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FEATURES OF THE CONCEPTUALIZATION
OF TRANSFERENCE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Abstract: This article develops five features that describe the conceptualizations of the event of transference grammaticalized by New Testament verbs, and uses these features to formulate a model of the possible New Testament usages of transference. The discussion resolves all New Testament occurrences of verbs that designate transference into one of eighteen usages with distinct feature descriptions, and considers the usages of transference predicted by the feature model but not realized in the New Testament. (Article)

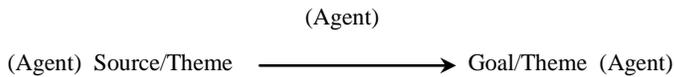
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1. *The Event of Transference*

An event is a cognitive schema of an action in which two, three, or four entities are set in a particular relation to each other.¹ Events are bare concepts of general categories of actions. The event of transference logically places four entities into relation: that which transfers, that which is transferred, the locale from which the transferred entity moves, and the locale to which the transferred entity moves. These descriptions correspond to the semantic functions Agent (the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity), Theme (the entity moving from one place to another or located in a place), Source (the literal or figurative entity from which something moves), and Goal (the literal or figurative entity

1. See Goddard, *Semantic Analysis*, 197–98.

towards which something moves).² In the event of transference, the Agent instigates and initiates the motion of the Theme; and the Theme is coincident with the Source at the initiation of transference and with the Goal at the termination of transference. The Theme moves along a continuous path from the Source to the Goal, where its motion ceases.³ This event does not specify uniquely the locale of the Agent, which may be at the Source (“He cast it into the sea,” Rev 18:21) or the Goal (“I will draw everyone to myself,” John 12:32), or in motion (“He brought him to Jerusalem,” Luke 4:9):



This event includes two *fixed* entities, the Source and the Goal, and so admits to resolution into two segments: initial, which includes the path of the Theme from its point of coincidence with the Source; and terminal, which includes the path of the Theme to its point of coincidence with the Goal. For the purpose of this study, the transition from the initial to the terminal segment of the event may occur at any point along the path.

2. Features of the Conceptualization of the Event of Transference

The bare concept of transference is qualified in general and specific ways. General qualifications are described by features that specify the conceptualization of transference associated with a number of verbs. Specific qualifications are associated with the unique denotation of each verb. Verbs that designate a conceptualization of transference with the same features constitute a verbal usage. The following discussion develops five usage features that specify various constraints on the conceptualization of

2. These and subsequent semantic functions receive description according to the thematic roles developed in Saeed, *Semantics*, 139–71 and Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 31–45.

3. See Jackendoff, “Measuring Out,” 317–18.

transference: subject affectedness, impetus, perspective, focus, and functionality.⁴

2.1 *Feature 1: Subject Affectedness*

English verbs that designate transference are restricted to active usages, that is, usages with active base forms; and passive forms of verbs with these active usages indicate passivization in which the Theme is elevated to the status of the verbal subject. Greek verbs that designate transference, in contrast, may have active, middle, and passive usages; and verbs with the active and middle usages may appear with passive forms by passivization. Greek active, middle, and passive base forms signal differing conceptualizations of the affectedness of the first complement (subject/Agent).⁵ Active base forms typically are *neutral* because they offer no clarification concerning the affectedness of the subject. Middle and passive base forms, however, signal that the Agent is affected. This discussion develops a three-fold distinction in the implications of active, middle, and passive base forms of verbs that designate transference.

Active base forms of Greek (and English) verbs typically provide no guidance in determining whether the first complement is affected. Thus, both ἀποκτείνω (kill) and ἀποθνήσκω (die) use active base forms in Greek (and English), even though the one who kills is not affected and the one who dies necessarily is affected. Greek and English verbs that designate transference, however, deviate from this norm in that their active base forms consistently signal that the subject is unaffected. In fact, the interpretation of unaffectedness can be overcome only by

4. These usage features constitute a development of those introduced in Danove, “Verbs of Transference,” 53–71 and in Danove, *Grammatical and Exegetical Study*.

5. Lyons, *Linguistics*, 373, discusses the nature of this affectedness; cf. Allan, *Middle Voice*, 19–20. Saeed, *Semantics*, 162–65, considers various categories of affectedness.

reintroducing the entity designated by the first complement in another grammatical capacity elsewhere in the clause:⁶

[Χριστοῦ] ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωνον τῷ θεῷ (Heb 9:14)

[Christ] who through the eternal Spirit offered himself spotless to God.

ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (John 21:7)

He threw himself into the sea.

In these examples, replacing the reflexive pronoun with a word that designates an entity other than the subject removes all implication of subject affectedness.

