GRAMMATICAL CASE IN THE TEXT OF REVELATION 4 AND 5

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ABSTRACT

It is generally assumed that the Greek case system does not function in the usual way in the book of Revelation. Using the distinction between abstract Case and morpho-phonological case one can reconsider the use of case in Revelation in the light of the development in case markings, including new morpho-phonological realisations of certain participles.

The Greek grammar of Revelation is generally considered as very remarkable, peculiar and foreign to the language system itself (cf. Swete [1908] 1968: cxxv; Charles 1915:79; Thompson 1985:2-7, 106-108; Dougherty 1992:1-33 and Musser 1992:1). The use of cases is typical of this remarkable language usage (cf. Bousset [1906] 1966:159, 163; Swete [1908] 1968:cxxiii; Charles 1915:83-4, 86, 89-90; [1920] 1971:clii-iv; Mussies 1980:167; Dougherty 1992:7, 10).

If the so-called "foreign" usage of morphological case in Revelation were considered in the framework of the Case sub-theory of the Government-Binding (GB) Theory of Chomsky, one would have a better mechanism whereby to decide whether the "foreign" usage is truly "foreign". The Government-Binding Theory propagates the view that the totality of the formulated rules and principles regarding language comprises the grammar of a language (Chomsky 1991:417). The grammar as an interdependent system of rules and principles provides the basis for the grammatical sentences of a language. One should therefore be able to distinguish between sentences and non-sentences, as well as between well-constructed sentences and nonwell-constructed sentences. One should therefore be able to obtain an observationally adequate description (Radford 1981:25,26; 1988:27-30, cf. Botha 1982:26-7; Haegeman 1991:5). There is, however, one aspect that restricts our search for a descriptive adequate formulation, namely the lack of mother-tongue intuitions that could give us guidance regarding the grammaticality and acceptability of constructions in the Greek text (cf. Riekert 1985:26; Haegeman 1991:6-8).

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Musser (1992:1) indicates a number of proposals made in the past to describe the unique grammatical usage of Revelation. Riekert (1996) proceeds from the hypothesis that the morphological cases in Revelation 4 and 5 can be adequately described and explained within the framework of the Case sub-theory of the Government-Binding Theory. He analyses the two chapters relating to the abstract Case assignment and the morphological realisations in terms of proposals made within the Government-Binding Theory, and the application of these proposals to New Testament Greek (cf. Riekert 1985; 1996).

Riekert's study (1996) shows that in terms of abstract Case assignment no irregularities could be found. Nevertheless, we may comment on the following developments.

1. CASE ASSIGNMENT AND CASE REALISATION OF κύκλω

It is remarkable that κύκλφ which realises genitive case to its NP may be explained within the framework of the Case sub-theory in two ways (cf. Riekert 1996:75-77; 113-114): (i) κύκλφ may be described as an auto-thematic Case assignment realised as dative which in its turn governs another NP, and assigns to it genitive Case and case as in (1), or (ii) κύκλφ may be considered a petrified noun in the dative which functions as a preposition, and assigns oblique Case which is realised as genitive, as in (2):

(1) Revelation 5:11

| [NP [NP | κύκλω] | [NP | τοῦ θρόνου |
|---------|--------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| | surrounding(-s | space) | the throne |
| | dative | | genitive |
| | AUTO-THEM | MATIC | STRUCTURAL |
| καὶ τ | ῶν ζώων | | καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων]] |
| and th | e living creatures | | and the elders |
| ger | nitive | | genitive |
| ST | RUCTURAL | | STRUCTURAL |

The description of κύκλφ can potentially be different. κύκλφ may be described as dative (Rienecker 1966:616) and then as noun which governs the following, NP τοῦ θρόνου πρεσβυτέρων and assigns to it structural genitive Case as in (1) (cf. Mounce 1980:149, n. 28). On its own it is a free adjunct to the VP ἤκουσα πολλῶν and the receiver of autothematic Case. Otherwise we may describe κύκλφ as a petrified noun in the

dative which functions as a preposition, and therefore assign oblique Case in the genitive case as in (2) (cf. Mounce 1980:149, n. 28; Dougherty 1992:147, 383):

