# The Greek perfect

An overview, lot's of data, and a few observations

## Does this verb form a perfect?

A little quiz

(i.e. What is <u>not</u> a perfect?)

ἀπόλλυμι, 'destroy (act); perish (mid)'

true

εἰμί 'be, am'

false

ἔρχομαι 'come, go'

true

πληρόω 'fill, complete, fulfill,'

true

# άρκέω

'be sufficient, satisfied, enough'

false

γελάω 'laugh, smile'

false

πιστεύω 'believe, trust'

true

κρούω 'knock'

false

ἀγαθοποιέω 'do good'

false

ποιέω 'do, make'

true

σώζω 'save, deliver'

true

εὐχαριστέω 'give thanks'

false

# κακοπαθέω 'suffer misfortune'

false

εύρίσκω 'find'

true

ἀστράπτω 'flash'

false

φεύγω 'escape, flee'

true

#### What is <u>not</u> a perfect?

• I am <u>not</u> claiming the perfect is a definite impossibility with these verbs.

• I <u>am</u> claiming Greek speakers did not find the perfect useful for them.

• I <u>am</u> claiming this lack of use is semantically motivated.

#### What is <u>not</u> a perfect?

- ❖ ἀκμάζω
- \* ἀνήκω
- **❖**ἀρκέω
- **❖**γέμω
- ❖(ἐκ)λάμπω
- \* ἐλαττονέω
- ❖ ἐπιφαύσκω
- **❖**ἠχέω
- **❖**στίλβω
- **❖**περισσεύω
- **❖**πρέπω
- **❖**πυρράζω
- **❖**τετρααρχέω
- **\***τύφω

be at the prime

be is fitting

be sufficient

be full

shine (out)

have too little; have less

shine

sound; ring

❖κρυσταλλίζω shine like crystal

shine

abound

be fitting (for); be fitting

be (fiery) red

be tetrarch

smoke; smolder

#### Some State Predicates

- **❖** ὑπερέχω
- ❖ ὑπερπερισσεύω
- ❖χρήζω
- ❖ ἀδυνατέω
- ❖(ἐπι/περι)μένω
- **❖**εἰμί
- ❖ ἔξεστιν
- **❖**μέλλω
- ❖ ὁμοιάζω
- ❖ ὀφείλω
- ❖ παρομοιάζω
- ❖ προενάρχομαι
- **Φ**συστοιχέω
- **❖**χρή
- **\***χρονοτριβέω

be better than

be in great excess

need; have need of

it is impossible

persist/await

be

be permitted

be about to

be like

owe; be obligated

be like

begin before

correspond

it ought

spend time

#### Some Cognition & Emotion State Predicates

- ❖δειλιάω
- **❖**διενθυμέομαι
- **❖** ἐκλανθάνομαι
- **❖** ἐλεάω
- **❖**εὐλαβέομαι
- \*εὐψυχέω
- ❖ μακαρίζω
- **❖** περιφρονέω
- ❖ προηγέομαι
- **\*** προσκαρτερέω
- **❖** συμπαθέω
- ❖ ὑπονοέω
- άδημονέω
- ❖ ἀθυμέω/ἐγκακέω
- \*εἰρηνεύω

be cowardly consider; reflect forget (altogether) have mercy on reverence; respect be encouraged consider blessed be disdainful esteem more highly be devoted to sympathize with be suspicious be anxious be discouraged be at peace

**❖** ἐκθαμβέω **❖** ἐμβριμάομαι ❖ ἐπαισχύνομαι **❖** ἐπιποθέω ❖ εὐφραίνω/ἀγαλλιάω **\***εὐχαριστέω **❖** ζέω ❖θορυβάζω ❖ θυμομαχέω/χολάω **‡** μακροθυμέω παραφρονέω

❖ πενθέω/ συλλυπέω ❖σπλαγχνίζομαι ❖ στυγνάζω **\***χρηστεύομαι

be alarmed be deeply moved be ashamed (of) long for; desire be glad; rejoice be thankful be enthusiastic be distracted be angry be patient be beside oneself mourn; be grieved have compassion be gloomy be kind

#### Some Experiential & Physiological State Predicates

- ❖γυμνιτεύω
- ❖ ἐξουσιάζω
- ❖ λυσιτελέω
- ❖ μαθητεύω
- \*παραθεωρέω
- ❖ παραπικραίνω
- πτωχεύω
- **❖** συμμερίζω
- \* ἀγρυπνέω
- ❖ ἀφρίζω
- \*γεύομαι
- ❖(δια)γρηγορέω
- ❖ δυνατέω
- ❖ ἐξισχύω
- ήσυχάζω

be poorly clothed have authority over be advantageous be a disciple overlook; neglect be disobedient be poor have a share with be alert; look after foam at the mouth taste; experience be (fully) awake be able; be powerful 💠 χειμάζω be strong enough be silent

\*κακοπαθέω ❖ κομάω ❖ μυωπάζω **❖**νήφω ❖ ὀδυνάω ★πεινάω **❖**πυρέσσω ❖ σεληνιάζομαι **❖** συγκακοπαθέω **\*** συγκακουχέομαι ❖συνωδίνω ❖ ὑγιαίνω ❖ χορτάζω ♣ ἀδίνω

suffer misfortune wear long hair be nearsighted be sober suffer, be in pain hunger; be hungry suffer with a fever be epileptic suffer together suffer with suffer agony with be healthy be in a tempest be satisfied have birth pains