Although both middle and passive base forms in Greek signal the affectedness of the subject, they admit to a rigorous distinction with verbs of transference. Passive base forms indicate that an entity internal to the event, the Theme, introduces the subject's affectedness. Middle base forms, in contrast, indicate that the subject's affectedness is not introduced by an entity internal to the event. This discussion identifies the subject affectedness signaled by passive base forms as "internal affectedness" and that signaled by middle base forms as "external affectedness."⁷

An example of active and middle usages of transference with the same Greek verb appears with *παρατίθημι*:⁸

Act. ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς (Matt 13:24)
He set another parable before them.

Mid. παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ... (Acts 14:23)
They entrusted them to the Lord...

6. All New Testament and LXX citations are taken from Aland et al., eds., *Greek New Testament* and Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*. The translations are my own.

7. Further discussion of external affectedness (mid.) appears in Allan, *Middle Voice*, 112–14; Rijksbaron, *Verb in Classical Greek*, 147–50; and Bakker, "Voice, Aspect, and Aktionsart," 36.

8. The translation of verbs with other than active usages of transference receives further consideration in the context of the discussion of their usages.

The active/middle base forms signal that the subject is unaffected (act.)/externally affected (mid.). Semantically, verbs with active and middle usages of transference (Tra.) are three-place because they require completion by three arguments. Syntactically, they are ditransitive (ditr.) because the subject is an Agent, and all three arguments must be realized when the requirements for the permissible omission of complements (i.e., for null complements) are not met.⁹ Feature descriptions for these occurrences note the conceptualization of transference by placing after the verb an abbreviated statement of the event's four entities: A (Agent), Θ (Theme), S (Source), and G (Goal). After this description and in parentheses, appear the event that is conceptualized (Tra.), the affectedness of the subject (either unaffected or externally affected [act. or mid.]), and the syntactic information that the verb requires completion by three complements (ditr.). The complete feature description appears in carets, < >:

παράτιθημι <AΘSG (Tra. act. ditr.)>

παράτιθημι <AΘSG (Tra. mid. ditr.)>

A verb admits to interpretation with a passive usage of transference whenever (1) the verb is passive in form, (2) the verb realizes at most two complements, the subject and a local complement (Source or Goal), and (3) the context does not identify a definite semantic referent for the Agent of the verb when it is interpreted with the passivized form of an active usage of transference. When these conditions are met, the verb has two possible interpretations of transference: the passivized form of an active usage (Tra. act.) with the Agent indefinite and null, or a

9. Null complements may be either definite, that is, having a definite semantic content retrievable from the context, or indefinite, that is, having no definite semantic content retrievable from the context. Definite null complements are developed in Mittwoch, "Idioms," 255–59; Matthews, *Syntax*, 125–26; and Allerton, *Valency*, 34, 68–70. Indefinite null complements are developed in Fraser and Ross, "Idioms," 264–65; and Sag and Hankamer, "Anaphoric Processing," 325–45.

passive usage (Tra. pass.) with the co-referential Theme definite and null. These conditions are met in the following occurrence of *διασπείρω*:¹⁰

*πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ
Σαμαρείας πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων (Acts 8:1)*

- Tra. Act. All but the apostles were scattered throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria.
- Tra. Pass. All but the apostles scattered themselves throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria.

This two-fold interpretation is grammatically possible because an occurrence with these interpretations realizes only two complements:

	Realized Complements	Unrealized Complement
Tra. Act.	subject/Theme Source or Goal	indefinite Agent
Tra. Pass.	subject/Agent Source or Goal	co-referential Theme

Examples of active and passive usages of transference appear with *προστίθῃμι*:

Act. *τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ
προσθεῖναι πῆχυν; (Luke 12:25)*
But who among you...is able to add a cubit onto his age/
height?

Pass. *προσετέθη ὄχλος ἰκανὸς τῷ κυρίῳ (Acts 11:24)*
A substantial crowd added itself/themselves to the Lord.

Passive base forms signal that the subject is internally affected (pass.) because the Agent and Theme are co-referential, that is, the subject acts on itself. Semantically, verbs with active and passive usages of transference require completion by three arguments and are three-place. Syntactically, the active usage is ditransitive (ditr.) in both Greek and English. In English, the passive usage is ditransitive (ditr.); and verbs realize the Theme by a form of the reflexive pronoun “self.” Since the passive base

10. Procedures for weighing the relative merits of one interpretation over another appear in Danove, “Christological Implications,” 27–43.

forms in Greek clarify that the Agent and Theme are co-referential, the Theme consistently is omitted; and verbs are syntactically transitive (trans.) because they realize only the Agent and the required local complement when the requirements for null complements are not met. The following feature descriptions detail these considerations:

