

A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PHILIPPIANS
METHOD AND RHETORIC IN THE DEBATE OVER LITERARY INTEGRITY

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The first part of this work sets forth a workable hermeneutic of linguistic discourse analysis for Hellenistic Greek texts. The second part applies this model to Paul's letter to the Philippians with respect to the issue of its literary integrity. Does the canonical Philippians represent one original letter written by Paul or a later compilation of two or more originally separate letters? Chapter 1 introduces the linguistic theory of discourse analysis, defining key terms, sketching its historical evolution, and outlining four major tenets: (i) analysis of the production and processing of discourse; (ii) analysis beyond the sentence; (iii) analysis of social functions of language use; and (iv) analysis of cohesiveness. Chapter 2 sets forth a model of discourse analysis primarily based on the systemic-functional theories of M. A. K. Halliday, with particular attention given to the three meta-functions of language—ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Chapter 3 outlines the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians by discussing the origin of the debate, its subsequent development, and its current status. Evidence is then presented from both sides of the debate, revolving around five key issues: (i) the transition to Phil 3; (ii) the so-called 'thank you' note in 4:10-20; (iii) other internal linguistic evidence; (iv) external, extra-biblical sources; and (v) the redactor's motives. Chapter 4 inspects the genre (structure) of Philippians, challenging rhetorical approaches to the text and proposing instead an epistolary classification, viz. 'personal, hortatory letter'. Each epistolary formula is then analysed, with special attention given to Phil 3:1 and 4:10-20, two highly disputed areas of the letter. Chapter five focuses on the language and grammar (texture) of the letter, investigating its use of ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of Hellenistic Greek. In chapter six, relevant issues of biblical hermeneutics are addressed and a single-letter and a double-letter reading of the canonical text are set forth.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---------|---|
| Preface | 3 |
|---------|---|

Part I

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS NEW TESTAMENT HERMENEUTIC

| | |
|--|----|
| Chapter 1 | |
| INTRODUCTION TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS | 6 |
| Preliminary Definitions | 6 |
| Sketch of Historical Development | 7 |
| Major Tenets | 11 |
| Chapter 2 | |
| A MODEL OF NEW TESTAMENT DISCOURSE ANALYSIS | 18 |
| Discourse Analysis from the Perspective of Systemic-Functional Linguistics | 18 |
| Presuppositions of Discourse Analysis | 21 |
| Levels of Discourse | 23 |
| A Functional Grammar of New Testament Discourse | 34 |
| Ideational Meanings | 37 |
| Interpersonal Meanings | 50 |
| Textual Meanings | 55 |
| Conclusion | 79 |

Part II

A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PHILIPPIANS

| | |
|---|----|
| Chapter 3 | |
| THE DEBATE OVER THE LITERARY INTEGRITY OF PHILIPPIANS | 81 |
| Brief History of Discussion | 81 |
| Topical Survey of Debate | 85 |
| The Transition to Chapter Three | 86 |
| ‘Thank you’ Note | 89 |
| Other Internal Evidence | 91 |
| External Evidence | 93 |
| Reasons for Redaction | 94 |
| Partition Theories | 95 |
| Conclusion | 98 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Chapter 4 | |
| THE STRUCTURE OF PHILIPPIANS | 101 |
| Literary Genre of Philippians | 102 |
| Epistolary Structure of Philippians | 121 |
| Letter Collections | 121 |
| Prescript (1:1) | 122 |
| Salutation (1:2) | 129 |
| Thanksgiving and Prayer (1:3-11) | 132 |
| Disclosure and Requests/Petitions (1:12-26) | 146 |
| Travel Information and Commendations (2:19-3:1) | 152 |
| Hesitation Formula (3:1b) Surrounded by Requests/Petitions (2:29-3:2) | 157 |
| Final Requests/Petitions (4:2-9) | 180 |
| Expression of Joy for Receipt of Gift (4:10-20) | 185 |
| Closing Greetings (4:21-22) | 191 |
| Paul's Closing Grace Expression (4:23) | 193 |
| Conclusion | 194 |
| Chapter 5 | |
| THE TEXTURE OF PHILIPPIANS | 200 |
| Semantic Chains (Lexical Choices) | 200 |
| Ideational Meanings (Semantic Content) | 240 |
| Objects or Entities | 241 |
| Events or Processes | 242 |
| Abstracts | 243 |
| Discourse Referentials | 244 |
| Participants, Processes, and Circumstances | 245 |
| Interpersonal Meanings (Author-Reader Interaction) | 251 |
| Textual Meanings (Cohesiveness) | 255 |
| Organic Ties | 255 |
| Componential Ties | 258 |
| Peripheral and Relevant Tokens | 259 |
| Central Tokens | 263 |
| Information Flow | 270 |
| Topicality | 271 |
| Prominence | 277 |
| Conclusion | 283 |
| Chapter 6 | |
| CONCLUSION | 288 |
| Discourse Analysis as a New Testament Hermeneutic | 289 |
| The Literary Integrity of Philippians | 291 |
| Appendix A: Clause Structure of Philippians | 300 |
| Appendix B: The Influence of Rhetorical Theory on Greco-Roman Letter Writing | 311 |
| Bibliography | 325 |
| Index of Linguistic Terms | 348 |
| Index of Greek Words | 350 |

Preface

The first part of this work sets forth a hermeneutical model of linguistic discourse analysis for Hellenistic Greek texts. It is a 'hermeneutic' because it seeks to understand the production and interpretation of New Testament (NT) texts. It is 'linguistic' because it focuses on the communicative role of Greek language in NT discourse. It is based on the theory of 'discourse analysis' broadly represented in various social-scientific disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology, but more specifically based on the systemic-functional theories attributed primarily to M. A. K. Halliday. In the light of the fact that biblical scholars deal primarily with textual representations of language, it is surprising that modern linguistics has played only a marginal (though increasing) role in scholarly analyses of those texts. It is perhaps even more surprising that among those scholars who do value linguistics the theories of M. A. K. Halliday have had only marginal influence, even though Halliday has had a far-reaching impact not only on linguistics but on literary and sociological theories as well. Indeed, Halliday is considered one of this century's top-ten *Who's Who in Linguistics* in Robert de Beaugrande's *Linguistic Theory: The Discourse of Fundamental Works* (1991). It is hoped that this work presents the framework of Halliday's theory in a readable and usable manner for the NT scholar.

The second part of this work seeks to apply that hermeneutic to an analysis of the language and genre of Paul's letter to the Philippians, especially with respect to the issue of its literary integrity. Is the canonical Philippians one letter written by Paul (or his secretary) or a later compilation of two or more originally-separate letters? The scholarly rhetoric surrounding this issue continues to be a thorn in the interpreter's flesh, as revealed by the fact that most discussions of the letter directly or indirectly address it. Most commentaries and monographs on Philippians in this century devote some concerted attention to the issue, and most essays assume a position (for whatever reason) and then perhaps comment on how their particular study contributes to the debate. The issue of the letter's literary integrity—despite perhaps the wishes of many—refuses to exit from the scholarly arena. Nevertheless, this is the first English-language monograph specifically devoted to studying not only the letter's cohesiveness vis-à-vis the integrity debate but also the methodological questions raised by that debate.

Regarding matters of format, biblical abbreviations follow those in JBL and extra-biblical abbreviations follow those in Liddell-Scott-Jones, except for papyri and ostraca which follow the third edition of J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, W. H. Willis, and K. A. Worp, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (Scholars Press, 1985). All translations of sources are mine unless otherwise indicated. Standard editorial symbols are employed for citations of papyri and ostraca: [] enclose letters that have been reconstructed; {} enclose letters representing the original spelling; and <> enclose letters that the editor has supplied for clarification, although they are not part of the original. References to secondary sources are by author and usually the first major noun of the title. When using linguistic terminology I have followed established convention wherever possible, neither

creating new terms nor redefining old ones. The index of linguistic terms should help the reader find definitions of key terms when encountered apart from their initial definitions.

This work has benefited from the suggestions and assistance of several colleagues and mentors. Special thanks is due to Dr. Loveday Alexander, Dr. Clinton Arnold, Mr. Noel Bailey, Prof. Philip Davies, Dr. Craig Evans, Mr. Todd Klutz, Dr. Walter Russell, as well as the many members of the *Centre for the Bible and Theology* at the University of Sheffield and participants of the seminar on *Greek Language and Linguistics* at the 1993 Society of Biblical Literature National Conference. Special thanks is also due to Dr. Eugene A. Nida for encouragement and advice in my work on NT linguistics. Two people deserve special mention: Dr. A. T. Lincoln, whose penetrating insight never ceases to amaze me, strengthening both the content and argument of the present work, and Prof. Stanley E. Porter, who is largely responsible for my initial and ongoing interest in NT linguistics. Of course, the faults in the present work are mine alone. I also wish to thank several years of first and second year Greek students at Biola University (La Mirada, California) for providing a constant reminder that hermeneutical models are ultimately worthless if they are unusable. Family and friends, in addition, have provided the resources and encouragement to endure a PhD thesis. They only get mention here, but their worth to me is immeasurable: Tom and Karen Jull, Jim and Lou Hogue, Tom Cousins, Harold Dollar, Stan and Wendy Porter, John and Debbie Reed, Kevin Van Lant, Noel and Chris Bailey, Greg and Ramie Streeter, Brett and Irene Neller, and Ruth Anne Reese. My parents, Carol and Pete, have always provided the foundation for my academic pursuits, always encouraging and never doubting. Above all, my wife, Jamie, and son, Jordan, have endured the entire journey with me. It is to them that I owe the most.

PART I

Discourse Analysis as New Testament Hermeneutic

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

Discourse analysis is here to stay, at least for awhile. The tenth anniversary issue of the journal *Text* (1990), volume eleven of *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (1990), and the International Congress of Linguists in Berlin (1987)—where discourse analyses formed the largest contingent—all testify to this model's popularity among both theoretical and applied linguists. Popularity has its problems, however. Because of its far-reaching impact, discourse analysis is one of the least well defined areas of linguistics.¹

Idiosyncratic models and terminological confusion proliferate as more linguists, as well as non-linguists, adopt discourse analysis as a theoretical framework for reading all kinds of texts. In addition, the expansive scope of this linguistic theory has led to a diversity of opinion. One reason for this is that discourse analysis is a way of reading. It is a framework with which the analyst approaches a text and explicates what it says and how it has been said in addition to what has been understood and how it has been understood. It may be classified under the rubric of hermeneutics. Consequently, it has marginally influenced biblical scholarship (more so translation theory)—where there is hardly any collaboration on what discourse analysis is and might do. Diversity does not necessarily spell its demise, however. Instead, discourse analysis is at an exciting juncture in its history, diversity being its greatest strength. Terminological consistency and collaboration in the midst of creative thinking, nonetheless, are needed if discourse analysis is to have a significant impact on NT hermeneutics. The following study is an attempt at defining terminology and collaborating with others, so as to propose a framework of discourse analysis that is applicable to NT studies and serviceable to an investigation of the literary integrity of Philippians (and other Pauline letters). A few preliminary definitions are in order before turning to (i) a brief history of the theory of discourse analysis, (ii) a discussion of its major tenets, and in chap. 2 (iii) a detailed model of discourse analysis.

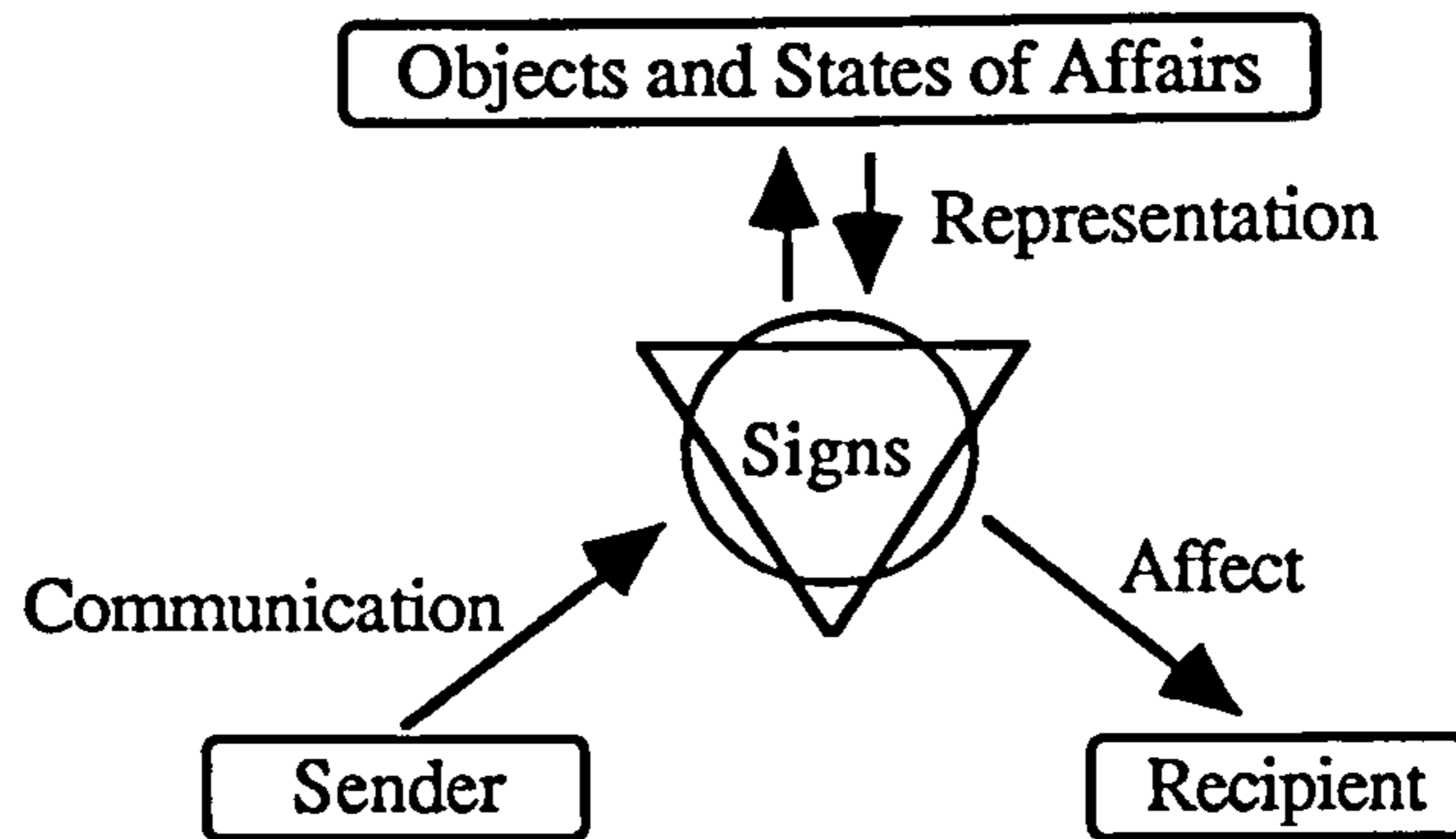
The term DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, which is used in somewhat different ways by various modern linguists, at its broadest level refers to *the study and interpretation of both the spoken and written communication of humans*.² The following diagram illustrates the basic components of this type of analysis.³ Broadly speaking, the discourse analyst is concerned with the communication (*Ausdruck*) of signs (*Zeichen*) by an author/speaker (*Sender*) and their effect on a reader/listener (*Empfänger*).⁴ Such signs in part represent (*Darstellung*) objects, subject matter, and circumstances (*Gegenstände und Sachverhalte*) of the external and internal worlds of the text.

¹Schiffrin, *Approaches*, p. 5.

²Cf. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 1, 9-10.

³Adapted from Hellholm, *Visionenbuch*, p. 20.

⁴German words are cited so as to show general parallels between this work and other biblical models of discourse analysis (mostly those of Hellholm and Schenk).



The problem with this model is that it is too 'neat', obscuring other functions of language and hardly revealing the questions being asked by discourse analysts; nonetheless, it does demonstrate that discourse analysis takes seriously the role of the speaker, the text, and the listener in the communicative event. The 'discourse' part of the term is not as easily defined, since a complete discourse might involve a twenty-volume history of the world or a one-word exchange between a parent and child. DISCOURSE, then, is probably best treated as whatever language users decide, or 'texts are what hearers and readers treat as texts'.¹ Speakers and listeners determine when a communicative event begins and when it ends. This encoded communicative event is what is referred to here as discourse.

Occasionally, the terms TEXTLINGUISTICS (*Textwissenschaft*) and TEXT GRAMMAR refer to the same type of analysis, but specifically that of written texts. Hence some reserve the term DISCOURSE solely for speech (including paralinguistic features) and the term TEXT for the written use of language. In current practice the two are rarely distinguished, as R. de Beaugrande notes:

Although 'text linguistics' and 'discourse analysis' originally emerged from different orientations, they have steadily converged in recent years until they are usually treated as the same enterprise.... An exception is the 'discourse analysis' practiced by philosophers, cultural anthropologists, and literary scholars, especially in France, within such frameworks as post-structuralism, deconstruction, radical feminism, and so on, whose relationship to text linguistics has yet to be clarified.²

For some, the term 'textlinguistics' (or 'text linguistics') is too narrow and more comprehensive terms have been suggested, such as 'text studies', 'text science', and 'textology'. 'Discourse analysis' is generally the preferred term, although at times giving way to the broader term 'discourse studies'; hence, 'discourse analysis' is the term used throughout this study. Nonetheless, I draw from studies labelled 'textlinguistics' as well as 'discourse analysis'.

SKETCH OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Discourse analysis has a relatively brief history, as far as linguistic models are concerned.³ However, several basic tenets of modern discourse analysis were already discussed by the Greeks and Romans, from Aristotle's *Poetics* to Cicero's *Institutio*

¹Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 199; cf. Tannen ('Discourse Analysis', p. 109): 'Discourse—language beyond the sentence—is simply *language*—as it occurs, in any context...in any form.'

²Beaugrande, 'New Applications', p. 26 n. 1.

³For more detailed histories of the model see esp. Beaugrande, 'Through the Years', pp. 9-17; Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 1-12.

Oratoria.¹ The ancient rhetoricians, for example, debated over the best way to structure a discourse, the pragmatic effects of discourse, and various genres of discourse. They spoke of three central components of any speech, which are useful for analysing discourse today: *logos* (logical reasoning), *pathos* (emotive effect), and *ethos* (establishing credibility). Furthermore, in the third and second century BCE the Stoic grammarians developed a theory of signs which in some ways parallels the work of Ferdinand de Saussure two thousand years later. Despite such ties to the past, modern discourse analysts generally look to this century for the original architects of the theory. Zellig Harris (1952) is sometimes cited as one of the earliest attempts at a suprasentential analysis, but his theories have garnered little support (primarily because he divorced semantics from formal structural units).² Another pioneering analysis from a more semantic perspective came from T. F. Mitchell (1957), a former colleague of J. R. Firth.³ Other linguists who did not necessarily use the term discourse analysis have contributed to its historical development. Some of these include stratificational, tagmemic, and systemic linguists.⁴ Even some transformational-generative (TG) grammarians have researched aspects of discourse structure, although TG theory does not readily lend itself to the basic tenets of discourse analysis.⁵ Other influences on the development of discourse analysis arose only tangentially related to linguistics, such as anthropology, sociology, rhetoric, literary studies, psycholinguistics, computational linguistics, and philosophical linguistics. For example, in the 1920s anthropologist B. Malinowski emphasised the view of 'language as action' occurring in both 'contexts of situation' and 'contexts of culture' (he coined the terms), which is central to discourse analysis today.⁶ His views would later influence his younger colleague J. R. Firth, the first professor of general linguistics in a British university. M. A. K. Halliday, who has had a significant impact on theories of discourse analysis, inherited Firth's views of language as a student of Chinese at the University of London and incorporated them into his view of language and discourse. J. L. Austin in his influential 1955 lectures at Harvard University argued that language and action are inseparable, leading to the theory of 'speech-acts', which was later developed especially by J. R. Searle.⁷ This too has had a profound effect on discourse analysis. But not until the 1960s and especially the 1970s did discourse analysis take a more discrete form, during which time occurred more concerted deliberation on its theoretical moorings and its application to actual texts. Eventually, this shared interest in various phenomena of language use, texts, and conversation by researchers in such diverse fields as anthropology, linguistics, semiotics, poetics, psychology, sociology, and mass communication eventually became more integrated under the label discourse analysis. Several PhD dissertations were produced on the subject, linguists of various theoretical backgrounds developed their own views on the matter, and several introductions and full-scale monographs appeared (see bibliography on discourse analysis). These researchers often pleaded that grammatical frameworks needed to extend their analysis 'to the real form

¹Cf. Dijk, 'Future', p. 135, who refers to the 2000 year-old tradition of rhetoric as a precursor to discourse analysis.

²See his 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 1-30, and 'Discourse Analysis: A Sample Text', pp. 474-94.

³See Mitchell, 'The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica', pp. 31-71.

⁴On stratificational grammar see Lamb, *Outline of Stratificational Grammar*; on tagmemics see Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*; and on systemics see the many works by Halliday (and Hasan) listed in the bibliography.

⁵See e.g. Williams, *Some Grammatical Characteristics of Continuous Discourse*.

⁶Malinowski, 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages', pp. 296-346.

⁷Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* and Searle, *Speech Acts*.

of language use, that is, discourse'.¹ The 1980s proved that this perspective on language was not merely a novelty, during which time theorists recognised the need for more systematic and consistent terminology and broadened the scope of discourse analysis to include other fields of study.

A detailed history of discourse analysis is beyond the goal of this modest work; indeed, to be accurate I would need to narrate its histories. In 1968 H. A. Gleason could state that 'discourse analysis is really just getting underway. There are as yet very few firm substantive results'.² This is understandable for a young discipline of study. But later, in 1983, M. Stubbs would still claim that 'no one is in a position to write a comprehensive account of discourse analysis. The subject is at once too vast and too lacking in focus and consensus'.³ In a 1990 special 10-year anniversary issue of the journal *Text*, D. Tannen would still admit that discourse analysis 'may seem almost dismayingly diverse'; but she then goes on to suggest that 'an attitude of catholicism toward the necessary diversity of the field' is a strength of discourse analysis theoreticians.⁴ And even as recently as 1994, D. Schiffrin still admits to the interdisciplinary diversity of the field, though she demonstrates that there are now theoretical boundaries which characterise much of discourse analysis.⁵ Journals such as *Text* and *Discourse Processes*, *Annual Review in Applied Linguistics*, and the two series *Papiere zur Textlinguistik/Papers in Text-linguistics* (New York: H. Buske Hamburg) and *Untersuchungen zur Textlinguistik/Research in Text Linguistics* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co.) have especially contributed to this interdisciplinary dialogue. Although to a lesser degree, the *Journal of Literary Semantics* often contains articles dealing with issues of discourse. Despite its variegated past and still somewhat unstable present, discourse analysis has established itself as a significant and most likely a long-term linguistic field of enquiry which will evolve both in methodology and application. At that time, perhaps we will be able to see more clearly the main trajectories contributing to its evolution. Indeed, the above brief discussion of the history of discourse analysis only represents a few trajectories. Some may have wanted to highlight others.

The use of discourse analysis in biblical studies is, of course, even younger than the methodology itself, and thus has received less attention.⁶ However, despite its youthfulness as a hermeneutical model it has been recognised for its possible application to the NT. In 1989 W. A. Beardslee prophesied about the potential alliance between discourse analysis and biblical studies,

It may well turn out to be the case that another type of linguistic interpretation [discourse analysis], making much less extensive hermeneutical claims, will come to be even more fruitful for actual exegesis than structuralism or Gütgemann's generative poetics.⁷

Despite such promising words, it can hardly be claimed that discourse analysis has presently been established as a hermeneutic in mainstream biblical scholarship. This is especially true of NT scholars, who lag behind their OT contemporaries. Although many scholars have heard the term, few know its underlying theories or employ them in their research. Those who do are largely relegated to bible translators using it in their field-

¹Dijk, 'Introduction', p. 1.

²Gleason, 'Contrastive Analysis', p. 41.

³Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 12.

⁴Tannen, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 109, 111; cf. Palek, 'Discourse', p. 69; Dijk, 'Future', pp. 135-38.

⁵Schiffrin, *Approaches*, esp. p. 5 for the observation which is then worked out in her study.

⁶See Snyman ('Discourse Analysis', pp. 86-91) for a survey of South African approaches to biblical discourse analysis and Olsson ('Decade', pp. 107-26) for a survey of Scandinavian approaches.

⁷Beardslee, 'Literary Criticism', p. 188.

work; they are typically not part of mainstream scholarship. A handful of NT scholars do, however, draw from discourse analysis as a heuristic device for their own particular questions of texts. One of the most notable is J. P. Louw, both for his application of discourse analysis to the NT and more importantly for his erudite comments on its methodology. Nonetheless, although Louw wrote his programmatic article on discourse analysis almost twenty years ago,¹ the discipline has as yet garnered the attention of only a few NT scholars, several of whom are linguists by profession. This failure is partly due to the differing models of discourse analysis being advocated by various linguists. In their work on linguistics and biblical interpretation P. Cotterell and M. Turner warn,

We must at least comment on the tentative nature of this particular aspect of linguistics [discourse analysis]. The fact is that at the present there are no firm conclusions, no generally accepted formulae, no fixed methodology, not even an agreed terminology.²

A response to this might be that in any interdisciplinary field such as discourse analysis similar criticisms will surely arise. (Indeed, what Cotterell and Turner say about discourse analysis could have been said about modern linguistics as a whole.) The diversity of backgrounds of discourse analysts, whether they be literary critics, psychologists, philosophers, or linguists, has contributed to such problems. But such diversity can only inevitably be a strength for the growth of the field as well as a prevention against academic parochialism. Biblical scholars will also probably choose from linguistic models best known to them (often in terms of their own continental scholarship), resulting in sometimes slight and sometimes major differences in theory and interpretation. This can only assist in the development of a discourse model which is serviceable for analysing ancient texts. Inept models will eventually be weeded out through scholarly critique.

Another factor resulting in NT scholars' hesitancy towards discourse analysis stems from the affiliation between discourse analysis and modern linguistics. Whereas many scholars continue to study NT Greek through older philological and grammatical models, discourse analysts have kept pace with the theoretical developments of modern linguistics. If discourse analysis is to impact NT studies, biblical scholars will at least have to modify their view of NT Greek grammar and linguistics in general.³

It is too soon to know if Beardslee's prophecy will be fulfilled or if discourse analysis will disappear from the annals of NT hermeneutical history. Surprisingly, discourse analysis has not significantly influenced mainstream NT scholarship in North America, despite the fact that 'the study of text and talk is a thriving specialization in the U.S.A.'⁴ However, there are a growing number of authors attempting to demonstrate its worth for students, pastors, translators, and scholars. A number of theses and dissertations have come out of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Dallas), partly in conjunction with the University of Texas at Arlington, and many articles have been published in *Bible Translator*, *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation*, *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* (formerly *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics*), and *Notes on Translation*.⁵ Much of the work is based on the tagmemic theories of K. L. Pike and discourse models of R. E. Longacre. Closely related, but more eclectic in the use of linguistic theory, is the translation work carried out by the United Bible Societies. Here, the works of E. Nida and especially J. P. Louw have been influential. Some of the most significant work in discourse analysis is coming out of South Africa—the journal

¹Louw, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 101-119.

²Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, p. 233.

³See Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 298-30, who incorporates discourse analysis into Greek grammar.

⁴Dijk, 'Introduction', p. 2.

⁵See Longacre, 'Brief Note', pp. 47-48, for discourse studies being carried out at the University.

Neotestamentica regularly publishes studies directly or indirectly related to discourse analysis,¹ and not simply those of Transformational-Generative approaches nor of the 'evangelical' persuasion which often characterise the American journals. Two other journals which often feature studies on matters of discourse are *Filologia Neotestamentaria* and *Linguistica Biblica*. D. Hellholm's work (*Das Visionenbuch*) in discourse analysis of ancient texts has been mostly influential in European circles of NT scholarship, with other scholars, most notably B. Johanson (*To All the Brethren*) and B. Olsson (*Structure and Meaning in the Fourth Gospel*) applying similar models to NT texts.² These may be broadly classified as representing a Scandinavian school of discourse analysis. Their works have been partly based on the studies of H. F. Plett, J. L. Kinneavy, E. Gülich and W. Raible, and R. de Beaugrande and W. Dressler.

The present author's work represents a more British approach to discourse analysis, being based on systemic-functional linguistics (though the theory is known world-wide). To my knowledge, it is the first monograph-sized attempt at a NT discourse analysis based on systemic linguistics.³ I have, however, also been influenced by a wide array of literature and theories on discourse analysis, especially those that are functional in orientation. In closing, I hope the model of discourse analysis presented below will help eliminate some of the above factors inhibiting the acceptance of discourse analysis as a viable NT hermeneutic by defining terminology, employing a unified framework while incorporating interdisciplinary research, drawing insights from recent research in NT Greek grammar, and applying the model to a NT text.

MAJOR TENETS OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The above definition of discourse analysis is far too broad to be of any practical, heuristic use. Nevertheless, it does demonstrate that discourse analysis concerns itself with all kinds of human interaction, whether verbal or written. Discourse analysis, accordingly, is influenced by many social-scientific models such as anthropology (esp. ethnography), sociology, philosophy, psychology, and artificial intelligence.⁴ Discourse analysis is not, however, a 'mixed bag' hermeneutic with no guiding principles. The following tenets characterise core beliefs of modern discourse analysts as found in their writings. These tenets will certainly evolve over time, and perhaps lose some of their importance in the future. For now they have made discourse analysis what it is and they frame the types of questions being asked about discourse. They serve here as a preface to the ensuing, more detailed model of discourse analysis.

ANALYSIS OF THE PRODUCTION AND PROCESSING OF DISCOURSE

Discourse analysts investigate the roles of the author, the audience, and the text (and its language) in communicative events. These are viewed as a network of influences

¹See esp. vols. 8 (1974), 11 (1977), 13 (1979), and 16 (1982).

²Johanson's study of transitional devices is particularly useful. Prior to Hellholm is Schnackenburg's 'Die grosse Eulogie Eph. 1.3-14', pp. 67-87, and Schenk's 'Textlinguistische Aspekte', pp. 469-77, both published in 1977. More recently, see Boers, *Justification of the Gentiles*, who draws on Beaugrande and Dressler's work but little else.

³For a useful guide to terms in Halliday's works published prior to 1977, see de Joia and Stenton, *Terms in Systemic Linguistics*; but, for a comprehensive account of Halliday's theory of language, his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994) is mandatory reading.

⁴For relevant works in these fields see Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 12; cf. Beaugrande, 'New Applications', p. 17.

contributing to the production and consumption of communicative acts. On the one hand, discourse analysts seek to *interpret a speaker/author's role in the production of discourses*.¹ The term 'author' here may include analysis of both actual authors (extratextual authors) or implied authors. This does not alter the fact that much of discourse analysis has been concerned with naturally occurring texts and, consequently, how original ('real') speakers/authors create those texts and how original listeners/readers process them. This is one aspect which has distinguished linguistic discourse analysis from many literary theories under the same label. The complexity of meaning, however, is not ignored by discourse analysts, yet they have not abandoned the idea of 'intended' meaning, or better, the notion that authors try to 'do things' with discourse. The utterance 'Your glass is empty' may not be stated for the sake of observation but as an offer to buy someone a drink.² Linguistic pragmatics (e.g. speech act theory) has resulted in theories that are broad enough to account for such language use without abandoning the concept of 'intended' meaning. Nevertheless further research is needed by discourse analysts which 'recognizes the problematic role of awareness, consciousness, and/or intentionality'.³ This will probably be, and to some degree has already begun to be, answered by those working in psycholinguistics.

There is another side to the coin of communication—the listener or reader. In addition to the speaker's role, discourse analysts also seek to *interpret the listener/reader's comprehension(s) of and response(s) to the discourse*. This may include analysis of different kinds of original readers or the literary notions of such things as 'implied' and 'ideal' readers.⁴ Every discourse eventually has an audience who will listen to or read it, ponder over it, and probably respond to it in some way. Even monologue is based on dialogue. We rarely communicate with ourselves. We communicate with others. We communicate to be heard. However, what is said is not always what is meant, and what is meant is not always what is understood.

As P. Cotterell
notes,

...the speaker may be either unaware of the real message he [or she] was encoding, or unwilling to admit to the message, so that he can disown the message.... In the same way the listener, possibly because of his relationship to the speaker, may 'perceive' a message that cannot be detected by anyone else. If he claims to perceive it, on what grounds can anyone else deny that it is there? Certainly not by analysing the offending utterance as though it were a cold sentence.⁵

Stubbs comments on the reader's impulse to interpret: 'Hearers and readers have a powerful urge to make sense out of whatever nonsense is presented to them.'⁶ They may not 'get it right', but they attempt to understand and, more than that, to understand 'correctly' (i.e. to understand the intended purpose of a given discourse). The fact that the same message may invoke multiple interpretations presents another dilemma for discourse analysis. The analyst again may look to the actual language of the discourse, the situation

¹Cf. Louw, 'Reading', p. 20, and Green and Morgan, 'Pragmatics', pp. 167-68.

²For this and other examples see Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 4-5.

³Pomerantz, 'Discourse', p. 87.

⁴See, Combrink, 'Role of Reader', pp. 33-40, who critiques Schenk's discourse analysis (*Philippenerbriefe*) for not differentiating various reader responses to the text of Philippians. While I find it worthwhile to study how modern readers may process language in their interpretative acts, I am (like Schenk) mostly interested in how various original readers may have processed the semiotic code of Paul's letter. Observations are made on a general level—e.g. how would an ancient reader who knows basic epistolary practices have interpreted Paul's epistolary elements?—and specific level—e.g. how would a reader from Paul's churches have interpreted his religious terminology (e.g. σωτηρία)?

⁵Cotterell, 'Sociolinguistics', p. 64.

⁶Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 5; cf. Cooper, 'Given-New', p. 354.

and knowledge of the participants involved, and the responses invoked by the message in order to account for multiple interpretations. The 'why' of multiple interpretations, not the 'fact' of them, is important to the discourse analyst.

Most importantly, this tenet takes seriously the role of both speaker/author (actual and implied) and listener/reader (actual and implied) in the communicative process occasioned by the text. On the one hand, authors create the textual 'product', i.e. they are responsible for encoding it with signs. Texts are not created *ex nihilo*; they originate in human minds. On the other hand, although this linguistic product constrains a reader's interpretation, it does not absolutely determine it. Brown and Yule summarise this two-part tenet aptly:

We shall consider words, phrases and sentences which appear in the textual record of a discourse to be evidence of an attempt by a producer (speaker/writer) to communicate his message to a recipient (hearer/reader). We shall be particularly interested in discussing how a recipient might come to comprehend the producer's intended message on a particular occasion, and how the requirements of the particular recipient(s), in definable circumstances, influence the organization of the producer's discourse. This is clearly an approach which takes the communicative function of language as its primary area of investigation and consequently seeks to describe linguistic form, not as a static object, but as a dynamic means of expressing intended meaning.¹

ANALYSIS BEYOND THE SENTENCE

The discourse analyst is also guided by the tenet to *examine language at a linguistic level beyond the sentence*.² This is perhaps the most distinguishing, if not best known, aspect of the theory. The long-lived taboo in linguistics that grammar is confined to the boundary of the sentence has been forsaken by discourse analysts. Grammar, they claim, is influenced by linguistic levels beyond the sentence, viz. 'discourse'. This is in contrast to the fact that linguistics 'has traditionally been restricted to the investigation of the extent of language which can comfortably be accommodated on the average blackboard'.³ J. P. Louw's prediction that linguistics in the 1970s would direct its attention to units larger than the sentence was already being fulfilled between the late 50s and the early 70s.⁴ K. L. Pike noted in 1964 that '*beyond the sentence* lie grammatical structures available to linguistic analysis'.⁵ This change in perspective arose from the observation that words or sentences are rarely used in isolation, but typically as part of an extended discourse of sequenced sentences (esp. in the case of written texts). T. Givón criticises those who do not observe this aspect of language:

It has become obvious to a growing number of linguists that the study of the syntax of isolated sentences, extracted, without natural context from the purposeful constructions of speakers is a methodology that has outlived its usefulness.⁶

S. Wallace is even more trenchant:

That linguistic categories contribute significantly to the structure of an extrasentential text, indeed, that one does not truly understand the meaning of a linguistic category until one comprehends its function in a text, are suggestions that mainstream twentieth-century linguistics has all but ignored.⁷

¹Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 24.

²Cf. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 6-7; Palek, 'Discourse', p. 69; Schiffrin, 'Language', p. 97; du Toit, 'Significance', p. 54; Fillmore, 'Pragmatics', p. 146.

³Phillips, *Structure*, p. 8.

⁴Louw, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 102.

⁵Pike, 'Beyond the Sentence', p. 129; cf. also Halliday, 'Notes: Part 3', p. 210.

⁶Givón, 'Preface', p. xiii.

⁷Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', p. 201; for the many works influencing this shift see Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process*, pp. xi-xii; cf. also Enkvist, *Stylistics*, pp. 110-11.

Much of this criticism arose in the mid-1960s when the basic assumptions of Saussurean–Bloomfieldian–Chomskyan linguistics were being challenged.¹ Similar criticism may be redirected at NT scholars who analyse the sentences of NT texts isolated from their context (i.e. extralinguistic context) as well as from their co-text (i.e. intralinguistic context)—especially in view of much of biblical scholarship’s preoccupation with interpreting ‘words’ and their ‘meanings’. Perhaps more critically, traditional grammars of the last two centuries say little about *discourse* features of Greek.

The study of larger discourse units, however, does not eliminate the need for investigating words and clauses. Discourse analysts advocate a bottom-up and top-down interpretation of discourse. The analyst might begin at the bottom with morphology, moving up through words, phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs (i.e. sequences of sentences and embedded sequences of sentences) until reaching the top, viz. the discourse. From here the direction is reversed to see how the larger discourse influences paragraph construction and on down.² Sentences are important, but only in that the analyst reads both *up* and *down* the text. If possible, the analyst is better off identifying the genre of the text before moving to an analysis of its parts, i.e. starting from the top and then working downwards. In this framework, the analysis of words and clauses is important, but only from the perspective of the larger discourse, as J. L. Lemke puts it:

Language is not simply used to produce word-meaning or clause-meaning, it is used to produce text-meaning, and texts, by co-patterning many word-choices and clause formations, can make meanings that words and clauses cannot. That is why we make texts. Text-meaning realizes social functions...and among the most important social functions of texts is the maintenance and modification of social value systems.³

Unfortunately, Louw’s definition of the pericope as ‘the largest readily perceptible whole...having some autonomy of its own and exhibiting its own peculiar structural pattern’⁴ has resulted in NT applications of discourse analysis which are often limited to the pericope rather than the entire text. Although this is a reasonable starting point for a difficult task, a thoroughgoing discourse analysis must incorporate the entire text, such as W. Schenk’s *Die Philipperbriefe des Paulus*. Such an analysis is understandably formidable but well worth the effort, since each microstructure may be viewed in relationship to the entire macrostructure rather than just part of it.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE USE

A third tenet of discourse analysis is that *discourse should be analysed for its social functions and, thus, in its social context*.⁵ The result has been a strong marriage between discourse analysis and *sociolinguistics and pragmatics*. As Brown and Yule state,

Any analytic approach in linguistics which involves contextual considerations necessarily belongs to that area of language study called *pragmatics*. ‘Doing discourse analysis’ certainly involves ‘doing syntax and semantics’, but it primarily consists of ‘doing pragmatics’.⁶

¹So Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 11-12.

²On ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ processing of texts see Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 234-36; Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process*, pp. 26-27; Sandig, ‘Holistic Linguistics’, pp. 91-95.

³Lemke, ‘Semantics’, p. 48.

⁴Louw, ‘Discourse Analysis’, p. 103.

⁵See esp. Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*. Cf. Dijk, *Text and Context*, pp. 7-8, who defines this aspect of discourse analysis as ‘world-knowledge interpretation’. Brown and Yule’s *Discourse Analysis* is primarily a pragmatic investigation of discourse.

⁶Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 26; cf. Macdonell, *Theories of Discourse*, pp. 1-4, who takes a more socio-political perspective; Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, pp. 1-8, who provides a helpful history

The study of actual language use provides insights into social interaction and social action, whether it be, for example, in the domain of education, politics, or advertising. Other areas of interest include conversational analysis, discourse markers, formulaic speech, gender and language, and ritual language. Language did not come into existence for grammarians to ponder its intricate rules and exceptions.¹ People use language. And they use it in relation to others within their society, be it the larger culture of a city-state or the group psychology shared between members of ancient philosophical schools such as the Stoics and Epicureans. And they use it for a reason. Discourse is not simply a set of propositions (logical, literal, conceptual, or cognitive) with a certain factual content, but rather social, communicative interaction between communicants. As N. Fairclough theorises, 'Discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other.'² This has led discourse analysts away from abstract formalisms of language and into the realm of the 'communicative-functional role of language',³ based on the principle that increasingly larger units of language are less and less constrained by grammar and more and more by the communicative context. Consequently, both the immediate context (Malinowski's 'context of situation') and the broader culture ('context of culture') factor into a discourse analysis, since language and language behaviour 'cannot be acquired in isolation, but rather can only be learnt and are only available for one's use in situational contexts'.⁴ M. A. K. Halliday has made this tenet central to his theory of language: 'Language is as it is because of its function in social structure.'⁵

Because language is not an abstract phenomenon but a social one, discourse analysts emphasise the need to interpret natural occurrences of language—*language as use* (*parole*).⁶ Decontextualised, fabricated data is sometimes used to make an argument more clear, but these are exceptions to the rule.⁷ Such artificial use of language may simply represent the biases of the grammarian who concocted the sentence; instead, 'the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use'.⁸

ANALYSIS OF COHESIVENESS

That there is a relationship formally, semantically, and pragmatically between the various parts of a given text and that there is some thematic element which flows through it, in part allow a listener/reader to recognise discourse as a *cohesive* piece of communication rather

of sociolinguistics on pp. 9-37; Stubbs, who subtitles his introduction to discourse analysis with *The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*; Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, pp. 4-10.

¹Research into children's acquisition of language suggests that 'it is pointless to describe the utterances of young children in purely grammatical terms; the most important fact about such utterances is that the children are using them to do things and therefore a more suitable description is in terms of speech acts' (Coulthard, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 161).

²Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 63.

³Chen, 'Reflections', p. 23.

⁴Wodak, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 126.

⁵Halliday, *Explorations*, p. 65.

⁶Systemic linguistics has embraced this principle: '...whereas Saussure, in separating *langue* from *parole*, drew the conclusion that linguistics was a theory of *langue*, systemic theory follows Hjelmslev in encompassing both' (Halliday, 'Systemic Background', p. 10).

⁷This is especially true of philosophers working in the area of speech acts (Coulthard, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 12).

⁸Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 1; cf. Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 5-6; Schiffrin, 'Conversation Analysis', p. 9; Beaugrande, 'Text Linguistics', pp. 10-11; Chafe, 'Looking Ahead', pp. 20-21. The 1987 Congress of Linguists similarly emphasised *parole* over *langue* (Beaugrande, 'New Applications', p. 24).

than a jumble of unrelated words and sentences.¹ How is it, then, that speakers go about forming texts into a cohesive unit? How do they combine relatively unrelated words and sentences into a meaningful whole? Discourse analysts repeatedly seek answers to such questions, attempting to *identify how a language is used to create cohesive and coherent communication*. Labov describes the task similarly: 'The fundamental problem of discourse analysis is to show how one utterance follows another in a rational, rule-governed manner—in other words, how we understand coherent discourse.'² When attempting to answer such questions, it is important to note that the structural cohesiveness of texts should be viewed as a continuum. At one pole of the continuum are texts with a high degree of unity and cohesiveness. At the opposite pole are texts which can be quickly recognised as a jumble of words and sentences with little 'textuality'. Although a text might be elegantly unified or grossly fragmented, most texts lie somewhere between these two poles—neither altogether cohesive nor altogether incohesive. Surprisingly, despite all of the barriers confronting communication, it is not uncommon to find speakers successfully conveying at least part of their communicative intents to listeners. We are able to combine words into cohesive units which are understandable to a listener/reader. And when failing to do so, we quickly attempt to adjust our message into a more coherent unit. Coherent speech is a virtue. Few endeavour to communicate unsuccessfully.

Whereas the first tenet of discourse analysis emphasises the speaker's role in the production of discourse, this tenet recognises the important role that specific languages (i.e. linguistic codes) play in the production of discourse. Granted, humans are the ones who communicate, who interact with others, who convey 'meaning'. Nevertheless, language (i.e. shared symbols), as it has been formulated and agreed upon by cultural groups, significantly determines the ways in which speakers/authors are expected to construct their message. Successful communication implies shared grammar. Or as J. Gumperz maintains,

It seems clear that knowledge of grammatical rules is an essential component of the interactive competence that speakers must have to interact and cooperate with others. Thus if we can show that individuals interacting through linguistic signs are effective in cooperating with others in the conduct of their affairs, we have *prima facie* evidence for the existence of shared grammatical structure.³

In summary, it is helpful to phrase the above tenets of discourse analysis in the form of questions.⁴ What is the speaker/author trying to 'mean' (i.e. what is the speaker/author 'on about')? How does the listener/reader respond to the message? Similarly, how do humans generally acquire, store, use, and process information in communicative events? What type of social factors influence the communication between the speaker/author and listener/reader? Conversely, how does language shape the way people communicate and interpret discourse? What is it that makes a text coherent? How do the bits and pieces seemingly fit together into a cohesive and coherent whole?

For some biblical scholars, another way of formulating the above tenets has been to relate them to the three major categories of linguistics—syntax, semantics, pragmatics.⁵ When discussing how it is that speakers/authors use language in specific contexts (the focus of the first and third tenets), the focus is on the PRAGMATICS of language—

¹Werth, *Focus*, p. 5.

²Labov, *Patterns*, p. 252.

³Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, p. 19.

⁴Cf. the tenets in Beaugrande, 'Text Linguistics', p. 12, and Schiffrin, *Approaches*, p. 416.

⁵This three-way compartmentalisation of language was first set forth by C. W. Morris, 'Foundations', pp. 89-95. For a sensible approach to their use in discourse analysis see Fillmore, 'Pragmatics', esp. pp. 143-44.

extralinguistic features (e.g. presuppositions, deictic indicators of time and place, medium, background and history). When analysing the organisation and meaning of the forms of language (the focus of the second and fourth tenets), the focus is on the SYNTAX and SEMANTICS of language—*linguistic* features. D. Hellholm portrays discourse analysis in terms of these three categories. He describes it in terms of communication between ‘Sender und Empfänger (pragmatischer Aspekt) über einen Sachverhalt (semantischer Aspekt) mit Hilfe von Zeichen verschiedener Art (syntaktischer Aspekt).’¹ W. Schenk takes a similar approach: ‘...sie [Textanalyse] eine geordnete (methodisch durchgeführte) Befragung eines Textes nach seiner Zeichengestalt (Textsyntax), seinem Zeichengehalt (Textsemantik) und seinem Sinn/seiner Funktion (Textpragmatik) ist’.² However, while it might be useful to show a relationship between discourse analysis and general linguistics, the compartmentalisation of texts into syntax, semantics, and pragmatics tends to prolong the misconception that pragmatic meaning is something other than semantic meaning and that syntax should be analysed apart from semantics.³ This approach is not representative of current models of discourse analysis;⁴ for this reason, the present author’s discourse analysis of Philippians is in many ways methodologically distinct from Schenk’s.⁵

¹Hellholm, *Visionenbuch*, p. 25.

²Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, p. 20.

³So Beaugrande, ‘Text Linguistics’, p. 11.

⁴This point was acutely made to me by R. de Beaugrande in personal correspondence on 27 July 1994.

⁵Indeed, I find it difficult to place Schenk’s so-called ‘textlinguistic’ methodology into modern theories of discourse analysis (besides the general tenet that texts should be analysed as wholes; *Philippbriefe*, pp. 18-19). However, I find some of the critiques of his method lacking themselves in understanding of discourse analysis as a discipline (e.g. it traditionally has investigated such things as ‘intended’ meaning and roles of author’s [without neglecting readers]), though I agree with the general criticism that Schenk tends to downplay the polyvalency of language and texts—but this is a critique of his own rhetorical style not his arguments per se. See the reactions to his textlinguistic method in Combrink, ‘Response’, pp. 135-46; Voelz, ‘Some Things Old’, pp. 161-69; Dormeyer, ‘Readers’, pp. 147-59; Koperski, ‘Textlinguistics’, pp. 331-67; Bormann, *Philippi*, pp. 98-102—Schenk provides a cogent and more nuanced account of his hermeneutic in ‘Roles of the Readers’, pp. 55-80, and ‘Der Philippbrief oder Die Philippbriefe’, pp. 122-31. In a cursory appraisal, Luter and Lee (‘Philippians’, p. 101) claim that ‘Schenk basically assumes the three-letter theory instead of employing his various new approaches to buttress the position’; to the contrary, Schenk vigorously applies his model of syntax-semantics-pragmatics to his reading of the text so as to support his multiple-letter theory. Luter and Lee, for example, fail to deal with his cogent argument that 4:10-20, for various structural reasons, is atypical of Paul’s letter forms (see chap. 3 on Topical Evidence); whether one agrees with his multiple-letter conclusions or not, he cannot be accused of having assumed a partition theory without attempting to prove it.

Chapter 2

A MODEL OF NEW TESTAMENT DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

A rudimentary definition of discourse analysis was provided and then delineated into four major tenets in chapter one. The following discussion attempts to detail a unified methodology of discourse analysis for NT texts, especially non-narrative ones.¹ The intent is to be more specific, to present actual theories about discourse production and comprehension, and to apply theory to actual Greek language and discourse. In order to preclude idiosyncrasies and eclecticism, it is largely based on a systemic-functional model of linguistics. No theoretical study is able to avoid terminology; but an attempt has been made (i) to use linguistic terminology explicitly (usually set apart in small caps) and consistently, (ii) to select terms that are the most widely acknowledged, (iii) to mention alternative terms which essentially depict the same concept, and (iv) to relate linguistic terminology, where applicable, to common biblical hermeneutical practices.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

The model of NT discourse analysis proposed below primarily concerns written texts and those that are non-narrative;² therefore, it is not intended to be a comprehensive theory of discourse, since it makes little reference, for example, to speech act theory and conversational analysis.³ Because it attempts to deal with written texts it draws heavily from the linguistic theory called SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL), or, as it is generally referred to, 'systemics'.⁴ Although SFL has many theoreticians, much of it has been set forth and popularised by M. A. K. Halliday. Halliday's work is part of the so-called 'London School' of linguistics, whose founding father was J. R. Firth (1890-1960). The theory is 'built on the work of Saussure, Malinowski and Firth, Hjelmslev, the Prague school, and the American anthropological linguists Boas, Sapir, and Whorf; the main

¹Coulthard (*Discourse Analysis*, pp. 10-11) proposes four criteria to which linguistic description must conform, of which three are relevant to this study. (1) It must be finite. (2) It must be comprehensive, describing the whole of the data. Yet it is allowable to have a 'ragbag' category which contains a minority of items not positively classified. Of course, if 95% of the text falls into this category the description would be rejected. (3) The system of labels used by the descriptive apparatus should be clearly relatable to the corresponding data. In other words, labels should be precisely defined and related to the data. Werth ('Linear Order', p. 188) includes: (i) it must predict the observable facts, i.e. surface structures; (ii) it must be economical, viable, and explicit; and (iii) it should be compatible with the known facts about humans and perhaps psychological and sociological systems.

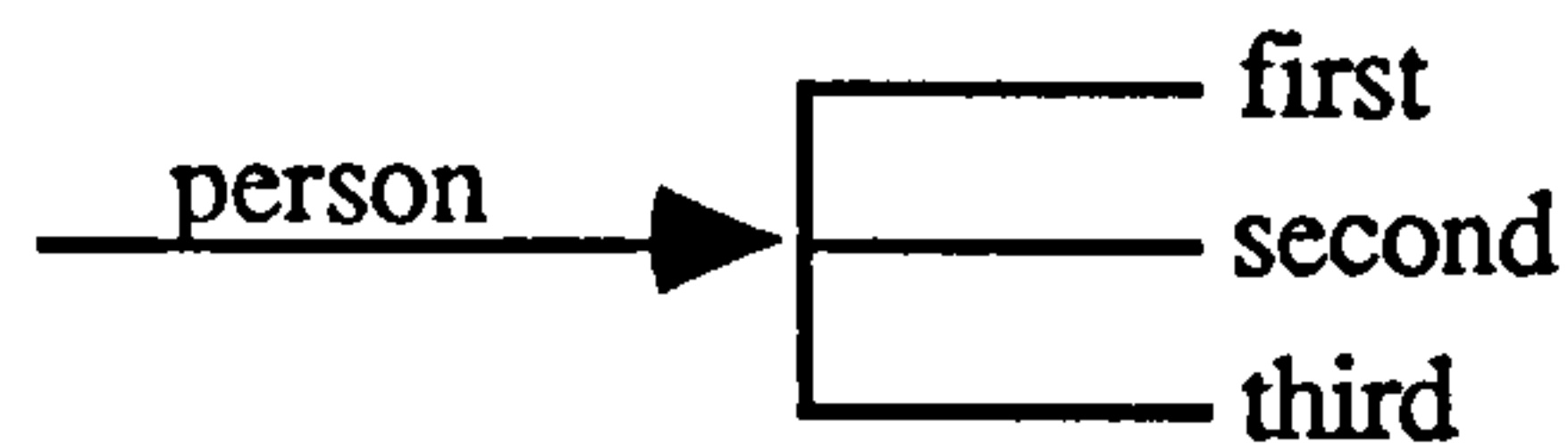
²On the discourse analysis of literary texts see Coulthard, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 179-92, and Short, 'Discourse Analysis in Stylistics', pp. 181-91. For some differences between spoken and written discourse see Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 15-19.

³This is not to negate the oral nature of NT discourse or the fact that spoken language precedes written, but it does start from the fact that the extant texts are written, not spoken.

⁴For a history of systemics see Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*; for Firthian backgrounds see Monaghan, *Neo-Firthian Tradition*. Helpful introductions include Berry's two volume *Introduction to Systemic Linguistics* and Eggins, *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*.

inspiration being J. R. Firth'.¹ Not every systemic linguist completely agrees with Halliday's particular model of SFL nor is the history of his writings void of evolution.² Nevertheless, Halliday's writings have been fundamental for the development and current status of SFL and, consequently, much of the present functional model of discourse analysis is dependent upon him. Other linguistic theories have influenced this work as well, including tagmemics (K. L. Pike) and stratificational grammar (S. M. Lamb), both of which have affinities with SFL. SFL is least like transformational-generative linguistics (mostly attributed to N. Chomsky), and thus little is drawn from works based on this tradition. SFL is not a model of discourse analysis per se, but a theory of language in general and its functional use in discourse. However, because it adheres to most if not all of the major tenets of discourse analysis, it is closely related to models of discourse analysis; indeed, it may be regarded as a forerunner of discourse analysis.³ Furthermore, SFL has been extended to deal more adequately with the notion of 'text'. R. Hasan and M. Berry, in particular, have done significant work in the area of discourse analysis from the perspective of SFL (see bibliography); their works show a strong influence below as well.

As its name suggests, the concepts of 'system' and 'function' are fundamental notions in SFL. SYSTEM refers to the choices available to speakers in the grammar and lexicon of a language (lexico-grammar).⁴ It is a theory of language as choice.⁵ As a simple example, in Greek there is a system of grammatical person, with the choices of first, second, and third person meanings and corresponding forms. Systemic linguists often represent such systems in a diagram.



The category of 'person' is called the 'entry condition' into the system. Once in the system, the choices then made are semantic, i.e. they are choices of meaning. When choosing to express 'grammatical person', in other words, the speaker must choose first, second, or third person; there are no other choices. Each semantic choice is then said to be expressed by (realised by) grammatical form(s) (not shown in the above diagram). Semantic networks are useful for analysing the microstructures of discourse. The analyst can often identify patterns of semantic choices that then reveal larger macrostructures. In addition, they force the analyst to be specific about his or her description of textual meanings and to relate those meanings to other semiotic choices. As Halliday asserts, 'Discourse analysis has to be founded on a study of the system of the language.'⁶ Semantic networks play an important role in this study. They are functional (semantic) in nature, i.e. they represent functional choices of authors and the grammatical forms that realise those functions. However, it should be noted that any function may have several formal realisations and any grammatical form may play several functional roles. The following conventions are used in this work for diagramming semantic networks.⁷

¹Halliday, 'Dimensions', p. 30.

²See discussion in Butler, 'Systemic Models', 13-27.

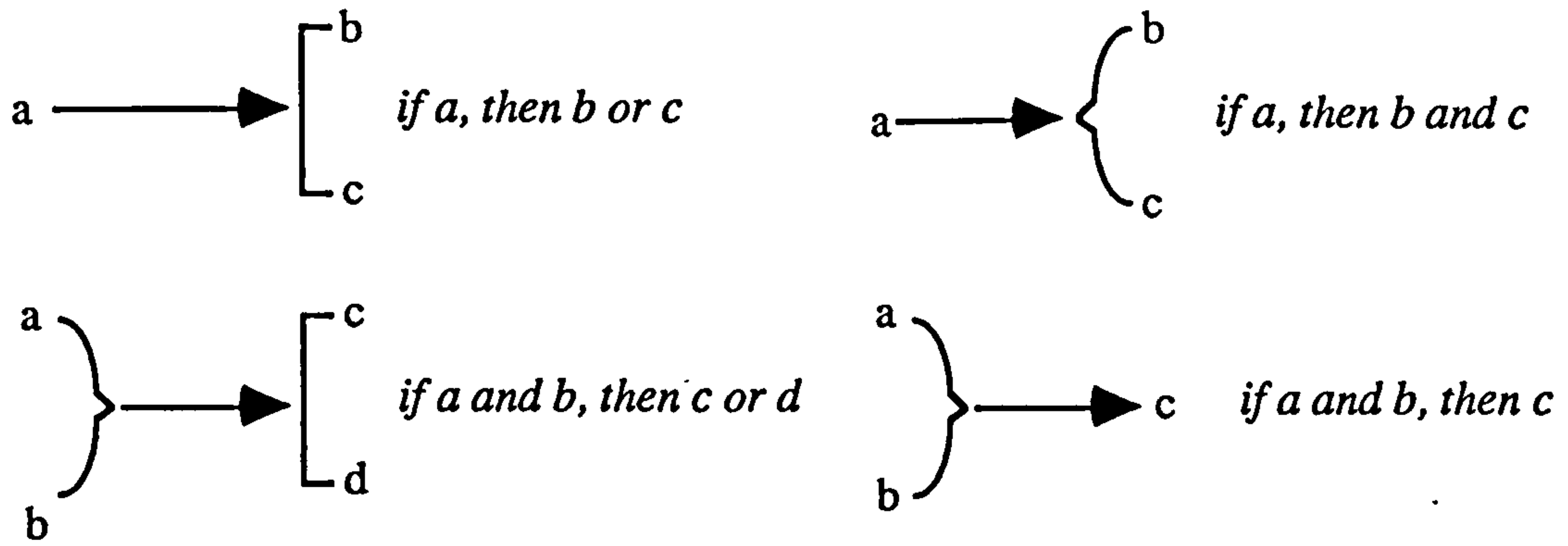
³Fairclough (*Discourse*) and Nunan (*Discourse Analysis*) incorporate some aspects of SFL into their theory of discourse analysis.

⁴See Berry, *Introduction*, I, pp. 142-92. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, uses systemic networks in his analysis of the Greek verb.

⁵Halliday, 'Systemic Background', p. 8; cf. Grimes, *Thread of Discourse*, p. 114.

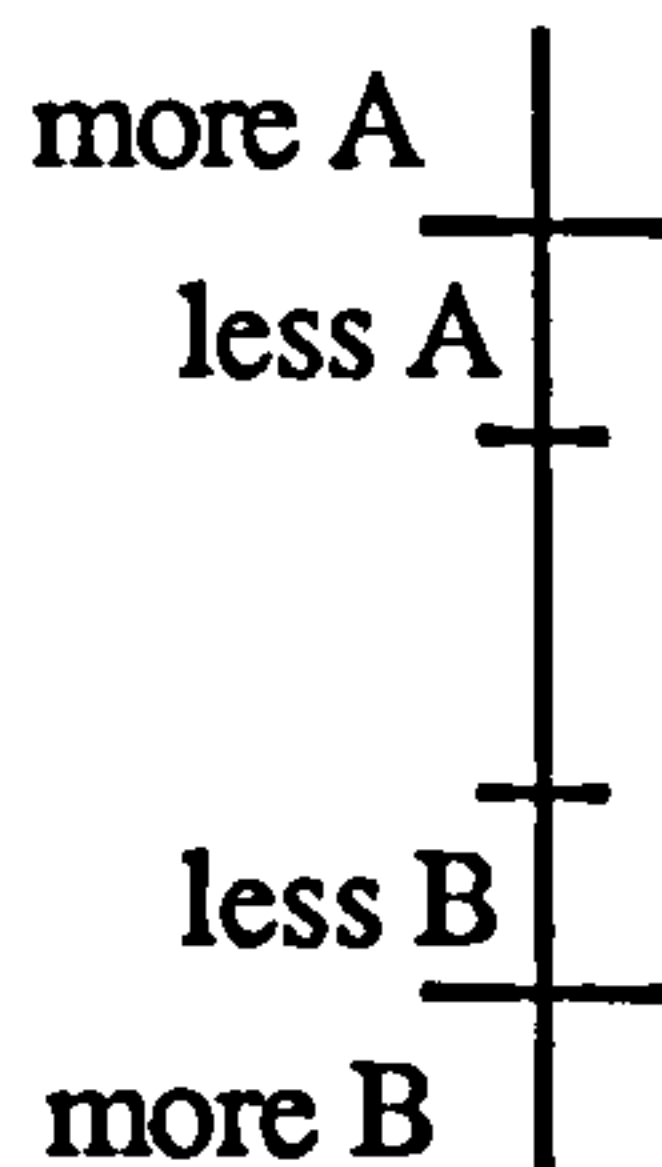
⁶Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. xxii.

⁷For further discussion of systemic notation see Berry, *Introduction*, II, pp. 9-17.



The concept of 'function' is equally important to SFL, although it received more detailed attention later in the theory's evolution. FUNCTION not only concerns the semantic roles of linguistic forms, but the semantic roles of those forms in the immediate situation and the broader culture. Whereas system concerns the linguistic code, function concerns the semantic organisation of texts. Consequently, SFL attaches great importance to the sociological aspects of language—how people use language to 'do' things.¹ It is thus interested in how 'form' relates to 'function' and how 'function' relates to 'situation'. Conversely, it asks the question, How do the sociological aspects of a situation influence the functions of a form? The model of discourse analysis set forth in this work is centred around Halliday's attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the context of situation (and culture) and the functions of language. Situations (i.e. features of the context) are treated in terms of the field, tenor, and mode of discourse. These are expressed with three major functions of language, viz. ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings (and their corresponding forms). Halliday's approach to language, therefore, directly addresses several of the above tenets being employed by discourse analysts.

One of the more serviceable aspects of SFL for discourse analysis is the use of the cline (= scale or continuum) to describe linguistic phenomena. As M. Berry notes, 'Language is so extremely complex that it is difficult to be cut-and-dried when analysing language.'² When analysing discourse the interpreter quickly realises that linguistic phenomena rarely fall into one category or another, but rather they fall on a cline on which the categories shade into one another. A skeleton of a cline used throughout this work is represented in the following diagram. Certain semantic concepts will be placed in relationship to one another on this cline.



Although such a view of language makes any interpretation less definitive it seems to reflect more accurately the use of language in discourse. This type of analysis is also useful for a general view of cohesiveness. Rarely is discourse entirely incohesive or entirely cohesive,

¹Berry, *Introduction*, I, pp. 22-23; Butler, *Systemic Linguistics*, pp. 148-49.

²Berry, *Introduction*, I, p. 25.

but somewhere between these two poles. Any view of the literary integrity of Philippians would be well-served to confess this feature of language and discourse.

Finally, Hasan argues that SFL has much to offer a model of discourse analysis with the concepts of 'texture' and 'structure'. The concept of TEXTURE refers 'to the fact that the lexico-grammatical units representing a text hang together—that there exists linguistic cohesion within the passage'.¹ The devices used to create this cohesion are generally those of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical organisation.² In a more recent work Halliday and Hasan include other devices such as adjacency pairs (e.g. offer followed by acceptance), parallelism, theme–rheme development, and given–new information.³ Whereas TEXTURE concerns the cohesive properties of smaller linguistic units (i.e. microstructures), STRUCTURE refers to larger linguistic units (i.e. macrostructures) such as genre (register) and text-types. Structure 'allows us to distinguish between complete and incomplete texts on the one hand, and between different generic forms on the other'.⁴ The notion of structure is further detailed below in the discussion of register/genre in the section on Levels of Discourse; texture is treated in more detail under the section on A Functional Grammar of NT Discourse. Both texture and structure have proved crucial in the debate over the integrity of Philippians, and thus they represent the guiding framework of the second part of this work.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF NEW TESTAMENT DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis has developed in close relation to the field of linguistics called PRAGMATICS (see above). Pragmatics is concerned with the principles used by people to draw inferences from given utterances and their contexts in order to interpret those utterances. Accordingly, discourse analysts approach the text with a certain idea of how it may reflect the context of situation. Several principles resulting from pragmatics provide a linguistically and empirically based set of presuppositions that may be brought to a discourse analysis of NT texts, based on conversational presuppositions that speakers and listeners themselves often bring to communicative events.

H. P. Grice's work on pragmatic implicature provides a systematic account of many of these conversational presuppositions.⁵ His work and others like it are especially relevant for a discourse analysis of the NT, where speakers are not readily available to question their assumptions and intentions.⁶ Grice argues that there is a general principle of conversation plus a number of maxims which speakers/authors normally obey when

¹Hasan, 'Text', p. 228.

²For discussion of these see esp. Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*; idem, 'Text and Context', pp. 4-90; for a critique see Carrell, 'Cohesion Is Not Coherence', pp. 479-88, who rightly emphasises the role of the reader in the coherent understanding of discourse, especially in the light of cognitive studies based on schema theory; see also Green and Morgan, 'Pragmatics', pp. 171-75, who claim that Halliday and Hasan falsely (and inconsistently) attribute coherence to the forms of language. However, both studies tend to misconstrue Halliday and Hasan's view of cohesion (and coherence) as resident *only* in the surface forms of the discourse. Their theory of cohesion is part of what they call the 'textual' meanings of language. These are functions of language and communication, but they do not absolutely determine interpretation. The reader is still responsible for *their* interpretation of linguistic forms. However, what Halliday and Hasan do suggest and what makes their theory applicable to NT studies is that language (shared code) is one of the means by which readers arrive at their interpretations.

³Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, p. 81.

⁴Hasan, 'Text', p. 229.

⁵See esp. Grice, 'Logic and Conversation', pp. 41-58; Sperber and Wilson (*Relevance*) argue that a single principle of relevance may account for all of the maxims propounded by Grice and his followers.

⁶Cf. Johanson, *To All the Brethren*, pp. 10-11.

communicating. These principles are also assumed by listeners/readers, thus allowing them to predict what a speaker supposedly 'means'. The general principle is called the CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE. Grice states:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.¹

This principle assumes that the goal of the speaker is to communicate his or her message successfully. The speaker must, therefore, cooperate with the audience. Four maxims further clarify what it means for the speaker/author to cooperate.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Quantity: | Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange). Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. |
| Quality: | Do not say that which you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. |
| Relation: | Be relevant. |
| Manner: | Be perspicuous. Avoid obscurity of expression. Avoid ambiguity. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). Be orderly. |

This is not an exhaustive list (so claims Grice), but it represents some of the most significant principles or maxims which speakers adhere to when communicating. For example, consider the following exchange between a student and a teacher:

A: I've got the worst headache.

B: There's a bottle of aspirin in my drawer.

Several conversational assumptions occur in this brief discourse; a few may be noted. B would not be acting in a relevant manner if there was an empty bottle of aspirin in the drawer. The speaker assumes that the bottle is not empty. The quality of A's statement would be invalid if the student had a stomachache instead of a headache. B assumes that A sincerely means what A is saying. Of course the student could be lying, but this would be a purposeful avoidance of the co-operative principle for some ulterior motive (i.e. the intent of the communication is still accomplished). This is what makes the co-operative principle difficult to use at times, since the analyst does not always know if the speaker is being dishonest. Another potential difficulty is irony, though according to Grice's principles it might be argued that effective irony is simply a case of recognisable relevancy. In other words, irony is co-operative because the audience is able to recognise it as irony and thus interpret it accordingly.

In sum, discourse analysts often assume that texts typically respect two basic communicative principles: (i) the communication should be informative enough (not too little but not too much) and (ii) it should be relevant with respect to the theme(s) of the discourse and the context. It is not unreasonable to suppose that NT authors would have been accountable to abide by such principles, at least with respect to their audience. The co-operative principle, along with the goal of informativeness, truthfulness, relevancy, and clarity, provide a standard upon which discourse analysts may argue for a particular interpretation of a text. They do not preclude misinterpretation (or multiple interpretations) nor may they account for dishonesty. But unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, they are presuppositions that a discourse analyst may *a priori* bring to a reading of the text. In any event, they are presuppositions that this discourse analyst brings to this reading of Philipians.

¹Grice, 'Logic and Conversation', p. 45; cf. Werth, *Focus*, pp. 57-59, who treats this communicative principle in terms of *discourse coherence*.

LEVELS OF DISCOURSE

The second tenet of discourse analysis suggests that language is best understood if analysed at a level larger than the sentence. But how far into the surrounding discourse must the analyst look in order to understand fully a particular instance of Greek grammar? This question involves what are termed here the LEVELS OF DISCOURSE (boundaries of discourse).¹ Discourse analysts often try to account for the various linguistic and contextual constraints which influence the production and processing of texts. These constraints range from the smallest meaningful unit—the morpheme—to the broadest meaningful unit—the speaker’s culture. A discourse, then, encompasses these two communicative levels and all of those in between. These levels of discourse may be categorised under two headings: co-text and context. CO-TEXT refers to linguistic units that are part of a discourse and, more specifically, linguistic units that surround a particular point in the discourse. CONTEXT refers to extra-linguistic factors that influence discourse production and processing, and it may be broadly categorised in terms of the CONTEXT OF SITUATION² (i.e. the immediate historical situation in which a discourse occurs) and the CONTEXT OF CULTURE (i.e. the cultural world views in which a discourse occurs).

CO-TEXTUAL LEVELS OF DISCOURSE

CO-TEXTUAL levels of discourse are linguistic in nature—they consist of grammatical-lexical forms. The importance of defining these linguistic levels in NT discourse is heightened by the fact that ancient Greek writers generally did not orthographically separate discourse units as is frequently the case in English with the use of spaces between words, punctuation between sentences, and indentation between paragraphs. In a typical Greek text, be it on papyrus or stone, the letters, words, sentences, and paragraphs run together with few or no orthographical markings. There are exceptions to this, but they are few and generally limited to literary texts.³ One example, however, of orthographical distinctions that may have been meaningful to NT audiences comes from ancient letters. P.Mich. 8.491 (II CE), a letter from a young Greco-Roman soldier to his mother, is written in such a way that the epistolary prescript and especially the closing are set apart from the main body of the letter, which implies something about the functions of these parts. It is reasonable to assume, nonetheless, that NT discourses were representative of the writings of the day,

¹See esp. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 19-37.

²Halliday, *Language and Social Man*, pp. 28-29: ‘Essentially what this implies is that language comes to life only when functioning in some environment.... The “context of situation” does not refer to all the bits and pieces of the material environment.... It refers to those features which are relevant to the speech that is taking place.’

³Use of orthographical markings include, for example, an upright stroke to separate words or phrases (Cyprian writing); single, double, or treble points to separate words or phrases that could lead to ambiguity (old Greek inscriptions); a colon to indicate change of person in dialogue; a semicolon for interrogatives; a dash (παράγραφος), sometimes adorned (κορωνίς), drawn in the left margin under the line of the text which completes a section or speaker’s dialogue; a horizontal stroke above proper names; a dot above the line to indicate true word-division in cases of ambiguity; accents applied to longer words and especially compound words. The Alexandrian critics had a well-known system of markings (traditionally attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium): dot above the line = full stop; dot in the middle of the line = comma; dot on the line = semicolon.

probably bearing few or no orthographical markings.¹ If there were markings that did convey meaning, they are lost to us now.²

At the lowest co-textual level of discourse, linguists often point to the PHONEMES (or the written equivalent GRAPHEMES) of language. These are the various sounds or graphic symbols which make up the words of a language.³ Since native speakers of Greek or recordings of these native speakers do not exist today, any phonetic reconstruction of koiné Greek is tenuous. Although dialectal varieties existed, as the spelling of the papyri suggest, the NT texts have been standardised with respect to spelling. Rom 5:1, however, is a case where the mere change of a vowel (ο or ω), a grapheme, significantly affects an interpretation. Does it read, ‘Being justified by faith, we have peace before God’ (indicative mood) or ‘Being justified by faith, let us have peace with God’ (subjunctive mood)? Accordingly, text-critical issues are important for discourse analysis.

MORPHEMES, the next largest level of language, are more significant. Morphemes are one of, if not the, smallest meaningful unit of language; they are often combined to make words. For example, the English word ‘unfaithful’ is made up of three smaller units: *un*, *faith*, and *ful*.⁴ The Greek word ἀπίστος is comprised of α, πιστ, and ος.⁵ Each segment, or morpheme, adds something meaningful to the complete word. Generally speaking, α indicates negation (not), the nominal root πιστ contributes the meaning ‘faith, belief, trustworthy’, and the ending ος signals the nominative case (which has grammatical meaning, not lexical meaning). Slight changes in morphology may have significant effects on the meaning of larger units of discourse. For example, in Rom 6:19 the same lexical word, παρίστημι (‘to present, offer’), occurs in two separate clauses differing with respect to only one letter (ε and α). Each letter signals a change in grammatical mood, viz. the indicative (παρεστήσατε ‘you offered...’) and the imperative (παραστήσατε ‘offer...’).

The next five levels of discourse—WORD, CLAUSE, SENTENCE, PARAGRAPH, and DISCOURSE—are more abstract concepts and thus more difficult to define; however, they are often referred to in discourse analysis (esp. in studies of word order) and thus require at least cursory treatment here. They should not be assumed as self-evident realities of Greek language and discourse, as is often the case in modern interpretations (e.g. ‘this *word* means...’). If these linguistic levels occur at all in NT discourse, they cannot be defined by appealing to such orthographical markings as full-stops, spaces, colons, indentation and so on as is done in written English. They must instead be defined mostly in terms of basic (unmarked) functional categories.⁶

¹One known exception to this rule is Paul’s practice of closing some of his letters with his own handwriting (e.g. 1 Cor 16:21). The mere presence of a different style of writing, not the semantic content it conveyed, could have a meaningful effect on the audience.

²Both standard critical editions of the Greek New Testament—UBSGNT⁴ and NA²⁶—provide headings to their divisions of the text, a curious addition to the discourse.

³For a more detailed discussion see Lyons, *Theoretical Linguistics*, pp. 99-132.

⁴Not all words have identifiable morphemes. For example, ‘tall’, ‘taller’, and ‘tallest’ have readily identifiable morphemes. However, the similar set of words, ‘bad’, ‘worse’, and ‘worst’, lack distinguishable segments. Distinguishable segments are frequently called ‘morphs’. Linguists will generally symbolise a word like ‘worse’ with the morphemes {bad} and {er} in order to represent orthographically what they consider is implicit.

⁵See Lyons, *Theoretical Linguistics*, pp. 189-91, for further insights on the presence of morphemes in inflectional languages.

⁶In this study MARKED stands for ‘more marked than’ or ‘dispreferred’ or ‘less natural than’ and UNMARKED stands for ‘less marked than’ or ‘preferred’ or ‘more natural than’; cf. Dressler, ‘Marked’, p. 5. Markedness, then, may be either a bipolar linguistic phenomenon or a graded one, depending on the particular grammatical devices.

WORDS have long been recognised by grammarians, rightly or not, as the primary building blocks of language.¹ The term ‘word’ here refers to the various realisations or forms (e.g. πίστου, πίστοι) of a semantic function (= sense). PHRASES—a group of words (often a *modifier*, *headword*, and *qualifier* such as ‘the boys next-door’) with a nominal element—combined with CLAUSES—a group of words with a verbal element—make up SENTENCES.² In English, sentences are often defined as a group of words beginning with a capitalised word and ending with a full-stop (or some other form of punctuation). These distinctions did not exist in Greek, making it almost as difficult to define sentences as it is to define words. Indeed, a sentence may consist of one word (χαίρειν ‘Greetings!’) as in James 1:1. Greek sentences at times even lack verbs as is frequently the case with epistolary prescripts. These are exceptions (marked), however, to the typical Greek clause structure. Unmarked Greek sentences consist of at least a verbal element (*predicator*); in addition, a *complement* such as a direct object in the accusative is often present. To this basic structure may be added *subjects*, *adjuncts* (prepositional phrases and adverbs) and *conjunctions*. The more linguistic elements added to the unmarked clause structure, the more descriptive the author is being, i.e. the clause is more semantically marked. These four components of the sentence—subject, verb, complement, and adjunct (the circumstances)—are an important part of the analysis of the microstructures of discourse, especially with respect to word order.³ At the next level of discourse, sentences are combined together to form PARAGRAPHS (sections or pericopes). Unlike in English, paragraphs in NT discourse were probably not formally marked by such things as indentation (or with numbers as in the codex manuscripts). Instead, Greek provides the speaker with a wide array of lexical discourse markers to indicate transitions in topic (e.g. δέ, οὖν, γάρ, διὰ τοῦτο, διό, ἄρα). Ancient communicators realised the importance of organising larger discourse into cohesive and thematic units. Rhetorical speeches and letters are two examples of ancient discourses which have recognisable paragraphs. The rhetoricians speak of four major sections (or arrangements, termed *dispositio* in Latin) of a speech: *exordium* (introduction); *narratio* (the statement of the matter under discussion); *confirmatio* (proof of the case); and *conclusio* or *peroratio* (conclusion).⁴ Although such rhetorical strategies may or may not have influenced NT discourse, it may reasonably be assumed that these detailed theories reflected less-precise notions of thematic organisation employed in common discourse of the day. Determining the paragraph structure of NT discourse is a complex task and will be treated below under

¹Dionysius of Hallicarnassus (*Comp.* 2) notes that (i) Theodectes and Aristotle and the philosophers of their day identified nouns, verbs, and conjunctions as the primary parts of speech, (ii) the Stoics raised the number to four (separating the article from conjunctions), (iii) subsequent grammarians raised the number to five (distinguishing appellatives from other substantives), and (iv) others distinguished additional parts (e.g. pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, participles). He is reticent to choose only one classification from these various theories; instead, he goes on to distinguish larger levels of discourse, viz. clauses (κῶλα) and periods (περίοδος): ‘these make up the complete discourse (λόγον)’.

²In linguistics, the term ‘sentence’ is generally reserved for written discourse (as it is here) and the term ‘utterance’ for spoken discourse.

³Various grammatical forms may occupy these constituents of the sentence; indeed some forms may occupy several slots. A subject slot may be occupied by a simple nominative or it may even be filled by another clause (such as an infinitive or participle clause), typically referred to as RANK-SHIFTING in systemic linguistics. For example, in Phil 2:21 Paul vacillates between his options, ‘To live (τὸ ζῆν) is Christ; to die (τὸ ἀποθανεῖν) is gain’, with infinitives serving the role of subject. Rank-shifting occurs frequently in NT discourse, partly because of the important role that infinitives and participles play in the Greek language.

⁴To these categories, some Latin rhetoricians (e.g. the author of *Ad Herennium*) add the *divisio* (outline of the steps in the argument), which follows the *narratio*, and the *confutatio* (refutation of the opposing arguments), which follows the *confirmatio*.

the discussion of cohesive ties and information flow. Lastly, paragraphs combine together to form a DISCOURSE, which consists of the entirety of the author's communication to his or her audience (including potential responses). The discourse, then, represents the largest *linguistic* level of communication.

Based on the above divisions, discourses are comprised of paragraphs (and paragraphs embedded in paragraphs), paragraphs are comprised of sentences, sentences are comprised of clauses and phrases (which are made of words), and words are comprised of morphemes. Each level of discourse is comprised of lower levels (rank and scale). Although the higher level generally contains more than one element from the lower levels, it is conceivable to have a discourse with only one word (e.g. Leave!). In this case, the word (and its morphemes) fills the role of all levels: sentence, paragraph, and discourse. This suggests that the levels of discourse are primarily functional in nature, although some semiotic form must be present. W. Pickering emphasises this functional approach in his hierarchy of discourse.¹ He suggests five levels each with their own function—word; phrase; clause; sentence; and paragraph—to which I add discourse. At the lowest level is the sound or graphic symbol (phoneme and grapheme). Each level then adds a function to the hierarchy, resulting in the following scheme.

| | |
|------------|--|
| WORD | = sound + sense |
| PHRASE | = sound + sense + attribution |
| (CLAUSE | = sound + sense + attribution + transitivity + [relation]) |
| SENTENCE | = sound + sense + attribution + transitivity |
| (PARAGRAPH | = sound + sense + attribution + transitivity + social task + [relation]) |
| DISCOURSE | = sound + sense + attribution + transitivity + social task |

Each level has a sound. But sounds by themselves do not make a discourse. 'Today' is a sound that has meaning in English; but 'tyoda' is merely a sound. WORD is sound with SENSE (i.e. attributed meaning), including the combination of meanings contributed by the morphemes which make up the word. PHRASE includes the function of ATTRIBUTION, the ascribing of a quality or characteristic to a central linguistic item (head term). An adjective phrase, for example, contains a nominal element which is ascribed some quality by an adjective. In the phrase τυφλὸς προσαίτης ('the blind beggar'; Mark 10:46), the head term is προσαίτης ('beggar') and the adjective τυφλός ('blind') attributes meaning to it. The discourse level of SENTENCE adds the function of TRANSITIVITY, i.e. processes (aspect and modality) and participants (voice, person, number). The largest linguistic level, DISCOURSE,² adds the function of communicative TASK³, i.e. the overarching purpose(s) of the author's communication (e.g. speech acts). The discourse of schizophrenics vividly demonstrates the function of task, or the lack of it. Jumbles of words are combined (sometimes even in the form of sentences), recognisable as to their form but comprising no apparent purpose. In contrast, most discourse embodies communicative purpose(s). This purpose is closely related to the notion of register/genre (see below).

The clause and paragraph are subsets of the sentence and discourse. However, both the clause and paragraph share the function of RELATION (i.e. the ability to signal ties between

¹Pickering, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 14-17; cf. the notions of rank and scale in Berry, *Introduction*, II, pp. 6-9.

²Cf. Turner, 'Sociosemantic Networks', p. 69.

³Cf. the notion of *activity structure* in relation to genre in Lemke, 'Text Structure', p. 163.

stretches of language¹), since they often contain discourse markers that relate them to their co-text. CLAUSES are often combined by conjunctions to form complex sentences. Similarly, PARAGRAPHS are often combined by discourse markers to form larger parts of discourse. This is typically accomplished by particles (e.g. γάρ, οὖν, διὰ τοῦτο, ὅθεν, ἄρα, δίο, δέ, νῦν), but can also be signalled by generic formulas, grammatical person, number, tense-forms, case, and semantically-signalled shifts in topic. Clauses are to sentences as paragraphs are to discourses. They are both subsets of and cannot exist apart from the larger unit; however, the existence of a sentence or discourse does not necessitate the existence of a clause or paragraph.

With these co-textual levels of discourse in mind, the discourse analyst turns to the text at hand ready to inspect how the speaker/author has combined smaller linguistic forms (and their functions) to form a larger discourse. The question is not primarily whether the speaker has done it well, but how it has been done. An incoherent discourse often reveals just as much about discourse structure as a coherent discourse. But where does the interpreter begin when analysing word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse levels? The concept of BOTTOM-UP ANALYSIS and TOP-DOWN ANALYSIS provides a starting point. To read from the bottom-up is to begin by analysing the smaller units of discourse and how they are combined into increasingly larger units. The discourse analyst starts with the smallest unit, the word (and its morphemes), and concludes with the largest unit, the discourse. To read from the top-down is to begin with an understanding of larger discourse functions (e.g. register/genre) and then to interpret the meaning of smaller units in terms of those functions. Bottom-up analysis may be likened to inductive reasoning, in which the analyst arrives at a theory (e.g. appraisal of a text's theme) based on separate, individual facts (e.g. microstructures). Top-down analysis, on the other hand, is comparable to deductive reasoning, in which a person reasons from a known principle (e.g. the function of a certain genre) to an unknown (e.g. the meaning of a particular use of a word, σωτηρία)—from a premise to a logical conclusion. K. Callow also recognises this two-part task of discourse analysis:

The aim of discourse analysis is obviously, in the long term, the analysis of discourses, i.e., whole passages. To do this, we often have to start by analysing low-level surface-structure signals which have discourse significance, such as connectives, word order, and verb mood. Such analysis is essential in order to have good, objective evidence for their function on any particular occasion of use, but it is not our only aim: our future purpose is to see how a whole passage fits together to express the intended meaning of the writer and what contribution each constituent element makes to the whole.²

Bottom-up and top-down analyses are directly related to the linguistic concepts of microstructures and macrostructures (not identical to the notions of 'structure' and 'genre' below). Texts comprise thematic MACROSTRUCTURES of communication.³ It is possible

¹Coulthard (*Discourse Analysis*, p. 121) argues that paragraph cannot be regarded as a level of grammar because 'a potential unit upon whose structure one can discover no constraints in terms of combinations of the unit next below has no structure and is therefore not a unit in the rank scale'. However, genres (see below) appear to constrain the possible structures for paragraphs (i.e. sections of discourse). Such 'rules' or 'formulas' of genres are resident in the memories of authors and readers. Therefore, they may be analysed formally, although I would agree with Coulthard that most paragraph analysis is based on semantic interpretations.

²Callow, 'Patterns', p. 194.

³Textual *coherence* (i.e. conceptual connectivity maintained and recoverable in the text) is another way of talking about macrostructures; cf. Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process*, p. 19, and Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, pp. 230-231. Dijk (*Macrostructures*, pp. 72, 133) describes macrostructure as the deep (underlying) structure guiding the semantic organisation of discourse. On the concepts of macrostructure and microstructure see esp. Dijk, *Aspects of Text Grammars*, pp. 6-7, 34-129, 130-62; *Text and Context*, pp. 130-163.

to recognise overarching topics of discourse (i.e. themes) that dominate the composition and structure of texts and signify the central thrust(s) of the work. These macrostructures (not always limited to one primary theme in a NT discourse) are made up of smaller, sequenced MICROSTRUCTURES (e.g. words, sentences, paragraphs). Analysis of words and clauses is important, but only within the perspective of the macrostructure.¹ Actually, each level of discourse is a macrostructure of its lower level microstructures. A sentence is a macrostructure of words, phrases, and sometimes clauses. The largest linguistic macrostructure is the discourse. The microstructures combine into unified patterns to reveal the macrostructure. Although any given microstructure may not directly reveal its relationship to the macrostructure, sequences of microstructures reveal these relationships (a typical feature in the Pauline discourse).² The point is that macrostructures and microstructures are not independent but are *interdependent* entities of texts. Macrostructures govern microstructures, i.e. they influence how the microstructures are organised by the author. On the other hand, microstructures determine macrostructures. Both macrostructures and their microstructures influence and are influenced by one another.

Finally, the linguistic concepts of PARADIGMATIC and SYNTAGMATIC analysis and SLOTS and FILLERS are also helpful for understanding micro- and macrostructural levels of discourse. A sentence has various grammatical slots that may be filled by a variety of actual instances of language. There are subject slots, verb slots, and complement slots, for example. A subject slot may be filled by an infinitive clause, a nominal phrase, or even a solitary article. The speaker/author chooses the actual grammatical form to fill the slot from his or her paradigm of choices. R. de Beaugrande calls this paradigm of choices the VIRTUAL SYSTEM of the speaker/author, i.e. the speaker's linguistic code or language (*langue*, competence, system)—the shared meaning-system encoded in grammatical and lexical items. What the speaker/author actually chooses and fills the slot with is the ACTUAL SYSTEM (*parole*, performance). The virtual system is composed of 'elements whose potential is not yet put to use, e.g. the repertoires of sounds, grammatical forms, sentence patterns, concept names, etc., which a particular language offers its users'. In contrast, a text is an actual system, 'a functional unity created through processes of decision and selection among options of virtual systems'.³ That which the speaker chooses from the virtual system is constrained by the co-text and context. There is, in other words, an interplay between the system of language and use of language in the composition of discourse.

On the one hand, the 'system' of the language as known to the communicative participants determines what items, relations, and significances they assign to any instance of language in use. On the other hand, the steadily accruing body of experience with language use is both the source of that knowledge and a continual influence upon it. In this sense, the use of language provides experience and the system provides categories.⁴

¹Although scholars applying discourse analysis to the New Testament have assumed this methodology, Louw's popular definition of the pericope as 'the largest readily perceptible whole...having some autonomy of its own and exhibiting its own peculiar structural pattern' ('Discourse Analysis', p. 103) has resulted in NT discourse analyses which often restrict the scope of investigation to the pericope rather than to the whole text. So Guthrie (*Hebrews*, p. 37) misconstrues current thinking on discourse analysis by claiming that 'at the heart of discourse analysis is the endeavor to understand the paragraphs in the discourse'.

²The explicit microstructural relationships in the text are often termed 'textual cohesiveness' (i.e. sequential connectivity of surface structures that are maintained in and recoverable from the text; cf. Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process*, p. 19).

³Beaugrande, *Text, Discourse and Process*, p. 16; cf. Gülich and Raible, *Textmodelle*, p. 34.

⁴Beaugrande, 'Text Linguistics', p. 13.

In addition to de Beaugrande's insightful comment, it may be noted that co-text as well as 'experience' (context of culture and situation) influences choices from the system. The following sentence may help to illustrate this: *I gulped down _____*. The missing element in the preceding sentence may be filled by various linguistic elements from the English virtual system (e.g. water, coca-cola, drink). These elements represent paradigmatic choices. Not any element from the virtual system may fill this slot, however, and some are even less likely than others. 'Millet mixed with the mud' is not a probable candidate for the missing element, especially in view of the subject 'I'. But it would be a more likely candidate if 'the pig' were the subject. Nor would 'I' probably gulp down a 'brick' or 'a dog running through the park'. These may seem amusing, but they vividly demonstrate how the co-text (i.e. the syntagmatic choices) of a macrostructure in part determines the paradigmatic choices from the speaker's language. In other words, what *fills* the various *slots* of the discourse levels, is largely determined by what elements fill the surrounding discourse. The linear nature of discourse creates a situation in which the choice of the next linguistic element in the discourse is influenced by the selection of the current element. The way the next element will be interpreted is determined by the previous expressions and in particular the immediately previous one.

In summary, by approaching the linguistic levels of discourse from the top-down and the bottom-up the discourse analyst is constantly evaluating how the co-text (both paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices) influences the production and processing of a particular use of language. This is part of what it means to analyse language at a level larger than the sentence. Contextual levels—the other part of extrasentential analysis—now requires discussion.

CONTEXTUAL LEVELS OF DISCOURSE

Co-textual levels of discourse concern the inter-linguistic components of texts. **CONTEXTUAL LEVELS** of discourse concern the extra-linguistic factors (explicit or implicit) which influence the production and comprehension of texts. These are treated below under the concepts of context of culture and context of situation, which reveal the sociological side of discourse analysis.¹ It is beyond the scope and purpose of this work to detail a sociolinguistic approach to NT discourse; it is, however, necessary to describe in general how linguistic systems may convey culture and situation.

Context of Culture

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that the idea of an isolated, fixed language does not do justice to the facts. Rather, **VARIETIES OF LANGUAGE** exist within and across cultural groups. Only in the case of **STANDARD LANGUAGES**, perhaps such as Hellenistic Greek, may we think of a **LANGUAGE** in contrast to what is typically termed **DIALECT**. A standard language, or **CODE**, is shared by a group of people, either because they are part of the same culture or because they have the need to communicate despite differing cultural backgrounds. Such linguistic codes provide a way to communicate despite regional and social dialects. In other words, whereas the code is shared by the larger society, dialects are unique to various users of the code.² Dialect is commonly thought of in terms of pronunciation; however, other factors determine dialectical varieties such as spelling, vocabulary, and gestures. Variant spelling practices probably due to pronunciation

¹Cf. Pike's all-inclusive term 'universe of discourse' ('Beyond the Sentence', p. 130).

²Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, p. 48.

differences, as found in the papyri, reveal such dialectical varieties in the Greco-Roman world. Such dialects (or varieties of language) should be pictured on a continuum with opposite poles representing the greatest disparity between the varieties. If two varieties of language are close to one another on the continuum, they are readily understood by the different speakers/authors. Two varieties of language on opposite ends of the continuum are less intelligible to the different users of the codes. Although the similarities among the dialects on the continuum are recognisable, R. A. Hudson argues that the individual instances on the continuum should not be called a particular language: ‘The concept “language X” has no part to play in sociolinguistics—nor, for exactly the same reasons, can it have any place in linguistics.’¹ Accordingly, there is no such thing as *the* language of the NT, but only varieties of language. At most, there is a shared (though loosely defined) linguistic code that evolved in the Hellenistic era. Two key factors affect changes in varieties of languages: regional and social. Regional factors refer to the geographical locations of the language users. Geographical isolation often results in unique developments of a language variety (e.g. phonological peculiarities). Social factors, such as gender, age, education, and status, all affect the development of varieties of language. In addition, the particular needs of social groups result in adaptations of the standard language. For example, all legal terms used in the Roman legal system may not have been part of the public’s vocabulary, but they were a vital part of the variety of language used by lawyers and orators. Similarly, early Christians and their various groups probably developed their own varieties of language. The discourse analyst must, then, be cognisant of both geographical and social differences of language in NT discourse.

Hudson argues that standard languages are the only examples of language in which we may talk of ‘a language X’.² A standard language is a variety of language that has become the assumed, widespread language of choice. It may simply be a variety of language that has been accepted (for various reasons) by a larger group of speakers. Thus in America, Standard English is taught and learned in the school system, while varieties are used within particular regional locales and subcultures. This appears to be the case in Hellenistic society with the development of Greek. With the rise of Alexander’s empire, koiné Greek first developed as an imposed variety of language, with the result that communication took place across dialectal and cultural varieties. Alexander strategically chose the Attic dialect of his mentor Aristotle to be the standard language (*lingua franca*) of his empire. This linguistic code was eventually shared by many residents of the Mediterranean world. Consequently, letters could be written from opposite ends of the Roman empire (e.g. from Philippi to Alexandria) and still be understood by the sender and recipient. To this extent, the language of the papyri are useful for analysing the language of the NT. With the discovery of the papyri, scholars such as Deissmann and Moulton have made the case that NT Greek is also part of this standard koiné code. Since then, the view that NT Greek is a special Jewish variety of Greek or even a ‘Holy Ghost’ language has been rightly criticised, but is still not without its advocates (e.g. N. Turner’s *Grammar*). While being open to further research on the particular varieties of language used in the NT, the approach taken here is that the language of the NT is part of the standard language commonly termed today koiné or Hellenistic Greek, recognising, however, that particular texts may manifest a variety of that code.³

¹Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, p. 37.

²Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, p. 37.

³For classic treatments of this issue see Porter, *Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*.

Each language user not only learns the standard language and varieties of language needed to communicate, but he or she acquires language based on personal experience, resulting in a somewhat idiosyncratic IDIOLECT or personal variety of language. All the experiences and events of the individual's life give rise to a unique usage of the linguistic code, a sort of fingerprint. For example, a certain individual might have his or her own pronunciation, intonation, rate of delivery, vocabulary, or sentence structure. More importantly, each language user would recognise the idiolects of others and attach social significance to it. Paul's idiolect, both written and spoken, surely evoked certain types of cognitive and emotive responses from his audiences (cf. 2 Cor 10:10).

Context of Situation

Whereas standard languages and varieties of languages are determined by broad sociological factors, REGISTER or GENRE¹ (*Schreibweise*) has to do with more narrow, limited sociological factors. More specifically, whereas a variety of language refers to *language according to user*,² register refers to *language according to use*. Registers are the linguistic expressions of the different types of social activities commonly undertaken by social-groups (e.g. telephone conversations; teacher-pupil interchange; doctor-patient appointments; or ancient letters). They are a means of 'doing things' with language. Consequently, registers are one of the most important ways of relating language to the context of situation. The term REGISTER refers here to *a configuration of meanings that is associated with a particular situation*.³ Communicants are able to identify the situation by means of these configurations of meanings (e.g. epistolary formulas), often by the time the first few words of a discourse are spoken. It usually takes only a few seconds, for example, when turning on the radio to identify whether we are listening to a sermon, sports broadcast, news broadcast, disc jockey, commentary, talk show, quiz programme, or interview. Halliday's definition hits at the essence of the concept of register:

A register can be defined as a particular configuration of meanings that is associated with a particular situation type. In any social context, certain semantic resources are characteristically employed; certain sets of options are as it were 'at risk' in the given semiotic environment. These define the register. Considered in terms of the notion of meaning potential, the register is the range of meaning potential that is activated by the semiotic properties of the situation.⁴

Halliday is suggesting that changes in the context of situation contribute to changes in the use of language. Speakers/authors conform their discourse to the context of situation, and consequently draw upon accepted forms of language that others recognise as appropriate for that situation. Ethnographers have argued that 'much of language use, like a grammar, is rule governed'.⁵ Registers, accordingly, may be thought of as rule-governed structures of language use. Consequently, their structures invoke certain interpretations by audiences, i.e. they provide for predictability. We understand the importance of speaking according to the appropriate register when we hear others disobey the rules of a register. For example, to address the President of the United States as 'Hey Mister!' would raise the

¹The terms are used interchangeably here, perhaps the only difference being that register concerns specifically the social context of a 'way of speaking' and genre has more to do with the spoken or written manifestation of that context.

²Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, pp. 48-49.

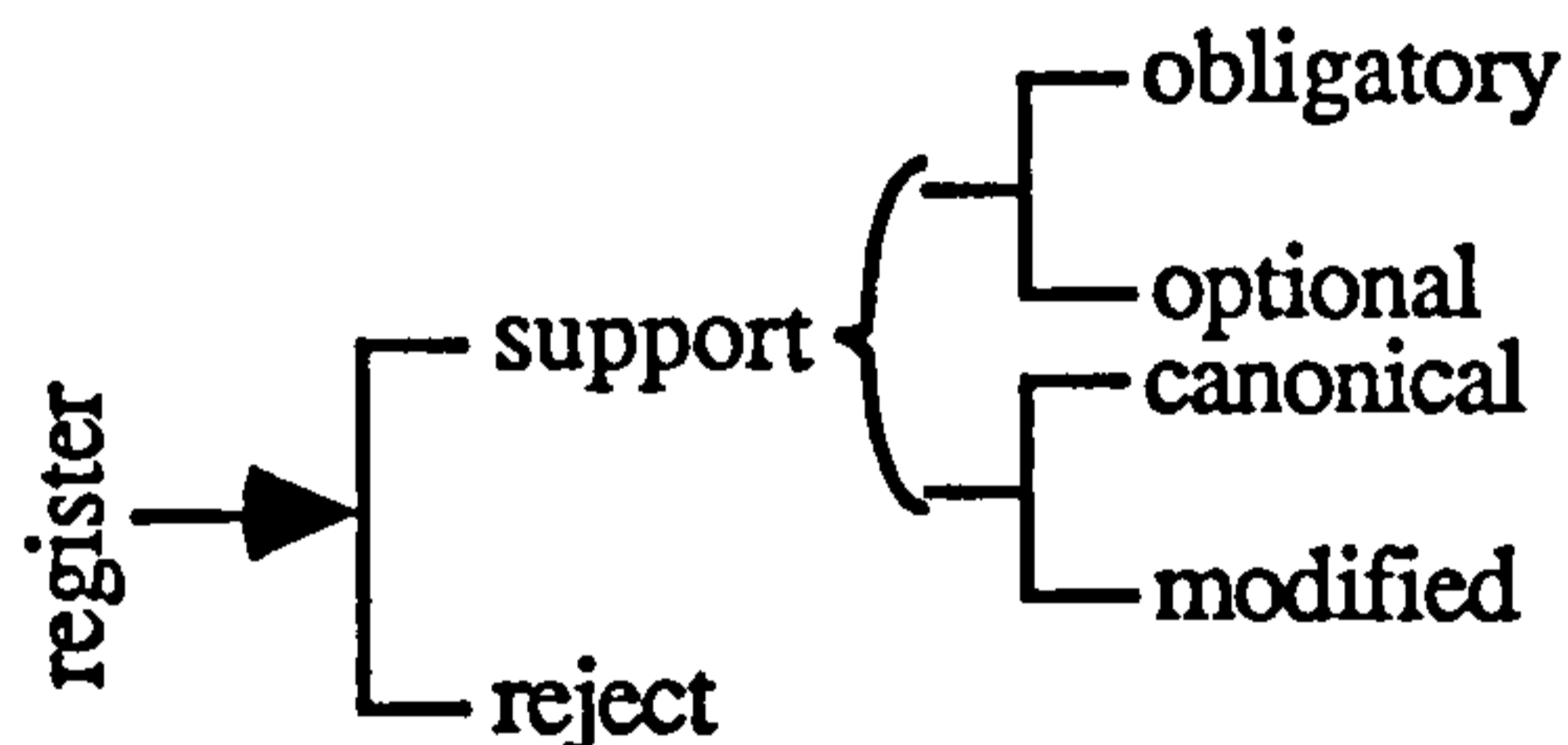
³Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, pp. 38-39; cf. Martin, 'Process and Text', p. 250, and Enkvist, *Stylistics*, pp. 20-21. Halliday further specifies this 'configuration of meanings' in terms of the Firthian contextual categories of field, tenor, and mode (see below on A Functional Grammar of NT Discourse).

⁴Halliday, *Learning*, p. 126.

⁵Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, p. 155.

eyebrows of most. Someone's response to such a statement might be, 'You just don't speak to the President like that.' In other contexts, however, the same statement might be appropriate. 'Appropriateness' was an important aspect of rhetorical and epistolary theory in Greco-Roman traditions (see Appendix B). The same communicative principle (which is perhaps a universal principle along the lines of Grice's principles) has most likely influenced NT discourse production and interpretation.

The appropriateness of communication required by a register involves essentially five aspects of discourse: (i) subject-matter (the semantic content of the discourse); (ii) situation-type (or context of situation); (iii) participant roles (who is communicating with whom; what are the differences or similarities in age, gender, and other social variables); (iv) mode (e.g. persuasive, explanatory, and imperative discourses); and (v) medium (spoken or written).¹ Language users develop standardised linguistic expressions (formulas) in order to express these features of discourse. There is some flexibility in a speaker's appropriation of generic formulas, nonetheless. The following systemic diagram illustrates the basic choices of generic formulas made by an author. Upon entering the system of register, the speaker/author chooses to support or reject standard formulas. If they are supported, the author must then choose both between an obligatory or optional formula and between a canonical or modified one. These types of choices involve eight basic questions: (i) what elements must occur (obligatory)?; (ii) what elements may occur (optional)?; (iii) where must they occur?; (iv) where may they occur?; (v) how often must they occur?; (vi) how often may they occur?; (vii) what function must they have?; and (viii) what function may they have?



N. Fairclough has further developed Hasan's theory of register in terms of concepts of intertextuality.² His work successfully incorporates literary theory into a model of linguistic discourse analysis and, I believe, represents a substantive advance in discourse analysis methodology. An intertextual approach to register emphasises that discourses reuse texts from the past (thus their conventional nature) but also respond to, reaccentuate, and rework past discourses.³ In other words, any given discourse, as part of a specific register, both obeys and disobeys convention. Discourses are related to past texts both *horizontally*—as part of chain of successive communications (e.g. Paul's letter as part of a series of letters from and to a church)—and *vertically*—as part of a register of contemporary texts (e.g. Paul's letters in relation to 'personal' letters). Discourses not only draw upon formulas of the register in a relatively straightforward way but 'reaccentuate' them, for example, by combining them according to one's idiolect (e.g. Paul's mixture of Jewish and Christian elements in the epistolary salutation). These formulas may either be explicitly manifested in a discourse (e.g. disclosure formula) or implicitly incorporated into the text (e.g. indirect speech, OT allusions). Fairclough further distinguishes three types of intertextual relations: (i) *sequential*, where different texts or registers alternate within a

¹Hasan, 'Code', p. 272.

²Fairclough, *Discourse*, pp. 101-136.

³Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 102.

text; *embedded*, where one text or register is contained within the framework of another; and *mixed*, where texts or registers are merged in complex and less easily separable ways.¹ Finally, Fairclough proposes a four-part taxonomy of discourse types: genre (register); activity type; style; and discourse. Genre overarches the other types, which are, with varying degrees of autonomy, freely combinable with other genres. GENRE is ‘a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity, such as informal chat, buying goods in a shop, a job interview, a television documentary, a poem, or a scientific article’ or, with respect to the NT, written communication between spatially separated individuals (i.e. a letter).² ACTIVITY TYPE (what some might call sub-genre) refers to the sequence of actions and participants making up the structure of the text. These are, in terms of Hasan’s model, the optional formulas of the genre. The types of letters classified by ancient epistolary theorists are probably best understood in terms of activity types of letters, although they do discuss style as well. For example, the letter of commendation is an activity type of the epistolary genre. STYLE corresponds to Halliday and Hasan’s ‘tenor’ and ‘mode’ of discourse (see below). The tenor of a discourse, i.e. the sort of relationship between the participants, results in such styles as formal vs. informal, official vs. intimate, serious vs. casual. The use of mood is often an explicit indicator of the tenor of a discourse. The mode of a discourse, i.e. the medium used to communicate, results in such styles as written and spoken and, more specifically, written-to-be-spoken, written-as-if-spoken, spoken-as-if-written. DISCOURSE (as defined by Fairclough) is the most autonomous of the three sub-categories of genre, i.e. it is the least dependent on the genre of discourse and may be used in a variety of registers. It concerns the topic, subject matter, content, or, in term of Halliday’s metafunctions, the ideational meanings of texts. Thus today we have ‘techno-scientific discourse’ or ‘feminist discourse of sexuality’.

Some of the problems associated with attempts to classify Paul’s letters (which will be discussed in detail later) are a result of imprecise definitions of ‘genre’. One scholar may be speaking of the genre of Paul’s letters and another the activity type of his letters, resulting in quite distinct classifications which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Paul’s letter to the Philippians, for example, might be classified in terms of genre as an ancient ‘letter’, in terms of activity type as ‘exhortation’, in terms of style as ‘personal’, and in terms of discourse as Paul’s theology of joy in the midst of suffering. All of these have been suggested as characterisations of Philippians. In conclusion, Hasan’s treatment of register supplemented by Fairclough’s use of intertextuality in discourse analysis provides a useful taxonomy for macrostructural characterisations of NT discourse.

SUMMARY

Discourse analysis of the NT faces a particular problem in that the only recourse the analyst has to the cultural world of a text is via its ‘words’. These words are part of a linguistic code shared by a group of people, but they are also part of a variety of language shared by various subgroups of society. Furthermore, these words reflect the idiolect of a particular author. This overall semiotic system reflects the context of culture influencing the production and processing of discourse. In addition, every discourse is part of a unique historical context³—a context of situation—which is revealed generically by the

¹Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 118.

²Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 126.

³Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, p. 42.

register and particularly by its own lexico-grammatical composition. The co-textual levels affect discourse production and processing as soon as the first word is written or read. This initial word then influences the possible combinations of other words and in turn the resulting clause influences construction of the ensuing clause. These clauses may be grouped semantically into a paragraph, which in turn influence other formations of paragraphs. Both co-textual (inter-linguistic) and contextual (extra-linguistic) factors, therefore, play a role in the analysis of a particular grammatical item in a discourse. They help clarify what it means to claim that discourse analysis is an attempt at understanding language beyond the level of the sentence but without neglecting the semantic importance of the sentence itself. These levels of discourse are summarised in the following chart.

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Standard Language/Code Variety of Language/Dialect Idiolect | <i>Context of Culture</i> |
| Genre/Register | |
| Discourse (Paragraph) Sentence (Clause) Phrase/Group Word | <i>Context of Situation</i> |
| | |
| Levels of Discourse | |

A FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT DISCOURSE

Based on the above introductory issues, a more systematic, comprehensive model of NT discourse analysis is now in order. This hermeneutic is partly based on Halliday's three metafunctions of language—ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings—and it is, therefore, a functional approach to NT grammar.¹ It is functional in three respects. (1) It is designed to account for how language is used in situational contexts; therefore, it takes the discourse as the scope of grammar. (2) It treats lexis and grammar (lexico-grammar) in terms of the functions (meanings) of human speech, viz. ideational, interpersonal, and textual. (3) Each element of grammar is treated in terms of a linguistic system, emphasising that speakers choose from this system on a functional basis. One traditional task of discourse analysis has been to determine the coherence and incoherence of discourse. We expect each other to communicate coherently, and we are often relatively successful at it. But how do we do it? How does a speaker bring together the various linguistic units of communication into an understandable whole? What makes a discourse coherent to the eyes and ears of a listener? What makes one discourse coherent and another incoherent? Why do two readers interpret the same discourse differently? In numerous publications and during a lifetime of linguistic study, M. A. K. Halliday has set forth a unified theory of language to account for such questions. Even his critics recognise the

¹For definitions of his functional approach see esp. Halliday, *Explorations*, pp. 65-66, 22-47; idem, *Language and Social Man*, pp. 13, 15; idem, *Learning*, p. 6. A functional grammar is not an attempt to explain the infinite number of uses of language, but an attempt to 'identify...a finite set of functions...which are general to all these uses and through which the meaning potential associated with them is encoded into grammatical structures' (*Explorations*, pp. 98-99).

magnitude of the task and respect Halliday's attempt to answer fundamental questions of language and communication. Halliday's general theory is introduced below and then treated in detail in its respective subdivisions, being supplemented by the work of other discourse analysts where necessary.

Halliday proposes two essential functions of language: (i) to understand the environment (ideational), and (ii) to act on the others in it (interpersonal).¹ IDEATIONAL MEANINGS (sometimes referred to as EXPERIENTIAL MEANINGS) concern the real world as it is comprehended by human experience.² Language is used in this way to express the various processes, events, states, actions, ideas, participants, and circumstances of our experience, including both phenomena of the external world and those of one's consciousness. 'Language...gives structure to experience, and helps us to determine our way of looking at things.'³ INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS (sometimes referred to as INTERACTIONAL MEANINGS) concern the use of language to establish and maintain social relations.⁴ Whereas ideational meanings may be likened to 'language as reflection', interpersonal meanings may be likened to 'language as social action'. Through them the speaker expresses his or her own comments, attitudes, and evaluations on the surrounding environment. The third function of language—TEXTUAL—is not so much a property of language (code), but a property of discourse,⁵ and, consequently, very relevant to the discourse analyst. TEXTUAL MEANINGS concern both the semantic and grammatical symmetry and the thematic structure of discourse.⁶ This aspect of language allows speakers to bring together both ideational and interpersonal meanings into a coherent whole. That there is a relationship both *semantically and grammatically* between the various parts of a text (cohesive ties) and that there is some *thematic element* which flows through it (information flow) results in cohesive discourse rather than a jumble of unrelated words and sentences.⁷

These functions of language are closely related to the cultural and situational contexts of discourse. Halliday speaks of this relationship in terms of the field, tenor, and mode of the communicative situation. FIELD of discourse is simply what is 'going on' or 'happening' in the context. Halliday describes it by means of a question: 'What is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?'⁸ TENOR of discourse concerns the participants and their social functions in the context. Here, a different kind of question is asked of the text:

What kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are

¹Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. xiii.

²Halliday, 'Notes: Part 3', p. 209; idem, *Learning*, p. 17; Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*, p. 238. Other terms used to describe this phenomenon include 'representational', 'cognitive', 'semantic', and 'factual-notional'.

³Halliday, 'Language Structure', p. 143.

⁴Halliday, 'Notes: Part 3', p. 210; idem, 'Language Structure', p. 143; idem, *Explorations*, p. 66; idem, *Learning*, pp. 126-27; Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*, pp. 26-27.

⁵However, I would maintain that advanced language acquisition includes learning textual meanings of discourse, e.g. learning the cohesive chains appropriate for doctor-patient interviews or letter writing. This learned behaviour, then, becomes part of the shared cognitive language system (i.e. code).

⁶Halliday, 'Language Structure', p. 143; Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*, pp. 27, 299.

⁷Halliday often treats a fourth function of language under the rubric of textual meanings, viz. LOGICAL meanings (e.g. the rhetorical functions of 'and', 'because', 'if...then', and 'or'); see Ellis, 'Functions', pp. 107-29. They are treated here under Textual Meanings (specifically, ORGANIC TIES).

⁸Halliday and Hasan, 'Text and Context', p. 12.

taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?¹

MODE of discourse not only concerns the obvious question of whether the discourse is spoken or written but also the genre of the text. Halliday is worth citing again:

MODE OF DISCOURSE...refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic and the like.²

Halliday goes on to suggest that the three features of context—field, tenor, and mode—are respectively ‘realised by’ (= expressed by) the three functions of language—ideational, interpersonal, and textual—as represented in the following diagram.³

| CONTEXT: Feature of the context | (realised by) | TEXT: Functional component of semantic system |
|--|---------------|---|
| Field of discourse (what is going on) | | Ideational meanings (transitivity, lexis, etc.) |
| Tenor of discourse (who is taking part) | → | Interpersonal meanings (modality, lexis, etc.) |
| Mode of discourse (role assigned to language) | | Textual meanings (cohesive ties, information flow) |

The arrow indicates that the situation is, to use Halliday’s term, ‘realised by’ (expressed by) the corresponding functions of language. The field of discourse is realised by ideational meanings of the language system, the tenor of discourse by interpersonal meanings, and the mode of discourse by textual meanings.

Halliday’s model is serviceable for the discourse analyst in that it attempts to relate the meanings of language to the context of situation, thus dealing with two of the major tenets of discourse analysis (see tenets one and three above). In addition, although the sentence plays an important role in Halliday’s functional grammar, his theory moves grammatical study into the realm of the discourse (tenet two above). Halliday’s notion of textual meanings of language directly relates to discourse cohesion (tenet four above). Finally, although mostly applied to English, it is a functional approach to language in general, rendering it applicable to the Greek of the NT. When supplemented by the insights of other discourse analysts, I believe it provides NT scholars with a systematically-rigorous, linguistically-sensitive hermeneutical model which embodies the major tenets of discourse analysis being espoused today.⁴ The theory is also flexible enough to evolve with discourse analysis. Lastly, its interdisciplinary appeal to both linguists and literary

¹Halliday and Hasan, ‘Text and Context’, p. 12.

²Halliday and Hasan, ‘Text and Context’, p. 12.

³Adapted from Halliday and Hasan, ‘Text and Context’, p. 40.

⁴Turner, ‘Sociosemantic Networks’, p. 69. Butler (*Systemic Linguistics*), a systemic linguist, has provided valuable criticism of some of Halliday’s work. Such criticism has not, however, overturned the general systemic-functional linguistic model of Halliday in vogue today, but in many ways has only modified and enhanced it.

theorists suggests that it should appeal to the various interests of NT scholars working in cross-disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, and literary theory.

IDEATIONAL MEANINGS

IDEATIONAL MEANINGS refer to what is 'going on' in the text with respect to what is going on outside of the text, i.e. the use of language to represent 'doings, happenings, feelings, and beings' in the real or imagined world.¹ This is what people usually have in mind when they talk about what a word or sentence 'means'—viz. the 'content' of language. This function of language enables humans to build a mental portrait of a discourse. It enables them to relate language to what goes on around them (viz. the context of situation and the context of culture) and to what they have individually experienced in the course of their lives.² The grammar of the clause accomplishes this by means of PROCESSES, PARTICIPANTS in the process, and CIRCUMSTANCES associated with the process.³ Processes are typically realised by a verbal phrase, participants by a nominal phrase, and circumstances by adverbial or prepositional phrases: e.g. Gal 1:18 ἔπειτα (circumstance) μετὰ τρία ἔτη (circumstance) ἀνῆλθον (process / participant) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (circumstance) ἱστορῆσαι (process [of subordinate clause]) Κηφῶν (participant [of subordinate clause]). With respect to grammar, Halliday labels these ideational meanings the system of TRANSITIVITY. (I use the term sparingly, however, because of its potential confusion with NT scholars' understanding of transitive and intransitive verbs.)

*Participants and Processes*⁴

Participants and processes are closely related elements of ideational meaning, partly because certain types of processes invoke certain types of participants. This becomes clearer by examining three basic types of processes: material, mental, and relational.

MATERIAL PROCESSES—a common feature in discourse and one of the first functions learned in a child's acquisition of language—are *processes of doing*, i.e. they express the idea that some entity is 'doing' something and often 'doing' something 'to' some other

¹Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 101.

²This study of ideational meanings may give the impression that discourse represents external reality. This, of course, is a simplistic view of discourse and the processes involved in comprehension. A significant amount of discourse describes non-real (fictive) people and events, and sometimes quite outlandish ones (e.g. the dancing elephants in Disney's film *Fantasia*). Nevertheless, the world of the text is frequently comprehended with reference to the real world (i.e. experiences) of the reader. For example, the ability to draw analogies from a text results in a proportionate level of discourse comprehension (cf. the PRINCIPLE OF ANALOGY in Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, pp. 64-67). Furthermore, the PRINCIPLE OF LOCAL INTERPRETATION suggests that 'the hearer should not construct a context any larger than he needs to arrive at an interpretation' (Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 59)—again demonstrating that texts are interpreted in the light of extra-textual contexts. For example, upon hearing someone say 'Shut the door' one will typically look for the nearest available open door rather than cross the street and close the neighbor's door. The speaker will indicate directly by speech or gesture if she wants her friend to close the neighbor's door when there is an open door immediately in front of them. These principles underscore what was said above in the discussion of the tenets of discourse analysis, viz. that communication is a dynamic process involving speaker, text, and audience. I raise the point here again only as a caveat against possible misunderstandings of the notion of ideational meanings.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 101. Cf. Firth, 'Personality', pp. 37-52, who suggests a four-part categorisation of context: participants (persons and personalities; statuses and roles); action (what the persons are doing); effects (what changes are brought about by the participants); other relevant features (background information such as surrounding objects and events).

⁴Cf. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 102-37 (chap. 5 of 1994 2nd edition).

entity'.¹ These entities, or participants, are termed respectively the ACTOR (i.e. logical subject) and the GOAL (or patient). In unmarked clauses the grammatical subject (e.g. nominative case) is the actor (Matt 10:21 παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον...), but in marked constructions the actor is sometimes in a prepositional phrase (John 14:21 ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου). The actor is obligatory, i.e. it must occur in a material process (usually expressed explicitly in a nominal group or verbal suffix or implicitly with a passive voice construction); the goal is optional. When a goal is present, it may occur in an oblique case (usually the accusative) or less frequently in a prepositional phrase (Acts 9:42 ἐπίστευσαν πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον). These types of material processes are fairly easy to identify, but as the process of the clause becomes more abstract it becomes more difficult to apply the categories of actor and goal. For example, in Matt 22:27 ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνή, the actor is involuntary and is hardly 'doing' something intentionally. This is better treated as a 'happening' than a 'doing'; nonetheless, both are types of material processes.

An important semantic feature of material processes (more than mental and relational ones) is the speaker's choice of verbal aspect. ASPECT is that category of language 'by which a speaker or writer grammaticalizes (i.e. represents a meaning by choice of a word-form) a perspective on an action by the selection of a particular tense-form in the verbal system'.² Central to this definition, and important to the point being made here, is the speaker's *subjective viewpoint of or attitude toward* an action. Rather than treat the Greek verb solely in terms of temporal categories (which would also be an ideational meaning), several recent Greek grammarians are arguing that aspect is the central semantic function of verb tense-forms.³ Among these researchers, there is still some disagreement as to the role of time and *Aktionsart* in the tense-forms. The present work does not treat 'time' or 'kinds of action' as dependent upon morphological forms (though the verdict is still out), but it does at least recognise that such functions are expressed by other lexico-grammatical forms (e.g. particles and lexical choices). Thus, the understanding here of the function of tense-forms is closest to that of S. E. Porter's, although it draws from B. Fanning, K. L. McKay, and J. W. Voelz in other areas (esp. pragmatic understandings of the verb). (The debate over the precise aspectual roles of the Greek tense-forms is far from settled, but, in the light of these works, other NT scholars must now at least re-evaluate their understanding of the Greek verb and, thus, many of their interpretations of the NT. No one can claim anymore that there is only one model for understanding the Greek tense-forms. I am simply making it clear which system has been adopted here.) Porter, who is similar in many respects to McKay and less so to Fanning, treats almost every Greek verb in terms of three categories of verbal aspect: *perfective*, i.e. completed process (aorist tense-form); *imperfective*, i.e. progressing process (present and imperfect tense-forms); and *stative*, i.e. resulting process (perfect and pluperfect tense-forms).⁴ Besides their aspectual functions, the imperfect and pluperfect contribute temporal meanings (i.e. remoteness)—these are treated here as ideational meanings. Thus, an analysis of material processes in NT texts should also include a discussion of aspectual choices as ideational components of discourse.

¹Material processes may involve a 'doing to' (dispositive type) or a 'bringing about' (creative type).

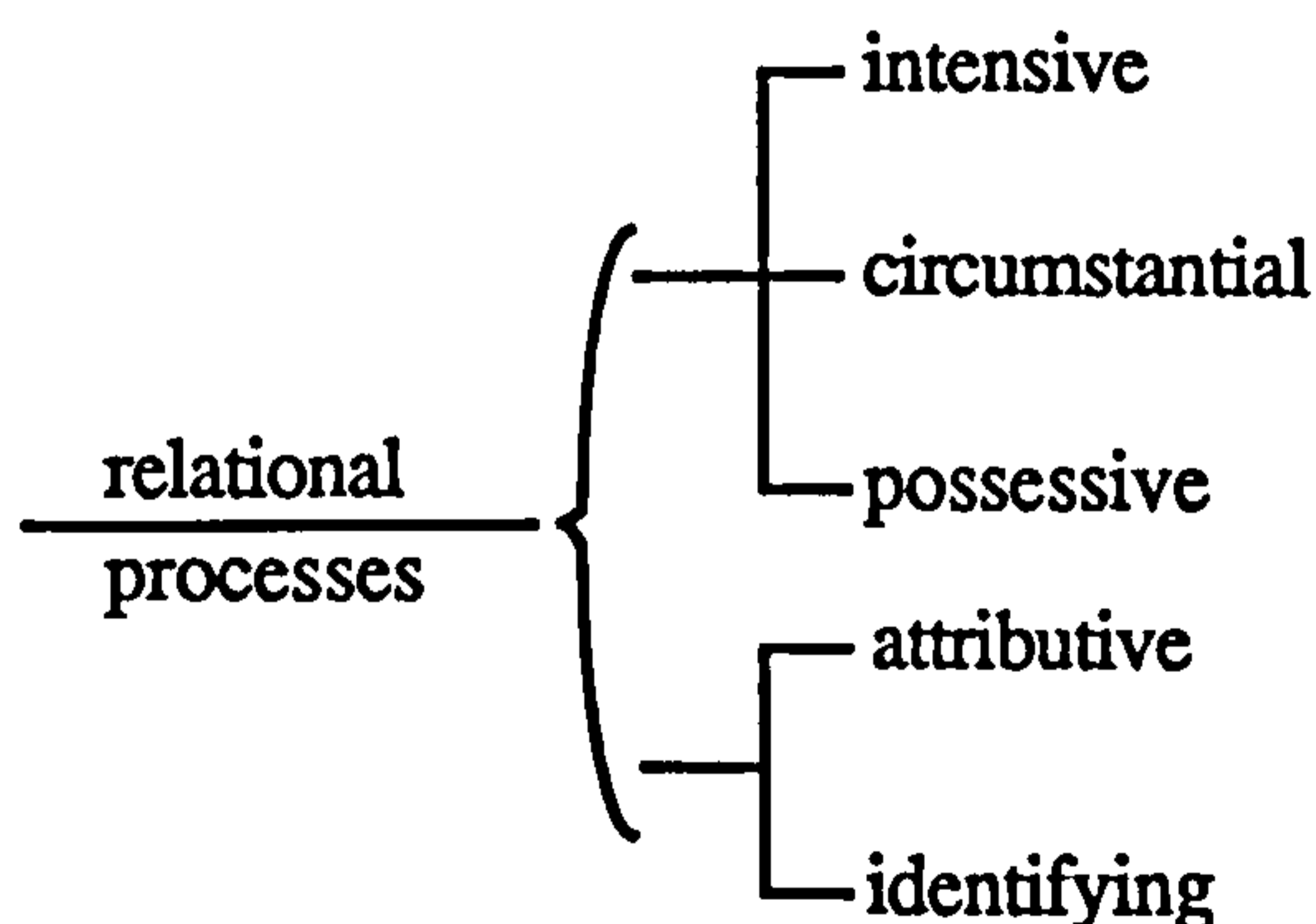
²Porter, *Idioms*, p. 21.

³See esp. the works of Fanning (*Aspect*), McKay (*Syntax*), Porter (*Aspect*), and Voelz ('Aspect'); and for a debate on the issues see Carson and Porter, *Language and Linguistics*. The future tense-form is debated as to its aspectual or non-aspectual role; see below on Interpersonal Meanings.

⁴For a condensed version of his 582 page *Verbal Aspect* monograph see his *Idioms*, pp. 20-45.

Although the ‘actor and goal’ participants are applicable to clauses of ‘doings’ and ‘happenings’, they do not seem to apply to clauses of ‘feeling, thinking, and perceiving’ (e.g. φιλέω, θέλω, φρονέω, νοέω). For example, in Matt 23:6 φιλοῦσιν δὲ τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις, it can hardly be said that the ‘men’ as actors are materially ‘doing something to’ the places of honour. These types of processes are different kinds of ‘goings-on’ (i.e. different types of ideational meanings) ^{from} material processes; they are MENTAL PROCESSES, *processes of sensing*. Mental processes consist of three sub-types: PERCEPTION ‘seeing, hearing, tasting etc.’ (e.g. ὁράω, βλέπω, ἀκούω, γεύομαι); AFFECTION ‘liking, fearing, hating, etc.’ (e.g. ἐπιθυμέω, φιλέω, εὐδοκέω, βούλομαι); and COGNITION ‘thinking, knowing, understanding, etc.’ (e.g. νοέω, εὐρίσκω, γινώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι, θέλω ‘plan’). Mental processes are distinct from material processes in that (i) the participant who feels, thinks, perceives, i.e. ‘senses’, is always human (or human-like [including deities and animals], ‘he’, ‘she’, but not ‘it’),¹ and (ii) the participant ‘being sensed’, on the other hand, frequently involves a fact (i.e. statements, beliefs) and thus is often an abstract. The participants of mental processes include senser and phenomenon. The SENSER is the conscious participant which is feeling, thinking, or perceiving. The PHENOMENON is the participant which is being felt, thought, or perceived. In Greek, it should be noted that the grammatical subject may sometimes be either the senser (e.g. Luke 3:22 ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα—God is senser) or the phenomenon (Matt 14:6 [she] ἤρπεν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ—Herod is senser), depending on the particular verb.²

Whereas material processes are those of ‘doing’ and ‘happening’ and mental processes are those of ‘feeling, thinking, and perceiving’, RELATIONAL PROCESSES are those of ‘being’ (e.g. ἔχω, γίνομαι, εἰμί, ὑπάρχω), as in Phil 2:13 θεὸς...ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ‘God is the one working in you’.³ Relational processes in Greek are perhaps the most complex type. They may be further divided into INTENSIVE (‘x is y’; the relationship between the two terms is one of sameness), CIRCUMSTANTIAL (‘x is at, by, in etc. y’; the relationship between the two terms is one of time, place, manner, cause, accompaniment, matter, or role), and POSSESSIVE (‘x is of y’; the relationship between the two terms is one of ownership). Each of these types of relational processes may occur in one of two modes: ATTRIBUTIVE (‘y is an attribute of x’) and IDENTIFYING (‘y is the identity of x’). The following diagram expresses these relational processes in terms of a systemic network.



¹Halliday is not concerned with the possible use of metaphor here (e.g. ‘the wind *whispered* in my ear’), which he treats as the ‘variation in the expression of meaning’, i.e. marked expressions (*Functional Grammar*, p. 320).

²As these examples demonstrate, Greek speakers could use particular words to express the functions of senser and phenomenon rather than use the passive voice; notably, εὐδοκέω and ἀρέσκω do not occur in the passive in the NT.

³See Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 112-28.

In the ATTRIBUTIVE mode, an attribute is ascribed to some participant in the clause. The attribute may be one of quality (what Halliday calls 'intensive'), circumstance (e.g. time, place), or possession. The participants of attributive processes include the ATTRIBUTE and the CARRIER, both usually in the form of a nominal phrase. In Greek, the process is usually expressed by verbs of being (e.g. γίνομαι, εἰμί, ὑπάρχω), various states of being (e.g. ὑποστρέφω, ἀναπαύομαι, διατελέω), or sometimes with no verb at all. (1) In intensive clauses, a qualitative attribute is assigned to a carrier ('x is a member of the class y'). The attribute is expressed with a nominal group, with a noun, adjective, or participle (including periphrastics) as head-term but not with a pronoun.¹ Attributive clauses are identified by asking questions of *what?* or *how?*, e.g. what is Jesus? or how is the church at Philippi? (2) In circumstantial clauses, an attribute expressing a circumstance (location, time, manner, etc.) is ascribed to another entity. The attribute is usually expressed with a prepositional phrase or an independent case-form (e.g. dative of time). (3) In possessive clauses, the possessive relationship between the participants may be expressed in Greek with a nominal phrase (e.g. genitive or dative case noun) or a verb (e.g. ἔχω, γίνομαι, ὑπάρχω, τηρέω, ἐπιβάλλω). The following diagram gives examples of attributive processes in Greek. (Note: c=carrier; p=process; a=attribute.)

| Intensive | |
|----------------|---|
| Matt 17:2 | τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ (c) ἐγένετο (p) λευκά (a) |
| Mark 6:4 | οὐκ ἔστιν (p) προφήτης (c) ἄτιμος (a) |
| 1 Cor 7:14 | τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν (c) ἀκάθαρτά (a) ἔστιν (p) |
| Circumstantial | |
| Matt 26:5 | ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος (c) γένηται (p) ἐν τῷ λαῷ (a) |
| Mark 1:11 | φωνή (c) ἐγένετο (p) ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν (a) |
| Rom 13:4 | θεοῦ...διάκονός (c) ἔστιν (p) σοὶ (beneficiary) εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν (a) |
| Possessive | |
| Rom 7:3 | ἐὰν γένηται (p/c) ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ (a) |
| Rev 20:6 | ...ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος (c) οὐκ ἔχει (p) ἐξουσίαν (a) |

In the IDENTIFYING mode, one entity (participant) in the clause is used to identify another. The relationship between these two entities is that of token and value (intensive), phenomenon and circumstance (circumstantial), or owner and possession (possessive). Such relationships between the participants in a clause may be assigned the more general labels of IDENTIFIED and IDENTIFIER. Verbs of identification in Greek include, for example, εἰμί, γίνομαι, μορφόω, συστουχέω. (1) In intensive clauses, 'y serves to define the identity of x'—the identifier defines the identity of the identified. Unlike attributive-intensive processes where class membership is the focus, identifying-intensive processes must specify 'the' participant (e.g. in English 'Sarah is wise' and 'Sarah is the wise one'), either by specifying its form (i.e. how it is recognised) or by specifying its function (i.e. how it is valued). The identifier is usually expressed by a nominal group. The unmarked word order is: identified followed by identifier. Identifying clauses are identified by asking questions of *which?* or *who?*, e.g. which is the best choice? or who is God? (2) In circumstantial clauses, one entity is being related to another by a circumstance (i.e. a feature of time, place, etc.). As in attributive clauses, the circumstance is expressed (i) typically by an adverb, prepositional phrase, or independent case-form, or (ii) by a verb

¹Pronouns identify by means of 'reference'; they do not function as attributes. For example, in the sentence, 'The piano player is he', the pronoun 'he' would be the carrier and 'piano player' the attribute.

(i.e. verbs that encode the circumstance of time, place, accompaniment, etc., especially when prefixed with a preposition). (3) In possessive clauses, the possessive relationship between the participants may be expressed with (i) a nominal group (e.g. genitive noun) or (ii) a verb (e.g. 'owns'). The following diagram gives examples of identifying processes in Greek. (Note: id=identified; p=process; ir=identifier.)

| Intensive | |
|----------------|--|
| Matt 10:2 | τῶν...δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματά (id) ἐστίν (p) ταῦτα...Σίμων... (ir) |
| Mark 12:20 | ἐπτά ἀδελφοὶ (ir) ἦσαν (p/id) |
| Rev 8:11 | τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρος (id) λέγεται (p) ὁ Ἄψινθος |
| Circumstantial | |
| Matt 26:69 | σὺ (id) ἦσθα (p) μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου (ir) |
| Mark 5:25 | γυνὴ (id) οὖσα (p) ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη (ir) |
| Luke 2:25 | ἄνθρωπος (id) ἦν (p) ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (ir) |
| Possessive | |
| Matt 21:28 | ἄνθρωπος (id) εἶχεν (p) τέκνα δύο (ir) |
| Luke 7:41 | δύο χρεοφειλέται (id) ἦσαν (p) δανιστῇ τινι (ir) |

The difference between attributive processes and identifying ones is not always clear-cut in discourse, and the two categories often blend together. Two principles, however, are useful when attempting to determine if a relational clause may be distinguished according to these categories. Firstly, in attributive processes, an attribute is ascribed to a participant in the clause. The two elements enter into a relationship of *class*, one entity being part of the class of another. In 'Paul is a poor speaker', the predicate nominative is an attribute of Paul; it does not identify since there are other poor speakers besides him. Secondly, in contrast to attributive clauses, identifying clause are often reversible (i.e. the participants may be switched) whereas attributive clauses are not (because attributes are not participants). An example from the NT that may help demonstrate the difference between attributive and identifying clauses is James 2:17 ἡ πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχη ἔργα, νεκρά ἐστίν. Immediately after the nominative subject (ἡ πίστις), there is a negated identifying clause of possession (μὴ ἔχη [p/id] ἔργα [ir]) which serves to identify what type of faith is under discussion. Once this is specified, the author attributes the quality of νεκρά to the initial noun. In other words, something is identified (faith without works) and then attributed a quality (dead).

Relational processes in language, as shown above, are more complex than material and mental ones. This often results in subtle multivalence when they are used in discourse. Such ambiguity often occurs in identifying processes, in which there is confusion over which participant is the token and which is the value. In the clause 'the best students are the greatest worriers', if the token is assigned to 'the best students' and the value to 'the greatest worriers' the meaning is that the best students worry most (i.e. they worry because they are good), but if the token is assigned to 'the greatest worriers' and the value to 'the best students' the meaning is that the greatest worriers study best (i.e. they are good students because they worry).¹

The above-mentioned material, mental, and relational processes and their respective participants are summarised in the following diagram.² To these have been added the

¹On this example see Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 118.

²Halliday (*Functional Grammar*, p. 131) adds the category of behavioural processes, which are treated here as a type of material process.

categories of verbal and existential processes—the former is not very different from both mental and material processes but involves different participants and the latter is not very different from relational processes except that the *existent* (similar to token) is not ‘related’ to a *value*.

| Process | Function | Participants |
|---|--|--|
| material: action event | ‘doing’ ‘doing’ ‘happening’ | Actor, Goal |
| mental: perception affection cognition | ‘sensing’ ‘seeing’ ‘feeling’ ‘thinking’ | Senser, Phenomenon |
| verbal: | ‘saying’ | Sayer, Target, Verbiage |
| relational: attribution identification | ‘being’ ‘attributing’ ‘identifying’ | Token, Value Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier |
| existential: | ‘exists’ | existent |

Process Types and Their Participants

Besides the participants listed in this diagram, there are others that are not as directly related to the process of the clause, viz. BENEFICIARY and RANGE. In terms of ‘logical’ language used by grammarians, whereas the ACTOR is ‘logical subject’ and the GOAL is ‘logical direct object’, the BENEFICIARY is ‘logical indirect object’ and the RANGE is ‘logical cognate object’. The beneficiary may take the form of any of the oblique cases, but the dative predominates; the range may also take the form of any of the oblique cases, but the accusative predominates. Beneficiary participants are common in material processes, often in the form of a recipient (the one to whom goods are given, e.g. 2 Cor 9:9 ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν ‘he gave to the poor’) or a client (the one for whom services are done; Heb 12:13 τροχιάς ὀρθὰς ποιεῖτε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν ‘make a straight path for your feet’). A beneficiary is sometimes found in relational clauses as in 1 Cor 1:30 ὃς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ‘who [Christ Jesus] became wisdom for us’. The RANGE, on the other hand, is the element which specifies the scope of the process, i.e. it completes the process.¹ Ranges are only slightly distinguishable from goals (see above), viz. there is nothing being ‘done’ to a range-element and it is not in any prominent sense a participant in the process. In material processes, the range expresses the domain over which a process takes place, as in the sentence ‘Mary climbed the mountain’. The phrase ‘the mountain’ is not the goal of the process, i.e. she is not ‘doing’ something to the mountain (e.g. digging into it); instead, it specifies the range over which her climbing took place. In Greek, the range may also be combined with a verb (usually ἔχω or ποιέω) in order to function as a process. This is exemplified in 1 Cor 13:1-3, in which a form of ἔχω is used in conjunction with various accusative nouns (ἀγάπην, προφητείαν, πίστιν): ‘I have not love’ = ‘I love not’. Such constructions may have evolved in order to enable speakers to specify the number or kind of processes that take place: general ‘I make a request’; specific quantity ‘I make many requests’ (e.g. Mark 9:5 ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς [goal?]); specific quality ‘I make joyful requests’ (e.g. John 6:38 οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα

¹See Porter, *Idioms*, p. 88, on the accusative case.

τοῦ πέμψαντος). There are, then, two basic types of ranges: 'range as entity' (cognate object) and 'range as process' (e.g. constructions using ἔχω or ποιέω).

Circumstances¹

Besides participants and processes, most Greek clauses use CIRCUMSTANCES in order to express additional ideational meanings. Hellenistic Greek contains several linguistic devices which indicate circumstances. For example, adverbs, prepositions, and case-forms are all used to specify functions of extent, location, manner, cause, accompaniment, and role. These functions are briefly treated below along with representative examples from the NT.

Circumstantial elements of EXTENT and LOCATION are prominent in narrative. Hellenistic Greek evolved a very descriptive grammar and vocabulary to specify these types of circumstances. At the most basic level, circumstantial elements may be displayed as a grid with eight cells:

| | | Spatial ² | Temporal ³ |
|----------|------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Extent | Definite | Matt 5:41 μίλιον ἓν | James 4:13 ποιήσομεν ἐκεῖ ἔνιαυτόν |
| | Indefinite | Matt 26:39 προελθὼν μικρόν | 2 Cor 6:10 ἀεὶ δὲ χαίροντες |
| Location | Definite | Mark 5:3 ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν | Matt 13:30 ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ |
| | Indefinite | John 3:23 ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ | Phil 2:19 ταχέως πέμψαι |

Circumstances of extent involve questions of *how far?*, *how long?*, *how many [units of measure]?*, and *how many times?*⁴ In Greek their structure may consist of, for example, a nominal phrase with an adjective (Matt 14:17 πέντε ἄρτους) or, more typically, a prepositional phrase (e.g. ἀπό, διά, εἰς, ἐκ, ἐπί, κατά, πρός), or the so-called accusative, genitive, and dative of time.

Circumstances of location involve questions of *where?* and *when?*. Adverbs, prepositions, and oblique cases are all used to express location. Circumstances of location are more grammatically elaborate (i.e. delicate) than those of extent, however. Prepositions, for example, may be used to specify several relative spatial locations (e.g. ἐν, ἐπί, παρά, περί, πρό, σύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό). In functional terms, location may be absolute or relative (either near or remote) as in the following examples.

| | | Spatial | Temporal | |
|----------|----------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Location | Absolute | Matt 2:1 ἐν Βηθλέεμ | Luke 4:31 ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν | |
| | Relative | Near | John 3:23 ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ | Rom 15:25 νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ |
| | | Remote | Luke 15:13 εἰς χώραν μακράν | Heb 1:1 πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας |

¹Cf. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 137-44 (chap. 5 of 1994 2nd edition).

²On the semantic domain of 'spatial relations' in Greek see Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, pp. 708-24.

³On the semantic domain of 'time' in Greek see Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, pp. 628-54.

⁴There is not a sharp distinction between circumstances of extent and expressions of range; however, whereas extent is expressed in terms of measurement (e.g. years), range is not [-measurement].

In addition, location may be expressed in terms of rest or motion (e.g. ἀπό, διά, ἐκ, ἐπί).

| | | Spatial | Temporal |
|----------|--------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Location | Rest | Acts 5:23 ἔσω οὐδένα εὗρομεν | Acts 8:26 πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν |
| | Motion | towards Luke 2:15 ἕως Βηθλέεμ | Acts 20:11 ἄχρι αὐγῆς |
| | | away from Luke 16:26 διαβῆναι ἔνθεν | John 9:1 τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς |

Circumstances of MANNER may be divided into three categories: means, quality, and comparison. MEANS involves questions of *how?* and *with what?*. In Greek, instrumentality is usually expressed with ἐν + dative (ἐκ and μετὰ are also used), leaving ὑπό + genitive and διά + genitive to express agents and intermediaries respectively. The second expression often occurs in the passive and is better classified as a participant, not a circumstance, of the clause. The first expression typically functions as a circumstance due to its being semantically inanimate. The third expression, however, is more difficult to categorise precisely, sometimes appearing as a participant (esp. as the ‘indirect’ agent of a passive voice clause) and sometimes as a circumstance of the clause (esp. in active voice). QUALITY is generally expressed by an adverb, answering the question of *how?*. It is typically expressed by means of adverbs, but prepositions (e.g. ἐν) and particles (e.g. ὅπως, καθώς, ὡς, πόθεν) may also indicate the quality of a process. The genitive, when used to modify another noun, may also function to specify quality; in this case, however, it is not functioning as a circumstance of a clause but that of a phrase. COMPARISON is generally expressed in Greek with morphological suffixes (-τερος and -τατος; although the comparative and superlative distinctions are fading in the NT era¹) or the genitive with the comparative adjective (e.g. Matt 5:20). Circumstances of comparison answer the question *like what?*. The following diagram gives examples of circumstances of manner from the NT.

| | ?-Form | Examples |
|------------|-------------------------|--|
| Means | how?, with what? | Luke 24:35 ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου Acts 2:28 μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου Eph 2:16 διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ |
| Quality | how? | Mark 12:37 καὶ πόθεν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν υἱός; Luke 4:22 τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος Rom 12:8 ὁ μεταδιδούς ἐν ἀπλότητι Heb 1:1 πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως |
| Comparison | like what? like how? | John 5:36 τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου 1 Cor 7:38 ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖσσον ποιήσει Gal 6:10 μάλιστα...πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως |

Circumstances of CAUSE consist of four basic categories: reason, purpose, result, and behalf. (Note: I am not treating the clause complex here, which would include e.g. ἵνα clauses; rather, I am interested in circumstantial elements within the clause. These may, however, be extended in principle to the level of clause.) Prepositions such as διά and ἐπί are used in Greek to represent the REASON for which a process takes place (what causes it) or the PURPOSE for which it takes place (the intention behind it)—questions of *why?* or *how?* and *what for?*—although the semantic distinctions are not always clear-cut in the

¹Cf. Turner, *Grammar*, p. 29.

NT. Again, these circumstantial functions (and that of result) are generally expressed with prepositions (e.g. *διά* + accusative). Less recognised as a causal circumstance in Greek is the use of a preposition (usually *ὑπέρ* or *περί*) to indicate the entity (typically a person) on whose BEHALF a process takes place. The following diagram provides examples from the NT.

| | ?-Form | Examples |
|---------|--------------|---|
| Reason | why?, how? | John 6:66 ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ...ἀπῆλθον Acts 21:34 μὴ δυναμένου...αὐτοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὸν θόρυβον Eph 5:31 ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα |
| Purpose | what for? | Luke 2:32 φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἔθνων Eph 2:10 κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς |
| Result | what result? | Phil 1:12 ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν |
| Behalf | who for? | Mark 2:27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο Col 1:7 ὃς ἐστὶν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ |

Circumstances of ACCOMPANIMENT in the clause are similar to the use of particles for connecting clauses, meaning 'and', 'or', or 'not'. They are typically expressed by means of prepositions. They represent questions of *and/but who/what else?*, and may involve a comitative or additive relationship, as in the following examples.

| | ?-Form | Examples |
|------------|--------------------|--|
| comitative | who/what with? | John 21:3 ἐρχόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοί Matt 26:47 ὄχλος πολὺς μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων |
| | not who/what? | John 15:5 χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν Rom 4:6 ᾧ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων |
| additive | who/what else? | Matt 8:33 ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων Col 3:14 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν...τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην |
| | not who/what else? | Rom 1:25 ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα Luke 11:11 ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει |

Circumstances of MATTER deal with questions of *about what?* or *with respect to what?* and are typically expressed with prepositions meaning 'about', 'concerning', 'with reference to', as in the following examples. The so-called dative of respect may also be treated as a circumstance of matter.

| | ?-Form | Examples |
|--------|-------------|--|
| matter | about what? | Mark 1:30 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς Rom 16:19 θέλω...ὑμᾶς σοφοὺς εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν Col 2:16 μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει καὶ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς... |

Circumstances of ROLE deal with questions of *as what?* and are often expressed with a participle clause, as in the following example.

| | ?-Form | Examples |
|------|----------|---|
| role | as what? | Phil 2:6 ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ |

The above study reveals that prepositional phrases are typically used to specify circumstances in the Greek clause; adverbs and the oblique cases are also used, but less frequently. As part of the prepositional phrase, the nominal group often represents a participant in the process. However, the preposition acts as an intermediary between the nominal group and the process. The result is only an indirect relationship between the participant and process as indicated by the preposition. For this reason, it is often more accurate to classify such phrases as circumstances rather than as participants, although an indirect relationship may be present. (This principle does not negate the fact that prepositional phrases may express participants directly related to the process [e.g. ὑπό + genitive]).

For the sake of a convenient reference tool, the above ideational meanings are all summarised in the following diagram (of transitivity).

| Ideational Role (typical form) | Participant Function | Transitive Function | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|-------------|
| Process | | Material | Mental | Attributive | Identifying |
| Participants | Agent | Actor | Senser | Carrier | Token |
| nominative ὑπό + gen. | | | | | |
| accusative | Medium | Goal Actor (reflex.) | Phenomenon | Attributor | Value |
| dative | Beneficiary | Recipient Client | | Beneficiary | |
| accusative ἔχω-type | Range | Range | Phenomenon (εὐδοκέω) | Attribute | |
| Circumstances | Extent | duration (temporal) distance (spatial) | | how long? how far? | |
| | Location (Realm) | time (temporal) place (spatial) | | when? where? | |
| | Manner | means quality comparison | | how? what with? in what way? like what? | |
| | Cause | reason/purpose/result behalf | | why? what for? what result? who for? | |
| | Accompani- ment | comitation addition | | who/what with? who/what else? | |
| | Matter | | | what about? who regarding? | |
| | Role | | | what as? | |

Diagram of Ideational (Transitivity) Functions

In summary, the above treatment of the central components of ideational meanings—processes, participants, circumstances—is not merely an exercise in grammar. It represents a functional, linguistically-based system by which the discourse analyst may classify how an author communicates ‘ideationally’ in a discourse. It has a comparative value for NT studies as well, serving as an analytical tool to juxtapose different texts not only to expose their differing ideational content but also how author(s) express that content with the lexico-grammar (e.g. two authors may express the same ideational functions with different lexico-grammatical forms). Ideational meanings, however, are only one way in which Greek evolved to serve the communicative needs of its users. Before turning to the second system—interpersonal meanings—a discussion of lexis may supplement Halliday’s treatment of ideational meanings.

Lexis

The above discussion of participants, processes, and circumstances primarily deals with the *grammatical* forms of ideational meanings. A more obvious way of representing ideational meanings is by means of lexis (word choice). Indeed, an important part of determining the ideational functions of discourse is by analysing the lexical choices of the author. Some linguists and psychologists have attempted to set forth stereotypic representations of human knowledge of the world, variously termed SCRIPTS, SCENARIOS, MENTAL FRAMES, and SCHEMATA.¹ These then are used as a basis for interpreting discourse or, for example, creating artificial intelligence software. Such theories of cultural knowledge are directly related to Halliday’s theory of ideational meanings, since they concern the relationship between human experience and language functions. The various theories share the belief that knowledge is organised in memory according to contextual scenarios or schemata; the theories are, thus, cognitive-psychological approaches to discourse comprehension.

Understanding discourse is, in this sense, essentially a process of retrieving stored information from memory and relating it to the encountered discourse. This is a remembered framework to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary.²

The theories emphasise that cognition is central to the act of communication. In order to understand the world ‘out there’ people organise it into meaningful categories. As an individual’s experience increases so does his or her schemata of the world. For example, a child may experience bananas, oranges, apples, and pears while growing up, quickly categorising them as edible objects. Eventually, the child may categorise them as types of fruit—one type of edible object with particular tastes. The more experience gained, the more refined the schemata becomes. However, these mental scripts are not detailed to the point of remembering every aspect of every experience—they become generalised. As E. C. Bartlett notes, ‘The past operates as an organized mass rather than as a group of elements each of which retains its specific character.’³ The task for the listener/reader of communication is to map the textual world of the discourse on to mentally-stored schemata. For example, the sentence ‘The woman stepped out of the vehicle’ allows for a number of possible worlds that might be constructed by a listener/reader. One reader might build a mental scenario in which a woman with short hair wearing a dress steps out of a bus. Another mental scenario might involve an extravagant movie star being escorted out of a

¹See esp. the studies of Minsky, ‘Framework’; Schank and Abelson, *Scripts*; Tannen, ‘What’s in a Frame’; Rumelhart, ‘Schemata’; and Mandler, *Stories*; see Johanson, *To All the Brethren*, p. 29, for application to NT studies.

²Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 236.

³Bartlett, *Remembering*, p. 197.

limousine. These are only two of a multitude of possible schemata that might be constructed by an audience.¹

In the light of work being done on mental schemata, the vocabulary (lexis) of a language plays a significant role in conveying the ideational meanings of discourse. Some words, of course, play more of a role than others. Discourse markers such as δέ ('but, and') and καί ('and'), for example, play a textual role rather than an ideational one. Because of the importance of vocabulary for the analysis of ideational meanings, a tool like J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida's *Greek-English Lexicon* is invaluable for the discourse analyst. Despite the title, this work offers much more than the standard lexicon. It seeks to partition NT words into their semantic domains and subdomains, i.e. the various categories of meaning (usually cultural categories) which distinguish words from one another.² This lexicon is characterised by functional categories, making it especially beneficial for the discourse analyst. For example, rather than listing words in their alphabetical order, Louw and Nida order them according to meaningful categories such as Geographical Objects and Features, Maritime Activities, and Household Activities. Under each category (domain), further subdomains may also be delineated. Under the category of Geographical Objects and Features, for example, are the subcategories (subdomains) of Universe/Creation, Regions Below the Surface of the Earth, Heavenly Bodies, Atmospheric Objects, The Earth's Surface, Elevated Land Formations, Depressions and Holes, and so on. By grouping words according to functional categories, Louw and Nida reveal an essential function of words, viz. a means of storing and communicating human knowledge of culture and experience. More importantly, under each category (domain or subdomain) words are listed according to a hierarchy, i.e. words with the most general meaning are listed first and those with the most narrow meanings last (from generic to specific). For example, under the category of Household Activities, οἰκονομέω / οἰκονομία ('to manage and provide for a household') is listed first and σαπρῶ ('to sweep by using a broom') last. In other words, sweeping with a broom conveys a more specific household activity.

In sum, Louw and Nida's semantic domains are closely related to notions of mental schemata. They represent categories by which language users organise the phenomena of their world into expressible forms. Rather than refer the reader to Louw and Nida's lexicon the various semantic domains are listed in full below. A similar study of semantic domains (chains) provides the basis for the analysis of ideational and textual meanings in Philipians (see chap. 5). Their lexicon is not the only possible schemata of NT culture, nor can it account for the mental scripts of individual authors. Nevertheless, it is one which is based on the linguistic forms of the NT (not a fabricated conceptual description), making it all the more useful for discourse analysts.³ It relates, in other words, ideational functions to their lexical forms.

Objects

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Geographic Objects and Features •Natural Substances •Plants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Body, Body Parts, and Body Products •People •Kinship Terms |
|--|---|

¹Cf. Hellholm, *Visionenbuch*, p. 43, who notes that 'jeder Adressat/Leser versteht den Text anders als andere Leser'. This is not an absolute principle, however; otherwise, shared experience and effective communication could not exist (see chap. 6 below). Context and co-text constrain potential interpretations.

²On the theoretical moorings of the lexicon see Louw and Nida, 'Introduction', pp. vi-xx.

³An obvious weakness of the work is its limitation to NT texts (though Nida has informed me that the glosses are based on a survey of Classical and Hellenistic literature as well); hopefully, future editions will cite extra-biblical literature.

