

# COMING & GOING IN KOINE GREEK:

## DEIXIS & ASPECT OF Ἐρχομαι

Erchomai

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## Abstract

The Koine Greek motion verb ἔρχομαι *erchomai* has long been glossed as both *come* and *go*, but it has lacked an adequate description of its deictic semantics. Contrasting it with the deictic properties of English *come*, *erchomai* has been argued to have "vague directionality," because it exhibits allegedly non-deictic and atelic usages (Shain 2009). It is well-established, however, that constraints on the deictic center of motion verbs vary from language to language (Gathercole 1978, Nakazawa 2006, Lewandowski 2007).

I find ἔρχομαι *erchomai* to be lexically telic and lexically deictic, invariantly describing motion toward the deictic center, whereas πορεύομαι *poreuomai* *go* and ἀπέρχομαι *aperchomai* *go away* invariantly describe motion away from the deictic center. I find that the deictic center in Koine Greek is the location of the speaker, or alternatively that of the addressee, in non-narrative speech, and the location of the character(s) or place(s) of focus in both embedded and non-embedded narrative.

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τετέλεσται - χάρις τῷ θεῷ

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 What is aspect?

Whereas tense relates the *time of speech* to the *time of an eventuality*,<sup>1</sup> aspect conveys its internal temporal structure. For example, *AJ is writing his thesis* and *AJ was writing his thesis* differ in tense; the former presents the eventuality as occurring in the present, and the latter, in the past. On the other hand, they share the same aspect; they both present the event as one that is or was in progress, contrasting with *AJ wrote his thesis*, which presents the eventuality as one that was completed.

The term *aspect* refers to two distinct yet closely interrelated things: *lexical aspect*, which refers to the inherent temporal properties of a *predicate-argument structure*, and *grammatical aspect*, which refers to how a *morphosyntactic form* modifies the temporal properties of a predicate-argument structure.<sup>2</sup> Different aspectual interpretations emerge from different combinations of grammatical and lexical aspect.

In Koine Greek, the two grammatical aspects that are the most frequent are the *perfective* and the *imperfective*. The basic interpretation of the perfective is *completive*, and the basic interpretation of the imperfective is *processual*.<sup>3</sup> Example B (2.2.2) demonstrates a *completive* interpretation; the apostles are not released until *after* the authorities have *finished* summoning them, beating them, and ordering them to discontinue their preaching. *Processual* is not a synonym for *progressive*, as it can also

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1. The term *eventuality* includes "all kinds of situations, events, actions, etc." (Bary 8).

2. Bary 7. Rather than the term *lexical aspect*, Bary uses the terms *lexical class* or *Aktionsart*.

3. Bary 12-13.

describe a *state* that is *ongoing*. Example C (2.2.2) demonstrates a *processual* interpretation; Jesus asks if the apostles *have* any fish.

Lexical aspect is often defined in terms of truth values. A *stative* predicate is true of an eventuality if it is true of all its sub- eventualities.<sup>4</sup> For example, *Forrest ran* is not stative, because while it may be true of the eventuality, it is not true of every sub- eventuality; if you breaking down *running* finely enough, it becomes a series of strides and falls which cannot be described as *running*. The predicate *I love my wife*, however, is stative, because it is true of the eventuality and every sub- eventuality. Non-stative predicates may be *bounded* or *unbounded*. A *bounded* predicate is true of an eventuality if and only if it is true of the eventuality, but not of any eventuality that is one of its proper<sup>5</sup> parts.<sup>6</sup> So *I ran to my midterm* is bounded, because the proper parts of the eventuality may not also be described as *I ran to my midterm*; they might be described as *I arrived at my midterm* and *I ran halfway to my midterm*, for instance. *Forrest ran*, on the other hand, is unbounded, because a proper part of the eventuality *Forrest ran* may also be described as *Forrest ran*; for this reason, unbounded predicates are sometimes referred to as *homogenous*. A bounded predicate is *telic* if a goal or state is reached at the end of the eventuality.<sup>7</sup>

There are other ways of describing lexical aspect, including other combinations and sub-types, but these are the ones necessary to describe the different interactions with the grammatical aspect of Koine Greek, particularly the bounded-unbounded distinction. A bounded predicate in *perfective* aspect gives the basic *completive* interpretation, but an unbounded predicate in *perfective* aspect results in an

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4. Bary 77.

5. If *x* is a proper part of *y*, then *x* is a part of *y* and *y* is not a part of *x*.

6. Bary 40.

7. Bary 70.

*ingressive* or *complexive* interpretation, depending on the reference time.<sup>8</sup> The *ingressive* refers to an action that merely commences *at* the reference time, but the *complexive* refers to an action that takes place in its totality *within* the reference time. A bounded predicate in imperfective aspect results in a *conative* interpretation.<sup>9</sup> Finally, regardless of the boundedness of the predicate, a predicate in imperfective aspect may take a *habitual* interpretation if the reference time is sufficiently greater than the eventuality time.<sup>10</sup>

## 1.2 What is deixis?

*Deixis* refers to the linguistic phenomenon of interpretation dependent on "the occasion of utterance," which includes the *deictic properties* of person, place, and time.<sup>11</sup> More colloquially, deictic expressions depend on *who* is saying them, *who* they're being said to, and *when & where* they're being said. Included under these three types of deixis are subtypes like *discourse deixis*, referencing an element mentioned earlier or later in discourse (*anaphora & cataphora*).<sup>12</sup> Examples of deictic expressions include adverbs like *here & there* and *today & tomorrow*, pronouns, and discourse expressions like *this is what I mean*.<sup>13</sup>

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8. Bary 95 and 118.

9. Referring to an action that does not proceed beyond an attempt. Bary also includes actions which are likely or are threatened to happen (Bary 116).

10. This occurs via the Duration Principle, a rule of Language interpretation that states "information on duration from various linguistic sources must be compatible (Bary 173).

11. Fillmore 220.

12. Lewandowski 7.

13. Lewandowski 7-8.

Deictic distinctions vary from language to language. While languages like English use demonstratives like *this* & *that* to express a two-way distinction of *proximal* & *distal*, languages like Japanese make the three-way distinction of proximal, *medial*, and distal.<sup>14</sup> While Spanish makes a three-way spacial distinction analogous to that of Japanese,<sup>15</sup> unlike Japanese it only makes a two-way distinction for politeness in its verbal conjugation.<sup>16</sup> So an entire language cannot be rigidly classified by a single deictic parameter; rather each of its deictic elements must be examined.

### 1.3 What is Koine Greek?

Koine Greek refers to the κοινή *common* dialect of Greek widely spoken throughout the Mediterranean region around 300 BC - AD 300. It is the original language of the New Testament. Koine developed from Ancient Greek and later developed into Medieval Greek, which subsequently developed into Modern Greek.

Although the New Testament is not our only source for Koine Greek, it is the best and most well-studied, and I take it as the primary resource for my thesis. My basic reasons are a) the availability of a searchable electronic copy, b) the relatively short period of time of composition, lending itself to a synchronic analysis, and c) interest, which includes the hope that the results of my work might be not only linguistically relevant, but also relevant to Biblical exegesis. Consequently, my work is specifically on New Testament Koine Greek.

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14. Fillmore 221.

15. Spanish *esto* compares to Japanese *kore* *this*, *eso* to *sore* *that right there*, and *aquello* to *are* *that over there*.

16. Compare Spanish *tú vienes* *you come [familiar]* and *usted viene* *you come [formal]* to

Japanese *mairu* (humble), *kuru* (neutral), and *irassyaru* (honorific).

### 1.3.1 Tense and grammatical aspect in Koine Greek

The traditional terms used to describe tense and aspect in Koine Greek are Aorist, Imperfect, Perfect, Pluperfect, Present, and Future. Despite their names, these terms are more *morphological* than semantic. For example, the *Present* participle ἐρχόμενος *erchomenos* *coming* commonly describes past predicates, and the *Aorist* subjunctive ἔλθω *elthō* *I might come* often describes future predicates. These traditional terms are useful, however, because they convey, for example, that ἐρχόμενος *erchomenos* and ἐρχόμεθα *erchometha* *we come* use the same *Present* stem, and that ἔλθω *elthō* and ἦλθεν *ēlthen* *he came* use the same *Aorist* stem.

The Future is difficult to categorize. Bary notes that the other participles, the Aorist, Imperfect, and Perfect, do not convey tense (only perfective, imperfective, and retrospective, respectively), so the existence of a Future participle suggests that the Future similarly conveys aspect, though he treats the Future as denoting only *future tense*.<sup>17</sup> Shain similarly takes the Future to be "aspectually unmarked."<sup>18</sup> Whether the formulation is based on tense or aspect will probably not greatly affect how something is translated into English, the example below demonstrates a reason to think that an aspectual formulation should be favored:

#### Example A

ιδόντες	δέ	οἱ	περί	αὐτόν	τὸ	ἐσόμενον	εἶπαν
idontes	de	hoi	peri	auton	to	esomenon	eipan

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17. Bary 175. It should be noted, however, that the future participle is exceedingly rare in Koine Greek. Among all verbs, there are only 13 occurrences in the entire NT: Matthew 27:49; Luke 22:49; John 6:64; Acts 8:27, 20:22, 22:5, 24:11, 24:17; Romans 8:34; 1 Corinthians 15:37; Hebrews 3:5, 13:17; and 1 Peter 3:13.

18. Shain 60.

Having seen but the about him the **being** said

VAAPMPN CCB AMPN PA OP3MSA ANSA VFMPNSA V3PAAI

ESV: 47 *While he was still speaking, there came a crowd, and the man called Judas, one of the twelve, was leading them. He drew near to Jesus to kiss him, 48 but Jesus said to him, “Judas, would you betray the Son of Man with a kiss?” 49 [\*] And when those who were around him saw what **would follow**, they said[\*], “Lord, shall we strike with the sword?”* - Luke 22:47-49

The Future participle in Example A conveys that Jesus's disciples recognized something that had *not yet happened* but was *already relevant*: Judas was going to betray Jesus into the hands of the crowd that had come along with him, and if the disciples were to do something about it, they had to act with force right then. Because the entire scene is described in the past tense, the best description is that the Future participle εσόμενον *esomenon* conveys no tense and *prospective aspect*.

Consistent with this, the much more common Future finite forms may be analyzed as a combination of *prospective aspect* and *present tense*. This analysis supported by the morphology of the Future finite forms, which use the same Present endings, and usually only differ from the corresponding *imperfective* present forms by a σ stem suffix.<sup>19</sup>

Finally turning to the organization of the semantic features, this analysis of the Future allows Koine Greek to be classified as a binary tense system and quaternary aspect system. In addition to the *prospective*, the other grammatical aspects are perfective, imperfective, and retrospective.<sup>20</sup> The tenses are past and present.<sup>21</sup> The table below

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19. The prototypical example: λύω λυῶ *I loosen/destroy* and λύσω λυσῶ *I will loosen/destroy*.

20. Bary 15. Although Bary's study deals with Ancient Greek, his discussion of tense and aspect is still applicable for Koine Greek.

Bary uses the term *perfect*, but I use the term *retrospective* as a synonym in order to avoid confusion with *perfective* aspect.

gives the correspondence between the *morphological* conjugations and their *semantic* features:

	<b>past</b>	<b>present</b>
<b>perfective/prospective</b>	Aorist (perfective)	Future (prospective)
<b>imperfective</b>	Imperfect	Present
<b>retrospective</b>	Pluperfect	Perfect

There are no dedicated forms for the *perfective present* or the *prospective past*. Bary demonstrates that the lack of a unique form for the *perfective present* accounts for the usage known as the Tragic Aorist, in which a character makes a performative statement<sup>22</sup> using either of the finite forms of the Aorist or Present, emphasizing the *perfective aspect* or *present tense* of their performative statement.<sup>23</sup>

#### 1.4 Structure of the thesis

The deixis of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* has previously been presented in ambiguous terms, sometimes resembling the deixis of *go* and sometimes that of *come*. Because of the misunderstanding of its deixis, the lexical aspect of *erchomai* has also been misunderstood. I examine it across various contexts for possible deictic interpretations, contrasting it with the motion verbs πορεύομαι *poreuomai* *go* and ἀπέρχομαι *aperchomai* *go off/away*. My hypothesis for this investigation is that *erchomai*

21. I capitalize only the morphological terms, not the semantic ones. So *Present* refers to an inflection which uses the *Present* stem, whereas *present* refers to the actual *present* tense of a predicate.

22. A statement which is the action itself. Bary gives the example *I swear I am not guilty* (123).

23. Bary 132.

is lexically telic and lexically deictic, denoting *movement toward* and *arrival at* the deictic center.