προστίθῃμι <AΘSG (Tra. act. ditr.)>

προστίθῃμι <A[Θ]SG [Θ=A] (Tra. pass. trans.)>

Passivization, in which the Theme functions as the verbal subject, is redundant in the passive usage of transference in Greek because the Agent and Theme are co-referential.¹¹

2.2 Feature 2: *Impetus*

In the conceptualization of transference, the Agent provides either an initial discrete impetus that sets the Theme in motion or a continuous impetus that sets and sustains the Theme in motion. Since Greek and English do not mark impetus on verbs, it must be determined from the nature of the action designated by the verb. In the following examples, *βάλλω* is characterized by a discrete impetus (–imp.) and *φέρω* by a continuous impetus (+imp.):

–Imp. *ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν* (Luke 12:58)
The officer will throw you into prison.

+Imp. *φέρουσιν αὐτῷ τυφλὸν* (Mark 8:22)
They bring to him a blind man.

Feature descriptions note discrete impetus (–imp.) or continuous impetus (+imp.) immediately after the statement of event entities:

βάλλω <AΘSG –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

φέρω <AΘSG +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

11. The use of passive base forms to signal internal affectedness offers insight into passivization in which the passive verb forms signal that the newly elevated subject/Theme is affected by an entity (Agent) internal to the event.

Verbs maintain the same impetus (either +imp. or –imp.) with all their usages.

2.3 Feature 3: Perspective

Although the event of transference incorporates four logical entities, Greek (and English) verbs can require completion by, and so govern without ambiguity the relationships among, at most three required arguments. Greek and English conceptualizations address the disparity in logical/semantic requirements by assuming one of two perspectives on the initiation of the transference, at which the Theme and Source are coincident and the Theme is beginning its motion toward the Goal. With the first perspective, the Agent is conceptualized as coincident with/proximate to the Source. With the second perspective, the Agent is conceptualized as coincident with/in the direction of the Goal. With these perspectives, verbs omit consideration of either the coincident/proximate Source (S=A) or coincident/co-directional Goal (G=A), which may be retrieved from the Agent, and raise the remaining three logical entities to the status of verbal arguments:

S=A *διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον* (1 Cor 4:17)
Because of this I sent Timothy [from me] to you.

G=A *παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* (Mark 14:36)
[You] take this cup from me [to yourself].

In 1 Cor 4:17, Paul (Agent) is conceptualized as coincident with/proximate to the Source, the initial locale of Timothy (Theme). In Mark 14:36, God (Agent) is conceptualized as coincident with/in the direction of the Goal toward which the cup (Theme) initially moves.

Feature descriptions note perspective by placing the omitted entity in square brackets, within the statement of the event and then specifying the entity from which the omitted entity may be retrieved, [S=A] or [G=A], immediately after the event description:

πέμπω <AΘ[S]G [S=A] –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

παραφέρω <AΘS[G] [G=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

Verbs that grammaticalize multiple conceptualizations of transference maintain the same perspective (either S=A or G=A) with all usages except for δανίζω, which assumes different perspectives (S=A/G=A) with active/middle usages <AΘ [S]G [S=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>/<AΘS[G] [G=A] +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)>:

S=A και άμαρτωλοι άμαρτωλοϊς δανίζουσιν (Luke 6:34)
Even sinners lend [from sinners] to sinners.

G=A τόν θέλοντα από σοῦ δανίσασθαι μή άποστραφής (Matt 5:42)
Do not turn away the one wishing to borrow from you [to the one...].

Although English verbs of transference generally maintain the same perspective with all usages, those that designate a change in proprietary use (like δανίζω) similarly may change perspective with different usages, as in the following examples of “lease.”

S=A She leased the cabin to him. <AΘ[S]G [S=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

G=A He leased the cabin from her. <AΘS[G] [G=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

This and following discussions attribute the change in perspective with δανίζω to an intruding grammatical principle that is restricted to the conceptualization of the exchange of proprietary use and so deem the perspective to remain consistent for a verb with multiple usages of transference.¹²

2.4 Feature 4: Focus

The conceptualization of transference may bring into focus either both segments of the event or only the segment containing the Agent.¹³ Conceptualizations that focus on both segments of

12. Further consideration of perspective-changing verbs of proprietary use appears in Allan, *Middle Voice*, 117–18.

13. A focus only on the segment not containing the Agent is excluded because the conceptualization of transference requires an Agent that instigates the action.

transference give rise to primary (pri.) usages that permit retrieval of all four entities of transference. Conceptualizations that focus only on the segment containing the Agent, in contrast, give rise to secondary (sec.) usages that do not permit retrieval of the Source or Goal of the segment that is not in focus.

