

THE LICENSING PROPERTIES OF COGNATE NOUNS OF
COMMUNICATION VERBS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Abstract: This article investigates the licensing properties of the cognate nouns of verbs that grammaticalize communication in the New Testament. The preliminary discussion reviews the semantic, syntactic, and lexical requirements of the fifty verbs of communication that have cognate nouns in the New Testament and develops general characteristics of the verbs' sixty-four cognate nouns. The investigation of the cognate nouns describes their licensing properties, resolves their occurrences into six distinct usages, specifies all observed lexical realizations of required complements, and identifies the conditions for polysemy. (Article)

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1. *Preliminary Considerations: Communication Verbs
and Their Cognate Nouns*

The event of communication under study places in relationship three entities that function as a semantic Agent (A), “the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity,” Content (C), “the content of a sensory, cognitive, or emotional event or activity,” and Experiencer (E), “the animate entity that undergoes a sensory, cognitive, or emotional event or activity.”¹ As previously developed, the verbs raise these entities as arguments, and only the complements

1. These and subsequent semantic functions receive description according to the thematic roles developed in Saeed, *Semantics*, 139–71, and Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 31–45.

associated with these arguments are required for the correct grammatical use of the verbs.² The following discussion reviews the five features of the conceptualization of communication grammaticalized by verbs to determine which features remain both applicable and salient in the grammaticalization of their cognate nouns, proposes a procedure for describing the lexical realizations of required complements, clarifies conditions for the permissible omission of required complements, and introduces the characteristics of cognate nouns of verbs of communication.

1.1 Features of the Conceptualization of Communication

Verbs grammaticalize communication in differing ways that can be explained in terms of five features of the event's conceptualization. All occurrences of verbs that grammaticalize the conceptualization of communication with the same five features constitute a verbal usage. The discussion of these five features focuses on the two features (secondary emphasis and functionality of the Content) that have the potential to characterize the conceptualization of communication grammaticalized by the verbs' cognate nouns and briefly explains why the remaining three features either are not applicable (subject affectedness and suppression of the Content) or salient (orality).

1.1.1 *Secondary emphasis*. In the conceptualization of communication, the Agent communicates Content to an Experiencer. When not passivized, communication verbs place primary emphasis on the Agent by raising it as the first required complement (i.e. subject). The selection of the second required complement depends on the relative emphasis that each verb places on the Content and Experiencer arguments. Among the NT verbs of communication with cognate nouns, forty-two place secondary emphasis only on the Content; six place secondary emphasis only on the Experiencer; and two present distinct usages with secondary emphasis on the Content and

2. This discussion summarizes the presentation on verbs of communication developed in Danove, "Feature Description," 7–29.

Experiencer.³ Secondary emphasis on the Content highlights the production and transmission of the Content (the Agent causes the message to go to the Experiencer); whereas secondary emphasis on the Experiencer highlights the reception and interpretation of the Content (the Agent causes the Experiencer to receive the message).⁴ When the verbs are passivized, they consistently raise the second required complement, the one with secondary emphasis, as the verbal subject. Descriptions of the licensing properties of communication verbs note emphasis by placing the first letter of their three arguments in the order of decreasing emphasis, either ACE or AEC; and the verbs receive description as having Usage ACE and/or Usage AEC. In the following examples, *λαλέω* ('speak') places secondary emphasis on the Content (ACE) and *διδάσκω* ('teach') places secondary emphasis on the Experiencer (AEC).

ACE ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς (Matt 13:33)
He spoke another parable to them.

3. Secondary emphasis only on the Content (42 verbs): ἀγγέλλω, αἰτέω, ἀναγινώσκω, ἀναδείκνυμι, ἀπειλέω, ἀποδείκνυμι, ἀποκαλύπτω, ἀπολογέομαι, βοάω, γογγύζω, γράφω, δείκνυμι, διαλέγομαι, διαλογίζομαι, διατάσσω, διερμηνεύω, διηγέομαι, ἐνδείκνυμαι, ἐντέλλομαι, ἐπαγγέλλομαι, ἐπιλύω, ἐπιστέλλω, ἐπιτάσσω, ἐπιτιμάω, εὔχομαι, καταγγέλλω, κηρύσσω, κραυγάζω, λαλέω, λέγω, μαρτύρομαι, ὁμιλέω, ὁμολογέω, παραγγέλλω, προσεύχομαι, προφητεύω, σημαίνω, συζητέω, συμβουλεύω, ὑποδείκνυμι, φωνέω, χρηματίζω. Secondary emphasis only on the Experiencer (6 verbs): ἀναμιμνήσκω, ἐπερωτάω, κελεύω, νουθετέω, παρακαλέω, ὑπομιμνήσκω. Secondary emphasis on the Content and on the Experiencer in different usages (2 verbs): διδάσκω, εὐαγγελίζω.

4. Most frequently, discussions of the Content/Experiencer emphasis employ a movement (cause to go) / possession (cause to have) distinction: cf. Pinker, *Learnability and Cognition*, 48, 63; Speas, *Phrase Structure*, 87–89; Pesetsky, *Zero Syntax*, 135–38; and Hovav and Levin, "Dative Alternation," 134. The movement (cause to go) / reception (cause to receive) distinction, however, better explains the implication that the emphasized Experiencer successfully interprets the Content: cf. Goldberg, "Inherent Semantics," 46, 49–52. Although these authors are concerned with "dative alternation" among various classes of English verbs (X tells Y Z / X tells Z to Y), the movement / reception constraints on the English verbs appear to parallel those of Greek verbs of communication.

AEC ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα (John 14:26)
He will teach you all things.

In Matt 13:33, the secondary emphasis on the Content indicates that the parable (Content) successfully was produced and moved to “them.” In John 14:26, the secondary emphasis on “you” (Experiencer) indicates that Jesus’s disciples will receive and interpret the Advocate’s teaching. These occurrences also illustrate that communication verbs consistently realize noun phrase (N) complements with secondary emphasis, both Content and Experiencer, in the accusative case (N+acc) and noun phrase Content complements, with both secondary and tertiary emphasis, in the accusative case (N+acc). There is no apparent constraint preventing the cognate nouns from grammaticalizing usages parallel to verbal Usages ACE and AEC.

1.1.2 *Functionality of the content.* Although each logical entity of the event of communication is associated with a specific semantic function (Agent, Content, and Experiencer), the conceptualization of communication also accommodates the grammaticalization of information about the Content entity. When this occurs, the entity functions as a semantic Topic (T), “the focus of a sensory, cognitive, or emotional event or activity,” as in the following occurrences of λαλέω (speak) with Usages ACE and ATE.

ACE ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον (Mark 2:2)
He was speaking to them the word.

ATE ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ
θεοῦ (Luke 9:11)
Welcoming them, he was speaking to them about the reign
of God.

Again, there is no apparent constraint preventing the cognate nouns from grammaticalizing usages parallel to verbal Usages ATE and AET.

1.1.3 *Subject affectedness, suppression, and orality.* The remaining three features of the conceptualization of commu-

nication available to verbs either do not apply to their cognate nouns (subject affectedness and suppression of the Content) or supply information that is not useful for distinguishing nominal usages (orality).

Although communication verbs are able to signal differing conceptualizations of the affectedness of the verbal subject through the use of differing base forms (active, middle, or passive), their cognate nouns do not have a comparable mechanism for signaling subject affectedness.⁵ Whereas the communication verbs have the capacity to suppress or omit their required Content complement whenever its specific meaning can be supplied by a cognate noun, the cognate nouns themselves do not present further cognate nouns that can supply their specific meaning.

Verbs that are restricted to oral communication do not grammaticalize specific conceptualizations of subject affectedness associated with passive base forms. Since the cognate nouns do not change form to mark subject affectedness, the feature orality, although still applicable for distinguishing cognate nouns of oral and non-oral communication, provides no salient information for distinguishing nominal usages.