The deictic center mainly takes two forms, one for *direct speech*, and the other for *narrative*. In the New Testament, much of the Gospels, Acts, and Revelation is narrative, telling the story of the life and work of Jesus, the ministry of his apostles, and a vision of the return of Jesus and the coming of his kingdom. Quotations of the characters in the Gospels and most of the text of the Epistles are direct speech. I find that the goal of *erchomai* in narrative is consistent with the *location of a character(s) or event(s) of emphasis*. I find that the goal of *erchomai* in direct speech is consistent with the location of the speaker or the addressee, with priority given to the location of the speaker. I examine deixis in the contexts of direct speech and narrative in sections 3 and 4.

Before advancing to the investigation, I present some background information on Koine Greek and deictic motion verbs in section 2. Evidence from other languages shows that the properties of the deictic center vary from language to language. In some languages, *the addressee* may be used as a deictic center. In others, a *narrative* deictic center is disallowed. Furthermore, the properties of deictic motion verbs themselves vary from language to language. Of particular interest are the examples from German and Polish, wherein deictic motion verbs *lose their deixis*, and non-deictic motion verbs *gain* deixis but *lose their aspect* in certain environments. I take this as ample evidence that a few examples from a narrow range of contexts is insufficient to prove the deictic and aspectual properties of a verb one way or another, and I use this data to help elucidate the more unclear usages of *erchomai*.

The grey area is at the intersection of direct speech and narrative, which I label as *embedded narrative*, distinguishing it from the clearer categories of *non-narrative speech* and regular *narrative*. It seems clear that Jesus's parables should be counted as

narrative, but what about his imperative discourses to his disciples? If those should count as instances of narrative, should shorter imperative and subjunctive statements also count? I examine these questions in section 5.

In section 6, I examine examples previously claimed as evidence for the atelicity of *erchomai*, showing how most of these are instances of not appreciating an *anticipatory deictic center* in narrative (analogous to cataphors, the reciprocals of anaphors) or mistaking a *goal* of motion for a *path* of motion. I present my conclusions in section 7.

## 1.5 Notes on notation

### 1.5.1 Morphological abbreviations

The morphological tags accompanying the glosses of the Greek text are all from the GRAMCORD morphological database, which uses the *morphological* nomenclature of traditional Greek scholarship (for instance, aside from the *I* signifying *indicative mood*, *I* stands for the morphological *Imperfect* conjugation, not the semantic *imperfective aspect*).

- Finite example: V3SPMI = verb, third person, singular, Present, Middle, indicative
- Participial example: VAMPMPN = verb, Aorist, Middle, participle, masculine, plural, nominative

V	verb	1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	S	singular
P	Present	2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	P	plural
I	Imperfect	3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	I	indicative mood
F	Future	A	Active	S	subjunctive mood
A	Aorist	M	Middle	O	optative mood

R	Perfect (retrospective)	P	Passive	M	imperative mood
L	Pluperfect			N	infinitive
				P	participle

Even though a number of the GRAMCORD abbreviations are redundant (such as *A* & *I*), each tag in its totality is unambiguous. This is because of the fixed order they appear in; the first letter of the abbreviation is always the broad syntactic category (noun, verb, etc.). For verbs, the order of items is always:

Finite verbs	Infinitives (1-4) and participles (1-7)
1. syntactic category [V]	1. syntactic category [V]
2. person [1, 2, 3]	2. tense/aspect [P, F, A, R]
3. number [S, P]	3. voice [A, M, P]
4. tense/aspect [P, I, F, A, R, L]	4. non-finite sub-category [N, P]
5. voice [A, M, P]	5. gender [M, F, N]
6. mood [I, S, O]	6. number [S, P]
	7. case [N, G, D, A]

The orders are essentially the same, except that for finite verbs *number* follows *person*, and for participles *number* follows *gender*. The other differences in order are only due to applicability.<sup>24</sup>

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**24.** At a brief glance, the easiest way to distinguish infinitives, finite verbs, and participles is by the number of letters and by their last letters of their tags. 4 letters indicates an infinitive, a final *I*, *S*, or *O* indicates a finite verb, and anything else indicates a participle.

### 1.5.2 Bible citations

I frequently use common Bible translation abbreviations such as ESV (English Standard Version), RSV (Revised Standard Version), and KJV (King James Version). The overwhelming majority of citations are from the ESV, though every citation from the ESV is marked as such. English Bible citations without an attribution are my own translations which I sometimes use because I either disagree with other translations or because I want to emphasize something that isn't apparent in other translations. All Greek Bible citations are from the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland, and therefore no specific attributions appear in the text.

### 1.5.3 Miscellaneous

Bracketed ellipses [ ... ] indicate that words have been omitted from certain Bible verses. A bracketed asterisk [\*] to mark where beginning (and/or) end of the word-by-word gloss and morphology tag lines up with the English translation. **Bold** words in translations and Greek citations indicate a correspondence between the Greek text and the translation. *Courier New* font indicates a non-English word [transcribed into Latin characters].

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Deictic motion verbs

The deictic distinctions in motion verbs similarly varies from language to language. For example, while verbs like *come* tend to indicate motion towards the *speaker*, in Croatian, English, German, Nepali, Tamil, and Turkish, these verbs may also indicate

motion toward the *addressee*. This is generally not the case for those of Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, and Thai.<sup>25</sup>

### 2.1.1 Non-deictic motion verbs with aspectual distinctions

Some verb pairs resembling *come* and *go* don't actually contrast deictically; their contrast is an aspectual one. In Indonesian, that the speaker may say to their friend on the phone, *Will you come to my house?* using either *datang come* and *pergi go*, even while the speaker is at home.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the addressee may reply, *I will come to your house* using either verb. Although the basic meaning between each pair of potential sentences is the same, the emphasis is different. The sentences with *datang* emphasize "the mover's arrival at the GOAL," whereas the sentences with *pergi* emphasize the "the SOURCE."<sup>27</sup>

A similar pattern is seen between Polish motion verbs like *przyjść come* and *pójść go*, emphasizing the beginning and end of a motion respectively.<sup>28</sup> These verbs are non-deictic, just as Indonesian *datang* and *pergi* apparently are, but Lewandowski describes their contrast in more explicitly aspectual terms: *przyjść come* has inchoative aspect, which expresses the beginning of an event or state, and *pójść go* has terminative aspect, which expresses the end of an event or state. English speakers might suppose non-deictic verbs like these would be better translated as *arrive* and *leave*, but Lewandowski cautions against this:<sup>29</sup>

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25. Gathercole 75-76.

26. Gathercole 76.

27. Gathercole 76.

28. Lewandowski 80.

29. Lewandowski 80.

[These] verbs (*arrive* and *leave*) are inclined to be translated by means of other lexems [sic]: *przybyć* (*arrive*) and *wyjsć* (*leave*). Besides, notice that in English you would never use *arrive* or *leave* in most of the sentences cited [here ... ]: ?*Yesterday I left to the theatre*, ??*Tomorrow John will leave here to the pub*, ??*I used to arrive here often last year*, ?*I will arrive tomorrow to Marta's place*.

Therefore, demonstrating that certain verbs contrast with each other, even demonstrating that they are in complementary distribution, is not enough to prove that they are deictic. In my investigation, I look for cases where *erchomai* contrasts with other verbs of motion, but I specifically examine if it contrasts *deictically*.

### 2.1.2 Non-deictic usages of deictic motion verbs

Some deictic verbs may be used in deictically unsuitable environments for the sake of their lexical aspect. Lewandowski concludes that in situations which emphasize a motion's *terminative aspect*, German *kommen* *come* is acceptable, but *gehen* *go* is not.<sup>30</sup> Some of the instances which do are contexts where the motion is understood to be difficult or non-volitional:<sup>31</sup>

Der junge Mann **kam**/\***ging** ins Gefängnis, weil er seine Tochter getötet hat.

The young man **came**/\***went** into the prison, because he killed his daughter.

Peter **kam**/??**ging** durch Zufall an das Fenster.

Peter **came**/??**went** by chance to the window.

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30. Lewandowski 54.

31. Lewandowski 53.

Wir sind nur mit Mühe durch den Platz **gekommen**/\***gegangen**.

We **came**/\***went** with troubles through the square.

Therefore, finding non-deictic examples of a verb is not enough to say that the verb is lexically non-deictic. The non-deictic examples must additionally be proven to be aspectually unmotivated, as even a lexically deictic verb like *kommen* may shed its usual deictic semantics in these aspectually emphatic contexts. In my analysis of *erchomai*, I find that, not unlike German *kommen*, there are certain environments in direct speech which modify the usual deictic properties of *erchomai*.

### 2.1.3 Deictic usages of non-deictic motion verbs

In Polish, two verbs normally translated into English as *go*, *iść* and *chodzić*, compose a complementarily distributed verb pair. Their difference in semantics, however, is not deictic:<sup>32</sup>

Julia tu (idzie/do Ciebie).

Julia goes-DET (here /to you).

"Julia is (coming here/going to you)."

Carlos chodził do (mnie/Ciebie) na lekcje francuskiego.

Carlos went-IND to (me/you) to classes French.

"Carlos used to (come to my/go to your) place to French classes."

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32. Lewandowski 74.

Whether the motion is toward or away from the speaker makes no difference. Their difference is aspectual: *iść* has *progressive aspect* (*Determinate* in Polish grammar), *chodzić* is *Indeterminate*, which manifests itself as *habitual* or *iterative* aspect.<sup>33</sup> As seen in his above translations, the verb in *progressive aspect* ('is coming') expresses motion that is in process, and the verb in *habitual aspect* ('used to come') expresses a motion that was characteristic of a period of time. Lewandowski notes, however, that in colloquial Polish, in the 2nd person singular imperative, these verbs may take on deictic interpretations. *Chodzić* expresses motion *toward* the speaker in a *command*, but motion *away* from the speaker in a *prohibition*. As Lewandowski puts it, the verb loses its aspect when it gains a deictic interpretation:<sup>34</sup>

Chodź!

Go-IND, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.

"Come!"

Nie chodź!

Not go-IND, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.

"Don't go!"

He also notes that *iść* can only be used in commands directing motion away from the speaker. It would seem from these examples that it's not necessary to say that the verbs "lose" their aspect; for instance, if *chodzić* is only specified as having non-progressive *imperfective* aspect (consistent with allowing both *iterative* and *habitual*) or simply

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33. Lewandowski 72.

34. Lewandowski 75.

non-progressive aspect, there is nothing contradictory with the deictic interpretations accorded to it here.<sup>35</sup>

This example proves that just because a verb shows a deictic interpretation, it doesn't follow that it must be *lexically* (inherently) deictic. If a verb only receives a deictic interpretation in a narrow range of contexts (such as 2nd person singular imperative), it may be a clue that the verb itself is not inherently deictic. The possibility of a verb's deixis being reversed (in this case by negation) may also be an indication. In considering the deixis of *erchomai*, I examine a broad range of environments, and I check to see if deictic interpretations are consistent in both positive and negative contexts.

## 2.2 Relevant quirks of Koine Greek

### 2.2.1 Deponency

Some of the verbs under consideration are sometimes referred to as *deponent* or *defective*. These terms are meant to describe verbs which seem to be missing inflections that are thought to correspond to certain *voices*, especially active voice. Although Koine Greek has traditionally been described as having three voices, only the Aorist and Future conjugations have both Middle and Passive paradigms; the others use a single Mediopassive paradigm (morphologically analogous to the Aorist and Future Middle). Typical Koine Greek primers often describe deponent verbs as something like, "middle and passive forms with active meanings[, ... ] because they "lay aside" (Latin *depono*) the active forms."<sup>36</sup>

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35. In fact, there may be a link between the pragmatics and the aspect. For instance, with *ἰστέ*, predicates which take a longer period of time are intuitively easier to conceptualize as processes, so a pragmatic assumption would be that if a *progressive* verb had to correspond with motion *toward* someone or *away* from someone, away might be more likely.

Not everyone agrees with this conceptualization. Novel deponent verbs have appeared throughout the history of Greek, and even modern Greek shows examples of deponent verbs which very clearly do not have active meaning, such as a verb meaning *be underfed*.<sup>37</sup> Some contend that Mediopassive forms in Koine are better understood as "subject-focused" forms which do not necessarily correspond with *syntactic voice*, conveying a range of meanings including self-interest, perception, spontaneous events, and translational motion.<sup>38</sup> The Modern Greek Mediopassive form covers a similar range of meanings.<sup>39</sup>

In light of the evidence, Koine Mediopassive paradigms should probably be renamed something like *First Middle* and *Second Middle*. However, since I am primarily concerned with *deixis*, I simply use the terms Middle and Passive for the sake of convention. I use *Passive* to refer to the paradigm used exclusively by the Future and Aorist conjugations, characterized by the -ην/θην/θησομαι endings,<sup>40</sup> and *Middle* to refer to the paradigm used by all conjugations, characterized by the -(ο)μαι/αμαι/ομην/αμην endings.