Verbs with secondary usages of transference raise as required complements the Agent, Theme, and local complement (Source or Goal) with which the Agent is coincident/proximate (Source) or coincident/co-directional (Goal). Thus, verbs with secondary usages clarify or emphasize the initial locale of the Agent. The primary/secondary contrast appears in the following occurrences of ἀποστέλλω:

pri. και ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ (Mark 8:26)

He sent him to his house.

sec. ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ (John 1:6)

A human being, sent from God.

In Mark 8:26, the verb permits the retrieval of all four entities of transference because Jesus (he) and the man (him) are conceptualized as initially coincident or proximate. In John 1:6, however, the verb does not permit the retrieval of the Goal but emphasizes John's initial locale with God. A verb's primary and secondary usages of transference have the same perspective, either S=A or G=A, but differ in the local entity that is raised as a required argument: Source for one usage and Goal for the other.

Feature descriptions note primary usages by placing the unrealized but retrievable entity in square brackets, and secondary usages by placing the unrealized and irretrievable entity in parentheses. The other notations appear in the usual format:

ἀποστέλλω <AΘ[S]G [S=A] –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

ἀποστέλλω <AΘS(G) S=A –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

2.5 Feature 5: Functionality

Each logical entity of the event of transference is associated with a specific semantic function (Agent, Theme, Source, or Goal). A change in functionality occurs when the conceptualization attributes to the entity toward which the Theme moves (Goal) the

function of the Theme's abiding locale at the termination of transference. This entity then functions as a semantic Locative (the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs). The change in functionality from Goal to Locative (G→L) produces for verbs usages of transference that differ only in this feature, as in the following examples of τίθημι:

- G ἔθηκεν εἰς μνημεῖον (Acts 13:29)
They placed [Jesus] into a tomb.
- G→L ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνημείῳ (Mark 15:46)
He placed him in a tomb.

Feature descriptions note a change in functionality of the Goal to a Locative, G→L, after the perspective description:

- τίθημι <AΘ[S]G [S=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>
τίθημι <AΘ[S]G [S=A] G→L +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>

3. *The Feature Model of Possible Usages of Transference*

The discussion of features indicates that the conceptualizations of transference grammaticalized by a given verb maintain the same impetus and perspective but may diverge in subject affectedness, focus, and functionality of the Goal. This permits the formulation of a feature model that groups possible usages of transference into four sets according to their unchanging features, impetus, and perspective: Set 1 (+imp., S=A), Set 2 (–imp., S=A), Set 3 (+imp., G=A), and Set 4 (–imp., G=A). For each Set, a verb has three possible categories of subject affectedness: unaffected (act.), externally affected (mid.), and internally affected (pass.). For each category of subject affectedness within each Set, a verb has three possible combinations of focus and functionality: usages of Transference to a Goal/Terminating in a Locative with the same focus (pri. or sec.) but differing functionality of the Goal (G/G→L) and a linked usage of Transference from a Source with the alternative focus (sec. or pri.). Thus, the features project the possibility of nine possible usages for each of the four Sets of usages of transference.

4. *The Eighteen Usages of Transference Realized in the New Testament*

The New Testament presents 104 verbs that grammaticalize 18 of the 36 usages of transference permitted by the feature model. This discussion introduces the observed usages (eight active, three middle, and seven passive) sequentially and groups the usages in a given Set. Each usage receives a descriptive title, feature description, numerical designation, and illustrative examples from two verbs, whenever two or more verbs occur with the usage.¹⁴ The concluding discussion provides a feature model description of the observed usages by their Set.

4.1 *Observed Active Usages of Transference*

The eight observed active usages of transference include the three active usages of Set 1 (+imp., S=A), which appear with 67 verbs. Among these, the Primary Active Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 1) appears with 58 verbs:¹⁵

δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν (Matt 16:19)
I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of the heavens.

καὶ οἴσουσιν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτήν (Rev 21:26)
They will bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it.

14. Because this discussion groups usages by their Set, the proposed numerical designations for usages differ from those in Danove, *Grammatical and Exegetical Study*.