1.2 *Describing the Lexical Realizations of Required Verbal Complements*

The required complements of verbs of communication receive realization as noun phrases (N), verb phrases (V), and prepositional phrases (P), and these realizations admit to further specification. The noun phrases appear in the genitive case (N+gen), the dative case (N+dat), or accusative case (N+acc). The verb phrases are either maximal (clausal) or infinitive. Maximal verb phrases (V+) receive further specification according to their introductory word: e.g., V+ὅτι for the ὅτι (that) clause and V+ὅτι for the ὅτι (that) clause. The infinitive phrase realizations do not include their subject and so are non-

5. Lyons, *Introduction*, 373, discusses the nature of this affectedness; cf. Allan, *Middle Voice*, 19–20. Saeed, *Semantics*, 162–65, considers various categories of affectedness.

maximal (V-i) and retrieve their subject from either the second required verbal complement (V-i2) or the third required verbal complement (V-i3). Prepositional phrase realizations (P) place the preposition after a slash and, when the preposition governs more than one syntactic case, an abbreviated statement of the case in brackets: e.g., P/περί [+gen] (about) and P/πρός [+acc] (to).

1.3 Permissible Required Complement Omission

Greek grammar permits the omission of the required non-subject complements of verbs in two circumstances.⁶ Required complements can be omitted whenever they have a definite referent that is retrievable from the previous or immediately following context.⁷ Such “Definite Null Complements” (DNCs) are bracketed in the following occurrences of λέγω (say) and αἰτέω (ask).

ACE	τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει (Rom 4:3) For what does the scripture say [to you Roman Christians]?
AEC	οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν (Matt 6:8) For your Father knows the things for which you have a need before you ask him [for the things for which you have a need].

In Rom 4:34, the definite semantic referent of the Experiencer is assumed to be the previously introduced addressees of Paul’s communication, the Roman Christians (Rom 1:7); and in Matt

6. An introduction to non-subject complement omission appears in Cornish, “Implicit Internal Arguments,” 198–99; cf. García Valesco and Portrero Muñiz, “Understood Objects,” 1–22; Fillmore, “Zero Anaphora,” 95–107.

7. Definite Null Complements receive investigation under the designations “definite object deletion” in Mittwoch, “Idioms,” 255–59, “latent object” in Matthews, *Syntax*, 125–26, “contextual deletion” in Allerton, *Valency*, 34, 68–70, and “definite null objects” in Lambrecht and Lemoine, “Definite Null Objects,” 13–55.

6:8, the definite referent of the null Content appears earlier in the verse.

Greek grammar also permits non-subject required complements of verbs of communication to be null when the context provides no retrievable referent.⁸ When this occurs, the verbs impose on their null Content complement the indefinite but circumscribed interpretation “whatever can be communicated in the manner described by the verb” and on their null Experiencer complement the interpretation, “people” or “some interpreter.” Such “Indefinite Null Complements” (INCs) are bracketed in the following occurrences of *λαλέω* and *διδάσκω*.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| ACE | <i>ἀνεκάθισεν ὁ νεκρὸς καὶ ἤρξατο λαλεῖν</i> (Luke 7:15)
The dead man sat up and began to speak [words] [to people]. |
| AEC | <i>εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν</i>
(Mark 1:21)
Immediately on the Sabbath entering the synagogue, he was teaching [teachings] [to people]. |

1.4 *Cognate Nouns of NT Verbs of Communication*

The following discussion distinguishes the two observed categories of cognate nouns of the communication verbs, identifies two categories of arguments that Greek grammar may impose on these cognate nouns, and predicts from these considerations the most likely means for the cognate nouns to grammaticalize the event of communication.

1.4.1 *Two categories of cognate nouns.* Communication verbs present noun cognates of the Agent and/or the Content, while the Experience typically receives realization by cognate verbal adjectives (or non-cognate nouns).

8. Indefinite Null Complements are developed in Fraser and Ross, “Idioms,” 264–65, and in Sag and Hankamer, “Anaphoric Processing,” 325–45.

Verb	Noun < Agent	Noun < Content	Adjective < Experiencer
διδάσκω	διδάσκαλος	διδασχί, διδασκαλία	διδασκτός (μαθητής)
'teach'	'teacher'	'teaching'	'taught (student)'

1.4.2 *Two categories of arguments able to be imposed on the cognate nouns.* Greek (like English) grammar has the capacity to impose on specific nouns two categories of arguments that function as a semantic Benefactive (B), “the literal or figurative entity for which something happens or exists.”

The first category of Benefactive arguments is imposed on all nouns that designate the artifact resulting from an action. For example, *She/Mary speaks* necessarily implies *her/Mary's speech*, insofar as *speech* is an artifact of an Agent's action of speaking. English most frequently realizes such required “agentive” Benefactive complements by a possessive adjective or a noun's possessive case ('s or s'), and Greek consistently realizes the required agentive Benefactive by a genitive case noun phrase, except when the governing verb is εἰμί (be).⁹ Since all cognate Content nouns of communication designate artifacts of the action of communicating, they all require completion by an agentive Benefactive that is co-referential to the Agent of the associated verb. Cognate Agent nouns, in contrast, may (as in the case of *appointment* or *commission*), but need not, designate artifacts, so that some do and some do not require completion by an agentive Benefactive argument. This agentive Benefactive of the cognate noun, however, does not reference the Agent of the associated verb and so is not a constituent of the event of communication grammaticalized by the cognate Agent nouns.

The second category of Benefactive arguments is imposed on all nouns that are defined in relationship to specific other nouns. Such a “reciprocal” Benefactive argument, for example, is required to complete the meaning of “teacher” which is defined specifically in relation to the interpreter(s) of what is taught, that is, one or more students. Thus *He/Pat teaches the students algebra* implies both *his/Pat's students* and *their/the students'*

9. Further discussion of agentive benefaction appears in Danove, “The Usages of δίδωμι,” 25.

teacher. All such reciprocal Benefactive complements reference animate entities, and English prefers to realize these complements by a possessive adjective or the possessive case of the noun, and Greek consistently realizes the reciprocal Benefactive by a genitive case noun phrase. Reciprocal Benefactive arguments are imposed most commonly on cognate Agent nouns.

1.4.3 *Predicted candidates for cognate noun usages*. The foregoing considerations propose distinctive means of grammaticalizing the event of communication for cognate Content nouns and cognate Agent nouns.

The cognate Content nouns consistently require completion by an agentive Benefactive (B) and logically require completion by an Experiencer (E), and the Content designated by the noun may be assumed to remain open to further elaboration by specific (C) or general (T) information. These considerations predict four probable candidates for cognate Content noun usages of communication: Usages BCE and BTE for cognate Content nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Content (parallel to all verbal usages ACE and ATE); and Usages BEC and BET for cognate Content nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Experiencer (parallel to all verbal Usages AEC and AET).

The situation is more complex with cognate Agent nouns. On the one hand, these nouns logically require completion by an Experiencer (E) and either a Content (C) or a Topic (T) but not an agentive Benefactive that is co-referential to the Agent of the associated verb. The cognate Agent nouns also may or may not be appointed or otherwise constituted by an agentive Benefactive external to the event of communication. These considerations predict four probable candidates for cognate Agent noun usages of communication with no external agentive Benefactive: Usages CE and TE for cognate Agent nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Content (parallel to all verbal Usages ACE and ATE); and Usages EC and ET for cognate Agent nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Experiencer (parallel to all verbal Usages AEC and AET). These

considerations also predict four probable candidates for usages of cognate Agent nouns of communication with a required agentive Benefactive. Since this agentive Benefactive is added to the grammaticalization of communication, it appears before a plus sign: Usages B+CE and B+TE for cognate Agent nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Content (parallel to all verbal Usages ACE and ATE), and Usages B+EC and B+ET for cognate Agent nouns of verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Experiencer (parallel to all verbal Usages AEC and AET).

The possibility of reciprocal Benefactive arguments with cognate Agent nouns, in contrast, does not contribute further possible usages because such reciprocal Benefactive arguments reference an entity internal to the event of communication, specifically the Experiencer. As a consequence, occurrences of such nouns will admit to polysemous interpretation whenever the lexical realizations of the reciprocal Benefactive and Experiencer are the same and the context does not identify a specific interpretation for an argument: e.g., in the phrase *the teacher of the students*, *the students* may reference either the Experiencer of the teaching or those in a reciprocal relationship with the teacher.