#### Some Location & Position State Predicates

❖ σύνειμι

❖τρυφάω

ἀγραυλέω live out of doors

💠 ἀνάκειμαι recline at table; recline

❖ἄπειμι be absent

🌣 ἀστατέω be homeless

❖διάγω spend one's life; live

διανυκτερεύω spend the whole night

💠 ἐνδημέω be at home

**❖**ζάω live

❖ ἰουδαΐζω live like Jews

❖μεσόω be in the middle

💠 πάρειμι be present; have come

❖περίκειμαι be around; be put around

\*περιοικέω be in the neighborhood of

\*προσμένω remain; stay with; continue

**❖** στέγω keep out, stand against

❖στήκω stand firm; stand

❖στρηνιάω live in luxury

❖συζάω live with

be with; come together

live extravagantly

#### What is <u>not</u> a perfect?

- ❖ ἀθλέω
- \* ἀνακρίνω
- ❖ ἐκπειράζω
- ❖ ἑορτάζω
- **\*** καταδιώκω
- ❖ καταφιλέω
- ❖ μαγεύω
- **❖** παραμυθέομαι
- ❖ προσωπολημπτέω
- **❖** συνυποκρίνομαι
- **❖** συνυπουργέω
- \*τεκνογονέω
- **❖**τεκνοτροφέω

compete examine; question tempt

celebrate a feast

pursue

kiss

practice magic

console; comfort show partiality

join in hypocrisy join in helping

bear children

bring up children

#### Activity Predicates

**❖**τελεσφορέω

**\***τρώγω

❖τυμπανίζω

❖ ὑποπνέω

❖ψωμίζω

άγαθοεργέω

\* ἀγαθοποιέω

**❖** ἱερουργέω

\*κακοποιέω

\*κακουχέω

❖ καλοποιέω

**\*** καταπονέω

**\*** κατασκοπέω

❖ ὀρθοποδέω

produce ripe fruit

eat

torment; torture

blow gently

feed by hand

do good

do what is right

act as a priest

do evil

mistreat

do what is right

torment; oppress

spy out

act rightly

#### Labor & Behavior Activity Predicates

- ❖ συνεσθίω
- **❖** συνευωχέομαι
- \*άγρεύω
- **❖** ἀλήθω
- ❖ ἀλοάω
- **❖**ἀμάω
- \* ἀνέω
- άροτριάω
- ❖ βόσκω
- 💠 βρύω
- ❖γεωργέω
- 🌣 έλκύω
- ❖ μαστίζω
- ★ποιμαίνω

eat with
feast together
hunt, fish, catch
grind
thresh
reap
winnow
plow

feed; herd; tend pour forth cultivate; till

draw; haul

whip; scourge

shepherd

❖ ἡαβδίζω

❖ βαστάζω

❖ διοδεύω

❖κολυμβάω

δορχέομαι

❖ παραλέγομαι

❖ παραπλέω

παραπορεύομαι

**❖**περιφέρω

**❖** πέτομαι

**\***προπορεύομαι

❖ συνοδεύω

❖ συντρέχω

❖ περιπατέω

beat, thresh

bear; carry; pick up

travel through

swim

dance

sail past; coast along

sail past

go by; pass by

carry about

fly

go on before

travel together with

run together

walk; live

## Speech & Sound Activity Predicates

- **❖**ἄδω
- ❖αἰνέω
- ἀλαλάζω
- άλληγορέω
- βρύχω/βρύκω
- ❖(δια)γογγύζω
- ❖ διαλαλέω/συλλαλέω
- ❖διαλέγομαι
- ❖διαφημίζω
- ❖ (δια)χλευάζω
- ❖ (ἐκ)διηγέομαι
- δυσφημέω
- ἐγκαυχάομαι
- ❖(ἐκ)μυκτηρίζω

sing
praise
wail; clash
speak allegorically
grind one's teeth
complain, grumble
discuss
converse; argue
spread information
scoff; mock; jeer
tell; relate; describe
slander; defame
boast
ridicule; sneer

Υελάω/καταγελάω
κλαίω
λατρεύω
μυκτηρίζω
ἐπαιτέω/προσαιτέω
προσεύχομαι
σαλπίζω
σεβάζομαι
στενάζω
sυζητέω
ύπερεντυγχάνω
ψάλλω
ώρύομαι

laugh/ridicule
weep; cry
serve; worship
mock
beg
pray
blow a trumpet
worship
sigh; groan
debate; argue
talk with; converse
plead; intercede
sing praise
roar

#### What is <u>not</u> a perfect? Semelfactive Predicates

💠 ἀστράπτω flash; gleam

💠 ἐξαστράπτω flash or gleam like lightning

❖κρούω knock

❖νυστάζω nod; become drowsy

❖ ἡαπίζω strike, slap, thrash

❖ἄλλομαι leap; spring up

❖γελάω laugh

❖διστάζω doubt; waver

\*κατασείω motion; make a sign

🌣 ὀκνέω hesitate; delay

- Large swaths of verbs denoting states, perhaps a majority, never form perfects.
- Semelfactives and the perfect never co-occur.
- Activity predicates, similarly, do not mix well.

#### What is a perfect?

- Different people say different things.
- So maybe it would be helpful for us to gauge the thing they say, if we've looked at some first verbs.

#### Caused Motion & Processes What <u>is</u> a perfect?

**	ανοίγω
	αποστέλλω
	(ἐκ)βάλλω
	΄ ἐκχέω
	<i>,</i> C
***	ελαττόω
**	ελαύνω
•	αταργέω
•	ρίπτω
***	κλείω
	·ἐγείρω
•	·ἀθροίζω
•	άνατρέφω
	γυμνάζω
	κατηχέω
	ξηραίνω

open send; send out put; throw; cast (out) pour out; shed (blood) make lower; make inferior drive (trans.) wipe out; set aside; abolish throw: throw down shut rise; raise up; get up assemble; gather care for; bring up train teach; instruct wither; dry up; to dry up

**\***πυρόω **❖** έτοιμάζω **❖** λατομέω παιδεύω παραλύω ❖ παρίημι **❖** περιδέω ★περιζώννυμι **\***στρώννυμι ❖θησαυρίζω **\*** καίω ❖ στηρίζω ❖τραχηλίζω

to burn; burn; fire prepare; make ready hew (out of a rock) discipline; train; educate weaken; disable \*παρασκευάζω prepare; be ready weaken; let fall at the side wrap around (trans.) gird (trans.) \*περικαλύπτω cover; conceal; blindfold spread store up; lay up; save up light; burn; kindle strengthen; establish strangle, put in a headlock

#### Caused States: Transference

άγοράζω buy; purchase

❖αἴρω take up; take away; pick up

💠 ἀντλέω draw (water)

