

“Deriving” and Describing Usages of *Τίθημι* and *Τίθημι*
Compounds in the Septuagint and New Testament

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Abstract: *Τίθημι* and its compounds present the broadest range of licensing properties of any set of verbal compounds in the Septuagint and New Testament. This article resolves the occurrences of *τίθημι* and its twenty compounds into twenty–six distinct usages. The discussion of each usage “derives” the event that the verbs grammaticalize, specifies the conceptualization of the event associated with each usage, describes the syntactic and semantic requirements for verbs with the usage, identifies the observed lexical realizations of required complements, and illustrates occurrences of the verbs with the usage. The discussion then summarizes the relationships among the usages, proposes a further basis for relating the events, and notes the possibility of polysemous interpretations of verbal occurrences. (Article)

Keywords: event, lexical, semantic, syntactic, usage, verb

1. *Preliminary Considerations*

This discussion investigates the conceptualization of events and develops procedures for deriving one event from another, for describing the usages with which *τίθημι* and its compounds grammaticalize events, and for specifying the licensing properties of verbs with each usage.

1.1 *The Conceptualization of Events*

An event is a cognitive schema of an action that sets two, three, or four entities in a particular relationship with each other.¹ This discussion investigates the conceptualization of three events that are significant for the following study.

The event of transference (Tra.) relates four entities.² These entities function semantically as an Agent (A), “the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity,” Theme (Θ), “the entity moving from one place to another or located in a place,” Source (S), “the literal or figurative entity from which something moves,” and Goal (G), “the literal or figurative entity towards which something moves.”³ According to the conceptualization of transference, an Agent transfers a Theme from a Source to a Goal. The following example distinguishes the complements that realize these entities by the first letter of their semantic functions (A, Θ, S, and G).⁴

ἐπίθες ἐπ’ αὐτὸ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (Num 17:11)
[You (A)] place [fire (Θ)] [from the altar (S)] [onto the censor (G)].

The event of motion (Mot.) relates three entities that function as a Theme, a Source, and a Goal. According to the conceptualization of motion, a Theme moves from a Source to a Goal:

μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] εἰς ἕτερον
εὐαγγέλιον (Gal 1:6)
[You (Θ)] are relocating [from the one calling you in (the) grace of Christ
(S)] [to another gospel (G)].

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

2. Further discussion of the event of transference appears in Danove, “Features,” 5–6.

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

4. This study uses the texts of Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, and Aland et al., eds., *Greek New Testament*.

The event of effect (Eff.) relates two entities that function as an Agent and a Patient (P), “the entity undergoing an action.” According to the conceptualization of effect, an Agent acts on a Patient:

περιθήσεις τήν σκηγήν (Exod 40:8)
 [You (A)] will set up [the tent (P)].

1.2 *Deriving Events*

This discussion develops the procedure for deriving the various events grammaticalized by τίθημι and its compounds from one base event. The procedure uses transference as the base event because the verbs grammaticalize transference in a majority of their occurrences. The procedure derives one event from another through the exclusion or augmentation of event entities and / or through changes in the functionality of event entities.

The events of transference (AΘSG) / motion (ΘSG) differ in the presence / absence of an Agent entity. The procedure derives the event of motion directly from the event of transference through the exclusion of the Agent of transference. The derivational description of the event of motion uses the four entities of transference (the base event) and places parentheses, (), around the Agent to note its exclusion. The derivational description of motion, (A)ΘSG, has the same entities as those originally proposed for motion, ΘSG.

Although the events of transference (AΘSG) and effect (AP) appear quite different, the procedure derives effect directly from transference through exclusion of the Source and Goal of transference. This exclusion removes the implication of motion, and only the action of the Agent on the remaining entity remains. As a consequence, the remaining entity functions as a Patient. The procedure notes the exclusion of the Source and Goal entities by placing them in parentheses, AΘ(SG), and signals the change in the functionality of the Theme of transference to the Patient of effect through a right arrow linking the Theme and Patient, Θ→P. The resulting derivational description of effect, AΘ(SG) Θ→P, has the same entities as those originally proposed for effect, AP.

The second mechanism for driving events is the augmentation of the entities of an event by a new entity. Augmentation never occurs directly with transference, which already includes the maximum of four entities. However, events derived from transference through exclusion have fewer than four entities and are candidates for augmentation. For example, the procedure derives the event of transformation (Tfm.), which includes an Agent, a Patient, and a Resultative (R), “the final state of an entity undergoing change,” directly from the event of effect through augmentation by a Resultative.

Eff. *Δαρείος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔθηκεν γνώμην* (Ezra 6:1)
[King Darius (A)] made [a decree (P)].

Tfm. *προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε* (Jer 1:5)
[I (A)] have made [you (P)] [a prophet for the nations (R)].

The procedure notes the augmentation by placing a plus sign, +, after the four entities of transference followed by the augmenting entity. The resulting derivational description of transformation, $A\Theta(SG)+R \Theta \rightarrow P$, has the same entities as those originally proposed for transformation, APR.

1.3 Identifying and Describing Verbal Usages

This discussion identifies as a verbal usage all occurrences in which *τίθημι* and its compounds grammaticalize the same event by raising the same set of event entities as verbal arguments, attributing the same affectedness to the verbal subject, and, for events that include a Goal entity, exhibiting the same functionality of the Goal.

The first stage in identifying a verbal usage is the grouping of all occurrences that raise the same entities as verbal arguments. Greek (like English) grammar permits verbs to raise at most three event entities as arguments. When grammaticalizing transference, the verbs address the restriction to three arguments by assuming the perspective in which the Source and Agent are coincident or at least proximate at the initiation of transference. With this perspective, the verbs omit consideration of the Source, which can be retrieved from the initially coincident / proximate Agent, and raise the Agent, Theme, and Goal as arguments.

