DISTINGUISHING PASSIVE FROM MP2-MARKED MIDDLE IN KOINE GREEK

by

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                           Andrew Lamicela
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I wish to express my deep gratitude to Keith Slater, Jan Allen, and Steve Marlett for guiding me through the process of writing this thesis. Their feedback has contributed significantly to making this thesis what it is.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
AOR	aorist
ART	article
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DIST	distal
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
IPF	imperfect
M	masculine
MP	middle/passive (present and perfect)
MP1	middle/passive 1 (traditionally "middle"); aorist and future
MP2	middle/passive 2 (traditionally "passive"); aorist and future
N	neuter
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative

OPT	optative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PTCP	participle
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to answer the question, How can one determine whether an MP2-marked (traditionally "passive") verb in Koine Greek is semantically passive or middle? MP2-marked verbs in the New Testament and Septuagint were analyzed in order to determine what factors indicate passive or middle in each case. This thesis argues that both lexical and contextual factors play a role in the determination. Lexical factors include whether the verb has agent-oriented components of meaning, how likely the event is to occur spontaneously, and whether the verb tends to have a subject that is both agent and patient. Contextual factors include whether the cause is previously stated, whether the MP2 verb is part of a purpose clause, and the broader situation. Some instances are left unresolved by these lexical and contextual factors, and should be considered ambiguous.

CHAPTER 1

Preliminaries

This thesis attempts to answer this question: How can one determine whether an MP2-marked verb is semantically passive or middle? This thesis argues that a number of factors contribute to the answer; some are lexical, and others are contextual. Furthermore, this thesis argues that some instances are ambiguous; they cannot be considered exclusively middle or passive. The diverse nature of the answer presented here likely explains why no one has previously attempted to answer this question in any detail.

The language being analyzed in this thesis is Koine Greek, the form of Greek used in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These periods roughly extend from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. (Horrocks 2010:88-89). The corpus of data specifically consists of the New Testament and the Septuagint. Examples are primarily drawn from the narrative sections of the corpus. The text of examples is drawn from the software program BibleWorks 8; the text of New Testament examples comes from UBS4 (2011) and NA27 (1993), and the text of Septuagint examples comes from Rahlfs' edition (1935).

Although most of the Septuagint was translated from Hebrew, it is considered to be genuine Greek. Horrocks says that it has been "demonstrated conclusively that the Septuagint's general grammatical and lexical make-up is that of the ordinary, everyday written Greek of the times," although it includes a range of styles (2010:106). Similarly, Aubrey's (2014) synchronic study includes data from both the New Testament and the Septuagint, and Decker's (2014) grammar covers both the New Testament and the Septuagint.

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 surveys the typological background that is relevant to the question this thesis seeks to answer. This chapter has two sections: one on the causative alternation, and the other on the middle voice, drawing from the work of Kemmer (1993). Chapter 3 outlines the Greek voice system and provides a survey of what scholars have written about the topic addressed in this thesis.

Chapters 4 and 5 form the core of the thesis; these chapters attempt to answer the question stated above. Chapter 4 focuses on lexical factors which form part of the answer to the question. The lexical factors discussed are components of verbal meaning which either require or disallow an agent, and the likelihood of an event taking place spontaneously. Chapter 5 focuses on contextual factors which form part of the answer to the question. Relevant contextual factors include the subject of the verb, immediately preceding clauses, and the broader situation.

Chapter 6 consists of discussion and implications. The first section highlights the three-way contrast found in many Greek verbs between active, aorist MP2, and perfect MP. The second section discusses the ambiguity that is sometimes found in MP2 verbs, and explains some implications of this ambiguity for translation. The third section contrasts Kemmer's account of the middle voice with other approaches and argues that her approach is better able to account for the Greek data. The fourth section summarizes the findings of the thesis.

Section 6.1 makes use of a formalism which breaks a clause down into its basic semantic components. While the specific notation that I use is drawn from Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005), others have used similar notation (e.g., Schäfer 2009, Alexiadou et al. 2006). The relevant details are explained in Section 6.1.

The rest of this chapter outlines the way that words are glossed in examples in this thesis. For purposes of comparison, examples (1-3) show three sentences from this thesis with morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, and examples (4-6) illustrate the same sentences as they are glossed in this thesis.

Example (1) illustrates an aorist active verb (these terms are explained in Section 3.1); example (2) illustrates an aorist MP1 verb (traditionally called "aorist middle"); and example (3) illustrates an aorist MP2 verb (traditionally called "aorist passive"). In order to clarify which verb is being illustrated in each example, the Greek verbs and their equivalents in the free translation are underlined.

(1) καὶ ἤκου-σα-ν   οἱ   δύο μαθητ-αὶ   αὐτ-οῦ
     and PST\hear-PFV-PST.3PL ART\NOM.PL.M two disciple-NOM.PL 3-GEN.SG.M

     λαλοῦ-ντ-ος   καὶ ἠκολούθη-σα-ν   τ-ῷ
     speak-PTCP-GEN.SG.M and PST\follow-PFV-PST.3PL ART-DAT.SG.M

     Ἰησ-οῦ.
     Jesus-DAT.SG
     'And the two disciples <u>heard</u> him speaking, and they followed Jesus.'   (John 1:37)

(2) ὡς δὲ ἐ-γεύ-σα-το   ὁ   ἀρχιτρίκλιν-ος
     when and PST-taste-PFV-PST.MP1.3SG ART\NOM.SG.M head.waiter-NOM.SG

     τ-ὸ   ὕδωρ-Ø   οἶν-ον   γε~γενη-μέν-ον...
     ART-ACC.SG.N water-ACC.SG wine-ACC.SG PRF~become-MP.PTCP.ACC.SG.N
     'And when the head waiter <u>tasted</u> the water that had become wine...'   (John 2:9)

(3) τρὶς   ἐ-ρραβδίσ-θη-ν,   ἅπαξ
     three.times PST-beat.with.rods-MP2.PFV-PST.1SG once

     ἐ-λιθάσ-θη-ν,   τρὶς   ἐ-ναυάγη-σα-Ø.
     PST-stone-MP2.PFV-PST.1SG three.times PST-suffer.shipwreck-PFV-PST.1SG
     'Three times I was beaten with rods, once I <u>was stoned</u>, three times I suffered ship-
     wreck.'   (2 Corinthians
                                                                                  11:25)

Examples (1-3) contain a significant amount of irrelevant information; for example, none
of the nominal morphology is relevant to this thesis. For the verbs, the person and number
of subject agreement suffixes is not relevant, and past tense appears in the gloss of two
morphemes in each underlined verb, even though it is rarely relevant.

Instead of this method, examples in the rest of this thesis contain word-level glossing
(e.g., 'house' or 'go') for all Greek words in an example except for the verb that the example
is meant to illustrate. For the verb that is being illustrated in each example, the glossing
includes the meaning of the verb, followed by its tense/aspect, mood, and voice, in that
order. For example, the verb ἦλθον would be glossed as 'go.AOR.IND.ACT', indicating that
the verb stem means 'go', and that this form of the verb is aorist, indicative, and active.
This arrangement enables the reader to easily identify the relevant information about the
verb in question.

Examples (4-6) illustrate (1-3) as they would be glossed in this thesis. Example (4) illustrates the same aorist active verb as in (1); example (5) illustrates the same aorist MP1 verb as in (2); and example (6) illustrates the same aorist MP2 verb as in (3).

(4) καὶ ἤκουσαν   οἱ δύο μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος καὶ ἠκολούθησαν τῷ
     and hear.AOR.IND.ACT ART two disciple 3   speak   and follow   ART

     Ἰησοῦ.
     Jesus
     'And the two disciples <u>heard</u> him speaking, and they followed Jesus.'   (John 1:37)

(5) ὡς   δὲ ἐγεύσατο   ὁ   ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ   ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον...
     when and taste.AOR.IND.MP1 ART head.waiter   ART water wine become
     'And when the head waiter <u>tasted</u> the water that had become wine...'   (John 2:9)

(6) τρὶς   ἐρραβδίσθην, ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην,   τρὶς   ἐναυάγησα.
     three.times beat.with.rods once stone.AOR.IND.MP2 three.times suffer.shipwreck
     'Three times I was beaten with rods, once I <u>was stoned</u>, three times I suffered ship-
       wreck.'   (2 Corinthians
       11:25)

The glossing of verb stems presents challenges, because many of the verbs considered in this thesis can either be causative or not, depending on which suffixes are used, and it is unclear what the stem would mean by itself. In general, verb stems in this thesis are glossed with the equivalent that English treats as basic, regardless of which suffixes the Greek verb stem appears with.

Specifically, if one English gloss can be used for both causative and anticausative, that gloss is used. For example, the stem σαλευ combined with active suffixes means 'to shake' (transitive), while the same stem combined with MP2 suffixes means 'to shake' (intransitive). Thus, the stem σαλευ is glossed as 'shake' regardless of which suffixes it appears with. Other examples include 'gather' and 'open'.

Other stems must be treated differently, such as the stem ἐγειρ. When this stem is combined with active suffixes, the verb means 'to cause someone to rise up', while the same stem combined with MP2 suffixes means 'to rise up'. For this verb, the equivalent that English treats as basic—'to rise up'— corresponds to the meaning of the verb with MP2

suffixes. The stem ἐγειρ is glossed as 'rise.up' regardless of which suffixes it is combined with. Likewise, if the basic English equivalent is an adjective, that adjective is used as the gloss; for example, 'drunk' and 'desolate'.

For other verb stems, the equivalent that English treats as basic corresponds to the meaning of the Greek verb when active suffixes are present. For example, when the stem σω is combined with active suffixes, the verb means 'to save'. But when the same stem is combined with MP2 suffixes, the verb means 'to be saved' or 'to recover'. In these cases, the stem σω is glossed with the basic English equivalent 'save', regardless of which suffixes it is combined with.

It is my hope that the level of glossing employed here gives readers the information they need to evaluate the claims made in this thesis with a minimum of confusion.

CHAPTER 2

Typological background

This chapter provides a brief typological background to the thesis. The first section describes the causative alternation, and the second section presents information on the middle voice drawn from Kemmer's work. Both of these explanations are useful in describing Greek. For discussion of how these approaches relate to each other and how well they account for the Greek data, see Section 6.3.

2.1 The causative alternation

The causative alternation is a well-known linguistic phenomenon in which a particular verbal idea can be expressed by either a transitive verb or an intransitive verb, and the transitive verb is semantically causative. The subject of the intransitive bears the same semantic relation to the verb as the object of the transitive.[1] The transitive member of the alternation is referred to as "causative," while the intransitive member is referred to as "anticausative."[2] The pair of sentences in (7) illustrates the causative alternation; (7a) is causative, and (7b) is anticausative.

(7) a. *Jim broke the vase.*
     b. *The vase broke.*

The causative alternation bears important similarities to passive, illustrated here using the verb 'snap'. (8a) is causative, (8b) is anticausative, and (8c) is passive.

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[1] In the Unaccusative Hypothesis, there are said to be two types of intransitive verbs, unaccusative and unergative. The subject of an unergative verb has an agentive semantic role, like the subject of a transitive verb. The subject of an unaccusative verb has a non-agentive semantic role, like the object of a transitive verb. Anticausatives are considered to be the prototypical unaccusative verbs (Schäfer 2009:9).

[2] Haspelmath (1993) uses the terms "causative" and "inchoative" to describe the two members of the alternation, rather than "causative" and "anticausative." He also differentiates between the "causative alternation" and the "anticausative alternation" based on which member is morphologically marked. For simplicity, I follow the terminology employed by Schäfer (2009).

(8)   a. *The toddler snapped the twig.*
      b. *The twig snapped.*
      c. *The twig was snapped by the toddler.*

Anticausative and passive are similar in that the subjects in both have the same semantic role—patient, in this case. However, the crucial difference between anticausative and passive is that passive implies an agent, but anticausative does not (Haspelmath 1993:90, Schäfer 2009:9). There are certain tests which demonstrate the lack of agency in the anticausative, and two are illustrated here.

First, passive licenses a purpose clause, as in (9a), while anticausative does not, as in (9b).

(9)   a. *The twig was snapped so that it would fit into the dollhouse.*
      b. **The twig snapped so that it would fit into the dollhouse.*

(9a) is grammatical because the purpose clause requires an agent, and the passive verb 'was snapped' implies an agent. (9b) is ungrammatical because the anticausative verb 'snapped' does not imply an agent.

Secondly, anticausative cannot occur with an instrument prepositional phrase, as in (10a), while passive can, as in (10b). This is because an instrument normally requires an agent, and an anticausative verb does not imply an agent.

(10) a. **The vase shattered with a hammer.*
      b. *The vase was shattered with a hammer.*

One issue which is often addressed in the literature is the question of which verbs can occur in the causative alternation. Haspelmath (1993:93), for example, lists some restrictions on causative/anticausative pairs. One restriction is that the causative member of the alternation cannot be a verb that does not describe a change of state; this rules out verbs like 'observe' and 'read'. Another restriction is that the anticausative member of the alternation cannot be agentive; this rules out verbs like 'sing' and 'run'.

In addition to these restrictions, Haspelmath also states that in order for a causative verb to have an anticausative, it cannot have "agent-oriented meaning components," since

the anticausative member has no agent (1993:93). That is, if some feature of the action involved inherently requires an agent, that verb cannot have an anticausative. For example, he says that the English verb 'cut' does not have an anticausative because it has the agent-oriented component of meaning "by means of a sharp instrument" (1993:93). Similarly, Alexiadou et al. (2006:202-203) claim that verbs which are necessarily agentive cannot be the causative member of the alternation. For example, the English verb 'murder' requires a subject acting intentionally, and therefore it does not alternate with an anticausative.

The majority of verbs in the causative alternation describe changes of state; English examples include 'break', 'open', and 'dry'. Other verbs in the causative alternation include manner of motion verbs; English examples include 'spin' and 'bounce' (Schäfer 2009:12).

Finally, a variety of morphological strategies are employed to differentiate the two members of the causative alternation. According to Haspelmath (1993:90-92), some languages mark the causative form and leave the anticausative form unmarked, and other languages mark the anticausative form and leave the causative form unmarked. In other languages, neither the causative nor the anticausative is derived from the other; both members are marked in different ways, the two members use different stems, or neither member is marked (as in English; cf. 'broke' in both (7a) and (7b)). According to Schäfer (2009:24-25), anticausative is frequently marked the same as passive, inherently reflexive verbs, and what he calls the "generic middle" (e.g., "Ice cream sells well in the summer").

2.2 The middle voice

In Kemmer's monograph on the middle voice, she gives an analysis of the middle voice based on typology and language universals (1993:1). A definition of the middle voice, she writes, is quite elusive. The term "middle" has been applied to a variety of constructions which are grammaticalized in various ways across languages.

Kemmer explains her work in this way: "The main thesis presented in this book is that there is a coherent, although complex, linguistic category subsuming many of the phenomena discussed under the name of middle...and this category receives grammatical instantiation in many languages" (1993:3). The category of middle voice consists of a

number of related situation types, such as verbs of grooming and verbs of emotion. If a language shares morphology for many of these situation types, it is considered to be a middle-marking language. Middle-marking languages are genetically and areally diverse.

Kemmer does not give a specific number of situation types which comprise the middle voice, since many can be subdivided, but the primary categories are illustrated in (11).[3] There is no middle-marking in English, but sentences like these would be middle-marked in a middle-marking language.

(11) a. *Grooming: I combed my hair.*
      b. *Non-translational motion: I sat down.*
      c. *Translational motion: I took a walk.*
      d. *Indirect reflexive: I built myself a house.*
      e. *Indirect middle: I chose the red sweater.*
      f. *Naturally reciprocal: John and Mary kissed.*
      g. *Emotion: John was afraid of the gorilla.*
      h. *Emotive speech action: John complained about the weather.*
      i. *Cognition: John ponders the meaning of life.*
      j. *Spontaneous event: The branch broke.*
      k. *Passive-like: The book sells well.*

Of course, not all languages use the same morphology for these situation types. English, for example, does not have a specific morphological strategy for expressing these situation types, but Spanish, French, German, and Koine Greek do. Such languages are termed 'middle-marking languages', and these languages are the focus of her account.

Not every verb in these categories is middle-marked; the middle marking is typically somewhat conventionalized. In Kemmer's words, "it is frequently the case that the distribution of MMs within particular classes appears to be rather idiosyncratic" (1993:21). For example, in Changana, a Bantu language of South Africa, the verb for 'to be/become happy' is middle-marked, but the verb for 'to be/become angry' is not (1993:21).

This inconsistency can be explained by the conflicting principles of economic motivation and expressive motivation, which Kemmer describes as "two competing motivations that govern surface expression in human languages" (1993:234). Kemmer paraphrases economic motivation as "don't bother to mark semantic properties that are inherent in

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[3] The "passive-like" category includes facilitative and impersonal passive. Kemmer uses the term "facilitative" to describe what Schäfer calls the "generic middle."

an event," and expressive motivation as "mark events with similar properties similarly" (1993:235). For example, verbs of motion inherently have the feature of low distinguishability of participants; middle marking is not necessary in order for this semantic feature to be present. Because of the principle of economic motivation, middle-marking is not applied to every verb of motion. However, because of the principle of expressive motivation, many verbs of motion are middle-marked. Furthermore, expressive motivation is a key reason for the spread of middle marking to more situation types during the diachronic development of a middle system in a particular language (1993:235).

Kemmer provides a few further generalizations about middle-marking languages. One such generalization is that it is common for only some members of a situation type to be middle-marked. For example, the Greek verb πορεύομαι 'to go, proceed', a verb of motion, is middle-marked, but the verb περιπατέω 'to walk', also a verb of motion, is not middle-marked.

Another generalization is that frequently, the same verb stem is sometimes middle-marked (MM) and sometimes not; the non-MM verb is often causative (1993:21). For example, (12) and (13) use the same verb stem; (12) is middle-marked, and (13) is not middle marked. (13) is semantically causative.

(12) *ἄφνω*   *δὲ*   *σεισμὸς*   *ἐγένετο* *μέγας* *ὥστε* <u>*σαλευθῆναι*</u>   *τὰ*
    immediately and earthquake become great result shake.AOR.INF.MP2 ART

    θεμέλια   *τοῦ*   *δεσμωτηρίου*
    foundations ART prison
    'And immediately there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison <u>shook</u>.'   (Acts 16:26)

(13) *...οὗ* *ἡ*   *φωνὴ* *τὴν* *γῆν* <u>*ἐσάλευσεν*</u>   *τότε,* *νῦν* *δὲ* *ἐπήγγελται...*
    REL ART voice ART earth shake.AOR.IND.ACT then now and promise
    '...whose voice <u>shook</u> the earth then; but now he has commanded...'   (Hebrews 12:26)

On the other hand, it is common, if not universal, in MM languages that some MM verbs have no non-MM counterpart. For example, the underlined verb in (14) is middle-marked, but unlike the verb stem in (12), the verb stem in (14) is never used without middle-marking.

