COMING & GOING IN KOINE GREEK:

DEIXIS & ASPECT OF "Ερχομαι" (Erchomai)

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Submitted to the Faculty of
the Department of Linguistics in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

Yale University

2010
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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 απέρχομαι 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.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone from my LING 490 class, including my fellow senior Linguistics majors for all the food and laughs, as well as our professor and DUS Raffaella Zanuttini, who has guided us all from the very beginning. I know we all have appreciated the thoughtfulness of her advice and the abundance of her generosity.

My advisor Ashwini Deo has simply been phenomenal. Though I had not even taken a semantics course, she agreed to be my advisor, and she gave me direction on this thesis when I still had no idea where it would end up. Though I submitted my drafts sporadically and sometimes explained my ideas incomprehensibly, she demonstrated a wealth of patience and perspicacity. I extremely appreciate the chance to work with such a scholar while being free to pursue this topic of my own interest.

Most importantly, I am grateful beyond words to my wife Gaby. After putting up with years of me subjecting her to linguistic rants and eliciting grammaticality judgments from her, she most lovingly and graciously supported me as I worked on this thesis. Though I felt every hour I was torn away from her, she has been a constant supply of wisdom and inspiration. Along these lines, I owe a good deal to my friends and family, many of whom are scratching their heads wondering if they’re going to hear from me again.

τετέλεσται - χάρις τῷ θεῷ
1. Introduction

1.1 What is aspect?

Whereas tense relates the time of speech to the time of an eventuality, 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. 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. 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

---

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.

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.⁴ 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 proper⁵ parts.⁶ 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.⁷

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

---

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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

### 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.¹¹ 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*).¹² Examples of deictic expressions include adverbs like *here* & *there* and *today* & *tomorrow*, pronouns, and discourse expressions like *this is what I mean*.¹³

---

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.\(^{14}\) While Spanish makes a three-way spacial distinction analogous to that of Japanese,\(^{15}\) unlike Japanese it only makes a two-way distinction for politeness in its verbal conjugation.\(^{16}\) 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.

---

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 irassayaru (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 ερχόμενος erchomenos *coming* commonly describes past predicates, and the Aorist subjunctive έλθω elthō *I might come* often describes future predicates. These traditional terms are useful, however, because they convey, for example, that ερχόμενος erchomenos and ερχόμεθα erchometha *we come* use the same Present stem, and that έλθω elthō and ήλθεν 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.17 Shain similarly takes the Future to be "aspectually unmarked."18 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>idontes</th>
<th>de</th>
<th>oi</th>
<th>peri</th>
<th>auton</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>esomenon</th>
<th>eipan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

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

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. 19

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. 20 The tenses are past and present. 21 The table below

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19. The prototypical example: λύω luō I loosen/destroy and λύσω lusō 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfective/prospective</td>
<td>Aorist (perfective)</td>
<td>Future (prospective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retrospective</td>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 using either of the finite forms of the Aorist or Present, emphasizing the perfective aspect or present tense of their performative statement.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The deixis of ἔρχομαι  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 απέρχομαι 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>indicative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>subjunctive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>optative mood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite verbs</th>
<th>Infinitives (1-4) and participles (1-7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. syntactic category [V]</td>
<td>1. syntactic category [V]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. person [1, 2, 3]</td>
<td>2. tense/aspect [P, F, A, R]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. mood [I, S, O]</td>
<td>6. number [S, P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. case [N, G, D, A]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\(^2^4\)

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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.  

### 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. 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."  

A similar pattern is seen between Polish motion verbs like *przyjść* *come* and *pójść* *go*, emphasizing the beginning and end of a motion respectively. 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.

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25. Gathercole 75-76.
26. Gathercole 76.
27. Gathercole 76.
29. Lewandowski 80.
[These] verbs (arrive and leave) are inclined to be translated by means of other lexems [sic]: przybyć (arrive) and wyjść (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.30 Some of the instances which do are contexts where the motion is understood to be difficult or non-volitional:31

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.

