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THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF THE ARTICLE-NOUN-KAI'-NOUN PLURAL CONSTRUCTION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

DANIEL B. WALLACE

In this article the author seeks to demonstrate that the syntax of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction has been largely misunderstood. It does not fit the Granville Sharp rule because the nouns are plural. Nor is its semantic range shut up to absolute distinction or absolute identity. After an exhaustive treatment of the construction in the NT, it is affirmed that there are three other semantic possibilities. A proper semantic grid helps in seeing possibilities in certain passages which have hitherto gone unnoticed and in omitting certain options (e.g., that "pastors" = "teachers" in Eph 4:11) which have been assumed true.

* * *

IN Eph 4:11 the apostle Paul tells his audience that the glorified Messiah has bestowed on the church gifted men. These men are described as "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers." The construction in Greek is τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους. Expositors have long noted that there is no article preceding διδασκάλους, which has raised the question: are the teachers to be identified with the pastors or are pastors and teachers two distinct groups? Grammatically speaking the question is: does the article before ποιμένας govern both ποιμένας and διδασκάλους and if so, in what way (i.e., does it unite them loosely, make them identical, etc.)? Expositors have come down on both sides of the fence, though few have seriously investigated the syntax of the construction as a major key to the solution.¹ This

¹ Among the modern commentators, almost all are agreed that one group is seen in this construction (but cf. G. H. P. Thompson, *The Letters of Paul to the Ephesians, to the Colossians and to Philemon* [CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1969], 69; and C. J. Ellicott, *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1885], 94. Thompson simply asserts that

passage is perhaps the best known text in the NT which involves the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction. A proper understanding of the grammar involved may help to solve this exegetical and ecclesiological problem.

But Eph 4:11 is not the only debatable passage involving this construction. Just within Ephesians we may also note 1:1, which uses substantival adjectives (*τοῖς ἀγίοις . . . καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*). The question here would be: are the saints to be identified with the faithful in Christ Jesus? Although we would want to argue this theologically, is there in fact grammatical evidence on our side? In 2:20 and 3:5 this construction is used of the apostles and prophets (*τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν* in 2:20 and *τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις* in 3:5). Are these two groups identical? Or, if not, is the foundation of the church built upon the NT apostles and OT prophets (2:20)? Has the mystery of Christ been revealed to OT prophets (3:5)? These are pertinent questions theologically which the syntax of this construction may help to resolve.

"teachers were holders of another office" without giving any evidence. Ellicott argues solely from scanty lexical evidence). Yet those who affirm that one group is identified by the phrase have little syntactical evidence on their side as well. H. Alford (*The Greek Testament*, vol. 3: *Galatians-Philemon*, rev. by E. F. Harrison [Chicago: Moody 1958]) argues that "from these latter not being distinguished from the pastors by the *τοὺς δέ*, it would seem that the two offices were held by the same persons" (p. 117). But he gives no cross-references nor does he demonstrate that this is the normal usage of the plural construction. B. F. Westcott (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Macmillan, 1906]) argues for one class "not from a necessary combination of the two functions but from their connexion with a congregation" (p. 62). C. Hodge (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1856]) boldly states that "The absence of the article before *διδασκάλους* proves that the apostle intended to designate the same persons as at once pastors and teachers [italics added]" (p. 226). But then he curiously backs off from such grammatical dogma by adding that "It is true the article is at times omitted between two substantives referring to different classes . . ." (p. 227), citing Mark 15:1 as evidence. Finally, he reverts to his initial certitude by concluding, "But in such an enumeration as that contained in this verse . . . the laws of language require *τοὺς δέ διδασκάλους*, had the apostle intended to distinguish the *διδασκαλοί* from the *ποιμένες* [italics added]" (*ibid.*). No evidence is given to support this contention. It is significant, in fact, that of the commentaries surveyed, only Hodge mentioned any other text in which the plural construction occurred—a text which would not support his conclusions! Eadie, Abbott, Salmond, Lenski, Hendriksen, Erdman, Barclay, Wuest, and Barth also see the two terms referring to one group, though their arguments are either not based on syntax or make unwarranted and faulty assumptions about the syntax. Some would insist that the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction *requires* that the second group is to be identified with the first, but such a dogmatic position must be abandoned in light of such passages as Matt 16:1 ("the Pharisees and Sadducees") and Acts 17:12 ("the . . . women . . . and men")! A careful and exhaustive investigation of this phenomenon is therefore necessary if we wish to understand clearly the relation of pastors and teachers in Eph 4:11.

Outside of Ephesians there are several debatable passages which involve this construction as well. For example, we read of "the tax-collectors and sinners" in Matt 9:11, "the lawyers and Pharisees" in Luke 14:3, and "the apostles and elders" in Acts 15:2. These are but a handful of the plural constructions in the NT, though they are certainly among the more significant. The exegetical and theological significance of this construction is difficult to overestimate.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to investigate the semantic range (and, consequently, the exegetical significance) of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction in the NT. I will restrict the discussion to constructions in which the plurals refer to *persons* and, at the same time, expand the discussion to include all substantives under the title "noun." In order to establish a proper framework for the semantics of this construction in the NT, we must first look at the work of Granville Sharp, then discuss the misunderstanding of his first rule with reference to the plural, and finally suggest a proper semantic grid for the construction.

THE WORK OF GRANVILLE SHARP

Granville Sharp (1735–1813) was an English philanthropist and abolitionist. He was a student of the Scriptures, although he was not a clergyman. He believed strongly in the verbal inspiration of the Bible and in the deity of Jesus Christ. His strong belief in Christ's deity led him to study the Scriptures in the original in order to defend more ably that precious truth. Through this motivation he became a good linguist, able to handle accurately both the Greek and Hebrew texts of Scripture. One of his publications, written before he discovered his "rule," was a defense of the view that "Jehovah" (YHWH) of the OT referred, at times, to each person of the Trinity. As he studied the Scriptures in the original, he noticed a certain pattern, namely, when the construction article-noun-kai'-noun involved personal nouns which were singular and not proper names, they always referred to the same person. He noticed further that this rule applied in several texts to the deity of Jesus Christ. So in 1798 he published a lengthy volume entitled, *Remarks on the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament: Containing Many New Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from Passages Which Are Wrongly Translated in the Common English Version [KJV]*. The volume went through four editions (three British and one American).²

²The contents of this paragraph are from C. Kuehne, "The Greek Article and the Doctrine of Christ's Deity," *Journal of Theology* 13 (September, 1973) 15–18.

In this work Sharp articulated six rules, though what has commonly become known as "Sharp's Rule" is the first of these. Sharp articulated this rule as follows:

When the copulative καὶ connects two nouns of the same case, [viz. nouns (either substantive or adjective, or participles) of personal description, respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connexion, and attributes, properties, or qualities, good or ill,] if the article ὁ, or any of its cases, precedes the first of the said nouns or participles, and is not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter always relates to the same person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle: i.e. it denotes a farther description of the first-named person . . .³

To put this simply, in the construction article-noun-καὶ-noun, four requirements must be met if the two nouns refer to the same person: (1) both nouns must, of course, be personal; (2) both nouns must be common nouns, i.e., not proper names; (3) both nouns must be in the same case; and (4) both nouns must be singular in number. Although many today have argued against the validity of this rule, no one has demonstrated its invalidity in the NT.⁴ The implications of

³Granville Sharp, *Remarks on the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament: Containing Many New Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from Passages Which Are Wrongly Translated in the Common English Version*, 1st American edition (Philadelphia: B. B. Hopkins, 1807), 3.