The following study demonstrates that all observed occurrences of the cognate Content and cognate Agent nouns grammaticalize communication with one or two of these predicted nominal usages.

2. Cognate Content Nouns of Verbs with an Emphasized Content

The NT presents forty-three cognate Content nouns of communication verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Content/Topic: *ἀγγελία* ('message'), *αἴτημα* ('request'), *ἀνάγνωσις* ('reading'), *ἀνάδειξις* ('manifestation'), *ἀπειλή* ('threat'), *ἀπόδειξις* ('demonstration'), *ἀποκάλυψις* ('revelation'), *ἀπολογία* ('defense'), *βοή* ('cry'), *γογγυσμός* ('grumbling'), *γράμμα* ('writing,' 'scripture'), *γραφή* ('scripture'), *δειγμα* ('example'), *διάλεκτος* ('language'), *διαλογισμός* ('discussion,' 'thought'), *διαταγή* ('order,' 'decree'), *διάταγμα* ('command'), *διήγησις* ('account'), *ἔνδειγμα* ('evidence'), *ἐντολή* ('command'),

ἐπαγγελία ('promise'), ἐπάγγελμα ('promise'), ἐπίλυσις ('interpretation'), ἐπιστολή ('letter'), ἐπιταγή ('command'), ἐπιτιμία ('punishment,' 'rebuke'), εὐαγγέλιον #1 ('gospel'), εὐχή ('vow,' 'prayer'), κήρυγμα ('proclamation'), κραυγή ('cry'), λαλία ('speech'), λόγιον ('speech,' 'oracle'), λόγος ('word,' 'matter'), μαρτύριον ('testimony'), ὁμιλία ('conversation'), ὁμολογία ('confession'), παραγγελία ('command'), προσευχή ('prayer'), προφητεία ('prophecy'), σημεῖον ('sign'), ὑπόδειγμα ('example'), φωνή ('voice'), and χρηματισμός ('oracle').¹⁰ The notation #1 after εὐαγγέλιον indicates that the noun presents distinct nominal usages in parallel with the distinct verbal usages of εὐαγγελίζω with secondary emphasis on the Content (#1) and Experiencer (#2). These forty-three nouns consistently grammaticalize communication with one or both of the predicted nominal Usages, BCE and BTE. The following discussion specifies the lexical realizations of all observed required complements of the nouns and clarifies the conditions for polysemous occurrences.

2.1 Usage #1 (BCE) with Cognate Content Nouns

The cognate Content nouns with Usage BCE realize their required agentive Benefactive by noun phrases, Content by noun and verb phrases, and Experiencer by noun and prepositional phrases. When only the agentive Benefactive receives realization (234 occurrences), it consistently appears as a genitive case noun phrase (N+gen).¹¹

10. This list excludes ἀπόκριμα ('answer'), ἀπόκρισις ('answer'), and δέησις ('beg'), whose associated verbs, ἀποκρίνομαι ('answer') and δέομαι ('beg'), grammaticalize an alternative conceptualization of communication, λογεία ('account'), which is associated with a non-communication usage of λέγω ('say'), and μαρτυρία ('testimony'), which is associated not with μαρτύρομαι but with μαρτυρέω ('testify'), a non-communication verb. The lists in the following footnotes also exclude those occurrences of φωνή associated with a non-communication usage of φωνέω ('call'). The conceptualization of the alternative event of communication and characteristics of the non-communication usages receive specification in Danove, *Verbs of Communication*, 188–231.

11. Usage #1 (BCE) agentive Benefactive N+gen (234 occurrences):

τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν (Phil 4:6)
 ‘Make [your (B)] requests known to God.’

When only the Content receives realization (98 occurrences), noun phrase realizations consistently are N+gen (81 occurrences) and verb phrase realizations (16 occurrences) are quotations (V+), V+ἴνα (that), V+ὅτι (that), V+τί (what), or V-i3 (to).¹² To assist in interpretation, the V-i3 example presents the null

αἴτημα, Luke 23:24; Phil 4:6; ἀπειλή, Acts 4:29; ἀποκάλυψις, Gal 1:12; ἀπολογία, 2 Tim 4:16; βοή, Jas 5:4; γράμμα, Luke 16:6, 7; John 5:47; γραφή, Matt 26:56; διάλεκτος, Acts 1:19; 2:8; διαλογισμός, Luke 5:22; 6:8; 9:47; Rom 12:1; 1 Cor 3:20; διαταγή, Acts 7:53; Rom 13:2; διάταγμα, Heb 11:23; ἐντολή, Matt 15:3; Mark 7:8, 9; Luke 15:29; John 12:50; 14:21; 15:10a, 10b; 1 Cor 7:19; 14:37; Titus 1:14; 2 Pet 3:2; 1 John 2:3, 4; 3:22, 23a, 24; 5:2, 3a, 3b; 2 John 6a; Rev 12:7; 14:12; ἐπαγγελία, Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4; 23:21; Rom 4:20; 2 Cor 1:20; Gal 3:21; ἐπάγγελμα, 2 Pet 3:13; ἐπιστολή, 2 Cor 3:2, 3; 2 Thess 2:15; ἐπιταγή, Rom 16:26; 1 Cor 7:25; 1 Tim 1:1; Titus 1:3; εὐαγγέλιον #1, Rom 2:16; 16:25; 2 Cor 4:3; 1 Thess 1:5; 2 Thess 2:14; 2 Tim 2:8; εὐχή, Jas 5:15; κήρυγμα, Matt 12:41; Luke 11:32; 1 Cor 2:4; 15:14; κραυγή, Matt 25:6; λαλία, Matt 26:73; λόγιον, Rom 3:2; Heb 5:12; 1 Pet 4:11; λόγος, Matt 5:37; 7:24, 26; 10:14; 12:36, 37a, 37b; 15:6; 24:35; Mark 7:13; 10:24; 13:31; Luke 1:20; 3:4; 4:32; 5:1; 6:47; 8:11, 21; 10:39; 11:28; 20:20; 24:44; John 4:39, 41; 5:24, 38; 8:52, 55; 10:35; 12:38; 14:23, 24a; 15:20b; 17:6, 14, 20; 18:32; Acts 2:41; 4:29, 31; 6:2, 7; 7:22; 8:14, 25; 11:1; 12:24; 13:5, 7, 44, 46, 48, 49; 15:15, 35, 36; 16:32; 17:13; 18:11; 19:10, 20; 20:35; Rom 3:4; 9:6; 1 Cor 2:4a; 4:19; 14:36; 2 Cor 1:18; 2:17; 4:2; Phil 4:17; Col 1:25; 3:16; 1 Thess 1:8; 2:13b, 13c; 4:15; 2 Thess 3:1, 14; 1 Tim 4:5; 2 Tim 2:9, 17; Titus 1:3; 2:5; Heb 4:12; 13:7; 1 Pet 1:23; 2 Pet 3:5; 1 John 1:10; 2:5, 14; Rev 1:2, 9; 3:8; 6:9; 17:17; 19:9, 13; 20:4; μαρτύριον, 2 Thess 1:10; ὁμολογία, 2 Cor 9:13; Heb 3:1; προσευχή, Acts 10:4, 31; Rom 1:10; Eph 1:16; 1 Thess 1:2; Phlm 4, 22; 1 Pet 3:7; Rev 5:8; 8:3, 4; προφητεία, Matt 13:14; Rev 11:6; σημεῖον, John 2:23; 12:37; 2 Cor 12:12a; φωνή, Matt 3:3; 12:19; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4; 23:23b; John 1:23; 3:29; 5:25, 28, 37; 10:3, 4, 5, 16, 27; 18:37; Acts 7:31; 12:14, 22; 13:27; 14:11; 22:9, 22; Gal 4:20; 1 Thess 4:16; Heb 3:7, 15; 4:7; 12:26; 2 Pet 2:16; Rev 1:10; 3:20; 4:1; 5:11; 6:1, 7; 10:3b; 18:23; 19:1, 6a, 6b, 6c.