💠 ἀποστερέω steal; defraud

💠 δεκατόω collect tithes; pay tithes

\*δέχομαι receive; accept; welcome

❖δίδωμι give; grant

❖δωρέομαι bestow; present

❖ Καταλαμβάνωgrasp; lay hold of

❖κληρονομέω inherit

\*λαμβάνω receive; take

μετέχω share; partake; participate

\*παραδίδωμι deliver; hand over; betray

❖πιπράσκω sell

**\***προσφέρω

**❖**τίθημι

τυγχάνω

\*κοινωνέω

bring; offer; bring to

put; place; lay

find; experience; attain

share; share in

#### Caused States: Status & Location

<b>❖</b> ἀπογράφω	enroll; register
<b>*</b> κρατέω	seize; arrest
<b>❖</b> λύω	untie; release
<b>❖</b> μερίζω	divide; deal out; apportion
μνηστεύω	betroth
<b>❖</b> περιτέμνω	circumcise
<b>❖</b> στεφανόω	crown
<b>❖</b> συναρπάζω	seize
<b>❖</b> συνδέω	bind someone with
<b>❖</b> σώζω	save; deliver
άπαλλοτριόω	estrange; alienate
<b>❖</b> ἀποκρύπτω	hide; conceal
<b>❖</b> ἀφορίζω	appoint; set apart

divide; distribute

scatter; disperse

**❖**διαμερίζω

**❖** διασκορπίζω

• ἐνίστημι
• ἐφίστημι
• ἵστημι
<b>•</b> καλύπτω
<b>:</b> καταλείπω
<b>•</b> κρύπτω
<b>•</b> μονόω
<b>•</b> παρίστημι
παρακαλύπτω
<b>•</b> πιέζω
συγκαλύπτω
<b>•</b> ύποτάσσω
• φανερόω
<b>•</b> χωρίζω

put, place in place on, at set, place cover; hide; conceal leave; leave behind hide; conceal forsake; leave alone place beside hide; conceal press down conceal subject; subordinate reveal; make clear leave; separate

## Caused States: Cognition & Judgment

<b>❖</b> δοξάζω	praise; glorify			
ἐλεέωshow mercy				
<b>❖</b> ἐξίστημι	amaze; astonish; astound			
<b>❖</b> πείθω	persuade; convince			
<b>❖</b> πλανάω	deceive; lead astray			
<b>❖</b> σοφίζω	make wise			
<b>❖</b> συγχέω	confuse; confound			
<b>*</b> τυφόω	be puffed up; be conceited			
<b>*</b> χαριτόω	bestow favor on			
<b>❖</b> σκύλλω	bother; annoy			
<b>❖</b> φυσιόω	make proud; puff up			
<b>❖</b> ἀξιόω	judge worthy			
<b>❖</b> ἀποδοκιμάζω	reject			
<b>❖</b> ἀπολύω ΄	release; set free; let go			
<b>❖</b> ἀφίημι	forgive; leave			

	•δικαιόω
*	•δοκιμάζω
	•δουλόω
	• ἐγκαινίζω
*	• ἐκλέγομαι
*	• ζωγρέω
*	•καταγινώσκω
	•καταριθμέω
*	•κρίνω/κατακρίνω
*	• ὁρίζω
	•παραιτέομαι
	•προκυρόω
	•προχειροτονέω
*	•τάσσω
*	•χαρίζομαι

justify test; approve enslave inaugurate; ratify choose; select catch; capture alive convict; condemn take a count of judge/condemn determine refuse; reject; excuse select appoint beforehand designate forgive; give freely

## Caused States: Physiological & Grooming

**\*** σπαργανόω

🌣 ἀναπαύω	make rest, refresh
❖διώκω	persecute
🌣 έλκόω	cause sores
🌣 ἐμπίπλημι	satisfy; fill
🌣 θεραπεύω	heal; cure
<b>❖</b> θλίβω	afflict; oppress

ἀομαι heal; cure
 ἀκαταστέλλω quiet; restrain
 ἀσυλλαμβάνω seize; arrest; appresser

συλλαμβάνω seize; arrest; apprehend
 τραυματίζω wound
 τυφλόω blind; make blind

❖ φιμόω silence; put to silence
 ❖ ἀμαιάνηνημα slother dross

💠 ἀμφιέννυμι clothe; dress

❖ἀνακαλύπτω uncover; unveil **❖** βαπτίζω baptize ❖διαζώννυμι gird; tie around ❖ ἐνδύω put on; clothe; dress wrap up; wrap (up); fold up **\*** ἐντυλίσσω **❖** ἱματίζω clothe ❖ καθοπλίζω arm; equip oneself ❖ κοσμέω adorn; decorate; make neat ❖ λούω wash; bathe **❖**ξυράω shave **❖** περιβάλλω clothe; dress

wrap up in cloths

## Caused States: Transformation

❖ άγιάζω ❖ ἁγνίζω άφομοιόω ❖διασπάω **❖**διαστρέφω \*ἐκστρέφω **\*** ἐντυπόω **\***ἐρημόω ❖ θραύω ❖ καθαρίζω \*κατασκάπτω ❖ κατασφραγίζω ❖ καταφθείρω

❖ καυστηριάζω

sanctify; make holy \*κενόω purify make similar tear apart pervert pervert carve; engrave ruin; lay waste break; oppressed purify; cleanse tear down seal up corrupt; ruin brand; sear

❖κεράννυμι **\***κοινόω **\***κονιάω ❖ μιαίνω ❖μίγνυμι ★παλαιόω ❖ πλατύνω **❖**πωρόω **❖**σήπω **Φ**σκοτόω **❖** σπιλόω **❖** συντρίβω ❖σφραγίζω

empty; render void mix defile whitewash defile mix wear out: become old enlarge; make broad harden decay; rot be darkened; darken defile; stain; to stain, defile crush: shatter: smash seal; seal up

#### Caused States: Begin/End & Other

destroy; perish; lose
beget (again)
destroy; corrupt
complete; fill; fulfill
bring to an end; finish
establish; lay the foundation
kill; slaughter; sacrifice
complete; prepare; restore
build; prepare; make ready
create
fill; to fill
initiate; learn the secret
put to death
stop; cease
behead

★πληροφορέω
★ποιέω
★σφάζω
★(συ)σταυρόω
★τελειόω/τελέω
★βαρέω
★δέω
★νικάω
★πειράζω
★σμυρνίζω
Φωτίζω
★χρυσόω

fulfill; convince fully make; do slaughter crucify (with) complete; perfect burden; weigh down bind; tie prevail; conquer test; tempt cause to take root treat with myrrh heap up; load up enlighten gild; adorn with gold