⁴The best modern defense of the validity of Sharp's rule that I have seen is a seven-part series in the *Journal of Theology* by C. Kuehne ("The Greek Article and the Doctrine of Christ's Deity" in *JT* 13 [September, 1973] 12–28; 13 [December 1973] 14–30; 14 [March 1974] 11–20; 14 [June, 1974] 16–25; 14 [September, 1974] 21–33; 14 [December, 1974] 8–19; 15 [March, 1975] 8–22). Unfortunately, this journal apparently has such a limited circulation that this superb series has hardly been noticed. It may be added here that the primary reason evangelicals have been hesitant to adopt the validity of this rule is the anti-Trinitarian bias of last century's greatest grammarian of NT Greek, G. B. Winer. A. T. Robertson vividly points out Winer's influence:

A strange timidity seized some of the translators in the Jerusalem Chamber that is reproduced by the American Committee. There is no hesitation in translating John i. 1 as the text has it. Why boggle over 2 Peter i. 1?

The explanation is to be found in Winer's Grammar (Thayer's Edition, p. 130; W. F. Moulton's (p. 162), where the author seeks by indirection to break the force of Granville Sharp's rule by saying that in 2 Peter i. 1 "there is not even a pronoun with σωτῆρος." That is true, but it is quite beside the point. There is no pronoun with σωτῆρος in 2 Peter i. 11, precisely the same idiom, where no one doubts the identity of "Lord and Saviour." Why refuse to apply the same rule to 2 Peter i. 1, that all admit, Winer included, to be true of 2 Peter i. 11? . . . The simple truth is that Winer's anti-Trinitarian prejudice overruled his grammatical rectitude in his remark about 2 Peter i. 1.

. . . It is plain, therefore, that Winer has exerted a pernicious influence, from the grammatical standpoint, on the interpretation of 2 Peter i. 1, and Titus ii. 13.

this rule for the deity of Christ in passages such as Titus 2:13 (τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) and 2 Pet 1:1 (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) are, to say the least, rather significant.

THE MISUNDERSTANDING OF SHARP'S RULE
WITH REFERENCE TO THE PLURAL

Considered to be Legitimately Applied to the Plural by Some

As we have already seen by surveying some commentaries on Eph 4:11, several commentators assumed that the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction identified the second noun with the first just as the singular construction did.⁵ Wuest articulates this assumption most clearly: "The words 'pastors' and 'teachers' are in a construction called Granvill [sic] Sharp's rule which indicates that they refer to one individual."⁶

How has such an assumption arisen? On this we can only conjecture, but it is possibly due to (1) the lack of clarity by Sharp himself in stating his first rule and (2) a continued ambiguity in the grammars. As we saw earlier, Sharp does not *clearly* state that his rule is applicable only in the singular. Such a conclusion may be at best only inferred via an argument from silence (i.e., in stating that "*the latter always relates to the same person . . . i.e. it denotes a farther description of the first-named person,*"⁷ Sharp only refers to the singular). However, a perusal of his monograph reveals that he insisted on the singular in order for the rule to apply absolutely.⁸ The grammars have perpetuated this ambiguity. Some, of course, have dogmatically stated (and without sufficient evidence) that the rule

Scholars who believed in the Deity of Christ have not wished to claim too much and to fly in the face of Winer, the great grammarian, for three generations. But Winer did not make out a sound case against Sharp's principle as applied to 2 Peter i. 1 and Titus ii. 13. Sharp stands vindicated after all the dust has settled.

(A. T. Robertson, "The Greek Article and the Deity of Christ," *The Expositor*, 8th Series, vol. 21 [1921] 185, 187.)

⁵See n. 1 for a survey of these commentaries.

⁶K. Wuest, *Wuest's Word Studies from the Greek New Testament Ephesians and Colossians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 101.

⁷G. Sharp, *Remarks*, 3.

⁸On pp. 5–6 Sharp points out that

. . .there is no exception or instance of the like mode of expression, that I know of, which necessarily requires a construction different from what is here laid down, EXCEPT the nouns be *proper names*, or *in the plural number*; in which cases there are many exceptions. . . .

does not even apply in the singular.⁹ Others have sided with Sharp, but apparently have neglected his requirement that the construction be in the singular, or else their discussion is vague enough to be misleading.¹⁰ Robertson stands apart as having the most lengthy

⁹E.g., W. H. Simcox (*The Language of the New Testament* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890]) declares: "... in Tit. ii. 13, 2 Peter i. 1, we regard θεοῦ and σωτῆρος as indicating two Persons, though only the former word has the article" (p. 50). G. B. Winer (*A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. and rev. by W. F. Moulton, 3rd ed., rev. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882]), as was mentioned in n. 4, allowed his theological bias to override the plain evidence from the syntax governed by Sharp's Rule:

In Tit. ii. 13 . . . considerations derived from Paul's system of doctrine lead me to believe that σωτῆρος is not a second predicate, co-ordinate with θεοῦ . . .

.

[In n. 2 at the bottom of the same page:] In the above remarks it was not my intention to deny that, in point of grammar, σωτῆρος ἡμῶν may be regarded as a second predicate, jointly depending on the article τοῦ; but the dogmatic conviction derived from Paul's writings that this apostle cannot have called Christ *the great God* induced me to show that there is no grammatical obstacle to our taking the clause καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν by itself, as referring to a second subject (p. 162).

J. H. Moulton (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908]) is strongly influenced by Winer's comment on Titus 2:13, reading it as though borne from a sober grammatical judgment: "We cannot discuss here the problem of Tit 2¹³, for we must as grammarians, leave the matter open: see WM 162, 156n [italics added]" (p. 84). But his own Trinitarian persuasion comes through as he cites evidence from the papyri that the phrase found in Titus 2:13 and 2 Pet 1:1 was used of one person, the emperor (*ibid.*). Finally, M. Zerwick (*Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963]) states that the rule is only suggestive, "since the unity of article would be sufficiently accounted for by any conjunction, in the writer's mind, of the notions expressed" (p. 60).

¹⁰E.g., L. Radermacher (*Neu testamentliche Grammatik*, 2nd ed. [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925]) makes an ambiguous statement: "Wenn mehrere Substantiva in der Aufzählung miteinander verbunden werden, genügt oft der Artikel beim ersten Wort und zwar nicht allein bei gleichem Genus" (p. 115), citing τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας (Col 2:22) as evidence. He goes on to say that the same phenomenon occurs in hellenistic Greek, citing δὲ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη as an example (*ibid.*). His two examples are both impersonal, one being singular and the other plural. A case could be made for the first example expressing identity, but certainly not the second. W. D. Chamberlain (*An Exegetical Grammar of the Greek New Testament* [New York: Macmillan, 1941]) seems to have a clear understanding as to when the rule applies and when it does not, but he does not clearly articulate this to the reader (p. 55). F. Blass and A. Debrunner (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. by R. W. Funk [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961]) seem to support the rule in Titus 2:13 and 2 Pet 1:1, but also apply it to proper, impersonal names (p. 145)! They make no comment about the plural. C. F. D. Moule (*An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959]) has a sober treatment of the rule, seeing its application in the singular and questioning it in the plural (pp. 109–10). But he sides with Radermacher by allowing it

discussion of the article-noun-kai'-noun construction though he considers the impersonal construction to fit the rule and the plural construction to specify two distinct groups.¹¹

Improper Semantic Approach by Others

More recently, a few have recognized that the rule applies absolutely only to singular nouns.¹² Their articulations as to when the

with impersonal nouns. N. Turner (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3: *Syntax*, by N. Turner [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963] and *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965]) seems to vacillate in his discussion, for he apparently allows the rule to stand with the singular nouns (*Syntax*, 181; *Insights*, 15–16), but also applies it to the plural at his discretion (*Syntax*, 181). Thus he speaks of a “unified whole” with reference to Eph 2:20, Luke 22:4, and Acts 15:2, but then declares that this same construction may “indeed indicate that two distinct subjects are involved [italics mine]” (*ibid.*), citing the common phrase οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι as an illustration. It is doubtful that the construction indicates two antithetical ideas; it is rather better to say that it allows for this. J. H. Greenlee (*A Concise Exegetical Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963]) is very unclear when he applies the rule to impersonal constructions (Eph 3:18) and plurals (John 7:45) (p. 50). C. Vaughan and V. E. Gideon (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* [Nashville: Broadman, 1979]) apply the rule to both impersonal and personal constructions, making no comment about the plurals (p. 83). They do note, however, that there are exceptions with the impersonal constructions (*ibid.*, n. 8). Finally, J. A. Brooks and C. L. Winberry (*Syntax of New Testament Greek* [Washington: University Press of America, 1979]) apply the rule to personal, impersonal, and plural constructions explicitly (pp. 70–71). It is no wonder, therefore, that the exegetes have misread the semantic range of the plural construction since the grammarians have almost universally failed to restrict the application of the rule to the singular or have been so vague as to speak only of some kind of unity (whether a loose tie or apposition) with reference to the plural.