These are the 'deponent' verbs under consideration:

- ἔρχομαι *erchomai* and all its prefixed forms use the *Active* paradigm with *perfective* and *retrospective* aspect,<sup>41</sup> and the *Middle* paradigm with *prospective* and *imperfective* aspect.<sup>42</sup>

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36. Croy 49.

37. Zombolou 20.

38. Conrad 9-10.

39. Zombolou 1.

40. As usual, using the first person singular indicative as the citation form.

41. Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect conjugations.

42. The Future, Present, and Imperfect conjugations.

- Πορεύομαι *poreuomai* and all its prefixed forms use the *Passive* paradigm with *perfective* aspect, and the *Middle* paradigm with all other aspects.

Since voice seems to be correlated with the semantic feature of aspect, this suggests that there may be meaningful connection between the two. Since whatever nuanced interaction there may be doesn't seem to affect deixis, however, I do not focus on voice in my analysis.

### 2.2.2 Implicit objects

Where other languages would use pronouns, it's fairly common in Koine Greek to omit a direct or indirect object if it would mean repeating it within the same sentence (though pronouns may also be used in Greek). In the following example, even though there are 4 verbs which take a direct object, the direct object is only made explicit once:

#### Example B

καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι **τούς ἀποστόλους** δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν  
 kai proskalesamenoι **tous apostolous** deirantes parēngeilan mē lalein  
 and having called to **the delegates** having beat they commanded not to speak  
 CCK VAMPMPN **AMPA NMPA** VAAPMPN V3PAAI TN VPAN  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἀπέλυσαν .  
 epi tō onomati tou Iēsou kai apelysan  
 on the name the Jesus and they loosed off  
 PD ANSD NNSD AMSG NMSG CCK V3PAAI SJ

ESV: *And when they had called in **the apostles**, they beat **them** and charged **them** not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let **them** go.* - Acts 5:40

Without recognizing this feature of Greek, certain verbs might seem to have special anaphoric properties, when in fact this is just a property of the language in general. It's so potent in fact, that the object doesn't even need to be in the same sentence:

#### Example C

5 λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς [ ὁ ] Ἰησοῦς · παιδία , μὴ **τι προσφάγιον**  
 legei oun autois ho Iēsous paidia mē **ti prosphagion**

Says then to them the Jesus small children not **some thing to eat**  
V3SPAI CCB OP3MPD AMSN NMSN SJ NNPV SN TG OAFNSA NNSA  
ἔχετε ; ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ · οὐ . 6 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς · βάλετε  
echete apekrithēsan autō ou ho de eipen autois balete  
have you They answered to him no The one but said to them throw  
V2PPAI SJ V3PAPI OP3MSD SJ TN SJ AMSN CCB V3SAAI OP3MPD SJ V2PAAM  
εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ πλοίου τὸ δίκτυον , καὶ εὐρήσετε .  
eis ta dexia merē tou ploiou to diktyon kai heurēsete  
into the right parts of the boat the net and **you will find**  
PA ANPA JNPAX NNPA ANSG NNSG ANSA NNSA SN CCK V2PFAI SJ  
ESV: <sup>5</sup> Jesus said to them, “Children, do you have **any fish?**” They answered him,  
“No.”<sup>6</sup> He said to them, “Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and you **will find**  
**some.**” - John 21:5-6

What's important to notice, however, is that context is only providing these verbs with an implicit argument *required by the argument structure of the verb*. In considering motion verbs then, if a verb were to be implicitly given a *source*, the verb would be one that *requires a source*. If a motion verb were to be implicitly given a *goal*, this would indicate that the motion verb *requires a goal*.

### 2.2.3 Historical Present

Very frequently in the New Testament, a narrative will start out with some verbs in the Imperfect, move on to some verbs in the Aorist, and then suddenly be interrupted by a verb in the Present, only to go back to more Aorist verbs; yet the verb in the Present doesn't seem to suggest any actual change in tense or aspect. This is an example of the Historical Present, a usage of the Present form of a verb to vivify a past event within a

narrative. In such instances, "[t]he historical present has suppressed its aspect, but not its time. But the time element is rhetorical rather than real."<sup>43</sup> In this way, the Historical Present is similar to how Bary presents the Tragic Aorist: a *present perfective* predicate may be expressed with either an Aorist or Present verb, depending on whether the speaker wants to emphasize aspect or tense.

The Historical Present appears in a few of the examples, including Examples C, L, and AA. For the reasons stated above, verbs in the Historical Present should be treated as essentially *past tense* and *perfective aspect* (the Aorist).<sup>44</sup> According to Wallace, over half the instances in the NT of the Historical Present are λέγει *legei* *he/she says* and λέγουσιν *legousin* *they say*.<sup>45</sup> This is analogous to the usage of the Historical Present in casual registers of modern languages such as English<sup>46</sup> and Spanish.<sup>47</sup>

### 2.3 Past descriptions of ἐρχομαι *erchomai*

When it comes to deixis, many lexicons and word studies don't go much further than mentioning that ἐρχομαι *erchomai* may be translated as *come* or *go*, depending on the context. Here is a relatively rare example I found which gives a more specific description:<sup>48</sup>

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43. Wallace 527.

44. This is one of my larger departures from Shain. Shain analyzes the Present as a tenseless and essentially aspectless verb form (54-55). She bases this in part on her treatment of the Historical Present, which she groups together with Present verbs in indirect discourse and perception (53).

45. Wallace 527.

46. At least in English, nearly every good joke I have ever heard utilized the Historical Present.

47. Thanks to my wife, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law (all native speakers of Nicaraguan Spanish) for helping me realize this.

Almost to the exclusion of *dije* *yo* *I said* [*perfective*], they used *digo* *yo* *I say* when recounting dialogs to each other. As in Koine, these instances often occurred between past perfective predicates.

To come, to go, move or pass along, intrans. in any direction, as marked by the adjuncts or often simply by the context. The forms from *ēlthon*, the [Aorist], however, more frequently signify “to come,” so that *ēlthen*, for example, is rarely used of one who goes from or away (Luke 2:44) while the forms derived from *érchomai* are used indifferently of travel in both directions.

Still, aside from noting a tendency for the Aorist form to correspond with deictic motion, this description puts *erchomai* in fairly ambiguous terms.

In a comparative study on *έρχομαι* *erchomai* and its derived form *εἰσέρχομαι* *eiserchomai* *enter, come/go in*, Shain describes *erchomai* as having "vague directionality,"<sup>49</sup> which "may be provided an end-point" in certain cases "by contextual information."<sup>50</sup> As explained in section 2.2.2, if *erchomai* can have context supply a goal, then this is evidence that *erchomai* also *requires a goal*.

Despite the description to the contrary, Shain's results suggest that *erchomai* is both lexically telic and lexically deictic. Of 636 instances of *erchomai* in the NT, she finds that 92% of all instances (584) are associated with a goal, 44% (278) have a goal provided by an "adverbial phrase denoting destination," 48% (306) have a "contextual goal," and for 75% (438) "directionality is a factor." The remaining 8% (50) of instances she says have no goal.<sup>51</sup>

Put another way, Shain's results show that *erchomai* is deictic and telic in 75% of instances (48% with implicit goals and 27% with explicit goals), telic but not deictic in

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48. Zodhiates G2064.

49. Shain 12.

50. Shain 66.

51. Shain 72.

17%, and atelic in 8%. Even if we were to accept these numbers, as demonstrated by German *kommen* (section 2.1.2), deictic verbs may sometimes be used non-deictically to emphasize their aspect. If this were the case here, then the only real trouble with saying that *erchomai* is lexically deictic and telic is the remaining 8%.

Even granting the 8%, Shain's results *still* suggest that *erchomai* is both lexically telic and lexically deictic. As demonstrated by Polish *chodzić* (section 2.1.3), a non-deictic verb may in certain environments take on a deictic interpretation as it sheds its lexical aspect. Is it more likely that *erchomai* somehow gains deixis and telicity, even without an explicit goal, in 48% of cases, or is it more likely that it somehow loses its deixis and telicity in 8% of cases? By these numbers alone, it seems *six times* more likely that *erchomai* is both lexically telic and lexically deictic. I examine some of instances claimed to be evidence for atelicity in section 6.

### **3. Investigation of non-narrative speech**

#### **3.1 Toward the speaker**

Of *έρχομαι* *erchomai*, *πορεύομαι* *porreuomai*, and *απέρχομαι* *aperchomai*, the only verb that is used to indicate motion toward the location of the speaker is *erchomai*, the others only indicate motion away from the location of the speaker. It doesn't matter if the statement is imperative, prohibitive, comitative, or anything else; if the statement is in non-narrative direct speech, *erchomai* indicates motion toward the location of the speaker.

### 3.1.1 Commands and prohibitions

In Koine Greek, commands are made in the *imperative mood*, and prohibitions are made in either the imperative mood or<sup>52</sup> the *subjunctive mood*.<sup>53</sup> Prohibitive predicates are formed with the negative particle μή *mē*.

All instances of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* in the imperative mood describe motion toward the speaker, except for one instance which describes motion toward the deictic center of an embedded narrative.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, *erchomai* occurs in commands as a participle complemented by other verbs in the imperative mood. Similarly, all these instances describe motion toward the speaker, except for one instance that describes motion toward the deictic center of an embedded narrative.<sup>55</sup> *Erchomai* never occurs in a prohibition.<sup>56</sup>

The example below is a good representation of the majority of imperative occurrences, from the scene in Matthew 14 where Jesus walks out on the water to the apostles in their boat:

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52. Typically, *imperative* prohibitions will be in the Present (*imperfective aspect*) and *subjunctive* prohibitions will be in the Aorist (*perfective aspect*).

53. This is analogous to the contrast between Spanish *ve go*, and *no vayas don't go*.

54. 20 total instances in the NT: Matthew 6:10, 8:9, 10:13, 14:29; Luke 7:8, 11:2, 14:17; John 1:39, 1:46, 4:16, 7:37, 11:34; Revelation 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 22:17 (three instances), and 22:20.

55. 5 total instances in the NT: Matthew 5:24, Matthew 9:18, Luke 13:14, Acts 16:37, and 2 Timothy 4:13.

56. This includes the 45 instances of *erchomai* appearing in the subjunctive: Matthew 10:23, 21:40, 23:35, 25:31; Mark 4:22, 8:38, 14:38; Luke 1:43, 8:17, 9:26, 12:38, 14:10, 16:28, 22:18, 23:42; John 4:25, 5:43, 7:27, 7:31, 11:56, 15:26, 16:4, 16:13; Acts 3:20, 17:15; Romans 3:8, 1 Corinthians 4:5, 4:21, 11:26, 11:34, 13:10, 14:6, 16:2, 16:10, 16:11, 16:12; 2 Corinthians 9:4, 13:2; Galatians 3:19; Colossians 4:10; 2 Thessalonians 1:10, 2:3; Hebrews 13:23; 3 John 10; and Revelation 17:10.