These three arguments are associated respectively with the verbs' required first complement (the subject when the verbs have active or middle forms), second complement (the subject when the verbs have passive forms), and third complement (the complement that never functions as the subject). Verbs with these three required complements grammaticalize Transference to a Goal.

πηλὸν ἐπέθηκέν μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (John 9:15)
[He (A)] put [clay (Θ)] [onto (my) eyes (G)].

παρέθετο αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν (2 Chr 16:10)
[He (A)] put [him (Θ)] [into prison (G)].

The second stage in identifying usages requires the grouping of all occurrences with the same event entities as arguments according to the base forms of the verbs. Τίθημι and its compounds exhibit active, middle, and passive base forms in the LXX and NT. This discussion interprets the differing base forms to indicate differing attributions of affectedness to the subject / first complement.⁵ Active base forms signal that the first complement is unaffected by the action, and their translations proceed in a straightforward manner. Middle base forms signal that the first complement is affected and that the affectedness is not directly attributable to another entity of the event.⁶ Translations indicate such external (to the entities of the event) affectedness by placing “with affect” in brackets, [], after the first complement. Passive base forms signal that the affectedness of the first complement is attributable directly to one of the other entities internal to the event. For example, when the verbs grammaticalize transference, passive base forms indicate that the Agent and Theme are co-referential (Θ=A), that is, that the Agent transfers itself. Since the passive base forms alone are sufficient to signal this internal affectedness, the Greek verbs do

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.

6. Further discussion of the proposed categories of affectedness appears in Danove, *Verbs of Transference*, 21–24.

not realize the co-referential Theme complement. Translations indicate such internal affectedness by realizing the Theme complement by a reflexive pronoun (“-self”). Subject affectedness identifies distinct Active / Middle / Passive Usages of Transference to a Goal (Tra. act. / Tra. mid. / Tra. pass.):

Tra. act.	<i>πηλὸν ἐπέθηκέν μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς</i> (John 9:15) [He (A)] put [clay (Θ)] [onto (my) eyes (G)].
Tra. mid.	<i>παρέθετο αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν</i> (2 Chr 16:10) [He (A)] [with affect] put [him (Θ)] [into prison (G)].
Tra. pass.	<i>προστεθήτωσάν σοι</i> (Num 18:2) Let [them (A)] add [themselves (Θ)] [to you (G)].

The third stage in identifying usages applies only when the grammaticalized event contains a Goal entity. Verbs may specialize the interpretation of this entity to designate the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of the action. With this interpretation, the entity functions as a Locative (L), “the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs.” The change in functionality from a Goal to a Locative, $G \rightarrow L$, does not give rise to a new event because the implication of transference remains constant. Changes in functionality of the Goal to a Locative give rise to parallel Goal / Locative usages, as in the following occurrences of verbs with Active Usages of Transference to a Goal / Terminating in a Locative:

G	<i>θήσω σε εἰς ὄπην τῆς πέτρας</i> (Exod 33:22) [I (A)] will put [you (Θ)] [into a hole of the rock (G)].
L	<i>ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνημείῳ</i> (Mark 15:46) [He (A)] put [him (Θ)] [in a tomb (L)].

1.4 *Specifying Required Complements*

The descriptions of verbal usages identify the lexical realizations of all observed required second and third verbal complements and indicate when the verbs permit second and third complements to remain unrealized. The descriptions do not address the lexical realizations of first complements because the

syntactic case of their noun phrase realizations is determined by the verb phrase in which they occur.⁷

Noun phrase (N) realizations receive description by an abbreviated statement of their syntactic case after a plus sign: N+acc, N+dat, and N+gen. A noun phrase that retrieves its syntactic case from another required complement notes whether the other complement is first “1” or Second “2” after a plus sign: N+1 or N+2. Prepositional phrase (P) realizations are introduced by “P/” followed by the governing preposition and, when the preposition imposes more than one possible syntactic case on its object, the syntactic case of the object in brackets: e.g., P/ἐπί [+acc], P/ἐπί [+dat], P/ἐπί [+gen]. Adverbial (A) realizations are introduced by “A/” followed by the adverb: e.g., A/ἐκεῖ and A/ὧδε. Adjective (Adj) realizations, which retrieve their syntactic case from the first or second required complement, note this by placing “1” or “2” after a plus sign: Adj+1 or Adj+2. Verb phrase (V) realizations resolve into independent clauses (V+), ἴνα clauses (V+ ἴνα), relative clauses (V+ὄ), infinitives with subject accusative (V+i), or infinitives that lack their own subject (V-i). Such non-maximal infinitive phrases retrieve the referent of their subject from another required complement, either the first (V-i1), the second (V-i2), or the third (V-i3). The neuter singular article sometimes introduces infinitive phrase realization: e.g., τοῦ V-i1 and τοῦ V-i2. Where possible, the discussion introduces translations of complements in parentheses: e.g., P/ἐπί [+acc] (onto) and P/ἐπί [+dat] (on).

With most usages, the verbs permit their second argument and, when required, their third arguments to remain unrealized as complements whenever their definite referent can be retrieved from the context. The grammatical interpretation of the verbs requires the retrieval of the referent of each definite null complement (DNC) from the context.⁸ On three occasions with

7. Nominative case in indicative and subjunctive clauses, genitive in the genitive absolute, and either dative or accusative in various classes of infinitive phrases.

