



THEMATIC ROLES WHICH SO-CALLED PASSIVE SUBJECT  
BEARS IN 'THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW'

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0. Introduction

0.1. The aim of this paper

In this work, I will attempt to describe which thematic roles could be borne by the subject NP in so-called passive sentences in NT Greek, where the verb has so-called passive marker -the:-<sup><2></sup>. The description would make some semantic characterization of the -the:- type of passive. Deponent verbs are excluded from the items concerned here.

I use as a corpus the text of "Matthew" from NT here.

0.2. Traditional Characterization of Passive

I will survey the traditional descriptions on -the:- passive here. There seem to be the 2 types of views of -the:- passive:

- (1) The contrast between the active and the passive is less sharp.
- (2) Passive sentences are derived from the corresponding active sentence.

I will examine these 2 views in the following sections.

0.2.1. Less sharp contrast between the active and the passive

The view of (1) above is represented by, for instance, the description (3) below:

- (3) Das Griechische hat auf keiner Entwicklungsstufe die scharfe Antithese Aktiv:Passiv erreicht, die, abgesehen von der Konkurrenz reflexiver Verba, lebende germanische und romanische Sprachen besitzen. (Schwyzer(1950:p.238))

From this view, the passive sentences are not thought to be transformed from the underlying active structure, and the passive structure might be similar to the active structure in a certain way. This seems to make the Greek passive hard to grasp.

The view like (3) is also found in Moulton(1908:p.162)).

0.2.2. Passive sentence as a construction derived from the corresponding active sentence

On the other hand, the view such as (2) above is found in Smyth(1956):

- (4)(a)The direct object of an active verb becomes the subject of the passive:(Smyth(1956: §1743))
- (b)Active or middle verbs governing the genitive or dative may form (unlike the Latin use) a personal passive, the genitive or dative (especially if either denotes a person) becoming the subject of the passive(Smyth(1956: §1745))

In this opinion the Greek passive construction is thought to be formed from the underlying active structure. Therefore this view is not compatible with the view like (1).

My description of the thematic relation of the subject NP in so-called passive sentence could help to link above 2 views.

1. Items where the subject bears a invariable role

Here I hypothesise that each verbal item has a single case frame basically, but that the thematic roles born by NPs can be variable according to some semantic conditions. Therefore I think that the thematic role of a subject NP can sometimes be altered. I will describe the verbal items subject of which is not observed to have a variable role within "Matthew" in this section.

1.1.THEME(Lexical Entry Type Frequency(LETf):55)

The 55 items where the subject bears the thematic role of the THEME are found in "Matthew". One such item, therapeuo:(to heal) are found with the subject that bears THEME(ho pais(the child) in the following example:

(5)ka i etherape úthe: ~~ho pa ís~~ apò t ê:s h ó:ras eke í ne:s.(17.18.)

(and--healed<sub>3SO-PASS</sub>--the--child<sub>NOM</sub>--from--the--time--that)

'and the boy was cured at once.' <3>

I offer the list of the items taking the THEME subject here:

(lexical item)	(meaning) <4>	(source)
<u>hagi ázo:</u>	(to make holy)	6.9.
<u>ágo:</u>	(to lead)	10.18.
<u>ako úo:</u>	(to hear)	2.18./18.14.
<u>hal í zo:</u>	(to salt)	5.13.
<u>anágo:</u>	(to lead up)	4.1.
<u>ano í go:</u>	(to open)	3.16./9.30./27.52.
<u>apa í ro:</u>	(to take away)	9.15.
<u>apokathist áno:</u>	(to make well)	12.13.
<u>apokal úpto:</u>	(to reveal)	10.26.
<u>aph í e:mi</u>	(to allow)	12.31./12.31./12.32./12.32./24.2.
<u>genn áo:</u>	(to give birth to)	1.16./19.12./26.24.
<u>diaskorp í zo:</u>	(to scatter)	26.31.
<u>dias ó:zo:</u>	(to rescue)	14.36.
<u>diaphe:mi í zo:</u>	(to spread around)	28.15.
<u>dí do:mi</u>	(to give)	7.7./10.19./12.39./13.12./14.11./16. 4./25.29./28.18.
<u>dikai óo:</u>	(to show to be right)	11.19./12.37.
<u>dox ázo:</u>	(to praise)	6.2.
<u>e í pon</u>	(said)	5.21./5.27./5.31./5.33./5.38./5.43.
<u>ekb állo:</u>	(to drive out)	8.12./9.25.
<u>ekl úo:</u>	(to loose)	15.32.
	(>faint<pass>))	
<u>ekriz óo:</u>	(to uproot)	15.13.
<u>ele éo:</u>	(to be merciful)	5.7.
<u>empa í zo:</u>	(to trick)	2.16.
<u>eunoukh í zo:</u>	(to castrate)	19.12.