(14)   *Δημᾶς   γάρ με ἐγκατέλιπεν ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπορεύθη   εἰς*
       Demas for 1 forsake   love   ART now age   and go.AOR.IND.MP2 into

     Θεσσαλονίκην...
     Thessalonica
     'For Demas forsook me, loving the present age, and <u>went</u> into Thessalonica...'   (2
     Timothy 4:10)

Kemmer uses the traditional term "deponent" to refer to verbs such as the one in (14); she says that one can readily find lists of deponent verbs in grammars of MM languages. From the standpoint of any one language, the list of deponent verbs often appears idiosyncratic (1993:22-23).

Kemmer also discusses the typological relation between the middle voice and reflexive (1993:24-28). In some MM languages, the MM functions as a reflexive marker, in addition to marking the other middle situation types. In other MM languages, there is a separate reflexive marker. (In such languages, the MM and the reflexive marker are often historically related.) For languages with a distinct MM and reflexive marker, the MM is used for naturally reflexive verbs (such as verbs of grooming), but not other reflexive situations, whereas the reflexive marker is typically quite productive, and can be added to most transitive verbs to yield a reflexive reading.

For example, Greek has a reflexive pronoun as well as MM on verbs. For naturally reflexive verbs, such as the verb of grooming in (15), reflexive is indicated by MM on the verb. In contrast, for verbs which are not naturally reflexive, reflexive is indicated by the reflexive pronoun, as in (16).

(15)   *ἡ   δὲ   λαβοῦσα τὸ   θέριστρον περιεβάλετο*
     ART/3[4] and take   ART veil   clothe.AOR.IND.MP1
     'And she, taking the veil, <u>clothed herself</u>.'   (Genesis 24:65)

(16)   *...ὅτι   ἦλθεν ὁ   γάμος   τοῦ ἀρνίου καὶ ἡ   γυνὴ αὐτοῦ*
     because come ART wedding ART lamb   and ART wife 3

     ἡτοίμασεν   ἑαυτήν
     prepare.AOR.IND.ACT 3.REFL
     '...because the wedding of the Lamb has come, and his wife has <u>prepared herself</u>.'
     (Revelation 19:7)

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[4] The article is used pronominally in this context (see, for example, Wallace 1996:211-212).

CHAPTER 3

Greek background

While Chapter 2 provides cross-linguistic background for this thesis, this chapter provides background regarding Greek specifically. Section 3.1 gives an overview of the Greek voice system. Section 3.2 evaluates partial answers from the literature to the question of how passive can be distinguished from MP2-marked middle in Koine Greek.

3.1 The Greek voice system

This section gives an overview of the Greek voice system. The description of the Greek voice system presented here differs considerably from the traditional presentation in New Testament studies. One key difference is that the notion of deponency figures heavily in traditional approaches. A typical definition is provided by Wallace: a deponent verb is one which "has no active *form* but is active in *meaning*" (1996:428, italics original). Ladewig (2010), in a recent dissertation, defends an expanded version of essentially the same definition. By this definition, many of the verbs described in this section would be classified as deponent, rather than being classified as verbs of cognition, verbs of motion, etc.

While this approach it not entirely invalid, it is typologically ill-informed. Verbs that are similar in meaning to Greek deponent verbs are middle-marked in many languages, so it is unhelpful to say that they are active in meaning. Additionally, "active in meaning" is a dubious designation, since morphologically active verbs display tremendous semantic variation. For example, some morphologically active verbs are agentive (*τρέχω* 'to run', *τύπτω* 'to strike'), while others are not (*γινώσκω* 'to know', *βλέπω* 'to see'); some are states and others are activities; and some can be passivized while others cannot. See further discussion of deponency in Section 6.3.

For these reasons, I prefer to describe the Greek voice system in terms of the situation types which are middle-marked in Greek and other languages. The categorization of verbs which have middle marking presented here is based on the cross-linguistic work of Kemmer. Although her work is based on many languages, it describes Greek quite accurately.[1]

Greek has been described as an aspect-prominent language (e.g., Ellis 2016), and in order to understand the voice system, one must have a basic sense of the aspect system. There are three main aspects, which are traditionally called "present" (corresponding to imperfective aspect), "aorist" (corresponding to perfective aspect), and "perfect" (corresponding to perfect aspect). Though these terms are not ideal, they present no difficulty for this thesis, and thus I will use them here. Each of these three aspects has forms for each mood, so that there are present infinitives, aorist infinitives, and perfect infinitives; present imperatives, aorist imperatives, and perfect imperatives; etc. The future can be considered a fourth aspectual category, but it only has a partial set of forms.[2] Figure 1 illustrates the four aspectual categories. Each column represents the set of forms belonging to one aspect.

Present:	Perfect:	Aorist:	Future:
Present infinitive	Perfect infinitive	Aorist infinitive	Future infinitive
Present participles	Perfect participles	Aorist participles	Future participles
Present imperative	Perfect imperative	Aorist imperative	-
Present subjunctive	Perfect subjunctive	Aorist subjunctive	-
Present optative	Perfect optative	Aorist optative	Future optative
Imperfect indicative	Perfect indicative	Aorist indicative	Future indicative
Present indicative	Pluperfect indicative		

Figure 1. Greek verbal system

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[1] Classical Greek is one of the languages on which Kemmer's study is based, but very few of the verbs she mentions from Classical Greek appear in this thesis.

[2] Of course, it could be argued that the future is a tense category rather than aspectual one. The goal here is simply to present the different verbal forms found in the language, regardless of how they may be best categorized.

In Figure 1, the two dashes found under the Future column indicate that there are no future imperative or future subjunctive forms. The present and perfect each have two indicative forms, which contrast in tense.

Turning to voice, Greek, like many languages, has a middle voice. Kemmer divides up the kinds of verbs which commonly occur in the middle voice into semantic categories which she calls "situation types." In Greek, middle morphology (mostly subject agreement suffixes) is applied to verbs in these situation types:[3] verbs of grooming, indirect middle verbs, naturally reciprocal verbs, verbs of perception, verbs of cognition, verbs of speech, verbs of emotion, verbs of motion, and spontaneous event verbs. Each of these situation types is illustrated below.

There are two features of the Greek voice system which are not typically found in middle-marking languages. First, in the aorist and future aspects (i.e., the third and fourth columns of Figure 1), there are two middle markers. In the present and perfect aspects (i.e., the first and second columns of Figure 1), there is only one middle marker. Figure 2 shows the distribution of situation types in the aorist and future.

The second special feature of the Greek voice system is that the canonical passive shares middle morphology.[4] As illustrated in Figure 2, the canonical passive is marked by the second middle marker ("MP2"). Thus, in the aorist and future, where there are two middle markers, passive shares morphology with middle-marked spontaneous event verbs, verbs of motion, and verbs of emotion. In the present and perfect, there is only one middle marker, and passive shares morphology with all middle-marked verbs.

MP1	MP2
Grooming Indirect middle Naturally reciprocal Perception Cognition Speech	Emotion Motion Spontaneous event Passive

Figure 2. Approximate distribution of situation types in the aorist and future

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[3] Kemmer shows that not all verbs in these categories have middle marking (1993:21), and this is true of Greek.

[4] As Allan says regarding Classical Greek, "The notable difference between Greek and many other middle voice systems is that the middle voice in Greek also covers the canonical passive meaning" (2002:32).

Figure 2 illustrates the situation types that are middle-marked in Greek, and how those situation types are distributed between the two middle markers in the aorist and future. In the present and perfect, there is only one middle marker, which is used for all of the situation types in Figure 2. The situation types in Figure 2 are based are slightly modified from Kemmer's cross-linguistic situation types in order to fit Greek better. Also, There are a few verbs which do not neatly fit these categories, but the categorization given in Figure 2 covers the great majority of middle-marked verbs.

Before illustrating these middle-marked situation types, I must clarify the terminology used in the headings of Figure 2 and the rest of this thesis for middle marking. In Greek studies, verb forms which do not have middle marking are traditionally referred to as "active," and I use that term here. Throughout this thesis, the term "active" is a morphological designation, referring to any verb which is not middle-marked.

The traditional terminology for middle-marked forms is less satisfactory for this thesis. Middle-marked present and perfect verbs are referred to in this thesis as MP, following Conrad (2002). The "M" stands for "middle," and the "P" stands for "passive," reflecting the dual usage of the forms. Thus, there is a present active infinitive and a present MP infinitive. For middle-marked aorist and future verbs, I refer to the two middle markers as MP1, and MP2, again following Conrad. Thus there is an aorist active infinitive, an aorist MP1 infinitive, and an aorist MP2 infinitive.

I use this terminology in order to avoid confusion. The term "middle" is sometimes used in the literature to refer to a facilitative situation type, e.g., "The books sold quickly." The term "passive" typically refers to the canonical passive construction, e.g., "The books were donated to a library." Thus, using "MP," "MP1," and "MP2" as morphological designations keeps morphology separate from situation types and syntactic phenomena.

In the rest of this section, each of the situation types in Figure 2 is briefly explained and illustrated. Examples (17-25) illustrate the situation types marked by MP1.

According to Kemmer, languages frequently differentiate how reflexive is expressed based on whether the verb involved is naturally reflexive or not. This differentiation is found in Greek: verbs which describe a naturally reflexive event—for example, verbs of

grooming—use middle marking to indicate that the subject acts on himself or herself. Example (17) illustrates a middle-marked verb of grooming.

(17) ἡ   δὲ   λαβοῦσα τὸ   θέριστρον <u>περιεβάλετο</u>
ART/3[5] and take   ART veil   clothe.AOR.IND.MP1
'And she, taking the veil, <u>clothed herself</u>.'   (Genesis 24:65)

Naturally reflexive verbs commonly have active counterparts in which the subject acts on another entity. Example (18) illustrates the active counterpart of the verb illustrated in (17). The subject is acting on another person, and the verb lacks middle marking.

(18) γυμνὸς καὶ <u>περιεβάλετέ</u>   με
naked and clothe.AOR.IND.ACT 1
'[I was] naked, and you <u>clothed</u> me.'   (Matthew 25:36)

In contrast, verbs which do not describe a naturally reflexive event use a reflexive pronoun. For example, in (19) a reflexive pronoun is used, since the verb κατακόπτω 'to cut' does not describe a naturally-reflexive event.

(19) καὶ διὰ   παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν
and through all   night and day   in ART tomb   and in ART mountain

ἦν   κράζων καὶ <u>κατακόπτων</u>   ἑαυτὸν λίθοις.
COP cry.out and cut.PRS.PTCP.ACT 3.REFL stone
'And always, night and day, he was among the tombs and in the mountains, crying out and <u>cutting himself</u> with stones.'   (Mark 5:5)

"Indirect middle" is Kemmer's way of describing an action in which the subject naturally acts in his own interest (1993:78). Example (20) illustrates the indirect middle.

(20) Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ   παρρησία ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς   αὐτόν ὅτι ἐάν τι
and PROX COP ART boldness REL have   toward 3   COMP if   something

<u>αἰτώμεθα</u>   κατὰ   τὸ   θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἀκούει ἡμῶν.
ask.for.PRS.SBJV.MP according.to ART will   3   hear   1
'And this is the boldness which we have toward him, that if we <u>ask for</u> anything according to his will, he hears us.'   (1 John 5:14)

_____
[5] The article is used pronominally in this context (see, for example, Wallace 1996:211-212).

According to Kemmer, the "naturally reciprocal" category of middle-marked verbs is broad enough to include verbs with a singular subject. She hypothesizes that in some languages, such verbs initially only allowed a plural subject, but began to allow a singular subject as middle marking became less productive (1993:107-108). This appears to be the case in Greek; for example, (21) illustrates a verb which is naturally reciprocal. Though the subject is plural in (21), this verb is frequently found with a singular subject and the same middle marking.

(21)   *καὶ*   *εὐθὺς*   *πᾶς ὁ*   *ὄχλος*   *ἰδόντες*   *αὐτὸν*   *ἐξεθαμβήθησαν*   *καὶ*
and   immediately   all   ART   crowd   see   3   be.amazed   and

     προστρέχοντες   *ἠσπάζοντο*   *αὐτόν.*
     run.toward   greet.IPF.IND.MP   3
     'And immediately, the whole crowd saw him and was amazed, and running toward
        him, <u>greeted</u> him.'   (Mark 9:15)

In contrast to naturally reciprocal actions, actions that are not naturally reciprocal use a reciprocal pronoun.

(22)   *Εντολὴν*   *καινὴν*   *δίδωμι*   *ὑμῖν,*   *ἵνα*   *ἀγαπᾶτε*   *ἀλλήλους,*
     command   new   give   2   COMP   love.PRS.SBJV.ACT   RECP
     'I am giving you a new command: that you <u>love each other</u>.'   (John 13:34)

Example (23) illustrates a middle-marked verb of perception.

(23)   *ὡς*   *δὲ*   <u>*ἐγεύσατο*</u>   *ὁ*   *ἀρχιτρίκλινος*   *τὸ*   *ὕδωρ*   *οἶνον*   *γεγενημένον*
     when   and   taste.AOR.IND.MP1   ART   head.waiter   ART   water   wine   become

     καὶ   *οὐκ*   *ᾔδει*   *πόθεν*   *ἐστίν...*   *φωνεῖ*   *τὸν*   *νυμφίον*   *ὁ*   *ἀρχιτρίκλινος*
     and   not   know   from.where   COP   call   ART   groom   ART   head.waiter
     'Now when the head waiter had <u>tasted</u> the water which had become wine, and did
        not know where it was from...the head waiter called the groom.'   (John 2:9)

Example (24) illustrates a middle-marked verb of cognition.

(24) <u>διελογισάμην</u> ἡμέρας ἀρχαίας καὶ ἔτη αἰώνια ἐμνήσθην καὶ
consider.AOR.IND.MP1 day old and year age remember and

  ἐμελέτησα
  meditate.on
  'I <u>considered</u> the days of old and eternal years. I remembered, and meditated.'
  (Psalm 76:6)

The last situation type listed under MP1 in Figure 2 is "speech." Kemmer refers to this category as "emotive speech actions," but she says that middle marking is also applied to verbs which are not necessarily emotive but seem to have "emotional overtones" (1993:133-134). This is precisely the situation in Greek; not all of the Greek middle-marked verbs of speech are particularly emotive, but all of them refer to a particular kind of speech act (e.g., 'to pray', 'to tell a lie', 'to give a command'), rather than describing speech in general. For this reason, the designation of "speech" suffices for the purposes of this thesis. Example (25) illustrates a middle-marked verb of speech.

(25) καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν κἀγὼ προφήτης εἰμὶ καθὼς σύ καὶ ἄγγελος λελάληκεν
  and speak toward 3 and.1 prophet COP like 2 and angel speak

  πρός με ἐν ῥήματι κυρίου λέγων ἐπίστρεψον αὐτὸν πρὸς σεαυτὸν εἰς τὸν
  toward 1 in word lord speak turn 3 toward 2.REFL into ART

  οἶκόν σου καὶ φαγέτω ἄρτον καὶ πιέτω ὕδωρ καὶ <u>ἐψεύσατο</u> αὐτῷ
  house 2 and eat bread and drink water and lie.AOR.IND.MP1 3
  'And he said to him, "I also am a prophet like you, and an angel has spoken to me
  by the word of the Lord, saying, 'Turn him aside into your house, and have him
  eat bread and drink water.'" But he was <u>lying</u> to him.' (1 Kings 13:18)

Examples (26-31) illustrate the situation types marked by MP2 morphology. Example (26) illustrates a middle-marked verb of emotion.

(26) ἠρνήσατο δὲ Σαρρα λέγουσα οὐκ ἐγέλασα <u>ἐφοβήθη</u> γάρ
  deny and Sarah speak NEG laugh fear.AOR.IND.MP2 for
  'But Sarah denied it, saying, "I did not laugh." For she <u>was afraid</u>.' (Genesis 18:15)

Example (27) illustrates a middle-marked verb of motion.

(27) *ἀπεστράφη*   *δὲ Αβρααμ   πρὸς   τοὺς παῖδας   αὐτοῦ...*
     return.AOR.IND.MP2 and Abraham toward ART servant 3
     'And Abraham <u>returned</u> to his servants...'   (Genesis 22:19)

Some middle-marked verbs of motion have an active counterpart which is causative.
Example (28) illustrates the active counterpart of the verb illustrated in (27).

(28) *εἶπεν δὲ   πρὸς   αὐτὸν ὁ   παῖς   μήποτε οὐ   βούλεται ἡ   γυνὴ*
     speak and toward 3   ART servant lest   NEG desire   ART woman

     πορευθῆναι μετ' ἐμοῦ ὀπίσω εἰς   τὴν   γῆν   ταύτην ἀποστρέψω   τὸν
     go   with 1   behind into ART land PROX return.FUT.IND.ACT ART

     υἱόν σου εἰς   τὴν   γῆν   ὅθεν   ἐξῆλθες ἐκεῖθεν
     son 2   into ART land REL.from go.out DIST.from
     'And the servant said to him, "What if the woman does not want to come back with
     me into this land? <u>Shall</u> I <u>send</u> your son <u>back</u> into the land where you came
     from?"'   (Genesis 24:5)

Example (29) illustrates a middle-marked spontaneous event verb.

(29) *Καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ   μαθηταὶ ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες· πῶς παραχρῆμα*
     and see   ART disciple marvel   speak   how immediately

     <u>*ἐξηράνθη*</u>   *ἡ   συκῆ;*
     wither.AOR.IND.MP2 ART fig.tree
     'And when the disciples saw it, they marveled, saying, "How did the fig tree <u>wither</u>
     so quickly?"'   (Matthew 21:20)

Many spontaneous event verbs have an active counterpart which is causative. Example (30) illustrates the active counterpart of the verb illustrated in (29).

(30) *ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ὁ   ἥλιος σὺν   τῷ   καύσωνι   καὶ ἐξήρανεν   τὸν*
     rise   for ART sun with ART burning.heat and wither.AOR.IND.ACT ART

     χόρτον καὶ τὸ   ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν
     grass and ART flower 3   fall
     'For the sun rose with its burning heat, and it <u>withered</u> the grass, and its flower
     fell.'   (James 1:11)

Finally, example (31) illustrates a passive verb.

(31) *ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται   ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, κἀγὼ ἀγαπήσω*
ART and love 1 love.FUT.IND.MP2 by ART father 1   and.1 love

    αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν.
    3   and reveal   3   1.REFL
    'And the one who loves me <u>will be loved</u> by my father, and I will love myself to him.'   (John 14:21)

Passive verbs always have an active counterpart. Example (32) illustrates the active counterpart of the verb illustrated in (31), within the same sentence.

(32) *ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, κἀγὼ ἀγαπήσω*
ART and love 1 love   by ART father 1   and.1 love.FUT.IND.ACT

    αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν.
    3   and reveal   3   1.REFL
    'And the one who loves me will be loved by my father, and I <u>will love</u> him and reveal myself to him.'   (John 14:21)

3.2 Previous answers to the question

This section describes previous answers to the question addressed in this thesis: How can passive be distinguished from MP2-marked middle in Koine Greek?

