17:1; 21:22; 22:6, 31; 24:16, 25, 29, 45; Acts 3:2, 12; 5:31; 7:19; 9:15; 10:25, 47; 13:47; 14:9, 18; 15:20; 18:10; 20:3, 20 (2x), 27, 30; 21:12; 23:15, 20; 25:11; 26:18 (2x); 27:1, 20; Rom. 1:24; 6:6; 7:3, 18 (2x); 8:12; 11:8 (2x), 10; 13:8; 14:13, 21 (2x); 15:22, 23; 1 Cor. 7:26; 9:10; 10:13; 11:6 (2x); 14:39 (2x); 16:4; 2 Cor. 1:8; 2:1, 13; 7:11; 8:10 (2x); 8:11 (3x); 9:1; 10:2; Gal. 3:10; Phil. 1:21 (2x), 22, 24, 29 (2x); 2:6, 13 (2x); 3:10, 21; 4:10; 1 Thess. 4:6 (2x); Heb. 2:15; 5:12; 10:7, 9, 31; 11:5; Jas 5:17; 1 Pet. 3:10; 4:17; Rev. 12:7.

[37] These are the texts suggested in BDF, §399:1-2: Matt. 15:20; cf. 15:2, 23; Mark 9:10; 12:33; Acts 25:11; Rom. 4:13; 7:18; 13:8; 14:13; 1 Cor. 7:37; 11:6; 14:39; 2 Cor. 2:1; 8:10; 9:1; Phil. 1:21, 24, 29; 2:6, 13; 4:10; Heb. 10:31; Rev. 13:8.

encode a meaning associated with the dative case. In this lone example from the New Testament, the dative case form is employed in order to signify *instrumentality* (cf. LXX 2 Chr. 28:22; Eccl. 1:16; 4 Macc. 17:20-21).[38] The 81 genitive examples of this construction also encode a meaning associated with the case form. As K. L. McKay has aptly pointed out,

> The genitive of the articular infinitive is found with expressions implying separation (ablatival genitive) and in dependence on nouns (descriptive genitive) …
>
> Occasionally the genitive of an articular infinitive is found in constructions in which an anarthrous infinitive is normal, and where there seems to be no need for the genitive … In all these the genitive is probably partitive …, indicating that the preceding activity is in some way seen as part of that expressed by the infinitive.[39]

McKay's point is that even in those texts that appear to be expressing purpose, the sense is probably partitive. Yet in texts such as 1 Corinthians 10:13, the genitive articular infinitive is often rendered as purpose, ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν, 'He will provide with the temptation a way of escape *so that* you might be able (… a way of escape consisting in the ability) to bear up.' But in this text the genitive actually defines τὴν ἔκβασιν, and the idea of purpose (or consequence) actually arises from the logic rather than the grammar of the sentence.[40] For our purposes, the important thing to note in all the genitive and dative examples is that the article appears in order to encode a meaning associated with the case, not to determine the infinitive as definite.

The 40 nominative and accusative examples of the articular infinitive that do not follow prepositions are the most analogous in form and semantics to the example in Philippians 2:6. For this reason, we will have to give a fuller accounting of these texts. Like the genitive and dative examples, the nominative and accusative articular

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[38] Robertson, *Grammar*: 1061. Votaw recognizes that *instrumentality* to some extent overlaps semantically with the categories *cause, manner, means* and includes 2 Corinthians 2:13 under this threefold heading (Votaw, *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*: 29). See also Moulton, *Prolegomena*: 220; Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, Biblical Languages: Greek (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992): 200.

[39] K. L. McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach*, Studies in Biblical Greek, vol. 5, ed. D. A. Carson (New York: Peter Lang, 1994): 59, 55.

[40] McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb*: 129.

infinitives are grammatically induced, though not for precisely the same reason. In the genitive and dative examples, the article encodes a syntactical relation and a meaning that is directly related to the case of the article. In the nominative and accusative examples, the article only marks a syntactical relation. The reason for this slight difference can be attributed to the difference between the cases. Whereas the genitive and dative in themselves signify an identifiable semantic content, the nominative and the accusative do not.[41] The nominative and accusative cases are by definition *non-defining*.[42] So we will not find the nominative and accusative infinitives to be freighted with additional semantic content such as *instrumentality* (as with the dative)*, description* or *separation* (as with the genitive). What we do find is that the nominative and accusative neuter articles function to disambiguate what would otherwise be ambiguous syntactical arrangements.[43] That is, when the nominative or accusative article appears in conjunction with the infinitive, it expresses a grammatical-structural relation that may not otherwise be apparent.