¹¹ A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 4th ed. (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 785–89.

¹² E. A. Blum (“Studies in Problem Areas of the Greek Article” [Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1961]) declares with reference to Sharp’s first rule (p. 29):

Since he is talking about nouns of personal description, Wuest was wrong in applying the rule to Acts 2:23 [τῇ . . . βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει]. Since he limits his rule to the singular, it is wrong to apply the rule to the “pastors and teachers” of Ephesians 4:11.

Kuehne is in full agreement, observing that Sharp “specifically excluded plural personal nouns and proper names from the rule” (*JT* 13 [December, 1973] 17). A. M. Malphurs (“The Relationship of Pastors and Teachers in Ephesians 4:11” [Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978]) concurs: “Therefore, Sharp states that plural nouns as well as proper names are an exception to his rule because some examples in the Scriptures seem to agree with the rule while others contradict it” (p. 23). R. D. Durham (“Granville Sharp’s Rule” [unpublished paper, Grace Theological Seminary, 1972]) acknowledges the exceptions to the rule of the plural and proper names, but thinks that Sharp meant to include *impersonal* nouns as meeting the

rule does and does not apply are, therefore, among the clearest presentations I have seen. However, when they examine the plural construction, their semantic approach is inadequate in that the only question they raise is: are the two groups identical or distinct?¹³ Such a question for the singular, personal construction is entirely adequate: either the first-named person is identical with the second-named person or he is distinct. But the very nature of a *plural* construction demands that several other questions be asked if we are to see with precision its semantic range (i.e., since the plural construction deals with *groups*, there may be other possibilities besides absolute distinction and absolute identity). Thus, although the most recent treatments of the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction are *accurate* in absolutely applying Sharp's rule only to the singular, they are nevertheless *inadequate* in only raising the same question they asked of the singular construction.¹⁴

requirements of his *first* rule (p. 7). Finally, G. W. Rider ("An Investigation of the Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals" [Th.M. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1980]) sides with Durham in treating plurals and proper names as exceptions, but impersonal nouns as fitting the rule (pp. 23–25). Thus all five of the most recent treatments on the article-noun-καὶ-noun construction acknowledge that Sharp intended to exclude plurals and proper names from consideration. However, Durham and Rider believe that Sharp did *not* exclude impersonal constructions. Although this point is ancillary to the subject of this paper, I believe that Durham and Rider have misread Sharp, for Sharp explicitly states that he accepts the impersonal constructions as fitting the second, third, fifth, and sixth rules, but not the *first* or fourth (*Remarks*, 120; cf. also pp. 140–42 in which Sharp refutes a certain Mr. Blunt for bringing in impersonal constructions as exceptions to the rule). It may be added here that there has been quite a bit of confusion and misunderstanding by some over the application of the impersonal construction to Sharp's first rule. For example, some see the rule applying in Eph 3:18 (τὸ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος καὶ ὑψος καὶ βάθος) because the four terms of measurement all refer to God's love. Although this is true, the four terms are not identical with *each other*. Such would have to be the case if Sharp's rule were to apply here. Cf. also Rev 1:9 and 5:12 for very clear references where the impersonal construction does not fit the rule.

¹³ Blum, "Problem Areas," pp. 26–27 (Blum is not to be faulted, however, since the plural construction is entirely ancillary to the point of his thesis); Kuehne (*JT* 13 [December, 1973]) has a lengthy discussion on the plural construction, though he deals with it under only two semantic grids: identical vs. distinct groups (pp. 18–21); Malphurs ("Pastors and Teachers") follows the same scheme as Kuehne (pp. 24–29), neglecting any semantic nuances besides distinction and identity; Durham ("Sharp's Rule") attempts to make all plural constructions fit the rule, even though he recognizes that Sharp considered the plurals as a clear exception (pp. 31–34). It seems to me that Durham's error is that he does not distinguish unity from identity (cf. the comments in n. 12 with reference to impersonal constructions); finally, Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals") deals only with the question of distinction vs. identity, even though his thesis is specifically on the plural phenomenon (pp. 41–78, 79–96).

¹⁴ This is completely understandable because (1) when those who have studied Sharp's rule finally turn to the plural construction, the question foremost in their minds most naturally is: does the plural construction fit the rule or not? Thus by their

A PROPER SEMANTIC GRID

As was mentioned in the preceding section, the only question that has been raised with reference to the semantics of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction is: are the two groups identical or distinct? A proper semantic grid should see this question as addressing the outer limits, the black and white of the semantics of the plural construction. However, there are various shades of gray which also need to be explored. The approach in this section is to lay out in chart form the *antecedently possible* semantic range of the plural construction. Then, in the final section, the plural construction in the NT will be investigated briefly to see what the *actual* semantic range is.

Two Entirely Distinct Groups, Though United

The grammars are agreed that even when two entirely distinct groups are in view, the fact that the article precedes only the first-named group indicates that they are united somehow. Thus, by way of illustration,¹⁵ in the clause, "The Democrats and Republicans approved the bill unanimously," the two political parties, though distinct, are united on a particular issue. Illustrations of this kind are numerous, e.g., "the mothers and children," "the fathers and daughters," "the coaches and athletes," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 1.¹⁶

Two Overlapping Groups

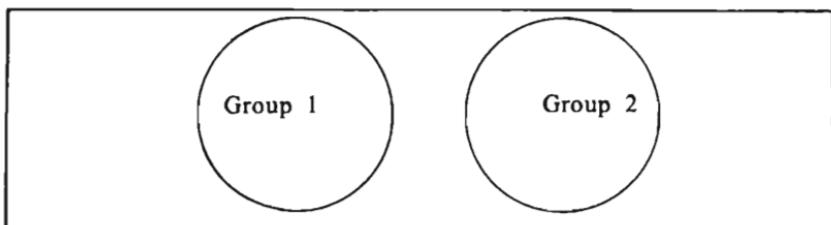
It is theoretically possible that the plural construction in the NT could refer to two overlapping groups. That is, some members of the first-named group could belong to the second-named group and vice-versa. The idea of this nuance would probably be expressed in modern English by "The X and/or Y" and vice-versa. We could

preoccupation with this very question, they lock themselves into a binary system which does not allow them to see other alternatives; and (2) as James Barr laments in his *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1961), most theological students (myself included) rarely have any substantial training in modern linguistics (pp. 288-96). Since this is the case, we should not necessarily expect that those who have been trained in theology as a prior discipline should be able to ask all the right *linguistic* questions of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction.

¹⁵In this and the following sections, *English* illustrations will be used only to demonstrate, via analogy, that a particular semantic nuance is possible. I am not implying by such illustrations that the English idiom is identical with the Greek.