- Animals
- Foods and Condiments
- Artifacts
- Constructions

- Groups and Classes of Persons and Members of Such Groups and Classes
- Supernatural Beings and Powers

Events

- Be, Become, Exist, Happen
- Physical Events and States
- Linear Movement
- Non-Linear Movement
- Stances and Events Related to Stances
- Attachment
- Physical Impact
- Violence, Harm, Destroy, Kill
- Danger, Risk, Safe, Save
- Trouble, Hardship, Relief, Favorable Circumstances
- Physiological Processes and States
- Sensory Events and States
- Attitudes and Emotions
- Psychological Faculties
- Learn
- Know
- Memory and Recall
- Think
- Hold a View, Believe, Trust
- Understand
- Communication
- Association

- Help, Care For
- Guide, Discipline, Follow
- Control, Rule
- Punish, Reward
- Hostility, Strife
- Reconciliation, Forgiveness
- Behavior and Related States
- Perform, Do
- Agriculture
- Animal Husbandry, Fishing
- Building, Constructing
- Household Activities
- Activities Involving Liquids and Masses
- Activities Involving Cloth
- Activities Involving Clothing and Adorning
- Contest and Play
- Festivals
- Funerals and Burial
- Religious Activities
- Maritime Activities
- Military Activities
- Courts and Legal Procedures

Abstracts

- Nature, Class, Example
- Quantity
- Number
- Sequence
- Arrange, Organize
- Whole, Unite, Part, Divide
- Comparison
- Value
- Proper, Improper
- Time
- Aspect
- Affirmation, Negation
- Real, Unreal
- Mode
- True, False
- Genuine, Phony
- Able, Capable

- Power, Force
- Ready, Prepared
- Degree
- Features of Objects
- Space
- Spacial Dimensions
- Spacial Orientations
- Spacial Positions
- Spacial Extensions
- Existence in Space
- Weight
- Status
- Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behavior
- Relations
- Case
- Discourse Markers

•Adequate, Qualified

Other

•Discourse Referentials

•Names of Persons and Places

INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS

Whereas ideational meanings of language are used to convey and understand the environment (the world 'out' there), INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS are used to act on the others in it.¹ Another way to express the distinction is that ideational meanings represent speakers' experiences and interpersonal meanings are a form of *action*, i.e. the speaker does something to the audience. Consequently, interpersonal meanings also reveal 'how the speaker defines how he sees the person with whom he is communicating'.² This is accomplished in the clause when the speaker and audience play various roles in their rhetorical interaction. These roles, at their most basic level, consist of statements, questions, offers, and commands. These are treated below in the same way ideational meanings were treated, viz. with respect to the basic components of the clause (subject, predicate, complement, adjunct).

Halliday takes a functional approach to the four speech roles, seeing two fundamental 'actions' behind them: GIVING and DEMANDING.

Either the speaker is giving something to the listener (a piece of information, for example) or he is demanding something from him...giving means 'inviting to receive', and demanding means 'inviting to give'. The speaker is not only doing something himself; he is also requiring something of the listener.³

Thus, the 'act' of speaking is more appropriately termed an 'interact', an exchange in which giving implies receiving and demanding implies giving. These two speech roles are done with respect to two kinds of commodities, what Halliday calls 'goods-and-services' and 'information'. GOODS-AND-SERVICES are not limited to material products, but include any speech event with the aim of getting the audience to perform an action ('open the door!') or give an object ('send the letter!'). The other commodity is the exchange of INFORMATION, which implies a verbal response (in contrast to goods-and-services which are mostly non-verbal). Treating the two speech roles in terms of the two commodities results in four primary interpersonal speech functions, as seen in the following four-cell grid.

| commodity exchanged role in exchange | goods-and-services | information |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| giving | OFFER Matt 4:19 ποιήσω... | STATEMENT John 6:48 ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος |
| demanding | COMMAND Rom 13:12 ἀποθώμεθα... | QUESTION Heb 2:6 τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι... |

¹Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. xiii. Interpersonal meanings are treated in detail under the section on 'Clause as Exchange' (pp. 68-100).

²Hudson, *Sociolinguistics*, p. 49.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 68.

The four speech functions—offer, command, statement, and question—also invoke certain responses (see the following diagram).

| | initiation | expected response | alternative response |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| give goods-and-services demand | offer command | acceptance undertaking | rejection refusal |
| give information demand | statement question | acknowledgement answer | contradiction disclaimer |

In a discourse analysis of NT letters such as Philippians, the desired responses do not enter into the analysis as much as they might in narrative (except perhaps in a reader-response analysis). The focus here, then, is upon the four *speech roles*.

In a Greek clause, the four interpersonal functions may be expressed by means of a subject, predicate, complement, and adjunct. Of these, the predicate carries most of the semantic burden, having developed modal suffixes to express the four speech functions (note: the interrogative pronouns and particles help specify questions). This is typically referred to as grammatical mood. S. E. Porter's systemic analysis of the Greek verb provides a useful categorisation of the Greek modal system for an analysis of interpersonal meanings.¹ Modality, as it is being used here, concerns the extent to which speakers/authors commit themselves to, or distance themselves from, propositions.² In contrast to some attempts by grammarians to view mood in terms of 'reality', Porter argues that mood expresses the speaker's *subjective* attitude 'to what is both factual and not factual on the basis of the speaker's belief'.³ The speaker's view of reality (not reality itself) may be understood either as an *assertion* or as a *non-assertion*, corresponding respectively to the indicative and non-indicative forms. (Participles and infinitives are themselves unmarked with respect to intermediacy [i.e. they do not express intermediacy], but may still be used to indicate one of the four speech functions.) The emphasis is placed on the semantic contribution of the indicative as the speaker's *assertion* about reality, not whether that assertion is actually true.⁴ In the case of non-assertion, non-indicative forms are used to indicate various other semantic categories: *direction* (imperative), *projection* (subjunctive), *projection + contingency* (optative).⁵ The imperative is used to *direct* someone's action; it plays the speech role of command. The subjunctive is used to create a situation or realm which is held up for consideration; it is typically used in exchanges of information but may also be used as a command (without the forcefulness of the imperative; e.g. the so-called hortatory subjunctive).⁶ (The future, which shares formal and functional characteristics with the subjunctive, may be used either in statements to indicate expectation or in offers to indicate willingness.) The optative mood (rare in the

¹Porter's understanding of mood-forms is internally coherent with his understanding of the tense-forms; thus, I have found it especially useful for treating ideational and interpersonal functions of discourse. The role of grammatical voice (esp. the middle) requires further research if it is to be more thoroughly integrated into a theory of discourse analysis. I have relegated my comments on voice mostly to matters of prominence.

²Cf. Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 142.

³Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 165.

⁴So Halliday notes: 'Semantics has nothing to do with truth' (*Functional Grammar*, p. 76).

⁵For detailed treatment of these categories see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 163-78.

⁶The future, for most purposes, may be treated similarly to the subjunctive, perhaps with the added semantic feature of 'higher degree of certainty'—thus, it is often used in offers; on the function of the future see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, pp. 403-39, esp. pp. 438-39; cf. McKay, *Syntax*, p. 27, but in terms of the aspect of 'intention'. On the hortatory subjunctive see Turner, *Grammar*, p. 94. The optative sometimes functions like an exhortation as well (e.g. Rom 15:5, 13; 1 Thess 3:11-12; 5:23; 2 Thess 2:17; 3:5, 16).

NT) is similar to the subjunctive in that it is used to project a realm. With the optative, however, the speaker makes a more vague, less assured statement (i.e. a contingent one). It too is typically used in exchanges of information. In sum, the three moods—indicative, subjunctive, and optative—may all be used in an exchange of information (statement or question), each indicating different gradations of probability from the speaker's point of view. Exchanges of goods—and-services, however, are typically expressed by the imperative, negated aorist subjunctive, 'hortatory' subjunctive (command), or future tense-form (offer). Interrogatives, which do not have separate modal suffixes, are often indicated by means of interrogative pronouns or particles (e.g. πόθεν). There are two types of interrogatives: (i) polar questions (e.g. οὐ or μή questions),¹ in which a 'yes' or 'no' response is sought and (ii) content questions (e.g. interrogative pronouns), in which a more detailed response is sought. Finally, POLARITY (negation) is another grammatical expression of modality. For example, by negating a statement—in Greek this usually means that a negative particle is placed closer to a verb than to a substantive—the speaker may distance himself or herself from the asserted validity of a proposition. Thus, polarity is part of an interaction, allowing an audience to respond to a statement, question, command, or offer with an assertion or denial. Polarity is part of the overall system of modality, being used with each of the mood forms. This is evidenced by the fact that certain moods have a corresponding form of polarity (indicative takes οὐ; non-indicative takes μή).

In addition to modal suffixes (and their polarity) and interrogatives, Greek also developed a variety of adjuncts (adverbs and prepositional phrases) in order to express interpersonal functions. MODAL ADJUNCTS modify the verb by expressing such functions as probability, usuality, obligation, inclination, as in the following diagram. They help specify the nature of the speaker's statement, question, command, or offer, and they invoke a certain response from the audience.

| | |
|-------------|---|
| probability | πάντως, καλῶς, ἀσφαλῶς, ὄντως, εἰ μήν, μενοῦν, ἄν + imperfect (apodosis of conditional), μήποτε, ἄρα, ἴσως, τάχα |
| usuality | ἀεὶ, πάντοτε, ἐκάστοτε, εἰς αἰῶνα, πολλάκις, πολυμερῶς, πυκνότερον, ποσάκις, διὰ παντός, ποτέ, πώποτε, δήποτε, μήποτε, μηδέποτε, οὐδέποτε |
| obligation | ἀναγκαστῶς, δεῖ |
| inclination | ἐκουσίως, προθύμως, ἐκτενῶς, σπουδαίως, ἀσμένως, ἠδέως, ἀφόβως |

Modal Adjuncts

The above modal adjuncts represent a specialised area of the Greek language; many other lexical choices (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) are also used to express similar interpersonal meanings. A complete study of these are beyond the scope of this work, but the following words may also play a role in the interpersonal functions of a discourse: *probability* (δυνατός, ἀδύνατος, ἐνδέχεται, ἀνένδεκτος, βέβαιος, ἀσφαλής, πληροφορέομαι, πείθομαι, ἀδηλότης, εἰ τύχοι, conditional clauses); *usuality* (πυκνός); *obligation* (δεῖ, χρή, ὀφείλω, ἀνάγκη, ἔξεστι, ἐάω, ἐπιτρέπω, συγγνώμη, ἀθέμιτος); *inclination*

¹The general rule is that questions expecting a negative answer are negated by μή (μὴ οὐ) and questions expecting a positive answer by οὐ (or οὐ μή); see Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 277-78, and Turner, *Grammar*, pp. 282-83.

(έκούσιος, έκών, αύθαίρετος, ἄκων, προθυμία, έκτένεια, ζηλώω, εύχάριστος, έτοιμος, μέριμνα).¹

In addition to the predicate and the modal adjunct, the two other components of the clause—viz. subject and complement—also contribute interpersonal meanings.² The subject specifies the entity in the clause ‘in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition’.³ In exchanges of information, the subject is the entity with respect to whom the statement is claimed to have validity. For example, in exchanges of goods—and—services the subject specifies the entity *responsible* for the success of the proposal. In the command μή ζήτει γυναίκα (1 Cor 7:27), the person being addressed (viz. the unmarried man) is the one ‘responsible’ for the success or failure of Paul’s proposal. In the offer καλέσω τόν ού λαόν μου λαόν μου (Rom 9:25), the speaker (viz. God) is ‘responsible’ to carry out the proposed action. The subject in Greek is typically expressed (i) with the nominative case (or verbal suffix when an explicit subject is absent) in finite clauses and (ii) with word order (viz. subject before complement) in copulative and infinitive clauses.⁴ In passive voice clauses, the subject still plays this role; it is not redirected to an expressed agent (e.g. ύπο + genitive).⁵ In the sentence έγώ δε ήδιστα δαπνήσω και έκδαπανηθήσομαι ύπερ τών ψυχών ύμών (2 Cor 12:15), the subject (Paul) is responsible for the validity of the offer in both the active voice δαπνήσω and the passive έκδαπανηθήσομαι. Even when an agent (or instrument) is expressed, the subject is still being held up by the author as the entity responsible for the ‘success’ or ‘failure’ of the verbal event. In the clauses πάντα μοι έξεστιν άλλ’ ούκ έγώ έξουσιασθήσομαι ύπό τινος (1 Cor 6:12), although the agent (ύπό τινος) is that which has control over Paul, Paul is left in the subject slot indicating that he is ‘responsible’ for the success of the offer. Furthermore, the subject and agent may not only be different items in the clause, but the subject and theme⁶ (i.e. that which the clause is about) may also be different. For example, in the sentence διὰ τών προσευχών ύμών χαρισθήσομαι ύμίν (Phlm 22), the phrase ‘through your prayers’ begins the clause and thus represents its theme (on ‘thematization’ see below under Information Flow); Paul, however, is the subject (first person singular verb). The responsibility for the validity of the clause still rests on Paul; of course, the unexpressed agent (divine agent?) is partly responsible for the action, but the grammatical subject is being held up by the author as the locus of the action’s outcome—the crucial element of the interact. This is a marked clause; in unmarked clauses the subject, theme, and agent are the same. When they are distinct, the author is using more semantic resources (i.e. marking the discourse) to express interpersonal meanings. This distinction between subject, theme, and agent is much easier to identify in Greek than, for example, in English, since Greek has more resources to distinguish the three functions: (i) nominative case or verbal suffix (or word order in infinitive clauses) for subject; (ii) word order (viz. element at the beginning of the clause) for theme; and (iii)

¹Such words argue in favour of treating lexis and grammar together as part of the same linguistic code; in other words, what is traditionally treated as a matter of grammar (e.g. modality) may also be expressed by individual lexical items. Hence, the term ‘lexico-grammar’ is another way of speaking about linguistic code in this model of discourse analysis.

²Halliday (*Functional Grammar*, pp. 71-83) divides the interpersonal clause into mood (subject and modal adjunct) and residue (predicator, complement, adjunct). Greek clauses do not fit this kind of analysis; thus, I have only treated the four components separately, with no overarching structure.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*; p. 76.

⁴On the word order of infinitive constructions see Reed, ‘Infinitive’, pp. 1-27.

⁵On the function of the agent see above under Ideational Meanings.

⁶On the function of the theme see below under Textual Meanings (esp. Information Flow).

prepositional phrase (e.g. ὑπό + genitive) or, less frequently, oblique case for agent. The three, for example, are distinguished in Heb 11:23 πίστει (theme) Μωϋσῆς (subject)...ἐκρύβη τρίμηνον ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ (agent) 'By faith Moses...was hidden for three months by his parents.'

Unlike the predicate, modal adjunct, and subject, the complement and other forms of adjuncts (circumstantial and conjunctive) generally play a secondary role in the construction of interpersonal meanings—Halliday calls them 'residue'. However, the complement may play a more central interpersonal role, representing the entity in a clause which gives occasion for continued interaction (esp. in commands) as in John 6:34-35 πάντοτε δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον (command) / ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς (response). In most cases, however, the subject or the predicate (or its polarity) instigates the response, as in the following examples.

| | | |
|-----------|----------|---|
| John 6:28 | Speaker | τί ποιῶμεν ἵνα ἐργαζώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ; |
| John 6:29 | Response | τοῦτό ἐστὶν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα πιστεύητε εἰς ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος |
| John 6:31 | Speaker | ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν |
| John 6:32 | Response | οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν...ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου... |

If the speaker's question is rejected, this then allows for a new proposition, with a change of subject as in John 7:15 πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς (question) / ἡ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με (answer), a change of polarity as in John 1:21 σὺ Ἡλίας εἶ (question) / οὐκ εἰμί (answer), or sometimes (esp. in the Gospels) a new direction in the dialogue as in John 4:9-10 πῶς σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ πεῖν αἰτεῖς γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης (question) / εἰ ἤδεις τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι... (answer). Because the types of responses and how they follow from previous speech acts (statements, questions, commands, offers) are often part of a narrative strategy, they represent an important factor in a discourse analysis of dialogue.

In conclusion, the following diagram summarises the four speech roles of interpersonal meanings. In statements and questions, polarity is either positive 'it is so' or negative 'it is not so'. There are two kinds of intermediate possibilities: (i) degrees of *probability* (assertion; projection; expectation; possible-conditional) or (ii) degrees of *usuality* (sometimes; usually; always). In commands and offers, the polarity is either positive 'do it' or negative 'do not do it'. In commands, intermediacy may be analysed in terms of a scale of *obligation* (allowed to; supposed to; required to); in offers, it may be treated in terms of a scale of *inclination* (willing to; anxious to; determined to).

| Commodity exchanged | Speech function | Type of intermediacy | Typical realisation | Example |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|---|
| information | statement, question ¹ | probability <i>assertion</i> <i>projection</i> <i>expectation</i> <i>possible</i> | indicative subjunctive optative modal adjunct | Rom 5:21 ἵνα ὡσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον... 1 Pet 3:17 κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιῶντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιῶντας Mark 11:32 ἅπαντες γὰρ εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν Rom 3:9 τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; οὐ πάντως |
| | | usuality <i>sometimes</i> <i>usually</i> <i>always</i> | modal adjunct | Matt 18:21 κύριε, ποσάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ; ἕως ἑπτάκις; John 8:29 οὐκ ἀφήκέν με μόνον, ὅτι ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ ποιῶ πάντοτε |
| goods-and-services | command | obligation <i>allowed</i> <i>supposed</i> <i>required</i> | imperative subjunctive lexis | 1 Pet 5:2 ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ...μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλὰ ἐκουσίως κατὰ θεόν, μὴδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως Luke 2:15 διέλθωμεν δὴ ἕως Βηθλέεμ καὶ ἴδωμεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο 1 Thess 4:1 ...τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ |
| | offer | inclination <i>willing</i> <i>anxious</i> <i>determined</i> | future subjunctive modal adjunct | 2 Cor 12:15 ἐγὼ δὲ ἥδιστα δαπανήσω καὶ ἐκδαπανηθήσομαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν Luke 6:42 ἄφες ἐκβάλλω τὸ κάρφος Rom 11:14 εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν |

TEXTUAL MEANINGS

Whereas ideational meanings of language represent *experience* and interpersonal meanings represent speaker–audience *interaction*, TEXTUAL MEANINGS play a very different role in the construction of texts, viz. they relate an immediate linguistic context to both a preceding context and a context of situation (i.e. meaningful relationships between text, co-text, and context). Textual meanings of language allow speakers to produce a ‘message’ (i.e. theme) from the ideational and interpersonal meanings. This is done by making explicit ‘the external relationship between one clause or clause complex and another, and...in a way which is not dependent on grammatical structure’.² Halliday is not speaking only about how clauses are grammatically linked paratactically and hypotactically (i.e. grammatical structure); more than that, he is asserting that discourse gets its cohesive quality by means of semantic relations involving ‘elements of any extent, both smaller and larger than clauses, from single words to lengthy passages of text...[which] may hold across gaps of any extent’.³ He labels this characteristic of discourse COHESION. In

¹Statements and questions are not always grammatically distinguished; however, the interrogative pronoun is one way of distinguishing the two.

²Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 287.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 288.

another work, M. A. K. Halliday and R. Hasan subdivide textual meanings into two parts: (i) semantic and grammatical symmetry within the text and (ii) thematic structure. These two aspects of textual meaning, it is argued, make a text a 'text'. That there is a relationship both semantically and grammatically between the various parts of a given text and that there is some thematic (prominent) element which flows through it allows an audience to recognise it as a cohesive text rather than a jumble of unrelated words and sentences.¹ On the one hand, discourse is expected to be cohesive, i.e. its various linguistic elements should interrelate in a meaningful whole. On the other hand, certain elements must distinguish themselves as thematic (or prominent), i.e. each discourse should be about something in particular, not everything in general. (Of course, exceptions to such tendencies do exist; but they may be explained in terms of lack of cohesion and information flow—schizophrenic discourse, for example, is an exception which proves the rule.) In sum, textual meanings of discourse are signalled by COHESION and INFORMATION FLOW. Both concepts are treated in detail in the following two sections.

Cohesive Ties

The cohesiveness (*textsyntaxische Kohärenz*) of a given text should be viewed as a continuum. At one pole are texts with a high degree of unity and cohesiveness. At the other pole are texts which can be recognised immediately as a jumble of words and sentences having little textual meaning (e.g. schizophrenic discourse). Somewhere between these poles lie most texts—neither altogether cohesive nor altogether incohesive. What properties of language contribute to the production of cohesive or incohesive texts? To explain this Halliday and Hasan appeal to the relationship between a text and its external world (i.e. context of situation and of culture) and its inner world (i.e. co-text). The former relationship is primarily a matter of historical inquiry when analysing the NT, requiring, for example, knowledge of Paul and the social world(s) in which he lived. The latter relationship involves the interdependency among the linguistic pieces of discourse. This type of cohesion 'occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it'.² These cohesive relationships may occur between words and phrases or even between sentences and pericopes. That such relationships occur in texts is not an overly sophisticated observation, but the question remains: How is language used to create these cohesive relationships? To answer this question Halliday and Hasan introduce the concept of cohesive ties. COHESIVE TIES refer to the language system's ability to form relations between linguistic items of the various levels of discourse.³ The nature of this relationship is primarily semantic, i.e. the ties are related in a meaningful way. Cohesive ties consist of two types: organic and componential.

Organic Ties. ORGANIC TIES primarily concern the conjunctive systems of language, such as particles which serve as markers of transition (e.g. γάρ, ἀλλά, δέ, καί). Organic ties are also signalled by prepositions, grammatical structure (e.g. genitive absolute using γίνομαι), and conventionalised lexical items (e.g. λοιπόν).

¹This is not to say that texts with a lesser degree of cohesion will not be interpreted by readers, but that cohesive texts reduce the interpretative choices and thus decision-making labour of the reader.

²Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion*, p. 4; cf. Werth, *Focus*, p. 90.

³Cf. Hellholm, *Visionenbuch*, pp. 29-31, who stresses the linguistic, rule-based (*Verknüpfungsregeln*) aspect of cohesive analysis.

Organic ties make up the ‘logical’ system of natural language and consist of two functional systems: (i) interdependency or ‘taxis’, viz. parataxis and hypotaxis (found at all levels of language) and (ii) expansion and projection (limited to the levels of clause and paragraph).¹ HYPOTAXIS is the logico-semantic relation between a dependent element and the element on which it is dependent (dominant element). Hypotaxis is a modifying relationship; one element is dependent on the other and the order of the elements varies. In hypotaxis, a secondary clause is dependent on a primary clause. PARATAXIS, on the other hand, is the logico-semantic relation between two linguistic elements of equal status and, thus, either could stand independently of the other. Parataxis is dependent on the order of linguistic elements (e.g. the first clause initiates and the second continues). In other words, the primary clause precedes the secondary clause. The logico-semantic relation between the primary and secondary clause may be one of PROJECTION or EXPANSION.

In PROJECTION, the secondary clause is ‘projected’ (extended) through the primary clause by means of (i) a locution or (ii) an idea. LOCUTION occurs with verbs of saying or hearing (direct or indirect discourse); in Greek the secondary clause is usually expressed with the infinitive (Acts 25:11 οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν) or finite verb forms with particles such as ὅτι, εἰ, or ὡς (Mark 1:37 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι πάντες ζητοῦσίν σε). IDEA covers a broad range of projections, in which the secondary clause presents ‘an idea, a projection of meaning’.² Another way of viewing such expressions is that a clause has shifted rank down into the slot of the complement; in this way, the idea is a way of ‘completing’ the process of the primary clause. These, like locutions, are commonly expressed with an infinitive (James 1:26 εἴ τις δοκεῖ θρησκὸς εἶναι) or ὅτι construction (John 11:27 ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ) in the secondary clause.

In the case of EXPANSION, the secondary clause ‘expands’ the primary clause in one of three ways: (i) elaboration, (ii) extension, or (iii) enhancement. In ELABORATION, the secondary clause (or phrase) expands upon the primary by ‘elaborating’ on it (or some portion of it), i.e. restating, specifying, commentating, or exemplifying. In EXTENSION, the secondary clause ‘expands’ the primary clause by moving beyond it, i.e. adding to it, giving an exception, or offering an alternative. In ENHANCEMENT, the secondary clause ‘expands’ the primary clause by qualifying it with a circumstantial feature of time, place, cause, or condition. For example, in Greek a preposition + infinitive is used to expand the primary clause, with the preposition specifying the type of expansion. By way of simile, the three types of expansion may be likened to enriching a building: (i) elaborating the existing structure of a building; (ii) extending it by addition or replacement; (iii) enhancing its environment.³ The following diagram lists further distinctions of expanding, extending, and enhancing textual relations and examples of how Greek (with English equivalents) is often used to express them.

¹See Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 192-251, 302-309 (chap. 7 of 1994 2nd edition).

²Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 197.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 203.

| ELABORATION (+) | |
|-----------------|---|
| Apposition | (restate or re-present; exegetical) |
| expository | ὅτι, ἵνα, τοῦτο ἐστίν (in other words, that is, I mean, to put it another way) |
| exemplifying | οὕτως, οὕτω, γέγραπται, ῥητῶς (for example, for instance, thus, to illustrate) |
| Clarification | (summarise or make precise) |
| corrective | μᾶλλον, μενοῦν, μενοῦνγε, ἀλλά, οὐχ ὅτι (or rather, at least, to be more precise, on the contrary, however) |
| particularising | μάλιστα (in particular, more especially) |
| summative | λοιπόν, οὖν (in short, to sum up, in conclusion, briefly) |
| verifactive | ὄλως, ὄντως (actually, as a matter of fact, in fact) |

| EXTENSION (=) | |
|---------------|--|
| Addition | |
| positive | καί, δέ, τέ, πάλιν, εἶτα, ἐπί, καί...καί, τε...καί, τε...τε, μέν...δέ (and, also, moreover, in addition) |
| negative | οὐδέ, μηδέ (nor) |
| Adversative | ἀλλά, δέ, μενοῦν, μενοῦνγε, μέντοι, πλὴν, παρά (but, yet, on the other hand, however) |
| Variation | |
| replacive | ἀντί, τούναντίον, μέν...δέ (on the contrary, instead) |
| subtractive | ἐκτός, εἰ μὴ (apart from that, except for that) |
| alternative | ἢ, ἢ...ἢ, ἢτοι...ἢ (alternatively, or) |

| ENHANCEMENT (x) | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Spatio-Temporal ¹ | |
| following | καί, δέ, κατά (then, next, afterwards) |
| simultaneous | ὡς, ὅτε, ὅταν, πότε, ποτέ, καθώς, ἅμα, ἐφάπαξ (just then, at the same time) |
| preceding | πρό, πρίν, πρῶτον, ἤδη, πάλαι (before that, hitherto, previously) |
| conclusive | λοιπόν (in the end, finally) |
| immediate | εὐθύς, εὐθέως (at once, immediately, straightaway) |
| interrupted | ταχύ, ταχέως, αὔριον, μέλλω (soon, after a while) |
| repetitive | ἄνωθεν, πάλιν, εἰς τὸ πάλιν (next time, on another occasion) |
| specific | μεταξύ, σήμερον, αὔριον (next day, an hour later, that morning) |
| durative | ἐν τῷ μεταξύ (meanwhile, all that time) |
| terminal | ἕως, ἄχρι, μέχρι (until then, up to that point) |
| punctiliar | νύν, δεῦρο (at this moment) |
| Comparative | |

¹Spatio-temporal conjunctions may create 'external' and/or 'internal' cohesion, i.e. the cohesive tie may be between the discourse units (e.g. 'Secondly, I am...') or between events in the world (e.g. '...then John ran to the tomb').

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| positive | ὅμοιος, ὁμοίως, τοιοῦτος, ὅμως, ὡς, ὡσεὶ, ὡσπερ, καθὼς, καθά, καθό, ὡσαύτως (likewise, similarly) |
| negative | ἢ, ἢπερ, negated 'positive forms' (in a different way) |
| Causal-Conditional | |
| (i) causal ¹ | |
| result | διό, πρός, εἰς, ἵνα, οὖν, τοίνυν, τοιγαροῦν, ὡς, ὥστε (in consequence, as a result) |
| purpose | ἵνα, ὅπως, ὥστε, μήποτε, μή πως (for that purpose, with this in view) |
| reason | ὅτι, γάρ, δία, διότι, χάριν, ἕνεκεν, ἐπεὶ (on account of this, for that reason) |
| basis | ἐπί, νή (on the basis of, in view of) |
| (ii) conditional | |
| positive | εἰ, εἴπερ, ἐάν, ἐάνπερ, εἴτε...εἴτε, ἄν, πότερον (then, in that case, if, under the circumstances) |
| negative | εἰ μή, ἐάν μή (otherwise, if not) |
| concessive | καίπερ, καίτοι, καίτοιγε, κἄν [καί + ἐάν] (yet, still, though, despite this, however, even so, nevertheless) |
| Respective | |
| positive | ᾧδε, ἐνθάδε (here, there, as to that, in that respect) |
| negative | ἄλλαχοῦ (in other respects, elsewhere) |

Besides creating links in the discourse, another function of organic ties is to set boundaries. They provide a means of organising groups of componential ties (see below) into thematic sections/paragraphs. In other words, they may be used to set limits on how far the reader should look back in the discourse when interpreting cohesive ties (e.g. the referent-point of a demonstrative pronoun).

Componential Ties. Whereas organic ties generally concern various paratactic and hypotactic, logico-semantic relationships between clauses and paragraphs (and phrases), componential ties generally concern the meaningful relationships between individual linguistic components in the discourse (e.g. repetition of words). This generally amounts to semantic relationships between words or phrases. In order to account for the various semantic relationships between discourse components, Halliday and Hasan appeal to three types of componential ties: (i) co-reference; (ii) co-classification; and (iii) co-extension.² These are akin to the distinctions of reference, denotation, and sense often discussed in linguistic semantics.

CO-REFERENCE (reference) refers to the cohesive ties between linguistic items of the same identity. In the sentence 'John bought the suit which he gave to his brother', the relative pronoun 'which' refers to the entity 'suit'. Both lexical items—'suit' and 'which'—share the same identity. The same is true of ὁ ἀσθήρ and ὄν in Matt 2:9. Co-referential ties may be either exophoric or endophoric. **EXOPHORIC** information is located in the context of situation and thus also in the context of culture—it may or may not be linked to the co-text as well. Often the interpretation of such elements is based on the

¹As Louw and Nida (*Lexicon*, I, p. 782 n. 6) note: 'Result...and Purpose...may in some cases be regarded as more or less the two faces of the same coin. Result may view an event on the basis of what has happened, and purpose may view the same event in terms of its future potentiality.'

²See Halliday and Hasan, 'Text and Context', pp. 43-59.

cultural and situational presuppositions shared by the speaker and listener.¹ In 1 Thess 2:14 the intensive personal pronoun τὰ αὐτά refers to a situation of persecution that lies outside of the text (exophoric); at the same time, it is linked to the preceding and ensuing co-text (endophoric) by a comparison with the Christians in Judaea (the co-textual tie is one of co-classification). Exophoric reference, because it points outside of the text, requires more interpretative effort on the part of the reader. P. Werth accordingly notes that the most easily acceptable discourse would be one relating to a completely standard context. The more effort that is required of the listener to find a suitable context, (assuming normal intelligence and language-experience), the lower in acceptability is the discourse.²

ENDOPHORIC information is located within the text, i.e. a linguistic item referring to other linguistic entities in the surrounding text—it may or may not refer to something in the context of situation as well. Endophoric information may refer to elements in the preceding (ANAPHORIC reference) or following (CATAPHORIC reference) discourse.³ Anaphoric reference, one of the most frequently used devices of textual cohesiveness, is *a semantic relationship between one entity A (antecedent), which may or may not be linguistic, and another entity B (anaphors such as pronouns, definite descriptions, repetitions, and zero-anaphora [e.g. verbal suffix]), which must be linguistic, such that in some discourse, B corresponds to A.*⁴ Consequently, anaphoric elements may also contribute to the incoherence of discourse. This occurs ‘when an anaphor (usually a pronoun) has more than one potential antecedent in preceding discourse, a situation which may easily arise in view of the limited intentional specifications of most anaphors’.⁵

Another area of linguistic research is directly related to co-referential ties and adds much to Halliday and Hasan’s discussion, viz. the notion of DEIXIS. The linguistic devices used to create co-referential ties are often referred to by linguists as deictic indicators. DEIXIS refers to the ability of language users to employ linguistic forms to ‘point to’ or ‘indicate’ elements of the co-text or context of situation. Levinson describes it as ‘the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the *context of utterance* or *speech event*’.⁶ Deictic indicators are treated below according to three categories: person, time, and place.

PERSON DEIXIS (*personale Deixis*) refers to the encoding in discourse various participants (animate or inanimate) of a context of situation.⁷ Languages often allow for naming conventions to identify participants. Generally, some nominal form plays this role. Pronouns then take over to make the discourse less redundant. Other means of signalling participants in Greek include the article and verbal suffixes (e.g. first, second, third person, singular and plural). Person deixis not only concerns the referents of a discourse, but also the roles played by those referents. Typical roles include the SPOKESPERSON(S) and RECIPIENT(S). The spokesperson produces the discourse, but can also be distinguished from its SOURCE. Indirect discourse is one way in which a spokesperson shifts to another person as the source of a message. For example, in 1 Cor 12:16 the anatomical ‘ear’ is the source of a direct discourse (‘Because I am not an eye, I do not belong to the body’ ὅτι

¹Cf. Gívon, *Understanding Grammar*, p. 50.

²Werth, *Focus*, p. 35.

³Studies in language typology suggest that ‘anaphoric indexicality is universally preferred over cataphoric indexicality’ (Dressler, ‘Marked’, p. 10). This is a reader-oriented rule of language: ‘Because anaphora refers back to what is already known and cataphora to a (potentially) uncertain future, the former establishes the more reliable sign relationship’ (p. 10).

⁴Cf. the important study of anaphor in Werth, *Focus*, pp. 61-65, 166-68.

⁵Werth, *Focus*, p. 20.

⁶Levinson, *Pragmatics*, p. 54.

⁷See Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic*, p. 132, and his *Functional Grammar*, pp. 168-69.

οὐκ εἰμὶ ὀφθαλμὸς, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος) which is recounted by the spokesperson, Paul (the actual source of the direct discourse). Paul at times appeals to this distinction between spokesperson and source. In 1 Cor 7:10 he gives a command to married persons, adding that it is not his command but the Lord's. Later in the letter he gives his own opinion regarding the pursuit of marriage by virgins (1 Cor 7:25). In one case the source is the Lord; in another he is the source. Just as the spokesperson may not be the source of a message, the recipient may not be the TARGET. For example, in 1 Timothy some have argued that the intended target comprised a wider circle of believers, even though the letter is addressed solely to Timothy.¹ Recipients may be either RATIFIED or UNRATIFIED. To draw from 1 Timothy again, if the author's real target was the larger church body (see 1 Tim 4:13), he may have only ratified part of that group to hear his letter (e.g. elders and presbyters). These leaders (including Timothy) were then expected to see that the message eventually reached the entire church community.

TEMPORAL DEIXIS (*temporale Deixis*) is another important way in which discourse is tied to a context of situation.² For example, in the dates of Greco-Roman epistles letter writers sometimes specify the anchorage point from which the date is to be understood using the word ἐνεστῶτος 'present, current': e.g. P.Oxy. 8.1128.9-11 (173 CE) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τρεῖσκαιδεκάτου {τρεῖσκαιδεκατου} ἔτους Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος. According to one grammatical model of the Greek language, verb tenses serve as temporal indicators in discourse. As noted above, recent research in Greek verbal aspect either abandons or significantly dilutes the idea of time in the verbal tense-forms. This debate is far from over, and presently there are exegetes from all three schools of thought (temporal, *Aktionsart*, aspect), and some with mixed categories. The point, however, is that the interpretation of tense-forms as temporal deixis is disputed. Some less-disputed deictic indicators of time include adverbs (e.g. τότε, νῦν, μέχρι), anaphora (e.g. demonstratives), and references to places (spatial and temporal deixis are closely related). All three classes are helpful for establishing temporal relationships with the context. The first class represents a type of direct temporal indication; the others are indirect. Discourse analysis of temporal deixis is complicated by the point of view of the speaker. For example, if a letter contains the sentence 'Now I will tell you what I think about your previous correspondence', does the word 'now' refer to the point in time at which the letter was written or the point in time when it was read? Similarly, does the aorist ἔγραψα in 1 Cor 5:11 (νῦν δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν...) refer to the time when the letter was written or the time when it was read.³ In deictic terms, the distinction is between the 'moment of utterance (or inscription) or coding time (or CT)' and the 'moment of reception or receiving time (or RT)'.⁴ Temporal deixis is even relative to the speaker/author, since at the precise point in time when the word 'now' or ἔγραψα was actually written, the author has not yet finished the clause. The point being emphasised here is that grammatical forms do not provide *absolute* indicators of time. They are *relative* to anchorage points which are determined by the speaker.

Levinson defines PLACE DEIXIS (*lokale Deixis*) as 'the specification of locations relative to anchorage points in the speech event'.⁵ The characteristic feature of place deixis

¹See Reed, 'To Timothy or Not', pp. 90-118.

²Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 176.

³The label 'epistolary aorist' does not solve this ambiguity, it only specifies one possible interpretation; there is no 'temporal' problem needing explaining if the Greek verb does not indicate absolute time.

⁴Levinson, *Pragmatics*, p. 73.

⁵Levinson, *Pragmatics*, p. 79; cf. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 160.

is that it concerns the *spatial locations* of persons/objects relative to other persons/objects. An example of this may involve a speaker (anchorage point) pointing to an object across the room (relative location). This may be done explicitly by naming or describing locations, as in the sentence 'The school is twenty miles away from the library' and in Matt 14:24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον...σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν. Locations may also be specified deictically-relative to the location of a speaker, as in the sentence 'The dog is fifty feet away from here' and in John 4:16 ὕπαγε φώνησον τὸν ἄνδρα σου καὶ ἔλθὲ ἐνθάδε. In both examples, 'here' and ἐνθάδε refer to something outside of the discourse. 'Here' and ἐνθάδε are the anchorage points around which other objects are relatively located. As in temporal deixis, place deixis is relative to the speaker, i.e. the speaker determines the anchorage point around which other entities are located. It is in this way that anchorage points contribute to the cohesive structure of discourse.

CO-CLASSIFICATION (denotation)—the second type of componential tie—refers to cohesive ties between linguistic items of the same class or genus. One way to create this type of tie is by SUBSTITUTION, as in 'I want the children to draw with crayons' and 'I want the teenagers to draw with pencils.' By substituting 'teenagers' for 'children' and 'with pencils' for 'with crayons' the two sentences form a cohesive tie of co-classification with respect to who should do the drawing and how it should be done. A co-classificational tie (of 'sinning') is created in Rom 2:12 by substituting ἀνόμως with ἐν νόμῳ (ὅσοι γὰρ ἀνόμως ἤμαρτον...καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἤμαρτον). Another way to convey co-classification is by ELLIPSIS (or zero-anaphora).¹ For example, an individual might say to another, 'I hit the ball so hard it went over the parking lot. How hard did you?' A cohesive relationship exists between these sentences because of the elided element 'hit the ball'. Both sentences do not refer to the same event; rather, they fall into the class of 'ball-hitting'. Similarly, in Phil 2:4 (μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐτέρων ἕκαστοι) the participle σκοποῦντες is elided after ἀλλά, creating a co-classificational tie of 'considering'.

CO-EXTENSION (sense)—the third type of componential tie—refers to cohesive ties between linguistic items of the same semantic field, but not necessarily of the same class.² In the sentences 'John ate the pizza' and 'Susie gobbled down the cake' the linguistic pairs 'John' / 'Susie', 'ate' / 'gobbled down', and 'pizza' / 'cake' do not refer to the same entities nor do they refer to the same class (e.g. pizza is not a kind of cake). Co-extensional ties are one of the most common ways of creating cohesiveness in texts. These ties are primarily lexical. By using words with similar senses speakers talk about similar things in similar ways.

Halliday and Hasan distinguish between two types of co-extensional ties: (i) instantial and (ii) general. INSTANTIAL LEXICAL RELATIONSHIPS arise from the particular demands of the text.³ For example, the author of 1 Timothy may be referring to the specific individual Τιμοθέος when he uses the vocative ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ in 1 Tim 6:11. However, this understanding is based on knowledge derived from the co-text or context of situation (*instances* of the discourse) and not from the Greek language itself. That is, ὦ ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ, as a Greek expression, is not a substitute for Timothy. Instantial ties often prove difficult for the modern reader because their interpretation is based on knowledge of the immediate text or the context of situation; a study of other contemporary literature or of Greek semantics is of little or no help.

¹Cf. Werth, *Focus*, p. 176.

²Co-classification is a sub-type of co-extension.

³Halliday and Hasan, 'Text and Context', pp. 43-59.

GENERAL LEXICAL RELATIONSHIPS originate from the language system itself; thus, they are shared by a group of language users. General co-extensions take five forms: reiteration; synonymy; antonymy; hyponymy; and meronymy. REITERATION occurs when both members of the cohesive tie consist of the same lexical item. This is one of the more obvious forms of cohesive ties. However, the simple repetition of a lexical item does not imply total synonymy nor does it leave out the possibility that the same (spoken or written) lexical items have two quite different meanings with the same spelling (a monetary 'bank' or a dirt 'bank') and/or pronunciation ('meet' and 'meat'). Furthermore, the repetition of some words, such as the article *ὁ*, does not necessarily indicate cohesiveness. That is, repetition is not a phenomenon of the code itself but of the code as it is used by a speaker/author; hence, its presence in discourse as a cohesive device must be argued for by the interpreter, not simply asserted (this is an important point for debates over literary integrity; see chap. 5). SYNONYMY refers to cohesive ties created by lexical items sharing similar meanings (but not necessarily totally synonymous), i.e. words from the same semantic domain. ANTONYMY refers to cohesive ties created by lexical items opposite in meaning. It is not that antonyms are unrelated in meaning but that the antonyms differ in one or more semantic features but share others, i.e. there is negativity and similarity.¹ Thus 'dog' and 'kite' are not antonyms because they do not share anything in common that would allow the listener to recognise a semantic tie between the two. The cohesive tie is created by means of shared semantic features. HYPONYMY refers to cohesive ties created by the inclusive relationships between lexical items. One lexical item is included in the total semantic range of another item (but not vice-versa). This allows for a hierarchy of meanings in lexical systems. For example, 'labrador' is a hyponym of 'dog', 'dog' is a hyponym of 'animal', 'animal' is a hyponym of 'living beings', and so on. Similarly, *οὐς* is a hyponym of *μέλος*. The one is included in the semantic range of another which in turn is included in the semantic range of another, and so on. Hyponymy may be further distinguished according to contracting types (e.g. '*People* got on and off. At the newsstand *businesspersons*, returning to Paris, bought that day's papers.') and expanding types ('*Tulips* are cheap even in January. But then *flowers* seem to be necessary to Scandinavians during the darkest season.').² MERONYMY refers to part-whole relationships between lexical items. For example, the word 'fur' is a meronym of 'dog' or 'cat'. Similarly, *κόμη* is a meronym of *κεφαλή*. The one is a part of the other. Because it is part of the other, it shares a cohesive relationship with it. A study of such co-extensions in discourse is not always straightforward, because individual words often have several meanings (i.e. senses). The result is polysemic indeterminacy. This occurs 'when certain senses of two items are potentially linkable'.³ The phenomenon of polysemic indeterminacy provides an important caveat when analysing co-extensions in discourse.

Through the analysis of co-referential ties (e.g. pronouns, demonstratives), co-classificational ties (e.g. substitution, ellipsis), and co-extensional ties of both instantial (i.e. those tied to the situational context) and general types (repetition, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, and meronymy), the discourse analyst is able to demonstrate a major component of textual cohesiveness. As seen above, co-reference and co-classification are primarily expressed by *grammatical* networks in the language and co-extension is primarily expressed by *lexical* networks.

¹On this type of contrastive coherence see Werth, *Focus*, pp. 87-89.

²Enkvist, *Stylistics*, p. 118.

³Werth, *Focus*, p. 21.

A nagging question remains: What makes one text seemingly more cohesive than another? To answer this question Halliday and Hasan speak in terms of SEMANTIC CHAINS. A chain is formed by a *set* of discourse lexemes each of which is related to the others by the semantic relation of co-reference, co-classification and/or co-extension. If a text, for example, contains a participant who is identified using pronouns, demonstratives, or the person's name, then these elements form a chain of co-reference. There are two types of chains: identity chains and similarity chains. IDENTITY CHAINS are expressed by co-referential ties and SIMILARITY CHAINS are expressed by co-classificational and co-extensional ties. Exposing the identity and similarity chains of a text, nevertheless, proves less than adequate when attempting to speak about the relative cohesiveness of a text. In order to determine relative textual cohesiveness, the discourse analyst should differentiate between peripheral, relevant, and central tokens. PERIPHERAL TOKENS include those linguistic items which do not take part in a chain. This happens, for example, when a topic is brought up in a clause and then subsequently dropped from the discussion. It is isolated from other chains and, hence, is peripheral to the author's larger argument. RELEVANT TOKENS include all linguistic items in the text which are part of one or more chains. It should not be concluded, however, that a high proportion of relevant tokens to peripheral tokens necessitates greater textual cohesiveness (although it may play some role). *Textual cohesiveness is primarily occasioned by central tokens.* CENTRAL TOKENS refer to linguistic items in chains which interact with linguistic items in other chains. For example, in the NT, a co-extensional chain of *supernatural beings* might interact with a co-extensional chain of *miracles* (e.g. God raised Jesus from the dead). If the two chains interact in more than one part of the text (esp. in close contexts), it is probable that the author is 'on about' a similar topic, thus creating cohesiveness and potential coherence in the text. He is establishing a thread in the discourse. She is using her language in an organising manner. Central tokens, in essence, involve chain interaction. Halliday and Hasan claim that 'the minimum requirement for chain interaction can be phrased as follows: for two chains x and y to interact, at least two members of x should stand in the same relation to two members of y'.¹ In other words, two lexical items (the same or different) of the same chain must be used in conjunction with at least two other lexical items (the same or different) of another chain.² Typically, chain interaction involves a chain of *participants* (e.g. 'the Philippian Christians') and a chain of *events* (e.g. 'think'); however, chain interaction may occur when one chain of participants interacts repeatedly with another chain of participants (e.g. 'Paul' says, hopes, sends 'the Philippians'). Halliday and Hasan's principle is based on the view that, with respect to textual cohesiveness, the main basis for coherence lies in similarity. Chain interaction is a theory of similarity in texts—the view that cohesiveness is created by speakers saying similar kinds of things (e.g. chain 1) about similar kinds of phenomena (e.g. chain 2). In non-technical terms, chain interaction is the speaker's *being on about similar kinds of things*. This understanding of language use is closely related to the principle of linguistic REDUNDANCY, i.e. texts will typically transmit less information than the sum of its

¹Halliday and Hasan, 'Text and Context', p. 57.

²To limit chain interaction to 'two' may seem arbitrary, but it is the necessary lowest boundary since if only 'one' chain interaction were required then every clause of discourse would necessarily be a central token—a problematic conclusion. Admittedly, Halliday and Hasan are after a relative (scalar), not absolute, set of criteria for speaking about the cohesiveness of discourse.

linguistic parts. Redundancy 'serves to reduce the likelihood of an error in the reception of the message resulting from the loss of information during the transmission'.¹

Information Flow

The use of cohesive ties in cohesive chains studied above represents one way in which language is used to create textual meanings. It represents a cohesion of *similarity*. This approach is somewhat static in its analysis of discourse, however, not treating how the cohesive ties are put together in a linear way in discourse. The concept of information flow is an attempt to deal with this aspect of texts—it is directly related to the study of textual meanings although it is not traditionally part of Halliday's scheme. INFORMATION FLOW is an intentional metaphor used to refer to *the ongoing change in status of discourse entities through time*. The study of information flow is not per se concerned with the ideational content of discourse but with how speaker's and listener's perceptions change throughout the discourse with regard to the status of ideational elements. Information flow may affect several choices of Greek discourse, including word order, pronominalisation, and tense/aspect. It is an important example of how discourse may influence morphological and syntactical choices and one that has received little study with respect to NT discourse.²

Topicality. The positional order of linguistic elements in discourse has received considerable attention by linguists studying notions of given versus new information, theme versus rheme, and topic versus comment. Such approaches were a focus of early representatives of the Prague School, especially V. Mathesius,³ carried out further under the FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE by J. Firbas.⁴ Besides this approach, three other approaches by Givón, Halliday, and Prince provide workable heuristic models for analysing the topical flow of information in NT discourse.

The use of language in a referential manner in discourse follows a basic principle whereby a linguistic item maintaining a topic/theme may employ a 'leaner' semantic content (e.g. pronouns), but a linguistic item re-establishing a prior topic/theme requires a 'richer' semantic content (e.g. full noun phrase).⁵ T. Givón's ICONICITY PRINCIPLE states the inverse principle: 'The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it.'⁶ That is, as topic continuity decreases, there tends to be a progression from referents which are not coded (ZERO-ANAPHORA), to those coded by pronouns, to those coded with definite nouns, to those coded with modified definite nouns.⁷ This is a scalar phenomenon in that on one end of the spectrum are the most predictable topics and on the other end are the least predictable topics. Notably, this principle is based on cross-language studies; hence, it has potential relevance for NT discourse analysis.⁸ In addition, Givón provides a useful quantitative approach to the analysis of topic information in discourse, based on three types of analysis: (i) *referential distance*—the number of clauses between the previous occurrence of the topical entity and its current occurrence; (ii) *potential distance*—the existence of

¹Caron, *Psycholinguistics*, p. 5.

²Grimes' 1975 essay ('Signals', pp. 151-64) is still one of the best discussions of information flow (or 'topical structure') in NT Greek; several of his conclusions are substantiated by my analysis of information flow in Philippians.

³Mathesius, 'Satzperspektive', pp. 202-210.

⁴See the overview in Firbas, 'Dynamics', pp. 40-70.

⁵Cf. Kies, 'Marked Themes', p. 71.

⁶Givón, 'Topic', p. 18.

⁷Givón, 'Foreground', pp. 177-78.

⁸See his *Topic Continuity in Discourse: A Quantitative Cross-Language Study*.

competing topical entities within the last few clauses; and (iii) *persistence*—the number of clauses after the current one in which the topical entity continues to be included. The assumption of the iconicity principle is that speakers/authors generally attempt to remove potential confusion from the discourse. This might involve specifically naming the participant, using a pronoun, or signalling the participant by means of a verbal inflection (in the case of subjects). Since the potential for confusion is highest when a new participant enters the scene, that participant is typically expressed in Greek with a full noun phrase. Subsequent to the first appearance, the participant is often expressed with some form of a pronoun (demonstrative, personal, and even articular pronouns) or verbal inflection—the verbal inflection used by itself is the unmarked expression. If the author uses a full noun phrase where a pronoun or verbal inflection is expected, this may be done for the sake of comparison/contrast with another element in the discourse or for the sake of ‘emphasis’ (e.g. 2 Cor 10:1 ἐγὼ Παῦλος).

M. A. K. Halliday’s discussion of THEMATISATION and INFORMATION STRUCTURE—influenced partly by the Prague School linguists—has had notable influence on modern linguistics.¹ Its significance for the concept of information flow (especially theme) demands mention here.² According to Halliday, THEME is that element which states what is being talked about in the clause.³ The RHEME is that element which contributes what is being said about the theme. The theme appears first in a clause—it sets the stage for what follows. The remainder of the clause is the rheme. In English, the forefronted element in unmarked thematisation is a subject in a declarative clause, a predicator in a polar question, and a ‘wh’-word in a ‘wh’-question. Marked thematisation (i.e. sentences which do not follow this pattern) indicates focal material. Choosing between theme and rheme concerns informational *thematization*. In contrast, choosing between given and new information is another way of *information structuring*. NEW INFORMATION is that which ‘the speaker presents...as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse’.⁴ GIVEN INFORMATION is that which is presented as recoverable from the previous discourse.⁵ Unmarked information, according to Halliday, occurs in English when the tonic (accent) is on the last syllable. When information is marked, the tonic falls on any element except for the final syllable. The element upon which the tonic falls is new information; everything else is given. The following examples from Halliday illustrate the principle.⁶

// ^I’m / looking for the / caretaker who / looks after / this *block* // (unmarked)

¹See Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, pp. 38-67. In Prague School terms, the theme is that element in a clause which contributes least to the furthering of the communicative process; the rheme, conversely, contributes the most.

²Thematization has been treated by linguists in primarily three ways: (i) as surface structure reorderings for the sake of style/rhetoric (Chomsky, *Aspects*; Katz, *Semantic Theory*); (ii) as reorderings for the sake of pragmatic effect (Chafe, ‘Givenness’, pp. 25-55); and (iii) as reorderings that affect the semantics of the sentence (Firbas, ‘Defining’, pp. 267-80; Halliday, ‘Notes: Part 2’, pp. 199-244; for a survey and critique see Kies, ‘Marked Themes’, pp. 49-56.

³Cf. Fairclough, *Discourse*, p. 183: ‘The theme is the text producer’s point of departure in a clause, and generally corresponds to what is taken to be (which does not mean it actually is) “given” information, that is, information already known or established for text producers and interpreters.’

⁴Halliday, ‘Notes: Part 2’, p. 204.

⁵The concepts of given and new are described by functional sentence linguists in terms of communicative dynamism (CD). GIVEN elements contribute least to the ‘development of communication’ (CD); NEW elements contribute the most (Williams, ‘Functional Sentence Perspective’, pp. 77-78). Some key differences between a functional sentence perspective and a systemic-functional approach are: (i) the former divides the rheme into transition (verb) and rheme (complement, adjunct) and (ii) the former distinguishes between diathemes (non-proper themes such as the temporal clause ‘When they arrived at the temple...’) and proper themes.

⁶Halliday, ‘Notes: Part 2’, p. 207.

// *John* painted the shed yesterday // ('John' is new information)

// John *painted* the shed yesterday // ('painted' is new information)

Because Halliday's discussion of given-new information concerns *spoken* language, it is less helpful than theme-rheme for a discourse analysis of NT texts, where phonological units cannot be identified (although a study of rhythm might be informative). Perhaps other grammatical devices signal given-new information in NT discourse; however, as of yet no convincing research has been proposed which applies to a wide variety of Greek discourse.¹ Most importantly, theme-rheme and given-new represent different types of informational choices; hence, theme and given, rheme and new, do not always correspond (see the second example above). To conflate the two ways of information structuring is to err in the same way the Prague School linguists did.²

An approach similar to Givón's and Halliday's and one that is perhaps the most useful taxonomy for NT discourse analysis is that of E. F. Prince.³ She distinguishes between three types of participants with respect to INFORMATION STATUS: new, evoked, and inferable. When a speaker/author introduces NEW information into the discourse, it will be either brand-new or unused. A BRAND-NEW item of information is not previously known by the audience at all and is typically introduced by means of an indefinite⁴ expression or a full noun phrase. Brand-new entities may be ANCHORED (i.e. linked to another discourse entity) or UNANCHORED. An UNUSED item is known to the audience (based on their knowledge of the context of situation or culture) but is not at the forefront of their consciousness at the time of utterance. The second class of participants are EVOKED (i.e. already in the discourse). They are either (i) situational or (ii) textual. Situationally-evoked items are interpreted via access to the context of situation. Textually-evoked items are interpreted based on the co-text. Typically this involves a linguistic entity that has already been introduced in the discourse and is now being interpreted with recourse to that former entity through a referential marker (e.g. a pronoun). The third class of participants are INFERABLES. These are discourse items which the speaker/author believes the listener/reader can *infer* from a discourse item already introduced or from other inferables. These are usually expressed with another full noun phrase (e.g. τέκνον in Phil 2:22 is an inferable of Τιμόθεον in v 19).

Prominence. Another means of information flow has often been treated by linguists and literary theorists under the heading of PROMINENCE (also known as emphasis, grounding, relevance, salience). Prominence typically refers to the means by which speakers/authors draw the listener/reader's attention to important topics and motifs of the discourse and support these topics with other less-prominent material.⁵ Prominence, in comparison to cohesive ties (the cohesion of similarity), represents the cohesion of *dissimilarity*. In

¹Levinsohn ('Phrase Order', pp. 44-64) is perhaps the most noteworthy attempt. Although I am in general agreement with Levinsohn's approach, his study does not adequately account for (i) subjects that are not known, (ii) the variant position of the verb with respect to subject and objects, (iii) the role of the verb, (iv) complements that split the verb or subject, (v) modifiers of substantives that are major participants (e.g. genitives), and (vi) new (non-given) information which is sentence-initial.

²For a critique of given-new theory see Kies, 'Marked Themes', pp. 53-54.

³Prince, 'Toward a Taxonomy', pp. 883-907. Chafe ('Constraints', pp. 21-51) provides a similar model—a cognitive-psychological approach—of active, semi-active, or inactive information in the speaker's and listener's consciousness. His terminology 'already active' / 'previously inactive' for 'given' / 'new' and 'starting point' / 'added information' for 'topic' / 'comment' and respective explanations are an improvement on the older and frequently misunderstood terms.

⁴The use of indefinite expressions for new information is not as true for Greek as it is for English.

⁵For a critical survey of linguistic and literary notions of foregrounding (prominence) see Dry, 'Foregrounding', pp. 435-50.

other words, language is used to set apart (i.e. to disassociate) certain entities from other entities of the discourse. If discourse amounted to one cohesive chain interacting with itself, the discourse would be flat, monotone, uninformative. To study the prominence of a discourse, then, is to study how the cohesive chains have been ordered into a message. This concept is not entirely new to NT studies. NT scholars frequently claim that certain grammatical constructions are 'emphatic'. By this they generally mean some linguistic element (either a word or clause) is being emphasised by the author, which is often treated in terms of word order. For example, if a prepositional phrase is placed at the front of a clause, the author is supposedly emphasising that item. Although this type of interpretation is not inherently flawed, the term 'emphasis' requires further defining. The study of prominence in linguistic, literary, and psycholinguistic theories may provide a more methodologically-rigorous approach to questions of theme and emphasis in the NT. Prominence is defined here as those *semantic and grammatical elements of discourse that serve to set aside certain subjects, ideas, or motifs of the author as more or less semantically and pragmatically significant than others*.¹ Without prominence discourse would be dull, flat, and to a certain degree, incoherent. As Robert Longacre humorously comments, 'If all parts of a discourse are equally prominent, total unintelligibility results. The result is like being presented with a piece of black paper and being told, "This is a picture of black camels crossing black sands at midnight."' ² Whereas most studies of prominence have been concerned with narrative, the following study is primarily concerned with non-narrative NT discourse.

Rather than speak in terms of emphatic and non-emphatic features of texts, most discourse analysts suggest at least three, sometimes more, levels of prominence.³ With regard to NT discourse I propose three relative levels: background, theme, and focus.⁴

BACKGROUND refers to those linguistic elements in the discourse which, in the case of narrative, serve to carry the story forward supporting the main plot with secondary participants and events and, in the case of non-narrative, serve to support the main argument providing ancillary comments, explanations, conclusions, and summaries. Background elements can often be eliminated without drastically obscuring the main message. In other words, those elements which may be deleted from the discourse without disrupting or undermining the development and interpretation of the discourse represent the background. Those which remain are thematic.⁵ It is not that background material is not important but that it is *less important* than other elements of the discourse. They supplement thematic material.

THEME, on the other hand, is information central to the author's message.⁶ In narrative, thematic elements consist of major participants and events (i.e. central tokens) often

¹Other approaches to the concept of prominence have been carried out under the auspices of macrostructure or proposition-based analysis (Dijk, *Macrostructures*), story-grammars (Yekovich and Thorndyke, 'Evaluation', pp. 454-69), text networks (Beaugrande, *Text*), and staging (Grimes, *Thread of Discourse*). Especially relevant for this study is T. Givon's 'topicality hierarchy' ('Topic', pp. 149-88).

²Longacre, 'Discourse Peak', p. 83; cf. Dijk, 'Semantic Discourse Analysis', p. 131: 'Without a semantic macrostructure, even a fragmentary one, there is no overall coherence and hence no point to the discourse.'

³Cf. 'multiple planes of the text' in Dry, 'Foregrounding', p. 441.

⁴Callow (*Discourse Considerations*, pp. 63-65) adds to these three 'emphasis', which is similar enough to focus to be combined into one category—or perhaps simply demonstrates that prominence may be treated in scalar terms (allowing for many distinctions). It must be emphasised that these are relative terms to be understood in relation to one another (on a cline), as will be discussed below.

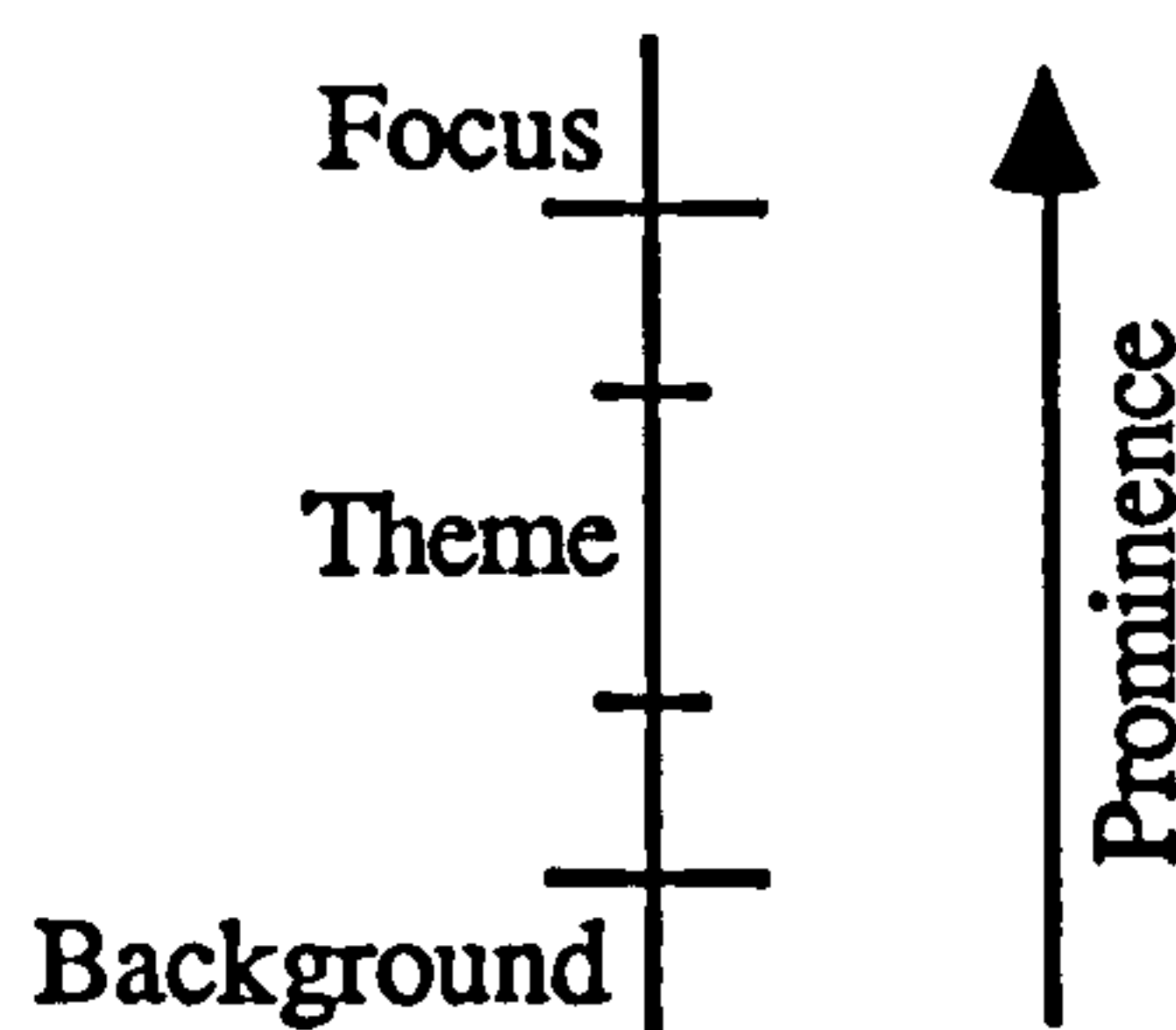
⁵Cf. the concept of 'topic framework' set forth in Brown and Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 75.

⁶Callow ('Patterns', p. 195) associates theme with the purpose of the author. She maintains that 'material at the factual end of the purposive chain is considered to be less prominent than material at the activity end;

occurring along some chronological line (+sequential). In contrast, in non-narrative (-sequential), the chronological element is usually absent (or less significant), as in argumentation (e.g. lawyer's cross-examination), exhortation (e.g. eulogy), or explanation (e.g. recipe). Thematic elements are unique types of prominence in that after first appearing in the discourse, they are expected to appear again. If an author states the theme and purpose of an essay by means of an introductory sentence, the reader expects the rest of the discourse to be about that theme. Consequently, subsequent appearances of thematic elements are often *reduced* to unmarked forms such as pronouns, since they are part of the discourse's COMMON GROUND shared by speaker and listener.

Whereas thematically prominent elements are generally expected by the reader at the level of clause (i.e. they are unmarked after initial occurrence), FOCUS refers to those linguistic elements which stand out somewhat unexpectedly, i.e. they are semantically marked, even if they have been previously introduced into the discourse. Such elements may not carry much semantic weight (e.g. ἰδοὺ and ἐγὼ αὐτός); instead, they serve a more pragmatic function, e.g. drawing the listener/reader back into the communicative process. At times, it is necessary for an author to reintroduce a thematic element (which usually has been reduced to pronominal forms or zero-anaphora), i.e. focus on it, to ensure that it is at the foreground of the reader's mind. K. Callow uses the analogy of a stage. Focal prominence is likened to a spotlight highlighting particular theatrical characters on the stage of a play.

The concepts of background, theme, and focus are best understood on a cline of prominence. A linguistic element at any given point in the linear development of a discourse will fall somewhere on the cline. In addition, it may fall somewhere else on the cline as it is used throughout the text, e.g. at one point being background and at another being focal.



What was thematic in the previous paragraph may only be background in the next. For this reason, it is necessary to speak of the DOMAIN OF PROMINENCE, i.e. the extent to which a linguistic element maintains its degree of prominence (similar to Givón's notion of referential persistence). The domain of prominence may or may not extend throughout the whole discourse, but it will extend somewhere. The domain of an element's prominence reveals its relative importance in the discourse. In NT discourse, the domain of prominence may consist of the phrase (e.g. headword of a prepositional phrase), clause (e.g. rheme), paragraph¹ (e.g. verbal aspect), or the entire discourse (e.g. epistolary formulas).

Firstly, *background elements have no limits as to their domain*, since they coincide with a theme (which has no limit to its domain). Wherever a thematic unit is located

there is a graded increase in prominence as we move away from fact towards volition' (p. 197). Accordingly, commands (e.g. imperative mood) tend to be more prominent in NT discourse.

¹Most NT discourse analysis has been concerned with the notion of *domain of prominence* in terms of the paragraph.

(whether at the discourse, paragraph, or clause level), there will probably be an associated background (e.g. peripheral tokens). Thus, backgrounds may be relegated to the phrase, clause, paragraph, or discourse. Backgrounds may even be embedded within other backgrounds. For example, in Matt 13, the author's narrative moves from one background to another (both in the same locale). In the first scene (Matt 13:1-35) Jesus speaks in parables while sitting in a boat along the shore of a lake surrounded by a crowd of people. In the second scene (Matt 13:36-52) he has entered a house near the lake and is speaking in parables to his disciples. In each scene Jesus tells three parables, each with its own unique background, theme, and focus. Secondly, *thematic prominence occurs at all levels of discourse*: phrase, clause, paragraph/section (and paragraphs within paragraphs), and discourse. On the one hand, an entire discourse may have a single theme that runs throughout (i.e. global theme). Within this theme, other thematic sub-units may have their own prominence. Organic ties (see above) often signal the beginning and end of a thematic unit. They mark topic-shifts.¹ An entire discourse, on the other hand, may have more than one theme.² For example, authors of ancient letters often develop several topics—a feature of conversation—as Cicero notes: 'I have begun to write to you something or other without any definite subject, so that I may have a sort of talk with you.'³ Thirdly, *focal prominence is typically relegated to the clause and occasionally to the paragraph*. A particular participant may be focally prominent within a paragraph and then fall out of prominence in the next. The domain of focal elements is typically less than that of theme, since an element with a larger domain tends to become thematic, i.e. it becomes expected in the discourse.

In conclusion, an analogy of a soccer match may help illustrate the concepts of background, theme, and focus. Certain participants and events in a soccer match are almost always present and help to create an atmosphere in which the game is played. These might include fans, food vendors, security personnel, announcers, and even coaches and officials. These play, at varying degrees, background roles with respect to the actual game. They are not essential for it to be played, but they are frequently present. In other words, a soccer match could be played without such participants, but it would lose some of its robustness and impact—so players often overstate, 'We couldn't have done it without the fans.' Indeed, some of these participants can contribute to the outcome (e.g. support of the fans for the home team) and even be in focus at a given time (e.g. the ball being thrown back on the field by a fan). Similarly, background elements in discourse are not obligatory for the theme to be communicated, but they are supportive (i.e. peripheral tokens). The players, however, must be present for the match to take place. They move the game forward, tackling, passing, running, and most importantly, scoring. They are the main participants and they perform the main actions which define the rules of the game. Without them, the game could not be played. Similarly, thematic prominence refers to those participants and events (i.e. central tokens) which comprise the main message(s) or theme(s) of the author (at whatever level of discourse). They point to what is being talked about. Finally, at key moments in the match certain participants and events stand out, focusing all attention upon themselves. For example, during a penalty kick, all eyes would be on the potential scorer, the ball, and the goalie. Although all other players are involved in the game, at that moment the focus is directed upon a few. Some players are frequently

¹On the term 'topic-shift' see Maynard, 'Placement', pp. 263-90, and Schank, 'Rules', pp. 421-42.

²Cf. Hellholm, *Das Visionenbuch*, p. 45, who speaks of 'eine Hierarchie von Haupt- und Nebenstrategien'.

³Cicero *Att.* 9.10.1.

in focus (e.g. strikers), while others get their chance only sporadically (e.g. goalie). In similar fashion, focal prominence serves to highlight particular participants and events in the discourse. Just as in a soccer match, focal prominence occurs sporadically. An element may enter in and out of prominence at any given time in the discourse.

Although this is only intended as an analogy, it does illustrate the basic function of each level and how they interrelate. It also partly demonstrates how grammatical prominence is closely related to human perception, as studied by psychologists.¹ The way in which humans perceive their world is three-dimensional, with various objects being in specific view at some times and not at other times. We might expect people to communicate and process discourse similarly.

Signalling Devices of Information Flow. It is not difficult to convince ourselves that NT texts have prominent elements and that certain discourse elements are often presented in a thematic manner. It is more difficult to convince each other what constitutes an element as prominent in the discourse. This latter difficulty is quickly realised when sorting through the multitude of scholarly views regarding the themes of NT texts. For example, is Paul's correspondence to the Philippians a letter about joy, unity, steadfastness, martyrdom, friendship, or suffering? To make matters worse discourse analysts do not necessarily agree upon what signals prominence in discourse. This is partly due to the fact that studies of prominence have been carried out by linguists from different backgrounds dealing with different languages. What applies to one language does not always apply to others, sometimes leading to a lack of consensus among analysts' theories and thus their analyses. Furthermore, prominence is a phenomenon that is not part of a linguistic code but is a function of discourse. That is, prominence is not a function of morphology proper but is a result of morphological forms as they are used in discourse; hence, in one discourse particular morphological forms (e.g. tense-forms) may be used to indicate prominence whereas in other discourses they may play a different semantic role. Thus, the following discussion is not intended as a deterministic tool which applies to all NT discourse. Nevertheless, some general guidelines, which apply to many languages, are suggestive for the analysis of NT discourse.

Recent research suggests three basic signalling devices of prominence: phonetic (obviously difficult for NT studies); syntactic; and semantic.² These involve, for example, semantic relations (including cohesive ties and clause pairs), verbs, noun-verb relations, word order, formulas of genre, some particles, and boundary markers. In Greco-Roman administrative correspondence, for example, abstracts were often included which revealed the theme of a letter;³ this is a very precise way of indicating prominence. Most discourse does not so blatantly give away its theme(s) or purpose(s). Other lexico-grammatical devices are employed. Given-new and theme-rheme information typically is signalled by word order and pronominalisation. Prominence, however, is rarely signalled by one device, but more often is the result of a combination of grammatical and semantic features. The analyst of ancient texts should not depend on the presence of one grammatical category to determine prominence, but an analysis of several signalling devices. By relying on several

¹Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', pp. 213-16.

²Werth, *Focus*, p. 98. These are ultimately cognitive processes.

³See White, *Light*, pp. 216-17. The recipient would sometimes summarise the contents (including date and sender) of a letter on the *verso*; such examples at least suggest that authors wrote and readers read with thematic issues in mind.

categories a better basis may be established for a particular reading of the text.¹ Nor should a *particular* signalling device (e.g. tense-forms) *always* be treated in terms of prominence; again, prominence is more a feature of discourse than it is one of grammar (or linguistic code). For example, it appears that when the semantic function of verbal aspect conflicts with a verb's level of prominence, the semantic function prevails. In this case, other categories may combine to indicate prominence. This cluster-concept approach to prominence suggests that it is best understood as a scalar phenomenon of discourse rather than a binary one. Furthermore, I am not suggesting that these features are hard-and-fast rules; rather, as is the case with most of language (especially at the level of discourse) they represent regularities. The following list suggests some of the signalling devices of information flow used in NT discourse.

1. **Semantic Relations (Cohesive Ties):** An analysis of semantic chains is an important part of determining prominence. Central tokens, for example, are more prominent than peripheral tokens (see above on cohesive ties). Words of beseeching and saying (mental processes) often signal upcoming, thematically prominent material (e.g. 'I beseech you...');² thus, such words often occur in the present tense in NT letters (see the analysis of prominence in chap. 5).

Some research in both linguistics and psychology (originating from the Gestalt psychologists of the early twentieth century) suggests that certain semantic categories tend to appear in background and thematic material.³ These are typically discussed in terms of figure (theme) and ground (background), or 'more salient' and 'less salient' items.⁴ Such theories start with the assumption that people are more interested in some things than others, and that they process information based on those interests. S. Wallace sets forth the major components of this theory. (1) People are more interested in other human beings (or at least in animate entities); (2) People tend to place themselves at the centre of attention; (3) Individuated—especially concrete, definite, singular, countable—entities are more apt to attract interest than their opposites; (4) The real, the certain, the positive, the immediate, the bounded, the completed, and the dynamic are more effective in moving a discourse forward (i.e. to constitute the thematic portion of a text) than their respective contrasting properties, which form the supportive background. Based on such research, the following chart provides a useful scheme for the analysis of NT discourse.⁵

¹Other works on prominence have suggested a similar 'cluster concept' of foregrounding (see Dry, 'Foregrounding', p. 441).

²Cf. the concept of 'metacommunicative references' in Johanson, *To All the Brethren*, p. 16.

³See Dressler, 'Marked', p. 14.

⁴See esp. Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', pp. 211-18.

⁵Adapted from Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', pp. 212, 214; cf. Dry, 'Foregrounding', p. 447.

| MORE SALIENT | LESS SALIENT |
|---|---|
| human | non-human |
| animate | inanimate |
| concrete | abstract |
| thing-like, solid, discrete | unformed, diffuse, shapeless, unbroken |
| well-defined, tightly organised | less definite, unstructured, loosely organised |
| contoured, surrounded, bounded, enclosed | boundless |
| localised | unlocalised |
| with distinguishable parts | without distinguishable parts |
| near | far |
| above, in front | below, behind |
| greater contrast | lesser contrast |
| stable | unstable |
| symmetric | irregular |

2. Verbal Aspect: One of the discourse functions of verbal aspect is to indicate the prominence of clauses in relationship to the larger paragraph or discourse.¹ In non-narrative, background prominence may be signalled by clauses using the aorist tense-form (perfective aspect). It is not so much that aorist tense-forms are thematically unimportant (nor are they always background material) but that they may be used in discourse to set apart some events from those signalled by the imperfective aspect (present and imperfect tense-forms). Thematic prominence may be signalled by the present and imperfect tense-forms (imperfective aspect), as well as the future tense-form.² The three forms are probably needed to differentiate time in discourse, an important component of theme. Focal prominence may be signalled by the perfect and pluperfect tense-forms (stative aspect). The pluperfect was probably retained in the language for temporal reasons (viz. to indicate 'remote' time).³ (Verbs without a complete aspectual system [e.g. εἶμι] do not express prominence, at least morphologically.)

¹See Hopper, 'Aspect', p. 5, who highlights the discourse-function of aspect: 'The fundamental notion of aspect is not a local-semantic one but is discourse-pragmatic.' Ehrlich ('Aspect', pp. 363-76) has rightly challenged the idea that verbal aspect is always an indicator of prominence, while maintaining that this is one of the roles it may play in some discourse contexts.

²Cf. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 23, who speaks in terms of background, foreground, and frontground. NT Greek is notably unique with respect to studies of universal grammar, since the imperfective aspect often plays a thematic role and the perfective aspect often plays a background role (contrast Wallace, 'Figure and Ground', pp. 208-209). Note, however, that Levinsohn (*Discourse Features*, pp. 164-66) argues for the aorist tense as the thematic marker and the imperfect as the background marker. His analysis, most notably, does not take into account the other tense-forms and is apparently based on insights from universal grammarians rather than on analysis of non-narrative NT texts. He does not discuss Porter's work on verbal aspect. Diver ('System of Relevance', pp. 60-61) speaks of the central (aorist tense and active voice) and peripheral (imperfect tense and middle voice) relevance (= prominence?) of the Homeric verb. He unfortunately treats relevance in terms of binary opposition (based on the root) and fails to account for the entire system of the Greek verb (esp. tense-forms). In addition, it is unclear in his scheme if voice alone (viz. active and middle) or tense alone (aorist or imperfect) signals relevance or if the two must be used together.

³Demetrius (*Eloc.* 214) notes that changes in tense-forms may be used for 'vividness' (ἐναργέστερον) or 'forcefulness' (δεινότερον). In narrative, the aorist is more vivid than the present because 'there is something more striking in the suggestion that all is over [perfect γεγονός] than in the intimation that it is about to happen [μέλλοντος] or is still happening [γινομένου ἔτι]'. His observation is undeveloped and,

Having put forth this scheme, it must now be stated that verbal aspect as a morphological category *primarily* serves the function of indicating the author's viewpoint on the nature of a verbal event. Nevertheless, the semantics of the aspectual categories lend themselves to discourse prominence. The perfective aspect lends itself to general descriptions of an event, whereas the imperfective aspect suggests the author is focusing on the particulars of an event. The stative aspect is even more accentuated, since the attention is placed upon an event that has resulted from other circumstances (i.e. a stative event stands at the centre of an activity). However, the use of verbal aspect (i.e. the morphological forms which indicate verbal aspect) to indicate prominence is a secondary role—a pragmatic function of grammar—and, thus, a *discourse function* not a morphological function of Greek grammar. Furthermore, I am not claiming that every time one comes across a particular tense-form that it must be fitted into this model of prominence. However, both the ancient and modern evidence suggests that speakers/authors do alternate tense-forms so as to communicate information status. Perhaps the best basis for a prominence reading occurs when particular tense-forms are used with particular words (or concepts) so as to set them apart from other tense-forms used with different words (or concepts) all in the same linguistic context (i.e. the author is contrasting or setting apart certain information from other information by means of tense-forms).

3. Verbal Mood: Modality may be used to distinguish between background and thematic prominence. Under normal circumstances, a speaker might expect an audience to be more interested in what is asserted as real or factual (indicative mood). What someone asserts as actually happening is more likely to be the centre of attention in discourse than what is merely projected or purported to happen (i.e. what might, may, could occur). Accordingly, the subjunctive and optative moods, because their function is essentially that of 'non-assertion' or 'projection', are often used to express background material.¹ This partly explains their frequent use in subordinate clauses (e.g. purpose clauses), which typically play a rhetorically supportive role in discourse.² In non-narrative, the imperative mood is also used in thematic material, due to its semantic attribute of 'direction' (i.e. the speaker directs or commands others to do something).
4. Verbal Voice: The active voice is predominant in the NT, with the middle voice being, by a small margin, the least used of the three voices in the Greek NT: active (20,697x); middle (3,500x); passive (3,932x). The passive voice is often used to move the logical agent into the background of the discourse, leaving some

hence, should not be applied to all Greek discourse indiscriminately; however, it does support the point being made here that changes in tense may indicate prominence. Longinus (*Sublime* 25), part of the same tradition of literary theory as Demetrius, seems to argue the reverse, viz. by describing past time events as happening in the present 'you will turn the passage from mere narrative into vivid (or energetic) actuality': ὅταν γε μὴν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς χρόνοις εἰσάγησιν ὡς γινόμενα καὶ παρόντα, οὐ διήγησιν ἔτι τὸν λόγον ἀλλ' ἐναγώνιον πρᾶγμα ποιήσεις. According to this theory, the present tense is more prominent than the perfect (used to denote a past time event). The lesson to be learned from these two literary theorists is that the use of tense-forms to signal prominence is not an inherent feature of the Greek language but a device used by authors (sometimes differently) according to the situation of the immediate discourse (*parole*). The model proposed here is particularly intended for non-narrative discourse.

¹Cf. Grimes, *Thread of Discourse*, p. 65.

²This may be further substantiated by the fact that subjunctive and optative moods prefer the aorist tense-form (background) over the present (theme) and perfect (focus) in the NT: aorist subjunctive (1,390x), aorist optative (45x); present subjunctive (463x), present optative (23x); perfect subjunctive (10x), perfect optative (0x).

other grammatical subject to take its place.¹ In other words, the passive is related to the thematic organisation of the clause and discourse.²

5. **Noun-Verb Relations:** The grammatical relations between nouns and verbs are also indicators of prominence (see also word order below). First and second person combinations typically signal thematic prominence (i.e. central tokens); third person signals background prominence (i.e. peripheral tokens). The nominative case generally signals a thematic element in the clause. The vocative case is often a signal of thematic material at the level of discourse and focal material at the level of clause. A study of Philippians suggests that the basic word order is V (Verb) or VO (verb – object), i.e. this is the unmarked grammatical construction. If a subject is added to this basic word order (usually in the nominative), the clause has marked word order. Once a thematic participant has been introduced by the nominative case, continued reference is usually by means of pronouns or verbal suffixes (first, second, third person, singular or plural). It is usually only reintroduced in the form of a full noun phrase for the sake of focus, comparison/contrast, or to prevent ambiguity (a thematic concern).
6. **Word Order:** Various word order constructions are often motivated by informational requirements of the discourse.³ Since word order in Greek is somewhat flexible, the concept of information flow may help explain apparently random variations of word order which is often treated as an unmeaningful feature of an inflected language such as Greek.⁴ Here, for example, the grammarian queries: Why does one sentence have SVO word order and another VSO word order?⁵ The answer is apparently related to the relative prominence of the linguistic components in the clause. Most NT clauses have V or VO (verb–object) word order, lacking a specified subject. This is the unmarked pattern, i.e. it does not indicate prominence because the subject is not expressed (probably because it is already known).⁶ When a subject is expressed, the unmarked word

¹Research suggests that the active voice in English texts prefers animate objects (which tend to have thematic prominence) and passive clauses prefer inanimate ones (which tend to have background prominence); see Svartvik, *Voice*, pp. 49-50. I have not studied this with respect to Greek discourse, but based on the semantics of prominence it is suggestive.

²Cf. Stein, *Studies*, p. 125, following Halliday.

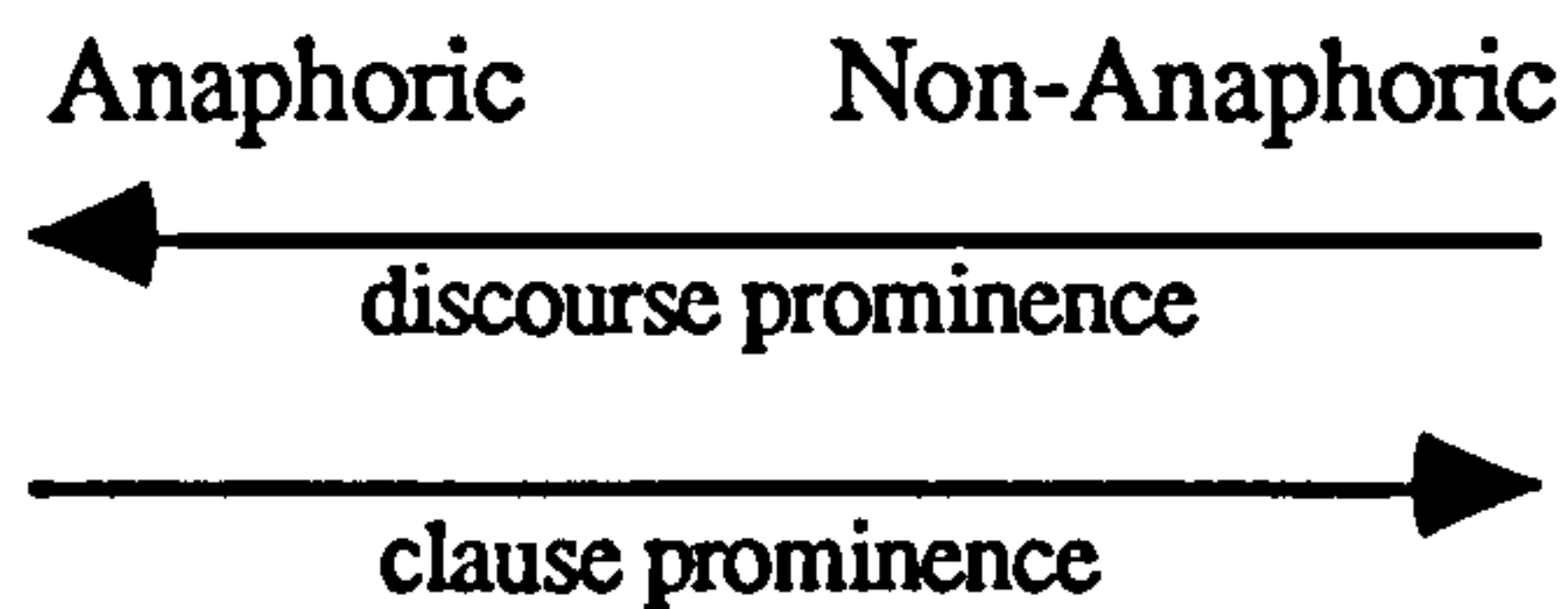
³Cf. Werth, *Focus*, p. 12.

⁴See the critique of NT scholars by Radney, 'Factors', pp. 1-79. Radney offers a solid methodological approach to questions of word order, but his conclusions based on the text of Hebrews are less than convincing. He maintains that basic NT Greek word order is VSIOI (I=indirect object), even though actual instances of this pattern are infrequent, but instead SVO or SOV predominate. To be fair, he does attempt to explain the variations in terms of meaningful categories (pp. 21-22); but one is still dissatisfied with his *a priori* assumption (based largely on Hebrew word order) that Greek word order is VSIOI. Furthermore, he does not address the issue that most clauses lack a subject, which begs the question of a basic word order involving all three or four grammatical components (subject, verb, direct object, and indirect object). As the study of Philippians suggests, SVO and VSO are both fair appraisals of NT word order if one considers the discourse effects of topicality and information status.

⁵The letter O (= complements) here signifies various types of sentence completives, including dative and genitive direct objects, rank-shifted infinitive and participle clauses, and indirect objects.

⁶I am here only interested in the word order of the main parts of speech: subjects, verbs, and complements (i.e. participants and processes). Dionysius of Hallicarnassus (*Comp.* 5) sets out to demonstrate the 'natural' word order of Greek: nouns before verbs, verbs before adverbs, things prior in time before subsequently temporal things, nouns before adjectives, common before proper nouns, pronouns before common nouns, indicative before other moods, finite verbs before infinitives. He abandons this theory after discovering exceptions to the rules: 'But experience upset all these assumptions and showed them to be completely worthless. Sometimes the composition was rendered pleasing and beautiful by these and similar arrangements, but at other times not by these but by the opposite.' His starting point, however—viz. to fit

order of a discourse tends to be SO, with the verb falling before or after the subject (SVO, VSO, SOV).¹ However, alterations to this pattern (OSV, OVS, VOS, OS, or variations involving other parts of speech such as adjuncts) are not infrequent—see the analysis of topicality in Philippians in chap. 5 below.² A general rule to follow is that the more to the right a linguistic item (e.g. noun, adjective, verb) occurs, the more prominent (in terms of topicality) it tends to be in the clause.³ The more to the left an item occurs, the more prominent topically it tends to be in the discourse. Such patterns of information flow influence the order of words, as summarised in the following chart.



Rather than the terms 'given' and 'new', I prefer 'anaphoric' and 'non-anaphoric'. Semantic material is distributed in the sentence so as to respect the order of anaphoric and non-anaphoric,⁴ although syntactic elements may be moved for the sake of markedness (e.g. comparison, contrast, focus). There are, therefore, four possible orders in which information may be structured in the clause (I=Initial and N=Non-initial): (i) I to I, in which the current linguistic item and its referent are both at the beginning of the clause (e.g. '*The fields* outside the villages were full of vines. *The fields* were brown.'), (ii) I to N, in which the current linguistic item is initial in the clause but its referent is not initial in its own clause, (iii) N to I, in which the current linguistic item is not initial in its clause but its referent is initial in its own clause, (iv) N to N, in which the current linguistic item is not initial in the clause nor is its referent initial in its own clause.⁵

7. Boundary Markers (Organic Ties): Although organic ties (e.g. conjunctions) may have minimal semantic content, they serve an important role with respect to prominence by signalling the domains of thematic units. These are termed here

together the parts of speech as 'nature' (φύσει) demands—suggests an awareness of an unmarked, typical manner of combining words which could, of course, be altered. His remarks on word order, then, would suggest that there were patterns of natural arrangement but that he himself could not theoretically explain all of the reasons underlying marked patterns.

¹In his treatment of the 'plain' (ἰσχνός) style, which is supposedly the most suitable for letter writing, the author of *On Style* (Pseudo-Demetrius) notes that the natural order of words (φυσικῆ τάξει τῶν ὀνομάτων) is subject, predicate adjective, and then other descriptors (*Eloc.* 199). He then notes that changes may be made to this word order (*Eloc.* 200). Three observations may be reasonably drawn from his discussion: (i) there is an unmarked word order in which subject precedes object; (ii) changes in this word order may be for the sake of information flow (*Eloc.* 50); and (iii) the location of the verb is not as important as that of nouns and adjuncts. Cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4.23, who similarly suggests that the 'weaker' word should not follow the 'stronger' because 'sentences should rise and grow in force'.

²The order of the verb is perhaps less important due to its tendency not to be the rheme (so Firbas, 'Non-Thematic Subjects', p. 49). Levinsohn (*Discourse Features*, pp. 22-23) argues that verbs occur first in sentences where there is continuity with the previous discourse. However, in Phil. 1:3, 12; 2:19; 4:21—examples of epistolary forms that clearly signal discontinuity—the verbs are sentence-initial.

³Cf. Larsen, 'Word Order', pp. 29-34. The author of the Greco-Roman work *On Style* (Pseudo-Demetrius) suggests that 'more vivid' (τὰ ἐναργέστερα) words should be placed *second* (i.e. after the initial less vivid word) or *last* in the clause (*Eloc.* 50).

⁴This point is based on the thoroughgoing study of Werth, *Focus*; for a summary see p. 220.

⁵Cf. Enkvist, *Stylistics*, pp. 119-20.

'boundary markers' and generally consist of particles and conjunctions, but may include larger units (e.g. genitive absolute). They connect paragraphs with paragraphs, and clauses with clauses. Clauses lacking connecting particles (asyndeton) are unmarked, i.e. they neither mark prominence nor do they not mark prominence. *καί*, used as a connector of clauses (usually clause-initial), indicates co-ordinated sameness;¹ used as an adverb, it often indicates focal prominence.² Levinsohn, in his study of textual connections in Acts, argues that *δέ* is used to signal development units (DU) and to introduce new units into the discourse. As Callow remarks,

The speaker uses *δέ* as a signal, saying, 'This is the next step.' It may be a little step or a big one, it may be a step forwards, or sideways, or even backward-looking, but it is always the next step, and with it the speaker or writer is progressing one thought at a time along a purposeful line of development.³

The use of *καί* and *τε* indicate relationships between sentences in the development unit (DU).⁴ Examples of particles that tend to signal thematic prominence include *οὖν*, *διὰ τοῦτο*, *ὅθεν*, *ἄρα*, *δίο*, *δέ*, *νῦν*. For example, in Rom 12:1 the combination of *οὖν*, the verb of beseeching, several present tense-forms, and imperatives signal a thematically prominent section of Paul's discourse. Examples of particles that often signal focal prominence include *γέ*, *δή* ('then, indeed'), *δήπου* ('surely, indeed'), *εἰ μήν*, *μενοῦν* ('surely, certainly'), *μήτιγε* ('how much more'), *πάντως* ('indeed, certainly, in any event'), *ἀλλά* ('certainly, emphatically'), *ἰδοῦ*, *ἴδε*,⁵ *ἄγε* ('look, listen, pay attention'), *ὦ* ('Oh!').

8. Formulas of Genre: One of the best ways for determining prominence at the discourse level (i.e. determining thematic units of discourse) is to analyse its generic conventions. 'Once upon a time' and 'They lived happily ever after' and 'Have you heard the one about...' are well known generic features that mark off boundaries of a text and convey discourse themes. The epistolary formula 'I want you to know...' (Phil 1:12), for example, signals the beginning of a thematic unit as well as inform^{ing} the reader of a thematic concern of the author.

¹See Buth, 'Οὖν', pp. 152-54.

²See Titrud, 'Function of *καί*', pp. 240-70.

³Callow, 'Disappearing *δέ*', p. 192.

⁴Levinsohn, *Textual Connections*, pp. xv-xvi.

⁵See Van Otterloo, 'Towards', pp. 34-64.

Summary

The following chart summarises the various TEXTUAL devices detailed above which contribute to the cohesiveness of discourse.

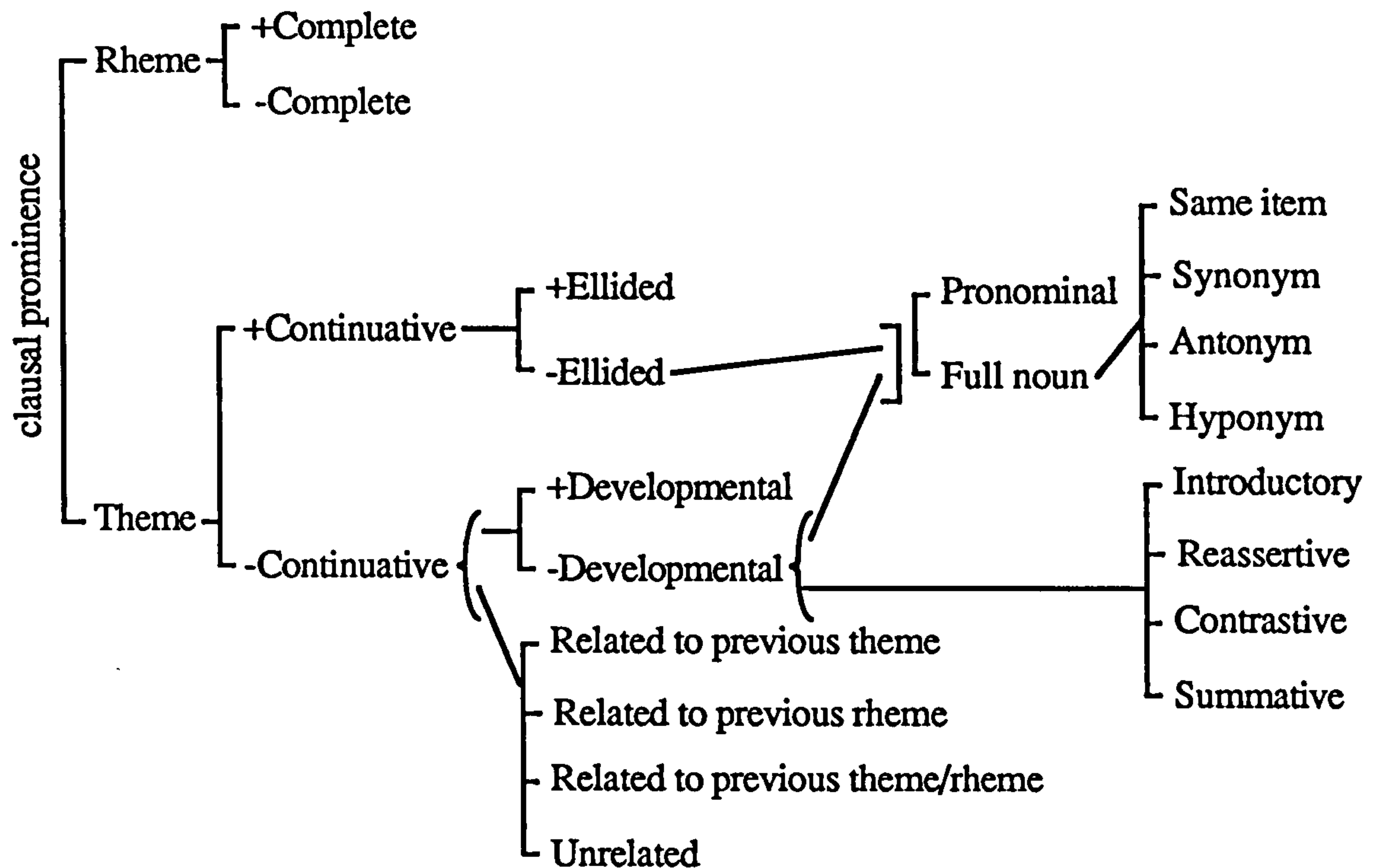
| COMPONENTIAL RELATIONS | | ORGANIC RELATIONS |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Device | Tie Relation |
| Grammatical Devices | A. Reference | Co-reference |
| | 1. Pronominals | |
| | 2. Demonstratives | |
| | 3. Article | |
| Lexical Devices | 4. Comparative | |
| | B. Substitution & Ellipsis | Co-classification |
| | 1. Nominal | |
| | 2. Verbal | |
| | 3. Clausal | |
| | C. Prominence | |
| | 1. Word Order | |
| | 2. Verbal Aspect | |
| | 3. Verbal Mood | |
| | 4. Verbal Voice | |
| Lexical Devices | A. General | Co-classification or Co-extension |
| | 1. Repetition | |
| | 2. Synonymy | |
| | 3. Antonymy | |
| | 4. Hyponymy | |
| | 5. Meronymy | |
| | B. Instantial | Co-reference or Co-classification |
| | 1. Equivalence | |
| | 2. Naming | |
| | 3. Semblance | |

So far, cohesive ties and signalling devices of information flow have been largely treated in isolation from one another. M. P. Williams' research in theme-rheme suggests that the study of cohesive ties may be assisted by the analysis of prominence.¹ In other words, these two features of language dynamically interact to produce cohesiveness in discourse. This is precisely what Halliday has argued by subordinating the two under the heading of 'textual meanings'. However, Williams has made the relationship between the two more specific by means of a systemic network (reproduced below).² In sum, the systemic diagram demonstrates that the rheme may be expressed (+complete) or unexpressed (-complete). The theme may continue the message of the previous clause by means of elision (+elision) or substitution (-elision). Substitution may involve the use of a pronoun or a full noun which is a repetition (same item), synonym, antonym, hyponym, or (I add) meronym of the previous theme. The theme may, instead, not continue (-continue) the previous message and, if so, must do two things. Firstly, it must either develop (+developmental) the discourse in a new direction (new information) or not (-developmental). If it is not developmental (i.e. it is related to the previous message but not in a continuative manner),

¹Williams, 'Perspective', p. 87.

²Williams, 'Perspective', p. 85, modified here for use in NT discourse analysis.

then it relates to the previous discourse by either introducing, reasserting, contrasting, or summing it by means of pronouns or full noun phrases (repetition, synonym, antonym, or hyponym). Secondly, a non-continuative theme may be (i) related to the (a) previous theme, (b) previous rheme, (c) previous theme/rheme or (ii) unrelated to the previous message.



CONCLUSION

The above functional model of Hellenistic Greek is organised around the three primary functions (meanings) of language—ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Each function makes its own contribution to the production and processing of human discourse. Nevertheless, they all interact in a dynamic way in discourse; hence, an individual clause may be analysed with respect to all three functions. IDEATIONAL MEANINGS concern 'the goings-on' in the text, especially with respect to who is involved (participants) and what they are doing (processes)—the system of transitivity. INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS concern the social relationships between the participants (i.e. how they interact with one another)—the system of modality. TEXTUAL MEANINGS concern the cohesive ties (organic and componential) and information flow (topicality and prominence) in discourse, i.e. how the ideational meanings of the discourse are organised into a cohesive whole.

PART II

Discourse Analysis of Philippians

Chapter 3

THE DEBATE OVER THE LITERARY INTEGRITY OF PHILIPPIANS

Does the canonical letter to the Philippians consist of one Pauline letter or is it a redacted aggregate of two or more originally separate Pauline (or partly pseudo-Pauline) letters? The question regarding the literary integrity¹ of Philippians is ultimately a question of ‘whether something happened’—or, in the language of the courtroom, a question of fact (*an sit*). Therefore, this study is partly concerned with evidence—evidence set forth by scholars from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries either for or against the letter’s literary integrity. Such scholars have addressed a number of questions. Exactly what happened (who? what? when? how? why)? What were the circumstances in which the event occurred? Could this event have happened at the time? If so, how was the event like or unlike similar events? What were its causes? What were its consequences? What does its occurrence imply? How do we know about it? There is much at stake with regard to the literary integrity of Philippians, with respect to issues of both interpretation and Pauline chronology. Moreover, this issue raises critical questions regarding biblical hermeneutics and the standards used to determine the cohesiveness of other NT texts (e.g. the Corinthian correspondence). The first part of this chapter briefly surveys the history of the debate, setting the stage for the next section which presents evidence submitted by scholars both for and against the literary integrity of Philippians.²

BRIEF HISTORY OF DISCUSSION

Before turning to a topical summary of the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians, it is worthwhile to narrate briefly the origin of the debate, its subsequent evolution, and its current status. D. Cook has exposed the false claims of several scholars that in 1685 Stephanus Le Moyne, a seventeenth century professor of theology at Leiden, was the first to dissect Philippians into two originally separate letters.³ Cook admonishes those who have passed down the myth without verifying its source: ‘One man’s error does not become true because another man believes and repeats it.’⁴ The trajectory of the myth seems to have started primarily with C. Clemen (1894), H. J. Holtzmann (1892), and M. Goguel (1925), to whom various twentieth century scholars such as W. Schmithals (1965), B. D. Rahtjen (1960), R. Jewett (1970), G. Baumbach (1971), and J.-F. Collange (1979) appeal for their knowledge of Le Moyne. So C. Clemen claims, ‘Am frühesten unter allen paulinischen Briefen ist der Philipperbrief mit Rücksicht auf seine Einheitlichkeit

¹The term ‘integrity’ is preferred here over ‘unity’ since the latter term may falsely suggest that unity implies textual completeness.

²For other recent surveys see Garland, ‘Composition’, pp. 141-59; Schenk, ‘Philipperbrief’, pp. 3280-84 (although prior to many recent studies in support of the letter’s integrity); Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, pp. 119-26; O’Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 10-18; Wick, *Philipperbrief*, pp. 16-32; and Bormann, *Philippi*, pp. 87-118.

³Cook, ‘Stephanus Le Moyne’, pp. 138-42.

⁴Cook, ‘Stephanus Le Moyne’, p. 142.

angefochten worden, nämlich von Stephan le Moyne, *Varia sacra* 1685, II, 332. 343, der ihn in zwei Teile zerlegte.¹ V. Koperski has subsequently supported Cook's interpretation of the disputed passages in Le Moyne's *Varia Sacra* (pp. 332, 343), claiming to have sought the opinion of Jozef IJsewijn, Professor of Latin at the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium.² The relevant passages are part of a larger discussion by Le Moyne in which he attempts to explain Polycarp's use of the plural ἐπιστολάς in *Phil* 3:2. Le Moyne's view of Polycarp's plural is that (i) it may have been influenced by the Latin language ('qui *Epistolas & literas*, de unica tantum *Epistola & litera* solebant usurpare' [p. 332]), (ii) it may be a reference to both the Thessalonian and Philippian correspondence taken together (in view of their Macedonian origin), or (iii) the originally single letter to the Philipians may have been later divided into two works, which Polycarp subsequently (and mistakenly) spoke of in terms of the plural. In support of this third view, Le Moyne provides supposed examples of the dividing and uniting of ancient texts such as that of Ezekiel, the works of Josephus, and Ps 147 (pp. 332-42). Those who appeal to Le Moyne as the progenitor of the multiple-letter hypothesis typically refer to the beginning of his treatment of ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς,

unica tantum legitur *Epistola* scripta ab Apostolo Paulo ad Philippenses; & de variis ad illos scriptis, nulla apud quemquam extat memoria. Adeo ut per *Epistolas*, enallage quaedam numeri intelligenda sit; *Epistola* pro *Epistolis*. (p. 332)

and the conclusion,

Sic potest intelligi locus Polycarpi qui *Epistolas* Pauli ad Philippenses memorat, *non quod plures Epistolas ad Philippenses scripserit Apostolus, sed quod Epistola ad Philippenses in duas posset dividi, & revera divideretur & duae essent ad Philippenses Epistolae*, sicut duae erant *Epistolae* ad Corinthios, & duae ad Thessalonicenses, qui cum Philippensibus totius Graeciae ecclesias florentissimas constituebant. Saltem hoc mallet, quam cum Salmerone asserere, per *Epistolas* Pauli ad Philippenses de quibus Polycarpus, intelligendas *Epistolam* ad Philippenses & *Epistolas* ad Thessalonicenses, qui cum essent in Macedonia sicut Philippenses, *Epistolae* ad Thessalonicenses scriptae, jure censi possunt scriptae ad ipsos Philippenses. Utatur quisque arbitrio suo. Sed magis arridet prior conjectura. (emphasis mine, p. 343)

When put in the larger context of Le Moyne's discussion of Polycarp's *Phil* 3:2, it is clear that Le Moyne viewed the canonical Philipians as an originally single whole penned by Paul; however, he concludes that Polycarp may have known of multiple letters to the Philipians which had been separated out from this originally single letter. Thus, Le Moyne does posit a case in which there may have been multiple letters to the Philipians, but his view is the reverse of modern multiple-letter theories, viz. an originally single letter was divided into multiple works. His view was not that originally separate letters were combined into one work.

In spite of Cook's defaming detective work, the deconstruction of the Stephanus Le Moyne myth might mean little more to multiple-letter theorists than a later origin for the dissection of Philipians.³ In one sense, such a response would be correct, since the age of a theory often says nothing about its veracity, as the history of astronomy attests. However, it is difficult not to imagine that the scholarly attention and publications devoted to this issue would not have had as much impact as they did had not earlier scholars misunderstood Le Moyne and had not later scholars circulated this misunderstanding.

Who, then, first dissected Philipians into separate letters? This question is almost as difficult to sort through as the facts of the Le Moyne myth, since many early scholars cite others in support of a multiple-letter theory without providing titles and page numbers.

¹Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit*, p. 133.

²Koperski, 'History', p. 599 n. 4.

³Schenk ('Philipperbrief', p. 3281 n. 3), for example, just briefly mentions Cook's finding.

Nonetheless, the unambiguous evidence points to J. H. Heinrichs in 1803 (*Pauli Epistolae ad Philippenses et Colossenses graece*) as the first proponent of a multiple-letter theory.¹ He viewed 1:1-3:1 and 4:21-23 as being written to the broader Christian community at Philippi and 3:2-4:20 specifically to the community leaders.² After Heinrichs, the next multiple-letter theorist is H. E. G. Paulus, who in 1812 modified Heinrichs' partition by adding 4:10-23 to the first two chapters and proposing Phil 3:2-4:9 as the second letter. The key evidence for these early divisions was drawn from (i) the supposed change in mood at the beginning of chap. 3 and (ii) the view that whereas chaps. 1-2 were written to the entire church community, chaps. 3-4 (esp. 4:2ff.) were not. Another key factor in early partitions was occasioned by the pressing debates at that time over the authenticity of Philippians (and all of the Pauline letters). If a scholar located non-Pauline material in certain sections of the letter (e.g. Schrader and Völter),³ then one reasonable conclusion was to propose a partition theory of Pauline and non-Pauline fragments. Until the 1950s, a few other scholars adopted one of these partition theories or slightly modified them (see chart below), and yet one proponent of the multiple-letter theory, J. H. Michael, could still state in 1928 that 'the majority of scholars...see no necessity for postulating an interpolation at all'.⁴ The list of such scholars is not unimpressive: W. M. L. de Wette (1834), B. Weiss (1859),⁵ J. B. Lightfoot (1868), H. A. W. Meyer (1875), R. A. Lipsius (1892), E. Haupt (1897), M. R. Vincent (1897), H. A. A. Kennedy (1903), A. V. Heeren (1911), C. Toussaint (1912), J. Moffatt (1918), M. Jones (1918), W. Michaelis (1935), P. J. Huby (1935), M. Dibelius (1936), P. Bonnard (1950), G. Heinzelmann (1955), E. F. Scott (1955), E. Lohmeyer (1956), W. de Boor (1957), K. Barth (1962, translation of 1947 German edition).

This general consensus would change in the mid-1950s with a fivefold succession of studies advancing a three-letter theory: W. Schmithals (1957), J. Müller-Bardorff (1957-58), F. W. Beare (1959), P. Benoît (1959), and B. D. Rahtjen (1959-60). Although Schenk claims that these scholars came to their conclusions *unabhängig* of one another, at least Rahtjen was aware of the threefold partition of J. E. Symes already published in 1914. Even though Symes' portrait of five letters (two of which are now lost) to the Philippians—(i) 3:2-4:9, (ii) 4:10-20, (iii) 1:1-3:1 and 4:21-23—has garnered no support, it deserves recognition as probably one of the earliest three-part divisions.⁶ Nevertheless, the three-part divisions of the 1950s are those which have been typically supported to one degree or another in introductions, commentaries, and articles by an impressive supporting cast including H. Koester (1961, 1982), G. Bornkamm (1962), B. Rigaux (1962), R. H. Fuller (1966), J. Murphy-O'Connor (1966), W. Marxsen (1968, 1978), J. Fitzmyer (1968), P. Siber (1971), E. Lohse (1972), B. Wilke (1973), J.-F. Collange (1973), W. G. Doty (1973), N. Perrin (1974), P. Vielhauer (1975), N. Walter (1978), H. M. Schenke

¹Cf. de Wette, *Lehrbuch*, p. 233; Weiss, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 218; Meyer, *Handbuch*, p. 6; Schenk, 'Philippenerbrief', p. 3281 n. 3; and Koperski, 'History', p. 602.

²Heinrichs, *Pauli Epistolae*, pp. 38, 87.

³Doughty ('Citizens', pp. 102-22), despite approximately a century of general scholarly support of Pauline authorship, has renewed the debate over the authenticity of Phil 3.

⁴Michael, *Philippians*, xi.

⁵In the *Einleitung* of his commentary on Philippians, Weiss like others of his day primarily occupies himself with the debate over the letter's authorship rather than its literary integrity, though he was one of the early respondents to partition theories.

⁶In 1908 Ewald (*Brief*, esp. pp. 23-24, 27) had already pointed to 3:1-4:1 and 4:2ff. as supplements (*Nachträge*) added by Paul to the first part of his letter (1:1-2:23) perhaps because he had received new information about Philippi—the 'interruption theory'. He does not dispute the integrity of the letter, however, i.e. he does not suggest that separate letters were later redacted into their canonical form.

and K. M. Fischer (1978), G. Barth (1979), J. L. Blevins (1980), N. Perrin and D. Duling (1982), D. Patte (1983), W. Schenk (1984), C. J. Peifer (1985), R. Pesch (1985), B. Mayer (1987), P. Perkins (1987), D. Dormeyer (1989), B. Byrne (1990), P. Sellew (1994), D. J. Doughty¹ (1995), L. Bormann (1995). Some have decided to remain with a two-part division: G. Friedrich (1962), J. Gnilka (1968, but already sympathetic to a multiple-letter theory in 1965), L. Keck (1971), J. J. Gunther (1972), A. Suhl (1975), F. F. Bruce (1981, contrast his 1983 works), J. Becker (1989). Three-part divisions of Philippians often propose the following reconstruction: (i) letter A (at least 4:10-19), the *Dankschreiben*, which Paul wrote to the Philippians soon after receiving their gift from Epaphroditus; (ii) letter B (at least 1:1-2:30), the *Gefangenschaftsbrief*, which Paul later wrote in order to inform them about his well-being and that of Epaphroditus; and (iii) letter C (at least part of Phil 3), the *Kampfbrief*, which Paul wrote still later after hearing that outsiders were infiltrating the Philippian church with false teaching. However, as the chart of partition theories below reveals, this three-letter theory comes in many shapes and sizes. Despite the many scholars who adopted the views of the 'fabulous five' of the fifties, a substantive number of scholars still argue for or assume a single-letter position: B. S. Mackay (1960-61), G. Delling (1961), G. S. Duncan (1962), T. W. Manson (1962), G. R. Beasley-Murray (1962), V. P. Furnish (1962-63), D. Guthrie (1963), C. O. Buchanan (1964), E. Lohmeyer and W. Schmauch (1964), P. Feine, J. Behm, W. G. Kümmel (1965), T. E. Pollard (1966-67), A. F. J. Klijn (1967), C. Holladay (1969), C. H. Buck and G. Taylor (1969), P. Richardson (1969), J. L. Houlden (1970), R. Jewett (1970), W. G. Kümmel (1973), J. Ernst (1974), G. P. Wiles (1974), G. B. Caird (1976), R. P. Martin (1976), H. Gamble (1977), W. J. Dalton (1979), A. Lindemann (1979), D. Ezell (1980), J. B. Polhill (1980), B. Mengel (1982), R. Russell (1982), G. F. Hawthorne (1983), R. C. Swift (1984), A. B. Spencer (1984), D. E. Garland (1985), W. S. Kurz (1985), L. T. Johnson (1986), C. Mearns (1987), L. Portefaix (1988), D. F. Watson (1988), R. F. Hock (1988), D. E. Aune (1989), L. Alexander (1989), P. Rolland (1990), P. S. Minear (1990), R. T. Fortna (1990), L. M. White (1990), I. H. Marshall (1991), P. T. O'Brien (1991), J. Schoon-Janßen (1991), S. K. Stowers (1991), T. Wong (1992, though not decisive), M. Silva (1992), V. Koperski (1992), J. T. Fitzgerald (1992), D. A. Carson, D. J. Moo, L. Morris (1992), G. W. Peterman (1992), T. Geoffrion (1993), M. Tellbe (1994), P. Wick (1994), D. A. Black (1995), A. B. Luter and M. V. Lee (1995). Nevertheless, there is no firm scholarly consensus on the issue of integrity, if such a measurement is possible; however, the boundaries are clearly drawn, resulting in several significantly different readings of Philippians.

The 1985 publication of D. E. Garland's 'The Composition and Unity of Philippians: Some Neglected Literary Factors'—only a year later than Schenk's *Philippenerbriefe*—represents the beginning of a shift back towards stronger support of a single-letter perspective. Some of the most resolute voices have come from those studying the genre of Philippians, i.e. the macrostructure of the letter. Current scholarship on the genre of Philippians is moving primarily along two trajectories (with occasional overlap): (i) Philippians as a 'friendship' or 'family' letter (e.g. L. Alexander [1989]; L. M. White [1990]; S. K. Stowers [1991]; J. Schoon-Janßen [1991]; J. T. Fitzgerald [1992]) or (ii) Philippians as a 'rhetorical speech' (e.g. W. Schenk [1984]; D. F. Watson [1988]; T. C.

¹Doughty ('Citizens', pp. 102-22) is not concerned with the integrity issue per se, but argues that Phil 3:2-21 is a non-Pauline interpolation, based primarily on material in the text (e.g. the self-conception of the apostle, his Damascus experience, and his controversy with Judaism), which he believes Paul would not have written but instead reflects deutero-Pauline motifs and conceptions.

Geoffrion [1993]; B. Witherington [1994]; D. A. Black [1995])—but almost all claim that their classification of the genre supports a single-letter theory. The former approach often emphasises the multi-thematic nature of the letter, whereas the latter approach tends to suggest a central unifying theme. Perhaps these two positions will move closer together, as in L. G. Bloomquist's epistolary *and* rhetorical analysis *The Function of Suffering in Philippians* (1993),¹ or perhaps one trajectory will win out, but the point is that studies of the genre of Philippians are pointing to a unified letter. Somewhat different from these two macrostructural approaches is the 1994 work of P. Wick, *Der Philipperbrief*, who attempts to establish the unity of Philippians by arguing for a series of parallelisms (chiasm) in the letter based on an Old Testament literary background; yet Wick also sees both epistolary and rhetorical elements in Philippians. Along similar lines (though less detailed), the 1995 chiastic analysis of A. B. Luter and M. V. Lee attempts to establish not only the unity of the letter but its central theme (partnership in the gospel).² Despite these recent 'genre' approaches, the multiple-letter theory is in no way defunct. For example, in a 1993 article, J. Reumann, a leading contributor to scholarship on Philippians, assumes (albeit tentatively) a multiple-letter theory.³ Furthermore, W. Schenk's 1984 commentary on Philippians will probably remain a strong influence on future supporters of multiple-letter theories. Furthermore, Schenk's so-called 'textlinguistic' analysis has raised the question of method, which is sure to be a key area of the debate in years to come.⁴

TOPICAL SURVEY OF DEBATE

The above brief history of the debate provides a context for the following topical survey. Rather than rehearse every individual scholar's arguments, which often simply echo former arguments with little or no alteration, the following discussion is organised topically, listing key proponents of a view in the footnotes. Evidence and rebuttals against the literary integrity of Philippians are presented first, primarily because such arguments were raised earliest; then evidence and rebuttals for the integrity of the letter are presented. The two sides should be read in conjunction. The same numerical reference is assigned to 'pro and

¹Black ('Discourse Structure', p. 49) claims to treat Philippians as a 'hybrid letter in which the epistolary body contains a deliberative heart'; his epistolary analysis is superficial, however, and his approach is more characteristic of rhetorical readings of the letter (yet without strict adherence to the canons of rhetoric). He uses terms such as 'body opening' for 1:3-11 and 'body closing' for 4:10-20 and 'body proper' for 1:12-4:9 without justifying these terms from ancient epistolary practice ('Discourse Structure', p. 25); of course, he cannot justify them because, unlike his use of rhetorical categories, such labels were not used in ancient epistolary theory and practice to describe letter writing (see Appendix B). Accordingly, it is hard to take seriously his claim that he is doing a 'textlinguistic' structural analysis of the letter when he fails to define clearly the epistolary genre and formulas of the letter.

²Luter and Lee, 'Philippians', pp. 89-101.

³Reuman, 'Contributions', p. 439; see also his 'Philippians 3.20-21', p. 594.

⁴Combrink ('Response', pp. 135-46) and Voelz ('Some Things Old', pp. 161-69) criticise Schenk for employing a method that usually assumes the literary integrity of texts. On the one hand, it is true that discourse analysis typically has not been employed to answer questions of literary integrity; however, these critics show no awareness of the fact that theories of discourse analysis have been greatly influenced by psychological and linguistic studies of discourse 'incohesiveness' or 'incoherence' such as the study of aphasia and schizophrenia (sometimes referred to as 'discourse error analysis'). Such studies have greatly increased our understanding of 'coherent' discourse. I would criticise Schenk, however, in the way that he presents 'textlinguistics' as a more 'objective' method (*Philipperbriefe*, pp. 30-32) on the grounds that (i) it is not clear that his 'textlinguistic' model is representative of discourse analysis as a whole (e.g. his bibliography lacks many notable, especially English, works on discourse theory) and (ii) discourse analysts generally recognise that all linguistic analyses involve a certain element of subjectiveness (or intuition) and interpretation.

con' arguments dealing with a similar topic (although in some cases the relationship between the two is only slight).¹

THE TRANSITION TO CHAPTER THREE

The interpretative watershed of the debate over literary integrity has been and continues to be the beginning of Phil 3.

Multiple-letter theorists: There is a noticeable shift in tone and mood at the beginning of Phil 3 (either v 1b or v 2), which suggests that two separate letters have been joined artificially.² 'Auffallend ist...der thematische Neueinsatz und der gleichzeitige Stilbruch 3,2 nach 3,1 zu einem neuen konkreten Teil, der stark von Polemik bestimmt ist.'³ H. Holtzmann states more dramatically: 'Das Aufrauschen aller Wasser der Kritik an dieser Stelle lässt vermuten, dass hier eine Klippe verborgen ist.'⁴ (1) The mention of travel plans (2:19-30) signals the end of letter B.⁵ (2) τὸ λοιπόν, interpreted as an adverb 'finally', signals the end of the discourse.⁶ Schmithals maintains that 1 Thess 4:1 and 2 Thess 3:1 similarly belong to the conclusion of the letter.⁷ (3) χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ, interpreted as a farewell formula 'Farewell in the Lord' (cf. 2 Cor 13:11; Gal 6:17; 1 Thess 4:1), signals the end of a letter.⁸ Even if χαίρετε means 'rejoice', similar summons to joy appear at the end of other Pauline letters (2 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 5:16).⁹ (4) The language changes from 'rejoicing' to 'violent hysteria', resulting in a shift in tone and an incoherence of thought.¹⁰ Explanations that Paul had stopped writing and subsequently received new news resulting in a change in his psyche are hypothetical and unverifiable;¹¹ indeed, the first two chapters represent 'the model of a clear and definite epistle'.¹² (5) 4:4 appears to cohere more with 3:1 than does 3:2.¹³ This is exemplified in the shift in tone from 4:3 to 4:4, 'von der Polemik gegenüber den Juden zurück zur ruhigen Darlegung'.¹⁴ 4:1-3, a series of 'you-imperatives' logically follows 3:21 as reminders of all that was said in 3:2-21.¹⁵ In addition, 4:8-9 seems to fit together with the end of letter C, completing that letter with a closing epistolary 'desire for peace' (*Grundwunsch*) in 4:9b (cf. 4:19).¹⁶ (6) The fact that five independent researchers—Schmithals, Müller-Bardorff, Beare, Benoît, Rahtjen—proposed essentially the same partitions of the letter in the late 1950s would seem

¹Some categories (e.g. redaction) have not been dealt with by both sides, not because of lack of evidence but because of the nature of the issue; in such cases, counter-evidence may not exist.

²Schenk specifies this shift in terms of rhetorical categories. Letter A is a *genus deliberativum* ('Philipperbrief', p. 3282) and Letter C is a *genus iudiciale* (*Philipperbriefe*, p. 335).

³Schenk, 'Philipperbrief', p. 3282; cf. Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit*, p. 139.

⁴Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch*, p. 270.

⁵Schenk, 'Philipperbrief', pp. 3281-82.

⁶Schmithals, *Paul*, p. 71; Beare, *Philippians*, p. 100; Müller-Bardorff, 'Frage', p. 593.

⁷Schmithals, *Paul*, p. 71 n. 36.

⁸Goodspeed, *Introduction*, pp. 174-75; Beare, *Philippians*, pp. 145-46; Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 171. Schenk ('Philipperbrief', p. 3282) adds that the combination of τὸ λοιπόν, the vocative, and the imperative normally introduces the closing admonitions of a letter.

⁹Schenk, *Philipperbriefe*, p. 242.

¹⁰Lake, 'Critical Problems', p. 485; Goodspeed, *Introduction*, p. 90; Houlden, *Letters*, p. 41.

¹¹Schmithals, *Paul*, pp. 68-69, 71-72; Schenk, 'Philipperbrief', p. 3282.

¹²Schmithals, *Paul*, p. 72.

¹³Schmithals, *Paul*, pp. 72-73; Müller-Bardorff, 'Frage', p. 593.

¹⁴Schenk, 'Philipperbrief', pp. 3282-83. The similarity between 3:1 and 4:4 as well as the epistolary closing formula in 4:7 lead Schenk to believe that they are part of the same letter (1:1-3:1, 4:4-7): 'eine spätere Hand beide Verse auseinandergerissen hat' (p. 3283); cf. Schmithals, *Paulus*, p. 52.

¹⁵Schenk, *Philipperbriefe*, pp. 256-59.

¹⁶Schenk, 'Philipperbrief', p. 3283.

to strengthen the theory's likelihood.¹ (7) Paul's personal situation in chaps. 1-2, 4 has changed from that of chap. 3.² Paul's imprisonment, an important part of chaps. 1-2 and 4, is not mentioned in chap. 3. (8) Paul's attitude about the opponents as seen in chaps. 1-2 (1:15, 17, 28; 2:15) is different from that of the third chapter. In more general terms, the troubling situation at Philippi has grown significantly worse from the first two chapters to the third, suggesting that the latter comprises a distinct letter (C) written after the former letter (B) because Paul had received new information about the Philipians. In 1:28 and 2:15 the opponents are described in a vague manner, whereas they are clearly defined in chap. 3.³ Paul's cautious attitude in 1:27-2:18 regarding the problems at Philippi do not fit into the same context as his 'passionate agitation' in chap. 3.⁴ The polemical tone of chap. 3 may be understood as an individually separate text intended to be read as a rhetorical speech of the 'judicial' species.⁵ (9) Phil 3:1-4:9 is 'Paul's farewell to the Philipians' and thus must have been written after 1:1-2:30.⁶ Other indicators that Paul is facing the end of his life in this section include *χαίρετε* ('farewell') in 4:4, the statement *ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς* in 4:5, and the hint in 4:1 that 'Philippi is beyond his reach'.⁷ (10) The 'briefliche Selbstreflexionen' in both Phil 3:1 and 4:4 are 'Kennzeichen des Briefschlusses' and their similarity suggests they were originally in closer proximity.⁸ (11) Phil 3:1b is the only place in the text where Paul speaks of his 'writing' (*γράφω*), as he does in other closing sections of his letters (Gal 6:11; 1 Cor 4:15 [which ends a separate letter]; Phlm 19, 21), whereas the use of *λέγω* in Phil 3:18 suggests that the whole of letter C was intended to be read aloud.⁹ (12) The characteristic use of first person plural language in letter C to associate Paul with the Philipians as well as the antithesis between the 'we' and the 'many' in 3:18-19 and those in 3:2 suggest that this section of the letter is its own coherent, originally separate unit.¹⁰ (13) The polemical teachings in Phil 3:2-21 are uncharacteristic of Paul's authentic letters but instead represent deutero-Pauline motifs and conceptions (e.g. salvation is a human achievement which humans can attain); thus, it must be an interpolation.¹¹

Single-letter theorists: A shift in tone does not imply that a redactor has combined two originally separate letters. In response, the change is only momentary: 'Indeed, the attack on "the enemies of the cross" is renewed in vv. 18, 19, the intervening verses do not maintain this aggressive tone; they are consonant with the tone of the preceding chapters.'¹² (1) Paul may speak of his co-workers and travel plans in the body of his letters, as in 1 Cor 4:14-21, Gal 4:12-20, and 1 Thess 2:17-3:13.¹³ (2) τὸ λοιπὸν may

¹Schenk, 'Philippbrief', p. 3281.

²Bornkamm, 'Philippbrief', p. 197; Gnllka, *Philippbrief*, pp. 9, 13.

³Müller-Bardoff, 'Frage', p. 591; Bornkamm, 'Philippbrief', pp. 197-98.

⁴Schmithals, *Paul*, pp. 74-75. Schmithals (*Paul*, pp. 74-75 n. 45) argues that the opponents mentioned in Phil 1:15-17 (i.e. those who preach out of envy and strife) are in Philippi. In this letter (B) Paul could still speak of them in slightly positive terms (viz. they at least proclaim the Gospel of Christ). However, in Letter C (after receiving new information about them) he has no such praise for them, identifying them as 'dogs'.

⁵Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, pp. 277-80.

⁶Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 164.

⁷Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 164.

⁸Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, pp. 242-43.

⁹Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, p. 253.

¹⁰Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, pp. 254-56.

¹¹Doughty, 'Citizens', pp. 102-22.

¹²Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 163; cf. Ball, 'Philipians', p. 152.

¹³Culpepper, 'Co-workers', p. 350.

function as a transitional particle in the sense of 'moreover, and so, for the rest'.¹ In this way it indicates that Phil 3 is the next in a series of Paul's discussions. (3) χαίρετε, when used with ἐν κυρίῳ, can only mean 'rejoice' here (so 1 Thess 5:16) and not 'farewell' (cf. Phil 2:19 and 4:4).² Furthermore, χαίρετε is not an epistolary closing; rather something such as ἔρρωσθε would be expected. In addition, the Pauline letters, except for 2 Cor 13:11 (τὸ λοιπὸν...χαίρετε) all close with a χάρις formula (1 Cor 16:23; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; 1 Thess 4:28; Phlm 25; cf. Eph 6:24; Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:18).³ Lastly, the appeal to the use of summons to joy in 2 Cor 13:11 and 1 Thess 5:16 in support of viewing 3:1 as the end of a letter (i) assumes a rigid Pauline letter structure and (ii) fails to note that joy expressions are not exclusive to the end of Paul's letters, including Philipians (2:17).⁴ (4) In an informal, friendly, 'personal' letter like Philipians, one might expect sudden shifts in tone.⁵ Shifts in tone occur in Rom 16:17-20, 1 Cor 15:58, Gal 3:1 and 4:21, and yet no multiple-letter theories are based on them.⁶ Paul (or his secretary) may have stopped writing and started later at 3:1-2, perhaps receiving news about the problems at Philippi during the intervening time.⁷ Furthermore, there are many semantic parallels between chaps. 2 and 3 which would suggest their unity: humility and self-sacrifice (2:2, 7; 3:3, 8, 12-15); acceptance of suffering (1:29; 2:17; 3:10); growth in the Christian life (2:12-14; 3:12-16); joyful confidence in the congregation (2:2; 4:1); correct mental attitude (1:7; 2:2, 3, 5); 3:15, 19; 4:2, 10).⁸ This parallelism is especially true between the so-called 'Christ-hymn' (2:6-11) and another possible hymn in 3:20-21.⁹ Finally, the view that the shift in tone at chap. 3 demands a multiple-letter theory is subjective and artificial.¹⁰ (5) The twofold use of 'rejoice' in 3:1 and 4:4 suggests literary framing rather than clumsy editing.¹¹ (6) The fact that there is little consensus on where the interpolation begins (3:1,

¹Jannaris, 'Misreadings', pp. 429-31; Meecham, 'Meaning', pp. 331-32; Cavallin, 'λοιπὸν', pp. 121-44; Garland, 'Composition', p. 149.

²Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', p. 97; cf. Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 167.

³Garland, 'Composition', p. 150.

⁴Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', p. 344.

⁵Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 100; Vincent, *Epistles*, p. xxxii; Dibelius, *Fresh Approach*, pp. 166-67; Jülicher, *Introduction*, pp. 118-19; Delling, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 335; Hawthorne, *Philipians*, p. xxxi; contrast Garland, 'Composition', p. 147.

⁶Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 163; Kümmel, *Einleitung*, p. 293.

⁷Lightfoot, *Philipians*, pp. 69-70, 143; Michaelis, *Brief*, p. 6; Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 173; Jones, *Philipians*, pp. xlv-xlvi; Pollard, 'Integrity', p. 61; Dalton, 'Integrity', p. 98. Strange ('Diktierpausen', pp. 109-17), who argues that Paul's individual letters were probably not dictated in one sitting (estimating 2.5 hours to write Philipians), suggests that the beginning of Phil 3 is perhaps a case of resuming a pause in dictation. Mengel (*Studien*, esp. pp. 314-16), who holds a single-letter view, reconstructs the historical situation of Philipians with two interruptions in the discourse: (i) 1:1-2:24, which Paul composed immediately after the arrival of Epaphroditus and was interrupted due to Epaphroditus' illness; (ii) 2:25-3:1, which Paul wrote upon Epaphroditus' recovery; (iii) upon hearing news about false-teachers in Philippi Paul finally takes up his pen again in 3:2ff to refute these—to this he attaches final warnings and closing greetings.

⁸Jones, *Philipians*, pp. xlvii-xlviii; Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 168; Pollard, 'Integrity', p. 65; Jewett, 'Epistolary Thanksgiving', pp. 51-53; Dalton, 'Integrity', pp. 99-101; Garland, 'Composition', pp. 157-58.

⁹Dalton, 'Integrity', pp. 99-100; Hooker, 'Phil 2:6-11', pp. 155-57; Culpepper, 'Co-workers', pp. 350-51; Hawthorne, *Philipians*, p. xxxi; Garland, 'Composition', pp. 158-59; and Minear, 'Singing', pp. 205-18; however, Reumann ('Philipians 3:20-21', p. 603) notes that some have maintained a multiple-letter theory despite finding hymnic material in 3:20-21. Fowl (*Story*, p. 78 n. 1), for example, makes a cogent argument that 2:6-11 serves to support Paul's argument against the opponents in 3:1ff, yet he states that his reading is not dependent upon the integrity debate.

¹⁰Dalton, 'Integrity', p. 98.

¹¹Johnson, *Writings*, p. 339.

3:1b, or 3:2) raises questions about the credibility of the theories.¹ (7) The lack of mention of Paul's imprisonment would be unnecessary in chap. 3 if it had already been mentioned in chap. 1. (See under number four for other possible explanations of the change in situation.) (8) This view assumes that the opponents described in 1:28 and 2:15 and those in chap. 3 are the same. If they are different, then we might expect different descriptions of them in the letter.² Furthermore, one rhetorical analysis reveals that this section fits naturally into the entire discourse.³ (9) The so-called 'testament of a dying father to his children' pattern can be seen in 1:12-2:18, which would then suggest that chap. 3 and chaps. 1-2 were not written at different times.⁴ Secondly, eschatological references appear throughout the letter: 1:10; 3:20, 21; 4:5.⁵ (10) Although Phil 3:1 may be viewed as a *Selbstreflexion*, such expressions do not necessarily occur at the end of a letter (cf. 2:18).⁶ Indeed, hesitation formulas (3:1b) are not limited to the closing sections of letters (see chap. 4 below on Epistolary Hesitation Formulas). (11) *γράφω* expressions are not limited to the end of Paul's letters (or any other): e.g. 1 Cor 9:15; 14:37; 2 Cor 1:13; 9:1; Gal 1:20; 1 Thess 4:9.⁷ Furthermore, *λέγω* is used in Phil 4:11 where it most likely does not reflect an oral address; hence, its use in Phil 3:18 is less than definitive evidence for a rhetorical understanding of Phil 3. (12) The use of the first person plural is overstated; indeed, Paul can use other language to associate himself with the Philipians (1:5, 30; 4:3, 14-15). Secondly, antithesis exists not only in 3:2 and 3:21 but also in 1:28 and 2:21-22.⁸ (13) To claim that a portion of the letter must be deuter-Pauline (and hence an interpolation) because it contrasts with or is not found in the accepted Pauline letters begs the question of Pauline coherence. Paul's views could have changed over time.⁹ Doughty's thesis that the opponents in Phil 3:2-21 are merely polemical characterisations created by a deuter-Pauline community, while possible, is no more provable than the several attempts to identify real opponents infiltrating Paul's church; if there are real opponents underlying the text, then Paul's sometimes atypical statements (e.g. emphasis on human achievement, though balanced by the work of Christ [3:12 *κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*]) may simply have been occasioned by the opponents' particular ideologies.

THANK YOU NOTE: PHIL 4:10-20

Multiple-letter theorists: As in the beginning of Phil 3, there is also a change in tone and circumstances beginning at 4:10. (1) An unusually long interval of time has transpired (in view of the probably lengthy illness of Epaphroditus) from the time of Paul's receiving the Philipians' aid (via Epaphroditus) and the time of his response in 4:10-20. This is especially strange since Paul has apparently communicated with them from the time of the arrival of Epaphroditus and the writing of letter B (so 2:26).¹⁰ The use of 'historic' aorists

¹Garland, 'Composition', pp. 154-55.

²O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 14; cf. Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 99 of the *Einleitung*; Michaelis, *Brief*, p. 6.

³Watson, 'Rhetorical Analysis', pp. 72-76.

⁴Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', pp. 166-67.

⁵Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 167.

⁶Cf. Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', p. 344.

⁷Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', p. 347.

⁸Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', pp. 348-50.

⁹See e.g. Fortna, 'Philippians', pp. 220-34, who argues that Paul's emphasis on human achievement reflects an undeveloped (earlier) Pauline theology, and yet Fortna still holds to a single-letter theory. Doughty could have made his same point but instead concluded that the Paul of Phil 3 is not the Paul we find in the other accepted Pauline letters.

¹⁰Schmithals, *Paul*, p. 78; Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 175; Beare, *Philippians*, p. 4; Bornkamm, 'Philipperbrief', p. 196; Marxsen, *Einleitung*, p. 71; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, p. 161.

in 2:25-30 reveals that Paul had, at the time of writing, sent Epaphroditus back to Philippi, again pointing to an inordinate length of time before Paul wrote his thank you (if it were actually part of the canonical Philippians).¹ (2) It is unusually strange that Paul would wait until the end of his letter to thank the Philippians for their aid.² (3) If 4:10-20 is a separate letter and has already been sent before letter B, this explains the unofficial nature of the allusions to the aid in 1:3-11 and 2:25-30.³ (4) The dual benediction in 4:20 may point to a redaction. (5) ... (6) ... (7) The thank you note has a form of an epistolary opening similar to that of Philemon, in which expressions of 'joy' appear at the beginning of letters.⁴ In addition, the epistolary closing in 4:19 resembles that of 4:7 and 4:9b, suggesting that this section is part of a different letter.⁵ (8) The evidence for a subscription in Philippians is indeterminate; besides, a subscription of such a length (either beginning at 3:1 or 4:10) would be uncharacteristic of Paul's other letters.⁶

Single-letter theorists: 4:10-20 naturally fits into the whole of the letter. (1) Firstly, there is no indication in 2:25-30 of the length of Epaphroditus' sickness (the aorists are 'epistolary' aorists).⁷ It is just as possible that Epaphroditus became ill on the way to see Paul and that he nearly died trying to complete the mission; he may have already recovered by the time he arrived; secondly, nothing indicates that Epaphroditus was going to stay and assist Paul in his imprisonment; rather, the terms *χρεία*, *δόμα*, and *λειτουργία* only refer to the gift of money which Epaphroditus was going to deliver before returning to Philippi.⁸ Thirdly, nothing indicates that Paul and the Philippians have communicated regularly; indeed, 2:20-23 suggests that Paul was having trouble finding someone to send to Philippi.⁹ Finally, the delay can be attributed to Paul's inability to find a letter carrier.¹⁰ (2) Paul's primary purpose for writing is not to thank them for the gift, but to deal with dissension.¹¹ Paul had many purposes for writing (e.g. to inform them about his situation; to explain Epaphroditus' situation; to exhort them to unity and steadfastness). Even if a thank you was his primary reason for writing, 1 Corinthians is an example of letter with a primary purpose—viz. the collection for the saints—which is mentioned only in the very last chapter.¹² Secondly, Paul's thank you demonstrates his uneasiness over receiving financial support, perhaps explaining why he does not formally thank the Philippians until the end (cf. 1 Cor 9:15-18; 2 Cor 11:7-10; 12:14; 1 Thess 2:5-12; 2 Thess 3:7-12; Acts 20:33-35).¹³ Thirdly, Paul *does* informally thank them early in the letter at 1:3, 5 and 2:25-30.¹⁴ (3) The allusions to aid in 1:3-11 and 2:25-30 are not necessarily 'unofficial'

¹Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', pp. 169-170, 173.

²Michael, 'First and Second Epistles', p. 107; Collange, *Philippians*, p. 5.

³Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', pp. 169-70.

⁴Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, pp. 57-61. The similar argument of White ('Introductory Formulae', p. 95) is based on epistolary evidence, rather than solely on a Pauline letter structure.

⁵Schenk, 'Philippenerbrief', p. 3283.

⁶Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 273.

⁷Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', pp. 165-66.

⁸Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 169; Buchanan, 'Epaphroditus' Sickness', pp. 159-60; Garland, 'Composition', p. 151.

⁹Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 169; Garland, 'Composition', p. 151.

¹⁰Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 169. The author of P.Oxy. 6.935.16-18 (III CE) recognises that the receipt of future letters are dependent upon the ability to find a letter carrier: *διὸ γ[ράφ]ω σοι ὅπως δι' ο[ἱ]ῦ ἐάν [ἔχης] δι<ά> ἄρα γράφ[ης]*. If Paul's imprisonment was in Rome or Caesarea, the difficulty of finding a letter carrier, especially one whom Paul could trust with his documents, would be exacerbated.

¹¹Gnilka, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 12; Garland, 'Composition', p. 153.

¹²Jones, 'Integrity', p. 467.

¹³Hawthorne, *Philippians*, pp. 194-95; Garland, 'Composition', p. 153.

¹⁴Martin, *Philippians*, pp. 63-64.

but could simply be initial references to the gift that Paul specifically mentions in 4:10-20. (4) 1 Thess 5:23-29 (cf. 2 Thess 3:16-17) parallels the benediction in Phil 4:20.¹ (5) Gal 6:10-11 and Col 4:6-7 parallel the break at Phil 4:9-10.² (6) It is improbable that Paul would write a separate thank you note consisting of 4:10-20 (as partition theorists claim) without explaining his personal situation which had occasioned the sending of aid.³ (7) Firstly, 'joy' expressions are typically used in brief letters where by nature they would appear towards the beginning of the letter; therefore, it is difficult to compare them to Paul's more lengthy letter. Secondly, some 'joy' expressions do *not* occur at the beginning of a letter (see the discussion of 4:10-20 in chap. 4 below); thus, it is not obligatory for 'joy' expressions to appear at the beginning of a letter. Indeed, Paul's use of such an expression at the end of the letter would correspond well with the 'maintenance of contact' function of the closing section of letters (see Appendix B). (8) Paul's own subscription begins at 3:1, thus explaining (i) why such a highly personal matter as a 'thank you' would only appear at the end and (ii) the change in mood at the beginning of Phil 3.⁴ Or, Paul's autograph may begin at 4:10, which parallels similar autographic certifications found in commercial receipts.⁵

OTHER INTERNAL EVIDENCE

Multiple-letter theorists: Various other textual signals suggest a multiple-letter theory and help guide a reconstruction of the original letters. (1) Lexical parallels do not necessarily prove the letter's integrity.⁶ For example, there are many lexical parallels between 1 and 2 Thessalonians. Not all supposed lexical parallels are as clear as is maintained: e.g. Pollard's connection of 2:5-11 with 3:4-11 is an 'artificial construal'.⁷ (2) An expectation of the parousia appears in Phil 4:5 ὁ κύριος ἔγγυς; it may be compared to the maranatha formula in 1 Cor 16:22 which appears at the end of the letter.⁸ (3) An element of the epistolary closing is found in the expression ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ (Phil 4:7; cf. 4:9; 1 Thess 5:23; Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; Gal 6:16), which suggests that this is the close of another letter (probably letter B).⁹ (4) The placement of the travelogue (2:19-30) occurs at the end of letter B; this is the proper location for concrete statements about persons: '...4,2f. ebenso brief-abschließende, konkret personen-bezogene Bemerkungen auftauchen wie 2,19-30 und dann in Gestalt von Grüßen 4,21f. ein drittes Mal'.¹⁰ (5) Paraenesis, according to the Pauline letter structure, should appear before the closing, but in Philipians the thank you note has been inserted between the paraenesis and closing. (6) γνήστε σύζυγε in Phil 4:3 probably refers to Timothy, who at the time of 1:1-2:23 was with Paul at his place of imprisonment; thus, 4:3 indicates that Timothy was at Philippi and Paul's statement must have been written at a later time.¹¹

Single-letter theorists: Lexical and thematic parallels found throughout the letter point to its unity: '...dans son état actuel, l'Épître est structurée de manière très unifiée.

¹Garland, 'Composition', p. 147 n.22.

²Garland, 'Composition', p. 147 n.22.

³Garland, 'Composition', p. 152.

⁴Bahr, 'Subscriptions', p. 38.

⁵Gamble, *History*, p. 146.

⁶Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 335.

⁷Schmithals, *Paul*, p. 81 n. 59.

⁸Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 244.

⁹Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 244.

¹⁰Schenk, 'Philippenerbrief', p. 3283.

¹¹Rahitjen, 'Three Letters', p. 171.

L'hypothèse de la compilation devient alors extrêmement problématique'.¹ (1) Lexical parallels appearing throughout the disputed sections of the letter include: χαίρω (1:18; 2:2, 17, 18; 3:1; 4:1, 10), κέρδος (1:21; 3:7); καρπός (1:22; 4:17); περισσεύω (1:26; 4:12, 18); πολιτευ- (1:27; 3:20); ἀπώλεια (1:28; 3:19); σωτηρία (1:28; 3:20); κοινωνία (2:1; 3:10; 4:14, 15); φρονέω (2:2, 5; 3:15, 19; 4:10); σκοπέω (2:4; 3:17); ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (2:5; 3:13, 14); μορφή (2:6, 7; 3:10, 20); ἡγέομαι (2:6; 3:7); ὑπάρχω (2:6; 3:20); σχῆμα (2:7; 3:21); εὕρισκω (2:7; 3:9); θάνατος (2:8; 3:10); σταυρός (2:8; 3:10); ταπεινῶ (2:3; 3:21; 4:21); ἐπουράνιοι (2:8; 3:20); ἐπίγειον (2:18; 3:19); δόξα (2:11; 3:19, 20); κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (2:11; 3:8, 20); θυσία (2:17; 4:18); συναθλέω (1:27; 4:3); στήκω (1:27; 4:1); ἐκκοθ- (1:8; 2:26; 4:1).² Thematic parallels include: call to unity (1:27-28; 2:2; 3:16); adversaries (1:28; 2:1-4; 3:2); sufferings (1:29-30; 3:10); exhortation to imitate (1:30; 2:11; 3:17); humility (2:1-11; 3:1-11); emptying (2:5-11; 3:10); glorification (2:10-11; 3:11); progress in Christian life (2:12-18; 3:12-13); race motif (2:16; 3:12-16).³ The use of a 'steadfastness' theme (in terms of a political/military concept of citizens/soldiers working together) pervades the letter.⁴ The epistolary structure of Philippians, in terms of both its familiar and friendship nature, argues in favour of its literary integrity (see chap. 4 below for proponents). The thematic foreshadowing of the thanksgiving formula also argues in favour of its unity.⁵ The closing of the letter (4:8-23) summarises various themes from preceding portions of the letter (proper moral conduct; imitation; reaffirmation of Paul's authoritative status; joy/rejoicing; fellowship; correct mental attitude; suffering; humility).⁶ (2) In 1 Thessalonians, references to the parousia are present in 3:13; 4:13-18; 5:1-8, 23, thus demonstrating that a rigid Pauline rule does not exist.⁷ Eschatological references appear throughout the letter: Phil 1:10; 3:20, 21; 4:5.⁸ Furthermore, the phrase may not have a temporal meaning but a spatial one (e.g. 'the Lord is near in presence'),⁹ especially in the light of the possible allusion in 4:5-6 to Ps 145:18 where a spatial meaning seems to be in effect ('The Lord is near to all who call on him.'). (3) Firstly, if chap. 16 of Romans is part of the original letter, then the 'peace' wish of Rom 15:33 falls a considerable distance away from the end of the letter. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Rom 15:13 ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρώσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν, which is also a form of the 'peace' wish (e.g. it uses the optative), is not at the end of the letter. Thirdly, the 'peace' wish is, precisely speaking, not Paul's chosen closing formula (ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν); thus, the 'peace' wish would not have been restricted to the actual end of the letter. Regardless, its presence in Philippians is not far removed from the end of the letter. In sum, not every 'peace' expression in Paul is precisely limited to the end of the letter.¹⁰ (4) The travelogue need not appear at the end of Paul's letters (1 Cor 4:14-21; Gal 4:12-20; 1 Thess 2:17-3:13).¹¹ Epistolary literature does not follow a rule whereby mention of

¹Rolland, 'La structure', p. 213.

²Rolland, 'La structure', pp. 213-16; Jewett, 'Thanksgiving', p. 52; Bloomquist, *Function*, pp. 102-103; Garland, 'Composition', pp. 160-62.

³Jewett, 'Thanksgiving', pp. 49-52; Culpepper, 'Co-Workers', pp. 350-51; Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 103.

⁴Geoffrion, *Purpose*, esp. pp. 159-217, 224-27.

⁵Jewett, 'Thanksgiving', p. 53; O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 16; Black, 'Discourse Structure', pp. 27-30.

⁶Weima, *Endings*, pp. 194-201.

⁷Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', p. 345.

⁸Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 167.

⁹For the spatial interpretation see Chambers, 'Ο Κύριος ἐγγύς', pp. 108-110.

¹⁰Koperski, 'Textlinguistics', p. 345; Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 65-68.

¹¹Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 210.

specific individuals only occurs at the end of letters. (5) If paraenesis is defined broadly as 'moral exhortation', then one is hard-pressed to limit such material to the immediate end of Paul's letters (esp. in Philippians itself, e.g. 1:27-30; 2:1-5, 12-18; 3:15-17). (6) The suggestion that σύζυγε in 4:3 refers to Timothy is mere conjecture: 'A reference to someone who belongs to Philippi itself is more probable...because Timothy is normally mentioned by name when Paul refers to him.'¹

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Multiple-letter theorists: External evidence supports a multiple-letter theory.²

(1) Polycarp is aware of at least two letters of Paul to the Philippians.³ Polycarp uses the plural ἐπιστολάς in reference to Paul's multiple letters to the Philippians (*Phil.* 3:2: ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς, followed by the plural relative pronoun ἃς). He clearly distinguishes between the singular and plural forms in 13:2 τὰς ἐπιστολάς...τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ (cf. 1 Clem 47:1; Ignatius *Eph.* 3:2; *Pol.* 8:1; *Smyrn.* 11:3), so this must be treated as a real plural as well.⁴ (2) Georgius Syncellus (c. VIII-IX CE) mentions a first letter to the Philippians (τούτου καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους μέμνηται πρώτη ἐπιστολῇ), implying the existence of other letters.⁵ (3) The Syriac *Catalogus Sinaiticus* (c. 400 CE) mentions two letters to the Philippians.⁶ (4) The author of the second century letter to the *Laodiceans* (known only in Latin), who closely follows the structure of Philippians in composing his discourse, had access to a copy of Paul's letter which lacked at least 3:2-4:1 as well as 4:10-20.⁷

Single-letter theorists: External evidence is in favour of a single-letter theory, since 'Philippians appears in all the Canons of Scripture during the second century: in the lists of the heretic Marcion and of the Muratorian fragment, as well as in the Old Latin and Peshito Syriac versions'.⁸ Other external evidence is inconclusive. (1) The term for 'letters' may have been used by Polycarp with a collective meaning of 'injunctions' (but of one letter); thus, Polycarp need not be referring to more than one letter.⁹ Perhaps Polycarp has in view both the Thessalonian and Philippian correspondence, both being sent to Macedonian churches.¹⁰ Polycarp may have used the plural because of Paul's mention of previous gifts in 4:16.¹¹ Even if it is a 'real plural' it does not prove a multiple-letter theory;¹² it only demonstrates that Polycarp knew of a plural number of letters written from Paul to the Philippians.¹³ These other letters may be lost to us now, just as the supposed third letter to the Corinthians may now be lost (2 Cor 2:4; 7:8). Furthermore, if Polycarp knew of

¹Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 167.

²For a recent advocate of the support from external evidence see Sellev, 'Laodiceans', pp. 21-28.

³Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit*, p. 134.

⁴Zahn, *Einleitung*, p. 401; Schmithals, *Paulus*, p. 58 n. 58; Schenk, 'Philippenerbrief', p. 3284.

⁵Syncellus, *Chronographia*, p. 651; cf. Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 168; Sellev, 'Laodiceans', p. 26.

⁶Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 168.

⁷Sellev, 'Laodiceans', pp. 17-28.

⁸Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 76.

⁹Lightfoot (*Philippians*, pp. 141-42) discusses Thucydides 8.51, Josephus *AJ* 12.4.10, and Alciphron 2.4; cf. Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 97 of the *Einleitung*.

¹⁰Zahn, *Introduction*, p. 536; Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 97 of the *Einleitung*; Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 174; Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 162. Cf. Schweizer, 'zweite Thessalonicherbrief', pp. 90-105, who suggests that 2 Thessalonians was originally addressed to the Philippians; rebutted by Michaelis, 'zweite Thessalonicherbrief', pp. 182-86.

¹¹Garland, 'Composition', p. 154.

¹²Kümmel, *Einleitung*, pp. 48, 293.

¹³Jones, 'Integrity', p. 466; Bonnard, *Philippiens*, p. 9.

several distinct letters, why is Marcion, a close contemporary of Polycarp, not aware of them?¹ (2) Perhaps a 'superfluous α crept into the text and was afterwards written out in full πρῶτη'.² Syncellus' mention of the first letter to the Philippians is more likely a mistaken historical claim on the part of the author, as is true of several of his other citations of NT history.³ (3) The mention of two letters to the Philippians in *Catalogus Sinaiticus* is probably a case of dittography and parablepsia, being of dubious historical value.⁴ (4) The compiler of the spurious letter to the *Laodiceans*,⁵ as Sellew admits, omitted several sections from the so-called letter B of Philippians (1:1; 1:3-11; 1:14-17; 1:22-2:1; 2:3-11; 2:15-30), giving less credence to Sellew's conclusion that omissions from the so-called letters A and C point to the compiler's dependence upon a different text (the original letter?) than that represented in the canonical Philippians.⁶ The compiler's selectivity allows for the view that the compiler knew of the canonical form of Philippians but only chose from parts of it; indeed, the unambiguous parallels between the two texts are not manifold in number (Phil 1:2 [though this could be from Gal 1:3], 3 [though thanks is given to Christ rather than God], 13 and/or 18, 19-20, 21; 2:2, 12, 13; 4:6, 8, 9, 22, 23), making it difficult to create a *Vorlage* from them. Furthermore, Sellew too quickly dismisses the phrase *et praecavete sordidos in lucro* in *Laod.* 13 (which Lightfoot suggests was βλέπετε δὲ τοὺς αἰσχροκερδεῖς in the Greek version)⁷ as a reference to Phil 3:2 (and possibly echoing κερδ- in 3:7, 8 [*in lucro*] and αἰσχύνη in 3:19 [*sordidos*]),⁸ especially since it immediately follows the unmistakable reference to 'rejoice in the Lord' of Phil 3:1a. If this is a reference to 3:2 (and other parts of Phil 3), then the compiler was at least aware of the first part of letter C.