### Example D

ὁ δὲ εἶπεν · ἐλθέ . καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου [ ὁ ]  
 ho de eipen **elthe** kai katabas apo tou ploiou ho  
 The one but said **come** And having gone down from the boat the  
 AMSN CCB V3SAAI SJ **V2SAAM** SJ CCK VAAPMSN PG ANSG NNSG AMSN

Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν .  
 Petros periepatēsen epi ta hydata kai **ēlthen** pros ton Iēsoun  
 Peter walked around on the waters and **he came** toward the Jesus  
 NMSN V3SAAI PA ANPA NNPA CCK **V3SAAI** PA AMSA NMSA SJ

ESV: *He said, “**Come.**” So Peter got out of the boat and walked on the water and **came** to Jesus.* - Matthew 14:29

Lacking any explicit goal, this one-word command within direct speech, ελθέ *elthe*, clearly indicates motion *to* the speaker, Jesus. Without any other context, the deictic center is taken to be the location of the speaker. Interestingly, the author's narration which immediately follows Jesus's command also uses *erchomai*, but this is an example of *erchomai* describing motion *to* the deictic center within a narrative.<sup>57</sup>

A more complex case is found in the book of Revelation, which is the record of an apocalyptic vision in which Jesus appears in a glorified state after his resurrection:

### Example E

Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν · ἔρχου . καὶ ὁ  
 Kai to pneuma kai hē nymphē legousin **erchou** kai ho

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57. The preceding verses establish Jesus as the center. ESV: <sup>26</sup> *But when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were terrified, and said, “It is a ghost!” and they cried out in fear.* <sup>27</sup> *But immediately Jesus spoke to them, saying, “Take heart; it is I. Do not be afraid.”* <sup>28</sup> *And Peter answered him, “Lord, if it is you, command me to come to you on the water.”*

And the spirit and the bride say **come** And the  
CCK ANSN NNSN CCK AFSN NFSN V3PPAI SJ V2SPMM SJ CCK AMSN  
ἀκούων εἰπάτω · ἔρχου . καὶ ὁ διψῶν ἐρχέσθω , ὁ  
akouōn eipātō **erchou** kai ho dipsōn **erchesthō** ho  
one hearing let say **come** And the one thirsting **let come** the  
VPAPMSN V3SAAM SJ V2SPMM SJ CCK AMSN VPAPMSN V3SPMM SN AMSN  
θέλων λαβέτω ὕδωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν .  
thelōn labetō hydōr zōēs dōrean  
one wanting let receive water of life as gift  
VPAPMSN V3SAAM NNSA NFSG BX SJ

ESV: *The Spirit and the Bride say, “**Come.**” And let the one who hears say, “**Come.**” And **let** the one who is thirsty **come**; let the one who desires take the water of life without price. - Revelation 22:17*

The first two instances of *erchomai* are prayers; they are prayers that anticipate the coming of Jesus and His kingdom. This is echoed in the penultimate verse of Revelation,<sup>58</sup> and all these commands of *Come*, serve to mirror the often repeated phrase, *ἐρχομαι ταχύ I'm coming soon.*<sup>59</sup> The third instance of *erchomai* in Example E, however, is a command *from the author* himself directed at "the one who is [spiritually] thirsty." This last part of Example E is a reference back to Revelation 21:6, where the author describes a vision of God:<sup>60</sup> "[...] *To the thirsty I will give from the spring of the water of life without payment* [ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν *udatos tēs zōēs dōrean*]" (ESV). Thus, the author's command denotes motion toward God.

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58. Verse 20, ESV: [...] *Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!*

59. Spoken by Jesus throughout the book: Revelation 2:16, 3:11, 22:7, 22:12, and 22:20.

60. More specifically, a vision of God sitting on the throne of *New Jerusalem* (21:2).

From the author's perspective, this would also be motion towards himself, possibly because the author still envisions himself at the scene of his vision, and certainly because the author considers himself to be in God's kingdom: *I, John, your brother and partner in the tribulation and the kingdom and the patient endurance that are in Jesus [ ... ]* (ESV, Revelation 1:9). So the third instance of *erchomai* in Example E also indicates motion toward the location of the speaker.

Imperative *erchomai* does not only describe a *single* occurrence of motion between two points. In the following example, it describes motion toward the location of the speaker in a habitual sense:

### Example F

ἐν αὐταῖς οὖν ἐρχόμενοι θεραπεύεσθε καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου .

en autais oun **erchomenoi** therapeuesthe kai mē tē hēmera tou sabbatou

in these then **going** heal and not in the day of the sabbath

PD OP3FPD CCQ **VPMPMPN** V2PPPM CCK TN AFSD NFSD ANSG NNSG SJ

ESV: *But the ruler of the synagogue, indignant because Jesus had healed on the Sabbath, said to the people, "There are six days in which work ought to be done. **Come** on those days and be healed, and not on the Sabbath day."* - Luke 13:14

*Erchomai* appears here as an imperfective (Present) participle, and its imperative complement also appears in an imperfective (Present) form. Since the reference time is days of the week, *imperfective* aspect and the Duration Principle yield a habitual interpretation. The synagogue ruler's command indicates motion toward the temple, and since the temple is his location as he speaks the command, *erchomai* is the deictically suitable verb.

### 3.1.2 Comitative and other usages

*Comitative* refers to an event or state of accompanying something or someone else. In the case of motion verbs, it describes a motion whose goal is the location of another moving figure. In Koine Greek, whether or not the verb has an explicit goal, comitative contexts indicating accompanying the speaker require *erchomai*. The example below contains an instance that is a *comitative command*:

#### Example G

ἐλθῶν	προσεκύνει	αὐτῷ	λέγων	ὅτι	ἡ	θυγάτηρ	μου	ἄρτι
elthōn	prosekynei	autō	legōn	hoti	hē	thygatēr	mou	arti
<b>having come</b>	was worshipping	him	saying	(")	the	daughter	of me	now
<b>VAAPMSN</b>	<b>V3SIAI</b>	<b>OP3MSD</b>	<b>VPAPMSN</b>	<b>CSN</b>	<b>AFSN</b>	<b>NFSN</b>	<b>OP1 SG</b>	<b>BX</b>
ἐτελεύτησεν	· ἀλλὰ	ἐλθῶν	ἐπίθεσ	τὴν	χεῖρά	σου	ἐπ’	αὐτήν
eteleutēsen	alla	elthōn	epithes	tēn	cheira	sou	ep’	autēn
died	but	<b>having come</b>	set on	the	hand	of you	on	her
<b>V3SAAI</b>	<b>SJ CCV</b>	<b>VAAPMSN</b>	<b>V2SAAM</b>	<b>AFSA</b>	<b>NFSA</b>	<b>OP2 SG</b>	<b>PA</b>	<b>OP3FSA</b>

ESV: <sup>18</sup> *While he was saying these things to them, behold, a ruler [\*] **came** in and knelt before him, saying, “My daughter has just died, but **come** and lay your hand on her[\*], and she will live.”* <sup>19</sup> *And Jesus rose and followed him[ ... ]. - Matthew 9:18-19*

Here the second instance of the perfective (Aorist) participle of *erchomai*, ἐλθῶν *elthōn* *having come* is complemented by an imperative predicate *lay your hand on her*. The comitative usage is made clear by verse 19, which indicates that Jesus followed the ruler to his house. Although *elthōn* has no explicit goal, it can only be interpreted as motion toward the location of the speaker.

The first instance of  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\eta\omicron\nu$  in Example G is an instance that describes motion of the ruler toward the deictic center of narrative, the location of Jesus. The preceding verses of Matthew 9:10-17 describe Jesus sitting down for a meal and teaching, so at the beginning of 9:18, Jesus is straightforwardly the deictic center of the author's narrative.

The following example is comitative, but it is not imperative, and it has an explicit goal. Nonetheless,  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  functions just the same:

### Example H

ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἐλθεῖν

hopou egō hypagō hymeis ou dynasthe elthein

where I go off you not are able to go

CSL OP1 SN V1SPAI OP2 PN TN V2PPPI VAAN

ESV: *Little children, yet a little while I am with you. You will seek me, and just as I said to the Jews, so now I also say to you, [\*] "Where I am going you cannot come."* - John 13:33

The comitative usage in Example H is clarified by the statement *You will seek me*. This shows that although the speaker, Jesus, says that he is going away, and although this distant destination is given as the explicit goal of motion, the goal of his disciples' potential motion is also *his* location, though his location may move. Example H shows that  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is used in these comitative contexts regardless of mood and whether or not the goal is explicit.

Of the three verbs of this investigation,  $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is the only verb which describes motion toward the speaker, even outside of imperative and comitative contexts:

### Example I

τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν ,  
ta kat' eme mallon eis prokopēn tou euangeliou elēlythen  
the by me more for progress of the good message **has come**  
ANPN PA OP1 SA BC PA NFSA ANSG NNSG V3SRAI SN

ESV: *I want you to know, brothers, that what has **happened to me** has really served to advance the gospel.* - Philippians 1:12

In Example I above, *erchomai* describes the motion of a *third-person* determiner phrase<sup>61</sup> to the location of the author. See Example Q for an instance of the motion of a *human* third person toward the location of the speaker. Across imperative contexts, *erchomai* describes motion toward the speaker, whether habitual, comitative, or otherwise. Even among non-imperative contexts, *erchomai* exhibits similar behavior. The evidence is very strong that *erchomai* is lexically deictic; it does not merely receive a deictic interpretation within a narrow range of contexts.

## 3.2 Away from the speaker

### 3.2.1 Commands

While *erchomai* never occurs in a prohibition, both ἀπέρχομαι<sup>62</sup> *aperchomai* and πορεύομαι *poreuomai* occur in both commands<sup>63</sup> and prohibitions. All instances of

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61. τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐλήλυθεν ta kat' eme elēlythen the [things] that have come down on me.

62. *Aperchomai* occurs in the subjunctive 7 times, and of those 2 are prohibitions: Matthew 5:30, 8:19, **10:5**, 28:10; Luke 9:57, **17:23**; and John 16:7. Luke 17:23 describes a motion away from the deictic center of a narrative, and Matthew 10:5 describes a motion away from the speaker in non-narrative speech.

63. *Aperchomai* never occurs in the imperative itself, but it occurs twice as a participle complemented by an imperative verb in Luke 5:14 and Luke 9:60. Both of these instances describe motion away from the speaker in non-narrative speech.

these two verbs that occur in commands or prohibitions describe motion away from the speaker or deictic center of an embedded narrative.<sup>64</sup>

*aperchomai* only describes motions away from the speaker in non-narrative speech:

### Example J

ἀπελθῶν δειξὼν σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ

apelthōn deixon seauton tō hierēi

**having gone off** show yourself to the priest

VAAPMSN V2SAAM OX2MSA AMSD NMSD

ESV: **13** *And Jesus stretched out his hand and touched him, saying, “I will; be clean.” And immediately the leprosy left him. 14* *And he charged him to tell no one, but [\*] “go and show yourself to the priest[\*], and make an offering for your cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a proof to them.”* - Luke 5:13-14

Example J is straightforward, especially since verse 14 says that Jesus wasn't seeking to draw attention to himself, and verse 16 that [ ... ] *he would withdraw to desolate places and pray* (ESV). *poreuomai* functions synonymously in non-narrative commands, always expressing motion away from the speaker (see Example AA in section 5).

### 3.2.2 Prohibitions

Prohibitions with *πορεύομαι* *poreuomai* and *ἀπέρχομαι* *aperchomai* are deictically identical to commands with the same verbs:

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<sup>64</sup>. For *poreuomai* in the imperative, 12 of the 13 total instances in the NT describe motion away from the speaker: Matthew 2:8, 9:13, 10:7, 11:4, 17:27, 28:7, 28:19; Mark 16:15; Luke 7:22, 13:32, 14:10, 17:14, and 22:8. The remaining instance describes motion away from the deictic center of an embedded narrative.

### Example K

Τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς

Toutous tous dōdeka apesteilen ho Iēsous parangeilas autois

These the twelve delegated the Jesus having commanded them

OADMPA AMPA JMPAX V3SAAI AMSN NMSN VAAPMSN OP3MPD

λέγων · εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε

legōn eis hodon ethnōn mē apelhēte

saying **into way** of nations **not go off**

VPAPMSN SJ PA NFSA NNPG TN V2PAAS

ESV: **5** *These twelve Jesus sent out, instructing them, “Go nowhere among the Gentiles and enter no town of the Samaritans, 6 but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.* - Matthew 10:5-6

Just as in Example J, *aperchomai* in Example K describes the motion of the addressee away from the speaker. Whereas in Example J it described Jesus sending the cured leper to the high priest, here in Example K it describes Jesus sending out (verse 5: *ἀπέστειλεν apesteilen he sent out*) his twelve apostles to the Israelites. In verse 6, Jesus uses the imperative form of *poreuomai*, a command which rhetorically contrasts with his prohibition but further demonstrates the deictic *similarity* of *aperchomai* and *poreuomai*.

*Poreuomai* functions like *aperchomai* in a prohibition, but it never occurs in a non-narrative prohibition. Of the 7 instances of *poreuomai* in the subjunctive, only 1 is in a prohibition, but it is in narrative (c.f. Example U).<sup>65</sup> Despite this, nothing else from its distribution would lead one to suspect behavior different from that of *aperchomai* in

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<sup>65</sup>. Luke 16:30, **21:8**; John 14:3, 16:7; Acts 23:23; Romans 15:24; and 1 Corinthians 16:6.

Example K. Given the deixis exhibited in Example U, it can at least be said for certain that the essential denotation of expressing motion away from the deictic center of *poreuomai* does not change between imperative or prohibitive contexts.

The fact that *erchomai*, which occurs much more frequently than *aperchomai* or *poreuomai*, never occurs in a prohibition in the New Testament is further evidence for its lexical deixis. In a world before telephones, let alone instant messaging, the opportunities for saying *Don't come* were rarer than the opportunities to say *Don't go*. Furthermore, the fact that the vector of deictic motion does not alternate with negation for any of these verbs, as it does with Polish *iść*, provides further evidence for the lexical deixis of all three verbs.