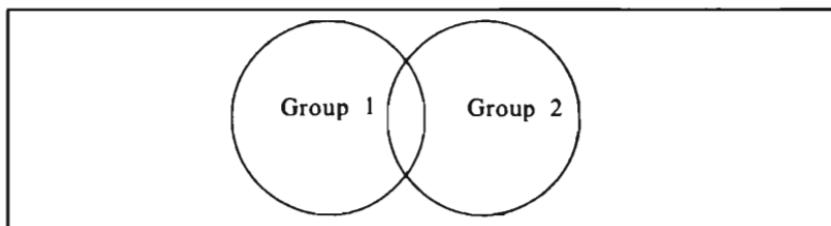
¹⁶In this and the following charts, the definite article before the first noun and the kai between the two nouns are omitted because these charts are intended to depict the *semantics, not the structure*, of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction. It is assumed that the reader is well acquainted with the structure under consideration.

Chart 1



illustrate this with such phrases as "the student council members and football players," "the blind and elderly," "the scientists and Christians," "the healthy and wealthy and wise," "the poor and miserable." It is possible in each of these constructions that some overlap could take place, given a particular context. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 2.

Chart 2



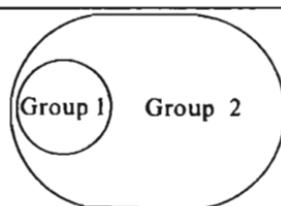
First Group Sub-Set of Second

The third possibility is that the first-named group is a sub-set of the second, i.e., it is entirely included with the second-named group. The idea then would be "The X and [other] Y." Thus, by way of illustration, one could speak of "the angels and created beings," "the southern Baptists and evangelicals," "the deaf and handicapped," "the saints and sinners." This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 3.

Second Group Sub-Set of First

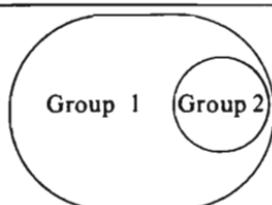
The fourth possibility is that the second-named group is a sub-set of the first. The idea then would be "The X and [in particular] Y." This could be illustrated with such phrases as "the created beings and

Chart 3



angels," "the handicapped and deaf," "the teachers and professors," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 4.

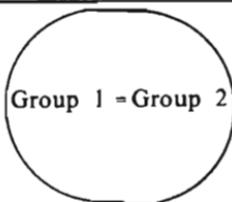
Chart 4



Two Groups Identical

Finally, the groups may be entirely identical. The idea may be expressed, "The X who are Y," or "The X even Y." Thus, by way of illustration, one could speak of "The Los Angeles Dodgers and world champions of baseball," "the evil and wicked," "the Gentiles and outsiders," "the powerful and mighty," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 5.

Chart 5



As far as I can tell, these five nuances comprise the antecedently *possible* semantic range of the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction. It remains to be seen whether this is the *actual* semantic range in the NT.

THE PHENOMENON IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

I have discovered 70 plural constructions in the NT which fit the pattern article-noun-καὶ-noun¹⁷ and 7 other plural constructions which *perhaps* fit this pattern.¹⁸ Of these seven questionable instances, I consider one to be legitimate,¹⁹ bringing the total to 71 constructions

¹⁷ As noted earlier in the paper, I am restricting my discussion to *personal* constructions. These constructions are found in the following texts: Matt 2:4; 3:7; 5:6; 20; 9:11; 11:28; 12:38; 16:1, 6, 11, 12, 21; 20:18; 21:12, 15; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 2:16 (twice); 12:40; 15:1; Luke 5:30; 6:35; 7:32; 8:21; 9:22; 11:28; 12:4; 14:3, 21; 15:9; 18:9; 20:46; 22:4, 52; John 1:40; 7:45; 11:31, 45; 20:29; Acts 15:2; 16:4; 17:12; 23:7; Rom 16:7; 1 Cor 5:10; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Eph 1:1; 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Phil 3:3; 1 Thess 5:12; 1 Tim 4:3; 5:8; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:15; Heb 5:2; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 2:10; 3:16; 3 John 5; Rev 1:3; 11:9; 12:17; 18:9; 21:8.

¹⁸ See Luke 1:2; 10:30; Acts 8:25; 9:15; 17:18; Col 1:2; Heb 6:4–6.

¹⁹ The one legitimate construction, as I see it, is in Col 1:2 (*τοῖς . . . ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*). Here it is *possible* to construe ἀγίοις as an attributive adjective modifying ἀδελφοῖς (with πιστοῖς being the second attributive) rather than as a substantival adjective. However, in light of the well worn substantival use of ἀγίος in the NT generally (cf., e.g., Acts 9:13, 32; Rom 8:27; 12:13; 1 Cor 6:1–2; Eph 2:19; 3:8; Phil 4:22; 1 Tim 5:10; Heb 6:10), in the Pauline salutations more particularly (cf., e.g., Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1), and in the parallel in Ephesians especially (1:1), ἀγίοις here is probably substantival and, consequently, fitting the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction.

The other constructions, which I do not consider to be legitimate, are: (1) Luke 1:2 (*οἱ ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς ὑπέστησαν καὶ ὑπῆρχε γενόμενοι*) involves a definite article which functions as a substantiver of the prepositional phrase, though independently of the following nouns; (2) Luke 10:30, cited by Durham ("Sharp's Rule," p. 34), does not use the article but the personal pronoun *οἱ*; (3) Acts 8:25, cited by Durham (*ibid.*) and Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," pp. 71–72), employs the article in the place of a personal pronoun with *circumstantial* participles (*Oἱ μὲν . . . διαμαρτυράμενοι καὶ λαλήσαντες*); (4) in Acts 9:15, manuscripts B and C* add the article (*τῶν θέων τε καὶ βασιλέων εἰδὼν τε Ἰσραὴλ*), but the construction employs *τε* as well as *καὶ* for its conjunctions; (5) Acts 17:18, cited by Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," pp. 51–52), involves two adjectives which are not substantival, but attributive (*τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων*); (6) Heb 6:4–6 involves five substantival participles, but the second member of the group uses *τε* instead of *καὶ* for its conjunction (*τοὺς . . . φωτισθέντας, γενσαμένους τε . . . καὶ γενηθέντας . . . καὶ . . . γενσαμένους . . . καὶ παραπεσόντας*). It should be noted that although this construction does not fit the *precise* construction discussed in this paper, it is still clearly analogous to it. That is to say, all of the participles must be governed by the article and, consequently, must be substantival. Thus the view held by some that the last participle (*παραπεσόντας*) is conditional (and therefore circumstantial) flies in the face of clear syntactical usage (cf. J. A. Sproule, "Παραπεσόντας in Hebrews 6:6," *GTJ* 2 [1981] 327–32).

which will form the substance of this portion of the paper. With regard to the use of participles, adjectives, and nouns as substantives, the breakdown is as follows: (1) 25 constructions involve participles;²⁰ (2) 6 constructions involve adjectives;²¹ (3) 17 constructions involve nouns;²² and (4) 23 constructions are mixed.²³

Semantic Classifications

A well-established principle of lexical and syntactical investigation is to define the *actual* field of meaning by bringing forth clear instances of a particular word or construction. Then, the ambiguous and/or exegetically significant passages would be expected to fit into one of the previously determined categories. The antecedent probability²⁴ that the ambiguous text will fit into an established category is determined by the total amount of constructions and the percentage of those which are clearly identifiable.²⁵ Thus, for example, if we were unable to find one *clear* instance in which two nouns in an article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction were identical, we would be on rather shaky ground to *demand* such an interpretation in Eph 4:11—especially if such an interpretation were based primarily on the syntax.

Our approach here, therefore, will first be to see which of the five antecedently *possible* categories have valid examples in the NT and second, to discuss some of the ambiguous and exegetically significant examples.

²⁰See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:12, 15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Phil 3:3 (three participles); 1 Thess 5:12 (three participles); 2 Tim 3:6; Heb 5:2; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

²¹See Luke 6:35; 14:21 (four adjectives); Eph 1:1; 1 Tim 5:8; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 3:16.