3.2.1 Traditional approaches

Greek grammars have little to say on the subject. For example, Robertson says this regarding aorist MP2 verbs: "Sometimes, indeed, it is difficult to tell whether a verb is middle or passive...Only the context and the verb-idea can decide" (1934:816). Although this statement does anticipate my answer, he does not explain which specific features of the context or the "verb-idea" are involved. Smyth's grammar of Classical Greek is similar; he says that some aorist MP2 verbs have "a reflexive or middle sense, either sometimes or always" (1920:222). Regarding the perfect, he says this: "When the perfect marks the enduring result rather than the completed action, it may often be translated by the present" (1920:434). He gives examples of verbs which function in these ways, but no criteria for identifying these verbs.

Similarly, Greek lexicons illustrate a general awareness of MP2 verbs which are not passive. Since the active and MP2 verbs are commonly listed together under the same entry, a separate sense is often specified under the heading of "passive." ("Passive" here refers to MP2 forms.) For example, the following is a representative example from Bauer et al, the most commonly used and most highly respected lexicon in New Testament studies (commonly referred to as "BDAG"):

εὐφραίνω:

"1. act. *gladden, cheer (up) ... someone*

...

2. pass. ... *be glad, enjoy oneself, rejoice*" (1979:327).

This arrangement illustrates the fact that non-passive uses of MP2 verbs are known, but are commonly treated on a case-by-case basis rather than categorically.

While Wallace's (1996) grammar is more recent than the other works mentioned in this subsection, it certainly follows the traditional way of thinking. In his section on the passive voice, he gives several reasons why passive verbs frequently do not have an agent expressed. One reason is that "the nature of some passive verbs is such that *no agency is to be implied*" (1996:436, italics original). Though he does not elaborate further, this sentence points to the fact that not all MP2 verbs are truly passive.

In his section on the perfect, Wallace describes the "intensive" use of the perfect. He says that while the intensive perfect does not exclude a past event, it focuses on the resultant state. For this reason, he says, it is commonly used with stative verbs (1996:575-576).[6] Interestingly, in his section on the passive voice, where he discusses MP2 verbs with no agency implied, there is one perfect MP in the list of examples (1996:436). In this way, he touches on perfect MP verbs that are not passive twice: once from the perspective of voice and once from the perspective of tense/aspect, without noting the connection between the two.

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[6] Most verbs used in this way actually describe a *change* of state.

3.2.2 More recent approaches

The past thirty years have a seen a renewed interest in the Greek verbal system within the field of New Testament studies, and many long-assumed concepts have been challenged. While much progress has been made in the understanding of the Greek verb, no one has made a significant attempt to answer the question addressed in this thesis.

Porter, a well-known figure in the study of Koine Greek, has long advocated the notion that the Greek perfect grammaticalizes stative aspect. By "stative aspect," he means that the verb describes a "complex state of affairs of the subject" (2015:211). This claim is meant to apply equally to all verbs which have perfect morphology, in spite of the perfect's wide range of usage. Although Porter was one of the pioneers of the discussion of the Greek verbal system in relation to modern linguistics, his work on the perfect does not sufficiently take into account different types of verbs. While his claims have certainly contributed to the scholarly discussion, his position is not nuanced enough to be useful.

Aubrey, in a (2014) MA thesis, discusses the nature of perfect verbs. One basic usage of the perfect is "resultative," which describes a state resulting from a past action (roughly corresponding to Wallace's "intensive" perfect). The resultative use of the perfect is represented by the right side of Figure 3 (2014:123).

Causative IMPFV/PERFV   ←→   Non-causative PERFECT
α CAUSE β   **pred'** (x)

Figure 3. Aubrey's schema for resultative perfect

The symbols α and β on the left refer to any event type. **pred'** (x) on the right indicates a state, and it corresponds to β on the left. (Spontaneous event verbs are frequently stative in the perfect; see Sections 5.2.2 and 6.1.)

According to Aubrey, the resultative perfect is generally expressed using MP forms (outside of a handful of old verbs which are resultative in the active). He specifies that these perfect MP verbs are not passive; rather, "each refers to a persistent state" (2014:126). Thus, in the schema in Figure 3, the active forms are causative (on the left), and the MP forms represent a state (on the right).

Much of Aubrey's discussion relates to predicate types; he indicates that "resultatives...correlate with telic verbs," and that all causative verbs are telic (2014:109, 119). This suggests that telic verbs (including causatives) are likely to have a resultative use in general, but goes no further. He also mentions that resultative perfect MP forms are frequently found in presentational contexts (2014:197, cf. Section 5.2.2). Again, this suggestion is helpful, but it is only a small part of distinguishing passive from stative perfect.

Rutger Allan, in his (2002) PhD thesis on the middle voice in Classical Greek, gives an analysis which applies in large measure to Koine Greek. His analysis draws heavily from Kemmer, and therefore he is aware of the shared morphology between passive and MP2-marked middle situation types.[7] He distinguishes passive from spontaneous events by restricting the spontaneous event category to changes of state which take place without being caused by an agent. If the event has an agent, he labels the verb describing it as passive. That is, his categorization is actually based on the event. Additionally, he thinks that the non-passive is default: "Only if there are positive signals from the context that there is some external initiator present, the default-interpretation is overruled in favour of the passive interpretation" (2002:46, n. 84).

While Allan's analysis offers much insight into the Greek middle voice, he does not give any detail on what "positive signals from the context" include, and his way of differentiating between passive and middle does not include the nature of the verb. Furthermore, his definition of the spontaneous event category does not take account of the fact that, cross-linguistically, the spontaneous event middle includes events in which there was an agent. For example, according to Kemmer, the sentence, "The branch broke when I pulled down on it" accurately represents the spontaneous event middle. If English were a middle-marking language, the verb "broke" would likely be middle-marked, even though it clearly describes an event which was caused by an agent (1993:144).

Finally, in a (2016) paper on the Greek voice system, Aubrey draws from both Kemmer and Allan. In terms of distinguishing the spontaneous event middle[8] from passive, she

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[7] Though he draws heavily from Kemmer, he uses the term "spontaneous process" for roughly the same category as Kemmer's "spontaneous event." I retain Kemmer's terminology for consistency.

[8] Like Allan, Aubrey uses the term "spontaneous process" for roughly the same category as Kemmer's "spontaneous event." Again, I retain Kemmer's terminology for consistency.

declares that "no strict and clearly delineated line is possible. At times it is difficult to tell if an external source is implied or if it is construed more like a one-participant event that is brought about spontaneously" (2016:596). She illustrates this ambiguity using the sentence in (33).

(33) καὶ   ὁ   οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη   ὡς   βιβλίον ἑλισσόμενον καὶ πᾶν
    and ART sky   split.AOR.IND.MP2 like scroll   roll.up   and every

    ὄρος   καὶ νῆσος ἐκ   τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν.
    mountain and island from ART place   3   move
    'And the sky <u>was split</u> like a scroll being rolled up and every mountain and island
    moved out of their places.'   (Revelation 6:14)

She indicates that whether or not an agent is implied depends on the context—in this case, how much theological weight one gives to the supernatural in the book of Revelation (2016:596). While this explanation may be useful for explaining this particular sentence, it is not systematic, and, like Allan's, it does not account for the way the spontaneous event middle is used cross-linguistically.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that the range of meaning of MP2 forms leads to ambiguity between passive and certain middle situation types. It has also illustrated that there is a gap in the literature on the question of how passive can be distinguished from the MP2-marked middle types. This thesis proposes both lexical factors and contextual factors that contribute to this distinction. Chapter 4 discusses features of individual verbs which affect their likelihood of being passive, while Chapter 5 discusses contextual factors.

CHAPTER 4

Lexical factors

This chapter describes features of verbs that affect whether agency is implied by their aorist MP2 forms and perfect MP forms. This chapter examines semantic features of specific lexical items, reserving the ways those verbs are used in context for the next chapter.

Much of this chapter draws on a paper on the causative alternation by Haspelmath (1993). In this paper, he investigates why, in some languages, the intransitive form is morphologically basic and the transitive form is derived, while in other languages, the transitive form is morphologically basic and the intransitive form is derived.[1]

The first two sections of this chapter are organized around two concepts from Haspelmath's paper: meaning components and the likelihood of spontaneous occurrence. Although these two features are related, they are not the same. Meaning components are one factor that affect how likely or unlikely an event is to occur spontaneously, but not the only factor. The third section discusses a group of MP2-marked verbs which are not passive because the subject is agentive.

4.1 Components of meaning

As described in Section 2.1, Haspelmath claims that there are restrictions on which verbs can occur in the causative alternation. He says the most important restriction is that a verb cannot have "agent-oriented components of meaning" (1993:93-94). As an example, he points out the English verbs "cut" and "tear." He claims that the English word "cut" has the following agent-oriented meaning component: "by means of a sharp instrument." This meaning component is "agent-oriented" because the use of an instrument requires an

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[1] More recently, Haspelmath (2008) has modified his analysis, explaining the same phenomenon based on frequency. "Whichever member of the pair occurs more frequently tends to be zero-coded, while the rarer (and hence less expected) member tends to be overtly coded" (2008:11). He therefore discards the iconic part of his explanation in favor of a frequency-based explanation.

agentive user of that instrument. On the other hand, the verb "tear" lacks such components. This is why, he claims, "tear" has an anticausative counterpart, while "cut" does not:

(34) a. *The pants tore.*
    b. **The cloth cut.*

This section applies this concept to Greek, by identifying verbs with agent-oriented components of meaning, as well as verbs with no such components of meaning.

4.1.1 Verbs with agent-oriented components of meaning

The notion of agent-oriented components of meaning establishes a set of verbs whose aorist MP2 forms must be construed as passive; they always imply agency. For some such verbs, one can imagine a scenario in which no agent is present in spite of agent-oriented component of meaning. For example, a person could be decapitated by a sharp instrument even though no one was wielding the instrument for that purpose. However, such a scenario is highly unlikely. Therefore, if a verb has an agent-oriented component of meaning, that event is extremely unlikely to occur spontaneously, though it may not be, strictly-speaking, impossible.

Some of the clearest examples of Greek verbs with agent-oriented components of meaning are verbs derived from nouns. For example, the verb λιθάζω 'to stone (someone to death)' is derived from the noun λίθος 'stone'. The verb normally involves the meaning of 'cause to die', but the meaning of the verb is further specified by the fact that stones are involved. Example (35) illustrates the MP2 form of the verb, where agency is implied.[2]

(35) τρὶς   ἐρραβδίσθην,   ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην,   τρὶς
     three.times beat.with.rods once stone.AOR.IND.MP2   three.times

    ἐναυάγησα,   νυχθήμερον   ἐν τῷ   βυθῷ   πεποίηκα·
    suffer.shipwreck a.night.and.a.day in ART open.sea make
    'Three times I was beaten with rods, once I <u>was stoned</u>,[3] three times I was shipwrecked, a night and a day I spent in the open sea.'   (2 Corinthians 11:25)

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[2] A similar verb is ῥαβδίζω 'to beat with a rod', which is derived from ῥάβδος 'rod'. However, it differs in that it is not causative.

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Similarly, the verb θάπτω 'bury' describes an event that usually includes agentive components such as tools for digging, and often rituals as well. Therefore, its aorist MP2 form implies an agent, and is interpreted as passive, as illustrated in (36). Notice that, although an agent or agents are implied, they are not mentioned explicitly, since they are not significant enough in the discourse.

(36) καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ Μαριαμ καὶ ἐτάφη   ἐκεῖ
      and die   there Miriam and bury.AOR.IND.MP2 there
      'And Miriam died there and was buried there.'   (Numbers 20:1)

Another example is κλέπτω 'to steal'. Stealing implies intentionality—the thief wants the items for a particular reason. This is why the aorist MP2 forms of κλέπτω do not just mean 'to disappear', but rather 'to be stolen' by someone. This is illustrated in (37):

(37) ἐὰν δέ τις   δῷ τῷ πλησίον ἀργύριον ἢ σκεύη φυλάξαι καὶ
      if and someone give ART neighbor silver   or vessel guard   and

      κλαπῇ   ἐκ   τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ ὁ   κλέψας
      steal.AOR.SBJV.MP2 from ART house ART person   if find   ART steal

      ἀποτείσει διπλοῦν
      pay.back double
      'And if someone gives to his neighbor silver or vessels to keep, and it is stolen out
      of the man's house, if the thief is found, he will pay back double.' (Exodus 22:6)

Another such verb is βαπτίζω 'to baptize'. At least when used in the context of Christian baptism, the word requires intentional agency on the part of someone other than the person undergoing baptism. For example, in (38), there still must be an agent, although none is stated in this verse.

(38) ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ   τὴν ὁδόν, ἦλθον ἐπί τι   ὕδωρ, καί φησιν
      when and go   throughout ART way go   on some water and say

      ὁ   εὐνοῦχος· ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ, τί   κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι;
      ART eunuch   behold! water what prevent 1 baptize.AOR.INF.MP2
      'And as they were going on the way, they came to some water, and the eunuch says,
      "Look, water! What prevents me from being baptized?"'   (Acts 8:36)

_____

[3] This instance of stoning was unusual in that it did not result in death.

Sometimes a dictionary definition points to these components of meaning. For example, the verb *δίδασκω* 'to teach' is defined by Louw and Nida as follows: "to provide instruction in a formal or informal setting" (1988:413). Of course, successful teaching involves the meaning of 'to cause to know', but it is more than that. There is also a notion of 'give instruction' or something similar. That is why, assuming Louw and Nida are correct, the MP2 forms of *δίδασκω* always imply an agent. Example (39) illustrates this.

(39)   *ἐρριζωμένοι*   *καὶ*   *ἐποικοδομούμενοι*   *ἐν*   *αὐτῷ*   *καὶ*   *βεβαιούμενοι*   *τῇ*   *πίστει*   *καθὼς*
be.rooted   and build.up   in 3   and establish   ART faith just.as

     ἐδιδάχθητε
     teach.AOR.IND.MP2
     '...rooted and built up in him and established in the faith just as you <u>were taught</u>...'
     (Colossians 2:7)

Finally, consider the verb *κόπτω*, which has the meaning of 'to beat' in (40).[4]

(40)   *καὶ*   *σὺ*   *σύνταξον*   *τοῖς*   *υἱοῖς*   *Ισραηλ*   *καὶ*   *λαβέτωσάν*   *σοι*   *ἔλαιον*   *ἐξ*   *ἐλαίων*
and 2   command ART son   Israel   and take   2   oil   from olive.tree

     ἄτρυγον   *καθαρὸν*   <u>*κεκομμένον*</u>   *εἰς*   *φῶς*   *καῦσαι*   *ἵνα*   *κάηται*   *λύχνος*
     pure   clean   cut.PRF.PTCP.MP into light burn   so.that burn   lamp

     διὰ   *παντός*
     through   all
     'And you, command the children of Israel, and have them bring you clean, pure, <u>beaten</u> olive oil to burn for light, so that a lamp may burn constantly.'   (Exodus 27:20)

To beat something requires some kind of instrument, which requires an agent.

Of course, the fact that a verb requires agency does not mean that the agent is a participant in the discourse or is explicitly mentioned. In fact, it may be that the agent is completely irrelevant in the discourse. One of the main reasons passive is used is because the agent is not pragmatically relevant in the context. However, when agent-oriented meaning components are present, an agent is implied, and the verb is passive.

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[4] This verb often means 'to cut', but the context here indicates something closer to beating.

4.1.2 Verbs without agent-oriented components of meaning—aorist

The preceding section looked at MP2 verbs which must have an agent because of agent-oriented components of meaning. This section looks at the opposite: verbs whose aorist MP2 forms are likely to be anticausative rather than passive because the active form has no meaning components besides 'cause to X' (where 'X' is a state).[5]

Specifically, Haspelmath points out that cross-linguistically the causative alternation is especially possible with verbs which are derived from adjectives. This is because their only meaning component is 'cause to become X', where X is the state described by the adjective (1993:95).

Although most of this subsection is dedicated to omicron contract verbs (see below), verbs derived from adjectives by other morphological strategies can also have an anticausative aorist MP2. For example, *ἑτοιμάζω* 'to prepare' is derived from the adjective *ἕτοιμος* 'prepared, ready'. It can be anticausative, as illustrated in (41). (For an explanation of why the verb in (41) should not be understood as passive, see Section 5.2.1.2.)

(41)   *Καὶ ὁ   ἕκτος ἐξέχεεν   τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν   ποταμὸν τὸν μέγαν τὸν*
      and ART sixth pour.out ART bowl 3   on ART river   ART great ART

     Εὐφράτην, καὶ ἐξηράνθη τὸ   ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα   <u>ἑτοιμασθῇ</u>   ἡ
     Euphrates and dry.up   ART water 3   so.that ready.AOR.SBJV.MP2 ART

     ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ   ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου.
     way ART kind   ART from rising   sun
  'And the sixth poured out his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water dried up, so that the way of the kings from the rising of the sun would <u>become ready</u>.'
  (Revelation 16:12)

There are a number of verbs in Greek which are derived by adding the suffix -*o* (the letter omicron) to nouns or adjectives. The derived verbs are commonly known as "omicron contract" verbs, since the omicron is said to "contract" with the subject agreement suffixes. For omicron contract verbs that are derived from adjectives, the active forms have a strong association with causative semantics (e.g., Robertson 1934:149), while the

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[5] The term "anticausative" is used in this chapter to refer to MP2 verbs which are not passive. Most of these verbs would be classified as "spontaneous events" by Kemmer, but since this chapter employs ideas from the causative alternation, it seems fitting to describe the verbs as "anticausative "

MP2 forms of these verbs exhibit a strong tendency towards being anticausative. This phenomenon is in line with Kemmer's observation that "the middle marker in some languages is also placed on verbs derived from adjectives designating states" (1993:146).

For example, *ὁμοιόω* is based on the adjective *ὅμοιος*, which means 'like' or 'similar'. The verb *ὁμοιόω* means 'to compare' in the active and 'to be/become like' in the MP2. Examples (42) and (43) illustrate the verb *ὁμοιόω* 'to compare'; (42) uses an active form, while (43) uses an MP2 form.

(42) *Καὶ   ἔλεγεν·   πῶς   <u>ὁμοιώσωμεν</u>   τὴν   βασιλείαν   τοῦ   θεοῦ   ἢ   ἐν   τίνι   αὐτὴν*
    and   speak   how   like.AOR.SBJV.ACT   ART   kingdom   ART   God   or   in   what   3

    παραβολῇ   θῶμεν;
    parable   put
    'And he was saying, "How should we <u>compare</u> the kingdom of God, or in what parable should we put it?"'   (Mark 4:30)

(43) *<u>ὡμοιώθη</u>   ἡ   βασιλεία   τῶν   οὐρανῶν   ἀνθρώπῳ   βασιλεῖ,   ὅστις   ἐποίησεν*
    like.AOR.IND.MP2   ART   kingdom   ART   heaven   person   king   REL   make

    γάμους   τῷ   υἱῷ   αὐτοῦ.
    wedding   ART   son   3
    'The kingdom of heaven <u>is like</u> a man who was king, who made wedding celebrations for his son.'   (Matthew 22:2)

Clearly, in (43), the verb is not passive. The kingdom of heaven is like the scenario described in the story, without anyone causing the similarity.