(2) Revelation 5:11

| {PP {P | κύκλω] | [NP | τοῦ θρόνου |
|--------|------------------|-----|------------|
| | around | | the throne |
| | petrified N as P | | genitive |
| | | | OBLIQUE |

καὶ τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων]]

and the living creatures and the elders
... genitive genitive
... OBLIQUE OBLIQUE

2. CASE ASSIGNMENT BY ἰδού

Similarly, $i\delta00$ as an interjection fails to assign Case (cf. Riekert 1996:66-67), whereas as an expletive element it assigns nominative Case and case as in (3) (cf. Riekert 1996:61-64, 67):

(3) Revelation 4:1

[IP [VP[V ($i\delta o \acute{\nu}$)] [NP $\acute{\eta} \ \phi \omega \nu \grave{\eta} \ \acute{\eta} \ \pi \rho \acute{\omega} \tau \eta$]]] a voice, the first nominative STRUCTURAL

The case of Case assignment is the nominative after ἶδού. Rienecker (1966:615) explains it merely as an Hebraism. Blass *et al.* (1961:80) mention that the nominative could best be explained by accepting ἶδού as a petrified imperative particle — as in Attic Greek — with the loss of the characteristics of the imperative form. Blass *et al.* (1961:71; cf. Beyer 1968: 57-8) draw attention to the fact that in following the Semitic pattern the present, future, imperfect and aorist of (παρ)εῖναι and (παρα)γινέσθαι may be omitted after ἶδού. Beyer (1968:57-8; cf. Charles [1920] 1971: cxxv, 106-7; Dougherty 1992:90, n. 19, 539-40) illustrates the five constructions of the Hebrew and its renderings in the Septuagint. Accordingly, it is clear that the renderings of and in Greek take place as an expletive element. καί ἶδού is therefore not only an exclamation, but also an expletive element in the sense of *there is/are* (cf. Czepluch 1988:282, 304n.14; Lasnik 1993:8-21). The nominative is assigned by co-indexation to the

subject element of the expletive ἰδού, which is also co-indexed to the NP $\dot{\eta}$ φων $\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\eta}$ πρώτη λέγων. (Cf. sentence 6).

3. CASE ASSIGNMENT AND CASE REALISATION BY ἀκούω

Revelation 4-5 confirms the preference for objective Case assignment by $\mathring{a} \kappa o \mathring{\omega} \omega$ throughout the book (Riekert 1996:64; cf. Dougherty 1992:127 which draws attention to the fact that the accusative realises the governed noun of $\mathring{a} \kappa o \mathring{\omega} \omega$ 29 times in Revelation, whereas the genitive realises it 11 times). According to Liddell *et al.* (1968:54-4), the verb governs the noun in both the accusative and the genitive, but with a preference for the genitive which would be inherent Case assignment. Consequently Revelation reflects a shift to the objective Case assignment as in (4), (5) and (6).

(4) Revelation 5:11

| καὶ | {IP {VP {V | ἥκουσα] [NP [NP | φωνὴν] |
|-----|------------|-----------------|------------|
| and | | I heard | (a) sound |
| | | | accusative |
| | | | OBJECTIVE |
| IND | ἀννέλων | πολλών]]]]] | |

[NP ἀγγέλων πολλῶν]]]] (of) angels many genitive STRUCTURAL

The verb ἤκουσα governs the NP ϕ ωνὴν πολλῶν and assigns to the head ϕ ωνὴν objective Case realised as accusative case.

The above analysis accepts that the NP φωνὴν governs the NP ἀγγέλων πολλῶν and assigns to it structural genitive Case. There is a remote possibility that ἀγγέλων πολλῶν is indirectly governed by the verb ἤκουσα and in this case the genitive is then inherent Case assignment, traditionally described as the genitive of the source of the sound. In this instance it would make no difference in the semantic context of the sentence.