²²See Matt 2:4; 3:7; 5:20; 12:38; 16:1, 6, 11, 12; 20:18; Luke 22:4; John 7:45; Acts 17:12; 23:7; Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Rev 11:9.

²³These may be divided into two groups: mixed constructions with participles and mixed constructions without participles. With participles: 1 Tim 4:3 (adjective, participle); Titus 1:15 (participle, adjective); Rev 21:8 (adjective, adjective, participle, noun, noun, noun). Without participles: Matt 9:11 (na); 16:21 (ann); 26:47 (na); 27:3 (na), 12 (na), 41 (na); Mark 2:16 (twice—an, na); 15:1 (an); Luke 5:30 (na); 9:22 (ann); 14:3 (an); 15:9 (an); 22:52 (nna); Acts 15:2 (na); 16:4 (na); Rom 16:7 (an); 1 Cor 5:10 (na); Col 1:2 (an); 3 John 5 (na).

²⁴By "antecedent probability" I mean the probability which has been established by grammar alone—before other exegetical considerations enter the picture.

²⁵Thus, for example, if there are over 80 article-noun-kai'-noun personal, *singular* constructions in the NT, and all except the few Christologically significant ones are clear that one person is being identified by the two nouns, then there is an extremely high antecedent probability that in Titus 2:13; 2 Pet 1:1, *et al.*, the biblical author is referring to one person. Arguments against such a view must be based on other than syntax, yet it is significant that those who do argue against the view usually attempt to use syntax as the primary weapon in their arsenal!

Validation of the Semantically Possible Categories

Two Entirely Distinct Groups, though United. I have discovered 19 clear examples of this semantic group.²⁶ For example, in Matt 3:7 we read τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων. Although the two religious parties were entirely distinct, the one article unites them in some way. This is the first mention of either Pharisees or Sadducees in Matthew's gospel, and it may be significant that he presents these two parties which were historically opposed to one another²⁷ as *united* in their opposition to the Messiah's forerunner. Matthew mentions the Pharisees and the Sadducees together only four other times in his gospel and in each instance the construction is article-noun-καὶ-noun and the two groups are contrasted with the Messiah.²⁸ In Matt 16:21 we read τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων. These were the three distinct parties which comprised the Sanhedrin.²⁹ (Some have erroneously insisted that this construction fits the Granville Sharp rule because these three groups all refer to the Sanhedrin. However, to say that A + B + C = D is not the same as saying A = B = C, the latter equation being what the Granville Sharp rule asserts.) This phrase, involving at least two of the three groups, occurs another eight times in the NT.³⁰ Apart from constructions involving the religious parties or groups which comprised the Sanhedrin (for at least one of the substantives), there is only one clear example in which the two nouns are entirely distinct. In Acts 17:12 we see "women . . . and men" in the construction (τῶν . . . γυναικῶν . . . καὶ ἀνδρῶν). Nevertheless, even though the clear examples almost exclusively occur in set phrases, in light of such clear examples of entirely distinct groups united by one article (accounting for 27% of all plural constructions), the dogmatic insistence of many exegetes

²⁶ See Matt 2:4; 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12, 21; 20:18; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 15:1; Luke 9:22; 22:4, 52; John 7:45; Acts 17:12; 23:7.

²⁷ J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 265–67. Cf. also E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 2, 409–11.

²⁸ See Matt 16:1, 6, 11, 12. See also Acts 23:7 for the only other instance of these two groups in this construction.

²⁹ On ἀρχιερεύς, see Schrenk, "ἀρχιερεύς," *TDNT*, 3, 270–71; Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 179–80; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13; on γραμματεύς, see Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 236; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13; on πρεσβύτερος, see *BAGD*, s.v. "πρεσβύτερος," 2, a. β.; G. Bornkamm, "πρεσβύτερος," *TDNT*, 6, 659; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13.

³⁰ See Matt 2:4; 20:18; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 15:1; Luke 9:22. On three other occasions, the chief priests are mentioned with another group(s): Luke 22:4 (τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς); Luke 22:52 (τοὺς . . . ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς . . . καὶ πρεσβύτερους); John 7:45 (τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους).

that this construction fits the Granville Sharp rule does not seem to be borne out of sober reflection.

Two Overlapping Groups. I have discovered only two clear examples of this semantic group, making it the least attested category. In Luke 14:21 we read τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀναπείρους καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς. It must be remembered that although these four adjectives are not synonymous, this does not preclude them from identifying the same group. (Otherwise it would not be possible for a blind man to be poor!) However, it is doubtful that in this parable the slave was told to bring *only* those who met all four “qualifications”! Rather, the obvious implication is that the new guest list was neither restricted on the one hand to those who fit only one category, nor on the other hand to those who fit all four. Thus an overlap of categories is obviously the nuance intended by the author. In Rev 21:8, the most complex article-noun-kai'-noun construction in the NT (involving *seven* substantives: τοῖς . . . δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδελυγμένοις καὶ φονεῦσιν καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις), we have a similar situation. Obviously, one would be committing exegetical and theological suicide to insist that the lake of fire is reserved *only* for those who meet *all* of the “qualifications,” or for those who meet *only one* requirement. These two texts, though comprising less than 3% of all the plural constructions, demonstrate the inadequacy of distinguishing only the entirely distinct and the entirely identical nuances for this structural phenomenon.

First Group Sub-Set of Second. I have found seven clear instances of this semantic group.³¹ In Matt 5:20 (and 12:38) we read τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων. Although not all scribes were Pharisees,³² when the two groups are mentioned together the author is almost certainly indicating “the scribes and *other* Pharisees.”³³

³¹ See Matt 5:20; 9:11; 12:38; Mark 2:16; Luke 5:30; 6:35; 14:3.

³² See Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 233–45, for an excellent argument against the notions that scribes = Pharisees (i.e., identical) and that *all* scribes were Pharisees (i.e., subset).

³³ This point can be established in some measure by a comparison of the synoptic gospels. For example, Mark 2:16 has “the scribes of the Pharisees” (οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων) while the parallel passage in Luke 5:30 reads “the Pharisees and their scribes” (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν). Although the article is used with both nouns in the Lucan account, one could hardly argue that such indicates unity more strongly than the article-noun-kai'-noun construction would. As well, there are three parallels in which the Pharisees alone are mentioned in one gospel and the scribes and Pharisees in another (cf. Matt 12:38 with Mark 8:11; Matt 15:1 with Luke 11:37; and Matt 9:11 with Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30). Although such evidence does not prove that the scribes in these passages were Pharisees (due to the selectivity of the evangelists—cf., e.g., Matt 16:6 with Luke 12:2), it is rather suggestive. Furthermore, even though Jeremias insists that not all scribes were Pharisees and that not all

Matt 9:11 speaks of “the tax-collectors and sinners” (*τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν*).³⁴ Although some have argued that two distinct groups are in view (the one Jewish, the other Gentile),³⁵ it is far better to understand the *τελώνης* as a Jew³⁶ and *ἀμαρτωλός* as *any* sinner, Jew or Gentile.³⁷ The impossibility of maintaining an absolute distinction between the two is demonstrated in Luke 18:13 in which a tax-collector (*τελώνης*) prays, “O God, be merciful to me, the sinner” (*ό θεός, ιλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ*). In Luke 14:3 we see *τοὺς νομικοὺς καὶ Φαρισαίους*.³⁸ The substantival adjective *νομικός* is clearly synonymous with *γραμματεύς*;³⁹ thus the construction has the same semantic value as *τοὺς γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους*. Finally, note the substantival adjectives in Luke 6:35 (*τοὺς ἀχαριστούς καὶ πονηρούς*). Quite obviously, ingratitude is a *kind* of evil; thus the ungrateful ones are a part of the larger group of evil ones. In summary, although the *clear* examples of this semantic category comprise only 10% of all plural constructions, it is a legitimate and well-attested category which will demand consideration in at least five exegetically significant and/or ambiguous passages.