8. Definite null complements receive introduction in Fillmore, “Zero Anaphora,” 95–107, and Fillmore, “Topics,” 96–97. They are developed under

one usage of *διατίθημι*, the third argument is null even though the context does not supply for it a definite referent. With this usage, the verb imposes on the indefinite null complement (INC) the interpretation, “human being[s].”⁹

The realizations of particular second and third complements are restricted to referencing either animate [+animate] or inanimate [–animate] entities.¹⁰ Greek grammar interprets divine and demonic beings, living human beings and animals, forces of nature, and natural phenomena as +animate and all other entities, including dead human beings and animals, body parts, places, concepts, and events, as –animate. Descriptions of noun and prepositional phrase realizations note restrictions to +animate [+an] or –animate [–an] entities in brackets: e.g., N+dat [+an], P/ἐνώπιον [+an], and P/ἐπί [+dat, –an].

2. Usages of Transference

Τίθημι and sixteen of its compounds grammaticalize five usages of transference (Tra.), AΘSG. With these usages, the verbs assume the perspective in which the Source and Agent initially are coincident / proximate, omit the Source and note that it is retrieved from the Agent [S=A], and raise the Agent, Theme, and Goal entities as arguments, AΘ[S]G. Thus all usages of transference have the general description, AΘ[S]G [S=A]. The verbs license the Agent as first complement, the Theme as second complement, and the Goal as third complement. The usages differ in subject affectedness (act., mid., or pass.) and the functionality of the Goal entity (G or G→L). The description of the passive usage clarifies that the Theme never is realized but is retrievable from the Agent by placing the Theme entity of

the designations, “definite object deletion” in Mittwoch, “Idioms,” 255–59, “latent object” in Matthews, *Syntax*, 125–26, and “contextual deletion” in Allerton, *Valency*, 34, 68–70.

9. Indefinite null complements receive introduction in Fraser and Ross, “Idioms,” 264–65, and Sag and Hankamer, “Anaphoric Processing,” 325–45.

10. Further discussion of this semantic feature appears in Danove, “Goal and Locative,” 65–80.

transference in double brackets, A[[Θ]][S]G, and appending a notation that the Theme may be retrieved from the Agent, [[Θ=A]].

2.1 *Usage #1: Active Transference to a Goal, AΘ[S]G [S=A] act.*

Fourteen of the verbs occur with the Active Usage of Transference to a Goal.¹¹ The Theme is realized by N+acc, P/ἀπό (some of), and P/παρά (more than) or is DNC.¹² The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (to, onto, before), P/εἰς [-an] (to, into), P/ἐπί [+acc] (onto), and P/πρός [+acc, +an] (to) or is DNC.

ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας (Luke 13:13)

He placed [his] hands onto her.

τὰ πρωτογενήματα τῆς γῆς σου θήσεις εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου
(Exod 34:26)

You will place the first fruits of your land into the house of [the] Lord your God.

2.2 *Usage #2: Middle Transference to a Goal, AΘ[S]G [S=A] mid.*

Nine verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Transference to a Goal.¹³ The Theme is realized by N+acc and P/ἐκ (some of) or is DNC. The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (to, onto, before), P/ἀντί [+gen] (onto), P/εἰς [-an] (into), and P/ἐπί [+acc] (onto) or is DNC.

ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Gal 2:2)

I [with affect] presented to them the gospel.

εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Ps 30:6)

Into your hands I [with affect] will entrust my spirit.

11. Usage #1: in the LXX, ἀνατίθημι, ἐντίθημι, ἐπιπροστίθημι, κατατίθημι, παρακατατίθεμαι, συνεπιτίθημι, συντίθημι, and ὑποτίθημι; and in the LXX and NT, ἐπιτίθημι, μετατίθημι, παρατίθημι, περιτίθημι, προστίθημι, and τίθημι.

12. This study identifies as N+acc all occurrences of relative pronouns that appear with genitive or dative case realizations through attraction to the case of the antecedent.

13. Usage #2: in the LXX, ἀποτίθημι, παρακατατίθεμαι, and προστίθημι; in the NT, προσανατίθεμαι; and in the LXX and NT, ἀνατίθημι, ἐπιτίθημι, παρατίθημι, τίθημι, and ὑποτίθημι.

2.3 Usage #3: Passive Transference to a Goal, $A[[\Theta]]/[S]G$
 $[[\Theta=A]] [S=A]$ pass.

Προστίθῃμι occurs with the Passive Usage of Transference to a Goal in the LXX and NT. Occurrences that admit to interpretation with this usage are polysemous because they also admit to interpretation as passivized Usage #1 with an unspecified Agent. With interpretation as Usage #3, the Theme is co-referential to the Agent and consistently null (DNC); and, with interpretation as passivized Usage #1, the Theme is raised as verbal subject. In all occurrences, the Theme is +animate. The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (to) and P/πρός [+acc, +an] (to) or is DNC.

πάντες οἱ φυγαδεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν προσετέθησαν αὐτοῖς (1 Macc 2:43)

#3 All fleeing from the[se] evils joined themselves to them.

#1 All fleeing from the[se] evils were joined to them.