(5) Revelation 5:13

| καὶ | $ \{ \text{IP } \{ \text{NP}_{_1} \{ \text{NP}$ | πᾶν κτίσμα] | [CP COMPe |
|-----|--|----------------|-----------|
| | and | every creature | |
| | | accusative | |
| | | OBJECTIVE | |

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[IP [NP
                6
                           ([INFL 3 sg. praes.])
                 which
                nominative
                STRUCTURAL
{VP ({V
                \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota < \epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\iota
                                     [PP [PP [P
                                                          ėν
                                                          in
[ΝΡ τῷ οὐρανῷ] καὶ
                           [PP [P
                                     ἐπί}
                                                [NP
                                                          τῆς γῆς]] καὶ
      the heaven and
                                     on
                                                          the earth and
      dative
                                                          genitive
      OBLIQUE
                                                          OBLIQUE
                                                          [PP [P
[PP [P
                ὑποκάτω] [ΝΡ
                                     τῆς γῆς]] καὶ
                                                                    ἐπὶ]
                underneath
                                     the earth and
                                                                     on
                                     genitive
                                     OBLIQUE
[ΝΡ τῆς θαλάσσης]]]]]] καὶ
                                     [NP [DET \tau \hat{\alpha}]
                                                          [PP [P
                                                                     \dot{\epsilon}\nu
                                                the (things)
      the sea
                                                                     in
      genitive
                                                accusative
      OBLIQUE
                                                OBJECTIVE
[NP αὐτοῖς]]][AP
                           πάντα] [VP [V
                                                ἤκουσα}
                                                I heard
      them
                           accusative \\
      dative
      OBLIQUE
                           OBJECTIVE
NPt, [IP [A
                λέγοντας]]]
                saying
                accusative
                OBJECTIVE
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Because of the length of the NP $\pi \hat{a} \nu$ $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \hat{o} \hat{\iota}_S \pi \dot{a} \nu \tau \alpha$ which moved in front of the verb to take the topicalisation position, the construction of the sentence is not so obvious.

The verb η kou σ a governs the NP-construction above and assigns to the heads of the recursive composed NP, viz. to $\pi \hat{a} \nu \kappa \tau i \sigma \mu a$ and $\tau \hat{a}$ objective Case realised as accusative case (cf. Riekert 1996:64; Dougherty 1992:127-8).

The DET $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ is made more precise by means of the PP $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ which governs the NP $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota}$ and assigns to it dative case as realisation of the oblique Case. Lohmeyer (1953:57) is of the opinion that $\tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota}$ resumes the last three nouns together, thus a resumption of the detailed description of $\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu \kappa \tau \hat{\iota} \hat{\iota} \mu \alpha$, now from the viewpoint of a totality, or as Bratcher (1984: 53) formulated it "the whole universe", according to Bousset ([1906] 1966: 262, cf. Charles [1920] 1971:150) in terms of a quatro partition. The fact that the whole is meant seems confirmed by the use of $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha$ as a adjective to strenghten the resumption. Charles ([1920] 1971:136) shows that $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha$ follows its noun only in two other instances in Revelation. Dougherty (1992:220, 225) considers $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha$ as a substantive adjective. In this case we have a different construction and AP with $\pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha$ changes to NP. It is also part of the chain with $(\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu \kappa \tau \acute{\iota} \sigma \mu \alpha) \tau \dot{\alpha}$ and $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \nu \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma$, and it has the Case assignment in common with the rest.

The verb ἀκούω is sub-categorised to take the participle together with the object and in this case λέγοντας which then like π âν κτίσμα and τὰ has accusative case as realisation of the objective Case which is also a constructio ad sensum (cf. Charles [1920] 1971:cxlii; Dougherty 1992:343). The agreement with regard to number and case and Case is therefore unproblematic. There is, however, a problem with respect to grammatical gender, as it becomes obvious from the text critical apparatus which reflects attempts to change λέγοντας to neuter plural in agreement with τὰ (cf. Dougherty 1992:332, 341-2).

(6) Revelation 4:1

| COMPe [IP [NP | | $\eta \nu_{_2}$ } | [VP [V | ἤκουσα] | NPt ₂ |
|--------------------------|------|-------------------|------------|------------|--|
| | | Which | | I heard | |
| | | accusativ | <i>r</i> e | | |
| | | OBJECT | TIVE | | |
| [ADVP [ADV | ώς] | [NP NP | e [NP | σάλπιγ | γος λαλούσης} |
| | like | | | (of) a tru | ımpet talking |
| | | | | genitive | |
| | | | | STRUC | ΓURAL |
| [PP [P $\mu \in \tau$ '] | [NP | ἐ μοῦ]]]] | [IP PRO | [A | $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu_{_1}]]]$ |
| to | | me | | | which says |
| | | genitive | | | nominative |
| | | OBLIQU | JE | | STRUCTURAL |