REASONS FOR REDACTION

Multiple-letter theorists: The redactor(s) may have had several reasons for constructing the letter as it now exists. (1) The compilation of epistolary fragments could have been largely accidental, being composed piece by piece as the church collected the various essential letters and omitted others.⁹ (2) The redactor(s) may have been motivated by prestige, i.e. the need to create a more theologically profound Pauline letter than the original brief letters. The order of the fragments can be explained thus: (i) because of the flattering remarks made about them and the general literary excellence of the letter, 1:1-2:30 was added before 3:1; (ii) then, as a final boast, Paul's complementary thank you was added to the end; and (iii) finally, the doxology, originally at the end of 1:1-2:30, was attached.¹⁰ (3) 'The combining of two or more letters to save writing materials was a common practice

¹Jones, 'Integrity', p. 466.

²Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 142 n. 2.

³Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 162, who mentions Anno Mundi 5540 and 5553 as examples of Syncellus' unreliable work.

⁴Souter and Williams, *Text*, p. 209—the relevant section of the catalogue reads Of the Ephesians, 318 lines...[Of the Philippians, 318 lines]...Of the Philippians, 235 lines. Cf. Mackay, p. 161.

⁵On the problematics of dating this forgery see Schneemelcher, 'Epistle', pp. 129-31.

⁶Sellew does not mention the possibility that the compiler is working from memory rather than a text, which might explain the hardly organised structure of his discourse. Indeed, this would seem to account for the apparent conflation of elements from Phil 2:14 'do without' and 3:1 'not hesitatingly' into *Laod.* 12 *et facite sine retractu quaecumque facitis*.

⁷Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 294.

⁸The translations of βλέπω in *Laod.* 13 in the Vulgate *videte* ('look') and Latin version *praecavete* ('beware') simply reflect two possible meanings of the Greek verb (see chap. 4 on Hesitation Formulas).

⁹Lake, 'Critical Problems', p. 488.

¹⁰Rahjien, 'Three Letters', p. 273.

in that period.¹ (4) By beginning and ending the final letter with 'positive' letters, the redactor leaves an impression of Paul's *successful* ministry at Philippi as well as his cordial friendship with the Philippians.² (5) The redactor's situation may have necessitated a new composition because Paul's original letters were no longer relevant.³ The thank-you note would have been attached at the end to demonstrate the church's victory over heresy. (6) It cannot be assumed that Paul included a thanksgiving in letters A and C, especially in the light of their absence from 2 Corinthians and Galatians. Therefore, the redactor need have only excised the prescripts, subscriptions, and Pauline closing from the other letters.

Single-letter theorists: It is unlikely that a redactor would have created the text of Philippians as it now exists. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a *Sitz im Leben* which would account for the redaction as it now stands.⁴ (1) ... (2) ... (3) ... (5) The original texts would not have been mutilated if they were considered sacred.⁵ (6) Why would a redactor excise the epistolary openings and closings of the original letters, since these typically play a vital role in the Pauline letter?⁶ Furthermore, the ancient practice of editing letters usually only involved excising the prescript and subscript.⁷ In the case of Philippians, it must be argued that Paul's thanksgivings have been removed from letters A and C.

PARTITION THEORIES

The following chart lists in chronological order the various partition theories of Philippians. It demonstrates the manifold variety of multiple-letter theories, but it does not prove detrimental to the multiple-letter theory itself (as some have maintained); if anything, it demonstrates the difficulty with which scholars have analysed the cohesive structure of the letter. Most of the differences concern (i) the precise location of the break at the beginning of Phil 3, (ii) whether or not, and to what extent, the beginning of Phil 4 (4:1-9) belongs to letter B, and (iii) the placement of 4:21-23. (Note: the divisions are intended only as general categorisations, since some of the authors remain tentative on the precise beginnings and endings of the various fragments. The headings Letter A, B, and C are only used by some authors, esp. those beginning in the 1950s. They are only intended here as a general guideline for labelling the partitions.)

¹Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 273.

²Blevins, 'Introduction', p. 316, in support of Marxsen, *Introduction*, pp. 67-68.

³Müller-Bardoff, 'Frage', p. 601; Bornkamm, 'Philipperbrief', pp. 14-18.

⁴Michaelis, 'Teilungshypothesen', p. 326.

⁵Dalton, 'Integrity', p. 98.

⁶Kümmel, *Einleitung*, p. 293; Garland, 'Composition', p. 156.

⁷Aune, *Literary Environment*, pp. 210-11.

| | | (Letter A) <i>Dankschreiben</i> | (Letter B) <i>Gefangenschaftsbrief</i> | (Letter C) <i>Kampfbrief</i> |
|---------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1803 | Heinrichs | | 1:1-3:1a; 4:21-23 ¹ | 3:1b-4:20 ² |
| 1867 | Weisse | | | |
| 1872 | Hausrath | | | |
| 1892 | Holtzmann | | | |
| 1937 | Goodspeed | | | |
| 1812 | Paulus | | 1:1-3:1; 4:10-23 | 3:2-4:9 ³ |
| 1931 | Schweitzer | | | |
| 1971 | Keck | | | |
| 1981 | Bruce | | | |
| 1836 | Schrader | | 1:1-2:30; 4:3-23 | 3:1-4:2 (non-Pauline) |
| 1892 | Völter ⁴ | | 1:1-7, ⁵ 12-26; 2:17-29; 4:10-21 (23) | 1:8-11, 27-30; 2:1-16; 3:1b-4:9, 22 (non-Pauline) |
| 1894 | Clemen | | 1:1-2:18; 2:25-3:1; 4:4-7, 10-23 | 2:19-24, ⁶ 3:2-4:3, 8-9 |
| 1904 | Bacon | | 1:1-2:30 | 3:1-4:23 ⁷ |
| 1913-14 | Symes | 4:10-20 ⁸ | 1:1-3:1; 4:21-23 | 3:2-4:9 |
| 1914 | Lake | | 1:1-2:30; 4:4-23 ⁹ | 3:1-4:3 |
| 1917 | J. Weiss | | 1:1-3:1; 4:2-23 | 3:2-4:1 |
| 1953 | McNeile-Williams | | | |

¹Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 69 n. 1), giving both a title and page number, claims that Heinrichs divided the letter after 3:1a; cf. de Wette, *Lehrbuch*, p. 233, and Meyer, *Handbook*, p. 7. Michael (*Philippians*, p. xi), giving neither a title or page number, claims that he divided it after 2:30. Clemen (*Einheitlichkeit*, p. 132) claims that Heinrichs had a two-part division of 1:1-3:1, 4:21-23 and 3:2-4:20. Schenk ('*Philippenerbrief*', p. 3281 n. 3) gives only a general division: 'Eine Trennung von Phil 1-2 und Phil 3-4 in zwei Paulusbriefe nahm zuerst Heinrichs 1803: 33 ff. vor'. Despite the confusion, Heinrichs clearly makes the break at 3:1b τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀδελφοί μου, χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ, treating it as a closing 'greeting' (pp. 31-38).

²Heinrichs (*Pauli Epistolae*) claims the first letter (B) was written to the church in general and the second letter (C) to the church leaders. Hausrath (*Paulus*, pp. 486-88), like most early theorists, argues that 3:1-4:23 was written prior to 1:1-2:30. Letter C, then, was a letter of warning *and* thanks.

³Schrader (*Paulus*, p. 233) views this as a non-Pauline interpolation.

⁴Cf. the readings of Völter by Lipsius (*Philippener*, p. 215) and Schenk ('*Philippenerbrief*', p. 3281 n. 3); *contra* that of Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit*, p. 133, who claims that Völter's partition consisted of 1:1-7, 12-14, 18e-26; 2:17-29; 4:10-21, 23 and 1:8-10, 27-30; 2:1-16; 3:1d-4:9, 22f.

⁵Excluding σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις.

⁶Clemen's idiosyncratic placement of Phil 2:19-24 here is partly based on the view that the 'brothers' spoken of negatively in 2:21 are different from the positive portrait of those in 1:14 and 4:21.

⁷Bacon (*Story*, pp. 367-75) maintains that this letter was probably written first since Paul would have thanked the Philippians for the gift soon after receiving it.

⁸The chronological order of Symes' reconstruction is as follows ('*Five Epistles*', pp. 168-69): Missing Letter I (56 CE), a progress report written shortly after leaving Macedonia; Fragment I = Phil 3:2-4:9 (58 CE), from which has been excised Paul's acknowledgement for their first gift of aid (cf. 4:16); Missing Letter II (59 CE), Paul's acknowledgement of their second gift of aid (cf. 4:16); Fragment II = Phil 4:10-20 (60 CE), Paul's final acknowledgement of their last gift of aid (cf. 4:16); Fragment III 'the noble Epistle' = Phil 1:1-3:1 and 4:21-23 (61 CE).

⁹Lake ('*Problems*', p. 487) suggests that 3:2 may instead begin this letter.

| | | | | |
|---|--|-----------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1920 1972 | Michael Gunther | | 1:1-3:1a; 3:20-4:23 ¹ | 3:1b-19 ² |
| 1957-58 | Müller-Bardoff | 4:10-20 | 1:1-26; 2:17-18; 1:27-2:16; 4:1-3; 2:19-30; 3:1a; ³ 4:4- 7, 21-23 | 3:2-21; 4:8-9 |
| 1957 1966 1984 | Schmithals Fuller Schenk | 4:10-23 | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 |
| 1959 1966 1983 | Beare Murphy-O'Connor Patte | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1; 4:2-9, 21-23 ⁴ | 3:2-4:1 |
| 1959 1962 | Benoît Rigaux | 4:10-20 (21-23) | 1:1-2:18; 3:1-4:1, 8-9 | 2:19-30; 4:2-7 ⁵ |
| 1959 | Rahtjen | 4:10-20 | 1:1-2:30; 4:21-23 | 3:1-4:9 |
| 1962 1975 | Friedrich Suhl | | 1:1-3:1a; 4:10-23 | 3:1b-4:9 |
| 1961-62 1962 1968 1972 1978 1979 1985 | Koester ⁶ Bornkamm Marxsen Lohse Schenke & Fischer G. Barth Pesch | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (21-23) ⁷ | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 |
| 1975 1978 | Vielhauer Marxsen | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-9, 21-23 | 3:2-4:3 |
| 1968 | Gnilka | | 1:1-3:1a; 4:2-7, 10-23 | 3:1b-4:1, 8-9 |
| 1973 | Collange | 4:10-20 (21-23) | 1:1-3:1a; 4:2-7 (21-23) | 3:1b-4:1, 8-9 |
| 1974 1982 | Perrin Perrin & Duling | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1 | 3:2-4:9 |
| 1978 | Walter | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1; 4:(4)5-7(8-9) (21- 23) | 3:2-4:1 (2-3) |
| 1987 | Mayer | 4:10-20 | 1:1-3:1; 4:2-7, 21-23 | 3:2-4:1, 8-9 |
| 1989 | Becker | | 1:1-3:1; 4:1-7, 10-23 | 3:2-21; 4:8-9 |
| 1995 | Bormann | 4:10-23 | 1:1-3:1; 4:2-7 | 3:2-4:1, 8-9 |

¹Michael (*Epistle*, p. 112) hints at the possibility that 2:19-24 was an originally separate note penned by Paul (to a now unknown recipient), explaining Paul's *firm* expectation to see the Philippians soon; nonetheless, he leaves it in his outline.

²Michael (*Epistle*, pp. xii) only tentatively suggests that this interpolation may have been a separate letter sent to the Philippians; he does, however, believe it was written by Paul.

³Müller-Bardorff ('Frage', p. 593) treats 3:1b as a redactional gloss: 'Wir stoßen hier offenbar auf die Hand des Redaktors.'

⁴Murphy-O'Connor ('Philippiens', p. 1215) is noncommittal on the original location of vv 21-23.

⁵This short letter is interpreted as a letter of recommendation.

⁶In his 1982 *History and Literature*, Koester maintains the same basic view but is more tentative on the location of 4:1-3, 4-7, 8-9, 21-23.

⁷The various advocates of this partition theory differ as to their certainty about the placement of 4:21-23.

CONCLUSION

The picture painted by the above survey looks like this. Those advocating a multiple-letter theory claim that a later redactor (the who? and when?) combined two or more Pauline letters (perhaps adding further material) into one letter (the what?) by excising epistolary features (the how?) for any number of possible reasons such as to make what originally were three insignificant pieces of Pauline correspondence into one substantial letter (the why?). Although this is a perfectly plausible explanation (i.e. as far as is known from contemporary practices this event could have happened), others maintain that the canonical letter to the Philippians consists of only one Pauline letter. Almost invariably, the debate has centred around the shift in 'tone and mood' at the beginning of Phil 3 and to a lesser degree around the supposed lateness (both in time and in its textual location) of the 'thank you' in 4:10-20. There are other issues at stake, of course, but none that have so repeatedly been referred to as the central issue of the debate. Regarding the first issue, most scholars on both sides of the debate confess to a change in tone and mood at the beginning of Phil 3 (although it is disputed whether the change occurs after 2:30, 3:1a, or 3:1b). Single-letter theorists have responded sometimes by claiming that the change has been exaggerated and that the letter's "artlessness" is due to the fact that like so many letters...it consists of a "stream of consciousness" rather than follows a predetermined plan'.¹ Others have emphasised lexical and thematic parallels throughout the letter and, more recently, the unified generic structure of the text (e.g. 'letter of friendship' or 'rhetorical speech'). Regarding the second issue, the historical lateness of the letter depends on how the historical situation is reconstructed by the modern reader: (i) a lengthy illness of Epaphroditus and multiple correspondence (combined with a Roman or Caesarean imprisonment) point to an overly-delayed thank you on Paul's part, but (ii) a brief illness which happened on the way to Philippi or soon upon his arrival coupled with the fact that Paul did not have a post office at his beck and call suggests a reasonable time-frame within which Paul sent his thanks to the Philippians. Such historical questions raised by the text will probably never be agreed upon by both sides of the debate; the creative historical reconstructions of scholars will prevent this. However, agreement upon literary questions would appear to be more promising. After all, we all have the same text in front of us, ^{do we not} ? And yet, after almost two centuries of critical inquiry there is still no consensus, despite a growing number of scholars' reticence to adopt a multiple-letter theory (especially outside of Germany).

The lack of consensus over the integrity debate is at least partly due to (i) what I call the 'omnipotent author and redactor', (ii) the 'burden of proof' question, and (iii) methodological presuppositions. Firstly, literary evidence gives rise to what may be called the 'omnipotent author or redactor'. If a scholar demonstrates textual cohesiveness, it may be attributed to either the original author or a later redactor. If a scholar demonstrates textual incohesiveness, it may also be attributed to either the original author or a later redactor. In both cases, the author or redactor becomes all-powerful, able to do whatever scholars want them to do with the text. Secondly, most would probably agree that the burden of proof falls on those who wish to argue against the letter's integrity, for the simple reason that the literary integrity has not been questioned until relatively recently in the history of NT interpretation. Nevertheless, I must agree with W. O. Walker's estimation that based on textual and literary-critical considerations 'the Pauline letters, as

¹Pollard, 'Integrity', p. 59.

we now have them, do, in fact, contain interpolations (yet to be identified, of course).¹ Although Walker is primarily concerned with interpolations added to Pauline letters, not compilations of originally-separate letters, the fact that (i) the textual history of at least some of Paul's letters show redaction (e.g. Romans),² (ii) the literary integrity of at least 2 Corinthians is still doubted by many scholars,³ and (iii) the development of the Pauline corpus is very uncertain (raising questions about when the textual history we possess really began),⁴ all suggest that the burden of proof faced by multiple-letter theories of Philippians is not as weighty as some might assert. Thus, since most scholars have agreed that chap. 3 of Philippians is problematic, multiple-letter theories have, I would argue, at least overcome any initial burden of proof. This burden of proof should not be reinstated, unless it can be demonstrated that Phil 3 cohesively fits into the larger discourse. Thirdly, M. Foucault has argued that knowledge is not simply a reflection of the essence of things and that it is not simply an expression of human ideas.

Archaeological description is precisely such an abandonment of the history of ideas, a systematic rejection of its postulates and procedures, an attempt to practise a quite different history of what men have said.⁵

He goes on to note that ideologies take form in relation to one another and often in an antagonistic manner—a characteristic true of the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians. The above evidence for and against the letter's integrity is not simply the result of rational and empirical investigation—much of it has been ^{polemical} (i.e. rhetorical). Indeed, the question of method has been addressed only recently in the debate. Though I have not attempted an 'archaeological description' of the history of the debate, my reading of the unfolding narrative of scholarly debate over Philippians left me with an impression of the religious, cultural, and professional forces directing various authors' theories. J. E. Symes's 'Five Epistles to the Philippians' is perhaps the best example of a work with little evidential support but much personal opinion. The myth of Stephanus Le Moyne also stands out as an example of less than satisfactory evidence in the name of scholarship.⁶ Perhaps more importantly, presuppositions and unstated methodologies have influenced scholarly decisions. Consequently, much time has been spent in the present work on issues of method. This will, hopefully, enable others not only to critique my analysis but also to challenge the methodological presuppositions underpinning it.

In sum, the question of the literary integrity of Philippians has raised interpretative issues which have affected *historical* (e.g. From where were the letter(s) written? [the nearer Ephesus or the more distant Rome and Caesarea]; Paul may have sent more banal letters to his churches which were not preserved separately or at all; How often did Paul communicate with his churches?; How soon was an individual required to send notice of receipt of a gift?), *structural* (e.g. genre; thematic outlines; form-criticism of Paul's other letters), and more general reconstructions of the text (e.g. Are the opponents in Phil 3 actually present at Philippi or are they merely part of Paul's rhetorical imagination? and

¹Walker, 'Burden', p. 611.

²On Romans see Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 145–46, who notes a possible redactional similarity between the closings of Romans and Philippians but does not find it a persuasive explanation of the latter's structure.

³It is worth noting that although Furnish upholds the integrity of Philippians ('Place and Purpose'), he denies that of 2 Corinthians (*II Corinthians*).

⁴For recent surveys of the discussion and his theory of an early edited collection put together by Paul himself (with compiled letters) see Trobisch, *Entstehung and Letter Collection*.

⁵Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 138.

⁶The myth has not totally been eradicated; so Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', p. 89, still refers to Le Moyne.

What is the nature of Paul's 'thank you' in 4:10-20?).¹ Thus, the integrity issue has not been easily dismissed by scholars studying Philippians; indeed, many studies of the letter begin by stating the author's assumptions about the integrity debate and conclude by commenting on how his or her own particular study illuminates the integrity debate. Based on the above survey of the debate four particular issues have proved particularly critical to the discussion: (i) apparent shift in tone and mood at the beginning of Phil 3; (ii) location and temporal lateness of 4:10-20; (iii) lexical parallels used throughout the disputed sections of the letter; and, more recently, (iv) genre. Each of these topics is given considerable attention in the next two chapters, but only as part of a larger discourse analysis of the letter so as to give due attention to the text itself. Issues i, ii, and iv are primarily treated in chap. 4 and issue iii in chap. 5.

¹Perhaps even more consequential for basic exegesis is that a multiple-letter theory cautions against referring to disputed sections of the letter to interpret something in another supposedly separate letter; similar criticism is launched at those who simplistically parallel Paul's other letters (which have their own situational constraints) with the one they are interpreting.

Chapter 4

THE STRUCTURE OF PHILIPPIANS

As argued in the first part of this work, the cohesiveness or 'coherent predictability' of discourse is primarily created by generic STRUCTURE (conventions of register) and linguistic TEXTURE (the three metafunctions of language—ideational, interpersonal, and especially textual meanings). Discourses are unified in part because their structure is unified and their texture is unified.¹ In the present chapter, the structural side of the cohesiveness of Philippians is analysed with a view to entering into the dialogue over its literary integrity. In chap. 5, the texture of Philippians is in focus. To study structure before texture, as is done here, is to take a top-down approach to discourse analysis, beginning with a characterisation of the genre (or macrostructure) of the text before turning to a more detailed analysis of its linguistic microstructures (though there is a circularity to the hermeneutical process).

The discussion of the STRUCTURE (genre) of Philippians is based on the treatment of REGISTER and GENRE in Part I. Structure allows the reader both to distinguish between complete and incomplete texts as well as to relate the currently digested text with those from the individual's other textual experiences (i.e. to make intertextual interpretations). This is primarily accomplished by means of 'cues' or structural formulas of the genre (both obligatory and optional as well as explicit and implicit). In this way, structure creates predictability, allowing the reader to recognise the type of discourse being spoken and, in turn, to use other similar discourses as a schema for interpreting the immediate one.

We are never selecting with complete freedom from all the resources of our linguistic system. If we were, there would be no communication; we understand each other only because we are able to make predictions, subconscious guesses, about what the other person is going to say.²

To modify obligatory features of register is to risk depriving an audience of this predictability factor;³ however, such adaptations may serve as a more subtle way of introducing ideological and social change to a reader. The importance of identifying the register of Philippians for discourse analysis cannot be overemphasised here. Not to analyse the register of a text may be likened to studying its individual words apart from their linguistic and cultural context, since the study of a text's register entails studying other texts from the same or similar register. So J. L. Lemke warns:

But if we study a discourse, a whole situated text by itself and apart from other texts or occasions of discourse with which it may have definite relationship, do we not likewise still run the risk of learning nothing about how we build every text upon and out of other texts? or about the social functions of the system of texts we build—and do not build?⁴

¹So Halliday and Hasan (*Cohesion*, p. 23) relate the two: 'The concept of COHESION can...be usefully supplemented by that of REGISTER, since the two together effectively define a TEXT.'

²So Halliday and Hasan, *Language, Context, and Text*, p. 40.

³Stubbs (*Discourse Analysis*, p. 94) emphasises: 'Predictability may be the single most important feature of human communication, precisely since it is central not only to all levels of language, but also central to memory and to thinking in general.'

⁴Lemke, 'Ideology', p. 275.

The genre of Philippians is undisputedly that of an ancient letter.¹ However, further classification of its epistolary nature is open to debate. Indeed, the relatively recent debate over the letter's precise genre has resulted in a state of affairs in which it is now necessary to argue for a particular genre rather than assume one. The following study of the structure of Philippians, therefore, begins by exploring various epistolary classifications of the text (and Paul's other discourses) before then analysing in detail the epistolary structure of the letter.

THE LITERARY GENRE OF PHILIPPIANS

Approaching almost a century of Pauline studies since A. Deissmann's classification of Paul's writings as 'real letters' (rather than literary 'epistles'),² there is still no consensus on an epistolary typology of Paul's letters. Although most reject Deissmann's strict *letter-epistle* distinction, D. E. Aune observes that 'few typologies of Greco-Roman or early Christian letters have been proposed and none widely adopted'.³ Paul's letters do not neatly fit into the categories of the epistolary handbooks, nor do they always parallel the letters from the Egyptian rubbish heaps. They seem at once both non-literary and literary (if I can for the moment be permitted to use such slippery terms). So J. L. White is indeterminate:

It must be acknowledged that both the length and character of the New Testament letters, as a type of instruction, fail to resemble the documentary letter tradition. But neither do the New Testament letters belong to the Greek literary letter tradition, including philosophical letters of instruction. Rather, Stowers suggests, they are the product of a Jewish subculture; falling somewhere between the documentary and literary letter tradition.⁴

Another respected scholar of epistolography, W. G. Doty, is not much more specific: 'I should classify the letters of Paul and his school as "more private" in type, even though several of them show characteristics of "more public" letters'.⁵ Aune's scheme represents another alternative: '(1) *circumstantial*, or dialogical, letters, which are closely linked to specific historical situations, and (2) *general*, or monological, letters, which are unconnected to specific historical settings'.⁶ In addition, S. K. Stowers partly treats Paul's letters in terms of the typologies of the epistolary theorists.⁷ Suffice it to say that scholars agree that Paul's letters are letters—end of story.

The recent upsurge in rhetorical interpretation of Paul's letters has introduced yet another epistolary classification.⁸ The assumption of such studies has been that the epistolary and Classical rhetorical genres could be and actually were readily merged. As to the possibility

¹This appraisal of Philippians has long been recognised; so de Wette, *Lehrbuch*, p. 232: 'Der Inhalt ist brieflicher, als in irgend einem andern an eine Gemeinde gerichteten Schreiben.'

²See Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 148-49, 228-30. Doty ('Classification', p. 194) offers a more balanced typology than Deissmann, stating, 'In contrast to his [Deissmann's] exclusion of the "literary" as of no real worth, all the letters with which epistolary research has to do...appear now in a literary context'. He also rightly argues that 'formally and stylistically the "epistle" is a letter' (p. 191); thus, he concludes, 'The absolute distinction between Letter and Epistle should be dropped' (p. 198); cf. also the earlier criticism of Schubert, 'Form', pp. 368-69. Nevertheless, Deissmann's value remains in the many formal and functional parallels he has exposed between NT letters and the personal and documentary letters.

³Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 161.

⁴White, 'Discussion', p. 51.

⁵Doty, 'Classification', p. 198. Contrast Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 160: 'There are...no really private letters among Paul's authentic letters.'

⁶Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 204. Under the circumstantial type he places 1 Thessalonian, Galatians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, and under the general type he places Romans.

⁷Stowers, *Letter Writing*, pp. 49-173.

⁸For a comprehensive bibliography see Watson and Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible*.

of finding rhetorical species (viz. judicial, deliberative, and epideictic) in ancient letters, Stowers avows, 'There are types of letters which belong to each of the three species'.¹ Appendix B 'The Influence of Rhetorical Theory on Greco-Roman Letter Writing' below inspects the extent to which rhetorical theory (as found primarily in the handbooks) actually influenced Hellenistic epistolary theory and practice. To quote Jerome: 'What has Horace to do with the Psalms, Virgil with the Gospels, Cicero with the Apostle?'² Does Classical rhetorical theory resolve scholarly debate over the Pauline epistolary genre? Should Paul's letters be classified as 'rhetorical letters' (i.e. letters governed by the canons of the rhetorical handbooks), thus ending the debate unresolved since Deissmann or, at least, placing the correct emphasis upon his literary style? The results of the study suggest that while rhetoric (mostly *inventio* and *elocutio*) was at times employed in a few letters, to analyse Paul's letters in terms of rhetorical species and *dispositio* is methodologically suspect.³ Although epistolary style was in some cases influenced by conventions of *elocutio*, in contrast to such anomalous practices, Paul's epistolary style has been (i) set apart from 'proper' rhetorical style or (ii) defended as to its legitimacy (thus implying 'inferior' style).⁴ I am not denying that Paul's letters contain 'argumentation' or that such argumentation cannot be paralleled in other contemporary literature; rather, I consider it methodologically suspect to read Paul's letters *according to the rhetorical handbooks* in the light of (i) the evidence from the rhetorical and epistolary theorists themselves and (ii) the absence of formal parallels between Paul's letters and other so-called 'rhetorical' letters. The extant literary evidence just does not support an assertion such as B. Witherington's recent suggestion that in Philippians

Paul has blended the letter and speech conventions, so that apart from the epistolary opening and closing of the letter one can evaluate the letter in terms of the rhetorical conventions.

In short, the thanksgiving section and the body of the letter can be evaluated this way.⁵

Witherington exemplifies a growing number of scholars who follow in the footsteps of earlier rhetorical analyses of Philippians, most notably the judicious studies of D. F. Watson and L. G. Bloomquist. Both Watson's and Bloomquist's attempts to interpret Philippians according to the rhetorical handbooks deserve further critique here in the light of the study in Appendix B.

Watson's 1988 rhetorical analysis of Philippians has received considerable attention from subsequent scholars; indeed, perhaps next only to Garland, Watson has had the most significant impact on the shift back towards a single-letter view of the letter. Watson argues that, in keeping with Paul's use of rhetorical conventions in his other letters, Philippians exemplifies a rhetorical structure which affirms its literary integrity.⁶ An underlying assumption is that Philippians represents yet another example of Paul's

¹Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 51. Stowers claims, 'The relationship of the early Christian letters to the larger world of Greco-Roman letter writing, literature, and rhetoric is today a neglected and a pressing question' (p. 18).

²Jerome, *Epistulae* 22.29 (emphasis mine).

³Dormeyer ('Readers', p. 152) surely oversteps the evidence, asserting that 'the letter *had to be arranged* according to the "dispositio" of the "oratio"' (emphasis mine).

⁴Turner (*Style*, p. 86) doubts rhetorical influence on Paul for stylistic reasons (e.g. anacolutha and solecisms). Malherbe ("Seneca", p. 414) notes that some early writers commentating on Paul's style explained the 'rudeness' of his discourse in two ways: (i) God, not human eloquence, empowers the Christian message and (ii) Paul's style effectively communicated to the lower social ranks who received the gospel; see e.g. Origen *C. Cels.* 6.58-61; Lactantius *Div. inst.* 5.1.15-21; Jerome *Ep.* 53.10.1; so also the author of the *Epistolae Senecae et Pauli*.

⁵Witherington, *Friendship*, p. 145 n. 48.

⁶Watson, 'Rhetorical Analysis', pp. 57-88.

supposedly verified use of ancient rhetoric in his other letters. At the culmination of his argument Watson asserts,

It may be argued that since Paul utilized the rhetorical conventions of the Greco-Roman world in his other genuine letters, since the present form of Philippians conforms well to those conventions, and since the proposed interpolations and evidence given for interpolation can be explained by rhetorical convention, than [*sic*] the integrity of Philippians is best assumed (p. 88).

The majority of Watson's work attempts to divulge the precise rhetorical conventions in the letter, with extensive citation of ancient rhetorical theory. The thoroughness of his work is laudable, and he presents a reasonable argument in favour of the unity of Philippians by tracing the flow of Paul's argument. Nevertheless, in view of the evidence from the rhetorical and epistolary theorists, his systematic *dispositio* interpretation of Philippians according to the canons of the rhetorical handbooks is methodologically suspect. Furthermore, his analysis, at times, is contradicted by an epistolary reading of the letter. Many of his rhetorical explanations of Philippians may be explained on better literary grounds from an epistolary perspective.

Under the subheading *The Species of Rhetoric, the Question, and the Stasis*, Watson categorises Philippians as deliberative rhetoric, 'intended to advise or dissuade its audience regarding a particular course of action' (p. 59). He admits, nevertheless, that 2:19-30 is epideictic, which 'lends itself to any attempt to advise and dissuade' (p. 60). In response, the issue is not whether Philippians exhibits features of advice, dissuasion, praise or blame (which it certainly does), but whether such features are evidence of Paul's use of ancient rhetorical theory rather than his 'everyday' experiences with similar cultural rhetorical practices (listening to a public speech). The epistolary theorists describe types of letters which advise, dissuade, commend, and blame, without describing them as judicial, deliberative, or epideictic speeches. Thus, it is less methodologically suspect to describe Paul's discourses according to epistolary typologies without appealing to the categories of the rhetorical handbooks.

Under the subheading *The Exordium*, Watson classifies Phil 1:3-26 as an *exordium* with three main functions: 'to obtain audience attention, receptivity, and goodwill' (p. 62). For example, Watson notes that when Paul thanks, rejoices over, and prays for the Philippians he does so to increase goodwill (p. 61). Why not attribute this function to Paul's use of the epistolary prescripts, thanksgiving, and prayers, especially since they can be paralleled both formally and functionally with other epistolary literature? For example, the subscription and adscription were customarily expanded in letters so as to reveal the quality of the relationship between the sender and recipient (see below).¹ With regard to the so-called *exordium*, Watson also remarks, 'Goodwill is obtained by concentrating upon the facts of the case and the persons involved, including the rhetor, the audience, and the opposition' (p. 62). Paul persuades his audience in this manner, however, not only in chap. 1 but throughout the letter, singing praises of his audience (2:25-30 [Epaphroditus—part of the Philippian community]; 4:3, 10, 14) and himself (2:17; 3:4-11, 17-18; 4:11-12, 15-18) as well as chiding 'opponents' (chap. 3). Hence, according to Watson's *functional* description of the *exordium*, it is difficult to limit the *exordium* only to 1:3-26. Watson even suggests that the epistolary prescript in Philippians (1:1-2) 'functions much like the *exordium*' (p. 65), pointing to elements such as the greeting formula, the *topos* of servanthood, and the mention of bishops and deacons (who may have been part of the

¹Alexander ('Letter-Forms', p. 91) makes a similar point with regard to family letters.

ecclesiastical problems at Philippi).¹ This would seem to be special pleading when it is recognised that the prescript is so terse that its relationship to the rest of the letter is especially vague. Aside from 1 Thessalonians, Philippians has a relatively brief Pauline prescript, lacking the epistolary expansions characteristic of those in Romans, Galatians, and 1 Corinthians. Thus Paul probably gave little extra thought to the rhetorical function of his prescript here, rather employing it in light of its typical epistolary function, viz. to introduce the main participants of the communication and their current relationship. Furthermore, the few extant 'rhetorical letters' seem to separate distinctly the epistolary opening and closing from the rhetorical body of the letter (see Appendix B). In addition, Watson includes the epistolary disclosure formula (1:12-26) under the subheading of *exordium*. This is unlikely, since the typical function of the disclosure formula was to introduce the main reason for writing at the beginning of the letter-body (although it could be used elsewhere).² According to the rhetorical handbooks, this would make it the *narratio*, not the *exordium*.³ According to Watson, the *narratio* does not begin until 1:27. Again, whereas there is both formal and functional epistolary evidence paralleling Paul's disclosure formula, Watson can supply no such examples of a 'rhetorical' usage.

The next major rhetorical unit, according to Watson, is the *narratio* in Phil 1:27-30—an exhortation to a way of life. It is 'the proposition that Paul will develop in the remainder of the rhetoric' (p. 66). Paul attempts to persuade his audience to live an honourable life, exhorting them *to let their manner of life be worthy of the gospel*.⁴ In response, firstly, epistles, not just rhetorical discourses, may contain themes or 'purposes'.⁵ There is no apparent reason why one could not designate 1:27-30 as the *theme* of Paul's letter yet without appealing to rhetorical terminology.⁶ Secondly, L. Alexander⁷ and L. G. Bloomquist⁸ have challenged the view that 1:27-30 is the central purpose of the letter—the former with her epistolary study and the latter with his epistolary and rhetorical analysis. One natural place for a theme of a letter is in a disclosure formula and, in Philippians, this is located in 1:12-26, immediately prior to Watson's *narratio*. The obvious strength of Alexander's study is that she provides actual letters which both formally and functionally parallel her interpretation. Watson does not provide a single rhetorical letter which formally

¹Watson notes that there is only a 'functional' parallel between the prescript and exordium; however, it is unclear what a 'formal' parallel would look like since the rest of his epistolary analysis is largely based on functional grounds as well.

²White, *Light*, p. 207 n. 85.

³So Bloomquist's analysis (see chart below).

⁴In contrast, Alexander ('Letter-Forms', p. 95) maintains that 'the point introduced in v. 12 should be taken as part of the central "business" of the letter'. Her reasons include Paul's use of the disclosure formula in v. 12, which frequently introduced the subject matter of ancient letters but, I might add, not necessarily the only subject matter. By failing to treat the epistolary function of this formula, Black ('Discourse Structure', p. 17) can wrongly conclude: 'Unlike John's Gospel (John 20:30-31), Paul tells the Philippians nothing about his reasons for writing.' An author need not say 'this is my theme...' in order to indicate the reason(s) for writing. Black claims to have deduced the key purpose of Philippians (viz. 'unity for the sake of the gospel') from the *discourse structure* of the letter, and yet he gives superficial attention to the explicit epistolary structure (genre) of the letter (here and more importantly in the commendations, petitions, and joy expression), only using the anachronistic labels of opening, body, and closing to structure his exegesis.

⁵For a survey of various thematic understandings of Philippians see Geoffrion, *Purpose*, pp. 2-13. At the close of his survey, he overstates the value of rhetorical criticism: '...none has been able to show convincingly how the many diverse elements within the canonical letter cohere or what the overall purpose of the letter might be' (p. 13). Stagg ('Mind', p. 337) points to 2:5, 'have the same mind', as the central theme; cf. Robuck, *Christ-Hymn*, p. 155.

⁶See Stagg, 'Mind', p. 338.

⁷Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', esp. pp. 94-96.

⁸Bloomquist, *Function*, pp. 107, 123-25.

parallels his interpretation, but bases it solely on a functional (and methodologically questionable) similarity with the handbooks. Thirdly, the precise relationship between Paul's supposed *narratio* and the rest of the letter is unclear. Watson claims,

Paul's initial exhortation to 'let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel' is repeated in different form as 'stand firm in one spirit, with one mind striving side by side for the faith of the gospel, and not frightened in anything by your opponents' (p. 67).

Watson's second part of the *narratio* ('stand firm...') is 'different' in that it serves to narrow the meaning of the first part ('let your manner...')—a hyponym (στήκετε) of πολιτεύεσθε.¹ It represents one of many ways in which the Christian may live a life worthy of the gospel. This first part is so conceptually broad in meaning that it could legitimately be the theme of any of Paul's letters, making it difficult to counter (or prove) the suggestion that it is the macro-theme of this letter. The second part of the *narratio*—the implied command to 'stand firm'—however, is difficult to picture behind the entirety of Paul's rhetoric in Philippians, raising doubts as to its categorisation here as part of the *narratio*. *Unity*, which is integral to this second part, is not a significant topic in 2:19–3:21. Similarly, *opposition* is a major topic only in chap. 3, aside from Paul's struggles in 1:15–17 which appears before 1:27–30. Phil 1:27–30 does indeed reflect themes (or topics, concepts, terms) treated elsewhere in the letter. Watson has not demonstrated by his rhetorical analysis that it is *the* theme of the letter; instead, it may only be one of Paul's reasons for writing. More likely, there is no *one* theme in Philippians (see chap. 5); instead, Paul's discourse moves from topic to topic, with recognisable cohesive ties between microstructures but no one overarching rhetorical macrostructure—a characteristic of many personal letters.² Indeed, the various epistolary formulas in Philippians point to a variety of topics which Paul intended to communicate in the letter without some central theme binding them together.

The next supposed rhetorical unit is the *probatio* (2:1–3:21). 'Here Paul seeks, through the mustering of arguments and examples, to persuade his audience to "live a life worthy of the gospel"' (p. 67). Watson divides the *probatio* into three sections (2:1–11; 2:12–18; 3:1–21), each developing and building upon Paul's overall rhetorical strategy. His analysis of rhetorical microstructures (e.g. the use of example, comparison, amplification) is helpful, but some of his macrostructural analysis is suspect. For example, the inferential conjunction ὥστε in 2:12 (cf. 4:1) suggests that 2:12–18 flows out of and is dependent upon the exemplum of Christ in 2:6–11.³ Hence it does not by itself embody the second development of Paul's proposition. The life modelled by Christ leads into Paul's exhortation 'to work out your salvation with fear and trembling'. In other words, in view of Christ's example, Paul gives a consequential exhortation. Separating 2:12–18 into its own 'distinct' unit skews the flow of the discourse. This raises questions regarding another of Watson's claims regarding the supposed *probatio*: 'As is often the case, the proposition is reiterated at the beginning of each development' (p. 67), which supposedly occurs in 2:12–13. But if 2:12 is better understood as an exhortation based on the statements of 2:1–11 (as is suggested by the conjunctive ὥστε), then 2:12 does not occur *at the beginning* of a rhetorical development as Watson claims (cf. 4:1). More problematic is Watson's handling of 2:19–30—Paul's epistolary commendations of Timothy and

¹Cf. Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, pp. 165–66.

²Cf. Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', p. 100.

³Cf. Minear, 'Singing', p. 211.

Epaphroditus.¹ His categorisation of this section as a *digressio*² undermines its important epistolary function. Watson admits that in these sections Paul seeks to inform the Philippians of his future plans for correspondence, but then he sets this epistolary feature aside, highlighting rhetorical elements instead. R. Funk has rightly demonstrated that Paul's epistolary travelogues serve to persuade the audience to obey his directives.³ Phil 2:19-30, however, is more than a travelogue seeking compliance from the audience. It contains forms and functions found in epistolary recommendations (see below). Paul praises both Timothy and Epaphroditus, endeavouring to ensure their acceptance by the Philippians. Such 'rhetoric' is not limited to the canons of the handbooks, but is a function of epistolary commendations. To label this section a *digressio*, so as to preserve its rhetorical function in the letter despite its seemingly strange location in the discourse, seems to be special pleading, especially since its form, function, and location may be explained in terms of epistolary convention. Finally, with regard to the *probatio*, Watson's treatment of Phil 3:1-21 is helpful overall, especially revealing Paul's use of comparison and contrast (two of the 'common topics' described in the rhetorical handbooks) which point his audience towards the 'better' of two ways of life. However, Watson again cites numerous supposed parallels between Paul's style and the categories of the rhetoricians, implying Paul's unmistakable dependence upon them. In response, applying labels to functionally similar language does not prove that there is a formal relationship.

Finally, Watson categorises the rest of Philippians, except for the closing (4:21-23) as a *peroratio* (4:1-20).⁴ This rhetorical section serves a twofold purpose: recapitulation (*repetitio*; 4:1-9)⁵ and emotional appeal (*adfectus*; 4:10-20) (p. 76). Regarding the supposed *repetitio*, although Paul does touch upon topics in 4:1-9 which occur throughout the letter (especially 4:1-4), 4:5-9 contains several elements new to Paul's discussion: e.g. 'let your gentleness⁶ be known to all'; 'the Lord is near'; 'do not be anxious'; 'make your requests known to God in your prayers with all thankfulness';⁷ and 'the peace of God'. The virtues listed in v 8 are also new to the discourse. Furthermore, the specific nature of Paul's exhortation in v 3 suggests that he is not recapitulating past arguments but is continuing to advance new information. The supposed *adfectus*, according to rhetorical strategy, should appeal to the emotions of the audience. This section partly does just that.

¹Family letters sometimes detail the movements of intermediaries (e.g. Sel.Pap. 1.112.21-22; P. Mich. 8.466.5-8, 12-17, 35-37; P.Mich. 8.490.5-6).

²Quoting Quintilian *Inst.* 4.3.14, Watson notes that the *digressio* is "... the handling of some theme, which must however have some bearing on the case, in a passage that involves digression from the logical order of our speech" ('Rhetorical Analysis', p. 71).

³Funk, 'Parousia', pp. 249-69. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 10.23.7: 'I pray that I may soon be at your side, and so be permitted, by the dutiful discharge of my obligations to you, to enhance the pleasure you take in doing kindness to me.'

⁴Contrast Bloomquist (see chart below).

⁵Watson's breakdown of this section is questionable. He links 4:1 with 4:2ff. ('Rhetorical Analysis', pp. 76-77), failing to explain the use of ὥστε as a connective and Paul's shift from speaking to the Philippian community as a group in 4:1 to then addressing individuals in 4:2ff. The command to stand firm in the lord (4:1) fits better with the foregone discussion of opponents (3:2-21) than it does with the ensuing exhortation for unity (esp. 4:2-3)—see chap. 4 on Final Petitions.

⁶Watson ('Rhetorical Analysis', p. 77) translates ἐπιεικής with 'forebearance', claiming that the term summarises several concepts in 1:27-30 (στήκω, συναθλέω, ἀγών). The word is probably better understood in its typical sense of 'gentleness, graciousness, equitable' (see chap. 5). It is often used with reference to persons known for their fairness and equity to others (cf. O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 487); see 1 Tim 3:3; Titus 3:2; James 3:17; 1 Pet 2:18.

⁷'Thanksgiving, joy, rejoicing' is a subject found throughout Philippians; but it is not the main point of the clause here, as its expression by means of a prepositional phrase would suggest (i.e. it is circumstantial to the clause).

Paul begins in v 10 by lauding the Philippians for assisting him in the work of the gospel (see also vv 10, 14-16, 18). However, Watson suggests that Paul's *adfectus* is 'only a veiled attempt to elicit pathos' (p. 78). Paul makes it clear that he could have managed without the Philippians' assistance: 'I have learned to be satisfied in all circumstances' (v 11). Such statements work against the standard function of the *adfectus*; indeed, Paul would be breaking with rhetorical convention in his *peroratio*. In contrast, Alexander has shown that Paul's ambivalent 'thank you' (4:10-20) formally and functionally parallels the 'thank yous' found in several family letters;¹ this is done without appealing to the rhetorical handbooks.

L. G. Bloomquist's study of suffering in Philippians represents another, although quite different (see diagram below), analysis of the rhetorical species, *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* of Philippians. In contrast to Watson, his approach includes some treatment of the epistolary nature of the letter. Furthermore, he attempts to justify the methodology of his rhetorical reading. In a brief, two-page discussion of 'Rhetoric and Letters' (pp. 84-85) he concludes, 'The science of letter-writing was governed by the general canons of rhetoric.'² Unfortunately, nowhere does he demonstrate this in ancient rhetorical or epistolary literature. Apparently, he bases his view on the assumption that

the three basic principles that underlie epistolography—substitute for personal presence, occasionality and a desire to persuade—suggest that while a letter's structure may be determined by epistolary analysis, the function of the structural components must be examined not only in terms of epistolary analysis but also in terms of ancient rhetoric.³

In response, firstly, Bloomquist's three basic principles of epistolography do not substantiate his point. (1) Although the letter did serve to substitute for personal presence, it did not therefore necessarily act as a piece of oration in the technical sense. Indeed, epistolary theorists set the letter apart from oration based on this 'personal' style of letters (see Appendix B). (2) Occasionality may be a feature of letters, but again this does not make them a rhetorical exercise. Hellenistic business contracts are occasional, but surely they are not speeches. (3) Bloomquist does not demonstrate that one basic principle of epistolography is its 'desire to persuade'. The epistolary theorists or letter writers do not characterise letters based on this feature. And even though one purpose of any given letter may be to persuade, it is a non sequitur then to conclude that the whole letter is an oration or, for example, Paul gave it the structure of a *logos*. Thus, whereas Bloomquist appears to justify his rhetorical analysis of Philippians, he does not. He merely defines the canons of rhetoric and then applies them to the letter. Why conclude that a letter must be analysed *both* in terms of its epistolary functions and rhetorical functions, simply because it shows explicit features of the former? Surely not all of the papyrus letters 'must' be analysed according to the canons of rhetoric. If Philippians is a 'rhetorical letter' this can only be substantiated by a functional and a *formal* analysis of its content. To show only a few functional parallels with the canons of rhetoric, especially generic matters such as rhetorical species, is a tenuous basis for a rhetorical reading of Philippians. Bloomquist provides no example from Greco-Roman literature of a letter that contains both the abundant epistolary formulas and the supposed rhetorical conventions of his reconstruction. To the contrary, one feature of the few 'rhetorical letters' which do exist (e.g. the letters of Demosthenes) is that they contain only a few epistolary conventions—usually only a terse prescript, salutation, and closing—unlike the many epistolary formulas found in Philippians.

¹Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', pp. 97-98; cf. Peterman, "'Thankless Thanks'", pp. 261-70.

²Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 85.

³Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 85.

Finally, his claim that a rhetorical analysis is 'scientific' is a straw-man argument.¹ It is no more scientific than any other commentator's exegesis of the text, since Bloomquist must demonstrate his rhetorical theory by means of *his* exegesis.

F. W. Hughes provides a more cautious and, I believe, more cogent argument in favour of viewing Paul's letters as rhetoric on the macrostructural level; his work primarily concerns 2 Thessalonians, but his justification for classifying Paul's letters in terms of rhetoric is relevant here.² (1) A good deal of his argument is based on the fact that later writers have read Paul according to the rhetorical handbooks. This, however, must be balanced with the fact (as Hughes admits) that many scholars have not been compelled to analyse Paul's letters in terms of the rhetorical species or *dispositio*—indeed, some have rejected such approaches.³ In 1928, the distinguished Classical scholar, W. Rhys Roberts, wrote of Paul's rhetorical style:

It is well thus briefly to remind ourselves that, among the early Christians, there were many writers, including St. Paul himself, who knew and appreciated ancient Greek literature, though concerning themselves little with formal rhetoric and literary criticism.⁴

The current debate over rhetorical analyses of Paul's letters seems to centre around the question of whether rhetorical handbooks (and which ones) should be used *prescriptively* (i.e. Paul's letters are speeches based on the canons of rhetoric) or *descriptively* (i.e. Paul's letters include argumentation which may be illuminated by ancient and modern rhetoric). Melanchthon, who wrote three rhetorical handbooks, introduced new terms and categories for interpreting Paul when he deemed the rhetorical handbooks insufficient.⁵ He exemplifies how principles of rhetoric (old and new) may be used to describe Paul's discourse without being prescriptive. (2) Whereas Hughes rightly notes that *elocutio* (explicitly and implicitly) influenced epistolary theorists and some letter writers, he fails to mention that *dispositio* does not influence the discussions of the epistolary theorists. The evidence from the rhetorical and epistolary theorists suggests that the areas of *inventio* (argumentation) and *elocutio* (where it overlaps with epistolary style), to a certain degree, may service the analyst of ancient letters. The use of *dispositio* is, in contrast, methodologically dubious. So the classicist C. J. Classen warns: 'On *dispositio* rhetorical theory may be consulted, but extreme caution is called for.'⁶ This issue in the current debate over Paul's epistolary classification is germane to the analysis of Philippians since *dispositio* concerns the overall *structure* of discourse, contributing significantly to how the discourse coheres and, thus, how the reader might have been expected to understand the smaller units (i.e. genre creates predictability for the listener/reader and hence limits interpretative choice). (3) Hughes claims that 'perhaps the best proof of the use of rhetoric

¹Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 191; cf. Black, 'Discourse Structure', p. 21, who critiques rhetorical analyses as 'being too narrow and involving too great a degree of subjectivity' and yet sets forth his own rhetorical *dispositio* of the letter.

²Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, pp. 19-30.

³For example, Hughes (*Christian Rhetoric*, pp. 27-28) mentions that in the Middle Ages several scholars treated letter writing in terms of the *partes orationis* (*dispositio*). The *ars dictaminis* (applying Classical rhetoric to letter writing) divided the letter according to the structure of Classical oration: *salutatio*, *exordium* (or *captatio benevolentiae*), *narratio*, *petitio*, and *conclusio*. The *salutatio* distinguished it as the epistolary genre. Hughes does not, however, note that some disdained such uses of the letter, such as the Classical purists, the medieval Ciceronians, who confined the epistolary genre to the limits of the familiar letter and desired to 'purge humanist epistolography of all vestiges of the *ars dictaminis*' (Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 332).

⁴Roberts, *Rhetoric*, p. 108.

⁵See the summary of Melanchthon's interpretive strategy in Classen, 'Epistles', pp. 271-78.

⁶Classen, 'Epistles', p. 289. This statement is given vis-à-vis his critique of Betz's analysis of the *dispositio* of Galatians.

in ancient letters is not statements about letters in the various rhetorical handbooks, or even epistolary handbooks, but actual letters written by prominent rhetors'.¹ He then provides a brief, but informative, rhetorical analysis of Demosthenes' *Epistle* 1 (pp. 48-49), partly based on Goldstein's study. The only supposed rhetorical letters he supplies from the Hellenistic era are found in the collection of epigraphical letters by Welles.² The reality is that of the thousands of extant letters (both literary and non-literary), those that systematically follow the canons of rhetoric are scarce. Even though it is possible to acknowledge that many extant letters exhibit features of *argumentation* (e.g. disclosure formulas; statements of concern; statements used to persuade, coerce, or threaten),³ Hughes, unnecessarily and without the required evidence, comes to the conclusion that such expressions 'could be seen to impinge rather directly on theories of rhetoric'.⁴ Surely this claims more than can be reasonably verified from the 'silent' evidence. The argument of 'literary dependence' could be reversed just as easily, viz. the use of such formulas shows that the rhetorical handbooks are dependent upon theories of letter writing. Perhaps instead, the use of such formulas in letters may simply represent 'universal' (or at least 'regional') devices of persuasion (i.e. cognitive structures common to humans), although this proposal needs more research. (4) Finally, Hughes claims that evidence from Paul suggests that his letters were rhetorical in nature. Before taking up his claims, a brief survey of Paul's statements about letter writing is in order.⁵ Whether Pauline or not, 2 Thess 3:14 (εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς...) suggests that Paul's letters dealt with matters of obedience (ὑπακούω). In the same letter, the author emphasises the important didactic character of the letter—it could carry authentic or false teachings (cf. 2:2, 15). In the undisputed letters, Paul speaks of the act of letter writing in terms of the recipients' obedience (e.g. 1 Cor 5:9, 11; 2 Cor 2:3; 13:10; Phlm 21; cf. 1 Tim 3:14)—an act of imitating him and his gospel (cf. Rom 15:15-16; 1 Cor 4:14-16; 14:37). This function of his letters is not always negative, sometimes serving to praise the recipients' conduct (2 Cor 7:12). Paul also knows the important 'relational' function of letters, i.e. they build and maintain social ties (2 Cor 2:4). Sometimes, the letter grieves the recipients (2 Cor 7:8). By writing letters he could ensure that he would receive information back about the status of his churches (2 Cor 2:9)—receiving a letter obligated one to write back. In addition, Paul knows the important social function of letters of recommendation (1 Cor 16:3; 2 Cor 3:1-3) as well as the use of such letters to obtain more general needs (1 Cor 9:15). Such statements about the function of his letter writing may be accounted for in personal and business epistolary traditions, without recourse to the rhetorical handbooks. Nevertheless, Paul's statements about his letter writing in 1 Thess 5:27 (cf. Col 4:16) and 2 Cor 10:9-11 have been used as evidence for a rhetorical classification of his letters. Firstly, Hughes seems to argue that because Paul's letters were 'official and relatively public' they

¹Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, p. 47.

²Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, pp. xli-1 and letters 14, 22, 30, 36, 44, and esp. 15.

³See White, *Light*, pp. 204-208.

⁴Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, p. 25.

⁵For a thorough, resourceful treatment of the terms for letter writing used in the Classical and Hellenistic eras see Stirewalt, *Studies*, pp. 67-87. Greek terminology for letter writing distinguished between the medium of letters—βύβλος (papyrus) and δέλτος (tablet)—and the act of writing in contrast to speaking—γράμματα (words). ἐπιστολή is sometimes used interchangeably with γράμματα. The term ἐπιστολή originated in an oral setting, meaning 'injunction, command' (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus); it could be 'anything sent by a messenger, message, order, commission, whether verbal or in writing' (LSJ s.v. ἐπιστολή). Later, it became the preferred term for the written 'letter'.

function like speeches and, thus, they probably employ rhetorical rules.¹ It does not follow, however, that because Paul's letters were read out loud and to a group of people (1 Thess 5:27) they thus represent rhetorical speeches in the technical sense. A letter could be official, public, and also read out loud and yet still not be a rhetorical exercise. The reading of letters was necessary in the light of illiteracy or the presence of multiple people. In military settings, for example, letters were read out loud to officials.² Such letters were not listened to and analysed in the light of rhetorical handbooks; they simply conveyed military information (e.g. a potential siege). Surely, when Paul's letters were read aloud, elements of spoken discourse influenced the audience's understanding. It does not follow from this that Paul constructed them as speeches—indeed, some elements of speech could not be encoded in letters (e.g. intonation; gestures; spatial distance). He, as well as other letter writers, were aware that what they wrote might be read aloud to others.³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus narrates an event which *perhaps* resembles the context in which a church would have received a letter from Paul:

...(after learning of a deadly plot and introducing this to those around him) Fufetius handed over the letters (ἐπιστολάς), which a certain man had brought to him from his friends at Fidenae, to one of the people present so that he would read them; at the same time he presented the man who had brought the letters. After the letters were read and the letter-bearer had informed them of everything he had learned by word of mouth from the people who had sent the letters, all were seized with great astonishment, as would be expected of those who had just heard of so great and so unexpected a danger.⁴

Similarly, Paul may have sent his letter with Timothy and/or Epaphroditus to one of the Christian leaders at Philippi—perhaps the person identified in Phil 4:3—who would read the letter himself and then have it read to a house church in the presence of those who delivered it so that the letter-bearers could orally convey other relevant information. Although this is clearly an oral setting, it is not therefore a rhetorical setting (e.g. a courtroom). Secondly, 2 Cor 10:9-11 is somewhat of a two-edged sword if used to appeal to the rhetorical nature of Paul's letters. (It must be noted that Paul is characterising his opponents, leaving us only to speculate what they precisely meant by βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραί—if those were their terms.) According to Paul, some have claimed that his ἐπιστολαί are 'weighty and forceful' but (i) his physical appearance is ἀσθενής and (ii) his λόγος ('speech') is ἐξουθενημένος ('despised, of no account'). Hughes deduces from this passage, without giving reasons, that 'Paul's enemies' contention that Paul's letters were "weighty and strong", though his physical presence and oral delivery were weak, indicates Paul's letters were understood as powerful documents of rhetoric by Paul's enemies'.⁵ He gives no evidence that the terms βαρεῖαι and ἰσχυραί are technical terms used exclusively to define rhetorical speeches. βαρεῖαι may simply denote the 'heavy, burdensome obligations' of his letters and ἰσχυραί may indicate the 'forceful and effective' authority of his words.⁶ The semantics of the words need not indicate that Paul's letters were viewed as rhetorical orations; the words must be interpreted as *referring* to such. Somewhat instructive for the meaning of βαρεῖαι is Sel.Pap. 1.121 (II CE), a

¹Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, p. 27.

²See e.g. Diodorus Siculus 17.106.3.3 and Josephus *AJ* 12.331.1.

³See e.g. P.Oxy. 50.3567.16-20 (252 CE), in which a letter (of commendation?) by an Aurelius Harpocraton was written to be read in a semi-public ceremonial circumcision of a boy for his service in the Egyptian priestly classes.

⁴Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 3.8.1.1-9.

⁵Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, p. 19 (cf. p. 29); he cites Meeks, *Urban Christians*, p. 72, in support; cf. Malherbe, "Seneca", pp. 416-17.

⁶See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, p. 468.

family letter in which the sender describes his letter to his brother as ‘admonishing’ (τὰ γράμματα νουθετοῦν[τ]ά σε). He tells his brother not to be ‘offended’ by this admonishment, using the adverb βαρέως: μὴ βαρέως ἔχε μου τὰ γράμματα νουθετοῦν[τ]ά σε. This brief letter is clearly not a rhetorical speech, yet ‘rhetorical’ (persuasive) language is used by the author to describe it. Lastly, in 1 Cor 2:1-4 Paul seems to distance himself from ‘superior’ forms of speech and wisdom: v 2 ἦλθον οὐ καθ’ ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας... and v 4 ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως... (cf. 1 Thess 2:5). Of course, Paul’s discourse may be explained as slight-of-hand rhetoric,¹ but to argue so is to enter into circularity which can never be agreed upon (i.e. Paul does not mean what says). Instead, it would seem that the ‘plain’ sense of Paul’s language denies his use of rhetorical strategies. Furthermore, perhaps Paul’s protasis in 2 Cor 11:6 εἰ δὲ καὶ ιδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ truly is not a ‘contrary-to-fact’ conditional (either in form or, more importantly, function), i.e. he really is ‘ignorant, unlearned, amateurish’ in his oral abilities. In sum, Paul’s statements do not preclude the use of rhetoric—he may simply be using rhetoric seemingly to distance himself from rhetoric—but *prima facie* they seem to place him outside of the canons of rhetoric but perhaps instead in the tradition of the philosophers who, while finding matters of style important for clear and appropriate communication, frequently distance themselves from rhetoricians.²

Returning to the genre of Philippians, as with rhetorical analyses of the other Pauline letters, proposals for the *dispositio* of Philippians (or, in Schenk’s case, one of its fragments) are widely divergent.³

| | Swift ⁴ (1984) | Schenk ⁵ (1984) | Watson (1988) | Bloomquist (1993) | Witherington (1994) | Black (1995) |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>exordium</i> | 1:3-11 | 3:2-4 | 1:3-26 ⁶ | 1:3-11 | 1:3-11 | 1:3-11 |
| <i>narratio</i> | 1:12-26 ⁷ | 3:5-7 | 1:27-30 | 1:12-14 | 1:12-26 | 1:12-26 |
| <i>propositio</i> | | 3:8-11 | | | 1:27-30 | |
| <i>partitio</i> | | | | 1:15-18a | | |
| <i>probatio</i> (<i>argumentatio</i>) | | 3:12-14 | 2:1-3:21 | 1:18b-4:7 | 2:1-4:3 | 1:27-3:21 |
| <i>refutatio</i> | | 3:15-21 | | | | |
| <i>peroratio</i> | | 4:1-3, 8-9 | 4:1-20 ⁸ | 4:8-20 | 4:4-20 | 4:1-9 |
| <i>narratio</i> | | | | | | 4:10-20 |

¹So Levison, ‘Rhetoric’, p. 39, who sees irony here: ‘It is irony rather than honesty that gives 1 Corinthians 1–2 its tone. Although what Paul writes is a rejection of rhetoric, how he writes establishes him as a rhetor.’

²Malherbe, *Moral Instruction*, p. 68.

³Of these, the studies of Schenk, Watson, and Bloomquist are the most comprehensive; for a critique see Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, pp. 139–43. Geoffrion (*Rhetorical Purpose*) adopts the same *dispositio* structure as Watson. Besides Swift’s incomplete analysis, Black’s is the least convincing of all, oddly placing another *narratio* at 4:10–20 and failing to treat its epistolary function (expression of joy for receipt of goods), which has clear formal parallels in the papyri—something he cannot claim of his *narratio*.

⁴Swift’s analysis (‘Theme and Structure’) is hardly cogent, (i) virtually equating epistolary and rhetorical conventions (p. 241), (ii) leaving the rest of the letter unanalysed as to its *dispositio*, and (iii) creating formal structural criteria (e.g. prologue and epilogue) without explaining if these are to be understood as Greco-Roman or modern literary conventions.

⁵Dormeyer (‘Readers’, p. 152) essentially follows Schenk, except for placing v 4 with the *narratio*.

⁶Watson (‘Rhetorical Analysis’, p. 65) tentatively suggests that ‘the epistolary prescript of vv. 1–2 also functions much like the exordium’.

⁷Cf. Dailey, ‘To Live’, p. 19.

⁸This is further divided into the *repetitio* (vv 1–9) and *adfectus* (vv 10–20).

As to the breakdown of the *probatio* there is further disagreement. Watson sees a three-part development with an inserted *digressio* (2:19-30): 2:1-11; 2:12-18; and 3:1-21. Garland, although his is not a thoroughgoing rhetorical analysis, places the *digressio* at 3:1-21.¹ Bloomquist suggests a five-part structure: *confirmatio* (1:18b-26); *exhortatio* (1:27-2:18); *exempla* (2:19-30); *reprehensio* (3:1-16); and *exhortatio* (3:17-4:7). If the rhetorical *dispositio* of Philippians is so clear, then why is it so difficult to agree on what it is? Of course, the presence of disagreement does not necessarily invalidate a theory; but it does at least demonstrate the complexity of a rhetorical analysis—it is not simply a matter of *scientifically* applying ‘rules’ of rhetoric. Furthermore, rhetorical analysis has not created a consensus on the unity of the letter, as Schoon-Janßen remarks:

Während Schenk mit seiner rhetorischen Analyse seine Teilungshypothese zu stützen versucht, will Watson mit derselben Methode die Einheitlichkeit des Phil sichern... Daß Watson mit seiner rhetorischen Analyse die Einheitlichkeit des Phil nicht bewiesen hat, geht schon daraus hervor, daß man fast dasselbe Schema auch auf Briefteile anwenden kann, wie Schenk gezeigt hat.²

There is, in contrast, general agreement on the epistolary features of the letter, precisely because explicit formulas signal structural units. I am not saying that Philippians does not contain argumentation—indeed, I agree with Watson’s and Bloomquist’s readings at several points, but I would counter that such argumentation is not based on the canons of rhetoric and, in fact, can sometimes be misconstrued if analysed accordingly. The larger argumentative strategies of the letter can be explained by studying the epistolary formulas and linguistic structure, without appealing to theories of *dispositio* in the rhetorical handbooks.

Although not to the same degree as Watson’s and Bloomquist’s comprehensive and systematic outlines, other works have also pointed to rhetorical elements in Philippians. W. Schenk, who holds a multiple-letter theory, labels 1:3-11 of letter B the ‘Proömium’ and 1:27-2:18 as ‘*genus deliberativum*’.³ D. E. Garland, in defence of the letter’s unity, sees the rhetorical device of *inclusio* at work in 1:12-26 and in 1:27-4:3.⁴ P. Wick treats the thanksgiving and prayer in 1:2-11 as the *προόμιον*, which among other things can introduce the theme of the speech.⁵ R. C. Swift, who unconvincingly treats the structure of Philippians as a conglomerate of literary, epistolary, and rhetorical conventions, claims that 1:12-26 ‘bears striking resemblance to what Greco-Roman rhetoricians refer to as the *narratio* of an epistle’.⁶ Whereas Watson and Bloomquist view Philippians as deliberative rhetoric, G. A. Kennedy believes it is largely epideictic.⁷ J. W. Marshall inspects the use of *ethos* in Philippians, i.e. the appeal to the good character of the speaker and audience.⁸

¹Garland, ‘Composition’, p. 173.

²Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, pp. 141-42.

³Schenk, ‘Philippbrief’, p. 3282.

⁴Garland, ‘Composition’, pp. 141-73.

⁵Wick, *Philippbrief*, pp. 139-48. He notes that according to his scheme, the theme of this section is *κοινωνία* not the ‘attitude of Christ’ and ‘joy in the Lord’ which is the theme of the main body of the letter; he accounts for this by concluding that *κοινωνία* ‘erweist sich als eine durch den Brief durchgehende Klammer, welche die beiden komplementären Pole der Gesinnung Christi und der Freude im Herrn zusammenhält’ (p. 148).

⁶Swift, ‘Theme’, p. 241. Swift is simply wrong—the rhetoricians do not treat the *narratio* with respect to letter writing.

⁷Kennedy, *Interpretation*, p. 77; cf. Basevi and Chapa, ‘Philippians 2:6-11’, pp. 338-56. Watson (‘Rhetorical Analysis’, pp. 59-60) admits that ‘epideictic rhetoric is found in the *digressio* in 2:19-30’ but holds that as a whole the letter is deliberative.

⁸Marshall, ‘Ethical Appeal’, pp. 357-74; see also his lengthier treatment in his dissertation *The Person of Paul: A Study in the Apostle’s Ethical Appeal*. *Logos* (appeal to their reason) and *pathos* (appeal to their emotions) comprise the two other means of appealing to the audience.

With respect to smaller sections of the letter, C. J. Robbins' 'Rhetorical Structure of Philippians 2:6-11', T. D. Robuck's *The Christ-Hymn in Philippians: A Rhetorical Analysis of Its Function in the Letter*, and C. Basevi and J. Chapa's 'Philippians 2:6-11: The Rhetorical Function of a Pauline "Hymn"' treat the so-called 'Christ-hymn' in terms of Classical rhetorical conventions (e.g. Phil 2:6-11 as *encomium*).¹ A. H. Snyman analyses 4:1-20 in the light of the rhetorical *peroratio* and modes of persuasion (*ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*), but he cautions against forcing NT texts into the moulds of ancient rhetorical handbooks. He suggests that 'Watson's analysis of the peroration is an example of forcing New Testament material into categories of classical rhetoric. He could have proved his point [viz. the unity of the letter] just as well without rigid use of these categories from the classical *peroratio*'.² P. Wick's monograph on the structure of Philippians is also sympathetic to, but not uncritical of, rhetorical readings of the letter.³ Lastly, recent commentators have paid lip-service to a rhetorical analysis of Philippians, yet without making it a guiding factor for their exegesis. P. T. O'Brien, for example, tentatively follows Watson's rhetorical analysis at various points, esp. with respect to the literary integrity of the letter and the thematic importance of 1:27-30 (*propositio*).⁴

The study of the epistolary nature of Philippians by L. Alexander—a trained classicist—contrasts with the above rhetorical analyses of Philippians, placing its genre in a decidedly epistolary context.⁵ Alexander maintains that the opening and closing of Philippians not only contain formal epistolary parallels but the body of the letter does as well. She points to the following epistolary features: address and greeting (1:1-2); prayer for the recipients (1:3-11); reassurance about the sender (1:12-26); request for reassurance about the recipients (1:27-2:18); information about the movements of intermediaries (2:19-30); exchange of greetings with third parties (4:21-22); closing wish for health (4:23). She is able to parallel all of these with formal features of various family letters,⁶ specifically P.Oxy. 12.1481 (early II CE), Sel.Pap. 1.112 (II CE), BGU 2.632 (II CE), P.Mich. 8.490, 491 (II CE), and P.Mich. 8.466 (107 CE). Most significantly, she argues that, as in other family letters, 'the exchange of news and reassurance which takes up the early sections of the letter is, initially at least, the letter's real business' (p. 95). In contrast to the single *propositio* of a rhetorical analysis, this would suggest that at least one of the main themes (or purposes) of Philippians, like other family letters, is the exchange of information between sender and recipient—all of whom are part of the 'family' of Christ,

¹In contrast, I am inclined with Fee ('Philippians 2:5-11', pp. 29-46) to read 2:6-11 as 'Pauline prose' rather than as a 'hymn'; see also Wright, *Climax*, pp. 97-98. Eckman's ('Analysis', pp. 258-66) metrical analysis could have easily concluded that there is no hymn present here rather than in the end attempting to salvage some notion of an independent 'hymn' (albeit admittedly altered in its epistolary context).

²Snyman, 'Persuasion', p. 330.

³Wick, *Philliperbrief*, pp. 161-73.

⁴O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 37; contrast Silva (*Philippians*, p. 16): 'Duane F. Watson has attempted a new (but to my mind not fully persuasive) arrangement [of the letter]...'. Marshall (*Philippians*, p. xxix) similarly remarks that if Watson's rhetorical arrangement of the letter is correct 'it shows that a unified theme can be detected right through the letter from end to end. However, it is probably too neat.'

⁵Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', pp. 87-101. To be sure, Philippians more than any other letter of Paul has been characterised as a letter, but not in the systematic manner of recent studies. This has often been mentioned with a view to pointing to its somewhat disjointed structure; so Zahn (*Introduction*, p. 560) at the turn of the century claims that Philippians 'is not an essay, but a real letter, in which the succession of ideas is not always strictly logical'.

⁶They are called 'family' letters because the correspondents are related socially or by blood. Already in 1899, Vincent ('Aspects', p. 107) calls Philippians a 'familiar epistle' (without further definition). He seems to conclude that because of this it is 'informal and irregular in structure'; but it cannot be shown that family or personal letters are by nature 'irregular' in structure.

i.e. ἀδελφοὶ ἐν κύριῳ (cf. Phil 1:12, 14; 2:25; 3:1, 13, 17; 4:1, 8, 21). The exchange of information is motivated by ‘the correspondents’ interest in each others’ welfare’ (*Verbindungsbrieve*).¹ This loosely-defined ‘theme’ is taken up at various points in the letter: (i) Paul’s welfare (1:12-25; 4:10-18); (ii) Philippians’ welfare (1:3-11; 1:27-2:18; 2:29-4:9); and (iii) intermediaries’ welfare (2:19-24, 25-30)—all conveyed from Paul’s perspective.² The strength of Alexander’s study is that it may be tested, both in terms of the *form* of the letter and its *function*. She provides parallels from discourses that actually exist in contrast to parallels in the rhetorical handbooks which exist in theory but, significantly, only rarely in epistolary practice.³ Alexander’s study may be broadened by including other letters of friendship. Family letters, accordingly, are a type of friendly letter;⁴ both may be treated as types of ‘personal’ letters. The personal letter was generally a shorter piece of communication sent primarily to preserve relations between family and friends.⁵ This type of letter typically included (i) expressions of friendship and affection, (ii) reports on the welfare of the sender and requests for similar information from the recipients, (iii) instructions regarding business matters and/or requests for information or articles, (iv) greetings to family and friends. Epistolary formulas used throughout these letters express desire to maintain contact, anxiety over the recipient, and the reason(s) for writing.⁶

L. M. White’s treatment of Philippians as a ‘friendly hortatory letter’ places the letter in a wider context of Greco-Roman conventions of φιλία, as found specifically in the epistolary handbooks.⁷ This is best exhibited in Philippians through the use of the specialised terms κοινωνία, χαίρειν, and τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.⁸ In addition, the παρουσία- and πόθος-motifs in the letter point to its ‘friendship’ nature.⁹ Based on the use of such language throughout the letter he, like Alexander, views the letter as an originally single unit.¹⁰ Both the study of Alexander and that of White, I believe, have advanced understanding of the epistolary typology of Philippians on both formal and functional grounds.

Other studies of the epistolary nature of Philippians have also pointed to the ‘personal’ or ‘friendly’ nature of the letter. J. T. Fitzgerald states outright that Philippians ‘is essentially a letter of friendship’.¹¹ Reumann highlights ‘friendship’ language in 4:10-20,

¹White, *Light*, p. 197.

²The information about each participant’s welfare may be with respect to past, present, or future time.

³Those that do exist in practice (e.g. letters of Demosthenes) hardly parallel the use of epistolary conventions in Philippians.

⁴Cf. Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 71: ‘The epistolary theorists could have isolated the family letter as a type analogous to the friendly letter: A letter for maintaining the affection and social relationship of the household.’

⁵Personal letters of a longer length such as Philippians are not totally absent from epistolary literature. For example, Stirewalt (*Studies*, pp. 12-14) classifies some of the letters of Demosthenes (*Epistle 5*), Plato (*Epistles 6, 13*), and Isocrates (*Epistles 4, 5*) as ‘personal letters’; nonetheless, they are exceptions to the rule.

⁶See Koskenniemi, *Studien*, esp. pp. 128-54; Doty, ‘Epistolary Classification’, pp. 11-12.

⁷White, ‘Morality’, p. 206; for examples of letters of friendship see Stowers, *Letter Writing*, pp. 60-70.

⁸White, ‘Morality’, p. 214. He also notes that concentrations of compounds using συν- further convey the interactional moral tone of the letter (p. 214 n. 58).

⁹Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, p. 145.

¹⁰White, ‘Morality’, p. 206 n. 22; however, in n. 21 he admits (although somewhat tentatively) that 3:1-4:1 ‘may have the best claim for derivation from a separate letter’.

¹¹Fitzgerald, ‘Philippians’, p. 321. Cf. Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, p. 164, and Meeks, *Origins*, p. 77, who claims that Philippians ‘exploits many of the conventions of the topos “On Friendship”, but subsumes friendship under the peculiar notion of “partnership for the gospel”’. Despite the lack of epistolary evidence, Dormeyer (‘Readers’, pp. 152-53) treats Phil 3 as a friendship letter with a rhetorical *dispositio*. For discussion of mostly ‘literary’ *Freundschaft* letters see Thraede, *Grundzüge*, pp. 125-46.

esp. φρονεῖν + ὑπέρ + genitive in 4:10 (cf. 1:7).¹ In his work on ancient letter writing, S. K. Stowers cites Phil 1:7-8 and 2:17-18 as commonplaces (topoi) from the friendly letter tradition,² which are exemplified in the 'friendly' letter of the Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί.

The friendly type (φιλικός), then, is one that seems to be written by a friend (ὑπὸ φίλου) to a friend (πρὸς φίλον). But it is by no means (only) friends who write (in this manner). For frequently those in prominent positions are expected by some to write in a friendly manner to their inferiors and to others who are their equals, for example, to military commanders, viceroys, and governors. There are times, indeed, when they write to them without knowing them (personally). They do so, not because they are close friends and have (only) one choice (of how to write), but because they think that nobody will refuse them when they write in a friendly manner, but will rather submit and heed what they are writing.

Nevertheless, this type of letter is called friendly as though it were written to a friend.³

This discussion is illustrative for Philippians, in which elements of friendship are mixed with exhortations that are intended to be 'heeded'. Letters containing elements of friendship do not preclude, in other words, the use of commands and exhortations. Indeed, 'friendly' letters need not even concern actual friends. The literary use of 'friendship' language might simply serve one's argumentative strategy. In a more detailed treatment of friendship in Philippians, Stowers identifies several conceptual and formal similarities between Philippians and hortatory (or psychagogic) letters of friendship, also concluding that such a reading supports the view of the literary integrity of Philippians: (i) the theme of presence and absence (1:19-26); (ii) expressions of affection and longing to be with one's friends (1:7-8; 2:26; 4:1); (iii) sharing and reciprocity between individuals (1:7; 2:17-18; 4:14) and, similarly, giving and receiving (4:15);⁴ (iv) agreement and equality (1:27; 2:1-4); and (v) enmity as a corollary of friendship and thus the use of contrastive models in exhortation (1:15-17, 27-30; 2:19-24; 2:25-3:1ff.).⁵

The *example* of a friendship letter supplied by the author of Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί supports Stowers' claims, paralleling elements of Paul's discussion of himself in Phil 2:16-17, of Timothy in Phil 2:20, of Epaphroditus in Phil 2:29-3:1, and of members of the Philippian church in 4:2-3. Notably, the term φίλος is never used in the sample letter.

Even though I have been separated from you for a long time, I suffer (πάσχω) this in body (τῷ σώματι) only. For I can never forget you or the impeccable way we were raised together from childhood up. Knowing that I myself am genuinely (γνησίως) concerned (διακείμενον) about your affairs (τὰ πρὸς σέ), and that I have worked unstintingly for what is most advantageous to you, I have assumed that you, too, have the same opinion of me, and will refuse me in nothing. You will do well, therefore, to give close attention (ἐπισκοπῶν) to the members of my household lest they have need (χρειάων) of anything, to assist them in whatever they might need, and to write us about whatever you should choose.⁶

Despite the clear parallels, it is probably prudent to view such language in letters as *topoi* of friendship rather than as a *Gattung* of friendship.⁷ And it is certainly wise not to cast

¹Reumann, 'Contributions', pp. 455-56.

²Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 60.

³Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 1; translation by Malherbe, *Theorists*, p. 33.

⁴Cf. Marshall, *Enmity*, p. 163; for a more detailed analysis see Bormann, *Philippi*, pp. 161-224, who studies Philippians (esp. 4:10-20) against the backgrounds of *römisch-hellenistischer sozialer Konventionen* of φιλία, *Beneficialwesen* (based on Seneca's *De beneficiis*), *konsensuale societas*, and patron-client relations, favouring the last model for interpreting Paul's relationship (client) with the Philippians (patrons).

⁵See Stowers, 'Friends', pp. 107-114; cf. Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation*, p. 144, who also sees *topoi* of friendship in Philippians.

⁶Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 1.

⁷So Berger, 'Gattungen', p. 1389. Nonetheless, by analysing ancient practices of friendship we perhaps gain a more accurate understanding of the 'personal' nature of Paul's letter than that presented in a very general manner by advocates of a single-letter theory who highlight its *persönlichen Charakter*. For

Philippians simplistically into a genre of 'friendship', since the evidence, although suggestive, is only sketchy.

D. E. Aune's classification of Philippians as a mixture of 'gratitude' (Pseudo-Demetrius' letter of thanks ἀπευχαριστικός 21) and paraenesis (positive and negative) accounts for both the *topoi* of friendship and the repeated use of exhortation in Philippians.¹ The 'mixed' letter in Pseudo-Libanius' epistolary types similarly mixes various kinds of styles in one letter: μικτή δὲ ἦν ἐκ διαφόρων χαρακτήρων συνιστῶμεν.² His example of a mixed letter combines both positive and negative exhortation, similar to that found in Philippians:

I know that you live a life of piety, that you conduct yourself as a citizen (πολιτεύῃ) in a manner worthy of respect (σεμνῶς), indeed, that you adorn the illustrious name of philosophy itself, with the excellence of an unassailable (ἀνεπιλήπτου) and pure (ἀγνῆς) citizenship (πολιτείας). But in this one thing alone do you err, that you slander your friends (φίλους κακῶς λέγεις). You must avoid that, for it is not fitting that philosophers engage in slander.³

The 'mixed' letter may also account for the combination of personal information and paraenesis in Philippians (and in Paul's letters in general). Finally, A. J. Malherbe's study of Paul's letters (esp. 1 Thessalonians) in the light of the Hellenistic moralists and epistolary paraenesis (i.e. traditional, generally applicable exhortation) may prove to be especially informative for classifying and interpreting Philippians.⁴ Philippians demonstrates several features of epistolary paraenesis, from beginning to end: Paul's boldness παρρησία (1:20); the theme of *philophronesis* and *parousia* (1:24-27; 2:24); father-son relationship (2:22); models to be emulated (2:29); models to be avoided (3:2, 17); imitation (3:17); παρακαλῶ terminology (4:2); the theme of remembrance of what is already known, expressed by οἴδατε (1:16; 4:15); and virtue lists (4:8-9).⁵ Lastly, the Hellenistic moralists who used letters to convey their philosophy (e.g. some of the letters of Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny) provide general parallels for the lengthier nature of Paul's letters as well as their hortatory agendas.⁶

In summary, the issues raised by Deissmann still haunt NT scholarship, now in the debate over the rhetorical nature of Paul's letters. The rhetorical camp treats them fundamentally as speeches, i.e. orations embodying the canons of the rhetorical handbooks. Appendix B argues that such a rhetorical classification is methodologically suspect, in the light of evidence from the rhetorical and epistolary theorists.⁷ Furthermore, a rhetorical analysis may misinterpret the structure (and function) of a letter, since the oration and the letter represent quite distinct genres. C. J. Classen makes this point in his criticism of Betz's rhetorical analysis of Galatians: 'It is not surprising that the categories

example, to claim that Philippians contains *topoi* of friendship does not necessarily mean that it had to be disjointed in nature.

¹Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 210. Commands are found throughout the letter (both exhortation and prohibition) but the most obvious conglomeration of exhortation is in 4:2-8. On a broader scale, Meeks (*Origins*, p. 80) notes that 'significant portions of all Paul's letters are given over to exhortation and moral advice'.

²Pseudo-Libanius, 'Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτήρες 45.

³Pseudo-Libanius, 'Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτήρες 92; translation by Malherbe, *Theorists*, p. 81.

⁴See esp. his *Moral Exhortation*, pp. 79-85 and 'Hellenistic Moralists', pp. 278-92.

⁵See Malherbe, 'Hellenistic Moralists', esp. p. 292, who similarly characterises 1 Thessalonians as a paraenetic letter.

⁶See Malherbe, "'Seneca'", pp. 414-21.

⁷An area of debate closely related to the question of Paul's use of rhetoric is that of the Greek of the NT, viz. is it koiné or a special type of Christian language (e.g. a mixture of Hebrew thought and Greek language)? A detailed comparison of the language (style) of Paul with the language (style) of the orators may shed further light on the issue of rhetoric in Paul.

of rhetoric fail us with respect to the structure of this epistle, because it is an epistle, and they were not made nor meant to fit such kinds of composition.’¹ N. Enkvist makes a similar point with respect to the study of modern genres:

In ordinary communication, people who know the language do not choose just any norm for comparison with a text: the norm chosen must have a definite contextual relationship with the text. If we read a sonnet, we are more likely to compare it with other sonnets than with, say, a telephone book or a newspaper article. The impression of style, then, arises out of a comparison of the densities of linguistic features in the text with the densities of the corresponding linguistic features in a contextually related norm.²

I am not advocating, however, that Paul’s letters are merely identical reflections of personal, family letters. He has his own ideological concerns (as well as his own idiolect), which result in modifications of the epistolary conventions. Nevertheless, such modifications may only be understood in the light of what *was* convention, which requires paralleling Paul’s letters with other similar letters and appreciating both in their own situations. Neither am I suggesting that Philippians does not contain argumentation; but the emphasis is placed here on its epistolary nature and only then on its use of rhetorical microstructures. The literary link between letter writing and rhetoric seems to be limited to matters of style and, less so, invention (the use of *topoi*). To this extent, the treatment of the style of letter writing in *De Elocutione* is informative of how Paul may have conceived of the style of his letters.³ It is even more relevant for Pauline studies if W. Rhys Roberts’ three suggestions about the work are true: (i) origin in Tarsus, (ii) composition during or before early Christianity, and (iii) written by a grammaticus and used during the secondary stage of education (which seems to me the most likely apex of Paul’s Greco-Roman education).⁴ I *am* arguing, nonetheless, that the evidence from both epistolary and rhetorical theorists as well as actual letters suggests that Paul’s letters are not structured according to principles of rhetorical *dispositio*.⁵

An epistolary analysis of Philippians based on (i) J. L. White’s functional definition of the three sections of a letter (‘maintenance of contact’ in the opening and closing sections and ‘information/requests/commands’ in the body section), (ii) L. Alexander’s study of family letters and the broadening of this to include features of ‘personal, friendly’ letters, (iii) epistolary paraenesis (e.g. philosophical epistolary traditions of Cicero and Seneca),⁶ (iv) epistolary formulas in Greek and Jewish letters, and (v) Paul’s Jewish–Christian

¹Classen, ‘Epistles’, p. 286.

²Enkvist, *Stylistics*, p. 24.

³The discussion of epistolary style (223–35) must be read in conjunction with the treatment on the ‘plain’ style (ἰσχνός) (190–235) as well as that on ‘members’ (κῶλα) and ‘periods’ (περίδος) (1–35), the most basic formal constituents of style.

⁴See his introduction to Demetrius’ *On Style* in the Loeb Classical Library, pp. 276–79; Malherbe (*Theorists*, p. 2) takes a broader dating (third cent. BCE–first cent. CE). The question of Paul’s education is problematic; however, his grasp of letter writing suggests more than an elementary education. Stowers (*Letter Writing*, p. 32) claims that letter writing was learned in the secondary stage of education. Such an education could reasonably account for the advanced yet not overly sophisticated style of Paul’s letters. On the education of rhetors, the final level of formal education see Marrou, *History*, pp. 194–205.

⁵On this basis I would concur with one of Schoon-Janßen’s [unclear] of Watson’s rhetorical reading: ‘...scheint mir Watson den Phil und seine Rhetorik zu schematisch zu interpretieren’ (*Apologien*, p. 142).

⁶The one section in Philippians which does not recall common epistolary conventions is Paul’s self-narrative and rebuttal to ‘implied’ opponents in 3:2–4:1. Perhaps here more than anywhere else in the letter, moral letters and rhetorical discourse may illuminate Paul’s style. Several components of ancient encomia (as delineated in the progymnasmata)—viz. prologue, race and origins, achievements, comparison (σύγκρισις) with those of good and bad character—played an important role in rhetorical (and sometimes epistolary, esp. praise and blame) practice and might help explain Paul’s self-portrait vis-à-vis the implied ‘opponents’.

adaptation of such formulas,¹ may account for much of the generic STRUCTURE of Philippians.² Such an approach accounts for both the basic form and function of the letter, contrary to F. W. Hughes' claim:

The question that rhetorical analysis of letters can answer, that epistolographic analysis alone does not appear to answer very well, is this: Just how are the structure and function of a letter related to its content and the intention of its writer?³

To the contrary, the formal structure of the letter suggests that an interpretation of the communicative functions of Philippians should begin with an appraisal of its epistolary macrostructure. Starting from this epistolary vantage point, the interpreter may then account for Paul's adaptation of the epistolary genre to his immediate situation. His adaptation, or that of his secretary, may have included (conscious or unconscious) principles of *inventio* or more likely *elocutio*, but I see no formal basis for prescriptively applying the rhetorical species or *dispositio* to Philippians. Furthermore, rather than approaching Philippians with a prototypical Pauline letter structure, as W. G. Doty proposes,⁴ this epistolary classification starts with the premise that Philippians must first be interpreted in its own epistolary context and only then compared with Paul's other letters. Priority, in other words, must first be given to the letter at hand and its own contingent circumstances. Indeed, the supposed Pauline letter structure does not neatly fit the structure of Philippians: (i) there is no eschatological appeal before the travelogue; (ii) the travelogue comes towards the middle of the letter; and (iii) the paraenesis and closing are separated by the thank you note. Philippians is not the only letter that deviates from this prescriptive structure;⁵ thus, unless *all* deviation from a supposed norm is taken to be the work of a redactor, the application of a 'Pauline letter structure'—which not every scholar agrees exists—is not a substantive argument against the integrity of Philippians. R. Russell has rightly emphasised the danger of reading a prototypical Pauline structure into Philippians and then, because it does not fit, concluding that it must be a composite letter.⁶

¹So Schneider, *Brief*, col. 575: 'Paulus hat das griech. Briefformular übernommen, hat es aber christlich umgebildet u. erweitert.'

²On the similarities between Jewish authoritative ('official') practices of letter writing (2 Macc 1:1-2:18; Jeremiah-Baruch letters; rabbinic letters; Elephantine correspondence; Bar Kokhba letters) and Paul's letters, see Taatz, *Frühjüdische Briefe*, esp. pp. 102-14. She claims that Jewish official correspondence serves the function of establishing and strengthening the partnership between the Jewish homeland and diaspora communities. Paul similarly maintains community relationships, she argues, by appealing to his collective authority (with other co-workers) and to his prophetic authority (as one called by God); his letters are primarily paraenetic and communal in nature (not private). Taatz unfortunately downplays any Greco-Roman epistolary influence on Paul, when it is clear that the verbal parallels in Greek with Paul's epistolary formulas suggest otherwise, especially (with respect to this study) the epistolary structure of Philippians—in this respect she fails to provide a thorough epistolary analysis of all (or any) of Paul's letters; she tends to highlight only those features which support her thesis. Even if (for the sake of argument) Paul was primarily influenced by Jewish epistolary practices, it is clear that Greco-Roman practices interacted with Aramaic and Hebrew practices probably via early Egyptian epistolary traditions (see Dion, 'Family Letter', pp. 59-76). Regarding Paul's letters, it is not a matter of either 'Jewish' or 'Greco-Roman'. Neither is it a matter of either 'non-literary' or 'literary' (so rightly Richards, *Secretary*, pp. 215-16). Cicero is an example of a letter writer who combined both literary and non-literary styles in his epistolary discourse (cf. Wick, *Philippierbrief*, p. 156). Seneca as well could mix philosophical teaching and personal conversation in his letters; so Wick (*Philippierbrief*, pp. 157) states, 'Bei Seneca ist eine enge Verbindung von Selbstdarstellung und Paränese zu finden, und Freundschaft ist von seinem Philosophieren nicht zu trennen'—Wick finds paraenesis, self-representation, and friendship parallels between Seneca's letters and Philippians.

³Hughes, *Christian Rhetoric*, p. 30.

⁴Doty, *Letters*, p. 29: A Pauline letter structure 'aids in our reconstruction of letters (such as the Corinthian and Philippian correspondence) which have been broken up and rearranged in transmission'.

⁵For example, the travelogue appears at various points in Paul's letters (1 Cor 4:14-21; Gal 4:12-20; 1 Thess 2:17-3:13).

⁶Russell, 'Letter Structure', esp. pp. 295-97.

J. L. White has further demonstrated that some claims about the untypical nature of the epistolary structure of Philippians are unfounded.¹ This is even more significant coming from White, who had earlier adopted a Pauline letter structure and subsequent conclusions about the integrity of Philippians. A comparative analysis of Paul's letters is not without value, however, if the individuality of each is respected.

Therefore, when classifying Paul's letters (which is only intended as a flexible generalisation), I propose that (i) the relative length² and authoritative function of Paul's letters (i.e. their 'literary' character) especially parallel administrative (official) epistolary traditions (about which Paul would know from the inscriptions erected at key locations in cities and his own experience with city officials, e.g. Sel.Pap. 6.1912 [41 CE] 'Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians'),³ (ii) the personal nature of his letters (i.e. their 'non-literary' character) parallels the language and functions of correspondence between family and friends, (iii) the paraenetic nature of his letters parallels the letters of the Hellenistic moralists, and (iv) Jewish 'liturgical' and epistolary traditions and his adaptation of these (e.g. embedded hymns, confessions, appeals to Scripture, and doxologies) arise from both his Jewish and Christian experience (i.e. his idiolect).⁴ J. L. White comes close to this categorisation in his claim that 'Paul's letters are longer and more literary than ordinary correspondence. These features are joined by the official, albeit, familiar, tone of his letters'.⁵ This intertextual account of Paul's epistolary style does not appeal to the rhetorical handbooks. Philippians is first of all a letter, i.e. correspondence between spatially separated people. Beyond that, it shows features of administrative and personal (familiar) epistolary traditions, the latter of which Hellenistic moralists could use for hortatory purposes. Paul brings to this epistolary context his own idiolect, Jewish background, as well as his own Jewish-Christian ideology. Lastly, in contrast to rhetorical reconstructions, where there is a noticeable emphasis upon finding a controlling theme (or *propositio*) of the letter, this decidedly epistolary classification of Philippians allows for (almost demands) multiple purposes in the letter.⁶

¹See esp. his comments on the 'joy expression' of 4:10 ('Introductory Formulae', p. 95; *Light*, p. 201) and on the travelogue of 2:19-30 ('Introductory Formulae', p. 95; 'Epistolary Literature', p. 1750 n. 59).

²Letter writers often apologised for 'laconic' letters; see examples in Stirewalt, *Studies*, pp. 81-82. It is not unreasonable, then, to assume that the relative length of Paul's letters may have been partly occasioned by his desire to convey his concern for the recipients.

³The 'administrative' nature of Paul's letters is also evidenced by their decidedly didactic nature. With respect to administrative letters, White ('Discussion', p. 50) states, 'The correspondence that emanates from superiors or peers would typically fall under the subheading "letters of instruction"' (emphasis mine). In addition, that Paul's letters (at least some of them; see Gal 1:1; cf. Col 4:16) were probably intended to be 'circular' in part parallels administrative practices of circulating letters throughout a region; see Josephus *AJ* 11.3; *Vit.* 245; P.Oxy. 1409 (278 CE).

⁴Cf. Wick, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 160, who also suggests several epistolary traditions influencing Paul: 'Traditionen, aus denen er offensichtlich schöpfen konnte, sind der hellenistische Freundschaftsbrief, der Familienbrief, der Brief als geeignetes Mittel zur Vermittlung von paränetischer Lehre und der frühjüdische gemeindedleitende Brief.'

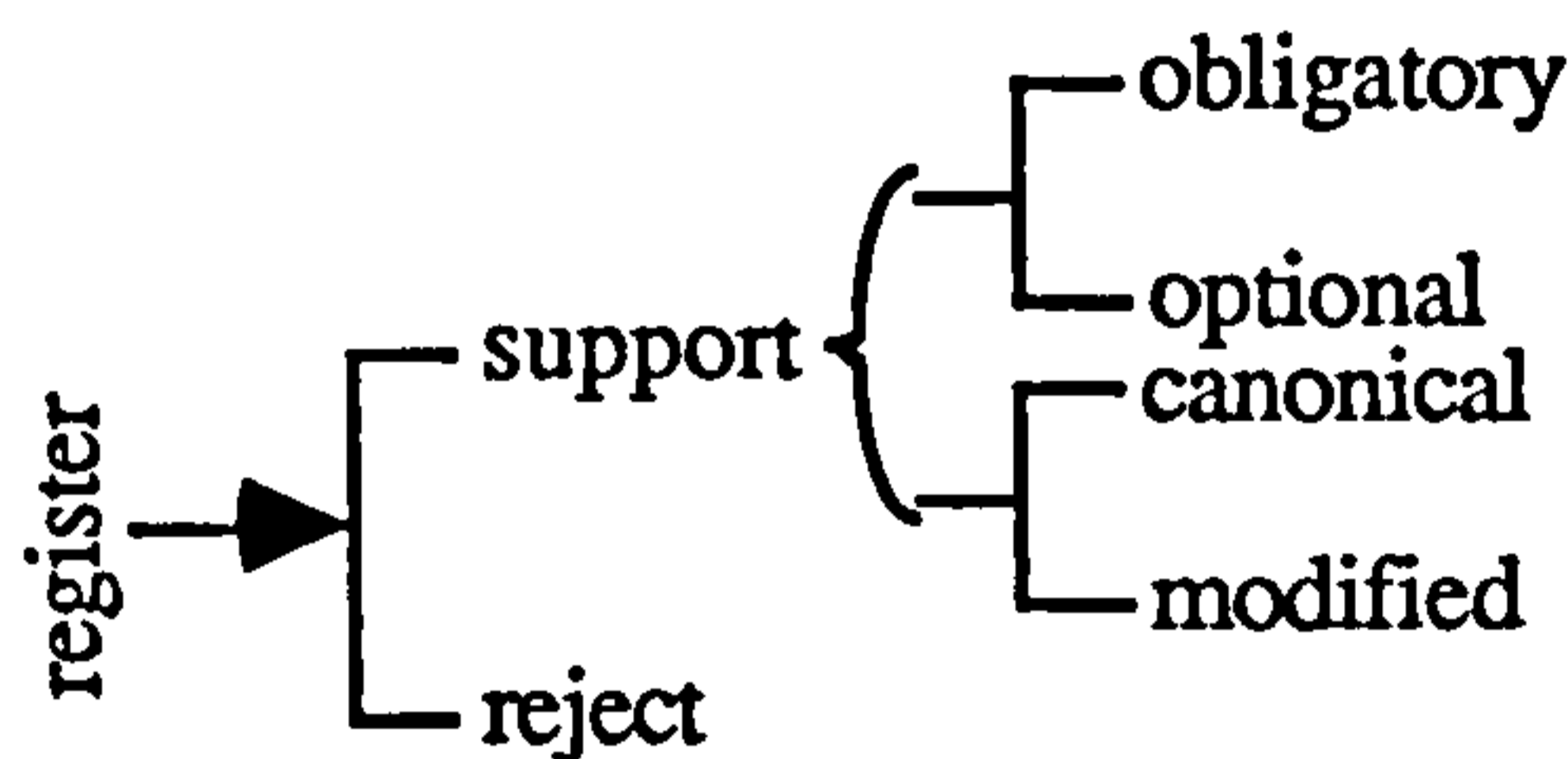
⁵White, 'Saint Paul', p. 436.

⁶Hawthorne (*Philippians*, pp. xlvii-xlviii) lists eight purposes of the letter: (i) to show his affection for them; (ii) to bring them up to date on the news about himself; (iii) to inform them of some erroneous tenets of Jewish religion; (iv) to encourage them in the face of persecution; (v) to tell them about Epaphroditus' welfare; (vi) to correct division within their ranks; (vii) to encourage them to rejoice irrespective of circumstances; (viii) to express his thanks for the gift. Although (iv) and (vii) are similar and the solely Jewish interpretation of Phil 3 is debatable, Hawthorne demonstrates in part the multi-thematic nature of Philippians.

EPISTOLARY CONVENTIONS IN PHILIPPIANS

In the above section, it has been argued that the register (genre or macrostructure) of Philippians is decidedly epistolary in nature. This was further delineated in terms of its personal (friendly and familiar) and paraenetic functions—which in terms of the texture of the discourse (see chap. 5) are predominantly INTERPERSONAL meanings of language. That is, Philippians is a letter (i.e. a discourse between spatially separated communicants) employing a combination of personal and paraenetic functions of language. It does not, in contrast, contain a rhetorical *dispositio* structure. The following study attempts to detail the obligatory and optional epistolary formulas in Philippians.¹ The purpose is not simply to list endless formal parallels between Philippians and the letters from the papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions. It is a comparative analysis with other epistolary traditions so as to reveal how Paul adopts and adapts the epistolary register for his own ideological and situational purposes. Particular attention is given to those epistolary conventions (esp. in 3:1 and 4:10-20) which have played a central role in the debate over the letter's literary integrity.

As a matter of definition, I use the term 'formula' (convention) simply to mean *the use of similar linguistic forms in similar situational contexts (i.e. registers) with similar functions.*² To recall the discussion of register in chap. 2, if an author 'supports' generic convention he or she may use 'obligatory' or 'optional' formulas and 'canonical' or 'modified' ones.



LETTER COLLECTIONS

Before turning to the individual epistolary conventions, a brief response to P. Perkins' comparison of Philippians with the ancient practice of collating separate letters is in order. Accepting the hypothesis of multiple letters, Perkins states,

Documentary papyri show that letters could be appended to one another. Phil 4:10-20 may well have been dispatched with the letter about Paul's case...[then] the warning against intruding Judaizers may have been dispatched with the latter's [Timothy] departure for Philippi not long after the previous correspondence.³

Her reference to documentary chain letters (letters appended to other letters) is a reasonable (yet impossible to verify) hypothesis about how Paul's letters may have been circulated among the various house and regional churches. This does not prove a multiple-letter theory of Philippians; it only allows for it. However, in a footnote she seems to claim that chain letters might explain the subsequent redaction of Paul's letters into the canonical one:

In the case of administrative chain letters, the opening conventions might be reduced to "to B" and the closing omitted. In some cases the contents of an appended letter may be referred to, with the original attached for the recipient's information.⁴

¹To my knowledge the present study is one of the most detailed epistolary analyses of the whole of the letter; but also see Bloomquist (*Function*, pp. 104-116) and Alexander ('Letter-Forms', pp. 87-101) who treat the *whole* of the letter in terms of its epistolary structure.

²Cf. Mullins, 'Formulas in New Testament Epistles', p. 388.

³Perkins, 'Christology', p. 509.

⁴Perkins, 'Christology', p. 509 n. 4; cf. White, 'Formulas', p. 294. I would add that the prescript is sometimes reduced to just 'A'.

As evidence she cites J. L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* (pp. 35-36, 40-43, 87, 217-18). In response, although appended letters may have had their closings excised, I am aware of no case where the entire opening was omitted, which must be the case with letters A and C to the Philippians. Furthermore, appended letters contain noticeable remnants of their epistolary openings.¹ In some cases, separate ‘petitions’ would be physically gummed together to form a single role (Sel.Pap. 2.290.3-4 [207 CE]). Chain letters were not solely limited to administrative tasks; for example, Sel.Pap. 1.125.14-16 (II CE) mentions a collection of personal correspondence. Sel.Pap. 1.121 (II CE) is a case of two letters (from one author to his mother and to his brother) written on the same sheet of papyrus, both containing a complete epistolary structure (prescript, body, closing). Copies of letters were often initiated with the expression ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς; for example, Sel.Pap. 2.422 (103 CE) has the opening and closing intact. Secondly, in nearly all of the above examples, specific reference is made to an appended letter, precisely because the purpose of appending letters was not to create one seamless letter. This is where Perkins’ chain-letter hypothesis fails to explain a multiple-letter theory of Philippians. Chain letters may help explain how Paul might have sent originally-separate letters. But the redaction of administrative chain letters and that which must have occurred in the case of the canonical Philippians are of an entirely different kind; thus, chain letters and collections of letters do not provide a convincing explanation of the mysterious, enigmatic redactor who successfully combined the letters into a seeming unity only to be detected over 1,700 years later.

PRESCRIPT (1:1)

Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις. The prescript—viz. superscription (sender, ‘implied author’) and adscription (recipient, ‘implied reader’)—was obligatory for the epistolary genre.² To it was typically added a salutation (see below). The prescript and salutation (and other opening elements such as the thanksgiving) set the social and interpersonal context for the entire discourse. They often take the form of ‘A (nominative) to B (dative), greetings (e.g. χαίρειν)’. An inverted order of the prescript with the salutation omitted is sometimes expressed with ‘to B from A’ (e.g. P.Oxy. 2.284.1-2 [50 CE] Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Πασίωι στρατηγῷ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου) or ‘to B χαίρειν A’, especially in complaints, petitions, administrative and

¹See White’s examples as well as Sel.Pap. 2.225 (278 CE); 2.256 (226 BCE?); 2.273 (157 BCE); 2.298 (120 CE); 2.301 (194 CE); 2.410 (257 BCE); 2.412 (251 BCE).

²For a lengthy list of all types of letter openings see Exler, *Form*, pp. 24-60; In his commentary on Ephesians, Theodore of Mopsuestia comments on the conventional nature of Paul’s prescript: ἐν τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὴν προγραφὴν συνεπέρανεν, παραπλήσιόν τι τῇ παρ’ ἡμῖν συνηθείᾳ ποιῶν· ὡς ὅταν ἐπιστέλλοντες λέγομεν Ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν (see Harris, ‘Study’, p. 163). Lohmeyer (‘Probleme’, pp. 158-73) differentiated between *griechischem und vorderasiatischem Briefformular*, placing Paul’s prescript in the former context; he also views the salutation as an early Christian liturgical formula used to introduce worship. Friedrich (‘These’, p. 346) agrees that Paul’s ‘grace and peace’ expression ‘zum Bestand des orientalischen Briefgrußes gehören’ but adds that Lohmeyer ‘hat...zu radikal jeden griechischen Einfluß geleugnet’. Friedrich doubts Lohmeyer’s ‘liturgical’ thesis of the salutation on the grounds that (i) 1 Thess 1:1 is an abbreviated formula and (ii) the later Pauline letters (presumably he means the Pastorals) do not employ the exact same formula even though they too were probably read during worship—a more rigid formula would be expected to have evolved over time. Instead, Friedrich sees Paul’s salutation as a development ‘aus dem orientalischen Briefformular’ (e.g. neo-Babylonian and Elephantine letters).

official communication. Paul follows the typical ‘A to B’ order of personal letters.¹ Exler notes that the ‘A to B’ formula ‘remains the common formula for superiors and equals’ but becomes less frequent in letters ‘by inferiors writing to superiors’ during the first three centuries CE.² ‘Familiar Letters almost always take A- to B- χαίρειν...’;³ in contrast, personal letters in which the correspondence is from family members asking for favours, from children, or from servants or agents of the household sometimes employ the more reverential ‘To B from A χαίρειν’.⁴ The functions of such word order variations suggest that the opening of the letter was used to establish social relationships between sender and recipient. More obviously, the prescript was necessary due to the spatial distance separating the communicants, i.e. it identified who was talking to whom. The superscription and/or adscription were also often expanded with the addition of epithets, titles, terms of relationship (A to his mother B) and endearment (A to my most beloved friend B), and geographical location.⁵ One distinguishing feature of Paul’s prescript is his sometimes lengthy expansion of the obligatory ‘A to B’ elements, a characteristic which was *not* advocated by the later epistolary theorist of Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες (51)⁶ but, nonetheless, was practised by many—theory and practice do not always mesh. In his letter to the Romans, after identifying himself as the letter’s sender Paul continues from 1:1 through 1:6, employing adjectives, participial phrases, and relative clauses in his subscription until finally arriving at the adscription. Paul’s epistolary expansion, then, should not be characterised as a digression, but as a linguistically ‘marked’ development of his subject matter, setting the stage for the rest of the discourse. This would not only be evident to Paul but, more importantly, to Greco-Roman readers who were exposed to epistolary conventions. Expansions of superscriptions in Hellenistic letters typically involve descriptions of the sender’s identity (e.g. ‘son of...’) or location (e.g. ‘from the region of Oxyrhynchus’). This is especially true of official letters which require detailed identification. For example, in a census return, a woman, Thermoutharion, describes herself as the daughter of Thoönis and as one having a guardian, Apollonius the son of Sotades (P.Oxy. 255 [48 CE] Θερμουθαρίου τῆς Θεώνιος μετὰ κυρίου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σωτάδου). In some cases, the social role of the sender is mentioned, as in Sel.Pap. 1.104 (I BCE) Ἀθηναγόρας ὁ ἀρχίατρος (the official physician) τοῖς ἱερεῦσι...χαίρειν (note the plural recipient).⁷ Expansions of adscriptions often involve additions of words expressing honour or endearment (e.g. φιλάτῳ; τιμιωτάτῳ; κυρίῳ; ἡμετέρῳ; ἰδίῳ; γλυκυτάτῳ; ἀξιολογωτάτῳ) or familial relationships (ἀδελφῷ; ἀδελφῆ; μητρί; πατρί; υἱῷ; θυγατρὶ).⁸ Similar to the Pauline letters, adscriptions of ancient

¹In the pseudepigraphical *Epistolae Senecae et Pauli* the order of the elements was an issue; see Malherbe, “Seneca”, pp. 420-21. In *Ep.* 10 Paul tells Seneca that his own name should appear first in the latter’s prescripts in view of his status in the church—Seneca addresses his letters with *Seneca Paulo salutem* while Paul uses the supposedly more humble *Senecae Paulus salutem*. Although Paul continues to place his name second (out of respect and ‘to be all things for all people’), Seneca later concurs that Paul’s name should be placed first (*Ep.* 14). Paul obliges him in his last letter.

²Exler, *Form*, p. 64. Cuneiform letters (e.g. Ras Shamra; El-Amarna; Neo-Babylonian) sometimes, but not consistently, place the name of the recipient first as a sign of the sender’s lower social status; see Knutson, ‘Letters’, pp. 15-23.

³White, ‘Formulas’, p. 290.

⁴For examples see Exler, *Form*, pp. 33-34.

⁵See e.g. BGU 3.846 (II CE) Ἀντωνίης Λόνγος Νειλοῦτι τῇ μητρί πλίστα χαιρειν ‘Antonius Longus to Neilouta my most esteemed mother, greetings’; P.Ryl. 2.231 (40 CE) Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ φιλάτῳ χαιρειν ‘Ammonius to the most beloved Aphrodius, greetings’.

⁶The author states that the address should begin with the simple ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαιρειν.

⁷Cf. γεωργός in P.Tebt. 1.56.1 (late II BCE).

Greek letters are not always expressed with personal names, at times being addressed to plural recipients. In P.Amh. 2.40 (II BCE) Epiodoros, for example, writes to the religious officials at Soknopaiou, without specifying any names: Ἡπιόδωρος τῶι λεςώνει καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Σοκνοπαίου χαίρειν.¹ The preposition ἐν used to identify the location of a plural recipient, as in Philippians, appears in P.Tebt. 1.59.1-2 (99 BCE) Ποσειδώνιος τοῖς ἐν Τεπτύνει ἱερεῦσι.² Letters to plural recipients were not always official in nature as demonstrated in the preceding P.Tebt. 1.59 (99 BCE)—a terse friendly letter—and Sel.Pap. 1.99 (154 BCE)—a family letter.

Paul's prescript in Philippians was not only modified in terms of its expansion, but also in terms of the semantics of this expansion. Paul, in other words, employs an optional feature of prescripts (viz. expansion) but modifies it for his own ideological purposes. He employs the noun δοῦλοι with reference to himself and Timothy and the substantival adjective ἀγίοις with reference to the Philippians (cf. Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1). Furthermore, the mention of another 'sender' in the prescript (viz. Timothy; cf. 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 1), although not unique in epistolary literature, is unquestionably rare.³ This is more noteworthy in the light of Paul's mention of co-workers in several of his letters: 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 1 (cf. Col 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1). The mention of Timothy in the prescript coheres with mention of him later in Phil 2:19-24—but does the prescript indicate dual authorship? The predominance of first person singular pronouns (54 personal pronouns; 2 possessive; 1 reflexive) and verbs (66) in contrast to first person plural pronouns (six personal)⁴ and verbs (four)⁵ at least suggests that for much of the letter Paul is 'portrayed' as the implied author, whether Timothy actually contributed to the letter writing process or not.

⁸See e.g. P.Oxy. 2.269.1-3 (57 CE) Τρύφων Ἀμμωνᾶτι τῶ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν; P.Heid. 2.211.v.2.1-2 (I CE) Κάστωρ Λολλίῳ τῶι τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν; BGU 8.1838.1-3 (51-50 BCE) τῶι θειοτάτῳ καὶ κυρίῳ στρατηγῶι παρὰ Σεμθέως τοῦ Πετοσίριος; SB 14.12084.1-3 (I CE) Ζωῖλος Φιλουμένη τῆι ἀδελφῆι πλείστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν; P.Oxy. 12.1092.1-2 (c. 30 CE) Ἐρμογένης Ἰσχυρᾶτι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν; P.Corn. 1.49.1-2 (I CE) [Διογ]εῖνης Θερμουθᾶτι [τῆ] μητρί καὶ κυρία χαίρειν; P.Fouad. 1.75.1-2 [64 CE]; Θαυβᾶς Πομπηῖῳ τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν; for the use of familial terms in the prescripts of Aramaic letters see Dion, 'Family Letter', p. 60.

¹Plural addressees are identified with a variety of nouns and adjectives and in a variety of types of letters, including personal letters: e.g. P.Oxy. 1.47.5 (83-84 CE) ἀγορανόμοις; P.Mil.Vogl. 4.218.2 (II CE) ἀδελφοῖς; P.Mich. 3.201.2 (99 CE) ἀμφοτέροις; P.Oxy. 3.474.1 (184 CE) βασιλ(ικοῖς); P.Mil. 2.63.11 γεωργοῖς; P.Laur. 2.41.1 (III CE) γνησίοις; P.Oxy. 1.96.4 δημ(οσίοις); P.Cair.Zen. 2.59203.7 (254 BCE) λαοῖς; P.Oxy. 1.96.4 (180 CE); μετόχ(οις); P.Oxy. 1.88.3 (179 CE) σιτολόγοις; P.Oxy. 1.58.1 (288 CE) στρατηγοῖς; P.Oxy. 14.1668.1 (III CE) ἀδελφοῖς; P.Oxy. 91206.5 (335 CE) ἀλλήλοισ; P.Oxy. 42.3018.13 (III CE) βαρβάροις; P.Oxy. 14.1768.2 (III CE) γλυκυτάτοις; P.Ryl. 4.574.2 (I BCE) συννεκροτάφοις; P.Oxy. 14.1768.2 (III CE) τέκνοις. The mention of plural addressees in Paul's letters is also paralleled in royal letters written from a leader to a community as well as in philosophical letters written from a philosopher to a community of students (White, 'Ancient Greek Letters', p. 96). Epicurus, for example, addresses a letter 'to the philosophers in Mytilene' and another to 'to friends in Lampsacus' (Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 40).

²Cf. P.Bour. 12.1-4 (88 BCE) Πλάτων τοῖς ἐν Παθύρει ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατοικοῦσι χαίρειν.

³Richards (*Secretary*, p. 47 n. 138) cites six: 'P.Oxy. 118, 1158, 3094, 3313, 3064 (all third century) and 1167 (n.b., A.D. 37-41)'; but he concludes, without explanation, that 'none of these letters are analogous to Paul's letters'. He seems unaware of a large number of examples; I have found at least 83 other examples, one as early as 137 BCE—examples from only one corpus of papyri include SB 5.7579.1 (99-100? CE); 5.7580 (128 CE); 6.9017.16.1 (I-II CE); 6.9545.1 (142 CE); 6.9552.1 (137 BCE); 14.11496.1 (319 CE).

⁴Phil 3:17 is the only case in which the Philippians are clearly not part of the reference (thus, Timothy may be in view); the others are ambiguous as to whether Paul includes his immediate colleagues and/or includes himself and the Philippians (see 1:2; 3:3, 20-21; 4:20).

⁵Phil 3:3, 15, 16, 20. None of these are informative to the question of dual authorship, since they probably encompass more than those who are present with Paul.

The expansion of the prescript using ἁγίοις is clearly religious in tone. Although it parallels the use of ἱερεῖς ‘priests’ (and other religious terminology) in the papyri (e.g. P.Bour. 1.12.1-4 [88 BCE] Πλάτων τοῖς ἐν Παθύρει ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατοικοῦσι χαίρειν), Paul’s use of ἅγιος in his prescripts (it is also used similarly in the closing greetings) does not serve as a precisely defined institutional role but a group-identifier (i.e. those who are ‘in Christ’). In 1 Cor 6:2, Paul appears to include himself and all ‘Christians’ under the rubric of ἅγιοι. Its use in his other prescripts (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; cf. Eph 2:1; Col 1:2) suggests that the term in part served to identify those who were ‘inside’ over against those who were ‘outside’ (i.e. the ‘we’ and the ‘they’).¹ Therefore, although little is known about the precise cultural composition of the Philippian Christians (precisely because Paul’s prescript and letter is unconcerned with and assumes such things [see chap. 2 on the CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE]),² Paul’s prescript portrays the implied audience in a decidedly religious and, furthermore, in a [Pauline] ‘Christian’ manner.

The other expansion, δοῦλοι,³ may imply a Greco-Roman concept of ‘slavery’, either with a negative⁴ or positive connotation or both,⁵ or, instead, a Jewish concept of religious

¹Paul uses other titles to identify his recipients, perhaps demonstrating his conscious awareness of his epistolary strategy: ἀγαπητός (Rom 1:7; Phlm 1); ἐκκλησία (1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; Phlm 2); συνεργός (Phlm 1); ἀδελφή (Phlm 2); συστρατιώτης (Phlm 2); cf. πιστός (Eph 1:1; Col 1:2) and τέκνος (1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; Titus 1:1).

²The biblical and archaeological evidence regarding the socio-cultural and socio-economic makeup of the Philippian Christians is, although minute, suggestive. In Acts 16:13 the author breaks his pattern of placing Paul in a synagogue upon his arrival to a new city but instead has him at a προσευχή. Regardless of whether the term refers to an unofficial gathering or an actual synagogue (see Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. xxxiv, for proponents of both views) it is clearly a Jewish gathering (τῆ...ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων). Unless the author of Acts is cognisant of the absence of Jews in Philippi but still wants to maintain his image of Paul preaching first to the Jews and so he fabricates this Jewish gathering (a distinct possibility), then at least the initial Philippian Christians had some type of Jewish background. Second, the silence of archaeological evidence for Jewish communities in the area of Philippi suggests that these Jews were clearly at home in a Greco-Roman culture, probably making their livelihood directly in interaction with Gentiles. Nonetheless, by the time of Paul’s letter(s) to the Philippians, some of the Christians were probably from a pagan background, like their fellow Macedonians in Thessalonica (1 Thess 1:9)—perhaps explaining why Paul does not use scriptural argumentation in the letter. Finally, if the persecution faced by the Philippians mentioned in 1:28-30 is being inflicted by Philippian officials (not an outside Judaizing group), then it would seem best to place the socio-economic status of the Philippian Christians among small traders and craftspeople. All of the Philippian Christians could not have been veterans, as has often been assumed, since these would have been a minority of the population by the time of Paul (the original veteran colonists’ grandchildren would have been present at Paul’s arrival). Nevertheless, the persistence of Roman culture in Philippi (as evidenced by the abundance of Latin inscriptions) suggests that the Philippian Christians would have been acculturated to Roman ‘colony’ life. Thus, the Philippian churches (not necessarily the target readership) are probably mixed, including Jews and Gentiles who are both familiar with both Greek and Roman culture. Regardless of their actual historical make-up, the implied readers of the letter are familiar with both Jewish and Greco-Roman social conventions. Since Schinz (*Gemeinde*) the gentile composition of the Philippian Christians has generally been accepted, but it is less certain whether this new religious group would have been perceived by the surrounding community as anything but another form of Judaism (monotheism).

³The absence of ἀπόστολος in Phil 1:1 (cf. 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; Phlm 1), as many have pointed out, may indicate that Paul’s apostolic authority was not being challenged in Macedonia (so O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 45); however, if δοῦλος implies an honorific title, based on a LXX background, then Paul’s prescript also establishes his institutional role over the Philippians (so Schenk, *Philippierbriefe*, p. 77). In any case, Paul seems conscious of his use of titles in his prescripts, as is demonstrated by their diversity: ἀπόστολος (Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1; Eph 1:1; Col 1:1; 1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1; Titus 1:1); δοῦλος (Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1; cf. Titus 1:1); δέσμιος (Phlm 1); nothing (1 Thess 1:1; cf. 2 Thess 1:1); and ἀδελφός (with reference to Sosthenes in 1 Cor 1:1 and to Timothy in 2 Cor 1:1; cf. Gal 1:2; Col 1:1).

⁴So O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 45, who reasons that (i) the readers in a Greco-Roman context would have understood the term with a negative connotation and (ii) the larger letter stresses humility and, thus, would suggest a similar meaning in the prescript. In response, Martin (*Slavery*, esp. pp. 1-49) has argued that Greco-Roman readers, if the Philippian readers are permitted to be viewed in such a simplistic manner,

servanthood.¹ Clearly, it must be admitted that δοῦλος could have any of these semantic meanings depending on the background and situation which the modern interpreter reads into its particular usage; in at least 1 Cor 7:22 (ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἐστὶν Χριστοῦ) Paul clearly uses it according to a Greco-Roman world view. In such a terse prescript, it would seem wise not to be dogmatic about any of these interpretations. Regardless of the precise cultural background of δοῦλος (Jewish, Greco-Roman, or elements of both), it refers to both Paul *and* Timothy and, thus, probably does not designate a technical, official title;² Paul reserves ἀπόστολος in his prescripts for himself alone in order to describe his divinely ordained status (1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1-2; cf. Col 1:1) whereas Timothy is referred to as simply ἀδελφός in 2 Cor 1:1 and Phlm 1 (cf. Col 1:1). In other words, Paul seems to differentiate between his official title and that of his co-workers; this would leave δοῦλος to serve as a general descriptor of those ‘serving’ in a particular manner (probably as ‘missionaries’) on behalf of the Lord (cf. Col 4:12 where it describes Epaphras but in a *closing* greeting). Furthermore, in the light of the ‘A to B’ order of Paul’s prescript (see above) and his typical attentiveness to epistolary convention, Paul is probably not portraying himself as an ‘inferior’ to the Philippians.³ The word order of the prescript suggests that it would have been read as though Paul is at least their equal. Paul’s δοῦλος is also described in reference to the Messiah Jesus (Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ), a decidedly religious relationship.⁴ Paul’s use of the genitive Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is even more noteworthy if it is remembered that the sender of a letter sometimes specified his or her social status and identity (and that of the recipient) by employing the genitive name of his or her father or mother (e.g. Sel.Pap. 1.103.1 [95 BCE] Πετοσοῦχος Πανεβχούνιος to...); Paul is perhaps portraying himself as the inferior of Jesus just as sons were subordinate to their fathers or, more likely, he is simply describing his particular social network (i.e. to whom he belongs).⁵ Paul’s description of himself in relation to a ‘deified’ entity is probably best treated as a modified use of an optional epistolary tradition. Similar expressions are very rare in the papyri; note, however, that in the prescript of P.Genova 1.10.1-4 (55 CE) Nero is described as a

could perceive of slavery in terms of a person’s relative power. Furthermore, since there is no other linguistic context in Phil 1:1 it seems unwise to interpret one aspect of the rest of the letter (viz. humility) as the motive behind δοῦλοι. Indeed, in the same verse Paul has no trouble using terms like ἐπισκόπος and διακόνος which would have had connotations of authority. Why set apart leaders in the prescript if his point was to stress humility?

⁵Although I think the evidence in Phil 1:1 and Rom 1:1 is too sparse to claim that δοῦλος was a ‘leadership title’ in early Christianity (so Martin, *Slavery*, p. 51), I am convinced by Martin’s argument that even in a Greco-Roman context the concept of slavery might have implied such things as humility *or* power, being understood differently by various readers (Martin, *Slavery*, p. 60).

¹Schenk (*Philippenerbriefe*, pp. 77-76) views δοῦλοι vis-à-vis an OT background, in which δοῦλος could refer to servants set apart by God for a special ministry (e.g. Neh 10:29; Josh 24:29; Ps 89:20 [LXX 88:21]; 2 Kgs [4 Kgdms] 14:25).

²Paul uses the participle phrase δουλεύοντες ‘to the Lord’ in Rom 12:11 with reference to all Christians, not an isolated few (cf. Rom 14:18; Eph 6:7).

³For example, O’Brien (*Philippians*, p. 45) sees a thematic relationship between δοῦλοι as ‘slaves of Christ’ and the theme of humility elsewhere in the letter (e.g. 2:6-11).

⁴Parkin (‘Prescripts’, p. 99) argues that Paul’s connection with Christ here, even though he does not identify himself as ἀπόστολος, is a sign that he feels his apostleship is being challenged; he notes that 1 Thessalonians in contrast employs neither expression because it was written before Paul’s apostleship had been challenged. Although imaginative, this suggestion is nonetheless speculative; more importantly, it should not be used to interpret chapter three as an apologetic by Paul.

⁵Fitzmyer (‘Epistolography’, p. 213) notes that the use of ܐܪܡܐ and ܐܒܝܐ (‘servant’ and ‘lord’) in the prescripts of Aramaic letters does not imply slavery ‘but are used as polite customary expressions among persons of differing rank or status’. Paul’s ‘servanthood’ is expressed with respect to Jesus by means of the genitive; the epistolary order does not indicate that he saw himself as an inferior to the Philippians.

descendant of the deified Caesar Augustus Νέρω[ν] Κλαύδ[ι]ος...ἀπόγον[ος Καίσαρος] θεοῦ [Σε]βαστοῦ... χ(αίρειν), and in SB 10.10256.1-3 (54-68 CE) the sender [Ἄρθοῶ]νις Ἀρσιήσιος τοῦ Ἄρθοῶνιος describes himself as ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης of a variety of gods, [Θοήριδος] καὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν [μεγίστων], before addressing and greeting the recipient Ἄρθοῶνι Πασίριος χ(αίρειν).¹

These are all important issues for interpreting the epistolary structure of Philippians, but they contribute little to the question of integrity. One point, however, especially relates to the entire structure of the letter and, hence, its perceived unity. Does the only use of second person singular grammar in Philippians (σε and συλλαμβάνου) and the mention of a γνήσιε σύζυγε in 4:3 suggest a different letter than that signalled by the plural recipient in 1:1? For example, Rahtjen argues that Phil 4:3 probably refers to Timothy, who at the time of 1:1-2:23 was with Paul at his place of imprisonment, but at the time of 4:3 was at Philippi; hence, these references betray different letters written to different recipients.² Besides the dubiety surrounding the speculation that γνήσιε σύζυγε refers to Timothy whose name was deleted by a later redactor, evidence from epistolary literature reveals that there is nothing unusual about highlighting a specific individual in a letter written to a plural audience. In Sel.Pap. 1.99 (154 BCE) Sarapion writes to Πτολεμαίωι καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (the outside address also names both individuals). In the body of the letter he uses a second person *singular* verb (καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀποστεῖλαι)—referring to Apollonius—in order to request the sending of some oil. Prior to this he uses a second person *plural* pronoun in a disclosure formula: γέγραφ' ἑμῖν (ὑμῖν) ἵνα εἰδῆται. The author vacillates between writing to the recipients as a group and writing to an individual in that group. Furthermore, there is no need to see a redactor's hand in Phil 4:3 vis-à-vis the absence of a personal name, since letters to a plural audience sometimes had only a singular addressee on the *verso* of the papyrus. In Sel.Pap. 1.103 (95 BCE) the address on the *verso* reads Πεταρσεμθεῖ Νεβχούνιος and παρὰ Πετοσοῦχου τοῦ Νεβχούνιος. The prescript, however, is addressed to Panebehounis and five additional people. In the first sentence of the letter's body, the sender issues an exhortation using a second person plural imperative: μὴ λυπεῖσθε ἐπὶ τοῖς χωρισθεῖσι. The letter to the Philippians similarly could have been addressed to a named individual on the *verso* (which was never preserved during the collection of Paul's letters) but to a wider audience in the prescript with the unspecified reference to the individual in 4:3. This individual would have most likely had some form of a leadership role in the house churches at Philippi. This may help further explain Paul's seemingly awkward expression in the prescript: σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις. This has generally been interpreted either inclusively ('to all the saints, including the overseers and deacons')³ or exclusively ('to all the saints together with the overseers and deacons').⁴ I am not particularly interested here in the question of a church order which may or may not have been imported into the text by a later redactor; answers to such issues must remain tentative.⁵ Rather, my interest is in how this

¹See also P.Tebt. 3.737.1.1-2 (136 BCE) and P.Oxy. 34.2722.5-6 (154 CE).

²Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', p. 171; cf. Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 272.

³Although in Classical Attic σύν often means 'including' and 'with the aid of', Ionic and accordingly Hellenistic 'retain σύν in the sense of "with" alongside μετά, and so it appears in the NT also' (BDF § 221).

⁴For a survey of interpretations see O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 48-50.

⁵Schenk (*Philippenerbriefe*, pp. 78-82), for example, interprets ἐπίσκοπος as a postapostolic authority imported into Philippians; contrast, however, Reumann ('Contributions', pp. 446-50), who, although not opposed to a multiple-letter theory, argues that these leadership roles may have been created by the

prepositional phrase may have been understood (by Paul and his readers) in an epistolary context such as the prescript. The use of the preposition σύν with the dative in conjunction with the addressee (more often with the sender) of the prescript is not lacking in the papyri (though it is rare). When this phrase is used, it is combined with an initial reference to the recipient by means of καί and it typically includes an intensive pronoun referring back to the recipient. For example, in P.Oxy. 1.61.5-6 (221 CE) the recipients are identified as Αὐρηλ(ίω) Διογένει καὶ τοῖς σὺν α(ὐτῷ) δημοσί(οις) τραπ(εζίταις) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου) τοῖς φιλ(τάτοις) χαίρ[(ειν)].¹ The absence of the connective καί and pronoun in 1:1 suggests that Paul's use of the preposition is not simply inclusive, since he is not following linguistic convention. However, based on Paul's use of ἅγιοι elsewhere (as just mentioned) it is also unlikely that he is differentiating between the 'saints' and the 'leaders' (an exclusive interpretation) as distinct institutional roles. Instead, what he may be doing is addressing his letter to the ἅγιοι at Philippi who have leaders designated as 'overseers' and 'deacons', i.e. a particular group of Christians at Philippi distinguished by their organisational character.² The grammar and a contrastive analysis with other letters at least suggest this reading is possible. A historical explanation of this interpretation may be that Paul's letter is addressed to particular house churches in Philippi which (i) had sent aid by means of Epaphroditus to Paul (thus deserving individual thanks) and/or (ii) were having leadership conflicts. If the letter was addressed to an individual leader (Phil 4:3) and the Christian communities were dispersed throughout the region of Philippi (not limited to the city proper),³ then it is at least reasonable that Paul addressed his letter only to certain groups within this region (even though he may have expected it to be circulated to others). Surely, those who had written to Paul (for information of his well-being) and sent aid may have only represented one group of Christians at Philippi.⁴ This reconstruction must remain tentative; but it is an attempt to explain the somewhat 'uncanonical' use of σύν with the dative in the prescript.⁵

Philippians themselves. Although Reumann's thesis is somewhat speculative, he argues convincingly that the prepositional phrase can make perfect sense in a Pauline setting based on (i) the great variety of terms for leadership in the Pauline communities and (ii) the meaning of the terms themselves in either a Jewish or more likely a Greco-Roman context. Furthermore, the plural ἐπισκόποις argues against a later Ignatian moniscopacy and the mention of 'deacons' not 'presbyters' leaves only a twofold ministry, not a threefold one. I would simply add that the prepositional phrase makes sense in an epistolary context as well. For the only possible textual evidence (P46) of an omission of σύν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις see Skeat, 'Bishops and Deacons', pp. 12-15; Skeat shows that the manuscript, which has a lacuna at the relevant section, either lacked σύν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις or πάση τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν πάση in vv 3-4, while admitting that we do not know which set of words was omitted.

¹See the same expressions in P.Hamb. 1.59.2 (138 CE); P.Oxy. 3.514.1 (190-91 CE); P.Oxy.Hels. 1.24.3 (217 CE); PSI 7.857.1 (III BCE). The use of μετά as a modifying phrase of the recipient in prescripts is more frequent in the papyri, but it does not parallel Paul's usage (even semantically) since it is invariably used in the expression μετά κυρίου in contracts so as to indicate the guardian of a woman: e.g. P.Mich. 5.266.3 (38 CE); P.Oxy. 2.267.2 (36 CE); 14.1721.5 (187 CE).

²Of Paul's three other uses of σύν in Philippians, two modify a verb (1:23; 2:22) but one serves to limit the substantive it modifies: 4:21 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σύν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί 'the brothers who are with me (i.e. not all Christians) greet you' (cf. Rom 16:14-15).

³The colonists of Philippi were dispersed across its large fertile plain, approximately 730 square miles in area (Levick, *Colonies*, p. 45). The point is that it cannot be assumed that Paul's letter is addressed to a closely-knit group of Christian house churches; some may have been many miles away from others. Surely they would have associated with one another, but as separate households they would have also acted independently at times (e.g. sending aid to Paul).

⁴This interpretation coincides well with the suggestion by Lohse ('Entstehung', pp. 63-64) that Paul mentions the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the prescript because they were largely responsible for the sending of the gift.

⁵Paul's use of σύν with the dative in 1 Cor 1:2 does not help to resolve the question of its use in Phil 1:1, because in Corinthians it may be interpreted in several ways including being taken with κλητοῖς ἁγίοις

In sum, Paul's prescript lays the groundwork for the rest of his discourse. In it he identifies the main participants and establishes their current relationship with one another. As J. L. White notes, the epistolary opening (of which the prescript is part) is where 'the keeping-in-touch aspect of letter writing (maintenance of contact), which reveals the general character of the correspondents' relationship toward each other, comes to expression'.¹ In other words, the epistolary conventions which appear at the opening (and closing) of a letter establish who the participants of communication are and the nature of their immediate relationship. In the letter to the Philipians, Paul describes the relationship between himself and his readers with religious language, which is distinct from the multitude of personal letters in which family and friendship language tends simply to reaffirm positive feelings between the sender and recipient.

SALUTATION (1:2)

Ancient letter writers repeatedly follow the superscription and adscription ('A to B') with some type of salutation (initial greeting): *χαίρειν*; *ἔρρωσθαι*; *ὑγιαίνειν*; or a combination of the first with one of the other two.² However, these salutations are not obligatory to the epistolary genre, as is evidenced particularly in formal letters (e.g. petitions, complaints, and applications) which often begin with "To Y [dative] from X", usually omitting the salutation';³ but they are frequent in personal letters. The salutation plays the same role as the prescript (and other conventions appearing in the opening of the letter), viz. establishing the immediate interpersonal relationship between sender and recipient. Sometimes the salutation appears to be little more than a formal nicety as in the 'appointment' of a village scribe Menches recorded in Sel.Pap. 2.339 (199 BCE) Ἀσκληπιάδης Μαρρεῖ χαίρειν· Μεγχιῆ...; in other cases (especially personal letters), its omission might have been taken as an affront by the recipient. Paul's undeniable modification of this optional epistolary formula would have been immediately noticeable to his Philippian readers who had repeatedly become accustomed to traditional formulas. It has not been emphasised enough, perhaps because it becomes mundane to the modern reader of the Pauline letters, how ancient readers would have been struck by Paul's modification; his formula was not a ritualistic 'hello' but a means of drawing the reader into a letter with different aims than those to which they were accustomed.

Two reasons suggest that Paul is adapting his salutation from the typical epistolary salutation. First, and most apparent, is his use of the noun *χάρις*. Although this term is an important part of Paul's religious vocabulary, it also recalls its infinitive cognate *χαίρειν* ('hello', 'greetings') used as a salutation in letters. The use of the noun *χάρις* near the salutation is found in P.Cair.Zen. 3.59526.1 Φιλοκράτης Ζήνωνι χαίρειν, τοῖς

'you who are called saints together with all those who have called upon the name of the lord'; in other words, the prepositional phrase may be defining an attribute of those who are 'called saints', which is similar to the function being attributed to *σύν* with the dative in Phil 1:1. What the 1 Cor 1:2 reference does seem to demonstrate is that this expression is part of Paul's uncanonical use of the epistolary prescript (i.e. his idiolect).

¹White, *Light*, p. 219.

²Roller, *Formular*, p. 61. Examples abound, but some near the time of Paul include P.Oxy. 2.297.1 (54 CE) Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίωι τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν; BGU 8.1769.1 (48-47? BCE) Ἑλλάνικος Εὐρυλόχωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι; P.Oxy. 22.2353.1-2 (32 CE) Σινθῶνις Ἀρποχράτι τῶ νιῶι πλείστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν.

³Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 163. The expression *χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι* is typically pre-Pauline (primarily second to first century BCE) and *χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν* is mostly limited to the first century BCE and first century CE; see, however, Crönert ('Briefe', p. 157) for this formula in a fourth century BCE Athenian letter inscribed on lead.

θεοῖς πολλή χάρις—here it is probably best understood in the sense of thanksgiving ('many thanks to the gods...').¹ Similarly, Gemellos follows his χαίρειν salutation with thanks directed towards the recipient for showing concern for him: P.Mich. 8.498.1-5 (II CE) Γέμελλ[ο]ς Ἀπολιναρίωι τῶι τιμιωτάτῳ [ἀ]δελφῶι χαί[ρει]ν, χάρις σοι πλείστη, ἄδελφε, μεριμνήσαντί με. It is unclear and probably doubtful that Paul is following this convention. Nonetheless, that Paul had some precedent for changing the infinitive to a nominative is evidenced by this and other adaptations of the χαίρειν formula in epistolary literature. For example, besides the usual χαίρειν, this verb is also found in the optative (χαίροις) and imperative (χαῖρε).² These examples demonstrate the possibility for a modification of the conventional form; nevertheless, Paul's switch to the noun form is clearly uncanonical. Secondly, Paul's expansion of the salutation is not unparalleled in papyrus letters. For example, letter writers frequently employ modifiers to describe χαίρειν (e.g. πᾶσαι [pre-first century CE]; πολλά; πλείστα).³ Thus, it would not be unthinkable for Paul to modify his salutation with the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Thirdly, salutations not infrequently consist of two or more verbal elements (e.g. χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι and χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν).⁴ For example, in a letter from Diogenes to his brother Dionysius, the sender not only combines two verbs, but he modifies them with πλείστα (P.Oxy. 7.1061 [22 BCE] Διογένης Διονυσίωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλείστα χα(ίρειν) καὶ ὑγιαίνειν). Such combinations of verbs in epistolary salutations provide a reasonable parallel for Paul's dual elements χάρις and εἰρήνη. It has become customary for scholars to treat Paul's two-part salutation as a combination of (i) the traditional χαίρειν altered to a more 'Pauline Christian' χάρις and (ii) the Jewish salutation שָׁלוֹם translated into the Greek εἰρήνη.⁵ The Hebrew and Aramaic epistolary evidence provides a suitable background for Paul's use of

¹Cf. the same expression in P.Oslo 3.155.1-2 (II CE).

²See e.g. P.Oxy 3.526.1-3 (II CE) Χαίροις Καλόκαϊρε Κύριλλός σε προσαγορεύω and BGU 3.821.1 (II CE) Χαῖρε κύριέ μου πάτερ Ἡραίσκος σε ἀσπάζομαι. White ('Formulas', p. 295) correctly places such variations of the salutation in the second and third centuries CE—mostly the latter. Later uses do exist (e.g. SB 14.11588.2 [IV CE]), but BGU 6.1453.2 (323-30 BCE) χαῖρε, if the spelling is correct, may be a pre-Pauline usage. The point stands that authors were not inescapably determined by convention.

³See e.g. BGU 1.38.1-2 (I CE) Σερῆνος Ἀπολιναρίω τῶ πατρει πολλά χαίρειν and BGU 3.811.1-2 (98-130 CE) Κορνῆλιος Ἀπολλῶτιτῶι ἀδελφῶ πλείστα χαίρειν.

⁴Hawthorne (*Philippians*, p. 11) makes too little of the use of double salutations. I have found at least 35 examples of χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν (BGU 8.1871.2 [57-56 BCE]; 8.1873.5 [I BCE]; 8.1874.2 [I BCE]; 8.1878.2 [I BCE]; 8.1880.2 [61-60? BCE]; 8.1881.1 [I BCE]; 14.2419.2 [I BCE]; P.Heid. 2.212.2 [I BCE]; P.I.F.A.O. 2.2.3 [14 BCE]; 2.8.3 [I CE]; 2.20.1 [I CE]; 2.24.2 [31 BCE-14 CE]; 2.46.2 [I CE]; P.land. 6.104.1 [14-37 CE]; P.Koeln 1.56.2 [I CE]; P.Mert. 1.12.2 [58 CE]; 2.62.3 [6 CE]; P.Mich. 8.464.3 [99 CE]; P.Oslo 2.47.2 [I CE]; P.Oxy. 2.293.2 [27 CE]; 4.746.2 [16 CE]; 7.1061.2 [22 BCE]; 12.1480.4 [32 CE]; 14.1672.2 [37-41 CE]; 22.2353.1 [32 CE]; 41.2979.1 [3 BCE]; 55.3806.2 [15 CE]; P.Princ. 3.161.2 [33 CE]; 3.186.2 [28 CE]; PSI 14.1404.2 [41-42 CE]; SB 5.7530.1 [I BCE-I CE]; 6.9121.2 [I CE]; 10.10240.2 [41 CE]; 12.10799.1 [24 BCE-14 CE]; 14.12084.3 [I CE]); and at least 27 examples of χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι (BGU 8.1741.13 [64-63 BCE]; 8.1755.2 [52-51 BCE]; 8.1756.1 [59-58 BCE]; 8.1757.1 [52-51 BCE]; 8.1760.11 [51-50 BCE]; 8.1769.1 [48-47 BCE]; 8.1788.3 [I BCE]; 8.1872.3 [51-50 BCE]; 8.1875.21 [I BCE]; P.Bad. 2.15.2 [I BCE]; P.Bad. 4.48.1 [126 BCE]; P.Com. 1.5.1 [II BCE]; P.Erasm. 1.8.3 [153-52 BCE]; 1.18.1 [II BCE]; P.Erl. 1.117.2 [I CE]; P.Haun. 1.10.3 [III BCE]; P.Lond. 7.2073.2 [III BCE]; P.Muench. 55.2 [II BCE]; P.Princ. 3.160.2 [I BCE]; PSI 8.968.1 [I BCE]; 8.969.1 [I BCE]; 9.1079.2 [I BCE]; 15.1513.1 [II BCE]; P.Tebt. 3.754.1 [II BCE]; P.Yale 1.55.2 [107 BCE]; SB 3.6300.2 [88 BCE]; 5.8754.23 [49-48 BCE]).

⁵See Roller, *Formular*, p. 61; Taatz, *Frühjüdische Briefe*, p. 112. Champion (*Benedictions*, pp. 45-75) and Mullins ('Benediction', pp. 59-64) attribute the 'grace and peace' expressions in Paul's letters to benedictions in the LXX (Deut 6:24-26) and synagogue worship; contrast Jewett, 'Form', p. 31, who is not convinced that these had any formal influence on NT expressions. While it is possible that Paul's expressions reflect a functional similarity with these OT benedictions—viz. (i) wish / recipient / divine source or (ii) wish / divine source / wish / recipient—the language is very different (e.g. there are no verbs; the source is God and Jesus; dative rather than accusative is used for the recipient).

εἰρήνη. The author of an embedded letter in 2 Maccabees (1:1-10a), which mostly follows regularities of Hebrew and Aramaic epistolary style, employs the less common Greek salutation 'To B χαίρειν A'¹ followed immediately (with no conjunction) by a prayer for the welfare of the recipients using εἰρήνη (εἰρήνην ἀγαθὴν καὶ ἀγαθοποιήσαι ὑμῖν ὁ θεός...)² O'Brien notes that in the LXX εἰρήνη can also have the general sense of 'well-being'.³ This meaning is not far removed from that of another form of the Greek salutation, ὑγιαίνειν, which is used in conjunction with χαίρειν, for example, in 2 Macc 1:10. In epistolary contexts ὑγιαίνειν and ἐρρῶσθαι often function as the sender's wish for the recipient's health and well-being, and when used with χαίρειν as a double-salutation either verb may appear as the *second* element. Rather than alter the verb to a noun form such as ὑγίανσις, Paul may have chosen εἰρήνη in slight contrast to the function of ὑγιαίνειν. In a two-part salutation, the Philippian readers would have expected to find an exhortation to their good health in the second element. Paul, however, wished a type of well-being upon them that was not limited to physical health,⁴ but one grounded in a 'peace' and 'well-being' from *his* god and lord, not one of the other gods beseeched by letter writers to bestow well-being upon their recipients.

In sum, just as Paul's modification of the obligatory prescript is primarily in terms of his particular theological aims, so also is his modification of the optional salutation. Not only has he departed from the verbal greeting formula in favour of the nouns χάρις and εἰρήνη, which have unambiguous religious overtones (Jewish-Christian), but he places the source of his greeting in the realm of the supernatural—a quite uncanonical modification of the epistolary salutation. Paul's modification was probably influenced by both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions (which, of course, were not alienated from one another), as well as his own 'Christian' experience. This is not a naive conflation of different cultures, but a recognition that Paul has consciously drawn from various registers to create his version of the epistolary salutation; it is perhaps the most clear case of his modification of epistolary traditions. And although a linguistically-sensitive analysis of Paul's salutation would caution against reading theologically pregnant concepts⁵ into what was often less meaningful to the communicative act—both the Greco-Roman and Jewish salutation could

¹Goldstein (*II Maccabees*, p. 140) maintains that χαίρειν here is a translation (as in 1 Esdras 6:8 and 2 Macc 12:20) of the Semitic salutation 'peace' (שלום). He does not precisely answer how the salutation in the second embedded letter (1:10b-2:18, by a different author)—χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν—is a translation of the Semitic formula. In terms of semantics, ὑγιαίνειν better parallels שלום than χαίρειν; so Dion, 'Family Letter', p. 68. It may be that there is no one-to-one correspondence in the translation; rather, the author employs a Greek epistolary convention with a similar pragmatic function (viz. to greet the recipient) but not the same semantic one. Friedrich ('These', p. 273), in response to Lohmeyer's suggestion that Paul's salutations are liturgical, had already pointed to parallels 'aus neuassyrischer, neubabylonischer Zeit und in den Elephantinepapyri'.

²The order of the salutation 'To B (greeting) A' is common in Aramaic letters (see Fitzmyer, 'Epistolography', p. 211). Concern for the well-being of the recipient is also found in Aramaic prescripts; for examples see Fitzmyer, 'Epistolography', pp. 214-15. Furthermore, two-part greetings (e.g. 'peace and life'; 'greetings and prosperity') are found in Aramaic prescripts—see examples in Fitzmyer, 'Epistolography', p. 215, and Dion, 'Family Letter', p. 61. Finally, Fitzmyer ('Epistolography', p. 215) notes the difficulty of knowing whether the Jewish salutation formula is just a simple 'greeting' (English 'Hi') or something with a more theological intent ('peace').

³O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 51.

⁴The common epistolary wish for the physical well-being of the recipient is noticeably absent from Paul's letters. In addition, terms for health such as ὑγιαίνω and ὑγιής, although found throughout the Gospels (esp. John's) are absent from the accepted Pauline letters; only the Pastorals use the word, and there it is not used of 'physical' well-being but of 'healthy, sound' teaching and conduct (1 Tim 1:10; 6:3; 2 Tim 1:13; Titus 1:9, 13; 2:1, 2, 8).

⁵It seems unadvisable, for example, to read all of O'Brien's OT and NT concepts of 'peace' into Paul's salutation (*Philippians*, p. 51)—perhaps a case of illegitimate totality transfer.

be used as a simple ‘greeting’—Paul’s undeniable modification of convention suggests a calculated effort on his part to communicate something somewhat unique at the beginning of his letters. Unless this salutation is part of a pre-Pauline Christian tradition which had become widespread in usage (which would have had to have occurred early since it occurs in all of Paul’s letters), *Paul* created it and, although he probably employed more than one secretary,¹ demanded its use in all his letters (demonstrating at least in part his control over the content and style of his letters). It was an essential component of the structure of his letters; and it again demonstrates that Paul chose to modify canonical epistolary conventions to one degree or another. We might, therefore, anticipate similar modifications elsewhere.

THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER (1:3-11)

Expressions of thanks to gods or human beings are not infrequently found in the opening sections of letters as well as in the closing and middle sections.² Paul uses similar expressions of thanksgiving in the opening (Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4; cf. Col 1:3; Eph 1:16), body (Rom 6:17; 1 Cor 1:14; 14:18; 2 Cor 4:15; 9:11; 1 Thess 2:13; 3:9), and closing (Rom 16:4) sections of his letters. His reasons for thanksgiving vary: the spreading of the gospel (2 Cor 4:15); good news about someone’s ‘spiritual’ welfare (Rom 6:17; 16:4; 1 Cor 1:5-8; 2 Cor 9:11; Phil 1:3-7; 1 Thess 1:2-10; 2:13-14; Phlm 4-5; cf. 1 Thess 3:9; Col 1:3-7; Eph 1:16-18); a mixture of the previous two (Rom 1:8; cf. Col 1:6); and Paul’s own behaviour (1 Cor 1:14; 14:18; cf. 1 Cor 10:30). The form and function of Paul’s thanksgivings have received considerable scholarly attention, with a general consensus that they in part reflect Hellenistic epistolary traditions. As a challenge to this consensus, Peter Arzt, in a 1994 *Novum Testamentum* article, claims to ‘offer the results of a more extensive examination of papyrus letters than has been undertaken previously...with the aim of situating Paul’s expression of thanksgiving in epistolary practice as exemplified in the papyri’.³ After an impressive survey of epistolary literature, he concludes:

There are no formal ‘introductory thanksgivings’ in the proemia of letters contemporaneous with the Pauline and other New Testament letters; hence, any reconstruction of such an ‘introductory thanksgiving’ shatters on the lack of evidence. A certain version of the *formula valetudinis* which is extended by a thanksgiving seems to be limited to the third century B.C.E.; therefore it cannot be counted as a contemporary parallel to Paul.⁴

The ensuing response to Arzt’s discussion includes (i) treatment of epistolary thanksgivings in general and their importance for understanding Phil 1:3-11, (ii) methodological discussion of generic formulas, concluding with (iii) a more detailed analysis of the thanksgiving and prayer formulas in Philippians.

¹Paul at least employed secretaries in Romans (16:22, the only reference to the name of a secretary), 1 Corinthians (16:21), Galatians (6:11), and Philemon (19); cf. Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:17; see Richards, *Secretary*, pp. 169-76. If Tertius was the secretary of all of Paul’s letters—travelling with the Pauline mission—mention of him in one of the other letters might be expected, since Paul is not slow to make note of his co-workers.

²Besides religious motivations for giving thanks (e.g. the gods could determine an individual’s future health and welfare), White (‘Epistolary Formulas’, p. 297) notes that thanks is also given in order (i) to oblige the favour of the recipient and (ii) to express thanks for someone’s action on behalf of the sender (e.g. Seneca *Ep. Mor.* 40.1).

³Arzt, ‘Thanksgiving’, pp. 29-46.

⁴Arzt, ‘Thanksgiving’, pp. 44-45. The *formula valetudinis* includes various kinds of wishes for well-being using, for example, a form of ἐπρωσθαί; see examples in Exler, *Form*, pp. 103-106; see also Cicero *Fam.* 5.1.1; 5.7.1; 7.4.1; 9.8.2.

✓ Although I have

found much that I agree with in Arzt's analysis, there are several areas which prompt serious disagreement. These are in part due to a few relevant examples which he does not cite—although his is the most comprehensive listing of examples I have come across—as well as what he counts as evidence. His argument is essentially that during Paul's time comparable epistolary 'thanksgiving' formulas (viz. those in which thanksgiving is given to the gods for human beings in the openings of letters and in the context of a health wish), in their two most basic configurations, were not in use; thus, he concludes that Paul's thanksgivings should *not* be understood vis-à-vis epistolary thanksgivings.

(1) Regarding one version of the thanksgiving formula Arzt states, 'Instead of the verb εὐχαριστεῖν the noun χάρις occurs in the references of the third century B.C.E. For this special type of the *formula valetudinis* I could find no reference more recent.'¹ Later he repeats a similar claim: 'A certain version of the *formula valetudinis* which is extended by a thanksgiving seems to be limited to the third century B.C.E.; therefore it cannot be counted as a contemporary parallel to Paul.'² The version he is referring to takes two basic forms: χάρις in the nominative with a dative noun (usually θεοῖς or σοι) and χάρις in the accusative usually in conjunction with the verb ἔχω. Of the former type, if all Arzt requires is an example not limited to the third century BCE, he provides one himself: P.Giss. 17.6-7 (II CE) ἀλλὰ χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι ὅτι σε διαφυλάσσουσι ἀπρόσκοπον.³ If he requires the expression near the opening of the letter I would suggest P.Oslo. 3.155.1-2 (II CE) as a post-third century BCE example: 'Αφροδ(ίσιος) 'Αρπάλω {ραπαλω} χ(αίρειν). ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ κομψῶς {κομσως} ἐσχηκώς, χάρις θεοῖς 'Aphrodisios to Harpalus, greetings. I have journeyed from you in good health, thanks to the gods.'⁴ Another second century CE example using the other type of χάρις thanksgiving (but not in the opening) is found in P.Oxy. 1.113.13 (II CE) χάριν ἔχω θεοῖς πᾶσιν. (Arzt would probably reject these examples on the grounds that they are not part of a real *formula valetudinis* and are post-Pauline; the inadequacy of such criteria is treated below.) Arzt does not specify what would count as contemporary to Paul, but apparently something from the first century CE would be more appropriate. Is not, however, this first century CE requirement somewhat arbitrary? Indeed, a true contemporary of Paul would have to be not only within a few decades of his writings but in the same locale, not distant Egyptian cities. Unlike Arzt I at least find second century CE examples informative parallels for the study of Paul's letters, especially since the majority of extant papyri are from the second century CE and beyond.⁵ I am even more convinced of the relevance of second century CE examples if similar formulas can be found prior to Paul's writings, demonstrating some

¹Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 31. In n. 7 he cites P.Mich. 1.23 (257 BCE), P.Cair.Zen. 1.59032 (257 BCE), and P.Cair.Zen. 3.59426 (260-250 BCE); he mentions others letters which use the nominative form of the noun χάρις with a verb (usually a form of ἔχω): e.g. P.Cair.Zen. 1.59076 (III BCE?); P.Hib. 1.79 (c. 260 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. 3.59526 (III BCE); P.Petr. 1.29 (III BCE); P.Petr. 2.13(6) (III BCE).

²Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', pp. 44-45.

³Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 32 n. 12.

⁴For the use of the adverb κομψῶς with a form of ἔχω as a report of health see P.Athens 1.60.10 (IV BCE); SB 10.10240.6 (41 CE); P.Col. 8.215.8 (c. 100 CE).

⁵Indeed, the majority of examples Arzt cites in support of a report of prayer formula (or προσκύνημα phrase) are prior to Paul or in the second and third centuries CE. Is this not a double-standard? When he cites P.Giss. 85 [reign of Trajan or Hadrian] as an example of the προσκύνημα phrase, he dismisses the thanksgiving which appears in the same context as 'very different from Paul's prooemia' (against P. Schubert, *Form*, pp. 168-69) because it is later than Paul and 'thanks is not given on behalf of the addressee but directly to the addressee, although this happens before the god' (Arzt, 'Thanksgiving,' p. 41 n. 44). For a similar use of the thanksgiving see P.Mich. 8.502.17-18 (II CE) πρὸ παντὸς εὐχαριστῶ μου...τῆ {την} ἀδ[ελφῆ καὶ] κυρία μου θερμοθαρίῳ παρὰ θεοῖς.

sort of trajectory. There is at least some evidence for such a trajectory in the case of the two χάρις forms of thanksgiving directed to god(s): P.Cair.Zen. 2.59160 (255 BCE); P.Cair.Zen. 3.59426 (III BCE?); P.Cair.Zen. 3.59526 (III BCE); P.Mich. 1.23 (257 BCE); P.Tebt. 3.2.946 (III BCE); P.Oslo. 3.155.1 (II CE); P.Oxy. 1.113.13 (II CE). The trajectory of usage is somewhat irregular, but it must at least be admitted that post-third century BCE examples of χάρις thanksgivings exist. Furthermore, it should be noted that this selection does not include several examples of ‘thanks’ directed at people mentioned in a letter, which Arzt rejects as possible Pauline parallels (see below for a response).