Examples (44) and (45) illustrate the verb *σκοτόω* 'to make dark'. This verb is derived from the noun *σκότος* 'darkness', an abstract noun which only describes the existence of a state. Example (44) uses the active form, while (45) uses the MP2 form.

(44) *πονηρία   γυναικὸς   ἀλλοιοῖ   τὴν   ὅρασιν   αὐτῆς   καὶ   <u>σκοτοῖ</u>   τὸ*
    evil   woman   change   ART   appearance   3   and   dark.PRS.IND.ACT   ART

    πρόσωπον   αὐτῆς   ὡς   ἄρκος
    face   3   like   bear
    'The evil of a woman changes her appearance and <u>darkens</u> her face like a bear.'
    (Sirach 25:17)

(45) [Job curses the day he was born]
<u>σκοτωθείη</u>   τὰ   ἄστρα τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ὑπομείναι καὶ εἰς
dark.AOR.OPT.MP2 ART star ART night   that   wait   and into

      φωτισμὸν   μὴ ἔλθοι καὶ μὴ ἴδοι ἑωσφόρον   ἀνατέλλοντα
      illumination NEG come and NEG see morning.star rise
      'May the stars of that night <u>become dark</u>. May they wait for illumination, but may
      it not come, and may they not see the morning star rising.'   (Job 3:9)

In (45), the verb is not passive. The stars would become dark, not necessarily by anyone's
agency.

     Examples (46) and (47) illustrate the verb *παλαιόω*, which is derived from the adjective
παλαιός 'old'; the active forms mean 'to make old/worn out', and the MP2 forms mean 'to
become old/worn out'. Example (46) uses an active form, while (47) uses an MP2 form.

(46) καὶ λόγους πρὸς   τὸν ὕψιστον λαλήσει καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ὑψίστου
      and word   toward ART highest speak   and ART holy   highest

      <u>παλαιώσει</u>   καὶ ὑπονοήσει τοῦ ἀλλοιῶσαι καιροὺς καὶ νόμον...
      old.FUT.IND.ACT and plan   ART change   time   and law
      'And he will speak words to the Most High, and he <u>will harass</u> the saints of the Most
      High, and he will plan to change times and the law...'   (Daniel 7:25)

(47) καὶ ἤγαγεν ὑμᾶς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ   ἐρήμῳ   οὐκ <u>ἐπαλαιώθη</u>
      and lead   2   forty   year in ART wilderness NEG old.AOR.IND.MP2

      τὰ   ἱμάτια ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ   ὑποδήματα ὑμῶν οὐ   κατετρίβη ἀπὸ τῶν
      ART garment 2   and ART shoe   2   NEG wear.out from ART

      ποδῶν ὑμῶν.
      foot   2
      'And he led you for forty years in the wilderness. Your garments did not <u>wear out</u>,
      and your shoes did not wear out off your feet.'   (Deuteronomy 29:4)

In (47), the verb is not passive. No one could have made their shoes wear out; it would
have happened naturally from years of travel on foot.

     Not all omicron contract verbs are in fact derived from adjectives; some are derived
from nouns. At least for some of these, the noun contributes more meaning components
than a simple state, and thus blocks the anticausative reading. A good example is *σταυρόω*
'to crucify', which is derived from the noun *σταυρός* 'cross'; this verb is illustrated in (48).

31

(48) *Τότε οὖν   παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα   σταυρωθῇ.*
     then   therefore hand.over 3   3   so.that crucify.AOR.SBJV.MP2
     'Then he handed him over to them for him to <u>be crucified</u>.'   (John 19:16a)

Since the verb in (48) involves the agent-oriented meaning component of "on a cross," it is passive, not anticausative.

Similarly, *θανατόω* 'to kill', which is derived from the noun *θάνατος* 'death', seems to always imply "by someone," probably in a judicial context; it too is based on a noun. See other verbs derived from nouns in Section 4.1.1.

One other topic deserves mention here: sometimes verbs with similar meanings in two languages differ slightly in meaning components. According to Haspelmath (1993:93), the English verb "to wash" lacks an anticausative because of the agent-oriented meaning component "by means of soap and/or washing instruments." However, the Russian verb očiščat',[6] which similarly means 'to clean', has an anticausative because it does not have a meaning component involving instruments.

The Greek verb *σῴζω* 'to save' illustrates a similar mismatch between Greek and English. The English verb "to save" lacks an anticausative—"Her life saved" is ungrammatical—while *σῴζω* 'to save' does have an anticausative, as in example (49). Because "my life saved" is ungrammatical in English, the underlined verb in (49) must be translated with a passive, even though the point is simply that he did not lose his life in spite of experiencing a potentially life-threatening situation. He was not saved by anyone in particular.

(49) *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ιακωβ τὸ   ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Εἶδος θεοῦ εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν*
     and call   Jacob ART name ART place DIST   sight God see   for God

     πρόσωπον πρὸς   πρόσωπον καὶ ἐσώθη   μου ἡ   ψυχή
     face   toward face   and save.AOR.IND.MP2 1   ART soul
     'And Jacob called the name of that place "Sight of God," "for I saw God face to face
      and my life <u>was saved</u> "'   (Genesis 32:31)

It is not clear precisely what features of the English verb "to save" prevent it from being anticausative, but it is clear that the Greek verb *σῴζω* 'to save' lacks such features.

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[6] This is Haspelmath's transcription; it does not reflect the Russian orthography.

Consequently, it can have an anticausative, as in (49) (see also example (110) in Section 5.3.2).

4.1.3 Verbs without agent-oriented components of meaning—perfect

As outlined above, Haspelmath points out that cross-linguistically the causative alternation is especially possible with verbs which are derived from adjectives. This is because their only meaning component is 'cause to become X', where X is the state described by the adjective (1993:95). Something similar happens to Greek verbs in the perfect.

Even though they may not be morphologically based on adjectives, active verbs with the simple meaning 'cause to become X' tend to have stative meanings in the perfect MP2—that is, they are likely to not imply agency but only refer to the resulting state. For example, the active form of the verb ἀνοίγω means 'to open'. The perfect MP2 forms simply mean 'open' as in 'the open door.' I am not aware of any adjective it could be derived from, but because it has no components of meaning other than 'cause to become open', its perfect MP forms tend to be stative. Perfect MP verbs are especially adjective-like when they are participles, since Greek participles can function like adjectives (cf. English "the broken window").

The stative use of perfect MP participles is illustrated in (50-52).

(50) ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ καὶ ἰδὼν <u>ἀνεῳγμένας</u> τὰς
    awake and become ART prison.keeper and see open.PRF.PTCP.MP ART

    θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς, σπασάμενος τὴν⁷ μάχαιραν ἤμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν
    door ART prison draw ART sword be.about.to 3.REFL kill

    νομίζων ἐκπεφευγέναι τοὺς δεσμίους.
    think flee ART prisoner
    'And the prison keeper, becoming awake and seeing that the doors of the prison were <u>open</u>, drawing his sword was about to kill himself, thinking that the prisoners had fled.' (Acts 16:27)

Example (51) illustrates the same thing with the perfect MP form of the verb ξηραίνω 'to cause to wither'.

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⁷ This Greek word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts.

(51) *Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος*
and enter again into ART synagogue and COP there person

    <u>*ἐξηραμμένην*</u> *ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα.*
    wither.PRF.PTCP.MP have ART hand
'And he entered again into the synagogue, and there was a person there with a <u>withered</u> hand.' (Mark 3:1)

Example (52) illustrates the same thing with the perfect MP form of *καταφθείρω* 'to corrupt'. It is completely stative, with no agency or onset of the state implied.

(52) *...οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι ἀνθίστανται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἄνθρωποι* <u>*κατεφθαρμένοι*</u> *τὸν*
thus and PROX oppose ART truth person corrupt.PRF.PTCP.MP ART

    νοῦν, ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν.
    mind unqualified about ART faith
'...in the same way, these people are opposed to the truth, people <u>corrupt</u> in mind, disqualified concerning the faith.' (2 Timothy 3:8)

This section and the previous one illustrate that there is a connection between anti-causative aorist and stative perfect. Verbs with the exclusive meaning of 'cause to become X' tend toward both.

There is one other topic that deserves mention here: the Greek periphrastic construction. In the periphrastic construction, an auxiliary verb (which is a form of the copula) is combined with a participle to describe a single event. The auxiliary verb contributes tense and person/number, and the participle contributes aspect. It is commonly assumed that each combination of an auxiliary followed by a participle is equivalent to one of the indicative tense-forms.

Specifically related to the perfect, it is commonly assumed that a present auxiliary followed by a perfect participle is equivalent to perfect indicative. However, it is tempting to wonder whether the distribution of the periphrastic versus the corresponding indicative is determined by whether the event is stative or passive.

One possibility is that the difference between perfect indicative and the corresponding periphrastic could be this: a present auxiliary followed by a perfect participle is more likely to be stative (no agency implied), while perfect indicative is more likely to be passive (agency stated or implied). If this explanation were correct, the auxiliary verb, which is a

form of the copula, would assume its copular function, and the participle would function like an adjective.

But this does not appear to be the case. For example, (53) illustrates a periphrastic construction with agency explicitly stated; it is clearly passive.

(53) *Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ   γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία   εἰ*
       every soul   authority   be.over   submit   NEG for COP   authority if

    μὴ   ὑπὸ θεοῦ, αἱ   δὲ   οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ <u>τεταγμέναι</u>   <u>εἰσίν.</u>
    NEG by   God   ART and COP   by   God   ordain.PRF.PTCP.MP   COP.PRS.IND.ACT
    'Every soul must submit to the authorities. For there is no authority except by God,
        and the authorities that exist <u>are ordained</u> by God.'   (Romans 13:1)

Conversely, (54) shows that the periphrastic construction can be used to describe a state; this usage is common.

(54) *καὶ ἐπέστρεψέν με κατὰ   τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐξωτέρας*
       and bring.back 1   according.to ART road ART gate   ART holy   ART outer

    τῆς βλεπούσης κατ᾽   ἀνατολὰς καὶ αὕτη <u>ἦν</u>
    ART see   according.to east   and PROX COP.IPF.IND.ACT

    <u>*κεκλεισμένη*</u>
    close.PRF.PTCP.MP
    'And he brought me back by the way of the gate of the sanctuary that faces east, and
        it <u>was closed</u>.'   (Ezekiel 44:1)

Further research is needed, but (53) and (54) show that there is no obvious correlation between when the periphrastic is used and whether the verb is expressing a state or a passive.

4.2 Spontaneity

This section explores the second concept from Haspelmath: verbs can be placed on a continuum based on how likely it is for the event they describe to occur spontaneously. He uses this continuum as the basis for explaining how likely the verb is to occur in the causative alternation cross-linguistically.

The likelihood of spontaneous occurrence is often directly related to the presence of agent-oriented components of meaning, as described in Section 4.1. However, the presence of agent-oriented components of meaning is binary; verbs with such components are excluded from the causative alternation. On the other hand, the question of spontaneity includes other real-life factors beyond particular components of meaning, and leads to a continuum. Furthermore, for some verbs (e.g., κτίζω 'to create'), the likelihood of spontaneous occurrence depends less on specific components of meaning and more on the overall nature of the event described by the verb.

Figure 4 is a representation of Haspelmath's continuum (1993:105).[8]

less likely to occur spontaneously   more likely to occur spontaneously

$$\longleftrightarrow$$

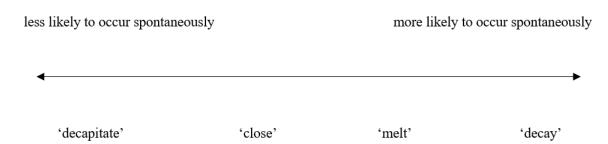'decapitate'   'close'   'melt'   'decay'

Figure 4. Haspelmath's spontaneity scale

Since "The log decayed" is natural, it is likely to occur in that form; it does not need an agent. Since "The thief decapitated" is unnatural, it is unlikely to occur in that form; it needs an agent. As applied to Greek, a verb with a meaning like 'decay', which is by nature very likely to occur spontaneously, is very likely to be anticausative in the aorist MP2 and stative in the perfect MP. On the other hand, a verb like 'wash' or 'decapitate', which is by nature very unlikely to occur spontaneously, is passive in the aorist MP2 and perfect MP, even with no agent stated. This account does not result in a two-way classification for verbs; rather, the point a verb occupies on the spontaneity scale is a factor in determining how strongly an agent is implied. Once again, the fact that an agent is implied does not imply that the agent is a participant in the discourse or is relevant in the discourse. The

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[8] 'Close' and 'melt' were originally in Haspelmath's diagram, but I replaced the other two verbs with 'decapitate' and 'decay'.

agent may be omitted for pragmatic reasons but still be part of the semantic structure of the event.

It is important to recognize that an event which is portrayed as spontaneous may actually be caused by an agent. A common feature of descriptions of anticausative is that "the situation is conceived of as occurring without an agent, spontaneously" (Haspelmath 1993:90), but that does not entail that the event itself was spontaneous. Even the most spontaneous events (e.g., "The log rotted") are usually caused by something, but in the anticausative, the situation is merely "conceived of as occurring without an agent" (Haspelmath 1993:90; cf. Kemmer 1993:144).

Examples (55-59) illustrate verbs at various places on the continuum. First, one event which cannot happen on its own is represented by the active verb *κτίζω* 'to create'. This verb, which would fall all the way to the left of Figure 4, is illustrated in (55).

(55) *ἐγενήθης ἄμωμος   σὺ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις σου ἀφ᾽   ἧς   ἡμέρας σὺ*
     COP   blameless 2 in ART day   2   from REL day   2

   ἐκτίσθης   *ἕως εὑρέθη τὰ   ἀδικήματα ἐν σοί*
   create.AOR.IND.MP2 until find ART wrong   in 2
   'You were blameless in your days from the day you <u>were created</u> until wrong deeds
      were found in you.'   (Ezekiel 28:15)

Another event which could not take place on its own is represented by the active verb *αἴρω* 'to pick up, take away', as illustrated in (56).

(56) *καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν   πάντες, καὶ ἤρθη   τὸ*
     and eat   and make.satisfied all   and pick.up.AOR.IND.MP2 ART

   περισσεῦσαν αὐτοῖς κλασμάτων κόφινοι δώδεκα.
   abound   3   pieces   basket twelve
   'And they all ate and were satisfied, and what was left over to them <u>was picked up</u>:
      twelve baskets of broken pieces.'   (Luke 9:17)

Next, the MP verb *ἀνοίγομαι* 'to open' is further to the right on the continuum; that is, the event it refers to is somewhat more likely to happen spontaneously. For example, a door could open by itself, but our experience of the world tells us that when a door opens,

it is very likely to be opened by someone. As a result, note the ambiguity in (57). It is not immediately obvious whether the sky is simply opening, or being opened by someone.

(57) βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἰδοὺ
baptize and ART Jesus immediately go.up from ART water and behold!

ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῷ[9] οἱ οὐρανοί.
open.AOR.IND.MP2 3 ART heaven
'And having been baptized, Jesus immediately went up from the water. And behold, the heavens (were) opened to him.' (Matthew 3:16)

Near the middle of the continuum is the verb διασκορπίζομαι 'to scatter'. The presence of causation is fairly ambiguous, at least on lexical grounds. In (58), were the people scattered by someone? The answer is not clear.

(58) μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ
after PROX rise.up Judas ART Galilean in ART day ART census and

ἀπέστησεν λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο
withdraw people after 3 and.DIST perish and all REL persuade

αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν.
3 scatter.AOR.IND.MP2
'After this, Judas the Galilean rose up in the days of the census, and drew people away to follow him. He also perished, and everyone who had put confidence in him (was) scattered.' (Acts 5:37)

At the right side of the continuum are verbs like συντελέομαι 'to become complete', whose MP2 forms represent a truly spontaneous event, especially when referring to a period of time. This verb is illustrated in (59).

(59) ...ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου. Καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν
day forty test by ART devil and NEG eat nothing

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συντελεσθεισῶν αὐτῶν ἐπείνασεν.
in ART day DIST and complete.AOR.PTCP.MP2 3 be.hungry
'...being tested by the devil for forty days. And he did not eat anything in those days, and when they were completed, he was hungry.' (Luke 4:2)

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[9] This Greek word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts.

Example (59), and others like it, raises an important question: If the event being described is naturally spontaneous, how could there be a causative counterpart?

A large part of the answer is that for some verbs, the verb itself has two different senses. The active forms, which are causative, more commonly have the less naturally spontaneous sense, while the MP2 forms have the more naturally spontaneous sense. That is, the verb stem has two related senses; the active forms usually have the sense that is further to the left of Figure 4, and the MP2 forms usually have the sense that is further to the right.

For example, the verb πληρόω means both 'to fill' and 'to fulfill'. The active forms usually mean 'to fill'; this is a concrete sense, in which the patient is a physical object. MP2 forms usually mean 'to be fulfilled'; this is a metaphorical sense, in which the patient is an abstract entity. Example (60) illustrates the more concrete sense of 'to fill' which is often carried by the active forms.

(60) καὶ ἐγένετο ἄφνω   ἐκ   τοῦ   οὐρανοῦ ἦχος   ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας
     and become suddenly from ART heaven   sound like   carry   wind strong

     καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν   ὅλον τὸν οἶκον οὗ   ἦσαν καθήμενοι.
     and fill.AOR.IND.ACT whole ART house where COP sit
     'And suddenly there came from heaven a sound like of a strong wind being carried
         and it <u>filled</u> the entire house where they were sitting.'   (Acts 2:2)

Example (61) illustrates the more metaphorical sense of 'to fulfill' which is often carried by the MP2 forms.

(61) οὓς   δέδωκάς μοι, ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ   αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο, εἰ μὴ   ὁ   υἱὸς
     REL   give   1   guard   and no.one from 3   destroy if NEG ART son

     τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα   ἡ   γραφὴ   πληρωθῇ.
     ART destruction so.that ART scripture fulfilled.AOR.SBJV.MP2
     'Those whom you gave me I have guarded, and none of them was lost except the
         son of destruction, so that the Scripture would <u>be fulfilled</u>.'   (John 17:12)

While the anticausative sense of πληρόω—'to fulfill'—is often used with the MP2 forms, as shown in (61), the active forms usually have the concrete sense of 'to fill', as

shown in (60). So the verb does have a sense which is naturally spontaneous, and it does have a causative counterpart. But the causative counterpart mostly uses a different sense.

Another part of the answer is that, for some verbs that are naturally spontaneous, the MP forms are used much more commonly than the active forms, reflecting the fact that the event is more likely to happen spontaneously than to be caused. For example, in my corpus, active forms of the verb παλαιόω 'to make old/wear out' are used much less frequently than the MP forms (6 active, 26 MP or MP2).