In sentence (6) we have the relative clause ἣν ἤκουσα with WH-movement, the Case objective being assigned to the relative pronoun and realised as accusative in the structural position before movement according to the rules. In Revelation, we find, however, alternation of the case after ἀκούω. In this case it is objective Case realised as accusative. In other cases it is inherent Case assignment realised as genitive case (cf. Dougherty 1992:127, 159). In the phrase ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλούσης the assignment is realised in the genitive case, probably as auto-thematic Case, called a genitive absolute in the traditional Greek grammatical description (cf. Dougherty 1992:131 which states that we do not find a genitive absolute in Revelation). Charles ([1920] 1971:35) rightly calls the construction in this instance "a pregnant one". The construction reflects the following deep structure.

ώς φωνὴ σάλπιγγος like (a) voice (of)(a) trumpet

Charles ([1920] 1971:35) also indicates that $\dot{\omega}_S$ leaves the Case assignment unaltered.

The case of $\lambda\alpha\lambda\circ\dot{\nu}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ may be explained as a case of agreement with $\sigma\dot{\alpha}\lambda\pi\iota\gamma\gamma\circ\varsigma$, the second NP which receives structural genitive Case as a NP which is governed by another NP. The agreement should rather be with the governing NP and therefore we should rather expect $\lambda\alpha\lambda\circ\dot{\nu}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ in agreement with $\varphi\omega\nu\dot{\eta}$ (cf. Charles [1920] 1971:24). The Case assignment of the PP $\mu\varepsilon\tau$ $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\circ\dot{\nu}$ described in detail in Riekert (1996:64-65) has no bearing on this problem.

4. PHENOMENA REFLECTING DEVIATIONS IN LANGUAGE USAGE CONNECTED WITH CASE

Phenomena connected with case which reflect deviations in the language usage in Revelation compared to the language usage in other books of the New Testament, deserve discussion. There are new morpho-phonological formations of the participles which realise the cases, viz. $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu$.

4.1 New morpho-phonological realisations of the participle $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu$

4.1.1 $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu$ in (7) shows deviations from the rest of the nominative phrase with regard to the grammatical gender. When it is regarded as a petrification and thus indeclinable or it functions as a *constructio ad sensum*,

then there is no problem with regard to Case and case. It is at the most a problem concerning the agreement of grammatical gender (cf. Riekert 1996:130).

(7) Revelation 4:1

| [IP [VP [(V | (ἰδού)] | $[NP_1]$ | ή φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη] | | [CP |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| | (look the | ere is) | a voice, t | he first | |
| | | | nominati | ive | |
| | | | STRUCTURAL | | |
| COMPe [IP [N | P | $\eta \nu_{_2}$] | [VP [V | ἤκουσα | NPt ₂ |
| | | which | | I heard | |
| | | accusativ | re | | |
| | | OBJECT | IVE | | |
| [ADVP [ADV | ώς] | [NP NP | e [NP | σάλπιγη | νος λαλούσης] |
| | like | | | (of) a tru | mpet talking |
| | | | | genitive | |
| | | | | STRUCT | TURAL |
| [PP [P μ∈τ'] | [NP | ἐ μοῦ]]]] | [IP PRO ₁ | [A | λέγων ₁]]]]]] |
| to | | me | | | which says |
| | | genitive | | | nominative |
| | | OBLIQU | IE | | STRUCTURAL |

As far as Case is concerned, there is no problem with $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu$, but the grammatical gender of $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega \nu$ is not in agreement with the rest of the nominative phrase. Therefore we also find corrections to $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \sigma \sigma \sigma$ (cf. Zahn [1924-26] 1986:137). This is not necessary. According to Bousset ([1906] 1966:243) and Lohmeyer (1953:45; cf. Swete [1908] 1968:67; Charles 1915:85; [1920] 1971:108; Thompson 1985:69, 70; Dougherty 1992:106, 106N8,N9, 331,342, 344), it is either a constructio ad sensum or a rendering of the Hebrew הוא ליא ליא to introduce direct speech. According to Blass et al. (1961:76), it is indeclinable.