2.4 Usage #4: Active Tra. Terminating in a Locative, $A\Theta/[S]G$
 $[S=A]$ $G \rightarrow L$ act.

Ten verbs occur with the Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative.¹⁴ The Theme is realized by N+acc, V+ δ (what), and P/ἀπό (some of) or is DNC. The Locative is realized by N+dat [-an] (on, around), P/ἀνά μέσον (between), P/ἀντί (in the place of), P/ἀπέναντι [-an] (before), P/ἀπό (away from), P/ἀπό...P/ἕως (from...to), P/εἰς [+an] (among), P/ἐκ [-an] (away from), P/ἐν (in), P/ἔναντι [+an] (before), P/ἐναντίον (before), P/ἐνώπιον (before, in front of), P/ἔξω [-an] (outside of), P/ἔξωθεν [-an] (outside of), P/ἐπάνω (above), P/ἐπί [+dat] (on), P/ἐπί [+gen] (on), P/ἕως [-an] (as far as), P/κατά [+acc, -an] (throughout), P/μετά [+gen] (among, with), P/ὀπίσω (behind), P/παρά [+acc, -an] (along), P/παρά [+dat, +an] (with), P/περί [+acc] (around), P/πρό (before), P/πρός [+acc, -an] (at, on, with), P/ὑπεράνω (above), P/ὑπό [+acc] (under), P/ὑποκάτω

14. Usage #4: in the LXX, ἀντιτίθῃμι, ἀποτίθῃμι, ἐντίθῃμι, παρατίθῃμι, προτίθῃμι, and ὑποτίθῃμι; and in the LXX and NT, ἐπιτίθῃμι, περιτίθῃμι, προστίθῃμι, and τίθῃμι.

(underneath), A/έκει (there), A/κάτω (down), A/όπου (where), A/ποῦ (where), and A/ῶδε (here) or is DNC.

παραθήσω ἐνώπιόν σου ψωμὸν ἄρτου (1 Sam 28:22)
I will set before you a morsel of bread.

φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν (Matt 21:33)
He placed around/on it (the vineyard) a fence.

2.5 Usage #5: Middle Tra. Terminating in a Locative, AΘ[S]G [S=A] G→L mid.

Eight verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative.¹⁵ The Theme is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Locative is realized by P/ἀνά μέσον (between), P/ἀπό (away from), P/ἐν (in), P/ἐναντι [+an] (before), P/ἐναντίον (before), P/ἐνώπιον (before, in front of), P/ἐπί [+dat] (on), P/ἐπί [+gen] (on), P/μετά [+gen] (with), P/παρά [+acc, -an] (along), P/παρά [+dat, +an] (with), P/περί [+acc] (around), P/πρό (before), P/πρός [+acc, -an] (at, on), A/έκει (there), and A/οῦ (where).

ἐπέθετο γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (1 Macc 11:71)
He [with affect] put earth on his head.

τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο; (Acts 5:4)
Why did you [with affect] set this deed in your heart?

3. Usages of Motion

Four verbs grammaticalize three usages of motion (Mot.), (A)ΘSG. With these usages, the verbs assume the perspective in which the Source initially is coincident with / proximate to the Theme. With two usages, the verbs raise the Theme and Goal entities as arguments; and the usage descriptions specify that the Source is not raised as an argument but is retrievable from the Theme, (A)Θ[S]G [S=Θ]. With these usages, the verbs license the Theme as first complement and the Goal as second complement. With the third usage, the verb excludes the conceptualization of the Goal and raises the Theme and Source

15. Usage #5: in the LXX, ἐπιτίθημι, κατατίθημι, παρατίθημι, περιτίθημι, προστίθημι, and προτίθημι; and in the LXX and NT, ἀποτίθημι, and τίθημι.

entities as arguments. As a consequence, the usage description removes the brackets around the Source and places the Goal in parentheses to clarify that it is irretrievable, (A)ΘS(G) S=Θ. The exclusion of the Goal does not create a new event because the conceptualization of motion remains. However, raising the Source as an argument shifts the conceptualization to focus exclusively on the initiation of motion, at which the Source complement specifies the exact location of the Theme. Since the English verbs that best translate *τίθημι* and its compounds with usages of transference do not also designate motion, the translations rely on alternative English verbs of motion.

3.1 Usage #6: Active Motion to a Goal, (A)Θ[S]G [S=Θ] act.

Συνεπιτίθημι occurs with the Active Usage of Motion to a Goal in the LXX. The Goal is realized by P/ἐπί [+acc] (against, onto).

μηδὲ συνεπιθῆ ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν (Obad 13)
Nor may he join in moving against/onto their force on the day of their destruction.

3.2 Usage #7: Middle Motion to a Goal, (A)Θ[S]G [S=Θ] mid.

Four verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Motion to a Goal.¹⁶ The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (onto, against), P/ἀντί (onto), P/εἰς [-an] (to), and P/ἐπί [+acc] (onto, upon) or is DNC. In the second example, the Source complement is an adjunct that is not required for the grammatical use of the verb.

ἐπέθεντο οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (1 Sam 23:27)
The Philistines [with affect] moved onto the land.

μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον (Gal 1:6)
You [with affect] are relocating from the one calling you in (the) grace [of Christ] to another gospel.

16. Usage #6: in the LXX, *τίθημι*; in the NT, *μετατίθημι*; and in the LXX and NT, *ἐπιτίθημι* and *συνεπιτίθημι*.

3.3 Usage #8: Middle Motion from a Source, (A)ΘS(G) S=Θ mid.

Μετατίθημι occurs with the Middle Usage of Motion from a Source in the LXX. The Source is realized by P/ἀπό (from).

...[μακαριστὸν ποιήσειν] μεταθέμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πατρῶν (2 Macc 7:24)
 ...[to make happy] the one [with affect] relocating from [his] ancestral [traditions].

4. Usages of Effect and Its Direct Derivatives

This discussion develops the Usages of Effect and of the events derived directly from effect.

4.1 Usages of Effect

Fourteen verbs grammaticalize the event of effect (Eff.), AΘ(SG) Θ→P. The usages of effect differ only in the affectedness of the Agent (act. or mid.).