The nominative article functions to mark the infinitive as the subject of the sentence in which it stands. There are at least 304 instances in the New Testament in which infinitives function as the syntactical subjects of the sentences in which they stand. In the vast majority of

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[41] 'The syntactic cases such as nominative and accusative encode primary syntactic functions such as subject and object and do not have any specific semantic function. On the other hand, [semantic] cases like ablative, instrumental, and locative generally represent adverbials which have a more specific semantic content' (*Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, trans. Gregory Trauth and Kerstin Kazzazi [London: Routledge, 1996; original, *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*, 2nd completely revised edition; Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag, 1990]: 63). The so-called syntactic cases (nominative and accusative) primarily denote grammatical structure while semantic cases encode a semantic element as well. Thus we see that observing the 'ground meaning' of a semantic case is much more significant than trying to observe the same for a syntactic case.

[42] I am thoroughly influenced by J. P. Louw in my description of the ground meaning of the Greek cases. On the nominative and accusative in particular: 'On the semantic level the accusative denotes relation to the constructional chain without defining the relation … On the semantic level the mere nominal idea is stated by the nominative without relation to the sentence, while the accusative, denoting a relation, is non-defining' (Louw, 'Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System', *Acta Classica* 9 [1966]: 80).

[43] Michael W. Palmer writes that the article 'disambiguates' the '*structural ambiguity*' of some Greek phrases (*Levels of Constituent Structure in New Testament Greek*, Studies in Biblical Greek, ed. D. A. Carson [New York: Peter Lang, 1995]: 41, 40 respectively).

these examples (280 to be exact), the infinitive is anarthrous.[44] Only 24 examples of the infinitive as subject are articular. These statistics show that the article is not obligatory in order for an infinitive to be understood as the syntactical subject. Most of the time, one can deduce that the anarthrous infinitive is the subject without the article marking it as nominative.[45] But there are several situations in which the article becomes important as a structural marker.

First, the article can be necessary in order to distinguish the subject from the predicate nominative. This is certainly the case with the two articular infinitives in Philippians 1:21: Ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. If the neuter articles were absent in this text, it would not be at all clear how the infinitives function in this context. If we were to utilize the normal rules for distinguishing subject from predicate nominative, then Χριστὸς would certainly be considered the subject in the absence of the neuter article. It is true that ζωῆς and θναάτου (Phil. 1:20) immediately present themselves as possible antecedents of an anaphoric article. But an anaphoric article would be semantically superfluous. The author does not need an anaphoric article to clarify his continued exposition of his 'living' and 'dying'. The same author feels no compulsion to use the anaphoric article with the infinitive in similar contexts (cf. Paul's judging in 1 Cor. 5:3, 12). For this reason, the grammatical explanation of the