## What <u>is</u> a perfect?

❖ ἀχολουθέω άναβαίνω άνατέλλω ❖ ἀπαλλάσσω **❖** ἀπέρχομαι ❖ ἀποκυλίω **❖**διέρχομαι \* ἐγγίζω **❖**εἰσέρχομαι \* ἐκφεύγω ❖ ἐκπίπτω

❖ ἐξέρχομαι

**❖** ἐπιβαίνω

**❖** ἐπιπίπτω

**❖** ἐπισυνάγω

follow come up; ascend; go up rise; go up (labile causative) 💠 καταβαίνω leave; come to a settlement depart; go; go away roll away pass through; go through draw near enter; go in (to) escape fall; fall off go out; come out set foot in fall on; throw oneself upon gather together

## Processes: Motion

❖ ἔρχομαι ❖ καθίζω \* καταντάω ❖ μεταβαίνω ❖ παρακολουθέω ❖ παρέρχομαι ★περιΐστημι ❖ πίπτω \*πορεύομαι ❖ προβαίνω ❖προσέρχομαι **❖** συνάγω

❖ συναθροίζω

**\***συνέρχομαι

come; arrive sit down; sit go/come down reach; arrive at depart; pass over follow; accompany pass away; pass by avoid; stand around fall; fall down go; travel; go out advance; go forward come up; approach assemble; gather gather together come together

## Processes: Communication

<b>*</b> •α	ἰτέω
<b>*</b> • ἀ	ποδείκνυμι
<b>*</b> *γ	ράφω
<b>♦</b> દે	γγράφω
<b>*</b> €	ξηχέω
<b>*</b> €	πίγράφω
<b>₩</b> E1	<sub>δ</sub> αγγελίζω
<b>*</b> * χ	αλέω
<b>❖</b> λ	αλέω
<b>❖</b> λ	έγω/εἶπον/ἐρῶ
$\star \pi$	αρακαλέω
$\star \pi$	ρογράφω
$\star \pi$	ροστάσσω
<b>*</b> σ	υγκατατίθημι

❖χρηματίζω

ask; ask for proclaim; declare write inscribe; write down & ἐπαγγέλλομαι promise sound forth inscribe; write on proclaim good news 💠 κράζω call; name speak; say say; tell urge; implore write beforehand command; order agree, consent with negotiate, warn

άρνέομαι διατάσσω \* ἐντέλλω **❖** ἐπικαλέω καυχάομαι ❖ μαρτυρέω ❖ παραγγέλλω **❖** προεῖπον ❖ προεπαγγέλλω ❖ προσκαλέω 🍫 ῥώννυμι ❖συντίθημι ❖ ὑποδέχομαι

deny; repudiate give orders; direct command; order call; call upon boast shout: call out testify; bear witness command tell beforehand promise previously summon farewell agree; decide

receive; welcome

## Processes: Various Sorts

• γαμέω marry

ἡττάομαι be defeated; succumb to

💠 κατιόω become rusty; corroded

\*κλίνω bend, lie down

\*κοιμάω sleep; fall asleep

❖κοπιάω toil; labor

ψμανθάνω learn

❖προγίνομαι happen before

💠 συμβαίνω happen; come about

❖τελευτάω die

## What is a perfect?

- ❖ ἀγαπάω
- ❖ ἀκούω
- **❖** ἀπαλγέω
- ❖ ἀσθενέω
- ❖ βδελύσσομαι
- **❖**γινώσκω
- ❖διαφωνέω
- ❖διψάω
- ἐκλανθάνομαι
- ❖ ἐλπίζω
- 💠 ἐξουθενέω
- **‡** ἐπιγινώσκω
- **❖** ἐπιθυμέω
- ❖ ἐπιλανθάνομαι

love

hear; listen to

become callous

be sick; be weak

abhor; detest

(come to) know

disagree

be thirsty

forget (altogether)

hope

despise; disdain

know; recognize

to desire

neglect; forget

# States: Mind & Body

- \*εὐαρεστέω
- **❖** εὐλογέω
- ήγέομαι
- **❖**θαυμάζω
- **❖** θεάομαι
- ❖θέλω
- **❖** θεωρέω

please; be pleasing

praise; bless

consider; regard

to be amazed

see; look at; behold

want, wish

observe, look at

## What is a perfect?

\*κάμνω be tired

\*καταφρονέω despise; to disregard

❖μεθύω drunk

• μεριμνάω be anxious

μιμνήσκομαι remember

μισέωhate

❖oἶδα know

❖ ὁράω see; become visible

πάσχω sufferπιστεύω believe

•προγινώσκω know beforehand

❖προελπίζω hope before

προοράω foresee; see before

❖σύνοιδα share the knowledge of

## States: Mind & Body

❖ταλαιπωρέω be sorrowful

❖φιλέω love

**❖**φοβέω be afraid

❖φρονέω to have an opinion

## States: Various Sorts

💠 ἀνθίστημι stand in opposition; resist

💠 διαμένω remain; continue

💠 δουλεύω serve; be a slave

 $\bullet$ εἴωθα be accustomed

❖ἔοικα be like

**‡**ἔχω have

❖θνήσκω die; be dead

μένω remain; stay; reside

\*παραχειμάζω winter; spend the winter

\*παροίχομαι be past

💠 πλουτέω be rich; become rich

❖πολιτεύομαι live; lead one's life

💠 ὑστερέω lack; fall short of

# What is a perfect?

- Change-of-state predicates dominate the field, whether as causatives or various types of processes.
- But there are still a good number of state predicates and a handful of activity-like predicates.
- The contemporary secondary literature does not have a whole lot to say about these facts

# What does the <u>literature</u> say?

"A surprisingly large degree of consistency can be found in definitions of the meaning of the Greek Perfect, i.e. definitions of its aspectual function."

—Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, 248.

## Like English: Anterior

- In essence, though not exactly in use, the Greek perfect tense corresponds to the English one, in that it is not a past tense but a present one, indicating not the past action as such but the present «state of affairs» resulting from the past action (Zerwick, 1963, 96).
- The perfect system expresses the view of an action as being in some way prior (Swetnam, 1998, 138).
- The expansion of the category perfect to verbs and voices where it cannot express resultant state means that these new forms get Anterior-like semantics: they are simply not interpretable as Resultatives (Haug 2008, 302).