12. Usage #1 (BCE): Content: N+gen (81 occurrences): ἀνάγνωσις, Acts 13:15; 2 Cor 3:14; ἀπόδειξις, 1 Cor 2:4; ἀποκάλυψις, Rom 2:5; 8:19; 16:25; 1 Cor 1:7; 2 Cor 12:1; 2 Thess 1:7; 1 Pet 1:7, 13; 4:13; ἀπολογία, Phil 1:7, 16; ἔνδειγμα, 2 Thess 1:5; ἐπαγγελία, Acts 2:33; Gal 3:14; 1 Tim 4:8; 2 Tim 1:1; Heb 9:15; 2 Pet 3:4; εὐαγγέλιον #1, Matt 4:23; 9:35; 24:14; Acts 20:24; 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 1:13; 6:15; 1 Tim 1:11; κήρυγμα, Mark Shorter Ending; λόγος, Matt 5:32; 13:19; Luke 4:22; 16:2; Acts 14:3; 15:7; 20:32; Rom 9:9; 1 Cor 2:4b, 13;

Experiencer and its retrieval within the infinitive phrase using double brackets, [[]]. These verb phrase realizations parallel those of the associated verbs with Usages ACE.

N+gen	μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. . . (Acts 13:15) After the reading [of the law and the prophets (C)] . . .
V-i3	ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον (Heb 7:5) According to the law, they have a commandment [[to them (C)]] [to [[them]] tithe the people (C)].

The use of N+gen to realize both the agentive Benefactive and the Content can result in polysemy when (1) the Content can be interpreted to reference an animate entity and (2) the context provides either no guidance for interpreting the function of the noun phrase or accommodates both possible interpretations of its function (23 occurrences).¹³ This corresponds to the traditional subjective/objective genitive distinction. For example, the interpretation of the N+gen complement of *εὐαγγέλιον* in Mark 1:1 is ambiguous because Jesus subsequently is portrayed both as proclaimer (agentive Benefactive) of the gospel (1:14) and as a constituent (Content) of the gospel that is proclaimed (14:9).

12:8a, 8b; 2 Cor 5:19; 6:7; Eph 1:13; Phil 2:16; 4:15; Col 1:5; 1 Thess 2:5; 1 Tim 4:6; 2 Tim 2:15; Heb 4:2; 5:13; 6:1; 7:28; 13:22; Jas 1:18; 1 John 1:1; Rev 1:3; 12:11; 22:7, 10, 18, 19; *μαρτύριον*, Acts 4:33; 2 Cor 1:12; Heb 3:5; *ὁμολογία*, Heb 10:23; *προφητεία*, 2 Pet 1:20; *σημεῖον*, Matt 12:39c; 16:3, 4c; 24:3, 30; Luke 11:29c; Acts 4:22; Rom 4:11; *ὑπόδειγμα*, Heb 4:11; 8:5; 9:23; Jas 5:10; 2 Pet 2:6. Content verb phrase (16 occurrences): V+: *γραφὴ*, John 13:18; 19:36; *λόγος*, 1 Tim 3:1; 2 Tim 2:11; V+ίνα: *ἐντολή*, John 11:57; 13:34; V+ὅτι: *γραφὴ*, John 20:9; *λόγος*, John 4:37; 15:25; 18:9; 21:23; Acts 16:36; 1 Tim 1:15; V+τί: *ἐντολή*, John 12:49; V-i3: *ἐντολή*, Heb 7:5; *ἐπαγγελία*, Heb 4:1.

13. Usage #1 (BCE): Polysemous N+gen (23 occurrences): *ἀποκάλυψις*, Rev 1:1; *εὐαγγέλιον* #1, Mark 1:1, 14; Rom 1:1, 9; 15:16, 19; 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; 11:7; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27a; 1 Thess 2:2, 8, 9; 3:2; 2 Thess 1:8; 1 Pet 4:17; *κήρυγμα*, Rom 16:25; *μαρτύριον*, 1 Cor 1:6; 2 Tim 1:8.

εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Mark 1:1)
 [Jesus Christ's (B)] gospel / gospel [of Jesus Christ (C)]

When only the Experiencer receives realization (15 occurrences), it appears as N+dat (to), P/πρός [+acc] (to), or, on one occasion, a genitive case noun phrase (N+gen).¹⁴ The first two realizations parallel those of the associated verbs, while the N+gen realization is novel and receives further consideration.¹⁵

ἔτοιμοι αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαὺν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν
 ἐλπίδος (1 Pet 3:15)

Always be prepared for a defense [to the one asking you for a word about the faith in you (E)].

παρ' ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολάς δεξάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Δαμασκὸν
 ἐπορευόμεν (Acts 22:5)

Also receiving from them letters [to the brothers in Damascus (E)], I went.

ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ (Luke 6:12)

He was spending the night in prayer to God/in the prayer of God.

The occurrence of the N+gen complement in Luke 6:12 has two possible interpretations. On the one hand, it is an anomalous realization of the Experiencer (to God), insofar as it is the only example of an Experiencer complement with a realization different from that of the associated verb. On the other hand, it may be interpreted as a reciprocal Benefactive (of God), insofar as prayer is defined in reference to a deity, which is God in this context. The latter and more probable interpretation would emphasize God's reception and interpretation of the prayer, which otherwise is impossible for nouns with Usage BCE.

Twelve occurrences realize two of the three arguments. The agentive Benefactive is N+gen except in the context of a

14. Usage #1 (BCE): Experiencer (15 occurrences): N+dat: ἀπολογία, 1 Cor 9:3; 1 Pet 3:15; ἐπαγγελία, Rom 4:16; μαρτύριον, Matt 8:4; 10:18; 24:14; Mark 1:44; 6:11; 13:9; Luke 5:14; Jas 5:3; P/πρός [+acc]: προσευχή, Rom 15:30; ἐπιστολή, Acts 9:2; 22:5; and N+gen: προσευχή, Luke 6:12.

15. The realizations of required complements of the associated verbs for these and following cognate nouns appear in Danove, *Verbs of Communication*, 188–231.

governing *εἰμί* (be), where it is N+dat; the Content is N+gen, V+, and V+ίνα; and the Experiencer is N+dat and P/πρός [+acc].¹⁶ This and the following translations of occurrences with two required complements realized by noun phrases follow the convention of rendering the agentive Benefactive noun by the possessive case ('s or s') and pronouns by the associated possessive adjective before the cognate noun and rendering the Content by an "of" prepositional phrase after the cognate noun. The second example illustrates the one polysemous occurrence.

ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου (Rev 3:10)
You kept [my (B)] word [of endurance (C)].

ἕως ἡμέρας ἀναδείξεως αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ (Luke 1:80)
Until the day of [his (B)] revelation to Israel.
Until the day of revelation [of him (C)] to Israel.

In all remaining occurrences of cognate Content nouns with Usage #1 (BCE), the three required complements are null. In 332 of these occurrences, the contexts or interpretive conventions supply definite referents for the agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer.¹⁷

16. Usage #1 (BCE): Realizations of two arguments (12 occurrences) in the format, agentive Benefactive | Content | Experiencer, with a dash (–) indicating a null complement: N+gen | N+gen | –: *λόγος*, 1 Thess 2:13a; Rev 3:10; N+gen | – | P/πρός [+acc]: *ἀνάδειξις*, Luke 1:80; *ἀπολογία*, Acts 22:1; *γογγυσμός*, Acts 6:1; – | N+gen | P/πρός [+acc]: *ἐπιστολή*, 2 Cor 3:1; *λόγος*, Acts 13:15; – | V+ | P/πρός [+acc]: *φωνή*, Acts 10:13, 15; – | V+ίνα | P/πρός [+acc]: *ἔνδειγμα*, Acts 17:15; – | V+i | N+dat: *ἐπαγγελία*, Rom 4:13; and N+dat | – | P/πρός [+acc]: *λόγος*, Heb 4:13.