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44   Matt. 3:15; 9:5 (2x); 12:2, 4, 10, 12; 13:11; 14:4; 15:26 (2x); 16:21 (4x); 17:4, 10; 18:7, 8 (2x), 9 (2x), 13, 33; 19:3, 10, 24; 20:15; 22:17; 23:23 (2x); 24:6; 25:27; 26:35, 54; 27:6; Mark 2:9 (2x), 15, 23, 26; 3:4 (4x); 6:18; 7:27 (2x); 8:31 (4x), 36 (2x); 9:5, 11, 43 (2x), 45 (2x), 47 (2x); 10:2, 24, 25 (2x); 12:14; 13:7, 10; 14:31; Luke 1:3; 2:26, 49; 3:21, 22 (2x); 4:43; 5:23 (2x); 6:1, 4; 6:6 (2x), 9 (4x), 12; 8:10; 9:22 (4x), 33; 11:42 (2x); 12:12; 13:14, 16, 33 (2x); 14:3; 15:32 (2x); 16:17 (2x), 22 (2x); 17:25 (2x); 18:1 (2x), 25 (2x); 19:5; 20:22; 21:9; 22:7, 37; 24:7 (3x), 26 (2x), 44, 46 (2x), 47; John 3:7, 14; 3:30 (2x); 4:4, 20, 24; 5:10; 9:4; 10:16; 12:34; 18:14, 31; 20:9; Acts 1:7, 16, 22; 2:29; 3:21; 4:5, 12, 19; 5:29; 6:2; 7:23; 9:3, 6, 16, 32, 37, 43; 10:28 (2x); 11:26 (3x); 13:46; 14:1 (2x), 22; 15:5 (2x), 22, 25, 28; 16:16, 21 (2x), 30; 17:3 (2x); 19:1 (2x), 21, 36 (2x); 20:16 (2x), 35 (4x); 21:1, 5, 35, 37; 22:6, 17, 18; 22:22, 25; 23:11; 24:19 (2x); 25:10, 16, 24, 27; 26:1, 9, 14; 27:21, 24, 26, 44; 28:8, 17; Rom. 12:3, 15 (2x); 1 Cor. 5:12; 7:1, 9 (2x); 8:2; 9:15; 11:13, 19; 14:34, 35; 15:25, 53 (2x)3; 16:4; 2 Cor. 2:3; 5:10; 11:30; 12:1, 4; Gal. 4:18; 6:14; Eph. 5:12; 6:20; Phil. 1:7; 3:1; Col. 4:4, 6; 1 Thess. 4:1 (2x); 2 Thess. 1:6; 3:7; 1 Tim. 3:2, 15; 2 Tim. 2:6, 24 (2x); Titus 1:7, 11; Heb. 2:1, 10; 4:6; 8:3; 9:5, 26, 27; 11:6; 13:9; Jas 3:10; 1 Pet. 3:17; 2 Pet. 2:21 (2x); 3:11; Rev. 1:1; 4:1; 6:4; 7:2; 10:11; 11:5; 13:7 (2x), 14, 15; 16:8; 17:10; 20:3; 22:6. Votaw incorrectly includes Acts 23:30, 2 Cor. 9:5, Phil. 2:25, 2 Pet. 1:13, and Rev. 13:10 in his list of anarthrous subject infinitives (Votaw, *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek*: 31-40).

45   This fact is most clearly seen in the 154 instances in which the infinitive is the subject of an impersonal verb. In each instance, the infinitive is anarthrous.

article seems most satisfactory.

Second, the article often keeps the subject-infinitive from being confused with an infinitive that modifies a predicate adjective. In Matthew 20:23 (par. Mark 10:40), for instance, we read, τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι.[46] In this case, if the article were absent, it would be difficult to decipher which infinitive is the subject and which is epexegetical to ἐμὸν. There are contexts in which the anarthrous infinitive is epexegetical to a predicate adjective (Matt. 9:5; 9:5; Mark 2:9; 2:9; Luke 5:23; 5:23). The neuter article removes the potential syntactic ambiguity by showing καθίσαι to be the subject and δοῦναι to be modifying the adjective ἐμὸν. This explanation accounts for the article's appears in at least 10 other texts (Mark 12:33; 12:33; Rom. 14:21; 14:21; 1 Cor. 7:26; 11:6; 11:6; 2 Cor. 9:1; Phil. 1:24; Heb. 10:31).

Third, the article functions to clarify the infinitive as subject so that it will not be mistaken as standing in an adverbial relation to the main verb. The pair of infinitives in Romans 7:18 have articles that perform this duty,: τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειταί μοι, τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ καλὸν οὔ. In this text, the article is necessary to mark the infinitive as subject because παράκειμαι can be followed by the anarthrous infinitive with an *ecbatic* sense (cf. Jdt. 3:2, 3; perhaps 2 Macc. 12:16; 3 Macc. 7:3). The article removes the ambiguity. In Philippians 1:29, we find a similar example of this usage: ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν. In this instance, the neuter article is necessary to set the infinitive in apposition to the grammatical subject, τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστου. If Paul had not used the article in this text to clarify the infinitive as the subject, then it would have been syntactically possible to translate the infinitives adverbially, 'it is present in order to desire for me, but not in order to do the good.' Such an understanding is perhaps unlikely, but the presence of the definite articles removes any potential confusion about how these infinitives are functioning in this sentence. In 2 Corinthians 8:11, the article is necessary to mark ἐπιτελέσαι as subject of a new clause so that it would not be

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[46] The editors of UBS 3 admit that τοῦτο has a comparatively weak textual basis and only give it a 'C' rating (Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/German Bible Society, 1994]: 42). For this reason, I agree with the text of Westcott-Hort, which leaves it out.

misinterpreted as in an attributive relation to the genitive article governing the previous infinitive: νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέσατε, ὅπως καθάρεπρ ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἔχειν. In all of these texts, the definite articles provide the structural clues we need to identify the infinitive as subject.