## Event completion & Present effect

- By the Perfect the Greeks denote an action completed *for and with reference to the Present* (Curtius 1872, 281)
- The perfect (as also the pluperfect) unites in itself as it were present and aorist, since it expresses the continuance of completed action (Blass 1911, 198).
- The Perfect action is a variety by itself, denoting what began in the past and still continues: thus from the "point" root *weido*, "discover, descry," comes the primitive perfect οἶδα, "I discovered (εἶδον) and still enjoy the results," i.e. "I know (Moulton 1908, 109).
- The perfect denotes a completed action the effects of which still continue in the present (Smyth, 1956, 434).
- The Aktionsart belonging properly to the [perfect] tense is either fulfilment in the present of a process begun in the past or else the contemplation of an event having taken place in the past with an interval intervening, whereas the English perfect is used when no interval intervenes (Turner 1961, 81-2).
- The perfect combines in itself, so to speak, the present and the agrist in that it denotes the continuance of completed action (Blass, Debrunner, & Funk 1961, 175).
- The perfect tense basically had reference to the present state of the subject, which results from a previous, completed action or experience (Moorhouse 1982, 197).

## **Event Completion**

- The Perfect expresses a complete action, whether it be not completed till the very moment of speaking, as γέγραφα, *I have (just) written*; or has been completed a long time before, as ἡ πλολις ἔκτισται, *it has been built* (Kuhner-Jelf 1866).
- "By the Perfect the Greeks denote an action completed *for and with reference to the Present*" (Curtius 1872, 281)
- "The perfect tense is used in full accordance with its meaning when the past is set in relation to the present, i.e., when something past is to be indicated as now (in the present) absolutely completed" (Winer & Moulton 1882, 338).
- The perfect represents an action as already finished at the present time; as  $\gamma \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \alpha$ , I have written (that is, my writing is now finished) (Goodwin 1889, 13)
- In its most frequent use the Perfect Indicative represents an action as standing at the time of speaking complete (Burton 1898, 37).
- The perfect tense expresses completion in the present, and hence is sometimes called the present perfect (Gildersleeve 1900).
- The perfect, considered purely as an aspect, involves the postulation of a 'viewing point' from which a given 'event', having previously taken place, is seen to be already completed (Horrocks 2010, 174).
- A property of the SUBJECT at reference time as a function of the event described by the lexical verb having run to some terminal point (Crellin 2012).

## Event Completion & Result State

- The perfect indicative locates the state resulting from the completion of the preceding state of affairs in the 'present'. (Rijksbaron 2007, 35)
- la valeur fondamentale du theme du parfait consiste a exprimer l'etat resultant de l'achevement del'action' (the fundamental value of the perfect tense is to express the state resulting from the completion of the action) (Ruijgh 1991, 208).

## State/Stative

- The Perfect is sometimes used when the attention is directed wholly to the present resulting state, the past action of which it is the result being left out of thought (Burton, 1898, 37).
- The perfect aspect expresses the state or condition of the subject of the verb, as a result of an action (logically a prior action), but most often with comparatively little reference to the action itself (McKay 1994. 31).
- The perfect and pluperfect tense-forms occur in contexts where the user of Greek wishes to depict the action as reflecting a given (often complex) state of affairs (Porter, 1999, 39).
- The perfect and pluperfect [are] members of the stative aspect in which the speaker conceives the verbal idea as a condition or state of affairs (Young, 1994, 126).
- The aspect of the perfect is stative: it describes a state/condition rather than an action—a situation described with no reference to change or expenditure of energy. This "state" refers to the state of the grammatical subject of the sentence, not the object (Decker 2014, 329)

# What does the <u>literature</u> say? Something else?

- The aspect of the perfect and pluperfect is sometimes called stative, resultative, completed, or perfective-stative. Whatever it is called, the kind of action portrayed (in its unaffected meaning) is a combination of the external and internal aspects: The action is presented externally (summary), while the resultant state proceeding from the action is presented internally (continuous state) (Wallace 1996, 573).
- The perfect in NT Greek is a complex verbal category denoting, in its basic sense, a state which results from a prior occurrence. Thus, it combines three elements within its invariant meaning: the Aktionsart-feature of stative situation, the tense-feature of anteriority, and the aspect of summary viewpoint concerning the occurrence (Fanning 1990, 119-20).
- It is taken to convey stative force, imperfective aspect, and non-past temporal reference. The form itself does not in itself refer to prior occurrence, though the lexical semantics of action verbs tend to produce this effect. The state involved is always that of the subject (Evans 2001, 147).
- the perfect shares the imperfective aspect of the present tense-form, as well as the spatial value of proximity. The proximity of the perfect, however, reaches a higher degree than that of the present, thus being the value that distinguishes the two forms (Campbell 2007, 210).

# What does the <u>literature</u> say?

- How do we account for these competing definitions?
- First, by not saying that they're competing.
  - 'Compete' conveys something about winning and losing that we maybe don't need: involving a winner on the one hand and losers on the other.
  - This hinders our capacity to engage with those we disagree.

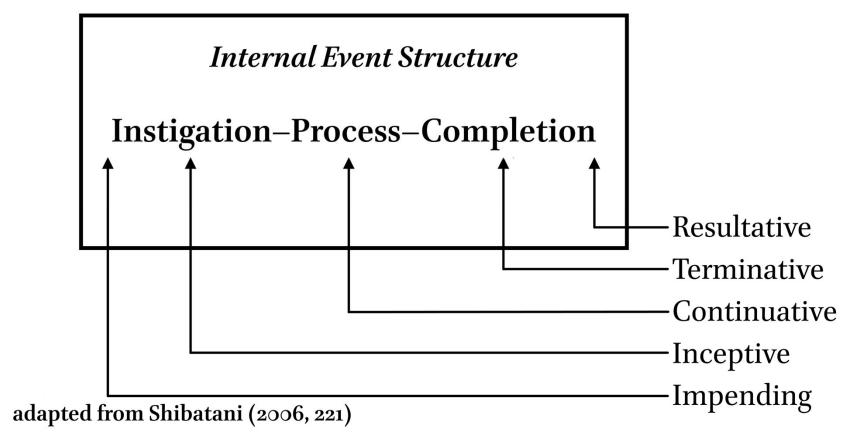
# What does the <u>literature</u> say?