### 3.3 Toward the addressee

Of the three verbs under consideration, only *erchomai* can describe motion toward the addressee. Conversely, *erchomai* does not describe motion away from the addressee unless it describes motion to the speaker. This complementary distribution further demonstrates the lexical deixis of these verbs of motion.

#### Example L

3 λέγει αὐτοῖς Σίμων Πέτρος ἰπάγω ἀλιεύειν . λέγουσιν αὐτῷ .

legei autois Simōn Petros hypagō halieuein legousin autō

Says to them Simon Peter I go off to fish They say to him

V3SPAI OP3MPD NMSN NMSN SJ V1SPAI VPAN SJ V3PPAI OP3MSD SJ

ἐρχόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοί .

erchometha kai hēmeis syn soi

go also we with you

V1PPMI BX OP1 PN PD OP2 SD SJ

ESV: *Simon Peter said to them, “I am going fishing.” They said to him, “**We will go with you.**” [\*] They went out and got into the boat, but that night they caught nothing.*

- John 21:3

Example L is the reciprocal comitative to Examples G and H. As demonstrated here, the comitative use does not require an invitation; if the motion is toward the addressee, the appropriate deictic verb is *erchomai*. Example L is also interesting because *erchomai* appears in *imperfective* aspect and *present* tense, denoting a *processual* interpretation. Therefore Example L cannot be an instance of aspect taking over deixis to emphasize arrival as with German *kommen*; it denotes a process of motion toward the speaker, wherever he might go, and this is clarified by the end of the verse which shows that the other apostles accompanied Peter through the night.

### Example M

ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσομαι .

erchomenos pros hymas en plērōmati eulogias Christou eleusomai

coming to you in fullness of good word of Christ **I will come**

VPMPMSN PA OP2 PA PD NNSD NFSG NMSG V1SFMI SJ

ESV: **28** *When therefore I have completed this and have delivered to them what has been collected, I will leave for Spain by way of you. 29 I know that [\*] **when I come to you I will come** in the fullness of the blessing of Christ.* - Romans 15:28-29

Example M isn't very different from Example L, but it is a much more common construction. Paul uses *I come to you* in various tenses and aspects throughout his letters, especially in this letter to the Romans. Paul says that, at the time of writing, he is en route to Jerusalem (verse 27), so apparently immediacy can also be ruled out as a

condition for the use of *erchomai*. As a final example for this section, example N demonstrates the reciprocal usage to Examples I and Q, motion of a *third person* to the addressee:

### Example N

ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης , καὶ οὐκ  
elthen gar Iōannēs pros hymas en hodō dikaiosynēs kai ouk  
Went for John toward you in way of rightness and not  
V3SAAI CCX NMSN PA OP2 PA PD NFSD NFSG SN CCK TN  
ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ  
episteusate autō  
you trusted him  
V2PAAI OP3MSD

ESV: *For John **came to you** in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him[\*], but the tax collectors and the prostitutes believed him. And even when you saw it, you did not afterward change your minds and believe him. - Matthew 21:32*

The Gospel narrative of Matthew makes it clear that John the Baptist's ministry preceded Jesus's (though they overlapped for a time), so especially since nothing even hints to the contrary, it is unlikely that the motion event in Example N involves Jesus at all (he was probably still in Nazareth at the time).

All of these instances collectively show that *erchomai* has a consistent meaning throughout non-narrative speech: motion toward and arrival to the speaker or addressee.<sup>66</sup> The reason that *erchomai* does not describe motion toward the addressee in imperative contexts is the lack of applicable eventualities. In imperative contexts, the

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<sup>66</sup>. The arrival is not entailed unless the predicate occurs in perfective or retrospective aspect.

addressee is usually the figure of movement, and there are not many occasions to say *come to yourself*.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, one would not expect many occasions for a third person command of motion toward the addressee.

### 3.4 Away from the addressee

*Poreuomai* and *aperchomai* deictically complement *erchomai* in describing motion with respect to the addressee.<sup>68</sup> In Example O, the speaker indicates their intent to go elsewhere, away from the addressee, using *poreuomai*:

#### Example O

τὸ	αἷμα	ὑμῶν	ἐπὶ	τὴν	κεφαλὴν	ὑμῶν	·	καθαρὸς	ἐγὼ	ἀπὸ	τοῦ
to	haima	hymōn	epi	tēn	kephalēn	hymōn		katharos	egō	apo	tou
the	blood	of you	on	the	head	of you		clean	I	from	the
ANSN	NNSN	OP2 PG	PA&nbsp;AFSA	NFSA	OP2 PG SJ	JMSNX	OP1 SN	PG	ANSG		
νῦν	εἰς	τὰ	ἔθνη	πορεύσομαι	.						
nyn	eis	ta	ethnē	poreusomai							
now	to	the	nations	will travel							
JNSGX	PA	ANPA	NNPA	V1SFMI	SJ						

ESV: *And when they opposed and reviled him, he shook out his garments and said to them, “Your blood be on your own heads! I am innocent. From now on **I will go to the Gentiles.**”* - Acts 18:6

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67. Except in an idiomatic way, which does actually occur once in the NT in Luke 15:17, but it is used in a third person narrative in the past tense.

68. For instance, there are 6 instances in the NT of deictic motion away from the addressee in the prospective, using *poreuomai*, but *erchomai* is never used this way: Luke 11:5, 15:18; Acts 18:6, 25:12; 1 Corinthians 16:4; and James 4:13.

The confrontational tone makes it perfectly clear that motion is directed away from the addressee. *Aperchomai* behaves similarly:<sup>69</sup>

### Example P

κύριε , πρὸς τίνα ἄπελευσόμεθα ; ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχεις  
kyrie pros tina apeleusometha rhēmata zōēs aiōniou echeis  
Master toward whom **will we go off** Words of life eternal you have  
NMSV SN PA OIGMSA V1PFMI SJ NNPA NFSG JFSGX V2SPAI

ESV: **66** *After this many of his disciples turned back and no longer walked with him.*

**67** *So Jesus said to the Twelve, “Do you want to go away as well?”* **68** *Simon Peter*

*answered him, [\*] “Lord, to whom **shall we go**? You have the words of eternal life.”* -

John 6:66-68

Example P contains a famous quote that is used in Christian liturgy to this day. The preceding verses make it clear that the hypothetical motion of the apostles would be away from the addressee, Jesus. When the English translation in verse 68 is taken in isolation, however, the sense might come across as something like *You're the only logical person that one would go to*, but in fact the sense is *Why would we want to go off to someone else?*

As a final example for this section, Example Q demonstrates an instance of the location of the speaker *taking priority* over the location of the addressee to serve as a deictic center:

### Example Q

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69. 3 prospective instances in the NT: Matthew 25:46, John 6:68, and Romans 15:28.

Ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν

Arti de elthontos Timotheou pros hēmas aph' hymōn

Now but **having come** Timothy **to us** from you

BX CCB VAAPMSG NMSG PA OP1 PA PG OP2 PG

ESV: *But now that Timothy has **come to us** from you<sup>[\*]</sup>, and has brought us the good news of your faith and love and reported that you always remember us kindly and long to see us, as we long to see you.* - 1 Thessalonians 3:6

This is the only instance in the NT of one of the deictic verbs being used to describe motion of a third person between the speaker and addressee, so this is the only text that can be used for establishing the priority of the deictic center in non-narrative speech.

That said, it's very reasonable that the speaker's location would receive priority, fitting with the cross-linguistic observation that deictic *coming* verbs first convey motion toward the location of speaker, and then only in certain contexts of certain languages, motion toward any other location.

## 4. Investigation of narrative

### 4.1 Toward the established deictic center

Koine deictic motion verbs frequently reference a deictic center that has already been established in the narrative, which may be the location of the character of focus. In the Gospels, the character of focus is often Jesus. As an illustration, in the Gospel of John, every narrative use of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* between 18:3 and 19:39<sup>70</sup> indicates motion towards the location of Jesus. The first instance describes the motion of Judas toward

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70. John 18:3, 18:4, 19:3, 19:32, 19:33, 19:38, and 19:39 (two instances).

Jesus to have him arrested, and the last instance indicates the motion of Nicodemus toward Jesus to bury him. This section of John, which tells of Jesus's final hours before his death, and also of his burial, is a logical place for the narrator to focus on Jesus, placing the deictic center at his location. An illuminating example is that of the soldiers approaching Jesus while he is on the cross:

### Example R

32 ἦλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατέαξαν τὰ  
elthon oun hoi stratiōtai kai tou men prōtou kateaxan ta  
**Came** then the soldiers and of the indeed first they broke the  
V3PAAI CCB AMPN NMPN CCK AMMSG TM JMSGX V3PAAI ANPA  
σκέλη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ · 33 ἐπὶ  
skelē kai tou allou tou systaurōthentos autō · 33 epi  
legs and the other the one having been crucified together to him **on**  
NNPA CCK AMMSG OADMSG AMMSG VAPPMSG OP3MSD SJ **PA**  
δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες , ὡς εἶδον ἤδη αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ,  
de ton Iēsoun elthontes hōs eidon ēdē auton tethnēkota ,  
but **the Jesus having come** as they saw already him having died  
CCB AMSA NMSA VAAPMPN SN CST V3PAAI BX OP3MSA VRAPMSA SN

ESV: **31** *Since it was the day of Preparation, and so that the bodies would not remain on the cross on the Sabbath (for that Sabbath was a high day), the Jews asked Pilate that their legs might be broken and that they might be taken away. 32 [\*] So the soldiers **came** and broke the legs of the first, and of the other who had been crucified with him. 33 But when they **came to Jesus** and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. - John 19:31-33*

The first instance of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* appears without an explicit goal, and describes the motion of the soldiers to Jesus's general location, the site of the crosses. The second instance, however, describes the motion of the soldiers to Jesus's specific location, right up to him, as opposed to the locations of the other executed men, and close enough for a Roman soldier to verify that the condemned had died. Both motions are *to* the location of Jesus, only differing in specificity.

In some cases, the established deictic center is not spatial, but temporal; that is, instead of being the location in space of the preceding series of events, it is the location in time of the preceding series of events. Such a use is found in Mark 5, where the narrator describes a woman who has had a serious medical condition for twelve years. She is described as having spent all of her money on various treatments, only to get worse:

### Example S

καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελῆθεισα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἔλθοῦσα  
kai mēden ōphelētheisa alla mallon eis to cheiron elthousa  
and nothing having been benefitted but more in the worse **having gone**  
CCK JNSAX VAPPFSN CCV BC PA ANSA JNSAC VAAPFSN

[ ... ] *and she didn't benefit at all; instead **she came** to be even worse.* - Mark 5:26<sup>71</sup>

The neuter article τὸ *to* *the* combined with the comparative adjective χεῖρων *cheirōn worse* makes a determiner phrase that denotes *a worse state*.<sup>72</sup> Koine Greek does have a verb which denotes *become*, namely γίνομαι *ginomai*, and it can be used with *cheirōn*,<sup>73</sup> but here the perfective participial form of *erchomai* is used. Here,

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71. ESV: [...] and was no better but rather grew worse.

72. cf. 2 Timothy 3:13.

*erchomai* describes the woman moving temporally *to* a worse condition, the one that she is in *at the time of the narrative*.

Example S isn't the only example of temporal motion with *erchomai*. Whereas *erchomai* in Example S described a person moving through time to a state that persisted at the time of the narrative, *erchomai* in the example below describes future events coming to a person located in the time of the narrative.<sup>74</sup>

### Example T

4 Ἰησοῦς οὖν εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθεν  
Iēsous oun eidōs panta ta **erchomena** ep' auton exēlthen  
Jesus then having known all the **things coming** on him went out  
NMSN CCQ VRAPMSN JNPAX ANPA **VPMPNPA** PA OP3MSA V3SAAI

ESV: **3** *So Judas, having procured a band of soldiers and some officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees, went there with lanterns and torches and weapons. [\*]*

**4** *Then Jesus, knowing all that **would happen** to him, came forward [\*] and said to them, “Whom do you seek?” - John 18:3-4*

One conceptualization of events is that of a timeline: a person moves along the line, and as they do so they encounter various stationary 'event points.' The conceptualization used in Example T, however, is more lively: past, present, and future are bounded areas, and people and events 'move' from one area to another. In John 18:4, the events of the next day have begun their advance toward Jesus,<sup>75</sup> and they're

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73. cf. Matt 9:16, 2 Peter 2:20.

74. If this sounds too abstruse, consider the common colloquial expression in English, *You'll get **what's coming to you***.