4.1.1 Usage #9: Active Effect, AΘ(SG) Θ→P act. Nine verbs occur with the Active Usage of Effect.¹⁷ The Patient is realized by N+acc and N+gen (some of) or is DNC.

μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (Heb 11:5b)
 God relocated/moved him.

[εἰσίοσεις τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ] προθήσεις τὴν πρόθεσιν αὐτῆς (Exod 40:4)
 You [will bring in the table and] set up its offering.

4.1.2 Usage #10: Middle Effect, AΘ(SG) Θ→P mid. Eight verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Effect.¹⁸ The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC.

17. Usage #9: in the LXX, διατίθημι, ἐπιτίθημι, κατατίθημι, περτίθημι, προστίθημι, and προτίθημι; and in the LXX and NT, ἐκτίθημι, μετατίθημι, and παρατίθημι.

18. Usage #10: in the LXX, ἐντίθημι, ἐπιτίθημι, περτίθημι, συντίθημι, and ὑπερτίθημι; in the NT, ἀντιδιατίθημι and προτίθημι; and in the LXX and NT, ἀποτίθημι.

ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτους (Rom 13:12)

Therefore let's [with affect] put aside the works of darkness.

ἐπέθετο πάντες διαδήματα (1 Macc 1:9)

They all [with affect] put on crowns.

4.2 Usages of Benefaction

Five verbs grammaticalize the event of benefaction (Ben.), $A\Theta(SG)+B \Theta \rightarrow P$, which is derived from the event of effect, $A\Theta(SG) \Theta \rightarrow P$, through augmentation by an entity that functions as a Benefactive (B), “the ultimate entity for which an action is performed or for which, literally or figuratively, something happens or exists.” Identifying the Benefactive as an argument of these five verbs requires a methodological approach because some verbs with the usages of effect (§3.1) on occasion license a non-required Benefactive adjunct. This discussion interprets a verb to grammaticalize the event of Benefaction if (1) it realizes a Benefactive complement in a majority or large minority of occurrences and (2) in every occurrence without a realized Benefactive, the referent of the Benefactive is retrievable from the context (making it DNC) or, with *διατίθημι* (§1.4), from the verb (making it INC). Occurrences of *διατίθημι* also grammaticalize Benefaction without realizing the Patient complement even when the context offers no retrievable referent. In such cases, however, the verb itself imposes on the null Patient the interpretation, *διαθήκη* (covenant, agreement). The description of resulting cognate usage notes the consistent omission of the Patient complement with double brackets, [[P]]. Thus the usages of benefaction differ in the affectedness of the Agent (act. or mid.) and whether or not the cognate Patient is realized, P or [[P]].

4.2.1 Usage #11: Active Benefaction, $A\Theta(SG)+B \Theta \rightarrow P$ act. Two verbs occur with the Active Usage of Benefaction.¹⁹ The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Benefactive is realized by N+dat [+an] (for, with), P/κατά [+gen] (against), P/πρός [+acc] (for), P/ὑπέρ [+gen] (for) or is DNC.

19. Usage #11: in the LXX and NT, τίθημι and ὑποτίθημι.

τίθημί σοι διαθήκην (Exod 34:10)
I make a covenant for/with you.

οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν (Rom 16:4)
[Prisca and Aquilla] who risked [their] neck for my life.

4.2.2 *Usage #12: Middle Benefaction, AΘ(SG)+B Θ→P mid.*
Five verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Benefaction.²⁰ The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Benefactive is realized by N+dat [+an] (for, with), P/ἀντί [+an] (against), P/εἰς [-an] (for), P/κατά [+gen, +an] (against), P/μετά [+gen, +an] (with), P/πρός [+acc, +an] (for) or is DNC or INC (διατίθημι).

οὐχὶ τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν διέθετο κύριος τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην, ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς ὧδε πάντες ζῶντες σήμερον (Deut 5:3)
Not for your ancestors did [the] Lord [with affect] make this covenant but for you, all of you present living today.

οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Thess 5:9)
God [with affect] did not set us up for anger but for possession of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.

4.2.3 *Usage #13: Cognate Middle Benefaction, A[[Θ]](SG)+B [[Θ→P]] mid.* Διατίθημι occurs with the Cognate Middle Usage of Benefaction in the LXX. The Patient consistently is DNC and has the interpretation, “covenant” or “agreement.” The Benefactive is realized by N+dat [+an] (for, with) and P/μετά [+gen, +an] (with).

ὡς διεθέμην Δαυὶδ τῷ πατρί σου (2 Chr 7:18)
As I [with affect] made [[a covenant]] with David your father.

4.3 *Usages of Compulsion*

Two verbs grammaticalize the event of compulsion (Cpl.), AΘ(SG)+E Θ→P, which is derived from the event of effect, AΘ(SG) Θ→P, through augmentation by an entity that functions as an Event (E), “the complete circumstantial scene of an action or event.” Like the verbs that grammaticalize compulsion but not

20. Usage #12: in the LXX, συγκατατίθεμαι and ὑποτίθημι; and in the LXX and NT: διατίθημι, κατατίθημι, and τίθημι.

transference (e.g., ποιέω [make] and ἀναγκάζω [compel]), τίθημι and προστίθημι consistently have the implication that the Patient accomplishes the Event. However, unlike the other verbs, τίθημι and προστίθημι never accommodate the interpretation that the Agent uses coercive force to compel the Patient to accomplish the event.²¹ The usages of compulsion differ only in the affectedness of the Agent (act., mid., or pass.).