4.3 MP2 verbs with subject as agent and patient/theme

This section deals with a class of MP2 verbs which frequently have an agentive subject, and therefore are not passive. When an MP2 verb is passive, the patient/theme[10] is the subject of the clause, and an agent is stated or implied. When an MP2 verb is anticausative, the patient/theme is the subject of the clause, and no agent is stated or implied. This section, however, deals with MP2 verbs that have a patient/theme as the subject, and no other participant is implied, because the subject itself is both the patient/theme involved in the event *and* the agent that causes the event.

These MP2 verbs closely resemble the anticausative side of the causative alternation, but they are different in that the subject is agentive. Accordingly, these are not part of the causative alternation, but they are also quite distinct from passive. These verbs are similar to passive in that they have a patient/theme as subject, but unlike passive, the subject is also agentive.

Most of this section works through a number of these MP2 verbs individually, with some further discussion at the end. Like most of the verbs in this thesis, the morphologically active form of these verbs is semantically causative.

The first verb is πλανάομαι, which has two related senses: 'to wander' (concrete) or 'to be deceived' (metaphorical). Example (62) illustrates the concrete sense of 'to wander'. The agency on the part of the subject is clear.

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[10] In this thesis, "patient" refers to a participant which undergoes a change of state, while "theme" refers to a participant that is in a location or undergoes a change of location (Van Valin 2005:54).

(62) *...καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτήν ἀπελθοῦσα δὲ ἐπλανᾶτο τὴν ἔρημον*
      and send 3 depart and wander.IPF.IND.MP ART wilderness

      κατὰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὅρκου
      throughout ART well ART oath
      '...and he sent her away. And departing, she was <u>wandering</u> in the wilderness by
      the well of the oath.' (Genesis 21.14)

Example (63) illustrates the active (causative) version of the same concrete sense of the verb.

(63) *ἐξεχύθη ἐξουδένωσις ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν*
      pour.out scorn on ruler and wander.AOR.IND.ACT 3 in

      ἀβάτῳ καὶ οὐχ ὁδῷ.
      untrodden and NEG way
      'Scorn was poured out on rulers, and he <u>made</u> them <u>wander</u> on an untrodden place
      and not a road.' (Psalm 107:40)

Examples (64-66) illustrate the metaphorical sense of *πλανάομαι*: 'to be deceived'. When the verb has this metaphorical sense, it is more difficult to be certain whether the subject is agentive. The subject in (64) may be partially agentive, but it is not entirely clear. Example (65) is a clearer example of an agentive subject.

(64) *καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην*
      and NEG look.up into ART heaven and see ART sun and ART moon

      καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλανηθεὶς
      and ART star and all ART world ART heaven wander.AOR.PTCP.MP2

      προσκυνήσῃς αὐτοῖς καὶ λατρεύσῃς αὐτοῖς
      bow.down 3 and worship 3
      'and lest, looking up into the sky and seeing the sun and the moon and the stars and
      all the beauty of the heavens, <u>being deceived</u>, you bow down to them and worship
      them.' (Deuteronomy 4:19a)

(65) *καταλείποντες εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπλανήθησαν, ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ*
      forsake straight way wander.AOR.IND.MP2 follow ART way

      τοῦ Βαλαὰμ τοῦ Βοσόρ, ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν.
      ART Balaam ART Bosor REL reward wrong love
      'Forsaking the straight path, they <u>wandered</u>, following the path of Balaam the son
      of Bosor, who loved the reward of unrighteousness.' (2 Peter 2:15)

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Examples (62) and (65) illustrate that at least some instances of this MP2 verb involve an agentive subject.

For comparison, the verb in (66) is an active form of the metaphorical sense of the verb.

(66) *Καὶ   ἀποκριθεὶς   ὁ   Ἰησοῦς   εἶπεν   αὐτοῖς,   Βλέπετε   μή   τις   ὑμᾶς*
       and   answer   ART   Jesus   speak   3   see   NEG   someone   2

      πλανήσῃ.
      wander.AOR.SBJV.ACT
      'And answering Jesus said to them, "See that no one <u>deceives</u> you "'   (Matthew
      24:4)

The next verb is *συνάγομαι* 'to gather'. For this verb, whether the subject is agentive depends on whether or not it is animate. Example (67) illustrates the verb used with an inanimate subject (there is also an active form earlier in the sentence). Since the subject is inanimate, it cannot be agentive (i.e., wheat does not normally gather by itself); the verb is passive instead. Example (68) shows an active form of the same verb, again with an inanimate theme argument.

(67) *καὶ   συναγαγέτωσαν   πάντα   τὰ   βρώματα   τῶν   ἑπτὰ   ἐτῶν   τῶν   ἐρχομένων*
       and   gather.AOR.IMP.ACT   all   ART   food   ART   seven   year   ART   go

      τῶν   καλῶν   τούτων   καὶ   <u>συναχθήτω</u>   ὁ   σῖτος   ὑπὸ   χεῖρα   Φαραω
      ART   good   PROX   and   gather.AOR.IMP.MP2   ART   wheat   under   hand   Pharaoh
      'And have them gather all the foods from these seven good years that are coming,
      and have the wheat <u>gathered</u> under the hand of Pharaoh.'   (Genesis 41:35)

(68) *...οὗ   τὸ   πτύον   ἐν   τῇ   χειρὶ   αὐτοῦ   διακαθᾶραι   τὴν   ἅλωνα*
       REL   ART   winnowing.shovel   in   ART   hand   3   clean.out   ART   threshing.floor

      αὐτοῦ   καὶ   <u>συναγαγεῖν</u>   τὸν   σῖτον   εἰς   τὴν   ἀποθήκην   αὐτοῦ.
      3   and   gather.AOR.INF.ACT   ART   wheat   into   ART   barn   3
      '...whose winnowing shovel is in his hand, to clean out his threshing floor, and to
      <u>gather</u> the wheat into his barn.'   (Luke 3:17a)

Example (69) illustrates the same verb used with an animate theme. The subject of (69) is animate and agentive; the fact that the subject is agentive is evident from the purpose clause (cf. Section 5.4.1).

(69) *Τῷ   δὲ   ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ   πόλις* <u>*συνήχθη*</u>
     ART and go   sabbath almost all   ART city gather.AOR.IND.MP2

     ἀκοῦσαι τὸν   λόγον τοῦ   κυρίου.
     hear   ART word ART lord

     'And on the next Sabbath almost the entire city <u>gathered</u> to hear the message of the Lord.' (Acts 13:44)

Since the same argument in (69) is both agent and theme, this is a clear example of this MP2 verb being used agentively.

     Example (70) is active, again with an animate theme argument.

(70) *καὶ   ἐξελθόντες οἱ   δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι εἰς   τὰς ὁδοὺς* <u>*συνήγαγον*</u>   *πάντας*
     and go.out   ART slave DIST   into ART way gather.AOR.IND.ACT all

     οὓς   εὗρον, πονηρούς τε   καὶ ἀγαθούς· καὶ ἐπλήσθη ὁ   γάμος
     REL find   bad   and and good   and fill   ART wedding

     ἀνακειμένων.
     recline

     'And having gone out into the roads, those slaves <u>gathered</u> everyone whom they found, both bad and good. And the wedding was filled with guests.' (Matthew 22:10)

The next verb is *ὑποτάσσομαι* 'to submit'. Like some of the others, this MP2 verb does not always have an agentive subject. For example, the subject is not obviously agentive in (71).

(71) *οὐχὶ κύριος μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν ὑμᾶς κυκλόθεν   ὅτι   ἔδωκεν ἐν*
     NEG lord   with 2   and give.rest   2   all.around because give   in

     χερσὶν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν καὶ <u>*ὑπετάγη*</u>   *ἡ   γῆ*
     hand ART live   ART land and submit.AOR.IND.MP2 ART land

     ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἐναντίον λαοῦ   αὐτοῦ
     before   lord   and before   people 3

     'Is not the Lord with you, and he has given you rest all around, because he has given into your hands the inhabitants of the land, and the land <u>submitted</u> before the Lord and before his people.' (1 Chronicles 22:18)

But sometimes the subject is clearly agentive, as in (72).

(72) *οἱ   ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ   δυνάσται   καὶ πάντες υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυιδ*
    ART ruler   and ART court.official and all   son ART king   David

    πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπετάγησαν   αὐτῷ
    father 3   submit.AOR.IND.MP2 3
    'The rulers and the court officials and all the sons of king David his father <u>submitted</u>
    to him.'   (1 Chronicles 29:24)

Example (73) is fascinating, because the verb occurs with *οὐχ ἑκοῦσα* 'not willingly', indicating that this verb could be agentive but is not necessarily in this instance. The second underlined verb in (73) describes the same event using an active form of the same verb, showing that the event was caused by someone other than the subject.

(73) *τῇ   γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ   κτίσις ὑπετάγη,   οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ*
    ART for futility   ART creation submit.AOR.IND.MP2 NEG willingly but

    διὰ   τὸν ὑποτάξαντα,   ἐφ᾽ ἐλπίδι...
    because.of ART submit.AOR.PTCP.ACT on hope
    'For the creation <u>was submitted</u> to futility, not willingly, but because of the one who
    <u>submitted</u> it, in hope that...'   (Romans 8:20)

The next verb is *μεθύσκομαι* 'to get drunk' (often metaphorical). This verb tends to be less agentive than the other verbs surveyed here, but there are a few examples where there appears to be some agency. For example, the subject in (74) appears to be mostly agentive.

(74) *ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ   δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ   καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει ὁ   κύριός*
    if and speak ART slave DIST   in ART heart 3   delay   ART lord

    μου ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, ἐσθίειν
    1   go   and begin strike ART servant and ART maid.servant eat

    τε   καὶ πίνειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι...
    and and drink and drunk.PRS.INF.MP
    'But if that slave says in his heart, "My master is delaying in coming," and starts
    striking the male servants and the female servants, and eating and drinking and
    <u>getting drunk</u>...'   (Luke 12:45)

The first underlined verb in (75) shows *μεθύσκομαι* 'to get drunk' used as an imperative, requiring some degree of agency.

(75)   *καὶ μὴ <u>μεθύσκεσθε</u>   οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν ἀσωτία,   ἀλλὰ <u>πληροῦσθε</u>*
      and NEG drunk.PRS.IMP.MP wine in REL COP dissipation but fill.PRS.IMP.MP

      ἐν πνεύματι
      in spirit
      'And do not <u>get drunk</u> on wine, in which is dissipation, but <u>be filled</u> with the Spirit.'
      (Ephesians 5:18)

The pattern followed by this verb is probably fairly productive: normally the verb simply describes the change of state ("to get drunk") without any agency implied by the subject or another entity, but in certain contexts the subject can be agentive, especially with imperatives. In fact, the second underlined verb in (75), *πληρόομαι* 'to be filled', illustrates the same pattern. It does not normally have an agentive subject in MP2 forms, but the fact that it is an imperative in (75) implies that the subject is to some degree agentive. The meaning seems to be, "Do whatever you need to do so that X happens to you." Since it is an imperative, it implies that the subject is to some degree agentive.

For comparison, (76) shows an active form of this verb.

(76)   *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Δαυιδ καὶ ἔφαγεν ἐνώπιον   αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ*
      and call   3   David and eat   in.front.of 3   and drink and

      <u>ἐμέθυσεν</u>   αὐτόν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἑσπέρας τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς
      drunk.AOR.IND.ACT 3   and go.out evening ART sleep   on ART

      κοίτης αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ
      couch 3   with ART slave ART lord   3   and into ART house 3

      οὐ κατέβη
      not go.down
      'And David called him, and he ate and drank before [David], and [David] <u>made</u> him
      <u>drunk</u>, and he went out in the evening to sleep on his couch with his lord's slaves,
      but he did not go down to his house.'   (2 Samuel 11:13)

The next verb is *ἐγείρομαι* 'to rise up'. This MP2 verb is polysemous: it can mean 'to wake up', 'to stand up', or 'to rise up' to do something. When it means 'to wake up', it describes an event which can easily happen spontaneously (cf. example (109) in Section 5.3.2). However, when it means 'to stand up', the subject is agentive, as seen in (77) and (78).[11]

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[11] Similarly, Robertson says, "It is probable that *ἠγέρθη* [an MP2 form] sometimes (as in Mk.16:6) is merely intransitive, not passive, in idea" (1934:817).

(77) σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.
    2 speak get.up pick.up ART mat 2 and depart into ART house 2

    καὶ ἠγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν
    and rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 and immediately pick.up ART mat go.out

    ἔμπροσθεν πάντων
    in.front.of all
    'I say to you, get up, pick up your mat, and depart into your house. And he <u>got up</u>
    and immediately, picking up the mat, he went out in front of everyone.' (Mark
    2:11-12a)

(78) καὶ ἥψατο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός, καὶ
    and touch ART hand 3 and leave 3 ART fever and

    ἠγέρθη καὶ διηκόνει αὐτῷ.
    rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 and serve 3
    'And he touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she <u>got up</u> and was serving
    him.' (Matthew 8:15)

For comparison, (79) is an example of an active form of the same verb with the sense of 'to stand up'.

(79) καὶ προσελθὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τῆς χειρός
    and go.toward rise.up.AOR.IND.ACT 3 grasp ART hand
    'And going toward her, he <u>raised</u> her, grasping her hand.' (Mark 1:31)

There is also a more metaphorical sense of 'to rise up' in order to do something. Examples (80) and (81) illustrate this; clearly the subject is acting agentively.

(80) καὶ Γοθολια ἡ μήτηρ Οχοζια εἶδεν ὅτι τέθνηκεν αὐτῆς ὁ υἱός καὶ
    and Athaliah ART mother Ahaziah see COMP die 3 ART son and

    ἠγέρθη καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐν οἴκῳ
    rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 and destroy all ART seed ART kingdom in house

    Ιουδα
    Judah
    'And Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son had died, and she <u>rose up</u> and
    killed all the seed of the kingdom in the house of Judah.' (2 Chronicles 22:10)

(81) καὶ ἤκουσαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες Γαλααδ ἄπαντα ἃ ἐποίησαν ἀλλόφυλοι
     and hear   all   ART live   Gilead   all   REL do   Philistine

     τῷ Σαουλ καὶ τῷ Ισραηλ καὶ ἠγέρθησαν   ἐκ Γαλααδ πᾶς ἀνὴρ
     ART Saul   and ART Israel and rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 from Gilead all man

     δυνατὸς καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ σῶμα Σαουλ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ
     able   and take   ART body Saul   and ART body ART son   3   and

     ἤνεγκαν αὐτὰ εἰς Ιαβις καὶ ἔθαψαν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν...
     carry   3   into Jabesh and bury   ART bone 3
     'And all those living in Gilead heard everything that the Philistines did to Saul and
     to Israel. And all the able men from Gilead rose up and took the body of Saul and
     the body of his sons and brought them to Jabesh and buried their bones...'   (1
     Chronicles 10:11-12a)

Examples (77), (78), (80), and (81) illustrate that ἐγείρομαι, when it has the sense of
'to get up' or 'to rise up', often has an agentive subject. In terms of semantic roles, these
MP2 forms have a single argument which is both agent and theme.[12]

The last verb to be illustrated in this section is κρύπτομαι 'to hide'. Example (82)
illustrates this verb; the subject is clearly agentive.

(82) καὶ ἤκουσαν τὴν φωνὴν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ
     and hear   ART voice   lord   ART God   walk   in ART garden   ART

     δειλινόν καὶ ἐκρύβησαν   ὅ τε Αδαμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
     evening   and hide.AOR.IND.MP2 ART and Adam and ART women 3

     ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου
     from face   lord   ART God   in middle ART tree   ART garden
     'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden toward evening,
     and they hid, both Adam and his wife, from the face of the Lord God in the midst
     of the trees of the garden.'   (Genesis 3:8)

Similarly, example (83) has an aorist MP2 imperative, which is clearly agentive.

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[12] For the sake of completeness, I should mention the fact that in the New Testament, some imperative forms
of this verb exhibit a departure from the normal distinction between the active forms and MP2 forms. In the
Alexandrian text type, the imperative form ἔγειρε, which is active, occurs several times with the intransitive
sense of 'to rise up'. The Byzantine text type consistently (except Ephesians 5:14) has ἔγειραι instead, which
is an MP1 form. (The Alexandrian reading, ἔγειρε, and the Byzantine reading, ἔγειραι, were pronounced the
same at the time.) Either way, this usage is not typical: active forms of this word are not normally used
intransitively, as they are in the Alexandrian text, and MP1 forms of this verb are not normally used at all,
as they are in the Byzantine text. If the Alexandrian reading is original, the active usage may have been
motivated by the fact that the action commanded is highly agentive, and many agentive verbs are found in
the active voice. Regardless of which reading is original, the textual variation is explained in part by the
equivalent pronunciation.

(83) πορεύου ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ   ἀνατολὰς καὶ κρύβηθι   ἐν τῷ
      go   from.here throughout east   and hide.AOR.IMP.MP2 in ART

      χειμάρρῳ Χορραθ τοῦ ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ Ιορδάνου
      brook   Chereth ART on face   ART Jordan
      'Go on from here toward the east, and <u>hide</u> by the Chereth brook, which is in front
      of the Jordan.'   (1 Kings 17:3)

For comparison, example (84) illustrates the active form, which is transitive.

(84) καὶ λαβοῦσα ἡ   γυνὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔκρυψεν   αὐτοὺς
      and take   ART women ART man   hide.AOR.IND.ACT 3
      'And the woman, taking the men, <u>hid</u> them.'   (Joshua 2:4)

Once again, (82) and (83) illustrate that the subject in the MP2 is both agent and
theme. In fact, the MP2 forms are often translated into English with a reflexive; for exam-
ple, "they hid themselves "

Since the verbs illustrated in this section have the same argument as both agent and
patient/theme, they could be thought of as reflexive verbs. However, Kemmer claims
that many languages distinguish formally between naturally reflexive verbs and the pro-
totypical reflexive. She explains this distinction using the idea of distinguishability of
participants. For Kemmer, body action middles (i.e., verbs of motion and grooming) have
a fairly low degree of distinguishability of participants. On the other hand, prototypical
reflexives, involving actions which are not naturally carried out on oneself (e.g., "She hit
herself") have a higher degree of distinguishability of participants (1993:73).

Kemmer's distinction between naturally reflexive verbs and the prototypical reflexive
helps to explain why some Greek reflexive verbs are marked with the reflexive pronoun
while others are marked with middle marking (see Section 3.1). In general, the prototypi-
cal reflexive (e.g., "She saw herself") uses the reflexive pronoun, while naturally reflexive
verbs (e.g., "She dressed herself") use middle marking. Indeed, if the verbs in this section
are to be considered reflexive, they are naturally reflexive, and that explains why they
use middle marking rather than the reflexive pronoun. However, the question of why
the verbs in this section use MP2 rather than MP1 is an open question. Further study is

needed to distinguish the precise relation between the MP2 verbs in this section and the naturally-reflexive verbs which are MP1-marked.