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:\(^{32}\)

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."

---

\(^{32}\) Lewandowski 74.
Whether the motion is toward or away from the speaker makes no difference. Their difference is aspectual: iść has \textit{progressive aspect} (\textit{Determinate} in Polish grammar), chodzić is \textit{Indeterminate}, which manifests itself as \textit{habitual} or \textit{iterative} aspect.\footnote{Lewandowski 72.} As seen in his above translations, the verb in \textit{progressive aspect} ('is coming') expresses motion that is in process, and the verb in \textit{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 \textit{toward} the speaker in a \textit{command}, but motion \textit{away} from the speaker in a \textit{prohibition}. As Lewandowski puts it, the verb loses its aspect when it gains a deictic interpretation.\footnote{Lewandowski 75.}

Chodzić!

Go-IND, imperative, 2 pers. Sing.

"Come!"

Nie chodzić!

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 \textit{imperfective} aspect (consistent with allowing both \textit{iterative} and \textit{habitual}) or simply
non-progressive aspect, there is nothing contradictory with the deictic interpretations accorded to it here.\textsuperscript{35}

This example proves that just because a verb shows a deictic interpretation, it doesn’t follow that it must be \textit{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 \textit{erchomai}, I examine a broad range of environments, and I check to see if deictic interpretations are consistent in both positive and negative contexts.

\section*{2.2 Relevant quirks of Koine Greek}

\subsection*{2.2.1 Deponency}

Some of the verbs under consideration are sometimes referred to as \textit{deponent} or \textit{defective}. These terms are meant to describe verbs which seem to be missing inflections that are thought to correspond to certain \textit{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 \textit{depono}) the active forms."\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35.} In fact, there may be a link between the pragmatics and the aspect. For instance, with \textit{ieśō}, predicates which take a longer period of time are intuitively easier to conceptualize as processes, so a pragmatic assumption would be that if a \textit{progressive} verb had to correspond with motion \textit{toward} someone or \textit{away} from someone, \textit{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*. 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. The Modern Greek Mediopassive form covers a similar range of meanings.

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, 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:

- 'Ερχομαι erchomai and all its prefixed forms use the *Active* paradigm with *perfective* and *retrospective* aspect, and the *Middle* paradigm with *prospective* and *imperfective* aspect.

---

36. Croy 49.
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 τοὺς ἀποστόλους δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλέιν
and having called to the delegates having beat they commanded not to speak

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 oὖν αὐτοῖς [ ὁ ] Ἰησοῦς· παιδία , μὴ τι προσφάγιον
legei oun autois ho Iēsous paidia, mē ti prospathion
Says then to them the Jesus small children not something to eat

Jesus said to them, “Children, do you have any fish?” They answered him, “No.” 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."\textsuperscript{43} 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).\textsuperscript{44} 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.\textsuperscript{45} This is analogous to the usage of the Historical Present in casual registers of modern languages such as English\textsuperscript{46} and Spanish.\textsuperscript{47}

2.3 Past descriptions of έρχομαι erchomai

When it comes to deixis, many lexicons and word studies don't go much further than mentioning that έρχομαι 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.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{43} Wallace 527.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{45} Wallace 527.

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

\textsuperscript{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 ἔρχομαι erchomai and its derived form εἰσέρχομαι eiserchomai enter, come/go in, Shain describes erchomai as having "vague directionality," which "may be provided an end-point" in certain cases "by contextual information." 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.

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

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* *poreuomai*, 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 the *subjunctive mood*. Prohibitive predicates are formed with the negative particle μή mē.

All instances of ἔρχομαι ἑρχομαι in the imperative mood describe motion toward the speaker, except for one instance which describes motion toward the deictic center of an embedded narrative. Additionally, ἑρχομαι 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. Ἐρχομαι never occurs in a prohibition.

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.


