

SYNTAX IN THE SEPTUAGINT:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK NUMBERS

by

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ABSTRACT

When compared with compositional works of Koiné Greek, the syntax of the Septuagint can appear peculiar in some ways and quite familiar in others. In order to provide an approach that accounts for this peculiarity and enables rigorous syntactical interpretation of the Septuagint, this thesis develops a hypothesis that Septuagintal syntax is reflective of Koiné syntax with a measure of Hebrew influence. It then sets forth a methodology that takes into full account both Greek syntactical strictures and Hebrew interference, and situates this methodology among other approaches to Septuagintal syntax. Subsequently, this study applies its method to a detailed analysis of a few aspects of relative clauses in the Septuagint, namely, the variation of relative pronouns and use of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses. It concludes that the method followed in this study is successful in analyzing the unusual syntax of the Septuagint and could be applied broadly to the many varied syntactical phenomena.

SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

Sigla

1°, 2°, etc.	first occurrence, second occurrence, etc.
2x, 3x, etc.	feature under consideration appears two or three times, respectively, in a given verse
*	This indicates either that the sentence is ungrammatical or, with reference to Greek or Hebrew sentences, that the author has composed them and they are found in no primary source
>	becomes (used for development of words or syntagms)
<	develops from (used for development of words or syntagms)
()	enclosed letter(s) or word(s) resolve a Greek abbreviation
[]	enclosed letter(s) or word(s) are omitted from the manuscript
{ }	enclosed letter(s) or word(s) are superfluous in the manuscript
\ /	enclosed letter(s) or word(s) are supralinear in the manuscript

General Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow those specified in the *SBL Handbook of Style*, chapter 8 and Appendix H.

In addition, the following will be used:

ca.	circa
col.	column
f.	fragment
G	translator of Greek Numbers
HN	head noun (also called <i>antecedent</i>).
κατλ.	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ = and the rest
l.	line
MC	matrix clause (i.e., the independent or main clause)
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
RC	relative clause

Primary Text Abbreviations

All abbreviations for Greek and Latin follow those specified in the *SBL Handbook of Style* Appendix H. Abbreviations for Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha follow *SBL Handbook of Style* 8.3.3 and 8.3.4, respectively. Abbreviations for Judean Desert Texts follow *SBL Handbook of Style* §8.3.5 and Appendix F.

Abbreviations for Septuagint manuscripts and manuscript groupings will follow those used in the Göttingen *Septuaginta* volumes.

Abbreviations for papyri follow the checklist of editions, available online at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

Where no suitable abbreviation is found, the name of the text is given in full. In addition, the following abbreviations will be used:

<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (ed. K. Elliger et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967)
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus (1 st cent. BCE)
Hb Num	Hebrew Numbers, as represented in <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> unless otherwise noted
Gk Num	Greek Numbers, as represented in John W. Wevers' <i>Numeri</i> unless otherwise noted
LBdA	<i>La Bible d'Alexandrie</i> (ed. Marguerite Harl; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1986–)
LXXD	<i>Septuaginta Deutsch</i> (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009)
MT	Masoretic Text, as represented in <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>

Secondary Sources, Journals, and Series Abbreviations

BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961)
BDAG	Frederick W. Danker et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</i> (3 rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
<i>BIOSCS</i>	Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
J–M	Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> (2 nd ed.; Roma: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011)
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
Kühner–Gerth	Raphael Kühner and Bernhard Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache</i> (2 vols.; Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1989–1904)
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>NGTN</i>	John W. Wevers, <i>Notes on the Greek Texts of Numbers</i> (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998)
Mayser	Edwin Mayser, <i>Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit</i> (2 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1906–1934)
MSU	Mittlungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LEH	Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> (Rev. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2008)
LSJ	Henry G. Liddell et al., <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> (9 th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940)

Robertson A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the
Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934).
SBLSCS Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
Smyth Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (New York: American Book
Co., 1920)
VT *Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to evaluate, describe, and explain the syntax of the Greek Pentateuch and its relationship to the syntax of its Hebrew parent text. This choice is motivated by the noted desideratum of Septuagint studies for a reference grammar of the Septuagint¹ (or “syntax”) as well as the methodological divide in existing approaches to the peculiar syntax of the Septuagint. Nevertheless, such an enormous undertaking is well beyond the limits of this study; accordingly, it seeks to contribute to this need in two ways. First, a method for examining the translational syntax of the Septuagint will be articulated that is intended to provide a *via media* between existing methods. Second, it will apply this method to a limited set of syntactical features in a narrow corpus, namely, relative clauses (RCs) in Greek Numbers. Although the greater proportion of this study is focused on this second goal, these portions seek not only to provide rigorous syntactical interpretation of RCs in Greek Numbers but also demonstrate the applicability of this method to a large-scale evaluation of Septuagintal syntax.