<u>heurísko:</u>	(to find)	1.18.
<u>therapeúo:</u>	(to heal)	17.18.
<u>zumóo:</u>	(to ferment)	13.33.
<u>kaléo:</u>	(to call)	5.9./5.19./5.19./21.13./23.8./23. 10./27.8.
<u>kathadikázo:</u>	(to condemn)	12.37.
<u>katalúo:</u>	(to destroy)	24.2.
<u>katapontízo:</u>	(to sink into the sea)	18.6.
<u>kaumatízo:</u>	(to burn)	13.6.
<u>ke:rússó:</u>	(to make known)	24.14./26.13.
<u>kleíó:</u>	(to shut)	25.10.
<u>kolláo:</u>	(to join)	19.5.
<u>kolobóo:</u>	(to shorten)	24.22./24.22.
<u>kremannumi</u>	(to hang)	18.6.
<u>kríno:</u>	(to judge)	7.1.
<u>laléo:</u>	(to speak)	26.13.
<u>metamorphóo:</u>	(to transform)	17.2.
<u>no:raíno:</u>	(to make foolish/ tasteless)	5.13.
<u>xe:raíno:</u>	(to dry up)	13.6./21.19./21.20.
<u>paradído:mi</u>	(to give over)	4.12./11.27./20.18.
<u>pakhúno:</u>	(to fatten (>grow dull <sub>(...)</sub> ))	13.15.
<u>planáo:</u>	(to mislead)	18.12.
<u>proístē:mi</u>	(to set in front)	6.33.
<u>prosphéro:</u>	(to bring)	12.22./18.24./19.13.
<u>saleúo:</u>	(to shake)	24.29.
<u>skotízo:</u>	(to darken)	24.29.
<u>skhízo:</u>	(to split)	27.51./27.51.
<u>só:zō:</u>	(to save, make well)	9.21./9.22./10.22./24.13./24.22.
<u>tapeinóo:</u>	(to make low, to humble)	23.12.

<u>hups óo:</u>	(to lift up)	11.23./23.12.
<u>pháino:</u>	(to give light (>appear <sub>(PASS)</sub> ))	9.33.
<u>phéro:</u>	(to bring)	14.11.

### 1.2. AGENT(LETF:1)

The item apokríno:(to separate (to answer<sub>(PASS)</sub>))<sup>(6)</sup> is observed to take the AGENT subject in (6):

- (6) hō dē ouk apekríthe: autê:₁ lógon. (15.23.)  
 (he<sub>NOM</sub>--PARTICLE--not--answered<sub>3SG</sub>--her<sub>DAT</sub>--word<sub>ACC</sub>)  
 'But He did not answer her a word'

No other items of this type are found except apokríno: in "Matthew":

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>apokríno:</u>	(to separate (>answer <sub>(PASS)</sub> )	12.38./15.23./25.9./25.37./25.44./ 25.45./27.14.

### 1.3. EXPERIENCER(LETF:9)

9 items from "Matthew" take the subject NP that bears the role of the EXPERIENCER. For instance, the item taráссо:(terrify) takes the EXPERIENCER subject in the passive sentence (7) below:

- (7) ako úsas dē ho basileús He: rō: dē: s etarákhthe: (2.3.)  
 (hearing--PARTICLE--the--king<sub>NOM</sub>--Herod<sub>NOM</sub>--terrified<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>)  
 'And when Herod the king heard it, he was troubled'

The list below is that of the items which take the EXPERIENCER subject:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>diakríno:</u>	(to evaluate (>doubt <sub>(PASS)</sub> ))	21.21.
<u>thumóo:</u>	(to make furious)	2.16.
<u>lupéo:</u>	(to pain)	17.23./18.31.