75. This is not a unique usage. There are two analogous instances of this pattern in the New Testament that use *erchomai* to describe the movement of a day to the time of the narrative: Luke 22:7 and Acts 2:20.

already within his sight (εἰδώς *eidōs* can also be translated as *having perceived*). Those events haven't yet reached him—but they will soon.<sup>76</sup>

## 4.2 Away from the established deictic center

As Examples O, P, and Q did in the context of non-narrative speech, Examples U and V below demonstrate the complementary distribution of Koine deictic motion verbs in the context of narrative:

### Example U

πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες · ἐγὼ εἰμι ,  
 polloi gar eleusontai epi tō onomati mou legontes egō eimi  
 many for will come on the name of me saying I am  
 JMPNX CCX V3PFMI PD ANSD NNSD OP1 SG VPAPMPN SJ OP1 SN V1SPAI SN  
 καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν . μὴ πορευθῆτε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν .  
 kai ho kairos ēngiken mē poreuthēte opisō autōn  
 and the season has neared **not you might travel** after them  
 CCK SJ AMSN NMSN V3SRAI SJ CSN V2PAPS MG OP3MPG SJ

ESV: 6 “As for these things that you see, the days will come when there will not be left here one stone upon another that will not be thrown down. [ ... ] See that you are not led astray. [\*] For many will come in my name, saying, ‘I am he!’ and, ‘The time is at hand!’ **Do not go** after them. [\*]9 And when you hear of wars and tumults, do not be terrified, for these things must first take place, but the end will not be at once. [ ... ] 11 There will be great earthquakes, and in various places famines and pestilences. And there will be terrors and great signs from heaven.” - Luke 21:6-11

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76. ερχόμενα *erchomena* is an imperfective participle taking a processual interpretation.

From the context (20:1), the location that here (verse 6) refers to is the temple in Jerusalem, and Jesus makes not one, but a series of predictions about the future.

Therefore, Example U is a narrative of future events, whose deictic center of narrative is Jerusalem. He describes the false prophets as coming, and then prohibits his disciples from going after them. Although it's unclear from the narrative where the false prophets might go off to, it is reasonably interpreted as nonspecific motion away from the deictic center.

Also, this situation in example U is nearly identical to the one in Luke 17:22-23,<sup>77</sup> another pair equating the deixis of *poreuomai* and *aperchomai*.

Moreover, this pair suggests that *aperchomai* denotes a location one step further away than does *poreuomai*: in Example U, the goal of *poreuomai* is the location of this group of false prophets, in the similar passage from Luke 17, the goal of *aperchomai* is not the location of false prophets, but a location that they describe.

Example V below is an example of one of Jesus's parables, in which he immediately establishes a wheat field as the deictic center of the narrative:

### Example V

ἐν	δὲ	τῷ	καθεύδειν	τούς	ἀνθρώπους	ἦλθεν	αὐτοῦ	ὁ	ἐχθρὸς
en	de	tō	katheudein	tous	anthrōpous	ēlthen	autou	ho	echthros
In	but	the	to sleep	the	men	came	of him	the	hostile one
PD	CCB	ANSD	VPAN	AMPA	NMPA	V3SAAI	OP3MSG	AMSN	NMSN
καὶ	ἐπέσπειρεν	ζιζάνια	ἀνὰ	μέσον	τοῦ	σίτου	καὶ	ἀπῆλθεν	.
kai	epespeiren	zizania	ana meson	tou	sitou	kai	apēlthen		

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77. ESV: <sup>22</sup> And he said to the disciples, "The days are coming when you will desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man, and you will not see it. <sup>23</sup> And they will say to you, 'Look, there!' or 'Look, here!' Do not go out [μὴ ἀπέλθητε *mē apēlthēte*] or follow them."

and sowed on weeds up middle of the wheat and **went off**

CCK V3SAAI NNPA PA NNSA AMMSG NMSG CCK V3SAAI SJ

ESV: 24 [ ... ] “The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a man who sowed good seed in his field, 25 [\*] but while his men were sleeping, his enemy **came** and sowed weeds among the wheat and **went away**.” - Matthew 13:24-25

The forms of *erchomai* and *aperchomai*, ἦλθεν *ēlthen* and ἀπήλθεν *apēlthen*, describe the motion of the man's enemy *to* and *away from* the wheat field, consistent with their deictic meaning. Interestingly, both of the verbs, which in an important way of *opposite* meanings, have no explicit argument, and it is for this reason that Example V is especially important evidence for lexical deixis. We might say that context of the narrative provides the *goal* of motion for *erchomai* and the *source* of motion for *aperchomai*, but it would be nonsensical to say that context contributes the lexical meaning of *moving toward and arriving at a goal* to *erchomai* and *departing from and moving away from a source* to *aperchomai*.

If it were the case, what would be left of the verbs' inherent meanings? Moreover, how could the speaker be certain that the addressee would pick the same arbitrary assignments of definitions? If these verbs can be understood contrastively without explicit arguments, while taking the same one implicitly, their vectors of motion must be inherent. Just as in Examples B & C, these verbs in Example V can use implicit arguments because those arguments are required by their argument structure; they are built-in to their lexical semantics. The verbs cannot take an implicit *goal*, only an implicit argument, which serves as a goal or source depending on the verb. The question that remains is one of boundedness. If *erchomai* meant something like *approach* and *aperchomai*, *distance oneself*, the verbs could still be understood

contrastively, but they would neither be deictic nor bounded. I will deal with these questions more in section 6.

### 4.3 Toward the anticipated deictic center

Just like a cataphor referencing something that follows, *erchomai* often describes motion toward the *anticipated* deictic center. In fact, in this usage *erchomai* seems to signal the change of deictic center as the focus of the narrative shifts to a different location. The example below demonstrates how this shift of deictic centers may happen abruptly:<sup>78</sup>

#### Example W

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν

Kai euthys ek tēs synagōgēs exelthontes **elthon** eis tēn oikian

And immediately from the synagogue having come out **they went into** the house

CCK BX PG AFSG NFSG VAAPMPN **V3PAAI PA** AFSA NFSA

Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου μετὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου .

Simōnos kai Andreou meta Iakōbou kai Iōannou

of Simon and Andrew with Jacob and John

NMSG CCK NMSG PG NMSG CCK NMSG SJ

ESV: **29** *And immediately he left the synagogue and **entered** the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. **30** Now Simon’s mother-in-law lay ill with a fever, and immediately they told him about her. **31** And he came and took her by the hand and lifted her up, and the fever left her, and she began to serve them. **32** That evening at sundown they brought to him all who were sick or oppressed by demons. **33** And the*

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<sup>78</sup>. This scene is also told in Matthew 8:14-16. Ἐρχομαι *erchomai* is also used to indicate motion into Peter's house.

*whole city* [ὅλη ἡ πόλις holē hē polis] *was gathered together at the door. 34 And he healed many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons*[ ... ].

- Mark 1:29-34

The verses preceding Example W, Mark 1:21-27, describe Jesus preaching and healing in the temple, and verse 28 is a narrative comment that his fame spread throughout Galilee. Thus the *established* deictic center is the temple. If either the city of Capernaum or the region of Galilee were the actual deictic center of narrative, since both the temple and Peter's house are located in Capernaum of Galilee, the movement would be totally non-deictic.

As indicated by verses 30-34, however, Peter's house definitely *becomes* the deictic center. This usage of *erchomai* in Example W reflects that the center of focus had already shifted in the author's mind.<sup>79</sup> The deictic center of narrative is the location of a character or place of focus, and in this case, the narrative clearly focuses on Peter's house, as evidenced by the series of events that is described: a) discussion of Peter's mother-in-law, b) Jesus's healing her, c) a crowd gathering at the door, and d) more healings and exorcisms by Jesus. Additionally, verse 32 indicates that all this took place through the day and into the evening, so there is no doubt that this qualifies as a center of narrative. Once one knows to look for these anticipated deictic centers, the examples become too common to enumerate.

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79. A very similar situation is found in Matthew 8:28: *And when he came* [εἰσθόντος elthontos] *to the other side in the country of the Gadarenes, two demon-possessed men went to meet him*[...]. That the Gadarene shore is the new deictic center through verse 34 is supported by subsequent instances of *aperchomai*: 32 [ ... ] οἱ δὲ ἐξεληθόντες ἀπήλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους· καὶ [ ... ] 33 οἱ δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον, καὶ ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν [ ... ] '[The demons] came out [of the men] and **went off** into the pigs, and the herdsmen fled, **going off** into the city.'

Logically, narrative movement *away* from an anticipated deictic center of narrative would be expected to be rare or non-existent.<sup>80</sup> If a character is to move away from a location in a narrative, the narrative would likely shift focus and describe the location, making the motion into movement away from an *established* deictic center. That aside, this investigation of narrative has shown that the motion verbs under consideration all have perfectly analogous deictic usages between non-narrative speech and narrative. I now move on to the more difficult cases.

## 5. Investigation of embedded narrative

Example X is an instance of one of Jesus's parables where he does *not* talk about *third person* figures; instead, he uses the *second person singular*:

### Example X

ἀλλ' ὅταν	κληθῆς	,	πορευθεὶς	ἀνάπεσε	εἰς	τὸν	ἔσχατον	τόπον	,
all' hotan	klēthēs		poreutheis	anapese	eis	ton	eschaton	topon	
But	when you might be called		<b>having traveled</b>	recline	in	the	last	place	
CCV	CST	V2SAPS	SN	VAPPMSN	V2SAAM	PA	AMSA	JMSAX	NMSA SN
ἵνα ὅταν	ἔλθῃ	ὁ	κεκληκὼς	σε	ἔρεῖ	σοι	·	φίλε	,
hina hotan	elthē	ho	keklēkōs	se	erei	soi		phile	
that	when <b>might come</b>	the	having called	you	will say	to you		friend	
CSF	CST	V3SAAS	AMSN	VRAPMSN	OP2 SA	V3SFAI	OP2 SD	SJ NMSV	SN

ESV: 7 *Now he told a parable to those who were invited, when he noticed how they chose the places of honor, saying to them, 8 “When you are invited by someone to a wedding feast, do not sit down in a place of honor, lest someone more distinguished*

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80. There don't seem to be any in the New Testament.

*than you be invited by him, 9 and he who invited you both will come [ὅς σε to you] and say to you, 'Give your place to this person,' and then you will begin with shame to take the lowest place. 10 [\*] But when you are invited, go and sit in the lowest place, so that when your host comes he may say to you, 'Friend, move up higher.' [\*] Then you will be honored in the presence of all who sit at table with you. - Luke 14:8-10*

In this parable, there are two instances of *erchomai*, one occurring as a participle before a verb in the *Future*, and the other as a verb in the *Present subjunctive*. The first describes motion toward the addressee<sup>81</sup> sitting at the place of honor, and the second describes motion toward the addressee sitting at the lowest place. In the first case, the host comes to the addressee and makes him move, and in the second case, the host comes to the addressee and invites him to move up.<sup>82</sup> There are two ways of interpreting the deixis.

The first is the both instances of *erchomai* convey deictic movement toward the addressee, and that the instance of *poreuomai* expresses deictic movement away from the speaker. Since Jesus isn't even present in the parable (since it's a hypothetical situation), this interpretation seems weak. The second interpretation is that there are two deictic centers, the first being the place of honor, and then the second being the lowest place (the deictic center shifts). This is consistent with the deixis of all three verbs in the narrative, with *poreuomai* describing motion away from the first deictic center. This second interpretation is stronger, so Example X suggests that even if

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81. In Luke 14:7, Jesus is described as speaking to the third person plural, that is, the dinner guests, but the second person singular is used throughout the parable.

82. The accusative pronoun *ὅς σε* *to you* is omitted in the second case, per the general tendency of Koine to drop redundant objects (it is explicit in the first case).

narrative includes the addressee, the narrative deictically resembles third-person narrative.