- This does not mean that we accept all definitions as correct.
- Some of these definitions, especially the ones that lean on English, are rather problematic.

What does the <u>data</u> say?

# High Transitivity Events

## High Transitivity Events



# High Transitivity Events

## High transitivity events:

- 1) Agentive subject
- 2) Overt, highly distinguishable object
- 3) Object undergoes a change of state.
- 4) Agent is not affect by the event/process

# High Transitivity Verbs: Intransitive Middle Perfect

### Perfective (Mt 26:26):

λαβών ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας <u>ἔκλασεν</u> Jesus, taking bread & giving thanks, <u>broke</u> it.

## Imperfective (1 Cor 10:16):

τὸν ἄρτον ὃν <u>κλῶμεν</u> the bread which <u>we break</u>

## Perfect (Plut., Against Colotes 25 – media tantum):

ή δὲ κώπη <u>κέκλασται</u> the oar **is broken** 

# High Transitivity Verbs w/Transitive Perfect

#### Tend to fall into a few semantic classes:

- Caused Motion/Transference
- Finish/Achieve
- Labor/Production
- Still have Agentive Subject & Highly affected Object
- Subject also affected by the event

## Caused Motion Verbs: Act=trans. & Mid=Intrans.

- αἴρω, 'take away, remove'
  - Active: ἦρκεν χεῖρας ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου
     'he has lifted his hand against the Lord' (Job 15:25)
  - Middle: ἀπὸ γὰρ προσώπου ἀδικίας ἦρται ὁ δίκαιος 'From the face of injustice the righteous person <u>is removed</u>' (Lxx Is 57:1)
- ἐκχέω, 'pour out'
  - Active: οὐκ ἐκκέχυκα αὐτὸ ἐπὶ γῆν
     'I <u>have</u> not <u>poured</u> it <u>out</u> upon the land' (Lxx Ez 24:7)
  - Middle: ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν
     The love of God has been poured out in our hearts (Rom 5:5)

# Transference Verbs w/Transitive Perfect

#### δίδωμι, 'I give x to y'

κἀγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, .
 The glory which you have given me I have given them (John 17:22)

#### καταργέω, 'I set aside x'

κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου.
 I did away with childish things (1 Cor 13:11)

## Finish/Achieve Verbs w/Transitive Perfect

πληρόω, 'complete; fill; fulfill x'

• ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον <u>πεπλήρωκεν</u>
For the person who loves another <u>has fulfilled</u> the Law (Rom 13:8).

τελέω, 'I finish, complete x'

τὸν δρόμον <u>τετέλεκα</u>
 I <u>have finished</u> the course (2 Tim 4:7)

# Middling Transitive Verbs

With a Transitive Perfect

## Mid-Transitive Verbs w/Transitive Perfect

## Less transitive events (Middling Transitivity Verbs?):

- 1) Agentive Subject still cause event.
- 2) Overt, highly distinguishable object.
- 3) Object undergoes a cognitive change rather than physical.
- 4) Agent's involvement in the event is itself an affected change.
- 5) Predominately communication verbs.

#### καλέω, 'call; summon'

• εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωριζέσθω· οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός
But if the unbelieving spouse separates, let them. The brother or sister is not bound in such cases. It is to peace that God has called us (1 Cor 7:15).

#### διατάσσω, 'command, given an order'

• διατεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης Claudius had commanded all the Jews to leave Rome (Acts 18:2).

#### γράφω, 'write x'

- ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλᾶτος: "Ο γέγραφα γέγραφα.
   Pilate replied, "What I have written, I have written" (John 19:22).
- ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον <u>γεγραφότος</u>

  For the present purpose we must add to his statements, already quoted above, a tradition about Mark, the <u>author</u> of the Gospel (FPap 3.14).

29 And Solomon sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, saying, "Go, kill him and bury him." 30 Benaiah son of Jehoiada went at the tent of the Lord and said to him, "This is what the king says: 'Come out!' " Joab said, "I will not come out because then I will die." Benaiah son of Jehoiada returned and said to the king, saying, "Thus Joab spoke (λελάληκεν) and thus he responded (ἀποκέκριταί) to me." 31 The king told him, "Go and do to him just as he has said (εἴρηκεν). Kill him and bury him (Lxx 3 King 2:29–31)

# 4 And you shall speak to the whole house of Israel: 5 'This is what the Lord says...

... 13 And my anger and my wrath will be accomplished against them, and you will acknowledge that I, the Lord, have spoken (λελάληκα) in my zeal, when I have accomplished my anger against them. 14 And I will place you in the desert with your daughters surrounding you, before all those who travel through. 15 And you will be mourned and wretched among the nations who surround you when I make a judgment against you in the vengeance of my anger. I the Lord have spoken (λελάληκα). 16 And when I have dispatched the javelins of famine against them, they also will be in a faint, and I will crush the supply of your bread. 17 And I will dispatch famine and grievous wild beasts against you, and I will take vengeance on you, and death and blood will pass through against you, and I will bring a sword against you all around. I, the Lord, have spoken (λελάληκα) (Lxx Eze 5:4-17).

# Low Transitivity Verbs

With a Transitive Perfect Active

## Low Transitivity Verbs: Trans. & Intrans. Perfects

### Low transitive events, but still not intransitive or states:

- 1) Subject undergoes a change of state.
- 2) Subject is still volitional.
- 3) Object effects that change in the subject.
- 4) Kinds of events include:
  - learning, reciprocity, benefactive-transference
  - non-caused motion, body action

## Low Transitivity Lexemes – Reciprocity

### Perfective (Phil 4:15):

οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία <u>ἐκοινώνησεν</u> εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως...

Not one church **shared** with me in the matter of giving & receiving

## Imperfective (1 Peter 4:13):

άλλὰ καθὸ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε

But to the extant that **you are sharing** in Christ's sufferings, rejoice.