<u>mimn é:sko:</u>	(to remind)	5.23./26.75.
<u>horg í zo:</u>	(to make angry)	22.7.
<u>parakal éo:</u>	(to encourage)	5.4.
<u>tar ássø:</u>	(to terrify)	2.3./14.26.
<u>phob éo:</u>	(to terrify)	2.22./9.8./14.5./17.6./27.54.
<u>khort ázo:</u>	(to satisfy)	5.6./14.20./15.37.

#### 1.4. BENEFACTIVE(LETF:2)

In "Matthew", 2 items--perisse úo:(to cause to abound) and o:phel éo: (to help)--take the BENEFACTIVE subject. The subject NP ánthro:pos(person), which occurs beside the verb o:phele:thé:setai(<o:phel éo:), bears the role BENEFACTIVE in (8) below:

(8) tí gâr o:phele:thé:setai ánthro:pos ... (16.26.)  
 (what<sub>NEUT-ACC</sub>--PARTICLE--derive profit<sub>3SG-FUT-PASS</sub>--PERSON<sub>NON</sub>)  
 'For what will a man be profited, ...'

I offer the list of the items where the subject bears the role of BENEFACTIVE:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>perisse úo:</u>	(to cause to abound)	13.12./25.29.
<u>o:phel éo:</u>	(to help, benefit)	15.5./16.26.

#### 1.5. LOCATIVE(LETF:1)

Pímple:mi(to fill) is the only item which could be observed to take the subject NP of LOCATIVE in the passive sentence within "Matthew". For instance:

(9) ka ì eplé:the: bô gâmos anakeim éno:n.(22.10.)  
 (and--filled<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>--the--wedding hall<sub>NON</sub>--(those)being seated at table<sub>GEN</sub>)  
 'and the wedding hall was filled with dinner-guests.'

I display the meaning and the source of the item here:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>plímple:mi</u>	(to fill)	22.10.

#### 1.6. GOAL(LETF:1)

The only item didásko: (to teach) take the GOAL subject in the passive sentence within "Matthew". The following sentence (10) shows the case:

(10) hoi dè labóntes tà argúria epoíe:san ho:s edidákhthe:san. (28.15.)

(they<sub>NOM</sub>--PARTICLE--taking--the--silver coins<sub>ACC</sub>--make<sub>3PL</sub>--as--  
taught<sub>3PL-PASS</sub>)

'And they took the money and did as they had been instructed'

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>didásko:</u>	(to teach)	28.15.

#### 1.7. SOURCE(LETF:2)

There are only 2 items which take the passive subject of SOURCE in "Matthew" and I give below the two examples:

(11) eàn tòn kósmōn hólōn kerdé:se:₁ tē:n dē psukē:n auto ō  
ze:mio:thē:₁ (16.26.)

(if--the--world<sub>ACC</sub>--whole<sub>ACC</sub>--gained<sub>3SG-CJV</sub>--the--PARTICLE--life<sub>ACC</sub>--  
his<sub>GEN</sub>--lost<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>)

'if he gains the whole world, and forfeits his soul'

The following list is that of the items taking the SOURCE subject:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>eisakoúo:</u>	(to hear, obey)	6.7.
<u>ze:mióo:</u>	(to inflict a loss)	16.26.

#### 2. Items where the subject bears varying roles.

The items that take the subject bearing variable roles are described below.

## 2.1. THEME-AGENT(LETF:15)

15 verbs the subject of which either bear the THEME or the AGENT were found in "Matthew". In the example (12), the subject tò korásion(the girl) could be either THEME or AGENT:

- (12)ka ì e:gérthe: tò korásion.(9.25.)  
 (and--raised<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>--the--girl<sub>NOM</sub>)  
 'and the girl arose.' (THEME/AGENT)

Whether it is the THEME or AGENT depends on the context.