4.3.1 *Usage #14: Active Compulsion, AΘ(SG)+E Θ→P act.* Τίθημι occurs with the Active Usage of Compulsion in the LXX. The Patient is realized by N+acc. The Event is realized by V-i2 (to) and τοῦ V-i2 (to).

ἔθεντο αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀσεβῆ (Job 32:3)

They [with affect] set him up / made him out to be ungodly.

4.3.2 *Usage #15: Middle Compulsion, AΘ(SG)+E Θ→P mid.* Τίθημι occurs with the Middle Usage of Compulsion in the LXX. The Patient is realized by N+acc. The Event is realized by V-i2 (to).

τίς με θήσει φυλάσσειν καλάμην ἐν ἀγρῷ (Isa 27:4a)

Who [with affect] will set me to guard straw in a field?

4.3.3 *Usage #16: Passive Compulsion, A[[Θ]](SG)+E [[Θ→P, P=A]] pass.* Προστίθημι occurs with the Passive Usage of Compulsion in the LXX. As with the previous passive usage (§2.3), occurrences that admit to interpretation with Usage #16 are polysemous because they also admit to interpretation as passivized Usage #14 with an unspecified Agent. With interpretation as Usage #16, the Patient is co-referential to the Agent and consistently null (DNC); and, with interpretation as passivized Usage #14, the Patient is raised as verbal subject. The Event is realized by V-i1 (to) with Usage #16 or V-i2 (to) with Usage #14 or is DNC.

21. In this regard τίθημι and προστίθημι function like δίδωμι (give) and παραδίδωμι (hand over), which also grammaticalize both transference and compulsion in the LXX and NT.

ἐγὼ δὲ προσετέθην ἐπακολουθῆσαι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου (Josh 14:8)

#16 But I set myself to follow [the] Lord my God.

#14 But I was set to follow [the] Lord my God.

4.4 Usages of Transformation

Three verbs grammaticalize the event of transformation (Tfm.), $A\Theta(SG)+R \Theta \rightarrow P$, which is derived (§1.2) from the event of effect, $A\Theta(SG) \Theta \rightarrow P$, through augmentation by an entity that functions as a Resultative (R). The usages of transformation differ only in the affectedness of the Agent (act., mid., or pass.).

4.4.1 Usage #17: Active Transformation, $A\Theta(SG)+R \Theta \rightarrow P$ act.

Two verbs occur with the Active Usage of Transformation.²² The Patient is realized by N+acc and P/έκ (some of) or is DNC. The Resultative is realized by N+2, P/είς (into), P/έν (into), Adj+2, A/ἴσα N+dat (equal to), A/ώς N+2 (like N+2), A/ῶσει N+2 (like N+2).

ἐπέθηκεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Αβιμελεχ (Judg 8:31)

She set / made his name Abimelech.

ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1 Cor 9:18)

So that, proclaiming, I may make the gospel free of charge.

4.4.2 Usage #18: Middle Transformation, $A\Theta(SG)+R \Theta \rightarrow P$ mid.

Τίθημι occurs with the Middle Usage of Transformation in the LXX. The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Resultative is realized by N+2, P/είς (into), A/καθώς N+2 (like N+2), A/ώς N+2 (like N+2), and Adj+2.

ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς ὄπρωφυλάκιον (Ps 78:1)

They [with affect] made Jerusalem into a guard station.

4.4.3 Usage #19: Passive Transformation, $A[[\Theta]](SG)+R$

$[[\Theta \rightarrow P]]$ pass. Μετατίθημι occurs with the Passive Usage of Transformation in the LXX. As with the previous passive usages (§§2.3, 4.3), occurrences that admit to interpretation with Usage #19 are polysemous because they also admit to interpretation as

22. Usage #17: in the LXX, ἐπιτίθημι; and in the LXX and in the NT, τίθημι.

passivized Usage #17 with an unspecified Agent. With interpretation as Usage #19, the Patient is co-referential to the Agent and consistently null (DNC); and, with interpretation as passivized Usage #17, the Patient is raised as verbal subject. The Resultative is realized by P/εις [-an] (into).

φίλος μετατιθέμενος εἰς ἔχθραν (Sir 6:9)

#19 a friend changing himself into an enemy.

#17 a friend being changed into an enemy.

4.5 Usage #20: Middle Communication, $A\Theta(SG)+X \Theta \rightarrow P \rightarrow C$ mid.

Two verbs grammaticalize the event of communication (Com.), $A\Theta(SG)+X \Theta \rightarrow P \rightarrow C$, which is derived from the event of effect, $A\Theta(SG) \Theta \rightarrow P$, through augmentation by an entity that functions as an Experiencer (X), “the animate entity that undergoes a sensory, cognitive, or emotional event or activity,” and a change in the functionality of the Patient of effect to a Content (C), “the content of a sensory, cognitive, or emotional event or activity.”²³ The Content is realized by N+acc and V+ὄτι (that) or is DNC. The Experiencer is realized by N+dat [+an] (to) or is DNC:

ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν ὁδὸν [τοῦ θεοῦ] (Acts 18:26)

He [with affect] accurately explained to him the way [of God].

παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν (Acts 17:3)

He [with affect] explaining [to the Thessalonians, cf. 17:1] that it was necessary that the Christ suffer.

5. Usages of Various Derived Events

The remaining events are derived directly from transference or from one of the events derived directly from effect.