## Perfect (Heb 2:14):

τὰ παιδία <u>κεκοινώνηκεν</u> αἵματος καὶ σαρκός the children <u>are partakers</u> of blood and flesh

# Low Transitivity Verbs w/Transitive Perfect

#### μανθάνω, 'learn x'

• μεμάθηκεν ή γλώσσα αὐτών λαλεῖν ψευδή
Their tongue <u>has learned/knows</u> how to speak lies (LXX Jer 9:4).

#### λανθάνω, 'escape from x'

ποῖος δὲ τόπος ἐστὶν τῆς συνέσεως; λέληθεν πάντα ἄνθρωπον
 And what is the place of understanding? It has escaped/is hidden from all people (LXX Job 28:21).

# Low Transitivity Verbs w/Intransitive Perfect

#### πολεμέω, 'I fight x'

• ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελον αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι ἑστῶτα ἐπάνω τοῦ τόπου, οὖ τὸν βωμὸν ἱδρῦσθαι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν μὴ ἱδρύ[ε]σθαι τὸ ἱερόν, διὰ τὸ αἵματι ἀνθρωπίνῳ πεφύρθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη πεπολεμηκέναι.

Then an angel appeared to him standing above the place where the altar is set up in Jerusalem and ordered him not to set up the temple, because he was defiled with human blood and was a warrior for many years (OT Pseudepigrapha Eupolemus 30:5 [fragment #2]).

# Dynamic Intransitive Verbs

(i.e. not states)

Intransitive Perfects

#### Dynamic Intransitive Verbs

#### Intransitive, non-state verbs:

- 1) A single participant undergoes a process
- 2) Kinds of events include:
  - Translational motion, body action
  - Spontaneous events, generic 'happen' verbs

### Dynamic Intransitive Verbs with the Perfect

πταίω, 'trip, fall' is ambiguous with either Semelfactive (dynamic, no change) or Telic (change-of-state) readings.

**Aorist:** Either reading is possible.

- μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσιν; μὴ γένοιτο
   Did they stumble such that they fell? Absolutely not (Rom 11:11).
- ἐβρόντησεν Κύριος ... καὶ συνεχύθησαν καὶ ἔπταισαν ἐνώπιον Ἰσραήλ The Lord thundered ... and threw [them] into confusion and they fell before Israel (Lxx 1 Kingdoms 7:10).

**Perfect:** Telic (=completed) event only.

καὶ εἶδον παῖδες Ἡδραάζαρ ὅτι ἐπταίκασιν ἀπὸ προσώπου Ισραηλ
 And the sons of Hadraazar saw that they have fallen in front of Israel (LXX 1 Chron. 19:19).

### Dynamic Intransitive Verbs with the Perfect

#### ἔρχομαι, 'I come/go'

λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι καὶ Ἡλίας ἐλήλυθεν
 I tell you that Elijah certainly has come/is certainly here (Mk 9:13).

#### θνήσκω, 'I die'

πατήρ μοι Βαθουῆλος ἦν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἤδη τέθνηκε
 My father was Bethuel, but he has died/is dead already (Josephs, Antiquities 1.248).

### Dynamic Intransitive Verbs with the Perfect

ἐγγίζω, 'draw near'

Present/Aorist: Volitional subject, motion

• ὅλως εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων οὐκ ἐγγίζει, ἀλλ' ἀποφεύγει αὐτούς he never comes near an assembly of righteous men; instead he avoids them (Hermas, Man. XI, 13)

#### Perfect: Inanimate subject, no motion

ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ
 The kingdom of God <u>is near</u> (Luke 10:11).

#### Highest transitive verbs only have intransitive perfects:

- 1. The SUBJECT of the perfect exists in a STATE.
- 2. That STATE exists paradigmatically in the lexicon alongside the *transitive* non-perfect.
- 3. The object of the transitive non-perfect is the subject of the intransitive perfect.
- 4. Since the perfect is intransitive: some active-only, others middle-only.

The middle two groups of transitive verbs have transitive perfects.

- 1. In the active, the OBJ is in a resultant state from the event's completion.
  - Current relevance only exists as an implication of the discourse/context.
  - Involves the grammaticalization of EVENT COMPLETION rather than relevance.
- 2. Perfects are *transitive* in the Active & *intransitive* in the Middle
  - ἀπέσταλκα, 'I have sent [a messenger]' ←→ ἀπέσταλμαι, 'I am sent'
  - γεγράφα, 'I have written [a letter]' ←→ γεγράπται, 'It is written'

The low transitive verbs have transitive and intransitive perfects.

- 1. The SUBJ underwent a completed change of state & exists as result state.
  - Both RESULT STATE & EVENT COMPLETION are effectively indistinguishable.
- 2. Transitivity & Voice alternations have lexical idiosyncrasies
  - μεμάθηκα, 'I have learned=I know [+acc]' ←→ (active-only, no middle)
  - (middle-only, no active)  $\longleftrightarrow$  ἢγώνισμαι, 'I have fought to the end [+acc]'

#### Intransitive Verbs have intransitive perfects

- 1. A completed change of state took place & a participant exist in a resultant state.
  - Usually the SUBJECT
  - For 'happen' verbs, the affected participant is often dative rather than the subject.
- 2. Both subject state & event completion are effectively indistinguishable.
- 3. Any voice alternations are lexical idiosyncrasies

### State Predicates

#### How well do State Predicates fit here?

#### The facts on the ground.

- A minority of verbs that denote states also realize a perfect in their paradigm.
- The working assumption is: the concept of EVENT COMPLETION/RESULT STATE is somehow integral to the meaning of the perfect.
- The basic idea of what is a state predicate is in opposition to the basic idea of EVENT COMPLETION/RESULT STATE.

### State Predicates and Analogical Extension

When wanting to form a perfect with a state verb the language user had two possible options:

- Convert the state predicate and retain the change-of-state semantics required for the perfect.
- Convert the change-of-state semantics and retain the stativity of the verb.
- <u>Both</u> of these happen.

#### Analogical Extension: Convert the State Predicate

Both the RESULT STATE and EVENT COMPLETION readings of the perfect require a CHANGE-OF-STATE predicate.

• The former has more in common with a non-perfect state verb than the latter.

πείθω, 'persuade; make trust'

πιστεύω, 'believe, trust'

• "Αλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι· βασιλεὺς Ἰσραήλ ἐστιν, καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν·

He saved others. He can't save himself. King of Israel, is he? Let him now come down from the cross and <u>we will believe</u> in him. <u>He believes</u> in God, so let God deliver him now if he wants him (Mt 27:42-3).