17. Usage #1 (BCE) agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer DNC (332 occurrences): *ἀγγελία*, 1 John 1:5; 3:11; *αἴτημα*, 1 John 5:15; *ἀνάγνωσις*, 1 Tim 4:13; *ἀποκάλυψις*, Eph 1:17; 3:3; *ἀπολογία*, Acts 25:16; *γογγυσμός*, John 7:12; *γραφή*, Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 4:21; 24:27, 32; John 2:22; 5:39; 7:38, 42; 10:35; 17:12; 19:24, 28, 37; Acts 8:32, 35; 17:11; Rom 1:2; 4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2; 1 Cor 15:3, 4; Gal 4:30; 2 Tim 3:16; Jas 2:8, 23; 4:5; 1 Pet 2:6; 2 Pet 1:20; *δείγμα*, Jude 7; *διάλεκτος*, Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14; *διαλογισμός*, Luke 9:46; *ἐντολή*, Matt 22:38, 40; Mark 10:5, 19; 12:31; Luke 18:20; 23:56; John 10:18; 14:15; 15:12; 1 John 3:23b; 4:21; 2 John 4, 5, 6b; *ἐπαγγελία*, Acts 7:17; 13:23; 26:6; Rom 4:14; 9:4, 8, 9; 15:8; 2 Cor 7:1; Gal

τίνας οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι οὐς ἀντιβάλλετε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περιπατοῦντες (Luke 24:17)

What are these [your (B)] words [of all the things happening (C) cf. 24:14] [to one another (E)] that you are exchanging as you walk?

καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ ἀγγελία ἣν ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν καὶ σκοτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία (1 John 1:5)

And this is [his (B)] message [of God being light (C)] [to us (E)] that we have heard from him and proclaimed to you, “God is light and in him there is no darkness.”

In the remaining 265 occurrences of null required complements, the interpreter must rely on an indefinite but circum-

3:16, 17, 18a, 18b, 22, 29; 4:23, 28; Eph 1:13; 2:12; 3:6; Heb 6:12, 15, 17; 7:6; 8:6; 10:36; 11:9a, 9b, 13, 17, 33, 39; 2 Pet 3:9; 1 John 2:25; ἐπίλυσις, 2 Pet 1:20; ἐπιστολή, Acts 15:30; 23:25, 33; Rom 16:22; 1 Cor 5:9; 2 Cor 7:8a, 8b; 10:9, 10, 11; Col 4:16; 1 Thess 5:27; 2 Thess 2:2; 3:14; 2 Pet 3:1; ἐπιταγή, 1 Cor 7:6; 2 Cor 8:8; Titus 2:15; ἐπιτιμία, 2 Cor 2:6; εὐαγγέλιον #1, Mark 1:15; 13:10; 16:15; Acts 15:7; Rom 10:16; 1 Cor 4:15; 15:1; Gal 2:2, 5, 14; 1 Thess 2:4; κραυγή, Luke 1:42; Heb 5:7; λαλία, John 4:42; 8:43; λόγιον, Acts 7:38; λόγος, Matt 7:28; 13:20, 21, 22, 23; 15:12; 19:1, 11, 22; 22:46; 25:19; 26:1, 44; Mark 4:14, 15a, 15b, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 33; 5:36; 7:29; 9:10; 10:22; 14:39; Luke 1:2, 29; 4:36; 8:12, 13, 15; 9:28, 44; John 2:22; 4:50; 6:60; 7:36, 40; 8:31, 37, 43, 51; 10:19; 12:48; 14:24b; 15:3, 20a; 17:17; 19:8, 13; Acts 2:22; 4:4; 5:5, 24; 6:5; 7:29; 8:21; 10:36, 44; 11:19; 14:12; 15:6, 24, 27; 17:11; 18:5, 14, 15; 20:38; 22:22; Rom 13:9; 1 Cor 1:5, 17; 15:2, 54; Gal 5:14; 6:6; Eph 5:6; 1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:18; 1 Tim 4:9; 6:3; Titus 3:8; Heb 2:2; 12:19; 13:17; 2 Pet 1:19; 2:3; 3:7; 1 John 2:7; Rev 21:5; 22:6; μαρτύριον, Luke 9:5; ὁμολογία, 1 Tim 6:12, 13; παραγγελία, Acts 5:28; 16:24; 1 Thess 4:2; 1 Tim 1:5, 18; προσευχή, Matt 21:22; Luke 22:45; Acts 12:5; Phil 4:6; Col 4:12; 1 Tim 2:1; 5:5; Jas 5:17; προφητεία, Rev 1:3; 19:10; 22:7, 10, 18, 19; σημεῖον, Mark 16:17; Luke 2:12; 21:11; 23:8; John 2:11; 4:48, 54; 6:2, 14, 26, 30; 7:31; 9:16; 11:47; 12:18; Acts 2:22; 4:16, 30; 7:36; 8:6; 15:12; 1 Cor 1:22; 14:22; 2 Cor 12:12b; 2 Thess 3:17; Rev 13:13, 14; 19:20; ὑπόδειγμα, John 13:15; φωνή, Matt 3:17; 17:5; 27:46; Mark 1:11; 5:7; 9:7; 15:34; Luke 3:22; 4:33; 8:28; 9:35, 36; 11:27; 17:13, 15; 19:37; 23:23a, 46; John 11:43; 12:28, 30; Acts 2:6; 4:24; 7:60; 9:4, 7; 11:7, 9; 14:10; 16:28; 22:7, 14; 24:21; 26:14, 24; 2 Pet 1:17, 18; Rev 1:12; 5:2, 12; 6:10; 7:2, 10; 8:13a; 9:13; 14:9, 13, 15, 18; 16:17, 18; 19:5, 17; 21:3; and χρηματισμός, Rom 11:4. Discussions of the applicable interpretive conventions appear in Danove, *Verbs of Communication*, 60–61.

scribed interpretation of at least one of the agentive Benefactive, Content, or Experiencer.¹⁸

Στέφανος δὲ πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ (Acts 6:8)

Stephen, full of grace and power, was doing great wonders and [his (B)] signs [of something (C)] [to the people (E)] among the people.

οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν (Eph 6:9)

Masters, do the same to them, stop [your (B)] threat [of some punishment (C)] [to them (E)].