Some of the most important examples rejected in Arzt’s study are found in the New Testament itself: 1 Tim 1:12 χάριν ἔχω τῷ ἐνδυναμώσαντί με Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ὅτι... and 2 Tim 1:3 χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ...ὡς ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχω τὴν περὶ σοῦ μνείαν ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσίν μου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. Whether these are Pauline letters or not, they are certainly not pre-Pauline letters from the third century BCE (rather, probably late first century CE); and especially in the light of the use of ‘thanksgiving to God’ and ‘mention of remembrance and prayer’ in 2 Tim 1:3 these are apt examples of epistolary formulas in which thanks is given to a god at the beginning of the letter. Indeed, the possibility that these authors were dependent upon Paul’s letters and yet still *changed* his epistolary thanksgiving argues for an epistolary convention which was more familiar to the later authors (i.e. they had an option and chose to go with what was more socially familiar to them rather than recite Pauline convention).

(2) Arzt’s second argument is more significant, since it regards the form of thanksgiving apparently used by Paul: ‘In connection with a *formula valetudinis* at the beginning of a letter, we find the verb [εὐχαριστεῖν] not before the second century C.E.’¹ Presumably, Arzt is referring to thanks given to a god, since his statement falls under the section entitled ‘The *formula valetudinis* and a Motif of Thanks to the God’. Clearly, thanks given to an individual near the opening of the letter occurs before Paul’s time as in P.Wash.Univ. 2.106.2 (18 BCE) εὐχαριστῶ σοι λίαν ὅτι... and very near the time of Paul’s writings as in SB 3.6823.18-19 (41-54 CE) Πρίμῳ δὲ καὶ Τυχαρίῳ εὐχαρισ[τ]ῶ μέγαν. However, Arzt strictly demands an example before or during the time of Paul in which thanks is given to a god rather than a person. Despite the fact that Arzt cites an example with a thanksgiving (to a god) in the opening which may date from the first century CE (SB 6.9017.23.2 [I-II CE] εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Σεράπιδι...),² there are at least three other examples during the first quarter of the second century CE in which thanks (using the verb) is given to a god: P.Mich. 8.465.14 (107 CE) εὐχαρισ[τῶ δὲ] τῷ Σαράπιδι (Sarapis) καὶ [Ἀγαθῇ] Τύχῃ (Isis) ὅτι...;³ 8.473.29 (early II CE) [ε]ὐχαριστοῦμ[ε]ν τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτι...; and 8.476.25 (early II CE) εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτι....⁴ If Paul’s letters which contain thanksgivings are dated conservatively sometime in the 40s and 50s and the previous examples are dated 100-125 CE, then there is no more than 40 to 85 years separating the two groups of letters. Arzt would probably reject the above P.Michigan examples on the grounds that the thanksgivings are not found at the *opening* of the letter. Despite the questionable logic behind this criterion, a second century CE ostrac^α letter exists which may contain a thanksgiving (using the adjective) to a god near the letter’s

¹See Arzt, ‘Thanksgiving’, p. 31.

²See Arzt, ‘Thanksgiving’, p. 35.

³The same author of this letter uses a similar formula to give thanks to people: P.Mich. 8.466.47 (107 CE) εὐχαριστῶ Οὐολυσσίῳ καὶ Λονγείνῳ τῷ Βαρβάρῳ.

⁴See also SB 16.12589.4-5 (II CE) μαθοῦσα ὅτι ἔρωσαι θε[οῖς πᾶ]σιν εὐχαρίστησα (near the opening of the letter); P.Mich 8.478.13 (early II CE); and P.Oxy. 12.1481.9 (early II CE), although the last two texts are fragmented.

opening: O.Amst. 1.29.2-5 (II CE) χαίρειν· [γινώσκειν σε θέλω], ἄδελφε, ὅτι εφο
 ας[...]ου ἠσθένηκε καὶ [...εὐχ]αριστῶι τῶι θεῶι (see also SB 6.9017.23.2 [I-II CE]).
 In addition, some letters prior to Paul contain the verb of thanksgiving near the opening.
 Arzt cites BGU 14.2418.9 (late II BCE) ἀπευχαριστήσαμεν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα θεοῖς;
 P.Lond. 1.42.7-11 = UPZ 1.59.9-10 (168 BCE) ἐπὶ μὲν τῶι ἐρρῶσθα[ί] σε εὐθέως τοῖς
 θεοῖς εὐχαρίστουν as examples; and UPZ 1.60.5-8 (168 BCE) ἐπὶ μὲν τῶι ἐρρῶσθαί
 σε...τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπευχαρίστουν. He does not consider such examples to be
 ‘conventional’ because they are not part of an actual *formula valetudinis*. But why must a
 thanksgiving expression be in the context of a *formula valetudinis* in order to be
 considered an epistolary formula? Indeed, the majority of thanksgiving expressions do not
 occur in the context of a health wish. Arzt first proposes what *he* considers to be a
 legitimate formula, viz. the *formula valetudinis* (which he hardly defines), and then denies
 such status for the simple thanksgiving expression because it cannot be found during the
 time of Paul’s writings in connection with a *formula valetudinis*. This seems to me a non
 sequitur. Arzt gives no substantial reason why the lack of a *formula valetudinis* should
 deny simple thanksgivings the classification of epistolary formula. Lastly, the same applies
 to εὐχαριστεῖν thanksgivings as it does to χάρις thanksgivings, viz. examples of the
 same epistolary convention found prior to and soon after Paul (II CE and beyond) provide
 useful parallels for understanding his thanksgivings. There is evidence for such a
 trajectory in the case of εὐχαριστῶ (and cognate) forms of thanksgiving (to gods and
 persons) used in letters: e.g. P.Cair.Zen. 4.59594.7-8 (III BCE) εὐχαριστεῖν...Ζήνωνι;
 P.Cair.Zen. 3.59309.2 (250 BCE) καὶ πρότερον μὲν σοι ἐγράψαμεν εὐχαριστοῦντες
 ὅτι...; UPZ 1.59.9-10 = P.Lond. 1.42 (168 BCE) ἐπὶ μὲν τῶι ἐρρῶσθα[ί] σε εὐθέως
 τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαρίστουν; UPZ 1.60.8 (168 BCE) ἐπὶ μὲν τῶι ἐρρῶσθαί σε...τοῖς θεοῖς
 ἐπευχαρίστουν; P.Wash.Univ. 2.106.2 (18 BCE) διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν {υγιαίνιν}
 εὐχαριστῶ σοι λίαν ὅτι...; 2 Macc 1:11 (c. I BCE) ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπὸ τοῦ
 θεοῦ σεσωσμένοι μέγαν εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ...;¹ SB 5.7600.6-7 (16 CE)
 μέγαν σοι {συ} εὐχαριστῶ καὶ πάλιν {παλεῖν} εὐχαριστήσω {ευχαριστησωι};
 SB 14.11645.11 (II CE) ὀφείλεις [οφιλις] δὲ καὶ σὺ εὐχαριστεῖν {ευχαρισσιν} τοῖς
 θεο[ί]ς; P.Rain.Cent. 1.72.19 (III CE) εὐχαριστῶ γὰρ Ἡλιοδώρῳ; P.Oxy. 10.1299.6
 (IV CE) εὐχαριστοῦ[μ]εν {ευχαριστω[μ]εν} τῷ θεῷ ὅτι...; SB 12.10773.8 (V CE)
 εὐχαρι<σ>τῶ {ευχαιτω} γὰρ σοι {συ}; SB 5.7655.2 (VI CE) εὐχαρ[ι]στ[ῶ] ὑμῖν;
 P.Ness. 3.73.3 (683 CE?) εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ. The point being made here is that
 thanksgivings using a form of εὐχαριστεῖν, concerning which I find no reason why not to
 classify them as generic conventions, are found before, during, and after the time of Paul’s
 letters.

Lastly, I find Arzt’s argument unconvincing because he dismisses Paul’s letters
 themselves as possible first century CE cases in which thanks is given to a god near the
 letter’s opening. Indeed, Paul’s thanksgivings do not occur in the context of a *formula
 valetudinis*—he does not use any of the common terms of well-being (e.g. ἐρρῶσθαι;
 ὑγιαίνειν; εὐτυχεῖν); therefore, they have more in common with the majority of epistolary
 thanksgivings than those from the third century BCE which are part of a *formula
 valetudinis*. Should it not at least be entertained that Paul provides us with the first

¹On the parallel between this thanksgiving and Paul’s see Taatz, *Frühjüdische Briefe*, p. 33. She allows
 for the possibility that this is a Hellenistic formula but maintains that the prayer in 2 Macc 1:17 is a
 Jewish εὐλογητός (Berakah) formula. However, if Paul’s prayer expressions were Berakah formulas one
 would expect him to use the same language as 2 Maccabees rather than προσευχ- language found in the
 papyri (see below).

(known)¹ mid-first century CE example of a εὐχαριστεῖν thanksgiving *to a god* in the opening of a letter? Or should we, as Arzt would seem to have it, propose a revisionist reading of Paul's thanksgivings, claiming that they are not what they *prima facie* appear to be? In the light of the fact that Paul clearly does use other epistolary formulas in his letters (e.g. prayer formulas; disclosure formulas; commendations; closing greetings), it is quite plausible that his thanksgivings also reflect epistolary thanksgiving traditions as well, while keeping in mind that Paul also modifies epistolary tradition (e.g. salutation).

(3) Issues of definition can no longer be assumed with such a complex subject as that of literary genre in the NT. I believe Arzt's argument is at its weakest here. The study of epistolary convention such as Arzt's requires methodological discussion of what constitutes a 'formula' or 'convention'. This has already been carried out above in the first part of this work under the topic of GENRE/REGISTER; it remains to highlight relevant parts of that discussion in response to Arzt here. He notes that 'epistolary conventions have a tradition and meaning that the writer as well as the addressees must be familiar with'.² The validity of this statement is questioned even in his next sentence: 'Otherwise the convention is not a real convention at all, at least not actually.'³ What, then, constitutes a 'real' convention (or formula)? And what does it mean that an expression is 'at least not actually' a formula? In response, firstly, 'conscious awareness' should not be a criterion for identifying a formula. Whether an ancient listener or reader was consciously aware of how they used or interpreted language is not only a matter of extreme speculation but is of little help for the question of what constitutes a formula. Much of language is used in an unconscious manner—an English-speaking child may not 'know' what a present progressive tense is and yet find little difficulty using one in speech. Secondly, epistolary formulas (and all generic conventions) are part of linguistic systems, i.e. they become part of language users' linguistic 'competence'. M. A. K. Halliday's definition of register (genre) is relevant here:

A register can be defined as a particular configuration of meanings that is associated with a particular situation type. In any social context, certain semantic resources are characteristically employed; certain sets of options are as it were 'at risk' in the given semiotic environment. These define the register. Considered in terms of the notion of meaning potential, the register is the range of meaning potential that is activated by the semiotic properties of the situation.⁴

In this study, therefore, genre/register has been defined as *a configuration of meanings that are associated with a particular situation*.⁵ The issue, then, is whether Paul's thanksgivings represent (in part or in whole) a configuration of meanings which was associated with a particular situation in epistolary literature. While Arzt admits that the use of 'thanksgiving' terminology does occur around the time of Paul, he still asserts that this 'use of εὐχαριστεῖν in connection with news about the addressees' well-being is 'not part of the actual *formula valetudinis*'.⁶ As far as I am aware, those scholars who have treated Paul's thanksgivings as epistolary formulas have not suggested that thanksgiving formulas are part of an opening *health wish*, i.e. this is not part of their definition of an epistolary thanksgiving formula (nor should it be!). It is not obligatory for the thanksgiving formula to appear in the context of a health wish, as is clear from the majority of epistolary thanksgivings (e.g. P.Mich. 8.473.29 [early II CE]). What is essential in a definition of generic formulas, as stated above, is a configuration of meanings which is repeatedly

¹But see perhaps SB 6.9017.23.2 (I-II CE) εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Σεράπιδι.

²Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 31.

³Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 31.

⁴Halliday, *Learning*, p. 126.

⁵Halliday and Hasan, *Language*, pp. 38-39; cf. Enkvist, *Stylistics*, pp. 20-21.

⁶Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 32.

associated with a situation. With respect to epistolary thanksgivings, this configuration of meanings consists essentially of the expression of 'gratitude, acknowledgement, appreciation, valuation' to a person or god for some reason. Greco-Roman status-relations required such formulas and the prevailing world view that divine beings controlled one's fate demanded them. This customary configuration of meanings developed various types of grammatical and lexical expressions. T. Y. Mullins identifies five typical linguistic elements used in the thanksgiving (none of which is the *formula valetudinis*), citing BGU 816 as an example: verb of thanksgiving (εὐχαριστῶ); modifier (πολλά); object of thanksgiving (Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ); person addressed (πάτερ); and substance of the thanksgiving (ἐπεὶ συνέστοκε...).¹ Of these elements, the verb (and I would add the noun χάρις), object of thanksgiving (dative), and substance of thanksgiving (e.g. ὅτι, ἐπεὶ, γάρ) were typically present. This configuration of meanings and forms was *associated with* a particular situation, viz. an event (e.g. a safe journey, the sending of gifts, a person's good health) requiring thanksgiving. Based on this linguistic definition of generic formulas, several of Arzt's other arguments fail.

Firstly, he states that other

expressions of thanks to the gods are *not formulaic* but issue from the spontaneous and well-founded desire of the writers. A distinct hint on this is the occurrence and large variety of such formulations within the letter body. Thanks can be offered by senders, addressees or even by third persons.²

It is unclear how the claim that such expressions 'issue from the spontaneous and well-founded desire of the writers' must necessarily lead to the conclusion that they are not formulaic. A generic formula, just because it is conventional, may also be used in a 'sincere' and 'spontaneous' manner (so most of the above examples). In contrast, it may become hackneyed. The author of P.Mert. 1.12.6-9 (58 CE) reveals how thanksgivings could be thought of as somewhat banal: γράφειν δὲ σοι μεγάλας εὐχαριστίας παρετέο(ν) δεῖ (δι) γὰρ τοῖς μὴ φίλοις οὐσι διὰ λόγων εὐχαριστεῖν 'I did not write great thanks to you, for it is only necessary to give thanks to those who are not friends.' Furthermore, generic formulas need not be limited (obligatory) to one section of the discourse in order to be considered a formula. It is clear from the papyri that thanksgiving was not a matter to be limited to either the opening or closing, just as disclosure formulas and greetings were not limited to one particular part of Hellenistic letters.

Secondly, Arzt states that 'the usages of thanksgivings in Greek papyrus letters so far presented differ distinctly from the form of thanksgiving that Paul offers to God for his addressees at the beginning of most of his epistles'.³ The main distinction, according to Arzt, is that thanksgivings in letters are expressed to a god and/or a human being, but not to a god *for a human being* as in Paul's letters.⁴ Admittedly, most thanksgivings concern the health and general welfare of the author or other people being addressed in the letter, whereas Paul gives thanks to *his god* because of the 'spiritual' welfare or ethical behaviour of the addressees. In response, firstly, it is at least worth noting that in P.Mich. 8.473.29 (early II CE), the author gives thanks to the gods because a certain individual, Saturnilus, is similar in disposition to the recipient in that 'no one is able to deride him' [ε]ὐχαριστοῦμ[ε]ν τοῖς θεοῖς [ὅ]τι ὁμοιο<ο>ς {ομοις} σ[ο]ύ ἐστιν, [οὐ]δεὶς δ[ύ]ναται αὐτὸν [κ]αταγελάσαι. Here is an example in which the author thanks the gods because of a particular attribute of a person (not because of his good health), not

¹Mullins, 'Formulas', p. 382.

²Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 33 (emphasis mine); see pp. 33-35 for examples.

³Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 37.

⁴See Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', pp. 34-35, 37, 41 n. 44, 44 n. 47.

totally dissimilar to the way in which Paul sometimes thanks his god for the character and behaviour of his churches (e.g. 1 Cor 1:4-5 the Corinthians abound in Christ Jesus, in all speech and knowledge). More important than demonstrating such epistolary parallels to Paul, however, is the answer to the question: Could Paul have been modifying (albeit slightly) the thanksgiving formula for his own ideological reasons, while retaining its obligatory elements?¹ The possibility of such modification is substantiated by the variety of forms of epistolary thanksgivings. Paul may have had his own ideological reasons for not speaking of the 'health' of his recipients, viz. such concerns are 'earthly'. Arzt's response to this question 'Did Paul create an "Introductory Thanksgiving"?' is worth quoting here.

This question can be answered in the negative. An imitation of a report of a prayer and/or *μνεία*-motif combined with a thanksgiving to God for the addressees is limited to some pseudo-Pauline epistles only (Eph.; Col.; 2 Thess.; 2 Tim.). Other letters or epistles of early Christian writers do not point to the existence of a formal 'introductory thanksgiving' either. The same is true for Christian papyrus letters.

Arzt's negative answer is apparently based on the fact that later Christian authors did not adopt (imitate) Paul's particular thanksgiving (as they did with some of his other formulas such as the prayer motif and expression of joy).² But this does not answer the question! Are we to believe that an author's epistolary style is dependent upon those who follow? Surely Paul may have modified epistolary convention (e.g. his salutations) whether or not later Christian authors did.

Lastly, Arzt concludes that 'because of the lack of references within the large number of Greek papyrus letters we may conclude that an "introductory thanksgiving" never existed as a set phrase'.³ He has already admitted that the use of thanksgiving expressions (or motifs) are present at the beginning of some letters. Now he seems to argue that this is not a 'set phrase'. Admittedly, it is difficult to quantify what constitutes a 'set phrase',⁴ but if formulas are defined in terms of the above discussion of genre/register then the over 130 examples of thanksgiving expressions cited by Arzt (to which I add at least 10 more) reasonably seem to justify categorising them as epistolary formulas (with both obligatory and optional manifestations). The evidence reveals that these formulas were flexible enough to be slightly modified (so 2 Thess 1:3 εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν...; cf. SB 14.11645.11-12 [II CE] ὀφείλεις {οφιλις} δὲ καὶ σὺ εὐχαριστεῖν {ευχαρισσιν} τοῖς θεο[ί]ς...).

In summary, what Arzt has partly achieved in his study is a demonstration that epistolary reports of prayer are 'more conventionalised' (i.e. they developed more obligatory rules for their usage) than epistolary thanksgivings. However, he has *not* demonstrated, either in terms of (i) the epistolary evidence or (ii) his unclear methodology on genre and generic formulas, that thanksgivings are not epistolary formulas and that Paul's thanksgivings (Romans; 1 Corinthians; Philipians; 1 Thessalonians; Philemon; cf. 2 Thessalonians; Colossians) should not be interpreted in the light of such formulas. Therefore, in preparation for a more detailed treatment of Phil 1:3-11, I find it difficult to better J. L. White's statement on Paul's modified *epistolary* thanksgiving formula:

¹His assertion that thanksgiving expressions and motifs (which he does not define) 'arise from Paul's personal feeling, not from any epistolary formula' does not address the question (Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 35). Paul's 'personal feeling' may have occasioned his modification of the formula.

²Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 44.

³Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', p. 37.

⁴Arzt specifies neither (i) the type of papyrus letters which might have employed thanksgiving expressions (friendship and familiar letters are the most likely, eliminating at least a significant portion of documentary papyri) nor (ii) how many examples must be found in order to justify use of the term 'a set phrase'.

The apostle Paul regularly employs this formula in the opening of his letters, though his thanks to the deity seems to be occasioned more by the well-being of his recipients than by his own welfare. And his thanksgiving leads, customarily, to an intercession on his addressees' behalf.¹

In Phil 1:3-5 Paul gives thanks to his god because of (or during) every mention of the Philippians (or their remembrance of him) in his prayers: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐα ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν.² He gives thanks in the act of prayer, making his request with all joy because of their participation in the gospel with him: ...μετὰ χαρᾶς³ τὴν δεήσιν ποιούμενος, ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. As already mentioned, T. Y. Mullins has identified five elements of the thanksgiving formula: verb of thanksgiving; modifier; object of thanksgiving; person addressed; and substance of the thanksgiving.⁴ Three of these elements—verb of thanks, dative of direction, and content/reason of thanks—are found elsewhere in NT epistolary thanksgivings.⁵ However, in Philippians the content/reason of Paul's thanks is obscured by the fact that he does not employ the customary ὅτι (or γάρ, ἐπεὶ).⁶ This has proved important for one of the issues concerning the letter's integrity, viz. why does Paul wait until the end of the letter to thank the Philippians for their aid? Is this not belated? Besides the fact that it has not been shown that in Greco-Roman society it would be considered inconsiderate to delay one's thanks until the end of a letter, some have responded that already in 1:3 Paul has given thanks for the Philippians' aid: 'The allusion to the gift in chap. 1:3 prepares the way for the more detailed treatment in chap. 4:10-20.'⁷ This is based on a causal interpretation of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐα ὑμῶν which conveys (in part) the reason for Paul's thanksgiving and a subjective genitive reading of ὑμῶν ('I give thanks...because of your remembrance of me'). The most cogent argument for the causal reading is that of P. T. O'Brien.⁸ The other alternative has been to take ἐπί with the dative in a temporal sense and ὑμῶν as an objective genitive ('I give thanks...during my every mention of you'). The evidence for the causal understanding of ἐπί with the dative is impressive. Although Paul uses ἐπί elsewhere in his thanksgivings in a temporal sense, in these cases it takes the genitive (1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4; cf. Eph 1:16). When it takes the dative, it has a causal function (1 Cor 1:4; cf. 1 Thess 3:9). Perhaps the most compelling evidence for a causal interpretation of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐα ὑμῶν is the causal use of ἐπί with the dative in Phil 1:5, in which Paul gives thanks because of the Philippians' 'participation' in the gospel—the other ἐπί + dative expressions in Philippians may also be explained with a causal function (see chap. 5). Furthermore, 'in extra-Biblical Hellenistic sources the construction εὐχαριστέω ἐπί

¹White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 297; cf. O'Brien, 'Structure', p. 53.

²A very close parallel to Paul's thanksgiving, although fragmented, is P.Cair.Zen. 1.59076.2-3 (257 BCE) ...[πο]λλὴ χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς...σοῦ διὰ π[αν]τὸς μνεΐαν ποι]ούμενος, ὡσπερ δίκαιον ἦν 'much thanks to the gods...always remembering you, just as it is right [for me]'; so Phil 1:4-7 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐα ὑμῶν...καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν.

³Neither the text nor a functional analysis of epistolary thanksgivings give credence to Black's assertion that 'with the words μετὰ χαρᾶς (1:4) Paul announces one of the most obvious subthemes of the letter—joy in the midst of adversity' (Black, 'Discourse Structure', p. 30, emphasis mine). This is the type of indiscriminate lexical paralleling that single-letter theorists must avoid.

⁴Mullins, 'Formulas', p. 382.

⁵See 1 Cor 1:4-9; 2 Cor 1:3ff.; Phil 1:3-11; 1 Thess 1:2-16ff.; 2 Thess 1:3ff.; Col 1:3-8; Phlm 3-11.

⁶ὅτι is used in Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 2:13; 2 Thess 2:13; cf. Phil 6.

⁷O'Brien, *Thanksgivings*, p. 46.

⁸O'Brien, *Thanksgivings*, pp. 41-46; his commentary (*Philippians*, pp. 58-61) presents essentially the same view; cf. Zahn, *Introduction*, pp. 529, 534; contrast, most recently, Black, 'Discourse Structure', p. 27 n. 27, who apparently takes a temporal view, not interacting with O'Brien's study.

τινι is the most commonly used prepositional phrase to express the cause for which thanks are offered'.¹ According to this causal reading, then, Paul lists three reasons for his thanksgiving: (i) v 3 every mention/remembrance of you; (ii) v 5 their participation in the gospel; and (iii) v 6 God's (or Paul's?) continuing work in them. However, the evidence for a *subjective genitive* interpretation of ὑμῶν in v 3 is less convincing; and it is here where the rest of O'Brien's interpretation of the phrase is more suspect. Paul's use of the genitive ὑμῶν (subjective or objective) is ambiguous in Phil 1:3. In all of the other NT letters, it is clear from the grammar who it is that is doing the 'mentioning, remembering', because a verb makes it clear—ποιέω (Rom 1:9; Eph 1:16; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4) and ἔχω (1 Thess 3:6; 2 Tim 1:3).² In every case where a modifying genitive is employed, it is clearly an objective usage (Rom 1:9; 1 Thess 3:6; Phlm 4). In all but 1 Thess 3:6, which does not occur in an epistolary thanksgiving like the others and probably means 'remembrance' rather than 'mention', Paul is the one making mention of someone else. Therefore, based on the use of μνεία in epistolary thanksgivings of the NT,³ an objective genitive reading of ὑμῶν in Phil 1:3 would appear most appropriate. P.Bad. 4.48.1-3 (126 BCE) also makes use of an objective genitive: Διονυσία Θεῶνι τῷ κυρίῳ χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτή, σοῦ τὴν ἀρίστην μνείαν {μνηαν} ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ποιουμένη οὐ διαλείπω ('I do not cease making the highest mention of you upon/during every good thing') εὐχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς...; the similarities with Phil 1:3-4 are evident: (i) use of πάς emphasising the frequency of mention and (ii) use of ποιέω.⁴

In sum, a causal interpretation of ἐπί does not necessarily lead to a subjective genitive reading of ὑμῶν; indeed, an objective genitive reading is substantiated by the fact that when epistolary μνεία expressions use a genitive pronoun, the pronoun always⁵ refers to the person(s) being mentioned, not the person doing the mentioning. It is not unreasonable to read ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν as either Paul's or other Christians' mention of the Philipians (to God in prayer?)⁶ if it is understood that mentioning (or talking about) the Philipians would bring to his mind their faithful service.⁷ In other words, μνεία here

¹O'Brien, *Thanksgivings*, p. 43 (cf. Schubert, *Form*, pp. 77, 159); see n. 105 for examples, although he only cites one papyrus letter: UPZ 1.59.10-11 (168 BCE). I could find only two other unambiguous epistolary examples: UPZ 1.60.8 (168 BCE) ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἔρρωσθαί σε...τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπευχαρίστουν 'I gave thanks to the gods because of your good health' and the much later Christian P.Oxy. 18.2194.8-9 (V-VI CE) ὑπερευχαριστοῦσι τῷ θ(ε)ῷ ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ ὑμῶν τῇ βελτίστη 'They give thanks to god because of your most excellent zeal'; cf. the fragmented text of P.Lond. 5.1674.97-98 εὐχαριστο<υ>[μ]ε[ν] τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

²In 2 Tim 1:3 the author makes it even more clear that Paul's mention is made concerning the recipients τὴν περὶ σοῦ μνείαν; so also Eph 1:16 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μνείαν and 1 Thess 1:2 περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν μνείαν.

³Of approximately 32,000 papyri searched, I have not found a single case of ἐπί with μνεία.

⁴See also P.Bad. 4.51.3-4 (II CE) σοῦ τῆ(ν) πλείστη(ν) μνεία(ν) {μνεα} ποιουμένη {ποιουμένη} οὐ διαλείπω {διαλίπω}; P.Cair.Zen. 1.59093.2-3 (257 BCE) καὶ σοῦ διατελοῦμεν ἐν {εμ} παντὶ καιρῷ μνείαν ποιούμ[ενοι]. However, there is one example from the papyri that at least supports the idea that μνεία can be the activity of the recipients. In P.Cair.Zen. 1.59028.5 (258 BCE), the recipients are said to have 'remembered, mentioned' the author (and companions) in order that they may not be 'naked, exposed': περὶ ἡμῶν μνείαν ποιῆσαι {ποῆσαι}, ὅπως μὴ γυμνοὶ ὦμεν. Unlike Phil 1:3, however, here the meaning is unambiguous due to the use of the preposition περὶ.

⁵Phil 3:1 is the only ambiguous case.

⁶In BGU 2.632.5-6 (II CE), the author makes mention of the recipients to the local gods: μνείαν {μνίαν} σου ποιούμενος παρὰ τοῖς [ἐν]θάδε θεοῖς. If Paul intends a similar meaning, then his thanks is firstly based on his mention of the Philipians to God in prayer, i.e. recalling his fellow-Christians in prayer results in gratitude to God for their Christian growth and service.

⁷Paul is fond of mentioning the success of his converts in other letters: with respect to the Philipians (Macedonian churches) see Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:1; 2 Cor 11:9 (cf. Phil 4:15), and with respect to other churches see 2 Cor 9:2; 1 Thess 1:7-8.

may include the meaning of 'remembrance'.¹ *Paul is thankful because of the good recollections he has of the Philippians.* Similarly, in his opening thanksgiving in 1 Thess 1:2-3, Paul remembers the work of faith, love, and hope exhibited by the Thessalonian Christians. As in the other interpretations (causal-subjective and temporal-objective), this 'causal-objective genitive' interpretation must remain tentative; but it can be emphasised that even after O'Brien's study, it is still unclear whether Phil 1:3 is a reference to aid sent from the Philippians and thus foreshadows Phil 4:10-20, which (if it does) would prove useful for a single-letter theory.

Another aspect of Paul's thanksgiving that is directly relevant for the issue of the letter's integrity concerns the supposed 'thematic' function of Paul's thanksgiving. Several scholars, following P. Schubert, argue that the thanksgiving introduces or summarises the general theme of the letter.² In contrast, Mullins notes how thanksgiving formulas often contribute to and are part of, but ^{do} not necessarily introduce or 'prefigure', the 'writer's main line of thought'.³ Which hermeneutical principle is to be applied to the thanksgiving of Philippians? Mullins' approach is to be preferred because it cannot be shown that other epistolary thanksgivings perform a 'thematic' function.⁴ If this is true of Paul's thanksgivings, it is only true because he has done so, not because he is following sociolinguistic convention. Therefore, any supposed parallels between the thanksgiving and the other parts of the letter are based on a semantic evaluation of the letter, not on a principle of generic structure. Consequently, O'Brien overstates the interpretative value of the thanksgiving, claiming that '...the purpose of the thanksgiving periods was to introduce the basic theme of the letter'.⁵ This cannot be demonstrated as a feature of all epistolary thanksgivings and, thus, it should not be assumed as a feature of Paul's.

After his thanksgiving formula, Paul moves into a prayer formula (vv 9-11).⁶ Prayer is also the situational context for the thanksgiving, as is clear from the two uses of δέησις in

¹See P.Cair.Zen. 1.59093.2-3 (257 BCE), in which it is at least not explicitly stated that 'mention' is being directed to a god: καὶ σοῦ διατελοῦμεν ἐν {εμ} παντὶ καιρῶι μνεῖαν ποιούμ[ενοι]; cf. 1 Thess 3:6. Thus, μνεῖα need not be an act in which one specifically mentions someone to someone else.

²E.g. Schubert, *Form*, p. 24; Wiles, *Prayers*, p. 204; Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 186; Doty, *Letters*, p. 33; Jewett, 'Thanksgiving', p. 53; Garland, 'Defense', pp. 328-31; and O'Brien, *Thanksgivings*, pp. 12-13. With regard to Philippians O'Brien sees several parallels between the thanksgiving and the rest of the letter: e.g. reference to financial help (1:3 and 4:10-20); joy (1:4 and 1:18, 25; 2:2; 17-18, 28-29; 3:1; 4:1, 4, 10); gospel (1:5, 7 and 1:12, 16, 27; 2:22; 4:3, 15); fellowship/participation (1:5, 7 and 2:1; 4:14, 15); the day of Jesus (1:6, 10 and 2:15-16; 4:1); righteousness (1:11 and 3:6ff.); love (1:9ff. and 2:1ff.; 4:2ff.). Assuming a thematic function of the thanksgiving, Swift ('Theme', p. 237) claims that the central theme of Philippians is 'the Philippians' partnership in the Gospel'.

³Mullins, 'Formulas', p. 387; he also argues that it is not the nature of thanksgivings to introduce, but to punctuate (p. 388).

⁴Schubert (*Form*, p. 162) cites only one example in support of this thesis (P.Lond. 42): 'This single papyrus letter is sufficient evidence that the εὐχαριστῶ period is a fixed epistolary formula which serves to introduce the subject matter of the letter in a more formal manner...'. Similarly, he states, 'The function of the epistolary thanksgiving in the papyrus letters is to focus the epistolary situation, i.e., to introduce the vital theme of the letter' (p. 180). Firstly, 'thanksgivings' as epistolary formulas in and of themselves do not introduce basic themes since several of them occur later in the body of the letter (e.g. P.Mich. 8.476 [II CE]); secondly, because 'thanksgivings' convey information they will of course contribute to the information structure of the letter, i.e. they will at least comprise one topic of the letter (e.g. 'I received your letter...'); lastly, not all 'thanksgivings' can be shown to relate thematically to the rest of the letter (e.g. P.Sarap. 1.92 [II CE] in which the author gives thanks because of the recipient's good health and then proceeds to discuss business regarding earthen vessels). Surely, introductory thanksgivings may set a tone for the rest of the letter but this is much more generic than saying that they introduce the 'vital' or 'basic' theme of the letter.

⁵O'Brien, *Thanksgivings*, pp. 12-13.

⁶Wiles (*Prayers*, p. 159) plays down the Greek background of the prayer formula, even though examples exist where the language of prayer is conjoined with that of thanksgiving (e.g. P.Lond. 42; P.Vat. 2289;

v 4.¹ The cultic importance of prayers in Egypt is revealed by the fact that people would travel many miles if necessary to offer prayers to the god(s). For example, approximately 200 texts such as the following have been found on the walls of an Isis sanctuary on the river island of Philae: 'I, Apollonius son of Theon, came to the Lady Isis [to offer] the prayer for...'.² Similar prayers made their way into epistolary literature. The *epistolary* prayer formula, more so than the thanksgiving, often follows the epistolary salutation. Apollinarios, a military recruit, writes to his mother, Taesis, stating, 'Above all else I pray that you are well. I myself am well and I am making prayers on behalf of you to the gods here' P.Mich. 8.491.1-4 (II CE) *πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι σε ὑγιαίνειν {υγειαινειν}, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνω {υγειαινω} καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς*. Furthermore, prayer *and* thanks to the gods concerning the recipient's well-being are sometimes combined in letters.³ For example, both components are found in Sel.Pap. 1.97 (168 BCE). Isias, writing to her husband Hephaistion, mentions that she continually prays for his well-being: *εἰ ἐρρωμένωι τὰλλα κατὰ λόγον ἀπανταῖ, εἴηι ἄν ὡς τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομένη διατελῶ*. She then mentions having received a letter from him, part of which referred to his well-being. Upon hearing such news she notes that she immediately gave thanks to the gods for his good health (*ἐπὶ μὲν τῶι ἐρρῶσθαι σε ἐθέως τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαρίστουν*).⁴ Hence, prayer and thanksgiving to the gods (typically concerning a person's well-being) are closely related actions of the sender on behalf of the recipient (or vice-versa). Similarly, Paul links these two actions in the opening of his letter to the Philippians: 1:3 *εὐχαριστῶ* and 1:9 *προσεύχομαι*.⁵ The actual content of Paul's prayer requires discussion of two other common epistolary conventions.

Not only is prayer to the god(s) paralleled in other letters, but co-textual elements in and near Paul's prayer—a travelogue and disclosure formula—also parallel conventions in Hellenistic letters.⁶ The disclosure formula in Phil 1:12-26 is treated in the next section. Here it remains to discuss the content of Paul's prayer, viz. desire to visit the Philippians.

BGU 2.423; P.Giess. 85); instead, he emphasises a parallel between Paul's intercessory prayers and Jewish liturgical practices (p. 160). So also Wick (*Philippianerbrief*, pp. 177-78) places Paul's prayer language here (and elsewhere) in an OT context, thereby supporting his bold thesis that Philippians consists of a set of five macro-parallelisms.

¹For a similar expression using ποιέω and δέησις in the opening of a letter see P.Harr. 1.63.4 (161 CE).

²See discussion and translation in MacMullen, *Paganism*, p. 29.

³Sanders ('Transitions', p. 358) argues that the thanksgiving formula is a translation of a Jewish *hodaya* formula, which occurs at the opening and closing of a Jewish prayer as a variant of the *beracha* and *berachoth* (cf. Audet, 'Εὐχαριστία', pp. 643-62). In order to justify this assertion he must claim that the blessing (or eulogy) formula in NT letters (1 Cor, Eph, 1 Pet; *εὐλογητός ὁ θεός*), a Jewish *beracha*, is the antecedent of the thanksgiving formula. He does not demonstrate this. Surely, all epistolary thanksgivings found in Egypt do not represent Jewish *hodaya*. Furthermore, the equating of the blessing formula with the thanksgiving formula seems to fail on the grounds that the author of Ephesians distinguishes between the *εὐλογητός* (1:3ff.) and *εὐχαριστέω* section (1:15ff.) of his letter. Thus, if Paul's thanksgivings can be explained formally and functionally in terms of Hellenistic epistolary expressions, then there is no need to interpret them as a translation of a Hebrew *hodaya*.

⁴See also 2 Macc 1:1-9; 1:10-2:18; P.Col. 4.66 (256-66 CE) *ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχομαι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῶι δαίμονι τοῦ βασιλέως σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ ἔλθειν τὸ τάχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς*; P.Mich. 8.466 (107 CE) *πρὸ τῶν ὄλων εὐχομαι σε ἐρρῶσθαι*; P.Amh. 2.135 (early II CE) *ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων*; P.Mich. 8.481 (early II CE) *πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι σε ὑγιαίνειν*. See also the thorough survey of letters by Arzt, 'Thanksgiving', pp. 41-44.

⁵Paul's use of the prefixed verb *προσεύχομαι* is more rare than the unprefix form, but the former does appear in letters: e.g. P.Lond. 6.1926.16-17 (IV CE) and SB 12.10886.8-9 (I BCE).

⁶O'Brien (*Thanksgivings*, p. 217) certainly overstates the background of the prayer formula: 'Both the form and the content of this prayer point unmistakably to an Old Testament background'. Both the form and some of the content of Paul's usage are evidenced in Greek epistolary prayers, as well as originating from his own Jewish and Christian experiences.

Paul's notification of his travel plans, by Funk as a 'travelogue', has been recognised by several scholars as an important part of his epistolary and persuasive strategy.¹ According to Funk the travelogue section brings Paul's 'apostolic presence', and hence his apostolic authority, into the sphere of the recipients. Paul accomplishes this through the contents of a letter, the dispatch of envoys, and/or mention of his own personal arrival.² The first two methods are intended to take the place of his physical presence; the latter method invokes the impending possibility of his personal presence. Funk maintains that Paul brings to bear his apostolic presence so that he may persuade the recipients to pursue certain courses of action.³ For example, three times in the opening section of Romans Paul reinforces his desire to be in Rome, first by stating the specific content of his prayer (1:10 ...εὐδοθήσομαι ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς), then by mentioning his desire to see them and minister among them (1:11 ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς...), and finally by revealing the content of the disclosure formula (1:13 ...πολλάκις προεθέμην ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς). Several ancient letters explicitly reveal the desire of the sender to make physical contact with the recipient.⁴ A noteworthy example of the mention of travel plans in the context of a prayer formula is P.Col. 4.66.22-23 (256-55 BCE): ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχομαι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς...σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ ἔλθειν τὸ τάχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς 'I pray to all of the gods that you may be healthy and may come to us quickly'.⁵ In another letter (P.Tebt. 1.37 [73 BCE]), Apollon writes to Petesouchos apparently regarding overdue payments. Petesouchos is instructed that Apollon is on his way to the scene, and if he does not carry out the letter's instructions Apollon will be compelled to come earlier than planned (ἐὰν δὲ ἀμελήσης ἀναγκασθήσομαι ἐγὼ ἔλθειν αὔριον).⁶ Based on the grammatical and semantic parallels with Rom 1:9-11⁷ and the word order,⁸ Paul's statement in Phil 1:8 most likely entails his 'desire' to visit them, not just an 'inner longing' for them.⁹

¹Funk, 'Parousia', pp. 249-69; Doty, *Letters*, pp. 36-37; White, *Light*, pp. 219-20; and Aune, *Literary Environment*, pp. 190-91.

²Funk, 'Parousia', p. 266.

³With regard to Hellenistic letters White (*Letters*, p. 202) states, 'The request or demand for the recipient's presence or the sender's own anticipated visit sometimes conveyed a threatening nuance...[and] served to frighten the recipient into responsible and immediate action.'

⁴The motif of the sender's 'presence' within the broader epistolary tradition has been studied in detail by Koskenniemi. He (*Studien*, p. 38) states, 'Es wird nämlich als die wichtigste Aufgabe des Briefes angesehen, eine Form eben dieses Zusammenlebens während einer Zeit räumlicher Trennung darzustellen, d.h. die ἀπουσία zur παρουσία machen'; see also Thraede, *Grundzüge*, pp. 146-56; and Karlsson, 'Formelhaftes', pp. 138-41, with respect to Paul's letters.

⁵Cf. Cicero *Fam.* 5.21.1 and 7.2.4.

⁶See also e.g. Pap.Col. 4.121 (181 BCE) and P.Tebt. 2.289 (23 CE) in which the recipients are warned that inappropriate actions will result in their being brought into the physical presence of the sender.

⁷Similarities include: (i) appeal to God as a witness of his desire to visit (Rom 1:9; Phil 1:8); (ii) use of the term 'desire' ἐπιποθῶ (Rom 1:11; Phil 1:8); (iii) use of a ἵνα clause to indicate the purpose for coming, viz. to minister in some way (Rom 1:11; Phil 1:9); and (iv) mention of prayer for all of this to happen (ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν Rom 1:10; προσεύχομαι Phil 1:9).

⁸The basic word order of this section is VO (Verb-Object). In only three cases is the word order OV: 1:4 τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος and 1:7 τοῦτο φρονεῖν and 1:9 τοῦτο προσεύχομαι. In 1:4 δέησιν is initial because it is both the theme/topic and anaphoric information. In 1:7 τοῦτο is initial because it too is anaphoric information, referring back to the preceding clause (cf. 1:6 πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο). Thus, 1:9 is also probably anaphoric—τοῦτο refers back to his desire for them (i.e. his desire to be with them); against O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 73, who takes it with the following ἵνα clause.

⁹So O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 71: 'In light of most of the Pauline instances (especially 2:26) it is likely that ἐπιποθέω should be understood here as meaning that the apostle longs above all to see the Philippians again (cf. 1:25ff.; 2:12, 23)'; see also 1 Thess 3:6; 2 Tim 1:4. So also Mullins, 'Visit Talk', p. 353; contra Standaert's analysis ('Transitions', p. 96). In P.Cair.Zen. 1.59025.8 (III BCE) the author invokes the witness of the gods when speaking of travel plans: πρὸς Διὸς οὖν καὶ θεῶν μὴ ὀκνήσης διελθὼν εἰς

Accordingly, in v 9 he reveals the purpose (ἵνα) for his prayer to be with them (τοῦτο is anaphoric, referring back to the 'desire' clause, as it always is elsewhere in Philippians when falling before the verb), viz. he prays to visit them so that he may participate in (or affect) their spiritual growth.¹ In contrast to the goal of Paul's prayer, the senders' epistolary prayer in P.Mert. 2.63.18-19 (57 CE) εὐχόμεθα {ευχομεθα} σε ἵνα καλῶς ἔχειν {εχην} seeks the *physical well-being* of the recipient.² Again, Paul's use of convention has probably been modified due to his ideological convictions (e.g. suffering comes with being 'Christian', Phil 1:29).

Despite the many similarities between Paul's thanksgiving and prayer and those found in other letters, Paul's usage is uncanonical in two respects. Firstly, Paul thanks a god from a different religious tradition than those typically worshipped in Greco-Roman contexts and mentioned in epistolary thanksgivings.³ While quite obvious to us, this point, nonetheless, would have been salient to Greco-Roman Christians who received many letters in which thanks was given to the gods (plural) or to a different god (e.g. Sarapis). Secondly, whereas most letters express thanks for the well-being of the recipient or for the sender's own good health, in Phil 1:3-7 Paul thanks God for the Philippians' participation (κοινωνία 2x) in the gospel. The nature of this participation raises a significant problematic when interpreting the thanksgiving and prayer of Philippians. Does this participation—either an act of sharing or of participating with—primarily envision their individual responses to the gospel (i.e. their initial acceptance of the gospel-message) or their co-operation with Paul in the task of spreading the gospel message (i.e. their work on behalf of the gospel)? Perhaps this bifurcation is not necessary here. In the context, there is no clear reason why the Philippians' κοινωνία must exclusively involve *either* inner 'beliefs' (acceptance of the gospel) *or* outer 'works' (ministry on behalf of the gospel). Clearly, in Phil 4:15 Paul emphasises the 'work' of the Philippians on behalf of his ministry using the verb κοινωνέω, i.e. they contribute in material ways⁴ to his mission. Furthermore, in 1:5 their 'participation' is said to have taken place from the first day until now, which indicates that Paul is speaking of something beyond (but not necessarily excluding) their *initial* response to the gospel and is referring also to their *ongoing* participation (whether belief or activity) in Paul's ministry (cf. 4:15-16 ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου...). Nonetheless, even though the Philippians' κοινωνία⁵ probably involves

ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀγοράσας 'Before Zeus and the gods, do not hesitate to come [coming] into the trading place and to buy items [buying]...'

¹προσεύχομαι is followed by a ἵνα clause elsewhere in the Pauline letters: 1 Cor 14:13; Phil 1:9; Col 1:9; 4:3; 2 Thess 1:11; 3:11. In these, the ἵνα clause need not indicate the content of the prayer per se, but as it usually functions it may indicate the general result (or purpose) for the prayer, which of course would be closely related to the specific requests of the prayer. Thus, Paul's prayer in Phil 1:9 probably involved both the request to be with them and the consequences of that, viz. their 'spiritual' growth—in this sense, the ἵνα clause may be viewed as the content (better 'result') of the prayer.

²Cf. SB 6.9017.8.15 (I-II CE) εὐχομαι ἵνα μηδέποτε μου χρεῖαν σχῆ οὐκέτι 'I pray so that he may no longer have any need of me.'

³See e.g. BGU 2.423 (II CE) in which a soldier gives thanks to Serapis (τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι) for saving (ἔσωσε) him through a dangerous sea journey. See also the letter dictated by a Jew who surprisingly gives thanks to the gods C.Pap.Jud. 1.4 (257 BCE) πολλή χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς.

⁴Cf. Paul's use of the noun to refer to the Jerusalem collection in Rom 15:26 and 2 Cor 8:3; 9:13.

⁵κοινωνία often has a passive function referring to the state of 'having in common' (2 Cor 6:14; 13:13; Gal 2:9; Phil 2:1) or 'possessing together' (1 Cor 1:9), but it can also denote an act of giving or sharing something with others, in which cases it is often followed by an εἰς prepositional phrase (Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:13). The latter examples suggest that Phil 1:5 concerns the Philippians' act of contributing to the gospel-work (so 2:22 with εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον clearly involves work on behalf of the gospel; cf. 4:15 in which the verb is followed by εἰς); according to this context, in 1:7 Paul describes them as fellow-participants with him in his work of grace (Rom 1:5). The meaning of Phlm 6 κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως is

service on behalf of the gospel (partnership in the sense of a 'contractual relationship' [cf. Gal 2:9-10],¹ an expression of 'friendship',² 'political identity',³ client-patron obligations,⁴ or a *Gemeinschaftsverhältnis*,⁵ or elements of some or all of these), in 1:6-7 (the third reason for his thanksgiving) Paul seems to broaden his description of them to include all that characterises them as Christians, including their alliance with the gospel message and its ethical requirements (cf. 2:13).⁶ His description of them as συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος recalls his account of the Macedonian churches in 2 Cor 8:1 γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας (cf. Col 1:6). But even here, χάρις is not only an object which the Macedonian churches possess but characterises their service on behalf of the saints in Jerusalem (see esp. 8:6 ἐπιτέλεση...τὴν χάριν); thus, the 'grace' which they share with Paul in Phil 1:7 may, as in v 5, designate their assistance on behalf of Paul's mission.⁷ On the other hand, the eschatological reference to the day of Christ in Phil 1:6 recalls a similar eschatological passage in the epistolary thanksgiving of 1 Cor 1:8-9, where it is clear that Paul is speaking of moral qualities (ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν) and a 'sharing in' (acceptance of) Christ (ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; cf. Phil 3:10). It is not unreasonable to think, then, that Paul speaks of both the initial κοινωνία of the Philippians as an act of accepting the gospel-message (grace) but also the ongoing κοινωνία of the Philippians as an act of adhering to and propagating the gospel-message with Paul.⁸ Thus, the Philippians are 'partners with Paul'⁹ regarding all that χάρις entails, both acceptance of the χάρις of the gospel and the moral and ethical entailments of χάρις (e.g. the Jerusalem collection). In sum, the reason for Paul's thanksgiving is the general 'religious' well-being of the Philippians, as exemplified in their κοινωνία on Paul's behalf. Their 'well-being' probably involves several aspects: belief in the gospel; moral conduct; and missionary service.¹⁰

In sum, two points from the above treatment of the epistolary thanksgiving and prayer formulas in Philippians are directly relevant to the issue of integrity. (1) Although the

too problematic to be used as evidence here; for discussion see O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, pp. 279-81; but see Wright (*Climax*, p. 52) for a cogent interpretation of κοινωνία there which approaches my interpretation of Phil 1:7: '...the key idea is *mutual participation* in Christ'. So also it is unclear in Phlm 17 (με ἔχεις κοινωνόν) what type of 'fellowship' Paul has in view, although the lexical similarity with Phil 1:7 (ἔχειν με...ὑμᾶς...συγκοινωνούς μου) is noteworthy.

¹Sampey, *Partnership*, esp. pp. 51-77.

²E.g. White, 'Morality', pp. 210-15; Stowers, 'Friends', esp. 110-12.

³Geoffrion, *Purpose*, *passim*.

⁴Bormann, *Philippi*, pp. 187-24.

⁵Hainz, 'KOINONIA', pp. 375-91.

⁶So O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 26. In Rom 15:27 Paul seems to differentiate between 'sharing' in spiritual blessing and 'ministering' to physical needs; but in Gal 6:6 the command to 'share' (κοινωνεῖτω) refers to physical not spiritual matters (cf. Rom 15:26-27 where the Macedonians are involved in the giving of material aid, whereas the Jerusalem Christians shared spiritual blessings). The collection for Jerusalem is an act of κοινωνία (see Hainz, 'KOINONIA', pp. 378-80).

⁷For this reading see esp. Davies, 'ΧΑΡΙΣ', pp. 343-46.

⁸Cf. Hainz, 'KOINONIA', p. 389.

⁹The genitive μου in 3:17 συμμιμηταί μου and 4:14 συγκοινωνήσαντές μου are probably objective genitives (i.e. objects of an action, 'imitating me'), suggesting the same of μου in 1:7—the Philippians (as a joint adventure amongst themselves) gave to Paul a gift of grace (material or spiritual?). But other uses of συν- prefixes are not followed by an objective genitive involving a person (see esp. Phil 2:25 συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου); rather, in such cases the meaning is 'fellow-', e.g. 'fellow-servant' (Matt 18:28). Thus, it is just as likely that μου in 1:7 serves to describe the Philippians as Paul's fellow-participants in grace.

¹⁰Cf. Panikulam, *Koinonia*, p. 84.

linguistic evidence suggests that ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐᾳ ὑμῶν should be interpreted with a causal meaning, it has not been demonstrated, either in terms of grammar or epistolary convention, that ὑμῶν is a subjective genitive (i.e. 'your remembrance of me [in the form of material assistance]'). Therefore, this phrase is not definitive evidence against the multiple-letter argument that Paul's thank-you comes too late in the letter (though we suspect it on other grounds). (2) The supposed thematic function of the thanksgiving must be demonstrated from an analysis of the semantic content of the letter and cannot be attributed to an inherent trait of epistolary thanksgivings. Therefore, any parallels between the thanksgiving in Philippians and the rest of the letter must be argued for, not hastily assumed.

Lastly, the above study suggests that Paul again has modified (or at least employed a rare use of) epistolary convention for his own ideological purposes: (i) Paul's thanksgiving is noticeably monotheistic and the deity is identified in relation to himself (θεῶ μου) and (ii) Paul thanks his god in part for the 'religious' (or 'spiritual') welfare of his recipients, viz. their participation in the gospel. The importance of the thanksgiving/prayer 'rhetoric' for Paul in Philippians becomes further apparent when compared to his other introductory thanksgivings/prayers: (i) thanksgiving is mentioned first, in the context of prayer on behalf of the recipients (Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3-4; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4; cf. Col 1:3); (ii) the reason for thanksgiving is at least partly based on the 'spiritual' well-being of the recipients (Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4-8; Phil 1:5-7; 1 Thess 1:3; Phlm 5-6; cf. Eph 1:15-19; Col 1:4; 2 Thess 1:3); (iii) the recipients' spiritual well-being is guaranteed into the day of Christ (1 Cor 1:8; Phil 1:6); and (iv) Paul prays that he might visit the Philippians so that he may actively participate in their Christian development (Rom 1:10-11; Phil 1:8-9).

DISCLOSURE AND REQUESTS/PETITIONS (1:12-26) (2:1-18)

The example of prayer cited in P.Mich. 8.491 (II CE) above may also serve as an introduction to the next epistolary convention used in Philippians, viz. a disclosure formula with associated requests. After mentioning his prayers to the gods, Apollinarios remarks that he wants his mother to know about his safe arrival in Rome (lines 4-5 γινώσκειν {γυνωσκειν} σε θέλω, μήτηρ, ὅτι...)¹ Similarly, in Phil 1:12 Paul discloses information to the Philippians about his personal situation and well-being: γινώσκειν δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν 'I want you to know, brothers and sisters, that my situation has come about for the advance of the gospel.'² He narrates his situation in vv 12-26, mostly discussing the preaching of the gospel which resulted from his imprisonment and debating whether he wants to die and be with Christ or to live and further serve the Philippians. The importance

¹For other examples near the time of Paul see e.g. P.Oxy 4.743.27-28 (2 BCE) ἂν τοῦτό σε θέλω γινώσκειν {γυνωσκειν} ὅτι...; P.Oxy. 4.744.3 (1 BCE) γίνωσκε ὡς...; P.Koeln. 1.56.3 (I CE) γινώσκειν {γυνωσκιν} σε θέλω ὅτι...; P.Mich 8.464.3-4 (99 CE) γινώσκειν {γυνωσκιν} σε θέλω ὅτι....

²For examples in or near the opening see Rom 1:13; 2 Cor 1:8; Phil 1:12. Sanders ('Transition', pp. 348-62) and Mullins ('Disclosure', pp. 44-50) conclude that Paul's disclosures signal the end of the thanksgiving section. Roberts ('Transitions', p. 98) adds to the disclosure other transitional devices: (i) 1:10 eschatological climax and (ii) 1:11 doxology. For disclosures in the body of Paul's letters see Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 10:1; 11:3; 12:1; 1 Thess 4:13. Phil 1:12 is the only one which has βούλομαι with γινώσκειν. With respect to the other letters, 1 Cor 11:3 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι... is stated in the positive (cf. P.Hamb. 2.192.17-18 [III BCE] εἰδέναι δέ σε θέλω ὅτι...; PSI 12.1259.4 [II-III CE] εἰδέναι σε θέλω ὅτι...); the remainder in the negative (e.g. Rom 1:13 οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι...; cf. P.Cair.Zen. 3.59530.1 [III BCE] οὐκ οἶμαι σε ἀγνοεῖν διότι...; P.Brem. 1.6.3 [II CE] οὐκ οἶμαι ἀγνοεῖν σε ὅτι...).

of informing friends and family about one's own situation is revealed, for example, in P.Yale 1.42.5-9 (229 BCE), in which the letter writer complains that he is anxious because up until the present he has heard nothing about the situation of the recipient (τὰ κατὰ σε).¹ In Phil 1:27-2:18 Paul then turns to petition the Philippians with respect to their conduct. He uses his own immediate story and a story about Christ as means to exhort them.

Epistolary formulas disclosing information often take one of the following three forms: γέγραφα οὖν ὅπως εἰδῆς... ('I write so that you may know...'), γίνωσκε (ἴσθι, μάθε) ὅτι (ὡς)... ('Know that...') [and] γινώσκεις σε θέλω ὅτι... ('I want you to know that...').² All three formulas primarily serve the task of disclosing information and often, especially in brief letters, supply the 'explanation of the reason for writing'.³ T. Y. Mullins lists four elements of the third type of disclosure formula: (i) θέλω 'to desire, wish', (ii) noetic verb in the infinitive, (iii) person addressed, and (iv) information.⁴ J. L. White lists the lexical choices often found in the formula:

- (i) the verb of disclosure, often a two-membered unit consisting of a verb of desiring (θέλω or βούλομαι) in the first person indicative, and the verb of knowing (γινώσκω) in the infinitive form; (ii) the vocative of address (ἀδελφοί, 'brothers', in the five examples from Paul); and (iii) the subject to be disclosed introduced by ὅτι.⁵

This longer, more polite form of disclosure is common in private letters, whereas the imperative form (γίνωσκε) is typical of business letters. Phil 1:12 follows the polite form; only Paul's use of βούλομαι rather than the more typical θέλω stands out but is probably of little functional significance.⁶ The actual content of Paul's disclosure is that his circumstances (viz. his imprisonment) has resulted in the advancement of the gospel. His situation has had two consequences (ὥστε): (i) v 13 the gospel has been brought to those in charge of his imprisonment (and the 'rest?') and (ii) v 14 others have been emboldened to preach the gospel. Paul then notes that not everyone is proclaiming the gospel out of sincere motives—some (probably Christians) do it apparently to increase Paul's troubles; yet he still rejoices because Christ is being proclaimed. At the end of v 18 Paul makes a transition (ἀλλὰ καί χαρήσομαι... γάρ...) into a discussion about his possible σωτηρία: οἶδα... ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν (v 19). The string of prepositional phrases and a ὅτι clause in vv 19-20, seemingly cluttered, modify (directly or indirectly) this main clause. Despite Paul's difficult clause structure, interpretations of what he means here have focused on the possible semantics of σωτηρία.⁷ Two basic interpretations predominate, one emphasising the theological background of the term (eschatological salvation) and the other pointing to its typical epistolary function (rescue from danger).⁸ In support of the former reading, O'Brien points to the exact parallel of the

¹ ἐμοῦ σοι γεγραφότος πλέονας ἐπιστολάς καὶ οὐθέν (ουθεμ) μοι παρὰ σοῦ τί μοι προσπεφώνται, τὸ πλεον ἄγνιῶν ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδ' ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ κατὰ σε.

²For further discussion and examples see White, *Light*, pp. 204-205, 207-208.

³White, *Light*, p. 207.

⁴Mullins, 'Disclosure', p. 46.

⁵White, 'Introductory Formulae', p. 93.

⁶For use of βούλομαι rather than θέλω with a noetic verb see e.g. P.David 1.14.19-20 (II-III CE); P.Koeln 5.238.2-3 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 48.3399.3 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 56.3862.6-7 (IV-V CE); P.Stras. 1.35.2-3 (IV-V CE).

⁷Unless strong evidence can be proffered, τοῦτο should be taken with its nearest co-textual cohesive tie, viz. the demonstrative pronoun in 1:18 ἐν τούτῳ which itself refers to the ongoing proclamation of Christ (with sincere and insincere motives); *contra* O'Brien (*Philippians*, p. 109) who takes it back to 1:12.

⁸O'Brien (*Philippians*, p. 109) lists various options: 'rescue from captivity, preservation of the apostle's life, triumph over his enemies, the salvation (and conversion) of many people, the eternal messianic redemption, or, in general terms, whatever will be salutary for Paul'.

expression ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν in Job 13:16 LXX.¹ Job seeks vindication in the ‘heavenly court’; so also, Paul seeks salvation based on God’s judgement. However, it is not the function of Job’s statements in their context that necessarily determines Paul’s usage, but how Paul seeks to incorporate this subtext into his own discourse. And since Paul’s usage is what is at issue, the Job parallel proves indeterminate. Indeed, O’Brien can use it to support his eschatological interpretation of σωτηρία and Hawthorne can use it to support his physical interpretation.² Paul’s use of the noun in his other letters including Philippians (Rom 1:16; 10:1, 10; 11:11; 13:11; 2 Cor 1:6; 6:2; 7:10; Phil 1:28;³ 2:12; 1 Thess 5:8, 9) would suggest that σωτηρία in Phil 1:19 implies eschatological salvation, i.e. deliverance from wrath (Rom 5:9; 1 Cor 3:15; 5:5; 1 Thess 1:10; 5:9) and reception of eternal glory (Rom 8:18-30; 2 Thess 2:13, 14).⁴ However, in epistolary contexts such as this one, σωτηρία regularly implies the physical welfare (e.g. rescue from the dangers of a sea-voyage) either of the sender or the recipients (cf. 2 Macc 1:11).⁵ R. MacMullen notes that the same is true of ‘salvific’ terms in inscriptions: “‘Savior’ in them [inscriptions], or ‘salvation’, had to do with health or other matters of this earth, not of the soul for life eternal.’⁶ Furthermore, the idea that a person’s well-being is dependent upon one’s own and others’ prayers to the gods has been mentioned above with respect to epistolary thanksgivings and prayers; similarly Paul also attributes his σωτηρία to the δεήσις of the Philippians and the provision of the Spirit (1:19).

Consequently, the debate over the meaning of σωτηρία in Phil 1:19 raises linguistic issues regarding the influence of SYNTAGMATIC and PARADIGMATIC choices on word meanings. Scholars have typically focused on paradigmatic choices that were at Paul’s linguistic disposal (competence) when he used σωτηρία. But if syntagmatic choices (viz. the epistolary context) are taken with equal seriousness, then the interpretation of σωτηρία as ‘physical well-being, safety’ in Phil 1:19 is more credible. I find it difficult to believe that Paul, who so far has appeared to be very aware of his epistolary style, would fail to see the connection between his use of σωτηρία and epistolary usage. But as has already been noted, Paul is capable of modifying epistolary convention (especially for ideological

¹This OT parallel is quite clear since (i) Paul only uses the verb ἀποβαίνω here (cf. Luke 21:13 where it also has the sense of ‘result’ rather than movement away from) and (ii) this verb is rare in the papyri and never used in conjunction with σωτηρία. Yet there is the possibility that this expression represents a Jewish idiom, rather than a conscious use of Scripture (Stanley, *Paul*, p. 67 n. 8); thus, appeal to its original context for understanding Paul’s use may be misleading.

²O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 110, and Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 40.

³Even Hawthorne (‘Interpretation’, pp. 80-81), who reads σωτηρία in 1:19 as physical deliverance, interprets it as ‘salvation of your souls’ in 1:28, even though his somewhat unique reading of 1:28b would allow for a non-eschatological reading.

⁴So O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 110; Garland, ‘Philippians 1:1-26’, p. 333; Dailey, ‘To Live’, p. 20; Silva, *Philippians*, pp. 76-78; Marshall, *Philippians*, p. 24; so also the author of the Latin (translation?) letter to the Laodiceans (late II CE?), who recites Philippians at several points, translates 1:12 with *vita aeterna*.

⁵Cf. Alexander, ‘Letter-Forms’, p. 96. The majority of epistolary uses of σωτηρία are in reference to the welfare (e.g. health, safety) of the recipient (σωτηρία σου) or other family members and friends (e.g. P.Mich. 8.490.12-14 [II CE] καὶ σὺ δὲ μὴ ὄκνει {ὄκνει} γράφειν {γραφῆν} περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου); however, for an example which concerns the σωτηρία of the letter writer see the same letter P.Mich. 8.490.6-7 (II CE) ἀνάγκην {ανανκην} ἔσχον σοι δηλώσαι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας μου; cf. PSI 4.392.5 τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν (242-41 BCE). Request for information about the recipient’s σωτηρία is often combined with a promise to take care of whatever the recipient needs, as in P.Mich. 3.212.9-11 (II-III CE) γράφε μοι, κύριε, σὺν {τ}οῖς ἐτ[έ]ροις περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου καὶ περὶ ὧν χρῆζεις ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ. Personal correspondence often comprised these two elements: information about well-being (σωτηρία) and request for goods and services (χρεῖαι).

⁶MacMullen, *Paganism*, p. 57.

reasons), and this is what he has apparently done here. That σωτηρία does not simply mean 'physical rescue' in 1:19 is most evidenced by the final phrase in v 20: εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου—Paul clearly allows for the possibility of his death, regardless of his personal expectations.¹ The 'rescue' he envisions is not limited to his mortal life.² Paul makes the qualification in v 20, viz. that whether he lives or dies Christ shall be magnified through him, so as to redirect the implied epistolary reader's MENTAL SCRIPT in a way that challenges their need for deliverance from physical sufferings—and what more striking way to do this than to manipulate conventions of language probably familiar to the reader. Paul is less ambiguous about the meaning of σωτηρία in 1:28-30: God's salvation (v 28 σωτηρία) does not preclude suffering (v 29 πάσχειν) in the Christian's life. Clearly σωτηρία here does not imply physical rescue, which would not serve Paul's ensuing argument that 'suffering' is fundamental to Christian existence. In 1:19 Paul seeks a σωτηρία that is not solely based on physical deliverance but on eschatological vindication;³ the Philippians should adopt the same attitude toward 'suffering' that he has (1:30).

The remainder of Paul's disclosure develops out of the last phrase of 1:20, viz. he desires to die and be with Christ but also to remain and serve the Philippians (1:21-26). This eventually becomes a travelogue statement in v 26 (διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς).⁴ The rhetorical importance of such statements in Paul's letters has already been noted in the above treatment of prayer formulas. It remains here to note that letter writers sometimes discuss their travel plans in relation to their circumstances. For example, in P.Mich. 3.203 (98-117 CE) the author Saturnilus uses a disclosure formula (γινώσκειν {γεινώσκιν} σε θέλω ὅτι...) to reveal that he has not had an opportunity to visit since he was last there (line 8) and then he employs another disclosure formula to reveal that he may not be able to visit again for some time (line 13). On the one hand, letter writers such as Paul seem obliged to make known their future travel plans; on the other hand, the same letter writers often apologise for previous and future failures to visit. Much of Paul's travel language is paralleled in the non-literary papyri;⁵ Mullins is not exaggerating when he claims that non-literary papyri 'are full of visit talk'.⁶ Paul's use of

¹In a mostly convincing reading of σωτηρία as physical deliverance, Kennedy ('Background', pp. 23-24), however, fails to account for the apparent implications of this prepositional phrase. Reeves ('To Be', p. 286), who also adopts the interpretation of physical deliverance, gets around this problem by interpreting 'whether by life or by death' metaphorically, i.e. 'dying' means staying in prison; but the context does not prompt a metaphorical reading and his appeal to 2 Cor 1:9-10 could just as well support a 'physical death' interpretation of Phil 1:20. Furthermore, his claim that Paul's absence/presence language in 1:27 'is inexplicable if the apostle believed that he was going to die in prison' (p. 288 n. 96) is unwarranted if Paul is simply referring to his receipt of news about them *while he is still in prison*. Reeves' larger argument that Paul here is debating whether or not to use the Philippians' monetary gift as a bribe to secure his release, while plausible (Acts 24:26), requires reading much into the text that is not explicitly stated.

²τοῦτο in v 19 probably refers back to the activity of those who preach Christ so as to afflict Paul. Their activity will result in Paul's ultimate vindication (salvation) before God, since he, like Job, is innocent.

³Cf. Garland, 'Defense', p. 333. 2 Tim 4:10-18, whether it is Pauline or not, provides a comparable intertextual reading of how I interpret Paul's statement here. Paul, in his defence of the gospel in prison, is confronted by two sets of *Christians*—one supporting him and the other not. Thus, he has been deserted in his imprisonment. He expects God to rescue him, in spite of the possibility that ultimately he may die. His rescue is one that will bring him into the heavenly kingdom. Cf. Clemen, *Einheitlichkeit*, p. 141, who notes a possible historical connection between 2 Tim 4:9ff. and Paul's earlier letter (A) to the Philippians.

⁴On the concept of παρουσία in letters see Thraede, *Grundzüge*, pp. 146-56.

⁵For a formal study which gives more attention to epistolary literature than Funk's notion of 'Apostolic Parousia' see Mullins, 'Visit Talk', pp. 350-58.

⁶Mullins, 'Visit Talk', p. 352.

μένω terms in 1:24-25, παρουσία in 1:26, and the participles ἐλθών, ἰδών, ἀπών in 1:27 are all common terms of 'visit talk' in personal letters.¹

Regarding the structure of this section, the use of requests after a disclosure formula may illuminate the function and location of 1:27-30 as well as the additional exhortations in 2:1-18. L. Alexander has rightly pointed out the petitionary nature beginning at 1:27 and that the clause ἵνα...ἀκούω τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν may be 'an implied request for news'.² The exhortations of 2:1-18, signalled by οὖν, would then represent Paul's new petitions to the Philippians. In other words, 1:27-30 (a petition following a disclosure) addresses their immediate situation and 2:1-18 brings to bear new exhortations. Throughout this entire section (1:12-2:18) Paul's own situation—the content of the initial disclosure formula—is a recurrent topic (1:13, 17, 20-26, 30; 2:12, 17). His situation is interwoven with exhortations to the Philippians. The combination of a disclosure formula and petitions is a useful epistolary strategy, obviously because letter writers would want to reveal their own situation, reiterate previous commands, address the immediate situation of the recipients, and add any new commands that require their attention.

J. L. White has identified three main parts to epistolary petitions (and requests): (i) *background*, in which the petitioner recites the circumstances which necessitate the request; (ii) *request*; and (iii) *acknowledgement* that the letter writer will be benefited if the request is fulfilled.³ (1) White observes that 'in letters where request is only one of the functions in the body, the "background" is often omitted as a formal element. It is functionally present, however, in ἵνα, ὅπως and γάρ clauses which follow the request and provide explanation of it.'⁴ Similarly, Paul's initial πολιτεύεσθε request is explained by the following ἵνα clause, i.e. his request is based on his desire to receive future news of their steadfastness (v 27) and fearlessness (v 28). More than that, however, the disclosure about Paul's situation in prison serves as a background to his petitions in 1:27-30; he uses his own situation as an example for the conduct of the Philippians. This background-petition structure in Philippians may be explained in terms of epistolary literature; so White notes that 'the initial disclosure may serve...as background information to justify the request'.⁵ Lastly, there is no inherent epistolary reason why a letter may only make one request or petition; thus, Paul's multiple exhortations are not entirely uncanonical. In P.Mich. 3.203 (98-117 CE), after using four disclosure formulas, the author makes five different requests—take care of my pigs; send allowance to Julas; send his brother to me; send olives; write to me concerning Julius—before closing the letter with greetings. Obviously, that which makes Paul's petitions stand out is their moral character. (2) Paul uses two clearly marked linguistic transitions to begin his two sets of requests/petitions:

¹Besides the examples in Mullins, see BGU 14.2420.2-3 (I BCE) προσμένω τὴν παρουσίαν σοῦ; P.Oxy. 47.3357.7-8 (I CE) ἀναμεῖναι τὴν Φανίου παρουσίαν; P.Oxy. 56.3852.17-18 (II CE) ἡ σὴ παρουσία ἔσται ἡμῖν {ημεῖν}; P.Oxy. 4.744.5. (I BCE) ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῖα μένω; CPR 7.55.7-8 (II CE) παραμένω ἐν τῇ οἰκίαι; P.Leit. 1.5.6 (c. 180 CE) σ[οῦ] ἀπών; SB 6.9228.5 (160 CE) ὁ Πάστωρ ἀπών; PSI 12.1241.19-21 (159 CE) ἐλθὼν ἀνθομολογηθῆ μοι περὶ τῆς εὐστ[α]θείας ὑμῶν; P.Oxy. 9.1215.2 (II-III CE) καλῶς {αλως} ποιήσεις {πυησις} ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἐμὲ {αιμαι}.

²Alexander, 'Letter-Forms', pp. 95-96.

³White, *Light*, p. 204; see also his more detailed treatment *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition*, although this mainly treats official and administrative petitions. Personal letters sometimes employ a simple imperative to make a request.

⁴White, *Light*, p. 204.

⁵White, *Light*, p. 198.

1:27 μόνον¹ and 2:1 οὖν.² Yet, the transition to 1:27 is still stated in the context of his travelogue. In other words, Paul's initial set of petitions is occasioned by the travelogue discussion. Paul wants the Philippians to 'conduct themselves' or 'exercise their citizenship' in a manner worthy of the gospel,³ whether or not he is able to visit them. In P.Oxy. 3.532.10-18 (II CE) the letter writer warns that if a payment is not made at once then he will have to come in person and dispute over it: ἀναγκαίως οὖν τῷ ἀναδιδόντι {αναδιδουντι} σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τοῦτο εὐθέως ἀπόδος... ὅρα οὐ<v> μὴ ἄλλως πράξης καὶ ποιήσης με πρὸς σε ἔλθειν συνζητήσοντα σοι.⁴ Paul, in contrast, does not want their conduct to be motivated by a potential visit. (3) Lastly, at the end of Paul's second set of petitions, he perhaps states his *acknowledgement* of the benefit he will receive if the Philippians carry out his petitions: viz. their obedience will result in καύχημα ἐμοὶ εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ because οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἔκοπίασα (2:16).

In sum, an epistolary reading of 1:27-30 (and 2:1-18) as a set of petitions which follow a disclosure resists the claim that we have here the central purpose of Paul's letter (see the above critique of Watson's rhetorical analysis).⁵ This is not to deny that Paul's exhortations in 1:27-30 were important to the fabric of the letter, but that they represent but a few among many exhortations which he wished to convey to the Philippians (see discussion of Interpersonal Meanings in chap. 5 below). In addition, these requests are closely tied in a structural way to Paul's disclosure of his situation—the two work together. It was perfectly natural for Paul to make requests of his recipients in an epistolary context; this is not something that differentiates his letter writing style. However, Paul, as is typical of his modification of epistolary convention, composes his requests so as to serve his own religious purposes (in contrast to the seemingly mundane 'Send me some olives, mother.').

One last aspect of Paul's disclosure formula is worth noting since it is directly relevant to the issue of literary integrity. As with the thanksgiving it has been noted that disclosure formulas reveal topical intentions (purposes) of the author; however, this is a feature of disclosure formulas in general, whereas it is not true of all thanksgivings. The statement-of-reason-for-writing function of disclosure formulas, of course, has serious ramifications for the literary integrity of Philippians because single-letter theorists have always been searching for a thematic thread which binds the letter together. However, Paul's use of a disclosure formula should not be used for such an endeavour, since although it is true that disclosure formulas reveal an author's purpose for writing they do not necessarily reveal *the* purpose for writing (especially in lengthier letters).⁶ For example, in the previously mentioned letter P.Mich. 3.203 (98-117 CE) Saturnilus uses four disclosure formulas (ὅτι γινώσκειν {γεινωσκιν} σε θέλω ὅτι...) in the same letter, each revealing a separate reason for writing: (i) he sent them three letters in the present month (lines 2-3); (ii) he had

¹On the use of μόνον with an imperative see LSJ s.v. μόνος B.II.

²White (*Light*, p. 204) notes that οὖν is one of the conjunctions used to connect a request to a background. Accordingly, the petitions beginning at 2:1 probably follow from the petitions and situations stated in 1:27-30; this understanding is supported by Paul's use of the imperative πληρώσατε. Paul will be pleased if they carry out the petitions of 1:27-30, but his joy will be made complete if they carry out the ensuing petitions.

³For various interpretations of πολιτεύεσθε see Geoffrion, *Purpose*, pp. 42-48, who defines it in political terms.

⁴For epistolary formulas used to summon responsible action see White, 'Formulas', pp. 305-307.

⁵Geoffrion (*Purpose*, pp. 35-80) treats it as the 'primary theme'.

⁶So White, *Light*, p. 198: 'One should not attempt to determine the intention of a letter on the basis of one or two epistolary formulas in the body.'

another child born to him (lines 5-6); (iii) he had no opportunity to visit them since his last visit (lines 8-9); and (iv) he may not be able to visit again for awhile (lines 13-14).

In conclusion, Paul again employs epistolary formulas (viz. disclosure and petition) to serve his own communicative goals. His disclosure is used to narrate his own situation in order to later exhort the Philippians to behave in the same way. In other words, Paul's modification of epistolary convention may be summarised in the statement that *he discloses information about himself and then uses this for paraenetic purposes*.¹ In this regard, his letters resemble philosophical letters such as Seneca's rather than the type of petitions found in most personal letters.

TRAVEL INFORMATION AND COMMENDATIONS (2:19-3:1)

In Phil 2:19-24 and 2:25-28 Paul makes known to the Philippians his plans to send Timothy and Epaphroditus to Philippi. The structure and language of the two sections contain several similarities.

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| 2:19-24 | Mention of sending Reason Praise of person | ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν ἵνα κἀγὼ εὐψυχῶ γνοῦς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον, ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν <u>μεριμνήσει</u> ...τὴν δὲ δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. τοῦτον...οὖν ἐλπίζω <u>πέμψαι</u> ὡς ἂν ἀφίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ ἐξαυτῆς... |
| 2:25-29 | 2nd mention of sending Mention of travel plans Mention of sending Reason Mention of illness 2nd mention of sending Reason Exhortation to receive | πέποιθα δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως <u>ἐλεύσομαι</u> . ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἠγησάμην Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον καὶ λειτουργὸν <u>τῆς χρείας μου</u> , <u>πέμψαι</u> πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπειδὴ <u>ἐπιποθῶν</u> ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς καὶ <u>ἀδημονῶν</u> , διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι <u>ἠσθένησεν</u> . καὶ γὰρ ἠσθένησεν <u>παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ</u> . ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἠλέησεν αὐτόν... σπουδαιότερος οὖν <u>ἔπεμψα</u> αὐτόν, ἵνα <u>ιδόντες αὐτόν πάλιν χαρῆτε</u> κἀγὼ ἀλυπότερος ᾶ. <u>προσδέχεσθε</u> οὖν αὐτόν ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς... |

Paul's language here parallels other letters in which the well-being of someone known to the recipient is mentioned by the author; more specifically, Paul may be employing a form of epistolary *commendation* (recommendation) in order to entrust Epaphroditus (and perhaps Timothy) into the care of the Philippians (cf. Rom 16:1-2 and 2 Cor 3:1).² This section, however, serves more than the task of commending Timothy and Epaphroditus. The above underlined elements represent several common topics of personal (family and friendship) letters, which will be treated in more detail below. Most of these concern information about the travel itinerary of oneself and one's intermediaries. The threefold exhortations in 1:28-3:1, which is part of the commendation of Epaphroditus, will be treated in more detail in the next section on epistolary hesitation formulas. It need only be stated here that the first imperative, *προσδέχεσθε*, is common in epistolary commendations. The many formal and functional epistolary characteristics of this section

¹So Wick (*Philippenerbrief*, p. 158) rightly claims, 'Paulus seine Selbstdarstellung ebenfalls dazu benutzt, um damit den Philippern ein Beispiel für die Paränese zu geben'; for example, 'Für Seneca ist der Tod die höchst mögliche Form der vorbildlichen Selbstdarstellung. Auch für Paulus ist seine mögliche Hinrichtung ein Weg, ein Vorbild der Gesinnung Christi für die Philipper zu sein.'

²See the standard works of Keyes, 'Greek Letter', pp. 28-44, and Kim, *Letter of Recommendation*. On the basis of form and content Kim (*Recommendation*, pp. 120-35) understands the following sections of Paul's letters in terms of epistolary commendations and introductions: Rom 16:1-2; 1 Cor 16:15-16, 17-18; Phil 2:29-30; 4:2-3; 1 Thess 5:12-13a; the whole of Philemon (particularly vv 8-17).

highlight its epistolary context (register). It is not necessary to classify it as a rhetorical *digressio* (so Watson) so as to explain its supposedly awkward appearance in the structure of the letter. An epistolary reading makes perfect sense of its structure and function in the discourse, without appealing to the rhetorical handbooks.

Epistolary recommendations contain three distinctive elements: (i) recommendation of the individual (usually the letter carrier),¹ specifying the relationship with the sender; (ii) request for the recipient to assist the recommended person; (iii) expression of appreciation by stating that the sender will be favoured by the recipient's assistance and/or that the sender will repay the favour.² In P.Oxy. 2.292 (25 CE), for example, Theon (sender) recommends his brother Heraclides to Tyrannus (recipient) immediately after the letter's salutation: Ἡρακλείδης ὁ ἀποδιδούς σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐστὶν μου ἀδελφός. Theon then proceeds to recommend Heraclides into the care of Tyrannus: διὸ παρακαλῶ σε μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον. Finally, Theon states that Tyrannus will favour him if he receives Heraclides: χαρίσει {χαρεσαι} δέ μοι τὰ μέγιστα ἐάν σου τῆς ἐπισημασίας τύχη.³ In his letter to the Romans, Paul follows this basic pattern, introducing Phoebe in 16:1 and requesting her care to the Romans in v 2, except that he does not mention any favour which will transpire if the Romans act on his recommendation. συνίστημι and compounds of δέχομαι are two key words in Rom 16:1-2 which are also found in letters of recommendation (and introduction).⁴ Furthermore, Paul states the reason why the Romans should fulfil the requested recommendation: 'She has been a helper of many, including myself' (16:2). The example in Romans and statements such as that in 2 Cor 3:1 demonstrate that Paul knew of and practised the social convention of epistolary recommendations (cf. 1 Cor 16:15-16, 17-18; Phil 4:3; 1 Thess 5:12-13; Phlm 17). Phil 2:19-3:1 differs in that Paul is primarily announcing the sending of, and only partly commending, his fellow-workers to the Philippians. Therefore, although the use of προσδέχεσθε in 2:29 is sometimes a feature of recommendations, recommendation does not adequately characterise the whole of this section (it is only one function of many), which is perhaps better classified broadly as a report of the welfare and travel plans of individuals. Statements regarding travel plans is a recurring topic in this section: (i) sending (vv 19, 23, 25, 28) implies that people will visit the recipients; (ii) Paul himself is confident that he will come soon (v 24);⁵ (iii) Epaphroditus desires (to see) the Philippians (v 26; cf. Rom 1:11; 2 Cor 9:14; Phil 1:8; 1 Thess 3:6); and (iv) the Philippians will be glad when they see Epaphroditus again (v 28; cf. 2 Tim 1:4). In this manner, Paul bridges the spatial gap separating himself, his fellow-

¹Although commendations typically concern the letter-carrier, Paul does not specify this and thus it must remain only a speculation that Timothy or Epaphroditus delivered the letter. The use of the aorist tense for the verb of sending is of little help for determining if Epaphroditus had already been sent, since it can be interpreted as a past-time aorist—so Rahtjen, 'Three Letters', pp. 169-70, who sees this as evidence that Epaphroditus had already been sent to Philippi with the thank you note of 4:10-20—or an epistolary aorist—Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', pp. 165-66, in response to Rahtjen—or with no recourse to temporal schemes at all (e.g. a verbal aspect reading)—so the present author. Paul's specific mention of a letter carrier might be expected since this is common in the papyri letters (see Epp, 'Manuscripts', esp. pp. 46-47). If, however, Timothy or Epaphroditus delivered the letter they may have also read it; see Polybius *Historiae* 2.61.5.3, in which the letter carriers also read the letter.

²White, *Light*, p. 204; for a list of examples see Keyes, 'Introduction', pp. 32-39, 43. See Pseudo-Demetrius, *Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί* 2 for the introductory (συστατικός) type of letter.

³See also e.g. P.Oxy. 22.2349 (70 CE); P.Oxy. 4.787 (16 CE); and from the perspective of one who was recommended P.Mich. 8.498 (II CE).

⁴Keyes, 'Introduction', pp. 39-41; cf. Kim, *Recommendations*, p. 132.

⁵See above under disclosure formulas for a discussion of Paul's apostolic *parousia* as a feature of his travelogue statements.

workers, and the Philippians, ensuring that they will all be brought together again. The desire of spatially separated comrades to see one another becomes a contest for Saturnilus in P.Oxy. 3.203.17-18 (98-117 CE) ε[ί] ὑμεῖς θέλετέ με {μοι} [μ]ικρὸν ἰδεῖν {εἶδειν}, ἐγὼ μέγα ('If you wish to see me a little, I [wish to see you] greatly'), revealing the social importance of such statements in personal letters.¹ Similarly, Paul sends Epaphroditus back to Philippi because (i) Epaphroditus desires (to see) them (v 26) and (ii) the Philippians will be gladdened by seeing Epaphroditus again (v 28).²

Paul begins 2:19 and 2:25 by stating his intention to send (πέμψαι) Timothy and Epaphroditus (respectively) to Philippi.³ The 'sending of envoys' for business and personal matters is a recurring topic in epistolary literature.⁴ 'Envoys not only bring messages to the absent party but also bring return messages and personal attestation of what they have witnessed.'⁵ This is apparently the task that Timothy is to perform, viz. Paul sends him ἵνα κάγω εὐψυχῶ γνοῦς τὰ περὶ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν (v 19).⁶ Timothy's role is probably more than a silent observer, since Paul could have requested a letter in order to hear about their status. Envoys are also sent to carry out tasks. In P.Mich. 3.203.25-28 (98-117 CE) Saturnilus requests that the recipient send (πέμψον) the brother of Julas to him so that Saturnilus may send back his wife and children with him. Epaphroditus was sent by the Philippians as their ἀπόστολος in order to care for Paul's needs (λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου). A form of the expression 'write to me whatever you may need' (ἐάν τινος χρείαν ἔχης...γράφε ἡμῖν) is common in letters.⁷ Similarly, Epaphroditus is the agent (or envoy) through whom the Philippians meet the needs of Paul (τῆς χρείας μου).

Although the reason why the recipient should carry out the favour(s) requested is not always stated in recommendations, the reason is sometimes based on 'the virtues and deserts of the person introduced'.⁸ Paul ascribes high virtues to both Timothy and Epaphroditus—part of the rhetoric of commendations. Timothy is 'like-minded' with Paul; he does not seek the things of himself but those of Christ; the Philippians are exhorted to know (γινώσκετε as imperative)⁹ about his approved merit (δοκιμήν); he, as a son to a

¹Cf. P.Cair.Zen. 2.59254.5-6 (252 BCE) σε ἰδεῖν βούλομαι ὅσον ἐπιδέχεται...χρόνον; P.Fouad. 1.75.14-15 ἐάν ἔ[λ]θῃς καὶ θέλης δύνῃ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν; P.Col. 8.215.22-24 (100 CE) εἰ {η} δύνάτῳν ἐστίν, ἰδεῖν {εἶδιν} σε τὴν μικρὰν τρὶς τὴν ἡμέραν {ημοραν}.

²On the 'desire' of separated individuals for one another in epistolary literature see Koskeniemi, *Studien*, pp. 169-72, and Thraede, *Grundzüge*, pp. 165-73.

³Although the verb πέμπω is used to refer to the sending of persons (a στέλλω-verb is more common, e.g. P.Oxy. 14.1663.8 [II-III CE]), it is typically employed to refer to the sending (or request for sending) of material goods (both in the aorist and present tenses), e.g. SB 5.7987.3 (81-96 CE) [σ]άκκουσ σοι ἔπεμψα καὶ... 'I send you the sackcloth and...'; SB 6.9449.5-6 (41-42 CE) οὐ πέμπω δέ σοι [τὰ] ἐπιμήνια δία... 'I am not sending you the monthly offerings because...'. Both functions were often combined in a statement such as 'I am sending you something through (δία) so-and-so' (e.g. P.Brem. 1.21.3-4 [II CE] ἔπεμψά σοι διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ μικροῦ {μεικροῦ} ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν εἴκοσι).

⁴White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 304.

⁵Mitchell, 'Envoys', pp. 653-54.

⁶Cf. P.Wisc. 2.84.24-26 (II BCE) οὐκ ὀλίγως γὰρ ἀγωνιῶ μέχρι {μεχρῆι} οὐ μάθω τὰ περὶ σοῦ; UPZ 1.72.4-5 (152 BCE) ἀκούσαντες ἐν Ποίει τὰ περὶ σοῦ; SB 6.9451.4-6 (II-III CE) [ἔ]λαβον δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὰ γράμματα καὶ ἔγνω τὰ περὶ ὑμ[ῶν]; P.Ryl. 4.696.8-9 (III CE) ἵνα μοι ἐλθόντες μαρτυρήσωσι τὰ περὶ σοῦ.

⁷For epistolary examples see White, *Light*, p. 207.

⁸Keyes, 'Introduction', p. 41.

⁹γινώσκετε is either an imperative or indicative in function. Determining its original function will always be problematic, but three reasons suggest or at least allow for an imperative reading: (i) Paul can use the imperative followed by ὅτι elsewhere (Gal 3:7; cf. 2 Tim 3:1; Matt 24:22, 43; Luke 10:11; 12:39; 21:20; 21:31); (ii) the imperative would parallel more closely the structure of Paul's commendation of Epaphroditus which employs three imperatives; and (iii) the imperative makes better sense of the

father,¹ serves (ἐδούλευσεν gnomic aorist) on behalf of the gospel (vv 21-22). In addition, Paul forecasts that Timothy *will* care for the Philippians (τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει). Similarly, in P.Mich. 8.498.4-5 (II CE) the sender thanks the recipient for caring for him: χάρις σοι πλείστη, ἄδελφε, μεριμνήσαντί με.² Similarly, Epaphroditus is ascribed a list of five attributes which have to do with his Christian identity (ἀδελφόν) and roles (συνεργόν; συστρατιώτην; ἀπόστολον; λειτουργόν). Furthermore, his illness is a cause for praise, since he risked his own life for the work of Christ (v 30). Paul is, firstly, compelled (ἀναγκαῖον) to send Epaphroditus back since the latter desires (ἐπιποθῶν to see) them and since he became troubled (ἀδημονῶν) because they had received news of his sickness. The 'desire' of separated individuals to see one another has already been mentioned above as a common epistolary topic (see on the thanksgiving and prayer). It remains to be stated here that such reciprocal worry is characteristic of personal correspondence (e.g. requests for information about health). In P.Mich. 8.465.23-24 (107 CE), the letter writer urges the recipients to be ἰλαρῶς (glad) because he is in a good place; he goes on to say that if they are grieved he will be 'uneasy, troubled': ἐὰν γὰρ ὑμεῖς {υμεις} λυπησθε ἐγὼ ἀδημονῶ. Paul similarly is glad that Epaphroditus is now in good health because he would be grieved by the Philippians' anxiety over their apostle. Epaphroditus' desire to see the Philippians and his uneasiness over the Philippians' knowledge about his sickness are not Paul's only reasons for sending him back. In addition, Paul is more eager (σπουδαιότερως) to send Epaphroditus than Timothy because of the former's sickness. The mention of a person's health is not an uncommon topic in personal letters. In some cases, this amounts to more than a request for information and turns into specific mention of an individual's health. The Philippians, of course, will be glad when they see Epaphroditus again, standing in good health. So also the author of P.Muench. 3.1.57.4-5 (II CE) prays to the gods that he may see his readers in good health: τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι ἰδεῖν {ειδιν} ὑμᾶς ὑγιαίνοντας. In P.Hamb. 1.88.3-5 (II CE) the letter writer, Ἀντάς, is glad because he has received a letter telling of the recipient's deliverance (by the gods?) from illness: ἐχάρην λαβὼν σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον καλῆς φάσεως, ὅτι ἐγαίσησας {εγαισησες} καὶ ὅτι ἀστενήσας {α} ἐσώθη<ς> {εσωθη}.³ Similarly, Paul gives credit to God for the healing of Epaphroditus (v 27).⁴ A letter which reflects something of the feelings that Paul had with respect to Epaphroditus is P.Mich. 8.473.25-27 (II CE): ...καὶ [ἦσ]θένηκεν. [ἐθλί]βην λυπηθείς

(epistolary) commendatory function of this section in that it reflects Paul's attempt to commend Timothy into the care of the Philippians rather than just to assert it.

¹Paul's use of familial language may serve to endear Timothy to the Philippians. To reject the son would be to reject the father. In P.Mich. 3.203.23-24 (98-117 CE) the author asks the recipient to send an allowance to Julias; he then asks them to treat him as if he were his own son: [ἔσ]τω <ὡ>σπερ υἱός μου ὡσπερ ἐμὲ φιλεῖς καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ τέκνα μου [φιλῶ]. In UPZ 1.70.1-2 (152 BCE) the author, Apollonius, addresses his older brother as father ('Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίω τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν), a term of respect. Paul apparently found the flexibility of familial terms appropriate for descriptions of Christian relationships and roles (e.g. his use of ἀδελφοί).

²Cf. P.Mich. 8.473.16-17 (II CE) μὴ καθεῦ[δο]ν μεριμνῶν.

³Cf. Sel.Pap. 1.98.30-31 (c. 160 BCE), in which the letter writer states that he is anxious to know if a child is not ill: ἐγὼ γὰρ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγωνιῶ μή ποτε ἀ[ρ]ρωστεῖ τὸ παιδάριον. After noting that she had heard about the recipient's sickness (ὅτι ἦσθένηκας {ησθενηκος}), the author of P.Col. 8.215.6-8 (100 CE) mentions her thankfulness upon hearing about the recipient's recovery: ἐχάρην δὲ ἀκούσας[α] ὅτι κομψῶς {κωμσως} ἔσχηκας {εσχηκος}. Already in 1917 Moffatt ('Philippians II 26', pp. 311-12) made the observation that Phil 2:26 compares to P.Oxy. 1481 (early II CE), which tells of a soldier's concern that his mother had learned of his illness.

⁴Cf. P.Col. 3.6.13-14 (257 BCE), in which the letter writer seems to say that he cannot send an individual back to the recipients until an unnamed god releases him from sickness: ὡς ἂν τάχιστα αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἄφῃ, καταστήσω αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς; cf. the ostraca letter O.Amst. 1.29.4-5 (II CE).

{λο[ι]π[ηθεις]} ὑπ' αὐτοῦ {αυτον}, ἐχάρην ὅλως [ὅτι] ἔζηκε[ν] '...and he became ill. I was troubled, being grieved by him (his sickness); I was exceedingly glad that he lived.' P.Oxy. 55.3816 and 3817 (III-IV CE) are informative examples of letters reflecting epidemics of infectious diseases in Egypt and the importance of communicating the health of oneself and others to family and friends (just as news about misfortunes today [e.g. earthquakes] invokes the desperation of distant loved-ones to attain further information about the well-being of family and friends). The first letter reads:

Ptoleminus and Chaeremon to Sinthonis their sister, greetings. Before all else we pray to God that we find you in good health (ὀλόκληρον). I want you to know that (γνώναί σε θέλω ὅτι...) Achilles is very ill (νοσῖ) and has been treated many times for his foot problem and continues to be ill up to the present moment (τὰ ἕως ἄρτι νοσῖ) and is perhaps even more so (ill); because of that I could not speak with him. I was very sick (ἡσθένεσα) myself, even to the point of death (εἰς θάνατον). However, I thank god that I have become well (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ καλῶς ἔσχηκα). Write to me about the things you need, sister. I have written to you so many times and yet you do not answer me. Greet our brother Palex and our mother and all your household by name. I pray for your health, sister.

A severe sickness could be brief or lengthy;¹ thus, it is suspect to assume that Epaphroditus' sickness must have been lengthy and thus Paul would not have waited until it was over to thank the Philippians (hence, Paul had already written a letter to the Philippians [e.g. 4:10-20] which included oral information about his sickness). Modern temporal expectations should not be placed upon ancient communicative practices, unless it can be shown that the ancient persons would never wait for an extended period of time (whatever that amounts to!) before notifying someone about a sickness. The above P.Oxy. 55.3816 demonstrates that a letter writer might wait until after their own or another person's recovery before writing.² Furthermore, it should not be assumed that a particular letter writer had the necessary facilities (e.g. letter carrier or secretary) to write immediately at the time of sickness. As seen in the above P.Mich. 8.473, the letter writer might deem it important to wait until the individual's recovery before reporting an illness.

Returning again to the commendatory function of 2:19-3:1, as S. K. Stowers notes, epistolary recommendations do not necessarily involve introduction (as if the recipients had never known the person being commended).³ Rather, recommendation (or commendation) may simply serve to ensure the favourable reception of the person being commended. Paul's first imperative in 2:29 is perhaps the most suggestive evidence that this section is an *epistolary commendation* of Epaphroditus. Compounds of δέχομαι are found several times in letters of recommendation, including Rom 16:2 and later Christian letters.⁴ Epaphroditus is to be given a favourable reception because (v 30 ὅτι) of his near-death service on behalf of the work of Christ. His service, which Paul perhaps mentions as a persuasive device, supplied what was lacking on the Philippians' part (v 30 τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας). In addition, Epaphroditus is to be received simply because it is Paul who sends him back with commendations. To reject Epaphroditus would be to reject Paul; so also in other literature, M. Mitchell demonstrates that 'rejection of the

¹In a plausible reconstruction of the badly fragmented P.Mich. 8.478.9-11 (II CE), the letter writer says that his sickness prevented him from writing for five days. In P.Brem. 1.64.7-9 (II CE), the letter writer states that his eye disease lasted for four months: ἐγὼ...ἰδοῦ τετράμηνος ἀσθενῶ {ασθενῶ} μου τὰ ὄμματα.

²Epaphroditus may have already written to the Philippians about his sickness, either on his way to Philippi or immediately upon arrival.

³Stowers, *Letter Writing*, pp. 159-60; he cites Phil 2:25-30 as an example.

⁴Keyes, 'Introduction', pp. 40-41.

envoy means rejection of the one who sent him'.¹ This is even more significant if Epaphroditus has been given instructions on how things should be going at Philippi. Epaphroditus, like Timothy, is not a passive observer in Philippi; he will participate (influenced by his time with Paul) in the growth of the churches there. The second of Paul's requests is that the Philippians are to hold such as these (viz. those who do the work of Christ) in honour (v 30). With similar language, the author of P.Oxy. 2.292.5-7 (25 CE), after commending his brother (μου ἀδελφός), requests the recipient to 'hold' him as one being commended: διὸ παρακαλῶ σε μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον. Paul, somewhat differently, turns his commendation into an opportunity for more general moral exhortation. As is argued in the next section in more detail, Paul's final exhortation regarding Epaphroditus is that the Philippians are to be glad (happy). As is clear in 2:28, this joy is to be occasioned by the recovery and return of Epaphroditus. But Paul is not finished here with his exhortations. He uses the report of Epaphroditus as a springboard into the negative warnings of 3:2.

Before concluding this section, it is worth noting that Paul's placement of the commendations (and his own travelogue) at this location does not demonstrate that this is the end of an originally separate letter. The travelogue (and specific mention of individuals) need not appear at the end of Paul's letters (1 Cor 4:14-21; Gal 4:12-20; 1 Thess 2:17-3:13); thus, its placement in Philippians does not provide conclusive evidence for a multiple-letter theory.² Furthermore, contemporary letters do not follow a rule whereby mention of specific individuals only occurs at the end of the letter.³

In conclusion, Paul's recommendations are both canonical (i.e. they seek to commend Timothy and Epaphroditus into the care of the Philippians) and modified (i.e. he sets up at least one of the commended persons, Epaphroditus, as a model of moral imitation).⁴ Paul may also be using Timothy as a paradigm of conduct when he contrasts Timothy's concern for the Philippians with those who seek the things of themselves (2:21; cf. 2:4). There is no need to categorise Phil 2:19-30 as a *digressio* in order to preserve the letter's coherence (so Watson). Such a claim seems to be special pleading in order to resolve an apparent break in the flow of Paul's argument. To treat Paul's very epistolary language here as a rhetorical exercise is to remove it from its context of situation (i.e. register) and skew its function of 'friendship maintenance' in the letter.

HESITATION FORMULA (3:1B) AND SURROUNDING REQUESTS/PETITIONS (2:29-3:2)

The interpretative watershed in the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians has been and continues to revolve around the beginning of Phil 3. Those who argue that Philippians consists of multiple letters claim that the supposed shift in *Ton und Stimmung*

¹Mitchell, 'Envoys', pp. 645-49. Her second principle, viz. envoys have the power and authority to speak for the person who sent them (pp. 649-51), may also be a rhetorical device of Paul's commendation. Mitchell also rightly notes that Paul's request for a proper reception does not necessarily indicate that Epaphroditus has fallen out of favour with the Philippians (p. 647 n. 20; cf. Col 4:10; Acts 18:27)—so other commendations do not imply contention.

²Aune, *Literary Environment*, p. 210; Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 111; *contra* Schenk, 'Philippenerbrief', p. 3283.

³Indeed, most commendations comprise the whole of a letter; thus, they occur neither at the beginning nor the end of a letter (see examples in Keyes, 'Introduction', pp. 32-36).

⁴It can hardly be said, however, that this is the 'crowning central thrust of the letter'; so Luter and Lee, 'Philippians', p. 98, who place 2:17-3:1a at the centre of their macro-chiastic outline of the letter. They give no evidence that ancient letters (either in theory or practice) would be written in such a macro-chiastic form (because there is no clear formal evidence). Furthermore, their inclusion of 2:17-18 with 2:19-3:1 as one distinct section betrays their failure to distinguish the clear epistolary formula which sets apart 2:19 from the preceding discourse.

there exposes a seam between two, originally separate sources. Even those who maintain a single-letter theory recognise the difficulty of this transformation in textual timbre. So P. Bonnard, who adopts a single-letter theory, still asserts: 'Le ton de l'épître change brusquement; avec une rare violence et une insistance solennelle...l'apôtre met l'Eglise de Philippiques en garde contre ses adversaires.'¹ Some might argue that if this issue could be resolved the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians would be resolved. There are other issues at stake of course, but none perhaps with as much import as this one. The complexity of this issue is revealed in the fact that not all multiple-letter theorists agree on where the shift in tone occurs (see chart of Partition Theories in chap. 3 above). Single-letter theorists are confronted with a similar problem, since they too must explain the role of 3:1 (with its many interpretative perplexities) in terms of the linguistic structure of the entire letter; so P. Wick, 'Was ist die Funktion von 3,1a und 3,1b? Wie stehen sie zum Briefkorpus und was bedeuten sie eigentlich?'² The way in which the interpreter answers these questions will largely determine how he or she views the severity of the shift in tone from 2:30 to 3:2.

The following section argues in detail that Phil 3:1b (τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές) is an epistolary hesitation formula, which helps to define its role as a transitional device in the discourse and, consequently, provides further data for the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians. It begins with a general treatment of the form and function of epistolary hesitation formulas, then turns to an analysis of various interpretations of Phil 3:1-2, and finally discusses in detail the epistolary function of 3:1 with respect to issues of the structure and integrity of the letter.

Hesitation Formulas in Hellenistic Letters

Although a few scholars have treated expressions of hesitation as epistolary formulas, they have not been related to NT letters.³ The following discussion sets forth the basic form and function of the hesitation formula in order then to demonstrate its presence in Phil 3:1b.

The hesitation formula gets its name from its key component, the verb ὀκνέω and its cognate forms. This verb is often combined with a verb of writing (γράφω) and, thus, sometimes functions as a type of disclosure formula, a common epistolary convention. The disclosure of or request for information is one of the primary functions of the epistolary body.⁴ Consequently, letter writers developed various disclosure formulas to serve this function. Broadly defined, these formulas represent an author's 'explanation of the reason for writing'.⁵ When used to introduce the body of a letter, disclosure formulas often take the form γίνωσκε (ἴσθι, μάθε) ὅτι (ὡς)... 'Know that...' or γινώσκεις σε θέλω ὅτι... 'I want you to know that' as in P.Oxy. 8.1155.2-4 (104 CE) γινώσκεις {γινώσκεις} σε [θε]λω ὅτι {ετι} εὐθὺς ἐπιβέβηκα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρην... 'I want you to

¹Bonnard, *Philippiens*, p. 60.

²Wick, *Philippbrief*, p. 56.

³Steen ('Les Clichés', pp. 158-60) treats μὴ ὀκνήσης, μὴ ὀκνεῖ, and the adverb ἀόκνως as 'les expressions d'intensité verbales'. White ('Formulas and Cliches', p. 305) briefly treats μὴ ὀκνήσης 'Do not hesitate' as a 'summons to responsible action' but fails to link it with disclosure formulas. He notes that the imperative hesitation formula typically occurs at the end of the letter, 'either as a means of advising the addressee to send news about health...or to advise the addressee not to hesitate in asking for favors'. However, he does not treat hesitation formulas in terms of disclosure formulas, as I have suggested here.

⁴White, 'Letter Tradition', p. 97.

⁵White, *Light*, p. 207.

know that I then went up to Alexandria...'.¹ When used to conclude the body of a letter, disclosure formulas often take the indicative form γέγραφα οὖν ὅπως εἰδῆς... 'I wrote, therefore, in order that you may know...' or the imperative form γράψον ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰδῶμεν... 'Write in order that we may know...'.² When the indicative form is used in a context indicating prior correspondence (e.g. 'I wrote formerly that...'; 'Just as I wrote...'; 'This is now my second letter...'), it often introduces rather than concludes the body of the letter. In this case 'these phrases tend to precede a request or a demand in which the addressee is urged to attend to the neglected matter'.³ Otherwise, when concluding the body, this kind of disclosure formula functions to recount the author's primary reason for writing or to request information so as to necessitate further correspondence.⁴ Disclosure formulas may also occur within the body of the letter, often employing particles such as οὖν ('therefore') or adverbial καί ('also').

Hesitation formulas sometimes function as disclosure formulas in that they may be used to reveal information to the letter's recipient. They may be thought of in terms of H. A. Steen's epistolary clichés, whereby epistolary formulas are 'softened' or 'intensified' to produce a certain effect.⁵ Hesitation formulas may intensify disclosure formulas by adding either (i) a form of the verb ὀκνέω ('to scruple, hesitate, delay') which is often negated or, more rarely, (ii) the adverb ἀόκνως ('unhesitatingly, without hesitation') so as to indicate no hesitation on the part of the author concerning some matter. They are often combined with a dependent clause (e.g. relative clause, conditional clause) or a catenative clause using the infinitive. The following epistolary examples mostly from the third century BCE to the fourth century CE illustrate the use of hesitation formulas in letter writing. They are grouped into two categories: requests and notifications. *Requests* denote those hesitation formulas in which the sender commands the recipient not to hesitate with regard to a certain matter. *Notifications* denote those hesitation formulas in which the sender asserts that he or she does not hesitate with regard to a certain matter.

Requests. The most common use of the hesitation formula occurs when the sender requests that the recipient not hesitate (i) to write about his or her situation and needs (see examples 1-14) or (ii) to carry out a task mentioned in the letter (see examples 15-23). This formula generally occurs towards the closing section of a letter, immediately followed by greetings (e.g. ἀσπάζομαι...) or a farewell (e.g. ἔρρωσο). The verb of hesitation usually consists of a negated aorist subjunctive (μὴ ὀκνήσης),⁶ but the negated present imperative is also found (μὴ ὀκνεῖ). The following examples illustrate its form and function.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. P.Alex.Giss 58.11 (116 CE) | μὴ ὀκνήσης πε[ρὶ] τῆς σῆς [σωτη]ρίας δηλῶσα[ί μοι] Do not hesitate to inform me about your well-being. |
| 2. P.Cair.Zen. 5.59823.9 (253 BCE) | ἐὰν τοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχῃς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, μὴ ὀκνεῖ γράφειν If you have need of something from us, do not hesitate to write [for it]. |
| 3. P.Corn. 49.10 (I CE) | γράφειν {γραφῖν} μοι {μυ} περὶ δέων ἐὰν χρήσης {χρησζης} τῶν ἐνθάδε μὴ ὀκνεῖ {οκνῖ} μοι {μυ} γράφειν {γραφῖν} εἰδυῖα {ειδηα} ὅτι ἀνόκνως {ανοχνωσ} ποιήσω {ποιησο} |

¹For examples of these formulas see Mullins, 'Disclosure', pp. 47-48.

²Other imperative forms include διασάφῃσον ('inform'), ἀντίγραψον ('write back'), and ἀντιφώνησον ('reply').

³White, 'Letter Tradition', p. 98.

⁴White, *Light*, p. 205.

⁵Steen, 'Les Clichés', pp. 119-76.

⁶On use of the negated aorist subjunctive instead of the aorist imperative see Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 56-57.

- ...to write to me concerning anything you lack (if you have need) now, do not hesitate to write to me, knowing that without hesitation I will do it.
4. P.Hamb. 2.191.8
(III BCE)
μὴ ὀκνεῖ δὲ γράφειν ἡμῖν, [ἄ]ν τινος τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν
χρεῖαν (χρεαν) ἔχῃς
Do not hesitate to write to us for anything you may have need from us.
5. P.Harr. 1.107.15
(III CE)
μὴ ὀκνήσης γράφειν μοι περὶ τῆς ὑγίας σοῦ ὅπως
ἀκούσας χαρ<ῶ> (χαρ)
Do not hesitate to write to me concerning your health in order that hearing about it I may rejoice.
6. P.Mert. 2.85.17
(III CE)
περὶ ὧν [χρ]ήζεις, γ[λυ]κύτατε ἀδελφε, γράφων¹
μοι μὴ [ὀ]κνεῖ
Concerning which things you need, most dear brother, do not hesitate to write [writing] to me.
7. P.Mich. 8.482.2.22
(133 CE)
μὴ ὀκ[νῆ]σης γράφω ἐπιστολάς, ἐπεὶ {επι}
ἐχάρην λίαν λίαν ὡς σου παραγεναμένου {παραγεναμενος}
Do not hesitate to write a letter [writing letters], because I am exceedingly happy (gnomic aorist) as if I were present with you.²
8. P.Mich. 8.490.12
(II CE)
σὺ δὲ μὴ ὀκνεῖ {οκνεῖ} γράφειν {γραφῖν} περὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας σου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου
Do not hesitate to write concerning your well-being and that of my brothers [relatives].
9. P.Neph. 5.17
(IV CE)
περὶ ὧν χρεῖα σοὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, μὴ
ὀκνεῖ γράφειν
Concerning which things you need in Alexandria, do not hesitate to write.
10. P.Neph. 10.17
(IV CE)
μὴ ὀκνήσης γράψαι μοι περὶ ὧ(ν) χρεῖαν {χρῖαν}
ἔχεις· ἡδέως γὰρ ἔχω εἶναι μοι κελεύσης εἰς ὃ ἂν {δαν} θέλης
Do not hesitate to write to me concerning which things you have need of, for I am pleased if you request me [to do] whatever you want.
11. P.Oxy. 6.930.1
(II-III CE)
μὴ ὀκνεῖ {οκνεῖ} μοι [γ]ράφειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐ[ἄ]ν
χρεῖαν ἔχῃς
Do not hesitate to write to me also concerning whatever things you may need.
12. P.Oxy. 34.2728.35
(III-IV CE)
μὴ ὀκνήσης πα... γράψαι μοι περὶ πάντων
Do not hesitate [always?] to write to me concerning everything.
13. PSI 6.621.6
(III BCE)
σὺ δὲ καλῶς ποιήσεις μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν πρὸς
ἡμᾶς· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀόκνως
ποιήσομεν
You do well (you favour me) not hesitating to write to us, for we will do everything possible [for you] eagerly and without hesitation (cf. #3).
14. PSI 8.971.26
(III-IV CE)
σὺ οὖν περὶ ὧν χρήζεις παρ' ἐμοῦ {εμοῖ} ἐπὶ τοῦ
παρόντος, μὴ ὀκνεῖ {οκνεῖ} γράφειν μοι
Whatever you have need from me upon my arrival, do not hesitate to write to me.

The combination of a form of ὀκνέω with a form of γράφω (usually the infinitive) is found in all of the above examples (except the first).³ This type of hesitation formula is very similar to the disclosure formulas mentioned above. It, like most disclosure formulas with a form of γράφω, occurs towards the end of the letter where it serves a pragmatic task as do most closing formulas, viz. 'the maintenance of contact'.⁴ They are often combined

¹This author prefers the participle of γράφω rather than the infinitive (cf. line 6).

²Note the hesitation formula and expression of joy in the same context here, as in Phil 3:1; cf. also #5.

³See also P.Cair.Zen 3.59405.9 (III BCE); P.Congr. 15.22.2.28 (IV CE); P.Lond. 7.2090.6 (III BCE); P.Mich. 3.221.14 (296 CE?); P.Mich. 8.465.36 (107 CE); P.Mich. 15.752.9 (II CE); P.Oslo 3.82.1.9 (III CE); P.Oxy. 9.1218.9 (III CE); P.Oxy. 41.2983.33 (II-III CE); SB 5.7872.23 (306-37 CE). In addition to the unprefix forms, see the prefixed κατοκνέω in P.Tor. 8.80 (119 CE) and P.Berl.Zill.13.10 (VI CE), which may have a more intensified meaning.

⁴White, *Light*, pp. 218-219.

here with ‘expressions indicating a willingness to help the recipient’ (e.g. ‘if you have need of anything...’) as a ‘variation of the “offer to repay a favor” convention’.¹

When used as requests as in the following examples, hesitation formulas often serve a more forceful rhetorical purpose, viz. to coerce or persuade the recipient to carry out some action. As H. A. Steen notes, ‘Pour manifester qu’il faut qu’une action qui est exprimée dans une forme d’ordre, soit faite avec vitesse et sans cesse on emploie le cliché μή ὀκνήσης suivi de participe ou d’infinitif.’² They are often used in a cryptic manner immediately following a set of instructions (see #20 and #22). Because of the function of this type of hesitation formula—viz. to persuade the recipient to perform a specific task other than writing—it is not restricted to one location in the body of the letter.

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|---|---|
| 15. P.Cair.Zen. 1.59025.8 (III BCE) | πρὸς Διὸς οὖν καὶ θεῶν μή ὀκνήσης διελθὼν εἰς ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀγοράσας Before Zeus and the gods, do not hesitate to come [coming] into the trading place and to buy items [buying]... |
| 16. P.Cair.Zen. 2.59251.10 (252 BCE) | ἐάν τι δέηι εἰς ἀνήλωμα τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δοῦναι ³ μή ὀκνήσεις If he may request anything for necessary expenses, do not hesitate to pay what is necessary. |
| 17. P.Mich. 3.213.14 (III CE) | διὸ οὖν ἐάν ἀνάγκη γένηται μή ὀκνήσης προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ Therefore, if it is necessary, do not hesitate to go to him. ⁴ |
| 18. P.Münch. 3.57.18 (II BCE) | μή ὀκνεῖ {οκνι} ἐπιλέγειν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν μ[ι]κρὰν ὡς σαυτ[ῆ]ς θυγάτριον... Do not hesitate to tell the small[er] Cleopatra that [as?] your daughter... |
| 19. P.Oxy 14.1769.7 (III CE) | Ἔγραψα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὅτι περὶ οὗ ἐάν χρειάν {χριαν} σχῆς ἵνα λάβῃς. μή ὀκνήσεις {οκνησις} οὖν προσελθεῖν {προσελθιν} αὐτῷ περὶ οὗ ἐάν χρήζῃς I wrote to [my] brother so that you may receive whatever you may need. Do not hesitate, therefore, to go to him concerning whatever you may need. |
| 20. P.Oxy 20.2275.19 (IV CE) | ...μόνον μή ὀκνήσης, κύριέ μου ἄδελφε [list of instructions] ...only, do not hesitate, master and brother of me, [to do these things]. |
| 21. P.Oxy. 31.2603.34 (IV CE) | καὶ εἰ δυνατὸν σοί ἐστὶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γράψαι περὶ [τούτων] μή ὀκνήσεις {οκνησις}... And if you are able to write to the others about these things, do not hesitate [to do so]... |
| 22. P.Oxy. 49.3503.14 (I CE) | ἐάν [ἢ σοι] ἀβαρὲς καὶ χρειάν ἔχη σου...[?] πρὸς τοὺς Ψωβθείτας [χάρ]ιν τοῦ ὀρίου, μή ὀκνήσης. ⁵ If it is not a burden to you and he has need of you...[go?] to the Ψωβθείτας on account of the guardian of the landmarks; do not hesitate [to do this]. |
| 23. PSI 14.1414.21 (II CE) | ἐάν τινα χρήζωσι [ο]ἱ τρόφιμοι αὐτοῦ μή ὀκνήσης If the pupils [foster-children?] need anything, do not hesitate [to take care of it]. |

The above examples, unlike those with a form of γράφω, are less interested in ‘maintaining contact’—although this is a tangential concern (see #19) especially when they appear at the end of the letter. Instead, they are more interested in bringing about the obedience of the

¹On these formulas see White, *Light*, p. 207.

²Steen, ‘Les Clichés’, p. 159.

³The editors place a comma after δοῦναι, implying that it goes with the preceding clause (e.g. ‘If he requests anything for necessary expenses, give it’; imperatival infinitive), but it seems more natural to take it with ὀκνήσεις, which frequently takes the infinitive.

⁴Cf. Acts 9:38; LXX Num 22:16; see also Steen, ‘Les Clichés’, p. 160.

⁵This hesitation formula is introduced with a disclosure formula (διὸ γράφω σοι, ἵν’ εἰδῆς [ιδης]...).

recipient regarding some task.¹ Rather than simply tell the recipient what he or she is to do, the sender may include a hesitation formula to stress the important interpersonal dynamic involved in the carrying out of the instructions.²

Notifications. Whereas hesitation formulas which function as requests generally use the negated aorist subjunctive of ὀκνέω, those that function as notifications typically use the negated indicative (with almost every tense). The difference in function is also salient. Whereas hesitation formulas of request are used to encourage the recipient to some sort of action (usually on behalf of the sender), hesitation formulas of notification reveal the sender's desire to take some course of action on behalf of the recipient (or some other person), as in the following examples.

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|---|---|
| 24. P.Cair.Zen. 1.59029.3 (258 BCE) | ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν διὰ]... ὀκνοῦμεν σοι γράφειν, νυνὶ δὲ γίνωσκε... |
| | At first, on account of [certain troublesome events]... we hesitated to write to you, but now know that... ³ |
| 25. P.Cair.Zen. 1.59034.15 (257 BCE) | ἐμοῦ δὲ παραγενομένου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ ὀκνοῦντός σοι περὶ τούτων ἐντυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ..., διὸ οὐκ ἠδυνάμην εὐθέως παραγενέσθαι πρὸς σέ. |
| | I went to Alexandria and hesitated (delayed) to meet with you concerning these things, but [I dealt with other matters] on account of which I was not able to come to you right away. ⁴ |
| 26. P.Lond. 6.1916.21 (330-340 CE?) | ἡμεῖς {ημῖς} οὐκ ὀκνήσομεν {οκνησωμεν} εἴ τι καὶ εὐρήκαμεν παρεδώκαμεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἐποιήσαμεν |
| | We will not hesitate, if we discover anything, to transmit [tell?] it to him but also to do it [ourselves] beyond our ability. |
| 27. P.Mert. 2.62.12 (6 CE) | καὶ ἀνόκνως ποιήσω {ποησω} πρὸς αὐτῶν ὅμοια |
| | I also will do the same to them without hesitation. |
| 28. P.Mich. 8.491.14 (II CE) | καλῶς δὲ ποιήσ<εις> {ποιης} γράψασά {γραψασσα} μοι ἐπιστολὴν πε[ρ]ὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου καὶ τῶν σῶν πάντων. καὶ ἐγὼ {γω} εἴ τινα ἐὰν εὔρω γράφω σοι· οὐ μὴ ὀκνήσω σοι γράφειν {γραφιν} |
| | You will do well writing a letter to me about your well-being and the well-being of my relatives and all of yours. I also, if I find someone [to carry the letter], will write to you; I will not hesitate to write to you. |
| 29. P.Oxy. 4.743.2.40 (2 BCE) | καὶ σὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν θέλης γράφε μοι καὶ ἀνόκνως ποιήσω {ποησω} |
| | And write to me concerning whatever you want and without hesitation I will take care of it. |
| 30. P.Oxy. 14.1775.8 (IV CE) | οὐκ ὀκνησα οὔτε πάλιν ἠμέλησα |
| | I did not hesitate nor again did I neglect... [followed by an excuse]. |
| 31. P.Oxy. 38.2862.7 | μαρτυρήσει δὲ ὑμῖν {υμειν}... ὅτι οὐχ ὀκνησα |

¹See also BGU 15.2494.8 (III CE); CPR 7.11.14 (236-37 CE); P.Lond. 6.1916.17 (330-40 CE); P.Mert. 1.22.3 (II CE); P.Oxy. 18.2190.2.44 (I CE); P.Oxy. 20.2275.9 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 48.3419.19 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 49.3507.11 (III-IV CE); P.Oxy. 51.3646.16 (III-IV CE); P.Tebt. 3.752.2 (II BCE); P.Wisc. 2.73.9 (II CE); SB 16.12496.7 (c. 300 CE).

²P.Harr. 1.107.15 (III CE), which employs the hesitation formula in conjunction with another common epistolary formula (μὴ ἀμελήσης 'do not neglect'), further illustrates this interpersonal dynamic; cf. also ἀνόκνως καὶ σπουδαίως in P.Mich. 8.498.14 (II CE).

³This is one of the rare cases of a hesitation formula that is not negated (see also #25 and Demosthenes *Epistulae* 2.4.3). In this letter (from Artimenos to Zenon), the sender recounts how they hesitated (delayed) to write to the recipient on a previous occasion because of certain difficulties facing them (apparently they became ill and were having trouble making a sea voyage), but now informs the recipient that matters have improved and they are able to write about accomplishing their duties. When the hesitation formula is not negated, the sender often takes pains to provide an excuse for the failure to communicate.

⁴The sender admits that he had to hesitate (best translated 'wait'; cf. #24) to meet with the recipient, but only because he was fulfilling previously negotiated tasks (πραγματείας); thus, the hesitation is excusable because the sender is fulfilling other social responsibilities on behalf of the recipient.

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|---------------------------------|---|
| (III CE) | He [the letter carrier?] will testify to you...that I did not hesitate [to do some task]. |
| 32. PSI 6.717.6 (II CE) | καὶ σὺ δὲ οὖν μνήσ[θη]τι πῶς...ὑπηρέτησα καὶ οὐκ ἄκνη[σ]α ε[ἴς?] σε Indeed, remember how I assisted you and did not hesitate [to help?] you. |
| 33. PSI 7.837.15 (III-IV CE) | οὐχ ἄκνω οὐδὲ πάλι ἀκνήσω I do not hesitate nor again ¹ will I hesitate. |

In the above examples,² the hesitation formula typically serves to remind the recipient that the sender is not being negligent, whether it be with respect to business matters, to their 'friendship', or to the maintenance of contact. It is as if the sender is saying, 'I am not hesitating, thus you know that I am not being negligent or lazy.' If the hesitation formula is not negated, i.e. there *is* some hesitation on the part of the sender (either to communicate or to carry out some duty), then an excuse is given in order to exonerate the negligence.³

In sum, it has been argued that the above examples represent epistolary formulas, i.e. they are repeatedly used epistolary conventions possessing both a recognisable linguistic form and a communicative function. The hesitation formula, as with all generic conventions of discourse, should not be defined rigidly but instead should be treated in terms of obligatory and optional elements and the social practices governing their use (e.g. subject-matter, situation-type, participant roles).⁴ The hesitation formula must contain a cognate form of ἀκνέω + some course of action to be taken which is usually present in the preceding discourse. This construction is usually in the negative (οὐκ or μή), except in cases where the sender has hesitated to do something, in which case the hesitation formula is followed by an excuse for the sender's behaviour. Hesitation formulas often include a form of γράφω in a catenative construction and are often located near the closing of the letter (often prior to a greetings [ἀσπάζομαι] formula) but occasionally appear near the opening and in some cases even in the body of the letter; thus, no strict rule presents itself.⁵

¹πάλιν may mean here 'against' as in 'I will not hesitate against you' or perhaps it stresses the repetitive nature of the saying as in 'I do not hesitate; again [I say] I will not hesitate.'

²See also #3 and #13 above, and P.David 14.20 (II-III CE); P.Oxy. 31.2596.11 (III CE); P.Turner 43.4 (III CE); SB 6.9158.23 (V CE); SB 16.12994.18 (241 CE); Libanius, *Ep.* 95.3.5 and 855.2.4; Polybius *Historiae* 12.5.4.1 and 16.20.5.3.

³Cf. Demosthenes *Epistulae* 2.4.3: 'At the present moment I hesitate to write [ἀκνω γράφειν] about these services in detail because...'

⁴Hasan, 'Code', p. 272.

⁵Of the γράφω type of hesitation formula inspected (both requests and disclosures), 23 appear at the closing of the letter (i.e. prior to final greetings), five appear near the closing (with other closing formulas intervening), none appear at the beginning, three appear near the beginning, and apparently none appear in the body of the letter. Of the hesitation formulas inspected that concern the performing of some task (see examples 15-23), six appear at the closing, three appear near the closing, six appear at the beginning, three appear near the beginning, and nine (including the example from Demosthenes) appear in the body of the letter (usually following or within a narrative description of events). The relative location of four hesitation formulas could not be determined due to the fragmented nature of the texts.

The Epistolary Function of Phil 3:1

Phil 3:1 not only lies at the centre of Paul's letter to the Philippians, it lies at the centre of the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians. Single-letter theorists must explain how the two clauses in this one verse are able to link what has gone before with what is coming ahead. Multiple-letter theorists must explain, conversely, how these clauses fail to build a cohesive bridge between what has passed and what is forthcoming. And these are not easy tasks, since there is perhaps no other verse in Philippians with so many grammatical and lexical interpretative difficulties. Almost a century later, we might still agree with B. Weiss on this single verse: 'The hypotheses which have gathered around the passage 3:1 furnish a sad illustration of how matters stand in the exegesis of Philippians.'¹ L. Keck is equally disparaging: 'No one really knows what to make of it [3:1].'² The grammar is partly to blame. What transitional role does τὸ λοιπόν play? Does χαίρετε have an epistolary function such as 'farewell' or does it simply mean 'rejoice'? Does τὰ αὐτά refer to Paul's previous or ensuing statements or does it refer to something outside of the text such as a previous letter? Does ἀσφαλές mean 'safety' (and if so what does Paul write that proves safe for the Philippians) or does it mean 'specific, concrete'? Does βλέπετε in 3:2 mean 'consider, observe, learn from' or the more polemical 'beware of'? This study raises two further issues. Is ὀκνηρόν being used as an epistolary hesitation formula or does it simply mean 'troublesome, irksome'. If it means 'hesitating', is not ἀσφαλές better understood as 'steadfast, firm' or 'trustworthy, dependable' rather than 'safeguard'? The following analysis attempts to sort through some of these exegetical questions from the perspective of the epistolary context of Phil 3:1, especially the probable use of a hesitation formula in Phil 3:1b. It is an endeavour, first of all, at an epistolary reading of 3:1b, but more than that an attempt at understanding 3:1 in the linear flow of the discourse.

Ambiguity in Phil 3:1-2

With regards to τὸ λοιπόν the issue is not only what it means (i.e. its semantic meaning) but whether it concludes the previous section or begins a new one (i.e. its TEXTUAL MEANING). The adjective λοιπός (λείπω) generally means 'left over, remaining', and so with expressions of time often means 'future' (LSJ s.v. λοιπός). When not modifying another substantive and in the neuter singular, it can function as an adverb of time 'henceforward, hereafter' or as an adverb of sequence 'for the rest, as far as the rest is concerned', either indicating another item in a sequence 'then, well then, in addition' or, more specifically, the last item in a sequence 'finally, in conclusion'.³ It can also be used to indicate an inference 'well then, therefore, and so',⁴ sometimes leading to an exhortation.⁵ Does τὸ λοιπόν signal that Phil 3:1 is the last statement (conclusion) in the sequence of Paul's thought or the first in a new one? Paul uses the expression in both senses—in 2 Cor 13:11 to indicate the close of his letter and in 1 Thess 4:1 to indicate the

¹Weiss, 'Status', p. 389.

²Keck, 'Philippians', p. 846.

³LSJ s.v. λοιπός. Cavalin ('λοιπόν', pp. 121-44) has shown that the various meanings of λοιπόν are based on the temporal meaning. He apparently classifies Phil 3:1 as 'interjektionelle (τὸ) λοιπόν', but wrongly claims that 'ein solches (τὸ) λοιπόν steht bei Paulus meist auch im Endabschnitt des Briefes' (p. 137); he says nothing specific about the integrity of Philippians.

⁴LSJ s.v. λοιπός and BAGD s.v. λοιπός; see Jannaris ('Misreadings', pp. 429-30) for this understanding of Phil 3:1 and 4:8. Thrall (*Greek Particles*, p. 28) notes that λοιπόν can be used as a transitional particle 'to introduce either a logical conclusion or a fresh point in the progress of thought'. The use of the article τό does not seem to affect the meaning, although its absence may reflect a more colloquial usage (so Plummer, *Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, p. 380).

⁵So Holladay ('Opponents', p. 77 n. 1) on Phil 3:1 and 4:8.

transition from the thanksgiving to the exhortation (cf. 2 Thess 3:1).¹ Determining its meaning in these passages is largely based on where it appears in the discourse; thus, in 2 Cor 13:11 and sometimes in Gal 6:17 it is translated 'finally' because it is located at the physical end of the letter. But in the case of Philippians, that is exactly what is at issue, viz. is 3:1 the end of a previously separate letter? Thus, appeal to Paul's other uses of *λοιπόν* helps little to resolve his use of it in Phil 3:1a (or in Phil 4:8); his other uses prove only that it could have one of several functions in Phil 3:1.² Furthermore, a single-letter or a multiple-letter theory may be defended with any of the above meanings of *λοιπόν*, depending on what the interpreter reads into the linguistic context. For example, R. P. Martin, who maintains a single-letter theory, accepts 'finally' as a possible meaning of *τὸ λοιπόν* which 'would lead us to expect the conclusion of the letter; but this is not the case, and the apostle has occasion to renew the promise of a conclusion in 4:8, after much intervening discussion'.³ Conversely, multiple-letter theorists who include portions of Phil 4 (e.g. 4:2-7) at the end of Phil 2 can read *τὸ λοιπόν* as 'in addition, then, well then' without undermining their theory. The point being emphasised here is that the 'actual' meaning of *τὸ λοιπόν* in Phil 3:1a in and of itself proves nothing with regard to the literary integrity of Philippians.

Perhaps more crucial to the issue of literary integrity is the meaning of *χαίρετε*. Does it have an epistolary function meaning 'farewell' or does it simply mean 'rejoice'? Again the interpretative problem is similar to that of *τὸ λοιπόν*. If 3:1 is the closing (or near the closing) of an originally separate letter then *χαίρετε* could possibly mean 'farewell', but if it is not the closing of the letter then 'rejoice' is the preferred interpretation. As is the case with *τὸ λοιπόν* the interpreter must work from a view about the integrity of the letter to an interpretation of *χαίρετε*. More is at stake here than with *τὸ λοιπόν*, however. If *χαίρετε* means 'farewell' then there is substantial evidence for a multiple-letter theory. The converse is not true, however, since a multiple-letter theorist may interpret *χαίρετε* as either 'rejoice' or 'farewell'. So W. Schenk understands it as a 'Aufforderung zur Freude'.⁴ The evidence (both epistolary and stylistic) clearly suggests that it means 'rejoice' or 'be glad' here. Paul uses the non-imperative forms of *χαίρω* invariably to mean 'rejoice'.⁵ Phil 2:18 and 1 Thess 5:16 use the imperative in the sense of 'rejoice',⁶ and only 2 Cor 13:11 and Phil 3:1 (and less likely 4:4) are cases where Paul may be using it in an epistolary sense. How the reader interprets Phil 3:1 (and 4:4) is dependent upon her or his view of the letter's integrity, leaving only 2 Cor 13:11 as possible evidence. But even in 2 Cor 13:11 it is unclear whether *χαίρετε* means 'farewell', especially since it has

¹He also uses the term to indicate a temporal succession 'henceforth' (1 Cor 7:29; cf. 2 Tim 4:8; Acts 27:20) and to link two clauses together logically 'in this connection, then' (1 Cor 4:2); see Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 338 n. 10 on 1 Cor 7:29 and p. 160 on 1 Cor 4:2. 1 Cor 1:16 may be an accusative of respect and thus functioning substantivally: '...with respect to the rest [of the people], I do not know if I baptised any other person'.

²Although he recognises several possible meanings for *λοιπόν*, Schenk (*Philippenerbriefe*, p. 242) simply asserts that *sicher* *λοιπόν* in 3:1 as in 4:8, 2 Cor 13:11 and 1 Thess 4:1 is a 'clausula epistolae' and, hence, is a 'Kennzeichen des Briefschlusses'. The literary evidence (both Pauline and extra-biblical) does not warrant such an unqualified assertion. Schenk translates *λοιπόν* with *abschließend* (p. 248).

³Martin, *Philippians*, p. 138.

⁴Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 242. Schenk, however, goes on to suggest that the parallel summons to joy in 2 Cor 13:11 and 1 Thess 5:16 suggests that its use in Phil 3:1 is a 'Kennzeichen des Briefschlusses'. According to this logic Phil 2:18 would also have to be the close of a letter.

⁵So Rom 12:12, 15; 16:19; 1 Cor 7:30; 13:6; 16:17; 2 Cor 2:3; 6:10; 7:7, 9, 13, 16; 13:9; 1 Thess 3:9; see esp. Phil 1:18; 2:17; 2:28; 4:10.

⁶On 1 Thess 5:16 see Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, p. 124.

just been used as ‘rejoice’ in v 9 and it is followed by a list of ethical imperatives.¹ Therefore, the evidence in the Pauline letters does not lend itself to a reading of χαίρετε as ‘farewell’ in Phil 3:1. More importantly, L. Alexander correctly notes that whereas the imperative may mean ‘farewell’ in conversation (Matt 26:49) it means ‘greetings’ in letters; thus, ‘the place for this verb is not at the end of the letter but the beginning where it means “Greetings”’.² Therefore, since Paul is writing a letter, he probably does not use it to mean ‘greetings’ here.

Although commentators repeatedly debate the meaning of τὸ λοιπόν and χαίρετε, little or nothing is said concerning the grammar and epistolary function of τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές, despite its problematical issues of lexis and grammar. This clause lacks a discourse marker (i.e. connecting particle), a finite verb (e.g. εἶμί), and a nominative subject. To make matters more problematic, it is difficult to locate the referent of τὰ αὐτὰ ‘the same things’ and the precise function of the datives ἐμοί and ὑμῖν.

The subject slot of Phil 3:1b is filled with an infinitive clause τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ‘to write the same things to you’. This is what Paul is going to talk about, i.e. it is the theme of the sentence. It has its own clause structure: (i) the implied subject is Paul as is clear from the use of the personal pronoun ἐμοί; (ii) γράφειν is the predicate of the clause; (iii) and there is a double complement—the direct object τὰ αὐτὰ and the indirect object ὑμῖν. If translated in the indicative, the clause reads ‘Paul writes the same things to the Philippians.’ τὰ αὐτὰ ‘the same things’ has been variously understood as referring (i) to matters solely within the text (see below), such as (a) repeated exhortations to rejoice,³ (b) repeated exhortations to humility and unity,⁴ (c) repeated warnings against dissension in the church,⁵ or (d) repeated warnings against the opponents,⁶ or (ii) to matters both external and internal to the text, such as the similarity of Paul’s words in Phil 3 with Paul’s teaching (a) from his previous ministry at Philippi,⁷ (b) from other epistolary correspondence with Philippi,⁸ or (c) from the oral communication of the letter-carrier.⁹ All of these are possible interpretations of τὰ αὐτὰ.¹⁰ However, these are conjectures that

¹See Furnish, *2 Corinthians*, p. 581, who opts for ‘rejoice’.

²Alexander, ‘Letter-Forms’, p. 97. I have searched unsuccessfully in almost every papyri collection for a use of χαίρετε at the end of the letter meaning ‘farewell’; one possible case is a Christian letter that must be reconstructed as [χ]αίρε[τε] (SB 6.9527.17 [385–412 CE]). In contrast, the plural imperative χαίρετε meaning ‘farewell’ is common as a closing expression in inscriptions, esp. sepulchral ones (e.g. inscriptions from Thessaly IG 9.2.856.3; 9.2.909.8; 9.2.922.8; 9.2.960.5). Although Alexander correctly notes the scarcity of χαίρετε in letters meaning ‘greetings’, the fact that the singular imperative χαιρε can mean ‘greetings’ (see Exler, *Form*, pp. 35–36, 67–68) is evidence enough for at least the possibility that the plural χαίρετε may mean ‘greetings’. The scarcity of the plural form can be explained by the fact that most letters were written to one person rather than a plurality. Nevertheless, her point still stands that χαιρω ‘greetings’ appear at the beginning of letters, not at the end.

³Michaelis, *Brief*, p. 52; cf. Weiss, ‘Status’, p. 389; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 124.

⁴Jones, ‘Integrity’, p. 471.

⁵Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 125–26.

⁶Mackay (‘Further Thoughts’, pp. 163–64) argues that Paul has ‘repeatedly warned the Philippians against the “judaizers”, and that in 3:1 he is simply apologizing for giving this warning again [cf. 1:28, 29; 2:14–16; 3:18]’.

⁷O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 352.

⁸Vincent, *Philippians*, p. 91.

⁹So Furnish, ‘Place and Purpose’, p. 86, who takes ἀσφαλές partly as the ‘specific, concrete’ commands to be given in Phil 3.

¹⁰Rahtjen’s (‘Three Letters’, p. 172) suggestion (one of two) that the original reading may have been ταῦτα is simply another conjecture—possible but unverifiable.

prove nothing about the literary integrity of Philippians; they only conform to one's prior decision about the integrity.

What Paul says about the subject of his sentence (the infinitive clause) is found in the double predicate adjective (or nominative) phrase ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές. The typical translation of this phrase is '[to write the same things to you is] not troublesome for me but safe for you'. The only substantial scholarly controversy here has been whether ἀσφαλές means 'safe' (so most) or 'specific' (Furnish). V. P. Furnish argues that ἀσφαλές means 'specific, concrete' and that it describes both the specific exhortations Paul will give in Phil 3 and those which will be conveyed by Epaphroditus, Timothy, and Paul upon their arrival. These 'specific' exhortations represent the same things (τὰ αὐτά) he had already communicated earlier in the letter (e.g. 1:27-30) in a more 'general' manner.¹ This interpretation has not won much support due to its speculative nature, and most still read ἀσφαλές as 'safe'. In all fairness, however, Furnish's explanation is no more speculative than, for example, G. F. Hawthorne's theory that τὰ αὐτά refers to the exhortation to rejoice and that this is 'safe' for the Philippians because 'they will discover that this positive Christian attitude will save them from the ills that plague their church'.²

A final interpretative issue that has been raised with respect to the literary integrity of Philippians is found immediately after 3:1, viz. the meaning of βλέπετε. Although βλέπετε is often translated here with 'beware of, be on your guard against, watch out for', G. D. Kilpatrick argues that βλέπω only means 'beware of' when followed by either (i) a clause with a negated aorist subjunctive (or future indicative) or (ii) by the preposition ἀπό.³ Almost the same claim had already been made by B. Weiss in 1897.⁴ The point is consequential, as taken up by G. F. Hawthorne: 'Thus Paul is not so much warning the Philippians to be on guard against their opponents, as he is asking them to pay careful attention to them, to study them, so as to understand them and to avoid adopting their destructive beliefs and practices'⁵ and, therefore, 'the connexion of Phil 3:2 with what has gone before is not as abrupt as is typically assumed'.⁶ M. Silva attempts to devalue Kilpatrick's rule with the argument that 'where the verb is followed by a μή clause, however, that clause simply completes the thought partially expressed by the verb. ...The English "watch the fire" usually implies a warning, such as "lest it burn up the house"'.⁷ Silva's English example, however, seemingly proves Kilpatrick's point, viz. the direct object contributes the idea of warning to the imperative. It is not the word 'watch' in Silva's sentence that makes people take heed, but its concatenation with the word 'fire' (direct object). Similarly, the use of the derogatory direct objects κύνας, κακοῦς ἐργάτας, κατατομήν provides the element of 'warning' in 3:2. The sentence 'watch the hummingbird' typically would not send an English speaker running in trepidation. Nevertheless, Silva's critique is not without value, for it recognises that Kilpatrick's 'rule' is syntactically based whereas it should be semantically (or both syntactically and semantically) based. In other words, it is the meaning of the context surrounding βλέπετε

¹Furnish, 'Place and Purpose', p. 87.

²Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 124.

³Kilpatrick, 'ΒΛΕΠΕΤΕ', pp. 146-48.

⁴Weiss, 'Status', p. 390.

⁵Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 125. Cf. Caird, *Paul's Letters*, p. 131; Garland, 'Composition', pp. 165-66; Geoffrion, *Purpose*, pp. 196-97.

⁶Kilpatrick, 'ΒΛΕΠΕΤΕ', p. 148.

⁷Silva, *Philippians*, p. 172.

that gives it a 'cautionary' tone. The point being made here is one that modern linguists frequently make, viz. words in context, not words in isolation, have meaning. Thus, the use of the negated aorist subjunctive—a common prohibitive construction in Greek¹—with βλέπετε would naturally imply a 'warning'. Similarly, the particular semantics (not the syntax) of a direct object in combination with βλέπετε may result in a warning such as 'beware of, take heed of' something or someone. Contrary to Kilpatrick, this is at times what happens in the NT. The imperative of βλέπω occurs in 25 NT verses.² Of these, 10 fall under Kilpatrick's first category,³ two under the second category,⁴ and 13 are followed by an accusative, another clause, or nothing at all.⁵ As Kilpatrick notes, some of these last constructions simply mean 'consider, take due note of, look at', as in Acts 3:4 βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς 'Look at us' or in 1 Cor 10:18 βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα 'Consider the people of Israel'. Against Kilpatrick, however, some of them include a more cautionary tone like 'take heed, be watchful, be observant', as in Mark 13:9 βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς... 'Take heed of yourselves, for they will deliver you up to the councils...'. D. E. Garland, in accord with Kilpatrick's study, cites 2 John 8 as a case of βλέπετε with an *accusative* reflexive pronoun ἑαυτούς meaning 'watch yourself'.⁶ Immediately following this command is a ἵνα clause with two negated aorist subjunctives: 'Watch yourself in order that you may not lose what you have worked for but, instead, may be fully rewarded.' The translation 'beware of, take heed of yourself' does not seem unwarranted here even though βλέπετε is followed by the direct object ἑαυτούς (thus breaking Kilpatrick's rule); the translation 'consider yourself', on the other hand, misses the urgency of the text. In sum, there are at least a few cases in the NT where the imperative of βλέπω followed by an accusative or prepositional phrase other than ἀπό includes the idea of caution, although not necessarily best translated with 'beware of'. In P.Herm. 15.8 (IV-V CE) the sender gives various instructions to the recipient, one of them being βλέπε περὶ τοῦ ὄνου ὅτι τὰ ἡποκάτω τοῦ ποδίου αὐτοῦ πονί 'Be concerned about the donkey because the sole of its foot is in pain'. Although there is no notion of fear in this example, βλέπε (which is followed by περί) does not simply mean 'look at, consider' but invokes the action of the recipient to do something, as in 'be concerned about, look after'.⁷ This example further suggests that a semantic reading based on the context, not a solely syntactically based rule like Kilpatrick's, is needed to account for βλέπετε in Phil 3:2. The importance of this word for the integrity debate is obvious: If βλέπετε indicates a polemical warning against historically-real adversaries, then such a change in tone *may* support a multiple-letter theory, but if it simply calls the Philippians to observe the mistaken religious boasts of Paul's prototypical Jew, then it may lend itself to a single-letter theory.

¹See Porter, *Idioms*, p. 56.

²Kilpatrick was concerned with any form of βλέπω in the NT, but it seems more contextually sensitive to consider primarily the imperative forms, since this is what occurs in Phil 3:2.

³Matt 24:4; Mark 13:5; Luke 21:8; Acts 13:40; 1 Cor 8:9; 10:12; Gal 5:15; Col 2:8; Heb 3:12; 12:25.

⁴Mark 8:15 and 12:38.

⁵Mark 4:24; 13:9, 23, 33; Luke 8:18; Acts 3:4; 1 Cor 3:10; 10:18; 16:10; Eph 5:15; Phil 3:2 (3x); Col 4:17; 2 John 1:8.

⁶Garland, 'Composition', p. 165 n. 88.

⁷Cf. P.Mil.Vogl. 2.77.9, 14, 15 (II CE) where βλέπε is used first in the body of the letter with μή + subjunctive (line 9 βλέ[πε δ]ὲ μὴ ἔλθω καὶ εὔρω...) and then in succession (once with the plural once with the singular) at the end of the letter with accusative nouns (βλέπετε τὰ παιδιά καὶ τὰ εἰς. βλέπε Εἰσιδώρα<ν> τῆ<ν> μικρα<ν> {μεικρα<ν>}). Although both uses are slightly different, both include the idea of 'concern', i.e. 'Be concerned that I might come and find...' and 'Be concerned about the children, the other household members, and the little Eisadoras'.

Phil 3:1b in its Epistolary Context

The above review of interpretative issues surrounding τὸ λοιπόν, χαίρετε, τὰ αὐτά, ἀσφαλές, and βλέπετε demonstrates the impasse faced when interpreting Phil 3:1 with respect to the literary integrity of the letter. To breach this impasse the interpreter needs to devise a reasonable historical reconstruction (e.g. a multiple-letter theory) that in turn explains the meanings of these words. The apparent ambiguity of the grammar has resulted in a plethora of such historical reconstructions. Based on the above study of hesitation formulas, I wish to add one more interpretation to this stew of ideas, proposing that Phil 3:1b is an epistolary hesitation formula of disclosure, employing all three required elements—ὀκνηρόν (a cognate form of ὀκνέω) with the negative οὐκ in conjunction with the infinitive γράφειν. However, in contrast to a purely situational reconstruction (e.g. Paul is speaking of previous correspondence), it is a comparative analysis based on similar generic formulas found in other Hellenistic letters. The discussion starts by treating the meaning of ὀκνηρόν, moves on to deal with other elements in 3:1b (τὰ αὐτά, ἀσφαλές, μὲν...δέ), and finally treats the surrounding linguistic context in 3:1a and 3:2 (τὸ λοιπόν, χαίρετε, βλέπετε) as to their function in the linear flow of the discourse.

(1) The first matter to discuss is the obviously atypical interpretation of ὀκνηρόν that this reading proposes. English commentators and translations almost invariably take ὀκνηρός to mean 'irksome, troublesome' as if Paul is apologising for his repetitiveness; so Hawthorne states that '...his [Paul's] persistence in this matter is no *onerous chore* that wearies him (ὀκνηρόν)'¹ and Mackay claims 'he had repeatedly warned the Philippians against the "Judaizers", and...he is *apologizing* in iii.I for giving this warning again'.² Regardless of this one-sided interpretative tendency, Liddell-Scott-Jones suggests *two* basic meanings for the adjective: (i) shrinking (thus, the idea of hesitating³), timid, idle, sluggish or (ii) things that cause fear, are vexatious, or are troublesome.⁴ The verb ὀκνέω describes people (or animate objects) who 'hesitate, shrink from doing, scruple'. Mayser, in his grammar of the papyri, translates the verb ὀκνέω as *zögern, zaudern, sich scheuen*,⁵ not something like *bemühen*. J. L. White translates the epistolary formula μὴ ὀκνήσης as 'do not hesitate'.⁶ Some German commentators recognise the possibility of this meaning in Phil 3:1b, translating it with words like *zögern* and *Bedenken tragen*.⁷ For example, W. Michaelis translates the first part of 3:1b: 'Diese Aufforderung euch nochmals zu schreiben, zögere ich nicht.'⁸ And he apparently treats the ὀκνηρόν expression as an epistolary formula: 'Mit auch sonst üblicher Floskel des Briefstils (οὐκ ὀκνῶ uä) wird die Wiederholung begründet und entschuldigt.'⁹ In an epistolary context, this is the meaning that applies to the verb or adverb. I have not found a case where it means 'to trouble' or 'troublesome' in an epistolary context. 'To hesitate' is most certainly

¹Hawthorne, *Philippians*, p. 124 (emphasis mine).

²Mackay, 'Further Thoughts', p. 164 (emphasis mine).

³The abridged version of LSJ defines ὀκνηρός as 'shrinking, hesitating, back-ward, unready, timid'.

⁴LSJ s.v. ὀκναλέος (poet. for ὀκνηρός). Different interpretations of the adjective ('hesitating'; 'burdensome, troublesome'; 'tiresome') are found in the Greek fathers (see discussion in Weiss, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 219 n. 1), but there is little debate in more recent literature.

⁵Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.2, p. 134.

⁶White, 'Formulas and Cliches', p. 305.

⁷See Fridrichsen, 'Exegetisches', p. 300; cf. Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 125. Synge (*Philippians*, p. 39) is one of the few English commentators who uses 'hesitant' in a translation, but he still views the whole phrase as a 'Pauline apology' and not in the context of an epistolary formula.

⁸Michaelis, *Brief*, p. 52.

⁹Michaelis, *Brief*, p. 53; his view has not influenced English commentators.

the meaning it has when combined with the infinitive γράφειν and, therefore, is most likely the meaning of ὀκνηρόν in Phil 3:1b, even though there Paul uses the adjective rather than the verb. In epistolary contexts, ὀκνέω and its cognate forms do not describe a person as someone wearied by an 'onerous chore' but someone (not) worried about or (not) hesitating over some task to accomplish. A similar epistolary reading of Phil 3:1b is being argued for here. Against this, it might be argued that Paul's expression does not exactly parallel the epistolary formulas cited above, since he uses the adjective ὀκνηρόν not the verb ὀκνέω or the adverb ἀόκνως as is typical of the formulas. The change in grammatical form, however, does not eliminate the possibility of an epistolary reading. Firstly, even the above epistolary formulas are not grammatically unalterable, allowing for stylistic variations such as the participle¹—which grammatically has functions like an adjective—instead of the indicative or subjunctive; in addition, the adverb is sometimes found instead of the verb, specifying the *manner* in which some activity is done (viz. hesitatingly). Therefore, the hesitation formula was not rigidly defined in terms of grammar. What is more important for its formulaic composition is the lexical choice of a cognate of ὀκνέω; similar lexical and grammatical variety is true of other epistolary formulas (e.g. disclosures).² Secondly, it is generally recognised that Paul feels free to modify an epistolary formula for his own purposes, such as the nominative χάρις instead of the typical verbal χαίρειν in his salutations. A similar epistolary modification may be in effect in Phil 3:1b. Thirdly, the adjective does not appear to differ semantically from the verbal form. In other words, just as forms of ὀκνέω may indicate a process in which someone or something acts in a hesitating manner (e.g. 'I do not hesitate to write to you'), so also the adjective may serve to describe the manner in which some other action is taking place.³ In these cases a form of the adjective sometimes modifies an infinitive clause (or the subject of the infinitive clause), as in Phil 3:1b. For example, in section 83 of Philo's *De virtutibus* loaning money to a fellow countryman is discouraged. The text goes on to explain that just because (διὰ τοῦτ') a person should not *loan* money, it does not follow from this that he should hold back from giving (ἀναδύεσθαι) or that he should contribute (or 'lend') more hesitatingly (συμβάλλειν ὀκνηρότερον). The comparative adjective ὀκνηρότερον modifies the infinitive συμβάλλειν, describing the manner in which one should not (μή) go about contributing.⁴ The point is that the adjective ὀκνηρός may function to describe a process (i.e. a verbal event) in the same way that ὀκνέω may be used with an infinitive.⁵ Therefore, in terms of the grammar, ὀκνηρόν is perhaps part of a predicate adjective structure, 'adding something to the qualities or characteristics of a

¹See examples #13 and #25.

²In his discussion of epistolary formulas, White (*Light*, pp. 198-211) lists several grammatical (and even lexical) variations of the same formula.

³This is not to say that the adjective is equivalent to an adverb, but that the adjective may be used to *attribute* a quality (in this case one of manner) to another linguistic item in the surrounding discourse.

⁴It is furthermore noteworthy that the use of ἀναδύεσθαι ('to draw back, retire, shrink back, hesitate') in this sentence is in the same semantic field as ὀκνέω. For other examples of this function of the adjective (i) in close relation to an infinitive see Dio Cassius *Historiae Romanae* 55.12.3.3 [Augustus was] ὀκνηρότερος...πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τίσιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονώς; Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 18.6.4 ὀκνηρὰ ποιεῖ προσφέρεσθαι; *Oration* 34.9.5 ὥστε τοὺς αὐθις ὀκνηρότερον ἐξαμαρτάνειν; Josephus *AJ* 1.66.4 εἴ τις ὀκνηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν or (ii) in close relation to a nominal phrase expressing an action see Josephus *AJ* 2.236.2 πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὀκνηρὸς ἦν ὁ βασιλεύς; *BJ* 4.584.2 τὰς...μὲν προσβολὰς ὀκνηροτέρας ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Σίμων. For use of the adjective in place of the noun to describe the effects of inebriation see Philo *De specialibus legibus* 1.99.1-2 ὀκνου...ὀκνηροτέρους.

⁵Cf. Joannes Philoponus *In Aristotelis categorias commentarium* (Volume 13.1, page 180, line 25): ὡς παρὰ τὸ ὀκνῶ-ὀκνήσω-ὀκνηρός.

substantive [in this case an infinitive functioning as a substantive]...by ascribing or predicating something to a substantive'.¹ That which the adjective ὀκνηρόν ascribes to the infinitive (i.e. the substantive of the clause) is the manner in which it was not (οὐκ) done: 'To write the same things to you is not a hesitating process for me...'. A perhaps better explanation of the grammar is that the adjective is acting as a substantive (i.e. predicate nominative) and may be translated 'To write the same things to you is not a matter/cause of hesitation for me...' (cf. Phil 1:21 where we must interpret the precise force of the predicate nominative Χριστός).