1.2. Statement of the Research Question

Before asking the question upon which this research will focus, it would be helpful to define what is meant by *syntax* and *translational syntax* in this study—which

¹ This has been noted as early as H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), x, but also more recently in Raija Sollamo, “Prolegomena to the Syntax of the Septuagint,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 23–42, here 25–26; Takamitsu Muraoka, “The Infinitive in the Septuagint,” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1995), 259–71, here 260; Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Syntax of Translation Technique,” *BIOSCS* 5 (1972): 9–11, here 9. Although Sollamo expresses a wish to complete a syntax in 2001 (“Prolegomena to a Syntax of the Septuagint,” 25–6), as of yet, no editions or partial editions have appeared. In a private communication with Professor Muraoka, I have learned that he will likely complete this long-expected project in 2015–2016. This would fulfill Swete’s wish of 1909: “There is reason to hope that a Grammar may before longer be undertaken by a competent scholar” (Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914], 290 n. 1).

will also help elucidate the problem this study seeks to answer. According to Talmy Givón, who represents the functional-typological school,² “syntax is the study of a unique and complex *coding system*. ‘Coding’ is a binary expression designating two entities holding a peculiar *semiotic* relationship, at least as far as language is concerned.”³ In other words, there is a relationship between *structure* and *function*, *form* and *meaning*, or *sign* and *signified* that is specified by the *coding system* of the given language. Syntax, then, is the study of and description of this coding system.

Moreover, syntax functions primarily on two levels: propositional semantics (read: sentence or clause level) and discourse pragmatics.⁴ While discourse features of the Septuagint are arguably a feature deserving of study, this study will focus its attention on the level of sentence and clauses.⁵ However, a reference grammar of the Septuagint

² Functional-typological grammar is a subset of the broader school of cognitive linguistics.

³ Talmy Givón, *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction* (2 vols.; Amsterdam–Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1984), 1.28. Noam Chomsky, representing the generative school of linguistics, in his 1957 work, defines syntax as follows: “Syntax is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages” (*Syntactical Structures* [Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2002], 11). Andrew Radford offers a transformational grammar perspective: syntax is “the study of how words are combined together to form sentences” (*Transformational Grammar: A First Course* [Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 4). Both Chomsky and Radford’s definition lack a key element present in Givón’s definition, namely, *function* or *meaning*. That is, a *sentence* encodes *function* (read: meaning) and syntax defines this relationship. In other words, Givón’s definition would exclude Chomsky’s infamous, meaningless sentence “colorless green ideas sleep furiously” from consideration, although Chomsky insists that it is *grammatical* (see *Syntactical Structures*, 15). Chomsky, on the other hand, states that “any search for a semantically based definition of ‘grammaticalness’ will be *futile* (ibid.; emphasis added). We might add that sentences can also carry meaning but be *ungrammatical*, such as the instance that Radford cites: “Mine is bigger than what yours is” (*Transformational Grammar*, 7). Although, it seems that in this instance at least the sentence means in spite of its structure and not *because of it*.

The issue at hand here—namely, does the study of syntax include meaning or is it distinct from it?—is well beyond the limits of the current study. Suffice it say that cognitive linguistics, with its focus on language as communication, generally includes function or meaning as integral to its account of language (see Emma Pavey, *The Structure of Language* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010], 1). On the other hand, generative linguistics, taking its cue from Chomsky’s work, generally excludes meaning from their account of language and focus on formal characteristics of language structure (in the vein of Saussure’s structuralism).

⁴ Givón, *Syntax*, 1.31–3.

⁵ For a few discourse pragmatic oriented studies on the Septuagint, see Chris Fresch, “The Discourse Function of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in the Septuagint Minor Prophets,” (paper presented at the annual meeting of SBL. Chicago, IL, 19 November 2012); idem., “Limiting $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\ \acute{\eta}$: An Investigation into its Use in the

may need the assistance of discourse pragmatics should features arise that are not explainable within the bounds of the clause.

According to Givón, there are four elements in syntax: (1) word order, (2) grammatical/inflectional morphology, (3) intonational contours,⁶ and (4) constraints.⁷ Some languages emphasize or deemphasize certain of these four elements over others. For example, in English, word order largely determines a word's function; thus, "the man hits the ball" and "the ball hits the man" are two distinct propositions. Hebrew—much like English—gives greater emphasis to word order in its syntactical matrix, whereas morphology plays less of a role (although it is still important).⁸ In Greek, the situation is just the reverse. Word order can vary drastically and retain the same proposition; thus, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος πατάσσει τὴν σφαίραν* and *τὴν σφαίραν πατάσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος* both encode "the man hits the ball."⁹ It is largely true that morphology plays a greater role in determining the function of a word in the clause (hence the term "morphosyntax"), whereas word order plays less of a role. Specific differences between Greek and Hebrew that arise from this fundamental difference are legion. However, this also means that Greek could parrot the word order of Hebrew without creating nonsensical sentences.

Septuagint in Light of Contemporary Papyri," (paper presented at the annual meeting of SBL. San Diego, CA, 22 November 2014). The paucity of studies in this area suggests that this may be a fruitful area for further study.

⁶ This is more relevant for examining spoken discourse rather than written texts.

⁷ Givón, *Syntax*, 1.36. The last of these, *constraints*, he explicates, "These are conditions of applicability or identifiability of structures or grammatical/communicative devise, most commonly pertaining to identity, conference, sequential ordering, shared background knowledge or assumed purpose" (ibid).

⁸ As is well known, by the time of biblical Hebrew case endings had largely become passé although not totally absent in Hebrew. In the Hebrew verbal system, however, morphology is more significant.

⁹ These are only two of the options available to Greek; one could also have *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν πατάσσει σφαίραν; πατάσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν σφαίραν; ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὴν σφαίραν πατάσσει*, etc.