Example D

ο ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ἐλθὲ καὶ καταβὰς 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 V3SAI SJ V2SAAM SJ CCK VAAPMSN PG ANSG NNSG AMSN
Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑδάτα καὶ ἐλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.
Petros periepatēsen epi ta hydata kai elthen pros ton Iēsoun
Peter walked around on the waters and he came toward the Jesus
NMSN V3SAI 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, ἐλθὲ 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.57

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 νυμφή λέγουσιν ἐρχοῦ. kai to pneuma kai hē nymphē legousin erchou
Kai to pneuma kai he nymphē legousin erchou kai ho

57. The preceding verses establish Jesus as the center. ESV: 26 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. 27 But immediately Jesus spoke to them, saying, “Take heart; it is I. Do not be afraid.” 28 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 \textit{come} And the

The Spirit and the Bride say, “\textit{Come}.” And let the one who hears say, “\textit{Come}.”

And let the one who is thirsty \textit{come}; let the one who desires take the water of life without price. - Revelation 22:17

The first two instances of \textit{erchomai} are prayers; they are prayers that anticipate the coming of Jesus and His kingdom. This is echoed in the penultimate verse of Revelation,\textsuperscript{58} and all these commands of \textit{Come}, serve to mirror the often repeated phrase, \textit{έρχομαι ταχύ I'm coming soon}.\textsuperscript{59} The third instance of \textit{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:\textsuperscript{60} "[ ... ] To the thirsty I will give from the spring of the water of life without payment [\textit{ύδατος τής ζωής δωρεάν} \textit{udatos tēs zōēs dōrean}]" (ESV). Thus, the author’s command denotes motion toward God.

\textsuperscript{58} Verse 20, ESV: [...] Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!


\textsuperscript{60} More specifically, a vision of God sitting on the throne of \textit{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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἐλθὼν} & \quad \text{προσεκύνει} & \quad \text{αὐτῷ} & \quad \text{λέγων} & \quad \text{ὅτι} & \quad \text{ἡ} & \quad \text{θυγάτηρ} & \quad \text{μου} & \quad \text{ἀρτι} \\
\text{elthōn} & \quad \text{prosekynēi} & \quad \text{autō} & \quad \text{legōn} & \quad \text{hoti} & \quad \text{hē} & \quad \text{thygatēr} & \quad \text{mou} & \quad \text{arti}
\end{align*}
\]

having come was worshiping him saying (") the daughter of me now

Here the second instance of the perfective (Aorist) participle of erchomai, \textit{ελθὼν} \textit{elthōn} having come is complemented by an imperative predicate \textit{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 \textit{elthōn} has no explicit goal, it can only be interpreted as motion toward the location of the speaker.
The first instance of ἑλθόν 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, ἔρχομαι functions just the same:

**Example H**

ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε ἑλθεῖν

where I go off you not are able to go

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 ἔρχομαι is used in these comitative contexts regardless of mood and whether or not the goal is explicit.

Of the three verbs of this investigation, ἔρχομαι is the only verb which describes motion toward the speaker, even outside of imperative and comitative contexts:

**Example I**
In Example I above, erchomai describes the motion of a third-person determiner phrase 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 απέρχομαι aperchomai and πορεύομαι poreuomai occur in both commands and prohibitions. All instances of

61. τὰ κατ ἐμέ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπῆν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν, 
   the by me more for progress of the good message has come

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 the speaker or deictic center of an embedded narrative.\textsuperscript{64} 

\textit{Aperchomai} only describes motions away from the speaker in non-narrative speech:

**Example J**

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{ἀπελθών} \hspace{1cm} \textit{δείξον} \hspace{1cm} \textit{σεαυτὸν} \hspace{1cm} \textit{τῷ} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ἱερεῖ}  \\
apelthōn deixon seautoon to hierei  \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{having gone off} \hspace{1cm} \textit{show} \hspace{1cm} \textit{yourself} \hspace{1cm} \textit{to the} \hspace{1cm} \textit{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 [...] \textit{he would withdraw to desolate places and pray} (ESV). \textit{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 \textit{πορεύομαι} \textit{poreuomai} and \textit{απέρχομαι} \textit{aperchomai} are deictically identical to commands with the same verbs:

\textsuperscript{64} For \textit{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 apestileen ho Iēsous parangeilas autois

These the twelve delegated the Jesus having commanded them

These the twelve delegated the Jesus having commanded them

ΟΑΔΜΠΑ AΜPA JΜPΑX V3SΑΑΙ AΜSN NMSN VAΑPMSN ΟΡ3ΜΠΔ

λέγων ἐς ὄν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε

legōn eis hodon ethnōn mē apelthēte

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. - Matheus 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 apestileen 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).65 Despite this, nothing else from its distribution would lead one to suspect behavior different from that of aperchomai in

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 αὐτῶις Σίμων Πέτρος· ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·
legi 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
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 NSF 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**

```
ἦθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ.
```

*Went* for *John* toward *you* in *way* of *righteousness* and *not*

**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. 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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66. 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. 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. In Example O, the speaker indicates their intent to go elsewhere, away from the addressee, using poreuomai:

Example O

τῷ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν καθαρὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύσομαι.

now to the nations will travel

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

---

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:\(^{69}\)

**Example P**

κύριε, πρὸς τίνα ἀπελευσόμεθα; ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχεις

Master toward whom will we go off Words of life eternal you have

**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**

---

但现在提摩太从你们那里来，给我们带来了你们的佳音和爱的信息，并且报告说，你们常常记念我们，愿意见我们，正如我们愿意见你们一样。

1 泰撒罗尼迦人书 3:6

这是新约唯一一个使用指代动词来描述第三人之间移动的例证，因此这是唯一可以用来确定指代中心优先权的非叙事性语言。另外，可以说，说话者的地点会收到优先权，符合跨语言的观察，即指代接近动词首先描述移动到说话者的地点，然后在某些语言的某些上下文中，移动到任何其他地点。

4. 调查叙述

4.1 向已确定的指代中心

希腊语指代动词经常指代一个已确定的指代中心，这可能是焦点角色的地点。在福音书中，焦点角色通常是耶稣。作为例证，在约翰福音中，18:3 到 19:39 之间所有叙事性的使用 erchomai 70 表示向耶稣的地点移动。第一个例证描述了犹大向耶稣的移动。
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 ἠλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου κατέαξαν τὰ

ēlthon oun hoi stratiōtai kai tou men protou kateaxan ta

Came then the soldiers and of the indeed first they broke the

V3PAAI CCB AMPN NMPN CCK AMSG TM JMSGX V3PAAI ANPA

σκέλη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος αὐτῷ. 33 ἔπι

skelē kai tou allou tou systaurōthenos autō epī

legs and the other the one having been crucified together to him on

NNPA CCK AMSG OADMSG AMSG VAPPMSG OP3MSD SJ PA

δὲ τῶν Ἰησοῦν ἐλθόντες, ὡς εἶδον ἡδή αὐτόν τεθνήκοτα,

de ton Iēsoun elthontes, hos eidon ēdē autōn tethnekota

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 ἔρχομαι 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 ὑφελήθεισα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χείρον ἔλθουσα
kai meden ophelitheisa alla mallon eis to cheiron elthousa
and nothing having been benefitted but more in the worse having gone

[... ] and she didn't benefit at all; instead she came to be even worse. - Mark 5:26

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

---
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:74

**Example T**

4 Ἰησοῦς οὖν εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἔξηλθεν

Jesus then having known all the things coming on him went out

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,75 and they’re

---


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 (εἰδῶς εἰδὸς can also be translated as having perceived). Those events haven’t yet reached him—but they will soon.⁷⁶

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 ὄνοματι μου λέγοντες: ἐγώ είμι,
pollɔi gar eleusontai epi to onomati mou legontes: egɔ eimi
many for will come on the name of me saying I am

καί· ὁ καιρὸς ἠγγικεν. μὴ πορεύθητε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.
kai· ho kairos ēngiken. mē poreuthëte opisō autōn
and the season has neared not you might travel after them