The following example (13) also shows the same phenomenon:

- (13)autòs e:gérthe: apò tòn nekrotòn ... (14.2.)  
 (himself<sub>NOM</sub>--raised<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>--from--the--dead)  
 'he has risen from the dead' (THEME/AGENT)

I give below the list of such items:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>aíro:</u>	(to take up)	13.12./21.21.*/25.29.
<u>anakíno:</u>	(to seat at table)	8.11.*
<u>báλλo:</u>	(to throw)	5.25./5.29./21.21.*
<u>egeíro:</u>	(to raise)	8.15.*/9.25.*/12.42.*/14.2.*/ 17.7.*/17.9.*/17.23.*/20.19.*/ 24.7.*/24.11.*/24.24.*/25.7.*/ 27.52.*/27.64.*/28.6.*/28.7.*
<u>emphanízo:</u>	(to make know)	27.53.*
<u>hístē:mi</u>	(to (make) stand, establish)	2.9./12.25./12.26./27.11.*
<u>katharízo:</u>	(to make clean)	8.3.*/8.3.
<u>mathe:teúo:</u>	(to make a disciple of)	27.57.*
<u>merízo:</u>	(to divide)	12.26.*
<u>homoióo:</u>	(to make like, compare)	6.8.*/7.24./7.26./13.24./18.23./25. 1.



<u>horáō:</u>	(to see)	17.3.*
<u>poreúō:</u>	(to carry, make go)	2.9.*/8.9.*/12.1.*/19.15.*/28.16.*
<u>stauróō:</u>	(to crucify)	27.26./27.22.*/27.23.*
<u>sunágo:</u>	(to gather)	13.2.*/22.34.*/24.28.*/25.32.*/ 26.3.*/26.57.*/27.62.*
<u>phiwóō:</u>	(to put to silence)	22.12.*

(X\*:THEME/AGENT, Y:THEME)

## 2.2. THEME-EXPERIENCER(LETF:2)

2 verbs, seío:(to shake) and skandalízo:(to cause to sin) were found to take the subject which bears the THEME-EXPERIENCER type of variable role. Given below are the examples:

(14)...ka l he: gē: ese ísthe: ... (27.51.)

(and--the--earth<sub>NOM</sub>--shook<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>)

'and the earth shook'(THEME([-ANIMATE]))

(15)ap ò dè to ù phóbou auto ù ese ísthe:san hoi te:ro Ōntes... (28.4.)

(from--PARTICLE--the--fear--his<sub>GEN</sub>--shook<sub>3PL-PASS</sub>--the--observing<sub>PL-NOM</sub>)

'and the guards shook for fear of him' (EXPERIENCER([+ANIMATE]))

The inanimate NP he: gē:(the earth) which occurs in the subject position bears the THEME in (14). The animate NP hoi te:ro Ōntes(the observing), on the other hand, has the role of EXPERIENCER in (15).

These items are:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>seío:</u>	(to shake)	21.10.*/27.51./28.4.*
<u>skandalízo:</u>	(to cause to sin (>anger <sub>PASS</sub> ))	11.6./15.12.*/24.10./26.33./26.33.

(X\*:EXPERIENCER)

## 2.3. THEME-LOCATIVE(LETF:1)

Ple:róō:(to fulfill, make come true) is the only item that is found to take either the THEME or the LOCATIVE subject. For example:

(16)...hóte eple:ró:the: ... (13.48.)

(when--filled<sub>3SG-PASS</sub>)

'when it was filled' (LOCATIVE)

(17)...hína ple:ro:thó:sin hai grapha i tó:n prophe:to:n. (26.56.)

(that--make come true<sub>3PL-CJV-PASS</sub>--the--Scriptures<sub>NON</sub>--prophets<sub>GEN</sub>)

'that the Scriptures of the prophets may be fulfilled.' (THEME)

In (16), the omitted subject is LOCATIVE, whereas the subject NP hai grapha i (the Scriptures) bears the role of THEME in (17).

The relevant item is given below:

(lexical item)	(meaning)	(source)
<u>ple:ró:</u>	(to fulfill, make come true)	1.22./2.15./2.17./2.23/4.14./8.17./ 12.17./13.48.*./21.4./26.54./26.56./ 27.9.

(X\*:LOCATIVE)

### 3. Observations

#### 3.1. Roles which the passive subject can assume

Here I have surveyed the thematic roles of the subject of the -the:- type of passive sentence, and this has been described so far. The roles that can be borne by passive subject are marked with a +, and those that are not observed are marked with a 0 in (18):

(18)THEME AGENT EXPERIENCER BENEFACTIVE INSTRUMENT LOCATIVE GOAL SOURCE  
 + + + + 0 + + +

All the roles but the INSTRUMENT are found to be borne by the subject of the -the- type of passive sentence.