It does not take one long, when reading the Septuagint, to notice that the Greek sentence tends mechanistically to reflect the word order of the Hebrew.¹⁰ Such an observation has led to the influential “interlinear paradigm” of Septuagint studies. With reference to its syntax, however, this observation can be misleading. Conybeare and Stock state, “For the LXX is on the whole a literal translation, that is to say, it is only half a translation—the vocabulary has been changed, but seldom the construction. We have therefore to deal with a work of which *the vocabulary is Greek and the syntax Hebrew*.”¹¹ Likewise, Johan Lust asserts, “in many passages, the Hebrew and the Greek can be put in parallel columns, word by word. The result is that the *syntax of the Septuagint is Hebrew rather than Greek*.”¹² Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, the founder of the Helsinki school of Septuagint research, takes this approach¹³ and has left this legacy to his successors, who on the whole follow him.¹⁴

Conversely, there have been some who have understood the Septuagint as a token example of Koiné style. Thackeray characterizes the Greek Pentateuch as “distinguished from the rest by a fairly high level of style (for κοινή Greek), combined with faithfulness

¹⁰ So also Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), IV: “Daß die LXX diese Konstruktion sehr häufig haben, beruht eben auf der mechanischen Nachahmung des Originals.”

¹¹ F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980), §38. So also G. Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (trans. Alexander Grieve; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 67, in a rather poetic statement: “Their [the Septuagint translators] chief difficulty lay, not in the lexical, but in the syntactical, conditions of the subject-matter. They frequently stumbled at the syntax of the Hebrew text; over the Hebrew, with its grave and stately step, they have, so to speak, thrown their light native garb, without being able to conceal the alien’s peculiar gait beneath its folds.”

¹² LEH 1.ix; emphasis added.

¹³ See also Soisalon-Soininen, “Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (eds. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987), 40–53, here 42. He states, “Wenn ein Kenner des klassischen Griechisch und auch der hellenistischen Koine die Septuaginta zu lesen beginnt, so erhält er den Eindruck, daß ihm diese Sprache ganz fremd ist, *es ist eine fremde Sprache mit griechischen Vokabeln*. Besonders die Syntax scheint ihm fremd. Die Sprache der Septuaginta ist in ziemlich großem Maße Hebräisch mit griechischen Wörtern” (emphasis added).

¹⁴ See §2.3.1 for an in-depth analysis of the Helsinki School.

to the original, rarely degenerating into literalism.”¹⁵ Although few would go so far as Thackeray when describing the syntax of the Septuagint¹⁶—myself among them—his view is a(n) (over)step in the right direction. In all fairness to Thackeray, he does admit to a “semitic colouring.”¹⁷ If the articulation of syntax given above is correct, the syntax of the Greek language in the Septuagint—viz., *translational syntax*—can scarcely be limited to word order.¹⁸ Evans, for one, has leveraged this in order to argue that the Greek verbal system is essentially idiomatic Koine although it shows certain aspects of interference, particularly in the relative frequency of certain verb forms.¹⁹ If, therefore, we reject the notion that the syntax of the Greek in the Septuagint is essentially Hebrew syntax, the question then becomes, *What precisely is the nature of the Septuagint’s syntax?*

Additionally, the question that immediately follows is, *What method of evaluation best suits and is able to account for all of the syntactical features of the Septuagint?* This

¹⁵ Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 9. He elsewhere categorizes the Pentateuch as “good κοινή Greek” (ibid., 13).

¹⁶ Takamitsu Muraoka, a dominant voice in Septuagint studies, is probably closest to this position; see idem., “Syntax of the Participle in the Septuagint Books of Genesis and Isaiah,” in *Die Septuaginta—Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte* (ed. Sigmund Kreuzer et al.; WUNT 286; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 185–202, here 185–7.

¹⁷ Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 16.

¹⁸ See also Trevor V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1; Georg Walser, “The Greek of the Bible: Translated Greek or Translation Greek?” in *Scripture in Transition* [ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; Leiden: Brill, 2008], 449–61, here 456–7. Even the briefest of comparisons of Greek and Hebrew must conclude this, which is also quite obvious in the detailed comparative work of linguists: “In Dyirbal and many other languages, however, the order of words is irrelevant to the determination of the meaning of a sentence” (Robert D. Van Valin and Randy J. Lapolla, *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 1).

¹⁹ Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 2, 259. He states, “the use of aspect, tense, and mood in the Greek Pentateuch represents essentially idiomatic Greek, in accord with the usage of the early Koine vernacular. The evidence of these verbal categories contradicts the ‘LXX syntax equals Hebrew syntax’ view, for the Pentateuch at least. This is not to claim that Hebrew interference is entirely absent from these categories. However, apart from a few rather functional traits, interference is mainly manifested through the feature of frequency of occurrence” (ibid., 259). See also Anwar Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch: A Study of Translation Syntax* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 3: “the translations [of the Septuagint] display mixed motivations in the renderings of the underlying Hebrew constructions. On the one hand, the resultant conditionals reflect features that are natural to the target language; on the other hand, we can also observe features that manifest interference from the source language in terms of either functional equivalence or frequency of occurrence.”

thesis will engage these questions and attempt to provide suitable answers as well as a method that could be employed to write a reference grammar of the Septuagint.