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

⁷⁶. εἰρχόμενα 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, 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**

\[
	ext{ἐν δὲ τῷ καθεύδειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐχθρὸς}
\]

In but the to sleep the men came of him the hostile one

77. ESV: 22 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. 23 And they will say to you, ‘Look, there!’ or ‘Look, here!’ Do not go out [μη ἀπέλθητε με apelthete] or follow them.”
and sowed on weeds up middle of the wheat and **went off**

**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**, ἐλθέν *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: 78

**Example W**

Kai εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἠλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
Kai euthys ek tês synagogês exelthon eis ten oikían
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

78. This scene is also told in Matthew 8:14-16. Ἐρχομαι *erchomai* is also used to indicate motion into Peter’s house.
whole city [όλη 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. 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.

79. A very similar situation is found in Matthew 8:28: And when he came [ελθόντος 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 [ ... ] oί δὲ ἀπελθοντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους· καὶ [...] 33 oί δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον, καὶ ἀπελθοντες 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 expected to be rare or non-existent.\(^80\) 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**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἀλλὰ? ὅταν κλῆθης, πορευθεὶς ἀνάπεσε εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον τόπον,} & \quad \text{all’ hotan klēthēs poreutheis anapese eis ton eschaton topon} \\
\text{But when you might be called having traveled recline in the last place} & \quad \\
\int v \quad \text{ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κεκληκώς σε ἐρεῖ σοι · φίλε} & \quad \text{hotan elthē ho keklēkōs se erei soi · phile} \\
\text{that when might come the having called you will say to you friend} & \quad \\
\text{ESV: 7 Now he told a parable to those who were invited, when he noticed how they} & \\
\text{chose the places of honor, saying to them, 8 “When you are invited by someone to a} & \\
\text{wedding feast, do not sit down in a place of honor, lest someone more distinguished}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^80\). 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 [οὖς 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 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. 82 There are two ways of interpreting the deixis.

The first is that 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

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 οὖς 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· ἔπαν δὲ εἶπεν 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

εὕρητε , ἀπαγγέλατέ μοι , ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκοινήσω

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

αὕτῳ . 9 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἴδοὺ 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 AMSG 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 [ἐλθὼν 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.\(^{83}\)

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>εάν</th>
<th>τις</th>
<th>ἀγαπᾶ</th>
<th>με</th>
<th>τὸν</th>
<th>λόγον</th>
<th>μου</th>
<th>τηρήσει</th>
<th>καὶ</th>
<th>ὁ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ean</em></td>
<td><em>tis</em></td>
<td><em>agapa</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
<td><em>ton</em></td>
<td><em>logon</em></td>
<td><em>mou</em></td>
<td><em>tērēsei</em></td>
<td><em>kai</em></td>
<td><em>ho</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if some</td>
<td>might love</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>he will keep</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CSE OIFMSN V3SPAS OP1 SA AMSA NMSA OP1 SG V3SFAI SN CCK AMSN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>πατήρ</th>
<th>μου</th>
<th>ἀγαπῆσει</th>
<th>αὐτόν</th>
<th>καὶ</th>
<th>πρὸς</th>
<th>αὐτόν</th>
<th>ἐλευσόμεθα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>patēr</em></td>
<td><em>mou</em></td>
<td><em>agapēsei</em></td>
<td><em>auton</em></td>
<td><em>kai</em></td>
<td><em>pros</em></td>
<td><em>auton</em></td>
<td><em>eleusometha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>will</td>
<td>love</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>toward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{83}\) 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.
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
if indeed might be the house worthy let go the peace of you on it

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

A parallel passage in Luke provides additional information about this "peace":84 "Whichever house you enter, first say, 'Peace be 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

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 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 oikia to refer to the house as a building, and the masculine oikos 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.\(^{85}\)