Second Group Sub-Set of First. I have discovered four clear examples of this semantic category. In Mark 2:16 we read of both “the tax-collectors and sinners” (first sub-set of second) and “the sinners and tax-collectors” (*τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν*). However, there is some substantial textual deviation from the word order of this phrase, with **N**, **A**, **C**, families 1 and 13, and the Byzantine cursives, *et al.*, reading *τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν*. In 1 Cor 5:10 we see *τοῖς πλεονέκταις καὶ ἄρπαξιν*. Although one could be greedy (*πλεονέκτης*) without being branded as a swindler (*ἄρπαξ*), it is doubtful that the reverse could be true. What alters the picture,

Pharisees were scribes (*Jerusalem*, 233–45), he nevertheless recognizes that most scribes were Pharisees (p. 243) and that “This expression [‘the scribes and Pharisees’] shows that besides the leaders who were scribes, the great majority of members had not had a scribal education” (p. 258). The joining of the two nouns, then (whether with one article or two), is clearly used to indicate Pharisaic scribes and other Pharisees.

³⁴Cf. Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30 for parallel accounts, both of which have the same construction as is found in Matt 9:11.

³⁵See, e.g., G. W. Rider, “The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals,” 42–44.

³⁶See BAGD, s.v. “τελώνης.”

³⁷See BAGD, s.v. “ἀμαρτωλός,” 2. That *ἀμαρτωλός* was applied both to Jew and Gentile can be easily substantiated. With reference to Gentiles, cf., e.g., Matt 26:45 with Luke 18:32. With reference to both, cf., e.g., Matt 9:13. With reference to Jews, cf., e.g., Luke 7:37 with John 12:3; Luke 13:1.

³⁸See Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30 for the other two examples of this particular phrase.

³⁹Note the parallels: Matt 22:35 (*νομικός*) with Mark 12:28 (*εἰς τῶν γραμματέων*); Matt 23:13 (*γραμματεῖς*) with Luke 11:52 (*νομικοῖς*) and 11:53 (*οἱ γραμματεῖς*). Cf. also the comments by Gutbrod, *TDNT*, 4, 1088, and Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 254–55.

however, is that ή is found instead of καὶ in P46, Ι², D², Ψ, and the Byzantine minuscules, *et al.*, nullifying the construction in a large portion of the Greek witnesses to this text. In 1 Tim 5:8 Paul adds an adverb to clarify the relation between the two substantives (τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα οἰκείων), though again the MSS are divided with C, D¹, and the Byzantine cursives containing a second article (thus, τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν οἰκείων). Finally, in 3 John 5 we read εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῦτο ξένους. Here καὶ τοῦτο functions adverbially, having a similar force to καὶ μάλιστα in 1 Tim 5:8.⁴⁰ But the construction (as we might have expected!) is altered in some of the witnesses (in particular, P and the Byzantine cursives which have εἰς τοὺς instead of τοῦτο). Thus, although there are four clear passages in this semantic group (comprising almost 6% of all the plural constructions), their testimony *in each instance* is rendered somewhat less certain due to the textual variants. One might wonder, with some justification, whether the “preferred” readings have created an idiom which is foreign to the NT while these *variae lectiones* have preserved the true text.⁴¹

Two Groups Identical. I have discovered 28 clear examples of this semantic group.⁴² In Rev 1:3 we read that “those who hear and who keep” (οἱ ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ τηροῦντες) the words of the prophecy are blessed. It would seem obvious that the one who *only* hears the Scripture read and does not obey it would fall short of the blessing.⁴³ The two-fold response of hearing *and* keeping is necessary if one is to be counted among the μακάριοι. In John 1:40 we read of Andrew who was one of the two men who heard John and who began to follow the Lord (τῶν ἀκουσάντων . . . καὶ ἀκολούθησάντων). If only two men are mentioned (δύο) and the participles are in the plural, then both must have heard and followed. In John 20:29 the Lord promises a particular blessing to “those who do not see and [yet] believe” (οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες). The negative qualification of not seeing the risen Lord is, of course, insufficient of itself

⁴⁰See BAGD, s.v. “οὗτος,” I. b. γ. Rom 13:11; 1 Cor 6:6, 8; and Eph 2:8 are cited as illustrative references.

⁴¹It might be significant that the Byzantine minuscules were the only MSS to deviate in all instances. The possible significance is certainly worth pursuing, though it is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁴²See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; Rom 16:7; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Eph 1:1; Phil 3:3; Col 1:2; 1 Thess 5:12; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:15; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

⁴³Such a conclusion is so obvious in fact that most commentaries on the Apocalypse assume it to be true without any grammatical defense. Furthermore, if John were to pronounce a blessing on mere hearers, he would be contradicting James’ pointed remark that the man who simply hears is self-deluded (Jas 1:22). Both James and John are no doubt repeating their Lord’s statements to the same effect (cf. Luke 8:21; 11:28).

to procure such a blessing. What we have seen thus far are a few examples of this semantic group which involve *only* participles. Altogether, 23 of the 28 constructions belonging to this category involve only participles.⁴⁴ The participial constructions are in fact so transparent in their semantic force that Rider believes that *every* exclusively participial construction belongs to this semantic group,⁴⁵ even though he does not see *any* clear examples of identity in non-participial constructions.⁴⁶ Although some adjustment should be made to Rider's view, it is an indisputed and rather significant fact that most (if not all) of the wholly participial constructions do follow the semantics of the Granville Sharp rule and that this final semantic category is comprised of an overwhelming majority of participial constructions.

However, although the participles hold a clear majority in this group, they are not the only grammatical forms an author could have selected to indicate identity between the two substantives. I have discovered five clear instances of non-participial or partially participial constructions which belong here as well. In Rom 16:7 Paul greets Andronicus and Junius, "my kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners" (*τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ συναιχμαλώτους μου*). Here the substantival adjective *συγγενεῖς* and noun *συναιχμαλώτους* must, of course, both refer to the two men. Two Alexandrian MSS (P46 and B) add an article to the noun, however. In Eph 1:1 Paul addresses his letter "to the saints who are in Ephesus and [who are] faithful in Christ Jesus" (*τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*). Although there are textual variants from this text, none affects the article-noun-*καί*-noun construction. In light of Pauline theology, it is rather doubtful that he would be specifying two groups which could be distinguished in any way. If one were either to see the two groups as entirely distinct, as overlapping, or the first as a sub-set of the second, the resultant idea would be that at least some of the faithful in Christ Jesus were not saints!⁴⁷ And the second group could hardly be viewed as a sub-set of the first because (1) syntactically and textually, this would be the lone NT instance which did not have a

⁴⁴See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Phil 3:3; 1 Thess 5:12; 2 Tim 3:6; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

⁴⁵G. W. Rider, "The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," 66.

⁴⁶Ibid., 77–78.