1.3. Statement of Thesis and Scope of Study

In answer to my first question and presuming the correctness of the following study, I have formulated a definition: the syntax of the Septuagint is *translational syntax*, that is, a coding system native to the target language, Koiné Greek, that shows a measure of interference from its parent text that varies from construction to construction and from clause to clause.²⁰ In other words, I am arguing that neither the syntax of the target language nor of the parent text can fully explain the *translational syntax* of the Septuagint, but that *both* ought to be taken into account in varying measure depending both upon the construction and the clause at hand.²¹ Although this understanding is not particularly novel²²—nor is it intended to be—few syntactical studies of the Septuagint

²⁰ Cp. Georg Walser’s definition of “translation Greek” (which he attempt to distinguish from “translated Greek”): “Translation Greek is here defined as a variety of Greek with traces of another language, another dialect of Greek or another variety of Greek. It is of great importance to underline that this does *not* mean that all aspects of Greek are affected by another language, dialect or variety of Greek” (“The Greek of the Bible,” 453).

²¹ One caveat should be added: this definition only extends to the portions that are translations; compositional books and additions to books that are reliably taken as compositions (e.g., the additions to Greek Esther) fall outside its bounds. Incidentally, after arriving at this definition independently, I found that Evans makes a similar statement (*Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 118).

²² See Walser, “The Greek of the Bible,” 453–4; James Aitken, “The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish Greek Identity,” in *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* (ed. James Aitken and James Carleton Paget; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 120–34, here 127; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 373–4. See also Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 118: “The two factors of natural Greek usage and Hebrew influence (and the tensions between them) control all syntactical phenomena in translation Greek.” For an older source, see also Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 16: “The Septuagint, considered as a whole, is the most extensive work which we possess written in the vernacular of the [Koiné] or Hellenistic language.... The LXX, being a translation, has naturally a Semitic colouring.”

Tjen speaks of the “double character of LXX Greek” (*Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 2). In a similar vein, some in translation studies have argued for a “bi-text” as a theoretical construct present in the translator’s mind; see Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies* (Benjamins Translation Library 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 96–97.

and still less critical thought regarding method of evaluating the syntax of the Septuagint have been offered from this perspective.²³

In part, this study will seek to offer a method that can be used to write a comprehensive reference grammar of the translational syntax of the Septuagint (as defined in the preceding paragraph) and in part, it will apply this method to the evaluation and explanation of Septuagintal syntax. Since entire books are written on *one particular* class of words or type of clause within the Septuagint, this study must limit itself. In the first place, this study is focused on one particular *function*, namely, relative clauses (RCs).²⁴ In fact, it is further delimited to a few aspects of RCs. Second, this study is limiting its corpus to Greek Numbers. References will be made to other books—especially books within the Pentateuch—but these will be occasional and not based on systematic analysis.

Since neither of these decisions was arbitrary, some justification is necessary. First, I chose to focus on RCs since Greek and Hebrew share some similarities in their coding of RCs (e.g., relative word, if present, is first) but also have some distinct differences (e.g., Hebrew uses a relative complementizer whereas Greek uses a relative pronoun). Moreover, only a few brief studies have been done on RCs in the Septuagint²⁵ but an extensive study of the Hebrew relatives has recently been completed.²⁶ Second, Greek Numbers was chosen since it is part of the Pentateuch—a relatively homogenous

²³ For some studies that share this perspective, see §2.3.4.1–2.

²⁴ I use *function* advisedly here and against *structure*. I am following the terminology of cognitive linguistics. That is, I am an understanding a function (i.e., RCs or “relativization”) to be (arbitrarily) linked to certain coding structures (i.e., וְשֵׁנָה or ὅς followed by a clause).

²⁵ See the four studies in §2.3.1.4.

²⁶ Robert Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis” (PhD diss.; University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002). This dissertation is to appear as a monograph in the *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* series (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns). See also idem., “Relative Clause: Biblical Hebrew,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed. Geoffrey Khan et al.; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 3.350–7.

corpus that allows for helpful comparison and cross checking.²⁷ Additionally, Evans notes that, “[a]s the oldest part of the translation and to some extent a model for later translators, it is an obvious first choice for linguistic study.”²⁸ It is also relevant that the Göttingen Septuagint volumes have been released for each book of the Pentateuch, providing a firm textual basis for linguistic work.²⁹ Beyond this, the decision between the books of the Pentateuch was largely made on pragmatic grounds: as a result of previous research that I have done, I have become more familiar with Greek Numbers than with the other books of the Pentateuch.

This study will argue for the following thesis: The syntax of RCs in Greek Numbers is, in the majority of instances, normal Koiné syntax, particularly in the variation of relativizers, case attraction and inclusion, pied piping with prepositions, and its use of cases. Nevertheless, RCs show interference from the Hebrew parent text in the absence of certain (common) Greek constructions and the frequent use of resumptive pronouns. Additionally, if successful, this analysis will suggest that my method is indeed capable of producing a reference grammar of the Septuagint.

1.4. Preview of Chapters

Chapter 2 outlines the method of study followed in this investigation. Additionally, it will survey the relevant literature with a focus on presenting and evaluating current methods employed to analyze the syntax of the Septuagint. Chapter 3

²⁷ Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 13–14; also Evans: “The Pentateuch itself displays significant variations among the five books, each of which seems undoubtedly the work of a separate translator, but represents a unity by contrast with the rest of the corpus” (*Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 3).

²⁸ *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 3; Sollamo, “Prolegomena to the Syntax of the Septuagint,” 24.