18. Usage #1 (BCE) with at least one of the Agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer INC (265 occurrences): ἀπειλή, Acts 9:1; Eph 6:9; ἀποκάλυψις, Luke 2:32; 1 Cor 14:6, 26; 2 Cor 12:7; Gal 2:2; ἀπολογία, 2 Cor 7:11; γογγυσμός, Phil 2:14; 1 Pet 4:9; γράμμα, John 7:15; Acts 26:24; Rom 2:27, 29; 7:6; 2 Cor 3:6a, 6b, 7; Gal 6:11; 2 Tim 3:15; γραφή, Matt 22:29; 26:54; Mark 12:24; 14:49; Luke 24:45; Acts 17:2; 18:24, 28; Rom 15:4; 16:26; Gal 3:8, 22; 1 Tim 5:18; 2 Pet 3:16; διάλεκτος, Acts 2:6; διαλογισμός, Matt 15:19; Mark 7:21; Luke 2:35; 24:38; Rom 14:1; Phil 2:14; 1 Tim 2:8; Jas 2:4; ἐντολή, Matt 5:19; 19:17; 22:36; Mark 12:28; Luke 1:6; Rom 7:8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; 13:9; Eph 2:15; 6:2; 1 Tim 6:14; Heb 7:16, 18; 9:19; 2 Pet 2:21; 1 John 2:7a, 7b, 7c, 8; ἐπιστολή, 1 Cor 16:3; 2 Thess 3:17; 2 Pet 3:16; εὐχή, Acts 18:18; 21:23; εὐαγγέλιον #1, Matt 26:13; Mark 8:35; 10:29; 14:9; Rom 1:16; 11:28; 1 Cor 9:14a, 14b, 18a, 18b, 23; 2 Cor 8:18; 11:4; Gal 1:6, 11; Eph 3:6; 6:19; Phil 1:5, 7, 12, 16, 27b; 2:22; 4:3, 15; Col 1:5, 23; 2 Tim 1:8, 10; Phlm 13; Rev 14:6; κήρυγμα, 1 Cor 1:21; 2 Tim 4:17; Titus 1:3; κραυγή, Acts 23:9; Eph 4:31; Rev 21:4; λόγος, Matt 8:8, 16; 12:32; 15:23; 18:23; 21:24; 22:15; 28:15; Mark 1:45; 2:2; 8:32, 38; 11:29; 12:13; 16:20; Luke 7:7; 9:26; 12:10; 20:3; 23:9; 24:17, 19; John 1:1a, 1b, 1c, 14; Acts 2:40; 6:4; 8:4; 10:29; 14:25; 15:32; 16:6; 19:38; 20:2, 7, 24; Rom 9:28; 15:18; 1 Cor 1:18; 2:1; 4:20; 14:9, 19a, 19b; 2 Cor 8:7; 10:10, 11; 11:6; Eph 4:29; 6:19; Phil 1:14; Col 2:23; 3:17; 4:3; 2 Thess 2:2, 15, 17; 1 Tim 4:12; 5:17; 2 Tim 1:13; 4:2, 15; Titus 1:9; 2:8; Jas 1:21, 22, 23; 3:2; 1 Pet 2:8; 3:1a, 1b; 4:5; 1 John 3:18; 3 John 10; μαρτύριον, Luke 21:13; Acts 7:44; 1 Tim 2:6; Rev 15:5; ὁμιλία, 1 Cor 15:33; ὁμολογία, Heb 4:14; προσευχή, Matt 21:13; Mark 9:29; 11:17; Luke 19:46; Acts 1:14; 2:42; 3:1; 6:4; 16:13, 16; Rom 12:12; 1 Cor 7:5; Eph 6:18; Col 4:2; 1 Pet 4:7; προφητεία, Rom 12:6; 1 Cor 12:10; 13:2, 8; 14:6, 22; 1 Thess 5:20; 1 Tim 1:18; 4:14; 2 Pet 1:21; σημεῖον, Matt 12:38, 39a, 39b; 16:1, 4a, 4b; 24:24; 26:48; Mark 8:11, 12a, 12b; 13:4, 22; 16:20; Luke 2:34; 11:16, 29a, 29b, 30; 21:7, 25; John 2:18; 3:2; 10:41; 20:30; Acts 2:19, 43; 5:12; 6:8; 8:13; 14:3; Rom 15:19; 2 Thess 2:9; Heb 2:4; Rev 12:1, 3; 15:1; 16:14; φωνή, Acts 19:34; Rev 6:6; 10:4, 8; 11:12, 15; 12:10; 14:2a, 2d, 7; 16:1; 18:2, 4.

2.2 Usage #2 (BTE) with Cognate Content Nouns

The cognate Content nouns with Usage BTE realize their required agentive Benefactive by a noun phrase and Topic by a prepositional phrase, while the Experiencer consistently is null. When only the Topic receives realization (12 occurrences), it is P/περί [+gen] (about, concerning).¹⁹ This realization parallels that of the associated verbs with Usages ATE.

διήρχετο δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ (Luke 5:15)

But the word [about him (T)] spread even more.

In the remaining occurrence of this usage, the governing verb εἰμί (be) is omitted, and the agentive Benefactive is realized by N+dat and the Topic by P/περί [+gen].

περὶ οὗ πολλὸς ἤμῃν ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσσερμῆνευτος λέγειν (Heb 5:11)

[Our (B)] word/message [about this (T)] is much/extensive and difficult to say.

3. Cognate Content Nouns of Verbs with an Emphasized Experiencer: Usage #3 (BEC)

The NT presents nine cognate Content nouns of communication verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Experiencer: ἀνάμνησις ('remembrance'), διδασκαλία ('teaching'), διδαχή ('teaching'), ἐπερώτημα ('request'), εὐαγγέλιον #2 ('gospel'), κέλευσμα ('command'), νουθεσία ('warning'), παράκλησις ('consolation'), and ὑπόμνησις ('reminder'). These nine nouns consistently grammaticalize communication with the predicted Usage BEC, while predicted Usage BET does not occur. The following discussion specifies the lexical realizations of all observed required complements of the cognate Content nouns.

The cognate Content nouns with Usage BEC realize their required agentive Benefactive by noun phrases, Experiencer by noun phrases, and Content by noun and verb phrases. The NT

19. Usage #2 (BTE) Topic P/περί [+gen] (12 occurrences): γράμμα, Acts 28:21; γραφή, Acts 1:16; διήγησις, Luke 1:1; ἐντολή, Col 4:10; and λόγος, Luke 1:4; 5:15; 7:17; Acts 1:1; 11:22; 19:40; Rom 14:12; 1 Pet 3:15.

presents occurrences that realize at most one of the three required complements. The agentive Benefactive receives realization as N+gen (22 occurrences).²⁰

ἐξεπλήσσαντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκίᾳ αὐτοῦ (Matt 7:28)
The crowds were amazed at [his (B)] teachings.

The Experiencer receives realization as N+gen (7 occurrences).²¹

ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβὴς προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (Luke 2:25)
This human being [was] just and reverent, awaiting the consolation [of Israel (E)].

The Content receives realization as N+gen (6 occurrences) and V-i2 (1 occurrence).²² To assist in interpretation, the V-i2 example incorporates the null Experiencer and its retrieval in the infinitive phrase in double brackets [[]]. This verb phrase realization parallels that of the associated verbs with Usages AEC.

ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν (Heb 10:3)
In them is a reminder [of sin (C)] every year.

ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν ἔχωμεν οἱ καταφυγόντες κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος (Heb 6:18)
We, the ones fleeing, have strong encouragement [to us (E)] [to [[us]] seize the hope set before [[us]] (C)].

20. Usage #3 (BEC) agentive Benefactive N+gen (22 occurrences): N+gen: διδασκαλία, Col 2:22; 1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 3:10; διδασκίᾳ, Matt 7:28; 16:12; 22:33; Mark 1:22; 4:2; 11:18; 12:38; Luke 4:32; John 18:19; Acts 2:42; 5:28; 2 John 9a; Rev 2:14, 15; νοουθεσία, Eph 6:4; παράκλησις, Acts 9:31; Rom 15:4; 2 Cor 1:5; 1 Thess 2:3.

21. Usage #3 (BEC) Experiencer N+gen (7 occurrences): N+gen: εὐαγγέλιον #2, Gal 2:7; νοουθεσία, 1 Cor 10:11; παράκλησις, Luke 2:25; 6:24; 2 Cor 1:6a, 6b; 7:13.

22. Usage #3 (BEC) Content N+gen (5 occurrences): N+gen: ἀνάμνησις, Heb 10:3; διδασκίᾳ, Acts 13:12; Heb 6:2; ἐπερώτημα, 1 Pet 3:21; ὑπόμνησις, 2 Tim 1:5. Content V-i2 (1 occurrence): παράκλησις, Heb 6:18.

In the remaining fifty-eight occurrences of six cognate Content nouns with Usage #3 (BEC), the three required complements are null. In twenty-four of these occurrences, the contexts supply definite referents for the agentive Benefactive, Experiencer, and Content.²³ For clarity of interpretation, the following translations render the Content as a Topic (“concerning”) as the closest English nominal usage.

*ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς
παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα
αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (2 Cor 1:4)*

[God], the one consoling us in our every affliction, so that we can console those in every affliction through [God’s (B)] consolation [of us (E)] [concerning affliction (C)], through which we ourselves are consoled by God.

In the remaining thirty-four occurrences of null required complements, the interpreter must rely on an indefinite but circumscribed interpretation of at least one of the agentive Benefactive, Experiencer, and Content.²⁴

ἕως ἔρχομαι πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ (Acts 13:15)

Until I come, pay attention to the reading, to [your (B)] consolation [of the community (E)] [concerning things (C)], and to [your (B)] teaching [of the community (E)] [concerning things (C)].

23. Usage #3 (BEC) agentive Benefactive, Experiencer, and Content DNC (24 occurrences): *ἀνάμνησις*, Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24, 25; *διδασκαλία*, Rom 15:4; Titus 2:1; *διδαχή*, Mark 1:27; John 7:16, 17; 2 John 9b, 10; Rev 2:24; *νοθεσία*, Titus 3:10; *παρακλήσις*, Acts 15:31; Rom 15:5; 2 Cor 1:4; 7:4, 7; 8:4; 2 Thess 2:16; Phlm 7; Heb 12:5; 13:22; *ὑπόμνησις*, 2 Pet 1:13; 3:1.