⁴⁷Though such a concept might fit the Roman doctrine of sainthood, it is not Pauline, for even the licentious Corinthians were called saints (1 Cor 1:2). The term can obviously be used of positional truth, which, if it speaks of merit, speaks only of the merit of Christ.

textual variant;⁴⁸ (2) theologically, such a view would seem to restrict the Pauline doctrine of perseverance to less than all the elect; and (3) lexically, the route normally taken by those who deny a perseverance of all the elect is to read πιστοῖς actively as "believing" and still to see identity of the two substantives.⁴⁹ Thus, barring exegetical factors which may have been overlooked, there seems to be no good reason not to take the two adjectives as referring to the same group. Since this is so, with reasonable confidence we can say with Barth that

It is unlikely that Paul wanted to distinguish two classes among the Christians, i.e. a "faithful" group from another larger or smaller group that is "holy." Such a distinction would be unparalleled in the Pauline letters. Even the wild Corinthians are called "sanctified" and "perfect" (1 Cor 1:2; 2:6). While occasionally Paul presupposes a sharp division between "those outside" and "those inside," between "the unbelieving" and "the faithful," he has no room for half- or three-quarter Christians. It is probable that here the Greek conjunction "and" has the meaning of "namely." It serves the purpose of explication and may therefore occasionally be omitted in translation if its intent is preserved.⁵⁰

In Col 1:2 we see almost the same wording as in Eph 1:1 (τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ).⁵¹ Thus the arguments which were brought forth for the Ephesian text would be equally applicable to the construction in this sister epistle. In Titus 1:15 the apostle speaks of "those who are defiled and unbelieving" (τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις—a mixed construction of participle and adjective). He seems to be clarifying just who the defiled are with the adjective ἀπίστοις, thus identifying them, in a sense, as "filthy non-Christians." Paul continues to describe this group in v 16 with epithets which could hardly describe believers (βδελυκτοί, ἀπιειθεῖς, ἀδόκιμοι, κτλ.).⁵² Finally, Peter declares in his first epistle that servants should submit themselves to their masters, not only "to the good and gentle" (τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν) but also to the harsh (1 Pet 2:18). There is an obvious contrast here between two

⁴⁸ Admittedly, this is not the strongest argument against such a view, though it does bear some weight. Furthermore, even ignoring the *variae lectiones*, this category is not as well attested as all but one of the other groups, rendering it less likely as the correct view without a strong helping hand from non-grammatical factors.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967), 70.

⁵⁰ M. Barth, *Ephesians* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), I. 68.

⁵¹ See n. 19 for a discussion of the legitimacy of this construction.

⁵² Even if one were to argue that the persons identified in v 15 were believers (taking ἀπίστοις in the sense of 'unfaithful'), he would still see one group being specified in the construction.

classes of masters (note οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ), with the result being that to posit any semantic nuance other than identity for the article-noun-καὶ-noun construction would destroy the clearly intended antithetic parallel.

To sum up, the identical category has captured almost 40% of all the plural constructions in the NT. Over 82% of the constructions in this group involve participles exclusively. And although the identical category is the largest semantic group, it is weakly attested by non-participial constructions (only four belonging to this category, *none* of which is composed only of nouns).

Summary. Overall, 60 of the 71 article-noun-καὶ-noun constructions could be clearly tagged as to their semantic nuance (thus almost 85% percent were identifiable). With reference to these clear constructions, the breakdown is as follows:

Distinct	27% of total; 32% of clearly marked constructions
Overlap	roughly 3% of both
First sub-set	10% and 12%
Second sub-set	6% and 7%
Identical	40% and 47%

Although all five semantic groups were represented, certain patterns emerged which will certainly color our approach to the remaining eleven texts. We will break these down first by semantic groups and then by types of substantives.

With reference to the “distinct” category, we noted that although this is the second largest category, all but one of the instances occurred in a particular set phrase. As well, not one of the constructions involved participles. Concerning the “overlap” group, we saw that this is the smallest category (two examples). Furthermore, both examples were the most complex constructions in the NT (Luke 14:21 has four substantives and Rev 21:8 has seven). With reference to the “first sub-set of second” category, we found that this was well attested among adjective and noun constructions, though not at all found in participial constructions. With respect to the “second sub-set of first” group, we discovered four clear examples, though each one had fairly substantial textual deviations, making this nuance of the construction non-existent among the Byzantine MSS with various other witnesses departing from the “text” reading on each occasion as well. Finally, regarding the “identical” group, we observed that this, the largest of the semantic categories, captured all 23 of the wholly participial constructions (which could be clearly identified), five constructions involving at least one adjective, and no constructions made up exclusively of nouns.

The types of substantives involved are laid out in Chart 6:

Chart 6

	Distinct	Overlap	1st Sub-set of 2nd	2nd Sub-set of 1st	Identical	Totals
Noun + Noun	11		2			13
Adjective + Adjective		1	1	1	2	5
Participle + Participle					23	23
Mixed: Non-Participial	8		4	3	2	17
Mixed: With Participle		1			1	2
Totals	19	2	7	4	28	60

In conclusion, such dead statistics as these, when properly used, can themselves impart life to the interpretive possibilities one might see for a given text. The very fact that all five semantic categories have at least some clear examples clarifies and expands our syntactical options for the ambiguous passages. A word of caution is in order, however. We have no desire to put the Scriptures into a straitjacket by telling an author what he *must* mean by a particular construction. Dead statistics, unfortunately, are too often employed this way by well-meaning expositors. We must keep in mind that as interpreters of Holy Writ, the apostles are teaching us—not vice versa! But in seeking to understand these authors, we attempt to *discover* the boundaries of what they can mean by investigating the idioms of their language. (Grammar, then, used correctly, is descriptive rather than prescriptive.) Therefore, with reference to the article-noun-kai'-noun construction, the patterns we have seen certainly give us initial *direction* as to the proper interpretation of a passage; but such leanings can be swayed by other exegetical factors. After all, we are speaking about probabilities and tendencies, not certainties, and about grammar alone, not the whole of exegesis.

Ambiguous and Exegetically Significant Texts

Altogether, there are eleven passages which fit the "ambiguous" category,⁵³ four of which also have some particular significance exegetically.⁵⁴ We will briefly examine the seven ambiguous examples whose exegetical significance is minimal, then the four more significant passages.⁵⁵

Ambiguous Passages. In seven instances I could not make a positive identification of the semantics involved in the article-noun-καὶ-noun plural construction. In Matt 21:12 we read of our Lord entering the temple precincts and driving out "those buying and selling in the temple" (τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ). On the surface, we have two distinct groups united by one article. However, in light of the heretofore unanimous grouping of wholly participial constructions in the "identical" category, a hearing at least ought to be given to such a possibility in this text.⁵⁶ In Luke 15:9 we read of "friends and neighbors" (τὰς φίλας καὶ γείτονας). There is some question as to whether γείτονας is feminine or masculine in form (if the latter, it would still include the female 'neighbors'). More than likely, it is to be taken as feminine. Nevertheless, due to the field of meaning of φίλος,⁵⁷ as well as contextual⁵⁸ and other factors,⁵⁹ it is difficult to come down from the fence for any view dogmatically. Acts 15:2 (= 16:4) speaks of the apostles and elders (τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους). Although ἀποστόλους here seems to be used in its technical sense, it could be argued that all the apostles were elders,

⁵³See Matt 21:12; Luke 15:9; Acts 15:2; 16:4; Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; 1 Tim 4:3; Heb 5:2; 2 Pet 3:16; Rev 11:9.

⁵⁴See Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Heb 5:2.

⁵⁵Obviously, to decide what is and what is not significant is a most subjective endeavor. The basic criterion I have followed in this selection is in two directions—theological and practical. Thus the four passages chosen for the "exegetically significant" category deal with dispensationalism (Eph 2:20; 3:5), soteriology and hamartiology (Heb 5:2), and ecclesiology (Eph 4:11). All of these texts make a significant contribution to our understanding of such doctrines and each one, therefore, has practical ramifications as well.

⁵⁶Jeremias suggests that this phrase ("those who bought and those who sold") "may well have meant cattle dealers (John 2:14)" (*Jerusalem*, 49). It is quite possible that the 'buyers' were not the pilgrims who came to Jerusalem, but were the same as the sellers; the tenor of the passage certainly does not seem to indicate that the common people were among those booted out of the temple area.

⁵⁷See Stählin, "φίλος," *TDNT*, 9. 154.

⁵⁸Cf. Luke 14:12; 15:6.