²⁹ Incidentally, Thackeray mentions the difficulty he has had since no fully critical text existed in 1909 (*A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 1), a difficulty with which we are no longer faced! One writing a *full* syntax of the Septuagint—i.e., treating all of the Septuagint’s books—has to contend with the absence of critical texts for some books (see Sollamo, “Prolegomena to the Syntax of the Septuagint,” 24).

examines the variation of relativizers in Gk Num. Whereas Hb Num predominantly uses אֲשֶׁר as its relativizer, Gk Num makes use of a number of different relativizers (e.g., ὃς, ὅσος, ὅστις). It will be argued that the use of the variation of relativizers in Gk Num is due to idiomatic Greek constraints, although the possible constructions used are limited by a translation norm of staying close to the Hebrew word order. Chapter 4 examines the so-called pleonastic or resumptive pronoun. Here, it will be argued that the appearance of resumptive pronouns in Gk Num is due entirely to Hebrew influence. Finally, Chapter 5 will conclude by summarizing the findings of this study. It will be concluded that the conception of the syntax of the Septuagint offered here and the method of evaluating its translational syntax has explanatory power that could be applied broadly to the varied syntactical phenomena found in the Septuagint.

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to articulate the method that this study will follow and to present and critically evaluate current methods and approaches to the syntax of the Septuagint. Concomitantly, this chapter will seek to distinguish the method espoused in the present study from these other methods and situate itself in their midst.

2.2. Statement of Method

First, I will offer a succinct statement of my method in six steps. It should be noted that the order of these steps presents a logical progression rather than the layout of the study. Second, I will expound upon each step at greater length in the following sections (§2.2.1–5), with particular attention to those areas that distinguish the method of the present study from other methods.

In brief, the method this study uses to evaluate the syntax of the Septuagint is as follows: (1) select a *function* (i.e., relative clauses) and a narrow corpus (i.e., Greek Numbers). (2) From Ptolemaic Greek papyri and other literature contemporaneous with the selected narrow corpus, set out the structures matching the selected function. Do the same with the Hebrew construction in the Hebrew Bible, paying special attention to where Greek and Hebrew differ. (3) Collect and categorize all examples in the narrow corpus according to the Greek construction used, which is done concurrently with step (4). (4) Analyze and explain representative examples as well as categorical outliers. (5) Formulate a comprehensive typology of the Greek constructions in the narrow corpus. (6) Test and refine the predictability of the typology on a broader corpus (e.g., the OG

Pentateuch). Step (6) will be completed *ad hoc* in this study, but is ancillary to my limited focus on Gk Num.

2.2.1. On the Use of Function versus Construction

The language of “function” is adopted from the cognitive linguistic school and is grounded in the theoretical model that conceives of language as a complex interworking of *functions* arbitrarily matched with *constructions*. Since this is my starting place, I am able to ask what structures correspond to the function of relativization in Classical (Biblical) Hebrew and Koiné Greek in Ptolemaic Egypt. For translational technical studies, in which the normal point of departure is usually the Hebrew construction, the starting question will be, “*How is x or y Hebrew construction translated?*” They then proceed to collect, organize, and analyze the results according to the Hebrew grammatical category. However, as Takamitsu Muraoka has variously pointed out, such a method has difficulty taking into account features such as the Greek case system among others.³⁰ He continues to assert that a reference grammar must be written from the perspective of Greek grammar.³¹ In my own study I will approach Septuagintal syntax from *function* rather than *construction*. By doing so, I am able to bypass some of the difficulty in choosing whether or not to start from the Hebrew construction or Greek construction.³² From this perspective, one begins with an examination of the function–construction matches in compositional Koiné Greek (i.e., not translational Greek) and Biblical

³⁰ Takamitsu Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle in the Septuagint Books of Genesis and Isaiah,” 185–202. See also Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” in *Studien Zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. Raija Sollamo and Anneli Aejmelæus; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 11–18; this is a reprint from Soisalon-Soininen’s 1965 dissertation, published as *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965).

³¹ See also Emanuel Tov, “The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 241.

³² Cp. Raija Sollamo, “Prolegomena to a Syntax of the Septuagint,” 33, who seems to find that one can only start from the Greek grammatical categories or the Hebrew.

(Classical) Hebrew. Subsequent to this examination, it is natural to compare the constructions used in Hebrew and compositional Greek for any given function. This comparison helps elucidate aspects that are particularly susceptible to interference in the translation process. When each instance of the relevant construction is examined in the Septuagint, it becomes apparent in which instances the Semitic parent text has interfered with natural Greek and in which the translator has eschewed source-language influence in favor of the target-language idiom.

Another advantage of starting with a function and analyzing the constructions used to encode it is that one is able to look at the constructions in the global Greek context. If one simply took the Greek text of the Septuagint as one's point of departure, it may not be immediately clear if some common, idiomatic Greek constructions were absent from the Septuagint. For instance, in the present study, I examine "inclusion," a common feature in compositional literature that is almost entirely absent from Gk Num (see §3.3.3). In Greek RCs with inclusion, the HN appears after the relative pronoun and appears to be *included* within the boundaries of the clause, as in this example from Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.10: ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους (until the messengers whom he would send to the king would come). However, in Hebrew RCs, the HN *always* precedes the RC. Therefore, in order to construct a RC with inclusion in the Septuagint, the translators would have to rearrange the order of the Hebrew elements drastically. Due to a tendency of the translators to follow the word order of the Hebrew, inclusion is almost entirely absent from Gk Num (see §3.3.3). The same effect of Hebrew

interference was discovered with pied piping.³³ Since the Septuagint translators are able to follow the word order of the Hebrew without creating ungrammatical sentences (as I have indicated in §1.2), one could easily be lulled into supposing that the Septuagintal language is more similar to compositional language than it really is. It would be easy to miss that some common constructions are entirely absent, which in turn can create a false impression of the syntactical feature under examination and miss significant aspect of Hebrew interference. By beginning with function rather than the Septuagintal constructions, I have attempted to guard against this.