15. Usage 1: ἄγω, ἀναβιβάζω, ἀνάγω, ἀναδίδωμι, ἀναλαμβάνω, ἀναφέρω, ἀνταποδίδωμι, ἀντιμετρέω, ἀπάγω, ἀποδίδωμι, ἀποκαθίστημι, ἀποφέρω, ἀρπάζω, βυθίζω, δανίζω, διαδίδωμι, διαιρέω, διασκορπίζω, διασώζω, δίδωμι, ἐγκρύπτω, εἰσφέρω, ἐκφέρω, ἔλκω, ἐμβάπτω, ἐμβιβάζω, ἐξωθέω, ἐπάγω, ἐπιβιβάζω, ἐπιδίδωμι, ἐπισυνάγω, ἐπιτίθημι, ἐπιχορηγέω, καθίημι, κατάγω, κατασύρω, κατευθύνω, κίχρημι, μετάγω, μεταδίδωμι, μετατίθημι, μετοικίζω, παραδίδωμι, παραλαμβάνω, παρατίθημι, προάγω, προδίδωμι, προάγω, προστίθημι, προσφέρω, σκορπίζω, συνάγω, σύρω, τίθημι, φέρω, χαλάω, and χορηγέω.

The Primary Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] G →L +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 2) appears with 18 verbs:¹⁶

ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ (Matt 27:60)
He placed it in his new tomb.

τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρρήγῳ καὶ σωτῆρα ὑψωσεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ (Acts 5:31)
God lifted him up as leader and savior [terminating] at his right.

The Secondary Active Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <AΘS(G) S=A +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 3) appears with 12 verbs:¹⁷

οὐχ ἀρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μου (John 10:28)
No one will snatch them out of my hand.

μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς (Acts 13:17)
With a raised arm he brought them out of it (Egypt).

The three active usages of Set 2 appear with 19 verbs. Among these, the Primary Active Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Discrete Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 4) appears with 16 verbs:¹⁸

οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς (Mark 2:22)
No one puts new wine into old wineskins.

ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα αὐτοῦ (Matt 20:2)
He sent them into his vineyard.

The Primary Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Discrete Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] G →L –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 5) appears with five verbs:¹⁹

16. Usage 2: ἀρπάζω, διασκορπίζω, δίδωμι, ἐμβάπτω, ἐπιτίθημι, κατάγω, καταχέω, κεράννυμι, ὀδηγέω, παραδίδωμι, προάγω, προστίθημι, προσφέρω, συνάγω, σωρεύω, τίθημι, ὑψόω, and φυτεύω.

17. Usage 3: ἀνάγω, ἀναλαμβάνω, ἀπελεύνω, ἀρπάζω, ἐξάγω, ἐξωθέω, ἐπισυνάγω, καθίημι, μετακινέω, παραλαμβάνω, προφέρω, and ὑψόω.

18. Usage 4: ἀναπέμπω, ἀπολύω, ἀποστέλλω, βάλλω, διαβάλλω, ἐκβάλλω, ἐκπέμπω, ἐμβάλλω, ἐξαποστέλλω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιρίπτω, ἐπισπείρω, πέμπω, προπέμπω, ρίπτω, and σπείρω.

19. Usage 5: ἀποστέλλω, βάλλω, ἐξαποστέλλω, πέμπω, and σπείρω.

οὐχὶ καλὸν σπέρμα ἔσπειρας ἐν τῷ σῶ ἀγρῷ (Matt 13:27)
Did you not sow good seed in your field?

ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους (Luke 11:49)
I will send among them prophets and apostles.

The Secondary Active Usage of Transference from a Source with a Discrete Impetus <AΘS(G) S=A –imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 6) appears with five verbs:²⁰

ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθὰ (Matt 12:35)

The good human being takes out good things from good treasure.

μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου (Rev 3:16)
I am about to spit you out of my mouth.

Two of the predicted usages for Set 3 appear with ten verbs. The Primary Active Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <AΘS[G] [G=A] +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 7) appears with eight verbs:²¹

ἄρατε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μνᾶν (Luke 19:24)
[You] take from him the mina!

οὐδὲ ἐκ βάλτου σταφυλὴν τρυγῶσιν (Luke 6:44)
Nor do they gather grapes from a thorn-bush.

The Secondary Active Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ(S)G G=A +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> (Usage 8) appears with three verbs:²²

ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (Matt 11:29)
[You] take my yoke upon you!

ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῇ πνεύσῃ... (Acts 27:40)
Lifting up the mainsail into the wind...

20. Usage 6: ἀποστέλλω, βάλλω, ἐκβάλλω, ἐμέω, and θερίζω.

21. Usage 7: αἴρω, ἀνασπάω, ἀπαίρω, ἀφαιρέω, ἐξαίρω, παραφέρω, συλλέγω, and τρυγάω.

22. Usage 8: αἴρω, ἀποσπάω, and ἐπαίρω.

4.2 Observed Middle Usages of Transference

The three observed middle usages of transference include two usages of Set 1 (+imp., S=A), which appear with 11 verbs. The Primary Middle Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)> (Usage 9) occurs with all 11 verbs.²³ Since English presents no direct means for signaling external affectedness, the translations of verbs with middle usages introduce “with affect” in square brackets, after the first verbal complement:

θέσθε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους (Luke 9:44)
You [with affect] place these words into your ears.

ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων (Phil 2:9)
He gave to him a name above every name.

The Primary Middle Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ[S]G [S=A] G→L +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)> (Usage 10) appears only with τίθημι:

ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τηρήσει δημοσίᾳ (Acts 5:18)
They [with affect] placed them in public custody.

One middle usage of Set 3 (+imp., G=A), the Primary Middle Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <AΘS[G] [G=A] +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)> (Usage 11), occurs with three verbs:²⁴

ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ (Acts 7:10)
He [with affect] rescued him from all his tribulations.

τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανίσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς (Matt 5:42)
Do not turn away the one wishing [with affect] to borrow [something] from you.

23. Usage 9: ἀνατίθεμαι, ἀποδίδωμι, ἀρμόζομαι, δωρέομαι, ἐκδίδωμι, ἐπιτίθημι, παρατίθημι, προσανατίθεμαι, τίθημι, ὑποτίθημι, and χαρίζομαι.

24. Usage 11: ἀφαιρέω, δανίζω, and ἐξαιρέω. Note that the change in perspective motivated by an intruding grammatical principle (above) introduces δανίζω, a verb in Set 1 with active usages, into this usage otherwise populated by verbs of Set 3.

4.3 Observed Passive Usages of Transference

The seven observed passive usages of transference include the three usages of Set 1 (+imp., S=A), which appear with 14 verbs. Among these, the Primary Passive Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <A[Θ][S]G [S=A] [Θ=A] +imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 12) appears with 12 verbs.²⁵ The English translations of verbs with occurrences that admit to interpretation with a passive usage introduce a reflexive pronoun in the position of the second complement (Theme):

ὡς υἱοῖς ὑμῖν προσφέρεται ὁ θεός (Heb 12:7)

God is presenting himself to you as to children.

οὕτως ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (Acts 27:44)

In this way it happened that all brought themselves safely onto the land.

The Primary Passive Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus <A[Θ][S]G [S=A] [Θ=A] G→L +imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 13) occurs with three verbs:²⁶

ἐκριζώθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ (Luke 17:6)

Uproot yourself and plant yourself in the sea.

συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Matt 25:32)

All the nations will gather themselves before him.

The Secondary Passive Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <A[Θ]S(G) S=A [Θ=A] +imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 14) occurs with three verbs:²⁷

πάντως φονεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ δίκῃ ζῆν οὐκ εἶασεν (Acts 28:4)

Surely this human being is a murderer, whom justice does not permit to live [despite] bringing himself safely from the sea.

ἀνήχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου (Acts 18:21)

He brought himself [by sea] from Ephesus.

25. Usage 12: ἀνάγω, ἀναλαμβάνω, διασπείρω, διασώζω, κατάγω, παραδίδωμι, προστίθημι, προσφέρω, σκορπίζω, συνάγω, ὑψόω, and φέρω.

26. Usage 13: ἐπισυνάγω, συνάγω, and φυτεύω.

27. Usage 14: ἀνάγω, διασώζω, and φέρω.

Two of the three possible passive usages of Set 2 (–imp., S=A) appear with two verbs. Among these, the Primary Passive Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Discrete Impetus <A[Θ][S]G [Θ=A] [S=A] –imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 15) appears only with *ρίπτω*:

λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ...ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (Luke 17:2)
It would be better for him if...he cast himself down into the sea.

The Primary Passive Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Discrete Impetus <A[Θ][S]G [Θ=A] [S=A] G→L –imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 16) appears only with *βάλλω*:

Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ... (Luke 16:20)
Lazarus had cast himself at his gate.

Two of the three possible passive usages of Set 3 (+imp., G=A) appear with two verbs. Among these, the Primary Passive Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <A[Θ]S[G] [G=A] [Θ=A] +imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 17) appears only with *ἀποσπάω*:

αὐτὸς ἀπεσπᾶσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν (Luke 22:41)
He withdrew himself from them about a stone's throw.

The Secondary Passive Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <A[Θ](S)G G=A [Θ=A] +imp. (Tra. pass. trans.)> (Usage 18) occurs only with *ἐπαίρω*:

ἀνέχεσθε γὰρ...εἴ τις ἐπαίρεται... (2 Cor 11:20)
For you put up with it...if someone raises himself up....