One possible explanation may lie in the fact that nearly all of the MP2 verbs in this category are verbs of motion or similar, while MP1-marked reflexive verbs are closer to the grooming type. (Recall from Section 3.1 that verbs of grooming favor MP1, while middle-marked verbs of motion favor MP2.) For example, *ὑποτάσσομαι* 'to submit' obviously does not involve literal motion, but it could be considered as metaphorical motion—moving oneself to a position under someone else's authority.

Other MP2 verbs with agentive subjects are shown in (85).

(85) a. *ἀποστρέφομαι*   'to turn away'
      b. *στρέφομαι*   'to turn (around)'
      c. *κολλάομαι*   'to cling to, join'
      d. *σκορπίζομαι*   'to scatter'
      e. *διασκορπίζομαι* 'to scatter'
      f. *διαχωρίζομαι*   'to separate'
      g. *ἀπάγομαι*   'to go away'
      h. *ταπεινόομαι*   'to humble oneself'
      i. *ἁγνίζομαι*   'to purify oneself'

The verb in (85h) must be translated into English with a reflexive pronoun, but it can still be thought of as a verb of metaphorical motion. In contrast, the verb in (85i) appears to be an outlier; it is not clear to me why it is MP2-marked. This remains a topic for further study.

Regardless of the precise reason why these verbs are MP2-marked, it is clear that they are not passive because the subject is an agent as well as patient/theme. These verbs also differ from the normal anticausative verbs shown in previous sections. Because the subject causes the action, these verbs cannot be thought of as the intransitive member of the causative alternation. See further discussion of which theoretical assumptions best account for these verbs in Section 6.3.

CHAPTER 5

Contextual factors

This chapter considers ways in which the context a verb is used in can help to distinguish whether it is passive or not. The chapter begins with how the subject can influence whether an agent is implied. Then the discussion moves to the surrounding clauses, and then to the more general situation. The last section lists some additional contextual factors.

The fact that contextual factors contribute to whether agency is implied follows naturally from the fact that lexical factors only partially distinguish between passive and other MP2-marked middle uses. As described in Chapter 4, some MP2 verbs tend strongly toward being passive, others tend toward being described without an agent, and others are in between. As this chapter shows, cases which are not clear from the verb itself can frequently be resolved by the context.

5.1 The subject

Firstly, the subject of the verb can influence whether agency is implied. As described in Section 4.1.1, Haspelmath talks about "specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely" (1993:94). For example, the event described by the verb "decapitate" is very unlikely to happen without external agency, while the event described by the verb "die" often happens without agency. The same concept applies to a combination of a verb and its subject. When a particular verb is combined with one subject, external agency is likely. For other combinations of the same verb with a different subject, external agency is less likely.

For example, regarding the verb ἀνοίγομαι 'to open', it is far more likely for a door to open without an agent than for a book to do so. Example (86) illustrates ἀνοίγομαι 'to open' with the subject as a book/scroll.

(86) [heavenly courtroom scene]

καὶ   εἶδον τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς, ἑστῶτας ἐνώπιον τοῦ
and see   ART dead   ART great   and ART small   stand   before   ART

θρόνου. καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν,   καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη,
throne and book open.AOR.IND.MP2 and other book   open.AOR.IND.MP2

ὅ   ἐστιν τῆς ζωῆς
REL COP ART life

'And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne, and books <u>were opened</u>, and another book <u>was opened</u>, which is the book of life...' (Revelation 20:12a)

Since it is virtually impossible to imagine a book opening without agency, human agency is implied here. This is reflected in the translation "books were opened "

Example (87) illustrates the same verb *ἀνοίγομαι* 'to open' with a different subject: doors.

(87) *ἄφνω   δὲ σεισμὸς   ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ   θεμέλια   τοῦ*
suddenly and earthquake become great result shake   ART foundation ART

δεσμωτηρίου· ἠνεῴχθησαν   δὲ παραχρῆμα αἱ   θύραι πᾶσαι...
prison   open.AOR.IND.MP2 and immediately ART door   all

'And suddenly there was a large earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken. Immediately, all the doors <u>opened</u>...' (Acts 16:26)

Since it is possible to imagine a door opening without agency, agency is not implied here. This is reflected in the translation "the doors opened." Once again, the broader situation, which includes an earthquake, confirms the lack of direct human agency.

The same thing happens with the verb *συνάγομαι* 'to gather', as illustrated in (88).

(88) [Jacob sees three flocks of sheep gathered around a well]

καὶ εἶπεν Ιακωβ ἔτι ἐστὶν ἡμέρα πολλή οὔπω   ὥρα συναχθῆναι   τὰ
and speak Jacob still COP day   much not.yet hour gather.AOR.INF.MP2 ART

κτήνη   ποτίσαντες   τὰ   πρόβατα ἀπελθόντες βόσκετε
livestock cause.to.drink ART sheep   depart   feed

'And Jacob said, "There is still a lot of day. It is not yet the time for the livestock to <u>be gathered</u>. Water the sheep, and then go feed them.' (Genesis 29:7)

Since the speaker is talking to shepherds about the normal process in which they gather their animals at the end of the day, human agency is implied here, and the verb should be understood as passive in this instance.

In contrast, (89) uses the same verb with a human subject.

(89) *συνήχθησαν*   *δὲ πάντες οἱ   υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ   θυγατέρες καὶ ἦλθον*
      gather.AOR.IND.MP2 and all   ART son 3   and ART daughter and go

      παρακαλέσαι αὐτόν...
      comfort   3
      'Then all of his sons and daughters <u>gathered</u> and came to comfort him...'   (Genesis
      37:35)

Since people regularly gather themselves, no agency is implied besides that of the subject. In other words, the sentence does not mean "the sons and daughters were gathered (by someone) to comfort their father"; the verb is not passive in this instance.

I am not aware of any additional verbs which exhibit this variation based on the subject, although an exhaustive search of the corpus may yield a few more. It appears that whether the verb is passive or middle does not often depend on the subject, probably because the subject and the spontaneity of the verb pattern together. That is, a verb that tends to occur spontaneously will occur with the type of subject that can spontaneously undergo that event, while a verb that tends not to occur spontaneously will occur with the type of subject that requires an agent. Nevertheless, the examples in this section demonstrate that the subject can be an independent factor.

5.2 Preceding clauses

This section deals with ways in which the preceding clauses influence whether or not agency is implied. I deal with this in two sections, one for aorist and one for perfect, since aorist and perfect verbs are influenced differently by the surrounding clauses. Aorist MP2 verbs that are not passive frequently encode a change of state (see further discussion in Sections 2.1, 2.2 and 6.1). In these cases, the preceding clauses frequently describe the event or circumstances which caused the change of state, leaving the MP2 verb to only encode the change of state itself. On the other hand, perfect MP verbs that are not passive

frequently encode a state (again, see Section 6.1). Quite frequently, the preceding clauses give some indication that only a state of affairs is in view.

5.2.1 Aorist

The first part of this section deals with general cases in which the cause is stated in the clause preceding the MP2 verb. The second part of this section deals with a specific construction in which an MP2 verb follows the subordinating conjunction ἵνα 'so that'.

5.2.1.1 Cause is stated in preceding clause

In sentences like (90), an MP2 verb describes a change of state, and the cause of this change of state is described by a preceding clause.

(90)　[maids mock Sarah]
　　　ταῦτα　ἀκούσασα　ἐλυπήθη　　　σφόδρα　ὥστε　ἀπάγξασθαι
　　　PROX　hear　　　sad.AOR.IND.MP2　very　　result　hang
　　　'When she heard these things, she <u>became</u> very <u>sad</u>, so that [she wanted to] hang
　　　　herself.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Tobit 3:10)

What the maids said resulted in a change of state: Sarah became sad. Since the clause ταῦτα ἀκούσασα 'when she heard these things' refers to what caused the change of state, it makes most sense to understand ἐλυπήθη 'she became sad' as only encoding the change of state. Understanding the verb in question as passive yields a less satisfactory reading: "When Sarah heard this, she was so saddened (by the maids?) that she wanted to hang herself."

Example (91) is similar. The previous clauses specify the events which led to the prophecy being fulfilled.

(91)　[Herod kills all the babies in Bethlehem]
　　　τότε　ἐπληρώθη　　　　τὸ　ῥηθὲν　διὰ　　Ἰερεμίου　τοῦ　προφήτου　λέγοντος...
　　　then　fulfill.AOR.IND.MP2　ART　speak　through　Jeremiah　ART　prophet　speak
　　　'Then <u>was fulfilled</u> what was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet saying...' (Matthew
　　　　2:17)

In (92), the cause for ἐμεθύσθη 'he became drunk' is stated in the previous clause within the same sentence.

(92) *καὶ ἔπιεν ἐκ   τοῦ οἴνου καὶ ἐμεθύσθη   καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ*
      and drink from ART wine and drunk.AOR.IND.MP2 and be.naked in ART

      οἴκῳ   αὐτοῦ
      house 3
      'And he [Noah] drank from the wine and <u>became drunk</u>, and he was naked in his
      house.'   (Genesis 9:21)

Clearly the event of becoming drunk was caused by drinking wine. Since the cause is
stated, the MP2 verb only needs to describe the change of state: Noah became drunk.

The same thing takes place with the verb *ἐκινήθη* 'was moved' in (93). Once again the
cause has already been stated. The city was moved because people were yelling disturbing
allegations.

(93) [people yell disturbing allegations]
      ...ἐκινήθη   τε ἡ   πόλις ὅλη καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ   τοῦ
      move.AOR.IND.MP2 and ART city whole and become running.together ART

      λαοῦ...
      people
      'And the whole city <u>was moved</u>, and there was a running together of the people...'
      (Acts 21:30)

Many more examples could illustrate the same thing.

5.2.1.2 After *ἵνα* 'so that'

A very similar thing happens when an aorist MP2 verb follows the subordinating
conjunction *ἵνα*. This conjunction most commonly introduces an intended result (i.e.,
purpose), but it can also describe any result or introduce content following a verb of
speech. In the examples provided in this subsection, the context clarifies that it introduces
an intended result.

Since this word often indicates that someone hopes to cause a change of state or an
action, one can see how a clause introduced by *ἵνα* 'so that' would be unlikely to imply a
separate agent. Instead, the cause of the event is frequently stated by the matrix clause.
What precedes *ἵνα* is frequently the cause of what follows *ἵνα*.

In example (94), there is a sequence of cause and effect. The angel poured out his bowl on the river and the river dried up; this caused the way to be ready.

(94)   *Καὶ   ὁ   ἕκτος   ἐξέχεεν   τὴν   φιάλην   αὐτοῦ   ἐπὶ   τὸν   ποταμὸν   τὸν   μέγαν   τὸν*
        and   ART   sixth   pour.out   ART   bowl   3   on   ART   river   ART   great   ART

        Εὐφράτην,   καὶ   ἐξηράνθη   τὸ   ὕδωρ   αὐτοῦ,   <u>ἵνα</u>   <u>ἑτοιμασθῇ</u>   ἡ
        Euphrates   and   dry.up   ART   water   3   so.that   ready.AOR.SBJV.MP2   ART

        ὁδὸς   τῶν   βασιλέων   τῶν   ἀπὸ   ἀνατολῆς   ἡλίου.
        way   ART   kind   ART   from   rising   sun
        'And the sixth poured out his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water dried up, <u>so that</u> the way of the kings from the rising of the sun would <u>become ready</u>.'
        (Revelation 16:12)

Similarly, in (95), it is evident that entering the praetorium would be the cause of defilement.

(95)   *καὶ   αὐτοὶ   οὐκ   εἰσῆλθον   εἰς   τὸ   πραιτώριον,   <u>ἵνα</u>   μὴ   <u>μιανθῶσιν</u>*
        and   3   NEG   enter   into   ART   praetorium   so.that   NEG   defile.AOR.SBJV.MP2

        ἀλλὰ   φάγωσιν   τὸ   πάσχα.
        but   eat   ART   passover
        'And they themselves did not enter into the praetorium, <u>so that</u> they would not <u>be defiled</u>, but could eat the Passover.'   (John 18:28)

The tendency to have no agency implied in a clause introduced by *ἵνα* is not absolute. There are some examples in the corpus where an MP2 form following *ἵνα* has its own, more direct agent. This direct agent is either signaled by an agent phrase or implied because the verb requires a human agent. For example, all forms of the verb *σταυρόω* 'to crucify' inherently require an agent; in (96), therefore, the underlined verb requires an agent and must be passive (see also discussion of example (48) in Section 4.1.2).

(96)   *τότε   ἀπέλυσεν   αὐτοῖς   τὸν   Βαραββᾶν,   τὸν   δὲ   Ἰησοῦν   φραγελλώσας   παρέδωκεν*
        then   release   3   ART   Barabbas   ART   and   Jesus   whip   hand.over

        <u>ἵνα</u>   <u>σταυρωθῇ</u>.
        so.that   crucify.AOR.SBJV.MP2
        'Then he released to them Barabbas, but having whipped Jesus, he handed him over to <u>be crucified</u>.'   (Matthew 27:26)

5.2.2 Perfect

Perfect MP verbs, especially participles, are often stative; they give no indication as to how the subject came to be in that state. Evidence for this is found in the fact that perfect MP verbs are often used as part of a description of a person or object, when only the current state of the person or object is in view. Consequently, stative perfect MP verbs frequently occur following verbs of finding and seeing, when an item is being introduced into the discourse, and following verbs of causing.[1]

Firstly, examples (97) and (98) illustrate a form of the verb εὑρίσκω 'to find', followed by a direct object, followed by a perfect MP participle indicating the state in which the direct object was found.

(97) εὗρον δὲ   τὸν λίθον ἀποκεκυλισμένον   ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου
      find   and ART stone roll.away.PRF.PTCP.MP from ART tomb
      'And they found the stone <u>rolled away</u> from the tomb.'   (Luke 24:2)

(98) ἐν αἷς   εὗρόν με ἡγνισμένον   ἐν τῷ   ἱερῷ   οὐ   μετὰ ὄχλου οὐδὲ
      in REL find   1   purify.PRF.PTCP.MP in ART temple NEG with crowd nor

      μετὰ θορύβου
      with tumult
      'In which they found me <u>purified</u> in the temple, not with a crowd nor with tumult.'
      (Acts 24:18)

Secondly, this use of the perfect is common with verbs of seeing. This is because when someone sees something, he can only see its current condition, not the process which caused it to be that way. This is illustrated in (99).

(99) Νῦν δὲ   οὔπω   ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ   πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα·
      now and not.yet see   3   ART all   submit.PRF.PTCP.MP
      'But now we do not yet see everything <u>subjected</u> to him.'   (Hebrews 2:8)

In (100), ἰδού 'behold!' is especially helpful in establishing that specifically the current state is in view.

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[1] Similarly, Aubrey (2014:197) notes that resultative perfects commonly occur in a presentational context. By his definition, only a state is encoded by a resultative perfect; see Section 3.2.2.

(100) *Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεῳγμένη   ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ...*
      after PROX see   and behold! door open.PRF.PTCP.MP in ART heaven
      'After this I looked, and behold, an <u>open</u> door in heaven...'   (Revelation 4:1)

Thirdly, stative perfect MP participles tend to be used when an object or participant is being introduced into the discourse with a description. For example, in (101), there is no information about how the treasure came to be hidden; the sentence only says that it is not visible.

(101) *Ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ   βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ   ἐν τῷ*
      like   COP ART kingdom ART heaven treasure hide.PRF.PTCP.MP in ART

      ἀγρῷ...
      field
      'The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure <u>hidden</u> in the field...'   (Matthew 13:44)

The sentence in (102) contains two stative perfect participles: *περιβεβλημενον* 'clothed' and *βεβαμμενον* 'dipped'. Some context is provided to show that these perfects are found in a description.

(102) *Καὶ εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον, καὶ ἰδοὺ   ἵππος λευκός καὶ ὁ*
      and see   ART heaven   open   and behold! horse white and ART

      καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν καλούμενος² πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
      sit   on 3   call   faithful and true   and in righteousness

      κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ. οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ... καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
      judge and make.war ART and eye   3   and on ART head

      αὐτοῦ... καὶ περιβεβλημένος   ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον   αἵματι...
      3   and clothe.PRF.PTCP.MP garment dip.PRF.PTCP.MP blood
      'And I saw the heaven opened, and behold, a white horse, and one sitting in it
      [called] faithful and true, and in righteousness he judges and makes war. His
      eyes... and on his head... and he was <u>clothed</u> with a garment <u>dipped</u> in blood...'
      (Revelation 19:11-13)

Finally, a stative perfect MP participle may follow a verb of causing, as shown in (103).

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² This Greek word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts.

(103) *καὶ   ἕτερος εἶπεν· ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ   πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά·*
and   other speak yoke ox   buy   five   and   go   examine   3

    ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε   με <u>παρῃτημένον.</u>
    ask   2   have 1   excuse.PRF.PTCP.MP
    'And another said, "I bought five yokes of oxen, and I am going to examine them; I
    ask you, have me <u>excused</u>.'   (Luke 14:19)

A variation on verbs of causing is found in (104), in which the verb *καταλείπω* 'to leave' could be roughly paraphrased as 'to cause someone/something to remain X', where X is a state.

(104) *θέλων τε   χάριτα καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ   Φῆλιξ κατέλιπε τὸν   Παῦλον*
want   and favor grant   ART   Jew   ART   Felix leave   ART   Paul

    <u>*δεδεμένον.*</u>
    bind.PRF.PTCP.MP
    'And wanting to do a favor for the Jews, Felix left Paul <u>bound</u>.'   (Acts 24:27)

In this example, the governor leaves Paul in a particular state—namely, Paul is bound. Interestingly, in Acts 25:14, the same verb of leaving is followed by the noun *δέσμιος* 'prisoner', describing the same situation as the underlined participle in (104).

5.3 Situation

This section looks at cases in which the entire situation, beyond simply the subject or the preceding clauses, implies agency or no agency.

5.3.1 Situation indicates agency

Sometimes the situation makes it obvious that there was an agent, and therefore the verb is passive. This is illustrated by examples (105-107).

(105) [It is reported that spies left the city as the gates were being closed. The king sends men to pursue them.]

καὶ	*οἱ*	*ἄνδρες*	*κατεδίωξαν*	*ὀπίσω*	*αὐτῶν*	*ὁδὸν*	*τὴν*	*ἐπὶ*	*τοῦ*	*Ιορδάνου*	*ἐπὶ*	*τὰς*
and	ART	man	chase	behind	3	way	ART	on	ART	Jordan	on	ART

διαβάσεις	*καὶ*	*ἡ*	*πύλη*	*ἐκλείσθη...*
crossing	and	ART	gate	close.AOR.IND.MP2

'And the men chased after them on the road to the Jordan at the crossings, and the gate <u>was closed</u>...'　　　　　　　　(Joshua 2:7)

In (105), the implication of agency is not merely due to the combination of verb + subject; a gate could close on its own (see Section 5.1). The fact that this instance of the verb is passive comes from the situation—the gates were closed every night to keep out intruders. The people who closed the gate are not mentioned because they are not an important part of the story.