2.2.2. *On the Use of Papyri and other Literature*

Adolf Deissmann's *Bible Studies* is commonly singled out as dealing a decisive (although not final) blow to the theory of "Biblical Greek" as distinct from vernacular Koiné Greek.³⁴ His key sources for this study were the Greek papyri from Egypt, which had been discovered and published a little more than a century before his time.³⁵ With reference to the language of the Septuagint, he states, "[T]he Papyrus discoveries have now put us in the position of being able to check the Egyptian dialect by document—so to speak—through hundreds of years."³⁶ Much later, John A. L. Lee has extolled the papyri as a source for Septuagint lexicography—and goes on to use them in a variety of

³³ Pied piping is the technical term for the movement of the preposition from its normal position to just before the relative word. For an English example, "The car in which I rode is fast." For further detail and Greek examples, see §3.3.4.

³⁴ E.g., James H. Moulton and Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), 3–5, 18–19; James Aitken, "The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish Greek Identity," 124; Jan Joosten, "The Vocabulary of the Septuagint in Its Historical Context," in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception* (ed. Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons; SBLSCS 58; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 1–12, here 1; Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 3, 7–8, 13.

³⁵ See Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 6–7.

³⁶ G. Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 71, 74, 81; see also Michaël van der Meer, "Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives Papers Read at the Conference on the Septuagint of Isaiah, Held in Leiden 10-11 April 2008* (ed. Arie van der Kooij and Michaël van der Meer; CBET 55; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 107–33, here 109.

word-studies.³⁷ Indeed, the papyri—although their potential for lexicography has certainly not been exhausted—have been used for some years in Septuagint research.³⁸ Van der Meer states with specific reference to Greek Isaiah, “The parallels from the documentary papyri do show how much the Greek version of Isaiah is rooted in the Greek language and vocabulary of Ptolemaic Egypt.”³⁹ Lee’s study puts forth a similar argument, but for the Greek Pentateuch.⁴⁰ Papyrological evidence has even been brought to bear on the phonology (and orthography) of the Septuagint in an attempt to discern its date of composition.⁴¹

Recently, also, Joosten has stated, “The grammar and the syntax of the Septuagint are not representative of classical Greek, nor of the literary *koine* used by Hellenistic authors such as Polybius, but stands closer to the non-literary language of contemporary documentary papyri.”⁴² In other words, there exist two “Greeks,” so to speak, the stiled language of Greek works of literature and the non-literary language of the papyri. In (socio-)linguistic terms, such situations are well-known and referred to as *diglossia*.⁴³ Nevertheless, the papyri have, in my opinion, been under-utilized for a study of the

³⁷ John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 3. More recently, he has lamented that the papyri have not been used to a greater extent: “*A Lexical Study Thirty Years On, with Observations on ‘Order’ Words in the LXX Pentateuch,*” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 513–24, esp. 516–7.

³⁸ See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 86–169; Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen Zur Septuaginta Des Buches Isaias* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934), 175–212.

³⁹ van der Meer, “Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah,” 133.

⁴⁰ Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version*, 1–3.

⁴¹ James Aitken, “Phonological Phenomena in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions and Their Significance for the Septuagint,” in *Studies in Greek Bible: Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac, S.J.* (ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 44; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 256–77.

⁴² Jan Joosten, “Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint: The Case of Grammatical Variation,” in *Et Sapienter et Eloquenter: Studies on the Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint* (ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 11–22.

⁴³ Charles Ferguson is credited with introducing the term “diglossia” into English in 1959 (“Diglossia,” *Word* 15 [1959]: 325–40). He defines, “In many speech communities two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions” (*ibid.*, 325).

Septuagint's syntax⁴⁴—perhaps their validity in this area has been stifled by the assumption that the *syntax* is Hebrew, even if the *vocabulary* is Greek.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, a few syntactical studies have made use of the Ptolemaic papyri. Here I will mention some significant recent ones. Anwar Tjen, in his monograph entitled *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, draws his comparative material primarily from the papyri, but occasionally also from Strabo, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Polybius.⁴⁶ Trevor Evans also depends on papyrological evidence to establish *inter alia* the decline of the optative.⁴⁷ Raija Sollamo makes use of a select corpus of papyri plus Greek inscriptions and other literary writers to establish the use (or disuse) of personal pronouns with coordinate nouns.⁴⁸ Other studies include papyrological evidence for syntactical work to a greater or lesser extent.⁴⁹

There are also some additional benefits to drawing on the papyri in contradistinction to works of Greek literature. First, the date of composition of a papyrus text is often fixed and easily ascertainable. In contrast, it is often difficult to fix dates to works of literature and cleverly disguised pseudepigraphal works, whose composition is often much later than the pseudonymous author. This reality of pseudonymous works complicates even distinguishing an author's genuine work from a later imitation. Second,

⁴⁴ Similarly, Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 13: “the language of the LXX has not yet been examined thoroughly in the light of the enormous number of papyrus documents.” In James Aitken, “Phonological Phenomena in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions and Their Significance for the Septuagint,” 258–61, he surveys the use of the papyri in biblical research—and does not mention a single study on syntax that have made use of the Ptolemaic papyri. Fortunately, the situation is not quite so bleak.

⁴⁵ Cp. Fernández Marcos on the views on the NT language in 18th–20th centuries (*The Septuagint in Context*, 7–12).