Therefore, it is not implausible that Paul has slightly modified an epistolary hesitation formula here in Phil 3:1b. Indeed, the combination of the infinitive γράφειν with a negated cognate of ὀκνέω suggests that he is using an epistolary formula. Regardless of what τὰ αὐτά refers to (see below), Paul employs this modified epistolary formula to indicate that 'writing the same things' was not done in a 'hesitating' manner, i.e. it was not something that 'caused ὄκνος' for him.² Even if someone is still not convinced by an epistolary reading of 3:1b, the evidence from the papyri and other literature suggests that ὀκνηρόν, in combination with γράφειν, means 'hesitating' not 'troublesome'.

A further question arises: Why would the act of writing the same thing potentially cause hesitation for Paul, thus requiring his denial of such an event? In order to answer this, it is necessary to place the hesitation formula in its literary (intertextual) context, viz. personal letters. The use of Greco-Roman language of friendship in Philipians has been suggested most notably by L. M. White, S. K. Stowers, J. T. Fitzgerald, J. Reumann, and J. Schoon-Janßen. Both White and Stowers classify Philipians as a 'friendly hortatory letter', which contains terminology from Hellenistic φιλία traditions: κοινωνία; τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν; χαίρειν.³ Although such an overarching classification of the letter may warrant some reservations, the letter certainly contains *features* of friendship language. The hesitation formula in Phil 3:1b is also an expression of Paul's friendship, basically on two levels. Firstly, its use in the epistolary literature is mostly in contexts of friendship (see above) or, at least, in contexts of client-patron relationships ('patronal friendship').⁴ This is a common use of the hesitation formula, in which the author reinforces her or his relationship with the recipient by including what seems to be a superfluous hesitation formula (see esp. example 28 above).⁵ Secondly, rejoicing (especially rejoicing together, Phil 2:17-18)—the content of Paul's repeated exhortation (see below)—is a common characteristic of φιλία.⁶ The hesitation formula, then, both is an expression of friendship itself and is used by Paul in the context of friendship language, viz. as an explanation of

¹Porter, *Idioms*, p. 118 (discussing the function of adjectives).

²BAGD s.v. ὀκνηρός interprets the adjective similarly in Phil 3:1, but without the notion of 'hesitation': 'causing ὄκνος, causing fear or reluctance...w. inf. Phil 3:1'. In the greek fragments of his commentary, Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni (ed. Swete) translates this section with περ ἰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γράφειν ὄκνος οὐδεις, using the noun instead of the adjective (p. 231).

³White, 'Morality', pp. 206-207, 214; Stowers, 'Friends', p. 106; for a classic treatment of 'friendship' in letter writing see Koskenniemi, *Studien*, pp. 115-27.

⁴So Stowers ('Friends', p. 118): '...rulers and government officers frequently employed friendly letters in communicating with those under them'; cf. Marshall, *Enmity*, pp. 143-47, on patronal friendship.

⁵Although I find the main argument of Stowers' article convincing, I find his claim that Phil 3:1b is a 'hortatory idiom of parenetic letters' unsubstantiated ('Friends', pp. 115-16). He does not provide any citations that parallel Paul's statement; apparently, he bases his claim on a recognised convention of paraenesis 'to assure readers that they do not really need the advice being proffered' (p. 116). Reading Phil 3:1b as a hesitation formula makes sense of its 'friendship' context without reading a 'hortatory idiom' into the text; furthermore, this reading does not negate the *possibility* that Paul felt that they needed to be joyful for some reason (e.g. they were discouraged due to persecution).

⁶'Friends share one's joy while enemies gloat over one's misfortunes' (Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 3.103).

why he repeatedly exhorts them to rejoice. To translate ὀκνηρόν as 'irksome, troublesome' in Phil 3:1b misses this point altogether, placing the expression in a context of 'irritation' rather than 'friendly reaffirmation'. Paul's only other use of the adjective in Rom 12:11 τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί ('be not slack in zeal' or better 'do not hesitate when it comes to being zealous'), where it is paired with τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες ('be aglow with the Spirit'), similarly involves the meaning 'hesitating, delaying, neglecting';¹ at the least, it certainly does not mean 'irksome, troublesome'. The strength of this epistolary reading of ὀκνηρόν in 3:1b is that it can be identified formally and functionally in extra-biblical literature, both in terms of the language of friendship and epistolary hesitation formulas.²

(2) The second matter to discuss is the effect of this epistolary reading on an understanding of ἀσφαλές and τὰ αὐτά. Firstly, ὀκνηρόν is closely linked to ἀσφαλές by means of μέν...δέ. Both adjectives are components of a two-part predicate adjective (or nominative) construction, i.e. they modify the clause 'to write the same things to you'. The entire clause may be a parenthesis, in which Paul steps aside from the flow of the discourse and comments upon the conspicuous repetitiveness of his exhortation to rejoice.

| | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| τὰ αὐτά γράφειν ὑμῖν | { | ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν |
| | | ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές |

The grammatical similarity between the two expressions is obvious: both begin with a dative (of respect or of advantage/disadvantage)³ personal pronoun and conclude with a neuter nominative adjective.⁴ The semantic dissimilarity apparently signalled by μέν...δέ, however, is not as straightforward. The contrast between ἐμοί and ὑμῖν is evident enough, viz. they specify two different sets of people; but in what way does οὐκ ὀκνηρόν contrast with ἀσφαλές?⁵ Perhaps they do not contrast at all; rather, μέν...δέ indicates an additive relationship between the adjectives.⁶ That contrast is not in effect here is suggested by the fact that although there are points of difference between the two phrases, there is not a positive–negative opposition. Instead, Paul is using μέν...δέ to indicate two implications of 'writing the same things', one with respect to himself and the other with respect to the Philippians.⁷ This also accounts for the grammatical *similarity* of the terms, viz. they are both negated words, one with the negative particle οὐκ and the other with α-privative. In this case, if ὀκνηρόν means 'irksome, troublesome' (as most translations) then it reasonably follows that ἀσφαλές means something like 'assured from danger, safe' (so most). However, if ὀκνηρόν means 'hesitating, causing hesitation' then

¹Cranfield, *Romans*, II, pp. 633-34.

²*Contra* Beare's speculation, for example, that 'the phrase "to me not fearsome, and for you safe" is in Greek a line of verse (iambic trimeter), and it is probable that Paul is quoting, half playfully, from a poem unknown to us' (*Philippians*, p. 143); cf. Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 243; Moule, *Idiom Book*, p. 199 n. 1.

³On these types of dative see BDF §188 (dative of advantage/disadvantage 'serves to designate the person whose interest is affected') and §197.

⁴The neuter gender is used in 3:1b because these adjectives modify the entire infinitive clause τὰ αὐτά γράφειν ὑμῖν; cf. Phil 1:22 where the neuter τοῦτο stands for the infinitive τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί (note the use of neuter forms in 1:24, 29; 2:6, 13, 25; 4:10; but contrast Phil 1:21).

⁵The terms are used in the same context in P.Oslo 3.128.12 (368 CE); unfortunately, the surrounding text is so fragmented that it is difficult to know their semantic relationship.

⁶Cf. Turner, *Syntax*, pp. 331-32. Louw and Nida (*Lexicon*, I, p. 791) note: 'μέν...δέ: markers of two or more items which are additively related and thematically parallel'. Cf. the grammar of 1 Cor 1:23 where two groups—expressed in the dative (Ἰουδαίοις and ἔθνεσιν)—are compared with respect to their view on 'Christ crucified'.

⁷On this understanding of contrast see Beekman and Callow, *Translating*, p. 195.

it may be more fitting to translate ἀσφαλές as ‘trustworthy, unfailing’—a use of the term sometimes describing friends¹—or ‘not liable to fall, immovable, steadfast’.² This semantic field of meanings nicely parallels the idea of ‘unhesitating’ signified by οὐκ ὀκνηρόν. As is the case with the neuter ὀκνηρόν, ἀσφαλές is sometimes used to modify an infinitive clause. In non-biblical literature, the adjective often describes the infinitive as an action that is ‘safe’ or ‘unsafe’ (frequently in contexts of physical danger),³ but this meaning does not necessarily involve the idea of ‘safety from danger’.⁴ Just as ὀκνηρόν may be understood grammatically as a predicate nominative (see above), ἀσφαλές is also a predicate nominative, perhaps meaning ‘steadfast’ or ‘a matter/cause of steadfastness’. Paul’s repeated exhortations to rejoice are a *cause of steadfastness for them*.⁵ Unfortunately, Paul does not specify how rejoicing will produce steadfastness; perhaps (and this is a very tentative ‘perhaps’) ‘continual rejoicing’ creates steadfastness by creating unity. Despite his silence on this issue, the parallelism with ὀκνηρόν, the probable anaphoric (not cataphoric) reference of τὰ αὐτά (see below), and the fact that ἀσφαλές does not necessarily imply ‘safety from danger’, suggest that 3:1b does not refer to the dangers discussed in 3:2ff; instead, it represents Paul’s parenthetical comment on 3:1a. In epistolary terms, it is a disclosure formula revealing Paul’s own perspective on his letter writing.

Secondly, an epistolary reading of Phil 3:1b sheds light on the function of τὰ αὐτά. Paul uses τὰ αὐτά ‘the same things’ only three times in the neuter accusative plural. In both Rom 2:1 and 1 Thess 2:14 it occurs at the beginning of the clause as in Phil 3:1b. In

¹LSJ (abridged) s.v. ἀσφαλής 2; it is only used in Phil 3:1 as an adjective in Paul.

²Furnish (‘Place’, p. 85) argues for similar meanings used elsewhere in the NT—‘certain, dependable’ and ‘assurance’—however, he unnecessarily argues that this meaning must be in reference to ‘knowledge’ in Phil 3:1 (‘certain, dependable, specific knowledge’). The adjective does not necessarily imply ‘knowledge’, but only the attribute of ‘dependability, certainty’. I am not sure (nor convinced) how Furnish comes up with ‘specific’ and ‘concrete’ from these meanings of ἀσφαλές and, thus, I remain unconvinced by his subsequent conclusion (i) that the ‘warnings of chapter iii (e.g. vv. 2, 15-19) are considerably more pointed and specific than those of chapters i-ii (i.27-28; ii.1-13, 14-18)’ or (ii) that the letter is more specific and concrete than the oral warnings and directives delivered in person by Epaphroditus and Timothy (p. 86). The Acts 21-22 uses of the adjective (21:34 and 22:30) which Furnish mentions do not refer to ‘specific, concrete’ facts (p. 84), but ‘dependable, trustworthy’ facts and information which Festus could have used to prosecute Paul. Furnish’s point that other textual evidence using the article τό with ἀσφαλές (A^{*vid} 69 *pm*) supports his reading of Phil 3:1 is a grammatical fallacy regarding the ‘definiteness’ of the article (see Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 103-104). In any case, the context, not the adjective, must determine whether the object of the adjective is ‘knowledge’. If τὰ αὐτά refers to the exhortation to rejoice (see discussion below) then ἀσφαλές could just as well describe the ‘dependability’ of this exhortation for the welfare of the Philippians. As Furnish notes, the adjective is often used in epistolary business transactions to express a ‘security’ of receipt, i.e. a guarantee that a person will receive that for which they payed; see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 88.

³E.g. *Anthologia Graeca* 12.121.5 πυρός δ’ οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἄσσον ἔρπειν ἀνηρήν; Appian *BC* 2.4.29.7 οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄντι οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἠγοῦντο διαλύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Πομπηίῳ δύναμιν; Dio Cassius *Historiae Romanae* 46.25.4.2 ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβειν ἀσφαλές ἐγίνετο; Demosthenes *De Chersoneso* 64.8 λαβόντα χρήματ’ αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ’ ὑμῖν.

⁴E.g. Josephus *Ap.* 2.225.1 τὴν ἀληθῆ περιθεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἀνοιαν οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλές ἐξενεγκεῖν; Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 10.24.1 Ὁμήρω μὲν οὖν ἀσφαλές ἦν ἴσως πορεύεσθαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω εἰς Δελφούς; Isocrates *Antidosis* 159.5 ἐνομίζετο τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀσφαλές εἶναι καὶ σεμνόν.

⁵Cf. Schenk’s translation (*Philippenerbriefe*, p. 248): ‘...sondern dient eurer Festigung’ (emphasis mine). Another possible understanding of ἀσφαλές which makes sense of οὐκ ὀκνηρόν as ‘not a cause of hesitation’ is that Paul’s repeated exhortations to rejoice are, for them, a *surety* (or guarantee) that they will rejoice. Cf. the similar meaning of the adjective in Dionysius of Hallicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 6.75.2.1 τὸ ἀσφαλές τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔδοξεν εἶναι βέβαιον ‘the surety of your freedom seems to be secure’.

Rom 2:1 it refers backwards (cf. Eph 6:9).¹ In 1 Thess 2:14 it gets its impetus from 2:14a (with the reference to τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ) but is further specified by the following text, i.e. τὰ αὐτά is both anaphoric and cataphoric.² In both cases, nevertheless, τὰ αὐτά obtains its referential function when two items in the immediate linguistic context are being compared: (i) in Rom 2:1 a comparison between the actions of two individuals (viz. τὸν ἕτερον and σεαυτόν) and (ii) in 1 Thess 2:14 a comparison between the sufferings of the Thessalonians and those of the churches in Judaea. Thus, the most likely place to find the referent of τὰ αὐτά in Phil 3:1b is in the immediate linguistic context, especially in an item with a textually-based, *comparative* partner. If nothing in the text suggests itself as such a candidate, then it would be reasonable to look outside of the text to locate its referent. However, not only is 3:1a ('Rejoice in the Lord!') immediately prior to τὰ αὐτά but it has verbal parallels earlier in the discourse (2:17-18, 28, 29; cf. 1:18) and even later in the discourse (Phil 4:4, 10).³ In further support of an anaphoric interpretation is the fact that the singular τὸ αὐτό in Phil 2:18 precedes the verb and is used anaphorically (cf. also the singular αὐτό in 1:6). If by the phrase τὰ αὐτά Paul has in mind information external to the discourse (e.g. another letter or the report of Epaphroditus), it might be expected that he make this explicit in the text as in P.Oxy. 3.533.3 (II-III CE), where the author uses the expression (ἵνα μὴ) τὰ αὐτὰ γράψω to refer to the contents of another letter (viz. ὅσα διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιστολῆς ἔγραψα, which occurs immediately before the expression). Against an external interpretation of τὰ αὐτά (e.g. it refers to another letter or the report of Epaphroditus), it does not seem plausible that the Philippians could readily associate Paul's immediate point with that of previous correspondence. Furthermore, a cataphoric interpretation (e.g. τὰ αὐτά refers to the warnings in 3:2ff.) is questionable, since not only is Paul's usage suggestive of an anaphoric interpretation but cross-linguistic studies show that anaphora is more frequent than cataphora in most languages because it is easier on the interpretative faculties of the reader (see chap. 2 on Reference)—readers expect pronouns to refer to information already introduced in the discourse. A significant burden of proof, then, would seem to rest on those arguing for a cataphoric or extra-textual interpretation. Several commentators recognise the appeal of an internal and anaphoric understanding of τὰ αὐτά.⁴ As Lightfoot notes, 'There is nothing in the words which suggests a reference to any incident external to the letter itself'.⁵ The one objection to this interpretation has been with regard to ἀσφαλές: 'But in what cogent sense would it be *safe* (ἀσφαλές) to urge the readers to rejoice? And would this simple and natural summons (which occurs again twice in 4:4!) have called forth an apology for repetition?'⁶

¹The anarthrous αὐτά is used similarly in Rom 1:32; 2:3; 10:5; Gal 3:10, 12.

²Wick (*Philippenerbrief*, p. 57) similarly understands τὰ αὐτά in Phil 3:1 both anaphorically and cataphorically: 'Mit dem τὰ αὐτά meint er also nicht nur die Aufforderung zur Freude oder die Warnung vor Gegnern...sondern er bezieht diese Wendung auf beides und auf alles, was noch kommt.' His interpretation forms part of his larger argument that the letter is a series of parallelisms joined by the Christ-hymn (2:5-11): a1 (1:12-26), a2 (3:1-16), b1 (1:27-30), b2 (3:17-21), c1 (2:1-4), c2 (4:1-3), d1 (2:12-18), d2 (4:4-9), e1 (2:19-30), e2 (4:10-20). Paul's usage elsewhere does not support such an extensive interpretation of τὰ αὐτά, nor does it make good linguistic sense to interpret a pronoun with such a ubiquitous cataphoric function.

³Wick (*Philippenerbrief*, pp. 56-57) objects to limiting τὰ αὐτά only to Paul's *Aufruf zur Freude* on the grounds that in '...2,18 verwendet Paulus ausdrücklich einen Singular (τὸ αὐτό) im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufruf zur Freude.' Wick's appeal to 2:18 seems misplaced because, even if τὸ αὐτό there refers to the 'call to joy', the plural is used in 3:1 for the very reason that Paul is referring to all of his exhortations to rejoice whereas in 2:18 the reference is only to the immediate exhortation to rejoice.

⁴Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 125; see O'Brien (*Philippians*, p. 351 n. 23) for a lengthy list of proponents.

⁵Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 140.

This is perhaps a persuasive point if ἀσφαλές means ‘safeguard from danger’ (viz. the danger described in Phil 3),¹ but if it means ‘trustworthy, steadfast, security against falling’ (without the connotation of external ‘danger’; see above) then 3:1b and the exhortation to rejoice in 3:1a logically cohere. *Paul’s repeated exhortation to rejoice is, for him, not a cause of hesitation and is, for them, a cause of steadfastness.*

(3) The final matter to discuss is the effect of this epistolary reading of Phil 3:1b on an interpretation of those linguistic elements around it, viz. χαίρετε, τὸ λοιπόν, and βλέπετε. Firstly, although the imperative of χαίρω almost surely means ‘rejoice’ here (see above), it is not solely a theologically-motivated ‘rejoice’—as O’Brien writes of ‘a positive Christian attitude of joy that finds outward expression in their lives and that realistically takes into account the adverse circumstances, trials, and pressures through which the Philippians were called to pass’²—but a sociologically-motivated ‘rejoice’, i.e. motivated by the epistolary situation.³ Elsewhere in the letter, forms of χαίρω are used in contexts concerning correspondence between Paul and the Philippians: (i) Paul’s potential visit in the future (1:18-19⁴ χαρήσομαι...γάρ...), (ii) Epaphroditus’ imminent arrival (2:28 ἔπεμψα αὐτὸν ἵνα...χαρῆτε), and (iii) the receipt of the Philippians’ gift (4:10 ἐχάρην...ἐν κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι...ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν). In such cases the exhortation to rejoice is partly motivated by the possibility of future correspondence (e.g. the arrival of Paul, envoys, epistles, information, gifts). L. M. White similarly notes that it was customary in letters representing the absent friend that “‘joy”, and “mutual exhortation” were by-products of such friendly relations’.⁵ This appears to be the case in 3:1 as well. Paul has just mentioned the recovery and imminent arrival of Epaphroditus (2:25-30) and thus exhorts them to rejoice vis-à-vis this information.⁶ Similarly in BGU

⁶O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 351; cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 125-26; Garland, ‘Composition’, p. 164. Cf. Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 173: ‘Paul had not spoken so often or so amply of rejoicing...that his hearers would feel it irksome to have χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ repeated to them.’

¹It is not unreasonable, however, to understand Paul’s repeated exhortation to rejoice as a safeguard for the Philippians in the sense that it produces unity in the midst of the ‘danger’ of discord. This reading would allow for ἀσφαλές as ‘safeguard’; nevertheless, this does not seem to parallel semantically οὐκ ὀκνηρόν as well as ‘trustworthy, cause of steadfastness’ does.

²O’Brien, *Philippians*, p. 349; cf. Swift, ‘Theme and Structure’, p. 247; Vincent, *Philippians*, pp. 90-91, who translates v 1 as ‘...whatever your trials, past, present, or future, continue to rejoice in the Lord’. The tendency to view ‘rejoice’ in the light of ‘suffering’ has been prominent among interpreters of Philippians (see Bloomquist, *Function*, esp. pp. 18-70).

³Cf. Mullins, ‘Formulas in New Testament Epistles’, p. 388: ‘The use of epistolary forms, more than any other part of a letter, reflects the fact that it was a letter, not an essay or a theological tract. The presence of one of these epistolary forms in an ancient Greek letter indicates a pause in a communication process, not a development in a literary process.... Wherever and whenever that pause comes, it signals that the writer’s attention has shifted from conveying his personal ideas to the reader and that he is now dealing with more formal aspects of the relationship between [*sic*] himself (as writer) and his readers.’

⁴Later in vv 24-26 Paul makes it clear that his release may result in another visit to see them.

⁵White, ‘Morality’, pp. 211-12, citing Phil 1:9; 2:1-2; 4:1-4, 10, but surprisingly omitting Phil 3:1. For epistolary examples using forms of χαίρω in the context of family and friendship relations see e.g. P.Oxy. 55.3807.43-44 (26-28 CE?) χαίρω μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῷ με μέλειν κατα[πλ]εῦσαι; P.Berl. 11.15-16 (33-34 CE) ἐπισκοποῦνταιί σε οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες καὶ χαίρω ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολή(ν); P.Oxy. 46.3313.20-21 (II CE) καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτὰ καὶ οὕτως χαίρομεν ἴσα σοι καὶ [τ]ῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν; P.Oxy. 1.119.7-8 (III CE) μὴ λάβω χεῖρα {χειραν} παρὰ [σ]οῦ οὔτε πάλι χαίρω σε λοιπόν {λυπον}; P.Oxy. 14.1676.23 (III CE) χαίρω ὅτι καλῶ[ς] ἔχεις.

⁶Schenk’s translation takes ἐν κυρίῳ as the object of the verb: ‘Ihr könnt im Blick auf unseren auferweckten Herrn froh sein!’ (*Philippenerbriefe*, p. 248); see Weiss (*Philippenerbrief*, p. 217) for early Christian and later protestant authors who take ἐν κυρίῳ as the object of the verb ‘rejoice’ and thus conclude that 3:1 goes with what follows as a contrast to those who boast ‘in the flesh’. The use of the imperative followed by ἐν κυρίῳ is relatively frequent in Philippians compared to the other Pauline letters (Phil 2:29; 4:1; 4:4; cf. Eph 6:10). In Phil 2:29 and 4:1 ἐν κυρίῳ is clearly not the object of the verb’s action, but the realm or sphere in which it takes place (on the spherical use of the dative with ἐν see Porter,

2.632.9-10 (II CE), Antonius is glad because he has learned of the well-being of the recipients: ἐπιγνούς σε ἐρρωμένην λίαν ἐχάρην.¹ χαίρετε does not punctuate the discourse as an isolated, abstract exhortation to rejoice with no textually-based motivation, nor does it casually pick up where 2:18 left off, severed by two epistolary commendations. It is motivated by the immediately preceding discourse, specifically, by the discussion about Epaphroditus. They can rejoice because Epaphroditus has recovered from his sickness in the process of ministering to Paul and because he will be returning home soon. This reading of 3:1 is evidenced by the fact that Paul explicitly states in 2:28 why he is sending Epaphroditus back, viz. ‘in order that you may rejoice [χαρῆτε] at seeing him again’ (cf. v 29 προσδέχεσθε...αὐτὸν ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς).² 3:1 simply restates this purpose.

Secondly, if the above reading of χαίρετε is adopted and 3:1b is read as an epistolary hesitation formula, then τὸ λοιπόν probably means ‘in the future, henceforth’,³ or ‘finally’ (as in the last in a list) but not ‘finally’ (as in the end of the letter). It is argued here that it does not introduce the beginning of a new section (nor the absolute conclusion of the previous section), but signals the final imperative in a list of three (2:29 προσδέχεσθε...ἔχετε...3:1 χαίρετε), all of which concern the Philippians’ reception of Epaphroditus. In Hellenistic letters, λοιπόν may be used as a discourse marker either at the beginning, middle, or end of a letter.⁴ When used in the middle of the letter, λοιπόν often concludes a previous narrative or list of commands with a final request. In P.Oxy. 48.3400 (359-65 CE) Parnuthis (sender) begins the body of his letter with an account of how he has tried to collect grain in the village of Berky, just as his landlord (the recipient) had instructed him. After using several sentences to narrate that the grain was full of barley and the measure was apparently the wrong size, he concludes the narrative with λοιπόν (spelled λυπόν) + request (line 18): ‘with respect to the future [for the rest], write whether you want me to accept the grain and the measure’. He then goes on to narrate similar events, followed by two other requests. This example demonstrates the use of λοιπόν +

Idioms, pp. 157, 159; Wedderburn, ‘Observations’, pp. 83-97; and on this meaning in Phil 3:1 see Ewald, *Brief*, p. 148). Thus, if it is being used similarly in 3:1 then the object (or reason) of their rejoicing is not Christ but must be determined from elsewhere in the context. In his other letters, Paul uses the preposition ἐπί, never ἐν, to indicate the object of χαίρω (Rom 16:19; 1 Cor 13:6; 16:17; 2 Cor 7:13); however, in Phil 1:18 ἐν τούτῳ perhaps indicates the object of his rejoicing; but it may indicate the context (the realm) in which he rejoices, viz. in the midst of those proclaiming Christ in pretence and in truth (cf. LSJ s.v. χαίρω I.1: ‘rarely ἐν τινί’). Therefore, usage of χαίρω in Paul and in other literature in general argues against reading ἐν κυρίῳ as the object of the verb in 3:1; but Phil 1:18 leaves the option open.

¹This sentence is notably followed by a hesitation formula: καὶ ἄνω διὰ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν οὐχ ὀκνῶ σοι γράψαι περὶ τῆ[ς] σωτηρίας μου καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ‘and whenever I find an opportunity I do not hesitate to write to you concerning my well-being and that of my family’.

²Schnider and Stenger (*Studien*, p. 176) treat this as an epistolary formula of joy (*Ausdruck der Freude*), thus leaving open the option that χαίρετε in 3:1 functions similarly.

³On this meaning of λοιπόν in the NT see Meecham, ‘λοιπόν’, p. 331. The illative function of λοιπόν ‘so then, accordingly, therefore’, which Meecham sees in Acts 27:20, 1 Cor 7:29, and 2 Tim 4:8 (cf. 1 Thess 4:1 and 2 Thess 3:1), is another possible translation of Phil 3:1a that fits my interpretation.

⁴Especially illustrative is the letter from the ‘naughty schoolboy’ Theon to his father (P.Oxy. 1.119.8, 13 [II-III CE]) in which λοιπόν (spelled λυπόν) is used twice, once meaning ‘in the future, from now on’ (line 8) and once meaning ‘finally’ (line 13; having looked at the original manuscript I agree with Deissmann’s reading [*Light*, p. 202], against the editors’ reading λυρόν). See also e.g. λοιπόν in the beginning of P.Oxy. 17.2149.5 (II-III CE) meaning ‘in the future’; in the middle of P.Oxy. 12.1480.13 (32 CE) meaning ‘for the rest’; and at the end of P.Oxy. 4.709.12 (50 CE) meaning ‘finally’. The plural τὰ λοιπά is also used, but less frequently (e.g. P.Col. 3.6.14 [257 BCE]). λοιπόν is often used as an adjective meaning ‘the remainder’ (e.g. Phil 4:3), especially in contracts (‘Pay the remaining sum!’; e.g. P.Oxy. 3.511.4 [103 CE]).

command in the middle of the letter but near the end of a discussion.¹ Similarly, Phil 3:1 concludes the commendation of Epaphroditus (2:19-30) with the third in a succession of three exhortations (2:29 προσδέχεσθε...ἔχετε...3:1 χαίρετε).² τὸ λοιπόν, accordingly, could be understood as 'in the future, from now on, the remaining time', similar to its use in 1 Cor 7:29. As already mentioned, the purpose of Paul's call to rejoice in Phil 3:1 is perhaps best broadly understood in terms of practices of friendship, φιλία:³ he as the sender of the letter is informing the recipients of their friend's good health, thereby allowing them to be at ease *in the future*. P.Mich. 2.495.9-13 (II CE) recounts how the sender is joyful because he received a letter from the recipient recounting the safety of particular individuals known to him: ἐκομισάμην σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον παρὰ Σεκού<ν>δου, καὶ μεγάλως ἐχάρην περὶ τῆς σωτηρί(σ)ας τῶν[ων] 'I received your letter from Secundus and I rejoiced greatly concerning the health of your [children?].'⁴ Similarly, the news of Epaphroditus' health is cause for the Philippians' good cheer. In addition, the fact that Paul restates the events of the sickness of Epaphroditus in v 30 when he has already made this clear in vv 26-27 suggests that the faithful ministry of Epaphroditus on behalf of the Philippians is also cause for joy. In other words, now that the Philippians know of Epaphroditus' health and his devoted servanthood, 'from now on' (τὸ λοιπόν) they are to rejoice, to be glad.⁵

Thirdly, whether βλέπετε means 'consider' or more likely 'beware' (see above), it fits naturally into the progression of the discourse as the fourth in a series of present tense imperatives begun in 2:29 (2:29 προσδέχεσθε and ἔχετε ἐντιμούς; 3:1 χαίρετε; 3:2 βλέπετε). Whereas the initial three imperatives serve to esteem Epaphroditus (and those like him) in the light of his faithful ministry, the imperatives in 3:2 serve to snub an opposing group of people. The structure is governed by these positive and negative models. S. K. Stowers has suggested a similar structure in terms of Philippians as a letter of friendship: 'A series of positive and negative models of how friends behave versus how enemies behave constitutes the core of the letter and is the key to its architecture.'⁶ Schoon-Janßen, similarly, suggests 'daß 3:2-11 ein dem positiven Beispiel in 2:19-30 korrespondierendes Negativ-Beispiel ist'.⁷ Schoon-Janßen, furthermore, argues that Paul's argumentation is 'nicht aktuell-apologetische Charakter' and that Paul may simply be drawing from prior conflicts (e.g. Galatian opponents) to warn the Philippians in the case of potential encounters with Judaizers or to deal with internal disputes in the Philippian church regarding their religious identity (should they maintain Jewish traditions).⁸

¹Cf. P.Oxy. 12.1480.13 (32 CE), if παρακαλῶ begins a new sentence which is probably the case; P.Oxy. 17.2154.15 (IV CE); and P.Oxy. 48.3408.19 (IV CE).

²Phil 4:8 similarly signals the close of a succession of imperatives.

³χαίρειν is an important term in this literary tradition; see L. M. White, 'Morality', p. 214.

⁴See the editors' comment on the fragmented text: '....[ων]: the most likely readings are παιδί[ων] and ἀδελφ[ῶν] (cf. l. 22). The latter is the less satisfactory palaeographically while the former is not supported by the gender of the pronoun in l. 14.' In either case, the sender is happy because of good news about someone's health. The mention of joy upon receiving news about someone is a common theme in Hellenistic letters; cf. P.Mich. 8.473.4, 26 (II CE) and P.Mich. 8.482.2.23 (133 CE) where it occurs in the context of a hesitation formula.

⁵Cf. P.Oxy. 55.3810.13 (II-III CE), where the sender writes about good news (περὶ τῆς εὐαγγελίας) and, therefore, Dioscurides should not worry 'any more' about anything.

⁶Stowers, 'Friends', p. 117; cf. Fitzgerald, 'Philippians', p. 321; Minear, 'Singing', p. 211; Geoffrion, *Purpose*, p. 197, 'insiders and outsiders'. I would not go so far as to claim that this pattern is *the* key to its architecture; rather, it is one pattern in the semantic structure of the letter.

⁷Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, p. 142.

⁸Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, esp. pp. 146-57, 159-61, 164-65; his general argument is based on the view that (i) the entire tenor of the letter is *freundschaftlich*, (ii) the rhetoric of the letter is *sympuleutischen*

Positive-negative exhortation, in which one group is esteemed and another disdained, is also found in Phil 3:17-19.¹ There Paul exhorts them to imitate him and to pay careful attention to those living like him (v 17); he immediately follows this exhortation by contrasting a group of individuals who do not follow his example (vv 18-19).² Similarly, Phil 3:2 takes the discussion in a different direction by introducing new participants (viz. ‘the dogs’) who may be contrasted with the noble ministry of Epaphroditus (and those like him). This rhetoric of comparison and contrast makes literary sense of the flow of the discourse: ‘The ridiculing of one’s enemies is but the natural antithesis to the praising of one’s friends.’³ The transition to this new discussion is signalled by τὸ λοιπόν, the vocative ἀδελφοί,⁴ and the disclosure formula in 3:1, which together signal the end of the commendation of Epaphroditus. In sum, βλέπετε begins a new thematic development in the discourse, but one that is structurally and thematically (by means of contrast) linked to the imperatives in 2:29-3:1.⁵ The transition between the two sections is not as harsh grammatically (as evidenced by the use of τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, the hesitation formula, and the succession of imperatives) or semantically (as evidenced by the pairing of positive and negative exempla in Philippians [1:27-28; 3:17-18; cf. 2:14-15]) as multiple-letter theorists have argued, even if βλέπετε means ‘beware of’. Phil 3:1b is clearly a pause in the discourse—i.e. a parenthetical disclosure by Paul about an important purpose of his letter—but one explained by its epistolary function. As T. Y. Mullins notes: ‘...in a letter

Redegenus, (iii) 3:4-6 (and 4:10-13, 16-17) show signs of the *dialogischer Diatribe-Stil mit fiktiven Einwänden und Zurückweisungen*, (iv) the absence of explicit or implicit OT citations (though implicit ‘allusions’ exist). Regarding the use of diatribe, Schoon-Janßen concludes that Phil 3:2-11 is being used as a ‘Beispiel, und nicht als aktuelle Gegnerauseinandersetzung’ (*Apologien*, p. 144). In his sociological approach to motivation behind 3:1-11, Tellbe (‘Factors’, pp. 103-105, 116-20) argues that the Philippian Christians (non-Jews) would have been enticed to adopt Judaism so as to attain legitimacy in Roman society (*religio illicita*). Accordingly, Paul writes his letter in part as an ‘apologetic letter’ to encourage them to be loyal to the Lord Jesus Christ in the face of sufferings due to their displacement in society. Although his reading is suggestive, it cannot be assumed that becoming a Jew would result in acceptance by the locals, as is clear from the anti-Judaism in Acts 16:20-21. In addition, Tellbe assumes that Paul and the Philippian converts did not already consider themselves Jews (whether by birth or conversion). The polemic of 3:1-11 could just as well be intra-Jewish polemic, in which Paul argues for his particular brand of Judaism so as to keep the Philippians away from another brand of Judaism.

¹Paul’s use of comparison and contrast in the letter is best treated as a rhetorical strategy: (i) comparison so as to create boundaries of identity for himself, his readers, and other Christians (e.g. Timothy, Epaphroditus, Euodia and Syntyche), in part using Christ as an exemplum and (ii) contrast so as to set up boundaries separating himself and his readers apart from various unspecified opponents.

²For the juxtaposition of positive and negative examples see 1 Cor 9 and 10:1-13; 2 Pet 2:4-6 and 7-8. Schoon-Janßen (*Apologien*, p. 143) also points to the repeated use of anithesis in Philippians, perhaps based on the style of diatribe: 1:15a/b, 16/17, 21a/b, 23/24, 29a/b; 2:8/9, 15a/b, 17a/b, 21a/b, 27αα/β, 27βα/β; 3:2/3, 7a/b, 8a/b, 9a/b; 4:11a/b, 12αα/β, 12βα/β, 12αβ/β.

³Fitzgerald, ‘Philippians’, p. 321. For similar paraenetic use of virtue and vice—e.g. one’s own example, the example of family and friends, and the example of ancient worthies—see Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation*, pp. 135-43. 1 Clement is one early Christian discourse in which personal examples appear in the epistolary genre.

⁴The use of the vocative ἀδελφοί serves as a transitional marker in Phil 1:12; 3:17; 4:1, 8; see the study of vocatives in the NT by Banker, ‘Vocative ἀδελφοί’, pp. 29-36, and Rogers, ‘Vocatives’, pp. 4-29. The vocative of ἀδελφός (usually in the singular and in conjunction with κύριε) with μου often appears in letters at points of transition as well as in conjunction with an epistolary formula; see e.g. CPR 6.80.24 (II CE); CPR 8.28.29 (IV CE); P.Brem. 8.7 (II CE); P.Brem. 56.1 (II CE), in which it appears with the imperative χαίρει; P.Oxy. 14.1775.6 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 18.2192.2.25 (II CE); P.Ryl. 4.695.11 (III CE); SB 16.12570.25 (II-III CE). It may also serve simply as a marker of emphasis (focus), with no transitional function; cf. B. Johanson, *To All the Brethren*, p. 32.

⁵In defense of the letter’s unity, White (‘Epistolary Literature’, p. 1750 n. 59) notes: ‘...We might anticipate—by analogy with the sequence of his paraenesis elsewhere—some further instruction even after his announcement of the dispatch of Timothy and of Epaphroditus (2:19-30)’; contrast his earlier comment about the letter’s integrity in ‘Introductory Formulae’, p. 95.

of any considerable length there will be places where a writer will pause and break the flow of his thought for a moment. He may mark such pauses with epistolary forms...';¹ likewise, an epistolary reading of 3:1b may help ameliorate the trouble scholars have had with the shift in tone and subject matter at 3:2.²

Summary

The main function of epistolary hesitation formulas is to maintain relationships between sender and recipient (often between friends or patrons and clients) either (i) by *requesting* the recipient to write about his or her situation and needs or to carry out some set of instructions or (ii) by *notifying* the recipient that the sender will write again in the future or will carry out some task for the recipient. Most hesitation formulas consist of a form of ὀκνέω (usually negated) and a form of γράφω (usually the infinitive). Paul employs the negated adjective ὀκνηρόν ('hesitating, cause of hesitation'), instead of the verb, in order to form a double predicate adjective (or nominative) construction which *notifies* the recipients what it means for him 'to write the same things'. As a disclosure formula (γράφω) it provides a window through which we get a rare glimpse at Paul's own intentions for his letter. In this case, the disclosure formula reveals the importance which Paul attributed to the act of 'rejoicing'. Based on the majority of uses of the hesitation formula studied above, it might be argued that Paul's hesitation formula would probably occur at the end of the letter, verifying a multiple-letter theory. However, Paul relates his hesitation formula to the immediate situation (viz. the exhortation to rejoice) rather than solely to future correspondence. When this is done in letters, the hesitation formula is often located in the main body of the letter, typically following a narrative account of some event, as in Phil 2:25-30 with the narrative about Epaphroditus' illness.³

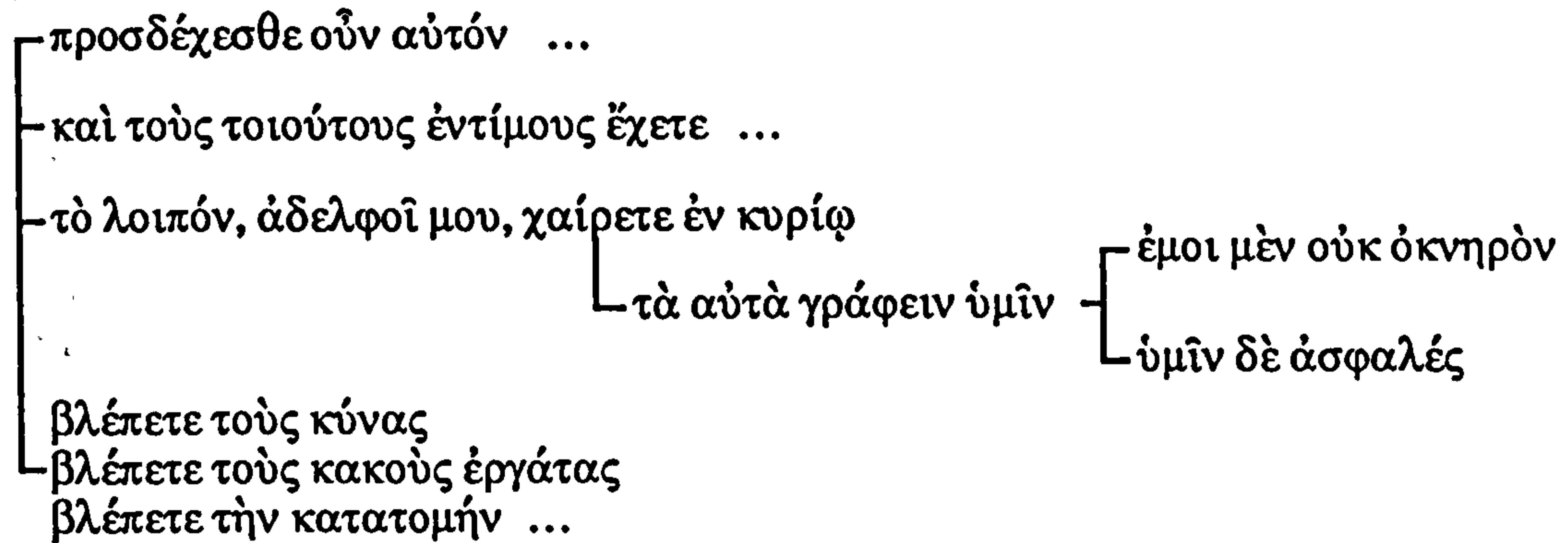
The above epistolary reading of Phil 3:1b has several implications for interpreting the grammar and semantics of Phil 3:1-2. Even if one is not convinced that Paul is employing an epistolary hesitation formula (or a modified one), the literary evidence strongly suggests that ὀκνηρόν means something like 'hesitating' (or 'cause of hesitation'), not 'irksome, troublesome'; if this is granted then other interpretative dominoes in this problematic section start to fall: ἀσφαλές probably means 'steadfast, trustworthy, dependable, secure' (or 'cause of steadfastness') not 'safeguard'; τὰ αὐτά refers to Phil 3:1a (χαίρετε...); τὸ λοιπόν means 'in the future, henceforth' or 'so then, therefore' (illative); χαίρετε is an exhortation to rejoice in view of Epaphroditus' recovery and honourable service (the third of three commands in 2:29-3:1); and Phil 3:2—punctuated by the disclosure formula of 3:1b—continues Paul's exhortations to the Philippians begun in 2:29. In sum, this reading does not merely support single-letter theorists' claim that nothing in the text necessarily suggests a multiple-letter theory, but it argues that the epistolary nature of 3:1 plays a definite structural role in the development of the discourse from 2:30 to 3:2. Rather than seeing a break at 3:1a, 3:1b or 3:2, as has been variously debated, it has been argued here

¹Mullins, 'Formulas in New Testament Epistles', p. 387.

²This use of an epistolary formula, I believe, partly answers one of Schmithal's arguments (*Paul*, p. 72) against the literary integrity of Philippians: viz. every normal letter writer accounts for and explains unusual writing style and since Paul does not do this in Phil 3:1-2, the natural conclusion is that 3:2 begins an editorial insertion. To the contrary, Paul accounts for the repetitiveness of his discourse by means of the hesitation formula.

³Cf. Demosthenes *Ep.* 2.4.3; P.Lond. 6.1916.17, 21 (330-40 CE); P.Oxy. 14.1775.8 (IV CE); P.Oxy. 18.2190.2.44 (I CE); P.Oxy. 31.2596.11 (III CE); P.Oxy. 38.2862.7 (III CE); P.Wisc. 2.73.9 (II CE); SB 16.12496.7 (c. 300 CE); SB 16.12994.18 (241 CE); P.Mich. 8.498.14 (II CE); P.Cair.Zen. 1.59034.15 (257 BCE); P.David 14.20 (II-III CE).

that the hesitation formula punctuates (as a parenthetical comment on the discourse itself) a series of present tense exhortations. In addition, it concludes positive ones and thus provides a transition into negative commands. The shift in tone and mood from exhortation to warning is not evidence for a disjointed discourse; rather, it supports a coherent reading. The syntactic structure of these exhortations is set forth in the following diagram.



In conclusion, J. L. Lemke, in a study of discourse cohesiveness, contends:

Thematic and structural organization in a text are complementary in the interests of maintaining its coherence (and, *a fortiori*, its cohesiveness). When thematic continuity is at a minimum, e.g. when there is total change of topic, coherence is maintained by rhetorical and genre structure, so that the new topic may be seen as a digression, a new case, or example of a specific sort which will later be synoptically reintegrated somehow into the structure of the text.¹

At Phil 3:2 there is an undeniable change in *thematic organisation* and the thematic continuity is, problematically for some, at a minimum. Upon this, scholars generally agree. What the interpreter might ask, then, is what structure of the genre, if any, maintains the coherence and cohesiveness of the discourse? In part, Phil 3:1b—an epistolary hesitation formula—is that structural device. In addition, the three exhortations in 2:28-3:1 play an important part in the broader paraenetic structure of the letter. They represent positive exhortations which are followed by negative warnings in 3:2. Seen together, the hesitation formula and positive–negative exhortations help explain the transition from Paul’s commendations of Timothy and Epaphroditus to his polemic and self-appraisal in 3:2ff.

FINAL REQUESTS/PETITIONS (4:2-9)

Until now, Paul’s petitions/requests have followed on the heels of various kinds of exposition and narrative: 1:27-30 follows (is occasioned by) personal disclosure in 1:12-26; 2:1-5 follows personal disclosure in 1:12-26; 2:12-18 follows the ‘story’ of Christ in 2:6-11; 2:29-3:2 follows commendations in 2:19-30; 3:15-17 follows comparison/contrast with ‘enemies’ in 3:3-14 (esp. vv 12-14); 4:1 follows comparison/contrast with ‘enemies’ in 3:18-21.² In 4:2-9, Paul again turns to make further requests/petitions of the Philipians; here, however, he employs conventional epistolary language, viz. παρακαλῶ and ἐρωτῶ verbs, in order to introduce a new topic in the discourse.³

¹Lemke, ‘Text Structure’, p. 168.

²Mullins (‘Formulas’, pp. 386-87) has shown that epistolary petitions are not restricted to one portion of a letter.

³Schenk (*Philippenerbriefe*, pp. 256-59), in arguing that the imperatives in 4:1-3 belong together as the concluding ‘you-imperatives’ of Letter C (3:2-21), fails to recognise the epistolary break at 4:2. This failure to account for epistolary elements is somewhat characteristic of his entire analysis, which is surprising in that he claims to be doing a ‘textlinguistic’ analysis—an approach which is keenly interested in the linguistic structure of genres/register as a feature of discourse structure.

Whereas in his other petitions Paul employs discourse particles with imperatives to set off the unit (1:27 μόνον... πολιτεύεσθε...; 2:1-2 οὖν... πληρώσατε...; 2:12 ὥστε... κατεργάζεσθε...; 2:29 προσδέχεσθε οὖν...; 3:15 οὖν... φρονῶμεν; 4:1 ὥστε... στήκετε),¹ here he need only use the παρακαλῶ and ἐρωτῶ verbs in order to mark a topical development in the discourse, because the generic conventions themselves act as ORGANIC TIES. The verbs παρακαλῶ and ἐρωτῶ are often found in epistolary petitions.² Thus, their appearance in Paul's letter would invoke MENTAL SCRIPTS of petition from many of his readers. The remaining petitions in this section have the following structure: (i) vv 4-6 several petitions strung together with only one connecting particle ἀλλά (the rest by asyndeton); (ii) v 7 'peace' wish connected with καί; (iii) vv 8-9a two closing petitions joined together with no connecting particles (asyndeton) but linked to the preceding petitions with τὸ λοιπόν ('lastly' or 'therefore');³ and (iv) v 9b final 'peace' wish connected with καί.

Epistolary petitions typically contain three basic elements: (i) *background* information which created a setting for the request; (ii) *petition verb*; and (iii) *desired action* to be carried out by the recipient (e.g. legal requests, business matters, family instructions).⁴ Just as in the papyri it is clear that Paul the letter writer made good use of petition formulas so as to persuade his readers to some course of action.⁵ Of the four verbs of epistolary petitions—ἀξιοῦν, δεῖσθαι, ἐρωτᾶν, and παρακαλεῖν (all sharing a basic function of 'to ask, request, beseech')⁶—the fourth type, when it is used in the context of petition, occurs 14 times in the first person singular in the Pauline letters (Rom 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor 1:10; 4:16; 16:15; 2 Cor 2:8; 10:1; Phil 4:2 [2x]; Phlm 9, 10; cf. Eph 4:1; 1 Tim 2:1) and five times in the first person plural (2 Cor 6:1; 1 Thess 4:1, 10; 5:14; 2 Thess 3:12). These follow a basic structure: (i) person(s) addressed, e.g. ὑμᾶς; (ii) παρακαλῶ verb; (iii) vocative ἀδελφοί; and (iv) desired action.⁷ Paul sometimes adds a modifying prepositional phrase to indicate the intermediate agency of his command, e.g. διὰ τοῦ κυρίου (see Rom 12:1; 15:30; 1 Cor 1:10; 2 Cor 10:1; Phil 4:2?; cf. Eph 4:1; 1 Tim 2:1). The third type of petition verb, ἐρωτῶ, occurs in Phil 4:3; 1 Thess 4:1; 5:12; 2 Thess 2:1.⁸

¹Schoon-Janßen (*Apologien*, p. 143) tentatively suggests that Paul's use of imperatives may be influenced by the diatribe style; however, the abundance of imperatives in documentary and private letters suggests that the diatribe style need not be appealed to in order to explain the presence of epistolary petitions in the letter's structure.

²See esp. Bjerkelund, *PARAKALO*; Mullins, 'Petition', pp. 46-54; and Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 24, who notes that παρακαλῶ expressions are found not only in "letters of request" but "paraenetic letters".

³τὸ λοιπόν is perhaps used here as it is in 3:1 to indicate a final exhortation(s) in a set of related exhortations. Accordingly, τὸ λοιπόν here is a connecting device limited to an immediate context (viz. the present set of exhortations), rather than a device used in relation to the entire discourse (e.g. 'this is my final thing to say') as some single-letter theorists have argued (e.g. Haupt, *Briefe*, p. 100).

⁴Mullins, 'Petition', p. 46. This structure is true of both private and official correspondence.

⁵For additional examples see Mullins, 'Petition', pp. 53-54. He distinguishes between familiar and personal petitions, placing Phil 4:3 in the former and 4:2 in the latter category. According to my scheme, family formulas are a subtype of personal ones.

⁶Mullins ('Petition', p. 47) notes that this order indicates 'their increasing degree of personal concern'.

⁷The vocative is also an optional element of epistolary petitions; so also a courtesy phrase is found in some petitions (εἰς σοῦ τῆ τύχῃ δώξῃ), but not in Paul (see Mullins, 'Petition', pp. 46-47). The courtesy phrase is virtually abandoned in personal letters (p. 48). Paul's second petition, which employs an expanded vocative address γνήσιε σύζυγε, resembles other expanded addresses in the papyri; see Mullins, 'Petition', pp. 48-49, and BGU 8.1871.6-7 (56-57 BCE) διὸ παρακαλῶ... ἀδελφε; SB 4.7335.3-5 (117-38 CE) ἀσπάζομαι σε ἡδιστ[α, γ]λυκύτατε Σαραπίων, καὶ παρακαλῶ σε; P.Oxy. 3.486.33 (131 CE) παρακαλῶ σε, ἡγεμῶν κύριε; P.Brem. 1.15.18 (II CE) παρακαλῶ σε οὖν, κύριε.

⁸Mullins ('Petition', p. 48) claims that this verb 'has an air of familiarity to it, as if the one who is petitioning were of equal social standing with the petitioned official'; this, however, is difficult to substantiate when applied to specific texts.

ἐρωτῶ petitions are also more rare in the papyri (by about a 2:1 ratio), but they are far more prevalent around Paul's time (first century CE) than παρακαλῶ expressions. Paul uses a combination of both verbs in a petition only in Phil 4:2-3 and 1 Thess 4:1, but in the former each verb occurs in its own petition (v 2 Εὐδοκίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ... v 3 ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ...) whereas in the latter they appear in the same petition (ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν...). This latter type is paralleled in P.Oxy. 2.294.28-30 (22 CE) ἐρωτῶ δὲ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ γράψαι {[γρα]ψει} μοι ἀντιφώνησιν περὶ τῶν γενομένων [ων] 'I ask and beseech you to write me a response concerning the present matters.'¹ As in Phil 4:2, the author of SB 1.3939.18-25 (?) identifies the two people whom he petitions, asking them to send a letter upon the arrival of his son: παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς Τατριφοῦτε καὶ Κεφαλαῖς, εἰάν {ηαν} ἔλθῃ Δίδυμος...ὁ υἱός μου, ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι {αποστειλαι} ἐπιστολήν. So also Paul names two of the individuals he petitions, exhorting Euodia and Syntyche τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ. The predominance of φρονέω language in Philippians has been repeatedly noted by modern readers (Phil 1:7; 2:2, 5; 3:15, 19; 4:2, 10); here I would simply add that φρονέω verbs combined with adverbs such as ἄλλως are used in epistolary literature to define interpersonal relationships (e.g. friendship ties). For example, in P.Oxy. 31.2594.4-8 (II CE) the author describes a problem in his relationship with the recipient: 'When I saw you, I told you what to do about the maids, but you think that I have other feelings about you (ἄλλως περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν) and that I was not advising you as a friend (οὐ φιλῶν σε συνβούεον), although I have suffered from them.'² To 'think otherwise' is to be in discord with another; to 'think the same' is to be in conformity.³ And to think of one's friend meant that you were maintaining friendship ties.⁴ Paul similarly employs lexical items meaning 'same, differently, otherwise' with the verb φρονέω (2:2 [2x]; 3:15; 4:2) so as to encourage unity in relationships. Paul's second request (4:3) that someone dear to him (viz. the two women) be taken care of is paralleled in P.Oxy. 4.744.6-7 (2 BCE) ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιμελήθ<ητ>ι {επιμεληθι} τῷ παιδίῳ 'I ask and beseech you that you be concerned about the child'. As in the previous letter, Paul may be requesting material aid, not spiritual counsel, for the two women.⁵ He is trying to ensure that the Philippians provide for his gospel-team (they ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι). Even more similar to Paul's two petitions are those in P.Mich. 8.487.6-12 (II CE), in which the author first makes a request for information (ἀλλὰ νῦν παρ[α]καλῶ δῆλόν μοι ποιήσης {ποιησις} ἀγωνιῶντι τί πράσσεις {πρασσις}) and then further asks that the recipient 'assist' (or 'receive') the person commended (ἔπεμψα Ἐρωτα τὸν

¹For use of both verbs in the same petition see also P.Oxy. 4.744.6 (2 BCE); SB 5.7600.4 (16 CE); P.Col. 8.215.8-9, 21 (c. 100 CE); P.Strass. 5.344.frB.5-6 (I-II CE); P.Wuerzb. 1.21.frA.18-19 (II CE); P.Oslo. 2.60.7-8 (II CE).

²Cf. BGU 6.1443.4-6 (247-46 BCE) Ἀκεσάνδρου δὲ τὰμὰ φρονούντος καὶ τὰμὰ νοο[ῦν]τος εἰσοίσειν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἴδια ὅσα ὑπάρχε[ι] Φιλωτέραι; P.Wisc. 2.84.17-19 (II BCE) [ὁ]φέλης τὰ ἀν[θ]ρ[ώ]πινα φρονεῖν ἐξαιρέτως {εξερετως} ἐν τοιούτῳ; P.Ness. 3.29.6 (590 CE) ἕτερα φρονεῖν.

³Cf. P.Ryl. 4.624.18-19 (III CE) τῶν ἄλλω[ν] τῶ[ν] ἄλλως φρονούντων μικρὸν φρονεῖν '[he taught us] to think little of those who think otherwise'. This word does not have to do with 'thinking' for the sake of thinking (i.e. philosophical reasoning); so Zahn (*Introduction*, p. 537) correctly notes that it 'always denotes agreement for the accomplishment of practical aims'.

⁴E.g. P.Brem. 1.11.33-34 (II CE) ἵνα ὅτι ποτὲ φρονεῖς ἀντιγράψης '...in order that you write back to us because at some time you thought (of us)'.

⁵Zahn, *Introduction*, p. 537; so Kim (*Recommendation*, pp. 128-29) takes Phil 4:2-3 to be a commendation formula. Kim (*Recommendation*, p. 122 n. 8), accordingly, adopts a multiple-letter theory because 4:2-3 'fits very well into the usual order of Pauline letters without the section of thanks (4:10-20)'. Paul's petitions (esp. in [undisputed sections of] Philippians), in response, are not limited to the final section of the letter, nor are those of the papyri.

ἡμέτε[ρο]ν. διὸ ἐρωτῶ συνλαβοῦ αὐτῶ ὅπως...¹ Similarly, Paul requests his unknown recipient in 4:2 to *assist* (συλλαμβάνου) his gospel-compatriots Euodia and Syntyche.² Two other features of Paul's petitions deserve mention. Firstly, more than one petition could be used in the same letter, as in the previously mentioned P.Oxy. 4.744 (2 BCE) which contains another request in line 13.³ Paul similarly makes multiple petitions in his letter. Secondly, Paul's petition in 4:6 that the Philippians should not worry (μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε) parallels similar epistolary requests of recipients not to worry: P.Oxy. 4.744.14 (1 BCE) ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς 'I ask that you not be distressed'.⁴ Paul's petition is not a timeless, theological exhortation but one occasioned by the threatening circumstances facing the Philippians.

One aspect of Paul's final set of petitions is said to point to the hand of a redactor. The 'peace of God' and 'God of peace' benedictions in vv 7 and 9,⁵ typically found at the end of Paul's letters, signal the close of an originally separate letter (probably letter B).⁶ In response, it should first be noted that Paul's two 'peace' expressions in 4:7, 9 are slightly different: v 7 ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ (only here in Paul) and v 9 ὁ θεός τῆς εἰρήνης (cf. Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 5:23; cf. 1 Cor 14:33). Only v 9 is precisely paralleled in Paul's other letters. Gal 6:16, also cited as a closing benediction by scholars, is quite different in form from both: εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτούς... 'peace upon them...'; if this is treated as a form of the 'peace' wish then Rom 2:10, which is obviously not at the end of the letter, should also count as evidence (in this case contrary to the multiple-letter view, though its different form and function does not provide a strict parallel with Phil 4:9, 7). In addition, it should be noted that 1 Cor 14:33, although not a 'peace' wish, is a case where the phrase ὁ θεός εἰρήνης is *not* used at the end of a letter. Secondly, if chap. 16 of Romans is part of the original letter, then the 'peace' (and 'hope' and 'joy') wish of Rom 15:33 falls a considerable distance away from the end of the letter. Thirdly, the peace wish of 1 Thess 5:23 is not at the immediate end of the letter, followed both by an exhortation to pray and closing greetings. In the letter to the Philippians, the 'peace' wish is followed by two epistolary sections—acknowledgement of receipt of gift and closing greetings. Of

¹For examples of both verbs used individually in separate petitions see SB 6.9122.3-10 (I CE) and the fragmented P.Strass. 5.344.frA.3-6 (I-II CE). Many petitions had to do with the care of people (e.g. recommendations); but they could also be used to request goods (e.g. P.Mich. 8.503.14 [II CE] in which the letter writer requests that three cows be sent to him).

²Cf. P.Mich. 8.485.9 (II CE), in which the letter writer urges the recipient to act on his behalf as a mediator between disputing parties: παρακαλῶ σε, ἄδελφε, ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πάλ[ι]ν γενέσθαι καὶ προτρέψασθαι τὸν Οὐ[λ]έρι[ον] γράψαι τῶι Πείωι... ἵνα πάντοθεν ἢς ο[ὐ] μὴ [μό]νον βοηθὸς τοῦ πράγματος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης, υἱὸν πατρὶ χαρ[ι]ζόμεν[ο]ς 'I beseech you, brother, on my behalf to urge Valerius to write to Pius...so that in every way you may not only be a helper in the affair but a good pilot, restoring a son to his father.' Paul's petition that Euodia and Syntyche 'think the same' may imply that the two were disputing over some matter and, thus, he requests γνήσιε σύζυγε to help in the resolution of this problem; but if the exhortation to his 'yokefellow' is rather one of assistance (a commendation, see above on 2:19-3:1) then no discord may be implied but instead Paul may be simply exhorting them to be united in their work on behalf of the gospel.

³Cf. the three uses of ἐρωτῶ in P.Mich. 8.465. 23, 29, 35 (107 CE). In the first ἐρωτῶ request, the letter writer requests that the recipients be ἰλαρῶς because he is in a good place. An appeal (not using a request verb; so also many of Paul's requests) is then made for linens to be sent. Then a second ἐρωτῶ request is made in which the recipients are asked to grieve not 'my lady Julia' (apparently by telling her that the letter writer is not doing well). In the third ἐρωτῶ request, the recipients are asked to send news about their welfare. See also P.Mich. 3.201 (99 CE), in which occur five loosely connected requests.

⁴Cf. P.Oxy. 8.1154.6-7 (I CE) μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ; P.Oxy. 3.530.21.22 (II CE) μὴ ἀγωνία δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν; SB 16.12591.4-5 (III CE) μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς {αγωνισῃς} περὶ τούτου {τουτο}.

⁵Weima (*Endings*, p. 99) suggests that the origin of this formula is probably not Jewish liturgy but Semitic epistolary closings, in which the farewell includes a wish for peace.

⁶Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 244.

course, the acknowledgement of receipt comprises a more lengthy section; but the point is that in terms of topical discussions, the 'peace' wish in Phil 4:9 is followed by two coherent units which *may* be treated as closing sections of the letter. Fourthly, Rom 15:13 ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρῶσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν, which is also a form of the 'peace' wish (e.g. it uses the optative), is not at the end of the letter.¹ Similarly, the presence of the peace wish in Philipians is not far removed from the end of the letter.² Lastly, T. Y. Mullins, in arguing for a LXX and synagogue worship background for Paul's expressions, classifies the following cases as a form of the benediction which are *not* restricted to the opening or closing sections of letters: Rom 15:33; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9; 2 Thess 2:16, 17; Rom 15:5, 6, 13; 1 Thess 3:11; 5:23; 2 Thess 3:5, 16.³ If we use Mullins' classification, then, the location of Phil 4:7 and 9 are not unusual.

In sum, Paul employs epistolary terminology to begin his last set of petitions to the Philipians. As Mullins notes, 'Combinations of ἐρωτᾶν and παρακαλεῖν... become numerous in Private Petitions'.⁴ Paul's petitions show several areas of overlap with such personal petitions in the papyri; for example, his first two petitions are personal in nature, requesting that certain individuals be taken care of. However, Paul's petitions on the whole deal with ethical matters rather than business and personal ones (as most papyri), using mostly religious language to move his readers to action: v 3 ἐν βίβλῳ; v 4 χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ; v 5 ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς; v 6 prayer terminology. Furthermore, his two sets of

¹For a comprehensive treatment of Pauline benedictions see Weima, *Endings*, pp. 78-103. Weima (*Endings*, p. 89) does not treat Rom 15:13 as a type of 'peace' benediction—he classifies it under the heading 'other benedictions'—even though it has his four basic elements (introductory element; wish, divine source; recipient). He allows for grammatical differences in the form (e.g. 'God of peace' and 'peace of God') but sees no functional difference between these since 'peace may be said to be the wish in each' (p. 88). Peace, however, is also part of the wish of Rom 15:13, even though grammatically it does not directly modify θεός. Thus, if Gal 6:16 is treated as a 'peace' wish (so Weima; Schenk), then Rom 15:13 should also be treated as a type of 'peace' wish. See also Jewett, 'Form', pp. 25-27, who treats Rom 15:13 (and 15:5-6) as a 'homiletical' benediction.

²Weima (*Endings*, pp. 191-94), although he takes Phil 4:9 as a closing peace benediction, is not forced to conclude that Phil 4:10-20 is a separate letter (so Schenk) since he takes 4:8-23 in its entirety as the closing. In other words, he defines what constitutes a closing and then reads Phil 4:9 into that; in contrast, Schenk also defines what constitutes a closing element (including the 'peace' expression) but excludes Phil 4:9 from it. Weima's analysis does not support a single-letter theory, however, since his use of the term 'closing' is not an ancient formula but a modern designation of elements that occur towards the end of epistolary discourse; thus, his label of 4:8-23 as a 'closing' is arbitrary (i.e. *he* determines what constitutes a closing element)—Philipians does not neatly fit Weima's schema of Paul's closings (peace benediction; hortatory section [can also come before a peace benediction]; greetings [closing greetings; kiss greeting; autograph]; grace benediction), so it should not be used prescriptively with respect to at least Philipians (p. 154). (In addition, Weima's outline fails to connect the final petitions in 4:8-9 with the preceding petitions, which also represent petitions that may appear at the end of letters. He also surprisingly fails to note the peace wish in Phil 4:7.) The term 'closing' is better defined as a spatial location in letters which contain certain epistolary formulas (see Appendix B). Schenk's analysis is equally arbitrary since he determines what may constitute a true closing with no epistolary evidence (even Paul's letters can be used to counter his claim; so above); on this issue see also the discussion below on the 'joy' expression. In any event, epistolary closings, i.e. spatial locations at the end of letters, show much flexibility as to what might appear there; firm conclusions regarding the integrity of Philipians should not be based on supposed 'closing' elements.

³Mullins, 'Benedictions', p. 63. His comparison of these with LXX benedictions (e.g. 2 Kgs [2 Sam] 24:23) is more convincing than his argument that Paul's salutations and closings also parallel LXX benedictions, since the former is based on more clear formal evidence (e.g. use of a verb [future or optative]). However, the evidence is not overwhelming. Notably, Mullins treats Phil 4:7 as a 'closing type' of benediction but says nothing about its relevance for a multiple-letter theory; apparently, this is because he does not believe that a 'closing type' of benediction is limited to the immediate end of a discourse—he also treats 2 Tim 1:16 as a 'closing type'.

⁴Mullins, 'Petition', p. 49.

petitions end with particularly Christian blessings/promises: v 7 ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ...φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας...καὶ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ and v 9 ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν. Paul again has reworked social conventions for his own ideological goals.

EXPRESSION OF JOY FOR RECEIPT OF GIFT (4:10-20)¹

Phil 4:10-20 is a combination of two closely related epistolary conventions: expression of gratitude and acknowledgement of receiving gifts. J. L. White makes cursory reference to the joy expression in Phil 4:10,² but G. W. Peterman provides the most thorough discussion of this section in its socio-literary context.³ Regarding epistolary convention, White identifies five parts to expressions of 'joy':⁴ (i) the verb χαίρω in the aorist tense⁵ or the noun χάρις in the accusative case as the object of the verb ἔχω; (ii) an adverb of magnitude (πολλήν, μεγάλως, λίαν); (iii) a statement regarding either the arrival of a letter or other forms of news; (iv) that which has been heard, introduced by ὅτι; and (v) the vocative.⁶ As White notes, these expressions of joy are typically occasioned by news which the letter writer has received about a distant friend or family member; hence, these and other expressions of writing/receiving letters are characteristic of personal letters.⁷ Phil 4:10 does *not* contain an explicit reference to a letter received but only Paul's statement of rejoicing 'because now at last you have revived⁸ again to think⁹ about me, on the basis of the fact that you did indeed think (about me) beforehand¹⁰ but did not have occasion (to send assistance)' ὅτι ἤδη ποτὲ ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε, ἡκαίρεισθε δέ. However, if it is remembered that the verb for 'to think' often implies the sending of gifts/letters, then 4:10 at least has to do with the re-establishing of relationships (at least in the form of a gift, which probably would have been delivered with a letter or oral message).¹¹ Indeed, some 'joy' expressions do not mention the receipt of a letter but

¹If this section actually represents part of an originally separate letter, then it is possible that v 20 was added (*ex nihilo* or from another letter) during the process of redaction. If, however, this section is part of the original whole, then v 20 naturally follows from v 19 as part of the entire section.

²So also Weima, *Endings*, p. 191.

³White, 'Introductory Formulae', pp. 94-96, and Peterman, "'Thankless Thanks'", 261-70. Contrast Mullins, 'Formulas', pp. 384-85, who is not convinced that this is a true epistolary formula because 'some sort of repeated pattern must be exhibited' (p. 385).

⁴'Gratitude' may be a better description of this formula in Phil 4:10, since Paul does not seem to be simply joyful over the gift but thankful for it.

⁵This is the typical construction; however, Paul's use of the present tense χαίρω in 1 Cor 16:17 as an expression of joy for the arrival of a person parallels some of the following 'joy' expressions which use the aorist tense.

⁶White, 'Introductory Formulae', pp. 95-96; he cites Phlm 7; Phil 4:10; P.Giss. 21.3-4 (II CE); P.Eleph. 13.2-3 (III BCE); P.Lond. 42.7ff. (168 BCE); P.Lond. 43.3-4 (II BCE); and P.Mich 483.3ff. (Reign of Hadrian) as examples. Mullins ('Formulas', p. 385) rebuts that such expressions are not epistolary formulas on the grounds that 'reference to the contents of a letter and a response to it is not in itself an epistolary form. Some sort of repeated pattern must be exhibited.' White's examples and those which I cite at least demonstrate that expressions of joy (using similar forms and having similar functions) are common when separated individuals received notice of one another (through a gift, letter, or oral messages), whether or not one wants to call these formulaic. For other treatments of 'joy' expressions see Koskenniemi, *Studien*, pp. 75-77, and Weima, *Endings*, pp. 149-50.

⁷White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 304.

⁸As BAGD s.v. ἀναθάλλω note, Phil 4:10 may include the factitive 'cause to revive'; the cause would be, then, the sending of the gift and news.

⁹'Think' is only a rough equivalent of what in Greek conveyed also the senses of concern and recollection.

¹⁰The imperfect tense indicates a remote (or past time) reference, warranting a translation here with a past time English verb.

¹¹P.Brem. 1.11.33-34 (II CE) ἵνα ὅτι ποτὲ φρονεῖς ἀντιγράψης '...in order that you write back to us because at some time you thought (of us)'. A letter could specify what the separated persons were thinking

only imply the receiving of news,¹ though admittedly most make some sort of explicit reference to a letter or the 'hearing' of news. In P.Oxy. 47.3356.10-13 (76 CE), the letter writer is joyful upon reading a letter about the recipient's excellent health: *ἐχάρην δὲ μεγάλως δ[ι]αναγνούς σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἣ σε ἐρρωμενέστατον ἐπ[έ]γνων* 'I was very glad reading through your letter, in which I learned of your very good health'.² Often the letter writer's joy is based primarily upon the fact that the receipt of a letter helps maintain personal relationships with distant confidants. However, the person's 'joy' is not always due to information about the recipient's good health;³ it may be occasioned by the general good standing of the recipient.⁴ For example, in P.Yale 1.42.10-11 (229 BCE) the letter writer is glad because he has been told by Protolaos (letter carrier?) about the current situation of the recipient: *Πρωτολάου δὲ ἀπαγγείλαντος ἡμῖν τὰ κατὰ σε, λῖαν ἐχά[ρην]*.⁵ Similarly, Paul is glad because he has been reassured of the Philipians' concern for him;⁶ they are maintaining friendship ties. As Peterman notes, the epistolary 'joy' formula 'serves to confirm the bond between the parties'.⁷

White's analysis of joy expressions falls under his study of *introductory* formulae in Paul's letters and, thus, might suggest that Phil 4:10 begins an originally separate letter (letter A). So White asserts, 'Since expressions of joy usually introduce the body of the letter, the presence of such a formula in Phil 4:10 supports Robert Funk's proposal that "this may...be an independent letter, now truncated"'.⁸ Schenk, in support of his partition theory, also argues that Phil 4:10-20 has a form of an epistolary opening similar to that of

about one another; e.g. P.Phil. 1.33.17-19 (II CE) *ὅπως ἀναγνοῖς αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστόλιον (ἐπιστολεῖον) τοῦτο, ἵν' εἰδῇ τί φρονῶ* '...so that you might read this letter to him in order that he may know what I am thinking'. See above under Final Petitions for discussion of φρονέω language in letters.

¹E.g. P.Wisc. 2.73.3-6 (II CE) *ὡς ὁ κάλλιστος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Φαβάνων σοι γράφει ἀδρῶς ἐχάρημεν καὶ ἑορτὴν (εωρτην) ἤξαμεν λαβόντες σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον* (these letter writers are joyous because of the correspondence between two other people and they are 'having a feast' because they had received their own letter from the recipient); PSI 8.971.14-17 (III-IV CE) *ἐχάρ[η]ν δὲ πάνυ ὅτι ὁ φίλος [σ]ου αὐθις τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἀνεπλήρωσεν* 'I am glad that your friend paid back? (or completely planted?) his land again' (this statement is made only later in the letter which earlier mentioned the receipt of a letter); P.Fouad. 1.80.frA.9-10 (IV CE) *ἀκούσαντες γὰρ περὶ τῆς νίκης Εὐδαίμονο[ς] τοῦ μικροῦ ποσῶς (πασως) ποτε ἐχάρημεν*; P.Ross.Georg. 3.9.10-11 (IV CE) *ἐμαρτύρησάν μοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ αὐτοῖς σπουδασθέντα, καὶ πάνυ ἐχάρην*.

²Cf. P.Cair.Zen. 4.59580.4 (III BCE) *ὕγαινετε ἐχάρη[μεν]*; SB 3.6823.3-7 (41-54 CE) *πρὸ...πάντων ἐχάρην μεγάλως λαβὼν σου [ἐ]πιστολήν, ὅτι ὕγαινεῖς (υγειαινεις) καὶ ὅτι τὴν σύνβιον σου καὶ τὸ [τέ]κνον εὖρες ἰσχύοντας (ισχυοντες)*; P.Col. 8.215.7-8 (100 CE) *ἐχάρην δὲ ἀκούσασ[α] ὅτι κομπῶς (κωμσως) ἔσχηκας (εσχηκος)*; P.Mich. 8.495.11-12 (II CE) *μεγάλως ἐχάρην περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας (σωτηρισας) τῶν...*; P.Hamb. 1.88.3-5 (II CE) *ἐχάρην λαβὼν σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον καλῆς φάσεως, ὅτι ἐγαίσησας (εγαισησες) καὶ ὅτι ἀσθενήσας (α) ἐσώθη<ς> (εσωθη)*; P.Sarap. 1.95.3-4 (II CE) *ἐχάρη(ν) λαβὼν σου ἐπιστολήν ὡς ὕγαινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοπος γεγονώς*; PSI 7.837.3-4 (III-IV CE) *ἐκομισάμην σου γράμματα καὶ [ἐ]χάρην ὅτι ὀλοκληρεῖς (ολοκληρις)*; cf. BGU 14.2418.2-10 (II BCE).

³E.g. SB 14.12177.3-4 (III CE) *κομισάμενοί σου γράμματα σήμερον ἢ (ητις) ἐστὶν λῖαν (λειαν) ἐχάρημεν*.

⁴E.g. P.Laur. 2.41.8-9 (III CE) *ἀκούσας παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας σου πάνυ...ἐχάρην* 'hearing from him that you are at home, I was very glad'.

⁵Cf. P.Mich.Michael 23.3-4 (51-65 CE) *ἐχάρην λῖαν ἀκούσας ὅ[τι] ἐλύθης...that you were released (from prison?)*; P.Yale 1.80.6 (II CE) *ἐγὼ (καγω) ἐχάρην πόλλα ἀκούσας ὅτι ἦκει (ηκι) εἰς Τεπτῦν*; P.Mich. 8.474.2 (II CE) *[παρ]εγένου* (a genitive absolute probably referring to the travel of the recipient) *ε[ἰ]ς Ἀλεξάνδρ[ει]αν λῖαν ἐχάρην [μ]ετὰ [τῶ]ν ἐμ[ῶ]ν πάντων*.

⁶Phil 4:11-18 makes it clear that his joy is partly in response to a gift (of assistance) sent by the Philipians through Epaphroditus; cf. P.Oxy. 14.1676.4-6 (III CE), in which the letter writer is joyous over the receipt of a letter, which apparently was accompanied by a sword (which had probably been requested): *ἐχάρην μεγάλως κομισάμενός σου ἐπιστολήν, δόντος μοι αὐτὴν τοῦ μαχαιρᾶ*.

⁷Peterman, "Thankless Thanks", p. 269.

⁸White, 'Introductory Formulae', p. 95, citing Funk, *Language*, p. 272; cf. White, 'Epistolary Literature', pp. 1749-50.

Philemon (v 7).¹ Rather than the supposed shift in 'tone and mood' at the beginning of chap. 3, this argument is the strongest formal internal evidence for a multiple-letter theory.² It is, nevertheless, open to cross-examination at several points. Firstly, 'joy' expressions are typically used in brief letters where by nature they would appear towards the beginning of a letter; therefore, it is difficult to compare them to Paul's more lengthy letter here. Secondly, some 'joy' expressions do *not* occur at the beginning of a letter. For example, in P.Mich. 8.473.26-27 (II CE) ἐχάρην ὅλως [ὅτι] ἔζηκε[ν], the expression of 'joy' (which amounts to gratitude due to the recovery of a sick person) comes near the end of a relatively long letter and is followed by a brief thanksgiving, indirect petition, and closing greetings.³ In the same letter, the letter writer uses a 'joy' expression mixed with a prayer formula at the beginning: (lines 4-5) ἐχά[ρ]η<ν> π[ῶς] ἔπεμψάς μ[ο]υ τὸν υἱὸν ἕως αὐτὸν (the god?) προσκυνήσω. Thus, it was probably not obligatory for 'joy' expressions to appear at the beginning of a letter; nevertheless, it would be expected that they gravitate towards the beginning and closing sections of letters due to their 'maintenance of contact' function.⁴ Indeed, Paul's use of it at the end of Philippians would correspond well with the 'maintenance of contact' function of the closing (and opening) sections of letters. Therefore, Mullins' statement that 'expressions of joy...might occur anywhere in the letter' is confirmed by *some* evidence and, hence, he is correct to caution against the use of 'joy' expressions (and most of White's supposed 'introductory formulae') to support a multiple-letter theory.⁵ Lastly, to prescribe when Paul's letters

¹Schenk, *Philippbriefe*, pp. 57-61; Schenk does not treat the epistolary evidence, unfortunately focusing on the Pauline letters (as if these assume a rigid structure), but he is apparently aware of it in 'Der Philippbrief oder Die Philippbriefe', p. 125. Koperski ('Textlinguistics', pp. 337-38), in criticising Schenk for failing to note that χαρ- words appear throughout the letter, fails herself to see the most cogent part of the argument with respect to 4:10, viz. the linguistic 'form' of 4:10 resembles other epistolary formulas (not simply the semantics of 'joy') which regularly appear towards the beginning of letters. Although some counter-examples exist, the burden of proof would seem to rest on those who would argue that 4:10 'coherently' fits into an epistolary scheme.

²Black ('Discourse Structure', p. 47 n. 50), because he fails to treat the epistolary structure of the letter vis-à-vis actual epistolary convention, overlooks the weight of White's and Schenk's argument, claiming instead that 'there are no compelling reasons to isolate 4:10-20 as an independent letter of thanks or to presuppose a different rhetorical situation from that of the rest of the epistle'; indeed, he shows no awareness of their formal evidence and yet claims, against all other rhetorical analyses of the letter, that 4:10-20 is a concluding *narratio*!

³Cf. P.Mich. 8.482.22-24 (133 CE) μὴ ὀκ[νή]σης γράφων ἐπιστολάς, ἐπεὶ {ἐπι} ἐχάρην λίαν λίαν ὡς σου παραγεναμένου (παραγεναμενος) 'do not hesitate writing letters, since I am exceedingly glad that (in doing so) you are present; cf. P.Brem. 1.59-9-10 (II CE), in which the 'joy' expression immediately precedes closing greetings, although the letter is so brief that it is near the beginning as well. Indeed, Pland. 6.111.22-25 (c. 200 CE) ἀσπάζεσθε [c. ?] ἐν τῇ[ν ἄ]δελφῆν καὶ Πτολ[λίωνα] ἐχάρ[η]ν δὲ] ἀκούσας ὅτι ἐκ[πέφυγε] τὴν [ἀρρ]ωστίαν Δίδυμος..., in which the 'joy' expression appears between two closing greetings.

⁴In his 'Introductory Formulae' (p. 95), White maintained that 'joy' expressions introduce the body, but in his 'Epistolary Formulae' he suggests that 'such phrases [including astonishment expressions] tend, like the opening and closing greetings, the wish for health, and related phrases, to express the maintenance of contact aspect of letter writing' (p. 296); cf. the almost identical statement in *Light*, p. 201. Weima (*Endings*, p. 150, citing only a quotation from *Light*, p. 201) suggests that White has recanted his former partition view of Philippians ('Introductory Formulae', p. 95; cf. White, 'Epistolary Literature', pp. 1749-50). This is probably a mistaken use of White, however, since White, six years after his 'Epistolary Formulae' article, is still reticent about the function of 4:8-23 in the scheme of the letter, even suggesting that 4:8-9 may have arisen 'from an independent epistolary setting' ('Epistolary Literature', p. 1750 n. 59). White does not appear then to be recanting his earlier view regarding Philippians; rather, he seems to change his view on the epistolary function of 'joy' (and other) expressions, viz. they function as do most formulas in the opening and closing (viz. maintaining contact) rather than as formulas in the body.

⁵Mullins, 'Formulae', pp. 387, 388. Cf. Weima, *Endings*, p. 150, who claims, 'The position of joy expressions at the close of Paul's letters, therefore, is epistolarily proper, and need not give rise to theories of textual corruption.'

must have ended and began based upon the presence of a particular epistolary formula is a hazardous endeavour when it is remembered that ancient letter writers could pick up their stylus and add a postscript even after penning the farewell and date of a letter (e.g. BGU 4.1207.14-20 [28 BCE]).¹ Ancient letter writers such as Paul could decide to add further information to their discourse even if it meant that the resulting structure would not be strictly conventional; indeed, they (like us) are not enslaved to convention when using generic formulas.

The expression of 'joy' is only one epistolary feature of 4:10-20; indeed, it is secondary to the main epistolary function of this section, viz. acknowledgement of receiving goods (financial gift?). 'The sending/receiving of messengers and parcel post (food, clothing, etc.) is also a common epistolary topic.'² The acknowledgement of receiving/sending material goods (e.g. letters; wheat; cloak) was important in antiquity not only because letter carriers (e.g. camel caravans) could not always be trusted but also because such acknowledgement would be a form of thankfulness. In P.Mich. 8.481.5-8 (II CE), the goods sent were accompanied by a letter containing the following statement: κόμισαι παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ ἀποδιδόντος (απαδιδοντος) σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον καλάθιον ἐν ᾧ ὃ ἐὰν εὕρισκεις αὐτὸ ἀντιφράψεις (αντιγραψις) μοι 'Receive a basket from the one delivering the letter to you and respond to me what you have found in it'.³ In addition, for a person not to acknowledge receipt might be an offence to those who had sent it.⁴ Much of Paul's language throughout 4:10-20 parallels the epistolary situation of the sending/receiving of goods/money and concomitant social obligations:⁵ v 14 καλῶς ἐποιήσατε;⁶ v 16 εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε (cf. v 19 χρεῖαν ὑμῶν);⁷ v 18 ἀπέχω;⁸ v 18 δεξάμενος παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν.⁹

¹For discussion and examples see Weima, *Endings*, pp. 52-55.

²White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 304.

³Cf. P.Mich. 8.499.12-14 (II CE); P.Oxy. 2.300.3 (late I CE); P.Oxy. 12.1488.3 (II CE)—cited by White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 305.

⁴Peterman's study ('Thankless Thanks', pp. 261-70) especially reveals the subtleties of social reciprocity in letters.

⁵Kennedy ('Financial', pp. 42-44) similarly suggests that much of Paul's language here, including the phrase εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως in v 15, represents 'a certain financial strain of language'. The historical situation described here recalls that described in 2 Cor 11:8-9.

⁶Similar expressions abound in the papyri; for examples near the time of Paul see P.Fouad. 1.75.3-4 (64 CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστολήν μου ἐξαυτῆς εἰσελθὼν...; P.Berl.Zill. 9.6-7 (68 CE) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσης ἐξαυτῆς ἐλεύση ἐμέ; P.Bon. 1.43.3-4 (I CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις προνοήσας; P.Oxy. 2.299.3-4 (I CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψεις μοι αὐτάς; P.Oxy. 42.3061.8-9 (I CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψας μοι ἐρημοφύλακα σὺν δικλώματι; SB 6.9165.6-9 (I CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις (ποιήσεις) πέμψας μοι τὸν [...]ιον τὸν ὀστράκινον καὶ μελάνιν; PSI 4.391.2-3 (II CE) καλῶς ποιήσεις παραδ[ο]ῦς c.?) Κνίδια τριακονταδύο...; the positive forms contrast with similar epistolary formulas urging responsible behaviour, e.g. μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης, εἰ ἄλλως ποιήσης, and οὐ καλῶς ἐποίησας; see White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 306. For a combination of both see P.Oxy. 4.745.7-8 (c. 1 CE) ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε μὴ ἄλλως ποιῆσαι (ποῆσαι), οἶδα δὲ ὅτι πάντα καλῶς ποιήσεις (ποῆσεις).

⁷Cf. SB 6.9017.10.2-4 (I-II CE) ἔκεμψά σοι τὸ ἔλαιον, εἴ τινος χρεῖαν ἔχῃς, πέμψον φάσιν; P.Phil. 1.4.1.24-25 (137 CE) ἔπεμψα πρὸς σὲ μετὰ καὶ ὧν ἔφασαν χρεῖαν ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους; P.Merl. 2.80.4-6 (II CE) οὐκ ἔπεμψας Σαρακάμμον, εἰδὼ ὅτι χρεῖ(α) (χρη) αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε. On χρεῖα expressions see White, *Light*, p. 207. Part of the same semantic field, though not as frequent in the papyri, are various cognates of ὑστερέω, which Paul employs in 4:11 οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑστερήσιν λέγω. Whether this clause implies real need on Paul's part ('It is not my want [though that is real] which makes me say this') or not ('I do not say this because I am in want [for I am not]')—on this debate see Drummond, 'Note', pp. 284, 381, and Lambert, 'Note', pp. 333-34—his language in v 11 reflects a social context of reciprocity, e.g. P.Merl. 2.83.23-24 (II CE) ἵνα οὐ ἐὰν χρήζης μὴ ὑστερήσης.

⁸Cf. P.Mich. 5.259.31-32 (33 CE) ἀπέχω παρ' αὐτοῦ Χαιρήμωνος τὸ ἐσταμένον ἀργυρικὸν κεφάλαιον (κεφαλεον); P.Kron. 1.48.35-36 (35 CE) ἀπέχω (απεχωι) τὴν τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους; BGU 7.1660.3-5 (41 CE) ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐνοικίου ('house-rent'); BGU 13.2335.8-9 (42-43 CE) ἀπέχω τὴν [πᾶ]σαν τιμὴν; P.I.F.A.O. 1.17.2-3 (54 CE) ἀπέχω τὰς τριάκοντα δύο[ο] [τυ[ο]]

As has become expected of his epistolary style in Philippians, Paul makes use of epistolary convention here so as to convey his own ideology on certain matters: viz. he has learned to rely upon the one who empowers him (ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με) in all situations (v 13). Accordingly, Paul's expression of joy and acknowledgement of receipt has been understood by some as strangely thankless (a *danklösen Dank*).¹ But G. W. Peterman, attentive to the epistolary context of this section, has demonstrated that gratitude is not necessarily required in letters which mention the receipt of goods or other favours (see esp. P.Mert. 1.12 [58 CE]);² Paul's atypical use of convention is to be found elsewhere. Paul's hesitancy to acknowledge his need of their gift in 4:10-20 may be explained by his expressed practice elsewhere (1 Cor 9:1-18; 2 Cor 11:7-10; 1 Thess 2:5-9; 2 Thess 3:7-12); but, as Peterman argues, this need not be understood as unconventional. Peterman's study reveals how Paul, upon receiving the gift from the Philippians (perhaps unsolicited), would have probably felt some social obligation to repay them, i.e. he was now indebted to the Philippians.³ However, rather than state his intention to repay (the 'write to me whatever you have need' formula) Paul bequeaths God with the debt to repay to the Philippians (4:19 'he will fulfil their needs'; cf. v 17).⁴ Paul does not seem to be attacking social conventions of reciprocity per se (e.g. client-patron responsibilities), but he does transfer the obligation of repayment (indeed, a non-monetary payment!) to someone other than himself. In this way, Paul is at least partly circumventing social convention.

Lastly, it is necessary to mention here the study of Pauline epistolary closings by J. A. D. Weima, since it has implications for the integrity debate. Weima's study of the Pauline closings is representative of the often unsubstantiated equation of rhetorical theory and Pauline epistolary convention. Weima, in a very cursory discussion of the relationship between epistolary and rhetorical genres, claims that

Paul adapted the epistolary conventions of his day in writing his letter closings, with a view to having final sections of his letters synthesize the major arguments previously developed in the respective bodies of his letters.⁵

I do not necessarily doubt that cohesive links may occur between the closing sections and the bodies of letters;⁶ however, Weima simplistically attempts to support his conclusion by

δραχμᾶς; P.Mich. 5.335.1.7-8 (56 CE) ἀπέχω παρὰ τοῦ Κρονίου τὴν τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου; P.Oxy. 49.3487.28-29 (65 CE) ἀπέχω τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς τριάκοντα δύο...; P.Aberd. 1.63.3-4 (101 CE) ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐκφόριον ('payment'). Such expressions occur in all sections of letters but tend to gravitate towards the opening or closing; they were especially common in documentary letters which deal with the sale of something (e.g. land) or the receipt of financial payment (e.g. loans); see Weima, *Endings*, p. 124. Paul's use may also imply a sense of debt (so Kennedy, 'Financial', p. 43).

⁹Cf. BGU 1793.3-6 (51-49 BCE?) δεξάμενος παρὰ Πυρρίου τοῦ Σωτέλους τὰ ἐσταμένας τῆς ἐπιβεβαιώσεως; SB 16.12685.27 (139 CE) δεξάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ [τίν]ων; BGU 7.1671.6 (II CE) δέχομαι; P.Harr. 2.1996-7 (222 CE?) ἔθο-ου (εθος) ὄντος κύριε παρὰ σ[οῦ] δέχε[σ]θαι ἡμῖν (ἡμειν).

¹See e.g. Gnllka, *Phillipperbrief*, p. 173.

²Peterman, "Thankless Thanks", pp. 261-70. His epistolary study would also seem to support the view that the phrase δόσεως καὶ λήψεως in v 15 refers to social reciprocity not commercial exchange (see his p. 269 n. 39).

³See esp. P.Oxy. 42.3057.7-9 (I-II CE), cited by Peterman, in which the letter writer asks that he not be overloaded with continual kindnesses because he cannot repay them: οὐ θέλω δὲ σε, ἀδελφε, βαρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχείαι (συνεχεσεσι) φιλανθρωπίαις...οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμείψασθαι. The author then claims to have offered (or perhaps better 'to be presently offering') only feelings of friendship: αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομίζομεν (νομιζομεν) παρεστακέναί σοι; see Peterman, "Thankless Thanks", pp. 266-68. His, like Paul's, is a non-monetary repayment.

⁴Cf. Rom 15:26-27 where κοινωνία can involve both spiritual and material payments. Paul's modification may be based on OT policies of reciprocity (see Deut 14:29; 15:10; 24:19; Prov 19:17).

⁵Weima, *Endings*, p. 26.

⁶Zahn (*Introduction*, p. 564) already made this point with regard to Philippians (1:3-8; 2:17, 25, 30; 4:10-20) at the turn of the century.

appealing to rhetorical convention (see Appendix B). His thesis could have been substantiated by only analysing epistolary literature, but even there the evidence does not provide an inflexible principle of epistolary convention.¹ Furthermore, the attempt to identify an actual 'closing' of a letter is a modern enterprise. Ancient letter writers may have brought their discourse to a close by employing various epistolary conventions (e.g. greetings); but not only do these conventions vary but there is no clear delineation between the so-called body and closing (primarily because they did not exist as conventional forms!).² Thus, for Weima to claim that the closing of Paul's letters performs the role of summarising the body begs the question of what constitutes a closing—a very tricky endeavour since the ancients do not define this so-called 'closing'. Consequently, Weima's attempt to relate 4:10-20 to the preceding text of Philippians (thus demonstrating its literary integrity) can be easily challenged by proposing a different 'closing' in Philippians. For example, Weima's 'hortatory section' (vv 8-9a) and 'joy expression' (vv 10-20), which he treats as part of the letter's closing, are not (as epistolary formulas) restricted to the end of letters; indeed, joy expressions rarely appear at the end of a letter (see above). Accordingly, if vv 8-9a and especially vv 10-20 are not treated as part of a so-called 'closing' (if such a thing actually existed in letters), it would seem difficult to follow Weima's thesis and find 'thematic echoes' in 4:21-23; thus, we have no evidence for a single-letter theory after all. Furthermore, Weima's methodology of what constitutes cohesiveness (and hence literary unity) is methodologically vague. He repeatedly refers to the 'summarising' and 'echoing' functions of the closing without precisely defining what this entails.³ Unless he can claim Pauline intent for these parallels (which is difficult to prove), lexical parallels do not necessarily prove a single-letter theory (see below on Textual Meanings). Therefore, although there are cohesive links between Phil 4:10-23 and other places in the letter (see chap. 5), Weima's thesis that Paul's closings summarise the body and 'echo' previous material is not, in view of the stated problematics, a reliable or adequately proven structural principle to be used in the debate over literary integrity.⁴

In summary, Paul's use of an epistolary expression of 'joy' as well as the many uses of 'receipt' language further point to the personal (i.e. friendly and familial) nature of his letter. In this way Paul is 'conventional'; however, he again modifies epistolary conventions for his own ideological reasons. G. W. Peterman has demonstrated that Paul's adaptation of convention is not to be found in a 'thankless thanks' but in Paul's manner of repaying the Philippians for their gift, viz. God is the one who will take care of

¹He does in part successfully demonstrate this function in epistolary practices (Weima, *Endings*, pp. 55-56, 76), but his thesis has not been demonstrated as a general principle of epistolary 'closing' sections.

²Cf. White, 'Epistolary Literature', p. 1738, who notes: 'Turning to the section of the body that falls between the introductory and concluding parts, we find ourselves on less solid ground; the brevity of most letters prohibiting talk about a "middle".'

³Thus, according to his outline of the closing in Philippians, Weima finds 'echoes' only in the 'hortatory section' and 'joy expression' (Weima, *Endings*, p. 194). In the light of some personal letters, it could reasonably be argued that these two sections of Paul's letter are part of the letter's body (viz. the request/command section of the letter).

⁴His conclusion that 'the fact that the letter closing recalls issues found in all the major sections of Philippians provides strong evidence for the literary unity of the letter' betrays his unawareness of the subtleties of multiple-letter partitions. Schenk, for example, might admit that Phil 4:10-20 parallels features of 2:25 (both historically and thematically), but he bases his partition of 4:10-20 on other formal grounds. Weima's theory does not 'undermine' the validity of partition theories (so he claims on p. 200); it, strictly speaking, only offers one 'unified' reading of the letter—indeed, on some methodologically suspect grounds.

their every need (χρεία) and he is the one to whom praise¹ is to be given (4:19-20).² In addition, Paul steers away from the material worth of their aid and highlights its 'spiritual' worth for them (v 18).³

CLOSING GREETINGS (4:21-22)⁴

Paul (or a redactor) clearly turns to the *close* of the (or *a*) letter with a series of three 'closing' greetings in Phil 4:21-22—a request to greet πάντα ἅγιον and statements of greeting from οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί and πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα...οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας.⁵ In all of his letters, Paul never sends his own greetings in the first person singular; only in Rom 16:22 is the first person singular ἀσπάζομαι found and there Paul's secretary, Tertius, is the subject of the verb. The remaining greetings involve second and third person indicatives and imperatives in which Paul conveys the greetings of others (Rom 16:16, 21-23; 1 Cor 16:19-20; 2 Cor 13:12; Phil 4:21-22; Phlm 23; cf. Col 4:10, 12, 14; 2 Tim 4:21; Titus 3:15) or requests the recipients to greet certain individuals (Rom 16:10-16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; Phil 4:21; 1 Thess 5:26; cf. Col 4:15; 2 Tim 4:19; Titus 3:15).

Although closing greetings are found in most types of letters, they are frequently found in personal letters.⁶ This is in part due to the function of the greeting formula: 'It was essentially one of those gestures which has little intellectual content but which has emotional expression as its main purpose.'⁷ Thus, it would be expected to be located in the opening and closing sections of letters where letter writers especially sought to maintain and establish relationships. Weima rightly notes that the 'greeting was, in fact, one of the key means of expressing "philophronesis"—i.e., the friendly relationship that existed between the sender of the letter and its recipients';⁸ hence, this formula highlights another feature of 'friendship' in Paul's letter. From the first century BCE onwards, closing greetings start to appear more readily in Hellenistic letters—they were also found at the beginning of letters. The sender and/or a third party greets the recipient and/or those with the recipient, typically using some form of the verb ἀσπάζεσθαι (e.g. ἄσπασαι, ἀσπάζεταιται). Mullins identifies four elements of the greeting: (i) the greeting verb; (ii) indication of the person who is to do the greeting; (iii) indication of the person who is being

¹'Praise' may imply gratitude for fulfilled needs, thus suggesting perhaps a parallel between epistolary convention and Paul's so-called doxology. However, it is difficult to substantiate Funk's claim that the so-called doxology or benediction in Paul's letters (Rom 11:36; 16:27; Gal 1:5; Phil 4:20) is a modified epistolary closing used to increase his 'apostolic presence' (*Language*, p. 249). The doxology appears in the opening (Gal 1:5; cf. 1 Tim 1:17), body (Rom 11:36b; cf. Eph 3:20-21), and closing (Rom 16:25-27; cf. 1 Tim 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18) areas of Paul's letters; thus, its use here in Philippians contributes little to the debate over integrity. Weima (*Endings*, p. 140) makes a plausible case that this formula originated in Jewish worship.

²Schoon-Janßen (*Apologien*, p. 144) locates diatribal forms in 4:10-13 and 4:16-17, which may also demonstrate how Paul integrates other generic forms into his letter writing.

³Cf. Hainz, 'KOINONIA', p. 381.

⁴This section has traditionally raised the issue of where Paul may have started penning a personal closing in his own hand. Paul's handwriting has been relegated to e.g. 4:21-23, 4:10-20, or 4:10-23 (Gamble, *Textual History*, pp. 94, 145-46); 3:1-4:23 (Bahr, 'Subscriptions', p. 38); 4:9b-23 (Weima, *Endings*, pp. 191-94). Such conjectures are quite speculative since Paul makes no reference to his 'own hand' and the precise beginning of Paul's 'closing' section in Philippians is difficult to identify; indeed, ancient letters do not always contain clear distinctions between the spatial locations of the body and the closing.

⁵The last greeting presupposes a similar situation to that of Phil 1:13, and so several partition-theories place it with letter B.

⁶Exler, *Form*, p. 116; examples on p. 115.

⁷Mullins, 'Greeting', p. 418; cf. Weima, *Endings*, p. 115.

⁸Cf. Weima, *Endings*, p. 39.

greeted; and (iv) elaborating phrases (e.g. the adverb πολλά; personal descriptions; identifying phrases).¹ The first three are obligatory and are found in Philippians; the fourth is optional, of which two types—personal descriptions and identifying phrases—are also found in Philippians (v 21 πάντα ἅγιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ;² v 21 οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί; v 22 πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα...οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας).³ Paul's modifications are partly religious in nature, viz. the ἅγιοι are being greeted and doing the greeting, though his epistolary style is perhaps most conventional here in his use of closing greeting formulas.⁴ In P.Oxy. 3.200.6-10 (I CE), Indike, after informing the recipient, Thaisous, that a breadbasket has been sent, closes the letter with a twofold greeting. She first commands Thaisous to greet five individuals (ἀσπάζου θέωνα τὸν κύριον καὶ Νικόβουλον καὶ Διόσκορον καὶ θέωνα καὶ Ἑρμοκλῆν) and then informs Thaisous that Longinus greets her (ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λογγεῖνος) before concluding the letter.⁵ Paul follows the same order of greetings, first using the imperative and then the indicative. Why does Paul command the Philippians to greet specific individuals rather than greeting them himself (so the common ἀσπάζομαι greeting)? Mullins argues that second person greetings are

an indirect salutation. The writer of the letter indicates that the addressee is to greet someone for him. In this way, the writer of the letter becomes the principal and the addressee becomes his agent in establishing a communication with a third party who is not intended to be among the immediate readership of the letter.⁶

If this is true in Paul's letter, then he is requesting that either (i) his target recipients greet other Christians (in and around Philippi) or (ii) the Philippian Christians (all of whom are the target recipients of the letter) greet any other Christian they come across (including one another).⁷ The former seems more appropriate in an epistolary context, which would suggest that Paul's letter was originally addressed only to a subgroup of the Christians at Philippi (e.g. particular house-churches who had sent the aid with Epaphroditus). This reading further coheres with the use of the second person singular in 4:3 and Paul's prescript in which he (perhaps) specifies that his recipients are those with 'overseers and deacons' (see above on the Prescript). If this understanding of the second person greeting is correct, then his letter was not intended as a rhetorical tract to be read to all Philippian Christians in a group setting, but may have only conveyed specific requests, information, and gratitude to a small group of Christians there (though it surely would have found its way eventually into worship contexts).

¹Mullins, 'Greeting', pp. 418-419, with examples.

²Phil 1:1 suggests that the prepositional phrase modifies πάντα ἅγιον in 4:21 rather than ἀσπάσαθε; cf. O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 553.

³For many other expansions see Weima, *Endings*, pp. 42-45. See esp. Sel.Pap. 1.119.24-26 (II CE) in which a household (and others) sends greetings: ἀσπάζεται σε Λογγεῖνος καὶ Σαραπίων καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντε[ς].

⁴Indeed Paul's letters provide excellent evidence that at least some of the epistolary formulas from letters found in Egypt circulated in the broader Greco-Roman world as well.

⁵For similar patterns see P.Oxy. 7.1061.24-25 (22 BCE) ἀσπάζου τοὺς σοὺς πάντας. ἀσπάζεται σε Ἀθηναροῦς καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ λοιπά; P.Col. 8.216.6-10 (c. 100 CE) ἀσπάζου τὴν μητέρα σου [καὶ] [...]ιον τὸ[ν] ἀδελφόν σου καὶ πάντας (παντες) τοὺς σοὺς. ἀσπάζεται σε Βίκ[τ]τωρ καὶ...; P.Heid. 3.243.6-9 (I-II CE) ἀσπάζου Βησαρίωνα. ἀσπάζε[ε]ται (ασπαζηται) σε Ἀππιανὴ καὶ Πάρις καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πάντες. For a rare use of the plural verb see P.Oxy. 3.533.27-28 (II-III CE) ἀσπάσαθε τὸν μικρὸν (μεικρον) Σερῆνον καὶ Κοπρέα καὶ το[ὺ]ς ἡμῶν πάντας (ημ αντας) κατ' ὄνομα. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἀμάραντος καὶ Ζμάραγδος.

⁶Mullins, 'Greeting', p. 420.

⁷See Weima, *Endings*, p. 112, who against Gamble's suggestion that this is a kiss greeting (*Textual History*, p. 75 n. 88), states that 'the exhortation can stand on its own as a simple request for the readers to greet one another'.

PAUL'S CLOSING GRACE EXPRESSION (4:23)

To be precise, Phil 4:23 is not an epistolary 'closing', since the term 'closing' is a modern construct not a Greco-Roman epistolary one; instead, it is *Paul's closing grace wish* which functions like other epistolary formulas found near the end of letters, viz. maintaining personal contact and signalling the end of the correspondence.¹ Clearly, Paul's final closing is integral to his letter writing style, being used in all of the uncontested letters (Rom 16:20 [or 16:24]; 1 Cor 16:23; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; 1 Thess 5:28; Phlm 25) as well as the others (Eph 6:24; Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:18; 1 Tim 6:21; 2 Tim 4:22; Titus 3:15; cf. Heb 13:25; Rev 22:21) with slight modifications;² the textual history reveals that this part of Paul's letter was open to later redaction. Paul's closing expression is noticeably similar to the opening salutation, which may perhaps be explained by the use of ῥώννυμι health expressions at the opening and closings of letters.³ Although Paul's closing expressions are not paralleled in Hellenistic letters, especially in the light of his other epistolary modifications delineated above, it is possible that Paul creates his own epistolary closing expression from canonical convention which usually employed a form of the verb ῥώννυμι to end a letter.⁴ Such epistolary formulas are sometimes absent from the 'closing' section of letters—the letter simply ends.⁵ However, many letters employ various epistolary formulas to signal the end of the communicative act—one of these is commonly referred to as the closing 'farewell' (e.g. ἔρρωσο). Although the expressions ἔρρωσο 'be strong' or εὐτύχει (later διευτύχει) 'be prosperous' (i.e. 'may things turn out well for you') or the combination ἔρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι 'I pray that you are well' are often found in this slot in personal letters, it is noticeably absent in Paul's letters.⁶ Despite the possible functional similarity with other epistolary 'farewell' closings, it is worth noting that many Philippian readers would have noticed the contrast between Paul's grace wish and the typical wish for physical well-being. Paul again has probably modified canonical convention to serve his own ideological purposes. Furthermore, Paul's final closing

¹O'Brien (*Philippians*, pp. 554-55) calls Paul's closing a 'benediction'. Although the grace and peace expression may be traced to Christian worship practices (see Champion, *Benedictions*, pp. 25-37; Jewett, 'Form', pp. 18-34; Cuming, 'Service-Endings', pp. 110-13; Gibbs, 'Service-Endings', pp. 545-47), my interest here is in how it has been integrated into the epistolary structure; cf. Weima, *Endings*, pp. 84-87, who warns against hastily reading liturgical practices into Paul's closings.

²For a useful chart and discussion see Weima, *Endings*, pp. 78-87. He distinguishes two features of the closing: (i) divine source and (ii) recipient. Unfortunately, he attempts to make an issue of the absence of a verb, seeking to determine what 'mood' was intended by Paul (pp. 83-84); cf. van Elderen ('Verb', pp. 46-48) with respect to the salutation (1:2). In response, Greek need not use a verb; this is an 'unmarked' expression (i.e. no modal choice is made) and therefore to ask the question of mood is to ask a question which Paul never intended in the first place. This may be an interesting theological question (i.e. is the benediction a promise, a fact, or a wish) but it has no basis in the text.

³See White, 'Epistolary Formulas', pp. 295-96.

⁴Cf. White, 'Epistolary Literature', p. 1740; Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 22. That the common ἔρρωσο may sometimes mean more than a simple 'good-bye' is suggested by its two-fold use in P.Oxy.

42.3062.10-13 (I CE) οἱ σοὶ πάντες ἔρρωνται. εὐχομαὶ σε ἔρρωσθαι, ἀδελφε. 'All of yours are well; I pray that you are well'; see White ('Epistolary Formulas', pp. 295-96) for its frequent use meaning 'well-being' in the openings and closings of letters.

⁵This is especially true of business letters, but is true of other types as well including friendship and familiar letters; see Francis, 'Form', p. 125.

⁶See Exler, *Form*, pp. 69-77; Weima, *Endings*, pp. 29-34; for examples near the time of Paul see (i) P.Mert. 1.12.26 (58 CE) ἔρρωσο καὶ μέμνησο τῶν εἰρημ(ένων); P.Bad. 2.35.26 (87 CE) ἔρρωσο (ερρωσο), πρὸ πάντων σουτοῦ (σουτου) ἐπιμελοῦ, ἵνα ὑγιαῖνης, which is preceded by a closing greeting; P.Mich.Michael 25.13 (88 CE) ἔρρω(σο), which is followed by a closing greeting; (ii) P.Mich. 3.172.17 (62 CE) εὐτύχ(ει); P.Oxy. 2.285.21 (50 CE) εὐτύχει; (iii) P.Bad.4.100.10 (I CE) ἔρρωσθαι (ερρωσθε) ὑμῖς (ουμας) εὐχομαι (ευχομε); P.Col. 8.216.11 (100 CE) ἔρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι. The third type of expression is mostly relegated to the second century CE and beyond but a possible example [it is fragmented] from the third century BCE is SB 12.10844.12 (III BCE) ἔρρ[ῶσθαι σε] ε[ὐχ]ομαι.

expressions have considerably more semantic 'weight' than their one-word counterparts. However, various elaborations of the verbal 'farewells' do occur in letters: (i) the affectionate vocatives ἀδελφέ, πάτερ, κύριε, φίλτατε, τιμιώτατε, ἡδιστε, γλυκύτατε; (ii) prepositional phrases which specify the extent of the closing such as μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων, σὺν τοῖς σοῖς κᾶσι, or ἐν πανοικησίᾳ; and (iii) prepositional phrases with a temporal function such as διὰ ὅλου βίου, εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον, εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας or the simple dative phrase πολλοῖς χρόνοις.¹ In the light of these, Paul's modifications are not entirely uncanonical. The content of his closing grace wish, nevertheless, betrays the fact that his letters were not merely familiar or friendship letters but closely tied to his personal religious convictions and rhetoric.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians has found a new issue to discuss, viz. genre. This would, of course, be a natural place to look in order to ask questions of a text's structure, making it all the more surprising that the issue has been raised this late in the debate. Especially since the nineteenth century, scholars responding to multiple-letter theories have generally conceded the disjointed structure of the letter as a sign of its 'personal' nature. In the 1980s and early 90s the unity of the letter has been more aggressively maintained on the basis of epistolary, rhetorical and even chiasmic (parallelisms) interpretations (though Schenk employs a rhetorical analysis of Phil 3 to support his partition theory).

The above analysis of the epistolary structure of Philippians, it is argued, places the letter firmly in the context (i.e. register) of Hellenistic (Greek, Latin, and Jewish) personal letters. Much of the lexico-grammar and several formulas—e.g. prescript; thanksgiving; prayer; disclosure; petitions/requests; commendations; 'visit' talk (or travelogue); 'joy' expression; closing greetings—parallel those found in other family and friendship letters. Furthermore, the relatively lengthy opening section of the letter (1:1-11) points to its 'personal' nature.² The analysis was intentionally based on a study of epistolary formulas, not on the anachronistic notions of an 'opening', 'body', and 'closing', which tend to raise issues which were not originally present in the composition of ancient letters. Nevertheless, the *spatial locations* (as indeterminate as these are) of the beginning, middle, and end of the letter often contain epistolary formulas which serve particular communicative tasks, viz. the opening and closing sections were used to maintain relationships and the middle often conveyed requests and information to the recipients.³ Although it is unnecessary and perhaps linguistically unwise to confine Philippians *strictly* to a subgenre of friendship or family letters, the above analysis (and Appendix B) suggests that the genre of Philippians is *not* a rhetorical speech. It is difficult to overlook, both in terms of their form and function, the many uses of personal epistolary conventions. In

¹See Weima, *Endings*, pp. 31-32; he notes that such elaborations reflected the content and mood of the letter as a whole (pp. 33-34).

²Cf. White, *Light*, p. 19, who claims: 'Generally speaking, if the opening and closing are full, the letter is a family letter or a letter between friends in which the ongoing maintenance of friendship is an important consideration.' This is undoubtedly a difficult principle to apply since the 'opening' and 'closing' are subjective determinations; however, in Philippians at least the prescript, salutation, and thanksgiving suggest that Paul spends a good deal of time establishing contact before turning to his first disclosure formula in 1:12. Here we have good indicators of the 'personal' mood of his letter.

³For this reason my outline is quite different from that of Bloomquist (*Function*, p. 117), who indiscriminately mixes locational labels (opening, body, closing) and epistolary ones (thanksgiving).

contrast, rhetorical letters (of the few which are extant) contain only a few epistolary conventions (e.g. prescript, salutation, and closing farewell). While on a general level the present study supports the view that Philippians is 'personal' in nature and thus its 'cohesiveness' should not be treated on the same level as a literary treatise, a concerted effort has been made to show how the individual epistolary units of the letter support either a single- or multiple-letter theory, based primarily upon a comparative study of epistolary literature. The majority of the epistolary structure of Philippians conforms to other epistolary practices. The one section which at least is *untypical* (but not unprecedented) in epistolary literature is 4:10-19 (20), i.e. its placement in the letter is not *typical* of similar expressions from the same genre.

Thus, in terms of the epistolary STRUCTURE of Philippians, the following elements are clearly identifiable in terms of form and function.

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1:1 | Prescript |
| 1:2 | Salutation |
| 1:3-11 | Thanksgiving and Prayer |
| 1:12-26 | Disclosure |
| 2:19-3:1a (3:2) | Commendations and Petitions |
| 3:1b | Hesitation Formula |
| 4:2-9 | Final Petitions |
| 4:10-20 | Expression of Joy for Receipt of Gift |
| 4:21-22 | Closing Greetings |
| 4:23 | Closing Grace Expression |

This approach to epistolary structure noticeably lacks the designations of 'opening', 'body', and 'closing', since these are difficult to distinguish formally and perhaps place an unwarranted modern perception of literary structure on the letter. Nevertheless, 1:1-11 and to a lesser degree 4:10-22 contain epistolary formulas which are found towards the beginning and closing sections of ancient letters and which, more importantly, serve in part to maintain and establish relationships between the communicants. This *epistolary* outline—it is only one way of doing an outline—is not foremost an outline of the 'content' of the letter (i.e. its linguistic TEXTURE); rather, it seeks to reveal its generic structure. This structural outline, then, provides a macrostructural framework with which to interpret the discourse's microstructures—a TOP-DOWN ANALYSIS of the discourse.

As is evident in the above epistolary outline, other parts of the letter (esp. 3:3-4:1)¹ are more difficult to account for with an epistolary analysis. While it is basically painless to admit that Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians are quite unique as epistolary discourses, Philippians stands apart, as has often been noted, as a less didactic, less argumentative, and more 'personal' letter. Nonetheless, the detailed epistolary analysis above betrays another side to the letter—one which aligns it more with the aforementioned discourses—viz. its many ethical exhortations. This feature is largely what distinguishes Paul's epistolary style from most epistolary literature. Embedded in Philippians are various

¹Schenk, interpreting Phil 3 as *Rede* not *Brief*, takes this to support his partition theory ('Der Philippenerbrief oder Die Philippenerbriefe', p. 127-28). However, if we accept Fairclough's approach to intertextuality (see chap. 2 on Register/Genre), i.e. texts may reuse and modify several kinds of text-types in one discourse, then there is nothing inherently impossible about Paul's epistolary style here. Indeed, as the following outline demonstrates, Paul employs the same type of narrative-exhortation pattern elsewhere in the letter as he does in 3:3-4:1. Thus, while I essentially concur with Schenk's stylistic appraisal of this section, it does not lead me to conclude that its historical situation must have been a rhetorical speech and, hence, different from the situation of that of the rest of the discourse.

petitions/requests based upon preceding exposition and narrative (indicative–imperative). This repeated use of moral exhortation accounts for the somewhat unique length and content of Paul’s letter in comparison to most of the personal letters discovered in Egypt and Judaea. However, we are not without some precedent for this style. Such petitions/requests and their background settings partly parallel the use of petition formulas in Hellenistic letters, and their moral tone also resembles Hellenistic letter writers such as Seneca and Cicero. The petitions/requests and their backgrounds in Philippians are set forth below,¹ which when combined with the preceding layout of epistolary elements represents what is meant when, at the beginning of this chapter, I speak of the generic structure of Philippians as a *personal, hortatory letter*.

| <i>Background</i> | <i>Petitions</i> |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 1:12-26 | 1:27-30; 2:1-5 |
| 2:6-11 | 2:12-18 |
| 2:25-28 (2:19-23?) | 2:29-3:2 |
| 3:2-14 | 3:15-17 |
| 3:18-21 | 4:1 |
| — | 4:2-9 |

In terms of Fairclough’s model of intertextuality discussed in chap. 2, the *genre* of Philippians is a ‘letter’ or ‘epistle’, the *activity type* is ‘exhortation’, and the *style* is ‘personal’.²

The paraenetic aspect of the letter is not its only distinguishable intertextual feature. In addition, the presence of OT language in Philippians is not representative of epistolary literature.³ It is often noted that Philippians contains no explicit use of OT citations; yet it is generally admitted that Paul repeatedly embeds (rather than cites) OT language in his epistolary argument: 1:11 (Prov 3:9; 11:30 LXX); 1:19 (Job 13:16 LXX); 2:7 (Isa 53:3, 11); 2:10-11 (Isa 45:23 LXX); 2:15 (Deut 32:5; Dan 12:3 LXX); 2:16 (Isa 49:4; 65:23 LXX); 3:19 (Hos 4:7); 3:21 (Ps 8:7 LXX); 4:3 (Ps 69:28); 4:5-6 (Ps 145:18); 4:18 (Gen 8:21; Ex 29:18; Isa 56:7).⁴ Indeed, whereas we might expect Paul to cite sacred texts in the polemical Phil 3 (an apologetic opportunity) in the same way he does in Galatians and Romans, all that is found is a possible allusion in 3:19; for some, this might be used as evidence for the letter’s literary integrity since it is consistent with his OT usage elsewhere in the letter. Regardless of its relevance for the integrity debate, such appropriations of OT

¹Outlines have the tendency to break the linear flow of discourse and, thus, the one presented here is only intended to represent how a given petition results from previous exposition/narrative. Indeed, the background material often *develops out of* previous petitions/requests.

²This description is not intended to be reductionistic, but rather a generalisation of the macro-function of the letter based on a detailed comparative analysis of its microstructures. Any characterisation of the *genre* of Paul’s letters must, in the end, be based on a comparative (and contrastive) analysis of their formulas with other literature from the same or similar registers.

³However, see Plutarch’s *A Letter of Condolence to Apollonius* for the repeated use of quotations on the letter’s topic (Stanley, *Paul*, pp. 287-89).

⁴For a more detailed list of possible Isaiah allusions in 2:6-11 see Minear, ‘Singing’, p. 213. It is not the purpose of this study to determine if these are conscious citations (or allusions) of the OT nor to evaluate their role in Paul’s argument (a difficult task as revealed by their relative absence in Hays’ study [*Echoes*]), but simply to note here one particularity of Paul’s epistolary style. It cannot be assumed that Paul reflected upon the original context when employing OT language in Philippians (Paul the ‘reader’), since the status of these ‘allusions’ are unclear; hence, I treat them as part of his idiolect rather than his rhetoric. In his extensive analysis of Paul’s use of Scripture, Stanley (*Paul*) does not analyse any of the Philippian examples as citations or allusions per se, though noting that Phil 1:19; 2:6-11; 2:15; 3:21 may be classified as such.

texts reveal one feature of Paul's idiolect, even though various original readers would have interpreted these allusions differently (e.g. Gentile readers may not have even recalled the LXX 'echoes').

In contrast to what is proposed in P. Wick's chiastic outline of the letter, Paul's use of the OT is best treated as a microstructural feature of the letter rather than a macrostructural one. Wick puts particular emphasis upon 'die tiefe Verankerung des Philipperbriefes im jüdischen und alttestamentlichen Denken'.¹ He goes so far to claim that the structure of Philippians is based on the OT style of parallelism, with the so-called 'Christ-hymn' at the centre: a1 (1:12-26), a2 (3:1-16); b1 (1:27-30), b2 (3:17-21); c1 (2:1-11), c2 (4:1-3); d1 (2:12-18), d2 (4:4-9); e1 (2:19-30), e2 (4:10-20). For evidence he cites chiastic studies of Qoh 1:3-3:15, 2 Sam 9-20, and 1 Kgs 1-2, concluding, 'Diese Beispiele zeigen, daß wenigstens die Vermutung berechtigt ist, daß Paulus für die parallele Strukturierung des Philipperbriefes auf alttestamentliche Traditionen zurückgreifen konnte.'² With respect to the obvious methodological problem of comparing Philippians (a letter) to the poetic parallelisms in the Psalms, Wick claims that this problem 'verschwindet, wenn man beachtet, daß eine Hauptfunktion des Briefes das Lob der Philipper ist'.³ In response, although I find some of Wick's work quite informative, his chiastic approach to Philippians seems forced, being based on only a sparse amount of literary evidence (and none that are letters).⁴ (1) His OT examples do not comprise an entire discourse. More importantly, Wick does not provide a single example from the *epistolary* genre. In other words, his theory faces the same difficulty as that of rhetorical treatments of Philippians, viz. the lack of literary examples from the epistolary genre which may be used as a standard of comparison. (2) His outline of Philippians seems somewhat contrived when the functions of epistolary formulas are understood in their own literary context: (i) he parallels the commendations in 2:19-30 (noticeably omitting 3:1 from this section) with the 'joy' expression in 4:10-20 as 'Korrespondenz', but with no discussion of the epistolary structure and the fact that these sections perform distinct functions; (ii) he must omit the thanksgiving from his outline despite its importance to Paul's epistolary strategy; (iii) he must separate 4:1-3 from the exhortations of 4:4-9 in order to parallel the call to unity with similar language in 2:1-11; (iv) he distorts the epistolary function of the disclosure in 2:12-18 by paralleling it with very generic exhortations in 4:4-9. In sum, Wick's chiastic understanding of Philippians is built on slim literary evidence and distorts what can be known about the structure of Philippians in the light of epistolary parallels.

In an essay on the theology of the shorter letters of Paul, R. B. Hays has cogently argued and demonstrated that in order to understand Paul the 'hermeneutic theologian' (J. C. Beker's terminology)

...we must seek to comprehend his writings as intertextual performances that presuppose and depend on their relation to a body of precursor 'texts', many of which are irretrievably

¹Wick, *Philipperbrief*, p. 174.

²Wick, *Philipperbrief*, p. 175.

³Wick, *Philipperbrief*, p. 177.

⁴His is, nonetheless, far more persuasive than Luter and Lee's ('Philippians', pp. 89-101) chiastic analysis of Philippians; they provide no evidence at all that ancient letters would be written in such a macro-chiastic form. Furthermore, they are far less attentive to the epistolary formulas in the letter which assist in distinguishing its thematic development. In contrast to Wick's outline they end up with: A: 1:3-11 and A': 4:10-20; B: 1:12-26 and B': 4:6-9; C: 1:27-2:4 and C': 4:1-5; D: 2:5-16 and D': 3:1b-21; E 2:17-3:1a. Above all, their conclusion that 2:17-3:1a provides the 'crowning central thrust of the letter' (p. 98) is not only forced but skews the less grandiose function of commendations and travel information conveyed in this section and paralleled in other personal letters (see above on 2:19-3:1).

lost to us... I propose that the best place to focus our efforts is on Paul's use of scripture, for there we at least have access to the text to which he alludes.¹

However, especially in the case of Philippians where scriptural citations are absent and allusions are at a minimum, I would counter that a 'better' (or at least an equally important) place to focus an analysis of Paul's 'hermeneutical theology' is on Paul's particular adaptation of the Hellenistic epistolary genre, another set of 'intertextual performances' related to his message.² The theology of Philippians,³ I would suggest, is in part revealed through Paul's often uncanonical appropriation of epistolary conventions. Paul's modifications are instigated by or, more accurately, *reflect* his theology. Furthermore, it would seem reasonable to say that such modifications may serve as a more subtle way of introducing ideological and social change to the readers. In what has been treated in more detail above, Paul's modifications of epistolary conventions are now summarised. In the prescript, Paul employs 'Christian' religious language (δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ... τοῖς ἁγίοις) to establish the current relationships between the communicants, in contrast to the familial and friendship expansions found in most prescripts of personal letters. In the salutation, he departs from the verbal greeting formula (χαίρειν) in favour of the nouns χάρις and εἰρήνη, which have unambiguous religious overtones (Jewish and Christian); in addition, the source of his greeting involves the supernatural—a quite uncanonical modification of the epistolary salutation. In the thanksgiving, (i) Paul gives thanks to only *one* god (a Jewish one at that) who is identified in relation to himself (θεῶ μου) and (ii) Paul thanks his god for the 'religious' (or 'spiritual') welfare of his recipients,⁴ viz. their participation in the gospel (both experientially and in practice), rather than their physical or material welfare. In the disclosure formula, Paul narrates his own situation in order later to exhort (petitions/requests) the Philippians to behave in the same way. In the commendations, Paul's use of epistolary convention is both canonical (i.e. he commends Timothy and Epaphroditus into the care of the Philippians) and modified (i.e. he sets up at least one of the commended persons, Epaphroditus, as a model of moral imitation). In the hesitation formula, Paul does not speak of his lack of hesitation to write to or to carry out some task for the recipients (so most uses of the formula); instead, his lack of hesitation has to do with moral exhortations (viz. the call to rejoice) repeated throughout his letter. In the final set of petitions/requests, after his initial petitions to individuals in vv 2-3, Paul turns to more general, ethical requests rather than the typical business and personal ones (so most papyri), using mostly 'religious' language to do so (v 3 ἐν βίβλῳ; v 4 χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ; v 5 ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς; v 6 prayer terminology). In the 'joy' expression, Paul's adaptation of convention is not to be found in a 'thankless thanks' but in his method of repaying the Philippians for their gift, viz. God is the one who will take care of their every need (χρεῖα) and he is the one to whom praise is to be given (4:19-20). In the closing grace wish, Paul almost entirely abandons epistolary convention (i.e. he chooses to 'reject' epistolary convention); his grace wish contrasts with the typical closing 'farewell' in which

¹Hays, 'Crucified', p. 246.

²In a response partly to Hays, Lull ('Theology', p. 249) suggests that Paul's theology should be studied in the light of traditions 'from postbiblical Judaism and from the nonbiblical Greco-Roman world'. In his earlier work Hays does note that his intertextual approach 'in no way seeks to deny or exclude the presence of nonscriptural influences on his discourse' (*Echoes*, p. 16).

³By 'theology' here I mean the 'religious' world view (coherence) of the text as revealed (contingence) by the configurations of linguistic meanings in the text—ideational, interpersonal, and textual—and their use in the generic structure of the discourse.

⁴Cf. White, *Light*, p. 20: 'Though Paul never cites the conventional wish for health, he does express his concern for his recipients' welfare; his concern is not with ordinary well-being, but with his recipients' spiritual conformity to the standards of a new spiritual age.'

the author shows concern for the well-being of the recipient, although it still retains the function of concluding the communicative act and maintaining social relationships with the recipients. Paul, like the 'gospel' writers, is unmistakably engaged in a process of not only reusing traditional generic forms but also rewriting them for his own religio-rhetorical ends.

This is, of course, not all that can be said about the 'particular' theology of Philippians. My immediate concern has been to demonstrate how the structure (genre) of Paul's discourse reveals the dynamic interrelationships between Paul's use of epistolary conventions (personal, including friendship and familiar, letters), his use of hortatory conventions of friendship (Hellenistic moralist letters), and his own theological agenda (his idiolect). On this last point, J. L. White is worth citing in closing: 'The Apostle Paul appears to be the Christian leader who was responsible for first introducing Christian elements into the epistolary genre and for adapting existing epistolary conventions to express the special interests of the Christian community.'¹

¹White, *Light*, p. 19.

Chapter 5

THE TEXTURE OF PHILIPPIANS¹

The debate over the literary integrity of Philippians, as surveyed in chap. 3, primarily revolves around two key issues: genre and theme. Whereas the above discussion of STRUCTURE in Philippians largely concerns the macrostructure of the discourse (i.e. its register or genre), the following treatment of TEXTURE deals primarily with its microstructures and, more relevant to the integrity debate, how they combine to produce cohesiveness (or the lack thereof). Hence, a mostly BOTTOM-UP ANALYSIS is appropriated here, treating the three metafunctions of language in the discourse—IDEATIONAL (language as reflection on experience), INTERPERSONAL (language as social action), and TEXTUAL (both the semantic and grammatical symmetry and the thematic organisation of discourse). Most single-letter theorists have put forth the existence of lexical and conceptual parallels throughout the letter as the strongest evidence in favour of their view, although this has typically been done with little or no linguistic sensitivity to theories of semantic cohesiveness. Due to the importance of this issue for the debate, it is first necessary to analyse all of the lexical choices in Philippians and locate them in their respective semantic chains (domains). This then will provide a basis for the analysis of ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects of the letter.

SEMANTIC CHAINS

Although the presence of lexical parallels throughout the disputed sections of the letter has been used as key evidence in defence of the literary integrity of Philippians, to my knowledge there is no systematic, comprehensive analysis of the semantic texture of the letter as a particular representation of linguistic choices from the Greek lexical system. In what follows, every lexical choice in Philippians (except the article)² is analysed in terms of semantic chains (or domains), following in part the lexicographical model set forth in Louw and Nida's *Greek-English Lexicon*.³ A semantic chain (or domain) refers to words grouped according to their shared, distinctive, and supplementary (i.e. contextually relevant) semantic features.⁴ The semantic analysis here is distinct from Louw and Nida's in that (i) it is also informed by Halliday and Hasan's theory of cohesiveness and semantic chains (both ORGANIC TIES and COMPONENTIAL TIES; see chap. 2) and (ii) it is limited to a single discourse, the letter to the Philippians (thus, these are really semantic 'chains' in a discourse rather than 'domains' in the language). Attention is also devoted to the use of similar words in the wider Pauline corpus and the NT as well as in Hellenistic and, more

¹This chapter should be read in conjunction with the breakdown of clauses set forth in Appendix A.

²The article is treated only when it proves informative for interpreting a particular clause.

³Some of the theory is also informed by the linguistically-astute works of Thiselton, 'Semantics', pp. 75-104; Silva, *Biblical Words and their Meaning*; and Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, chaps. 2-5.

⁴Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, I, p. vi.

rarely, Classical discourses.¹ (This is not intended as a focus on words in and of themselves—which would be uncharacteristic of discourse analysis—but on words in their syntagmatic and paradigmatic discourse contexts.)

The labels for the semantic chains and the glosses for individual words are not intended to represent 'core meanings' of words but rather to suggest that there are 'chains of meaning' shared by lexical forms in the discourse.² The observation that the same word may have several different meanings—sometimes clearly distinct and sometimes only slightly nuanced—is not contested among NT exegetes. A hermeneutical framework by which one decides what a particular use of a word means is, however, far from agreed upon and rarely clearly stated. Therefore, in order to assign a word (and its various uses) a particular semantic label I have followed, on the whole, the following basic principles: (i) a word should not be given a semantic label which does not reflect any of its uses in Greek literature (first that which is contemporary and then that which is remote) unless *overwhelming* evidence can be garnered which demonstrates that a different semantic label is the only one which makes sense of the word in its immediate linguistic context; (ii) a word should not be given a semantic label (even if it may have such a meaning in the wider literature) which does not reflect its use in literature of the same genre (first that which is contemporary and then that which is remote) unless *substantial* evidence can be garnered demonstrating that the semantic label is the only one which makes sense of the word in its immediate linguistic context; (iii) a word should not be given a semantic label which does not reflect its use in other discourses by the same author unless *reasonable* evidence can be garnered demonstrating that the semantic label is the only one which makes sense of the word in its immediate linguistic context.³ In other words, the immediate linguistic context (i.e. syntagmatic choices) is ultimately determinative of how a particular word functions. However, other sociolinguistic influences such as standard and regional dialects, register, and idiolect (i.e. paradigmatic choices) also contribute to the interpretation of words. I have not tried to state these principles in absolute terms—a virtual impossibility when dealing with language. I use terms like 'overwhelming', 'substantial', and 'reasonable' (a cline of options) to reveal what I consider to be the burden of proof for claiming that a word has a certain meaning in a given context.

Lastly, the following is a practical guide to the layout of the analysis. (1) For most semantic chains (and sub-chains), words with a generic function are listed first, followed by more specific meanings—a hyponymous approach to lexicography. (2) Each word is usually treated first with respect to its function in Philipians (all occurrences are cited), then in the Pauline letters (with distinction between the *accepted* Pauline letters and the disputed ones [2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus]), and, if informative, its use in other literature (NT, Hellenistic, and Classical), giving preference to literature from the same genre. (3) Attention is given to the way in which Paul uses the same or similar words in Philipians with slightly different connotative meanings (distinctive supplementary meanings); thus, the same lexical form may appear in more than one semantic chain. Care has been exercised, however, not to identify distinctions where these are not explicitly indicated in the text. (4) Except for the definite article, *every* use of

¹Besides analysis of actual texts (especially epistolary ones), the lexicons of Bauer–Arndt–Gingrich–Danker, Liddell–Scott–Jones, and Louw–Nida inform much of the study.

²See Nida, 'Linguistics', p. 84.

³Paul's other discourses must be used with care, especially when his usage elsewhere shows significant diversity, because (i) Paul like every other Greek speaker had a vocabulary which was multivalent and (ii) immediate situational and syntagmatic contexts are more determinative for an author than remote contexts.

a lexical form in the letter is included in the analysis.¹ If the same word appears in a different semantic field, cross-references to these are provided. In addition, the index of Greek words provides references to the semantic chain(s) in which any given word appears.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS AND FEATURES, PLACES

Regions Above the Earth

οὐρανός, οὐ 'heaven', the supernatural dwelling place of God and other supernatural beings: Phil 3:20. **ἐπουράνιος, ον** 'in the sky, celestial': In the Pauline letters, this adjective designates the place where celestial bodies (1 Cor 15:40) or human/spiritual beings (1 Cor 15:48-49; Eph 1:20; Phil 2:10; 2 Tim 4:18) reside, probably with the implication that this place is above the earth although not always visible. By extension, it can sometimes refer to the actual beings residing in the heavens (LSJ s.v. ἐπουράνιος), but the genitive plural in Phil 2:10 suggests that it has a locational sense there ('every knee...in [of] the heavens'; cf. Eph 1:3).

Regions Below the Surface of the Earth

καταχθόνιος, ον 'the world below, under the earth': Phil 2:10 (hapax legomenon in the NT); the lack of other references in the NT makes it difficult to determine if the realm of *dead people* is in view here or that of *demonic powers*; but its use in other Greek literature suggests the latter interpretation (see LSJ s.v. καταχθονίζω).² If this is correct, this is the only reference to 'negative' *supernatural* powers in the letter.

The Earth's Surface, Earth

κόσμος, ου 'earth, world', the earth as a dwelling place: Although the phrase **ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ** 'as stars in the sky' in Phil 2:15 would appear to use κόσμος as a region above the earth, it is used as a reference to the earth and/or its inhabitants (often antithetical to God's people) elsewhere in the Pauline literature (47x in all, e.g. Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 4:9; 2 Cor 1:12; Gal 6:14; Eph 2:2; Col 1:6; 1 Tim 1:15; only Gal 4:3 and Col 2:8, 20 perhaps have a universal reference, but these are disputed). It is probable, then, that **φωστῆρες** means 'light source' and **ἐν κόσμῳ** means 'the earth and its inhabitants: 'in which you shine as lights in the world [i.e. people dwelling on earth]'

ἐπίγειος, ον 'earthly, of earthly beings', pertaining to human or earthly activity: Phil 2:10 apparently refers to the realm of the earth and 3:19 to anything that may be characterised as earthly (i.e. of the earth).

2. ARTEFACTS

Instruments Used in Punishment and Execution

σταυρός, οὐ 'cross', an upright pole with a cross-beam (or X-shape) used in Roman practices of punishment or torture: Phil 2:8 and 3:18—the second use, although based on the physical cross used in Christ's crucifixion, denotes that which Christ's death on the cross symbolises for Paul.

3. PEOPLE³

Human Beings

ἄνθρωπος, ου 'human being': The use of this noun in Philippians is relatively infrequent compared to Paul's other letters (only 2 Corinthians and Philemon compare). He uses it in Phil 2:7 twice to describe Christ's humanity (cf. Rom 5:15, 19; 1 Cor 15:21, 47; 1 Tim 2:5) and in 4:5 to refer to the wider public ('persons') to whom the Philippians are to show gentleness.

γλῶσσα, ης 'person, individual', figurative extension (meronymy) of the meaning 'tongue': Phil 2:11; cf. Rom 14:11; Isa 45:23.

γόνυ, γόνατος 'person, individual' figurative extension (meronymy) of the meaning 'knee': Phil 2:11; cf. Rom 14:11; Isa 45:23.

¹The text of UBSGNT⁴ is followed (noting cases that might be disputed); but see Price ('Commentary', pp. 253-90) for evidence for the following readings: 1:14 λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖν; 2:5 τοῦτο γάρ; 2:26 ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν; 2:30 τοῦ Χριστοῦ; 3:16 τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, τῷ αὐτῷ κανόνι στοιχεῖν; 3:21 ἑαυτῷ; 4:23 ὑμῶν, ἀμήν. For a helpful survey of textual issues in Philippians see Silva, *Philippians*, pp. 22-27.

²It is often found in inscriptions dedicated to the 'gods below' with the abbreviation θ(εοῖς) κ(αταχθονίους) or in full; see e.g. IG 2.13209.4.

³This semantic chain is closely related to and sometimes indistinguishable from the chain of Classes of Persons and their Members.

4. CLASSES OF PERSONS AND THEIR MEMBERS

*Groups and Members of Groups Related by Blood or Social Relations*¹

οἰκία, ας 'family, household', those related by blood and marriage or by social ties (e.g. slaves): Phil 4:22; cf. 1 Cor 16:15 'the household of Stephen'.

πατήρ, πατρός 'father', a person of higher status than another: In Philipians, Paul apparently uses this noun to indicate the higher rank of God (1:2; 2:11; 4:20) and perhaps of himself (2:22, in relation to Timothy).

τέκνον, ου 'child, offspring', a person of lower status than another: In Phil 2:15 Paul uses this noun to describe the Philipians as 'children of God', a figurative extension of the word. In Phil 2:22 he uses it in a literal sense—'as a child to a father', but in an analogy to describe Timothy's service with Paul. These are noteworthy examples of figurative extensions of a word which in one case is linguistically marked in the discourse (by ὡς) and in the other is not marked.

ἀδελφός, ου 'brother or sister, fellow believer', people of equal or similar status: This word appears nine times in Philipians, only once in the singular (2:25) with reference to Epaphroditus and the remainder in the plural mostly with reference to the Philipians (1:12; 3:1, 13, 17; 4:1, 8, 21) but once with reference to believers associated with Paul's immediate situation (1:14).

Socio-Cultural

γένος, ους 'race, ethnic group, nation', a relatively large group of persons who are biologically or socially related: In Phil 3:5 Paul defines his ethnic identity as ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ; cf. 2 Cor 11:26 and Gal 1:14 where the term also has ethnic connotations.

γενεά, ᾶς 'those of the same generation': This noun is found only in Phil 2:15 in the accepted Pauline letters (cf. Eph 3:5, 21; Col 1:26), Paul may be setting the Philipians apart from the Jewish nation (esp. if he intends to echo the song of Moses in Deut 32:5; cf. Phil 3:5 ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ), but the general nature of the language suggests a reference to all of humanity instead. In either case, the term is used as a boundary marker of people-groups.

φυλή, ῆς subgroup of a 'nation, people, tribe': Paul uses the expression φυλῆς Βενιαμίν in Rom 11:1 and Phil 3:5 to speak of his ethnic origins.

Ἑβραῖος, ου 'Hebrew': Paul describes himself as a Hebrew only in 2 Cor 11:22 and Phil 3:5 (2x). The latter is a particularly socio-cultural usage, if the phrase Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων is taken to mean 'a Hebrew, the son of Hebrews'.²

Ἰσραήλ the nation of Israel: Used in Phil 3:5 to define Paul's socio-religious origins.

Socio-Religious

ἐκκλησία, ας 'congregation, gathering, group': In Philipians, Paul speaks of his persecution of the Christian 'church' in general (Phil 3:6; cf. 1 Cor 15:9; Gal 1:13) and the participation of particular 'churches' in his ministry (Phil 4:15).

ἅγιος, α, ον 'God's people, Christians' when used as a substantive (usually in the plural, but see Phil 4:21): It is used in the opening (Phil 1:1) and closing (4:21, 22) of the letter as a general reference to a limited group of Christians (see chap. 4 on the Prescript for further discussion). Even if the term had become technical, there is no reason to believe it did not still have the sense of 'holy, dedicated'.

ἀπόστολος, ου 'messenger, envoy': It is difficult to know if Paul's description of Epaphroditus as the ἀπόστολος of the Philipians (2:25) parallels his understanding of his own religious role as 'apostle' (Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1; cf. Col 1:1; 1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1; Titus 1:1), a term which he does not use of himself in Philipians. However, his use of the term to describe other Christian workers elsewhere (Rom 16:7; 1 Cor 9:5; 1 Cor 12:28-29; 2 Cor 8:23 [contra the RSV translation 'messengers']) would suggest that his description of Epaphroditus involves more than a reference to his activity as a 'messenger'; a religious role is implied by the phrase λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου (so LXX usage). Epaphroditus, thus, probably serves in some official capacity on behalf of the Philipian house church(es), again suggesting some sort of institutional roles present there (cf. 1:1).

διάκονος, ου 'servant, deacon': Whether or not this term has a more technical meaning as in the Pastorals ('deacon'; 1 Tim 3:8, 12; 4:6), it is clearly used in a socio-religious context in Phil 1:1 (whether or not it is a gloss). Elsewhere Paul uses the word to describe himself (1 Cor 3:5-6; 2 Cor 6:4; cf. Eph

¹Although the words in this sub-chain often refer to literal blood-relationships, Paul (and other letter writers) can extend these terms to describe social relationships between people without implying blood-relationships.

²Goodspeed, *Problems*, pp. 175-76.

3:7; Col 1:25), Christ (Rom 15:8), ministers of churches (Rom 16:1; cf. Eph 6:21; Col 1:7), 'false' ministers (2 Cor 11:15), and even the government (Rom 13:4).

ἐπίσκοπος, ου 'church leader, minister': Whether this term has a more technical meaning as in the Pastorals ('overseer'; 1 Tim 3:2 and Titus 1:7), it is clearly used in a socio-religious context in Phil 1:1 (cf. Acts 20:28). The fact that it is used in the epistolary prescript suggests that it serves to distinguish a group of people within the churches at Philippi who play specific institutional roles (see chap. 4 on the Prescript); contrast 1 Pet 2:25 where this noun describes the role of Christ.

Φαρισαῖος, ου 'Pharisee': Paul is associated with the religious group of the Pharisees only in Phil 3:5 in the Pauline letters.

Socio-Political

πολίτευμα, τος the place of one's citizenship, 'state, commonwealth': Phil 3:20 (hapax legomenon in the NT)—see also πολιτεύομαι.

πραιτώριον, ου 'palace guard', those serving in the palace guard: Paul apparently uses this term in Phil 1:13 ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ not simply to refer to a building, 'palace of Roman official' (cf. Matt 27:27; Mark 15:16; John 18:28, 33; 19:9; Acts 23:35, a reference to the palace of Herod in Caesarea in which Paul is to be held), but to those soldiers serving as the palace guard, especially in view of the adjoining phrase τοῖς λοιποῖς πάσιν which most likely refers to people.

5. SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

πνεῦμα, τος 'spirit', a supernatural non-material being: Of the five uses of this noun in Philippians, at least two fall under this semantic field (1:19; 3:3) and two under the semantic field of 'inner being' (1:27; 4:23, both referring to the collective 'spirit' of the Philippians). This makes it all the more difficult to be definitive on the meaning of Phil 2:1 εἶ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, but 1 Cor 1:9 κοινωνία τοῦ υἱοῦ... Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and Phil 1:7 συγκοινωνούς... τῆς χάριτος (see discussion of Thanksgiving in chap. 4) suggest an objective genitive reading 'participation in the Spirit'.¹

θεός, οὔ 'god, God': In Philippians, this word refers to the god of Paul's Jewish heritage. Phil 1:2, 3, 8, 11, 28; 2:6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 27; 3:3, 9, 14, 15, 19; 4:6, 7, 9, 18, 19, 20. 'God' and 'Christ' are the two most frequently mentioned secondary participants in the letter.

Χριστός, οὔ Greek translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic word 'messiah', a proper name for Jesus 'Christ':² Χριστός is used proportionately more in Philippians (37x) than any other Pauline letter—proportionately twice more than Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians. It is used in conjunction with Ἰησοῦς in 1:1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 19, 26; 2:5, 11, 21; 3:3, 12 [textually disputed], 14, 20; 4:7, 19, 21, 23. These references do not appear to be semantically different from uses of the word by itself (see esp. 3:8 where both expressions are used in the same context).

Ἰησοῦς, οὔ 'Jesus': Next to Philemon (6x) and 2 Thessalonians (13x) Ἰησοῦς is used proportionately more in Philippians (22x) than in the other Pauline letters (see above on Χριστός). Only in Phil 2:10 ('by the name of Jesus') and 2:19 ('I hope in the lord Jesus') is it *not* used in conjunction with Χριστός.

6. BE, BECOME, EXIST, HAPPEN

State

εἶμι 'to be, to exist': Phil 1:1, 7 (2x), 10, 23, 28; 2:6, 13, 26, 28; 3:3, 7, 8; 4:8, 9, 11 (2x).

ὑπάρχω 'to be, to be in a state': Phil 2:6 and 3:20.

γίνομαι 'to be': See the discussion under Change of State below.

στήκω 'to continue to be, to stand', to continue in a state: Except for Rom 14:4 Paul always uses this verb in the second person plural with respect to the conduct of his audience: 1 Cor 16:13; Gal 5:1; Phil 1:27; 4:1; 1 Thess 3:8; cf. 2 Thess 2:15.

Change of State

γίνομαι 'to become': At least two of Paul's six uses of this verb in Philippians—1:13 and 3:17—imply a change in state, not merely a state that already exists (as is true of εἶμι). It is less clear, however, whether Phil 2:7 and 8 imply a change in state with respect to Christ: 2:7 may imply a change in state from non-humanlike existence to humanlike existence, but 2:8 does not seem to imply a change in state from non-obedience to obedience, unless Paul means that Christ's change in state was one from obedience in life to

¹So O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 173-74.

²For plausible arguments that Χριστός has not lost its messianic overtones in Paul and should not solely be treated as a proper name see Wright, *Climax*, pp. 41-55.

obedience that resulted in death. It is equally unclear in 3:6 whether Paul himself came into a state of righteousness under the law or was always in that state. Phil 2:15 is also somewhat unclear; however, the ἵνα purpose clause suggests a change in state, i.e. by doing all things without grumbling or disputing the Philippians become ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι.

ἔρχομαι 'to become', i.e. to come into a particular state: Of the three uses of this verb in Philippians, one indicates a process that ends in a particular state (1:12); contrast its use to indicate linear movement or travel in 1:27 and 2:24.

καταντάω 'to come to be, to arrive at': Although this verb is often translated 'to attain' in Phil 3:11 (an active meaning), implying that Paul is the one doing the obtaining, its basic meaning simply indicates a change of state (e.g. the movement from one location to the other is typical of its use in Acts [e.g. 28:13]); this seems to be the meaning in 1 Cor 10:11 and 14:36 as well (but see Eph 4:13 for a possible active use of the word). Similarly, Phil 3:11 simply indicates a change in state without specifying the agent of this change.

ἀναθάλλω 'to be again in a position to, to be as one was formerly': Phil 4:10 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

εὕρισκω 'to attain to', i.e. to attain a state: Paul does not use this verb in Philippians as an act of 'discovery' but as a process resulting in a state of being: of Christ (2:7) and of himself (3:9)—both passive voice forms (cf. Gal 2:17).

φθάνω 'to come to be, to arrive at, to attain', i.e. to attain a particular state: Phil 3:16; cf. Rom 9:31. **προκοπή, ἧς** 'advance, progress', i.e. a change of state for the better: Phil 1:12, 25 (cf. 1 Tim 4:15)—these are the only three instances in the NT.

Exist

ἐγείρω 'to cause to exist', with the implication of increasing: This meaning of the verb in Phil 1:17 is unique in the Pauline letters (where it appears 41 times).

κεῖμαι 'to exist, to exist for, to be set', with the implication of having been established and thus having purpose: Phil 1:16; cf. 1 Thess 3:3 where it is stated that Paul's mission necessarily involves afflictions.

Happen

ἐπιτελέω 'to accomplish, to bring about, to cause to happen': The use of this verb in Phil 1:6 with the preposition ἄχρι suggests that Paul has in view a process begun by God (or Paul?), continued by God, and brought to completion in (until) the day of Christ. A very similar usage is found in 2 Cor 8:6 where Titus is to complete the (work of) grace which he began in the Corinthians. See also Gal 3:3 where Paul questions if what was begun in the Galatians in the Spirit now is being 'completed' in the flesh.

7. LINEAR MOVEMENT

Move, Come/Go

ἔρχομαι 'to come, to go': Of the three uses of this verb in Philippians, two imply linear movement or travel (1:27 and 2:24)—both used to describe Paul's travel plans (cf. Rom 15:29; 1 Cor 4:19; 16:5; 2 Cor 13:1)—and one indicates a process of 'happening' (1:12, see BE, BECOME, EXIST, HAPPEN above).

Leave, Depart, Send, Flee (motion away from)

ἐξέρχομαι 'to go out of, to depart from': Phil 4:15 (used with reference to Paul's travels); cf. 2 Cor 2:13.

πέμπω 'to send': Phil 2:19, 23, 25, 28; 4:16 (see chap. 4 above on Commendations).

8. VIOLENCE, HARM, DESTROY, KILL

Destroy

ἀπόλεια, ας 'destruction': Although this noun may simply refer to the 'destruction, waste' of earthly objects (Matt 26:8; Mark 14:4), it is a favourite term of NT authors to describe the ultimate destruction of the opponents of God and his people (Matt 7:13; John 17:12; Rom 9:22; 2 Pet 2:1, 3; 3:7, 16; Rev 17:8, 11; cf. 2 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 6:9; and Acts 8:20 which uses both meanings of the adjective and Heb 10:39 where it describes apostates). It is used in Phil 1:28 and 3:19 similarly to describe the destruction of opponents.¹

¹Against Tellbe ('Factors', pp. 105-106), this word and ἀντικειμένων in 1:28 may be used of internal opposition or general (unspecified) opposition in Paul (Phil 3:19 and 1 Cor 16:9), and thus should not be presented as clear-cut evidence that the opponents in 1:27-30 are external to the church (pagan officials) in contrast to those in 3:2-4 which are internal (Judaizers).

9. DANGER, RISK, SAFE, SAVE

Expose Oneself to Danger

καρβαλοεύομαι 'to risk (one's life)': Phil 2:30 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Trouble, Hardship, Distress

θλίψις, εως 'trouble, distress', implying some type of suffering: Phil 1:17 and 4:14, both referring to Paul.

πάθημα, τος 'suffering, misfortunes': This word can imply a general type of suffering which may or may not involve physical pain (e.g. economic deprivation, hunger, being in prison, social ostracism, or even death; cf. Rom 8:18; 2 Cor 1:5, 6, 7).¹ Phil 3:10 seems to fall into this general function and, thus, the Philippians, whom Paul challenges to imitate him (3:17), were not necessarily facing *physical* punishment from the State; their suffering could just as likely be a result of social stigma associated with adopting a different (indeed atheistic) religious world view.

πάσχω 'to suffer': As with the noun **πάθημα**, this verb need not indicate physical pain (indeed in Gal 3:4 it means 'to experience'); thus, its use in Phil 1:29 may simply mean a general act of suffering, which could involve various kinds of hardship (e.g. social ostracism). See 2 Cor 1:5-6 in which Paul's sufferings (including Christians' in general) are associated with the sufferings of Christ.

Beware, Be Concerned About

βλέπω 'to beware of, to watch out for': The basic function of this verb involves learning something about an entity through observation, but in certain contexts an element of 'danger' is also in view. Its use in Phil 3:2 (3x) probably also includes an aspect of 'danger', thus 'beware of the dogs...' (see chap. 4 on Hesitation Formulas).

Safe, Secure

ἀσφαλής, ές 'safe, secure': Used only in Phil 3:1 in the Pauline letters, here it describes the purpose of Paul's repeated exhortations to rejoice, viz. it will bring security from dissension (see chap. 4 on Hesitation Formulas for further discussion).

Save in a Religious Sense

σωτήρ, ήρος 'saviour, the one who saves': Phil 3:20 (hapax legomenon in the accepted Pauline letters, though frequent in the Pastorals [10x]), referring to Christ; cf. Titus 2:13 'awaiting...the appearance of our saviour Jesus Christ'. Paul clearly has more than a physical rescue in view here, but it does not follow that the 'saviour' *only* provides a 'spiritual' rescue, since at least part of what the 'saviour' does is to change the 'form' of the body into the body of his glory (Phil 3:21).

σωτηρία, ας 'salvation, rescue', a figurative extension of the notion of 'rescue from physical danger': Phil 1:19 is the only probable instance in Paul where this noun takes the sense of rescue from physical danger (a meaning found in epistolary literature); contrast eschatological and 'spiritual' salvation in Rom 1:16; 10:1, 10; 11:11; 13:11; 2 Cor 1:6; 6:2; 7:10; Phil 1:28; 2:12; 1 Thess 5:8, 9; cf. Eph 1:13; 2 Thess 2:13; 2 Tim 2:10; 3:15. 2 Cor 1:6 especially expresses a clear distinction between a 'salvation' which involves 'spiritual rescue' (e.g. matters of eternal judgement) and one which involves rescue from hardships—i.e. Paul is afflicted for their 'salvation' and yet they still *suffer*. Similarly, Phil 1:28 indicates a spiritual salvation in spite of the reality of present suffering; this use does imply, however, that an eschatological salvation offers the eventual hope of rescue from earthly suffering. In sum, Paul's own idiolect and the surrounding context suggest that Phil 1:19 is also a case of religious 'salvation' not immediate, physical 'rescue' (i.e. release from prison), although the epistolary context reveals a 'word play' on his part (see chap. 4 on the epistolary Disclosure Formula).

Favourable Circumstances or State

είρήνη, ης 'peace, tranquillity': Used in Phil 1:2 and 4:7, 9 in Philippians, this noun is always used with reference to God—God is the source of peace (1:2 and 4:7) and peace is a quality of God (4:9).

10. PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES

Die, Live

ἀποθνήσκω 'to die': When speaking of 'spiritual' death Paul prefers the verb **ἀποθνήσκω** (Rom 6:2, 8; 7:10; 1 Cor 15:31, 32; Gal 2:19). However, in Phil 1:21 he uses the verb **ἀποθνήσκω** to describe his physical death (cf. Rom 14:8). (See also the discussion of **θανάτος**.)

¹For evidence that disloyalty to the state cult could result in physical persecution see Donfried, 'Cults', p. 350.