Example Y below includes an instance of participial *poreuomai* used in a command in direct speech, an instance of *erchomai* used in embedded narrative, and an instance of *poreuomai* used in non-speech narrative:

### Example Y

εἶπεν · **πορευθέντες** ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ παιδίου · ἐπὶ δὲ  
 eipen **poreuthentes** exetasate akribōs peri tou paidiou epan de  
 he said **having traveled** inquire accurately about the small child when but  
 V3SAAI SJ **VAPPMPN** V2PAAM BX PG ANSG NNSG SJ CST CCB  
 εὔρητε , ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι , ὅπως κἀγὼ **ἐλθῶν** προσκυνήσω  
 heurēte apangeilate moi hopōs kagō **elthōn** proskynēsō  
 you might find tell to me so that also I **having come** might worship  
 V2PAAS SN V2PAAM OP1 SD SN CSF OP1 SN **VAAPMSN** V1SAAS  
 αὐτῷ . 9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως **ἐπορεύθησαν** καὶ ἰδοὺ  
 autō hoi de akousantes tou basileōs **eporeuthēsan** kai idou  
 him The ones but having heard the king **traveled** and look  
 OP3MSD SJ AMPN CCB VAAPMPN AMMSG NMSG **V3PAPI** CCK I

ESV: *And he sent them to Bethlehem, [\*] saying, “Go and search diligently for the child, and when you have found him, bring me word, that I too may come and worship him.”* 9 *After listening to the king, they went on their way. And behold[\*], the star that they had seen when it rose went before them until it came [ἐλθῶν elthon] to rest over the place where the child was. [ ... ]* 11 *And going [ἐλθόντες elthontes] into the house they saw the child with Mary his mother[ ... ].* - Matthew 2:8-11

First, πορευθέντες *poreuthentes* describes motion away from the speaker; the king is sending the magi from Jerusalem to Bethlehem and instructing them to look for the child once they get there. His own location serves as the deictic center since this is an example of direct speech. The first instance of participial *erchomai* also occurs in direct speech, however, it does not describe motion toward the speaker. Is this a non-deictic usage?

First, this usage does not obviously resemble the examples with German *kommen*; the motion would not be non-volitional/passive, and the context doesn't suggest that the trip would be especially difficult for the king. The trip could, however, be difficult in that, without the assistance of the magi, the trip is not only difficult, but *impossible*, since he doesn't know where to go. The king could even be being especially polite, emphasizing his *arrival* at the child for the sake of conveying what a great favor the magi would be doing his wealthy majesty. If this were the case, however, *erchomai* would have to analogously have *terminative* aspect, that is, it would have to be *bound* and denote reaching some end (*telic* aspect).

On the other hand, Example Y resembles Example X and Example U: They are narratives which include the participants of the speech act, they have imperative statements, and they both describe future/potential eventualities. In a way, the king transitions into what we might call a *command narrative*, or even a *desiderative narrative*, starting with a command grounded in the present state of affairs, namely that the king and the magi are all in Jerusalem and they don't know where the child is, but continuing on to his desires and goals. Within the king's embedded narrative, the deictic center would certainly be the child, as the king is presented in Luke as being determined to find and murder what he believes is a threat

to his political power. In this case, *elthōn* would describe the potential motion of the king *to* that center.

Putting these two options aside for now, there are also the three verbs that the author uses in his own narration. The last two are forms of *erchomai*, describing the motion of the star and the subsequent motion of the magi *to* the location of the child, the new deictic center of the narrative.<sup>83</sup>

The first of the three verbs, the Aorist of *poreuomai*, *επορεύθησαν* *eporeuthēsan* they went, describes motion away from the established deictic center of the narrative: Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the scene of all the events since Matthew 2:1, including the arrival of the magi, their initial dialog with the king, and the king's summons to the priests and scribes. Matthew 2:9 then, is an instance of the deictic center of narrative shifting from one location to another, from Jerusalem to Bethlehem.

Similar to Example Y, Example Z below presents an instance of *erchomai* describing the motion of the speaker toward a *third-person* character:

### Example Z

ἐάν	τις	ἀγαπᾷ	με	τὸν	λόγον	μου	τηρήσει	,	καὶ	ὁ
ean	tis	agapa	me	ton	logon	mou	tērēsei	kai	ho	
if	some	might love	me	the	word	of me	he will keep	and	the	
CSE	OIFMSN	V3SPAS	OP1 SA	AMSA	NMSA	OP1 SG	V3SFAI	SN CCK	AMSN	
πατήρ	μου	ἀγαπήσει	αὐτὸν	καὶ	πρὸς	αὐτὸν	ἔλευσόμεθα			
patēr	mou	agapēsei	auton	kai	pros	auton	eleusometha			
father	of me	will love	him	and	toward	him	<b>we will come</b>			

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<sup>83</sup>. The child's house is the scene of several events described in Matthew 2:11-14: The magi worship the child, present gifts, receive a warning in a dream, and depart. The child's father, Joseph, also receives a warning in a dream, and the family flees to Egypt.

NMSN OP<sub>1</sub>SG V<sub>3</sub>SFAI OP<sub>3</sub>MSA CCK PA OP<sub>3</sub>MSA V<sub>1</sub>PFMI

ESV: **21** *Whoever has my commandments and keeps them, he it is who loves me. And he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him.* **22** *Judas (not Iscariot) said to him, "Lord, how is it that you will manifest yourself to us, and not to the world?"* **23** *Jesus answered him, [\*] "If anyone loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and **we will come** to him [\*] and make our home with him."* - John 14:23

Just like Example Y, Example Z has a conditional statement with a subjunctive protasis. Combined with all the Future verbs in the apodosis, however, Example Z resembles Example U more than Example Y. Here Jesus is stating a generality, that as a fact, when a certain person does *a*, that person will also do *b*, and that Jesus and his Father will do *c*. This statement is similar to one in verse 21, and it comes as a response to Judas's question in verse 22, in which he asks about what Jesus will do (indicative mood). For these reasons, it makes sense to consider Example Z another future narrative, like Example U. The context establishes the deictic center of all this discourse as the one who loves Jesus, so this example does not deictically deviate from the other examples of narrative.

Lastly, there is a single clear instance in the NT where imperative *erchomai* does *not* indicate motion toward the speaker; the context is Jesus *sending out* his disciples to the various cities and villages (Matthew 10:5). He instructs them, "*And whatever town or village you enter, find out who is worthy in it and stay there until you depart. As you enter the house, greet it*" (ESV, Matthew 10:11-12). He continues:

## **Example AA**

ἐὰν μὲν ᾗ ἡ οἰκία ἄξια , ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν  
ἐὰν μὲν εἰμί ὁ οἰκία ἄξιος ἔρχομαι ὁ εἰρήνη ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ αὐτός  
if indeed might be the house worthy **let go** the peace of you on it

CSE TM V3SPAS AFSN NFSN JFSNX SN V3SAAM AFSN NFSN OP2 PG PA OP3FSA

, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾗ ἄξια , ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰμί ἄξιος ὁ εἰρήνη ὑμεῖς πρὸς ὑμεῖς ἐπιστρέφω

if but not might be worthy the peace of you to you let return

SN CSE CCV TN V3SPAS JFSNX SN AFSN NFSN OP2 PG PA OP2 PA V3SAPM

ESV: *And if the house is worthy, let your peace **come** upon it, but if it is not worthy, let your peace return to you.* - Matthew 10:13

A parallel passage in Luke provides additional information about this "peace":<sup>84</sup> "*Whichever house you enter, first say, 'Peace to this household!' And if a son of peace is there, your peace will rest upon it. If not, it will turn back to you.*" Example AA presents two deictic possibilities then: The first is that *erchomai* could indicate motion toward the addressees, the disciples. This is supported by Jesus's command to stay in a house until they leave the town; peace is only to come on the houses that they end up staying in.

The other possibility is that Example AA is similar to Example Y: *erchomai* describes motion toward the deictic center of a *command narrative*. The version from Luke seems to use fewer imperative forms in favor of future forms, which suggests that the deictic properties of *command narratives* and *future narratives* may be the same. Both

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84. ESV: "*Whatever house you enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house!' And if a son of peace is there, your peace will rest upon him. But if not, it will return to you.*" I differ with the ESV on the translation of αὐτόν *auton* *him*, which can either refer to the *son of peace* or to the *household*. Both are masculine singular nouns; here Luke uses the feminine οἰκία to refer to the *house* as a building, and the masculine οἶκος to refer to the *house* as a group of people.

the Matthew (presented in Example AA) and the Luke versions mix in future indicative forms with the subjunctive and imperative forms.<sup>85</sup>

Considering the motion verb at the end of the passage, the *command/future* narrative is the stronger possibility. The peace could not be said to *return* or *turn back* to the disciples if it did not come *from them* to begin with. *From* the disciples, *to the house*, and finally *back to* the disciples does not present a clear vector of motion *toward the addressees* of the speech containing *erchomai*. So considering Examples U, X, Y, and Z, embedded narratives, which include both parables and the less obvious *command narratives* and *future narratives*, have the same deictic properties as other non-speech narratives. So throughout all the environments studied, the three motion verbs under consideration *always* convey the same vector *toward* or *away from* the deictic center.

## 6. Investigation of arguments for atelicity

### 6.1 Usages with only a locus of motion, not a goal

The most significant argument against the telicity of *erchomai* are examples which seem to describe undirected, overtly atelic motion around or along an area:

#### Example AB

Καὶ	μεταβάς	ἐκεῖθεν	ὁ	Ἰησοῦς	ἦλθεν	παρὰ	τὴν	θάλασσαν
Kai	metabas	ekeithen	ho	Iēsous	ēlthen	para	tēn	thalassan
And	having gone across from there	the	Jesus	<b>went</b>	along	the	sea	
CCK	VAAPMSN	BX	AMSN	NMSN	<b>V3SAAI</b>	PA	AFSA	NFSA
τῆς	Γαλιλαίας	, καὶ	ἀναβάς	εἰς	τὸ	ὄρος	ἐκάθητο	ἐκεῖ .

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85. cf. Matthew 10:15.

tēs Galilaias kai anabas eis to oros ekathēto ekei  
of the Galilee and having gone up into the hill he sat there  
AFSG NFSG SN CCK VAAPMSN PA ANSA NNSA V3SIMI BX SJ

*And moving on from there, Jesus came to the shore of the Sea of Galilee. He went up into the mountain, and he sat there.* - Matthew 15:29<sup>86</sup>

ἦλθεν παρά τὴν θάλασσαν *ēlthen para tēn thalassan* does not mean *he walked along the sea*, but rather *he came (to an area) along the sea*. Although παρά can be translated as *along* in many contexts, it often should not be; παρά doesn't inherently indicate a *path* along something.<sup>87</sup> Rather, this preposition denotes a location next to (parallel to) something. With this clarification, we observe how Example AB presents another case of motion toward an *anticipated* deictic center, as Mathew 15:30-15:38 describes Jesus healing the crowds and then performing one of the most well-known miracles, the Feeding of the 4000. The use of *erchomai* in Example AB definitely anticipates this mountain near the sea as the deictic center of narrative.

### 6.1.1 Constructions using *throughout*

An example of a related construction cited by Shain as evidence for the atelicity of *erchomai* is found below in Example AC:

#### Example AC

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86. ESV: *Jesus went on from there and walked beside the Sea of Galilee. And he went up on the mountain and sat down there.*

87. For example, in Matthew 15:30 the ESV translates παρά as *at*: "...they put them at his feet, and he healed them." Mark 5:21 presents a very clearly stative example: "*And when Jesus had crossed again in the boat to the other side, a great crowd gathered about him, and he was **beside** [παρά] the sea*" (ESV). Finally, Matthew 13:1 uses παρά to indicate a place to sit: "...Jesus went out of the house and sat **beside** the sea" (ESV).

Καὶ ἦλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν

Kai elthen kēryssōn eis tas synagōgas autōn eis holēn tēn Galilaian

And **he went** announcing in the synagogues of them **in whole the Galilee**

CCK V3SAAI VPAPMSN PA AFPA NFPA OP3MPG PA JFSAX AFSA NFSA

καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλον .

kai ta daimonia ekballōn

and the demons throwing out

CCK ANPA NNPA VPAPMSN SJ

ESV: And **he went throughout all Galilee**, preaching in their synagogues and casting out demons. - Mark 1:39

This is another case where the English translation is obfuscating the meaning.<sup>88</sup> The prepositional phrase εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν eis holēn tēn Galilaian *throughout Galilee* is not actually the goal or path of erchomai. While Koine Greek does have a relatively flexible word order, there is a more logical analysis that doesn't take eis holēn tēn Galilaian to be the complement of erchomai despite an intervening verb phrase (*preaching in their synagogues*).

First, it must be explained that although the preposition εἰς eis is commonly glossed as *to*, it more frequently needs to be translated as *in* or *into*. In many situations, εἰς is interchangeable with ἐν en *in* in Koine Greek, including the construction where the preposition is complemented by the adjective ὅλος holos *whole*, together meaning *throughout*. Even in nearly identical situations, either preposition can be used without any detectable difference in meaning:

## Examples AD-AG

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88. The NIV and RSV use similar translations.