⁴⁶ See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 37–48.

⁴⁷ Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 178–80.

⁴⁸ Raija Sollamo, “The Koinē Background for the Repetition and Non-Repetition of the Possessive Pronoun in Co-Ordinate Items,” in *Studien Zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart Zu Ehren* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel et al.; MSU XX; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 52–63; expanded in idem., *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

⁴⁹ So Anneli Aejmelaeus, “OTI Causale in Septuagintal Greek,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Rev. ed.; CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11–31.

there is little editing and there are few changes after a copy of a papyrus text has been written. This almost entirely negates the need for textual criticism in the usual sense of the word. On the other hand, some works of literature survive in many fragmentary textual witnesses that must be collated and compared. Moreover, some works survive only in quotations by later writers (e.g., Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, which dates to third century BCE, survives in quotations from Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius⁵⁰)—a fact that introduces questions not only of text criticism but historical linguistics, since the language may have been updated by the later tradents. By making use of the papyri, the present study has been able to avoid these complications. Moreover, Volume 2 (in three parts) of Edwin Mayser's *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* provides almost 1000 pages of syntactical information on the papyri along with copious examples from the particular period we are interested in—thus, one is rarely at a loss for good grammatical information.

For my present purposes, I have only occasionally needed to reach outside the realm of papyri into other compositional Greek literature. However, a more thoroughgoing study of the syntax of the Septuagint would need to make more frequent reference to the literary milieu of Ptolemaic Egypt.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See W. G. Waddell, trans., *Manetho and Ptolemy* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), vii–viii.

⁵¹ See Aitken, “The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish-Greek Identity,” 128–30. A paradigmatic example of this is Trevor Evans's argument that $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota$ + comparative optative is an imitation of Homer (*Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 190–5). In Gk Num, see 11:12 and 22:4. Note that Homer was the *most commonly* found author among the papyri: “at the latest count at the time of writing [in 1968!] some 680 papyrus texts of Homer have been edited.... Homer was no doubt the most widely read author of antiquity” (Eric G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968], 97). The chances are high that the literature translators of the Septuagint were familiar with Homer's works.

2.2.3. *Categorization of Data*

Only after a full collation of relevant examples of the chosen function in the Septuagint would one be able to categorize it. I have chosen to categorize my data according to Greek syntactical categories. This decision is justified on a few grounds. First, it is consistent with my definition of the Septuagint’s translational syntax, i.e., that it is Koiné Greek syntax with a measure of Hebrew influence. Second, this allows a unified treatment of the data for the purposes of a reference grammar. For example, I treat the temporal RC ἡ ἡμέρα + finite verb under RCs although it translates the Hebrew ביום + infinitive construct, a temporal construction. Additionally, I also treat ὃν τρόπον (“in which manner”) under RCs, a somewhat frequent translational equivalent for the Hebrew כאשר. Syntactically, these two Greek phrases are examples of inclusion of the HN into the RC as well as case-attraction. Both phenomena are attested in the Greek papyri. In a reference grammar, it would be more appropriate to associate them with the various functions of RCs than treat ἡ ἡμέρα + finite verb with the translations of other Hebrew temporal phrases and ὃν τρόπον with translations of Hebrew clause connector.⁵² Accordingly, it is easier to answer the question, “How is *x* or *y* Greek construction formed in the Septuagint?” than to answer the translation-technical question, “How is *x* or *y* Hebrew construction translated?”

In contrast, the members of the Helsinki School of translation technical studies categorize their data according to *Hebrew* syntactical categories. In my view, their choice

⁵² For the latter, so Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Rev. ed., CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 44–57, here 55. See also in my critique of Anwar Tjen §2.3.3.1.

is correct for *their* purposes.⁵³ Since translation technique as an object of study treats the variation of Greek translational equivalents for (a) Hebrew word(s) or phrase(s), it is most natural to organize along the lines of Hebrew syntactical categories. Nevertheless, if this approach were followed throughout a reference grammar, each Greek syntagm would be treated unsystematically and scattered across many pages. For instance, Greek participles would have to be treated under infinitive absolutes, coordinated noun phrases, some types of RCs, and perhaps a few others as well!⁵⁴ As will be seen more clearly in my assessment of the Helsinki school below, my critique is not that the translation technical method is incorrect—it is surely applicable to translation technique as object of study—but rather that the translation technical approach should inform syntactical analysis rather than being the only approach to the syntax of the Septuagint.⁵⁵

2.2.4. Analysis and Explanation of the Data

Once the data has been categorized and outliers identified, one is in a position to analyze and explain the data. For my method, analysis and explanation of the data presupposes that the constructions under consideration have been set out and analyzed in compositional Greek literature and biblical Hebrew. Based on this, a contrastive analysis of constructions in Greek and Hebrew can reveal areas where the two languages are

⁵³ See also Emanuel Tov, “The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999, 24; repr. from *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* [SCS 23; ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986], 337–359), 239–246, here 241. Contra Soisalon-Soininen, who seems to indicate that it is the only way of proceeding: “Die einzige mögliche Arbeitsweise ist, daß man von den hebräischen grammatischen Kategorien und Ausdrücken ausgeht, und deren verschiedene—freiere oder wörtlichere—Wiedergaben untersucht” (“Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* [ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987], 40–51, here 41).

⁵⁴ See also my critique of Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, in §2.3.3.1. below.