4.4 *Table of the Observed Usages of Transference*

The following table groups the observed usages in a Set according to their five features, which receive notation in the usual manner. Since the usages of each Set have the same impetus (+imp. or –imp.) and perspective (S=A or G=A), these features appear at the far left. To the right of these appear affectedness (act. or mid. or pass.), focus (pri. or sec.), and functionality of the Goal (— when there is no change or G→L). The usage number appears after the sign ➔ at the far right:

	Impetus	Perspect.	Affected.	Focus	Function	➔	Usage
Set 1	+imp.	S=A	act.	pri.	—	➔	1
	+imp.	S=A	act.	pri.	G→L	➔	2
	+imp.	S=A	act.	sec.	—	➔	3
	+imp.	S=A	mid.	pri.	—	➔	9
	+imp.	S=A	mid.	pri.	G→L	➔	10
	+imp.	S=A	pass.	pri.	—	➔	12
	+imp.	S=A	pass.	pri.	G→L	➔	13
	+imp.	S=A	pass.	sec.	—	➔	14
Set 2	-imp.	S=A	act.	pri.	—	➔	4
	-imp.	S=A	act.	pri.	G→L	➔	5
	-imp.	S=A	act.	sec.	—	➔	6
	-imp.	S=A	pass.	pri.	—	➔	15
	-imp.	S=A	pass.	pri.	G→L	➔	16
Set 3	+imp.	G=A	act.	pri.	—	➔	7
	+imp.	G=A	act.	sec.	—	➔	8
	+imp.	G=A	mid.	pri.	—	➔	11
	+imp.	G=A	pass.	pri.	—	➔	17
	+imp.	G=A	pass.	sec.	—	➔	18

5. The 18 Usages of Transference Not Realized in the New Testament

Although the feature model predicts 36 possible usages of transference, the New Testament realizes only 18 of these. This discussion resolves the 18 predicted but unrealized usages into three groups according to the explanation for their absence. The three groups of unrealized usages include the nine usages of Set 4, the six usages from Sets 1, 2, and 3 (excluding the three middle usages of Set 2), and the three middle usages of Set 2.

5.1 The Nine Unrealized Usages of Set 4: A Logical Explanation

Nine of the 18 unrealized usages are the three active, three middle, and three passive usages found in Set 4. With these usages, the conceptualization of transference has the Agent co-directional with the Goal (G=A) and applies only a discrete initial impetus (-imp.) to the Theme. This describes an act of jerking, usually by means of a tether or lever. English examples include “back-casting” in fly fishing, “flicking” or “jerking”

something toward oneself, or “prizing” something with a lever. As in English, the occurrence of such usages in Greek is exceedingly rare and appears only with verbs such as *μοχλεύω* (prize up) and *ὀχλίζω* (move by a lever), neither of which appear in the New Testament. Given the nature and rarity of the action, it is not surprising that the New Testament presents no appropriate context for their introduction. These usages also are absent from the LXX.

5.2 *The Six Unrealized Usages of Sets 1, 2, and 3:*

A Distributional Explanation

The absence of six of the remaining nine unrealized usages has a distributional explanation. Since only the active usages have extensive occurrence, the distributional considerations compare the occurrences of realized and unrealized usages to their nearest active counterparts.

The Secondary Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ(S)G G=A G→L +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)> of Set 3 remains unrealized in the New Testament. Set 1 provides the closest basis of comparison because Sets 3 and 1 differ only in perspective (G=A/S=A), whereas Sets 3 and 2 differ in both perspective (S=A/G=A) and impetus (–imp./+imp.). The ratio of the occurrences of the Locative to the Goal usages of Set 1 is 0.113 (93/822). Since the parallel Goal usage appears on only six occasions, a comparable ratio of Locative to Goal usages of Set 3 would yield an expectation for 0.679 (6 x 0.113), or less than one New Testament occurrence of the Locative usage of Set 3. This Locative usage does appear in the much larger corpus of the LXX on 10 occasions with *αἴρω*:²⁸

τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας σου ἐπ’ ὤμων ἀροῦσιν (Isa 49:22)

They will take up your daughters on [their] shoulders.

28. Active Locative usage of Set 3 in the LXX: *αἴρω* (10) — Gen 40:16; Josh 4:5; 2 Kgs 14:20; 2 Chr 35:3; Isa 46:7; 49:22; 60:4b; 66:12; Jer 28:12; Ezek 12:12.

For the unrealized Secondary Middle Usage of Transference from a Source with a Continuous Impetus <AΘS(G) S=A +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)> of Set 1, the ratio of active Source to Goal usages of Set 1 is 0.045 (37/822). The middle Goal usage of Set 1 appears on 37 occasions, which yields an expectation for 1.71 (37 x 0.045) New Testament occurrences of the middle Source usage. This is the first of two unrealized usages with an expectation of at least one New Testament occurrence that is not met. This usage occurs once in the LXX with ἀποφέρω:

ὁ γοῦν Ἀντίοχος ὀκτακόσια πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἀπενεγκάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τάλαντα θάπτον εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐχωρίσθη (2 Macc 5:21)
So Antiochus [with affect] bringing away eighteen-hundred talents from the Temple quickly departed to Antioch.