There are at least 16 instances of the accusative articular infinitive in the New Testament.[47] With the exception of two texts in which the accusative article marks an appositional relation (Rom. 14:13; 2 Cor. 2:1),[48] the accusative case appears with the infinitive in order to encode the infinitive as the direct object of a transitive verb. In at least 5 of these texts, the accusative articular infinitive helps to clarify the meaning of the main verb. In Acts 25:11, we read: οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. The article with ἀποθανεῖν removes the possibility that the infinitive is indirect discourse. Without the article, παραιτοῦμαι might be misinterpreted as 'request' (cf. Luke 23:23; John 4:9; Acts 3:14; 7:46; 13:28; Eph. 3:13; Heb. 12:19). An accusative object with no indirect discourse leads to interpreting παραιτοῦμαι as 'refuse' or 'reject' (1 Tim. 4:7; 5:11; 2 Tim. 2:23; Titus 3:10; Heb. 12:25). Consider also 2 Corinthians 10:2: δέομαι δὲ τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι τῇ πεποιθήσει ᾗ λογίζομαι τολμῆσαι ἐπί τινας τοὺς λογιζομένους ἡμᾶς ὡς κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦντας. James L. Boyer includes δέομαι in his list of verbs that take an infinitive in indirect discourse.[49] When δέομαι is followed by an anarthrous infinitive, the infinitive phrase indicates indirect discourse (e.g. Luke 8:38; 9:38; Acts 26:3). Bauer's lexicon shows that with the accusative, δέομαι refers to the accusative of the thing as distinguished from 'indirect discourse' and 'direct discourse'.[50]

In Romans 13:8, the accusative article appears to clarify the meaning of the verb ὀφείλετε: Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν. The verb ὀφείλω requires either a

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[47] Acts 25:11; Rom. 13:8; 14:13; 1 Cor. 14:39; 14:39; 2 Cor. 2:1; 8:10; 8:10; 8:11; 10:2; Phil. 2:6; 2:13; 2:13; 4:10; 1 Thess. 4:6; 4:6.

[48] We might add 1 Thess. 4:6 to the list of appositional uses. However, I think it is more likely that the article marks the two object infinitives as asyndetically coordinated with the infinitive phrase τὸ ἑαυτῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι of verse 4:4. Thus there are two direct objects of the verb οἶδα of verse 4:4. In any case, BDF does not make a case for an anaphoric use of the article in this text.

[49] James L. Boyer, 'The Classification of Infinitives: A Statistical Study,' *Grace Theological Journal* 6 (1985): 9.

[50] BDAG, s.v. δέομαι: 218.

complementary infinitive or an accusative *object*. When it is followed by a *complementary* infinitive in Paul, the sense of ὀφείλω is always 'ought, should, must' (Rom. 15:1, 27; 1 Cor. 5:10; 7:36; 9:10; 11:7, 10; 12:11, 14; Eph. 5:28; 2 Thess. 1:3; 2:13). When followed by an accusative *object*, the sense of ὀφείλω is always 'owe' (Rom. 13:8; Phlm. 18). Thus the article marks the infinitive as accusative object and shows that the infinitive is not *complementary*. The ὀφείλω . . . ἀγαπᾶν pair also occurs in Ephesians 5:28 where ἀγαπᾶν is anarthrous and thus *complementary*. A similar situation is found in 2 Corinthians 8:10: οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θέλειν προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι. The accusative article is necessary to mark the infinitive as object because ἐνάρχω and related verbs can be used with the anarthrous infinitive as *complementary* (cf. Deut. 2:24, 25, 31).[51] The main point in all these texts is that the article appears in order to clarify the infinitive's case. Thus the article emerges as a function word in such texts.