Example (106) is a similar example, using the same verb as (105). In this case, a mob is forming because people think that Paul defiled the temple. Consequently, once they drag Paul out, they would be sure to close the doors to prevent further defilement.

(106) [people yell that Paul has been teaching against the temple and has defiled it]

ἐκινήθη	*τε*	*ἡ*	*πόλις*	*ὅλη*	*καὶ*	*ἐγένετο*	*συνδρομὴ*	*τοῦ*	*λαοῦ,*	*καὶ*
move	and	ART	city	whole	and	become	running.together	ART	people	and

ἐπιλαβόμενοι	*τοῦ*	*Παύλου*	*εἷλκον*	*αὐτὸν*	*ἔξω*	*τοῦ*	*ἱεροῦ*	*καὶ*	*εὐθέως*
grab	ART	Paul	drag	3	out	ART	temple	and	immediately

ἐκλείσθησαν	*αἱ*	*θύραι.*
close.AOR.IND.MP2	ART	door

'And the whole city was moved, and there was a running together of the people, and grabbing Paul, they dragged him outside of the temple, and immediately the doors <u>were closed</u>.'　　　　　　　　(Acts 21:30)

Another good example is found with the word *ἐρημόομαι* 'to become desolate'. In (107), the clear implication is that, since the city was disruptive to kings and nations, one of them decided to solve the problem by making it desolate. Therefore, the verb is passive in this instance.

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(107) ἡ   πόλις ἐκείνη πόλις ἀποστάτις καὶ κακοποιοῦσα βασιλεῖς καὶ χώρας καὶ
     the city DIST city rebel   and do.bad   king   and region and

     φυγάδια   δούλων ἐν μέσῳ   αὐτῆς ἀπὸ χρόνων αἰῶνος διὰ
     place.of.refuge slave in middle 3   from time   age   because.of

     ταῦτα ἡ   πόλις αὕτη ἠρημώθη
     PROX ART city   PROX desolate.AOR.IND.MP2
     'That city is a rebellious city, and one which does evil to kings and regions, and there
     have been places of refuge for slaves in the middle of it from times eternal. That
     is why this city was <u>made desolate</u>.'   (Ezra 4:15)

This verb does not always require an agent; see (108), below.

5.3.2 Situation indicates no agency

Conversely, there are also some cases in which the situation makes clear that there is no agent. Example (108) illustrates this with the MP2 form of ἐρημόομαι 'to become desolate'.

(108) δὸς σπέρμα ἵνα   σπείρωμεν καὶ ζῶμεν καὶ μὴ   ἀποθάνωμεν καὶ ἡ   γῆ
     give seed   so.that sow   and live   and NEG die   and ART land

     οὐκ   ἐρημωθήσεται
     NEG desolate.FUT.IND.MP2
     'Give us seed, so that we may sow and live and not die, and the land <u>will</u> not <u>become</u>
     <u>desolate</u>.'   (Genesis 47:19)

There is no agent in view behind the land becoming desolate. It would simply happen naturally if people are unable to feed themselves. In a different situation, agency is implied with this verb; see (107).

Similarly, (109) illustrates the verb ἐγείρομαι, which in this context means 'to wake up'.[3] The MP2 form in this example must be understood as a spontaneous event—"he woke up"—rather than a passive—"he was awoken by someone"—because of the situation involved. No one would wake up Pharaoh.

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[3] This verb can also mean 'to rise up'; see discussion in Section 4.3.

(109) [Pharaoh dreams about ears of corn]
ἠγέρθη   δὲ Φαραω καὶ ἦν   ἐνύπνιον
rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 and Pharaoh and COP dream
'And Pharaoh <u>awoke</u>, and [realized that] it was a dream.'   (Genesis 41:7)

Another good example is with the verb σῴζομαι 'to recover' in (110).

(110) εἶπαν οὖν   οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ κεκοίμηται <u>σωθήσεται.</u>
speak therefore and disciple 3   lord   if sleep   save.FUT.IND.MP2
'The disciples said to him, "Lord, if he has fallen asleep, he <u>will recover</u>.'   (John 11:12)

The meaning is that if he sleeps, he will recover by himself, not that if he sleeps he will be made well by someone else. This example is quite similar to the ones in Section 5.2.1.1, since sleeping could be considered the cause for his recovery. Thus, one could argue that the verb in (110) only encodes the change of state since the cause—sleep—was already stated.

5.4 Other contextual factors

5.4.1 Purpose clause indicates agency

Agency is implied when an MP2 verb is followed by a purpose clause. Note that this is not the same as Section 5.2.1.2. In that section, the MP2 verb is found within an embedded purpose clause, while in this section, the MP2 verb is in a matrix clause which contains an embedded purpose clause.

The passive reading of these sentences relies on the same principle that is work in (9), reproduced here as (111).

(111) a. *The twig <u>was snapped</u> so that it would fit into the dollhouse.*
      b. **The twig <u>snapped</u> so that it would fit into the dollhouse.*

The sentence in (111a) is grammatical because the purpose clause requires an agent, and the passive verb "was snapped" implies an agent. (111b) is ungrammatical because the

purpose clause requires an agent, but the anticausative verb "snapped" does not imply an agent.

The Greek equivalents of (111a) and (111b) would be morphologically identical, so the presence of a purpose clause makes only the passive reading possible. In example (112), there is an embedded purpose clause beginning with *ἵνα πιστεύσητε* 'so that you may believe'. This requires an agent for the verb *γέγραπται* 'it has been written' in the matrix clause. The agency implied here is confirmed by the verb: all forms of the verb *γράφω* 'to write' require an agent because of agent-oriented components of meaning (see Section 4.1.1).

(112) *Πολλὰ   μὲν   οὖν   καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ὁ   Ἰησοῦς ἐνώπιον*
      many whereas therefore and other sign   do   ART   Jesus in.front.of

    τῶν   μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ[4], ἃ   οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ· ταῦτα
    ART   disciple 3   REL   NEG COP   write   in ART book   PROX   PROX

    δὲ   γέγραπται   ἵνα   πιστεύσητε[5] ὅτι   Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ   χριστὸς
    and   write.PRF.IND.MP so.that believe   COMP   Jesus COP   ART   messiah

    ὁ   υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα   πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.
    ART   son ART God   and so.that believe   life have in ART name   3
    'Now Jesus did many other signs in front of his disciples, which are not written in
        this book. But these have <u>been written</u> so that you may believe that Jesus is the
        Messiah, and so that by believing you may have life in his name.'   (John 20:21)

Finally, on solely lexical grounds, one might suppose that the verb *διατηρέομαι* 'to be preserved' in example (113) could lack an agent. However, the purpose clauses indicate that it does have an agent. God, the speaker in this passage, preserved the people so that he could display his strength. Consequently, the verb in this instance should be understood as passive, as reflected in the translation.

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[4] This Greek word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts.

[5] The letter σ (sigma) in this word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts. With the σ, the verb is aorist; without the σ, the verb is present.

(113) καὶ   ἕνεκεν   τούτου *διετηρήθης*   ἵνα   ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν
      and because.of PROX   preserve.AOR.IND.MP2 so.that display   in 2 ART

      ἰσχύν   μου καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ   τὸ   ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ   γῇ
      strength 1   and so.that proclaim ART name 1   in all   ART earth
      'And for this reason you <u>were preserved</u>, so that I might display my strength in you,
      and so that my name might be proclaimed in all the earth.'   (Exodus 9:16)

While this phenomenon is not very common in the corpus, there are other examples,
such as example (89) in Section 5.1.

5.4.2 *Αὐτόματος 'by itself' indicates no agency*

The underlined verb in example (114) is one of the most obviously non-passive MP2
verbs in the corpus, because it occurs with a modifier[6] which means 'by itself'.

(114) ἦλθαν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρᾶν τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἥτις αὐτομάτη
      go   on ART gate ART iron   ART bring   into ART city REL by.itself

      ἠνοίγη   αὐτοῖς...
      open.AOR.IND.MP2   3
      'They came to the iron gate leading into the city, which <u>opened</u> for them by itself...'
      (Acts 12:10)

In this instance, the word *αὐτόματος* 'by itself' explicitly indicates that the event of opening
had no agent. This is the only occurrence of this word in my corpus.

Interestingly, Allan's first and most explicit example of the spontaneous process mid-
dle in Classical Greek is a sentence from Herodotus which uses the very same modifier
(2002:42).[7]

(115) *(...)* πέλας τῶν κήπων *(...)*, ἐν τοῖσι *φύεται*   αὐτόματα ῥόδα
      ...   near ART garden ...   in REL   grow.PRS.IND.MP   by.itself rose
      '(...) near the gardens (...), wherein roses <u>grow</u> of themselves, (...).'   (Hdt. 8.138)

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[6] The syntactic category of this word is unclear. While it seems adverbial in meaning, it also inflects for
case, number, and gender, which is typical of Greek adjectives. (Adverbs in Greek are typically uninflected.)
Based on my limited investigation, it appears that there are several similar words in Greek: *ἑκών* 'willingly'
(cf. example (73) in Section 4.3), *αὐτόχειρ* 'with one's hands', *δευτεραῖος* 'on the second day', *μέσος* '(in the)
middle', and *πρῶτος* 'first'. All of these words describe the verb as is typical of adverbs, yet they agree with
the subject in case, number, and gender. While the categorization of these words is unclear, it is at least clear
that the word *αὐτόματος* 'by itself' is not completely unique.

[7] The text and free translation of this example are copied from Allan (2002:42); I added the glossing and
underlining.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion and implications

Chapters 4 and 5 considered how passive and middle types can be distinguished in aorist MP2 and perfect MP verb forms. This chapter gives discussion and implications of the findings in those chapters. The first section discusses the three-way verbal alternation that exists between active, aorist MP2, and perfect MP verb forms. The second section discusses the ambiguity that sometimes obtains between passive and middle types, and explains the implications of this ambiguity for translation. The third section contrasts Kemmer's account of the middle voice with other approaches and concludes that her approach is better able to account for the Greek data. The final section summarizes the findings of this thesis.

6.1 The three-way alternation

This section explains the three-way alternation found in Greek for many change-of-state verbs. Many non-passive MP2 verbs have an active[1] counterpart which is semantically causative. In these cases, the relationship between the active and the MP2 is the causative alternation. However, many such verbs additionally have stative perfect MP forms, resulting in a three-way verbal alternation.

In this three-way alternation between active, aorist MP2, and perfect MP, the active form represents the caused onset of a state. In the aorist MP2 form, the cause is no longer part of the meaning of the verb, and all that remains is the onset of a state. In the perfect MP form, the onset of the state is removed, and all that remains is the state.

These semantic relationships are illustrated in (116) for the verb ἀνοίγω 'to open'.

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[1] In this section, as in the rest of this thesis, the term "active" refers to a morphological category (see Section 3.1).

(116) a.   Active: [**do'** (x, ∅)] CAUSE [INGR **open'** (y)]
       b.   Aorist MP2:   INGR **open'** (x)
       c.   Perfect MP: **open'** (x)

The notation in (116) is drawn from the semantic decomposition system employed by Role and Reference Grammar. In (116a), there are two pairs of brackets enclosing two events. Between the two events stands the CAUSE operator, indicating that the first event causes the second. The symbols 'x' and 'y' in parentheses represent arguments. In (116a), 'x' is the agent and 'y' is the patient, while in (116b-c), 'x' refers to the sole argument, which is a patient. 'INGR' stands for 'ingressive', and refers to a punctual change of state (Van Valin 2005:42).

The schema in (116) illustrates that active forms encode the caused onset of a state; aorist MP2 forms encode the onset of a state; and perfect MP forms encode only a state. It must be noted that this schema does not apply to every instance of change-of-state verbs. As discussed in Section 3.1, aorist MP2 forms and perfect MP forms are also used for the canonical passive. Nevertheless, when an aorist MP2 verb is not being used as a passive but as a spontaneous event, the schema does apply. Similarly, perfect MP forms frequently, though not exclusively, function as shown in (116c).

Examples (117-119) illustrate the alternations illustrated in (116) for the verb *ἀνοίγω* 'to open'. Firstly, (117) has an active form of *ἀνοίγω* 'to open'. The sentence illustrates that the active forms encode a caused onset of the state of openness, corresponding to (116a).

(117) *καὶ* *ἤνοιξεν*   *τὸ*   *γαζοφυλάκιον* *αὐτοῦ...*
      and open.AOR.IND.ACT ART treasury   3
      'and he <u>opened</u> his treasury...'   (1 Maccabees 3:28a)

In this example, "he" corresponds to 'x' in (116a), while the treasury corresponds to 'y'.

Secondly, (118) has an aorist MP2 form of the verb. The sentence illustrates that the aorist MP2 forms can encode merely the onset of the state of openness; no cause is encoded, corresponding to (116b).

(118) *ἠνοίχθη   ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν Δαθαν καὶ ἐκάλυψεν ἐπὶ τὴν*
  open.AOR.IND.MP2 ART ground and swallow.up Dathan and cover on ART

  συναγωγὴν Αβιρων
  gathering Abiram
  'The ground <u>opened</u>, and swallowed up Dathan and covered up the gathering of
  Abiram.'   (Psalm 105:17)

Finally, (119) has a perfect MP form of *ἀνοίγω* 'to open'. The sentence illustrates that the perfect MP forms can encode merely the state of openness; the onset of the state is not encoded, corresponding to (116c).

(119) *καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος <u>ἀνεῳγμένον</u>   ὅσα οὐχὶ δεσμὸν καταδέδεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ*
  and every vessel open.PRF.PTCP.MP REL NEG bond bind   on 3

  ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν
  unclean COP
  'And every <u>open</u> vessel, on which a cover is not fastened on it, is unclean.' (Numbers
  19:15)

Kemmer, in her cross-linguistic study of the middle voice, briefly mentions that middle marking is often applied to an adjective to derive a spontaneous event verb (1993:146). Similarly, Schäfer reports that verbs in the causative alternation are often derived from adjectives (2009:12-13). For example, the English verb 'darken' is derived from the adjective 'dark'. Since the verb 'darken' can be either causative or anticausative, this derivation yields a three-way alternation in English like the one in (116):

(120) a. *The eclipse darkened the sky.*
   b. *The sky darkened.*
   c. *The sky was dark.*

The difference between the English alternation in (120) and the Greek alternation in (116) is that (120c) is an adjective, while all three forms in (116) are verbs. Thus, unlike English, the three-way alternation in Greek is a specifically verbal alternation.

The alternation in (116) is apparently not discussed in the biblical studies literature, probably because the focus there tends to be on one tense or voice at a time. As noted in Section 3.2, those who discuss non-passive MP2 verbs tend to discuss either the aorist or

the perfect, but not both. For example, Greek grammars describe a usage of the perfect which is close to the stative usage illustrated here. (The grammars typically call it the "intensive" or "resultative" use of the perfect; e.g., Wallace 1996:574-576). But this usage is normally discussed only in the context of the perfect, without much reference to what kind of verbs are involved or how those verbs function in other tense/aspect or voice categories. I hope that this alternation will become better known in Koine Greek studies.

6.2 Ambiguity between passive and other middle types

This section illustrates the fact that it is not always possible to distinguish between passive and MP2-marked middle; at least a few instances are ambiguous. This forms part of the answer to the original question, How can passive be distinguished from MP2-marked middle in Koine Greek? This section also explores some implications of this ambiguity for translation.

As discussed in Section 3.1, MP2 morphology is used both for passive and for certain middle event types. This thesis proposes a variety of lexical and contextual factors that contribute to distinguishing passive from these middle types, especially the spontaneous event middle. However, it is not always possible to definitively choose one or the other. As Aubrey says, "at times it is difficult to tell if an external source is implied or if it is construed more like a one-participant event that is brought about spontaneously" (2016:596).

For instance, the verb in (121) is open to being interpreted as a passive or as a spontaneous event.[2]

(121) [Formerly blind man appears, no longer blind. His neighbors see him and wonder what happened.]
    ἔλεγον οὖν   αὐτῷ· πῶς οὖν[3] ἠνεῴχθησάν   σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί;
    speak therefore 3   how then open.AOR.IND.MP2 2   ART eye
    'So they said to him, "How [then] did your eyes <u>come to be open</u>?'   (John 9:10)

The people asking the question do not know whether the blind man received his sight as a result of the agency of another person (passive), or whether he received his sight in

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[2] I am grateful to Keith Slater for pointing out the intentional ambiguity of this sentence, and to Steve Marlett for suggesting the translation.

[3] This Greek word appears in brackets in the source text, indicating that it may have been absent from the original manuscripts.

some other way (spontaneous event). The question uses the ambiguity of the MP2 forms to allow for both possibilities. To attempt to force (121) into one reading or the other would be to ignore the fact that the shared morphology results in ambiguity some of the time.

This ambiguity is significant in at least two ways. First, the fact that Greek shares morphology for passive and certain middle types confirms the placement of the passive on Kemmer's semantic map. In the last chapter of Kemmer's monograph, she provides a diagram which she calls a "semantic map" of the middle voice (1993:201-211). In this diagram, the various middle situation types (e.g., grooming, spontaneous event, cognition middle) are arranged in a central space between prototypical one-participant events and prototypical two-participant events, illustrating that the middle domain is semantically intermediate between prototypical one-participant events and prototypical two-participant events. Furthermore, the diagram includes lines connecting related types, such that "each middle type is directly linked to the situation types with which it has the greatest semantic affinity" (1993:203).

The passive is included in the semantic map, but it is located just outside the middle domain, since passive is not one of the normally middle-marked situation types. However, passive is positioned close to the spontaneous event middle and the emotion middle, and Kemmer states that these middle types are semantically related to the passive (1993:205). The fact that the spontaneous event middle, the emotion middle, and passive share MP2 morphology in Greek confirm that they are semantically related. If, on the other hand, MP2 morphology were used for passive but MP1 morphology were used for the spontaneous event middle and the emotion middle, this would have cast doubt on the semantic map.

Second, the ambiguity between passive and other middle event types has implications for translation. For example, MP2 forms of the verb ἐγείρομαι can describe motion with an agentive subject ('to rise'), or they can be passive ('to be raised'; see Section 4.3). Context often clarifies which use is intended, but sometimes it is ambiguous. When the ambiguous cases are translated into English, however, this ambiguity cannot be maintained, forcing translators to choose one or the other.

For example, the very same form of the verb is used in (122) and (123), and the two verses refer to the same event. However, in (122), four representative modern English translations use an English active verb, while in (123) they use an English passive verb. The passive translation in (123) implies that Jesus was raised by someone, while the active translation in (122) does not imply this.