4.1.2 $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma$ in (8) deserves attention. The basic problem is agreement of grammatical gender and is most probably a *constructio ad sensum*. There is no problem concerning the agreement with regard to number, Case and case.

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(8) Revelation 5:13
    καὶ [IP [NP<sub>1</sub> [NP
                                 πᾶν κτίσμα]
                                                        [CP COMPe
    and
                                 every creature
                                 accusative
                                 OBJECTIVE
    [IP [NP
                      ő]
                                                        ([INFL 3 sg. praes.])
                      which
                      nominative
                      STRUCTURAL
                      (\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota < \epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\iota)
    {VP ({V
                                            [PP[PP[P
                                                                   \dot{\epsilon}\nu}
                                                                   in
    [NP \tau \hat{\omega} \ o\dot{v} \rho \alpha v \hat{\omega}]
                                             [PP [P
                                                        ἐπὶ}
                                                                   [ΝΡ τῆς γῆς]] καὶ
                                 καὶ
           the heaven
                                 and
                                                        on
                                                                   the earth
           dative
                                                                   genitive
           OBLIQUE
                                                                   OBLIQUE
    [PP [P
                      ὑποκάτω] [ΝΡ
                                            τῆς γῆς]] καὶ
                                                                   {PP {P
                                                                              ἐπὶ]
                      underneath
                                             the earth and
                                                                               on
                                             genitive
                                             OBLIQUE
                                             [NP [DET \tau \dot{\alpha}]
    [ΝΡ τῆς θαλάσσης]]]]]] καὶ
                                                                   [PP [P
                                                                              \dot{\epsilon}\nu]
           the sea
                                 and
                                                        the (things)
                                                                               in
           genitive
                                                        accusative
           OBLIQUE
                                                        OBJECTIVE
    [NP \alpha\dot{v} \tau \circ \hat{s}]][AP
                                                        ἤκουσα}
                                 πάντα] [VP [V
                                                        I heard
           them
           dative
                                 accusative
           OBLIQUE
                                 OBJECTIVE
    NPt, [IP [A
                      λέγοντας]...]]]
                      saying
                      accusative
                      OBJECTIVE
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Because much of (8) was discussed in (5), the discussion here is limited to what we have observed thus far concerning $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma$.

We have noted the attempts to correct the grammatical gender to $\lambda \acute{\epsilon}$ - $\gamma o \nu \tau \alpha$, neuter plural in agreement with $\tau \acute{\alpha}$. It is clearly an instance where $\acute{\alpha} \kappa o \nu \omega$ takes the participle together with the object.

4.1.3 $\lambda \in \gamma \circ \nu \tau \in S$ in (9) should also be discussed.

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(9) Revelation 5:11 and 12
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καὶ [IP NPt, [INFL 3 sg. impf.]
                                               ην < εἰμι]{NP,
                                        [VP [V
                                                      to be
     and
[NP o
              ἀριθμὸς] [ΝΡ
                               αὐτῶν,]
              number (of)
                               them
     nominative
                               genitive
     STRUCTURAL
                      STRUCTURAL
[ΝΡ [ΝΡ [ΝΡ μυριάδες]
              ten thousands
              nominative
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STRUCTURAL

[NP $\mu\nu\rho\iota\acute{a}\delta\omega\nu$] καὶ [NP [NP $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\acute{a}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$] (of) ten thousands and thousands genitive nominative STRUCTURAL

[NP χ ιλιάδων]]]] [IP PRO $_2$ [INFL (3) pl. praes.]

(of) thousands genitive

STRUCTURAL

The NP ὁ ἀριθμὸς (αὐτῶν) is co-indexed with the AGR-element of INFL as subject of the copulative verb ην and receives structural nominative Case. The NP's μυριάδες and χιλιάδες also receive structural nominative Case as part of the predicate and therefore co-indexed with ὁ ἀριθμὸς. The NP's αὐτῶν, μυριάδων and χιλιάδων are governed by the NP's ὁ ἀριθμὸς, μυριάδες and χιλιάδες, respectively, and consequently receive genitive case and Case. Although μυριάδες μυριάδων and χιλιάδες χιλιάδων are Hebraisms as far as the rendering is concerned (Blass *et al.* 1961:90, cf.