ἀναλύω 'die, death, departure', figurative of 'being released': When speaking of spiritual death Paul prefers the verb ἀποθήσκω (see above). However, in Phil 1:23 he employs the only occurrence of ἀναλύω in the Pauline letters (cf. the use of the noun ἀνάλυσις in 2 Tim 4:6) as well as the verb ἀποθνήσκω in 1:21 to describe his physical death.¹

νεκρός, ἄ, ὄν 'dead': In Phil 3:11 this adjective is used in conjunction with resurrection 'out from among the dead ones'; cf. Rom 1:4; 4:24; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 8:11; 10:9; 11:15; 1 Cor 15:12, 20; Gal 1:1; 1 Thess 1:10; Eph 1:20; Col 1:18; 2:12; 2 Tim 2:8—Christ is typically the one being raised from the dead. In Phil 3:10-11 Paul makes a clear link between the resurrection of Christ and a more general resurrection involving humans (cf. Rom 8:11).

θάνατος, ου 'death', either the process or end result: This noun occurs in Philippians (1:20; 2:8 [2x], 27, 30; 3:10) proportionately more than any other Pauline letter (Romans is next with 22 occurrences, then 2 Corinthians with nine). All of the uses in Philippians are related in some way to Christ, directly (Phil 2:8) or indirectly (1:20; 2:27 in the light of 2:30; 3:10).

ἀνάστασις, εως 'resurrection': In Phil 3:10 Paul uses this noun to refer to the resurrection of Christ, as he does elsewhere only in Rom 1:4 and 6:5.

ἐξανάστασις, εως 'resurrection': A hapax legomenon in the NT, this noun is used in Phil 3:11 with the prefix ἐκ either because of the immediately following ἐκ νεκρῶν or so as to create prominence (emphasis), i.e. in contrast with 3:10 which uses ἀνάστασις.

ζάω 'to be alive' in the physical, material sense: Phil 1:21, 22.

ζωή, ης 'life': In Phil 1:20 this noun is clearly used in the sense of the physical, material life of a human, but in Phil 2:16 and 4:3 it seems to be extended beyond just material life to a 'life' of a spiritual kind (i.e. a life that is not merely composed of physiological processes). Nonetheless, Paul's God-endowed, eternal life is still one in which the material body is present (see Phil 3:21).

ψυχή, ης 'life', a living entity: In Phil 2:30 this noun is used in the sense of physical life. In contrast, in 1:27 it is used in the sense of sharing the same mental and emotional feelings, i.e. the Philippians are unified with respect to their inner psychological faculties (a different semantic field).

Body, Body Parts

σάρξ, σαρκός 'flesh', pertaining to the fleshly body: Paul can speak of σάρξ in positive terms in Phil 1:22, 24 and in negative terms in Phil 3:3, 4 (2x) where it is treated in terms of 'human' accomplishments.

σῶμα, τος 'body', the physical, material aspect of living entities: Phil 1:20 and 3:21 (2x); as with σάρξ, in Philippians Paul can speak of the σῶμα as having both positive and negative traits.

Sickness, Disease, Weakness

ἀσθενέω 'to be sick, to be ill or weak': Paul regularly uses this verb with reference to Christians who are or are not 'weak' spiritually (Rom 4:19 [Abraham by analogy]; 14:1-2; 1 Cor 8:11-12) or himself as one who suffers on behalf of Christ (2 Cor 11:29; 12:10; 13:9; cf. 2 Cor 13:4). In Phil 2:26-27 he uses it twice with reference to the illness of Epaphroditus (cf. 2 Tim 4:20). Thus, it is at least possible that he chose this verb so as to highlight the honourable ministry of Epaphroditus; but this must remain conjecture and one would not expect the Philippians to have drawn such an inference from a common word used to refer to illness or sickness in epistolary literature (see chap. 4 on Commendations).

Eat, Drink

χορτάζω 'to eat' resulting in being full (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters): Phil 4:12 (cf. John 6:26).

πεινάω 'to be hungry, to have hunger': Phil 4:12; cf. 1 Cor 4:11 where Paul also uses the verb to describe his own experiences.

¹The parallel with ἀποθανεῖν in 1:21 is the best evidence for reading ἀναλύσαι in v 23 as 'physical death' rather than 'release from prison'. Reeves ('To Be', p. 287), who adopts the latter interpretation, must claim that 'remaining in the flesh' in v 24 refers to Paul's remaining in prison, an unlikely understanding of ἐπιμένειν especially in view of the fact that the following μενῶ verbs in v 25 most assuredly mean 'physical presence with the Philippians' as is clear from the modifying ἵνα clause in v 25 which indicates that Paul has in view his physical presence among them τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

11. SENSORY EVENTS AND STATES

See

εἶδον (from **ὁράω**) 'to see': All of the occurrences of this verb in Philipians imply the sensory process of seeing (1:27, 30; 2:28; 4:9), but 1:27 and 2:28 (both participle forms) have the additional connotation of 'to meet with, visit', a frequent meaning of the verb when used in epistolary contexts.

φωστήρ, ἥρος 'light, luminary', that which gives light and thus is seen (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters): Since the phrase **ἐν κόσμῳ** in Phil 2:15 probably refers to the earth and not the 'sky' (see on **κόσμος**), this noun in Phil 2:15 probably refers to any light-source (so Rev 21:11; cf. Matt 5:14 with **φῶς**; see LSJ s.v. **φωστήρ**) and not specifically to heavenly bodies (e.g. stars).

12. ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS¹

Desire, Want, Wish

βούλομαι 'to desire, to want, to will': Paul uses this verb in a catenative construction in Phil 1:12 (cf. 2 Cor 1:15) as part of an epistolary disclosure formula: 'I want you to know...' (see chap. 4 on Disclosure Formula).

ἐπιζητέω 'to desire, to want': Phil 4:17 (2x); only elsewhere in Paul in Rom 11:7.

ἐπιθυμία 'to long for, to desire very much': In Phil 1:23, Paul uses a word closely related to **ἐπιποθέω** in sense (see below) to describe his desire to die and be with Christ (in contrast to his desire to stay alive and be with the Philipians).

ἐπιποθέω 'to long for, to deeply desire': Paul uses this verb in Phil 1:8 and 2:26 to describe his and Erastus' desire for the Philipians (with the implication that they want to see them again); cf. Rom 1:11 **ἐπιποθῶ...ιδεῖν ὑμᾶς**.

ἐπιπόθητος, ον 'very dear, longed for': Phil 4:1 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

ζητέω 'to desire, to want': Phil 2:21; cf. 1 Cor 10:24 where Paul is also critical of those seeking 'their own interests'.

κοιλία, ας 'physical desires, desires of the body': In Phil 3:19 and Rom 16:18 Paul uses this noun with a metaphorical extension ('physical desires') of its typical physiological denotations ('stomach, belly, womb', so 1 Cor 6:13 and Gal 1:15).²

Love, Affection

ἀγάπη, ης 'love, loving concern': The word is used four times in Philipians, three times with reference to the morality of the Philipians (1:9; 2:1, 2) and once with reference to those proclaiming Christ for 'pure' and 'loving' reasons (1:16).

ἀγαπητός, ἡ, ὄν 'the object of one's affection, beloved, dear': This adjective is used twice in Philipians, both times as vocatives of address preceded by the discourse marker **ὥστε** (cf. 1 Cor 15:58)—once as a substantive (2:12) and once modifying **ἀδελφοί** (4:1).

Hope, Look Forward To

ἐλπίς, ἰδος 'hope': This noun is concatenated with **ἀποκαταδοκία** in Phil 1:20 as an expression of Paul's hope that he will be 'saved' (or 'rescued'). The expression may go with the following **ὅτι** clause ('my hope and eager expectation that...'), but when **ἐλπίς** is followed by a **ὅτι** clause elsewhere in Paul it does not have this function (see Rom 5:5 and 2 Cor 1:7). It is probably better, then, to read the **ὅτι** clause as the 'reason, cause' of Paul's belief that he will be 'saved' (see **ἀποκαταδοκία**).

ἐλπίζω 'to hope, to hope for': This verb is used twice in Philipians (2:19, 23), both times as part of an epistolary commendation—'I hope to send...'; cf. Rom 15:24 and Phlm 22 where Paul uses **ἐλπίζω** to describe his own travel plans.

ἀπεκδέχομαι 'to await expectantly': Paul always uses this verb to describe the future expectation of the return of Christ (1 Cor 1:7; Phil 3:20) and, consequently, the redemption of creation (Rom 8:19, 23, 25; Gal 5:5-6).

ἀποκαταδοκία, ας 'that which one eagerly expects, eager desire': Phil 1:20.³ Rom 8:19 (the only other use in Paul), which speaks of the final redemption of 'the sons of humanity', suggests that this noun is closely related in meaning to the verb **ἀπεκδέχομαι** (**ἀποκαταδοκία...ἀπεκδέχεται**). Paul uses the

¹Some sub-chains in this semantic chain are closely related to *Think* and *Moral and Ethical Qualities*.

²For a similar libertine reading of the word see Beare, *Philipians*, p. 136; but on the debate of libertine versus legalist interpretations see O'Brien, *Philipians*, pp. 455-56.

³Against Bertram ('*Αποκαταδοκία*', pp. 264-70), Denton ('*Αποκαταδοκία*', pp. 138-29) argues convincingly that the noun need not imply 'uncertainty and doubt'.

same *verb* in Phil 3:20 where it is also used in an eschatological context (cf. Rom 8:19, 23, 25; 1 Cor 1:7; Gal 5:5-6), viz. the expectation of the saviour Jesus Christ. This, in addition to Paul's typical use of the noun σωτηρία to refer to a 'spiritual' salvation (see above on σωτηρία), suggests that Paul's expectation (ἀποκαταδοκίαν...μου) in Phil 1:20 is that of eschatological salvation (or at least the process of spiritual salvation which culminates in the resurrection of the body), not simply physical rescue from his immediate situation. According to this reading, the ὅτι clause is probably not the content of Paul's hope and expectation ('my hope and expectation that...', a recitative clause) but the causal explanation of his conviction that the proclamation of Christ despite antagonistic circumstances (i.e. persecution) will result in his salvation.¹ (Elsewhere in Philippians Paul does not suggest that vindication from persecution will take place in the earthly lives of Christians. Suffering is a part of the Christian's earthly experience [1:29-30]; vindication will take place in the eschatological future [3:20-21].) This reading also makes sense of Paul's claim that he will magnify Christ *whether through life or death*. If he truly believes he may die in prison, would not his joyful expectation of physical rescue from prison then appear somewhat superficial? If the reference is to eschatological salvation, then the phrase εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου fits coherently into the wider context.

Be Eager, Be Earnest

σπουδαίως 'earnestly, eagerly', with respect to an activity: Phil 2:28 (hapax legomenon in accepted Pauline letters); cf. 2 Tim 1:17 and Titus 3:13.

ζήλος, ου 'earnest concern, deep devotion': Phil 3:6; cf. Rom 10:2 in which Jews are also described in terms of ζήλος and Gal 1:14 in which Paul is a ζηλωτής of his Jewish traditions. Paul can also use the term as a negative moral attribute (e.g. Rom 13:13 and 1 Cor 3:3), but this does not seem to be implied in the description of himself in Phil 3:6.

Content, Satisfied

ἀντάρκης, ες 'content, satisfied': A hapax legomenon in the NT, Paul uses this adjective in Phil 4:11 to describe his ability to be content or satisfied in any circumstance. This is the general function of the word and the co-text does not indicate that the word also includes the Stoic notion of 'self-sufficiency'.²

Acceptable To, To Be Pleased With

δεκτός, ή, όν 'acceptable': Phil 4:18. The Philippians' gift is an 'acceptable sacrifice' (not necessarily with the implication of pleasing [as is suggested by its other uses in Luke 4:19, 24; 2 Cor 6:2; but Acts 10:35 may have this connotation], a connotation which is, instead, indicated by εὐάρεστον).

εὐδοκία, ας 'what pleases': Phil 1:15 and 2:13. Both occurrences of this noun refer to actions which are 'pleasing' to God; cf. Phil 4:18. Christians are to act in a way pleasing to God and God works in his people in a way that is pleasing to him.

εὐάρεστος, ον 'pleasing': Phil 4:18 εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ; cf. Rom 12:1; 14:18; 2 Cor 5:9; Eph 5:10; Col 3:20.

προσφιλής, ές 'pleasing', i.e. that which causes someone to be pleased: Phil 4:8 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Happy, Glad, Joyful

χαίρω 'to rejoice, be glad': Paul uses χαίρω in the sense of 'rejoice' proportionately twice as many times in Philippians (9x) to 2 Corinthians (its closest competitor). He uses it both in the indicative first person singular (to describe his own attitude; see 1:18 [2x]; 2:17; 4:10) and imperative second person plural (to exhort the Philippians to have a similar attitude; see 2:18, 28; 3:1; 4:4 [2x]). There is some debate whether its use in Phil 3:1 is that of an epistolary farewell ('Farewell'), a sign of the end of an originally separate letter. In the light of epistolary literature, this suggestion is untenable (see chap. 4 on epistolary Hesitation Formulas).

χαρά, ας 'joy, gladness': This noun is used proportionately more in Philippians (5x) than in any other Pauline letter (1 Thessalonians is closest with four occurrences). Paul uses it with reference to his own attitude regarding the Philippians (1:4; 2:2; 4:1) and the joyous attitude he desires from the Philippians (1:25; 2:29).

συγχαίρω 'to rejoice with': Phil 2:17, 18; cf. 1 Cor 12:26 and 13:6, the only other uses in the NT.

εὐψυχέω 'to become encouraged, to be of good cheer': Phil 2:19 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Encouragement, Consolation, Comfort

¹I understand τούτο in v 19 as a reference directly to the statement of v 18 and, thus, indirectly to the antagonistic situation discussed in vv 15-17.

²See O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 521.

παράκλησις, εως 'encouragement, consoling, comfort': Phil 2:1—the very general context makes it difficult to know if this noun here implies the act of encouraging others (e.g. Rom 12:8) or the state of being comforted or encouraged (e.g. 2 Cor 1:5). The context of Phil 2:1-4 suggests, however, that Paul is speaking of an encouragement which is being done by the Philippians to one another as those 'in Christ', not a comfort which they possess as Christians.

παραμύθιον, ου 'consolation, encouragement': Phil 2:1 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Courage, Boldness

παρρησία, ας 'boldness, courage': In the accepted Pauline letters, in 2 Cor 3:12 and 7:4 Paul uses the noun to speak of the 'confidence' he has of the Christians there (although based on Eph 3:12 where ἐν πεποιθήσει functions as 'confidence' while παρρησία signals 'boldness', the 2 Corinthian uses may better be understood as meaning 'boldness'), but in Phlm 8 he uses it to describe his own 'courage, boldness' to command Philemon to obey. Thus, in the light of the context of Phil 1:20 Paul is probably speaking of his own 'courage' when magnifying Christ in the face of potential death (cf. Eph 6:19). Based on the meaning of ἐν παρρησία in Col 2:15 there is a slight possibility that in Phil 1:20 (ἐν πάσῃ παρρησία) Paul is speaking of his public proclamation of Christ (in the tribunal?); but the adjective 'all' argues against such a specific reading.

τολμάω 'to dare, to be bold' in the face of potential danger: Phil 1:14; cf. 2 Cor 11:21 in which daring is linked to the act of speaking.

ἀφόβως 'fearlessly, without fear': Phil 1:4.

Hesitate

ὀκνηρός, ἄ, ὄν 'hesitating, a cause of hesitation, delaying', to extend a period of time, with the implication of lack of activity: For a detailed argument suggesting that this adjective means 'hesitating' in Phil 3:1 rather than 'burdensome, bothersome' (so most) see chap. 4 on the epistolary Hesitation Formula.

Shame, Disgrace, Humiliation

αἰσχύνομαι 'to feel shame' because of one's actions or situation: The verb is used in Phil 1:20 in the future passive form (note the abundance of future forms in 1:18-26) to describe the type of attitude Paul hopes not to have in the face of his imprisonment (contrast the use of the noun in 3:19 to describe 'shameful activity'). The verb is a deponent and, thus, raises the question of whether the passive form in 1:20 is a true passive (i.e. someone else is bringing shame upon Paul) or active (Paul is the one feeling shame).¹ This is further complicated by the prepositional phrase ἐν οὐδενί. Does it mean (i) 'by no one' (masculine gender functioning as agent), (ii) 'by nothing' (neuter gender functioning as agent; cf. Mark 9:29), or (iii) 'in nothing' (neuter gender as circumstance of location; cf. 1:28 which suggests this meaning). The use of the future passive with a clearly passive meaning in the immediately following clause seems to suggest that αἰσχυνθήσομαι is also passive. Furthermore, the existence of a middle form (Luke 16:3) would imply that the passive form still retains its passive function. In other words, the middle form may function as an active voice form, but the passive form was maintained in the language with its passive function. (See also ἀποκαρδοκία.)

Sorrow, Without Sorrow, Cry

λύπη, ης 'sadness, sorrow, distress': Phil 2:27 (2x); cf. the similar syntactical construction in 2 Cor 2:3 λύπην σχῶ.

ἀλυπότερος, α, ον 'relieved of anxiety, without more sorrow' (but not implying happiness): This word, a comparative of ἀλυπός, is a hapax legomenon in the NT, only appearing in Phil 2:28. Based on the context, it may be a true instance of the comparative, indicating that Paul has sent Epaphroditus back so as not to have *more* grief (because of the Philippians' worry?) than he has already had during the sickness of Epaphroditus.

κλαίω 'to weep, to lament': Phil 3:18 is the only place where Paul describes *himself* with this verb as one who 'weeps'.

Worry, Concern

ἀδημονέω 'to be distressed and troubled': Phil 2:26 (hapax legomenon in Pauline letters); cf. Matt 26:37 and Mark 14:33.

μεριμνάω 'to be worried about, to be concerned about': In Phil 4:6 this verb has a negative connotation ('Do not worry about anything') whereas in Phil 2:20 Timothy is described as legitimately being concerned

¹The use of the same form of the verb in 2 Cor 10:8 is equally ambiguous. On linguistic problematics with the concept of deponency see Porter, *Idioms*, pp. 70-73. He warns: 'One must be cautious before abandoning too quickly the semantic feature usually grammaticalized by a particular voice form' (p. 72).

for the Philippians. In 1 Cor 7:32-34 Paul plays off of these two types of worries—worrying about the things of the Lord and the things of the world.

Fear, Alarm

φόβος, ου 'fear': Paul uses this noun as a positive attitude in Phil 2:12; cf. Rom 3:18; 13:7; 2 Cor 5:11; 2 Cor 7:1, 11; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 5:21; 6:5; 1 Tim 5:20. In these cases, 'reverence' is a fitting translation, but this does not preclude the emotion of fear. The expression 'in/with fear and trembling' appears in 1 Cor 2:3; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 6:5; and Phil 2:12. In 1 Cor 2:3 it is used in a clause speaking of Paul's 'presence' among his readers and in 2 Cor 7:15 it describes the attitude with which the Corinthians 'received' Titus (on Paul's behalf), suggesting that the phrase μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου in Phil 2:12 goes with the preceding prepositional phrases, which it is argued here go with the following imperative κατεργάζεσθε (note the negative μή followed by an imperative); cf. 2:29 and 4:6 in which μετά + genitive indicates the manner in which a *command* is to be carried out.¹ Paul wants them to work out their salvation with fear and trembling whether or not he is with them. (See analysis in Appendix A.)

πύρομαι 'to be afraid, to fear': Phil 1:28 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

τρόμος, ου 'fear', a figurative extension of the physical act of trembling: In all four uses in the Pauline letters, this noun is concatenated with φόβος to denote an attitude of fear and serious concern: 1 Cor 2:3; 2 Cor 7:15; Eph 6:5; Phil 2:12. (See above on φόβος.)

13. LEARN

μανθάνω 'to learn, to acquire information': Phil 4:9, 11.

ἀφοράω 'to have in full view, to learn about, to find out about from someone' (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters): Phil 2:23; used elsewhere in the NT only in Heb 12:2. Although in Classical literature this verb often means the physical act of seeing (LSJ s.v. ἀφοράω), it is also used of 'learning about something' (cf. P.Fouad. 1.54.29 [c. 142 CE] ἐὰν...ἀφίδης).

μυέω 'to teach', in the passive it indicates an act of learning: Though in extra-biblical literature this verb is used of mystery-initiations (LSJ s.v. μυέω), it could also have a general meaning of 'to teach, instruct' as it does in Phil 4:12 (hapax legomenon in the NT), but there in the passive 'to be taught, to learn'.

14. KNOW

Know

γινώσκω 'to know, to know about, to possess information about': Of Paul's five uses of this verb in Philippians, at least four probably have this basic sense: 1:12; 2:19 (the placement of the participle γνούς after the main verb suggests that it means 'know' not 'learn'); 2:22; 4:5. Phil 3:10, however, may imply a knowledge that is experiential, i.e. Paul knows, understands, and experiences Christ and the power of his resurrection and the participation in his sufferings. However, the sense of 'experience' may be a contribution of the co-text and not the verb γινώσκω, i.e. Paul is speaking about *knowledge* which he gains though experiencing the resurrection and sufferings of Christ.²

οἶδα 'to know, to have knowledge of': Phil 1:16, 19, 25; 4:12 (2x, 'I know by experience'), 15.

Known (the content of knowledge)

γνώσις, εως 'knowledge, what is known': The phrase 'knowledge of Christ' is only found in Phil 3:8 in the Pauline letters. The similar genitive phrase, 'knowledge of God (or glory of God)' is found in Rom 11:33 where God does the knowing (subjective genitive) and 2 Cor 4:6 where people have knowledge about the glory of God (objective genitive); 2 Cor 10:5 also seems to imply a knowledge about God. Paul uses the verb γινώσκω in 2 Cor 5:16 with respect to knowing Christ (cf. 2 Cor 8:9 and Eph 3:19). It is more likely then that Paul deems everything as loss on account of the 'knowledge, what is known' about Christ (not the knowledge which Christ possesses).

ἐπίγνωσις, εως 'knowledge (either content or activity)': Paul uses the expression ἐν ἐπιγνώσει to describe the context in which some other action or event takes place (see Rom 1:28; Phil 1:9; Phlm 6). In these cases it seems that the 'content of knowledge' is being described. Paul desires that the Philippians' love increase with respect to knowledge, i.e. a 'knowledgeable kind of love'.

γνωρίζω to cause information to be known by another person, 'to make known': In every occurrence in the Pauline letters except perhaps Phil 1:22, this verb includes the sense of 'making known' not just the act of 'knowing' (which is attested outside the NT): Rom 9:22, 23; 16:26; 1 Cor 12:3; 15:1; 2 Cor 8:1; Gal

¹Against Baker, 'Note', pp. 146-47.

²See Forestell, 'Perfection', p. 125.

1:11; Phil 4:6; cf. Eph 1:9; 3:3, 5, 10; 6:19, 21; Col 1:27; 4:7, 9. Many of these are followed by a dative of direction, 'I make known to you.' Therefore, the burden of proof lies upon those wishing to understand γνωρίζω in Phil 1:22 simply as 'to know'. It makes just as much sense of the context to translate the verb with the active 'to make known': 'Yet that which I shall choose, I am not able to make known to you (because I desire both of them).'¹

Well Known, Clearly Seen, Revealed

φανερός, ά, όν 'evident, plain, clearly known': In Phil 1:13 Paul describes his 'imprisonment' as something that became φανερόν 'clearly known' εν Χριστώ. The phrase 'in Christ' (in the realm or sphere of Christ), then, would seem to explain what it is that became known, viz. that Paul's imprisonment had to deal with his Christian existence (his 'being in Christ'). For the use of this adjective as an attribute of a γίνομαι clause see 1 Cor 3:13; 11:19 (which also has a modifying εν phrase, εν υμίν); and 14:25.

άποκαλύπτω 'to reveal, to disclose, to make known': God is often the direct or indirect agent of Paul's use of this verb (Rom 1:18; 8:18; 1 Cor 2:10; Gal 1:16; 3:23; cf. Eph 3:5 in which the Spirit is the agent), as he is in Phil 3:15 'God will reveal this to you'. The verb is typically used in contexts about the acquisition of 'religious' (or ethical) knowledge.

ένδειξις, εως 'proof, evidence, indication', the means by which one knows that something is a fact: This noun is only used in Paul in the NT: Rom 3:25-26; 2 Cor 8:24; Phil 1:28.

φαίνω 'to come to light, to bring to light, to appear', figurative extension of 'to shine': Phil 2:15. This verb is sometimes used by NT authors metaphorically as a description of Christian witness and of testimony to the truth: John 1:5; 5:35; 2 Pet 1:19; 1 John 2:8. However, in Rom 7:13 and 2 Cor 13:7 the passive forms mean 'appear to be'. If Phil 2:15 φαίνεσθε is passive in function a similar meaning may be in effect. A passive reading is supported by the use of the passive in other literature to refer to the 'shining' of heavenly bodies (LSJ s.v. φαίνω). Paul is clearly playing on the 'shining' sense of the word (ώς φωστῆρες εν κόσμω) but extending it to a more general meaning, 'come to light' (i.e. the Philippians' identity has been revealed to the surrounding world). Thus, Paul seems to be describing the Philippians in 2:15 as people who 'stand out' (i.e. can be identified) in their environment—perhaps an exhortation directly relevant to those being persecuted and thus wishing to conceal their religious convictions.²

Capacity for Understanding or Knowing

αἴσθησις, εως 'ability to perceive, understanding': This word only appears in Phil 1:9 in the Pauline letters, although the verb appears in Luke 9:45 and the masculine form of the noun in Heb 5:14. Its use alongside the more general term επιγνώσις 'knowledge' may suggest that Paul uses αἴσθησις in a more specific sense meaning 'the capacity or ability to perceive' (see LSJ s.v. αἴσθησις II). In this case the word is not primarily the possession of understanding but the mental faculty enabling a person to perceive one's surroundings (including immaterial, 'spiritual' things, LSJ s.v. αἴσθησις III); this active sense of the word is revealed in Heb 5:14, where the masculine form αἴσθητήριον is modified by the participle γεγυμνασμένα 'being trained'.

15. MEMORY AND RECALL

Recalling from Memory

μνεία, ας 'to remember, to recall, to think about again', often with the additional notion of 'mention', but without implying that someone or something has been forgotten: In all but 1 Thess 3:6 (where the Thessalonians are remembering Paul), this noun is used in the epistolary thanksgivings/prayers of the Pauline letters: Rom 1:9; Phil 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4; cf. Eph 1:16; 2 Tim 1:3. For further discussion of whether the noun in Phil 1:3 refers to Paul's or the Philippians' act of remembering—an important issue in the integrity debate—see chap. 4 above on the epistolary Thanksgiving.

¹So O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 127-28.

²Cf. Moffatt, 'Notes', p. 345.

Not Remembering, Forgetting

ἐπιλανθάνομαι 'to forget, to not recall': 'To not recall' (an act of choice) seems to be a better translation of this verb in Phil 3:13 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters).

16. THINK, HOLD A VIEW, BELIEVE¹*Think About, Have an Opinion, Hold a View*

ἔχω 'to hold a view, to regard': Although ἔχω is used nine times in Philippians with the basic sense of 'to have, to possess' (1:7, 23, 30; 2:2, 20, 27; 3:4, 9, 17), it is used once as an imperative with the sense of 'to hold a view of' (2:29).

ἡγέομαι 'to hold a view, to consider, to regard': This verb is used more in Philippians (2:3, 6, 25; 3:7, 8 [2x]) than any of the other Pauline letters (2 Cor 9:5; 1 Thess 5:13; cf. 2 Thess 3:15; cf. 1 Tim 1:12; 6:1).

λογίζομαι 'to think about, to consider', using one's reasoning abilities: Whereas the use of this verb in Phil 3:13 implies that Paul 'holds a particular opinion', its use in 4:8 only indicates the act of thinking about or considering.

σκοπέω 'to keep thinking about, to fix one's attention on': Phil 2:4 (used in a negative sense 'thinking about one's own matters'; contrast Gal 6:1) and 3:17 (used in a positive sense 'consider those who...').

φρονέω 'to have an attitude, to think in a particular manner': Not only is this used proportionately more in Philippians (10x) than any other Pauline letter (Romans is closest with nine occurrences), but it is used with a relatively high frequency in Philippians itself: Phil 1:7; 2:2 (2x), 5; 3:15 (2x), 19; 4:2, 10 (2x). Of its uses in Paul, the expression φρονέω^{το} αὐτό 'to think the same' (to have a unified attitude) appears five times: Rom 12:16; 15:5; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 2:2; 4:2.

ἰσόψυχος, ον 'having the same mind, similarly minded': Phil 2:20 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

σύμψυχος, ον 'being one in spirit or attitude': Phil 2:2 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Psychological Faculties

ψυχή, ἥς 'inner self, being', including mental and emotional feelings: In Phil 1:27 this noun is used in the sense of sharing the same mental and emotional feelings, i.e. the Philippians are unified in how they think and feel. In contrast, in Phil 2:30 it is used in the sense of physical life, a different semantic field.

καρδία, ας literally 'heart', but also a meronym of 'inner self': Notably, καρδία is used at least once in every Pauline letter except Titus and Philemon. In Phil 4:7 Paul seems to be differentiating between καρδία and νόημα, suggesting that the former may refer to the 'inner self' responsible for *emotive* faculties ('emotions', see BAGD s.v. καρδία 1.b.ε). In Phil 1:7 καρδία is also used with reference to the emotive faculties of the 'inner self'.

νόημα, τος the content of thinking, 'thought, what is thought': The general meaning of this noun is the process of thinking and resulting 'thoughts' (2 Cor 2:11; 10:5; 11:3; LSJ s.v. νόημα) and only by extension the 'mind' (2 Cor 3:14; and perhaps 4:4) which does the thinking. Thus, in Phil 4:7 the peace of God is said to be protecting the actual 'emotive' and 'mental' processes of the believer (see on καρδία).

νοῦς, νοός 'mind': This noun typically refers to the psychological faculty, the 'mind' (LSJ s.v. νόος), not to the reasoning processes, i.e. 'understanding' (so most translations of Phil 4:7). Hence in Phil 4:7, especially in view of the use of the more specific νόημα 'thoughts, content of thinking', the peace of God is said to be more powerful than any reasoning faculty, i.e. the mind cannot protect one's inner thoughts and emotions in the way that God's peace can.

πνεῦμα, τος 'spirit, inner being', non-material, psychological faculty particularly concerning 'religious' and ethical matters: Of the five uses of this noun in Philippians, at least two fall under this semantic field (1:27; 4:23, both referring to the collective 'spirit' of the Philippians) and two under the semantic field of 'supernatural spirit' (1:19; 3:3). Phil 2:1 εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος is problematic, but see above on Supernatural Beings in support of a divine 'Spirit' reading.

σπλάγγνον, ου 'feelings, desires, longings', specifically, the psychological faculty of desire: In Phil 1:8 this noun most likely means 'desire'. However, the lack of context in Phil 2:1 makes it difficult to identify the precise meaning there, although the sense of 'desire' parallels well with the following οἰκτιρμοί.

¹This semantic field is similar to that of Attitudes and Emotions, but here the emphasis is on *mental* processes and faculties.

Intend, Purpose, Plan

θέλω 'to purpose, to plan', based upon one's desire: In Phil 2:13 it is God's purpose for the Philippians which is in view with this verb; for other uses with God as subject see Rom 9:18; 1 Cor 4:19; 12:18; 15:38; Col 1:27.

Choose, Select, Prefer

αἰρέομαι 'to choose, to select' from one or more possible alternatives: This deponent verb is used only in Phil 1:22 and 2 Thess 2:13 in the Pauline letters.¹

Distinguish, Evaluate, Judge

δοκιμάζω 'to distinguish that which is good, to evaluate': In Phil 1:10 the Philippians are exhorted to distinguish what is good from a number of different possibilities (see on διαφέρω); cf. Rom 2:18 for the same expression.

Suppose, Think Possible

δοκέω 'to suppose, to believe, to presume': This is a favourite verb of Paul to describe the opinions of others (1 Cor 8:2; 10:12; 11:16; 12:22-23; 14:37; 2 Cor 11:16; 12:19; Gal 2:2, 6, 9; 6:3; Phil 3:4), frequently with reference to self-evaluation.

οἶμαι 'to suppose, to presume, to assume': Phil 1:17 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters and rare in the NT; see John 21:25 and James 1:7).

Believe to Be True

ἐπέχω 'to hold firmly to' a particular belief: Phil 2:16 (hapax legomenon in the accepted Pauline letters); cf. 1 Tim 4:16.

Trust, Rely, Confidence

πείθω 'to trust, to have confidence': Besides the single occurrence in Philemon, the six uses of this verb in Philippians are proportionately more than any other Pauline letter by at least a 3:1 ratio: Phil 1:6, 14, 25; 2:24; 3:3, 4. All uses are in the perfect tense-form, which is true of 15 of the 19 uses in the accepted Pauline letters. The meaning of the verb in the perfect is 'to be in a state of persuasion' ('to have confidence') rather than the meaning of the verb when not in the perfect (viz. 'to persuade').

πεποίθησις, εως 'trust, confidence': Phil 3:4.

πιστεύω 'to be a believer, to trust in', frequently used in Pauline literature in the sense of 'religious belief, conviction': Phil 1:29.

πίστις, εως 'trust, faith, religious belief': The use of this noun in Philippians (5x) allows for a variety of senses: *πίστις* as religious conviction and belief (1:25; 2:17; 3:9 ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει); *πίστις* as a religious world view (1:27); *πίστις* as trustworthiness, faithfulness, i.e. one who acts in a way deserving trust (3:9 διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ; though highly disputed in Pauline studies, Christ seems to be the actor here [Christ's faithfulness] since Paul's ['my'] righteousness is being contrasted with another type of righteousness, one which is based on Christ's trustworthiness and which comes 'from God').

Change an Opinion Concerning the Truth

διαστρέφω 'to cause someone to turn away from a belief, to mislead': A hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters, the perfect passive participle of διαστρέφω is used in Phil 2:15 to describe either Israel (i.e. Gentile Christians are a testimony to wayward Israel, Rom 9-11) or more likely the world in general as 'a generation crooked and being misled' (see on γενεά). The whole expression to which the participle belongs (τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης) is one of the few transparent references to an OT passage in Philippians (Deut 32:5 ἡμάρτοσαν οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά, γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη).

17. COMMUNICATION

Written Language

γράφω 'to write': Paul uses this verb only once (out of 61 uses in the accepted Pauline letters) in Philippians (3:1) where it is used in a disclosure formula (see the discussion of Hesitation Formulas in chap. 4); for similar epistolary uses (typically in the first person) see Rom 15:15; 1 Cor 5:9; 2 Cor 13:10; Gal 6:11; Phlm 19. Its rarity in Philippians is due in part to Paul's frequent use of the term elsewhere for OT citations (esp. in Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians).

¹Droge ('Mori Lucrum', p. 279) suggests that because this verb denotes an actual volitional choice Paul must have in view in Phil 1:21-23 a choice between *suicide* and life; cf. Vollenweider, 'Waagschalen', pp. 93-115.

βίβλος, ου 'book', esp. the contents of a book: Paul uses the expression 'book of life' (ἐν βιβλῷ ζωῆς) only in Phil 4:3, where it serves to describe the place in which Paul's co-workers' names have been written. Elsewhere the same imagery is used of those who will attain eternal life rather than wrath (Dan 12:1; Rev 3:5; 20:15). This heavenly register of names would provide an ample contrast with the earthly register of names kept in many Greco-Roman cities (cf. 3:20).¹

Speak, Talk

λέγω 'to say, to tell': Phil 3:8 (2x) (cf. Gal 1:9 where past and present speech are indicated in the same context) and Phil 4:11 (the expression λέγω with a κατά prepositional phrase is a favourite of Paul; see Rom 3:5; 1 Cor 7:6; 2 Cor 8:8; 11:21; Gal 3:15).

εἶπον (perhaps from λέγω) 'to say, to talk, to tell': Phil 4:4; cf. also 1 Cor 11:22; 2 Cor 12:6; and Gal 2:14 for other first person singular uses of this verb.

λαλέω 'to speak, to tell': Phil 1:14; cf. Col 4:3.

λόγος, οὔ 'speech, message', the content of what is spoken: In Phil 1:14 and 2:16 this is the function of the noun; in contrast, in Phil 4:15, 17 it is used with reference to the record of a transfer of goods ('account')—a different semantic field.

Name

ὄνομα, τος the proper name of an entity, 'name': Phil 2:9 (2x), 10 (cf. 'the name of the Lord' in 1 Cor 1:2, 10; 5:4; 6:11; Eph 5:20; Col 3:17; 2 Thess 1:12; 3:6); and Phil 4:3.

Ask For, Request

ἐρωτάω 'to ask for, to request': This verb is used in the papyri in conjunction with or as a substitute for παρακάλω epistolary formulas (see chap. 4 on Final Petitions), as it is used in Phil 4:3; 1 Thess 4:1; 5:12; and 2 Thess 2:1.

αἴτημα, τος 'request, demand, that which is being requested': This word is only used in Phil 4:6 in the Pauline letters, where the process of requesting is not in view but rather the things being requested. Here and in 1 John 5:15 the word is used in the context of prayer (i.e. it is one of the specific activities of prayer), but Luke 23:24 (the people's request of Pilate to execute Jesus) shows that it may be used in a broader context (cf. the use of the verb in 1 Cor 1:22).

δέησις, εως 'request': Paul uses this word in a thanksgiving formula only in Phil 1:4 (2x) (cf. 2 Cor 1:11), where it naturally has the meaning of 'prayer' (on behalf of the Philipians). In Phil 1:19 and 4:6 it is also used in the context of prayer, but that of the Philipians on behalf of Paul.

παρακαλέω 'to ask for, to request, to appeal': Used in all of the Pauline letters except for Galatians, in Phil 4:2 (2x) it is used as an epistolary formula, viz. petition/request (see chap. 4 above on Final Petitions).

Inform, Announce, Message

καταγγέλλω 'to announce, to speak about': This is a favourite word in Acts and the Pauline letters for designating the activity of announcing the gospel message. In Phil 1:17, 18 it serves the same purpose but there the object of the proclaiming is specifically Christ; furthermore, the agents of proclaiming are not all sympathetic to Paul's mission.

κηρύσσω 'to tell, announce' (publicly): Phil 1:15; for other cases in which the object of the verb is also Christ see 1 Cor 1:23; 15:12; 2 Cor 1:19; 4:5; and 11:4. The last reference suggests that those proclaiming Christ from evil motives in Phil 1:15 are nonetheless *not* proclaiming an essentially 'different' Christ than Paul's.

εὐαγγέλιον, ου 'the good news, the gospel': An important word in Paul's 'Christian' dialect, this noun is used proportionately more in Philipians (9x) than in any other Pauline letter—the next closest is 1 Thessalonians with six occurrences. Six of these are used in chap. 1 (1:5, 7, 12, 16, 27 [2x]); the others are in Phil 2:22; 4:3, 15. Paul frequently speaks of various people's service or behaviour with respect to the *gospel*: of himself (1:7, 12, 16; 4:15); of the Philipians (1:5, 27 [2x]); of Timothy (2:22); of Euodia and Syntyche (4:3).

ἀκούω 'to receive news, to be informed about, to hear': Although this verb often implies the physical process of 'hearing', Paul uses it in 1:27, 30 and 2:26 with reference to the exchange of information between himself and the churches at Philippi. This might involve verbal correspondence (through the sending of an envoy such as Timothy or Epaphroditus) or written correspondence (through a letter). This process of 'being informed about' also seems to be in effect in 4:9, where Paul speaks about his earlier

¹So Hawthorne, *Philipians*, p. 181.

ministry to the Philipians using several verbs of communication (μανθάνω, παραλαμβάνω); however, its use in conjunction with the word for 'seeing' (εἶδον) indicates that by ἀκούω in 4:9 Paul also has in view the physical process of 'hearing'.

Witness, Testify

μάρτυς, μάρτυρος 'witness, one who testifies': Phil 1:8; cf. Rom 1:9 where God is also the witness of Paul's travel plans.

Profess Allegiance

ἔξομολογέομαι 'to profess, to confess': The use of this verb in Rom 14:11 and Phil 2:11 is probably part of an OT allusion, Isa 45:23.

Call

κλήσις, εως 'calling, calling to a task': This noun is only used in Phil 3:14 (in the Pauline letters) in reference to Paul's own calling (contrast Rom 11:29; 1 Cor 1:26; 7:20; Eph 1:18; 4:1, 4; 2 Thess 1:11; 2 Tim 1:9).

Law, Regulation, Ordinance

νόμος, ου 'law, ordinance, rule', implying formalised law: Its three occurrences in Philipians (3:5, 6, 9) are all in reference to formalised Jewish legal traditions (probably Torah).

Thanks

εὐχαριστία, ας 'thanksgiving, thankfulness': Phil 4:6; cf. 1 Tim 2:1 where 'thanksgiving' is also used in the context of prayer.

εὐχαριστέω 'to thank, to express gratitude': In the Pauline corpus, the first person form of εὐχαριστέω is commonly used as part of an epistolary thanksgiving formula; see Rom 1:8 (cf. 16:4); 1 Cor 1:4 (cf. 1:14); Phil 1:3; Col 1:3 (plural); 1 Thess 1:2 (plural); 2:13; Phlm 4. Despite the mention of Timothy in the prescript, Paul uses the first person singular verb in Phil 1:3 (cf. 1 Cor 1:4), whereas in 1 Thess 1:2 (also a plural prescript; cf. Col 1:3) the plural verb is used.

Praise

δόξα, ης 'praise, glory': In Philipians δόξα is used in two senses: (i) an act or process of praising or glorying in something (God as object in 1:11; 2:11; 4:20) and (ii) an entity possessing splendour, glory, i.e. that which is worthy of praise (3:21; 4:19). Phil 3:19 could reasonably be translated either way ('They glory in what is shameful' or 'That which is worthy of praise to them is in their shameful conduct'); what is unique about this verse is that δόξα is used with reference to opponents rather than God or Christians.

ἔπαινος, ου 'praise, something worthy of praise': Whereas in Phil 1:11 this noun takes on a verbal sense 'the act of praise', in Phil 4:8 it designates 'something that is worthy of praise'.

εὐφημος, ον 'worthy of praise': Phil 4:8 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Boast

καύχημα, τος 'boast': In Phil 1:26 the Philipians are *apparently* portrayed as boasting in Paul (cf. 2 Cor 1:14; 5:12); in Phil 2:16 Paul is boasting in the Philipians (cf. 2 Cor 1:14; 9:3). In the light of Phil 3:3 (καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), in Phil 1:26 Paul may be speaking of the Philipians' boast 'in Christ' which is occasioned 'by Paul' (i.e. 'through' Paul's presence), rather than their boast 'in Paul'.

καυχάομαι 'to boast, to express a high degree of confidence': Phil 3:3; cf. Rom 5:11 καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ.

Complain

γογγυσμός, οῦ 'complaining, grumbling': In the light of the intertextual references in 1 Cor 10:10 to the grumbings of Israel in Num 16:41 and 17:5 (as well as similar 'echoes' in Phil 2:15 to Deut 32:5), Paul may be using an example from the past in Phil 2:14 (πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρίς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν) as a general exhortation to the Philipians.

Defend, Excuse

ἀπολογία, ας 'defence': Despite the legal connotations of this word, its use in Phil 1:7 does not necessarily imply a context in which Paul is standing before a Roman court. It may be a more general reference to his belief that he always stands in defence of the gospel (cf. Phil 1:16). It is noteworthy, however, that only in Philipians (1:7, 16) does Paul speak of his ministry as a 'defence' of the gospel (cf. 1 Cor 9:3 where he defends himself and 2 Cor 7:11 where the Corinthians defend themselves).¹

βεβαίωσις, εως 'confirmation, verification' (used only here in the Pauline letters): Perhaps in 1:7 Paul intends to distinguish between the act of defending (ἀπολογία) the gospel and the act of verifying

¹Paul perhaps thought of his own personal defence as a defence of the gospel (see 2 Cor 12:19).

(βεβαίωσις) it—one defensive and the other offensive—but this must remain a conjecture due to the lack of co-textual and contextual queues.

Greetings

ἀσπάζομαι 'to greet, to send greetings': Used only at the close of Pauline letters (Rom 16:3-23; 1 Cor 16:19-20; 2 Cor 13:12; Phil 4:21-22; Col 4:10-15; 1 Thess 5:26; 2 Tim 4:19, 21; Titus 3:15; Phlm 23) and only in the initial position of its clause, this verb is a common expression of greetings used by Hellenistic letter writers at the end of letters, often for the purpose of maintaining social relationships between friends and family.

Argue, Quarrel

διαλογισμός, οὐδ 'argument, dispute': The context of Phil 2:14 (χωρίς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν) suggests that this noun implies contention ('disputes') rather than the more general meaning 'reasoning' (cf. 1 Tim 2:8)

18. ASSOCIATION

Visit, Meet With

εἶδον (from ὁράω) 'to see': All of the occurrences of this verb in Philippians imply the sensory process of seeing (1:27, 30; 2:28; 4:9), but 1:27 and 2:28 (both participle forms) have the additional connotation of 'to meet with, visit', a frequent meaning of the verb when used in epistolary contexts.

Welcome, Receive

προσδέχομαι 'to receive, to welcome': This verb is used as part of an epistolary commendation in Phil 2:29 and Rom 16:2 (see chap. 4 on Commendations); it is only found elsewhere in the Pauline letters in Titus 2:13, but there indicating a 'waiting, receiving' of the Lord Jesus.

19. HELP, CARE FOR

Help

σὺλλαμβάνω 'to help, to join in helping': This verb can be used in the middle voice to indicate the act of giving aid or assistance: Phil 4:3 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters); cf. Luke 5:7. The context is too terse to clarify whether Paul is asking his unnamed cohort to help the two women (as if they need assistance for some reason) or to *join in* assisting them in the ministry. The epistolary convention of commendations, which 4:3 formally resembles (see chap. 4 on Commendations), suggests that perhaps Paul is commending the women into the care of his 'yoke-fellow', as if they are part of Paul's travelling ministry team.

Serve

δουλεύω 'to serve', with connotations of lower social status: Phil 2:22 (Timothy served on behalf of the gospel); see below on δοῦλος.

δοῦλος, οὐ 'slave, servant': Appeal to the OT might suggest that by δοῦλος in Phil 1:1 Paul has in view a term of honour (divinely given authority; e.g. Ps 88:21 LXX); but, on the other hand, the Greco-Roman background of at least some of the audience would have resulted in 'slavery' readings (cf. Phlm 16).¹ Neither Phil 1:1 (Paul and Timothy as δοῦλοι) nor 2:7 (Christ becoming δοῦλος) provide enough context to be definitive on this issue. Perhaps for Paul the word has elements of both Jewish and Greco-Roman backgrounds (which, in fact, are not easily distinguishable): servanthood as divine commission (cf. Rom 1:1) and servanthood as subjugation to God.

Provide For, Support

πληρόω 'to provide fully, to provide a complete amount': In Phil 4:18, 19 the verb includes the sense of 'to provide for', implying a *complete* provision; contrast Phil 1:11 (cf. Rom 8:4) and 2:2 in which the verb is used to indicate the process of completing something (literally, 'filling up').

ἐπιχορηγία, ας 'provision, support': Paul uses this noun in Phil 1:19 and the participle form of the related verb in Gal 3:5 with reference to the Spirit's provision.

20. CONTROL, RULE

Control

συνέχω 'to control': When a human is the agent of this verb, it is not difficult to translate into English the notion of 'control'; but non-human agents as in Phil 1:23 can also exercise control over some entity: 'I

¹On the debate see O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 44-45.

am controlled (in the sense of being moved to make certain decisions) by two desires'—viz. to die and be with Christ or to live and serve the Philipians.

ὑποτάσσω 'to subject to, to bring under control': Phil 3:21, in which Christ is the one doing the subjecting; cf. 1 Cor 15:27-28; Eph 1:22; 5:24, in which God subjects all things under Christ.

Imprison

δεσμός, οὐ 'bonds, imprisonment': Paul uses this noun four times in Phil 1 as a figurative expression indicating his imprisonment (1:7, 13, 14, 17). It is also used in Col 4:18 and Phlm 10, 13 to describe an imprisonment of Paul.

Guard, Watch Over

φρουρέω 'to guard against, to watch over': Phil 4:7.

21. HOSTILITY, STRIFE

Opposition, Hostility

ἀντίκειμαι 'to oppose, to be hostile toward': In Phil 1:28 and 1 Cor 16:9 (cf. 2 Thess 2:4 and Luke 13:17; 21:15) Paul uses the participle form of this verb to refer to adversaries against Christians. It is a general term describing opposition, thus it is difficult to ascertain what types of opponents are in view (e.g. pagan officials, Judaizers, Jews).

ἐχθρός, ἄ, ὄν 'being an enemy, in opposition to': This adjective is used in Phil 3:18 as a substantive to describe certain 'opponents' as 'enemies of the cross of Christ'; cf. 1 Cor 15:25 in which it is said that Christ will reign until he puts his 'enemies' under his feet. Paul, then, probably does not endorse the theology of these opponents (contrast those in 1:15-17).

Strife, Struggle

ἄγών, ὄνος 'struggle, fight' with force: Paul's use of the term in 1:30 (see also 1 Thess 2:2; cf. 1:29 **πάσχειν**) perhaps implies more than a metaphorical struggle on behalf of the gospel ministry (so Col 2:1); it implies some sort of *material* suffering (e.g. social ostracism).

ἔρις, ἰδος 'strife, discord': Paul often uses this noun in vice lists (Rom 1:29; 13:13; 2 Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20; cf. 1 Tim 6:4; Titus 3:9); in Phil 1:15 he uses it to characterise the reason why certain persons are preaching Christ, viz. **διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν** 'on account of envy and strife'. Their hostility is directed at Paul (see 1:17).

ἐριθεία, ας 'hostility, being against', with the implication of selfish ambition: Phil 1:17 and 2:3. Whether this noun means 'hostility, contentiousness' or 'selfish ambition' is debatable (see BAGD s.v. **ἐριθεία**, who claim that Aristotle's *Politics* is the only use before the NT; but see P.Sorb. 1.34.9 [230 BCE] **ἐριθείαν**). Its use in vice lists with **ἔρις** in 2 Cor 12:20 and Gal 5:20 is of little help; the general nature of Rom 2:8 is hardly informative. However, it is not unreasonable, based on the context of Phil 1:17 and the warnings against disunity throughout Philipians, that the noun includes the inherent hostility that is part of selfish ambition (i.e. to be selfish implies that one engages in hostility towards others). This meaning would make sense of the context of Phil 2:3, viz. creating unity (see esp. 2:2 from which 2:3 syntactically follows) by looking out for the interests of others.

Persecution

διώκω 'to persecute, to harass': When Paul uses **διώκω** in Philipians to describe his religious pursuits as a Christian it means broadly 'to pursue, to strive to' (Phil 3:12, 14; this is the only place where he uses it to describe his own religious pursuits, but cf. Rom 14:19), but when used to describe his pre-Christian religious pursuits it takes on a negative connotation 'to persecute, to harass' (Phil 3:6; cf. 1 Cor 15:9; Gal 1:13, 23; and 2 Cor 4:9 and Gal 5:11 [with respect to his own persecution]).

22. BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour, Conduct

περιπατέω 'to behave, to go about doing': Phil 3:17, 18.

στοιχέω 'to behave, to live in a particular manner': Phil 3:16; cf. Rom 4:12; Gal 5:25; 6:16—all uses are associated with some type of standard, rule, or principle.

πολιτεύομαι 'to live, to conduct one's life', often with reference to one's obligations in a community: In Acts 23:1 the verb has a more general function, probably without implying the conduct of a citizen, but in the light of the use of **πολίτευμα** in Phil 3:20 (where citizenship is in view) and the Roman setting of

the Philippian audience the use of the verb in Phil 1:27 probably includes the idea of one's proper conduct in relationship to a community (here, however, the government of God in heaven).¹

τρέχω 'to behave, to go about doing', implying some type of progress, a figurative extension of the literal meaning 'to run': Phil 2:16; cf. Gal 2:2. In 1 Cor 9:24 the figurative extension is used in the same context of the 'literal' (or unmarked) meaning.

Imitate Behaviour

συμμιμητής, οὗ 'joint imitators': Phil 3:17 (hapax legomenon in the NT). Its sole appearance here in the NT raises the difficulty of determining whether Paul is exhorting the Philippians to join with Paul in imitating (Christ?) or to join together in imitating Paul.² The last portion of the clause (καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμῶς) suggests that Paul is offering himself as an example to be imitated (cf. Phil 4:14 συγκοινωνήσαντές μου and perhaps Phil 1:7 συγκοινωνούς μου; on imitating Paul see 1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; 1 Thess 1:6; cf. 2 Thess 3:7, 9).³

Obey, Disobey

ὑπακούω 'to obey, to behave in accordance to a standard': Phil 2:12.

ὑπήκοος, ον 'obedient': Phil 2:8; only elsewhere in Paul in 2 Cor 2:9.

23. PERFORM, DO

Do, Perform, Work

ποιέω 'to do, to perform' (hyponymous for many other activities): Phil 1:4; 2:14; 4:14.

πράσσω 'to do, to perform (a deed)': Phil 4:9—another generic term used by Paul to speak of moral activity (cf. Rom 1:32; 2:1, 2, 3, 25; 7:15, 19; 13:4; 1 Cor 5:2; 9:17; 2 Cor 5:10; 12:21; Gal 5:21; contrast 1 Thess 4:11; Eph 6:21).

ἔργον, ον 'work, task', that which is done or performed: An important term in Paul's vocabulary (only missing from Philemon in all of the Pauline letters), this noun is always used as a *positive* behavioural term in Philippians: of the Philippians (1:6); of himself (1:22); and of Christ (2:30). Paul does not take it up as a theological issue with respect to law and faith as he does in Romans and Galatians (e.g. 'the works of the law').

ἐνέργεια, ας 'working in, empowering', with focus on the power behind the action: Phil 3:21 is the only occurrence of this noun in the accepted Pauline letters, but see Eph 1:19; 3:7; 4:16; Col 1:29; 2:12; 2 Thess 2:9, 11. These references all share the idea of the power behind the process of doing or working—but not always God's power (e.g. 2 Thess 2:9). In Phil 3:21 it is followed by δύναμαι in an infinitive clause: '...according to the empowering [with which] he [Christ] is also able to subject all things to him [God?]'.

ἐνεργέω 'to work, to be at work in': Phil 2:13 (2x) uses this verb to describe God's work in the Philippians on behalf of [his] good pleasure and 1 Thess 2:13 similarly uses it to describe how the 'word of God' is at work in the Thessalonians (cf. 1 Cor 12:6).

ἐργάτης, ον 'worker, one who does something': Although the Gospels frequently uses this noun with reference to paid labourers (e.g. Matt 20:2), it may have a wider reference to anyone who 'engages in an activity'. In both 2 Cor 11:13 and Phil 3:2 Paul uses this noun (with derogatory adjectives 'deceitful' and 'evil') to designate certain (specific or non-specific) opponents, most likely missionary opponents with Jewish backgrounds; cf. Luke 13:27 'those who engage in iniquity'.

συνεργός, οὗ 'fellow worker': Paul often uses this word to designate his co-workers in the ministry: Rom 16:3, 9, 21; 2 Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25; 4:3; 1 Thess 3:2; Phlm 1, 24; cf. Col 4:11.

σύζυγος, ον 'fellow worker', implying a close relationship: Phil 4:3 (hapax legomenon in the NT). Though this noun in 4:3 perhaps refers to the specific recipient of the letter (see chap. 4 above on the epistolary prescript), attempts to identify the person (e.g. Epaphroditus, Paul's wife, Luke, Timothy) have failed.⁴

¹On the socio-cultural background of πολιτ- terms see Winter, *Welfare*, pp. 82-104.

²For a summary of the issues see O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 445-47.

³Cf. Stanley, 'Imitators', p. 859. McMichael ('Followers', p. 287) comments that elsewhere in the NT 'a compound of συν may take an objective genitive denoting a thing, but not a person' (e.g. Eph 3:6 and 5:7). Though a generally true principle (see esp. Phil 2:25 συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου), he fails to account for Phil 4:14, which according to the context is best taken as an objective genitive denoting a person, as well as the context of Phil 3:17 itself.

⁴See e.g. Hájek, 'Philippians 4:3', pp. 261-62, who fails to recognise that the individual is unnamed because the letter may have been specifically addressed to him on the *verso*.

καρπός, οὐ the result of a person's 'deed, activity' sometimes implying a reward—figurative extension of 'fruit': Although aware of the literal use of this word (1 Cor 9:7), Paul more often uses it in the context of Christian 'activity', especially the yield of that activity (Rom 1:13; 6:21, 22; 15:28; Gal 5:22). Whereas the idea of 'activity, deeds' resulting in a 'yield, payment, reward' is implied in Phil 1:22 and 4:17, in Phil 1:11 it is not as clear whether Paul is speaking of the 'resulting yield' produced by Christian activity or simply the activity of becoming totally righteous (at the day of Christ): πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης. Paul's use of the perfect aspect (πεπληρωμένοι) perhaps refers to the culmination of the Christian's labours at the day of Christ which results in the product or reward of complete righteousness, i.e. at the day of Christ the believer is in the state of being completely (active or passive?) righteous (fulfilled with the reward of righteousness).

κατεργάζομαι 'to accomplish, to perform successfully': Only in Phil 2:12 does Paul make 'salvation' the object of this verb, which understandably has occasioned some theological debate. In Rom 15:18 (κατειργάσατο Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ εἰς ὑπακοήν ἔθνῶν) Paul's 'accomplishments' have been done *through* him by Christ. Similarly, Phil 2:12 is balanced with God's 'working' in the Philipians in v 13.¹

Nevertheless, Paul does put the emphasis here upon the Philipians' role in σωτηρία.²

στέφανος, ου 'symbol of success, sign of accomplishment', figurative extension of the meaning 'crown': Paul describes his communities with this word in Phil 4:1 and 1 Thess 2:19—these churches are a symbol of his success (hence, he can boast of the Thessalonians).

Work Hard, Toil

διώκω 'to do with effort, to strive toward', a figurative extension of the literal 'to pursue, to chase': When Paul uses διώκω in Philipians to describe his religious pursuits as a Christian it means broadly 'to pursue, to strive to' (Phil 3:12, 14; this is the only place where he uses it to describe his own religious pursuits, but cf. Rom 14:19),³ but when used to describe his pre-Christian religious pursuits it takes on a negative connotation 'to persecute' (Phil 3:6; cf. 1 Cor 15:9; Gal 1:13, 23; and 2 Cor 4:9 and Gal 5:11 [with respect to his present persecution]); so the meaning 'to prosecute, to bring a charge against' in Greek literature, LSJ s.v. διώκω).

ἐπεκτείνομαι 'to seek strongly to, to try hard to', i.e. to attempt energetically to attain a state or condition: Phil 3:13 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

κοπιᾶω 'to work hard, to labour', sometimes implying difficulties and trouble: In Phil 2:16 and Gal 4:11 Paul expresses his concern that his pastoral labours may have not produced the desired results. Paul uses κοπιᾶω several times to describe missionary and pastoral duties (Rom 16:6, 12 [2x]; 1 Cor 15:10; 1 Thess 5:12).

συναθλέω 'to labour with', implying strenuous activity: Phil 1:27 and 4:3—only here in the NT.

συστρατιώτης, ου 'one who struggles with, fellow struggler', figurative extension of 'fellow soldier': Phil 2:25 and Phlm 2—the only instances in the NT.

24. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Religious Practice

λειτουργία, ας 'performance of religious duties': Phil 2:17, 30 (see on λειτουργός and λατρεύω).

λειτουργός, οὐ 'religious servant', a person who performs religious activities: Phil 2:25 (cf. Rom 13:6; 15:16). As with the noun λειτουργία, this noun always occurs in NT contexts where a person's 'service' is done on behalf of the gods (cf. Heb 1:7; 8:2); hence it is a religious activity (contrast its use in Greek literature to mean also a public servant, LSJ s.v. λειτουργός).

Offering, Sacrifice

θυσία, ας 'sacrifice', that which is offered as a sacrifice: In both Phil 2:17 and 4:18 Christian service is described as a 'sacrifice'; cf. Rom 12:1, but contrast 1 Cor 10:18 which refers to altar sacrifice. Combined with σπένδομαι, this noun may also indicate Paul's potential sacrificial death (see on σπένδω).

¹Stagg, 'Mind', p. 345.

²So Fortna, 'Philipians', p. 225, who concludes that this is an 'egocentric' Pauline perspective (i.e. humans can bring about or 'effect' salvation) which Paul subsequently abandons in letters such as Romans and Galatians (dated later) for a salvation which cannot be accomplished in any way by humans. Contrast Doughty, 'Citizens', pp. 102-22, who for similar (and other) reasons dates Phil 3:2-21 as a later pseudo-Pauline writing.

³Paul also uses the verb to describe Christian (Rom 12:13; 1 Cor 14:1; 1 Thess 5:15) and non-Christian (Rom 9:30-31) religious pursuits; on the pursuit of moral virtues see Pseudo-Crates, *Ep.* 15.

σπένδω 'to pour a libation, to pour out an offering': The only two NT uses of the verb are found in Phil 2:17 and 2 Tim 4:6, both of which seem to indicate a possible (but not necessarily looming, see 2:24) death of Paul—the middle voice indicates Paul's own *involvement* in his own libation offering. In vv 17-18 Paul again rejoices (and calls the Philipians to rejoice) not because he may suffer but because he *serves* the Philipians in spite of suffering (so also with Epaphroditus and the call to joy in 2:25-3:1).

Dedicate, Consecrate

περιτομή 'circumcision', a religious rite which serves as ethnic and religious identification: In Phil 3:5 Paul uses this in the literal sense of physical circumcision, but in 3:3 he extends it metaphorically to identify those who have the 'true' circumcision as those who worship in the Spirit and boast in Christ. Above all, it is this word (and **κατατομή** below) which suggests that Paul's real or implied 'opponents' concern a Jewish group or at least persons adopting certain Jewish practices.¹

κατατομή, ἦς 'mutilation, cutting': This noun seems to be a hyperbole for 'circumcision' in Phil 3:2 (hapax legomenon in the NT), but at the least it is used with negative religious overtones here as it is with verbal forms in the LXX (Lev 21:5 and Hos 7:14).²

Worship, Reverence

λατρεύω 'to perform religious rites, to worship': Phil 3:3. The only two other uses in the accepted Pauline letters (Rom 1:9, 25) suggest that for Paul this verb includes the idea of religious activity *on behalf of God*.

κάμπτω when used with τὸ γόνυ this verb is an idiomatic expression meaning 'to worship, to bend the knees': Phil 2:10.

Pray

προσευχή, ἦς 'prayer', request directed to gods: Phil 4:6 'make your prayers with thanks...'. Prayer is linked with 'thanksgiving' elsewhere in Paul but typically in epistolary thanksgivings (cf. Rom 1:10; Phil 1:9; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4; cf. Eph 1:16).

προσεύχομαι 'to pray, to ask a god for': Paul uses the verb as part of an epistolary prayer in Phil 1:9, following his epistolary thanksgiving (see chap. 4 on epistolary Thanksgivings).

25. POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE

Have, Possess, Property

ἔχω 'to have, to possess': ἔχω is used nine times in Philipians with the basic sense of 'to have, to possess' (1:7, 23, 30; 2:2, 20, 27; 3:4, 9, 17) and one time as an imperative with the sense of 'to hold a view of' (2:29).

πλοῦτος, ου (m, n) 'riches, abundance': Paul uses this term to speak of wealth (not necessarily monetary) which comes from God in Rom 2:4; 9:23; 11:33; Phil 4:19.

Need, Lack

ὑστέρημα, τος 'what is lacking': Phil 2:30; in contrast to the verbal form in 4:12 the noun here does not refer to material 'needs' but generically to an absence or 'lacking' with respect to the Philipians' service on behalf of Paul.

ὑστερέω 'to be in need of, to lack': Phil 4:12; cf. 2 Cor 11:9.

¹For a list of 18 different views regarding the opponents in Phil 3 (of which the majority involve Jewish opponents) see Gunther, *Opponents*, p. 2. Grayston ('Opponents', pp. 170-72) provides perhaps the most cogent argument for *Gentile* Christian opponents underlying the polemic of Phil 3; it is at its weakest, however, when he interprets 'circumcision' in Phil 3:2 as 'Gentile propagandists...promoting circumcision as an initiatory rite—not out of native Jewish conviction, but out of semi-magical belief in ritual bloodshedding' (p. 171). While Grayston argues (immediately before this statement) that Paul would not call fellow-Jews 'dogs' because it was the Jews (as a social convention) who called Gentiles 'dogs' (though Maccoby ['Paul', pp. 177-80] denies the plausibility of this argument), he admits that the Gentile propagandists are adopting (misusing) Jewish circumcision albeit for their own purposes. Accordingly, the ethnic identity of the opponents is irrelevant; instead, what matters to the rhetoric of the discourse is that the opponents hold a particular *Jewish* ideology (albeit for their own purposes) to which Paul is opposed. Surely we will never know the actual ethnic identity of the opponents (indeed, it might have been mixed); it is their ideology which is at issue in the text.

²Maccoby, 'Paul', pp. 177-80. At the least, Paul's use of this word indicates his opposition to a Gentile becoming circumcised—but this may not be Paul's characterisation of Judaism per se (so Maccoby) but polemic occasioned by the (real or potential) circumstances of the letter: e.g. Christian Jews (religious missionaries) denying the 'salvation' of Gentiles (Pauline ones at that) unless they become 'full' Jews via circumcision.

ὑστέρησις, εως 'need, lacking', implying some form of poverty: Phil 4:11 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters); cf. Mark 12:44, the only other instance in the NT.

χρεία, ας 'need, lack, what is needed', usually implying material needs: This noun and its related forms are frequently used in epistolary literature with respect to the needs (usually physical) of the sender (Phil 2:25; 4:16) or recipient (4:19)—see chap. 4 on the Joy Expression.

Give, Gift

δόμα, τος 'gift, that which is given': Only used in Phil 4:17 (cf. δόσις in 4:15) and Eph 4:8 (a citation of Ps 68:18) in the Pauline letters, this noun does not have the religious overtones that χάρις does (see below) for Paul. In Phil 4:17 it is clearly part of an epistolary context, viz. mention of the sending or receiving of gifts.

δόσις, εως (f): 'gift, the act of giving': Only used in Phil 4:15 (cf. δόμα in 4:17) and James 1:17 ('gifts from God') this noun does not have the religious overtones in Philippians that χάρις does in the Pauline writings. In Phil 4:15 it is clearly part of an epistolary context, viz. mention of the sending or receiving of gifts. Its concatenation with λήμψις (εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως) suggests that Paul is using it here with the added sense of 'the act of giving' not just 'gift', since a 'gift' may be given and received. P. Marshall has argued (I think convincingly) that 'given the financial basis of the majority of friendships and the common use of commercial language and ideas in describing them, it is fair to suggest that the entire phrase, κοινωνεῖν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως, is an idiomatic expression indicating friendship'.¹

χαρίζομαι 'to give, grant' with the implication of goodwill: In Philippians, God is the agent of this verb, the giver of faith *and* suffering to the Philippians (1:29) and the giver of Christ's exalted name (2:9).

χάρις, ιτος 'that which is given' with the implication of goodwill: This sometimes theologically pregnant noun is used in all of the Pauline letters (with only slight variation) as a salutation (Phil 1:2) and closing (Phil 4:23)—the sources of grace are God and Christ. In Philippians, Paul's only other use is found in 1:7, which may mean (i) God's justifying grace (cf. Rom 3:24; 1 Cor 1:4 [also in a thanksgiving formula]) or, more generally, any type of God's spiritual gifts (cf. Rom 12:6), (ii) the collection for Jerusalem (cf. 1 Cor 16:3) or, more generally, Paul's ministry (cf. Rom 1:5), or (iii) friendly goodwill (cf. 2 Cor. 1:15). According to Paul's description of the Macedonian churches in 2 Cor 8:1-5 it is quite possible that elements of each meaning are in view: the Philippians, in an act of gracious goodwill which comes from God, have materially and spiritually participated in Paul's ministry (μου τῆς χάριτος). This understanding fits well with the larger discourse, viz. a hortatory letter of friendship partly recalling the 'friendship' relationships between Paul and the Philippians. (See chap. 4 on the epistolary Thanksgiving.)

βραβεῖον, ου 'prize, reward': Paul uses this athletic term metaphorically of the prize which he himself (and Christians) seeks to obtain at the culmination of his service on behalf of the gospel: 1 Cor 9:24 and Phil 3:14. The identity of this prize may include for Paul any blessing of the gospel (1 Cor 9:23, which provides the basis for the analogy in v 24)—e.g. righteousness and resurrection, which are both part of the context surrounding Phil 3:14.

κοινωνέω 'to share possessions', often with the implication of joint participation: Phil 4:15. The prepositional phrase εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως modifying this verb makes it clear that the Philippians have shared some form of financial goods with Paul (cf. Rom 12:13). But for Paul, κοινωνέω was not simply limited to material goods but also involved 'spiritual' goods (cf. Rom 15:27); thus, it may be unwise to reduce his understanding of κοινων- terms in Philippians always to material sharing—their act of giving is an act of their faith (see chap. 4 above on the epistolary Thanksgiving).

κοινωνία, ας 'the act of sharing, the act of partaking', with the implication of joint participation: Paul's semantic field of κοινωνία words is not limited to either the sharing of material or 'spiritual' (or moral) goods, but can be applied to both even in the same letter; so in Philippians it is used in 1:5 (ambiguous); 2:1 (spiritual goods; cf. 2 Cor 13:13); 3:10 (spiritual goods; 1 Cor 1:9; 10:16) and the verb in 4:15 (material goods; cf. Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:13).

συγκοινωνέω 'to share with, to give' in the sense of a partnership: Phil 4:14 (hapax legomenon in accepted Pauline letters); contrast Eph 5:11 where it is used in moral exhortation. (See below on συγκοινωνός.)

συγκοινωνός, οῦ 'one who shares in, partner': Phil 1:7; cf. Rom 11:17; 1 Cor 9:23. The genitives μου in 3:17 συμμιμηταί μου and 4:14 συγκοινωνήσαντές μου are best taken as objective genitives (i.e.

¹Marshall, *Enmity*, p. 163.

objects of an action, 'imitating me'), perhaps suggesting the same function of μου in 1:7 συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος 'you gave to me the gift of grace (spiritual or material?)'. But other uses of συν- prefixes are not followed by an objective genitive involving a person (see esp. Phil 2:25 συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου); rather, the meaning is 'fellow-' (cf. 'fellow-servant' in Matt 18:28).¹ It is just as likely that μου in 1:7 describes the Philippians as Paul's fellow-participants of grace. (See chap. 4 above on the epistolary Thanksgiving.)

Take, Obtain, Gain, Lose

λαμβάνω 'to acquire, to obtain': Although this verb is often translated with the English 'receive' (e.g. Rom 1:5 'through whom we have received grace and apostleship...'), the basic semantic contribution of the verb is that someone has 'acquired' or 'obtained' something; the context may then indicate any attenuating circumstances. Thus, both Phil 2:7 and 3:12 are understood here under the semantic domain of 'take, obtain, gain'.

καταλαμβάνω 'to acquire, to attain, to obtain': Phil 3:12 (2x), 13.

κερδαίνω to gain by means of one's activity, 'to earn, to gain, to obtain': Phil 3:8 ('to gain Christ'; cf. Phil 1:21 where this event apparently takes place at death); cf. 1 Cor 9:19-22 where Paul seeks to 'gain' various non-Christians for the sake of the gospel. Although frequently a term of monetary gain in the Gospels, in Matt 18:15 it is used with reference to gaining one's 'brother'.

κέρδος, οὐς that which is gained or earned, 'gain, profit': Phil 1:21 and 3:7 (only here in the accepted Pauline letters; contrast Titus 1:11).

ζημία, ας 'loss', that which is suffered as a loss, i.e. not a possession: Phil 3:7, 8 (only here in the Pauline letters).

ζημιόω (deponent in the NT) 'to suffer loss, to consider loss that which was possessed': If this verb was a true deponent by Paul's time, then it is unclear whether his statement in Phil 3:8 implies that he himself considered his ethnic and moral possessions in Judaism as loss or that (if it is a true passive) his possessions were taken from him on account of Christ.

σκύβαλον, οὐ 'worthless, useless items', a figurative extension of 'rubbish, waste material': Phil 3:8 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Receive

ἀπέχω 'receive in full, be paid in full': Whereas in 1 Thess 4:3 and 5:22 this verb means 'abstain' (cf. 1 Tim 4:3), in Phil 4:18 its meaning is dictated by the epistolary context of 'receiving' and 'giving' of gifts. Thus, it has a quite distinct meaning, viz. 'I received' (cf. Phlm 15, in which Philemon is similarly exhorted to receive Onesimus; Matt 6:2, 5, 16).

δέχομαι 'to receive': Very similar to ἀπέχω, Paul uses δέχομαι to indicate the receipt of a gift from the Philippians (4:18)—a common epistolary expression (see chap. 4 on Joy Expression).

παραλαμβάνω 'to receive from', with the implication of acceptance: In the accepted Pauline letters, Paul always uses this verb to speak of himself or others *receiving* information about God and about Christian traditions (beliefs and ethics): 1 Cor 11:23; 15:1, 3; Gal 1:9, 12; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 2:13; 4:1; cf. 2 Thess 3:6; Col 2:6; 4:17.

λήμψις, εως 'receiving': Phil 4:15 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Keep Records

λόγος, οὐ 'account, credit, debit': In Phil 4:15, 17 this noun is used as a record of assets and liabilities ('account'; cf. Matt 18:23), whereas in Phil 1:14 and 2:16 it has the sense of 'speech, message', the content of what is spoken.

Seize

ἀρπαγμός, οὐ 'something to be seized by force, something to be forcibly retained': Phil 2:6 (hapax legomenon in the NT); the verb is always used in the passive in Paul with reference to 'being seized' into the heavens (2 Cor 12:2, 4; 1 Thess 4:17; cf. Rev 12:5). It may imply that Jesus did not grasp (seek after) that which he did not already possess or that which he already possessed; but Wright (following Hoover) makes a convincing case (both linguistically and contextually) for understanding the whole phrase οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο as an idiomatic expression approximating 'not regarded as something to be taken advantage of'.² Thus, Christ did not *consider* his 'equality with God' as a possession that could be used over against others or for his own gain—the *attitude* Paul exhorts the Philippians to in vv 3-4.

¹See McMichael, 'Followers', p. 287, though his conclusion regarding συμμιμήτης is unwarranted.

²Wright, *Climax*, pp. 56-98; originally Wright, 'ἀρπαγμός', pp. 321-52.

26. NATURE, CLASS, EXAMPLE

Nature, Character

μορφή, ἥς 'visual form, appearance': This noun only appears three times in the NT: Mark 16:12; Phil 2:6, 7, all with reference to Jesus and thus perhaps revealing an early Christian tradition. In Mark 16:12 and Phil 2:7 it most likely means appearance as an outward manifestation of form, but its meaning in Phil 2:6 is debated (is it 'nature' or 'appearance'?).¹ The basic meaning is 'form' in the sense of external manifestation and this is at least in part the function in 2:6. The distinction between nature and appearance, however, seems unwarranted since taking a form does not imply not having the nature of something; for example, the fact that Jesus took the form of a slave does not seem to indicate primarily his external appearance but his 'attitude' and 'behaviour'.

σχήμα, τος 'form', with particular focus on physical form: Only used in 1 Cor 7:31 and Phil 2:7, this noun seems to highlight specifically the outward, physical form of an entity.

συμμορφίζω 'to share in likeness, to become like': Phil 3:10 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

σύμμορφος, ον 'similar in form or nature': This noun only appears in the NT in Rom 8:29 and Phil 3:21, both of which have to do with becoming *like Christ*.

μετασχηματίζω 'to change, to change from one form to another': This verb is used only in Phil 3:21 (in the Pauline letters) to refer to the change in the 'glorified' body of the believer; cf. 1 Cor 4:6; 2 Cor 11:13-15 for the only other uses in the NT.

Same or Equivalent Kind or Class

αὐτός, ἡ, ὁ intensive pronoun often translated 'same' or '-self': Of Paul's 31 uses of this pronoun in Philipians, 22 are third person pronouns² (19 singular, three plural) and nine are *intensive* 'same' (eight singular, one plural). The singular forms of the intensive pronoun are frequently used to exhort the Philipians to become 'unified' in their thinking or behaviour: 1:30; 2:2 (2x), 18; 3:16(?); 4:2. The one plural form in 3:1 αὐτά most likely refers to Paul's repeated exhortations to rejoice (see chap. 4 on epistolary Hesitation Formulas).

ἴσος, η, ον 'equal, equivalent, same': Phil 2:6 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters).

Different Kind or Class

ἄλλος, η, ο 'different, other': Phil 3:4.

ἕτερος, α, ον 'other, another': Paul uses this adjective three times as a substantive in contexts of ethical exhortations—viz. how we should act with respect to others (Rom 13:8; 1 Cor 10:24; Phil 2:4).

ἑτέρως 'differently, other than': Phil 3:15 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

διαφέρω 'to differ from': Paul uses the expression δοκιμάζω τὰ διαφέροντα in both Rom 2:18 and Phil 1:10—'knowledge' is also part of both contexts. Rather than translate the participle as 'what is excellent' (RSV), it seems better to translate it as 'differing things' (e.g. competing ideologies) with the implication that what the Philipians are to approve is the better of the differing things, viz. Paul's ideology. This understanding corresponds with his other uses of the verb: 1 Cor 15:41; Gal 2:6; 4:1.

Distinctive, Unique

μόνος, η, ον 'only one, alone, only': Phil 1:27, 29; 2:12, 27; 4:15. In Phil 1:27 this adjective is placed as the front and, accordingly, becomes a discourse marker setting this clause apart from the previous discussion. In doing so, it serves to indicate that Paul's command is not dependent upon his presence but is something that should be carried out regardless—viz. 'conduct yourselves worthily of the gospel of Christ...whether or not I am present'.

Pattern, Model, Example

τύπος, ου 'model, pattern' to be imitated: Phil 3:17; cf. 2 Thess 3:9 in which Paul (and his unnamed companions) are presented as a model to be imitated.

27. QUANTITY

Many, Few (Countables)

πολύς, πολλή, πολύ 'many, a great number of, a relatively large quantity': In Phil 1:14 and 3:18 this adjective implies a countable number, but in Phil 1:23 and 2:12 (in the construction πολλῶ μάλλον) it refers to a mass 'much' (see below).

Much, Little (Masses, Collectives, Extension)

πολύς, πολλή, πολύ 'much, extensive': Phil 1:23 and 2:12; see the sub-chain of Many, Few above.

¹On the debate see O'Brien, *Philipians*, pp. 206-11.

²See under the semantic chain of Discourse Referentials.

All, Any, Each, Every (Totality)

πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν the totality of an object, mass, or group, 'all, every, each, whole': This adjective occurs proportionately more in Philippians (33x) than in any other accepted Pauline letter (2 Corinthians is next with 116x); only Colossians has more proportional occurrences (39x). Its use is distributed quite evenly throughout the letter: Phil 1:1, 3, 4 (2x), 7 (2x), 8, 9, 13, 18, 20, 25; 2:9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 21, 26, 29; 3:8 (2x), 21; 4:5, 6, 7, 12 (2x), 13, 18, 19, 21, 22. Paul often speaks in a positive manner regarding 'all' of the Philippians (1:4, 7 (2x), 8; 2:17); however, he can use the adjective in a hyperbolic manner (e.g. 2:21) and, thus, this adjective does not necessarily imply that Paul did not have difficulties with certain persons within the Philippian churches.

ἕκαστος, η, ον 'each': Phil 2:4 (2x).

πληρόω to make something total or complete, 'to make complete': In Phil 1:11 (cf. Rom 8:4) and 2:2 Paul uses this verb to indicate the process of completing something (literally, 'filling up'); contrast the use of the verb in the sub-chain of Provide Fully in Phil 4:18, 19.

ἀναπληρόω 'to bring to completion, to complete': Paul uses this verb in Phil 2:30 and 1 Cor 16:17 to refer to the actions performed by envoys on behalf of a church. (The precise sense of this verb is difficult to identify; it may also be similar to the uses of πληρόω in 4:18, 19, but with the emphatic prefixed preposition.)

Abundance, Excess

περισσεύω 'to abound, to exist in a large quantity': Phil 1:19, 26; 4:12, 18.

πλεονάζω 'to increase considerably, to become more and more', with reference to the extent of an activity or state: Phil 4:17. A difficult phrase to translate into English, τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν apparently refers to the increasing 'reward' which results from the Philippians' work on behalf of Paul.

28. NUMBER

One, Two, Three, Etc. (Cardinals)

εἷς, μία, ἓν 'one': Phil 1:27 (2x); 2:2; 3:13 (cf. John 9:25). In the first three occurrences, Paul uses the cardinal 'one' in clauses which exhort the Philippians to unity.

δύο 'two': Phil 1:23.

πρῶτος, η, ον 'first' in a series (also involving time): Phil 1:5.

Once, Twice, Three Times, Etc. (Cardinals of Time)

ἅπαξ 'once': In Phil 4:16 and 1 Thess 2:18 Paul uses this adverb in conjunction with the adverb δῖς idiomatically in the sense of 'again and again, repeatedly', without specific reference to extent but clearly not an indefinite number of occurrences.¹

δῖς 'twice': In Phil 4:16 and 1 Thess 2:18 Paul uses this adverb in conjunction with the adverb ἅπαξ idiomatically in the sense of 'again and again, repeatedly', without specific reference to extent but clearly not an indefinite number of occurrences.

29. WHOLE, UNITE, PART, DIVIDE

Whole

ὅλος, η, ον 'whole, all, entire': Phil 1:13 ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ. Paul uses this adjective (i) to designate an entire realm without seeming to include each individual as part of the whole (2 Cor 1:1; so Phil 1:13?) or (ii) in a hyperbolic manner (Rom 1:8).

Remnant (Part of a Whole)

λοιπός, ἡ, ὄν 'rest, remaining, what remains': Phil 1:13 and 4:3; contrast its use as a discourse marker in Phil 3:1 and 4:8.

30. COMPARISON

ὡς 'as, like' a marker of comparative relationships between participants or events: The seven uses of ὡς in Philippians are somewhat diverse: (i) subordinating conjunction, nominal 'how' (1:8), comparative 'as' (2:22), temporal 'as soon as, when' (2:23); (ii) comparative particle 'as' (1:20; 2:7, 12, 15).

καθώς 'just as, as, in comparison to': This meaning is clear enough in Phil 2:12 and 3:17, but its use in 1:7 is not as transparent, unless it is recognised that Paul's statement in 1:7 ('just as it is right for me to

¹See Morris, 'ΑΠΑΞ', pp. 205-208, who limits his study to LXX parallels (Deut 4:13; 1 Kgs 17:39; Neh 13:20; 1 Macc 3:30). I have found three similar expressions in the papyri: P.Oxy. 31.2596.13 (III CE); 34.2731.9 (IV-V CE); SB 12.11153.7 (III-IV CE).

think this [what I previously said]...') looks back to his appraisal of them in 1:5-6, providing the basis for a comparison.¹

οἷος, α, ον 'such as, like': Paul can use this pronoun in a comparative manner when two clauses are being related in some way (1 Cor 15:48), justifying the translation 'such as, in a similar manner' in Phil 1:30 rather than 'which'.

ὁμοίωμα, τος 'similarity, likeness, being similar': Both Rom 8:3 and Phil 2:7 (two of the five occurrences in Paul; see Rom 1:23; 5:14; 6:5) use the noun with respect to Christ coming in the likeness of humanity.

παραπλήσιος, α, ον 'coming near, closely resembling, such-like': Phil 2:27 (hapax legomenon in the NT). The typical use of this adjective as a comparative (see LSJ s.v. παραπλήσιος) would suggest that its use in Phil 2:27 does not necessarily imply that Epaphroditus almost died, but that his sickness was very much like death (i.e. he looked deathly); nevertheless, the possibility of his death does not seem far removed.

31. VALUE²

Valuable, Lacking in Value

δοκιμή, ἥς 'value, proven worth': In Phil 2:22 Timothy's 'value' or 'worth' is proven by his faithful ministry with Paul; cf. 2 Cor 2:9 in which Paul writes to find out if the Corinthians have established their worth through their obedience.

ὑπερέχω 'to surpass in value', implying something better than something else: Only used five times in the NT, three instances of this verb appear in Philippians—each in disputed sections of the letter: Phil 2:3; 3:8; 4:7; cf. Rom 13:1 and 1 Pet 2:13.

Worthy, Not Worthy

ἀξίως 'worthily, of comparable value': This adverb is used invariably in the Pauline letters in exhortations of Christians to conduct themselves in a way that is 'worthy' of their identity (Rom 16:2; Eph 4:1; Phil 1:27; Col 1:10; 1 Thess 2:12).

ἔντιμος, ον 'valuable, precious': Against the RSV's translation of ἔντιμος in Phil 2:29 as 'honor' (i.e. hold in honour), its usage elsewhere in the NT (Luke 7:2; 14:8; 1 Pet 2:4, 6) suggests a more general translation of 'valuable'.

Good, Bad

καλῶς 'well, good': In Phil 4:14 Paul uses this adverb in an epistolary formula indicating his gratitude for their gift (see chap. 4 on the Joy Expression).

κρείττων, ον 'better, superior': Phil 1:23.

32. TIME

A Point of Time without Reference to Other Points of Time

πολλάκις 'often, many times', a number of related points of time: Phil 3:18.

ἀκαιρέομαι 'to lack an opportunity, to have no chance to', i.e. to not have time to do something: This verb is only used in Phil 4:10 in all of the NT; the adverb ἀκαίρως is only used in 2 Tim 4:2. Its use with the imperfect tense (remoteness) indicates that this action took place in the past time (relative to the sending of the 'gift').

A Point of Time with Reference to Other Points of Time

ἤδη 'already, now', a point of time preceding another point of time and implying completion: In Phil 3:12 ἤδη is used twice in the sense of 'already' (but there it is negated, i.e. Paul has not already...), but in Phil 4:10 its concatenation with ποτέ ('at some time') results in an idiomatic expression indicating a time simultaneous with the discourse but also with reference to a preceding time, viz. the Philippians 'now at last' have revived their (economic?) concern for Paul (which they had before but were not able to carry out); cf. Rom 1:10.

ποτέ when combined with ἤδη, 'now at last, now at length', a time simultaneous with the discourse but also with reference to a preceding time: Phil 4:10; see on ἤδη above.

νῦν 'now', a point in time simultaneous with (or only shortly removed from) an event: Phil 1:5, 20, 30; 2:12; 3:18.

¹Note, for example, how both 1:5 and 1:8 speak of their κοινωνία.

²These are closely related to some sub-chains in the semantic chain of Status.

ταχέως 'very soon', pertaining to a point of time subsequent to another point of time and implying a short interval: Phil 2:19, 24 (cf. 1 Cor 4:19), both in the context of travel plans.

ὄτε 'when', a point of time which is roughly simultaneous to or overlaps with another point of time: Phil 4:15.

ὥς 'when', a point of time subsequent to another point in time: The seven uses of ὥς in Philippians are somewhat diverse: (i) subordinating conjunction, nominal 'how' (1:8), comparative 'as' (2:22), *temporal* 'as soon as, when' (2:23; cf. 1 Cor 11:34); (ii) comparative particle 'as' (1:20; 2:7, 12, 15).

πάλιν 'again', a subsequent point of time involving repetition: Phil 1:26; 2:28; 4:4 (cf. 2 Cor 11:16; Gal 1:9).

A Point of Time with Reference to Duration of Time

ἀρχή, ἥς 'beginning': In the Pauline letters, this noun probably means 'beginning' only in Phil 4:15 (contrast Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Eph 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col 1:16, 18 [against RSV 'beginning']; 2:10, 15; Titus 3:1).

ἐνάρχομαι 'to begin, to commence': This verb is used in the Pauline letters only in Gal 3:3 and Phil 1:6. In Gal 3:3 it is paired with the verb ἐπιτελέω 'to complete, to finish' in Paul's question to the Galatians: 'Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?' (RSV). This question is immediately preceded by another question: 'Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law or by hearing with faith?' (Gal 3:2). The discussion would appear to be about their original experience of salvation. Phil 1:6 is less clear. It could be interpreted as a reference to how God began a good ethical work—viz. their participation with Paul in the ministry of the gospel—or how God began a good salvific work—viz. the acceptance of the gospel during Paul's first visit to Philippi—in them. (See chap. 4 on the epistolary Thanksgiving.)

Duration of Time without Reference to Points of Time

πάντοτε 'always, at all times', duration of time with reference to a series of events: Phil 1:4, 20; 2:12; 4:4.

εἰς 'for, into', marker of extent of time: Of the 23 uses of this preposition in Philippians, three are used to indicate the extent of a process: 1:10 εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ and 2:16 εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ; and 4:20.

ἔμπροσθεν 'in front of, in the future', marker of an extent of time in the future: Phil 3:13 is the only case in Paul's accepted letters where ἔμπροσθεν is used as an adverb meaning 'in front of' with respect to time (not space); contrast its use as an improper preposition of spatial positions in 2 Cor 5:10; Gal 2:14; 1 Thess 1:3; 2:19; 3:9, 13.

ὀπίσω 'before, in the past', marker of an extent of time in the past: Phil 3:13 (hapax legomenon in accepted Pauline letters); contrast 1 Tim 5:15 'certain people have strayed *after* Satan'.

ἔξαιτης 'at once, immediately' (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters): In Phil 2:23, this adverb designates a very brief period of time between two states or events; cf. Acts 23:30.

τέλος, οὐς 'end', a point of time marking the end of a duration: Phil 3:19 'their end is destruction'. Paul's use of the noun is closely related to the sense of 'result' (cf. 2 Cor 11:15 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν), but a result that is closely tied to a time frame of events; cf. 1 Cor 1:8; 10:11; 15:24—see Phil 1:28 where destruction does not seem to occur until a later time.

Duration of Time with Reference to Some Point of Time

ἀπό 'since, from': In Phil 1:5 Paul uses this preposition as an indicator of time. His three other uses are as Discourse Relations (Phil 1:2, 28; 4:15).

ἄχρι 'until': Phil 1:5, 6.

Duration of Time without Reference to Some Point in Time

αἰών, ὄνος, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων 'always, forever and ever': The two uses of the word in Philippians are found in the phrase εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων in the benediction of 4:20. The same expression is used in a benediction in Gal 1:5 (cf. Eph 3:21; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18) but at the beginning of the letter. Elsewhere Paul prefers the single use of the term εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 16:27; 1 Cor 3:18 [where it is not used to describe a characteristic of God]; 2 Cor 9:9; 11:31); consequently, the double use of the term in Philippians and Galatians may have an emphatic function.

Indefinite Units of Time

ἡμέρα, ας 'time, period', an indefinite unit of time, but one that is not particularly long in extent: Although typically translated 'day', the use of this noun in Philippians refers to an indefinite (although relatively brief) unit of time: viz. the time when the Philippians first shared in the gospel (1:5) and the time of the parousia of Christ (1:6, 10; 2:16).

Definite Units of Time

ὄκταήμερος, ον 'on the eighth day': Phil 3:5 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

33. AFFIRMATION, NEGATION¹*Affirmation*

ναί 'yes, indeed': This particle is more than a marker of emphasis ('indeed') in Phil 4:3, but serves to affirm Paul's request to his 'legitimate yokefellow'; cf. Phlm 20 which also uses the particle in the context of a request. The other Pauline uses clearly function as affirmations (i.e. 'yes'): Rom 3:29; 2 Cor 1:17, 18, 19, 20.

Negation

μή 'not': The letter to the Philippians has proportionately fewer μή particles than any other accepted Pauline letter (typically by a 3:1 ratio): Phil 1:28; 2:4, 12, 27; 3:9; 4:15—only 1:28 and 2:4 are used in negative exhortations. This might seem insignificant if it were not true of οὐ particles as well (except for the letter to Philemon). (See the section below on Interpersonal Meanings and Polarity.)

οὐ 'no, not': Phil 1:17, 22, 29; 2:6, 16, 21, 27; 3:1, 3, 12, 13; 4:11, 17. See on μή above for relative frequencies. Notably, the expression οὐχ ὅτι... 'it is not that...' only appears in the accepted Pauline letters in 2 Cor 1:24; 3:5; 7:9 and Phil 3:12; 4:11, 17 where its use spans two of the disputed sections of the letter (cf. 2 Thess 3:9; the same expression is rare in the rest of the NT as well, see John 6:26, 46; 7:22; 12:6; 1 John 4:10).

Negation Combined with Clitics

μηδέ 'and not, nor, neither': Phil 2:3.

οὐδέ 'and not, nor, neither': Phil 2:16.

34. MODALITY²*Possible*

ἄν 'whenever' (wherever, whatever, whoever, however), a marker of the possibility of an occurrence of some event: The combination of ὡς (temporal sense) and ἄν (modal sense) occurs six times in Paul (Rom 15:24; 1 Cor 11:34; 12:2; 2 Cor 10:9; 11:16; Phil 2:23)—nowhere else in the NT. In Rom 15:24, 1 Cor 11:34, and Phil 2:23 it means 'whenever'.

Necessary

ἀναγκαῖος, α, ον 'necessary, compelling': Phil 1:24 and 2:25—adverbial uses.

35. TRUE, (FALSE)

ἀλήθεια, ας 'truth': This very general, abstract noun appears frequently in the NT (109x), esp. in Johannine (45x) and Pauline literature (47x). Paul uses it to describe his view of religious truth (Rom 1:18, 25; 2:20; 3:7; 1 Cor 13:6; Gal 2:14) or to describe the activity and object of his preaching (Rom 9:1; 2 Cor 6:7; 7:14). In Phil 1:18, he uses it in this latter sense (but in a negative context) in reference to the 'insincere' preaching of certain persons around him, i.e. the manner in which some preach is not 'in the truth' (they preach as if they are doing it for pure reasons, but in reality they preach Christ so as to raise Paul's affliction).³

ἀληθής, ἐς 'truth': In Phil 4:8 this adjective is used at the beginning of a list of virtues, perhaps as a general term covering all of the virtues which follow.

ἀμήν 'truly': Paul uses this particle in benedictions in Phil 4:20, Rom 11:36 (cf. 16:27), Gal 1:5 (cf. 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18) as a type of emphatic marker of modality, i.e. to emphasise his approval of the benediction.

36. GENUINE, PHONEY

γνήσιος, α, ον 'genuine, real': In Phil 4:3, Paul describes an unidentified recipient of the letter as γνήσιε σύζυγε (cf. 1 Tim 1:2; Titus 1:14); his use of the same adjective in 2 Cor 8:8 suggests that he may be distinguishing *genuine* compatriots from counterfeit ones (cf. Phil 1:15-18). In Phil 2:20 Paul describes Timothy's concern for the Philippians as γνησίως, perhaps implying that others (e.g. those

¹Negation is the marked category, i.e. positive statements do not require special markers; ναί is, however, a marker of affirmation perhaps used for focus (emphasis).

²Conditionals such as εἰ could have been included here, but their primary function is as a Discourse Relation (see below).

³Contrast Phil 4:8 where he uses the adjective in the former sense, 'whatever is true'.

representative of the opponents implied in Phil 3), although concerned about the Philippians, do not possess a genuine concern.

γνησίως 'genuinely' (hapax legomenon in the NT): Phil 2:20; see above on γνήσιος.

37. ABLE, CAPABLE

δύναμαι 'to be able to': Phil 3:21; cf. 1 Cor 10:13 where the infinitive is also used with the genitive article to express 'purpose'. The meaning of the verb in Phil 3:21 may also include the sense of 'power' (see on δύναμις below).

ἰσχύω 'to be able to, to have the strength to': Phil 4:13; cf. Gal 5:6 where power is said to originate in divine not in earthly (e.g. circumcision and uncircumcision) circumstances.

ἐνδυναμόω 'to make someone able, to empower' (closely related to the semantic chain of Power, Force): As in Phil 4:13, this verb is used elsewhere in the NT to describe Paul as being empowered (Acts 9:22; 1 Tim 1:12; 2 Tim 4:17).

38. POWER, FORCE

δύναμις, εως 'power': In Rom 1:4 and Phil 3:10 this noun is used in conjunction with the ἀναστάσις of Christ.

κενόω 'to cause to lose power, to cause to be emptied of significance': Although typically translated 'to empty' in the so-called Christ-hymn (Phil 2:7), the use of this verb elsewhere in Paul's letters implies that something is brought into a state in which its previous power (or 'significance') no longer exists (Rom 4:14; 1 Cor 1:17; 9:15; 2 Cor 9:3).

39. DEGREE

Much, Little (Positive-Negative Degree)

μεγάλως 'greatly, to a great degree', the upper range of a scale of extent: Phil 4:10 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

More Than, Less Than (Comparative Degree)

μᾶλλον 'more, more than, to a greater degree': Of the seven uses of this adverb in Philippians at least six are used in a comparative sense: Phil 1:9 (2x), 23; 2:12; 3:4; 4:22 (the superlative μάλιστα still implies a comparison, viz. those in the house of Caesar 'especially' greet the Philippians, even 'more than' all of the other saints). Its use in Phil 1:12 has typically been translated with 'really' or 'rather' (cf. 1 Cor 5:2 and Gal 4:9)—a marker of contrast indicating an alternative as if some people thought that Paul's circumstances had hindered the spreading of the gospel. However, the disclosure formula is not necessarily a *response* to what the Philippians believed to be true; it could simply be a disclosure of information which they did not already know, viz. Paul's imprisonment resulted in the advance of the gospel even *more* than if he had not been imprisoned.

περισσοτέρως 'much greater, in great excess': Phil 1:14.

About, Almost

ἐγγίζω 'to come near, to come close to': Phil 2:30 (contrast Rom 13:12, the only other occurrence in the Pauline letters): 'Epaphroditus came near to death', i.e. he 'almost' died.

Up To, As Much As, To the Degree That (Marked Extent of Degree)

μέχρι 'to the point of, to the extent of, up to': Phil 2:8 and 2:30 both use the expression μέχρι θανάτου, the former implying that the point of death was reached, the other not.

ὅσος, η, ον 'as much as, as many as': Phil 3:15 and 4:8 (6x).

40. FEATURES OF OBJECTS

Fragrance, Odour

εὐωδία, ας 'aroma, fragrance', with the implication that it is pleasing: Phil 4:18; cf. 2 Cor 2:15 and especially Eph 5:2 ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας.

ὀσμή, ῆς 'smell, scent, odour': Phil 4:18; cf. Eph 5:2.

41. SPATIAL RELATIONS

Among, Between, In, Inside

ἐν 'in', the sphere or realm in which a participant exists or a process occurs: Of the 66 uses of ἐν in Philippians, approximately 58 are probably best classified as some type of spatial relation, 'in' (locative): 1:1 (2x), 4, 6, 7 (3x), 9, 13 (2x), 14, 18, 20 (ἐν οὐδενί [cf. 1:28]), 22, 24 (textually disputed), 26 (ἐν Χριστῷ), 28, 30 (2x); 2:1, 5 (2x), 10, 12 (2x), 13, 15 (2x), 19, 24, 29; 3:1, 3 (2x), 4 (2x), 6, 9, 14, 19,

20; 4:1, 2, 3 (2x), 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 (2x), 15, 16, 19 (2x), 21. Spatial position does not always imply a physical location; rather, it encompasses the 'sphere' (sometimes temporal as in 4:15) in which some participant exists or process takes place. This 'sphere' may involve either a physical location or another element in the discourse (e.g. 1:18 'I rejoice *in this*'); hence, in some cases this 'spherical' understanding of ἐν is hardly distinguishable from the function of Specification (see under Discourse Relations). The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (or ἐν κυριῷ) has received much attention as to its function in Paul's writings;¹ its importance in Philippians is obvious in view of its 10 uses in the letter (found in every chapter). Placing it under the category of Spatial Positions allows for more specific interpretations (e.g. ἐν as the content or the basis of an action, e.g. Phil 3:3),² but its classification here, nonetheless, points to its role as identifier of the 'realm' in which a Christian exists or performs some action—viz. a realm controlled by Christ.³ In contrast to Christ as a 'positive' realm of existence for the Christian Paul speaks of three antithetical spheres of existence: 'flesh' (3:3), 'law' (3:6), and 'shame' (3:19).

μέσος, η, ον 'in the middle, in the midst': Paul uses this adjective as an improper preposition (accusative case) only in Phil 2:15; cf. 1 Cor 5:2; 6:5, 17; 1 Thess 2:7; 2 Thess 2:7; Col 2:14.

Near

ἐγγύς 'near in proximity': The expression ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς is only used in Phil 4:5 in the Pauline letters, lending to the difficulty of interpreting it. Phil 4:5 may indicate a spatial relation 'the Lord is near in presence to us' (for this function of the adverb see Rom 10:8 and Eph 2:13, 17). This meaning is found in LXX Ps 118:151 and 144:18 in which ἐγγύς κύριος has a spatial meaning immediately followed by the participle τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτόν 'the Lord is near to those calling upon him'. Similarly, ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς in Phil 4:5 is followed by an exhortation not to be worried and *to make their requests known to God*. (Note also that the verb ἐγγίζω in Phil 2:30 does not probably have a temporal function.)

However, the expression ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς may indicate a temporal relation 'near in time'; see Rom 13:11 for an apparent eschatological-temporal use of this adverb (cf. Rom 13:12 for the use of the verb). The terseness of the phrase here prevents dogmatic conclusions on the matter.

Above

ἄνω 'up, above': Although this adverb may be used to indicate relative spatial locations involving physical objects (John 2:7), it is used in the Pauline writings only with reference to the heavenly sphere (Gal 4:26; Phil 3:14; Col 3:1, 2).

42. EXISTENCE IN SPACE

Be in a Place

παρουσία, ας 'presence, personal presence': In Philippians both uses of this noun refer to Paul's potential physical presence among the Philippians: Phil 1:26 and 2:12—perhaps the only time it is used in such a way (out of 14 occurrences in the Pauline letters), but cf. 2 Cor 10:10 'the presence of his [Paul's] body is weak'.

To Not Be in a Place

ἄπειμι 'to be absent' to not be *in* a place: Paul uses this term exclusively to describe his spatial separation from his churches (1 Cor 5:3; 2 Cor 10:1, 11; 13:2, 10; Phil 1:27; cf. Col 2:5). This verb is commonly used in epistolary literature (esp. friendship and family letters) with reference to the distance separating the communicants and the desire to be together again (πάρειμι); thus, cognates πάρειμι and ἄπειμι are often found in the same context (1 Cor 5:3; 2 Cor 10:1-2; 11; 13:2, 10).

ἀπουσία, ας 'absence, being away from': Whereas Paul prefers the verb ἄπειμι to refer to his separation from his churches (see ἄπειμι), he uses the nominal form in Phil 2:12 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Remain, Stay

μένω 'to remain, stay': Phil 1:25.

ἐπιμένω 'to remain, stay': In 1 Cor 16:7 and Phil 1:24 (cf. Gal 1:18) this verb is used with respect to Paul's travel plans.

¹On the issues see Wedderburn, 'Some Observations', pp. 83-97.

²The best evidence for ἐν as the object of an action appears in Phil 3:3-4, but these uses may also stem from the more general 'spherical' function—'I can be confident in the sphere of fleshly ideals'. O'Brien (*Philippians*, p. 362) rightly cautions against making too fine a distinction regarding ἐν Χριστῷ phrases.

³Cf. Porter, *Idioms*, p. 159.

παραμένω 'to remain with, to stay with': The difference in meaning between this verb and the non-prefixed form (both of which are used in Phil 1:25) has to do with the prefixed preposition, viz. **παραμένω** specifies where it is that Paul will remain (with them); cf. 1 Cor 16:6, the only other use in the Pauline letters.

43. SPATIAL EXTENSIONS

Extension From a Source

ἐκ 'from' a marker of source: Of the 10 uses of this preposition in Philipians, at least one implies a spatial extension: Phil 3:20. Phil 3:11 may also mean that resurrection involves spatially coming out from among the dead ones.

Extension to a Goal

πρός 'to, towards': Phil 1:26; 2:25, 30; 4:6.

σκοπός, οὗ 'goal', that toward which activity is directed: Phil 3:14 (hapax legomenon in the NT, but similar in function to other Greek literature, LSJ s.v. σκοπός II). Paul's pursuit is based on (κατά) that toward which his activity is directed, viz. the 'above' calling of God in Christ Jesus.

44. STATUS

To Honour or Respect in Relation to Status

μεγαλύνω 'to hold in high honour, to regard as important': Phil 1:20; contrast its use in 2 Cor 10:15, the only other use in the Pauline letters.

ὑπερυψόω 'to give exceptional honour' to someone in view of their status: Phil 2:9 (hapax legomenon in the NT and rare elsewhere, so LSJ s.v. ὑπερυψόω).

High Status or Rank

κύριος, ου 'lord, ruler', one who exercises authority: This title is used of Jesus at least in Phil 1:2; 2:11, 19; 3:8, 20; 4:23 and never unambiguously of God. The other ambiguous uses probably also refer to Jesus unless good evidence to the contrary is forwarded: Phil 1:14 (esp. in the light of v 13); 2:24, 29; 3:1; 4:1, 2, 4, 5, 10 (in the light of the typical use of the preposition ἐν in constructions involving Jesus).

ὑπέρ with accusative 'above': Of the seven uses of this preposition in Philipians, one is used with the accusative in the semantic chain of Status, i.e. 'above every name' (2:9) and six are used with the genitive in the sense of Benefaction (see below) (1:4, 7, 29 [2x]; 2:13; 4:10).

Low Status or Rank¹

ταπεινοφροσύνη, ης 'humble attitude', implying lower status: Phil 2:3 (hapax legomenon in the accepted Pauline letters; cf. Eph 4:2 and Col 3:12, but contrast Col 2:18, 23 where it is used in a negative sense, 'self-abasing' [fasting?]). In Phil 2:3 it seems to specify an attitude commensurate with a self-perceived lowly status.

ταπεινόω 'to cause to be in a lower status or rank, to make humble': Both Phil 2:8 (referring to Christ) and 4:12 (referring to Paul; cf. 2 Cor 11:7) deal with humility in the sense of low status or rank.

ταπείνωσις, εως 'low status, humility': In Phil 3:21 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters) this noun seems to indicate 'humility' in the sense of status, i.e. the human body is lower in status (implying 'worth') than the glory of Christ's body.

45. MORAL AND ETHICAL QUALITIES AND RELATED BEHAVIOUR²

Goodness

ἀγαθός, ή, όν 'moral goodness, good': This noun is used once in Phil 1:6 to describe the 'good work' God was working 'in' (or 'through') the Philipians—a common expression in the Pauline literature used to describe the moral work to be done by Christians (Rom 2:7; 2 Cor 9:8; cf. Eph 2:10; Col 1:10; 2 Thess 2:17; 1 Tim 2:10; 5:10; 2 Tim 2:21; 3:17; Titus 1:16) or by people in general (Rom 13:3; Titus 3:1), although the Pastorals prefer the expression καλός έργος. The expression 'good works' is a generic way of

¹Although the ταπειν- terms in this sub-chain are often treated as moral and ethical qualities (cf. LSJ) in the NT, they are often used in contexts dealing with status issues; cf. Winter, *Welfare*, p. 99: Jesus 'took upon himself a non-status posture'. All of the terms in Philipians can be adequately explained in this sense, without denying the fact that low status exemplifies a viable moral quality for Christians.

²This chain overlaps with several semantic features of the Behaviour chain, in that ethical qualities are often related to how people conduct themselves. The focus in this chain, however, is upon various moral and ethical *qualities* of behaviour and states of being (cf. Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, I, p. 742).

speaking about positive moral behaviour; in at least 2 Thess 2:17, however, 'good works' specifically involves acts of 'doing' rather than 'saying'.

ἀρετή, ἡς 'outstanding goodness, virtue': Used elsewhere in the NT only in the Petrine epistles (1 Pet 2:9; 2 Pet 1:3, 5), this noun has a broad meaning in Phil 4:8, where it forms part of a list of virtues.

Just, Righteous, Right

δίκαιος, α, ον 'that which is proper, just, righteous': In Philippians this adjective is used generically (1:7; 4:8) without reference to Paul's theology of righteousness—but see δικαιοσύνη below.

δικαιοσύνη, ης 'righteousness, doing what is right': This noun is used in Phil 3:6, 9 (2x) so as contrast the righteousness of the law with that of faith and in Phil 1:11 as part of Paul's exhortation to the Philippians to 'fulfil the fruit of righteousness'.

Holy, Pure

ἄγνός, ἡ, όν 'pure, without blemish or moral defect': Phil 4:8 (part of the virtue list).

ἄγνῶς 'purity of motive': Phil 1:17 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

ἄκέραιος, ον 'pure, untainted': This adjective is used only in Phil 2:15 and Rom 16:19 in the Pauline letters, both with the general meaning of 'purified, clean' with respect to moral conduct. In Phil 2:15, it is difficult to find a semantic distinction with its partner ἄμεμπτοι (and the following ἄμωμα); thus, it is perhaps safest to follow Silva's claim that the two terms are used synonymously here (but not everywhere) for the sake of 'stylistic reinforcement', i.e. an indicator of prominence.¹

ἄμωμος, ον 'blameless, without fault': This adjective is only used in the accepted Pauline letters in Phil 2:15. Eph 1:4; 5:27 and Col 1:22 use the term in conjunction with ἅγιος. Its use in Phil 2:15 with the similar adjectives ἄμεμπτοι and ἄκέραιοι is probably for 'stylistic reinforcement', i.e. prominence (note the use of alliteration).

ἄμεμπτος, ον 'without blame, innocent, without guilt': This adjective is used in Phil 2:15 and 3:6 and only elsewhere in the Pauline letters in 1 Thess 3:13. In each case, the word describes the moral standing of an individual: (i) in Phil 3:6, Paul's blamelessness with respect to the law; (ii) in Phil 2:15, the Philippians' potential blamelessness until (or at?) the day of Christ; (iii) in 1 Thess 3:13, the Thessalonians' blameless hearts at the parousia of Christ. Therefore, Paul uses the term relatively, not absolutely. In other words, blamelessness does not always imply some sort of eschatological perfection. It is a blamelessness from a certain perspective. Paul can speak of his own blamelessness at one stage in his life, but then also speak of only potential blamelessness during the Christian life.

ἀπρόσκοπος, ον 'without blame, blameless': Whereas in 1 Cor 10:32 this adjective describes the type of behaviour Christians should have with respect to Jews and Gentiles, viz. 'without reproach', it is used more broadly in Phil 1:10 to describe the type of moral behaviour expected of Paul's followers, viz. 'blameless into (or at?) the day of Christ'.

Perfect, Perfection

τέλειος, α, ον 'perfect' in moral qualities: Phil 3:15.

τελειόω 'to make perfect, to become perfect': Phil 3:12 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters).

Honesty, Sincerity

εἰλικρινής, ές 'sincere, without hidden motives': This adjective is used only in Phil 1:10 and 2 Pet 3:1 in the NT. 2 Pet 3:1 implies that the sincerity has to do with one's motives (εἰλικρινῆ διάνοιαν 'sincere mind'), but the generic nature of its use in Phil 1:10 makes it difficult to identify the precise type of morality Paul has in view. It may foreshadow, however, the insincere motives (οὐχ ἄγνῶς) of those preaching Christ mentioned in 1:16-17.

Propriety

σεμνός, ἡ, όν 'honourable, worthy of respect, of good character': Used only in Phil 4:8 in the accepted Pauline letters and only in 1 Tim 3:8, 11 and Titus 2:2 in the rest of the NT, this noun appears each time in a virtue list.

Gentleness, Mildness

ἐπιεικής, ές 'gentle, mild, with moderation': Phil 4:5 (found elsewhere in the NT in virtue lists; see 1 Tim 3:3; Titus 3:2; James 3:17; 1 Pet 2:18); cf. the noun form in 2 Cor 10:1, where it probably means 'gentleness'.

¹Silva, *Philippians*, p. 149.

Mercy

ἐλεέω 'to show mercy': God showed mercy to Epaphroditus and healed him (Phil 2:27); cf. Rom 9:16 and 11:32.

οἰκτιρμός, οὐδ 'to have mercy, to show compassion': Of the three uses of this noun in Paul, two are an attribute of God (Rom 12:1; 2 Cor 1:3; cf. Luke 6:36; James 5:11) and one is possibly an attribute of those 'in Christ' (Phil 2:1; cf. James 5:11 for a similar combination of 'compassion' words).

Bad, Evil, Harmful

κακός, ἢ, ὄν 'bad, evil': Phil 3:2; cf. Rom 2:9 τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν and Rom 13:10 κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται.

κύων, κυνός 'wicked person', a figurative extension of the meaning 'dog': Phil 3:2 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters); cf. Matt 7:6 and Rev 22:15—a term early Christianity apparently adopted so as to define social boundaries (i.e. the 'insiders' and 'outsiders').

Arrogance, Haughtiness, Pride

κενοδοξία, ας 'empty prided, vain pride, unjustified pride': Phil 2:3 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Shameful

αἰσχύνη, ης 'shameful action, indecent behaviour, shameful deed': The noun is only used in Phil 3:19 and 2 Cor 4:2 in the Pauline letters (see the verbal form in Phil 1:20, but with a different sense). The genitive αὐτῶν, which modifies αἰσχύνη in Phil 3:19 seems to function more naturally as a subjective genitive, viz. 'shameful action' or 'they act shamefully'—contrast the use of the verb in 1:20 to describe an attitude rather than an action. The general nature of the term makes it difficult to determine what sort of activity (e.g. sexual?) Paul is referring to in 3:19. Its only other use in Paul, 2 Cor 4:2, also has a general meaning but clearly does not refer to sexual activity. Its other uses in the NT do not imply sexual activity either: Luke 14:9; Heb 12:2; Jude 1:13; Rev 3:18. Therefore, Paul's description of his opponents with this term is best left at a general level, viz. 'shameful activity', leaving it difficult to say much about the nature of the opponents in the light of its usage here.

Envy, Jealousy

φθόνος, ου 'envy, jealousy': Used with ἔρις 'strife' in Phil 1:15, this noun is frequently found in lists of vices in the Pauline letters (Rom 1:29; Gal 5:21; 1 Tim 6:4; Titus 3:3).

Hypocrisy, Pretence

πρόφασις, εως 'pretence, dishonesty': Phil 1:18. Paul's use of this word in reference to certain individuals proclaiming Christ from 'impure' motives (i.e. as a 'pretence' for increasing his affliction) suggests that he upholds the content of their message but questions their motive; cf. 1 Thess 2:5 in which he defends the motives of his 'message' to the Thessalonians.

Perversion, Deviation

σκολιός, ἄ, ὄν 'deviant, wicked', a figurative extension of a physical description of an object 'crooked': Phil 2:15 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters); cf. Acts 2:40, which also seems to recall Deut 32:5.

46. REFERENTIALS

Speaker

ἐγώ 'I, I indeed' (implied speaker): Except for the letter to Philemon, Philippians contains almost two times proportionately more uses of the first person singular pronoun than any of the other accepted Pauline letters. In proportional order, the following is a list of occurrences of the first person pronoun in all of the Pauline letters: Phlm (17x); Phil (54x); 2 Tim (33x); Gal (40x); 2 Cor (64x); Rom (92x); 1 Cor (86x); Eph (17x); Col (11x); Titus (4x); 1 Tim (6x); 1 Thess (2x); 2 Thess (0x). This high frequency perhaps reflects the overall personal character of the letter (chap. 4). Most of these occurrences are in the genitive and dative: six times in the nominative (2:19, 28; 3:4 [2x], 13; 4:11); 25 in the genitive (1:3, 4, 7 [2x], 8, 13, 14, 17, 20; 2:2, 12 [3x], 25 [2x]; 3:1, 8, 17; 4:1 [2x], 3, 10, 14, 19); 17 in the dative (1:7, 19, 21, 22, 26, 30 [2x]; 2:16, 18, 22; 3:1, 7; 4:3, 9, 15, 16, 21); and six in the accusative (1:7, 12; 2:23, 27, 30; 4:13). (There appears to be no semantic difference between the regular and emphatic forms of the pronoun in Philippians; note, however, that the emphatic form is preferred when it is the headword of a prepositional phrase, which appears also to be a general tendency in the entire NT.) (See the discussion on Information Flow below.)

ἐμαυτοῦ, ἦς 'myself, me': Phil 3:13.

ἐμός, ἢ, ὄν 'my, mine': Phil 1:26 and 3:9.

Speaker and Those Associated with the Speaker (exclusive and inclusive)

ἡμεῖς 'we': Although Paul uses first person singular pronouns in Philippians two times proportionately more than the other accepted letters, he uses ἡμεῖς proportionately less than all of the other Pauline letters—his letter to the Philippians, despite the plural prescript (Paul and Timothy), is primarily between himself and the Philippian readers. In Phil 1:2; 3:3, 20, 21; 4:20 ἡμεῖς encompasses the implied reader, but in Phil 3:17 it is limited to Paul and those with him.¹

Receptor

ὑμεῖς 'you' (implied reader): Of the 51 uses of the second person plural pronoun, the majority are in the oblique cases—24 genitives; 12 datives; 12 accusatives—as would be expected with references to main participants in discourse (i.e. there would be less need for the nominative since it could be encoded in the verb). (See the discussion on Information Flow below.)

σύ 'you' (implied reader): Phil 4:3.

ἑαυτοῦ, ἡς, οὗ 'himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves': This reflexive pronoun is used with reference to the *Philippians* (2:3, 4, 12), Christ (2:7, 8), and an unspecified group (2:21).

Whom or What Spoken or Written About

αὐτός, ἡ, ὅ 'he, him, she, her, it, they, them': Of Paul's 31 uses of this pronoun in Philippians, 22 function as third person pronouns (19 singular, three plural) and nine as intensive pronouns² (eight singular, one plural). The singular forms of the third person pronoun refer to various singular entities: Jesus (1:29 [2x]; 2:9 [2x]; 3:9, 10 [4x]; 3:21 [2x]); Timothy (2:22); Epaphroditus (2:27-28 [4x]); and God (4:19). The plural forms refer to implied 'opponents' (1:28; 3:19) and to Euodia and Syntyche (4:3). (See discussion on Information Flow below.)

ἑαυτοῦ, ἡς, οὗ 'himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves': This reflexive pronoun is used with reference to the Philippians (2:3, 4, 12), *Christ* (2:7, 8), and an *unspecified group* (2:21).

μηδείς, μηδεμία, μηδέν 'no one, none, nothing', a negative reference to an entity or event: Phil 1:28; 2:3; 4:6.

οὐδείς, οὐδεμία, οὐδέν 'no one, none, nothing', a negative reference to an entity or event: Phil 1:20; 2:20; 4:15.

οὕτως or οὕτω (rare) 'so, thus, in this way': This adverb is used in Phil 3:17 and 4:1 as a discourse referential referring to that which was spoken about in the preceding discourse. The more rare form οὕτω in Phil 3:17 is a hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters and only appears elsewhere in Acts 23:11; Heb 12:21; Rev 16:18.

τις, τι 'someone, something, anyone, anything', reference to an indefinite entity: Phil 1:15 [2x]; 2:1 [4x]; 3:4, 15; 4:8 [2x].

τίς, τί 'who?, what?', interrogative reference to someone or something: Phil 1:18, 22—these perhaps reflect features of diatribe.

Reciprocal Reference

ἀλλήλων, οἱς, οὖς 'each other, one another': In Philippians, this pronoun is used only in 2:3, but is commonly used by Paul elsewhere with reference to how Christians should treat 'one another' (e.g. Rom 12:10, 16; 15:5; 1 Cor 12:25; 2 Cor 13:12; Gal 5:13; 1 Thess 3:12). At first glance, it appears that Phil 2:3 is not a true reciprocal use of the pronoun in view of the pronoun ἑαυτῶν: 'Do nothing from selfishness or conceit, but in humility count *others* better than yourselves' (RSV). However, Paul probably does not mean a group different from the Philippian Christians by his use of ἀλλήλους (esp. since he can use the demonstrative pronoun ἄλλος in 3:4), but speaks of the individual who acts unselfishly with respect to other individuals in the Christian community (so 2:4 ἕκαστος). A suitable translation, then, might be: '...but in humility each one reciprocally counting one another better than himself or herself'.

Relative Reference

ὃς, ἣ, ὅ 'who, which, what', relative reference to any entity, event, or state explicitly mentioned in the immediate co-text or implied in the discourse or context of situation/culture: In Phil 2:5, 6, 15; 3:8, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21; 4:3, 10 (perhaps referring to Paul's previously stated objects of desire in vv 9-11) the relative pronoun is occasioned by a another linguistic item in the discourse, whereas in Phil 3:16 and 4:9 it

¹Contra Robinson, 'We', p. 35 n. 19, who argues that all 'we' language excludes the Philippians.

²See under the semantic chain of Nature, Class, Example.

apparently is not occasioned by the surrounding co-text. In Phil 4:11 the relative pronoun perhaps refers to the following discourse (cataphoric reference) or to extra-textual experiences.

ὅστις, ἧστις, ὅ τι 'who, which, what', relative reference to any entity, event, or state explicit in the immediate context or clearly implied in the discourse or context of situation/culture: None of the uses of this pronoun in Philippians are 'indefinite' in function: 1:28; 2:20; 3:7; 4:3.

Demonstrative Reference

οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο 'this, this one', a reference to an entity which is part of the discourse context: Phil 1:6, 7, 9, 18, 19, 22, 25, 28; 2:5, 23; 3:7, 15 (2x); 4:8, 9—these all follow a word order which reflects their anaphoric or cataphoric reference, i.e. anaphoric reference results in placement at the beginning of the clause and cataphoric reference results in placement of the demonstrative towards the end of the clause (see on Information Flow below).

τοιούτος, τοιαύτη, τοιοῦτον 'of such a kind, of a kind such as this', a reference to that which is similar to something identified in the immediate discourse: Phil 2:29.

47. NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

Persons

βενιαμείν or **βενιαμίν** a son of Jacob and ancestor of an Israelite tribe, 'Benjamin': Paul describes himself twice as a descendant of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom 11:1; Phil 3:5; cf. Acts 13:21; Rev 7:8)—this noun could perhaps be included also under the semantic chain of Classes of People.

Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ου 'Eraphroditus': Phil 2:25 and 4:18 (cf. Ἐπαφρᾶς in Col 1:7).

Εὐοδία, ας 'Euodia': Phil 4:2 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Ἰησοῦς, οὐ 'Jesus': Next to Philemon (6x) and 2 Thessalonians (13x) Ἰησοῦς is used proportionately more in Philippians (22x) than in any other Pauline letter (see Χριστός). Only in Phil 2:10 ('by the name of Jesus') and 2:19 ('I hope in the Lord Jesus') is it used *not* in conjunction with Χριστός.

Καίσαρ, ος 'Caesar': Phil 4:22 (hapax legomenon in the Pauline letters).

Κλήμης, εντος 'Clement': Phil 4:3 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Παῦλος, ου 'Paul': Phil 1:1.

Συντύχη, ης 'Syntyche': Phil 4:2 (hapax legomenon in the NT).

Τιμόθεος, ου 'Timothy': Of the 17 references to Timothy in the Pauline letters, two appear in Philippians (1:1 and 2:19).

Χριστός, οὐ Greek translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic word 'messiah', a proper name for Jesus 'Christ' but perhaps still with connotations of 'messiah': See the discussion in the SUPERNATURAL BEINGS chain.

Φιλιππήσιος, ου 'a person who is a native of Philippi' (a derivative of Φίλιπποι): Phil 4:15 (hapax legomenon in the NT). Paul employs the Latinised Greek name for the Philippians, perhaps revealing that he was aware of their Roman heritage and the pride they attached to it.¹

Places

Μακεδονία, ας 'Macedonia': Paul's use of the noun in Phil 4:15 suggests that some of his other uses refer in part to the Christians at Philippi; see especially Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:1; 11:9; 1 Thess 1:7-8; 4:10.

Θεσσαλονίκη, ης 'Thessalonica', city of Macedonia: Phil 4:16; cf. Acts 17:1, 11, 13; 2 Tim 4:10.

Φιλίπποι, ων 'Philippi': Phil 1:1; cf. 1 Thess 2:2; Acts 16:12; 20:6.

48. DISCOURSE RELATIONS²

Cause and/or Reason

γάρ 'for, because': Of the 13 uses of this conjunction 11 are co-ordinating (one continuative [Phil 1:18] and 10 explanatory [Phil 1:8, 19, 21; 2:13, 20, 21, 27; 3:3, 18, 20]) and two subordinating (causal [Phil 1:23; 4:11]). The sole continuative case is a simple marker of transition, probably best translated as 'then'. The continuative, explanatory (why?), and causal uses often overlap in function and can be translated 'for', e.g. the reason (explanatory or causal) for a preceding statement.

διά 'because of, on account of': Of the 14 uses of the preposition in Philippians, those with the accusative (1:15 [2x]; 1:24 [benefaction?]; 2:30; 3:7; 3:8 [2x]) and the one in an infinitive construction

¹Ramsay, 'Name', p. 116.

²Discourse Relations include words that create cohesive links between words (e.g. the use of prepositions to create a relation between predicates and substantives), phrases, clauses, sentences, or paragraphs; contrast Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, I, p. 796, who treat several of these under the domain of Case.

Speaker and Those Associated with the Speaker (exclusive and inclusive)

ἡμεῖς 'we': Although Paul uses first person singular pronouns in Philippians two times proportionately more than the other accepted letters, he uses ἡμεῖς proportionately less than all of the other Pauline letters—his letter to the Philippians, despite the plural prescript (Paul and Timothy), is primarily between himself and the Philippian readers. In Phil 1:2; 3:3, 20, 21; 4:20 ἡμεῖς encompasses the implied reader, but in Phil 3:17 it is limited to Paul and those with him.¹

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¹Contra Robinson, 'We', p. 35 n. 19, who argues that all 'we' language excludes the Philippians.

²See under the semantic chain of Nature, Class, Example.

κενός, ἢ, ὄν 'without result, without effect': In Phil 2:16 (cf. 1 Cor 15:10; Gal 2:2; 1 Thess 2:1; 3:5) Paul is concerned that his religious service produces results, i.e. that it 'not be without result'.

Benefaction

ὑπέρ with genitive 'on behalf of, for the sake of': Of the seven uses of this preposition in Philippians, six are used with the genitive in the sense of benefaction (1:4, 7, 29 [2x]; 2:13; 4:10); one is used with the accusative in the sense of status (see above), i.e. 'above' (2:9).

Condition

εἰ 'if': Phil 1:22; 2:1 [4x], 17; 3:4, 11, 12, 15; 4:8 [2x]; contrast Phil 4:15 εἰ μὴ where it is used as part of a contrastive relation (see below). Notably, ἐάν is not used in the letter even though it is expected in 3:12 with the subjunctive and perhaps in 3:11 which has καταστήσω (which may also be a subjunctive form).¹

εἴτε...εἴτε 'if...if, whether...or': This conjunction is always used in doublets in Philippians: 1:18, 20, 27.

Concession

καίπερ 'although, though, even though': This *co-ordinating* conjunction only appears in Phil 3:4 in the Pauline letters.

καί 'yet': In Phil 1:22 καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω, the particle καί may have a concessive function 'indeed, yet'; in contrast, the other 108 uses of καί in the letter probably perform a type of additive relation (see below).

Means, Agency

διά 'by means of, through, by': διά with the genitive is used to express means (intermediate agency) in Philippians: 1:11, 19, 20 [2x], 26; 3:9. In 1:26 the expression carries with it the idea of 'reason' ('you will boast in Christ because of my presence again towards you'), a result of the close semantic relationship between means and cause/reason—the agency (means) of an action may thus be the cause of that action.

ἐκ 'by': Of the 10 uses of this preposition in Philippians, Phil 1:23 is perhaps best understood as an indicator of means (a passive interpretation of συνέχομαι further supports this reading), although this expression is recognisably difficult to translate. The basic function is clear, however: the options facing Paul (viz. to live or die) are the cause of his distress (see on συνέχω).

ἐν 'by, by means of': Of the 66 uses of ἐν in Philippians, only 1:20 (ἐν τῷ σώματί μου), 26 (ἐν ἐμοί) and 4:13 are perhaps expressions of means.

μετά 'by means of, with': Of the seven uses of this preposition in Philippians—proportionately more than any of the other accepted Pauline letters—four are used as indicators of 'means' (1:4; 2:12, 29; 4:6)² and three are best treated under the semantic sub-chain of Association below (4:3, 9, 23).

πῶς 'how, by what means', interrogative reference to means: When combined with the conditional particle εἰ the particle πῶς indicates indefinite means in the NT 'somehow, by some means' (Rom 1:10; 11:14; Phil 3:11; cf. Acts 27:12). The meaning is not necessarily an incertitude in the outcome of an event but in how it will be attained—so in Rom 1:10 and 11:14 Paul apparently believes in the plausibility of his statements. Thus, the theological problematics of Phil 3:11 do not centre around Paul's uncertainty about his 'salvation',³ but rather on how (by what means) he may attain 'resurrection' (cf. 2:12).⁴

ὑπό 'by' (direct agency): Phil 1:28 and 3:12.

¹On the encroachment of εἰ on ἐάν in the NT see BDF § 372.3.

²These references all concern an attitude *with which* one performs an action.

³So rightly Norbie, "If", pp. 224-26.

⁴On this supposedly 'undeveloped' aspect of Paul's theology in Philippians (viz. emphasis on human works rather than God's faithfulness) see Fortna, 'Philippians', pp. 220-34. Although certainly plausible, Greenlee's ('Paul', pp. 53-55) and Perriman's ('Pattern', pp. 68-79) interpretation of 3:10-11 as a statement of Paul's desire to attain *physical death* (sufferings) and subsequent *resurrection* before Christ's return makes little sense of v 12: 'It is not the case that I have already (now) obtained (resurrection) or have reached the goal, but I press on if indeed I might take possession (of resurrection)...'; it would be superfluous for Paul to state the obvious to the Philippians, viz. he is not dead (Perriman's translation 'It is not the case that...I have now reached the goal, i.e. the *moment* of death' does not reflect the Greek [p. 75, emphasis mine]). Thus, though 'resurrection' is probably the object of the verbs of vv 12-14 Paul is more likely speaking of an 'inward' death and life of Christ which he may possess in some capacity now (Rom 5:6:4; 2 Cor 4:10), but not fully until the parousia (Rom 8:17-30). This would effectively combat any over-realised eschatology at Philippi (Phil 3:15).

Manner

ἐν 'in' this way or manner: Of the 66 uses of ἐν in Philipians, five are best treated as expressions of manner: 1:8, 20 (ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ), 27; 2:6, 7.

τρόπος, οὕτως 'manner, way' in which something is done: Phil 1:18.

ὡς 'how, in what manner': The seven uses of ὡς in Philipians are somewhat diverse: (i) subordinating conjunction, nominal 'how' (1:8), comparative 'as' (2:22), temporal 'as soon as, when' (2:23) and (ii) comparative particle 'as' (1:20; 2:7, 12, 15).

Addition

δέ 'and', continuative conjunction (but in some way advancing the topic of discourse): δέ is mostly used in Philipians as a conjunction: 15 are most likely continuative (1:12, 22, 23; 2:8, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25 ἀναγκαῖον δέ; 4:10, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22) and 10 adversative (1:24, 28; 2:25 ὑμῶν δέ, 27; 3:1, 12, 13 [2x], 18; 4:10). It is used twice as an alternating particle (1:15, 17), but the difference between these and the adversative conjunction is slight.

ἀλλά 'and, but also': This particle is used in basically two ways in Philipians: addition and contrast. When used to indicate an additive relationship between discourse units, it is accompanied by καί used as an adverb 'also' or 'indeed' (1:18, 29; 2:4 [though καί is textually disputed], 17, 27; 3:8) or the adverbial expression πολλῷ μᾶλλον 'much more' (2:12). Phil 1:20 may also be a case of an additive relationship, if ἀλλά belongs with the καί that appears six words afterwards. It is probably contrastive, however, in view of the placement of ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ at the beginning of the clause—an obvious contrast with αἰσχυνθήσομαι in the preceding clause.

ἐπί 'in addition to, and', marker of an addition to what already exists: Of the seven uses of ἐπί in Philipians six are with the dative and one with the accusative. Its appearance with the accusative in Phil 2:27 indicates a relation of addition: '...in order that I may not have grief in addition to (already existing) grief'.

ἔτι 'in addition' to that which already exists: Phil 1:9; cf. 2 Cor 1:10 'he will deliver us again (ἔτι)'.

καί 'and, also': Of the 109 uses of καί in Philipians—all of which except perhaps 1:22 probably indicate an 'addition' relation—at least 26 function as adverbs (1:18, 20, 29; 2:4, 5, 9, 17, 18, 19, 24, 27 [2x], 28; 3:4, 8, 12 [2x], 15, 18, 20, 21; 4:3 [2x], 10, 15, 16) and at least 82 as co-ordinating conjunctions, of which the latter type may be subdivided into 16 correlative uses (1:7, 15?; 2:13 [2x]; 4:9 [4x], 12 [6x], 16 [2x]) and 66 copulative uses (e.g. 1:1 Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος). Of the copulative uses 25 connect clauses (1:9, 14, 15?, 18, 21, 23, 25 [2x], 28 [2x], 30; 2:7, 9, 11, 17, 18, 26; 3:8, 9, 17; 4:7, 8, 9, 18). A few uses deserve special mention. Two uses of καί in Phil 1:15 καὶ διὰ φθόνον...καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν are perhaps used as an additive conjunction (both...and), indicating that although Paul is speaking of two separate groups (μέν...δέ), they both share in common the fact that they are proclaiming Christ; or perhaps they function as adverbs 'indeed'—the language is particularly elusive. In Phil 1:22 καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω, the particle καί may have a concessive function 'indeed, yet'.

λοιπός, ἢ, ὅν 'furthermore', a marker of additional comment closely related to what has preceded: Phil 3:1 and 4:8 (see chap. 4 on the Hesitation Formula); contrast its use in Phil 1:13 and 4:3.

τε...καί 'both...and': Phil 1:17.

Association

μετά 'with': Of the seven uses of this preposition in Philipians—proportionately more than any of the other accepted Pauline letters—three indicate 'association' (4:3, 9, 23) and four are best treated under the semantic sub-chain of Means above (1:4; 2:12, 29; 4:6).

σύν 'together with', a marker of associative relation: All four uses of this preposition in Philipians are best understood in the sense of association: Phil 1:1 (see chap. 4 on the Prescript); 1:23; 2:22; 4:21.

Dissociation

χωρίς 'without, not with': Phil 2:14; cf. 1 Tim 2:8.

Contrast

ἀλλά 'but, instead': This discourse marker is used in basically two ways in Philipians: contrast and addition. When used to indicate a contrastive relationship between discourse units it is used alone (1:20; 2:3, 7, 27; 3:7, 9; 4:6, 17); contrast its use to indicate additive relations (where it typically occurs with καί). The use of a negative particle near ἀλλά is a good indicator of a contrastive use.

δέ 'but, on the other hand, yet, however', adversative conjunction (not as strong as ἀλλά): Of the uses of δέ in Philipians, 15 are most likely continuative (see above on Addition) (1:12, 22, 23; 2:8, 18, 19, 22,

24, 25 ἀναγκαῖον δέ; 4:10, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22) and 10 *adversative* (1:24, 28; 2:25 ὑμῶν δέ, 27; 3:1, 12, 13 [2x], 18; 4:10).

μέν...δέ 'on the one hand...on the other hand': All of Paul's uses of μέν in the letter to the Philippians may be understood in a μέν...δέ relation (alternating relation)—1:15, 16-17; 2:23-24; 3:1, 13—and thus take part in a contrastive relation. However, it must be noted that the 'contrastive' relation into which they enter is also based on similarity. That is, although some items contrast (e.g. 1:15 'on account of envy and rivalry' versus 'on account of goodwill') some items in the same clause are similar (e.g. 1:15 both contrasting groups 'proclaim Christ'). Therefore, although this particle is included under the semantic sub-chain of Contrast here it could also be placed under Addition based on which items (the contrastive or similar ones) are being emphasised by the interpreter.

εἰ μή 'except that, but, but only', a marker of contrast by indicating an exception: Phil 4:15.

πλὴν 'but, except', marker of contrast in which the validity of something is established irrespective of other considerations: This particle is used in each supposed partition of Philippians (1:18; 3:16; 4:14) to correct possible misunderstandings of Paul's surrounding statements; it is only found elsewhere in the Pauline letters in 1 Cor 11:11 and Eph 5:33 where it may also have corrective functions.

μᾶλλον 'rather': Of the seven uses of this adverb in Philippians at least six are used in a comparative sense: Phil 1:9 (2x), 23; 2:12; 3:4; 4:22 (the superlative μάλιστα still implies a comparison, viz. those in the house of Caesar 'especially' greet the Philippians, even 'more than' all of the other saints). In contrast, its use in Phil 1:12 has typically been translated with 'really' or 'rather' (cf. 1 Cor 5:2; Gal 4:9)—a marker of *contrast* indicating an alternative, as if some people thought that Paul's circumstances had hindered the spreading of the gospel. However, the context is not suggestive either way in Phil 1:12. The disclosure formula is not necessarily a *response* to what the Philippians believed; it could simply be a disclosure of information which they did not already know, viz. Paul's imprisonment resulted in the advance of the gospel more than if he had not been imprisoned. However, the unambiguous and very similar construction in Mark 5:26 μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χειρὸν ἐλθοῦσα 'she was not getting better but rather was getting worse' might suggest a similar function in Phil 1:12.

Alternative Relation

ἢ 'or' a marker of an alternative: Phil 3:12.

Content

εἰς (with the accusative) 'concerning, with respect to, with reference to, about': Of the 23 uses of this preposition in Philippians, 11 are used to indicate the content of a process: 1:5, 16, 23, 29; 2:22; 3:11, 14, 16; 4:15, 16, 17.

ὅτι 'that', markers of discourse content: Of the 21 uses of this particle in Philippians, 15 have a recitative (and closely related exegetical, see esp. 1:18; 4:11, 17) function (1:6, 12, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27; 2:11, 22, 24, 26; 3:12; 4:11, 15, 17) and six most likely have a causal function (1:20 [see on ἀποκαρδοκία], 29; 2:16 [ambiguous], 30; 4:10, 16).

Specification

κατά 'in relation to, with regard to': Of the 11 uses of κατά in Philippians, one is used to *specify* 'with regard to' (1:12) and 10 indicate the basis or standard of a process 'according to' (1:20; 2:3 [2x]; 3:5, 6 [2x], 14, 21; 4:11, 19)—though the semantic difference between the two functions is sometimes slight (e.g. 3:5).

περὶ 'in relation to, with regard to': Of the four uses of this preposition in Philippians, one appears with the accusative in the sense of specification (2:23). This is the only use with the accusative in the accepted Pauline letters (but see 1 Tim 1:19; 6:4, 21; 2 Tim 2:18; 3:8; Titus 2:7 for the only other occurrences in Pauline letters). Its use in Phil 2:7 ἀφίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ stands out not only because of its rarity but because it does not seem to differ from the function of περὶ with the genitive 'concerning, with regard to, about'. The other three uses appear with the genitive also in the sense of specification: Phil 1:27; 2:19, 20. The difference between these and the one with the accusative seems to be that in 2:7 the focus is on the external situation of Paul (viz. his imprisonment, the trial, the situation of the Christians there) and its impact on himself, whereas in 1:27; 2:19, 20 τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν the focus is on the Philippians themselves (an internal perspective).

Markers of Identificational and Explanatory Clauses (Exegetical)

ἵνα 'namely, that is': Of the 12 uses of this particle in the letter, in Phil 2:2 (and 1:9) it may have an exegetical function.

Source of Event or Activity

ἀπό 'from, by': Paul uses this preposition three times in Philipians to indicate the source (animate or inanimate participant) of an event or activity (Phil 1:2, 28; 4:15); in contrast, in Phil 1:5 he uses it as an indicator of time.

ἐκ 'from', a marker of source: Of the 10 uses of this preposition in Philipians, five are best understood in terms of a generic 'source' relation: 3:5 (2x); 9 (2x); and 4:22.

παρά 'from, by', a marker of the source of an activity: Phil 4:18 (2x).

Markers of Transition

γάρ 'then, and' or sometimes best left untranslated: Of the 13 uses of this conjunction 11 are coordinating (one continuative [Phil 1:18] and 10 explanatory [Phil 1:8, 19, 21; 2:13, 20, 21, 27; 3:3, 18, 20]) and two subordinating (causal [Phil 1:23; 4:11]). The one continuative use (1:18) is a simple marker of *transition*, probably best translated as 'then'. However, the distinction between these functions is often slight (see above under Causal relations); that is, the unmarked function of γάρ seems to be that of a marker of transition, but it often appears in contexts of clauses with a causal relationship.

Markers of Emphasis

μενοῦνγε 'indeed': This is a difficult particle to translate, especially in Phil 3:8. It is only used in Rom 9:20, 10:18, and Phil 3:8 in the NT. Perhaps in Phil 3:8 Paul uses it in its typical 'corrective' sense (often in the sense of 'rather' following a question, BAGD s.v. μενοῦνγε) so as to indicate that he considers *all* things (not just his Jewish heritage and accomplishments) to be void of value—πάντα is the key difference between v 7 and v 8. At the least, it serves as a marker of emphasis.

IDEATIONAL MEANINGS

Now that the individual lexical choices in Philipians have been treated in their immediate, Pauline, and wider linguistic contexts and placed into their respective semantic chains, we have a basis upon which to investigate their ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions in the letter. To recall the theoretical discussion in Part I, IDEATIONAL MEANINGS refer to what is 'going on' in the text with respect to what is going on outside of the text, i.e. the use of language to represent 'doings, happenings, feelings, and beings' in the real or imagined world. This is what people usually have in mind when they talk about what a word or sentence 'means'—viz. the 'representational content' of language. This function of language enables readers to build a mental portrait of a discourse. It enables them to relate language to what goes on around them (viz. the context of situation and the context of culture) and to what they have individually experienced in the course of their lives. The grammar of the clause accomplishes this primarily by means of PROCESSES (e.g. verbs), PARTICIPANTS in a process, and CIRCUMSTANCES associated with a process.

In the first part of this section, the task is to *summarise* how the Greek lexical system is used to represent ideational meanings in the discourse. As a general principle (following Louw–Nida), the semantic chains may be classified as (i) objects or entities, (ii) events or processes, (iii) abstracts, (iv) discourse markers, and (v) discourse referentials (which may refer to any of the first three)—though some chains overlap categories. Under each category, the respective semantic chains (e.g. Classes of Persons and Their Members) are listed with their sub-chains (e.g. General; Socio-Religious; Socio-Political), including the number of *occurrences* of words in Philipians. In addition, particular mention will be made of semantic chains which are not part of the letter but were available for Paul to choose from (i.e. his VIRTUAL SYSTEM). The second part of this section takes up in more detail an analysis of the processes, participants, and circumstances in the discourse.

OBJECTS OR ENTITIES

1. GEOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS AND FEATURES, PLACES (6): Regions Above the Earth (2); Regions Below the Surface of the Earth (1); The Earth's Surface, Earth (3)
2. ARTEFACTS (2): Instruments Used in Punishment and Execution (2)
3. PEOPLE (5): Human Beings (5)
4. CLASSES OF PERSONS AND THEIR MEMBERS (33): Groups and Members of Groups Related by Blood or Social Relations (16); Socio-Cultural (6); Socio-Religious (9); Socio-Political (2)
5. SUPERNATURAL BEINGS (87)

The two dominant semantic chains of objects/entities concern CLASSES OF PERSONS (and PEOPLE) and SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. The high percentage of words of supernatural entities is not a sign of their relative importance in the discourse; indeed, such words play only peripheral roles in the discourse (see on Information Flow below). The main participants (Paul and the Philippians) receive less coding in the text because of their greater prominence, i.e. they are topical to the whole discourse and thus less frequently require full noun phrases. In contrast, supernatural beings are not always in the foreground of the discourse and thus require full noun phrases to prevent referential confusion. Nevertheless, their relatively high number of occurrences reveals one significant semantic feature of Paul's discourse, viz. it is imbued with the activities of supernatural entities. Of these, Paul makes perhaps only one reference to 'negative' supernatural beings (2:10 *καταχθονίων*),¹ despite the presence of several earthly groups of opposition; consequently, Paul does not link the actions of the implied 'opponents' to evil spiritual beings.² Regarding the semantic chain of Classes of Persons and Their Members, social boundaries are implied in several of the lexical choices (especially socio-religious categories). This is one of the more salient ways in which Paul distinguishes himself and his readers from others (e.g. 'I was a *Pharisee*', 'you are the *saints* at Philippi', 'you are the children of God').

Noticeably, objects and entities play only a small role in the letter—according to Louw and Nida's lexicon, this is true of much of NT discourse. The letter lacks mention of several semantic domains of objects and entities: e.g. natural substances, plants, animals, foods and condiments, and constructions. The purpose of this observation is to place the discourse into the broader linguistic system from which Paul could have chosen to construct his discourse. The relative lack of objects and entities is perhaps in part the result of the purposes and topics of Paul's letters in general. His is not merely a representation or description of objects and entities in the perceived world. Accordingly, a hermeneutic of 'meaning' which focuses on *reference* cannot account for much of the language of Paul's discourse; a study of 'sense' relations is necessary to account for how many words are used in the discourse.

¹Furthermore, the emphasis here is on *universal* acknowledgement of Christ as Lord (perhaps including both animate and inanimate objects; neuter adjectives), not solely the subjugation of opponents; cf. O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 243-45.

²Contrast 1 Timothy, in which a dualistic supernatural world view is used to interpret human opposition; see Reed, 'Cohesive Ties', pp. 131-47.

EVENTS OR PROCESSES

6. BE, BECOME, EXIST, HAPPEN (34 + 4?): State (21); Change of State (10 + 4?); Exist (2); Happen (1)
7. LINEAR MOVEMENT (8): Move, Come/Go (2); Leave, Depart, Send, Flee (6)
8. VIOLENCE, HARM, DESTROY, KILL (2): Destroy (2)
9. DANGER, RISK, SAFE, SAVE (14): Expose Oneself to Danger (1); Trouble, Hardship, Distress (4); Beware, Be Concerned About (3); Safe, Secure (1); Save in a Religious Sense (4); Favourable Circumstances or State (1)
10. PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES (30): Die, Live (18); Body, Body Parts (8); Sickness, Disease, Weakness (2); Eat, Drink (2)
11. SENSORY EVENTS AND STATES (5): See (5)
12. ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS (62): Desire, Want, Wish (9); Love, Affection (6); Hope, Look Forward To (5); Be Eager, Be Earnest (2); Content, Satisfied (1); Acceptable To, To Be Pleased With (5); Happy, Glad, Joyful (17); Encouragement, Consolation, Comfort (2); Courage, Boldness (3); Hesitate (1); Shame, Disgrace, Humiliation (1); Sorrow, Cry (4); Worry, Concern (3); Fear, Alarm (3)
13. LEARN (4)
14. KNOW (20): Know (11); Known (4); Well Known, Clearly Seen, Revealed (4); Capacity for Understanding or Knowing (1)
15. MEMORY AND RECALL (2): Recalling from Memory (1); Not Remembering, Forgetting (1)
16. THINK, HOLD A VIEW, BELIEVE (52 + 1?): Think About, Have an Opinion, Hold a View (23); Psychological Faculties (9 + 1?); Intend, Purpose, Plan (1); Choose, Select, Prefer (1); Distinguish, Evaluate, Judge (1); Suppose, Think Possible (2); Believe to Be True (1); Trust, Rely, Confidence (13); Change an Opinion Concerning the Truth (1)
17. COMMUNICATION (60 + 1?): Written Language (2); Speak, Talk (7); Name (4); Ask For, Request (7); Inform, Announce, Message (16); Witness, Testify (1); Profess Allegiance (1); Call (1); Law, Regulation, Ordinance (3); Thanks (2); Praise (6 + 1?); Boast (3); Complain (1); Defend, Excuse (2); Greetings (3); Argue, Quarrel (1)
18. ASSOCIATION (3): Visit, Meet With (2); Welcome, Receive (1)
19. HELP, CARE FOR (6): Help (1); Serve (2); Provide For, Support (3)
20. CONTROL, RULE (7): Control (2); Imprison (4); Guard, Watch Over (1)
21. HOSTILITY, STRIFE (8): Opposition, Hostility (2); Strife, Struggle (4); Persecution (2)
22. BEHAVIOUR (8): Behaviour, Conduct (5); Imitate Behaviour (1); Obey, Disobey (2)
23. PERFORM, DO (26): Do, Perform, Work (19); Work, Toil (7)
24. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES (13): Religious Practice (3); Offering, Sacrifice (3); Dedicate, Consecrate (3); Worship, Reverence (2); Pray (2)
25. POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE (49): Have, Possess, Property (10); Need, Lack (6); Give, Gift (14); Take, Obtain, Gain, Lose (12); Receive (4); Keep Records (2); Steal, Rob, Seize (1)

Events and states are not limited to *verbal* forms of language. They include, for example, various processes indicated by nouns. The most prevalent types of events and states in Philippians occur in the semantic chains of ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS (62); COMMUNICATION (60 + 1?); THINK, HOLD A VIEW, BELIEVE (52 + 1?); POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE (49); BE, BECOME, EXIST, HAPPEN (34 + 4?); PHYSIOLOGICAL

PROCESSES AND STATES (30); PERFORM, DO (26);¹ KNOW (20). (These are discussed in more detail below under Central Tokens.) The semantic chain of POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE has been of particular interest for scholars pointing to social 'reciprocity' in the letter, e.g. one of Paul's purposes for writing is to thank the Philippians for their assistance. Although this has typically been discussed with reference to the *κοινωνία* language, the web of semantic relations in this chain extends much further, involving both material and 'spiritual' possessions. Other prominent semantic sub-chains include (i) Die, Live (18) of the PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES chain and (ii) Happy, Glad, Joyful (17) of the ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS chain. The latter has frequently been mentioned as an important if not the most important theme of the letter. Its significant role in the message(s) of the letter cannot be denied, especially when its relative frequency is compared with other attitudes and emotions in the discourse. However, the other chains put its topical importance into perspective, demonstrating that it is only one feature of the letter's semantic texture. Some of the semantic domains (from Louw and Nida's scheme) which do not factor into the discourse (but were available to Paul's lexicon) include: non-linear movement; stances and events related to stances; attachment; physical impact; guide, discipline, follow; punish; reconciliation, forgiveness; agriculture; animal husbandry, fishing; building, constructing; household activities; activities involving liquids and masses; activities involving cloth; activities involving clothing and adorning; contests and play; festivals; funerals and burial; maritime activities; military activities; courts and legal procedures. Of course, some of these (e.g. reconciliation, forgiveness) are more revealing than others (e.g. agriculture) for understanding how the semantic structure of *Paul's* letter represents a particular manifestation of the Greek lexical system.

ABSTRACTS

- 26. NATURE, CLASS, EXAMPLE (25): Nature, Character (5); Same or Equivalent Kind or Class (10); Different Kind or Class (4); Distinctive, Unique (5); Pattern, Model, Example (1)
- 27. QUANTITY (47): Many, Few (2); Much, Little (2); All, Any, Each, Every (38); Abundance, Excess (5)
- 28. NUMBER (8): One, Two, Three, Etc. (6); Once, Twice, Three Times, Etc. (2)
- 29. WHOLE, UNITE, PART, DIVIDE (3): Whole (1); Remnant (2)
- 30. COMPARISON (11)
- 31. VALUE (8): Valuable, Lacking in Value (4); Worthy, Not Worthy (2); Good, Bad (2)
- 32. TIME (39): A Point of Time without Reference to Other Points of Time (2); A Point of Time with Reference to Other Points of Time (15); A Point of Time with Reference to Duration of Time (2); Duration of Time without Reference to Points of Time (11); Duration of Time with Reference to Some Point of Time (3); Duration of Time without Reference to Some Point in Time (1); Indefinite Units of Time (4); Definite Units of Time (1)
- 33. AFFIRMATION, NEGATION (22): Affirmation (1); Negation (19); Negation Combined with Clitics (2)
- 34. MODALITY (3): Possible (1); Necessary (2)
- 35. TRUE, FALSE (3)
- 36. GENUINE, PHONEY (2)
- 37. ABLE, CAPABLE (3)

¹This semantic chain is closely related to those of Religious Activity and Behaviour (an abstract).

38. POWER, FORCE (2)
39. DEGREE (18 + 1?): Much, Little (1); More Than, Less Than (7 + 1?); About, Almost (1); Up To, As Much As, To the Degree That (9)
40. FEATURES OF OBJECTS (2): Fragrance, Odour (2)
41. SPATIAL RELATIONS (59 + 1?): Among, Between, In, Inside (58); Near (1?); Above (1)
42. EXISTENCE IN SPACE (7): Be in a Place (2); To Not Be in a Place (2); Remain, Stay (3)
43. SPATIAL EXTENSIONS (6 + 1?): Extension From a Source (1 + 1?); Extension to a Goal (5)
44. STATUS (22): To Honour or Respect in Relation to Status (2); High Status or Rank (16); Low Status or Rank (4)
45. MORAL AND ETHICAL QUALITIES AND RELATED BEHAVIOUR (29): Goodness (2); Just, Righteous, Right (6); Holy, Pure (7); Perfect, Perfection (2); Honesty, Sincerity (1); Propriety (1); Gentleness, Mildness (1); Mercy (2); Bad, Evil, Harmful (2); Arrogance, Haughtiness, Pride (1); Act Shamefully, Shameful (1); Envy, Jealousy (1); Hypocrisy, Pretence (1); Perversion, Deviation (1)

The MORAL AND ETHICAL QUALITIES AND RELATED BEHAVIOUR (29 words) chain undeniably comprises a prominent feature of Paul's lexical choices in the letter, although no particular sub-chain takes precedence—closely related to it are the above chains of RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY and PERFORM, DO. However, this chain's relative importance in the discourse is brought into perspective when Paul's actual lexical choices are compared to what he might have chosen. He uses 14 sub-chains out of a possible 38 from this semantic domain (based in part upon Louw and Nida's breakdown)—missing are kindness or harshness; self-control, lack of self-control; sensible behaviour, senseless behaviour; mature behaviour; peaceful behaviour; treat badly; act harshly; act lawlessly; exploit; mislead, lead astray, deceive; resentful, hold a grudge against; anger, be indignant with; despise, scorn, contempt; hate, hateful; stubbornness; show favouritism, prejudice; being a busybody; laziness, idleness; extravagant living, intemperate living; impurity; sexual misbehaviour; drunkenness; sin, wrongdoing, guilt. Thus, there are many moral and ethical qualities which are not raised in this letter.