(122) ὄντως ἠγέρθη   ὁ   κύριος...
    really   rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2   art   lord
    ESV:'The Lord <u>has risen</u> indeed...'
    NET:'The Lord <u>has</u> really <u>risen</u>...'
    NIV:'It is true! The Lord <u>has risen</u>...'
    NLT:'The Lord <u>has</u> really <u>risen</u>...'   (Luke 24:34)

(123) ὅτε   οὖν   ἠγέρθη   ἐκ   νεκρῶν, ἐμνήσθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ
    when   therefore   rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2   from   dead   remember   the   disciple

    αὐτοῦ ὅτι   τοῦτο ἔλεγεν
    3   COMP   PROX speak
    ESV:'When therefore he <u>was raised</u> from the dead...'
    NET:'So after he <u>was raised</u> from the dead...'
    NIV:'After he <u>was raised</u> from the dead...'
    NLT:'After he <u>was raised</u> from the dead...'   (John 2:22)

For translation purposes, it is crucial to recognize that there is a mismatch on this point between Greek and English. There is one form in Greek where there are two forms in English. As a result, translators are forced to make a choice that the author of the Greek text was not forced to make. In order to make the best choice, translators must be sensitive to whose agency is present in the context. The objective situation described in (122) and (123) could be accurately described by either an English active or an English passive, since both God and Jesus himself were agentive in the actual event of Jesus's resurrection.[4] However, the better translation for this passage depends on which one fits this particular context better.

In fact, (123) would be better translated with the English active 'he rose', since in the context, Jesus talks about his own agency in rising from the dead. Example (124) shows the context of the verse in (123).

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[4] For God's agency, see Romans 6:4. For Jesus's agency, see John 10:17-18.

(124) ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν
　　　 answer Jesus and speak 3　　　 destroy ART temple PROX and in three

ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ　　　　　　　 αὐτόν. εἶπαν οὖν　　 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·
day　　 rise.up.FUT.IND.ACT 3　　 speak therefore ART Jew

τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν οἰκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, καὶ σὺ ἐν τρισὶν
forty　　　　 and six year build　　 ART temple PROX and 2 in three

ἡμέραις ἐγερεῖς　　　　　　　 αὐτόν; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγεν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
day　　 rise.up.FUT.IND.ACT 3　　 DIST　 and speak about ART temple of

σώματος αὐτοῦ. ὅτε οὖν　　 ἠγέρθη　　　　　　 ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐμνήσθησαν
body　　 3　 when therefore rise.up.AOR.IND.MP2 from dead　 remember

οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ
ART disciple 3　 COMP PROX speak and believe　 ART scripture and

τῷ λόγῳ ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.
ART word REL speak ART Jesus

'Jesus answered and said to them, "Destroy this temple, and I <u>will raise</u> it in three days." Then the Jews said, "This temple was built over forty six years, and you <u>will raise</u> it in three days?" But he was talking about the temple of his body. So when he <u>rose</u> from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said.' (John 2:19-22)

Example (124) shows that in the context, Jesus (metaphorically) declares that he will raise himself from the dead. Because this passage only mentions Jesus's agency and not God's, the active translation of the ambiguous MP2 verb in (124) is more appropriate. The translation in (124) fits the context better than the translation in (123).

In summary, when an MP2 form is ambiguous, translators must be aware of the ambiguity, and choose the translation that seems better suited to the context.

6.3 Middle voice vs. causative alternation

This section contrasts Kemmer's account of the middle voice with the causative alternation based on how well the two approaches account for two features of the Greek voice system: deponent verbs and agentive MP2 verbs with causative counterparts. I argue that Kemmer's approach provides a more adequate explanation of these phenomena.

Kemmer claims that middle morphology marks certain semantic features, and that these semantic features are inherent in some verbs. If a verb belongs to one of the middle

situation types, it can be middle-marked.[5] In naturally reflexive verbs and verbs of motion, middle marking (MM) marks the semantic feature of low distinguishability of participants. In the passive-like and spontaneous event middle, MM marks the semantic feature of low elaboration of events. In naturally reciprocal verbs, MM marks the semantic feature of low elaboration of subevents. These three semantic features fit under the broader notion of "low elaboration of events," which is the semantic feature that unites all the uses of the middle voice (1993:3, 207-210). "Low elaboration of events" is a fairly abstract notion, but it offers an explanation for all the kinds of verbs that are middle-marked across languages.

In contrast to Kemmer's approach to the middle voice, proponents of the causative alternation operate on the assumption that the morphology marks the anticausative member of the causative alternation. While the causative alternation is limited to verbs with certain semantic features (see Section 2.1), the function of the anticausative morphology is not to mark these semantic features, but to mark the anticausative member of the alternation.

The first feature of the Greek voice system considered here is deponent verbs. Kemmer (1993:28-39) points out that deponent verbs are found in most or all middle-marking languages, but that generative approaches tend to treat these verbs as anomalous. That is, deponent verbs are regarded as illustrating a mismatch between form and function, because the middle-marking on these verbs does not correspond to a middle (or passive) function. However, an adequate account of the middle voice should be able to account for deponents as more than anomalous.

When the same verb stem is sometimes middle-marked and sometimes not, the active variant is frequently causative. Examples (125-126) illustrate this pattern; (125) is an MP2-marked spontaneous event, while (126) has active morphology and is semantically causative.

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[5] For a list of these situation types, see (11) in Section 2.2. Not every verb in these categories is necessarily middle-marked; see further discussion in Section 2.2.

(125) ἄφνω   δὲ   σεισμὸς   ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε <u>σαλευθῆναι</u>   τὰ
      immediately and earthquake become large result shake.AOR.INF.MP2 ART

      θεμέλια   τοῦ   δεσμωτηρίου
      foundations   ART   prison
      'And immediately there was a large earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison
      <u>shook</u>.'   (Acts 16:26)

(126) ...οὗ ἡ   φωνὴ τὴν γῆν <u>ἐσάλευσεν</u>   τότε, νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται...
      REL ART voice ART earth shake.AOR.IND.ACT then   now and promise
      '...whose voice <u>shook</u> the earth then; but now he has commanded...'   (Hebrews
      12:26)

However, unlike the verb in (125), many middle-marked Greek verbs have no active
counterpart. Such verbs are typically called "deponent" verbs. The underlined verbs in
examples (127) and (128) are deponent; they have no active counterparts.

(127) καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς   αὐτόν κἀγὼ προφήτης εἰμὶ καθὼς σύ καὶ ἄγγελος λελάληκεν
      and speak toward 3   and.1 prophet COP like   2 and angel   speak

      πρός   με ἐν ῥήματι κυρίου λέγων ἐπίστρεψον αὐτὸν πρὸς   σεαυτὸν εἰς   τὸν
      toward 1   in word   lord   speak turn   3   toward 2.REFL into ART

      οἶκόν σου καὶ φαγέτω ἄρτον καὶ πιέτω ὕδωρ καὶ <u>ἐψεύσατο</u>   αὐτῷ
      house 2   and eat   bread and drink water and lie.AOR.IND.MP1 3
      'And he said to him, "I also am a prophet like you, and an angel has spoken to me
      by the word of the Lord, saying, 'Turn him aside into your house, and have him
      eat bread and drink water.'" But he was <u>lying</u> to him.'   (1 Kings 13:18)

(128) Δημᾶς γάρ με ἐγκατέλιπεν ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα καὶ <u>ἐπορεύθη</u>   εἰς
      Demas for 1   forsake   love   ART now age   and go.AOR.IND.MP2 into

      Θεσσαλονίκην...
      Thessalonica
      'For Demas forsook me, loving the present age, and <u>went</u> into Thessalonica...'   (2
      Timothy 4:10)

For linguists like Schäfer, the pair of examples in (125-126) illustrates the causative
alternation. The MP2 morphology in (125) would be recognized as marking the anti-

causative side of the alternation, while the active morphology in (126) marks the causative side of the alternation.[6]

Furthermore, Schäfer notes that anticausative marking is "typically" used to mark other categories as well, often including "inherently reflexive verbs," "generic middles," and "passives" (2009:24-25). (By "generic middle," he is referring to sentences such as "Ice cream sells well in the summer.") For him, this sharing of morphology presents a "theoretical challenge," which raises important questions that have not yet been answered (2009:24-25). If, as he suggests, this morphology marks the anticausative side of the causative alternation, it is not clear why it would also be used for non-alternating verbs, such as those shown in (127) and (128).

Furthermore, many of the deponent verbs in Greek, including the verbs in (127) and (128), are not reflexive, generic middles, or passives. Schäfer does not mention that anti-causative morphology can also be shared in some languages by verbs of motion or speech, but it seems that this fact would be even more puzzling to him.

Deponent verbs are similarly puzzling in the traditional biblical studies approach to Greek voice. In this approach, any verb which "has no active *form* but is active in *meaning*" is considered deponent (Wallace 1996:428, italics original). For a verb to be considered middle in meaning, it must be reflexive, reciprocal, or describe an event in which the subject benefits from the action of the verb (Wallace 1996:414-430).[7] Because of the narrow definition of middle, verbs like those illustrated in (127) and (128) are considered active in meaning instead, and therefore deponent.

Though the traditional approach has lost ground recently, it still has defenders.[8] For example, Ladewig, in a recent dissertation, says that "at its essence, deponency is the

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[6] Like Haspelmath (1993), Schäfer recognizes that different languages mark the same alternation in different ways. Some languages mark the causative verb, others mark the anticausative verb, while others mark both or neither (2009:20-21).

[7] Wallace also includes some minor variations on these three uses of the middle voice. This traditional definition of deponency is slightly narrower than the one on the previous page; it excludes a few verbs with no active counterpart, but it still leaves a significant set of deponent verbs that are not adequately accounted for.

[8] In fact, doubts about the traditional approach were raised as early as Robertson, who said that the term "deponent" was "very unsatisfactory" and that the usage of the term had "a very poor definition" (1934:811-812). More recently, both the term "deponent" and the concept which it represents have begun to fall out of favor (e.g., Pennington 2005), being replaced by definitions of middle voice which are broad enough to include any middle-marked verb.

mismatch between form and function" (2010:145). That is, verbs like (127) and (128) have morphology that would suggest a middle (narrowly defined) or passive meaning, but the way the verbs are used is in fact not middle or passive.

In contrast, an approach such as Kemmer's easily accounts for the morphology in (125), (127), and (128), because her account is based on semantic situation types rather than transitivity alternations. In her approach, the middle marking is found in (125) because the verb is a spontaneous event. Likewise, the verb in (127) is a verb of speech, and the verb in (128) is a verb of motion. The fact that (125) has a causative counterpart while (127) and (128) do not would not be expected to affect the morphology involved.

Note that Kemmer is not denying the existence of detransitivizing morphology, but rather making claims about the motivation for voice systems like the one found in Greek. The fact that in Greek and similar languages, the same morphology appears on verbs of middle situation types, regardless of whether they have a causative counterpart, supports her theory that the morphology is semantically motivated and that it extends to categories beyond reflexive, reciprocal, and verbs in which the subject benefits.

The second feature of the Greek voice system considered here is MP2-marked verbs that have an agentive subject and also have a causative counterpart. The rest of this section attempts to show that these verbs are better explained by Kemmer's account than by the causative alternation as outlined by Schäfer.

Most non-passive MP2 verbs have a non-agentive subject. For example, a typical MP2-marked spontaneous event is illustrated in (129), along with its causative counterpart in (130).[9]

(129) ἄφνω   δὲ σεισμὸς   ἐγένετο μέγας ὥστε <u>σαλευθῆναι</u>   τὰ
      immediately and earthquake become great result shake.AOR.INF.MP2 ART

      θεμέλια   τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου
      foundations ART prison
      'And immediately there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison
      <u>shook</u>.'   (Acts 16:26)

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[9] Examples (129) and (130) are repeated from (125) and (126).

(130) *...οὗ ἡ   φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλευσεν   τότε, νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται...*
     REL ART voice ART earth shake.AOR.IND.ACT then now and promise
     '...whose voice <u>shook</u> the earth then; but now he has commanded...'   (Hebrews
     12:26)

This pair of examples illustrates the causative alternation.

However, Section 4.3 demonstrates that some MP2-marked verbs do have an agentive subject. Many of these verbs have an active counterpart which is causative. For example, the verb in (131) is a verb of motion with an agentive subject. Example (132) shows the causative counterpart of the same verb.[10]

(131) *Τῷ   δὲ   ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ   πόλις συνήχθη*
     ART and go   sabbath almost all   ART city gather.AOR.IND.MP2

     ἀκοῦσαι τὸν   λόγον τοῦ   κυρίου.
     hear   ART word ART lord
     'And on the next Sabbath almost the entire city <u>gathered</u> to hear the message of the
     Lord.'   (Acts 13:44)

(132) *καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ   δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι εἰς   τὰς ὁδοὺς συνήγαγον   πάντας*
     and go.out   ART slave DIST into ART way gather.AOR.IND.ACT all

     οὓς εὗρον, πονηρούς τε   καὶ ἀγαθούς·
     REL find   bad   and and good
     'And having gone out into the roads, those slaves <u>gathered</u> everyone whom they
     found, both bad and good.'   (Matthew 22:10)

The two pairs of sentences in (129-130) and (131-132) are very similar to each other. Examples (129) and (131) have MP2 morphology and are not causative, while (130) and (132) have active morphology and are semantically causative. There is, however, a significant difference between these two pairs of sentences. (129) is the intransitive variant in the normal causative alternation, and the subject is not agentive. On the other hand, the subject in (131) is agentive, and therefore (131-132) is not the causative alternation.

According to Schäfer, the relationship between these two alternations "is an important, but yet unsettled topic" (2009:5). The shared morphology between the two in Greek

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[10] Examples (131) and (132) are repeated from (69) and (70).

presents something of a puzzle, since the two sentences are part of fundamentally different alternations.[11]

However, from Kemmer's perspective, the shared morphology is not surprising, since the middle-marked verbs in (129) and (131) are in situation types that are commonly middle-marked; (129) is a spontaneous event, and (131) is a verb of motion. The fact that the verb in (131) has a causative counterpart is also unsurprising; it is common for middle-marked verbs of motion to have a causative counterpart (Kemmer 1993:58-60).

These two pieces of evidence indicate that Kemmer's framework is more adequate for explaining the Greek middle voice than the alternatives. Her proposal of semantic motivation for middle marking easily accounts for deponent verbs, whereas the causative alternation and the traditional biblical studies approach find these verbs anomalous. Kemmer's account also better explains the alternations found in Greek between middle-marked verbs and their causative counterparts. While I do not wish to claim that the causative alternation is of no descriptive validity, the data presented here suggests that, at least in Greek, the distribution of middle morphology is best explained by Kemmer's account.

6.4 Summary of findings

This thesis has sought to answer the question, How can passive be distinguished from MP2-marked middle in Koine Greek? This section provides a summary by bringing together the various pieces of the answer explored in this thesis.

First, if an MP2 verb occurs with an agent phrase, the verb is passive. When an agent phrase is present, it normally consists of the preposition *ὑπό* 'by' followed by an object in the genitive case. Example (133) illustrates a passive verb with the agent explicit.

(133) *ὁ   δὲ   ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται   ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, κἀγὼ ἀγαπήσω*
    ART and love 1 love.FUT.IND.MP2 by ART father 1   and.1 love

    αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν.
    3   and reveal   3   1.REFL
    'And the one who loves me will be loved by my father, and I will love him and reveal
    myself to him.'   (John 14:21)

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[11] From Schäfer's standpoint, anticausative verbs like the one in (129) are the prototypical unaccusative verbs, whereas verbs with an agentive subject like (131) are unergative (Schäfer 2009:9). This disparity highlights the fundamental difference between the two pairs of sentences.

Many MP2 verbs have to be passive because the event that they describe requires an agent. This includes verbs with agent-oriented components of meaning or any others in which the change of state cannot happen by itself (Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2). Examples of these verbs are listed in (134).

(134) a. *διδάσκομαι* 'to be taught'
   b. *αἴρομαι* 'to be picked up/removed'
   c. *κλέπτομαι* 'to be stolen'
   d. *γράφομαι* 'to be written'

On the other hand, many MP2 verbs describe events that strongly tend to occur spontaneously. The more likely an event is to occur without being caused by an agent, the more likely that event is to be described by an anticausative verb (Section 4.2). Such MP2 verbs could be passive in specific circumstances, but they tend to simply describe the change of state. Omicron contract verbs that are derived from adjectives tend to fall into this category (Section 4.1.2). Examples of these verbs are listed in (135).

(135) a. *συντελέομαι* 'to be completed' (referring to a period of time)
   b. *ξηραίνομαι* 'to wither'
   c. *ὁμοιόομαι* 'to be/become like' (omicron contract verb)
   d. *σκοτόομαι* 'to become dark' (omicron contract verb)

Different considerations apply to MP2 verbs whose subjects are agentive (Section 4.3). These tend to be verbs of motion or a metaphorical extension of motion. They could be considered a type of reflexive verbs. Since the subject is agentive, these MP2 verbs are not passive. Examples of these verbs are listed in (136).

(136) a. *ἐγείρομαι* 'to rise up'
   b. *συνάγομαι* 'to gather' (intr.)
   c. *κρύπτομαι* 'to hide' (intr.)
   d. *πλανάομαι* 'to wander'

As the preceding paragraphs describe, semantic features of a verb can strongly influence whether it is used as a passive or anticausative. However, features of the verb itself

are not always determinative. Instead, the context is often determinative. The following paragraphs describe how the context can help to distinguish.

Very commonly, an MP2 verb describes a change of state, and the cause of the change of state is indicated just before the MP2 verb. This indicates that the MP2 verb only describes the change of state; it is not passive (Section 5.2.1.1). These sentences are like the English sentence "The branch broke when I pulled down on it" (Kemmer 1993:144).

Similarly, aorist MP2 verbs are frequently found after ἵνα 'so that'. In these cases, the verb that precedes ἵνα 'so that' describes the cause of the change of state that follows ἵνα. Since the cause is stated previously, the MP2 verb after ἵνα 'so that' only describes the change of state; it is not passive (Section 5.2.1.2).

Perfect MP verbs work a bit differently. Perfect MP participles, which typically function similarly to adjectives, are frequently used to describe a person or object. In such cases, they only describe a state; they are not passive (Section 5.2.2).

Sometimes the overall situation involved clarifies. Often the MP2 verb is used in a scenario in which the event must have been caused by someone. Even though the agent is not stated, the reader understands the scenario, and therefore knows that there was an agent, and the verb is passive. Conversely, often an MP2 verb is used in a scenario in which it is clear that only a change of state is involved; the situation is such that the event was not caused by anyone (Section 5.3).

Context can have an influence in other ways. Sometimes, the subject of the verb makes a difference; this is not common in the corpus (Section 5.1). Additionally, if the MP2 verb is followed by a purpose clause, the verb is passive; this is also fairly rare in the corpus (Section 5.4.1). Finally, if the MP2 verb is accompanied by the modifier αὐτόματος 'by itself', it is anticausative. However, this modifier only occurs once in the corpus (Section 5.4.2).

Finally, in at least a few cases, an MP2 verb is equally open to being passive or anticausative. For example, the verb in example (121) in Section 6.2 is likely ambiguous on purpose. Thus, while the lexical and contextual factors described in this thesis distinguish between passive and anticausative most of the time, some instances remain ambiguous.

This appears to be intentional ambiguity; the speaker does not always feel the need to indicate whether the event was caused by someone or whether it happened by itself (Section 6.2).

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