Riekert 1996:89, 90; Dougherty 1992:124-5), the Case assignment and case realisations are in agreement with the peculiarity of the Greek language. The participle $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ is co-indexed with PRO in its own IP. As far as the number is concerned $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau \epsilon s$ is co-indexed with $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ and as far as the case is concerned, with the head of $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$; therefore, with $\dot{\delta} \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \theta \mu \dot{\delta} \varsigma$, with which it functions as a chain together with $\mu\nu\rho\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$. This results in a structural nominative Case assignment. Charles ([1920] 1971:148-9) correctly draws attention to the fact that $\mu\nu\rho\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ figure in an unnusual order. Nevertheless, one should consider the possibility that ὁ ἀριθμὸς..... χιλιάδων is a parenthetic clause to sentence (6) and that λέγοντες φωνη μεγάλη is part of that clause. In this case λέγοντ∈ς is indeclinable (cf. Riekert 1996:63; Charles 1915:85; [1920] 1971:136; Blass et al. 1961:76; Dougherty 1992:341,343), and we could rather expect $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma ουσαν$ to be in agreement with $\phi ων \mathring{\eta} ν$ or $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma οντων$ to be in agreement with $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ πολλών. The NP $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ is a free adjunct to $\lambda \in \gamma \circ \nu \tau \in S$ and has been assigned autothematic Case which is realised as dative according to Dougherty (1992:150) as a description of manner.

4.2 New morpho-phonological realisations of the participle $\check{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu$

 $4.2.1\,\mbox{\'e}\chi\omega\nu$ in (10) and (11) is either a *constructio ad sensum* or masculine and neuter. In any other instance it would not be in agreement in terms of grammatical gender. It is, however, unproblematic with regard to the Case assignment and case realisation.

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(10) Revelation 4:7
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καὶ [IP [NP τὸ τρίτον ζῷον]and the third living creature

nominative STRUCTURAL

to be

[AP [A ἔχων] [NP [NP τὸ πρόσωπον]

possessing the face nominative accusative STRUCTURAL OBJECTIVE

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The assignment of structural nominative Case and case to the NP $\tau \delta$ $\tau \rho (\tau o \nu \zeta \hat{\varphi} o \nu)$ is by co-indexation with INFL imperfect 3 singular (cf. Riekert 1996:79). The participle $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ as A, without the article, is predicative and by co-indexation nominative, although the form is masculine and therefore incongruent with $\zeta \hat{\varphi} o \nu$ (neuter) (cf. Dougherty 1992:224, 322-3, 335-8). It is possible to explain it as an *ad sensum* stylistic adaptation or $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ is accepted as masculine and neuter (cf. Riekert 1996:82-3, 104-105). Dougherty (1992:105) describes this instance as one where

a personified neuter subject has a masculine predicate adjective, even though the same neuter subject may take a neuter predicate or attribute in the same or similar context.

Charles ([1920] 1971:124) states that $\check{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$ replaces a verbum finitum, in agreement with the Hebrew or Aramaic idiom. The participle as verb governs the NP $\tau \grave{\delta} \pi \rho \acute{\delta} \sigma \omega \pi o \nu$ and assigns to it objective Case (obviously realised as accusative) (cf. Dougherty 1992:160). At the same time $\pi \rho \acute{\delta} \sigma \omega \pi o \nu$ governs the NP ($\acute{\omega}$ s) $\mathring{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\sigma\nu$ to which it assigns structural genitive Case and case. $\acute{\omega}$ s is an adverb which is text critically not without problems, but that does not affect Case assignment.

(11) Revelation 4:8

| καὶ | [IP [NP [NP | | τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα] | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|--|
| and | the four living creatures | | | | | |
| | | | nomina | | | |
| | | | STRUC | CTURAL | | |
| [NP [NP | ε ν} | [PP [P | καθ' | [NP [NP | ἒ ν} | |
| | one | | for | | one | |
| | nomina | tive | | | accusative | |
| | STRUC | TURAL | | | OBLIQUE | |
| [ΝΡ αὐτῶν]] |]]([INFL | impf. 3 sg. |]) | $[VP([V (\eta v < $ | €ἰμι}) | |
| (of) then | n | | | | (to be) | |
| genitive | | | | | | |
| STRUC | ΓURAL | | | | | |

| [AP [A | ἔχων] [ADV | ἀνα] | [NP | πτέρυγας ἕξ]]]] |
|--------|------------|------|-----|-----------------|
| | possessing | each | | wings six |
| | nominative | | | accusative |
| | STRUCTURAL | | | OBJECTIVE |