None of the remaining chains particularly stand out as a prominent feature in the semantic texture of the letter. The STATUS chain is noteworthy, however, although it is mostly dominated by κύριος. The QUANTITY chain is dominated by πᾶς, which is the most frequently used adjective in the accepted Pauline letters;¹ hence, the chain's importance is somewhat skewed. In addition, the SPATIAL RELATIONS chain primarily consists of uses of ἐν. It is worth noting, however, that the TIME chain reveals how Greek vocabulary (rather than grammatical tense) is repeatedly used to indicate relative time in discourse.

DISCOURSE REFERENTIALS

46. REFERENTIALS (198): Speaker (57); Speaker and Those Associated with the Speaker (6); Receptor (55); Whom or What Spoken or Written About (45); Reciprocal Reference (1); Relative Reference (18); Demonstrative or Deictic Reference (16)

¹It occurs approximately 268 times in all of the accepted letters (excluding Philippians); the next most frequent adjective πολὺς occurs 75 times.

47. NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES (Unique Referents) (73): Persons (70); Places (3)

DISCOURSE REFERENTIALS are essentially deictic indicators, i.e. linguistic resources used to 'point to' other entities or events in the discourse or in the context of situation or culture. They do not actually represent semantic chains, since any given referential (e.g. Παῦλος) may function in another semantic chain (e.g. People); nevertheless, as linguistic resources they do serve as CO-REFERENTIAL TIES. Simple REFERENTIALS are dominated by those dealing with the Speaker and Receptor. This is due in part to the iconicity principle (see the study below on Information Flow), viz. a linguistic item maintaining a topic/theme often employs 'leaner' semantic content (e.g. pronouns, verbal suffixes). In all but one of the six uses of first person plural pronouns (viz. 3:17, in which Paul and an unidentified group become a 'model' for the Philippians), Paul includes the Philippians within the referential scope. The 'Philippians' as a group are the focus of Receptor referentials, except for the sole use of second person singular in 4:3. Paul uses a variety of lexical items (but prefers αὐτός) to refer to those who are not main participants (i.e. not Speaker or Receptor), viz. Whom or What Spoken or Written About: e.g. (i) 'Jesus Christ' (13x); (ii) unspecified individuals and groups (7x); (iii) 'Epaphroditus' (4x); (iv) 'God' (1x); (v) 'Timothy' (1x); (vi) 'Euodia and Syntyche' (1x). Paul's use of Relative referentials is similar: (i) 'Jesus' (3x); (ii) implied 'opponents' (5x); (iii) implied 'allies' (1x); (iv) 'Timothy' (1x); (v) 'Euodia and Syntyche' (1x). With respect to NAMES AND PLACES, the use of Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός as unique referents dominate the sub-chain of Persons; however, although these play more of a role in Philippians than is generally true of the accepted Pauline letters (see below), they are distributed evenly throughout the entire letter except in 4:10-20 where both words appear only in 4:19—κυρίος also appears in 4:10 probably as a reference to 'Christ' (cf. 1:2; 2:11, 19; 3:8, 20; 4:23). This may support a multiple-letter theory or it may simply demonstrate an inconsequential stylistic difference in 4:10-20. Also worth noting is the fact that all three uses of Place names (cf. also 4:15 Φιλιππησίος) are limited to the Macedonian region.

PARTICIPANTS, PROCESSES, AND CIRCUMSTANCES

Whereas the above summary of semantic chains primarily concerns how lexical choices contribute to the semantic texture of the letter, it now remains to summarise the ideational *functions* which these lexical items play as participants, processes, and circumstances in clauses (see Appendix A for analysis of each clause).

PARTICIPANTS (i.e. participant roles) and PROCESSES are closely related elements of ideational meaning, partly because certain types of processes invoke certain types of participant roles. These are summarised in the following diagram, which includes the number of occurrences of each function in the letter (for theoretical discussion see chap. 2 on Ideational Meanings).

| Process | Function | Participant Roles ¹ |
|--|--|--|
| material: (85x) action (77) event (8) | doing doing happening | Actor (85), Goal (53) |
| mental: (97x) perception (8) affection (41) cognition (48) | sensing seeing feeling thinking | Senser (98), Phenomenon (74) |
| verbal: (18x) | saying | Sayer (18), Target (7), Verbiage (12) |
| relational: (100x) attribution (97) intensive (57) circumstantial (33) possessive (7) identification (3) intensive (2) circumstantial (1) possessive (0) | being attributing identifying | Carrier (94), Attribute (94) Identified (3), Identifier (3) |
| existential: (6x) | exists | Existent (6) |

Process Types and Their Participants

On a general level, material, mental, and relational processes occur in almost equal proportions in Philipians. One feature of Paul's epistolary style here which distinguishes it from the majority of 'everyday' letters is his frequent use of mental and especially relational processes. Paul is not solely concerned with 'doings' and 'happenings' in his discourse, but speaks often of 'sensing' and 'being' processes. Furthermore, the material processes in Philipians repeatedly concern moral or ethical behaviour.

Regarding MATERIAL PROCESSES, action processes predominate. All types of participants play the role of actor in action processes, the most notable of these being: Paul (1:4b, 20c, 27c; 2:16b, c, 19b, 23b, 24b, 25b, 28a; 3:3b, 6b, 8f, 12c, d, 13d, 14, 16b; 4:13a, 15c, 18a, d); the Philipians (1:11, 27a, g; 2:2a, 3a, 12a, b, 14, 29a, b; 3:3b, 16b; 4:5a, 6b, 9b, e, 14a, b, 15d, 16, 18c, 21a); Christ (2:7a, 8a; 3:12e, 21a, c); and God (1:6b, c, 29a; 2:9a, b, 13b, d, 15d; 4:7a, 13b?, 19). There is no real concentration of action processes in any portion of the letter, though the Philipians clearly play less of a role as actors in Phil 3 than in any of the other disputed sections. In contrast, event processes are restricted to the first two chapters of the letter, with Paul (1:21b, d, 22b, 23d), Epaphroditus (2:26d, 27a), and the Philipians (1:29c, 30a) as actors—the majority of these concern statements regarding a person's well-being or personal circumstances (a semantic feature of many personal letters).

Regarding MENTAL PROCESSES, affection and cognition processes predominate. Such functions of language might be expected in a 'personal' letter which does not primarily involve descriptions of 'doings' and 'happenings' in the material world (such as e.g. Synoptic narratives). On the one hand, one reason the letter to the Philipians may be characterised as a 'personal' letter (see chap. 4) is the repeated use of affection processes,

¹The two other types of participants—beneficiary (14) and range (6)—are found in 1:2, 22a, 29a; 2:9b, 19b; 3:7a, 8d, 15d, 21c; 4:6b, 15b, d, 16, 18c and in 1:4b, 23b, 30a; 2:2c, 27e; 3:4a respectively.

which would be expected in a letter that deals in large part with maintaining interpersonal relationships. Indeed, Paul (1:6a, 8b, 12a, 18c, d, 22d, 23b, 25a; 2:17b, c, 19a, c, 23a, 24a, 27e; 3:3d, 4a, d, 18d, 20b; 4:10a, 17a, b) and the Philippians (1:28a; 2:2c, 18a, b, 28b; 3:1a, 3d, 20b; 4:4a, c, 6a) are almost always the subjects (actors) of such verbs and they often 'feel' things with respect to one another (e.g. Paul desires [to see] the Philippians).¹ On the other hand, a significant portion of the letter's ideational content has to do with cognitive processes ('thinking, knowing, believing'). For this reason, it may be characterised as dealing with 'beliefs, attitudes, opinions'. As part of his rhetorical strategy, Paul not only attempts to influence his readers' behaviour but just as frequently their beliefs and opinions. Again, Paul (1:7b, c, 19, 22c, 25b, 29d, 23c, 25a; 3:7b, 8a, e, 10a, 13a, c, d, 15b; 4:11b, 12a, c, e) and the Philippians (1:10a, 12b; 2:2b, e, 3b, 4a, b, 5a, 22a; 3:2a, b, c, 15b, c, 17b; 4:8i, 9a, 10c, d, 15a) are typically the subjects of cognitive processes.² The last type of mental process—viz. perception—plays a minor role in the discourse, but nevertheless always concerns Paul's or the Philippians' 'seeing' or 'hearing' with respect to one another (1:27b, d, 30b, c; 2:26c, 28c; 4:9c, d). This would be expected in 'personal' letters which often deal with recollections of past visits or news about the letter's sender or recipient.

Regarding VERBAL PROCESSES, Paul is typically the one doing the 'saying' (1:1a, 3-5, 9a; 3:1b, 18b, c; 4:2a, b, 3a, 4b, 11a)—four of these involve Paul's own comment on the content of his immediate discourse (3:1b, 18c; 4:4b, 11a). Other participants are also the 'sayers' of a verbal process (1:14c, 15, 15a, 17a, 18b; 2:11a), in which Christ (or more generically, the gospel message) is always the 'verbiage' of the process.

RELATIONAL PROCESSES are much more complex than the above process types, primarily because they involve a broader range of participants (including many peripheral ones). But one thing is for sure, Paul makes frequent use of relational processes throughout the letter, of which the majority are attributive. He repeatedly makes use of relational processes with reference to his own state of 'being'. This is especially true of intensive processes (the most common), which abound in Paul's self-description in Phil 3 and 4:10-20 (3:5a, d, e, 6a, c, d, 12b; 4:11d, 12b, d, f, g, h, i, 18b). Notably, when the Philippians are the subject of a circumstantial process of attribution, in every case an *év* phrase is used as the circumstance to describe them with respect to moral or ethical attributes (1:9b, 26, 27f; 4:1). Similarly, when they are the subject of an intensive process of attribution, moral or ethical qualities are also used as 'attributes' to describe them (1:7d, 10c; 2:2d, 15a, b; 3:17a). The only three relational processes of identification involve the Philippians (1:1b), God (1:8a), and Christ (2:11b, question: 'who is Lord [a relevant question in social contexts of emperor worship]', answer: 'The Lord is Jesus Christ'). Existence processes—which are similar to relational processes but without a complement—appear only in 2:1a, b, c, d; 4:8g, h.

The following chart provides information about how the various processes are used in the disputed sections of the letter.³ Though it should not be used hastily as an argument for (or against) literary integrity, it does reveal one aspect of the ideational content of these disputed sections in relation to one another.

¹For other participants see 1:14a, b; 2:20b, 26a, b, 27b, c, d; 3:4c.

²For other participants see 1:16b, 17c; 2:6a, 13c, 21a, b; 3:4b, 19e; 4:2c.

³This partition includes the three most debated sections of the letter, though several variations of this three-part partition exist (see chap. 3 on Partition Theories). Cases where occurrences in questionable sections (viz. 3:1; 4:1-9, 21-23) might skew the evidence are specifically noted.

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| material: | 49 | 21 | 15 |
| action | 41 | 21 | 15 |
| event | 8 | - | - |
| mental: | 62 | 25 | 13 |
| perception | 32 | 6 | 6 |
| affection | 24 | 17 | 7 |
| cognition | 6 | 2 | - |
| verbal: | 11 | 6 | 1 |
| relational: | | | |
| attribution | 45 | 38 | 14 |
| intensive | 23 | 24 | 10 |
| circumstantial | 19 | 10 | 4 |
| possessive | 3 | 4 | - |
| identification | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| intensive | 2 | - | - |
| circumstantial | 1 | - | - |
| possessive | - | - | - |
| existential: | 4 | 2 | 0 |

Three observations are noteworthy: (i) the relatively high proportion of relational clauses of attribution in 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (letter C); (ii) the use of event clauses only in 1:1-3:1 and 4:4-7 (letter B); and (iii) the high proportion of perception clauses in 1:1-3:1 and 4:4-7 (letter B).

The participant roles played by the main participants—viz. Paul and the Philippians—are diverse and, furthermore, distributed throughout the letter, typically spanning disputed sections: (i) Paul as *actor* (1:4b, 20c, 21b, 21d, 22b, 23d, 27c; 2:16b, c, 19b, 23b, 24b, 25, 28a; 3:3b, 6b, 8f, 12c, d, 13d, 14, 16b; 4:13a, 15c, 18a, d), *senser* (1:6a, 7b, c, 8b, 12a, 18c, 18d, 19, 22c, d, 23b, 25a, b, 27b, d; 2:17b, c, 19a, c, d, 23a, c, a, 24a, 25a, 27e; 3:3d, 4a, d, 7b, 8a, e, 10a, 13a, c, 15b, 18d, 20b; 4:10a, 11b, 12a, c, e, 17a, b), *sayer* (1:1a, 3-5, 9a; 3:1b, 3c, 18b, c; 4:2a, b, 3a, 4b, 11a), *carrier* (1:16c, 12c, 13, 23e, 24b, 25c, 27e; 2:20a, 28d; 3:3a, 5a, b, c, d, e, 6a, c, d, 9a, b, 11, 12a, b, 16a, 20a; 4:11c, d, 12b, d; 4:7b, 12f, g, h, i, b), *goal* (1:17b, 20b, 23a; 2:2a, 17a, 10c, 12e, 13b; 4:13b, 14b), *phenomenon* (1:14b; 2:23c, 27d), *attribute* (3:17d); and (ii) Philippians as *actor* (1:11, 27a, g, 29c, 30a; 2:2a, 3a, 12a, b, 14, 29a, 29b; 3:3b, 16b; 4:5a, 6b, 9b, e, 14a, b, 15d, 16, 18c, 21a), *senser* (1:10a, 12b, 28a, 29b, 30b, c; 2:2b, c, e, 5b, 4a, b, 5a, 18a, b, 22a, 26c, 28b, c; 3:1a, 2a, b, c, 3d, 15b, c, 17b, 20b; 4:4a, c, 6a, 8i, 9a, c, d, 10c, d, 15a), *sayer* (3:3c), *carrier* (1:7d, 9b, 10c, 16, 27f; 2:2d, 15a, b, 16a, 17a, d; 3:3a, 16a, 20a; 4:1, 10b, e), *identified* (1:1b), *goal* (1:28b; 2:30c; 4:7a, 19, 21b, 22), *phenomenon* (1:7c, 8b, 27b, d; 2:4a, 19d, 20b, 26a), *target* (1:1a; 3:1b, 18b), *attribute* (4:23).¹ Notably, almost every participant role spans disputed sections.² While this does not *prove* literary integrity, the analysis of both participant roles and process types does demonstrate

¹Whereas logical subjects in the letter typically concern one of the main or peripheral human participants in the letter (Paul; Philippians; God; Christ; Timothy; Epaphroditus), logical complements are much more varied, often involving inanimate objects (e.g. love).

²See, however, the absence of Philippians as actors and carriers in Phil 3 (except for in first person plural expressions) as well as the use of the Philippians as a phenomenon in only Phil 1-2.

that the use of ideational functions do not evidence a multiple-letter reading, even though some differences occur *within* particular sections (e.g. Paul's lack of role as logical subject in 2:1-11 and the sole use of first person plural logical subjects in Phil 3). Furthermore, it provides a precise account of Paul's functional use of language in this letter, i.e. *contingent* Pauline style.¹

Besides participants and processes, most Greek clauses contain expressions of CIRCUMSTANCES, another major component of ideational meanings. Indeed, almost 50% (150) of the clauses in Philippians have circumstantial expressions which modify the verb, which does not even include the many circumstantial expressions which modify other nouns. Adverbs, prepositions, and case-forms are repeatedly used to specify functions of extent, location, manner, cause, accompaniment, matter, and role. The lexical items used in such expressions have been detailed above in the semantic chain of DISCOURSE REFERENTIALS, though other semantic chains are also employed, the most notable being Spatial Relations, Degree, Time, and Comparison. Whereas many of the discourse referentials function between clauses (e.g. γάρ, διότι, ὅτι)—i.e. they are organic ties—a significant number of them function *within the clause* as circumstantial expressions modifying a verbal process. The purpose here is to analyse the latter type of circumstantial expressions in Philippians. These are summarised in the following diagram.

| | |
|--|---|
| Extent (15x) duration-temporal (13) distance-spatial (2) | how long? how far? |
| Location (70x) time-temporal (13) place-spatial (57) | when? where? |
| Manner (64x) means (17) quality (34) comparison (13) | how? what with? in what way? like what? |
| Cause (39x) reason/purpose/result (34) behalf (5) | why? what for? what result? who for? |
| Accompaniment (7x) comitation (7) addition (0) | who/what with? who/what else? |
| Matter (20x) | what about? who regarding? |
| Role (9x) | what as? |

Regarding circumstances of extent, Paul employs only two expressions of spatial distance (1:26 and 2:25b), of which both concern travel πρὸς 'toward' the Philippians. Of the 13 expressions of temporal duration, Paul prefers adverbs ('always' 1:3-5, 20c; 2:12a; 4:4a; 'often' 3:18b; 'once and twice' 4:16), and prepositions (1:6b, 10c; 2:8b, 16a, 30a; 4:20). Of these, three have eschatological references (1:6b, 10c; 2:16a).

Regarding circumstances of location, Paul repeatedly uses spatial expressions of place, often with an ἐν phrase to indicate a spherical realm in which a process occurs—these are

¹Such data should prove even more informative for the interpretation of individual Pauline letters and Pauline style when compared to data gathered from the other Pauline letters—a future project (but see Reed, 'Cohesive Ties', pp. 131-47, on 1 Timothy).

distributed evenly throughout the entire letter. Notably, several of the temporal expressions are used in clauses dealing with various types of correspondence between Paul and the Philippians (2:19b, 23c, 24b, 28c; 3:18c; 4:10b, 15b).

Paul repeatedly describes processes with circumstances of manner. Of these, quality expressions predominate and almost always in material and mental processes (but see 2:6b, 7c, d, which have relational clauses describing the manner of Christ's existence). Expressions of means are used throughout the letter, yet with a variety of grammatical forms—*ἐν* (1:20c, 26, 28a; 4:6b, 13a), *ὑπό* (3:12e), *διά* (1:19-20a, 20c, 26), *ἐκ* (1:23a), *κατά* (3:21a; 4:19), participles (2:7a [2x], 8a; 3:10a), and one adverb (3:11). Expressions of comparison are mostly found in 1:1-3:1 and 4:4-7 (letter B), though the use of *μᾶλλον* is used as a comparison in 1:9b, 12c, 23c and 3:4d. *ὡς* is another preferred word for comparisons (1:20c; 2:7d, 12a, 15c, 22b).

Next to circumstances of location and manner, those of cause appear frequently in the letter. This fact is even more noteworthy when it is recalled that Paul also employs many causal conjunctions and particles *between* clause units (organic ties), not just *within* them. On a linguistic level, this is in part why Paul's discourse can be read as 'rhetoric' or 'argumentation'. *εἰς* is one of Paul's favourite ways of expressing reason / purpose / result (1:11, 12c, 16c, 25c; 2:11b, 16a, b, c); in contrast, in Phil 3 he prefers *κατά* and *διά* phrases to denote causal circumstances (3:5e, 6a, c, 7b, 8d, 14, though see 1:19-20a; 2:3a and 4:11a for *κατά* examples). Participles are often used in causal expressions as well (1:23a; 2:19c, 28b; 3:8a; 4:18c). Circumstances of behalf are less common, found only in 1:24a, 29a, c; 2:13d; 4:10c, of which the last four use *ὑπέρ*.

Circumstances of accompaniment appear only seven times in the letter and, except for *μετά* in 4:3a, they are always expressed with a *σύν* phrase (1:1b, 23e; 2:17c, 18b, 22b; 4:3a; cf. 4:21 where it modifies a noun but with a similar function). This evidence supports the reading of 1:1b suggested in chap. 4 above (see Prescript) that the epistolary prescript is addressed *specifically* to those Philippian house-churches with 'deacons' and 'overseers'.

Circumstances of matter are frequently expressed with the simple dative (dative of respect) in the letter (1:7a, 21a, 27g; 3:1c, d, 5a; 4:14b), though prepositions and participles are also used (1:7b, 9b, 17c, 20b, 29b; 2:10, 16a, 22b; 3:11, 14; 4:15b, 16, 17c).

All circumstances of role are expressed with participle clauses (2:6a, 8a, 30a; 3:3a [4x], 9a; 4:14a).

In sum, circumstances of location, manner, and cause (in that order of frequency) appear frequently in the letter. As the following diagram demonstrates, there is no evidence that circumstantial expressions are used differently in any of the disputed sections of the letter in comparison to the other sections. Lastly, regarding word order, there are no patterns which suggest that particular circumstances occur in a specific order in relation to others. However, one quantitative observation is worth making: Paul typically uses only one or two circumstances per clause (if he uses any at all); some notable exceptions to this are 1:3-5, 20c, 26; 2:12b—these clauses all contain a relative high degree of communicative dynamism (see on Information Flow below).

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Extent | | | |
| duration-temporal | 9 | 1 | 2 |
| distance-spatial | 2 | - | - |
| Location | | | |
| time-temporal | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| place-spatial | 31 | 16 | 10 |
| Manner | | | |
| means | 8 | 4 | 2 |
| quality | 26 | 6 | 2 |
| comparison | 11 | 1 | 1 |
| Cause | | | |
| reason/purpose/result | 25 | 7 | 2 |
| behalf | 4 | - | 1 |
| Accompaniment | | | |
| comitation | 5 | 2 | - |
| addition | - | - | - |
| Matter | 13 | 3 | 4 |
| Role | 3 | 5 | 1 |

INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS

To summarise the theoretical discussion set forth in Part I, INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS are used to *act* on participants in a communicative event, i.e. they represent language as a form of *action*. Interpersonal meanings, at their most basic level, consist of statements, questions, offers, and commands. Halliday takes a functional approach to the four speech roles, seeing two fundamental 'actions' behind them: GIVING and DEMANDING.

Either the speaker is giving something to the listener (a piece of information, for example) or he is demanding something from him...giving means 'inviting to receive', and demanding means 'inviting to give'. The speaker is not only doing something himself; he is also requiring something of the listener.¹

These two speech roles are done with respect to two kinds of commodities, GOODS-AND-SERVICES and INFORMATION. Goods-and-services are not limited to material products ('buy some meat!'), but include any speech event which aims at getting the audience to perform an action ('open the door!') or give an object ('send the letter!'). The other commodity is the exchange of information (e.g. 'the Lord is Jesus'), which awaits a verbal response. Treating the two speech roles in terms of the two commodities results in four primary interpersonal speech functions, each of which is used with various types of intermediacy and grammatical expressions, as seen in the following diagram (with statistics from Philippians).

¹Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 68.

| Commodity exchanged | Speech function | Type of intermediacy | Linguistic Forms ¹ |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| information (266x) | statement (264x) question (2x) | probability <i>assertion</i> (100x) <i>projection</i> (15x) <i>expectation</i> (15x) <i>possibility</i> (11x) | indicative (100x) subjunctive (15x) future (15x) modal adjunct (11x) participle (50x) indicative (37x) |
| | | usuality <i>sometimes</i> (1x) <i>usually</i> (1x) <i>always</i> (3x) | modal adjunct (5x) |
| goods-and-services (41x) | command (39x) | obligation <i>allowed</i> <i>supposed</i> <i>required</i> | imperative (26x) subjunctive (2x) participle (6x) infinitive (2x) |
| | offer (2x) | inclination <i>willing</i> <i>anxious</i> <i>determined</i> | particle (2x) |

The interpersonal meanings are informative of how Paul interacts with his readers in the world of the text. On a general level, the majority of the letter involves the exchange of information (both about the past, present, and future), not goods-and-services. Approximately 264 clauses function as statements and only two as questions. However, at least 39 clauses function as commands, and perhaps only two as offers.² So clearly, the text is primarily an exchange of *statements* by the author—which the reader can acknowledge or contradict—but also contains several *commands*—which the reader can undertake or refuse.

Statements of information are used throughout the letter, mostly in the indicative mood (when the verb is expressed)—notably, 4:10-20 consists only of statements. Paul rarely uses modal adjuncts to indicate intermediacy in the various interpersonal speech functions (1:3-5, 20c; 2:12a; 3:18b; 4:16); instead, verbal mood forms are used to indicate four types of intermediacy in statements of information: *assertion*; *projection*; *expectation*; *possibility*. The frequent use of indicatives in *assertions* is not unexpected. The future tense-form is often used to indicate Paul's *expectation* regarding his own circumstances (1:18d, 19-20a, 20b, c, 25; 2:24b) and his expectation that God/Christ will act with respect to his readers (1:6b; 3:15d, 21a; 4:7a, 9f, 19; cf. 2:20b in which Timothy will care for the readers). All of these concern events expected to happen in the future, except for 4:4b *πάλιν ἐρῶ* 'again I will say' which is an expectation only in the sense that it looks forward to Paul's ensuing command. Statements of *possibility* are all indicated with the modal adjunct *εἰ* (never *ἐάν*), even in a clause using the subjunctive (3:12d; see also the possible subjunctive in

¹Because some clauses are verbless, the statistics in this column do not always reflect totals in the other columns.

²The majority of speech functions can be determined by grammatical forms of the verb in the clause. However, 50 clauses lack a verbal form. Of these, five most likely function as commands (2:2d, 3a, 4b, 27g, 28a), two perhaps as offers (1:2; 4:23), and the remaining as statements (e.g. elided *εἰμι*).

3:11). 2:1a, b, c, d and 4:8g, h all have similar structures, viz. verbless clauses of existence followed by an imperative. In 3:4b, 15c Paul employs statements of possibility perhaps as a polite device for proposing that some may object to his views; he does not challenge them outright. The subjunctive is typically used to *project* a possible realm, mostly in chaps. 1-2 and never in 4:10-20: 1:9b, 10c, 26, 27b; 2:10, 11a, 15a, 19c, 23c, 27e, 28b, e, 30c; 3:8f, 9a.¹ Of these, four—viz. 1:9b, 10c, 26; 2:15—are found in relational clauses which describe the Philippians and which are very similar in function to *commands*, i.e. Paul in an indirect way alludes to behaviour or moral attributes which he wants the Philippians to have (cf. 2:2b which is best treated functionally as a command). Lastly, a number of clauses are best treated as statements of information, though they are *unmarked* with respect to intermediacy: (i) 38 clauses without a verb or modal adjunct; (ii) 52 participles; (iii) 37 infinitives—the last two types are found throughout the disputed sections of the letter, but clauses without a verb or modal adjunct are absent from the so-called 'thank-you' section (4:10-19, if the disputed doxology is left off). The majority of these are in embedded clauses, but nevertheless demonstrate that many of Paul's clauses are not marked as to their interpersonal function.

Only two question-forms appear in the letter, and both are rhetorical questions. 1:18a is essentially a discourse marker, in which Paul raises the question of the value of his situation (viz. what do I make of those who are preaching the gospel so as to increase my suffering?) and then proceeds to answer it himself (viz. as long as Christ is proclaimed I am glad...)—a type of diatribal use of the interrogative (cf. Rom 3:3). He uses the interrogative in 1:22d so as to highlight his dilemma: Should I choose life or death?. In sum, Paul does not seek the immediate response of his readers (i.e. he is not *per se* engaged in dialogue), as he does so often in Romans with his use of diatribe (even his questions in Philippians are not phrased as challenges to his own viewpoint), but instead his *exchanges of information* chiefly consist of *statements*. This feature (or lack thereof) of the letter's interpersonal nature is even further highlighted when compared to the use of interrogative *pronouns* and *particles* in the other Pauline letters: Romans (57x); 1 Corinthians (75x); 2 Corinthians (21x); Galatians (8x); 1 Thessalonians (4x); Philemon (1x).

After statements, commands are the next most prevalent type of interpersonal meaning in the letter: 1:27a; 2:2a, b, c, d, e, 3a, b, 4a, b, 5a, 12b, 14, 18a, b, 22a, 29a, b; 3:1a, 2a, b, c, 15b, 16b, 17a, b; 4:1, 2c, 3b, 4a, c, 5a, 6a, b, 8i, 9e, 21a.² However, they are absent from 4:10-20. Until the end of Phil 1 (esp. in the thanksgiving/prayer and disclosure formulas), Paul mostly conveys *information* to the Philippians; beyond that section Paul repeatedly issues commands especially at transitional sections in the letter, sections which often culminate a series of preceding statements (1:27a; 2:2-5; 2:12b, 14; 2:18a, b; 2:29a, b, 3:1a; 3:2a, b, c; 3:15b, 16, 17a, b; 4:8i; 4:9e). These commands are sometimes introduced with a discourse particle (e.g. ὥστε, μόνον). In contrast, the string of commands in 4:2-6 stands apart as a distinct set of petitions without connection to what precedes, though the initial epistolary petition formula introduces the section. Similarly, the final closing greeting in 4:21a stands alone as a distinct petition. The majority of commands are expressed with the imperative mood (26x). Paul also employs various other

¹3:12d and perhaps 3:11 also use subjunctives, which combined with the modal adjunct εἰ both express possibility and projection—clearly events which are not asserted as to their probability.

²Paul's use of commands in Philippians is characteristic of his other letters; for example, imperative forms are used approximately 62 times in Romans, 99 times in 1 Corinthians, 22 times in 2 Corinthians, 21 times in Galatians, 25 times in Philippians, 20 times in 1 Thessalonians, and 4 times in Philemon.

grammatical forms to express commands. Of these the hortatory subjunctive in 3:15b and infinitives in 3:16b; 4:2c are fairly clear.¹ However, the series of participles (2:2c, e, 3b, 4a), verbless clauses (2:2d, 3a, 4b), and subjunctive (2:2b), which are all initiated with the particle ἵνα and all arise from the imperative πληρώσατε in 2:2a, are also probably best treated functionally as commands, albeit made in a circuitous manner.² So also the participles in 1:27g, 28 after the imperative στήκετε similarly function as commands. All of the commands are directed specifically at the Philippian readership, except for those in 3:15b, 16b which are broadened to include the 'we' (Paul and the Philippians) and those in 4:2c, 3b which are directed at specific individuals within the Philippian community. Some of the commands involve general exhortations to the Philippians (1:27a 'conduct yourselves, live as citizens'; 2:2a 'complete my joy'; 2:12b 'work out your salvation'; 3:16b 'live in this way'; 4:1 'stand in the Lord'; 4:9e 'do these things'; 3:17 'imitate me and others walking thus'). Several are more specific: mental or 'thinking' commands (2:2b, d, e, 3b, 5a; 3:2a, b, c, 15b; 4:2c, 8i); rejoice, be glad (2:18a, b; 3:1a; 4:4a, c); exhortations concerning 'humility' or concern for others (2:3b, 4a, b); exhortations to unity (1:27g; 2:2b, c, d, e); know or 'be aware of' Timothy's approval (2:22a?); receive Epaphroditus into your care (2:29a); honour those like Epaphroditus (2:22a); assist Euodia and Syntyche (4:3b); be kind to all people (4:5); be worried about nothing (4:6a); make your requests known to God (4:6); greet (4:21a). There is no *one* thematic pattern to Paul's exhortations nor can they be squeezed into one macro-theme (esp. those in 4:1-9)³—as in many personal letters, Paul's petitions are varied in scope but, nevertheless, mostly involve matters of moral and religious behaviour (in contrast to the typical 'Send the olive oil!' in the papyri). Most of these commands are positive *exhortations* and perhaps only a few should be interpreted as *prohibitions* (2:3a, 4a, but even these follow the initial command in 2:2a to 'complete' Paul's joy), thus implying that from Paul's perspective there was much that the Philippians were already doing well. The exhortations in 1:28 to not be afraid and in 4:6a to worry about nothing are hardly implicating them of wrongdoing. Paul's exhortations, hence, do not directly accuse the Philippians of anything (whether or not there were *actual*, i.e. extratextual, behavioural problems at Philippi). That is, he does not say 'Stop doing this!' or 'Do not do this!'. Instead, he says 'Do everything without grumbling!' (2:14) rather than 'Quit grumbling!' or 'Do not grumble!'.⁴

Perhaps Paul's unique salutation (1:2) and closing (4:23) 'grace to you...' are examples of offers, i.e. Paul offers grace and peace to his readers as a gesture of cordiality at the

¹The infinitive clause in 4:2c τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ has the force of a command as a result of its concatenation with the verbs of beseeching παρακαλῶ in 4:2a, b. The imperatival infinitive in 3:16b is found elsewhere in Paul only in Rom 12:15.

²Even if the ἵνα clause and the following clauses are taken as an 'epexegetical limitation of the verb' (so O'Brien, *Philipians*, p. 177) rather than an imperatival ἵνα, the result is that Paul is exhorting the Philippians to behave in a certain way.

³Against Black, 'Discourse Structure', p. 45, who wants to fit the whole communicative goal of the letter into Paul's desire 'to persuade the Philippians to put aside their differences and, with single-minded purpose, to live for the gospel'. The difficulty of such a reductionistic agenda is especially revealed in his attempt to deal with the varied exhortations of 4:1-9 (pp. 41-42; see Final Petitions in chap. 4 above against taking 4:1 with what follows). For example, he lumps all of the exhortations in 4:2-6 into the theme of 'living in harmony with one another in the church' (trying to explain vv 2-3, 5 but side-stepping v 6) and those in vv 7-9 into the theme of 'enjoying the peace and harmony that God alone can give' (without explaining how the various virtues promote harmony in any precise way; indeed his outline summarises this section quite differently, 'Renewed Exhortation to Godly Patterns of Thought and Conduct' [4:8-9] placing v 7 instead with vv 4-6).

⁴So Koperski ('Concerns', p. 290) rightly observes that although in 4:2 'an admonition is present, it is expressed in respectful terms'.

beginning and end of his letter. Regardless, the rest of the letter is not a discourse of explicit offers, i.e. Paul is not offering goods—and-services to the Philippians. While this is true at a grammatical level, there are a few generic formulas that may imply an indirect offer (e.g. 2:19-30 the sending of Timothy and Epaphroditus and 1:8-9 mention of his desire to visit them so that their love may increase).

Lastly, polarity is used infrequently in the letter to *negate* a verb, as has already been noted with respect to commands: positive (295x) and negative (12x in 1:22c, 28a; 2:4a, 21b, 27e; 3:1c, 9b, 12a, b, 13a; 4:6a, 17a). Besides the letter to Philemon, negatives are used almost twice as few times in Philippians than in the other accepted letters: Romans (190x); 1 Corinthians (222x); 2 Corinthians (135x); Galatians (57x); Philippians (19x); 1 Thessalonians (31x); Philemon (2x).

In sum, an analysis of the interpersonal functions in the discourse provides a clearer picture of Paul's epistolary style vis-à-vis his linguistic choices. In chap. 4 above it has been noted that, although much of the letter can be treated in terms of epistolary conventions (prescript; salutation; thanksgiving; disclosure; commendations; petitions; acknowledgement of receipt of goods; closing greetings), Paul's repeated use of statements followed by petitions is somewhat unique to his epistolary style (though paralleled somewhat in the moral letters by Seneca and Cicero). Rather than treat this solely as a feature of genre (e.g. background-petitions), it is more prudent—based on the scarcity and indeterminateness of parallel evidence—to treat this primarily as a feature of discourse texture (i.e. Paul's functional use of language). The letter to the Philippians consists mostly of statements of information but many of these give rise to a command for certain goods—and-services. That is, statements of information lead into commands. Lastly, with respect to the question of literary integrity, it is worth repeating again the observation that 4:10-20 consists only of statements of information, lacking any of the other speech functions (including commands which Paul often places at the end of a succession of statements). While this does not definitively prove that 4:10-20 represents an originally separate letter, it does specify one way in which the style of this section differs from other sections of the letter.

TEXTUAL MEANINGS

This section is primarily concerned with how the above 48 semantic chains (and their sub-chains) do and do not interact, i.e. the *cohesive* texture of the text as revealed by cohesive ties. Those semantic chains were categorised into (i) objects or entities, (ii) events or processes, (iii) abstracts, (iv) discourse markers, and (v) discourse referentials. In terms of the model of COHESIVE TIES presented in Part I, the first three (objects/entities, events/processes, abstracts) generally involve cohesive ties of CO-CLASSIFICATION (denotation) or CO-EXTENSION (sense) and the last type (discourse referentials) typically involves cohesive ties of CO-REFERENCE. These all represent COMPONENTIAL cohesive ties. Discourse markers, instead, have to do with ORGANIC ties. Both of these types of cohesiveness are analysed in Philippians below, followed by a study of INFORMATION FLOW, the third primary *linguistic* means for creating cohesiveness in discourse.

ORGANIC TIES

Hellenistic Greek developed an extensive set of lexical items—mostly conjunctions, particles, and prepositions but also some adjectives and nouns—to communicate 'relations' or ORGANIC TIES between the words, clauses, and paragraphs of discourse. Clearly,

Philippians exemplifies the communicative importance of such lexical items for NT discourse, using approximately 340 words as either circumstances *within* a clause or as logico-semantic ties *between* clauses.¹ The following summary lists the semantic functions (and statistical counts) played by these discourse markers in Philippians (see individual analysis of them above under Semantic Chains).

48. DISCOURSE RELATIONS (339 + 3?):² Cause and/or Reason (30); Basis (16); Purpose (10 + 1?); Result (21); Benefaction (6); Condition (15); Concession (2); Means, Agency (17); Manner (7); Addition (135 + 1?); Association (7); Dissociation (1); Contrast (27 + 1?); Alternative Relation (1); Content (26); Specification (5); Markers of Identificational and Explanatory Clauses (1); Source of Event or Activity (10); Markers of Transition (1); Marker of Emphasis (1)

Many of the words from the Specification category through to the Manner category perform a HYPOTACTIC function, i.e. the logico-semantic relation between a dependent linguistic element and an element on which it is dependent. In contrast, many of the words in the Addition category through to the Marker of Emphasis category perform a PARATACTIC function, i.e. the logico-semantic relation between two linguistic elements of equal status. Of all the discourse relations used in Philippians the 'addition' type is clearly the most predominant (135x), with *καί* being the most frequent lexeme—Contrast (27x) and Content (26x) relations are the next most predominant types. In addition, Paul employs a wide variety of causal-conditional types of discourse relations (hypotactic functions) throughout the letter but especially concentrated in Phil 2.³ Furthermore, his use of paratactic particles are distributed evenly through the letter.

We have already treated these discourse relations as *circumstances* in the clause (see under Ideational Meanings). Here the focus is on discourse relations as organic ties which bind clauses together. This analysis centres around the logico-semantic relationships *between* clauses (rather than *within* clauses). The logico-semantic relationships between clauses include those of PROJECTION (locution or idea) and EXPANSION (elaboration, extension, enhancement). (1) In PROJECTION, one clause is 'projected' (extended) through another (the primary clause) by means of (i) a locution or (ii) an idea. LOCUTION occurs with verbs of saying (direct or indirect discourse); in Greek the secondary clause is usually expressed with the infinitive or with finite verb forms using particles such as *ὅτι* or *ὡς*. IDEA covers a broad range of projections, in which the secondary clause presents an idea, i.e. a projection of meaning. The idea is a way of 'completing' the process of the primary clause. These, like locutions, are commonly expressed with an infinitive or with a *ὅτι* construction. (2) The three types of EXPANSION may be likened to enriching a building: (i) *elaborating* the existing structure of a building; (ii) *extending* it by addition or replacement; (iii) *enhancing* its environment.

It is well known that Hellenistic Greek frequently employs connectives to join clauses. The letter to the Philippians is no exception to this tendency. However, as seen in Appendix A, approximately 123 clauses do *not* employ particles or conventionalised

¹The ratio is about even, half of the discourse relations functioning as circumstances in the clause and half as organic ties between clauses or paragraphs.

²To these may be added some of the particles (e.g. *ὡς* and *ὅτε*) used in the semantic chains of Comparison and Time.

³For example, of the 54 uses of clausal-conditional particles in the letter (*ὅτι*, *γάρ*, *διότι*, *ἐπειδή*, *διό*, *οὖν*, *ὥστε*, *ἵνα*, *εἰ*), the breakdown by chapter is: 1 (12x); 2 (26x); 3 (9x); 4 (7x). This is not intended as a statement on integrity, but an observation on how Paul's causal-conditional arguments are linked together proportionately in various parts of the discourse.

grammar to indicate clause relations; most of these are embedded (or rank-shifted) clauses and thus hardly unusual, though some other types are also asyndetic: participles (46); infinitives (10); verbless (26); indicatives (27); imperatives (13); and one subjunctive used as an exhortation (3:15b).¹ It is not that these clauses may not have a functional relationship with the surrounding discourse (e.g. participles with a causal function), but that they are *unmarked* as to that relationship. In the remaining non-asyndetic clauses, particles/conjunctions (158x) or conventionalised syntax (17x, mostly infinitives) are employed to express organic ties. Clauses with indicative or subjunctive moods are generally explicitly marked as to their clause relation, except in relative clauses (though even here the use of a relative pronoun in a frontal position seems very similar to particles and conjunctions used to join clauses).² Imperatives, however, are split as to their use of explicit discourse relations: marked (1:27a; 2:12b, 18a, b, 22a, 29a, b; 3:1a, 17b; 4:1, 6b) and unmarked (2:2a, 5a, 14; 3:2a, b, c, 17a; 4:3b [though clearly a projection in function] 4a, c [though clearly a projection in function], 5a, 6a, 8i, 9e, 21).³ Furthermore, those imperative clauses which do have organic ties employ a diversity of lexical forms: *μόνον* (1:27a); *ὥστε* (2:12b; 4:1); *οὖν* (2:29a); *δέ* (2:18a, 22a); *καί* (2:18b, 29b; 3:17b); *λοιπόν* (3:1a); *ἀλλά* (4:6b). Thus, clauses with imperatives (or 'imperatival' functions) are much more complex as to their discourse relations than those with indicatives and subjunctives;⁴ I find no functional principle, however, that explains why Paul sometimes uses organic ties in imperative clauses and sometimes does not.

As to the logico-semantic functions of the discourse relations, the following summary highlights what types of functions are found in the letter—this may be compared to the complete chart of functions in the discussion of Organic Ties in chap. 2 above.

Clauses of projection appear throughout the letter (35x), mostly of the idea-type (1:6b, 8b, 12b, c, 14c, 16c, 17c, 19-20a, 23c, 25c; 2:19b, 22b, 23b, 24b, 25b; 3:4c, 8b, 13b, 21b; 4:11d, 12b, d, f, g, h, i, 15b) but also of the locution-type (1:27f; 2:11b, 16b, 26d; 3:18e; 4:2c, 3b, 4c)—note that none of the latter are found in the disputed section 4:10-20. The majority of these are expressed with infinitives or *ὅτι* clauses, but *ὡς* (1:8b) and simple imperatives (4:3b, 4c) are also found.

Clauses of elaboration are used 10 times in the letter: (i) *apposition*: expository (2:2b?) and (ii) *clarification*: corrective (1:18b, 27a; 2:4b; 3:12a, 16b; 4:11a, 14a, 17a), particularising (2:27a). Although *ἵνα* in 2:2b may be interpreted as an *elaboration* of the preceding exhortation ('Complete my joy by thinking the same...'), this is clearly not a common discourse relation in Philippians, which suggests that the *ἵνα* here probably (also) carries connotations of its typical 'purpose' function (i.e. by completing Paul's joy they will begin thinking the same...). In contrast, Paul more often elaborates a preceding clause with a clarification. Notably, he uses the expression *οὐχ ὅτι* three times in Philippians to introduce a clarification (3:12a; 4:11a, 17a), but only elsewhere in 2 Corinthians (2 Cor 1:24; 3:5; 7:9; cf. 2 Thess 3:9); thus, since this appears to be a stylistic

¹In addition, several cases of asyndeton involve relative clauses which employ relative pronouns to create links with other clauses. However, it is questionable whether this is actually asyndeton since the pronoun has become conventionalised as a discourse marker.

²In all but 3:15b where it is used with an imperatival sense, the subjunctive is always marked with a discourse relation. Clear examples of asyndeton in indicative clauses occur in 3:13a [but note the use of the vocative]; 4:2a, 12a, c, e, 13a, 18c, 21b, 22. Notably, the asyndeton in the disputed section 4:10-20 (esp. vv 12a, c, e, 13a) is stylistically similar to the type of asyndeton in 4:4-9e.

³Six of the 15 unmarked (asyndetic) clauses are part of the string of imperatives in 4:4-9.

⁴This difference is highlighted by the fact that the hortatory subjunctive in 3:15b is in an asyndetic clause, though subjunctive clauses typically have organic ties.

construction only used rarely by Paul (or his secretary), its use in Philippians appears to support a single-letter reading of those two sections or at least points to similar authorship. Similarly, Paul only uses *πλήν* in 1 Cor 11:11; Phil 1:18b; 3:16; 4:14 (cf. Eph 5:33) and always (at least in Philippians) as a corrective—again this reveals a stylistic consistency in the letter (though it may only point to the same author of multiple-letters).

Clauses of extension appear 86 times in the letter, the most of any type of clause-expansion: (i) *addition*: positive (62x dispersed quite evenly through the letter), negative (2:16c); (ii) *adversative* (1:15, 17a, 20c, 24a, 28d; 2:3b, 7a, b, c, 17a; 3:1d, 7a, 9c, 12c, 13d, 14, 18c; 4:6b, 10e, 17b); (iii) *variation*: subtractive (4:15d), alternative (3:12b). Extension is mostly indicated by expressions of addition (usually *καί* or *δέ*) and contrast (adversative, always *ἀλλά* or *δέ*). Although *δέ* may be used in both types of expressions, perhaps the best way to describe its function is that it moves the topic of the discourse in a different direction, usually by taking up a new topic (1:12a), developing an old one in a significantly new way (1:22a, in which Paul continues with the topic about his 'living or dying' but begins to comment upon its relevance for his current situation), or contrasting a topic with a previous one (3:18c). In contrast, *καί* is unmarked with respect to this function, i.e. it only indicates a general linking of clauses.

Clauses of enhancement appear 61 times in the letter, next only to those of extension: (i) *spatio-temporal*: simultaneous (2:23c; 4:15c); (ii) *comparative*: positive (1:7a; 2:12a; 3:17d); (iii) *causal*: result (1:10a, 13, 9a, 12b, 23a, 28a, b, 29a; 3:10a, 15a; 4:1), purpose (1:9b, 10c, 26, 27b; 2:10, 15a, 19c, 27e, 30c; 3:8f), reason (1:7c, 8a, 18a, 19, 20b, 21a, 29a; 2:13a, 20a, 21a, 26a, c, 30a; 3:3a, 8c, d, 18a, 20a; 4:10b, 11b, 16), basis (3:12e; 4:10d); (iv) *conditional*: positive (2:1a, b, c, d, 17a; 3:4b, 11, 12d, 15c; 4:8g, h), concessive (3:4a). Firstly, it is worth noting that spatio-temporal relations are rare in the letter; in that sense, Philippians is not a narrative (i.e. it is not a sequentially ordered discourse). Secondly, causal relations are frequent in the text, giving it somewhat of a rhetorical character (i.e. the author is *arguing for* or *drawing consequences from* his statements in the discourse in an attempt to persuade the reader).

In sum, despite its relevance for a discourse analysis of the letter, an analysis of organic ties might mean little with respect to the integrity debate, since a redactor could have either added discourse relations or merged the text in relatively seamless manner at the points of dispute. However, in terms of the use of discourse relations in the disputed sections of the letter, there is nothing peculiar about any of the disputed sections which might suggest a different occasion of writing or different style of writing. Indeed, one particular characteristic of asyndeton in Phil 4 argues against separating 4:10-20 from the immediately preceding exhortations: the asyndeton in 4:10-20 (esp. vv 12a, c, e, 13a) is stylistically similar to the type of asyndeton in 4:4-9e. Furthermore, the use of *οὐχ ὅτι* and *πλήν* as corrective relations, as mentioned above, reveals elements of stylistic consistency across disputed sections of the letter.

COMPONENTIAL TIES

Whereas organic ties generally concern various paratactic and hypotactic, logico-semantic relationships between clauses and paragraphs, componential ties generally concern the cohesive relationships between individual linguistic components (primarily words and phrases) of the discourse.

Peripheral and Relevant Tokens

As noted in the theoretical discussion of Part I, claims of textual cohesiveness in the NT could be evaluated more precisely as to their persuasiveness if interpreters would differentiate (in a scalar manner) supposed cohesive links in the letter in terms of their relative importance to the text's message. PERIPHERAL TOKENS are those linguistic items in the text which play no role in a semantic chain (e.g. a single use with no other semantically related items) or comprise a very limited chain (or sub-chain). These types of topics are typically brought into the message and then subsequently dropped without further being developed. The chains (small caps) and sub-chains (capitalised) in Philippians which can arguably be treated as peripheral in the discourse include: GEOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS AND FEATURES, PLACES; ARTEFACTS; VIOLENCE, HARM, DESTROY, KILL; Eat, Drink; SENSORY EVENTS AND STATES; Encouragement, Consolation, Comfort; Hesitate; Shame, Disgrace, Humiliation; Capacity for Understanding or Knowing; MEMORY AND RECALL; Choose, Select, Prefer; Distinguish, Evaluate, Judge; Change an Opinion Concerning the Truth; Name; Witness, Testify; Profess Allegiance; Call; Complain; Greetings; Argue, Quarrel; ASSOCIATION; Guard, Watch Over; Imitate Behaviour; Keep Records; Steal, Rob, Seize; Pattern, Model, Example; WHOLE, UNITE, PART, DIVIDE; MODALITY;¹ POWER, FORCE; FEATURES OF OBJECTS; Near; Above. This is not to say that the words in these chains and sub-chains are unimportant to the message of the text, but that peripheral tokens are less convincing (or carry less rhetorical weight) when used as arguments for the literary integrity of the letter. Furthermore, they do not represent what Paul is 'on about' (i.e. purpose, theme, goal, speech act, intent, argument) with respect to the content of his discourse. Thus, to read peripheral meanings into other parts of the discourse without explicit evidence in the text is immediately suspect or, at least, bears a significant burden of proof.

RELEVANT TOKENS, on the other hand, are those lexical items which are part of a larger chain (e.g. those which at least contain more than one word occurrence) and, thus, play a relatively more important role in the semantic structure of the discourse than peripheral tokens do. As revealed in the Topical Survey of Evidence in chap. 2, single-letter theorists have often attempted to demonstrate the 'unity' (and hence the literary integrity) of Philippians by listing the distribution of synonymous words or 'motifs' as they appear throughout the disputed sections of the letter—coined here the 'distributional' approach.² A similar approach could have been taken above by listing in three columns the distribution of relevant tokens as they appear throughout the disputed sections of the letter, i.e. highlighting the distribution of relevant tokens. For example, the following chart reveals how several sub-chains span disputed sections of the letter.

| | 1:1–3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2–4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------|
| be confident | 1:6a, 14b, 25a; 2:24a | 3:3d, 4c, d | |
| be glad, rejoice | 1:18c, d; 2:17b, c, 18a, b, 19c, 28b; 3:1a | | 4:4a, c, 10a |
| consider | 2:3b, 4a, b, 6a, 25a; 4:8i | 3:7b, 8a, e, 17b | |
| think | 1:7b, 17c; 2:2b, e, 5a | 3:4b, 13a, 15b, c, 19e; 4:2c | 4:10c, d |

¹Although lexical items are peripheral in this chain, it is clear that modality as a grammatical device appears throughout the discourse; see on Interpersonal Meanings.

²Besides those words often cited by scholars (see chap. 3 on Topical Survey of Debate), see also the above discussions of *πλήν*, *πειθω/πεποιθήσις*, *ὑπερέχω*, and the sub-chain of Change in State.

| | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| know | 1:12b, 19, 22a, 22c, 25b; 2:19d | 3:10a | 4:12a, c, 15a |
| serve, work | 1:27g; 2:16c, 22b | 4:3c | |
| learn | 2:23; 4:9a | | 4:11b, 12e |
| destroy | 1:28c | 3:19a | |
| trouble, hardship | 1:17c, 29c | 3:10a | 4:14b |
| acceptable to | 1:15; 2:13d | 4:8e | 4:18d (2x) |
| low status or rank | 2:3b, 8a | 3:21a | 4:12b |

To a certain degree these chains demonstrate cohesive ties in the letter. To invoke a legal term, we might say that such evidence indicates 'probable cause' for a single-letter theory. However, Halliday and Hasan have shown that this is not *necessarily* the case, neither with respect to how authors create cohesiveness and how readers interpret it. Although relevant tokens may in part signal cohesiveness, a distributional approach to the question of literary integrity is sometimes a less than candid portrayal of cohesiveness because (i) it tends to lump together words from the same lexical root without accounting for differences in function and (ii) it tends to focus solely on cases which supposedly prove cohesiveness while overlooking (or avoiding) counter-evidence.

(1) The former inadequacy can be illustrated in the Socio-Cultural chain, one which has clear word parallels between disputed sections (2:15 and 3:5 [3x]). Three of Paul's socio-cultural words for classes of persons are found in 3:5 where they are used to define his socio-cultural heritage (γένος, Ἰσραήλ, φυλή). His use of γενεά in Phil 2:15 parallels γένος in Phil 3:5. Nonetheless, the cohesive tie between these sections is slight (at best) since 2:15 is treated in terms of the Philippians (viz. 'they are to shine in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation' [i.e. the surrounding world]) and 3:5 specifically concerns Paul's ethnic heritage in contrast to the Philippians' (i.e. the Philippians are not from the nation of Israel, as is implied by his saying that they are the 'true' circumcision). That is, while it is true that Paul uses 'similar' kinds of words, he is not talking about 'similar things in similar ways'. In Halliday's terms, what is not happening here is 'chain interaction'.

(2) Whereas the above criticism of the distributional approach is more of a caveat, the second criticism seems more damaging to a single-letter theory, viz. a distributional approach may be used to provide counter-evidence to a single-letter theory. Such evidence comes from words which play distinct functions as they appear in the disputed sections of the letter, illustrated in the following examples. κενόω in 2:7 'to cause to lose power' (POWER, FORCE chain), κενοδοξία in 2:3 'vain pride' (Arrogance, Haughtiness, Pride sub-chain), and κενός in 2:16 'without result' (Result sub-chain) are used in distinct senses despite their formal similarities. In Phil 1:27 ψυχή is used in the sense of sharing the same mental and emotional feelings, i.e. the Philippians are unified with respect to their inner psychological faculties; however, in Phil 2:30 it is used in the sense of physical life, a different semantic field. Of the three uses of ἔρχομαι in Philippians, one indicates a process that ends in a particular state (1:12), but two indicate linear movement (1:27 and 2:24). In Phil 1:14 and 3:18 the adjective πολύς implies a countable number, but in Phil 1:23 and 2:12 it indicates a mass, 'much'. Of the seven uses of μετά in Philippians—proportionately more than any of the other accepted Pauline letters—four are used as indicators of 'means' (1:4; 2:12, 29; 4:6) and three are best treated under the semantic chain of 'association' (4:3, 9, 23). In Philippians δόξα is used in two senses: (i) an act or process of praising or glorying in something (God as object in 1:11; 2:11; 4:20) and (ii) an entity possessing splendour, glory, i.e. that which is worthy of praise (3:21; 4:19). In Phil 1:14 and 2:16 λόγος has the sense of 'speech, message', the content of what is spoken; in

contrast, in Phil 4:15, 17 it is used with reference to the record of a transfer of goods ('account'). In Phil 1:13 and 4:3 the adjective λοιπός indicates a remnant, 'rest, remaining'; contrast its use as a discourse marker in Phil 3:1 and 4:8. In Philippians the adjective δίκαιος is used generically (1:7 'it is right for me...'; 4:8 'whatever is just...') in a way that is hardly related to a Pauline theology of righteousness; however, δικαιοσύνη is used in Phil 3:6, 9 so as contrast the righteousness of the law and that of faith and in Phil 1:11 as part of Paul's exhortation to the Philippians to 'fulfil the fruit of righteousness'. In Phil 3:21 the human σῶμα is portrayed negatively, needing transformation into its glorious state, but in Phil 1:20 Paul portrays σῶμα as a tool which can effectively glorify Christ in its present (pre-glorified) state. In Phil 4:6 μεριμνάω has a negative connotation ('Do not worry about anything') whereas in Phil 2:20 Timothy is described as being legitimately concerned for the Philippians. In contrast to the use of σάρξ in the sense of 'inner' psychological faculties especially in Rom 6-7, in Philippians Paul can speak of flesh in positive terms in 1:22, 24 and in negative terms in 3:3, 4 (2x) where it is treated in terms of 'human' accomplishments. Whereas in 4:12 ὑστερέω and in 4:11 ὑστέρησις have to do with material 'needs' (e.g. food), in 2:30 ὑστέρημα generically indicates an absence or 'lacking' with respect to the Philippians' service on behalf of Paul. All of these examples involve words with different functions (at varying degrees) in different disputed sections of the letter, which could be used to support a multiple-letter theory or at least challenge the relative value of a distributional approach for the question of literary integrity.

(3) Another problematic with the distributional approach is that a certain amount of lexical similarity would be expected between different letters written by the same author to the same recipients in a confined space of time, especially if the particular words are used similarly by that author or in other biblical literature.¹ For example, although ἀπώλεια (often cited by single-letter theorists) may simply refer to the physical 'waste' of earthly objects (Matt 26:8; Mark 14:4), it is a favourite term of NT authors to describe the ultimate destruction of the opponents of God (Matt 7:13; John 17:12; Rom 9:22; 2 Pet 2:1, 3; 3:7, 16; Rev 17:8, 11; cf. 2 Thess 2:3; 1 Tim 6:9; and Acts 8:20 which uses both meanings of the adjective and Heb 10:39 where it describes apostates). We might expect, then, that its use in Phil 1:28 and 3:19 would describe the destruction of opponents; its use, then, in two disputed sections is hardly weighty evidence for a single-letter theory. In addition, the use of θλίψις in Phil 1:17 and 4:14 (both referring to Paul) may be the result of the same situation faced by Paul during the time he wrote two different letters. Furthermore, single-letter theorists who employ some form of the distributional approach often cite words which only appear in Philippians or only in a few of the Pauline letters, as if such cases are more weighty. In response, the potential feebleness of such evidence is demonstrated, for example, in the case of συστρατιώτης which only appears in Phil 2:25 and Phlm 2 in the NT. Surely it does not follow that these two instances were originally part of a single letter.

As a case study, some of the above criticisms may be directed at the methodology used in P. Wick's *Der Philipperbrief: Der formale Aufbau des Briefs als Schlüssel zum Verständnis seines Inhalts*—one of the most detailed recent discussions of the thematic structure of Philippians.² Wick argues that Philippians was intentionally constructed as a series of parallelisms in 10 parts: a1 (1:12-26), a2 (3:1-16); b1 (1:27-30), b2 (3:17-21); c1 (2:1-4 [5-11]), c2 (4:1-3); d1 (2:12-18), d2 (4:4-9); e1 (2:19-30), e2 (4:10-20). Central to

¹Cf. Schenk, *Philipperbriefe*, pp. 335-36. Admittedly, the analysis of some central tokens below could be disputed along these lines, though to a lesser degree.

²For a similar view of parallelisms in Philippians see Rolland, 'La structure', pp. 213-16.

these parallelisms are (i) the Christ-hymn and the theme of *Gesinnung Christi* (2:5-11) between c1 and c2 and (ii) the exhortation to *Freude im Herrn* in 3:1a between the first set of parallelisms (a1 + b1 + c1 + d1 + e1) and the second (a2 + b2 + c2 + d2 + e2).¹ Wick brings both elements together under the theme of *Gemeinschaft im Evangelium*.² I have already critiqued his approach from a structural level (i.e. in terms of genre) in chap. 4; here I limit my comments to his notion of theme (e.g. *Grundthema, Inhalt*) and its relevance for the integrity debate. Wick suggests that the letter consists of five basic themes: *Freude; Gegner; Selbstbericht; Gesinnung; and Korrespondenz*. Furthermore, these themes are structured in such a way to support his thesis that the letter is a series of parallelisms (similar to those found in OT literature): 'So gäbe es nur fünf verschiedene Grundthemen in diesem Briefkorpus, aber in je doppelter Ausführung.'³

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|----------|----------|---------------|------|----------|----------|---------------|
| A | = a1 | Freude + | Gegner + | Selbstbericht | + a2 | Freude + | Gegner + | Selbstbericht |
| B | = b1 | | Gegner | | + b2 | | Gegner | |
| C | = c1 | Freude + | | Gesinnung | + c2 | Freude | | Gesinnung |
| D | = d1 | Freude | | | + d2 | Freude | | |
| E | = e1 | Freude + | | Korrespondenz | + e2 | Freude + | | Korrespondenz |

In further support of his outline of parallels, he provides three other types of evidence: secondary themes, word parallels, and the number of words in a section.⁴ I do not doubt that Wick (in his outline) has rightly identified some thematic elements (cohesive ties) in the letter; however, these do not necessarily lead to his scheme of parallelisms, nor as decisively, as he seems to advocate, to a single-letter theory. Firstly, while the fact that his sections contain similar number of words may be interesting, Wick gives no reason why this establishes parallelism (either as a literary or linguistic device). This seems a very arbitrary means for determining parallels.⁵ My main criticism, however, concerns (i) his method of determining themes by often appealing to word repetition rather than 'chain interaction' (i.e. his is primarily an *incomplete* list of relevant tokens, a distributional approach) and (ii) his view that the letter is limited to *five basic themes*. On the former point, the same type of word parallels Wick finds to prove his thesis can be used to disprove it. For example, Wick claims that the words κέρδος/κερδαίνειν, ἐν σαρκί are restricted to the a1 and a2 parallels and the word θάνατος is found in both.⁶ While this

¹See Wick, *Philippenerbrief*, esp. pp. 61-63. Wick (*Philippenerbrief*, p. 58) claims: 'Der Hymnus ist somit das exakte thematische Zentrum des Briefes'; however, this is only true *after* Wick has excised the prescript (1:1-2), thanksgiving/prayer (1:3-11), and closing (4:21-23) from the letter. The 'joy' and 'Christ' themes then become a determinative factor in Wick's exegesis of the entire letter. His is another example of attempts to restrict the thematic purpose of Philippians so as to demonstrate supposedly its literary integrity; he does, nonetheless, allow for other purposes in the letter: 'Zugleich hat Paulus mit diesem Schreiben auf die verschiedenen Gegebenheiten reagiert, die Philipper anhand von diesen etwas gelehrt und "last but not least" mit ihnen die Gemeinschaft und den Kontakt gepflegt' (p. 149).

²Wick, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 149.

³Wick, *Philippenerbrief*, p. 39; the chart is taken from p. 41. He later identifies five different 'reasons' why Paul wrote the letter: 'Er berichtet über sein Ergehen, er ermahnt die Leitung, er kündigt die baldige Ankunft des Timotheus an, er erklärt die Ankunft des Epaphroditus und er dankt für die Gabe der Philipper' (p. 138).

⁴These are summarised on pp. 43, 45, 47, 51, 53. He also gives stylistic evidence for the parallels a1 and a2.

⁵For example, one of his arguments for treating 2:5-11 as a somewhat distinct unit is its unparalleled number of words (*Philippenerbrief*, p. 45). This seems like special pleading, especially since he admits that the Christ-hymn shares features with 2:1-4 (c1) which, if they were treated together, would mean that the number of words in c1 and c2 are not very akin.

⁶One of his most arbitrary word parallels is that the name of 'Epaphroditus' appears in e1 and e2. Is Paul really consciously using the name of Epaphroditus as a chiasmic parallel?

may be true, other evidence could be used to form other parallels: for example, (i) περισσεύω is limited to 1:26 and 4:12, 18 (and 1:9 which falls outside of Wick's parallels); (ii) καρπός is limited to 1:22 and 4:17 (and 1:11 which falls outside of Wick's parallels); (iii) σκοπέω is limited to 2:4 and 3:17; (iv) μορφ- words are limited to 2:6,7 and 3:10, 20; (v) ὑπάρχω is limited to 2:6 and 3:20; (vi) σταυρός is limited to 2:8 and 3:10; (vii) ἐπίγειος is limited to 2:18 and 3:19. All of these examples (albeit incomplete) represent word parallels (relegated to particular sections of the letter) which do not fit Wick's outline but are based in principle on the same method which he uses to create it. With regard to Wick's thematic approach, not only does the letter consist of many more themes and secondary themes than Wick proposes (as the above study of chains demonstrates) but his thematic breakdown can be challenged at several points: (i) the so-called 'self-report' theme of a1 and a2 is also a feature of 4:11-18 (part of Wick's e2) and (ii) the so-called 'correspondence'¹ theme of c1 and c2 may also be seen in 1:3, 8 (longing 'to see' them) and in Paul's own plans to visit Philippi (1:24-25). Furthermore, others have highlighted themes in the letter which do not fit into his scheme: call to unity in 1:27-28 and 2:16; sufferings in 1:29-30 and 3:10; exhortation to imitate in 1:30, 2:11 and 3:17; humility in 2:1-11 and 3:1-11; progress in Christian life in 2:12-18 and 3:12-13; and 'race' motif in 2:16 and 3:12:16.² This all seems to suggest that different outlines could be arrived at (and have been) using the same basic method as Wick. Hence, while I agree with several of his observations, his macrostructural scheme seems to be based on his own attempt to put it into a series of parallelisms rather than on methodologically-justified evidence from the text; in other words, his analysis of word-pairs and themes does not lead me or others to the same conclusion about the structure of the letter primarily because it can be used arbitrarily. Furthermore, his conclusion about Paul's literary style seems overstated: 'Paulus hat mit dem Philipperbrief auf formaler Ebene ein sprachliches Kunstwerk geschaffen.'³ These and other very elusive and emotionally-laden statements (e.g. the letter is 'artless') are best left out of the debate.

In sum, the above problematics with the 'distributional' approach, which has typically been used to argue in support of literary integrity, are in part why Halliday and Hasan differentiate between peripheral, relevant, and central tokens. This is not to say that relevant tokens do not necessarily factor into the cohesiveness of discourse, but that it is only one level of cohesiveness and not the strongest evidence for a single-letter theory as is sometimes claimed.

Central Tokens

In contrast to a distributional approach which tends to rely inordinately on RELEVANT TOKENS, textual cohesiveness is better evidenced by CENTRAL TOKENS, i.e. when at least two members of a chain interact with two members of another chain.⁴ This typically

¹Wick (*Philipperbrief*, pp. 52-53) specifically understands 'correspondence' with respect to the sending of Timothy and Epaphroditus, but in Paul's cultural context correspondence between 'friends' included these things as well as visiting in person and sending letters.

²These are taken from Bloomquist, *Function*, p. 103.

³Wick, *Philipperbrief*, p. 62.

⁴Garland's ('Composition', pp. 160-62) argument for the literary integrity of Philippians is based primarily on the view that 1:27-4:3 represents a distinct (and intended) structural unit, as seen in the repetition of 'rare' words in 1:27 and 3:20; 4:1, 3 (στήκω; συναθλέω; πολιτευ-). While his observation is particularly convincing in that his examples are all part of chain interactions (i.e. central tokens, not just relevant tokens), his interpretation of the structure is different from my reading because I would place lexical semantic cohesiveness at a different structural level than genre cohesiveness. His outline stems primarily from a semantic analysis of the text, whereas mine starts first with an analysis of genre. Thus, in my

occurs when PARTICIPANTS (agents) from one chain interact in multiple places in the discourse (i) with PROCESSES (events) from another chain or (ii) with other PARTICIPANTS (complements) from another chain. Chain interaction is a theory of similarity in texts—cohesiveness is created *linguistically* when speakers say similar kinds of things about similar kinds of phenomena.¹ Such evidence will probably be the *most persuasive* (but of course not definitive) kind when it comes to arguing for a single-letter theory based on so-called lexical or conceptual parallels.

As demonstrated in the above study of ideational meanings and the treatment of topicality below, the main participants in the discourse are 'Paul' (implied author) and the 'Philippians' (implied reader)—these are typically expressed with discourse referentials (e.g. first and second person grammar; see Information Flow below).² One group of less prominent participants centre around the chain of SUPERNATURAL BEINGS (esp. 'God' and 'Jesus'). Other peripheral participants are signalled by discourse referentials (e.g. third person grammar): (i) 'Epaphroditus'; (ii) 'Timothy'; (iii) 'Euodia and Syntyche'; (iv) implied 'opponents'; and (v) implied 'allies'. Although i and iii are part of the Philippian community, they are presented as peripheral participants in the discourse, i.e. they are being talked *about*, not *to*. These, then, are the tokens which comprise chains of participants which will interact with chains of processes and chains of other participants.

The PROCESS structure of the letter is much more complex, including actions, states, and abstracts expressed both by nouns and verbs. The most prevalent types of events and states occur in the semantic chains of ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS (62 words); COMMUNICATION (60); THINK, HOLD A VIEW, BELIEVE (52); POSSESS, TRANSFER, EXCHANGE (49); BE, BECOME, EXIST, HAPPEN (34 + 4?); PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES (30); PERFORM, DO (26); KNOW (20). Two prominent sub-chains of processes include (i) Die, Live (18) of the PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND STATES chain and (ii) Happy, Glad, Joyful (17) of the ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS chain—together these explain the frequent claim that the letter is about 'joy' and 'suffering'. Two of the abstract chains which are often part of relational processes include STATUS and MORAL AND ETHICAL QUALITIES.

These then represent the majority of participant and process chains which interact with one another (i.e. the central tokens of the discourse). It remains now to explicate the details of this interaction. The following charts represent the various chain interactions as they

scheme 4:2-8 is part of epistolary petitions—i.e. structure—whereas the cohesive ties are part of Paul's 'being on about' similar topics—i.e. texture. (Furthermore, Garland does not demonstrate that *inclusio* or chiasm as an ancient rhetorical device occurs at the macrostructural level, though it clearly occurs at a microstructural level; see especially the trenchant criticism by Schoon-Janßen, *Apologien*, pp. 139-41, esp. p. 118: 'Man kann daher offensichtlich die *Inclusio* nicht benutzen, um die Zusammengehörigkeit von 1,27-4,3 zu beweisen, da die Basis, die die Rhetorik-Bücher bieten, zu schmal ist, um die ganze Beweiskraft dieser Garland-These tragen zu können.') Therefore, Garland's evidence, although perhaps supporting a single-letter reading in terms of TEXTURE, does not seem to be of the 'structural' (genre) type that he makes it out to be. This is significant for the debate in that arguments for a single- or multiple-letter theory are often considered more weighty if they are based on *ancient literary conventions*. In contrast, an interpretation of the 'content' of the letter is notoriously difficult to use as definitive evidence for or against the letter's literary integrity.

¹Here I am highlighting the *linguistic* means by which speakers create cohesiveness and readers interpret it, since the *text* of Philippians is all that remains for us to investigate.

²First person plural language occurs less frequently in Philippians than in any of the other accepted Pauline letters; yet the pronoun *ἐγώ* appears relatively more in Philippians than in any of the other accepted letters except Philemon. Second person language, in contrast, does not stand out when compared to the other accepted letters.

appear throughout the disputed sections of the letter.¹ They are organised around the previously mentioned participants, both as *agents* (logical subject) and *complements* (logical, direct and indirect objects) of processes.² Each chain interaction for a participant is listed in decreasing order of importance in terms of its contribution to the cohesive texture of the discourse, based on the following criteria: (i) a chain of participants (as agents of the verb) used in conjunction with (i.e. interacting with) a particular chain of processes and interacting with a chain of complements—abbreviated with APC; (ii) a chain of participants (agents) used in conjunction with a chain of processes—abbreviated with AP; (iii) a chain of processes used in conjunction with a chain of complements—abbreviated with PC; (iv) a chain of participants (agents) interacting with a chain of complements—abbreviated with AC.³

First Person Singular (Implied Author 'Paul')⁴

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (i) APC interaction | | | |
| Paul-hope-to send | 2:19a, 23a | | |
| P-be-blameless/ righteous | | 3:6c, d, 9b, c, 12b, ⁵ 15a ⁶ | |
| P-know-abundance | | | 4:12a, c |
| P-say-about people | | 3:18b, c | |
| P-send-Epaphroditus | 2:25b, 28a | | |
| P-send-Timothy | 2:19b, 23b | | |
| P-consider-worthless | | 3:7b, 8a, e | |
| Philippians-aid-P | | | 4:14b, 15d, 16, 18c |
| (ii) AP interaction | | | |
| P-be | 1:12c, 23e; 2:28d | 3:3d, 5a, b, c, d, e, 6a, c, 9b, c, 11, 20a | 4:11 |
| P-be confident of | 1:6a, 25a; 2:24a | 3:3d, 4a, d | |
| P-abound (+/-) | | | 4:12b, d, f, g, h, i, 18b |
| P-consider, think | 1:7b; 2:25a | 3:7b, 8a, e, 13a, 15b | |
| P-die | 1:21d, 23d | | |
| P-go | 1:27c; 2:24b | | 4:15c |
| P-desire | 1:7c, 23b | | 4:17a, b |
| P-hope | 2:19a, 23a | | |
| P-know | 1:19, 22c, 25b; 2:19d | 3:10a | 4:12a, c |
| P-learn | 2:23c | | 4:11b, 12e |
| P-live | 1:21b, 22b | | |
| P-petition | | | 4:2a, b, 3a |
| P-pursue | | 3:12c, 13d, 14 | |

¹The most frequently cited three-part division is followed, though particular attention is given to chain interaction clearly within the confines of a disputed section (viz. 1:1-2:30; 3:2-21; 4:10-20).

²Participants expressed with a genitive modifying another participant are also treated (e.g. the grace of Christ is treated as Christ's grace).

³Chain interaction is not dependent upon negation, i.e. for Paul to say that he is 'blameless' and later that he is *not* 'perfect' is still a case of chain interaction on the basis of antonymous co-extension.

⁴First person plural language which includes Paul in its purview is also included here.

⁵As a perfect tense verb τετελείωμαι has a stative aspect and thus may also be treated as a relational type of verb (is perfect).

⁶Though the reference here is to an indefinite group (ἄλλοι), 3:15 makes it clear that Paul (at least for the sake of argument) includes himself in this reference.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| P-receive | | | 4:18a, d |
| P-remain | 1:24b, c | | |
| P-say | 4:4b | 3:18b, c | 4:11a |
| P-send | 2:19b, 23b, 25b, 28a | | |
| P-grieve | 2:27e (cf. 2:28d) | 3:18d | |
| P-be glad | 1:18c, d; 2:17b, c, 19c | | 4:10a |
| (iii) PC interaction | | | |
| acquire-P | | 3:12e, 13b | |
| share with/assist-P | | | 4:14b, 15b, d |
| (iv) AC interaction | | | |
| P-Christ | | 3:8f, 10a | |
| P-Epaphroditus | 2:25b, 28a | | |
| P-Philippians | 1:1a, 7c, 8b, 27b, d; 2:19d | | |
| P-Timothy | 2:19b, 23b | | |
| P-morally pure | | 3:6c, d | |
| P-'Opponents' | | 3:18b, c | |
| P-all things... | | 3:8a, 9b | 4:13a, 18a |
| P-to send | 2:19a, 23a, 25a | | |
| God/Christ-P | 2:27d | 3:12 (3:10b?) | |
| Philippians-P | 2:2a | 3:17d | 4:14b, 15d, 16, 18c |
| 'Opponents'-P | 1:17b, 20b | | |
| Believers-P | 1:14b | | 4:15b |

(1) In the category of APC interaction (which happens more with 'Paul' than any other participant), most chain interaction occurs within clauses in close proximity to one another and none cross the boundaries of the disputed sections—this is generally true of all APC interaction in the letter (see below). (2) In AP interaction (which happens more with 'Paul' than any other participant), several instances of interaction span disputed sections of the letters (typically between Phil 1-2 and 4:10-23): be; be confident of; consider, think; go; desire; know; learn; say; grieve; be glad. One noteworthy aspect of such interactions is that in the case of Paul as the participant of AP interaction, there are more chain interactions between Phil 1-2 and 4:10-23 than in any other case of AP interaction. On the one hand, chap. 4 above suggested that the epistolary nature of 4:10-20 provides some of the best evidence for a multiple-letter view. The fact that there is little chain interaction (with respect to participants other than Paul) between this section and other portions of the letter would substantiate that claim. On the other hand, with respect to 'Paul' as participant, several chain interactions between 4:10-23 and other disputed sections of the letter highlight one aspect of the letter's cohesiveness. Other instances of AP interaction are more restricted (die; hope; live; remain; send), but are nonetheless useful for identifying the semantic content of certain portions (e.g. paragraphs) of the letter. (3) In PC interaction (which is the least frequent type of chain interaction used in the letter for all participants), Paul is the complement of a process only twice and in both cases the interaction is restricted to clauses which are in close proximity to one another. (4) In AC interaction, only a few interactions span disputed sections (Philippians–Paul and God/Christ–Paul).

Second Person (Implied Reader 'Philippians')¹

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) APC interaction | | | |
| Ph-hear-things (in me) | 1:30c | 4:9c | |
| Ph-see-things (in me) | 1:30b | 4:9d | |
| Ph-think-one/same | 2:2b, e | | |
| Paul-desires-Ph | 1:7c, 8b | | |
| Christians-greet-Ph | | | 4:21b, 22 |
| (ii) AP interaction | | | |
| Ph-be | 1:1b, 7d, 10c; 2:2d, 15a | 3:17a, 20a | |
| Ph-be glad | 2:18a, b, 28b; 3:1a; 4:4a, c | | |
| Ph-consider, ² think | 2:2b, e, 3b, 4a, b, 5a | 3:2a, b, c, 15b, c, 17b; 4:8i | 4:10c, d |
| Ph-do | 2:3a, 12b, 14 | 3:16b; 4:9e | 4:14a |
| Ph-complete | 1:11; 2:2a | | |
| Ph-have | 1:30a; 2:2c, 29b | 3:17d | |
| Ph-hear | 1:30c; 2:26c | 4:9c | |
| Ph-know | 1:12b; 2:22a | | 4:15a |
| Ph-make known | 4:5a, 6b | | |
| Ph-receive | 2:29a | 4:9b | |
| Ph-remain in state | 1:27f | 4:1 | |
| Ph-see | 1:30b; 2:28c | 4:9d | |
| Ph-share | | | 4:14b, 15d |
| Ph-abound | 1:9b, 26 | | |
| (iii) PC interaction | | | |
| desire-Ph | 1:8b; 2:26a (1:7c?) | | |
| greet-Ph | | | 4:21b, 22 |
| be-Ph | 1:2 | | 4:23 |
| (iv) AC interaction | | | |
| Ph-Epaphroditus | 2:28c, 29a | | |
| Ph-Paul | 2:2a | 3:17d | 4:14b, 15d, 16, 18c |
| Ph-nothing | 2:3a; 4:6a | | |
| Ph-one/same | 2:2b, e, 18a | | |
| Ph-in Christ | 1:26 | 4:1 | |
| Paul-Ph | 1:1a, 7c, 8b, 27b, d; 2:19d | | |
| God/Christ-Ph | 4:7a | 4:9f | 4:19, 23 |
| Christians-Ph Epaphroditus-Ph Timothy-Ph | 2:26a, 30c 2:20b | | 4:21, 22 |
| peace-Ph | 1:2; 4:7a | | |

(1) In the category of APC interaction, most chain interaction occurs within clauses in close proximity to one another—this is generally true of all APC interaction in the letter; however, two examples do span disputed sections of the letter: Philippians–hear–things (related to Paul) and Philippians–see–things (related to Paul). (2) In AP interaction, again several chain interactions span disputed sections of the letter: be; consider, think; do; have; hear; know; receive; remain in a state; see. (3) In PC interaction, only the ‘be’ process appears in two of the disputed sections, viz. the prescript and closing of the letter. (4) In AC interaction, again only a few interactions span disputed sections, the most notable of these being the Philippians–Paul interaction.

¹First person plural language which includes the Philippians in its purview is also included here.

²Although βλέπετε in 3:2 probably implies danger (i.e. ‘be concerned about, beware of’), the basic sense of this word (and all those listed here) includes a mental process of thinking about something.

Third Person (Supernatural Beings)¹

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) APC interaction | | | |
| G-mercy-Epaphroditus | 2:27b, c | | |
| C-lose status-C | 2:7a, 8a | | |
| people-proclaim-C | 1:15, 16a, 17a, 18b | | |
| (ii) AP interaction | | | |
| C-acquire | 2:7b | 3:12e | |
| C-be | 2:6b, c, 7c, d, 8b (4:5b?) | | 4:23 |
| G-be | 2:13a (4:5b?) | 4:9f | |
| C/G-lose/raise status | 2:7a, 8a, 9a | | |
| G-do | 2:13b, d | | |
| G-give | 1:29a; 2:9b | | |
| G-mercy | 2:27b, c, d | | |
| (iii) PC interaction | | | |
| proclaim-C | 1:15, 16a, 17a, 18b | | |
| be-C (or in Christ) | 1:21a; 2:5b, 11b | 3:9a | |
| lose/gain status-C | 2:7a, 8a, 9a | | |
| worship-G/C | 2:10 | 3:3b | |
| (iv) AC interaction | | | |
| C-C | 2:7a, 8a | | |
| C-form | 2:6b, 7b, d | | |
| G-Epaphroditus | 2:27b, c | | |
| G/C-Philippians | 4:7a | 4:9f | 4:19, 23 |
| G-work | 1:6b, c | | |
| people (unspecified)-C | 1:15, 16a, 17a, 18b (2:11a?) | | |
| Paul-C | 1:20c | 3:8f, 10a | |
| Paul-G | 1:3-5, 8a | 3:3b | |

As a general observation, chain interactions involving supernatural beings occur mostly in chaps. 1-2 of the letter. (1) In the category of APC interaction, each chain interaction occurs within clauses in close proximity to one another—this is generally true of all APC interaction in the letter—and none cross the boundaries of disputed sections. (2) In AP interaction, chain interaction is mostly limited to closely proximate clauses, except for the ‘be’ (Paul frequently uses RELATIONAL clauses with reference to supernatural beings) and ‘acquire’ process types—contrast AP interaction with respect to ‘Paul’ and the ‘Philippians’ above. (3) In PC interaction, only the ‘be’ and ‘worship’ process types appear in two of the disputed sections. (4) In AC interaction, again only a few interactions span disputed sections, most notably the interaction between Paul and God/Christ.

Third Person (Implied ‘Allies’)²

| | 1:1-3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2-4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) APC interaction | | | |
| U-proclaim-Christ | 1:15, 16a | | |
| U-greet-Philippians | | | 4:21b, 22 |
| E/T-desire-Philippians | 2:20b, 26a | | |

¹G=God and C=Christ (Jesus).

²E=Epaphroditus; T=Timothy; ES=Euodia and Syntyche; U=Unspecified allies. ‘Implied allies’ refers to those human participants who are portrayed in the discourse as being on the side of Paul and the Philippians or at least within the realm of ‘believers’. The reason for dividing third person language into two categories is in part based on the discussion in chap. 4 (see esp. Hesitation Formula and the Conclusion) on Paul’s use of positive and negative examples.

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Paul-send-T/E | 2:19b, 23b, 25b, 28a | | |
| Paul-petition-ES | | 4:2a, b | |
| God-mercy-E | 2:27b, c | | |
| (ii) AP interaction | | | |
| E-be sick | 2:26d, 27a | | |
| U-announce | 1:14c, 15, 16a, 18b (2:11a?) | | |
| E/T-desire/concern | 2:20b, 26a | | |
| T/ES-serve | 2:22b | | 4:3c |
| U-greet | | | 4:21b, 22 |
| U-be | | 3:15a; 4:3d | |
| (iii) PC interaction | | | |
| mercy-E | 2:27b, c | | |
| send-T/E | 2:19b, 23b, 25b, 28a | | |
| petition-ES | | 4:2a, b | |
| (iv) AC | | | |
| U-Christ | 1:15, 16a, 18b | | |
| U-Paul | 1:14b | | 4:15b |
| T/E/U-Philippians | 2:20b, 26a, 30c | | 4:21b, 22 |
| U-Christ | 1:15, 16a | | |
| God-E | 2:27b, c | | |
| Philippians-T/E/U | 2:3b, 22a, 28c, 29a | 3:17b; 4:3b | 4:21a |
| Paul-T/E/ES | 2:19b, 23b, 25b, 28a | 4:2a, 2b | |

(1) In the category of APC interaction, chain interactions occur within clauses in close proximity to one another—this is generally true of all APC interaction in the letter—and none span the disputed sections. (2) In AP interaction, chain interaction is mostly limited to closely proximate clauses, except for perhaps the ‘serve’ process type—contrast AP interaction with respect to ‘Paul’ and the ‘Philippians’ above. (3) In PC interaction, none of the interactions span disputed sections of the letter. Nonetheless, the distribution of ‘send’ process types indicates that 2:19-30 comprises a distinct semantic section in the letter, corresponding to an epistolary structure as well (see chap. 4 on Commendations). (4) In AC interaction, there are several instances of chain interaction which span disputed sections of the letter: unspecified ‘allies’–Paul; Timothy / Epaphroditus / unspecified ‘allies’–Philippians; Philippians–Timothy / Epaphroditus / unspecified ‘allies’; Paul–Timothy / Epaphroditus / Euodia and Syntyche. Several of the topics which Paul deals with throughout the letter concern himself, the Philippians, and other fellow ‘Christians’; in contrast, the implied ‘opponents’ do not factor into the semantic texture of the letter nearly as much (see below).

Third Person (Implied ‘Opponents’)¹

| | 1:1–3:1; 4:4-7 (1007 words) | 3:2–4:3, 8-9 (421 words) | 4:10-23 (203 words) |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) APC interaction | | | |
| U-proclaim-Christ | 1:15, 17a (1:18b?; 2:11a?) | | |
| Philippians-beware-U | | 3:2a, b | |
| (ii) AP interaction | | | |
| U-be | 2:15b | 3:18e, 19a, b, c, e | |
| U-seek | 2:21a, b | | |

¹U=Unspecified opponents. ‘Implied opponents’ refers to those human participants who are portrayed in the discourse as (i) antithetical to the best interests of Paul and the Philippians, (ii) acting in a negative manner, or (iii) non-Christians in general (but not necessarily antithetical to Christians). However, in some instances, reference to third person participants may include both implied ‘allies’ and ‘opponents’ (e.g. 2:3b the ‘others’); accordingly, these are treated as only possible cases of chain interaction.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|--|
| U-think | 1:17c | 3:4b, 19e | |
| U-proclaim | 1:15, 17a (1:18b?; 2:11a?) | | |
| (iii) PC interaction | | | |
| beware-U | | 3:2a, b | |
| (iv) AC interaction | | | |
| U-Christ | 1:15, 17a; 2:21b (1:18b?; 2:11a?) | | |
| U-Paul | 1:17b, 20b | | |
| Philippians-U | (2:3b?) | 3:2a, b | |

On a general level, chain interactions involving implied 'opponents' are restricted to Phil 1-2 and 3; in contrast, Phil 4:10-23 does not develop such a topic. In addition, in only two or three cases (viz. 'opponents'—be; 'opponents'—think; Philippians—'opponents') do chain interactions span disputed sections of the letter. (1) In the category of APC interaction, each chain interaction occurs within clauses in close proximity to one another—this is generally true of all APC interaction in the letter. (2) In AP interaction, chain interaction is mostly limited to closely proximate clauses; in contrast, the 'think' process type stands out as an example of interaction involving implied 'opponents' which spans two disputed sections of the letter. (3) PC interaction is hardly present here, found only in 3:2a, b. (4) In AC interaction, there is only one possible case in which chain interaction spans disputed sections of the letter (Philippians—'opponents').

In sum, several of the above chain interactions might suggest that the letter stands as an original whole; on the other hand, chain interaction is also frequently restricted to certain sections. In other words, whereas the above charts reveal several CENTRAL cohesive links between the disputed sections of the letter, there is much that is limited to particular sections. In contrast to 1 Timothy (using the same model of analysis), chain interaction in Philippians is much more complex, verifying some scholars' observations that the letter serves several purposes for Paul, i.e. it is not governed by one overarching theme.¹ For some this has been taken as a sign of multiple letters; for others it is merely a stylistic characteristic of Paul's 'personal' letter. Indeed, some of the above chain interactions could be used to support either a single-letter or multiple-letter theory. Perhaps the most telling example of this in the history of the debate concerns Paul's use of 'rejoice, be glad' language. For example, one multiple-letter theory has evolved based on the distribution of such terms in 2:18a, b, 28b; 3:1a; 4:4a, c. For single-letter theorists, the same distribution is used to substantiate their view. In addition, different chain interactions may be highlighted by various interpreters to prove their point. For example, some multiple-letter theorists might argue that the absence of implied 'opponents' in 4:10-23 supports their view. In contrast, single-letter theorists might argue that the many chain interactions involving 'Paul' which span Phil 1-2 and 4:10-23 proves the opposite. Nonetheless, the value of studying chain interaction lies in the ability to demonstrate precisely what it is that may be used by either side to support their theory. In addition, whereas single-letter theorists might use a study of chain interaction to highlight themes which span various parts of the discourse, both sides of the debate can use this method to delineate semantic paragraphs in the discourse (i.e. proximately limited chain interaction).

INFORMATION FLOW

Chain interaction is one way in which language may be used to create TEXTUAL meanings. It represents a cohesion of *similarity*. This area of discourse analysis can be

¹For a study of chain interaction in 1 Timothy see Reed, 'Cohesive Ties', pp. 131-47.

somewhat static, not treating how the cohesive ties fit into the linear flow of the discourse. Texts are not only put together hierarchically (i.e. thematically), but they *must* be put together linearly (i.e. one element after the other). The concept of information flow is an attempt to deal with this latter feature of all discourse. INFORMATION FLOW is an intentional metaphor used to refer to *the ongoing change in status of discourse entities through time*. Information flow may affect several lexical and grammatical choices in Greek discourse, especially word order, pronominalisation, and tense/aspect. The first two grammatical conventions are often treated by linguists in terms of *topicality* (given–new and theme–rheme) and the last in terms of discourse *prominence*.

Topicality

The positional order of linguistic elements in discourse has received considerable attention from linguists studying notions of given versus new information, theme versus rheme, and topic versus comment—the relevant points of discussion in Part I are summarised here for the analysis of Philippians. According to T. Givon's ICONICITY PRINCIPLE, as topic continuity decreases, there tends to be a progression from referents which are not coded (zero-anaphora), to those coded by pronouns, to those coded with definite nouns, to those coded with modified definite nouns. His quantitative approach to topical information is based on three types of analysis: (i) *referential distance*—the number of clauses between the previous occurrence of a topical entity and its current occurrence; (ii) *potential distance*—the existence of competing topical entities within the last few clauses; and (iii) *persistence*—the number of clauses after the current one in which the topical entity continues to be included. Supplementary to Givon's method, E. F. Prince distinguishes between three types of participants with respect to INFORMATION STATUS: new, evoked, and inferable. When a speaker/author introduces NEW linguistic elements (e.g. participant) into the discourse, they will be either brand-new or unused. A BRAND-NEW entity is not previously known to the audience at all and is typically introduced by means of an indefinite expression or a full noun phrase. Brand-new entities may be ANCHORED (i.e. linked to another discourse entity) or UNANCHORED. An UNUSED entity is readily known to the audience (based on their knowledge of the context of situation or culture) but is not at the forefront of their consciousness at the time of utterance (e.g. an issue Paul had talked about in a previous letter). The second class of participants are EVOKED (i.e. already in the discourse). They are either (i) situational or (ii) textual. Situationally-evoked entities are interpreted via access to the context of situation. Textually-evoked entities are interpreted via the co-text. INFERABLES are linguistic entities which the speaker/author believes the listener/reader can *infer* from a discourse entity already introduced or from other inferables. These are usually expressed by means of another full noun phrase with a similar or hyponymous meaning (e.g. τέκνον in Phil 2:22 is an inferable of Τιμοθέον in v 19).

When investigating information status in the Pauline letters (and I suspect the same is true of narrative), it is beneficial to distinguish between main and peripheral (secondary) participants. Main participants play a central role in the discourse usually appearing throughout the text (although not in every section), whereas peripheral participants play a secondary role (in the case of a letter, typically anyone who is not the author or audience) usually appearing only occasionally in the text and only in a supportive role to the main plot

or argument.¹ As already argued above, the main participants in the letter are 'Paul' and the 'Philippians' (sender and recipient), as first explicated in the epistolary prescript (Timothy is later dropped from the implied author scheme) and subsequently manifested in the prevalent use of first person singular and second person plural pronouns and verbal suffixes. The letter to the Philippians consists of approximately 307 clauses (see Appendix A), of which about 90 may be treated as embedded (or rank-shifted) clauses (mostly participle or infinitive clauses). In 113 clauses (37%) Paul is the implied subject—indicated by name, pronoun, verbal suffix, or zero-anaphora. In 66 clauses (22%) the Philippians (as a collective group) play the role of subject. In eight clauses (2.6%), both Paul and the Philippians are treated as a collective subject (i.e. first person plural). The remaining 120 clauses (39%) have peripheral subjects, the most frequent being 'God' (16x) and 'Jesus Christ' (13x). It is clear from this quantitative analysis that Paul and the Philippians, as participants, play a vital role in the topical flow of information in the letter.

With respect to the ICONICITY PRINCIPLE it is first necessary to keep in mind the feature of referential distance, i.e. the number of clauses between the previous occurrence of a linguistic element and its immediate occurrence. The greater the referential distance the greater the need for more coding when reintroducing an already introduced participant (e.g. 'God' in 2:9 [full noun phrase followed by verbal suffix] and 2:13 [full noun phrase]). A number of observations regarding the iconicity principle in Philippians follow, mostly with respect to the use of *grammatical subjects*.² (1) In the case of *main participants* (Paul and the Philippians), the iconicity principle is fairly straightforward: (i) new (either brand-new or used) participants are introduced with a full noun phrase (1:1 Παῦλος...τοῖς ἁγίοις...ἐν Φιλίπποις) and (ii) evoked and inferable main participants receive less coding, either with a verbal suffix,³ zero-anaphora,⁴ or pronoun. The use of pronouns for main participant subjects occurs (i) in clauses with verbs which do not have suffixes for indicating person and/or number (viz. participles and especially infinitives) (1:7c, d, 10a, 12b) and (ii) for the purpose of comparison and contrast with other participants (2:4a, b⁵, 18a, 19c, 24b, 28d; 3:3a, 4a, d, 15d) or for focus/emphasis (3:13a [2x]; 4:11b, 15a). An inferable full noun phrase (usually a vocative) may be used as a transitional device (1:12a ἀδελφοί = Philippians) or in order to bring the participant back into the foreground of the discourse (2:12a ἀδελφοί = Philippians; 3:1a, 17a [specification of a smaller group after the use of first person plural grammar]; 4:1 [cf. 3:17a], 8a, 15a). (2) *Most peripheral participants only appear a few times and thus require a full noun phrase, indefinite*

¹I am particularly referring to the general distinction in texts between first and second person grammar (implied author and reader as main participants) and third person grammar (peripheral participants).

²Participants which are not grammatical subjects are almost always encoded with pronouns if they are main participants but with full noun phrases if they are peripheral participants. An exception to peripheral encoding occurs when a secondary participant has considerable referential persistence (such as 'Jesus' in Phil 2:5-11), in which cases subsequent references are made with third person pronouns.

³1:3 εὐχαριστῶ, 4b ποιούμενος, 6a, 7b, 8b, 9a, 10c, 11, 12a, 16c, 18c, d, 19, 20b, 22c, d, 23a, b, 25a, c [2x], 27b, c, d, e, f, g, 28a, 30a, b, c; 2:2a, b, c, e, 3b, 4a, 5a, 12b, 14, 15a, b, 16a, b, c, 17a, b, c, 18b, 19a, d, 20a, 22a, 23a, c, 24a, 25a, 26c, 27e, 28a, b, c, 29a, b; 3:2a, b, c, 3b, c, d, 6b, d, 7b, 8a, d, e, f, 9a, b, 10b, 11, 12a, b, c, d, e, 15b, c, 16a, 17b, d, 18b, c, d, 20b; 4:2a, b, 3a, b, 4a, b, c, 6a, 8i, 9a, b, c, d, e, 10a, b, d, e, 11a, c, 12a, c, e, 13a, 14a, b, 15c, 16, 17a, b, 18a, b, c, d. Verbal suffixes include here indicators of person and number (finite verbs) and indicators of number alone (participles).

⁴1:21b, d, 22b, 23d, e, 24b, 25b, 29b, c; 2:23b, 25b; 3:1b, 9c, 10a, 13b, c, d, 14, 16b; 4:10c, 11d, 12b, d, f, g, h, i. Note, however, that in the case of the zero-anaphora infinitives in 1:21-22 the dative pronoun μοι is added for clarity; cf. ὑμῖν prior to the infinitives in 1:29b, c.

⁵Notice here how pronouns are used to distinguish between the implied readers ('yourselves', 'each one') and an indefinite class of persons ('others'). If the UBSGNT⁴ text is correct then the author, after using the singular ἕκαστος, moves back to the plural ἕκαστοι in alignment with the plural implied reader.

pronoun, or (more infrequently) an inferable—examples of these appear repeatedly in the letter. An exception to this general pattern occurs in participle clauses, in which a participle functions as the verb (without a separate subject) and partly marks the subject by means of grammatical number (1:6c [unless Paul, not God (so most), is the subject], 14b, 16b, 28b; 2:3c, 6b, 7b, c, d, 8b, 13b, 30b). In addition, *peripheral participants* receive less coding when they have a more prominent role in certain sections of the discourse, i.e. when they have *referential persistence*. For example, references to Jesus Christ follow the iconicity principle in 1:29, in 2:6-9 (but notice how a full noun phrase is used again in 2:10-11 probably to distinguish Christ from God), and in 3:20-21. The same principle applies once in a reference to God (2:13) and is also true of Timothy (2:19-23) and Epaphroditus (2:25-30). Compare also how the unidentified ‘proclaimers of Christ’ in 1:15 are first identified with an indefinite pronoun and then subsequently with an article (1:16-17) and zero-anaphora (1:17b, c)—more coding to less coding. In this way, the author leaves identifiable traces of topicality in the discourse—albeit at varying levels of significance to the message.

The preceding observations provide a linguistic basis for interpreting certain clauses in Philippians. For example, in 3:13 (ἀδελφοί ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν οὐ λογίζομαι...) the main participants receive additional coding three times (more than any other clause in the discourse), viz. vocative, pronoun (subject), pronoun (complement). Clearly, here is a case in which Paul draws the reader’s attention to his following statement (viz. ...κατειληφέναι)—a theme central to the immediate section. Paul emphasises his own example of imperfection so as to align his readers with his brand of eschatology (perhaps in opposition to some who had a realised eschatology at Philippi).

Information status is not only reflected in the use of full noun phrases, various pronominals, and verbal suffixes (as studied above), but, as is true for several languages, various word order constructions are often motivated by informational requirements of the discourse.¹ S. E. Porter has provided a useful account of the word order of clauses in Philippians;² my own study of the formal structures of word order in the letter confirms his quantitative analysis. In contrast to, but in some ways building upon Porter’s study, I am particularly interested here in the functions of word order variations in terms of the information flow of discourse *participants*. Generally speaking, most clauses lack a grammatical subject and thus have either VO or OV order—in Philippians VO occurs 64 times, OV 54 times, and OVO seven times.³ When the grammatical subject is expressed it typically appears before a complement—the subject precedes the complement or predicate adjective/nominative approximately 83% of the time in Philippians.⁴ In 22 clauses SR is the pattern, with probably only one case in which the predicate adjective/nominative (R) precedes the subject (1:8a); in 19 instances the subject (S) precedes the complement (O), and in only 7 instances the complement (O) precedes the subject (S). This SO or SR pattern is significant for interpreting an especially disputed clause in the letter, viz. 1:7 διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς. Not only does the general SO regularity suggest that this clause is to be understood as ‘I have you in my heart’ instead of ‘You have me in your

¹Cf. Werth, *Focus*, p. 12.

²Porter, ‘Word Order’, pp. 177-206; see also Davison, ‘Word Order’, pp. 19-28.

³The following codes are used: S=subject; V=verb; and O=object or complement (direct object); R=predicate nominative/adjective.

⁴For other studies in support of this pattern see discussion in Porter, ‘Word Order’, pp. 188-89. There is enough variation in other Greek authors to suggest that while the pattern of SO is generally true, various other factors (e.g. idiolect, situation, genre, topicality) may influence the word order pattern of a particular author or text.

heart', but such a reading is also substantiated by the same pattern in Phil 1:10 (and similar infinitive clauses in the NT).¹

When the verb is considered in the word order scheme, there is some dispute whether NT Greek has an unmarked SVO, SOV, or VSO word order.² In response, SVO and VSO both seem to be fair characterisations depending on the nature of the grammatical subject.³ (1) If the subject's information status is new then its unmarked position is before the verb, and it is typically the first major word in the clause. In the case of *main participants*, the first referential use follows this word order (1:1a). Because *peripheral participants* are typically new in status, they (as grammatical subjects) too are generally initial in the clause.⁴ A prime example of this is the use of 'God' θεός as subject, which almost always appears before the verb and sentence-initial (1:6c if ὁ ἐναρξάμενος is an inferable of 'God' [not 'Paul']; 2:9a, 13a, 27b; 4:9f, 19). The one exception is 1:8a where μάρτυς perhaps plays a focal role in the clause (ὁ θεός is the subject in view of the article⁵), suggesting that Paul makes a point of establishing God as a witness of his personal feelings for the Philipians. In 3:15d, θεός is still functionally initial, since it follows a demonstrative pronoun which, if it has anaphoric reference, always appears first in the clause; in other words, there is a hierarchy to the regularities of word order (see below). Another rare exception to this general principle is 1:20c μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστός, which is perhaps explained by the initial position of prepositional phrases and adverbs ('always') so as to contrast (ἀλλά) with the initial ἐν οὐδενί in the previous clause. (See below for an explanation of the VOS word order in 4:21b, 22.) (2) If the subject is *evoked* or *inferable*, then there is a difference between main and peripheral participants with respect to word order. Whereas peripheral participants are typically clause-initial, a main participant, when it is expressed apart from the verbal suffix (e.g. with a pronoun), will appear either after the verb (1:7c, 10a, 12b; 4:15a) or prior to the verb but after some other major linguistic item such as a prepositional phrase or complement (1:7d; 2:18a). This unmarked pattern may be altered for the sake of comparison/contrast with another participant in the co-text (2:18a, 19c, 24b, 28d; 3:3a, 4a)⁶ or for the purpose of focus (4:11b).

The previous regularities concern grammatical subjects, but the majority of participants in clauses do not occur in the subject slot but play other grammatical roles—viz. complements (e.g. direct and indirect objects) or head-terms in prepositional phrases. In

¹I have already demonstrated this pattern in the entire NT, noting its relevance for the Phil 1:7 debate (Reed, 'Infinitive', pp. 1-27; cf. Silva, *Philippians*, pp. 56-57); but Witherington (*Friendship*, p. 38), who shows no awareness of the grammatical evidence, can still claim: 'Verse 7 is ambiguous, but in view of what follows in v. 8, I take it to mean that Paul is saying, "you have me in your heart".'

²VSO is the view of several standard grammars; see Porter, 'Word Order', pp. 186-87, for discussion. For an SOV model see McKay, *Syntax*, p. 6.

³In Philipians, five clauses have SVO order (1:14a; 2:27b; 3:4a; 4:11b, 19), five have SVP order (1:28c, 13a; 3:3a, 7a; 4:8a), two have SVOO order (3:21a; 4:7a), one has SVSO order (3:4b), five have SOV order (1:13, 17a; 2:9a, 20b, 21a), two have SPV (2:28d; 3:8b), one has SSOV order (1:15), two have SOVO order (2:6a; 3:13a), two have VSO order (1:10a; 3:21b), one has VSOO order (1:7c), one has VOS order (4:21b), one has VOSS order (4:22), and four have OSV order (1:7d; 2:4a, 18a; 3:15d). Clearly, it is difficult to speak of an unmarked word order when all three elements (subject, verb, complement, predicate nominative/adjective) are considered; yet, the subject tends to precede the verb.

⁴1:6b, 9b, 12c, 13, 14a, 15, 16a, 17a, 19-20a, 22a, 23d, 24a, 26, 28c, d; 2:1a, b, c, d, 5b, 6a, 9a, 10, 11a, b, 13a, 20b, 21a, 27b; 3:4b, 7a, 8b, 15d, 18a, 21a; 4:3c, 5a, 6b, 7a, 8a, 9f, 19; cf. 1:2 and 4:23 which are verbless clauses.

⁵On this principle see McGaughy's rule 3c: 'The word or word cluster determined by an article is the subject' (*Toward*, p. 49). Although the linking verb is absent here, the clause is clearly a relational one.

⁶In these cases adverbial καί is often an indicator of comparison.

such cases, it again proves useful to differentiate between main and peripheral participants. (1) In non-subject roles,¹ *main participants* typically appear somewhere after the initial major participant(s) (1:2; 3:13a, 15d; cf. 4:15b, 16), usually after the verb (1:3-5, 7a, 8b, 25c, 27d; 2:3c, 19b, 26a; 3:1b, 7a, 17d, 18b; 4:3a, 13b, 21b, 22) except in the case of comparison or contrast with a previous participant (1:29a). (2) *Peripheral participants*, to speak only of complements (direct and indirect objects; predicate nominatives and adjectives),² fall before³ or after the verb⁴—OV, VO, SOV, SVO. In both cases, the SO word order is almost always respected. It is worth noting that named participants (e.g. Timothy, Epaphroditus, Euodia, Syntyche) are always introduced as the first word in the clause (2:19b, 25; 4:2a, b). (3) Lastly, if two evoked (or inferable) participants are in the same clause, the one considered the topical participant (which includes peripheral participants with referential persistence) tends to appear prior to a less topical participant (with respect to the immediate section), even if this means breaking the typical SO word order.⁵ This may explain (i) the appearance of the datives in 1:18 before the subject 'Christ', viz. the focus of Paul's immediate discussion is on the different ways in which Christ is proclaimed (the topic of vv 15-17) and (ii) the somewhat anomalous word order in 4:21, 22 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί, ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, viz. greeting is the topic of the clauses and it is the greeting of the Philippians which is in view.

Lastly, there are two grammatical expressions in Greek which regularly follow a given–new (or anaphoric–non-anaphoric) information flow, viz. relative pronouns (1:30b; 2:5b, 6a, 20b; 3:7a, 15a, 18b, 21a; 4:3c, 8a, 9a) and demonstrative pronouns (1:7b, 9a, 18c, 19-20a, 22a, 25a, 28d; 2:5a, 23b, 29b; 3:7b,⁶ 15b, d; 4:8i, 9e). When a demonstrative pronoun represents already 'given' information (anaphoric reference) it appears as the first major word in the clause, whether it is a subject, complement, or in a prepositional phrase. This suggests that the content of Paul's prayer in 1:9 τοῦτο προσεύχομαι is to be found in the preceding discourse,⁷ most likely referring to his desire for the Philippians (i.e. his desire to visit them). In contrast, if a demonstrative refers to upcoming information (cataphoric reference) then it appears towards the end of the clause (1:6a). In other words, the word order of discourse referentials such as relative pronouns and demonstratives depends upon their anaphoric or cataphoric function. This is particularly evident in 3:15d in which a peripheral participant, 'God' comes after the demonstrative, even though the expected location of a peripheral participant in the subject role is at the beginning of the clause.

¹Genitives which modify another noun are excluded here ('the joy of me'), since their word order is determined by the noun's.

²This includes infinitive clauses completing a clause in which they are embedded (e.g. 1:14).

³1:4b, 7b, 9a, 12a, 13, 14c, 15, 17a, c, 22c, d, 23b, 25a, 30a, b; 2:2b, c, e, 3b, 4a, b, 5a, 6a, 7a, b, 14, 16a, 18a, 19b, 20a, b, 21a, 22a, 23a, b, 25b, 27e, 29b; 3:1b, 7b, 8d, f, 13c, d, 15b, c, d, 17b, 18b, 19e, 20b; 4:2a, b, c, 6a, 8i, 9a, e, 13a.

⁴1:6a, c, 7c, 10a, c, 11, 14a, b, 17b, 27b, 28c; 2:2a, 6a, c, 8a, b, 9b [2x], 12b, 15a, 19a, d, 23c, 25a, 27b, 28a, c, 29a, 30c; 3:2a, b, c, 4b, 6b, 7b, 8a, e, 9b, 10a, 13a, 18c, 20b, 21b, c [2x]; 4:3b, 5a, 7a, b, 8a, 11b, 12a, c, e, 17a, b, 18a, d, 19, 21a.

⁵This conforms to Grimes' principle: 'Because of their lower probability, fronted nominatives have a higher communicative load than nominatives that come after the verb or other constituents that go ahead of it' ('Signals', p. 155, emphasis mine).

⁶This is a particularly revealing example since the demonstrative, referring to the preceding discourse, precedes the verb but the other complement ζημίων appears after: ταῦτα ἠγγημαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίων.

⁷Against O'Brien, *Philippians*, p. 73, who takes it with the following ἵνα clause.

The following outline attempts to summarise the above observations of iconicity and information status (i.e. topicality) in Philippians. The principles are only intended as regularities of discourse, not absolute rules of language—but they may serve as a basis for the analysis of information flow in other NT discourse.

Main Participants

Iconicity Principle:

1. **Grammatical subjects:** Initial references are expressed with full noun phrases. Subsequent references are expressed with verbal suffixes, zero-anaphora (infinitive or verbless clause), and pronouns (first and second person)—in that order of relative frequency.
2. **Non-subjects (complements and prepositional phrases):** Evoked references are almost always expressed with pronouns (first and second person) and less frequently with zero-anaphora.

Word Order:

1. The subject typically appears before the complement.
2. **Grammatical subjects:** If the subject's information status is new then its unmarked position is before the verb, and it is typically the first major word in the clause. If the subject's information status is evoked or inferable, then its unmarked position is either after the verb or prior to the verb but after some other major linguistic item such as a prepositional phrase or complement (i.e. it is not clause-initial).
3. **Complements:** Main participants typically appear somewhere after an initial major linguistic item(s) and usually after the verb.
4. The above three patterns may not be followed (i) when new information is being introduced, (ii) when a comparison or contrast is being made with other discourse entities, or (iii) more rarely for the sake of focus. In other words, topicality may govern the choice of word order.

Peripheral Participants

Iconicity Principle:

1. Full noun phrases (and more rarely indefinite pronouns) are used to express peripheral participants, unless a participant has referential persistence beyond a clause, in which case subsequent references are typically made with third person pronouns. However, once a peripheral participant loses itself referential persistence then it is typically expressed with a full noun phrase when reintroduced into the discourse.

Word Order:

1. The subject typically appears before the complement.
2. **Grammatical subjects:** Peripheral participants typically appear as the first major word (i.e. excluding particles) in the clause.
3. **Complements:** Complements appear with almost equal frequency before and after the verb; however, several pre-verb placements are due to (i) the use of a pronoun or demonstrative (which appear at the beginning of a clause when anaphoric reference applies) or (ii) the initial reference to a peripheral participant which thereafter has some referential persistence.

In sum, mere statistics of word order cannot be used to determine an unmarked word order of the Greek language (e.g. is it SVO or VSO based?), since such data-gathering

does not take into account discourse influences on word order such as information flow which may result in various word order patterns in different texts by the same or different authors (and even within a single text). Consequently, in terms of linguistic typology of word order, the above study suggests that Greek is a pragmatically-based language rather than a syntactically-based language. Of course, the study of information flow in other NT and related discourse needs to be compared with this one before such claims can be taken as normative.¹ Nevertheless, in the letter(s) to the Philippians there are recognisable patterns of information flow which not only follow Givón's iconicity principle and can be explained in functional terms, but also prove useful in the task of interpretation (e.g. 1:7, 9; 3:13; 4:21-22). Furthermore, these regularities were seen to be generally characteristic in each of the disputed sections of the letter, which, while not necessarily proving a single-letter theory, at least demonstrates another aspect of stylistic *consistency* throughout the letter.

Prominence

Another aspect of information flow has been treated by linguists and literary theorists under the heading PROMINENCE (also known as emphasis, grounding, relevance, salience)—see chap. 2 for detailed theoretical discussion which is only summarised here. Prominence typically refers to the means by which speakers/authors draw the listener/reader's attention to important topics and motifs of the discourse and support these topics with other less-prominent material. Prominence, in comparison to cohesive ties (the cohesion of *similarity*), represents the cohesion of *dissimilarity*. In other words, language is used to set apart (i.e. to disassociate) certain entities from other entities of the discourse. Prominence is defined here as those *semantic and grammatical elements of discourse that serve to set aside certain subjects, ideas, or motifs of the author as more or less semantically and pragmatically significant than others*. Rather than speak in terms of emphatic and non-emphatic features of texts (as most NT grammarians do), most discourse analysts suggest at least three, sometimes more, levels of prominence. With regard to NT non-narrative discourse the following three relative levels are proposed: background, theme, and focus. It must be emphasised that these are relative terms to be understood in relation to one another on a cline; thus, more important than strict labels is the notion of a cline on which some information in the discourse is less prominent than other information.

The following analysis of prominence in Philippians focuses on five signalling devices, with particular attention on the last type: generic formulas; boundary markers (organic ties); discourse participants/events (cohesive ties); word order; and verbal aspect.² Each of

¹Much of Grimes' treatment ('Signals', pp. 151-64) of topicality in koiné Greek further substantiates the conclusions presented here regarding Philippians. In addition, Stanley (*Paul*, p. 349) has shown that Paul alters the word order of OT citations to serve the rhetorical purposes of his own discourse—this is perhaps the most convincing evidence that word order played a functional role in Greek grammar.

²As a caveat, I am *not* claiming that every time one comes across a particular tense-form that it must be fitted into this model of prominence. However, both the ancient and modern evidence suggests that speakers/authors do alternate tense-forms so as to communicate prominence. Perhaps the best basis for a prominence reading occurs when particular tense-forms are used with particular words (or concepts) so as to set them apart from other tense-forms used with different but topically-related words (or concepts) (i.e. the author is contrasting or setting apart certain information from other related information in part by means of tense-forms). This is particularly evident in two parts of the letter: 1:21-25 and 4:10-20. The fact that a temporal understanding of the tense-forms in Philippians cannot account for all of the data at least calls for other attempts to explain Paul's varied use of tense-forms (see e.g. aorist tense for present-time in 2:25 [ἡγησάμην; cf. present ἐλπίζω in 2:19, 23 also with πέμψαι]; 4:5 [cf. present tense γνωρίζεσθω in v 6!]; 4:10 [ἐχάρην] and aorist tense for future-time or 'projected' events in 1:21, 23, 27; 2:10-11, 15

these will be treated according to their domain of prominence (phrase, clause, paragraph, discourse) and level of prominence (background, theme, focus).

Prescript and Salutation (1:1-2). Phil 1:1-2, despite its brevity, is a thematic statement of the entire discourse in that it identifies two main participants and one peripheral participant (Παῦλος, Τιμόθεος, and τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις¹) as well as establishes the perceived interpersonal relationships between them. Although these participants are thematic at the level of discourse, they may or may not be thematic at the level of paragraph or clause. They are mentioned in 1:1 with full noun phrases, and later with first (e.g. 1:2 ἡμῶν) and second (e.g. 1:2 ὑμῖν) person pronouns or verbal inflections (unless being brought into focus with a full noun phrase). The use of the first person plural pronoun ἡμῶν describes the interpersonal relationships between the major participants. They all share the same religious tradition. Other peripheral participants are also introduced in this unit (θεοῦ πατρός and κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The epistolary prescript and salutation also play the role of boundary markers for the ensuing discourse.

Thanksgiving (1:3-11). The thematic unit in 1:3-11 concerns Paul's thankfulness for the Philippians' participation in and on behalf of the gospel. The epistolary thanksgiving formula serves as a boundary marker, setting the unit apart from the previous and next thematic sections. Paul gives thanks (εὐχαριστῶ) to God (τῷ θεῷ) concerning the Philippians in view of their participation in the work of the gospel. As in several other letters, Paul's thanksgiving precedes the main body of his letter. Paul and the Philippians are the thematic participants of this paragraph, being expressed with pronouns and verbal inflections (as is expected with thematic, non-focal, elements). Background participants include God and Christ Jesus; they are expressed with nominal phrases. Other potential topic entities exist in this unit (e.g. prayer, heart, gospel, love) but their role is to describe the actions of the main participants. Consequently, they serve at the level of the clause as comments upon the thematic participants. That is, their thematic domain is limited to the clause, but they are background at the level of the section/paragraph. This paragraph concerns Paul's prayer and thanksgiving for the Philippians—thanksgiving is an activity of prayer. The events/actions in which he participates involve words and phrases from these semantic fields. Paul gives thanks (1:3), petitions (1:4), is confident of (1:6), esteems (1:7), holds them in his heart (1:7), desires them (1:8), and prays for them (1:9). The Philippians are the object of Paul's actions. They also participate in a recognisable event structure: they share in the task of the gospel (1:5) and are partakers in grace (1:7). They are also described in terms of *future* (or projected) roles: completing a good work (in you) (1:6), abounding in love that is full of knowledge and perceptiveness (1:9), discerning (1:10), sincere and without offence (1:10), and fulfilling the work of righteousness (1:11).

Word order further illustrates the use of prominence in this thematic unit. The basic word order is VO (Verb-Object). In only three cases is the word order OV: 1:4 τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος and 1:7 τοῦτο φρονεῖν and 1:9 τοῦτο προσεύχομαι. In 1:4 δέησιν is initial because it is both theme/topic and anaphoric information. In 1:7 τοῦτο is

[present tense εὐψυχῶ with the aorist participle γνούς!] and aorist tense for timeless events in 1:29; present tense for past-time in 1:14-17; 4:18 [ἀπέχω followed by aorist! δεξάμενος] and present tense for future-time in 2:2-5, 15); explanations of the aorists πέμψαι in 2:19-28 as epistolary aorists fail to account for such present tenses as εὐχαριστῶ and ποιούμενος in 1:2-4—Paul could have easily described his 'thanksgiving' as a process in the past from the perspective of the reader. Nonetheless, temporal reasons seem to be the basis of Paul's use of the aorist followed by present tense in 1:30 οἷον εἶδετε...καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε. To allow for multiple functions of tense-forms is no different than allowing for multiple functions of the same word.

¹Certain leaders (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους) are singled out as participants of the letter.

initial because it too is anaphoric information, referring back to the preceding clause. 1:9 is similar to 1:7—*τοῦτο* refers back to Paul's desire for them (i.e. his desire to be with them).¹ When a subject is present the word order is typically SVO or SV. Paul and the Philippians are the subjects in all but two cases: 1:6 ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει (unless Paul is the implied subject here) and 1:8 μάρτυς...μου ὁ Θεός;² both refer to God (the first implicitly, the second explicitly). Notably, the second example is the only case of VS word order, probably because the testimony of God (not the person of God) is focal—Paul appeals to a witness so as to validate his purported 'love' for the Philippians.

The use of verbal aspect also reflects elements of prominence in the thanksgiving–prayer section. The present tense predominates (9x), with the aorist used only once and the perfect twice. Most of the paragraph is thematic, i.e. it contributes to the function of the thanksgiving. When a background element appears as the subject ('God...the one working...', SOV word order), Paul uses the aorist tense (background aspect) with a participle. The two uses of the perfect tense (focal or foreground aspect) indicate focal prominence. The first (1:6 πεποιθώς)³ perhaps highlights Paul's affirmations of the worth and continuing growth of the Philippians (1:6-11)—this might be expected with a verb indicating 'confidence' (i.e. one who is persuaded) rather than mere 'belief'. In 1:11 Paul concludes the thanksgiving formula with a participial clause using the perfect tense. The clause ('fulfilling the fruit of righteousness') is not only significant theologically for Paul, it seems to indicate what will happen if the Philippians carry out his preceding exhortations (1:9-10).

Disclosure (1:12-26). The disclosure formula in 1:12 (γινώσκειν...βούλομαι), a common epistolary formula used at the beginning of the body, signals a new thematic unit. In addition, *δέ* (unlike *καί*) in 1:12 marks a new development in the discourse—here it signals a *change* in topic. First person grammar is predominant throughout, since Paul is revealing 'things regarding himself that have come about for the advance of the gospel'. Besides himself, other unspecified participants play a major role in this section, viz. the ones proclaiming the gospel; thus, as noted above in the study of topicality, these are expressed with reduced grammatical forms (verbal suffixes and zero-anaphora) and have referential persistence (unlike most peripheral participants). Verbal aspect is a key indicator of prominence especially in the latter part of Paul's disclosure. The aorist appears three times, once in 1:13 where Paul makes a background statement about the result of his apparent imprisonment (set against the present tense in 1:14 which is thematic and thus further developed) and twice in 1:21, 23 where Paul debates between dying and being with Christ or remaining alive and ministering to the Philippians. These latter cases (1:21, 23), which describe Paul's option of dying (ἀποθανεῖν and ἀναλῦσαι), are especially interesting since they are set against another topic described using present and future tense-forms, viz. the option of living (ζῆν [2x]) and remaining (ἐπιμένειν; μενῶ; παραμενῶ) with the Philippians. Clearly, two different topics are set apart with different tense-forms.⁴ One possible explanation of this is that the choice which Paul clearly expects to happen is set apart with the more prominent present and future tense-forms. The perfect tense (stative

¹For arguments see chap. 4 on the epistolary Thanksgiving.

²In 1:9 the grammatical subject is ἡ ἀγάπη, but the modifying genitive ὑμῶν indicates that it is the Philippians' love that is in view.

³Expressions of confidence such as this are found elsewhere in the papyri; see e.g. P.Mert. 1.12.9 (58 CE) using the present tense.

⁴εἶναι in 1:23 is aspectually vague (i.e. no aorist form was available to choose) and, thus, it does not factor into the analysis of prominence.

aspect) is used frequently in this section (1:12, 14, 16, 19, 25 [2x]), typically with verbs of saying or confidence. They serve to draw attention to particularly important statements of the author. The present tense (thematic aspect) is used 18 times, primarily with statements regarding two topics: (i) the expansion of the gospel albeit through good and bad motives and (ii) Paul's probable release from prison and his potential visit to Philippi.

Petitions (1:27-30). The imperative mood is used for the first time here, signalling a new thematic development (albeit with ties to the preceding one). The particle *μόνον* and the shift to second person grammar also signals this development. The Philippians are now central to the topic of the discourse. Only the aorist and present tenses are used in this section. The ten uses of the present occur in thematic material (see especially the initial 1:27 followed by the present *στήκετε* and two present participles). The aorist occurs in background material. For example, the aorist passive *ἐχαρίσθη* is not thematic, but is followed by thematic material ('to believe...to suffer'). A prominence view can also explain the use of aorist participles in 1:27 (*ἐλθών* and *ιδών*) to describe future events, viz. these activities contribute background information to the theme line which concerns Paul's desire to learn of the Philippians' good standing.

Petitions surrounding Narrative (Story) about Christ (2:1-18). The second occurrence of an imperative begins this section, which is part of a conditional clause set off from the preceding discourse by the particle *οὖν*. Here, however, it is in the aorist tense. This is not because it is not thematic, but more likely because the perfective aspect was deemed appropriate as a description of a general command ('complete my joy'), which is then specified with more specific directives using the imperfective aspect, viz. unity and self-sacrificing love. After the initial aorist imperative, the present tense is used until 2:5 (one subjunctive and five participles). At that point the so-called 'Christ-hymn' provides an example of what it means to look out for the interests of others rather than only of oneself. Especially significant is that the story about Christ uses the aorist throughout (in contrast to the preceding present tense-forms), not necessarily because it recounts past-time events (note the future events in 2:10, 11) but perhaps because as a whole it plays a background or supportive role to Paul's primary purpose in this section, viz. the appeal to unity and self-sacrificing love.¹ In 2:12, Paul continues with the particle *ὥστε* (used also in 4:1 at the close of a section) followed by two commands (*κατεργάζεσθε* and *ποιεῖτε*). The first command is modified by a comparative clause (*καθώς*) using the aorist which is only background to the thrust of the imperative (i.e. the modifying *καθώς* clause adds supplementary information, 'therefore—just as you have always obeyed—work out your salvation'). Another interesting feature of prominence in this section is the use of OV (Object/Complement-Verb) word order in 2:2-5, where the complement occurs first in view of its thematic importance (viz. each complement concerns the idea of unity or 'oneness').

Commendation of Timothy (2:19-24). In this and the next section new participants enter into view: Timothy (only mentioned earlier in 1:1) and Epaphroditus. This section is introduced with the indicative (in contrast to the preceding imperatives) as well as the connective *δέ* (used to mark a new development). Unlike the previous sections, in this epistolary commendation and the next (2:25-30) the aorist predominates and the present is

¹Against Hawthorne (*Philippians*, p. 76) and several others: 'This section is the *most important* section in the letter.' Why and in what sense is it the most important? Because of its Christological claims? Because of scholarly attention devoted to it? Is it more important than his 'thank you', his many exhortations, or his commendations of Timothy and Epaphroditus? While the so-called Christ-hymn may be important to scholars, it does not follow that it was the most important point (if there was just 'one') of Paul's purposes. Surely it plays a role in Paul's message, but I doubt Paul sat down to write his letter *primarily* so as to convey the so-called Christ-hymn.

infrequent. This is especially strange in 2:19, 23, 25, 28, where the verb for 'to send' is in the aorist although it would seem to represent the theme of these sections, viz. Paul announces his plans to send Timothy and Epaphroditus. There are perhaps a few explanations. Firstly, the use of the aorist could indicate that these sections as a whole are of less importance with respect to the rest of the letter. Secondly, in the commendation of Timothy, the present tense-forms (thematic aspect) and the one perfect tense-form are often used in expressions that convey Paul's feelings or attitudes. This is especially obvious in 2:24 where Paul emphasises that he *also* (καί) will be coming to see them. Perhaps the focus here is on Paul's concern with what he is to gain from the sending of Timothy rather than with the commendation of Timothy itself. Thirdly, this may simply be a case of idiolectal or dialectal preferences. In the context of sending envoys or material goods, Paul simply prefers the aorist to describe the act of sending—in Pauline letters it is used 13 times in the aorist (1 Cor 4:17; 9:3; Phil 2:19, 23, 25, 28; 4:16; 1 Thess 3:2, 5; cf. Eph 6:22; Col 4:8) and once in the future (1 Cor 16:3).¹

Commendation of Epaphroditus (2:25-30). This section is set apart by the initial thematic marker δέ. Here the attention is directed towards the relationship between Epaphroditus and the Philippians. This is most clearly indicated by the only use of the present tense-forms (thematic aspect) in 2:26 (the longing of Epaphroditus for the Philippians) and 2:29 (their need to receive him and honour those like him)—the imperfect tense ἦν indicates a past-time event; thus, the present tense participle in this periphrastic must be understood in a non-temporal sense (prompting some other explanation of its use). The fact that Epaphroditus almost died plays only a background role in this section (aorists are used throughout); or perhaps Paul prefers the aorist tense in clearly narrative contexts (as in the so-called Christ-hymn in 2:6-11). However, the narrative context is clearly set apart from the three present tense imperatives in 2:29 and 3:1 (i.e. by recounting Epaphroditus' illness and ministry Paul supplies the reason why they should receive him, honour him, and be glad).

'Implied Opponents' versus Paul and the Philippians (3:1-4:1).² From this point forward, the analysis of prominence becomes more difficult in view of the disjointed exhortations and lack of clear transitions. Nevertheless, on the whole the use of indicators of prominence resemble those found in Phil 1-2. In chap. 4 above, it has been argued that 3:1a ('rejoice in the Lord') is part of the succession of imperatives begun in 2:29 and ending in 3:2—3:1b ('to write the same things...') punctuates these as an epistolary formula of disclosure. The lack of connective at 3:2 further suggests that the βλέπετε imperatives are part of this chain. Nonetheless, semantically, 3:2 contrasts with the preceding commands and thus develops the discourse in a different direction. The three imperative verbs in 3:2 precede the complement probably because the idea of 'caution' is the theme (thus, initial), not necessarily the objects of that caution (who are notably unidentified as are all of the 'implied' opponents in the letter [1:15-17, 28; 2:15, 21; 3:18]). Although the Philippians are major participants in the section, Paul follows his imperative with lengthy supportive statements which do not directly involve his audience (as he does elsewhere, e.g. 2:6-11). Not until 3:17 with the use of ἀδελφοί do the Philippians come

¹The present tense is used once in 2 Thess 2:11 but there in reference to God's sending of 'delusion' upon people.

²The content of this section could be summarised in various ways, but with the heading 'Implied Opponents' versus Paul and the Philippians I am highlighting the dialectic between Paul's theological convictions and those of his 'implied' opponents which appears throughout this section. In addition, the Philippians are in view as seen in the commands in 3:15-17 and 4:1.

back into view. As is the case elsewhere, the present tense predominates since most of the material is on the theme-line of the discourse. The perfect tense, in addition, is again used frequently with verbs of volition or will. Two special occurrences (not with verbs of volition) appear in 3:12, 13 where Paul draws special attention to the fact that he is not 'perfect'—the idea of 'perfection' is central to Paul's discussion throughout 3:2-16. Such focal prominence is especially evident in v 13 where a combination of focal indicators are used (ἀδελφοί; ἐγὼ ἐμαυτόν; perfect tense) to introduce the perfect tense κατειληφέναι. Similarly, the perfect ἤγημαι introduces Paul's emphatic denial of the worth of his heritage and accomplishments, but then is followed by the present tense ἠγοῦμαι in v 8 in clauses that specify what this entails for Paul (viz. 'on account of knowing Christ' and 'in order that I may gain Christ...'). From 3:13 on, which itself punctuates the discourse with several markers of focus (suggesting some type of transition), the present tense-forms predominate (except the two aorists in 3:16, 21, which are part of dependent clauses). Clearly, with the discourse particle οὖν at 3:15, Paul comes to the close of a section (in this case begun with a discussion of 'implied' opponents and his own Christian 'spiritual' status) with a succession of commands (hortatory subjunctive; rare imperatival infinitive, and two imperatives). Based on this as well as the lack of a connective at 3:17, the text suggests that the implied 'opponents' (whomever they may be) treated in 3:2 are the same as those treated in 3:18-19. That is, Paul's transition to the imperatives in 3:15-17 is clearly linked to the discussion of his spiritual standing in 3:4-13 (specifically that of v 13) which originated in the threefold invective against 'opponents' in 3:2; thus, according to the topical flow of the discourse, the description of 'opponents' in 3:18-19 falls coherently into the whole discussion of 3:2-21. If these actually represent different opponents (theologically), it is at least noteworthy that this is not indicated by Paul in the progression of the discourse—the only way to distinguish them is to argue about the precise meanings of ambiguous terms (e.g. κοιλία, αἰσχύνη, ἐπίγειος). In 3:20-21, Paul ends where he began in 3:3, viz. with a description of what constitutes a 'Christian' in contrast to certain 'opponents'. Lastly, this section also provides a good example of the use of word order to indicate prominence. Phil 3:15 (τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει) has marked word order (OSV)—the complement precedes the verb, functioning as the topic/theme in the light of its reference to the preceding clause (i.e. the sentence begins where the preceding clause left off).

Final Petitions (4:2-9). This section is set apart from the preceding by a device often found in ancient letters, viz. the παρακαλῶ formula (see chap. 4 on Final Petitions). Such a common formula may explain the lack of a connective; the verb was all that was needed to indicate a change in topic. In addition, the various commands in this section seem disjointed, appearing one after the other with few connectives. Nevertheless, there is some structure as is seen by the use of λοιπόν in 4:8 which signals that this is the last of Paul's exhortations in this section. The use of imperatives and present tense-forms suggests that most of this section is thematic, almost every unit playing its own part (rather than a supportive role) in the series of exhortations. The aorists in 4:9 are easily explained in light of their background role in relation to the present imperative πράσσετε—they do not necessarily indicate solely past time events (e.g. Paul's initial bringing of the gospel) but may denote timeless activities (i.e. whenever they receive 'things' from Paul, be it during his past ministry or his present letter). The use of the aorist tense with an imperative in 4:5, however, is more problematic, especially since Paul clearly knows of the present tense passive imperative (e.g. 4:6 γνωρίζεσθω). It may be that (i) the aorist passive is used because the verb 'to make known' is really non-thematic or, more likely, (ii) this

clause is set against the more prominent affirmation ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς, i.e. 'make your kindness known to all humanity vis-à-vis the nearness of the Lord'.¹ Admittedly, this example is difficult for any grammatical model of the verb. Finally, 4:2 and 4:8, 9 are good examples where OV word order is used to indicate thematic prominence at the level of the paragraph—the complement introduces topical material.

Expression of Joy for the Philippians' Assistance (4:10-20). Besides δέ, this section is set apart by the use of the indicative mood and change of person. This section deals with a topic that is found in several ancient letters: mention of and thanks for items received from others. However, as many have noted, Paul's thankfulness is obscured here in the light of his repeated mention that he can live without assistance from the churches. While the label 'thankless thanks' is probably not an accurate description of the sociological background of Paul's thanks (see chap. 4 above), Paul clearly spends much of his time discussing his ability to 'live without'. Perhaps this explains the consistent use of present tense-forms when discussing his ability to live in all circumstances and the aorist tense-forms when mentioning the gift from the Philippians. That is, the fact that Paul can do without is given more topical prominence in this section than the fact that the Philippians have sent him assistance. In this case as in 1:21-25 (see above), Paul seems to use tense-forms with certain words or information in the discourse so as to contrast them with other information. Here the present tenses in 4:12-13, 17 coincide with descriptions of his independence from the Philippians whereas the aorists in vv 14-16, 18 describe their work on his behalf. Indeed, Paul can say that he is in the state of being full *πεπλήρωμαι*, i.e. he has always been content and continues to be content, and that the Philippians have contributed to this state when Paul received the aid from Epaphroditus (though he has already made it clear that he can be content without such aid). Paul, as elsewhere, uses the perfect tense with verbs of knowing and learning (mental events) several times in this section (v 12 οἶδα, μεμύημαι, v 15 οἶδατε).²

Epistolary Closing (4:21-23). Just as most dialogue requires some sort of close to the communicative event, letters also developed forms that finalise the discourse. In Paul's closing he not only gives greetings (4:21-22) but also a farewell (4:23). The greetings all begin with a verb, since 'greetings' are the topic of this section. However, the first verb is in the aorist, the other two in the present. This perhaps indicates that the greetings directed towards the Philippians are more prominent than the greetings that the Philippians are to give to every saint. In other words, the author-recipient relationship is more important than the author-peripheral recipient relationship. However, it is perhaps better to leave Paul's use unexplained in view of the brevity of the greetings. It is exegetically unwise to impose a prominence view of tense-forms on a section that does not provide any other clues to the thematic structure; nonetheless, the change in tense-forms does beg the question of meaning, no matter what grammatical model of the verb the interpreter adopts.

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to summarise the above analysis of the linguistic TEXTURE of Philippians (trying not to be too reductionistic), viz. its semantic content (IDEATIONAL

¹Cf. Ogara, 'Dominus', p. 23: 'Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus: Dominus prope ist.'

²The aorist ἔμαθον (a verb of learning) in v 11 rather than the perfect is perhaps explainable in that v 11 'I have learned in whatever I am to be content' is a general statement (perhaps even a timeless aorist) followed by present tense clauses specifying these circumstances (e.g. wealthy, impoverished, full, hungry) which themselves are introduced with perfect verbs of learning/knowing.

MEANINGS), author-reader interaction (INTERPERSONAL MEANINGS), and cohesiveness (TEXTUAL MEANINGS). (The direct relevance of this analysis for the integrity debate will be taken up in more detail in the concluding chapter.)

Much of the above discussion comprises a semantic analysis of ideational meanings in the letter, with special emphasis on how semantic structure may be used to interpret cohesiveness in the letter. This analysis then resulted in study of the broader functional categories of *participants* (both objects/entities/referentials and their functional roles [e.g. actor, sayers, carriers]), *processes* (events/states and some abstracts), and *circumstances* (e.g. manner, means, location). Most of the lexical choices involve events and abstracts, with a relatively small number of objects and entities. Those objects and entities (i.e. participants) which are regularly featured in the text include Supernatural Beings and Classes of Persons (especially group boundaries). The other participants in the discourse which play either a main or peripheral role are expressed instead with discourse referentials and personal names. Main participants include the implied author 'Paul' (first person singular and plural grammar) and the implied readers the 'Philippians' (second person singular and plural, first person plural grammar). Peripheral participants, who may or may not have been target readers but nonetheless are not 'spoken to' in the discourse (third person grammar), include: (i) 'Epaphroditus'; (ii) 'Timothy'; (iii) 'Euodia and Syntyche'; (iv) implied 'opponents'; (v) implied 'allies'. Noticeably, Paul does not link the implied 'opponents' with 'evil' supernatural beings,¹ yet he uses God and Christ repeatedly as forces at work in himself and his readers. These then are the central animate participants in the letter which then function in various types of processes and events.

Before highlighting some of these processes and events, it is worth stating first that the analysis of ideational meanings supports a multi-thematic approach to the letter (i.e. there is no dominating theme or 'macro-theme'). Specifically, not only are there several different participants, but the processes and events featured in the letter are varied, of which the most prevalent include: Attitudes and Emotions; Communication; Think, Hold a View, Believe; Possess, Transfer, Exchange; Be, Become, Exist, Happen; Physiological Processes and States; Perform, Do; Know; Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behaviour (abstract). Two prominent sub-chains, the first of which is rarely mentioned and the second which is almost always mentioned, include (i) Die, Live of the Physiological Processes and States chain and (ii) Happy, Glad, Joyful of the Attitudes and Emotions chain. These main participants and processes *interact* in various ways to create a semantic texture in the discourse, i.e. cohesiveness and information flow.

When then turning to a functional analysis of these participants and processes (including circumstances), it was observed that on a general level, material, mental, and relational processes occur in almost equal proportions in the letter. However, one feature of Paul's lexical choices here which distinguishes it from the majority of 'everyday' letters is his frequent use of mental and relational processes. That is, Paul is not solely concerned with 'doings' and 'happenings' in his discourse, but speaks often of 'sensing' and 'being' processes. Several of the mental processes ('sensing') have to do with cognitive processes ('thinking, knowing, believing'), which prompts a characterisation of the letter as dealing with 'beliefs, attitudes, opinions'. That is, as part of his rhetorical strategy, Paul not only attempts to influence his readers' behaviour but just as frequently their beliefs and opinions. Along these lines, the material processes ('doing') in the letter repeatedly concern moral and ethical behaviour (including religious activities) and the many relational

¹Contrast the author's approach in 1 Timothy (see Reed, 'Cohesive Ties', pp. 131-47).

processes ('being') are of the attributive type, in which the subjects of the clause are often attributed a moral or 'religious' quality (e.g. 'in Christ', 'blameless', 'obedient', 'sincere'). Indeed, such lexical choices in the letter can be paralleled more readily in Septuagintal and non-epistolary Greek literature, accounting for one reason why Paul's letter stands out in the epistolary tradition. Nevertheless, some of Paul's lexical choices are commensurate with 'personal' letters; for example, the repeated use of affection processes (types of mental processes) would be expected in a 'personal' letter which deals in large part with maintaining interpersonal relationships. Besides participants and processes, most Greek clauses use language to express circumstances, another major component of ideational meanings. Indeed, almost 50% (150) of the clauses in Philippians have circumstantial expressions which modify the verb. Circumstances of location, manner, and cause (in that order) appear the most frequently in the letter. Those of manner highlight 'how' certain types of processes are to be carried out and those of cause highlight the rhetorical side of the discourse (i.e. Paul argues for certain statements).

The interpersonal meanings (statements, questions, offers, and commands) in the discourse were then analysed, using as a basis the insights from the study of ideational meanings. As a general observation, it was noted that the majority of the letter involves the exchange of information (e.g. 'Let me tell you about...' past, present, and future information) and less so an exchange of goods-and-services (e.g. 'Go do this!'). Regarding exchanges of information, approximately 264 clauses function as statements and only two as questions. Regarding exchanges of goods-and-services, at least 39 clauses function as commands, and perhaps only two as offers. So clearly, the text is an exchange of *statements* by the author—which the reader can acknowledge or contradict—but also of *commands*—which the reader can undertake or refuse. The use of questions are almost absent in the letter. Paul does not seek the immediate response of the reader (i.e. he is not *per se* engaged in dialogue), as he does so often in Romans with his use of diatribe (and even those questions in Philippians are not phrased as challenges to himself), but instead his exchanges of information are primarily in the form of statements. Similarly, the letter is not a discourse of explicit offers, i.e. Paul is not *offering* goods-and-services to the Philippians (e.g. 'I will do this for you...'). In contrast, commands of goods-and-services, which are varied in purpose, appear throughout the letter. The majority are directed at the broader Philippian readership, except for those in 3:15b, 16b which are further broadened to the 'we' and those in 4:2c, 3b which are directed at specific individuals within the Philippian readership. Most of these commands are positive *exhortations* and perhaps only a few should be interpreted as *prohibitions* (2:3a, 4a). On the whole, Paul *interacts* cordially with his readers through these interpersonal meanings (as also seen in his use of polarity), whether or not he *actually* had difficulties with some in the church—here a useful distinction can be made between the interpersonal mood 'implied' in the discourse and that of the actual historical situation. An analysis of statements and commands as interpersonal functions in the discourse is also relevant to the question of Paul's epistolary style raised in chap. 4 above. Although much of the letter can be treated in terms of epistolary conventions, Paul's repeated use of statements followed by petitions is somewhat unique to his epistolary style. Rather than treat this solely as a feature of genre (e.g. background-petitions), it is perhaps wiser to treat this primarily as a feature of discourse texture (i.e. Paul's functional *use* of his linguistic code).

More directly related to the integrity debate was the analysis of textual meanings, although this was carried out in dialogue with the interpersonal and especially ideational texture of the letter. The study of topicality (esp. word order) and prominence (esp. verbal

aspect) attempted to show how some of the letter's information (themes or topics) flows in a linear succession through the discourse. When analysing discourse texture, it is not enough to explain its semantic content (a hierarchical approach to discourse) but it is also necessary to investigate how the content is presented from beginning to end (a linear approach to discourse). However, textual meanings were primarily treated in terms of the *interaction* between the 48 semantic chains of lexemes in Philippians (treated in the first section of this chapter), specifically the interaction between participant chains and process chains (componential ties). First, however, it was noted that organic ties are used throughout the text to create logical-semantic relations between clauses, including those of projection (35x), elaboration (10x), extension (86x), and enhancement (61x). Of these, addition and causal relations were the most frequent. Componential ties (i.e. semantic relations between words and phrases) were then treated in terms of peripheral, relevant, and central tokens in the discourse. While acknowledging the relative worth of relevant tokens for creating cohesive links in the discourse (what I refer to as the 'distributional' approach which is characteristic of many single-letter theories), it was argued that an analysis of central tokens (i.e. chains which interact at least twice with other chains) provides more substantive evidence that an author is 'on about' similar topics in the discourse. Central tokens were then treated with respect to the main and peripheral participants and processes in the discourse. It was argued that, while several central tokens span disputed sections of the letter (at least supporting a single-letter reading), in many cases they were limited to certain sections or paragraphs, again supporting a multi-thematic (but not necessarily a multiple-letter) approach to the letter. Consequently, an analysis of cohesive chains and chain interaction suggests ways in which the text *allows for* coherent, single-letter readings. This has been especially important for single-letter theorists pointing to verbal and thematic links in Philippians. Textual meanings are only one way in which authors' create cohesiveness in texts, but one which is directly relevant to the integrity debate; indeed, they are perhaps the only direct recourse we have to cohesiveness in the text—historical difficulties have been solved rather easily with creative speculation. Of course, Kümmel correctly notes that we cannot 'prove' literary integrity even by pointing out semantic parallels in the letter.¹ Schenk uses this as an argument against such semantic analyses in support of a single-letter theory,² though Kümmel seems to be arguing primarily against simplistic listings of lexical parallels. Of course, absolute proof is an impossibility; the rhetoric of the integrity debate has typically been an exercise in probabilities—argument and counter-argument. Nonetheless, even Schenk, based on his *syntax-semantics-pragmatics* model of discourse analysis, must engage in a semantic analysis of the text. He seems to deny single-letter theorists doing in principle the very type of analysis he does. Indeed, it is almost impossible to see how a study of discourse cohesiveness could avoid dealing with the semantic texture of a discourse, no matter what the initial bias is regarding its literary integrity. (An analogy here may be drawn from linguistic history, wherein early generative grammars eventually admitted that syntactical rules must be informed at least in part by semantic ones, e.g. transformations. Syntax cannot be compartmentalised over against semantics.) What has been needed, as argued above, are more empirically- and linguistically-based criteria for discussing the question of

¹Kümmel, *Einleitung*, p. 293, who notably, in the earlier 1963 edition of his Introduction to the NT, employs this method in support of a single-letter theory.

²Schenk, *Philippenerbriefe*, p. 335, critiquing Jewett ('Epistolary Thanksgivings', pp. 40-53) and similar attempts to bolster a single-letter theory.

semantic 'motifs' in the canonical letter to the Philippians—this will at least take the debate to a new level even if it does not resolve it.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

An sit, Quid sit, Quale sit

In an era of biblical studies which might question not only the likelihood of even remotely answering a historical question such as the literary integrity of Philippians but also the worth of such an analysis, a few remarks seem warranted.¹ In a provocative, programmatic essay on Pauline hermeneutics, part of a volume mostly containing historical-critical studies, E. Schüssler Fiorenza contrasts historical-critical with modern literary hermeneutics of biblical (esp. Pauline) texts.² In favour of postmodern literary and cultural criticism, she summarises:

Those who adopt literary formalism, stylistic rhetorical analysis, or poststructuralist criticism emphasize the impossibility of moving from text to reality [historical situation], *underscore the linguisticity of all knowledge*, and maintain the inextricable entanglement of present interpretation and knowledge of the past.³

In principle, I agree with all three of these hermeneutical lenses ('impossibility' and 'inextricable' are overstated), but Fiorenza's second point, viz. *the linguisticity of all knowledge*, is especially relevant for the present investigation of the literary integrity of Philippians vis-à-vis theories of discourse analysis. For her, readers should 'understand language not as a closed linguistic system but as a social convention and communicative tool'.⁴ Discourse analysts have typically treated these as different sides of the same coin rather than as incompatible. Indeed, *language as system is a product of social convention*. People use language in part to encode situations, and even though language is ever changing to meet social needs it is not in an absolute state of flux; otherwise, it could never be used to encode any particular situation or to affect successfully (to accomplish intent) the actions and beliefs of others⁵—it is not necessary to claim how often this happens, but just that it happens (this, I believe, is uncontested). So, regarding the dialectic between language as 'system' and language as 'use', J. Gumperz maintains:

It seems clear that knowledge of grammatical rules is an essential component of the interactive competence that speakers must have to interact and cooperate with others. Thus if we can show that individuals interacting through linguistic signs are effective in

¹Indeed, some might ask and some of my final-form colleagues actually have challenged, 'Who cares if Philippians was originally two or three separate letters? All we have is the extant letter, so let's leave it at that.' Foreshadowing some modern literary critical approaches to the Bible, Dalton asserts, 'Any interpreter of Philippians should accept the fact that in its manuscript tradition and in the tradition of the Church it is one document. *Hypotheses about its pre-history may come and go, but the text abides forever*' ('Integrity', p. 102, emphasis mine).

²Fiorenza, 'Rhetoricity', pp. 443-70.

³Fiorenza, 'Rhetoricity', p. 456 (emphasis mine); cf. her claim that 'access to reality is always mediated through language', p. 455.

⁴Fiorenza, 'Rhetoricity', p. 459.

⁵This point does not dispute the fact that texts can also express more than or less than an author's original intent; it simply resists any categorical denial that authors can encode intents in discourse and through texts accomplish their intents. Both realities must be held at the same time when approaching NT interpretation.

cooperating with others in the conduct of their affairs, we have prima facie evidence for the existence of shared grammatical structure.¹

Discourse analysis (especially *linguistic* discourse analysis) has traditionally evolved as a hermeneutic which seeks to understand how speakers encode situations into texts by investigating, among other things, the language of those texts. Although linguists have been criticised rightly at times for mere fact-gathering with no clear methodology, cultural and ideological interpretations of texts may conversely be criticised for a lack of 'adequate linguistic basis'.² As Halliday puts it, 'The study of discourse...cannot be separated from the study of the grammar that lies behind it.'³ Hence, the first part of this work has proposed a functional grammar of Greek for use in discourse analyses of NT texts. It is put to the test in the second part of the work, viz. a discourse analysis of the letter to the Philippians with special reference to the question of the letter's literary integrity. In sum, this work is about both *methodology* and *analysis*, attempting to meet the occasional objection that NT discourse analysis (and linguistics in general) is either all theory with no analysis or superficial analysis with no theory. The results of this discourse analysis of both the genre (structure) and lexico-grammar (texture) of Philippians have already been summarised in the respective conclusions of chaps. 4 and 5. It remains now to provide some final comments on the place of discourse analysis in NT hermeneutics and the conclusions which resulted from its application to Philippians regarding its literary integrity. Admittedly, the multiple-letter and single-letter readings of Philippians proposed below are, in the final account, *my* readings of the cohesive structure and texture of the discourse. For some they are readings which reveal something about the original author and various original readers, but for others they are readings which have been created solely by my interpretative lenses or my community's (e.g. discourse analysis). Hopefully, and more likely, they embody elements of both.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A NEW TESTAMENT HERMENEUTIC

Surprisingly, methodology has not been a significant issue in the debate over literary integrity and to my knowledge no study of the issue has treated questions of discourse cohesiveness as extensively as the present one before turning to an analysis of the letter itself—W. Schenk's *Linguistik und Exegese* (pp. 13-28) introduction to his *Philippenerbriefe* is probably the closest. The debate, instead, may be generally characterised as argument and counterargument (rhetoric) with little discussion of what counts as an argument (method).

As a contribution to the debate, then, the first part of this work spends a significant amount of time presenting a functional framework for doing discourse analysis. It may prove useful in other debates over the literary integrity of Pauline letters. The model emphasises the role of genre or register, i.e. the STRUCTURE of discourse, in the production and interpretation of discourses. It also underscores the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language, i.e. the TEXTURE of discourse, in the production and interpretation of texts. In the case of the NT, language (i.e. shared symbol) is the primary means of communicating structure and texture. Consequently, this model of discourse analysis represents a *discourse grammar*, i.e. an analytical theory of Hellenistic Greek. Effective discourse analysis, discourse analysis that will not only be persuasive to

¹Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, p. 19.

²Stubbs, 'Grammar', p. 202.

³Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. 345.

the broader scholarly community as to its veracity but also as to its usefulness, must be based on the *grammar* of discourse, i.e. the linguistic regularities governing the surface structure of actual texts. The model is not exhaustive—such a task is enormous, but worth the effort—but it does map out a general framework of such a NT discourse grammar. It is ideologically based on systemic–functional linguistics, specifically those theories of M. A. K. Halliday. According to Halliday, a discourse grammar should lean towards the applied rather than the pure, the rhetorical rather than the logical, the actual rather than the ideal, the functional rather than the formal, the text rather than the sentence. The emphasis is on text analysis as a mode of action, a theory of language as a means of getting things done.¹

Systemic-functional linguistics is a theory especially applicable to such a discourse grammar of NT texts: ‘Systemic theory is designed not so much to prove things as to do things. It is a form of praxis.’² In terms of linguistic ideology it may be contrasted with several attempts at Transformational–Generative theories of Hellenistic Greek, which lean towards the formalist school of linguistics; of course, this is not to say that there is nothing to learn from such approaches.³ Perhaps more importantly, this model is quite distinct from the three-part model appropriated by W. Schenk in his commentary on Philippians.⁴ His compartmentalisation of textlinguistics into syntax, semantics, and pragmatics tends to prolong the misconception that pragmatic meaning is something other than semantic meaning and, even worse, that syntax can be analysed apart from semantics.⁵ More critically, such an approach to language is absent in most current models of discourse analysis and general linguistics.⁶ (This is not a critique of Schenk’s exegetical conclusions per se, but rather his characterisation of textlinguistics.)

In contrast, the model of discourse analysis proposed in Part I is, firstly, functional in orientation. So Halliday contends that ‘a discourse grammar needs to be functional and semantic in its orientation, with the grammatical categories explained as the realisation of semantic patterns’.⁷ W. Chafe makes an eye-opening, albeit tentative, prophecy for this type of linguistics:

My guess is that much of what passes for syntax today will be explained in functional-discourse terms tomorrow.... I have a vision of language structure in which the relevance of syntax as currently conceived will decline, while morphology at one end, discourse at the other, will share between them most of what is necessary to understand what has traditionally been called grammar.⁸

Greek grammar still requires further study with respect to morphology (e.g. verbal aspect and tense-forms), but surely it requires even more research with respect to discourse functions of language. Indeed, Chafe’s model is a relatively unheard of approach in NT grammatical research. Hopefully, the present study is a step in that direction.

The model is, secondly, based on the grammar of both the sentence *and* the discourse or, stated in the negative, it is not limited to the sentence. Several areas of grammar traditionally treated at the level of sentence may be treated in terms of discourse influences: e.g. passive and middle voices, word order, pronominalisation, choice of tense-aspect-

¹Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. xxviii.

²Halliday, ‘Systemic Background’, p. 11.

³See esp. Schmidt, *Hellenistic Greek*; Mueller, ‘Observations’, pp. 117-29; and to a lesser degree Black, *Linguistics*.

⁴Black’s (‘Structure’, pp. 16-49) so-called textlinguistic analysis of the letter is too generic in methodological description to warrant comparison with the model of Part I.

⁵So Beaugrande, ‘Text Linguistics’, p. 11.

⁶This point was acutely made to me by Robert de Beaugrande in personal correspondence on 27 July 1994.

⁷Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, p. xvii.