5.1 Usages of Continuation

Προστίθημι grammaticalizes the event of continuation (Cnt.), $A\Theta SG \Theta \rightarrow E$, which is derived directly from the event of transference, $A\Theta SG$, through a change in the functionality of the

23. Usage #20: in the NT, ἐκτίθημι and παρατίθημι.

Theme to an Event, $\Theta \rightarrow E$. The verb assumes the perspective in which the Source and Agent initially are coincident / proximate, retrieves the Source from the Agent, $[S=A]$, and raises the Agent, Event, and Goal as arguments, $A\Theta[S]G \Theta \rightarrow E [S=A]$. The verb also interprets the Goal to be co-referential to the Event and consistently omits the Goal, which may be retrieved from the first Event, $[[G=E]]$. Thus the verb has the interpretation, “add doing Y to doing Y,” which explains its frequent translation by “continue [doing Y]” or “again doing Y.” The omission of the co-referential Goal does not impact the base forms of the verb because it is not co-referential to the Agent. The usages differ in the affectedness of the Agent (act. or mid.).

5.1.1 *Usage #21: Active Continuation, $A\Theta[S][[G]] \Theta \rightarrow E [S=A] [[G =E]]$ act.* Προστίθημι occurs with the Active Usage of Continuation in the LXX. The Event is realized by V-i1 (to) and τοῦ V-i1 (to) or is DNC. The Goal, which is co-referential to the Event, consistently is null (DNC).

οὐ μὴ προσθήσω ἔτι ἐλεῆσαι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραηλ (Hos 1:6)
I no longer will continue to show the house of Israel mercy.

5.1.2 *Usage #22: Middle Continuation, $A\Theta[S][[G]] \Theta \rightarrow E [S=A] [[G =E]]$ mid.* Προστίθημι occurs with the Middle Usage of Continuation in the LXX and NT. The Event is realized by V+, V-i1 (to), and τοῦ V-i1 (to) or is DNC. The Goal, which is co-referential to the Event, consistently is null (DNC).

προσέθετο ἕτερον πέμψαι δοῦλον (Luke 20:11)
He [with affect] added [[to his previous sending]] to send another slave.

5.2 Usages of Delegation

Τίθημι grammaticalizes the event of delegation, $A\Theta SG \Theta \rightarrow E$, which is derived directly from the event of transference, $A\Theta SG$, through a change in the functionality of the Theme to an Event, $\Theta \rightarrow E$. The verb assumes the perspective in which the Source and Agent initially are coincident / proximate, retrieves the Source from the Agent, $[S=A]$, and raises the Agent, Event, and Goal as arguments, $A\Theta[S]G \Theta \rightarrow E$. Delegation differs from Compulsion, $A\Theta(SG)+E$, in that there is no necessary

expectation that the Goal will accomplish the Event.²⁴ Delegation differs from continuation in that the Goal never is co-referential to the Event. The usages differ in the affectedness of the Agent (act. or mid.) and in the functionality of the Goal, which may function as a Locative, $G \rightarrow L$.

5.2.1 *Usage #23: Middle Delegation to a Goal, $A\Theta[S]G \Theta \rightarrow E$ mid.* Τίθημι occurs with this Middle Usage of Delegation to a Goal in the LXX. The Event is realized by V-i3 (to) and τοῦ V-i3 (to). The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (to), P/ἐπί [+acc] (to), and P/εἰς [-an] (into).

ἔθετο αὐτοῖς Ἰωσηφ εἰς πρόσταγμα... ἐπὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου τῷ Φαραῶ
ἀποπεμπτοῦν (Gen 47:26)

Joseph [with affect] set as a law for them onto the land of Egypt to give a fifth to Pharaoh.

5.2.2 *Usage #24: Active Del. Terminating in a Locative, $A\Theta[S]G \Theta \rightarrow E G \rightarrow L$ act.* Τίθημι occurs with this Active Usage of Delegation Terminating in a Locative in the NT. The Event is realized by V-i3 (to). The Locative is realized by P/ἐν (in). In this example, καρδία (heart) references a human being viewed from the perspective of the capacity to reason and so functions as a +an entity.

θέτε οὖν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν μὴ προμελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι (Luke 21:14)

Therefore set in your hearts not to prepare in advance to defend yourselves.

5.3 Usages of Decision

Five verbs grammaticalize the event of decision (Dec.), $A(\Theta SG)+E (\Theta \rightarrow P)$, which is derived from the event of compulsion, $A\Theta(SG)+E \Theta \rightarrow P$, through exclusion of the Patient of compulsion, $(\Theta \rightarrow P)$. As with compulsion, there is an implication that the Event is accomplished, in this case by the

24. Τίθημι in the LXX functions like other verbs that grammaticalize both transference and delegation: χαρίζομαι (give) in the NT and δίδωμι (give) and παραδίδωμι (hand over) in the LXX and NT.

Agent. The usages differ in the affectedness of the Agent (act. or mid.).

5.3.1 *Usage #25: Active Decision, A(ΘSG)+E (Θ→P) act.* Προτίθημι occurs with the Active Usage of Decision in the NT. The Event is realized by V-i1 (to). Since there is an expectation that the Agent accomplishes the Event, Paul must append an explanation for the frustration of this expectation in the following example.

πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, [καὶ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο] (Rom 1:13)

Often I decided to come to you [and was hindered until now].

5.3.2 *Usage #26: Middle Decision, A(ΘSG)+E (Θ→P) mid.* Five verbs occur with the Middle Usage of Decision.²⁵ The Event is realized by V+ίνα (that), V+i (that), V-i1 (to), and τοῦ V-i1 (to) or is DNC.

ἵνα τί συνέθου κατ' ἐμοῦ σὺ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Ἰεσσαὶ δοῦναί σε αὐτῷ ἄρτον καὶ ῥομφαίαν (1 Sam 22:13)

Why did you and [your] son Jesse [with affect] join in proposing that you give to him bread and a sword?

ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι...πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (Acts 19:21)

Paul [with affect] decided by the Spirit...to go to Jerusalem.

6. Relationships among the Events and Base Event Selection

The preceding study established that τίθημι and its twenty compounds grammaticalize ten events with twenty–six distinct usages. The proposed derivations by exclusion (Excl.), augmentation (Aug.), and changes in the functionality (Fun.) of the entities of transference (AΘSG) clarified the relationships among events, and the discussions of perspective (Per.), functionality of the Goal (G), omitted complements (Omit), and subject affectedness (Aff.) distinguished usages of the same

25. Usage #26: in the LXX, ἐπιτίθημι and προτίθημι; in the NT, τίθημι; and in the LXX and NT, συγκατατίθεμαι and συντίθημι.

event. The following table summarizes the proposed derivations of events to the left of the double vertical lines, ||, and the distinctions among usages to the right of the double lines. At the far right appears an equal sign, =, and the number of the usage being described (#1–#26). The table divides the usages into four groups separated by broken lines. These groups list the usages of transference and then the usages of events derived in one, two, and three steps from transference.

Event	Excl.	Aug.	Fun.		Per.	G	Omit	Aff.	=	Usage
Tra.					[S=A]	G		act.	=	#1
Tra.					[S=A]	G		mid.	=	#2
Tra.					[S=A]	G	[[Θ=A]]	pass.	=	#3
Tra.					[S=A]	G→L		act.	=	#4
Tra.					[S=A]	G→L		mid.	=	#5
-----one step-----										
Mot.	(A)				[S=Θ]	G		act.	=	#6
Mot.	(A)				[S=Θ]	G		mid.	=	#7
Mot.	(A)				S=Θ	G		mid.	=	#8
Eff.	(SG)		Θ→P					act.	=	#9
Eff.	(SG)		Θ→P					mid.	=	#10
Cnt.			Θ→E		[S=A]		[[G=E]]	act.	=	#21
Cnt.			Θ→E		[S=A]		[[G=E]]	mid.	=	#22
Del.			Θ→E		[S=A]			mid.	=	#23
Del.			Θ→E		[S=A]	G→L		act.	=	#24
-----two steps-----										
Ben.	(SG)	+B	Θ→P					act.	=	#11
Ben.	(SG)	+B	Θ→P					mid.	=	#12
Ben.	(SG)	+B	Θ→P				[[Θ→P]]	mid.	=	#13
Cpl.	(SG)	+E	Θ→P					act.	=	#14
Cpl.	(SG)	+E	Θ→P					mid.	=	#15
Cpl.	(SG)	+E	Θ→P				[[P=A]]	pass.	=	#16
Tfm.	(SG)	+R	Θ→P					act.	=	#17
Tfm.	(SG)	+R	Θ→P					mid.	=	#18
Tfm.	(SG)	+R	Θ→P				[[P=A]]	pass.	=	#19

Com.	(SG)	+X	Θ→C		mid.	=	#20
---three steps-----							
Dec.	(Θ)(SG)	+E	(Θ→P)		acts	=	#25
Dec.	(Θ)(SG)	+E			mid.	=	#26

This table indicates that four events are derived directly from transference (motion, effect, continuation, and delegation) and that four events are derived directly from effect (benefaction, compulsion, transformation, and communication). Further inspection also clarifies that all other events may be derived from effect in at most two steps, whereas the derivation of decision from transference requires a three-step derivation. Thus, although the discussion initially selected transference as the base event based on its grammaticalization in an absolute majority of the occurrences of τίθημι and its compounds, directness of derivation would recommend effect as the base event. The directness of derivation from effect has significance for an investigation of the historical expansion of events grammaticalized by the verbs because this expansion might be expected to proceed through incremental (one-step) progressions.

7. Polysemous Usages

Because verbs with different usages can realize their arguments with the same complements, polysemous occurrences are not only possible but frequent. However, the situation becomes acute with the active and middle usages of transference to a Goal (#1 and #2) / the active and middle usages of benefaction (#11 and #12), especially in the LXX. With these usages, the most common realization of the Theme/Patient is N+acc. Among the most common realizations of the Goal/Benefactive are N+dat [+an] (to, onto, before/for), P/ἀντί [+gen] (onto/against), P/εἰς [–

an] (to, into/for), and P/πρός [+acc, +an] (to/for). The resulting polysemy receives illustration in the following occurrences:²⁶

μὴ συνεπιθῆ ἡμῖν ἁμαρτίαν (Num 12:11)

Tra. Do not join in setting this sin onto us.

Ben. Do not join in setting up/charging this sin against us.

ἐκεῖ ἔθετο αὐτοῖς δικαιώματα (Exod 15:25)

Tra. There he set ordinances upon them.

Ben. There he set up ordinances for them.

In the former example, the transference of the sin only anticipates the negative impact on the Goal, while the actual setting up or charging of the sin has immediate negative implications for the Benefactive. In the latter example, the two translations view the same action from differing perspectives.

8. Conclusion

This article resolved the occurrences of τίθημι and its twenty compounds in the LXX and NT into twenty–six usages that grammaticalize ten different events. The discussion proposed a derivation for each of the events and described the features of the conceptualization of the event associated with each usage, specified the syntactic, semantic, and lexical properties of all required verbal complements, and provided illustrations of verbs with the usages. The discussion then represented and investigated the relationships among the usages, identified a potentially stronger candidate for the base event from which all other usages are derived, and clarified the reason that particular combinations of complements admit to multiple interpretations.

26. Muraoka, *Lexicon*, would recommend interpretation of the occurrence in Num 12:11 as transference (p. 661) and of that in Exod 15:28 as benefaction (p. 679).

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