*And this report went out [εξήλθεν exēlthen] about him **throughout Judea** [en holē tē Ioudaia] and in every surrounding region. - Luke 7:17<sup>89</sup>*

*And this news went out [εξήλθεν exēlthen] **throughout that land** [eis holēn tēn gēn ekeinēn]. - Matthew 9:26<sup>90</sup>*

*[ ... ] **throughout the world** [en holō tō kosmō], wherever this gospel is proclaimed, what she did will also be told in her memory. - Matthew 26:13<sup>91</sup>*

*[ ... ] **throughout the world** [eis holon ton kosmon], wherever the gospel is proclaimed, what she did will also be told in her memory. - Mark 14:9<sup>92</sup>*

AD and AE have the same verb (εξέρχομαι *go out*) and synonymous subjects, and neither preposition makes one nuance of a difference one way or another. In examples AF and AG, the prepositional phrases headed by εις and εν containing the *throughout* construction modify the adverbial noun όπου *wherever*, again having the same meaning. The combined adverbial phrase could also be translated *wherever in the whole world*.

Again, this construction does not have to serve as the argument of a verb; it commonly modifies nouns, as in Examples AF and AG. When prepositional phrases modify nouns in Koine, they may follow the noun they modify<sup>93</sup> with or without an article appearing between them. Example AH below shows a text with a manuscript variation, omitting or including the article depending on the manuscript:

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89. ESV: *And this report about him spread through the whole of Judea and all the surrounding country.*

90. ESV: *And the report of this went through all that district.*

91. ESV: *"...wherever this gospel is proclaimed in the whole world, what she has done will also be told in memory of her."*

92. ESV: *"...wherever the gospel is proclaimed in the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her."*

93. In what is traditionally referred to as *predicate position*.

### Example AH

πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [ τοὺς ] ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ .

pantas tous adelphous tous en holē tē Makedonia

all the brothers the in whole the Macedonia

JMPAX AMPA NMPA AMPA PD JFSDX AFSD NFSD SJ

ESV: [ ... ] *all the brothers **throughout Macedonia***. - 1 Thessalonians 4:1

Returning to Example AC from Mark 1:39, it is perfectly natural for εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν *throughout Galilee* to modify τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν *their synagogues*.<sup>94</sup> So εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν *in their synagogues* provides the location of the preaching, and the *throughout* construction provides the location of the synagogues. With that settled, all that remains is the goal of ἐρχομαι. Its goal, as usual, is the deictic center of narrative, which is established in the preceding verse:

### Example AI

καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς · ἄγωμεν ἀλλαχοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις ,

kai legei autois agōmen allachou eis tas echomenas kōmopoleis

And he says to them we might lead **elsewhere to the having village cities**

CCK V3SPAI OP3MPD SJ V1PPAS BX PA AFPA VPMPFPA NFPA SN

ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω · εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον .

hina kai ekei kēryxō eis touto gar exēlthon

that also there I might announce into this for I came out

CSF BX BX V1SAAS SJ PA ODENSA CCX V1SAAI SJ

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<sup>94</sup>. It is ambiguous whether the KJV and NKJV translations suggest the same analysis. KJV: And he preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils.

*And he says to them, "Let's go **elsewhere among the nearby cities and villages**, that I may preach there also; for that's why I came out."* - Mark 1:38<sup>95</sup>

Jesus says this to his disciples after performing some miracles in Capernaum, a city in eastern Galilee near the Sea of Galilee. So Jesus is telling his disciples that they should leave Capernaum and go west and go to the cities and villages of the more inland area of Galilee. This statement moves the deictic center. Supporting this interpretation, verse 38 in Example AI provides the antecedent of αὐτῶν αὐτῶν *their* in verse 39 in Example AC: τὰς ἐχομένας κωμοπόλεις *the nearby cities and villages*.<sup>96</sup> So Mark 1:39 in Example AC should be translated, *And he came preaching in their synagogues throughout Galilee and casting out demons*. Because the goal of ἐρχομαι is a nearby area, the motion toward and arrival at a series of locations in this area is consistent with a deictic and *telic* reading. See Example AL for a similar construction.

### 6.1.2 Related constructions using πᾶς pas

πᾶς pas *all* varies its sense according to the semantics of the noun it modifies. For singular nouns, it has the sense of *every* when modifying a singulative noun (e.g. *every cow*), and when modifying a collective noun it has the sense of *entire* (such as *the entire kine* or *all the cattle*). That is to say, if the noun it modifies signifies a set, πᾶς indicates all of the objects belonging to the set, and if the noun it modifies is an object, πᾶς points to a set consisting of every instance of that object:

#### Example AJ

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95. ESV: And he said to them, "Let us go on to the next towns, that I may preach there also, for that is why I came out."

96. Gramcord tags this possessive pronoun as masculine, but since Koine Greek doesn't distinguish between genders in the third person genitive plural, *the nearby cities and villages* is the logical and grammatical antecedent.

πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ  
poreuthentes eis ton kosmon hapanta kēryxate to euangelion pasē  
having traveled **into the world all** announce the good message **to all**  
VAPPMPN PA AMSA NMSA JMSAX V2PAAM ANSA NNSA JFSDX  
τῇ κτίσει . 16 ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται  
tē ktisei ho pisteusas kai baptistheis sōthēsetai  
**the creation** The one having trusted and having been immersed will be delivered  
AFSD NFSD SJ AMSN VAAPMSN CCK VAPPMSN V3SFPI

[ ... ] "**Go everywhere in the world and announce the good news to every created being.** The one who believes it and is baptized will be saved..." Mark 16:15-16<sup>97</sup>

In Example AJ, κόσμον *the world* is interpreted as a set of locations, so κόσμον ἅπαντα indicates all of those locations (i.e. *everywhere in the world*). κτίσει *creation* is analyzed as a set of created beings, so πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει indicates *to every created being*. The context clarifies that πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει refers to the *set of human individuals* and not the set of created objects in general or creation as a seamless continuum; in verses 16 through 18, Jesus describes those who will believe and those won't.<sup>98</sup> Therefore the goal of πορεύομαι *poreuomai* is distributed over all the locations in the set; Jesus's command is to spread *out from* his location, and to go to every location on Earth, announcing the good news (another example of deixis in direct speech).

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97. ESV: [ ... ] "Go into all the world and proclaim the gospel to the whole creation. Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved..."

98. ESV: *Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but whoever does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up serpents with their hands; and if they drink any deadly poison, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover.*

holos and pas have a very similar meaning when they modify a singular collective noun. In Example W, a similar example is found with ὅλη ἡ πόλις holē ē polis *the whole city*, hyperbolically refers to *everyone from the city*. Pas can be used for the same contexts:

### Example AK

ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῷ πρῶτον τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις , πᾶσαν τε τὴν  
alla tois en Damaskō prōton te kai Hierosolymois pasan te tēn  
but to the in Damascus first **both and Jerusalem** **all indeed the**  
CCV AMPD PD NFSD BX CCC CCC NNPD SN JFSAX CCC AFSA  
χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν  
chōran tēs Ioudaias kai tois ethnesin apēngellon metanoein  
**country of the Judea** and to the nations I was telling to change mind  
NFSA AFSG NFSG CCK ANPD NNPD V1SIAI VPAN

*"Rather, I declared to those in Damascus first, **and to both the Jerusalemites and everyone in the region of Judea, and to the nations.**" - Acts 26:20*

Though not reflected in the gloss, Hierosolymois is a masculine plural noun referring to denizens of Jerusalem, and it is set in parallel with a phrase that literally means all the country of Judea. So from the context, we know that this construction with pas refers to all the people in Judea. Therefore, Example AL below is not a text which demonstrates an atelic usage of erchomai, as if it described an undirected ambling around the region:

### Example AL

καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν [ τὴν ] περιχώρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κηρύσσων

kai ēlthen eis pasan tēn perichōron tou Iordanou kēryssōn  
And he went **into all the country around the Jordan** announcing  
CCK V3SAAI PA JFSAX AFSA NFSA AMMSG NMSG VPAPMSN  
βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν  
baptisma metanoias eis aphasin hamartiōn  
immersion of change mind into sending off of sins  
NNSA NFSG PA NFSA NFPG

*And he came **to every region around the Jordan**, announcing a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. - Luke 3:3<sup>99</sup>*

This structure is very similar to that of Mark 1:39 in Example AC. Because of the semantics of *pas*, Example AL can either describe the motion of John the Baptist toward *every person* from the region surrounding the Jordan, or *every region* surrounding the Jordan. The Jordan river went through a handful of regions, and in baptizing people in the Jordan, one would inevitably go into the territory of the surrounding regions. So it is more likely that the author is conveying that John the Baptist went to all of them, namely Judea, Perea, the Decapolis, Samaria, and Galilee.<sup>100</sup> If the deictic center of narrative is the Jordan river, motion toward and arrival at a series of locations on the deictic center would be consistent with a deictic and telic predicate.

## 6.2 Arbitrary stop time

The other kind of example claimed as evidence for an atelic *erchomai* is one that shows *erchomai* in *perfective* aspect, but with an arbitrary stop time:<sup>101</sup>

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99. ESV: *And he went into all the region around the Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.*

100. *Nelson's Complete Book of Bible Maps & Charts.*

**Example AM**

νομίσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ ἦλθον ἡμέρας ὁδὸν και  
 nomisantes de auton einai en tē synodia ēlthon hēmeras hodon kai  
 Having thought but him to be in the co-traveler they went day way and  
 VAAPMPN CCV OP3MSA VPAN PD AFSD NFSD V3PAAI NFSG NFSA CCK  
 ἀνεζήτησαν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν και τοῖς γνωστοῖς  
 anezētoun auton en tois syngeneusin kai tois gnōstois  
 were seeking after him in the relatives and the known ones  
 V3PIAI OP3MSA PD AMPD NMPD CCK AMPD JMPDX

ESV: [ ... ] *but supposing him to be in the group **they went a day's journey**, but then they began to search for him among their relatives and acquaintances.* - Luke 2:44

Shain argues that this example of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* demonstrates behavior consistent with a lexically atelic verb inflected in perfective aspect, since the movement has an arbitrary stop time without reaching any culmination or goal. I basically accept this argument, though I disagree that no goal is reached. The context makes it quite clear that their intended goal was Nazareth, but the goal they end up reaching is *only one day's journey closer to Nazareth*. Here are the three preceding verses from the ESV:

Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the Feast of the Passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to custom. And when the feast was ended, as they were returning, the boy Jesus

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101. Shain 48.

stayed behind in Jerusalem. His parents did not know it, [but supposing him...]

As in Example E (dōrean *freely*), accusative phrases often function as adverbial clauses in Koine Greek. As demonstrated by Example K, when a verb of motion takes *hodon road/way* as an accusative object, it means something like *anywhere* [in some place/among some people]. So I find this sentence from Example AM to be analogous to the English, *They came halfway*, which describes motion *to a point that is between the starting point and the deictic center*. Although this was certainly not the specific location that Mary and Joseph had in mind, the predicate is still telic. The predicate is also still deictic, because it describes motion toward the deictic center, which at this point in the narrative is naturally their hometown. The example demonstrates the semantics of the adverbial clause more than anything else.

## 7. Conclusion

In my investigation of ἐρχομαι *erchomai*, I have found every instance to be compatible with a *deictic* and *telic* interpretation. Comparing it to ἀπερχομαι *aperchomai* and πορεύομαι *poreuomai*, I have found that all three exhibit invariant deictic properties throughout all kinds of contexts. *Erchomai* always describes motion toward the deictic center, which is the location of the speaker, or alternatively that of the addressee, in non-narrative speech, and the location of the character(s) or place(s) of focus in both embedded and non-embedded narrative. I find that Koine Greek allows *command narratives* and *future narratives* to deictically behave as embedded narratives.

Based on this evidence, and based on the statistical evidence collected by Shain, I conclude that ἐρχομαι *erchomai* lexically denotes motion toward the deictic center.

Since this implies that ἐρχομαι *erchomai* lexically has a goal, and because there is no incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, I further conclude that ἐρχομαι *erchomai* is lexically telic.

A consequence of the lexical telicity of ἐρχομαι *erchomai*, it does not contrast aspectually with the derived form εἰσέρχομαι *eiserchomai* *enter, come/go in*, which means that the verbal prefix εἰσ- and the preposition εἰς do not necessarily telicize predicates as previously concluded.<sup>102</sup>

With the deixis and aspect of ἐρχομαι *erchomai* understood, as well as the deixis of ἀρχομαι and πορευομαι, other deictic phenomena in Koine Greek may be studied. Furthermore, the deixis of these three allows for the determination of the deictic center of a narrative or quotation, which should be generally useful for interpretation and translation of the New Testament.

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102. Shain 103.

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