24. Usage #3 (BEC) with at least one of the agentive Benefactive, Experiencer, and Content INC (34 occurrences): *διδασκαλία*, Matt 15:9; Mark 7:7; Rom 12:7; Eph 4:14; 1 Tim 1:10; 4:6, 13, 16; 5:17; 6:1, 3; 2 Tim 3:16; 4:3; Titus 1:9; 2:7, 10; *διδαχή*, Acts 17:19; Rom 6:17; 16:17; 1 Cor 14:6, 26; 2 Tim 4:2; Titus 1:9; Heb 13:9; *κέλευσμα*, 1 Thess 4:16; *παρακλήσις*, Acts 4:36; 13:15 (P/πρός is a complement of λέγω); Rom 12:8; 1 Cor 14:3; 2 Cor 1:3, 7; 8:17; Phil 2:1; 1 Tim 4:13.

4. *Cognate Agent Nouns of Verbs with an Emphasized Content*

The NT presents eleven cognate Agent nouns of communication verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Content: *ἄγγελος* ('messenger'), *διερμηνευτής* ('interpreter'), *εὐαγγελιστής* ('evangelist'), *καταγγελεύς* ('proclaimer'), *κῆρυξ* ('proclaimer'), *μάρτυς* ('witness'), *προφήτης* ('prophet'), *προφῆτις* ('prophetess'), *συζητητής* ('debater'), *συμβούλιον* ('council'), and *σύμβουλος* ('counselor').²⁵ Among these, *μάρτυς* presents a novelty. Although this cognate noun inherently does not require completion by an agentive Benefactive (one does not need to be appointed a witness by a specific Agent), it does require completion by an agentive Benefactive on the eleven occasions that the witness explicitly is portrayed as appointed: when Jesus appoints the apostles as witnesses (Acts 1:8) and they subsequently function as witnesses (Acts 1:22; 2:33; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 41; 13:31); when God appoints Saul (Acts 22:15) and Jesus appoints Paul (Acts 26:16) as witness; and when someone appoints two witnesses (Rev 11:3). The eleven cognate Agent nouns consistently grammaticalize communication with nominal Usages EC and/or B+EC, while predicted Usages ET and B+ET do not occur.

4.1 *Usage #4 (CE) with Cognate Agent Nouns*

Six of the eleven cognate Agent nouns do not require completion by an agentive Benefactive (*διερμηνευτής*, *εὐαγγελιστής*, *καταγγελεύς*, *κῆρυξ*, *μάρτυς* in twenty-four occurrences, and *συζητητής*) and grammaticalize Usage CE. These nouns realize their required Content by a noun phrase and Experiencer by a prepositional phrase. When only the Content receives realization (8 occurrences), it appears as a genitive case noun phrase (N+gen).²⁶

25. This list does not include the occurrences of *συμβούλιον* ('counsel') associated with a non-communication usage of *συμβουλεύω* ('counsel').

26. Usage #4 (CE) Content N+gen (8 occurrences): *καταγγελεύς*, Acts 17:18; *κῆρυξ*, 2 Pet 2:5; and *μάρτυς*, Luke 24:48; Rom 1:9; Phil 1:8; 1 Pet 5:1; Rev 2:13; 17:6.

ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι (Acts 17:18)
He seems to be a proclaimer [of foreign deities (C)].

Three of the nouns realize no required complements on sixteen occasions, and the contexts supply definite referents for the Content and Experiencer.²⁷

ἃ ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων (2 Tim 2:2)
the things that you heard from me through many witnesses [of the things
you heard (C)] [to you (E)]

Three of the nouns realize no required complements on eight occasions with the Content, the Experiencer, or both having indefinite but circumscribed referents.²⁸

ἀθετήσας τις νόμον Μωϋσέως χωρὶς οἰκτιρμῶν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν μάρτυσιν
ἀποθνήσκει (Heb 10:28)
Anyone violating the law of Moses will die without mercy on two or three
witnesses [of the violation (C)] [to someone appropriate (E)].

4.2 Usage #5 (B+CE) with Cognate Agent Nouns

The remaining five cognate Agent nouns (ἄγγελος, προφήτης, προφήτις, συμβούλιον, and σύμβουλος) and eleven occurrences of μάρτυς require completion by an agentive Benefactive and grammaticalize Usage B+CE.²⁹ When only the agentive Benefactive argument is realized (48 occurrences), its realization

27. Usage #4 (CE) Content and Experiencer DNC (16 occurrences): διερμηνευτής, 1 Cor 14:28; κήρυξ, 1 Tim 2:7; 2 Tim 1:11; and μάρτυς, Matt 18:16; 26:65; Mark 14:63; Acts 6:13; 2 Cor 1:23; 13:1; 1 Thess 2:5, 10; 1 Tim 5:19; 2 Tim 2:2; Heb 12:1; Rev 1:5; 3:14.

28. Usage #4 (CE) with at least one of Content and Experiencer INC (8 occurrences): εὐαγγελιστής, Acts 21:18; Eph 4:11; 2 Tim 4:5; μάρτυς, Luke 11:48; Acts 7:58; 1 Tim 6:12; Heb 10:28; and συζητητής, 1 Cor 1:20.

29. As in English, προφήτης and προφήτις are defined in relation to a deity; unlike English, which distinguishes “angels” (required reciprocal Benefactive) from “messengers” (no-required reciprocal Benefactive), ἄγγελος appears to require completion by an agentive Benefactive in all NT occurrences; and the συν- prefix necessarily defines συμβούλιον and σύμβουλος in relation to other nouns.

is N+gen.³⁰ In the latter occurrence, the unusual placement of the possessive pronoun before the noun is taken to highlight the agentive benefaction.

ἄγγελος κυρίου κατ' ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ (Matt 1:20)
[The Lord's (B)] angel appeared to him in a dream.

ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἐν τε Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ [ἐν] πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ
Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (Acts 1:8)
You will be [my (B)] witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and
to the end of the earth.

The remaining two occurrences with one complement realized by N+gen are polysemous because the complement designates an animate being that may be construed to reference either the required agentive Benefactive dependent on a previous action of appointing or a required Content.³¹

ὅτε ἐξεχύνητο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου. . . (Acts 22:20)
when the blood of Stephen [your (B)] witness was shed . . .
when the blood of Stephen the witness [of you (C)] was shed . . .

The Content is realized by N+gen only with *μάρτυς*.³²

ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων (Acts 5:32)
We are witnesses [of these things (C)].

30. Usage #5 (B+CE) agentive Benefactive N+gen (48 occurrences): ἄγγελος, Matt 1:20, 24; 2:13, 19; 4:6; 11:10; 13:41; 16:27; 24:31, 36; 25:41; 28:2; Mark 1:2; Luke 1:11; 2:9; 4:10; 7:24, 27; 12:8, 9; 15:10; John 1:51; Acts 5:19; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7, 11, 15, 23; 27:23; 2 Cor 11:14; 12:7; Gal 4:14; 2 Thess 1:7; Heb 1:6, 7b; Rev 1:1; 22:6, 16; *μάρτυς*, Acts 1:8; *προφήτης*, Luke 1:70, 76; Acts 3:21; Rom 1:2; 11:3; Eph 3:5; Titus 1:12; *σύμβουλος*, Rom 11:34. These agentive Benefactive required complements are not to be confused with the reciprocal (exclusively to the Experiencer) Benefactive complements also realized by N+gen (15 occurrences): ἄγγελος, Matt 18:10; Rev 1:20; 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 5, 7, 14; 9:11; 12:7a, 7b, 9; 16:5.

31. Usage #5 (B+CE) polysemous agentive Benefactive / Content N+gen (2 occurrences): *μάρτυς*, Acts 22:20; Rev 11:3.

32. Usage #5 (B+CE) Content N+gen (6 occurrences): *μάρτυς*, Acts 1:22; 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39; 26:16.