⁸Chafe, ‘Looking Ahead’, p. 21.

modality, formation of questions, relative clauses.¹ Although grammatical categories remain equally important, they are, nevertheless, subservient to functional ones. (The balance between morphological and functional analysis must always be maintained.) The movement towards such a discourse grammar of Hellenistic Greek (and indirectly of NT Greek), I believe, necessitates some sort of functional framework similar to the model proposed above. Certainly, different terminology may be proposed and various linguistic models appealed to, but inevitably it should *not* be structured according to traditional grammatical categories (e.g. noun, verb, adjective, etc.). The task of creating such a NT reference work has been aided by similar works for other languages such as those by J. E. Grimes (1975), R. E. Longacre (1983), and M. A. K. Halliday (1985), but in the end the Greek of the NT must be treated in its own right. The importance of such a discourse grammar for NT hermeneutics could be far-reaching, since discourse analysis not only encompasses several of the major disciplines which are currently shaping NT scholarship (e.g. sociological, literary, and rhetorical studies) but as an interdisciplinary model it has the flexibility to persist as well as to evolve into the future of NT hermeneutical theories. Furthermore, a discourse grammar of the NT will in all likelihood demonstrate that Greek grammar is not a resolved area of academic study and that, while there is much that has been said, there is much left to say about Greek grammar and semantics. The present study is hopefully a step in that direction, leaving room for further application of the model to other NT discourse especially regarding issues of textual cohesiveness and style; indeed, this work has not taken up a comparative analysis of Pauline letters which might provide some suggestive insights into questions of authorship and the rhetorical contingencies of Pauline theology.

Finally, discourse analysis, indeed the entire enterprise of modern linguistics which undergirds it, is not a panacea for all of the hermeneutical difficulties faced by NT interpreters, nor should it be proposed as such. Nonetheless, it has much to contribute to NT studies by way of methodological clarity and quantitative analysis of Hellenistic Greek. The results of such research, of course, will not go without challenge. When linguistic analysis supports common belief, many reply that 'everyone knows that'. When it provides an unexpected finding, the response is that 'you can prove anything with linguistics'. Rather than respond in isolationism, those who are convinced that NT interpretation necessitates an analysis of a text's lexico-grammar must be explicit about their linguistic method and apply it to actual texts (preferably whole texts or text corpora) so that it may be critiqued and improved upon or discarded.

THE LITERARY INTEGRITY OF PHILIPPIANS

There is a vicious problem for both sides of the debate over the literary integrity of Philippians. On the one hand, proving the letter's unity does not prove its literary integrity, for the obvious reason that a later redactor can produce a unified discourse from distinct texts. Redaction criticism of the gospels has demonstrated this. Can, therefore, the fact that there are recurrent themes and lexical parallels in Philippians *prove* its integrity? On the other hand, proving the letter's disunity does not prove its multiplicity, for the equally obvious reason that an original author can produce an incohesive discourse. Schizophrenic

¹Cf. Celce-Murcia, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 136.

discourse is an extreme case of incoherence, as the example cited by M. Coulthard demonstrates:¹

A: What is your name?

B: Well, let's say you might have thought you had something from before, but you haven't got it anymore.

A: I'm going to call you Dean.

And yet this is one single exchange. Can, therefore, the view that the beginning of Phil 3 is too harsh for the preceding context—a much less abrupt change than the previous example—really be used as substantial evidence against its integrity?

It would be useful for the debate if scholars would (and some do) clarify exactly what they are claiming for a particular argument. Someone arguing for the integrity of the letter would want to provide evidence that falls on the following cline:

▲ Could not have been done by a redactor
 ↓
 ▼ Probably by the original author

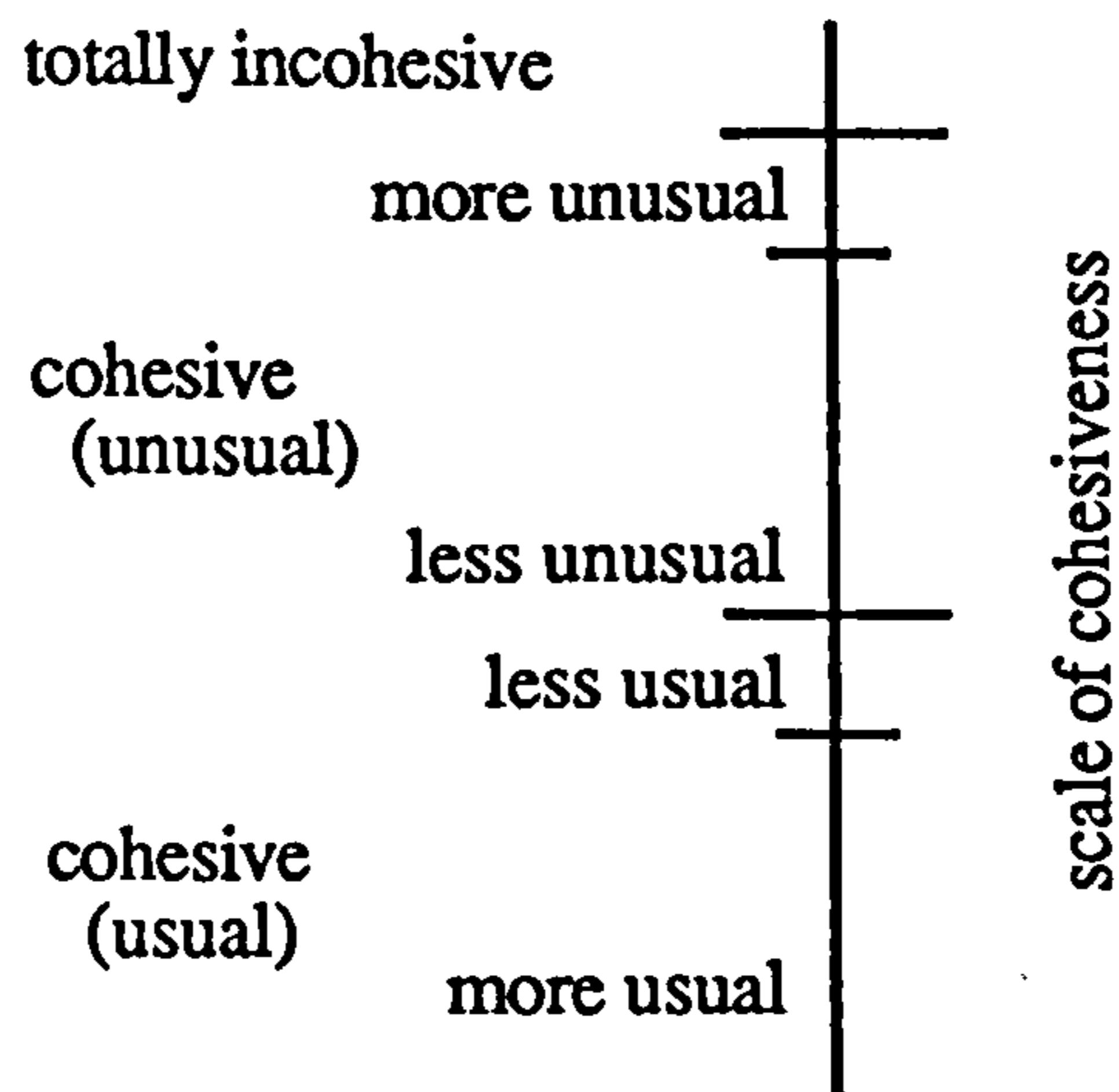
Evidence which points to something a redactor could *not* have done is really the only type that might sway those who lean towards a multiple-letter theory. Someone arguing against the integrity of the letter would want evidence that falls on the following cline:

▲ Could not have been done by an original author
 ↓
 ▼ Probably by a redactor

Evidence which points to something an original author could *not* have done is really what the multiple-letter theorist wants to discover. However, none of the evidence surveyed in chap. 3 or presented in chaps. 4 and 5 above definitively proves that something in the canonical form of Philippians either (i) could not have been done by a redactor or (ii) could not have been done by the original author. The only definitive evidence that would do so amounts to discovering Paul's original letter. Even textual evidence for a different form of Philippians (so Sellew's study) does not prove that the canonical Philippians is not the Pauline original (so Le Moyne proposed that Paul's canonical Philippians was perhaps later dissected). The final verdict hinges on probabilities. In this respect, interpreters of Philippians would be best off adopting a 'scholarly agnosticism' with respect to the integrity issue, while nonetheless proposing readings based on historical reconstructions and the lexico-grammar of the text.

I propose the following cline for making claims about textual cohesiveness in the NT. The terms *cohesive* and *incohesive* on this cline suggest respectively unity, singular, undivided and disordered, conglomerate, mixed.

¹Coulthard, *Discourse Analysis*, p. 6.



Totally incohesive texts are the extreme exceptions in human communication. More typically, a discourse is cohesive of an 'unusual' kind (i.e. it contains noticeable peculiarities that do not follow the patterns of other discourse) or cohesive of the 'usual' kind (i.e. it follows shared rules of language use). In the present study, the linguistic criteria employed to determine the cohesiveness of Philippians revolved around the analysis of the STRUCTURE (genre) and TEXTURE (ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings) of the disputed sections of the letter. This provided a useful hermeneutic since it deals with key issues raised in the history of the debate: (i) apparent shift in tone and mood at the beginning of Phil 3; (ii) location and temporal lateness of 4:10-20; (iii) lexical and conceptual parallels used throughout the disputed sections of the text; and, more recently, (iv) the precise genre of the text. Issues i, ii, and iv were primarily treated in chap. 4 and issue iii in chap. 5. The results of these analyses suggested a possible two-letter theory but also firmly supported a single-letter reading of the letter.

TWO LETTERS TO THE PHILIPPIANS?

I propose that the strongest multiple-letter theory is that which treats at least 4:10-19 as an originally separate letter, while maintaining the literary integrity of the remaining discourse (without making a final verdict on v 19 and vv 21-23)—the first proposal of its kind in the debate but one based on previous observations. This so-called 'thank you for the receipt of goods' (at least 4:10-19) was perhaps sent by Paul soon after Epaphroditus' arrival (perhaps with verbal news of the latter's sickness). Upon receiving subsequent communication from Philippi, Paul then wrote and sent the remainder of the canonical letter in its original form (at least 1:1-4:9 and perhaps also 4:21-23).¹ Initially, it was argued that the genre of Philippians is best treated on a general level as a personal, hortatory letter. The evidence in support of this was detailed in the analysis of its many epistolary formulas (chap. 4). More specifically, on the one hand, it was argued that the imperatives in Phil 3:2 fit naturally into the flow of the discourse in the light of the epistolary hesitation formula in 3:1b and the positive-negative exhortation pattern here (2:29-3:2) and elsewhere (e.g. 3:17-

¹Though the question of the date and place of writing of Philippians remains unresolved (see O'Brien, *Philippians*, pp. 19-26), this two-letter theory including one additional letter (or news) from Philippi can easily account for Rome as Paul's place of imprisonment. See Meeks (*Urban Christians*, p. 18) for travel estimates of 100 miles per day by sea or 15-20 miles per day (at most) walking by land. Using rough mileage estimates (and depending on the route taken), a journey from Philippi to Rome by sea could be made easily in less than a month (cf. Reicke, 'Caesarea', p. 284), and a journey by land could be made in 2-3 months. Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 38 n. 1) estimates a journey of about a month based on a common travel route of that day: 370 miles from Philippi to Dyrrhachium on the Via Egnatia, 100 miles across the Adriatic from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium, and 360 miles from Brundisium to Rome.

19) in the letter. On the other hand, an epistolary analysis of 4:10-20 suggests that similar expressions of joy for the receipt of goods in epistolary literature typically appear at the beginning of a letter, i.e. it is *unusual* in terms of the cohesive structure of letters for these epistolary conventions to appear at the end of a letter. This two-part reconstruction provides a stronger basis for other evidence that also suggests that 4:10-19 (and 20?) was originally part of a separate letter. (1) The 'peace' benedictions or wishes in v 7 (ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ) and v 9 (ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης), when studied in the other Pauline letters (Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 5:23; cf. 1 Cor 14:33), suggest that 4:9 comprises the end of an originally separate letter and 4:10 begins a different one (see Final Petitions in chap. 4). (2) This reconstruction answers one of the difficult historical problems of a single-letter theory, viz. why didn't Paul thank the Philippians formally when news was first sent to them regarding Epaphroditus' sickness (as is implied in 2:26)?¹ 4:10-19 (20), according to this reading, comprises Paul's response which was sent soon after receiving the aid. However, this reconstruction raises its own historical problem. Namely, if (as is more likely) Paul first wrote 4:10-19 (20) so as to acknowledge the receipt of the Philippians' assistance, then his failure to mention Epaphroditus' sickness implies that the latter had not become ill yet and, thus, a reasonable amount of time had to occur in order to account for (i) his sickness (after his arrival and after Paul sent the first letter), (ii) the Philippians' hearing about this and then responding, (iii) his recovery, and (iv) the writing of Paul's other letter which conveyed information about Epaphroditus' sickness (1:9-4:9). Only a reasonably lengthy imprisonment (e.g. two years in Rome) is able to explain this. (3) This two-letter theory accounts for extra-biblical references (Polycarp; Syncellus; *Catalogus Sinaiticus*; and implicitly in the letter to the Laodiceans)² to multiple Philippian letters without having to explain them away (see discussion of External Evidence in chap. 3). (4) This multiple-letter theory makes better sense of a redactor who wanted to combine a smaller letter (perhaps threatened by extinction) with the longer one so as to ensure its survival. Rather than the redactor who is claimed to have interspersed various letters throughout his creation, even splitting up a single letter to make room for others, our redactor simply adds a letter to the end of the discourse; indeed, whereas multiple-letter theorists have found it difficult to decide on the partitions of other parts of the letter they generally agree on the beginning of the 'thank you' note. In addition, this type of redaction better parallels what we know about the textual history of Romans, viz. that closing portions of Pauline letters were open to redaction.³ Although we have no textual evidence of this in Philipians (except perhaps indirectly through the spurious letter to the Laodiceans), neither do we know the time when Paul's letters started their textual history. The redaction of Philipians could have started before the textual history started (perhaps

¹The only assumption in this question is that news was sent upon or after Epaphroditus' arrival at Paul's location. If Epaphroditus became sick on the journey and thereupon news was sent back to Philippi before he reached Paul's location, then Paul was not in a position to send the thank you. This latter reconstruction, however possible, is unlikely since it means that when Epaphroditus became ill he had access to someone who could journey back to Philippi and tell them the news—this would be impossible if he were travelling by ship (Ewald, *Brief*, p. 19). There is no indication in Paul's letter that anyone other than Epaphroditus was sent to assist Paul; so Epaphroditus (even if he were travelling by land) would have had to have found a willing letter carrier, which we know from the literary evidence was not any easy affair (see Epp, 'Manuscripts', pp. 35-56). Thus, it is more probable that Epaphroditus became ill after his arrival at Paul's location, and then he or Paul sent news to Philippi.

²If *Laod.* 13 includes a reference to 3:2, then Phil 4:10-20 is the only partition which is not cited in the compiler's spurious patchwork.

³But see Gamble, *History*, pp. 145-46, who does not see an exact parallel between the two letters, opting for the view that 4:10 begins Paul's own autographical certification.

by Paul himself) or, if Polycarp's mention of multiple letters is true, the combined letter could have simply been the preferred final form yet with different versions existing in various circles (e.g. at Philippi where the original letters may have been redacted); the former is more likely in view of the textual evidence. (5) Lastly, some linguistic evidence gathered in the discourse analysis of chap. 5 at least points to stylistic differences between 4:10-20 and the rest of the letter. Regarding interpersonal meanings, 4:10-20 consists only of statements of information, lacking any of the other speech functions. Commands (which are repeatedly placed at the end of a succession of statements), next to statements, are the most prominent feature of the interpersonal texture of Philippians: 1:27a; 2:2a, b, c, d, e, 3a, b, 4a, b, 5a, 12b, 14, 18a, b, 22a, 29a, b; 3:1a, 2a, b, c, 15b, 16b, 17a, b; 4:1, 2c, 3b, 4a, c, 5a, 6a, b, 8i, 9e, 21a. However, they are absent from 4:10-20. In addition, the use of the subjunctive to *project* a possible realm, mostly occurs in Phil 1-2 and never in 4:10-20: 1:9b, 10c, 26, 27b; 2:10, 11a, 15a, 19c, 23c, 27e, 28b, e, 30c; 3:8f, 9a. Regarding textual meanings, the study of central tokens revealed that chain interaction involving implied 'opponents' is restricted to chaps. 1-2 and chap. 3; in contrast, Phil 4:10-20 (and 21-23) does not develop such a topic.

Despite its plausibility, the obvious problem with this two-letter reconstruction is that it does not escape the circular reasoning inherent in much of the integrity debate. It must admit that the redactor has altered the original letters by either (i) moving 4:21-23 (and perhaps v 20) of letter B (1:1-4:9) to the end of the inserted letter A (4:10-20) after first excising the latter's epistolary closing or (ii) excising the epistolary closing of letter B (1:1-4:9) before inserting letter A (4:10-20) and its (or a created) closing (vv 21-23) at the end. Without a doubt, (i) the epistolary prescript and salutation have been excised from letter A (4:10-20) and (ii) at least one epistolary closing has been excised. Therefore, this redactor is certainly engaged in a creative process of *composing* (not simply preserving) a text. If that redactor thought it necessary to rearrange and excise epistolary prescripts, salutations, and closings in order to make the final form of the text match epistolary convention, then it follows that the same redactor would adhere to common epistolary convention with regard to the location of 'joy' expressions in letters. Thus, the frequently raised critique of a redaction theory follows: If the redactor did not deem it obtrusive to place a 'joy' expression at the end of a letter then why must we believe that Paul could not have done the same and thus conclude that 4:10-20 is a part of separate letter?¹ Hence, the original reason for questioning the originality of the 'joy' expression in 4:10-20 is undercut.

ONE LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS

It is difficult to be even remotely confident of a multiple-letter theory, since stylistic arguments almost always become circular (Paul would not have done this but a redactor would have); this is in part what makes Schenk's sometimes over-confidence in his multiple-letter reading unpalatable.² His and others' partitions only represent 'theories' (indeed, some still describe them with the less-definitive term 'hypotheses'). Of these, it

¹A possible response to this argument is that during the redactor's era (which we do not know) epistolary convention had changed from Paul's era, allowing 'joy' expressions to appear towards the end of a letter. This must assume that Paul did not have the same freedom as the redactor and that epistolary convention had changed at least by the early second century CE (the latest reasonable date for the redaction)—the epistolary evidence is silent on the time of a change except that at least by the early second century CE it had occurred (if one occurred at all). Of course, the redactor may have altered convention or simply knew of different conventions, but this is the type of circular reasoning that a multiple-letter theory should surely try to avoid.

²See his heading 'Die Unmöglichkeit der Einheitlichkeits-Hypothese' (*Philippenerbriefe*, p. 334).

was argued that the above two-letter partition is the most plausible 'theory' based on the comparative evidence of genre and linguistic texture. But even this reasonable reconstruction prompts reasonable counter-arguments. The discourse analysis of the structure (genre) and texture (ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings) of Philippians detailed in chaps. 4 and 5 above highlights several features of 'cohesiveness' in the canonical letter to the Philippians. It is an approach which starts with the lexico-grammar of the text and works back to understand how and why 'Paul' as an original author may have created this text and how and why various 'Philippian' readers may have interpreted it. The resulting evidence allows for a single-letter reading of the letter, i.e. a reader is able to produce a coherent reading of the discourse as a single whole *via its linguistic structure and texture*. Because it is a *discourse analysis* of the letter, this evidence will probably be considered as a challenge to W. Schenk's *textlinguistic* analysis of the letter, in which he decides in favour of a multiple-letter theory based on his industrious reading of the syntactical, semantic, and pragmatic structure of the letter.

The epistolary STRUCTURE (register) of Philippians (chap. 4) may be accounted for as a single whole when compared to other epistolary literature of its type, despite the observation that 4:10-20 is untypical (but not atypical) of epistolary convention and that Paul's repeated use of exposition followed by exhortation is not common in personal letters. Paul's epistolary style is, no doubt, not representative of most personal letters, but his use of contemporary epistolary formulas in the letter clearly allows for a single-letter reading (i.e. its genre does not preclude a single-letter theory). For example, Paul's placement of the commendations (and his own travelogue) at 2:19-3:1 does not signal the end of a letter. The travelogue (and specific mention of individuals) need not appear at the end of Paul's letters (1 Cor 4:14-21; Gal 4:12-20; 1 Thess 2:17-3:13), nor is such a rule found in epistolary literature. Perhaps most significant for the integrity debate was the argument that the function of the epistolary hesitation formula in 3:1b and the positive-negative exhortations in 2:29-3:2 make perfect sense of the linear flow of the discourse in its final form. On the other hand, the epistolary analysis sometimes argued against the value of certain evidence proposed by single-letter theorists. Regarding the epistolary thanksgiving (1:3-11), although the linguistic evidence suggests that ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνησίᾳ ὑμῶν should be interpreted with a causal meaning, it has not been demonstrated, either in terms of grammar or genre, that ὑμῶν is a subjective genitive (i.e. 'your remembrance [aid] of me'). Therefore, this phrase does not provide conclusive evidence against the multiple-letter argument that Paul's thank-you comes too late in the letter (though the validity of that argument is questionable in and of itself). In addition, the supposed thematic function of the thanksgiving must be demonstrated from an analysis of the semantic content of the letter and cannot be attributed to an inherent trait of epistolary thanksgivings. Furthermore, despite generally supporting a single-letter reading, the analysis of the genre (structure) of Philippians does *not* point to one unifying theme or purpose in the text. This appraisal contrasts with Black who, in his so-called textlinguistic (and mostly rhetorical) analysis of Philippians, fails to treat the genre of Philippians as a personal letter even though he stresses a so-called macrostructural and top-down approach to discourse analysis;¹ thus, we arrive at different appraisals of the purpose(s) of the letter.

¹Black fails to note (though I doubt he denies) that a macrostructural or top-down approach cannot be performed on the text without entering into a microstructural or bottom-up analysis. Thus he must interpret 2:1-4 as implying some sort of discord and then read that (what he now considers a macrostructure) into (and I stress 'into' because it is not a logical entailment of the text) 4:2-3, viz. that the two women are engaged in some sort of serious personal dispute which was causing the members to take sides; indeed, the text is not even clear that Euodia and Syntyche were to think the same with respect to one another or with

The very genre of the discourse, viz. a personal hortatory letter, allows for multiple purposes and themes. When the epistolary structure of Philippians (chap. 4) is paralleled with other texts from the same genre, then the letter need not be approached with the expectation of finding some macro-theme¹ or with the requirement that there must be such a unifying theme in order for it to be one original letter. For example, the statement-of-reason-for-writing function of disclosure formulas has serious ramifications for the literary integrity of Philippians because single-letter theorists have always been searching for a thematic thread which binds the letter together. Paul's use of a disclosure formula (1:12-26) should not be used for such an endeavour, since, although it is true that disclosure formulas reveal an author's purpose for writing, they do not necessarily reveal *the* purpose for writing. Neither epistolary nor rhetorical approaches have come to a consensus on the sole theme of Philippians. This is, I would argue, due to the likelihood that no one individual theme exists, though the letter clearly develops several topics as signalled by epistolary formulas (e.g. thanksgiving; disclosure of Paul's situation; travel plans; petitions; mention of receipt of material goods; closing greetings) and lexical and grammatical choices (e.g. joy; suffering; unity; thanks). Indeed, it is at this point where my 'discourse analysis' of Philippians clearly parts ways with Black's so-called textlinguistic analysis of the letter (1995), which seeks to read the topic of 'unity for the sake of the gospel' behind the entire letter, but rather it parallels those who stress multiple-themes in the letter without trying to fit them into some macro-theme, such as Hawthorne (1983), who concludes in favour of literary integrity, and even Schenk (1984), who concludes that different topics in part point to separate letters.² This multi-thematic approach is not indiscriminate pluralism (the opposite of reductionism), but is founded firmly in the function of the epistolary genre and the historical realities of ancient communication 'at a distance'. Furthermore, to designate this multi-thematic trait of Paul's discourse as 'artless' has misdirected the discussion. Such statements seem emotive and anachronistically qualitative; a multiple-theme approach to the generic structure need not be based on a description of the letter as 'artless'.

respect to Paul, i.e. if they were disputing, was it with each other or with Paul? Another macrostructural interpretation could start with the epistolary background (i.e. the register/genre of Philippians) of the petitions in 4:2-3 (and the function of $\phi\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\omega$) and see a commendation of two of Paul's travelling missionaries whom he encourages to continue working together for the sake of the gospel (on this reading of the petitions see chap. 4 on Final Petitions), without reading discord into the text. In the end, Black presents what is one among many plausible reconstructions of the historical situation (what he calls exigence) so as to interpret the letter as a whole, though his is the least convincing in terms of analysis of genre—(i) putting a *narratio* at 4:10-20 and (ii) failing to treat epistolary features and anachronistically imposing a opening-body-closing scheme—and the least convincing rhetorical outline. Though I find his reading plausible at many points, he unfortunately claims that 'our reading will demonstrate that there is coherence in Philippians' ('Discourse Structure', p. 18 n. 5); coherence is something he brings to the letter with his reconstruction of the exigence, and not vice-versa. This is most evident, for example, in his interpretation of the 'theme' of 1:9-11: 'I pray that your love [for one another] may become so mature that you will be able to see what is really important—sincere and blameless conduct [toward each other].' Note that he must add *two* phrases to the text—viz. 'for one another' and 'toward each other'—in order to fit 1:9-11 into his macrostructural reconstruction.

¹So Black's formative questions for his exegesis: '(1) What macrostructure binds the letter into a cohesive whole?; and (2) How do the microstructures—especially any ambiguous ones—fit into the macrostructure?' ('Discourse Structure', p. 22).

²After citing various attempts to describe what the letter was mainly about (e.g. instruction about Jesus; exhortation to holiness; encouragement in suffering; exchange of news; reaffirm friendship), Black ('Discourse Structure', p. 20), opting for his own interpretation, concludes, 'All of these different interpretations obviously cannot be valid, unless one embraces absolute interpretive relativism.' This conclusion just does not follow; to claim, for example, that Paul tries to reaffirm his friendship with the Philippians and in the same letter to exhort them to holiness is not an embracing of mutually exclusive purposes. Indeed, we might expect multiple topics from a discourse written in the epistolary genre.

Also in support of a single-letter interpretation of Philippians was the study of the letter's linguistic TEXTURE, these being treated in an analysis of ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions (chap. 5). Some of the most significant stylistic similarities which span disputed sections of the letter are summarised here. (1) Regarding ideational meanings, the analysis of both participant roles and process types support a single-letter reading, even though some functional differences occur *within* particular sections (e.g. Paul's lack of role as logical subject in 2:1-11 and the sole use of first person plural, logical subjects in Phil 3). There is no substantial evidence that Paul uses circumstantial expressions uniquely in any of the disputed sections of the letter over against the other sections. (2) Regarding interpersonal meanings, it has already been noted that *statements* are used throughout the letter, though *commands* are not found in 4:10-20—offers and questions are rare throughout. (3) Regarding textual meanings (perhaps the most relevant to the integrity debate), both the use of organic ties and componential ties support (or at least allow for) a single-letter reading. With respect to organic ties, the asyndeton in the disputed section of 4:10-20 (esp. vv 12a, c, e, 13a) is stylistically similar to the type of asyndeton in 4:4-9e. Clauses of projection appear throughout the letter (35x), mostly of the idea-type (1:6b, 8b, 12b, c, 14c, 16c, 17c, 19-20a, 23c, 25c; 2:19b, 22b, 23b, 24b, 25b; 3:4c, 8b, 13b, 21b; 4:11d, 12b, d, f, g, h, i, 15b) but also of the locution-type (1:27f; 2:11b, 16b, 26d; 3:18e; 4:2c, 3b, 4c)—note, however, that none of the latter are found in the disputed section of 4:10-20. Clauses of elaboration are used 10 times in the letter: (i) *apposition*: expository (2:2b?) and (ii) *clarification*: corrective (1:18b, 27a; 2:4b; 3:12a, 16b; 4:11a, 14a, 17a), particularising (2:27a). Of the latter type, Paul uses the expression οὐχ ὅτι three times in Philippians to introduce a clarification (3:12a; 4:11a, 17a), but only elsewhere in 2 Corinthians (2 Cor 1:24; 3:5; 7:9; cf. 2 Thess 3:9); thus, since this appears to be a stylistic construction only used rarely by Paul (or his secretary), its use in Philippians would seem to support a single-letter reading of those two sections or at least demonstrate stylistic consistency in both. Similarly, Paul only uses πλὴν in 1 Cor 11:11; Phil 1:18b; 3:16; 4:14 (cf. Eph 5:33), and at least in Philippians it is always used as a corrective; again this feature highlights one area of stylistic consistency across disputed sections. Clauses of extension and enhancement are found in all parts of the letter. With respect to componential ties, when it came time to analyse semantic ties in the discourse, a differentiation was made between peripheral, relevant, and central tokens. In ascending order, these three types of linguistic tokens indicate relative degrees of discourse cohesiveness. Some of the relevant tokens which span disputed sections include: be confident (1:6a, 14b, 25a; 2:24a; 3:3d, 4c, d); be glad, rejoice (1:18c, d; 2:17b, c, 18a, b, 19c, 28b; 3:1a; 4:4a, c, 10a); consider (2:3b, 4a, b, 6a, 25a; 3:7b, 8a, e, 17b; 4:8i); think (1:7b, 17c; 2:2b, e, 5a; 3:4b, 13a, 15b, c, 19e; 4:2c, 10c, d); know (1:12b, 19, 22a, 22c, 25b; 2:19d; 3:10a; 4:12a, c, 15a); serve, work (1:27g; 2:16c, 22b; 4:3c); learn (2:23; 4:9a, 11b, 12e); destroy (1:28c and 3:19a); trouble, hardship (1:17, 29c; 3:10a; 4:14b); acceptable to (1:15; 2:13d; 4:8e, 18d [2x]); low status or rank (2:3b, 8a; 3:21a; 4:12b). However, a similar approach was then used to highlight possible counter-evidence against a single-letter view. Thus, relevant tokens and the so-called 'distributional approach' (citing individual words or cognates which appear in different parts of the letter) gave way to an analysis of central tokens (viz. when at least two members of a semantic chain interact with two members of another chain)—the strongest linguistic evidence for discourse cohesiveness. This was done with respect to the two main participants in the letter (Paul and the Philippians) and third person participants (supernatural beings; implied human 'allies'; implied human 'opponents') interacting in certain processes. In sum, the details of this analysis reveal several chain interactions

which span the disputed sections of the letter and thus support a single-letter reading. For example, regarding 'Paul' as the participant, several chain interactions span disputed sections of the letter, typically between chaps. 1-2 and 4:10-23: be; be confident of; consider, think; go; desire; know; learn; say; grieve; be glad. On the other hand, chain interaction is also frequently restricted to certain sections. Furthermore, in contrast to 1 Timothy (using the same model of analysis),¹ chain interaction in Philippians is much more complex, verifying some scholars' observations that the letter develops several (not always related) topics, i.e. it is not governed by one overarching topic. Indeed, several of Paul's topics (thanks for assistance; explanation of his circumstances; warnings against 'opponents'; exhortations to the two women; unity in the face of adversity) were perhaps not occasioned by a single rhetorical exigence but for the simple reason that Paul, at a particular point in time, gained access to a letter-carrier to Philippi and thus composed his letter so as to address several issues (after all, he might not get an opportunity to write again for some time). Some take this as a sign of multiple letters; others interpret it as a stylistic characteristic of Paul's 'personal' letter. Indeed, some of the above chain interactions could be used to support either a single-letter or multiple-letter theory. Perhaps the most telling example of this in the history of the debate concerns Paul's use of 'rejoice, be glad' language. For example, a particular partition theory has evolved based on the distribution of 'joy' language in 2:18a, b, 28b; 3:1a; 4:4a, c. For single-letter theorists, the same distribution is used to prove their view. In addition, other chain interactions may be highlighted by various interpreters to prove their point. For example, some multiple-letter theorists might argue that the absence of implied 'opponents' in 4:10-23 supports their view. In contrast, single-letter theorists might argue that the numerous chain interactions involving 'Paul' which span Phil 1-2 and 4:10-23 prove the opposite. Nonetheless, the value of studying chain interaction lies in the ability to demonstrate precisely what it is that may be used by either side to support a particular view of integrity. Furthermore, recognition of the multi-thematic nature of the letter partially explains the fact that the debate over integrity has had such a long-standing tradition in scholarly circles.

Lastly, the study of information flow primarily sought to investigate how particular topics are grammatically expressed in the discourse and how they are given prominence over against other topics. The study of topicality (viz. Givón's iconicity principle and Prince's information status taxonomy) and prominence revealed that the use of pronouns, verbal suffixes, word order, particles, and in some cases verbal aspect (esp. in the Disclosure 1:12-26 and Expression of Joy 4:10-20) were used in consistent ways across disputed sections of the letter. While not definitively proving a single-letter theory, it again demonstrates one aspect of stylistic *consistency* throughout the letter.

¹See Reed, 'Cohesive Ties', pp. 131-47.

Appendix A

CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF PHILIPPIANS

The following breakdown of clauses into their constituent units serves as a synopsis of much of the analysis of IDEATIONAL, INTERPERSONAL, and TEXTUAL meanings in Philippians—see chap. 2 for theory and chap. 5 for analysis of Philippians. A few remarks on policy will guide in the use of the chart.

The primary basis for setting apart a series of words with their own verse reference (e.g. 1:1b) revolves around the presence of a verbal form, though some clause units may lack a verb because of elision or idiomatic expressions (e.g. epistolary prescript).¹ One advantage to this approach is that embedded clauses (rank-shift) may be treated apart from their dependent clause.² The glosses of Greek words are intended only as rough translations—for detailed discussion see the study of Semantic Chains in chap. 5.

Regarding ideational functions, participants are divided into two categories (bold letters correspond to codes used in the chart): logical subject or 'agent' (Actor, SEnser, SAyer, Carrier, IDentified, Existent) and logical complement (Goal, Phenomenon, Target, Verbiage, Attribute, IdentifieR). Other participants include Beneficiary and Range. The participant types are listed first and then the actual participant is listed (e.g. Paul). Processes involve four different functional categories with further sub-divisions: MATerial (Action, Event); MENtal (Perception, Affection, Cognition); VERbal; RELational (Intensive, Circumstantial, Possessive; and Attribution, Identification); and EXIstential. For each clause unit, the functional categories are listed first (e.g. Mat-A = a material process of the action sub-type or Rel-C-I = a relational process of the circumstantial and identification sub-types) and then a gloss of the actual process is given (e.g. praise). Circumstances modifying the verb of a clause fall into one of thirteen functional categories: Duration and dIstance (extent); Time and Place (location); meaNs, Quality and Comparison (manner); Reason / purpose / result and Behalf (cause); cOmitation and Addition (accompaniment); Matter; roLe.³ The circumstances are underlined in the Greek for easy identification, and their functional roles are listed in the order in which they appear in the clause.

Regarding interpersonal functions, the first three columns of the chart respectively refer to *speech functions* (Statement, Question, Command, Offer), *type of intermediacy* (probability [Assertion, Projection, Expectation; possiBle-conditional], usuality

¹Those clauses which do not contain a verb, however, still stand out in relation to surrounding clauses with verbs. See the discussion of Levels of Discourse in chap. 2.

²Embedded clauses typically (sometimes a verb is absent) involve any verbal clause (usually non-finite) which plays the role of subject, object or circumstance in another clause (e.g. 4:13). In the chart, an embedded clause is marked off with brackets [] and its position in its main clause is indicated by [...]. For example, the clause ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθόν is both its own clause unit as well as an embedded subject of the main verb ἐπιτελέσει (1:6).

³The level of clause is being analysed here; thus, the use of prepositional phrases and case forms (e.g. modifying genitive) which modify nouns are not treated. To do so, it would be necessary to isolate every noun phrase, rewrite it ('transform' it) into a clause form, and then analyse the circumstances; but this is to go behind the surface structure of the text into hypothetical reconstructions of deep structures.

[Sometimes, Usually, alWays], obligation [aLlowed, sUpposed, Required], inclination [willinG, anXious, Determined]), and *polarity* (Positive or Negative). The fourth column lists the lexical and grammatical expressions used in the clause: Indicative; Subjunctive; iMperative; Optative; Future; iNterrogative; Participle (unmarked intermediacy); infinitiVe (unmarked intermediacy); and modal Adjunct.

Regarding textual functions, the study of logico-semantic relations is broken down into Projection (Locution and Idea) and Expansion (eLaboration; eXtension; eNhancement). Elaboration types are further subdivided into Apposition (eXpository and exeMplifying) and Clarification (Corrective; Particularising; Summative; Verifactive). Extension types are further subdivided into Addition (Positive and Negative), adVersative, and vaRiation (Replacive; Subtractive; Alternative). Enhancement types are further subdivided into Spatio-temporal (Following; Simultaneous; Preceding; Conclusive; iMmediate; iNterrupted; Repetitive; spEcific; Durative; Terminal; pUnctiliar), Comparative (Positive and Negative), cAusal (Result; Purpose; rEason; Basis), and cOnditional (Positive; Negative; Concessive). Thus, for example, the abbreviation E-N-A-R would be an expanding type of clause relationship of the enhancing, causal, and result categories. The following codes are employed for word order: T=Vocative; S=Subject; V=Verb; O=Object; I=Indirect object; P=Preposition; A=Adverb; C=Copulative verb; R=Predicate nominative/adjective.

| Verse | Clause | Participants | | | Ideational | | | Process | | | Circumstance | | | Interpersonal | | | Textual | |
|-------|--|--------------|--------------------------|----|-----------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|--|--|--------------|--|--|---------------|--|------|----------|-------------------|
| | | Sa | Paul | T | Philippians | Vcr | (sends letter) ¹ | | | | | | | | | Form | Relation | Word Order |
| 1:1a | Παύλος και Τιμόθεος δούλοι Χριστού Ἰησοῦ πάντων τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [...] | H | Philippians | kr | in Philippi | Rel-C-I | be | PO | | | | | | | | | | SISIP |
| 1:1b | τοῖς ὁσίν ἐν φιλήμοις σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις χάρις ἡμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. | C | grace, peace | A | from God ² | Rel-C-A | be | P | | | | | | | | | | VPP SISP |
| 1:3-5 | εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάντι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἔργῳ 1:4 πάντοτε ἐν πίστει ἀγαπῶ μεν ἐπὶ πάντων ἡμῶν [...] 1:5 ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ νῦν [...] | Sa | Paul | T | God | Vcr | thank | RDPQR | | | | | | | | | | VIPAPPAP PPpAA |
| 1:4b | μετὰ χαρῆς τῆν δέξομαι ποιούμενος | A | Paul | R | request | Mat-A | do | Q | | | | | | | | | | POV |
| 1:6a | πεποιθὸς ἀπὸ τοῦτο [...] | Se | Paul | P | this | Men-A | be confident | | | | | | | | | | | VO |
| 1:6b | ὅτι [...] ἐπιτελεῖται ἔργα ἡμέρας Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ | A | God | G | work | Mat-A | complete | D | | | | | | | | | | SVP |
| 1:6c | ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ἡμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθῶν | A | God ³ | G | work | Mat-A | begin | P | | | | | | | | | | VPO |
| 1:7a | καθὼς ἔστιν δίκαιον ἔμοι [...] | C | to think... | A | right | Rel-I-A | be | M | | | | | | | | | | CRS |
| 1:7b | τοῦτο φρονεῖν ἐπὶ πάντων ἡμῶν | Se | Paul | P | this | Men-C | think | M | | | | | | | | | | OVP |
| 1:7c | διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῷ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαίῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου [...] | Se | Paul | P | Philippians | Men-C | hold in heart (think about) | PPP | | | | | | | | | | VSPPOPO |
| 1:7d | [συντακτικῶς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ἡμῶν ὄντας] | C | Philippians | A | sharers | Rel-I-A | be | | | | | | | | | | | OSV |
| 1:8a | μάρις γὰρ μου ὁ θεός | H | Paul's witness | kr | God | Rel-I-I | be | | | | | | | | | | | RS |
| 1:8b | ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ἡμῶν ἐν σπλάγγνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ | Se | Paul | P | Philippians | Men-A | desire | Q | | | | | | | | | | VOP |
| 1:9a | καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι | Sa | Paul | V | this | Ver | pray | | | | | | | | | | | OV |
| 1:9b | ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ πολλῶν περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγαθίᾳ καὶ πᾶσι αἰσθήσει | C | Philippians' love | A | in all knowledge... | Rel-C-A | be abundant | CM | | | | | | | | | | SAVP |
| 1:10a | ἐς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἡμῶν [...] | Se | Philippians | P | differing things | Men-C | approve | | | | | | | | | | | VSO |
| 1:10b | [τὰ ἀγαπᾶν] | C | indefinite | A | different | Rel-I-A | be | | | | | | | | | | | V |
| 1:10c | ἵνα ἴτε ἐλυκωμένους καὶ ἀπόκοτοι ἐς θύμῃαν Χριστοῦ [...] | C | Philippians | A | sincere and blameless | Rel-I-A | be | D | | | | | | | | | | CRPR |
| 1:11 | πεπληρωμένοι καρπῶν δικαιοσύνης τῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ | A | Philippians | G | fruit | Mat-A | complete | R | | | | | | | | | | VOPP |
| 1:12a | [...] δὲ βουλομαι, ἀδελφοί | Se | Paul | P | you to know... | Men-A | wish | | | | | | | | | | | OVT |
| 1:12b | γνωσθεὶν... ἡμῶν | Se | Philippians | P | that things... | Men-C | know | | | | | | | | | | | VS |
| 1:12c | ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλὰ εἰς περισσῶν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλύθη | C | Paul's situation | A | for the advance... | Rel-C-A | be | CR | | | | | | | | | | SPAPV |
| 1:13 | ὅστε τοὺς δεσμοῦς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πύσιν | C | Paul's chains | A | manifest | Rel-I-A | become | P | | | | | | | | | | SOPVP |
| 1:14a | καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ [...] περισσοτέρως τολμῶν [...] | Se | believers (certain ones) | P | to speak... | Men-A | date | QQ | | | | | | | | | | SPAAYO |
| 1:14b | πεποιθὸς τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου | Se | believers | P | Paul's chains | Men-A | be confident | | | | | | | | | | | VO |
| 1:14c | ἀφόβος τῶν λόγων λαλεῖν | Sa | believers | V | word | Ver | say | Q | | | | | | | | | | AOV |
| 1:15 | τιμὴς μὲν καὶ εἰς ἄλλων καὶ εἰς τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς εὐδοκίαν τῶν Χριστῶν κηρύττουσιν | Sa | some people | V | Christ | Ver | proclaim | RR | | | | | | | | | | SPSPOV |
| 1:16a | ὡς μὲν εἰς ἀγῆτας [...] | Sa | some people | V | Christ | Ver | proclaim | RR | | | | | | | | | | SP |
| 1:16b | εἰδότες | Se | some people | P | that... | Men-C | know | R | | | | | | | | | | VO |
| 1:16c | ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογία τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κέρμαι | C | Paul | A | for defense... | Rel-C-A | exist | R | | | | | | | | | | PV |
| 1:17a | ὡς δὲ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν Χριστῶν καταγγέλλουσιν, οὐχ ἀγῆτας [...] | Sa | some people | V | Christ | Ver | announce | RQR | | | | | | | | | | SPOVAA |
| 1:17b | ἀόμους [...] | Se | some people | P | to raise... | Men-C | think | | | | | | | | | | | VO |

¹Although 1:1a does not contain a verb, its epistolary function is to identify who has sent the letter and to whom it has been sent; thus it is best taken as a material action.

²The Philippians are also a Beneficiary in this clause.

³'Paul' may be the subject of this clause and that of 1:6b (against most), especially since the only other use of this verb appears in Gal 3:3 where it refers to the activity of a human, not a divine, agent.

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | | Interpersonal | | | | Textual | |
|----------|---|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|------|----------|------------|---------|--|
| | | Participants | Process | Circumstance | Form | Functions | Form | Relation | Word Order | | |
| 1:17c | [ὄντων ἐγείρειν τοὺς θεσμούς μου] | A some people | G affliction | Mat-A | increase | M | P | V | P-I | OV | |
| 1:18a | τί γὰρ | Sa (indefinite) | V Christ | Ver | announce | PQ | P | N | E-N-A-E | O | |
| 1:18b | πάνθ ὅτι παντὶ τῷ πνεύματι εἶπε προκάλει εἶπε ἀδελφεὶ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλεται | Se Paul | | Men-A | be glad | | P | I | E-L-C-C | SV | |
| 1:18c | καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω | Se Paul | | Men-A | be glad | | P | F | E-X-A-P | PV | |
| 1:18d | ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομαι | Se Paul | | Men-C | know | | P | I | E-N-A-E | V | |
| 1:19 | οὐδα γὰρ | C this | A into salvation... | Rel-C-A | become | RNR | P | F | P-I | SVPPP | |
| 1:19-20a | ὅτι τοῦτο μοι ἀποφασίσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν δεσφείας καὶ ἐπιχαρισίας τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 1:20 κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαταστάσαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου, | A indefinite Paul | G Paul | Mat-A | shame | M | P | F | E-N-A-E | PV | |
| 1:20b | ὅτι ἐν ῥόδῳ ἀσχηθώσομαι | A Paul | G Christ | Mat-A | honour | QCNTNN | P | FA | E-X-V | PAAVSPP | |
| 1:20c | ἀλλ' ἐν πίστι παραστήσῃ εἰς πάντοτε καὶ ἡμῶν μεγαλιωθήσεται Χριστός ἐν τῷ σπύματι μου εἶπε ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἶπε ἐκ δεξιᾶν | C to live Paul | A Christ | Rel-I-A | be | M | P | | E-N-A-E | SR | |
| 1:21a | ἔμοι γὰρ [...] | A Paul | A gain | Mat-E | live | | P | V | E-X-A-P | V | |
| 1:21b | [τὸ ἔργον] | C to die Paul | A fruit | Rel-I-A | be | | P | V | E-X-A-P | SR | |
| 1:21c | καὶ [...] κέρδος: | A Paul | A what I... | Mat-E | die | | P | V | E-X-A-P | V | |
| 1:21d | [τὸ ἀποθανεῖν] | C to live... | A what | Rel-I-A | be ⁴ | | P | A | E-X-A-P | SSR | |
| 1:22a | εἰ δὲ [...] τοῦτο μοι κερπὸς ἔργου, | A Paul | P Paul | Mat-B | live | P | P | V | E-X-A-P | VP | |
| 1:22b | [τὸ εἶναι ἐν σπύματι] | Se Paul | P what I... | Men-C | know | | N | I | E-X-A-P | OV | |
| 1:22c | καὶ [...] ὅσον γινώσκω | Se Paul | P what | Men-A | choose | | P | F | E-X-A-P | OV | |
| 1:22d | [τὴν ἀποθήκη] | A two choices | G Paul | Mat-A | constrain | NR | P | I | E-X-A-P | VPA | |
| 1:23a | συνέχομαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀντων [...] | Se Paul | R desire | Men-A | have | | P | P | | OV | |
| 1:23b | τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχω | C to die... | A better | Rel-I-A | be | C | P | V | P-I | SSA | |
| 1:23c | εἰς [...] πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶν κρείσσον | A Paul | A with Christ | Mat-B | die (destroyed) | | P | V | | V | |
| 1:23d | [τὸ διελθεῖν] | C to remain... | A necessary thing | Rel-C-A | be | O | P | V | E-X-A-P | PC | |
| 1:23e | καὶ ὅσον Χριστὸς εἶναι | C Paul | A in the flesh | Rel-I-A | be | B | P | V | E-X-V | SAP | |
| 1:24a | [...] δὲ δυνατωτέρων ἐ' ἡμῶν: | C Paul | A this | Rel-C-A | remain | P | P | V | | VP | |
| 1:24b | τὸ...ἐπιμένειν [ἐν] τῷ σπύματι | Se Paul | P that... | Men-A | be confident | | P | P | E-X-A-P | OV | |
| 1:25a | [καὶ τοῦτο πεποιθὸς] | Se Paul | A for the advance... | Men-C | know | | P | I | | AV | |
| 1:25b | [...] οὐδα | C Paul | A in Christ | Rel-C-A | remain | PR | P | F | P-I | VVOP | |
| 1:25c | ὅτι μετὰ καὶ παραμένω πάντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῶν πιστεύοντων | C Philippians' boast | A in Christ | Rel-C-A | be abundant | PNTTI | P | S | E-N-A-P | SVPPPAP | |
| 1:26 | ἵνα τὸ καύχημα ἡμῶν περισσοῦν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν παρουσίας πάντων πρὸς ἡμῶν | A Philippians | P Philippians' situation | Mat-A | conduct | Q | P | M | E-L-C-C | AAV | |
| 1:27a | Μόνον εἶλας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολυτετέαθε, | Se Paul | | Men-P | hear | | P | S | E-N-A-P | AAAAYOP | |
| 1:27b | ἵνα [...] [...] ἀκούω τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν | A Paul | A away from | Mat-A | go | | P | P | | V | |
| 1:27c | εἶτε ἔλαθον | Se Paul | P Philippians | Men-P | see | | P | P | | VO | |
| 1:27d | καὶ ἔλαθον ἡμῶν | C Paul | A away from | Rel-C-A | be away from | | P | P | | V | |
| 1:27e | εἶτε ἀπῶν | C Philippians | A in one spirit | Rel-C-A | remain in state | QQQ | P | I | P-L | VPAA | |
| 1:27f | ὅτι στήθετε ἐν ἐμῷ πνεύματι [...] | A Philippians | P in nothing | Mat-A | labour | QM | P | P | | PVP | |
| 1:27g | μὴ φοβῆσθε συναθροῦντες τὴν πίστιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου | Se Philippians | G fear | Men-A | oppose | PN | N | P | | VPP | |
| 1:28a | 1:28 καὶ μὴ στυγνόμενοι ἐν μηδεὶ [...] | A some people | G Philippians | Mat-A | be | | P | P | | V | |
| 1:28b | ὅπως τῶν ἀδικησάντων | C which | A sign of some destruction | Rel-I-A | be | | P | I | | SCR | |
| 1:28c | ἵνα ἔσται ἀποκτείνουσα ἀδικίας ἀδικίας, | | | | | | | | | | |

⁴Paul is also a Beneficiary in this clause.

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | Process | | | Circumstance | | | Interpersonal | | | Textual | |
|-------|--|--------------|---------------|---------|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------|--------------|---|----|---------------|---------|-------------|---------|--|
| | | Participants | Rel-I-A | Process | Form | Relation | Word Order | | | | | | | | |
| 1:28d | ὅμων δὲ συντηρίας | C | which | A | sign of salvation from God | Rel-I-A | be | | S | | P | E-X-V | R | | |
| 1:28e | καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ | C | this | A | from God | Rel-C-A | be | | S | | P | E-X-A-P | SP | | |
| 1:29a | ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ἔμπρ Χριστοῦ [...] | A | God | G | to believe... ⁵ | Mat-A | give | B | S | A | P | E-N-A-E | IVSS | | |
| 1:29b | οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν | Se | Philippians | P | Christ | Men-C | believe | M | S | | P | | APV | | |
| 1:29c | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔμπρ αὐτοῦ πολεμεῖν [...] | A | Philippians | R | struggle | Mat-E | suffer | BQ | S | | P | E-X-A-P | APVA | | |
| 1:30a | τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες | A | Philippians | R | struggle | Mat-E | have (struggle) | | S | | P | | OV | | |
| 1:30b | ὡς εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί | Se | Philippians | P | which | Men-P | see | P | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | OVP | | |
| 1:30c | καὶ ἢν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί | Se | Philippians | P | which | Men-P | hear | P | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | AVP | | |
| 2:1a | εἰ τις οὐκ ἔχει παράκλησιν ἐν Χριστῷ | E | encouragement | Exi | | Exi | exists | | S | B | P | E-N-O-P | SP | | |
| 2:1b | εἰ τι παραμύθιον ἔχοντες | E | comfort | Exi | | Exi | exists | | S | B | P | E-N-O-P | S | | |
| 2:1c | εἰ τις κωνανία ἐνέμενος | E | sharing | Exi | | Exi | exists | | S | B | P | E-N-O-P | S | | |
| 2:1d | εἰ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οὐκτιμῶν | E | compassion | Exi | | Exi | exists | | S | B | P | E-N-O-P | SS | | |
| 2:2a | ἐπληροσάτε μου τὴν χάριν | A | Philippians | G | Paul's joy | Mat-A | complete | | C | | P | | VO | | |
| 2:2b | ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε [...] | Se | Philippians | P | same thing | Men-C | think | | C | | P | E-L-A-X | OVA AAAA AA | | |
| 2:2c | τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες | Se | Philippians | R | love | Men-A | have (love) | | C | | P | | OV | | |
| 2:2d | σὺμφύρον | C | Philippians | A | like-minded | Rel-I-A | be | | C | | P | | R | | |
| 2:2e | τὸ ἐν φρονούντες | Se | Philippians | P | one | Men-C | think | | C | | P | | OV | | |
| 2:3a | μηδὲν κατ' ἐπιθεῖαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν | A | Philippians | G | nothing | Mat-A | do (implied) | RR | C | | P | | OPP | | |
| 2:3b | ἀλλὰ τῷ ταπεινωσάσθῃ ἀλλήλους ἠγαπῶμεν [...] | Se | Philippians | P | others... | Men-C | consider | Q | C | | P | E-X-V | OVO | | |
| 2:3c | ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν | C | some people | A | above yourselves | Rel-C-A | be above | | S | | P | | VO | | |
| 2:4a | μητ' ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες | Se | Philippians | P | Philippians' things | Men-C | consider | | C | | N | | OSV | | |
| 2:4b | ἀλλὰ [καὶ] τὸ ἑτέρων ἕκαστοι | Se | Philippians | P | things... | Men-C | consider | | C | | P | E-L-C-C | AOS | | |
| 2:5a | τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ἡμῖν | Se | Philippians | P | this | Men-C | think | P | C | | P | | OVP | | |
| 2:5b | ὡς καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ | C | which | A | in Christ | Rel-C-A | be | P | S | | P | | SAP | | |
| 2:6a | ὡς [...] οὐκ ἀπαργίων ἠγήσατο [...] | Se | Christ | P | a thing to be grasped (not) | Men-C | consider | L | S | A | P | | SAOVO | | |
| 2:6b | ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ἠνάγκην | C | Christ | A | in form... | Rel-C-A | be | Q | S | | P | | PV | | |
| 2:6c | τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ | C | Christ | A | equal | Rel-I-A | be | | S | | P | | CR | | |
| 2:7a | ἀλλὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκένωσαν [...] | A | Christ | G | Christ | Mat-A | empty of power | NN | S | A | P | E-X-V | OAAA | | |
| 2:7b | μορφῇ δούλου λαβῶν | C | Christ | A | form of slave | Rel-P-A | acquire | | S | | P | | OV | | |
| 2:7c | ἐν ὁμοιωματι εἰσθεῖς ὡς ἀθρώπος | C | Christ | A | in similarity... | Rel-C-A | become | Q | S | | P | | PV | | |
| 2:7d | καὶ ὁμοιωματι εἰσθεῖς ὡς ἀθρώπος | C | Christ | A | in form... | Rel-C-A | become | QC | S | | P | | VA | | |
| 2:8a | καὶ ἑταπειώσαν ἑαυτῶν [...] | A | Christ | G | Christ | Mat-A | lower status | LN | S | A | P | | AVOA | | |
| 2:8b | γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ | C | Christ | A | obedient | Rel-I-A | become | D | S | | P | | VOP | | |
| 2:9a | διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερέβησεν | A | God | G | Christ | Mat-A | raise status | | S | A | P | E-N-A-R | ASOV | | |
| 2:9b | καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα | A | God | G | name ⁶ | Mat-A | give | | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | VIOP | | |
| 2:10 | ἵνα ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ἰσθῆναι πᾶν γένος κτίσασθαι καὶ ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ κατακυριεύειν | A | people | | | Mat-A | worship | MP | S | P | P | E-N-A-P | PSV | | |
| 2:11a | καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται | Sa | people | | | Vr | confess | | S | P | P | E-X-A-P | SV | | |
| 2:11b | ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς | B | lord | fr | Christ | Rel-I-I | be | R | S | | P | P-L | SRP | | |
| 2:12a | [καθὼς πᾶντοτε ὑπεκρίνατε] | A | Philippians | | | Mat-A | obey | D | S | AW | P | E-N-C-P | AV | | |

⁵The Philippians are all also a Beneficiary in this clause.
⁶Christ is also a Beneficiary in this clause.

| Verse | Clause | Participants | | | Locational | | | Process | Circumstance | Interpersonal | | | Textual | |
|-------|---|--------------|--------------|---|-------------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-----------|------|------------------|----------------|
| | | A | Philippians | G | Mat-A | work out | CCPQTCPO | | | C | Functions | Form | Relation | Word Order |
| 2:12b | δοτε, αγαπητοι μου, [...αδελφοι] μη ως εν τη παρουσια μου μόνον αλλά μηε πολλοι μιλουν εν τη απουσια μου μετα φόβου και τρόμου την εαυτων σωτηριαν καταργησατε? | A | Philippians | G | salvation | Mat-A | work out | CCPQTCPO | C | | P | M | E-N-A-R | TAPAAAP POV |
| 2:13a | θεος γαρ εστιν [...] | C | God | A | the one... | Rel-I-A | be | | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | SCR |
| 2:13b | [ο ενεργων εν εμιν] | A | God | | | Mat-A | do | P | S | | P | P | | VP |
| 2:13c | και το θελειν | Se | God | | | Men-C | plan, will | | S | | P | V | E-X-A-P | V |
| 2:13d | και το ενεργειν υπερ της ευδοκίας | A | God | | | Mat-A | do | B | S | | P | V | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 2:14 | πάντα ποιείτε χαρις χαρισμων και διαλογισμων. | A | Philippians | G | all things | Mat-A | do | Q | C | | P | M | | OVP |
| 2:15a | Ινα γνησητε αμεμπτοι και ανέγκυροι, τέκνα θεου άνομα μίστου χριστου αποκλεισ και [...] | C | Philippians | A | blameless... | Rel-I-A | become | P | S | P | P | S | E-N-A-P | VOOOP |
| 2:15b | [δυσπραξιμένης] | C | indefinite | A | wicked, crooked | Rel-I-A | be | | S | | P | P | | V |
| 2:15c | εν ολις φαινοσθε ως φασίσης εν κόσμω [...] | C | Philippians | A | as stars... | Rel-I-A | appear | PCQ | S | A | P | I | | PVAPA |
| 2:16a | [λόγων ζωης επόχουτες, εις καθύπερθε εμολ εις ημεραν χριστου] | C | Philippians | A | word of life | Rel-P-A | possess | RMD | S | | P | P | | OVPP |
| 2:16b | οτι ουκ εις κενον εδραμον | A | Paul | | | Mat-A | run | R | S | A | P | I | P-L | PV |
| 2:16c | ουδε εις κενον εκοπίασα | A | Paul | | | Mat-A | labour | R | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-N | PV |
| 2:17a | αλλά ει και σπεύδομαι επί τη θυσια και λειτουργία της πίστεως υμων | A | (indefinite) | G | Paul | Mat-A | pour out libation | R | S | A | P | I | E-X-V E-N-O-P | AVP |
| 2:17b | χαίρω | Se | Paul | | | Men-A | be glad | | S | A | P | I | | V |
| 2:17c | και συχαίρω πάντων υμων | Se | Paul | | | Men-A | be glad | O | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 2:18a | το δε αυτό και υμεις χαίρετε | Se | Philippians | P | the same | Men-A | be glad | | C | | P | M | E-X-A-P | OSV |
| 2:18b | και συχαίρετέ μοι | Se | Philippians | | | Men-A | be glad | O | C | | P | M | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 2:19a | ελπίζω δε εν κυρίω ἴησοδ [...] | Se | Paul | P | to send... | Men-A | hope | P | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VPO |
| 2:19b | [Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι υμίν] | A | Paul | G | Timothy ⁸ | Mat-A | send | T | S | | P | V | P-I | OAVI |
| 2:19c | Ινα κἀγὼ εὐφραθῶ [...] | Se | Paul | | | Men-A | be glad | R | S | P | P | S | E-N-A-P | ASVA |
| 2:19d | [γνοῦς τὰ περὶ υμῶν] | Se | Paul | P | Philippians' circumstances | Men-C | know | | S | | P | P | | VOP |
| 2:20a | οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω λύουσαν | C | Paul | A | no one... | Rel-P-A | have | | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | OVO |
| 2:20b | δοτις γνησιως τὰ περὶ υμων μεμνησθαι | Se | Timothy | P | Philippians' circumstances | Men-A | concern for | | S | E | P | F | | SAOPV |
| 2:21a | οι πάντες γὰρ τὰ εαυτων ζητοῦσιν | Se | people | P | things... | Men-C | seek | | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | SOV |
| 2:21b | οὐ τὰ ἴησοδ χριστου | Se | people | P | things... | Men-C | seek | | S | | N | | | O |
| 2:22a | την δε δοκιμην αυτου γινώσκετε | Se | Philippians | P | Timothy's approval | Men-C | know | | C | | P | M | E-X-A-P | OV |
| 2:22b | οτι ως παρὰ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοι εδουλεύουν εις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον | A | Timothy | | | Mat-A | serve | COM | S | A | P | I | P-I | APVP |
| 2:23a | [... μὲν οὖν ἐλπίζω [...] | Se | Paul | P | to send... | Men-A | hope | | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-R | OVO |
| 2:23b | [τοῦτον...πέμψαι] | A | Paul | G | Timothy | Mat-A | send | | S | | P | V | P-I | OV |
| 2:23c | ως ἐν ἀδελφῶ τὰ περὶ ἐμε ἐκαυτῶς | Se | Paul | P | Paul's circumstances | Men-C | learn | T | S | P | P | SA | E-N-S-S | VOPA |
| 2:24a | πέποιθα δε εν κυρίω | Se | Paul | | | Men-A | be confident | P | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 2:24b | οτι και αυτος ταχέως ελευσεται | A | Paul | | | Mat-A | go | T | S | E | P | F | P-I | ASAV |
| 2:25a | ἀναγκασθὼν δε ἠγγασθῆναι [...] | Se | Paul | P | to send... | Men-C | consider | | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | AVO |
| 2:25b | [Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφόν και συνεργόν και λειτουργόν της χριστας μου πέμψαι πρὸς υμῶν] | A | Paul | G | Ephraoditus | Mat-A | send | P | S | | P | V | P-I | OVP |
| 2:26a | ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶ ἵν' πάντας υμῶς | Se | Ephraoditus | P | Philippians | Men-A | desire | | S | A | P | IP | E-N-A-E | AVO |

⁷That the two εν phrases go with the imperative καταργήσατε (2:12a) is suggested by the negative particle μή rather than οὐ. Paul's point is that they should work out their salvation whether or not he is able to be with them (cf. 1:27).

⁸The Philippians are also a Beneficiary in this clause.

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | Process | | | Circumstance | | | Interpersonal | | | Textual | |
|-------|--|--------------|--------------|---------|-----------------|---------|---------|--------------|---------|---------|---------------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| | | Participants | Participants | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Process | Form | Relation |
| 2:26b | και δειμιονων | Se | Ephroditus | Men-A | distress | | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | V |
| 2:26c | διότι ηκούσατε | Se | Philippians | Men-P | hear | | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-E | V |
| 2:26d | οτι ησθένησεν | A | Ephroditus | Mat-E | be sick | | S | | | P | | | P | P-L | V |
| 2:27a | και γαρ ησθένησεν παρακλησιον θανάτων | A | Ephroditus | Mat-E | be sick | C | S | | | P | | | P | E-L-C-P | VP |
| 2:27b | αλλα ο θεος πληθυνεν αυτων | Se | God | Men-A | have mercy | | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-V | SVO |
| 2:27c | οικ αυτων δε μόνον | Se | God | Men-A | have mercy | | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-V | OA |
| 2:27d | αλλα και εμε | Se | God | Men-A | have mercy | | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | AO |
| 2:27e | ινα μη ληπη επί ληπη σχω | Se | Paul | Men-A | have grief | | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-P | OPV |
| 2:28a | σπουδαιότερος ουν επιμεφα αυτων | A | Paul | Mat-A | send | Q | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-R | AVO |
| 2:28b | ινα [...] χαρητε | Se | Philippians | Men-A | be glad | R | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-R | AV |
| 2:28c | ιδόντες αυτων πάλιν | Se | Philippians | Men-P | see | T | S | | | P | | | P | | VOA |
| 2:28d | κηνω δυνάστερος ο | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | SRC |
| 2:29a | προσδεχουσε ουν αυτων εν κυριω μετά πάσης χαρης | A | Philippians | Mat-A | receive | PQ | C | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-R | VOPP |
| 2:29b | και τους τοιούτους εντιμους εχετε | A | Philippians | Mat-A | have in honour | | C | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | OVV |
| 2:30a | οτι διά το εργον Χριστου μέγα θανάτου ήγησεν [...] | C | Ephroditus | Rel-C-A | be near | RDL | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-E | PPVA |
| 2:30b | [παραβολουώμενος τη ψυχη] | A | Ephroditus | Mat-A | risk | | S | | | P | | | P | | VP |
| 2:30c | ινα αναπληρωση το ήμιον ύστερημα της προς με λειτουργίας | A | Ephroditus | Mat-A | complete | | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-P | VOP |
| 3:1a | το λοιπον, αδελφοι μου χαίρετε εν κυριω | Se | Philippians | Men-A | be glad | P | C | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | ATVP |
| 3:1b | τα αυτα γράφειν ήμιν | Sa | Paul | Ver | write | | S | | | P | | | P | | OVI |
| 3:1c | [...] εμελ μέν οικ άνησών | C | to write... | Rel-I-A | be | M | S | | | N | | | | | SR |
| 3:1d | ήμιν δε δοφάλες | C | to write... | Rel-I-A | be | M | S | | | P | | | | E-X-V | R |
| 3:2a | βλέπετε τους κύνες | Se | Philippians | Men-C | beware | | C | | | P | | | P | | VO |
| 3:2b | βλέπετε τους κακούς εργάτας | Se | Philippians | Men-C | beware | | C | | | P | | | P | | VO |
| 3:2c | βλέπετε την κατατομήν | Se | Philippians | Men-C | beware | | C | | | P | | | P | | VO |
| 3:3a | ήμεις γαρ εσμεν ή περιτομή [...] | C | we | Rel-I-A | be | LIJL | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-A-E | SCRRRRR |
| 3:3b | οι περιτομα θεου λατρουντες | A | we | Mat-A | worship | | S | | | P | | | P | | V |
| 3:3c | και παρημέμενα εν Χριστω Ιησοφ | Sa | we | Ver | boast | P | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 3:3d | και οικ εν σματι ηνωσθέντες | Se | we | Men-A | be confident | P | S | | | P | | | P | E-X-A-P | PV |
| 3:4a | και ημερ εγω έχω ηνωσθησιν και εν σματι | Se | Paul | Men-A | have confidence | P | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-O-C | SVOAP |
| 3:4b | ει τις θεαει άλλος [...] | Se | some person | Men-C | think | | S | | | P | | | P | E-N-O-P | SVSO |
| 3:4c | ηνωσθέναι εν σματι | Se | some person | Men-A | be confident | P | S | | | P | | | P | P-I | VP |
| 3:4d | εγω μελλον | Se | Paul | Men-A | be confident | C | S | | | P | | | P | | SA |
| 3:5a | περιτομή άκαταμήμος | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | M | S | | | P | | | P | | R |
| 3:5b | επ γήνους Ιουδαία | C | Paul | Rel-C-A | be | P | S | | | P | | | P | | P |
| 3:5c | φύλης Βενιαμιν | C | Paul | Rel-C-A | be | P | S | | | P | | | P | | R |
| 3:5d | Εβραϊος εβ Εβραίων | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | | S | | | P | | | P | | R |
| 3:5e | κατά νόμον Φαρισαιος | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | R | S | | | P | | | P | | PR |
| 3:6a | κατά ζήλος [...] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | R | S | | | P | | | P | | PR |
| 3:6b | θάνων την εκκλησίαν | A | Paul | Mat-A | persecute | | S | | | P | | | P | | VO |
| 3:6c | κατά διακασθήση την εν κήμη [...] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | R | S | | | P | | | P | | PPR |
| 3:6d | ηνώμενος άμεμπτος | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | become | | S | | | P | | | P | | VO |

9The Philippians are also a Target in this clause.

10This clause has positive polarity in that they are truly confident, but their confidence is one which is not in the flesh.

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | | Interpersonal | | | | Textual | | | |
|-------|---|--------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------|------------|---|---------|-------------------|---------|--------|
| | | Participants | Process | Circumstance | Functions | Form | Relation | Word Order | | | | | |
| 3:7a | [ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ μοι κέρδη] | C | which | A | gain ¹¹ | Rel-I-A | | S | A | P | I | E-X-V | SCR |
| 3:7b | πάντα ἤγημαι διὰ τῶν Χριστῶν ἡμιῶν | Se | Paul | P | things...loss | Men-C | | S | A | P | I | | OVPO |
| 3:8a | ἀλλὰ μενονύγε καὶ ἠθοῦμαι [...] | Se | Paul | P | all things... | Men-C | | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | AVOP |
| 3:8b | [πάντα ἡμιῶν εἶναι] | C | all things | A | loss | Rel-I-A | | S | | P | V | P-I | SRC |
| 3:8c | [διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ ἡγοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου] | C | knowledge of Christ | A | excels | Rel-I-A | | S | | P | P | E-N-A-E | V |
| 3:8d | ὃν ὄν τὰ πάντα ἐξημεῶν | A | (indefinite) | G | all things ¹² | Mat-A | | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | POV |
| 3:8e | καὶ ἠθοῦμαι σκύβαλα | Se | Paul | P | rubbish | Men-C | | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VO |
| 3:8f | ἵνα Χριστῶν κερδίσω | A | Paul | G | Christ | Mat-A | | S | P | P | S | E-N-A-P | OV |
| 3:9a | καὶ ἐρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ [...] | C | Paul | A | in Christ | Rel-C-A | | S | P | P | S | E-X-A-P | VPA |
| 3:9b | [μὴ ἔχω ἔμνη δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ κρέως] | C | Paul | A | righteousness (of Paul) | Rel-P-A | | S | | N | P | | VOP |
| 3:9c | [ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπι τῇ πίστει] | C | Paul | A | righteousness (of God) | Rel-P-A | | S | | P | | E-X-V | OPPP |
| 3:10a | τοῦ γνώσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς διαστούσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ [...] | Se | Paul | P | Christ | Men-C | N | S | | P | V | E-N-A-R | VOOOA |
| 3:10b | [συμμορφώζομενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ] | A | (indefinite) | G | Paul | Mat-A | | S | | P | P | | VP |
| 3:11 | εἰ πως κατατήρησω εἰς τὴν ἐκείστατον τὴν ἐκ κρέως | C | Paul | A | into resurrection | Rel-C-A | NM | S | B | P | S ¹³ A | E-N-O-P | VPP |
| 3:12a | οὐχ ὅτι ἦδη ἔλαβον | C | Paul | A | resurrection | Rel-P-A | T | S | A | N | I | E-L-C-C | AV |
| 3:12b | ἢ ἦδη τετελείωμαι | C | Paul | A | perfect | Rel-I-A | T | S | A | N | I | E-X-R-A | AV |
| 3:12c | διὰ τὸν δέ | A | Paul | | | Mat-A | | S | A | P | I | E-X-V | V |
| 3:12d | εἰ καὶ καταλάβω | A | Paul | G | perfection? | Mat-A | | S | B | P | S ¹⁴ A | E-N-O-P | AV |
| 3:12e | εἴ ᾧ καὶ καταλείψω ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ [ἡγοῦ] | A | Christ | G | Paul | Mat-A | N | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-B | PAVP |
| 3:13a | ἀδελφοί, ἐργάσατον οὐ λογιζομαι [...] | Se | Paul | P | to be acquired... | Men-C | | S | A | N | I | | TSOVO |
| 3:13b | [καταλείψεται] | A | (indefinite) | G | Paul | Mat-A | | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 3:13c | τὰ μὲν ὅπισθεν ἐπιλανθανόμενος | Se | Paul | P | things behind | Men-C | | S | | P | P | | AOV |
| 3:13d | τοὺς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικειμένους | A | Paul | G | things ahead | Mat-A | | S | | P | P | E-X-V | PV |
| 3:14 | ἐν δέ [...] | A | Paul | | | Mat-A | QQRM | S | A | P | I | E-X-V | AAPVPP |
| 3:15a | ὅσα οὖν τέλειαι | C | people | A | perfect | Rel-I-A | | S | | P | | E-N-A-R | SR |
| 3:15b | τοῦτο φρονέμεν | Se | we | P | this | Men-C | | C | | P | S | | OV |
| 3:15c | καὶ εἰ τι ἕτερες φρονεῖτε | Se | Philippians | P | anything else | Men-C | Q | S | B | P | IA | E-X-A-P | OAV |
| 3:15d | καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀποκαλύψει | A | God | G | this ¹⁶ | Mat-A | | S | E | P | F | E-X-A-P | OSIV |
| 3:16a | [εἰς δὲ ἐθέσομεν] | C | we | A | into which | Rel-C-A | | S | A | P | I | | PV |
| 3:16b | πλὴν [...] | A | we | | | Mat-A | Q | C | | P | V | E-L-C-C | V |
| 3:17a | συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί, | C | Philippians | A | imitators | Rel-I-A | | C | | P | M | | OVT |
| 3:17b | καὶ σκοπεῖτε [...] | Se | Philippians | P | people (certain) | Men-C | | C | | P | M | E-X-A-P | VO |

11 Paul is also a Beneficiary in this clause.
 12 Paul is also a Beneficiary in this clause.
 13 κατατήρησα is either a future or subjunctive. Though ἴαν is expected with the subjunctive, Phil 3:12d proves otherwise; on the encroachment of εἰ on ἴαν in the NT see BDF § 372.3. Thus, the use of καὶ would seem to support a subjunctive reading.
 14 This is a rare example of εἰ with the subjunctive in the Pauline letters (but see Phil 3:11 [future?]; 1 Cor 14:5).
 15 This is a notable case of clause relation in the letter (cf. 4:8b), viz. the initial καὶ performs an additive function for both 3:15c, d but εἰ performs a conditional function for only 3:15c (which is dependent on 3:15d).
 16 The Philippians are also a Beneficiary in this clause.

| Verse | Clause | Locational | | | | Process | | | | Interpersonal | | | | Textual | |
|-------|--|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---------|-----------------|--------------|-----|---------------|----|------|---------|----------|------------|
| | | Participants | | Circumstance | | Process | | Circumstance | | Functions | | Form | | Relation | Word Order |
| 3:17c | τοὺς οὖτως περιπατοῦντας | A | people | | | Mat-A | behave | | | S | | P | | | V |
| 3:17d | καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμῶν | C | Philippians | A | us | Rel-P-A | have | | | S | A | P | E-N-C-P | | VOO |
| 3:18a | πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν | A | people (certain) | | | Mat-A | behave | | | S | A | P | E-N-A-E | | SV |
| 3:18b | οὐς πολλὰκις ἔλεγον ἡμῖν | Sa | Paul | V | people ¹⁷ | Ver | say | | D | S | AU | P | | | OAVI |
| 3:18c | γὼν ἐγὼ καὶ [...] λέγω [...] | Sa | Paul | V | they are... | Ver | say | | TQ | S | A | P | E-X-V | | AAAVO |
| 3:18d | ῥαλαίωμ | Se | Paul | | | Men-A | weep | | | S | | P | | | V |
| 3:18e | τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ | C | people | A | enemies... | Rel-I-A | be | | | S | | P | P-L | | R |
| 3:19a | ὡν τὸ τέλος ἀπωλεία | C | people's end | A | destruction | Rel-I-A | be | | | S | | P | | | SR |
| 3:19b | ὡν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία | C | people's god | A | belly | Rel-I-A | be | | | S | | P | | | SR |
| 3:19c | καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχρῇ αὐτῶν | C | people's glory | A | in shame... | Rel-C-A | be | | P | S | | P | E-X-A-P | | SP |
| 3:19d | οὐ [...] | C | people | A | thinking... | Rel-I-A | be | | | S | | P | | | SR |
| 3:19e | [τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονούντες] | Se | people | P | earthly things | Men-C | think | | | S | | P | | | OV |
| 3:20a | ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολιτεῖα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει. | C | we (our) citizenship | A | in heavens | Rel-C-A | exists | | P | S | A | P | E-N-A-E | | SPV |
| 3:20b | ἔξ ὧ καὶ οὐσίᾳ ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κρίσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ | Se | we | P | saviour... | Men-A | await eagerly | | P | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | | PAOVO |
| 3:21a | ὡς μετασχισταί τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμφωνα τῷ σῶματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν | A | Christ | G | body... | Mat-A | change | | N | S | E | P | | | SVOOP |
| 3:21b | τοῦ θένεσθαι αὐτῶν [...] | C | Christ | A | able | Rel-I-A | be able | | | S | | P | P-I | | VSO |
| 3:21c | καὶ θνητῶν αὐτῶν τὰ πάντα | A | Christ | G | all things ¹⁸ | Mat-A | subject | | | S | | P | E-X-A-P | | AVIO |
| 4:1 | ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μου ἀγαπήτω καὶ ἐπιπόθητο, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου, οὕτως στήκατε ἐν κυρίῳ ἀγαπήτω | C | Philippians | A | in the lord (Christ) | Rel-C-A | remain in state | | P | C | | P | E-N-A-R | | TVP |
| 4:2a | Εὐδοκίαν παρακαλῶ [...] | Sa | Paul | T | Euodia ¹⁹ | Ver | petition | | | S | A | P | | | OVO |
| 4:2b | καὶ Συνύτην παρακαλῶ [...] | Sa | Paul | T | Synuche | Ver | petition | | | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | | OVO |
| 4:2c | [τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ] | Se | Euodia and Synuche | P | the same | Men-C | think | | P | C | | P | P-L | | OVP |
| 4:3a | καὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ, γήσοι σέβου. | Sa | Paul | P | you (sg.) ²⁰ | Ver | request | | | S | A | P | E-X-A-P | | VAOI |
| 4:3b | συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς | A | you | G | Euodia and Synuche | Mat-A | assist | | | C | | P | P-L | | VP |
| 4:3c | αἰτίες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήλων μοι μετὰ καὶ καλῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου | A | Euodia and Synuche | | | Mat-A | labour | | POO | S | A | P | | | SPVPP |
| 4:3d | ὡν τὰ ὄνματα ἐν βίβλῳ λέγεται | C | names (of the women?) | A | in the scroll... | Rel-C-A | be | | P | S | | P | | | SP |
| 4:4a | χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε | Se | Philippians | V | be glad | Men-A | be glad | | PD | C | | P | | | VPA |
| 4:4b | πάντα ἔρα | Sa | Paul | V | be glad | Ver | say | | T | S | P | P | | | AV |
| 4:4c | χαίρετε | Se | Philippians | | | Men-A | be glad | | | C | | P | P-L | | V |
| 4:5a | τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἡμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν διδρασκῶν | A | Philippians | G | gentleness ²¹ | Mat-A | make known | | | C | | P | | | SVI |
| 4:5b | ὁ κύριος ἔγγυς | C | lord (Christ?) | A | near | Rel-I-A | be | | P | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:6a | μηδὲν μεμνηνῆτε. | Se | Philippians | P | nothing | Men-A | be concerned | | | C | | N | | | OV |
| 4:6b | ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὴν δέσπαι μετὰ εὐφραστίας τὰ ἀτήματα ἡμῶν γνωσθήτω πρὸς τὸν θεόν | A | Philippians | G | requests ²² | Mat-A | make known | | NQ | C | | P | E-X-V | | PPSVP |
| 4:7a | καὶ ἡ εὐφροσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ [...] φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ νοήματα ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ | A | God's peace | G | Philippians' hearts... | Mat-A | protect | | P | S | E | P | E-X-A-P | | SVOOP |

17The Philippians are also a Target in this clause.
 18Christ (or God) is also a Beneficiary of this clause.
 19'To think the same' is also Verbiage in this and the next clause.
 20'Take care of them' is also Verbiage in this clause.
 21'All people' is also a Target in this clause.
 22God is also a Beneficiary in this clause.

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | | Interpersonal | | | | Textual | |
|-------|--|--------------|----------------------|--------------|------------------------|---------------|------|----------|------------|---------|---------|
| | | Participants | Process | Circumstance | Form | Functions | Form | Relation | Word Order | | |
| 4:7b | [η υπερβύουσα πάντα νόδυ] | C | A above every... | Rel-C-A | be above | S | P | P | P | E-X-A-P | VO |
| 4:8a | τὸ λατῶν, ἀειλόα, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ | C | A true | Rel-I-A | be | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | ATSCR |
| 4:8b | ὅσα σεμνᾶ | C | A honourable | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:8c | ὅσα δίκαια | C | A just | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:8d | ὅσα ἀγνά | C | A holy | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:8e | ὅσα προσφιλῆ | C | A lovely | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:8f | ὅσα εὐφῆμα | C | A admirable | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | | | SR |
| 4:8g | εἴ τις ἀρετῆ | E | any virtue | Exi | exists | S | B | P | A | E-N-O-P | S |
| 4:8h | καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος | E | any praise | Exi | exists | S | B | P | A | E-X-A-P | S |
| 4:8i | ταῦτα λογιζοῦ | Se | Philippians | Men-C | consider | C | | P | M | | OV |
| 4:9a | ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε | Se | Philippians | Men-C | learn | S | A | P | I | | OV |
| 4:9b | καὶ παρελάβετε | A | Philippians | Mat-A | receive | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | V |
| 4:9c | καὶ ἠκούσατε | Se | Philippians | Men-P | hear | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | V |
| 4:9d | καὶ εἰδετε ἐν ἑμοῖ | Se | Philippians | Men-P | see | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VP |
| 4:9e | ταῦτα πράσσετε | A | Philippians | Mat-A | do | C | | P | M | | OV |
| 4:9f | καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εὐφῆνης ἔσται μετ' ὑμῶν | C | God with Philippians | Rel-C-A | be | S | E | P | F | E-X-A-P | SCP |
| 4:10a | ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάντας | Se | Paul | Men-A | be glad | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VPA |
| 4:10b | ὅτι ἦδη ποτὶ ἀπέβαλετε [...] | C | Philippians | Rel-I-A | be in a state | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | AAVO |
| 4:10c | [τὸ ἄνερ ἑμοῦ φρονεῖν] | Se | Philippians | Men-C | think | S | | P | V | | PV |
| 4:10d | ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε | Se | Philippians | Men-C | think | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-B | PAV |
| 4:10e | ἠκαρτέσα δὲ | C | Philippians | Rel-I-A | be lacking opportunity | S | A | P | I | E-X-V | V |
| 4:11a | οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑπέστησαν λέγειν | Sa | Paul | Ver | say | S | A | P | I | E-L-C-C | PV |
| 4:11b | ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠγάπων [...] | Se | Paul | Men-C | learn | S | A | P | I | E-N-A-E | SVPO |
| 4:11c | [ἐν ᾧ εἰμι] | C | Paul | Rel-C-A | be | S | A | P | I | | PC |
| 4:11d | [αὐτάρακτος εἶναι] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be | S | | P | V | P-I | RC |
| 4:12a | οἶδα [...] | Se | Paul | Men-C | know | S | A | P | I | | VO |
| 4:12b | [καὶ ταπεινωθῆναι] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be without | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:12c | οἶδα [...] | Se | Paul | Men-C | know | S | A | P | I | | VO |
| 4:12d | [καὶ περισσεύειν] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be in excess of | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:12e | ἐν παντί καὶ ἐν πάντων μερίσμα [...] | Se | Paul | Men-C | learn | S | A | P | I | | PPV0000 |
| 4:12f | [καὶ χορτάζεσθαι] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be full | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:12g | [καὶ πεινᾶν] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be hungry | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:12h | [καὶ περισσεύειν] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be in excess of | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:12i | [καὶ ὑπερτελεῖν] | C | Paul | Rel-I-A | be without | S | | P | V | P-I | V |
| 4:13a | πάντα λογίζω [...] | A | Paul | Mat-A | do | S | A | P | I | | OVP |
| 4:13b | [ἐν τῷ ἐθνωμαζοῦντι με] | A | God? | Mat-A | empower | S | | P | P | | VO |
| 4:14a | πλὴν καλῶς ἐποιήσατε [...] | A | Philippians | Mat-A | do | S | A | P | I | E-L-C-C | AVA |
| 4:14b | [συγκαινωμαζοῦντες μου τῷ θεῷ] | A | Philippians | Mat-A | share (assist) | S | | P | P | | VP |
| 4:15a | οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, φιλιππησία | Se | Philippians | Men-C | know | S | A | P | I | E-X-A-P | VAST |
| 4:15b | ὅτι ἐν ἀσπὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου [...] | A | no church | Mat-A | share | S | A | P | I | P-I | PASVP |

| Verse | Clause | Ideational | | | | Interpersonal | | | | Textual | | |
|-------|--|---------------------|---------------------------|---------|----------------------|---------------|---|------|----------|------------|---------|---------|
| | | Participants | | Process | Circumstance | Functions | | Form | Relation | Word Order | | |
| | | A | B | | | S | A | | | | P | |
| 4:15c | [ὅτε ἐβήσαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας] | A Paul | | Mat-A | go | P | | A | P | I | P-N-S-S | VP |
| 4:15d | εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς μόνου | A Philippians | B Paul | Mat-A | share | | | A | P | I | E-X-R-S | S |
| 4:16 | ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἐπαξὶ καὶ εἰς εἰς τὴν χρείαν μου ἐπέμψατε | A Philippians | B Paul | Mat-A | send | PDDM | | AS | P | IA | E-N-A-E | PAPIV |
| 4:17a | οὐχ ὅτι ἐπέμψα τὸ δῶμα | Sc Paul | P gift | Men-A | seek, desire | | | A | N | I | E-L-C-C | VO |
| 4:17b | ἀλλὰ ἐπέμψα τῶν καρπῶν [...] | Sc Paul | P fruit | Men-A | seek, desire | | | A | P | I | E-X-V | VOO |
| 4:17c | [τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ἡμῶν] | C fruit | A into account... | Rel-C-A | be in abundance | M | | S | P | P | | VO |
| 4:18a | ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα | A Paul | G all things | Mat-A | receive | | | S | A | I | E-X-A-P | VO |
| 4:18b | καὶ περισσεύω | C Paul | A in abundance | Rel-I-A | be in abundance | | | S | A | I | E-X-A-P | V |
| 4:18c | πεπληρωμαί [...] | A Philippians | B Paul | Mat-A | provide fully | R | | S | A | I | | VA |
| 4:18d | [βεβήμενος πρὸς Ἐπαφροδίτου τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν, δομήν ἐνδοξίας, θυσίαν δεκτήν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ] | A Paul | G things from Philippians | Mat-A | receive | P | | S | P | P | | VPOPOOO |
| 4:19 | ὁ δὲ θεὸς μου πληρώσει πάντων χρεῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ | A God | G Philippians' needs | Mat-A | fulfill | NP | | S | E | P | E-X-A-P | SVOPPP |
| 4:20 | τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν | C glory | A to God | Rel-C-A | be | D | | S | P | P | E-X-A-P | ISPA |
| 4:21a | Ἄσπασαθε πάντα ἄγων ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ | A Philippians | G every saint | Mat-A | greet | P | | C | P | M | | VOP |
| 4:21b | δομῶντα ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν εἰμὶ ἀδελφοί | A Paul's cohorts | G Philippians | Mat-A | greet | | | S | A | I | | VOSP |
| 4:22 | δομῶντα ἡμᾶς πάντες ὡς ἀδελφοί, μέλλοιτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας | A all the saints... | G Philippians | Mat-A | greet | C | | S | A | I | | VOSASP |
| 4:23 | ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῶν | C Christ's grace | A Philippians' spirit | Rel-C-A | (have) ²³ | P | | O | P | P | | SP |

²³ As is the case in 1:2 this clause is difficult to categorise because of its cryptic grammar. However, it is taken here to mean that the Philippians are being described in a relational process in which grace belongs to (or may belong to) the

Appendix B

THE INFLUENCE OF RHETORICAL THEORY ON GRECO-ROMAN LETTER WRITING

Rhetoric and epistles¹ were two of the most significant genres of communication during the Classical and Hellenistic eras. Despite their similar importance, both served somewhat different purposes. Rhetorical theory was primarily intended for the law courts and public arena, typically with the audience in full view of the speaker and with some persuasive goal in mind. Letters primarily served the task of bridging spatial distance separating communicants, originating in administrative practices but soon finding a place in personal correspondence. The resulting multi-functional nature of letters begs the question whether rhetorical practices were employed in letter writing—a debate taken up by the Ciceronians and humanists during the medieval era.² The very flexibility of the epistolary genre allowed for the possibility of rhetorical influence. But did this actually occur, either in theory or practice? This question proves directly relevant for the growing trend in Pauline studies to interpret his letters according to the canons of rhetoric.³ The following study suggests ways in which rhetoric was and was not employed in letter writing, citing evidence from the rhetorical and epistolary theorists⁴ and actual letters. The various 'species' as well as three of the five categories of rhetorical practice (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*) provide a useful outline for the investigation.⁵ Finally, attention is given to actual letters which apparently employ a rhetorical macrostructure.

RHETORICAL TYPES (SPECIES) IN EPISTLES

Oral and literary genres are functional, i.e. they develop conventional forms and patterns of language appropriate to the basic situational function which they serve. Ancient rhetorical speech—a genre of argumentation—was typically divided into three sub-genres (or registers): judicial, deliberative, and epideictic. In general, judicial speech operated in the courtroom, deliberative speech in the political assembly, and epideictic speech in the public arena (frequently at ceremonial occasions). 'Did something happen or not?' was an essential question scrutinised by judicial speech, often being answered with physical evidence. 'Is it more beneficial to do this or that?' was the question explored by deliberative speech. 'Should something be praised or blamed?' was the question discussed by epideictic speech. Are these three types of spoken genres found in ancient epistles? In order to probe this question, it is first necessary to discuss ancient attempts to classify various types of letters.

¹No semantic distinction between 'epistle' and 'letter' is intended in this study. Greek terminology made no such distinction (Stirewalt, *Studies*, p. 87).

²Henderson, 'Erasmus', pp. 331-55.

³See Reed, 'Rhetorical Categories', pp. 292-324.

⁴By 'epistolary theorist' I include both the authors of the epistolary handbooks as well as letter writers who make less systematic (sometimes casual) comments about letter writing.

⁵Memory (*memoria*) and delivery (*pronuntiatio*) had little, if any, relevance for letter writing; cf. *De componendis et ornandis epistolis* of Giovanni Sulpizio of Veroli (Rome, 1491), cited by Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 337.

In contrast to the oral, face-to-face context of most ancient rhetoric,¹ the epistolary genre was occasioned by situations where one or more individuals, spatially separated, wished to communicate with others.² Writing to C. Scribonius Curio in 53 BCE, Cicero describes this essential function of letters:

That there are many kinds of letters you are well aware; there is one kind, however, about which there can be no mistake—for indeed letter writing was invented just in order that we might inform those at a distance if there were anything which it was important for them or for ourselves that they should know (*Fam.* 2.4.1).

Cicero goes on to speak of letters which are 'intimate and humorous' and letters which are 'austere and serious'.³ He differentiates between public and private letters: 'You see, I have one way of writing what I think will be read by those only to whom I address my letter, and another way of writing what I think will be read by many' (*Fam.* 15.21.4). Elsewhere, Cicero mentions informative letters, domestic letters, letters of commendation, letters of solace, and letters promising assistance (*Fam.* 2.4.1; 4.13.1; 5.5.1); but his comments are casual and do not reflect an elaborate system. Philostratus (*Ep.* 2.257.29–258.28 [third century CE]), although providing only a partial list, mentions letters giving (διδόντες) or requesting (δεόμενοι) something, agreeing (ξυγχωροῦντες) or disagreeing (μή...) on some issue, attacking (καθαπτόμενοι) someone or defending (ἀπολογούμενοι) the writer, and expressing affection (ἐρῶντες). In a letter to Gnaeus Pompeius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes a letter, which he had received from a friend, as ἐπιστολήν τινα...εὐπαίδευτον 'an educated letter'.⁴ In his categorisation of the five characters of *rational discourse* (οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες), Apollonius of Tyana (*Ep.* 19; first century CE) includes the philosopher (φιλόσοφος), historian (ἱστορικός), advocate (δικανικός), writer of epistles (ἐπιστολικός), and commentator (ὑπομνηματικός). The authors of 'letter-essays' such as *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, *II Maccabees*, and those of Epicurus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, preferred the term λόγος rather than ἐπιστολή to classify their writings.⁵ The most comprehensive attempts to classify letters are the epistolary handbooks. The one falsely attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί (II BCE–III CE), details twenty-one types of letters. In addition, the epistolary handbook falsely attributed to Libanius (another edition is attributed to Proclus), Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες (IV–VI CE), delineates forty-one types of letters.⁶ Each type serves different, although at times overlapping, functions

¹Speech was the primary medium of rhetoric (i.e. primary rhetoric; Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, pp. 4–5); rhetoric was 'the art of the rhetor,—the speaker's (the public speaker's) art' (Roberts, *Rhetoric*, p. 22). Nonetheless, other written mediums were influenced by rhetorical principles: e.g. 'Plutarch's *Lives and Moralia*...the commentaries of Philo of Alexandria, the discourses of Dio Chrysostom, and the letters of Seneca'; cf. Mack, *Rhetoric*, p. 30. Cicero and Seneca note the dialogical nature of letter writing (Cicero, *Att.* 8.14.1; 9.10.1; 12.53; Seneca, *Ep.* 75.1). These are secondary mediums of Classical rhetoric, however, being mostly influenced by stylistic choices (Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, p. 5).

²Cf. the epistolary definition of White, 'Letter Tradition', p. 91. Besides this primary function, the letter was used for a host of other purposes (e.g. letters of friendship, letters of praise and blame, letters of recommendation, letters of petition, business letters, and administrative letters).

³Cicero's typology conflates one function of the genre—viz. to inform—with the primary occasion of the genre—viz. to bridge the spatial gap between people. Many of his own *Epistulae ad Familiares* convey political information about himself and/or the recipient in both formal and informal manners.

⁴Roberts, *Dionysius*, p. 89.

⁵Stirewalt, *Studies*, pp. 18–20, 86.

⁶For a brief introduction, texts and translations of the two handbooks as well as other works on epistolary theory see Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists*; the handbooks were perhaps written for *advanced* epistolary students or more likely for professional letter writers (pp. 6–7). The Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί, which originated in Egypt, had only marginal influence on actual letter writing there; cf. C. W. Keyes, 'Letter', p. 44, who says it had 'little influence on Greek letter writing in Egypt' and Malherbe, *Epistolary Theorists*,

which involve different relationships between the communicants and, thus, require different styles or writing. The above abbreviated list of ancient typologies reveals the difficulty of any modern attempt to classify what could and could not constitute secondary functions of a letter. If a text indicates (usually at the beginning) that it is written between two or more spatially separated individuals (real or imaginary), the body of the letter might contain anything. Ancient typologies were practical (e.g. they served the needs of professional letter writers). Thus, they were flexible and allowed the individual to handle a variety of situations with a variety of types of letters.¹

Therefore, it is not surprising that some of the epistolary types parallel the three sub-genres of rhetoric. Such functional parallels do not necessarily indicate, however, that an author patterned his or her letter after the rhetorical handbooks. Rather, the similarities may simply be due to culturally-shared means of argumentation. In other words, argumentation is universal as well as particular. Groups within the society (e.g. rhetors and philosophers) may have developed and classified ways of 'persuading others' to serve their own needs. Thus, *functions* of judicial, deliberative, and epideictic 'species' of rhetoric would probably have been used in various literary contexts such as the letter. This functional overlap between the rhetorical species and epistolary types is demonstrated in the epistolary theorists. With respect to the possibility of a 'judicial letter', perhaps the 'accusing' (κατηγορικός) letter comes nearest, but the parallels may only be functional and there is no mention of a courtroom setting.² In rebuttal to the 'accusing' letter, someone might employ the 'apologetic' (ἀπολογητικός) letter to ward off an indictment.³ Again this type of letter clearly did not replace the courtroom rhetoric nor, more importantly, does this type speak of 'inventing' or 'ordering' such a letter according to rhetorical conventions. A deliberative type of rhetoric is mentioned in the epistolary theorists. Pseudo-Demetrius speaks of 'advisory' (συμβουλευτικός) letters, which are used to 'impel [someone] to something (προτρέπωμεν ἐπί τι) or dissuade [someone] from something (ἀποτρέπωμεν ἀπό τινος)'.⁴ Pseudo-Libanius categorises the same type of letter as 'paraenetic' (παραινετική). 'The paraenetic type of letter is that in which we impel someone by urging him to pursue something or to avoid something. Paraenesis is divided into two parts: encouragement (προτροπήν) and dissuasion (ἀποτροπήν).'⁵ It is difficult to know if this theorist's terminology has been borrowed directly from the rhetorical handbooks. The divergent language suggests otherwise. Even if it has, the fact remains that nothing else is said about the 'rhetorical' nature of such letters. Once again, the parallel between the epistolary types and the rhetorical species may only be functional. Of the three

p. 4, who notes that 'many similarities between it and Egyptian papyrus letters can be identified...but this cannot be taken to prove that this particular manual significantly influenced actual practice', making it difficult to draw conclusions from this epistolary handbook about the indirect influence of rhetorical theory on letter writing.

¹Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 1.22-24) notes the flexibility of the epistolary genre and the possibility of further developments to epistolary typologies such as his.

²Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 17. Cf. the 'blaming' (μεμπτική) letter in Pseudo-Libanius, Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες 6 and the 'counter-accusing' (ἀντεγκληματική) letter in Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες 22.

³Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 18.

⁴Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 11.

⁵Pseudo-Libanius, Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες 5. The author differentiates between the paraenetic and advisory types of letters, stating that the latter assumes a counter-argument (i.e. someone who needs to be persuaded) whereas the former does not. Both types of letters, nonetheless, parallel deliberative rhetoric in that they speak of what is beneficial and harmful.

rhetorical sub-genres, the epideictic type is most at home among the epistolary theorists.¹ Several of Pseudo-Libanius' epistolary types resemble Quintilian's categorisation of epideictic rhetoric (*Inst.* 3.4.3), e.g. the 'praising' (ἐπαινετικός) and 'blaming' (μειπττικός) letters. In sum, the terminology used by the epistolary theorists suggests some type of relationship with the rhetorical handbooks. Whether the precise nature of this relationship is direct or indirect, it is clear that the epistolary theorists were not limited by the three *genera* of the rhetorical handbooks. Letter writing demanded a much more flexible typology in order to handle a wide array of situations.

In conclusion, it is reasonable to surmise that ancient letter writers could conceive of a letter in terms of 'accusation or defence', 'expediency or non-expediency', and 'praise or blame' without necessarily being limited to the *genera* of the rhetorical handbooks.² Such letters are perhaps best treated as *argumentative speech acts* practised in everyday communication. Epideictic was the most suitable of the three to the epistolary genre, but I would concur with J. L. White (but on a broader scale) that 'the judicial...and the deliberative...were not the traditions upon which ancient letter writers depended, at least not through the first two or three centuries of the Christian era'.³ A fundamental distinction between the epistolary and rhetorical *genera* (sub-genres) is that the former were relegated to spatially-separated communication, limiting the extent to which they could parallel the typical oral, face-to-face context of judicial, deliberative, and epideictic speech. Some of the epistolary typologies at least functionally parallel the three rhetorical species, yet the epistolary theorists were not bound by a formal 'rhetorical' agenda for letter writing.

RHETORICAL INVENTION IN EPISTLES

Rhetorical invention (*inventio*) concerns the speaker's attempt to select or find (εὐρήσις) valid arguments to render a thesis plausible.⁴ This could be accomplished, first of all, by determining the 'status' or 'issue' to be resolved, asking questions about the fact, definition, and nature of the issue under discussion. Another means of invention was the use of 'topoi' (topics) or 'commonplaces' both common (e.g. division; consequence; cause-effect; definition) and special (e.g. customary maxims, proverbs, oracles, citations, figures of speech, and stock metaphors). Did letter writers invent the content and argument of a letter by these means of rhetorical invention?

The general principle of rhetorical invention is not limited by the theories of rhetors but is a phenomenon of language use in general. Thus, as with the species of rhetoric treated above, it should be no surprise that epistolary theorists and letter writers discuss how to create epistolary topics. Pseudo-Demetrius (*Eloc.* 230) notes the existence of topics or 'matter' appropriate only for the letter (πράγματά τινα ἐπιστολικά), citing Aristotle in support of this: 'I have not written to you on this subject, since it was not fitted for a letter' (*Fr.* 620). Pseudo-Demetrius goes on to discuss literary conventions appropriate for letters: proverbs (παροιμίας; *Eloc.* 232) and logical proofs (ἀποδείξεις; *Eloc.* 233). In contrast, he states that it is inappropriate to employ clever types of argumentation

¹Cf. Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 27. Of the three species of rhetoric, *epideictic* was most at home in written discourse. 'Epideictic oratory, such as that of Isocrates, was coming more and more to be a pamphlet, not a speech; in theme and occasion it had never been so restricted as the other branches of oratory' (Roberts, *Greek Rhetoric*, p. 55).

²Not until the 16th century did Erasmus categorise letters according to deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial species, adding to this a fourth category, *familiare* (Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 355).

³Tobin, Jewett, White, 'Discussion', p. 52 (White).

⁴The author of *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτήρες* uses the Greek technical term εὐρεσιν for *inventio* in his example of a letter of 'inquiry' (82).

(σοφίσματα) in letters: 'If anybody might write a skilful argument (σοφίσματα) or questions of natural history in a letter, he indeed writes, but not a letter' (*Eloc.* 232). In one of his sample letters, Pseudo-Demetrius (Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 4) cites the maxim 'Know yourself' (τὸ γνῶθι σαυτόν). Gregory of Nazianzus approves of the graceful style of letter writing, avoiding the unadorned (ἀκόσμητα) style 'which allows for no pithy sayings, proverbs or apophthegms, witticisms or enigmas', but he warns against 'the undue use of these devices' (*Ep.* 51.5). He tentatively adheres to the use of tropes (but only if done so sparingly and without seriousness) and to the use of antitheses, parisoses and isocola (*Ep.* 51.6).¹ Pseudo-Libanius explains how topics should be used in letters: 'Mentioning works of history (ἱστοριῶν) and fables (μύθων) will bring charm to letters, as will the use of venerable works (παλαιῶν συγγραμμάτων), well-aimed proverbs (παροιμιῶν εὐστόχων), and philosophers' dogmas (φιλοσόφων δογμάτων), but they are not to be used in an argumentative manner' (Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες 50).

Some letter writers speak of the process of *inventio* involved in composing a letter. Cicero tells of his difficulty in choosing a topic to write about: 'I have been asking myself for some time past what I had best write to you; but not only does no definite theme suggest itself, but even the conventional style of letter writing does not appeal to me' (*Fam.* 4.13.1); he was looking for a topic appropriate for 'these times of ours in its gloom and melancholy'. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero finds himself in a similar dilemma: 'Though now I rest only so long as I am writing to you or reading your letters, still I am in want of subject matter' (*Att.* 9.4.1). Cicero knew that letters need not have one particular subject matter, or any for that matter. Letters written as friendly correspondence reveal this particularly well: 'I have begun to write to you something or other without any definite subject, so that I may have a sort of talk with you' (*Att.* 9.10.1). This 'friendly' aspect of the epistolary genre had its own set of *topoi* (cf. Cicero's 'free and easy topics of friendly correspondence' in *Att.* 9.4.1). H. Koskenniemi detects three *special topoi* of friendly letters: maintaining friendship (*Philophronesis*), bridging the spatial gap through the sender's presence (*Parusia*), and carrying on a dialogue with the recipient (*Homilia*).² Regarding *parusia*, a function typifying the epistolary genre, he states, 'Es wird nämlich als die wichtigste Aufgabe des Briefes angesehen, eine Form eben dieses Zusammenlebens während einer Zeit räumlicher Trennung darzustellen, d.h. die ἀπουσία zur παρουσία machen.'³ Other possible *topoi* of the epistolary genre include health wishes, prayer formulas, disclosure formulas, and closing greetings. These conventions developed apart from rhetorical concerns, but not necessarily without 'argumentative' functions.

In sum, the epistolary theorists stressed the importance of carefully selecting the topic of one's letter based on the epistolary situation. That is, they show concern that the writer 'invent' or compose a letter appropriate for the occasion or issue at hand. This concern at least functionally parallels the process of *inventio* treated in the rhetorical handbooks. Indeed, the sample letters provided by the epistolary theorists serve as a type of *special topoi* which could be used by professional letter writers to invent their own letters. Nevertheless, the epistolary *topoi* were not limited by rhetorical concerns, and the relationship between the two genres may be treated in terms of common practices of human communication.

¹Although Gregory of Nazianzus is discussing 'style' per se, the elements of style he discusses are part of the *inventio* process.

²Koskenniemi, *Studien*, pp. 35-46.

³Koskenniemi, *Studien*, p. 38.

RHETORICAL ARRANGEMENT IN EPISTLES

After selecting the type of speech to be delivered, and 'inventing' the subject matter, the rhetor could proceed to arrange the material into the best possible order. Rhetorical arrangement (*dispositio*) often consisted of four sections in the following order: *exordium* (introduction); *narratio* (the statement of the facts of the case); *confirmatio* (proof); and *peroratio* (conclusion).¹ The epistolary theorists say nothing about arranging letters according to this standard rhetorical convention. What they do say, instead, conforms to standard patterns of letter writing. In part, the reason epistolary theorists do not prescribe rhetorical arrangements to epistolary structures is because letters had their own long-established, structural conventions. Therefore, before suggesting any parallels between epistolary structure and rhetorical arrangement, a discussion of epistolary structure is in order.

There are three standard conventions found in the majority of letters: opening, body and closing.² Rather than speak of these in formal terms (as if they can be precisely demarcated in actual letters), these are best treated as spatial locations in the letter which are filled with epistolary formulas. The body section, for example, could be filled with a petition, a marriage contract, or a commendation. The opening section could include, among other things, a health wish, greeting, or thanksgiving formula. The obligatory elements of the opening include the superscription (i.e. from whom the letter is sent; e.g. Ἀντωνίς Λόνγος) and the adscription (i.e. to whom the letter is sent; e.g. τῇ μητρὶ). Apart from these formulas, other elements used in the opening are discretionary.³ Even the commonly employed salutation (e.g. χαίρειν) is sometimes omitted from the opening, especially in formal contexts (e.g. petitions, complaints). With respect to the body, a host of epistolary materials could fill this slot. Nevertheless, the slot had to be filled.⁴ The common epistolary closing of the letter (e.g. ἔρρωσο) is not strictly obligatory, since it is frequently

¹To these categories, other rhetorical theorists (e.g. the author of *Ad Herennium*) add the *divisio* (outline of the steps in the argument), which follows the *narratio*, and the *confutatio* (refutation of the opposing arguments), which follows the *confirmatio*. Another common part was the *propositio*, the essential proposition of the speech.

²Seneca recalls the traditional use of the health wish: 'The old Romans had a custom which survived even into my lifetime. They would add to the opening words of a letter: "If you are well, it is well; I also am well"' (*Ep.* 15.1). Pseudo-Libanius speaks of the proper way to begin a letter: 'So-and-so to So-and-so, greeting' ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν (*Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαραχτῆρες* 51). Nonetheless, ancient letter writers and theorists do not speak of an epistolary opening, body, and closing in formal terms as is frequently done in NT scholarship.

³Two types of letters—'Questions to the Oracle' and 'Letters of Invitation'—often omit the superscription and/or adscription, 'since the correspondence was usually local and delivered to the door by a messenger' (White, 'Epistolary Formulas', p. 294; see e.g. the invitation in P.Oxy. 1484 (2nd or 3rd century CE): ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀπολλώνιος δευπνήσαι; and the question to the oracle in P.Fay. 133 (58 CE): Σοκωννωκυννὶ Θεῷ μεγάλωμαγάλωι. In these cases, the lack of the superscription and/or adscription does not negate the obligatory nature of the formulas; rather, the written formulas would be replaced by oral ones in order to fulfil the obligatory function of identifying the communicants (cf. Kim, 'Invitation', p. 397). Nevertheless, omission of the addressee and recipient are rare, and White ('Epistolary Formulas and Cliches', p. 294) rightly notes that 'it can be demonstrated in almost every instance, however, that these anomalous forms are the result of the letter being either a first draft or copy'.

⁴Although White ('Letter Tradition', p. 92) notes that 'the only epistolary element which can not be omitted from a letter is the opening', this is only the case for formulaic elements, not for the spatial locations in the letter. Even 'family letters', which White claims 'often have no specific body', have communicative elements which fill the position of the body. In other words, there are no letters that simply have a prescript. Instead, every letter contains some communicative element after the prescript. However, what fills this region of the body varies, yet with some patterns (e.g. petitions, letters of commendation).

absent from letters, especially official and business letters.¹ Most letters, however, used various formulas to signal the end of the communicative process (e.g. closing greetings).

J. L. White provides a helpful functional definition of these three sequences in ancient letters. In the opening and closing, 'the keeping-in-touch aspect of letter writing (maintenance of contact), which reveals the general character of the correspondents' relationship toward each other, comes to expression'.² In the body, stock phrases express the circumstances which motivated the message of the letter. The bulk of the body, however, varies according to the epistolary skills and needs of the particular author. Another way of looking at the opening, body, and closing sections is that the opening section establishes who the participants of communication are and the nature of their immediate relationship, the body section advances the information or requests/commands which the sender wants to communicate, and the closing section signals the end of the communicative process, often involving language that again establishes the immediate relationship between sender and recipient.

There is no inherent one-to-one correspondence between the epistolary opening, body, and closing and the *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio*. In fact, epistolary conventions used in actual letters resist a *dispositio* classification. If a letter does contain an explicit rhetorical arrangement (e.g. the letters of Demosthenes), then epistolary conventions are at a minimum and are distinct from the four rhetorical parts. Furthermore, epistolary theorists do not speak of epistolary arrangement in rhetorical terms. In Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί, the author first describes the method by which he has constructed his work. He has set out to describe the various 'styles' ('ways of writing') of letters and what distinguishes each style from the other.³ He then provides a sample of each type, demonstrating how each is *arranged* (τῆς ἐκάστου γένους τάξεως). Although his term for 'arrangement' parallels that of the rhetorical handbooks (τάξις, Lat. *dispositio*), the twenty-one letters exemplified in his epistolary handbook are *not* arranged according to a rhetorical *dispositio*. What the author means by arrangement instead has to do with the language and function of each kind of letter, e.g. friendly letters are filled with 'friendly' language, which appropriately reflect the relationship between the communicants and the goals of the letter. What the author does not do is construct examples with a four-part (or any other) rhetorical schema. Regarding epistolary openings and closings, even Julius Victor, who advocates the use of rhetorical convention in letters (specifically, 'official' letters), maintains that 'the openings and conclusions of letters...should be written according to customary practice' (*Rh.* 27.8-9). He espouses no theory for employing an *exordium* or *peroratio* in these parts of the letter. Finally, to speak of the *propositio* of a letter is dubious since letters often develop more than one 'theme'—a feature of their 'conversational' nature.⁴

Despite these differences, certain functional parallels do exist between standard epistolary arrangement and rhetorical arrangement. In the same way that epistolary openings function to expose the general nature of the relationship between the sender and the recipient (be it positive or negative), so also the *exordium* serves to generate a positive relationship of trust and compliance between the speaker and listener, i.e. to build *ethos*.

¹Exler, *Form*, pp. 69, 71.

²White, *Light*, p. 219.

³Cicero is apparently familiar with various classifications of letters, specifically mentioning a 'letter of exhortation' which he had previously written (*Fam.* 4.9.1).

⁴An exception to this may be found in several of Pliny's letters (61-112 CE), in which he often uses a standardised opening to state the 'subject' of the letter.

The same may be said of the epistolary closing and the *peroratio*. One type of letter in particular created *ethos*, the friendly type (φιλικός).¹ Because the epistolary body was open to various media of communication, the possibility always exists for finding a rhetorical arrangement here; nevertheless, it is worth noting that the theorists do theorise about the use *partes orationis* in the body of letters. Epistolary disclosure formulas like 'I wrote these things to you...' also slightly parallel the *recapitulatio* function of the *peroratio*; however, such expressions occur throughout the body of the letter whereas the *peroratio* came at the end of the speech. Finally, there is no functional parallel between the epistolary closing and the *enumeratio*.

In summary, a few epistolary formulas found in the three spatial locations of letters (opening, body, closing) share some similarity with the four principal parts of rhetorical arrangement (*exordium, narratio, confirmatio, peroratio*). But the slight similarity is only functional, not formal. In other words, there is no inherent formal relationship between the basic theory of epistolary structure and the technical teachings about rhetorical arrangement. The similarities may be explained by the fact that language is often used pragmatically in different genres to do similar things. More importantly, the epistolary theorists and letter writers say nothing explicit about structuring letters according to a rhetorical arrangement.

RHETORICAL STYLE IN EPISTLES

The rhetorician's concern for style (λέξις, *elocutio*) was also the epistolary theorist's concern.² This primarily involved questions of grammar, syntax, and choice of words. Clarity, figures of speech, metaphors, periodic and continuous syntax, and citations, to name a few, were also discussed under the rubric of style. The epistolary theorists were aware of rhetorical practices and even debated the use of distinctively rhetorical styles in letters.³ Indeed, epistolary theorists and letter writers show signs of rhetorical influence mostly in the area of style. For example, although royal letters are largely 'uninfluenced by the rhetorical schools',⁴ some of them do exhibit features of style characteristic of rhetorical practice (e.g. antitheses, triads, homoeoteleuton, chiasmus, litotes).⁵ Many of the imaginary letters⁶ also employ stylistic features found in ancient literary and rhetorical practices. For example, Alciphron (dubbed 'The Rhetor') composed imaginary letters purportedly written by fishermen, farmers, prostitutes, and parasites. In several of these the author cites and borrows from other literature (especially from Classical authors). The letters attributed to Aelian (entitled ἐκ τῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ἀγροικικῶν ἐπιστολῶν) also echo the voices of the Classical era (e.g. Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Menander).

¹Pseudo-Demetrius, Τύποι Ἐπιστολικοί 1.

²For Aristotle (*Rh.* 3.1-12), 'style' entailed the 'way of expressing' something through the choice of words or arrangement of clauses, in contrast to the 'content' of the message.

³See also the discussion of rhetorical invention above.

⁴Welles, *Correspondence*, p. 42. Welles goes on to state, 'This neglect of rhetoric is in general characteristic of the royal letters, not only of the purely administrative notes but also of texts of a more "diplomatic" character' (p. 46).

⁵See the following letters in Welles, *Correspondence*: Ptolemy II to Miletus (14), Antiochus II to Erythrae (15), Seleucus II to Miletus (22), Ziaelas of Bithynia to Cos (25), Ptolemy IV to a provincial governor (30).

⁶Imaginary letters hardly resemble the purposes and practices of most Greco-Roman letter writing. They are clearly 'literary' (if such a word can be used) in tone and substance; see the love letters of Philostratus (Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἐρωτικάι) which lack all of the common epistolary elements.

One of the more well-known discussions of epistolary style is the treatise attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum, *De Elocutione* (Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας), which discusses the 'style' (χαρακτηρῆς) appropriate for letter writing. It shows some dependence on the third book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*Eloc.* 11). Initially, Demetrius advocates writing letters according to the 'plain' (ἰσχνότητος) style (*Eloc.* 223), which is one of four kinds or 'characters' of styles—elevated (μεγαλοπρεπής), elegant (γλαφυρός), plain (ἰσχνός), and forceful (δεινός).¹ Later he summarises that the letter should be a compound of the graceful (χαρίεντος) and plain (ἰσχνουῦ) styles.² This style lacks 'ornament and oratorical device',³ suggesting this author did not readily conflate the epistolary and rhetorical styles. For example, he maintains that 'it is absurd to build up periods, as if you were writing not a letter but a speech (δίκη) for the law courts' (*Eloc.* 229). He is most concerned that letters be written with clarity and fitness, two features of the plain style. Similarly, Gregory of Nazianzus warns against the abuse of rhetorical style:

When the birds were disputing about who should be king, and they came together, each adorned in his own way, the greatest adornment of the eagle was that he did not think that he was beautiful. It is this unadorned quality, which is as close to nature as possible, that must especially be preserved in letters (*Ep.* 51.7; cf. also 5-6).

Seneca as well attempts to distance the letter writer from the orator, without denying the applicability of argumentation to letters:

Even if I were arguing a point, I should not stamp my foot, or toss my arms about, or raise my voice; but I should leave that sort of thing to the orator, and should be content to have conveyed my feelings toward you without having either embellished them or lowered their dignity (*Ep.* 75.2).⁴

Although somewhat of the contrary, Isocrates maintains that 'the greatest proof of the difference between these two arts is that oratory is good only if it has the qualities of fitness for the occasion, propriety of style, and originality of treatment, while in the case of letters (ἐπιστολαί) there is no such need whatsoever'.⁵ Various other opinions existed

concerning the appropriate epistolary style. As to the length of letters, Pseudo-Demetrius argues for concise ones (*Eloc.* 228);⁶ he was not supported by Pseudo-Libanius (*Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες* 50). 'Clarity' of style (σαφηνεία) in letter writing was esteemed by many (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 51.4; Pseudo-Libanius, *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες* 48-49, quoting Philostratus of Lemnos). For example, Gregory of Nazianzus avows: 'As to clarity (σαφηνείας), everyone knows that one should avoid prose-like (λογοειδές) style so far as possible, and rather incline towards the conversational (λαλικόν)' (*Ep.* 51.4). His basis for this assertion follows:

¹These four kinds of style represent only one theory on the subject. Another theory, developed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and later advanced by Hermogenes, combine various qualities and virtues of style (e.g. clarity, grandeur, beauty, vigour, ethos, verity, and gravity) into a more complex scheme (Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, p. 104).

²It appears that by 'graceful' he is referring to the heightened epistolary style with which one should write to states or royal personages, which he just mentioned in 234. However, he may be referring to the same 'graceful' style which he describes under the section on the 'elegant' style (128-89).

³Roberts, *Greek Rhetoric*, p. 68. Roberts also notes that 'when he [Demetrius] refers to "rhetoricians" there is sometimes a shade of irony or contempt' (p. 68).

⁴In another letter Seneca mentions his preference for philosophy over speech-making (*Ep.* 14.11).

⁵Isocrates, 'Against the Sophists', trans. George Norlin, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 2.171, sect. 5-13 (= Loeb 12). Immediately prior to this statement he set forth the 'praiseworthy, "static" character of letters with the dynamic creativity needed in the art of oratory (λόγος).

⁶He uses the term συγγράμματα rather than ἐπιστολαί to refer to 'so-called' letters (such as several of Plato's letters and those of Thucydides) which are, according to him, too long and stilted in expression (*Eloc.* 228).

Stated briefly, the best and most beautiful letter is written so that it is persuasive to both the educated and uneducated, appearing to the former as written on the popular level and to the latter as above that level, and being immediately understandable. (*Ep.* 51.4)

Although much more could be said about epistolary style (e.g. use of asyndeton, novel expressions, direct address, compliments and jesting), the standard principle of epistolary style seems to be that there was no strictly endorsed stylistic theory. However, a few principles seem to have existed. Theorists generally agree that letters should be written in a style most appropriate for the situation (cf. Cicero *Fam.* 15.21.4). This generally involved a style characteristic of dialogue and everyday speech (Cicero *Fam.* 7.32.3; 9.21.1; Seneca *Ep.* 75.1; Pseudo-Demetrius, *Eloc.* 223), i.e. a style conducive to bridging the spatial gap between the sender and the recipient and creating a face-to-face atmosphere. Seneca speaks of a friendly, not artificial, setting in which he writes letters: 'I prefer that my letters should be just what my conversation would be if you and I were sitting in one another's company or taking walks together—spontaneous and easy; for my letters have nothing strained or artificial about them' (*Ep.* 75.1-2).¹ Similarly, Classical theory distinguished the *sermo* (ordinary language) of the letter from the *contentio* (formal speech) of the oration.² Furthermore, much of the discussion of style by rhetoricians (e.g. whether to use the dactyl, iambus, or paean as the basic ingredient of rhythm) is absent from epistolary stylistic theory, again probably because it is the 'plain' style which should be used in letters.

In summary, two features of epistolary style most parallel rhetorical discussions: clarity and appropriateness for the situation. Nevertheless, the letter writers and theorists (even those well versed in rhetoric) still differentiate between the epistolary style and rhetorical style (because some were conflating them?).³ The fundamental difference was a result of the epistolary situation (viz. spatial separation), as Julius Victor identifies:

When there is no need to hide anything from others, avoid obscurity more painstakingly in letters than you do in speeches and conversation. For although you can ask someone who is speaking unclearly to elucidate his point, it is impossible to do so in correspondence when the other is absent (*Rh.* 27.19-21).

Consequently, a mixture of rhetorical and epistolary styles was not encouraged by some.

Cicero states this pointedly in a letter penned to L. Papirius Paetus:

How do I strike you in my letters? Don't I seem to talk to you in the language of common folk? For I don't always adopt the same style. What similarity is there between a letter, and a speech in court or at a public meeting? Why even in law-cases I am not in the habit of dealing with all of them in the same style (*Fam.* 9.21.1).

RHETORICAL EPISTLES?

The above study reveals epistolary and rhetorical theorists' resistance to marrying the epistle and oration.⁴ Theory and practice do not always harmonise, however. If the

¹ Contrast Pliny the Younger's letters which tend to be prose exercises on various subjects, many of which were directed to a public audience (*Ep.* 1.1).

² Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 334. In his *Commentaria epistolarum conficiendarum* (Pforzheim, 1509), Heinrich Bebel appealed to Classical sources to prove that a letter should not be written in oratorical style but in Latin *sermo* (cited by Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 340).

³ Quintilian *Inst.* 9.4.19-22 also sets the epistolary style apart from the rhetorical. According to him, the former should have a 'looser texture' (as in dialogue, *sermone*) and the latter a more closely connected style (*Inst.* 9.4.23).

⁴ This resistance was later advocated by Classical purists, the medieval Ciceronians, who confined the epistolary genre to the limits of the familiar letter and desired to 'purge humanist epistolography of all vestiges of the *ars dictaminis*' (Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 332). The *ars dictaminis* divided the letter according to the structure of Classical oration, adding the *salutatio* which distinguished it as the epistolary genre: *salutatio*, *exordium* (or *captatio benevolentiae*), *narratio*, *petitio*, and *conclusio*.

epistolary genre is defined functionally as the communication between spatially separated individuals (*absentis ad absentem colloquium*)—which is necessary to account for actual letters (e.g. private; official; public; novelistic; magical; scientific; literary-critical; erotic; poetic; introductory; heavenly)—then it is difficult to imagine that the Classical rhetorical conventions were never employed in actual letters, especially since rhetoric was part of Greco-Roman public consciousness.

Perhaps the best extant examples of ‘rhetorical letters’ come from the eminent orator himself, Demosthenes, or someone writing under his name.¹ Epistles 1-4 are set in the fourth century BCE during Demosthenes’ exile and the oncoming ‘Lamian’ war to overthrow Macedonian domination over Greece.² The letters were deemed significant enough to be preserved throughout the Hellenistic and Byzantine eras. Plutarch (*Lives* 20), Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.107), and Cicero (*Brut.* 121, *Orat.* 15) knew of and were perhaps influenced by Demosthenes’ epistolary style. Modern scholars generally classify the letters according to one of four genres: a rhetorical exercise treating the theme ‘What would Demosthenes have written to the Athenians from exile?’; a historical novel in the form of a collection of letters (*Briefroman*); a creation of a rhetorical historian or biographer; or political propaganda.³ In any case, the texts are an attempt to defend Demosthenes’ career.⁴ They are in the form of a letter only because he is in exile (*Ep.* 1.2-4; 3.1.35); otherwise, they consist of self-apology and advice to the public. As letters, they lack the many epistolary formulas and the style of the ‘familiar’ letters (*familiares*) and instead may be categorised as *negotiales*, to which Julius Victor claims the canons of rhetoric apply (*Rh.* 27). The prescripts take the form ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ (‘Demosthenes to the Council and Assembly, greetings’), setting the stage for the epistolary body in which Demosthenes attempts to persuade his audience on a particular subject. Epistle 2 is an example of the forensic-epideictic genre of self-apology, perhaps repeating much of the defence given at his trial. J. Goldstein has analysed them according to the *partes orationis*. The main body of the letter consists of (i) a *prooemium* written in the indignant tone of one who had been wronged but at the same time appealing to the audience’s good will through flattery (2.1-2); (ii) a *propositio* calling the Athenians to exonerate him (2.3); (iii) a *confirmatio* favourably portraying the career of Demosthenes according to the so-called rhetorical topics of τελικὰ κεφάλαια—the *propositio* is just, lawful, expedient, honourable, pleasant, easy to accomplish or, if difficult, possible and necessary (2.4-20); (iv) an *epilogue* reiterating the appeal for exoneration and containing pathetic amplification and a final appeal to their good will (2.21-26).⁵ The closing farewell (εὐτυχεῖτε) is as terse as the prescript.

Another illustrative example of a ‘rhetorical letter’ is the first letter of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Ammaeus—a lengthy argument advocating that Demosthenes did not learn the rules of rhetoric from Aristotle.⁶ Like most ‘literary’ letters, the prescript is terse:

¹The authenticity of the letters have been debated; but for persuasive arguments in favour of the authenticity of letters 1-4 see Goldstein, *Letters*, esp. his rhetorical commentary on them in pp. 133-81.

²Letters 5-6 (one to Heracleodorus and the other to the Council and Assembly) are relatively short and resemble in part an attempt at interpersonal dialogue.

³Goldstein, *Letters*, pp. 31-34.

⁴For similar letters of defence see Plato *Ep.* 1 and Aeschines *Ep.* 11 and 12.

⁵Hermogenes *Id.* 1.7, 2.8 and Pseudo-Aristides *Rh.* 1.45, 47 interpret letters 2 and 3 in terms of their rhetorical style. For a more detailed rhetorical analysis of this letter see Goldstein, *Letters*, pp. 158-66.

⁶Cf. also his second letter to Ammaeus and his letter to Gnaeus Pompeius. The former is a polemic against an excessive admiration and imitation of Plato’s style; the latter is a polemic against similar attitudes towards the style of Thucydides.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΩΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ. Dionysius, in response to the request of Ammaeus, sets forth arguments (2.6 ποιῆσαι τοὺς λόγους) which convinced him that Aristotle did not write his *Rhetorica* until Demosthenes had reached his prime and had already delivered most of his speeches. Consequently, Demosthenes was not dependent on the former's rules of rhetoric, as someone had suggested to Ammaeus (*Amm.* 1.6). He ends his letter claiming to have proved his point (ἰκανῶς ἀποδεδειχθαι νομίζω), viz. Demosthenes did not base his speeches on Aristotle's rhetorical theory. Unlike the letters of Demosthenes, this letter is written to an individual. There is, then, no reason to suggest that a letter employing rhetorical conventions would have had a plural audience. Like the letters of Demosthenes, it lacks the many epistolary formulas found in personal letters.

Letters like those of Demosthenes and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, however, represent only a small portion of the extant epistolary literature. Most letters do not reveal a rhetorical macrostructure, nor are they as long as these. Nevertheless, even brief, 'non-literary' letters require persuasive devices to accomplish their goals. For example, in Sel.Pap. 2.287 (194 CE), a copy of a complaint by Saprion (ἀντίγραφον ἐγκλήματος Σαπρίωνος), the author writes to Heraclides, narrating how his mother and an accomplice assaulted him in order to 'deprive me of my own property'. After narrating the 'facts' of the event he requests Heraclides to file his petition so that it may be used as evidence (πρὸς μαρτυρίαν) in a later trial. In other letters, several epistolary formulas were used with persuasive functions: (i) disclosure formulas reveal the author's reason for writing; (ii) statements of reassurance and concern appeal to the *pathos* of the reader; (iii) statements used to persuade, coerce, or threaten seek the reader's obedience concerning important (often business) matters.¹ The 'rhetoric' of such letters, however, is probably not dependent upon rhetorical theory; they more likely represent a type of 'universal' rhetoric prevalent at the time and still functionally found in other communicative forms today.

The above examples demonstrate that letter writing was at least partly influenced by rhetorical conventions. Despite epistolary and rhetorical theorists' attempt to discourage such practices, various reasons prevented their complete success. Firstly, the flexibility of the epistolary genre allowed for its conflation with other genres. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, the Latin poet, demonstrated this with his invention of the letter poem. He admired the 'personal' nature of the letter: 'The poem as letter allows a privacy of speech, and a certain confidentiality of tone that other genres tend to repel.'² Some of Plutarch's letters (e.g. 6.464 περὶ εὐθυμίας and 13.1012 περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας) are similar in content with his other moral writings, also demonstrating a mixed genre. The Corpus Hippocraticum contains various kinds of propagandistic, pseudepigraphic letters, of which letters 10-17 are in the form of novels narrating Hippocrates' visit to Democritus.³ In other Hippocratic letters, treatises (λόγος) were sent with a letter (18-19, 20-21) or incorporated into a letter (21).⁴ Much later, Erasmus—somewhat confined by the narrow Classical definition of the letter as a conversation between separated friends—distinguished the epistolary genre from others in terms of its *flexibility of style*.⁵ This flexibility resulted in an array of letter-types such as official letters, philosophical letters, magical letters, letters

¹See White, *Light*, pp. 204-208.

²Hamill, 'Poetry', pp. 228-34.

³For a critical edition and introduction see Smith, *Hippocrates: Pseudepigraphic Writings*.

⁴E.g. ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι τὸν περὶ μανίης λόγον (18.12-13) and ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν περὶ ἔλλεβορισμοῦ λόγον (20.28-29).

⁵Henderson, 'Erasmus', p. 355.

from heaven, and erotic letters. Secondly, the epistolary genre originated in an oral and, consequently, a rhetorical environment—viz. the official correspondence of royalty. The official letter usually accompanied the oral message of a herald or embassy. For example, one author notes that ‘Menodorus, whom you sent to me, gave me your letter...and spoke himself at considerable length on the matters concerning which he said he had instructions’.¹ Thus, M. Stirewalt rightly claims that ‘in dealing with the city state, the popular assembly, and public forensic activity, the official administrative, diplomatic letter was a rhetorical product’.² However, while the official letter had ties to forensic practices, the personal letter evolved independently of such influences. Thirdly, educational exercises—practised at least by the time of the second century BCE—promoted the use of rhetorical conventions in letters.³ For example, the use of *chreiai* in pithy letters was a popular practice, as in the syllogistic letter:

[Brutus] to the people of Pergamon

I hear that you have sent financial aid to Donobellas. If you did this willingly, you admit to wrongdoing; if unwillingly, prove it by giving to me willingly (Brutus 1).⁴

Students could exercise their rhetorical style by writing letters under the name of celebrated persons of the past (e.g. Alexander, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Diogenes, Isocrates, Hippocrates, and Euripides).⁵ Consequently, pseudonymous letters, more so than authentic letters, often exhibit rhetorical practices. Such examples should not obscure the fact that the majority of letters discovered from the Hellenistic era do not lend themselves to an analysis guided by the canons of rhetoric. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the extant texts reveals that rhetorical conventions were at times employed in letters. Indeed, some ancient scholars analysed letters in terms of rhetoric,⁶ leaving the possibility that they may be analysed similarly today as well, yet with methodological caution.

CONCLUSION

The above survey of Greco–Roman rhetoricians, epistolary theorists, and letter writers (personal, official, and literary) reveals both similarities and differences between epistolary and rhetorical practices. On the one hand, epistolary theorists and letter writers often dissuade the writer from using rhetorical conventions. The manuals on letter writing do not deal with the *officia oratoris* or the *partes orationis* as set forth in the rhetorical handbooks; instead, they list a wide array of letter-types and the style appropriate for their use. In addition, a *systematic* theory of how to write a ‘rhetorical letter’ is lacking in the rhetorical handbooks; the few remarks on letter writing that do exist are mostly on matters of style, and often those which contrast rhetorical and epistolary style.⁷ As S. K. Stowers observes, ‘The letter-writing tradition was essentially independent of rhetoric.’⁸ C. J. Classen puts it in more disjunctive terms: ‘Rhetoric (oratory) and epistolography were regarded as two different fields in antiquity, and it seems advisable, therefore, to stay within the elaboration and presentation of their respective theory.’⁹ On the other hand,

¹ Welles, *Correspondence*, letter 58.

² Stirewalt, *Studies*, p. 9.

³ For examples see Stirewalt, *Studies*, pp. 20–24; cf. Sykutris, ‘Epistolographie’, cols. 210–13.

⁴ Cited in Stirewalt, *Studies*, p. 50.

⁵ Schneider, ‘Brief’, cols. 573–74

⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Th.* 42) judged the letter of Nicias in Thucydides and the letters of Plato according to the canons of oratory.

⁷ Debate over the appropriate use of style in letter writing, for example, implies that some were writing letters with an ‘oratorical’ style.

⁸ Stowers, *Letter Writing*, p. 52.

⁹ Classen, ‘Epistles’, pp. 288–89.

rhetorical conventions are clearly found in letters—a result of the epistolary genre's flexibility—but rarely in a systematic manner governing the entire letter such as the letters of Demosthenes. There are also several functional parallels between the two genres, but the epistolary theorists do not develop these in a formal, methodical manner; thus, the similarity may only be a result of culturally-shared or 'universal' principles of argumentation. To be more precise, *inventio* and especially *elocutio* seem to have marginally influenced the theories and actual practice of letter writing. The three species of rhetoric were too limited to provide a model for letter writing, but their functions are often represented in actual letters. Rhetorical *dispositio* seems to have had little, if any, influence on theory or practice. Despite the presence of rhetorical conventions in the epistolary genre, two observations based on the literary evidence suggest that the rhetorical and epistolary genres were not readily merged, either in theory or in practice. Firstly, up until the fourth century CE (Julius Victor *De Epistolis*)¹ letter writing was not treated as part of a systematic rhetorical theory, and even here it is relegated to an appendix alongside the *de sermocinatione*. So A. J. Malherbe concludes: 'It is thus clear that letter writing was of interest to rhetoricians, but it appears only gradually to have attached itself to their rhetorical systems.'² Secondly, there appears to be a general principle that letters displaying rhetorical influence lack many of the optional epistolary formulas found in the personal letters (e.g. prayer; thanksgiving; disclosure formulas; closing greetings)—an observable difference between literary and personal letters.³ Conversely, letters replete with epistolary formulas lack full-blown rhetorical conventions. In sum, the rhetorical and epistolary genres may have been betrothed, but they were never wed.

¹Even here, Julius Victor suggests that rules of rhetoric should only be applied to 'official' (*negotiales*) letters.

²Malherbe, *Epistolary Theorists*, p. 3.

³Sykturis ('Epistolographie', col. 188) mentions a specific difference between literary and private letters: 'Ein wichtiges Unterscheidungskriterion liegt mE darin, daß in einer persönlich adressierten Schrift der Name des Empfängers gleich am Anfang nach den ersten Worten im Vokativ genannt wird; das findet sich aber in einem Brief nicht.'

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Index of Linguistic Terms

Practitioners of linguistic theory are often criticised by their biblical colleagues for employing unneeded specialised terminology. Such criticism is deserved only if the terminology is not representative of general linguistic theory. Since biblical scholars are first and perhaps foremost interpreters of linguistic texts, they might be expected to become familiar with the terminology and concepts of an academic discipline directly related to theirs. Nonetheless, in an attempt to prevent obscurantism, the following subject index serves as a cross-reference to definitions of key linguistic terms which are employed throughout this work. In this way, definitions and discussions of terms can be easily located in their respective sections in Part I when they are encountered in the discourse analysis of Philippians in Part II.

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| accompaniment | 45 | discourse analysis | 6 |
| activity type | 33 | discourse referentials | 245 |
| actor | 38, 42 | domain of prominence | 69 |
| actual system | 28 | elaboration | 57 |
| affection | 39 | ellipsis | 62 |
| anaphoric | 60 | endophoric | 60 |
| antonymy | 63 | enhancement | 57 |
| aspect | 38 | exophoric | 59 |
| attribute | 40 | expansion | 57, 256 |
| attribution | 26 | experiential meanings | 35 |
| attributive | 39, 40 | extension | 57 |
| background | 68 | extent | 43 |
| behalf | 45 | field | 35 |
| beneficiary | 42 | fillers | 28 |
| bottom-up analysis | 27, 200 | focus | 69 |
| carrier | 40 | function | 20 |
| cataphoric | 60 | functional sentence perspective | 65 |
| cause | 44 | general lexical relationships | 63 |
| central tokens | 64, 263 | genre | 31, 101 |
| circumstances | 37, 43, 240, 249 | given information | 66 |
| circumstantial | 39 | giving | 50, 251 |
| clause | 24, 25, 26, 27 | goal | 38, 42 |
| co-classification | 62, 255 | goods-and-services | 50, 251 |
| co-extension | 62, 255 | graphemes | 24 |
| co-operative principle | 22, 125 | hyponymy | 63 |
| co-reference | 59, 255 | hypotaxis | 57, 256 |
| co-referential ties | 245 | iconicity principle | 65, 271 |
| co-text | 23 | idea | 57, 256 |
| code | 29 | ideational meanings | 35, 37, 79, 200, 240 |
| cognition | 39 | identified | 40 |
| cohesion | 55, 56 | identifier | 40 |
| cohesive ties | 56, 255 | identifying | 39, 40 |
| common ground | 69 | identity chains | 64 |
| comparison | 44 | idiolect | 31 |
| componential ties | 200, 258 | information | 50, 251 |
| context | 23 | information flow | 56, 65, 271 |
| context of culture | 23, 29 | information status | 67, 271 |
| context of situation | 23, 31 | information structure | 66 |
| deixis | 60 | instantial lexical relationships | 62 |
| demanding | 50, 251 | intensive | 39 |
| dialect | 29 | interactional meanings | 35 |
| discourse | 7, 24, 26 | interpersonal meanings | 35, 50, 79, 200, 251 |

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| language | 29 | substitution | 62 |
| levels of discourse | 23 | synonymy | 63 |
| location | 43 | syntagmatic | 28, 148 |
| locution | 57, 256 | syntax | 17 |
| macrostructures | 27 | system | 19 |
| manner | 44 | systemic-functional linguistics | 18 |
| material processes | 37, 246 | target | 61 |
| matter | 45 | task | 26 |
| means | 44 | temporal deixis | 61 |
| mental frames | 47 | tenor | 35 |
| mental processes | 39, 246 | text | 7 |
| mental script | 149 | text grammar | 7 |
| mental scripts | 181 | textlinguistics | 7 |
| meronymy | 63 | textual meanings | 35, 55, 79, 200, 255 |
| microstructures | 28 | texture | 21, 200, 298 |
| modal adjuncts | 52 | thematization | 66 |
| mode | 36 | theme | 66, 68 |
| morphemes | 24 | top-down analysis | 27, 195 |
| new information | 66 | transitivity | 26, 37 |
| organic ties | 56, 181, 200, 255 | unratified | 61 |
| paradigmatic | 28, 148 | varieties of language | 29 |
| paragraph | 24, 25, 26, 27 | verbal processes | 247 |
| parataxis | 57, 256 | virtual system | 28, 240 |
| participants | 37, 240, 245, 264 | word | 24, 26 |
| perception | 39 | zero-anaphora | 65 |
| peripheral tokens | 64, 259 | | |
| person deixis | 60 | | |
| phenomenon | 39 | | |
| phonemes | 24 | | |
| phrase | 25, 26 | | |
| place deixis | 61 | | |
| polarity | 52 | | |
| possessive | 39 | | |
| pragmatics | 16 | | |
| processes | 37, 240, 245, 264 | | |
| projection | 57, 256 | | |
| prominence | 67, 277 | | |
| purpose | 44 | | |
| quality | 44 | | |
| range | 42 | | |
| ratified | 61 | | |
| reason | 44 | | |
| recipient | 60 | | |
| redundancy | 64 | | |
| register | 31, 101 | | |
| reiteration | 63 | | |
| relation | 26 | | |
| relational processes | 39, 247 | | |
| relevant tokens | 64, 259 | | |
| rheme | 66 | | |
| role | 46 | | |
| scenarios | 47 | | |
| schemata | 47 | | |
| scripts | 47 | | |
| semantic chains | 64 | | |
| semantics | 17 | | |
| sense | 26 | | |
| senser | 39 | | |
| sentence | 24, 25, 26 | | |
| similarity chains | 64 | | |
| slots | 28 | | |
| source | 60 | | |
| spokesperson | 60 | | |
| standard languages | 29 | | |
| structure | 21, 101, 195, 200, 296 | | |
| style | 33 | | |

Index of Greek Words

The following index includes a reference to every Greek word in Philippians as it is discussed in the study of semantic chains in chap. 5. The numbers supplied below refer to the number (not page) of the semantic chain(s) in which a word is treated.

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| ἀγαθός | 44 | ἀρετή | 45 | δόσις | 25 |
| ἀγάπη | 12 | ἀρπαγμός | 25 | δουλεύω | 19 |
| ἀγαπητός | 12 | ἀρχή | 32 | δούλος | 19 |
| ἅγιος | 4 | ἀσθενέω | 10 | δύναμαι | 37 |
| ἄγνός | 45 | ἀσπάζομαι | 17 | δύναμις | 38 |
| ἄγνῶς | 45 | ἀσφαλής | 9 | δύο | 28 |
| ἄγών | 21 | αὐτάρκτης | 12 | ἑαυτοῦ | 46 |
| ἀδελφός | 4 | αὐτός | 26, 46 | Ἑβραῖος | 4 |
| ἀδημονέω | 12 | ἀφόβως | 12 | ἐγγίζω | 39 |
| αἰρέομαι | 16 | ἀφοράω | 13 | ἐγγύς | 41 |
| αἴσθησις | 14 | ἄχρι | 32 | ἐγείρω | 6 |
| αἰσχύνη | 45 | βεβαίωσις | 17 | ἐγώ | 46 |
| αἰσχύνομαι | 12 | Βενιαμείν | 47 | εἰ | 48 |
| αἴτημα | 17 | βίβλος | 17 | εἶδον | 11 |
| αιῶν | 32 | βλέπω | 9 | εἰλικρινής | 45 |
| ἀκαιρέομαι | 32 | βούλομαι | 12 | εἰμί | 6 |
| ἀκέραιος | 45 | βραβεῖον | 25 | εἶπον | 17 |
| ἀκούω | 17 | γάρ | 48 | εἰρήνη | 9 |
| ἀλήθεια | 35 | γενεά | 4 | εἰς | 32, 48 |
| ἀληθής | 35 | γένος | 4 | εἰς | 28 |
| ἀλλά | 45 | γίνομαι | 6 | εἴτε | 48 |
| ἀλλήλων | 46 | γινώσκω | 14 | ἐκ | 43, 48 |
| ἄλλος | 26 | γλῶσσα | 3 | ἕκαστος | 27 |
| ἀλυπότερος | 12 | γνήσιος | 36 | ἐκκλησία | 4 |
| ἄμεμπτος | 45 | γνησίως | 36 | ἐλεέω | 45 |
| ἄμην | 35 | γνωρίζω | 14 | ἐλπίζω | 12 |
| ἄμωμος | 45 | γνώσις | 14 | ἐλπίς | 12 |
| ἄν | 34 | γογγυσμός | 17 | ἑμαυτοῦ | 46 |
| ἀναγκαῖος | 34 | γόνυ | 3 | ἐμός | 46 |
| ἀναθάλλω | 6 | γράφω | 17 | ἔμπροσθεν | 32 |
| ἀναλύω | 10 | δέ | 48 | ἐν | 41 |
| ἀναπληρόω | 27 | δέησις | 17 | ἐνάρχομαι | 48 |
| ἀνάστασις | 10 | δεκτός | 12 | ἐνδειξις | 14 |
| ἄνθρωπος | 3 | δεσμός | 20 | ἐνδυναμόω | 37 |
| ἀντίκειμαι | 21 | δέχομαι | 25 | ἐνέργεια | 23 |
| ἄνω | 41 | διά | 48 | ἐνεργέω | 23 |
| ἀξίως | 31 | διάκονος | 4 | ἐντιμος | 31 |
| ἄπαξ | 28 | διαλογισμός | 17 | ἐξανάστασις | 10 |
| ἄπειμι | 42 | διαστρέφω | 16 | ἐξαυτῆς | 32 |
| ἀπεκδέχομαι | 12 | διαφέρω | 26 | ἐξέρχομαι | 7 |
| ἀπέχω | 25 | δίκαιος | 45 | ἐξομολογέομαι | 17 |
| ἀπό | 32, 42 | δικαιοσύνη | 45 | ἔπαινος | 17 |
| ἀποβαίνω | 48 | διό | 48 | Ἐπαφρόδιτος | 47 |
| ἀποθήσκω | 10 | διότι | 48 | ἐπειδή | 48 |
| ἀποκαλύπτω | 14 | δῖς | 28 | ἐπεκτείνομαι | 23 |
| ἀποκαραδοκία | 12 | διώκω | 21, 23 | ἐπέχω | 16 |
| ἀπολογία | 17 | δοκέω | 16 | ἐπί | 48 |
| ἀπόστολος | 4 | δοκιμάζω | 26 | ἐπίγειος | 1 |
| ἀπουσία | 42 | δοκιμή | 31 | ἐπίγνωσις | 14 |
| ἀπρόσκοπος | 45 | δόμα | 25 | ἐπιεικής | 45 |
| ἀπώλεια | 8 | δόξα | 17 | ἐπιζητέω | 12 |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|---------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| ἐπιθυμία | 12 | κατατομή | 24 | ὀκηρὸς | 12 |
| ἐπιλανθάνομαι | 15 | καταχθόνιος | 1 | ὀκταήμερος | 32 |
| ἐπιμένω | 42 | κατεργάζομαι | 23 | ὄλος | 29 |
| ἐπιποθέω | 12 | καυχάομαι | 17 | ὁμοίωμα | 30 |
| ἐπιπόθητος | 12 | καύχημα | 17 | ὄνομα | 17 |
| ἐπίσκοπος | 4 | κεῖμαι | 6 | ὀπίσω | 32 |
| ἐπιτελέω | 6 | κενοδοξία | 45 | ὄς | 46 |
| ἐπιχορηγία | 19 | κενός | 48 | ὄσμη | 40 |
| ἐπουράνιος | 1 | κενώω | 38 | ὄσος | 39 |
| ἐργάτης | 23 | κερδαίνω | 25 | ὄστις | 46 |
| ἔργον | 23 | κέρδος | 25 | ὅτε | 32 |
| ἐριθεία | 21 | κηρύσσω | 17 | ὅτι | 48 |
| ἔρις | 21 | κλαίω | 12 | οὐ | 33 |
| ἔρχομαι | 6, 7 | κλήμη | 47 | οὐδέ | 33 |
| ἔρωτάω | 17 | κλήσις | 17 | οὐδεὶς | 46 |
| ἕτερος | 26 | κοιλία | 12 | οὖν | 48 |
| ἑτέρως | 26 | κοινωνέω | 25 | οὐρανός | 1 |
| ἔτι | 48 | κοινωνία | 25 | οὗτος | 46 |
| εὐαγγέλιον | 17 | κοπιᾶώ | 23 | οὕτως | 46 |
| εὐάρεστος | 12 | κόσμος | 1 | πάθημα | 9 |
| εὐδοκία | 12 | κρείττων | 31 | πάλιν | 32 |
| Εὐοδία | 47 | κύριος | 5 | πάντοτε | 32 |
| εὐρίσκω | 6 | κύων | 45 | παρά | 48 |
| εὐφημος | 17 | λαλέω | 17 | παραβολεύομαι | 9 |
| εὐχαριστέω | 17 | λαμβάνω | 25 | παρακαλέω | 17 |
| εὐχαριστία | 17 | λατρεύω | 24 | πράκτῃσις | 12 |
| εὐψυχέω | 12 | λέγω | 17 | παραλαμβάνω | 25 |
| εὐωδία | 40 | λειτουργία | 24 | παραμένω | 42 |
| ἐχθρός | 21 | λειτουργός | 24 | παραμύθιον | 12 |
| ἔχω | 16, 25 | λήμψις | 25 | παραπλήσιος | 30 |
| ζάω | 10 | λογίζομαι | 16 | παρουσία | 42 |
| ζῆλος | 12 | λόγος | 17, 25 | παρρησία | 12 |
| ζημία | 25 | λοιπός | 29, 48 | πᾶς | 27 |
| ζημιόω | 25 | λύπη | 12 | πάσχω | 9 |
| ζητέω | 12 | Μακεδονία | 47 | πατήρ | 44 |
| ζωή | 10 | μᾶλλον | 39, 48 | Παῦλος | 47 |
| ἦ | 48 | μανθάνω | 13 | πεῖθω | 16 |
| ἡγέομαι | 16 | μάρτυς | 17 | πεινάω | 10 |
| ἦδη | 32 | μεγαλύνω | 44 | πέμπω | 7 |
| ἡμεῖς | 46 | μεγάλως | 39 | πεποίθησις | 16 |
| ἡμέρα | 32 | μέν | 48 | περί | 48 |
| θάνατος | 10 | μενοῦνγε | 48 | περιπατέω | 22 |
| θέλω | 16 | μένω | 42 | περισεύω | 27 |
| θεός | 5 | μεριμνάω | 12 | περισσότερος | 39 |
| Θεσσαλονίκη | 47 | μέσος | 41 | περιτομή | 24 |
| θλίψις | 9 | μετά | 48 | πιστεύω | 16 |
| θυσία | 24 | μετασχηματίζω | 26 | πίστις | 16 |
| Ἰησοῦς | 47 | μέχρι | 39 | πλεονάζω | 27 |
| ἵνα | 48 | μή | 33 | πλήν | 48 |
| ἴσος | 26 | μηδέ | 33 | πληρώω | 19, 27 |
| ισόψυχος | 16 | μηδεὶς | 46 | πλοῦτος | 25 |
| Ἰσραήλ | 4 | μνεία | 15 | πνεῦμα | 5, 16 |
| ισχύω | 37 | μόνος | 26 | ποιέω | 23 |
| καθώς | 30 | μορφή | 26 | πολίτευμα | 4 |
| καί | 48 | μυέω | 13 | πολιτεύομαι | 22 |
| καίπερ | 48 | ναί | 33 | πολλάκις | 32 |
| Καῖσαρ | 47 | νεκρός | 10 | πολύς | 27 |
| κακός | 45 | νόημα | 16 | ποτέ | 32 |
| καλῶς | 31 | νόμος | 17 | πραϊτώριον | 4 |
| κάμπτω | 24 | νοῦς | 16 | πράσσω | 23 |
| καρδία | 16 | νῦν | 32 | προκοπή | 6 |
| καρπός | 23 | οἶδα | 14 | πρός | 43 |
| κατά | 48 | οἰκία | 3 | προσδέχομαι | 18 |
| καταγγέλλω | 17 | οἰκτιρμός | 45 | προσευχή | 24 |
| καταλαμβάνω | 25 | οἶομαι | 16 | προσεύχομαι | 24 |
| καταντάω | 6 | οἶος | 30 | προσφιλής | 12 |

| | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------------|------------|
| πρόφασις | 45 | ὑστέρησις | 25 |
| πρῶτος | 28 | φαίνω | 14 |
| πτύρομαι | 12 | φανερός | 14 |
| πῶς | 48 | Φαρισαῖος | 4 |
| σάρξ | 10 | φθάνω | 6 |
| σεμνός | 45 | φθόνος | 45 |
| σκολιός | 45 | Φιλιππησίως | 47 |
| σκοπέω | 16 | Φιλίπποι | 47 |
| σκοπός | 43 | φόβος | 12 |
| σκύβαλον | 25 | φρονέω | 16 |
| σπένδω | 24 | φρουρέω | 20 |
| σπλάγγχον | 16 | φυλή | 4 |
| σπουδαίως | 12 | φαστήρ | 1 |
| σταυρός | 2 | χαίρω | 12 |
| στέφανος | 23 | χαρά | 12 |
| στήκω | 6 | χαρίζομαι | 25 |
| στοιχέω | 22 | χάρις | 25 |
| σύ | 46 | χορτάζω | 10 |
| συκοινωνέω | 25 | χρεία | 25 |
| συκοινωνός | 25 | Χριστός | 5, 47 |
| συγχαίρω | 12 | χωρίς | 48 |
| σύζυγος | 23 | ψυχή | 10, 16 |
| συλλαμβάνω | 19 | ὡς | 30, 32, 48 |
| συμμιμητής | 22 | ὥστε | 48 |
| συμμορφίζω | 26 | | |
| σύμμορφος | 26 | | |
| σύμψυχος | 16 | | |
| σύν | 48 | | |
| συναθλέω | 23 | | |
| συνεργός | 23 | | |
| συνέχω | 20 | | |
| Συντύχη | 47 | | |
| συστρατιώτης | 23 | | |
| σχῆμα | 26 | | |
| σῶμα | 10 | | |
| σωτήρ | 9 | | |
| σωτηρία | 9 | | |
| ταπεινοφροσύνη | 44 | | |
| ταπεινός | 44 | | |
| ταπείνωσις | 44 | | |
| ταχέως | 32 | | |
| τε | 48 | | |
| τέκνον | 3 | | |
| τέλειος | 45 | | |
| τελειόω | 45 | | |
| τέλος | 32 | | |
| Τιμόθεος | 47 | | |
| τίς | 46 | | |
| τις | 46 | | |
| τοιούτος | 46 | | |
| τολμάω | 12 | | |
| τρέχω | 22 | | |
| τρόμος | 12 | | |
| τρόπος | 48 | | |
| τύπος | 26 | | |
| ὑμεῖς | 46 | | |
| ὑπακούω | 22 | | |
| ὑπάρχω | 6 | | |
| ὑπέρ | 44, 48 | | |
| ὑπερέχω | 31 | | |
| ὑπερυψόω | 44 | | |
| ὑπήκοος | 22 | | |
| ὑπό | 48 | | |
| ὑποτάσσω | 20 | | |
| ὑστερέω | 25 | | |
| ὑστέρημα | 25 | | |