⁵⁹The parallels in 3 Macc 3:10 and Josephus, *Ant* 18.376, suggest a set phrase, the semantics of which are still elusive. As well, the addition of a second article (τὰς) by A, W, Ψ, families 1 and 13, and the Byzantine MSS casts doubt on the authenticity of the construction.

though not all the elders were apostles.⁶⁰ Such a suggestion, however, is based partially on certain ecclesiological beliefs which are beyond the scope of this paper. In 1 Tim 4:3 the apostle Paul speaks of “those who believe⁶¹ and know the truth” (*τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἐπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν*). Whatever the truth is here, it would seem impossible to believe it unless one knows it. Questions concerning whether this text is speaking about salvation or a specific situation, and the type of knowledge in view here leave us with two viable options: (1) the first group is a part of the second, or (2) the two are identical. Without further investigation into these questions, we cannot be dogmatic for either position. In 2 Pet 3:16, the apostle gives us his assessment of those who distort Paul’s letters: they are ignorant/untaught and unstable (*οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι*). Apparently both terms refer to unbelievers,⁶² though the relation of the two groups is ambiguous due to insufficient lexical and contextual data in the NT. Finally, in Rev 11:9 John describes those who observe the corpses of the two witnesses as “from the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations” (*ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἔθνῶν*). Although it is apparent that “The multitude is composed of those who are connected racially, those who are connected linguistically and those who are connected by customs and laws,”⁶³ this does not entirely solve the problem of identification. If *λαός* could be construed to be lexically a part of *φυλῇ*, then we *might* have each term being a sub-set of the term which follows it. But since this is doubtful, it may be best to view each category as *overlapping* somewhat with the others, resulting in one grand hendiadys for ‘the world.’

In comparing the plausible semantics of these seven ambiguous passages with the clearly tagged passages, certain observations can be made. First, in both clear and ambiguous texts, there were *no* noun + noun constructions belonging to the “identical” category. Second, only in Matt 21:12 did we see a wholly participial construction as possibly fitting other than the “identical” category. Third, among the ambiguous texts the “first sub-set of second” category was plausible in all but two instances. These ambiguous passages, then, tend to confirm the patterns discovered for the clearly tagged texts and can

⁶⁰On the one hand, in Acts 15:4, 6, 22, and 23 the nouns are separated by an additional article before ‘elders,’ suggesting that an exact equation is probably not in view. On the other hand, John calls himself *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* in 2 John 1 and 3 John 1, though the precise connotation remains in doubt (see BAGD, s.v. “πρεσβύτερος,” 2. b. β.). Cf. also 1 Pet 5:1.

⁶¹BAGD, s.v. “πιστός,” 2.

⁶²This seems evident from the results predicated of them later in the verse: *ἀπώλειαν*.

⁶³Rider, “The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals,” 52–53.

help us in determining, at least antecedently, the meaning of the remaining four texts.

Exegetically Significant Passages. Four ambiguous passages carried particular exegetical significance (Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Heb 5:2). In Eph 2:20 Paul declares that the church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets ($\tauῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν$). If these prophets are OT prophets, as some have affirmed,⁶⁴ Paul may be saying that the church was prophesied in the OT. Since the construction is noun + noun, such a possibility has some syntactical support. However, Paul uses the same construction just a few verses later, in 3:5 ($τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις$), indicating that the same men are in mind. There he clearly puts the prophets in the present dispensation.⁶⁵ On the other hand, to see the apostles and prophets as identical should also be suspect: (1) this would be the only noun + noun construction which fits the identical category, and (2) in 4:11 Paul separates the two groups (notice especially the $\muὲν . . . δέ$ construction). What is the relation of apostles to prophets, then? In all probability, the first is a part of the second; that is, we should understand Eph 2:20 and 3:5 to be referring to the apostles and other NT prophets.⁶⁶

In Heb 5:2 we are told that the high priest was able to deal gently with those who were ignorant and were going astray ($τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ πλανωμένοις$). Since two participles are used in the construction, the antecedent probability is that one group is in mind. Hughes writes that “The perversity of the human heart is such that, *even if it should be possible* for a person to be free from sins of waywardness, yet no man can claim to be free from sins of ignorance or inadvertency [italics added].”⁶⁷ Although the terms are not identical, they may be referring to different attributes of the same group. In the least, since

⁶⁴See in particular I. J. Habeck, “Who Are the Prophets of Ephesians 2:20?” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 71 (1974) 121–25.

⁶⁵This assertion does not have to rest on the view that $\omegaς$ in 3:5 makes a comparison of kind rather than of degree (though I believe this to be the case; cf. Col 1:26), for the prophets are recipients of the revelation made ‘now’ ($νῦν ἀπεκαλύψθη$).

⁶⁶There are solid grounds for this view biblico-theologically as well as semantically. Habeck dismisses this view because the term prophet is not used of any of the apostles (Habeck, “Ephesians 2:20,” 121), but he errs in making a conceptual-lexical equation. As David Hill ably points out, our concept of NT prophecy must not be restricted to the $\piρoφηt-$ word-group (David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1979], 2–3). Certainly we cannot deny that Paul or John or Peter prophesied!

⁶⁷P. E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 178.

these sins were forgivable, the deliberate sins of 10:26 do not include being led astray (*πλανώμενος*).⁶⁸

Finally, we turn to the text which occupied us initially: Eph 4:11. There the apostle enumerates the gifted leadership of the church, concluding his list with “the pastors and teachers” (*τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους*). Although most commentaries consider the two terms to refer to one group,⁶⁹ we must emphatically insist that *such a view has no grammatical basis*, even though the writers who maintain this view almost unanimously rest their case on the supposed semantics of the article-noun-kai'-noun construction.⁷⁰ Yet, as we have seen, there are no other examples in the NT of this construction with *nouns* in the *plural*, either clearly tagged or ambiguous, which allow for such a possibility. One would, therefore, be on rather shaky ground to insist on such a nuance here—especially if the main weapon in his arsenal is syntax! On the other hand, the insistence of some that the two are entirely distinct is usually based on the same narrow view of the semantic range of this construction (i.e., only the two categories of absolute identity and absolute distinction are normally considered). What is the relation of pastors to teachers, then? It must be readily admitted that the uniting of these two groups by one article sets them apart from the other gifted men. Absolute distinction, then, is probably not in view. In light of the fact that elders and pastors had similar functions in the NT,⁷¹ since elders were to be teachers,⁷² the pastors were also to be teachers. Conversely, not all teachers were said to be pastors.⁷³ This evidence seems to suggest that the *ποιμένας* were a part of the *διδασκάλους* in Eph 4:11. This possibility is in keeping with the semantics of the construction, for the “first sub-set of the second” category is well attested in both the clear and ambiguous texts in the NT. Although one cannot be dogmatic, there is a high probability that, according to Eph 4:11, all pastors are to be teachers, though not all teachers are to be pastors.

CONCLUSION

I have sought to demonstrate that the syntax of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction has been largely misunderstood. It does

⁶⁸The ramifications of 5:2 and 10:26 for the doctrines of salvation and sanctification are manifold. Not only has God forgiven our waywardness, but he forgives it still.

⁶⁹See n. 1.

⁷⁰See n. 1.

⁷¹See Malphurs, “Pastors and Teachers,” 46–53.

⁷²Ibid., 52–53. Of course, that an elder should be able to teach does not necessarily indicate that he had the *gift* of teaching.

⁷³Ibid., 41–46.

not fit the Granville Sharp rule since the nouns are plural. Nor is its semantic range shut up to absolute distinction or absolute identity. By an exhaustive treatment of the construction in the NT, we discovered that there are three other semantic possibilities, in particular the first noun could be a part of the second. A proper semantic grid has helped us in seeing possibilities in certain texts which have hitherto gone unnoticed and in omitting certain options on the basis of syntax which have been assumed true. Further exegetical work still needs to be done in many passages which have this construction, but it cannot proceed unless the starting point is a proper understanding of the semantic range of this construction in the NT.