Sometimes the accusative case is made explicit by the article so that the main verb will be construed as transitive with respect to the infinitive object. Such is the case in Philippians 4:10: ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν. Though ἀναθάλλω is a *hapax legomena* in the New Testament, we know from its use in the LXX that an accusative object is required in order for this verb to be considered transitive (Sir. 1:18; 11:22; 50:10; Ezek. 17:24). Without the article, the subject of ἀναθάλλω can be construed as more or less the receptor of the verbal action (cf. Ps. 27:7; Wis. 4:4; Sir. 46:12; 49:10; Hos. 8:9), a sense clearly not intended in this text.[52] Likewise, in Philippians 2:13 the article clarifies the sense of ἐνεργέω: θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας. With accusative of thing, ἐνεργέω means 'produce, effect'. Without the accusative, ἐνεργέω is intransitive and refers to a more generic 'working'.[53] In 1 Corinthians 14:39, the two accusative articles mark the two infinitives as objects of their respective imperative verbs:

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[51] The accusative articular infinitive in the following verse (2 Cor. 8:11) is necessary to remove any possible *final* or *ecbatic* sense from the infinitive phrase, which is the thrust of the following ὅπως clause.

[52] In the transitive sense, this verb takes 'an accusative of the thing germinated' (J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993]: 163). The intransitive sense would only occur if the genitive τοῦ reading (F G) were preferred over the accusative τόν, which is probably why BDAG and BDF describe this use of ἀναθάλλω as factitive (BDAG, s.v. ἀναθάλλω: 63; BDF §101; §399[1]).

[53] BDAG, s. v. ἐνεργέω: 335.

ὥστε, ἀδελφοί [μου], ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν μὴ κωλύετε γλώσσαις. Without the article, the two infinitives might be taken in a final sense with ὥστε, a very common use of the infinitive in the New Testament.[54]

In all of these examples of the accusative articular infinitive, we can see that the neuter accusative article regularly occurs for a syntactical reason. It marks the substantive as object. In a similar way, that is what is happening in Philippians 2:6. But in this text, the article marks the direct object and thereby distinguishes it from its accusative complement. Imagine for a moment the potential syntactical confusion that would result if we were to remove the definite article from the infinitive in Philippians 2:6. It would then be syntactically possible to take ἁρπαγμὸν as the direct object and to take the infinitive as an adverbial phrase, 'He did not think about ἁρπαγμὸν so that he would not be equal with God.' Again, this understanding of Paul's meaning might be unlikely, but it would be syntactically possible. The presence of the article clears away any possible ambiguity. These texts illustrate what I think is the case across the board with the articular infinitive in the New Testament. The article only appears with the infinitive as a *function word* or *syntactical marker*. Because these uses of the article are grammatically induced, it is not advisable to posit the semantic notion of *anaphora* to the articular infinitive.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, my argument can be summed up as follows. Many commentators and grammarians see 'form of God' and 'equality with God' as semantic equivalents. This semantic equivalence is based in part on the erroneous assumption of a grammatical link between 'form of God' and 'equality with God'. This supposed grammatical link consists of an anaphoric use of the articular infinitive, '*the* being equal with God' (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ). What I have shown is that this link has little grammatical basis and should be discarded. The exegetical result

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[54] Matt. 8:24, 28; 10:1 (2x); 12:22 (2x); 13:2, 32 (2x), 54 (2x); 15:31, 33; 24:24; 27:1, 14; Mark 1:27, 45; 2:2, 12 (2x); 3:10, 20 (2x); 4:1, 32, 37; 9:26; 15:5; Luke 4:29; 5:7; 12:1; 20:20; Acts 1:19; 5:15 (2x); 14:1; 15:39; 16:26; 19:10, 12 (3x), 16; Rom. 7:6; 15:19; 1 Cor. 1:7; 5:1; 13:2; 2 Cor. 1:8; 2:7 (2x); 3:7; 7:7; Phil. 1:13; 1 Thess. 1:7, 8; 2 Thess. 1:4; 2:4; Heb. 13:6; 1 Pet. 1:21.

is that it is grammatically possible to regard 'form of God' and 'equality with God' not as synonymous phrases, but as phrases with distinct meanings. Therefore, if N. T. Wright and others want to link these two phrases as two ways of referring to the same thing, they will have to do so on other grounds.