The NP $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho \alpha$ $\zeta \dot{\phi} \alpha$ displays nominative case and Case in the SPEC- or subject position of INFL and is linked by means of the apposition to the NP $\stackrel{\circ}{\epsilon}\nu$ which is also nominative by antecedent government. The preposition $\kappa\alpha\theta$ ' which expresses distributive meaning, assigns to $\ddot{\epsilon}\nu$ oblique Case which is realised as accusative (cf. Charles [1920] 1971:124; Dougherty 1992:174). This NP $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ in its turn governs the NP $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ and assigns to it structural genitive Case and case. The participle $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ as A is by co-indexation with the first $\stackrel{\circ}{\epsilon}\nu$ nominative, according to Bousset ([1906] 1966:250; Swete [1908] 1968:cxlin 1,72) a brilliant constructio ad sensum, although the form should be in agreement regarding the grammatical gender (cf. Riekert 1996: 80). Charles ([1920] 1971:cxlii) indicates that the ad sensum construction continues until Revelation 4:9 with $\gamma \acute{\varepsilon} \mu o \upsilon \sigma \iota \nu$, $\ \ \check{\varepsilon} \chi o \upsilon \sigma \iota \nu$ and $\lambda \acute{\varepsilon} \gamma o \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$, which are all constructiones ad sensum. Remarkable is the stylistic numerical co-indexation with $\stackrel{\circ}{\epsilon}\nu$ and not with $\tau \grave{\alpha} \ \tau \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho \alpha \ \zeta \hat{\varphi} \alpha$. Dougherty (1992:336-8) describes it as a "circumstantial participle". As verb $\tilde{\epsilon}$ χων assigns to the NP πτ $\hat{\epsilon}$ ρυγας $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ξ objective Case, which is obviously realised as accusative (cf. Dougherty 1992:160). Dougherty (1992: 364, 529; cf. Charles [1920] 1971:124; Arndt & Gingrich 1952:49) takes $\dot{a}\nu\dot{a}$ as distributive adverb. Dana & Mantey (1957:99), on the other hand, wrongly take $\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}$ as preposition which assigns the accusative case as realisation of the oblique Case in terms of the study of Riekert (1996). On first impression the [AP $\xi \chi \omega \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \nu \gamma \alpha \varsigma \dot{\epsilon} \xi$] could be analysed as in (12).

In this case a NP to fill the *theta* role grid of $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ is lacking whereas the above analysis clearly gives it. The insertion of an adverb, and in particular $\dot{a}\nu\dot{a}$, causes no problem at all to the structuring of the AP.

4.2.2 $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ in (13) is most probably an uncommon morphological realistion, but the Case assignment and case realisation agree with the theory.

Grammatical case in Revelation 4 and 5

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(13) Revelation 5:6
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[PP [P

Καὶ [IP [VP [V $\epsilon \hat{i} \delta o \nu$ NPt,

and I saw

> $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ [NP [NP μέσῳ} (the) middle in

> > dative OBLIQUE

[ΝΡ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων]]] the four living creatures

(of) the throne and

STRUCTURAL

genitive

καὶ [PP [P $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ [NP

and in

[ΝΡ μέσω] [NP τῶν πρεσβυτέρων]]]

> (the) middle (of) the elders dative genitive

OBLIQUE STRUCTURAL

[NP1 [N ἀρνίον] [ΑΡ έστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον] [ΑΡ

a lamb standing like (one)slaughtered

accusative accusative **OBJECTIVE OBJECTIVE**

κέρατα έπτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς $[A \quad \tilde{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu]$ έπτά]]]] seven

horns seven and eyes having

accusative accusative OBJECTIVE **OBJECTIVE**

[CP COMPe [NP oἵ} [INFL 3 pl. praes]