Of the two occurrences with two realized complements, the agentive Benefactive is realized by N+dat as is typical in the context of a governing εἰμί (be) and the Experiencer receives realization as P/πρός [+acc] in Acts 22:15.

ἔση μάρτυς αὐτῷ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους (Acts 22:15)
You will be [his (B)] witness [to all human beings (E)].

Two required complements also are realized in Acts 13:31, where the Content is N+gen and the Experiencer is P/πρός [+acc] (to). This occurrence is not deemed polysemous because agentive Benefactive complements with a governing verb εἰμί (be) typically are realized by N+dat, but N+gen appears here.

οἵτινες [γὺν] εἰσιν μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν (Acts 13:31)
[those] who are now witnesses [of him (C)] [to the people (E)]

Five of the nouns do not realize required complements, and contexts or interpretive conventions supply definite referents for the agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer (104 occurrences).³³

τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου
(Matt 1:22)
But all this happened in order that the thing spoken by the Lord through
[the Lord's (B)] prophet [of what was spoken (C)] [to the people of Israel
(E)].

33. Usage #5 (B+CE) agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer DNC (104 occurrences): ἄγγελος, Matt 28:5; Luke 1:13, 18, 19, 30, 34, 35, 38; 2:10, 13, 15, 21; 24:23; John 12:29; 20:12; Acts 7:30, 35, 38, 53; 10:7, 22; 11:13; 12:8, 9, 10; 23:9; Gal 1:8; 3:19; Heb 2:2; 2 Pet 2:11; Rev 5:2; 7:1; 8:13; 10:5, 9, 10; 14:6, 8, 9, 15, 18; 17:1, 7; 18:21; 19:17; 22:8; μάρτυς, 10:41; προφήτης, Matt 1:22; 2:5, 15, 17, 23; 4:14; 8:17; 11:13; 13:35; 21:4; 24:15; 26:56; 27:9; Mark 1:2; Luke 3:4; 4:17; 18:31; 24:27, 44; John 1:23, 45; 6:45; 12:38; Acts 2:16, 30; 3:18, 22, 23, 24, 25; 7:37, 42, 48, 52; 8:28, 30, 34; 10:43; 11:27; 13:40; 15:15, 32; 21:10; 24:14; 26:22; 28:23, 25; Rom 3:21; 1 Cor 14:37; 1 Pet 1:10; 2:16; 3:2; Rev 10:7; 11:10; προφήτης, Luke 2:36; Rev 2:20; συμβούλιον, Acts 25:12.

Two of the nouns do not realize required complements, with at least one of the agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer having an indefinite but circumscribed interpretation (156 occurrences).³⁴

τοσοῦτω κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων (Heb 1:4)
becoming so much greater than [God's (B)] messengers [of something (C)] [to people (E)] . . .

5. *Cognate Agent Nouns of Verbs with an Emphasized Experiencer: Usage #6 (B+EC)*

The NT presents two cognate Agent nouns of communication verbs that place secondary emphasis on the Experiencer: διδάσκαλος ('teacher') and παρακλητός ('encourager'). These nouns are defined in relation to other nouns that reference the Experiencer (teacher/student; encourager/someone encouraged), require completion by an agentive Benefactive, and consistently grammaticalize predicted Usage B+EC. Since the reciprocal Benefactive is co-referential to the Experiencer (B=E), all occurrences admit to polysemous interpretation. Only διδάσκαλος realizes complements and these are restricted to N+gen Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive complements (8 occurrences).³⁵

34. Usage #5 (B+CE) with at least one of agentive Benefactive, Content, and Experiencer INC (156 occurrences): ἄγγελος, Matt 4:11; 13:39, 49; 22:30; 25:31; 26:53; Mark 1:13; 8:38; 12:25; 13:27, 32; Luke 1:26; 9:26, 52; 16:22; 22:43; Acts 6:15; 23:8; Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 4:9; 6:3; 11:10; 13:11; Col 2:18; 1 Tim 3:16; 5:21; Heb 1:4, 5, 7a, 13; 2:5, 7, 9, 16; 12:22; 13:2; Jas 2:25; 1 Pet 1:12; 3:22; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6; Rev 5:11; 7:2a, 2b, 11; 8:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12; 9:1, 13, 14a, 14b, 15; 10:1, 7, 8; 11:15; 14:10, 17, 19; 15:1, 6, 7, 8; 16:1; 18:1; 20:1; 21:9, 12, 17; προφήτης, Matt 5:12, 17; 7:12; 10:41a, 41b, 41c; 11:9a, 9b; 12:39; 13:17, 57; 14:5; 16:14; 21:11, 26, 46; 22:40; 23:29, 30, 31, 34, 37; Mark 6:4, 15a, 15b; 8:28; 11:32; Luke 4:24, 27; 6:23; 7:16, 26a, 26b, 39; 9:8, 19; 10:24; 11:47, 49, 50; 13:28, 33, 34; 16:16, 29, 31; 20:6; 24:19, 25; John 1:21, 25; 4:19, 44; 6:14; 7:40, 52; 8:52, 53; 9:17; Acts 13:1, 15, 20, 27; 26:27; 1 Cor 12:28, 29; 14:29, 32a, 32b; Eph 2:20; 4:11; 1 Thess 2:15; Heb 1:1; 11:32; Jas 5:10; Rev 11:18; 16:6; 18:20, 24; 22:6, 9.

35. Usage #6 (B+EC) Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive N+gen (8

διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν (Matt 9:11)

Why does [your (B)] teacher [of you (E)] eat with tax collectors and sinners?

The two nouns realize no required complements on fifty-five occasions. In twenty-three of these, the contexts supply definite referents for the Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive and Content.³⁶

νομικός τις . . . λέγων· διδάσκαλε, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω (Luke 10:25)

A certain lawyer . . . saying, “[The lawyer’s (B)] teacher [of the lawyer (E)] [of what he must do (C)], doing which thing will I inherit everlasting life?”

In the remaining thirty-two occurrences, διδάσκαλος appears with no realized required complement with the Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive and/or Content with an indefinite but circumscribed interpretation.³⁷

διδάσκαλε, δέομαί σου ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν μου (Luke 9:28)

[My (B)] teacher [of me] [of something (C)], I beg you to pay attention to my son!

occurrences): διδάσκαλος, Matt 9:11; 10:25; 17:24; 23:8; Luke 6:40; John 3:10; Rom 2:20; 1 Tim 2:7.

36. Usage #6 (B+EC) Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive and Content DNC (23 occurrences): διδάσκαλος, Matt 19:16; 22:36; Mark 10:17, 20; 12:14, 32; Luke 3:12; 7:40; 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 18:18; 20:39; 21:7; John 8:4; 13:13, 14; 20:16; and παρακλητός, John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; 1 John 2:1 (P/πρός [+acc] is a Locative complement of ἔχω [have]).

37. Usage #6 (B+EC) with at least one of the Experiencer/reciprocal Benefactive and Content INC (32 occurrences): διδάσκαλος, Matt 8:19; 10:24; 12:38; 22:16, 24; 26:18; Mark 4:38; 5:35; 9:17, 38; 10:35; 12:19; 13:1; 14:14; Luke 2:46; 8:49; 9:38; 19:39; 20:21, 28; 22:11; John 1:38; 3:2; 11:28; Acts 13:1; 1 Cor 12:28, 29; Eph 4:11; 2 Tim 1:11; 4:3; Heb 5:12; Jas 3:1.

6. Conclusion

This article has reviewed the features of the conceptualization of communication grammaticalized by NT verbs, identified the two features that remain applicable to the grammaticalization of communication by the verbs' cognate nouns, identified two categories of such cognate nouns and two categories of Benefactive arguments that Greek grammar makes available to these cognate nouns, and offered a preliminary prediction of possible usages of communication for the cognate nouns. The discussion then resolved all occurrences of the cognate nouns into six of the predicted nominal usages. This discussion of the six usages has specified all observed realizations of the nouns' required complements, illustrated the interpretation and translation of all combinations of realized required complements, and clarified the conditions that accommodate the polysemous interpretation of occurrences of the nouns.

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