#### 3.2. Frequency of roles (LETF)

Next I have surveyed the Frequencies of each role borne by the subject NP of the -the:- type of passive sentence in "Matthew". This description is not based on the frequency of each inflected form but on each lexical

item. That is, the frequency here is the so-called Lexical Entry Type Frequency(LETF).

(19a) shows the frequencies of items the subject of which bears the unvarying role. The frequency of items subject of which bears the variable role is shown in (19b).

(19c) shows the frequency of all the items with -the:- found in "Matthew" .

- (19)(a)THEME:55 AGENT:1 EXPERIENCER:9 BENEFACTIVE:2 LOCATIVE:1  
GOAL:1 SOURCE:2  
(b)THEME-AGENT:15 THEME-EXPERIENCER:2 THEME-LOCATIVE:1  
(c)Total:89

#### 4. Conclusion

The following results have been obtained from the investigation above:

- (20)(a)Most of the subjects of the passive bear the role of the THEME.  
(b)The subjects of the passive can bear all roles except that of the INSTRUMENT.  
(c)The subject of the passive as well as that of the active can bear the role of the AGENT.

(20a) supports the view that the passive sentence is derived from the active construction. The THEME is thought to be the typical role of the object NP in active sentences, as in (21):

- (21)A verb may have an object on which its action is exerted.(Smyth(1956: §919))

From (20a) and (21), I would say that the role of the THEME is shared by the subject of the passive and the object of the active.

- (22)S V<sub>ACT</sub> O ← THEME → S V<sub>PASS</sub>

This connection between the subject of the passive and the object of the active can be best understood as having resulted from a kind of

"paraphrase" from the corresponding active structure.

But many of the THEME subject can be altered into the AGENT subject under a certain semantic circumstance, as in (20c) (see THEME-AGENT in (19b)):

(23)(a) Some passive subjects can bear the role of the AGENT, which is thought to be the typical role of the active.

(b)  $V_{ACT} S \leftarrow \text{AGENT} \rightarrow S V_{PASS}$

This alternation makes the Greek passive look like the active, because the AGENT can be thought to approximate typical role of the active subject. In other words, this is the reason for the less sharp contrast between the Greek passive and the active, which is observed by Schwyzler (see (3) above).

The alternation of the thematic role of the subject is the most remarkable property of the Greek passive construction. This phenomenon would give a good explanation for the traditional observations on the Greek passive.

#### Notes

- (1) This work is based on the paper that I read at the meeting of Linguistic Society of West Japan on 9th. September 1989. I am thankful to Professor Yoshikawa, Mr. Mine, and Mr. Sato for their comments. Assistant Professor Koura, who read the earlier draft of this paper, gave me some comments. I express my thanks here.
- (2) There are various systems of the thematic relation, which depend on works. I adopt that of Radford (1988:7.10.) in this paper.
- (3) The English translations from 'New Testament in Japanese and English' are added to each Greek example.
- (4) The active meaning is written here.
- (5) Wackernagel points out that the -the- type of passive was rooted in the middle voice in origin (Wackernagel, J.: Vorlesungen über Syntax, vol. I. p. 139). I have received from Assistant Professor Koura at Univ. of Hiroshima the comment that the AGENT subject of apokrino might have something to do with this opinion of Wackernagel above. This point should be considered in detail.

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### 『マタイ伝』における所謂受動文の主語の担う主題役割 (要旨)

近松 明彦

本稿はコイネー・ギリシア語において、標識 the- を持つ所謂受動形動詞の生起する文における主語の担う主題役割(thematic role)として、どの役割が許されるかを記述した。新約聖書の『マタイ伝』をコーパスとする調査の結果、次の結果を得た。①INSTRUMENT以外のすべての役割が見いだされる。②出度数については、THEMEが最も多く用いられている。③AGENTの主語が可能であって、これは多くの場合、THEMEの主語と交替し得るものである。

さて、伝統文法家の受動文に関する意見は概ね次の対立した2通りの意見に大別される。(1)「能動文と受動文の対立が余り際だっていない」(2)「受動文は対応した能動文から派生される」。ここで、(1)は本研究の③から説明が可能である。受動文の主語がAGENTを担う場合、能動文に似たニュアンスを得るのである。また、(2)は本研究の観察②によって説明可能である。能動文の目的語と受動文の主語とはいずれも

THEMEを担い易いという点で対応していると言える。以上のように、本研究では従来の対立した見解を両立し得るものとして捉え直すことが可能になる。