> they who nominative STRUCTURAL

{VP {V $\epsilon i \sigma \iota \nu < \epsilon i \mu \iota \}$

are

| [NP [NP τὰ [ἑπτὰ] πνεύματα] | | | [NP | τοῦ θ∈οῦ][ΑΡ | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| the seven spirits | | | | | (of){the} God |
| nominative | | | | | genitive |
| STRUCTURAL | | | | | STRUCTURAL |
| [A | ἀπεσταλμένοι] | {PP {P | $\dot{\epsilon i}$ S} | [NP | πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν]]]]]]] |
| | sent | | unto | | whole the earth |
| nominative | | | | | accusative |
| | STRUCTURAL | | | | OBLIQUE |

The P $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ assigns to both the NP's $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ oblique Case which is realised as dative case and this NP in turn governs two NP's and assigns to them structural genitive Case, realised also as genitive case, viz. to (i): τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων which forms a NP with a recursive build up, and (ii): $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \nu \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \nu$. $\mu \epsilon \sigma \omega$ could be considered to be merely implied before $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \sigma \sigma \hat{\alpha} \rho \omega \nu \zeta \hat{\omega} \nu$. The above analysis accepts that the phrase τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων reflects a single concept of space. Lohmeyer (1953:54; cf. Bousset [1906] 1966:257; Swete [1908] 1968:78; Charles [1920] 1971:136,140) expresses the opinion that the double $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \mu \dot{\epsilon}\sigma \omega$ is an Hebraism and therefore indicates the two boundaries of one space: the Lamb is standing in this case between the throne with the circle of living creatures on the one side and the elders on the other. Swete ([1908] 1968:78; cf. Charles [1920] 1971:140) prefers to understand it in the sense "the middle of all" — the Lamb as the focus of the entire scene. The verb $\in i\delta o\nu$ governs the NP $\dot{\alpha}\rho\nu i\sigma\nu$, although the PPs discussed above moved in between $\epsilon i \delta o \nu$ and $\dot{\alpha} \rho \nu i o \nu$, which realised the accusative case as objective Case assignment. The AP έστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον is an adjustment to and consequently forms a chain with ἀρνίον and the Case assignment is objective, realised as accusative like the A $\xi \chi \omega \nu$ (which as in Riekert 1996:79-80, is an uncommon morphological realisation; cf. Dougherty 1992:331, 336-8), but it is nevertheless accusative in agreement with ἀρνίον. In its turn $\tilde{\epsilon}$ χων as participle (cf. Dougherty 1992:334,336 who classifies it as both a circumstantial and a supplementary participle) is also verbal in nature; it governs κέρατα έπτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς έπτὰ and realises accusative case as objective Case assignment, also a NP with recursive build up (cf. Dougherty 1992:160, 186). The NP of the relative pronoun in a relative clause, receives nominative case and Case by means of co-indexation with INFL and the NP $\tau \dot{\alpha} \ [\dot{\epsilon} \pi \tau \dot{\alpha}] \ \pi \nu \epsilon \dot{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ by means of co-indexation with of also structural nominative Case (cf. Dougherty 1992:71, 83). The latter NP in turn governs the NP $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ $\theta \in \circ \hat{v}$ and assigns to it genitive case and Case. The participle $\dot{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ or as adjective is co-indexed with of

and forms with it and with τα [έπτα] πνεύματα a chain and therefore offers a realisation of nominative case and Case (cf. Dougherty 1992:85 who mentions "predicate adjective"). Dougherty (1992:85n11) indicates that the phrase has two predicates, viz. τα [έπτα] πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ and ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πασαν τὴν γῆν. The latter, as participle, is considered a circumstantial or supplementary participle. Mounce (1980:146, n. 17, cf. Charles [1920] 1971:142) correctly draws attention to the fact that ἀπεσταλμένοι (and οῖ) agrees with ὀφθαλμοὺς in gender, whereas in fact it is the πνεύματα which is sent out. The οῖ is thus attracted to the antecedent (cf. Blass *et al.* 1961:73, cf. also Du Toit 1987) with ἀπεσταλμένοι, a constructio ad sensum. As participle it has a verbal nature which requires a theta role in the form of a PP; the preposition εἶ governs the NP πασαν τὴν γῆν and assigns to it accusative case which realises the oblique Case.

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