Considering the motion verb at the end of the passage, the \textit{command/future} narrative is the stronger possibility. The peace could not be said to \textit{return} or \textit{turn back} to the disciples if it did not come \textit{from them} to begin with. From the disciples, \textit{to the house}, and finally \textit{back to} the disciples does not present a clear vector of motion \textit{toward the addressees} of the speech containing \textit{erchomai}. So considering Examples U, X, Y, and Z, embedded narratives, which include both parables and the less obvious \textit{command narratives} and \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{erchomai} are examples which seem to describe undirected, overtly atelic motion around or along an area:

**Example AB**

\[
\text{Καὶ} \text{ μεταβάς} \text{ ἐκεῖθεν} \text{ ὁ} \text{ Ἰησοῦς} \text{ ἔλθεν} \text{ παρὰ} \text{ τὴν} \text{ θάλασσαν}
\]

And having gone across from there the Jesus \textit{went} along the sea

**CCK** VAAPMSN BX AMSN NMSN V2SAAI PA AFSA NFSA

\[τῆς \text{ Γαλιλαίας} \text{, καὶ} \text{ ἀναβάς} \text{ εἰς} \text{ τὸ} \text{ ὄρος} \text{ ἐκάθητο} \text{ ἐκεῖ} .\]

\(^{85}\) cf. Matthew 10:15.
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

ήλθεν παρά τήν θάλασσαν ἐλθεν παρα την θαλασσαν 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. 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 ἐρχομαι 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 ἐρχομαι is found below in Example AC:

**Example AC**

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 παρὰ 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 ἔλθεν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν
And he went announcing in the synagogues of them in whole the Galilee

καὶ τὰ δαίμονια ἐκβάλλον.
and the demons throwing out

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. The prepositional phrase εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν 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 εἰς 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 is commonly glossed as to, it more frequently needs to be translated as in or into. In many situations, εἰς is interchangeable with ἐν 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

88. The NIV and RSV use similar translations.
And this report went out [εξῆλθεν exēlthen] about him throughout Judea [en holē tē Ioudaia] and in every surrounding region. - Luke 7:17

And this news went out [εξῆλθεν exēlthen] throughout that land [eis holēn tēn gēn ekeinēn]. - Matthew 9:26

[ ... ] 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

[ ... ] 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

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 ὁπου 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 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.
Returning to Example AC from Mark 1:39, it is perfectly natural for εις όλην τήν Γαλιλαίαν throughout Galilee to modify τάς συναγωγάς αυτών their synagogues.\(^{94}\) So εις τάς συναγωγάς αυτών 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 erchomai. Its goal, as usual, is the deictic center of narrative, which is established in the preceding verse:

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94. 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

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 αυτών autōn their in verse 39 in Example AC: τάς εχομένας κωμοπόλεις the nearby cities and villages. 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 erchomai 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 πάς pas

πάς 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, πάς indicates all of the objects belonging to the set, and if the noun it modifies is an object, πάς points to a set consisting of every instance of that object:

Example AJ

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 πᾶσῃ
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
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

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 πᾶσῃ τῇ κτίσει indicates to every created being. The context clarifies that πᾶσῃ 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. 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).

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

"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 περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κηρύσσων
And he went into all the country around the Jordan announcing a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. - Luke 3:3

This structure is very similar to that of Mark 1:39 in Example AC. Because of the semantics of πας, 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. 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 ἔρχομαι is one that shows ἔρχομαι in perfective aspect, but with an arbitrary stop time.
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

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 hodòn 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 ἐρχόμαι erchomai, I have found every instance to be compatible with a deictic and telic interpretation. Comparing it to aperchomai and 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 ἐρχόμαι erchomai lexically denotes motion toward the deictic center.
Since this implies that ἔρχομαι erchomai lexically has a goal, and because there is no incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, I further conclude that ἔρχομαι erchomai is lexically telic.

A consequence of the lexical telicity of ἔρχομαι 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.¹⁰²

With the deixis and aspect of ἔρχομαι erchomai understood, as well as the deixis of aperchomai and poreuomai, 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.

¹⁰² Shain 103.
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