For the unrealized Secondary Middle Usage of Transference to a Goal with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ(S)G G=A +imp. (Tra. act. ditr.)>, the ratio of active Source to Goal usages of Set 3 is 0.118 (6/51). The middle Source usage of Set 3 appears on nine occasions, which yields an expectation of 1.06 (9 x 0.118) New Testament occurrences. This is the second of two unrealized usages with an expectation of at least one New Testament occurrence that is not met. This usage appears in the LXX on six occasions with ἐπαίρω:²⁹

τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς ἐπήρατο χεῖρας ἐπὶ βασιλέα (1 Kgs 11:27)
This is the deed when he raised his hand against the king.

As with its active counterpart, the Secondary Middle Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus <AΘ(S)G G=A G→L +imp. (Tra. mid. ditr.)> does not appear in the New Testament. The previously noted ratio for active Goal to Locative is 0.113; and the middle Goal usage has an expectation of only 1.06 occurrences. This yields an expectation of only 0.107 (0.113/1.06) New Testament occurrences. This usage also is absent from the LXX.

29. Middle Goal usage of Set 3 in the LXX: ἐπαίρω (6) — 1 Kgs 11:27; 12:24b; Ezra 4:19; 1 Macc 8:5; 10:70; 2 Macc 7:34.

For the unrealized Secondary Passive Usage of Transference from a Source with a Discrete Impetus $\langle A[\Theta]S(G) S=A [\Theta=A] -imp. (Tra. pass. trans.) \rangle$, the ratio of active Goal to Source occurrences of Set 2 is 0.132 (44/333). The Passive Usage of Transference to a Goal in Set 2 occurs only once, which yields an expectation of only 0.132 New Testament occurrences. This usage also is absent from the LXX.

Like its active and middle counterparts, the Secondary Passive Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative with a Continuous Impetus $\langle A[\Theta](S)G G=A G \rightarrow L [\Theta=A] +imp. (Tra. pass. ditr.) \rangle$ is unrealized in the New Testament. As previously noted, the ratio of active Goal to Locative usages is 0.113; and the passive Goal usage has only three occurrences. This yields an expectation of 0.339 New Testament occurrences. This usage is absent from the LXX.

These considerations indicate that four of the six predicted but unrealized usages have an expectation of less than one occurrence in the New Testament, and that the two remaining unrealized usages have an expectation of only one occurrence. Thus their absence does not pose a serious challenge to the feature model. Multiple LXX occurrences of the two unrealized New Testament usages with the expectation of 1.18 and 0.741 occurrences also indicate the general adequacy of the discussion's reliance on distributional ratios.

5.3 *The Three Unrealized Middle Usages of Set 2: The Interpretation of Middle Voice*

The absence of the middle usages of Set 2 has no distributional explanation. The ratio of middle to active usages of Set 1 is 0.047 (45/952); and the ratio of middle to active usages of Set 3 is 0.158 (9/57). These ratios would recommend for Set 2, which has 407 active New Testament occurrences, between 19 (0.047 x 407) and 65 (0.158 x 407) middle occurrences. Equally striking is the presence of only one occurrence of a middle usage of Set 2 in the corpus of the LXX:

ἐπεβάλοντο χοῦν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν (Josh 7:6)
They [with affect] put dust on their heads.

The capacity of the feature model to predict and describe all observed usages of transference in the New Testament (and LXX) and the success of the logical arguments and distributional ratios to explain the other predicted but unrealized usages recommends ascribing the absence of the three middle usages of Set 2 in the New Testament to an intruding grammatical principle. The most likely candidate would be an inherent characteristic of the conceptualization of external affectedness (mid.) that is incompatible with a discrete impetus (–imp.). That is, the absence of these usages from the New Testament and the singular exception in the LXX recommend the interpretation that the conceptualization of external affectedness, in general, requires that the impetus of the Agent be continuous (+imp.).

Conclusion

This article developed five features of the conceptualization of transference that identify 36 possible usages of transference that may be grouped into four Sets. The discussion then demonstrated that all New Testament occurrences of verbs of transference resolve into 18 of the possible 36 usages. Although developed only by implication, the LXX occurrences of these verbs also were shown to resolve into 21 of the same 36 usages. The discussion identified logical (the nine usages of Set 4) and distributional (six usages of Sets 1, 2, and 3) considerations that account for the absence of possible but unobserved usages, and proposed a semantic principle (three middle usages of Set 2) that accounts for the remaining unobserved New Testament usages.

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