### Analogical Extension: Adapt the State Predicate

#### πιστεύω, 'believe, trust'

• εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς δώδεκα· Μἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγειν; ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Σίμων Πέτρος· Κύριε, πρὸς τίνα ἀπελευσόμεθα; ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχεις καὶ ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἄγιος τοῦ θεοῦ Jesus then said to the twelve, Don't you also want to leave? Simon Peter answered him, "Lord to whom would we go? You have words of eternal life and we have come to believe and know that you are the Holy One of God (John 6:66-9).

#### Analogical Extension: Adapt the State Predicate

#### ἔχω, 'have, possess'

- καλὸν ὕδωρ ἔχομεν ἐν τῆ πατρίδι μου
   We have good water in my homeland (Josephus, Antiquities 7.312).
- δι' οὖ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν τῆ πίστει εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην We have come to have/have obtained access by faith (Rom 5:2).

Reconstrue the extend the semantics of the perfect.

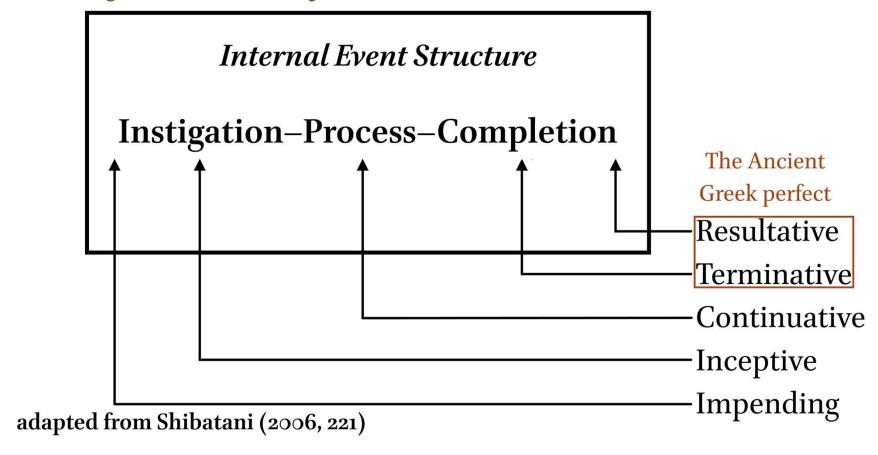
- Grammarians have noted that perfects with certain classes of state predicates have "intensive" meaning.
- Rijksbaron (2007, 38) puts it in this way:

"In the case of verbs whose present stem forms [i.e. non-past, imperfective] already to some degree express a state, the perfect expresses the highest degree of that state, (so-called intensive perfect)."

The structure of the analogical extension:

- Some types of states maybe be construed as scalar
- A transitive perfect refers to the Completed event/resultant state

### Scale of transitivity and Internal Event Structure



### Experiential Scale of a Physiological State

I am not hungry I am extremely hungry

English aspectual adverbs have this exact function.

- I'm hungry vs. I'm <u>completely</u> famished.
- John is exhausted vs. John is <u>totally</u> exhausted.

#### διψάω, 'be thirsty'

- ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με
   I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, <u>I was thirsty</u> and you gave me drink (Mt 25:35).
- ἄγριοι καὶ θηριώδεις ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης γεγονότες, αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου δεδιψηκότες
  - For some influence by a reckless audacity, supported by physical prowess, and equipped in full armor for war, strike down hoards of adversaries in a general slaughter and win the well-sounding—but little deserved—name of Respected. Yet though their victory gave them renowned from who judge such things, <u>from nature and practice they have become savage and bestial in their total thirst for human blood</u>. (Philo, Virtues 1-2)

#### πιστεύω, 'believe'

• εἶπεν αὐτῆ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἂν ἀποθάνη ζήσεται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· πιστεύεις τοῦτο; λέγει αὐτῷ· Ναί, κύριε· ἐγὼ <u>πεπίστευκα</u> ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Jesus said to her, "I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me even if they die, will live. And everyone who lives and believes in me will never die. Do you believe this?" She answered him, "Yes, Lord. I <u>certainly believe</u> that you are the Messiah, the Son of God" (Jn 11:25-7).

#### μεθύω, 'be drunk'

- ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾳ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει
   For each takes his own meal in the eating, and one is hungry, and the other drunk (1 Cor 11:21).
- Καὶ τότε δ' Ἰσραὴλ μεμεθυσμένος οὐχὶ νοήσει, / οὐδὲ μὲν αὖθ' ἀίσει βεβαρημένος οὔασι λεπτοῖς. / ἀλλ' ὁπόταν Ἑβραίοις ήξη χόλος Ύψίστοιο / οἰστρομανὴς καὶ πίστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξαφελεῖται, / οὐρανίου ὅτι παῖδα θεοῦ διεδηλήσαντο And then Israel, completely drunk, won't understand. / She will not even hear, being burdened with weak ears. / But when the raging venom of the Most high comes upon the Hebrews / it will even take their faith from them / because they caused great harm to the son of the heavenly God (Sibylline Oracles 1.360-4).

### Analogical Extension: Unintended Consequences

- Semantic bleaching is a common problem for any kind of INTENSIVE expression.
- Consider:
  - 'How are you today?'
  - 'I'm feeling whelmed.'
  - 'I'm feeling overwhelmed.'

#### Analogical Extension: Unintended Consequences

#### Consider:

- The usage of the perfect with intensive and inchoative states is very old.
- Thus many perfects with state predicates are likely already bleached.
- The especially true of:
  - 1. High frequency verbs
  - 2. Verbs mostly closely related to embodied experience.

```
**cough** οἶδα **cough**
```

# Concluding Thoughts

### Concluding thoughts...

- The raw data illustrates...
  - ...a clear preference for verbs that convey a change-of-state, i.e. are telic
  - ...what looks like the grammaticalization of EVENT-COMPLETION/RESULT STATE event structure
    - (you can call it something else if you'd like—I have written what I have written.)
  - ...a preference for the subject to be the means of referring to that state
    - Whether through transitivity shifts
    - Or voice alternations

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