⁵⁵ Contra Raija Sollamo, “Translation Technique as Method,” in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and its Modern Translators in the Context of Early Judaism* (ed. Hans Ausloos et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 35–41, here 35. She also states, “for Soisalon-Soininen, the translation technique was not only the main target of research, but also the method—the way—through which one could and should write a syntax of the Septuagint” (ibid.).

similar and where they diverge. For instance, in chapter 4 I demonstrate that resumption is grammatically requisite in certain Hebrew RCs but unidiomatic in all Greek RCs. Such an analysis reveals where the syntax of the Septuagint is explained via Greek syntactical constraints and where it can be explained via Hebrew interference or, more frequently, both together in creative interplay.

In some constructions, the two languages are quite similar and accordingly, the syntactical constraints of Greek can be met in a literal rendering of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, in constructions in which the two languages *differ*, it is expected that both Greek syntactical constraints and Hebrew interference are at play in varying measures, since the translators are rarely rigidly consistent in their translation of one construction. As has been clearly noted in Soisalon-Soininen’s methodological remarks, the individual translators each find their own way between the syntactical strictures of Greek and the syntax of their Hebrew source text—but never in a rigidly consistent way.⁵⁶ Thus, and as I have noted in my definition of translation syntax (see §1.3), each instance of a certain construction can vary in its adherence to Greek syntactical constraints or degree of interference allowed.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 17; see also §2.3.1.2.

⁵⁷ Cf. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (“To the Reader of NETS,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, xiii–xx], xvii) on how to analyze what a Greek word means in the Septuagint. They draw a continuum, in which “contextual renderings” occupy one pole—these words are used just as they would be in normal Greek compositions. On the other pole is “Isolate renderings,” which “have been selected by the translator solely because of their perceived connection with (a) Hebrew morpheme(s)” (ibid.). Isolate renderings mean little except when examined from the perspective of their Hebrew equivalent. In between these two poles, they have placed a vertical line, concerning which they state, “The vertical line on the scale represents a semantic demarcation, since words or lexemes placed to the left are governed by their normal Greek semantic range, while those to the right may in part be governed by their Hebrew counterparts, though, when such is the case, not by their full semantic range” (ibid.).

When one examines the data found in the Septuagint, examples representative of its category are compared to those found in compositional literature.⁵⁸ The explanation sought depends on a few factors: its similarity or dissimilarity to compositional constructions and its similarity or dissimilarity with Hebrew constructions. The following table presents these factors and when Greek syntactical constraints or Hebrew interference likely present the best explanation. In it, GSC stands for Greek syntactical constraint and HI stands for Hebrew interference.

Instance of Septuagintal construction ...	Construction Similar in Greek and Hebrew	Construction dissimilar in Greek and Hebrew
is similar to compositional Greek	GSC	GSC
is dissimilar to compositional Greek	HI	HI, possibly unknown GSC
is not found in compositional literature	HI	HI, possibly unknown GSC ⁵⁹

However, the table only relates to features that could be influenced by the Hebrew parent text. There exist some Greek syntactical features that are independent of Hebrew interference. For instance, I will demonstrate in chapter 3 that the Septuagint’s use of

⁵⁸ This presents this step as logically distinct from the process of categorizing the data and, in a perfect world, it would be; however, in practice, this is a circular process. As one analyzes the data, the categories are refined and accordingly, and inclusion of certain examples in some categories are shown to be incorrect or new categories or further subcategorization introduced.

⁵⁹ Muraoka first drew my attention to this by asking, “doesn’t the LXX usage add anything new to what we already know of the way in which the participle is used in contemporary, external sources apart from the alleged Semitisms? The same question could be raised in respect not only of the participle, but any aspect of the LXX Greek: phonology, morphology or lexicography.... given the size of the LXX and the variety of literary genres represented by it, one should, I believe, keep one’s mind open to usages which can be judged to attest to be natural in Greek, but have so far not been identified in contemporary, non-Septuagintal sources or even in earlier Greek sources” (“Syntax of the Participle,” 187). Since it is a fairly literal translation, one cannot take the Greek constructions at face value as Koiné Greek (as I am afraid Muraoka might do [see §2.3.3.3. below]). In my view, considering whether or not the construction is similar or dissimilar in Greek and Hebrew sheds some light on this—if a translation is dissimilar both to its *Vorlage* and source language, it could be that some heretofore-unknown syntactical stricture is at play. But, cp. “A Prospectus for A Commentary on the Septuagint” (*BIOSCS* 31 [1998], 43–48): “as a general rule, no words or constructions of translation-Greek shall be considered normal Greek, unless attested in non-translation writings.”

various relativizers, where Hebrew predominantly uses one complementizer (אשר), is independent of Hebrew interference. Nevertheless, constructions that are dissimilar in Greek and Hebrew should be held as logically distinct from syntactical features in the Septuagint text that are independent of Hebrew influence. For example, the appearance of pied piping with prepositions in RCs can only be due to the strictures of Koiné at work in the Septuagint—but at the same time, pied piping is not used in certain instances because of Hebrew interference.⁶⁰ And *mutatis mutandis*, it will be demonstrated that not all distinctively Greek features are independent of Hebrew interference (see §2.3.1.3 below). Therefore, care must be taken that one does not assume a feature is independent of Hebrew interference simply because it is distinctively Greek.⁶¹

Two brief examples taken from RCs in Gk Num serve to illustrate how charting out the various factors involved in Septuagintal syntax are helpful. Of course, the next two chapters take this up at greater length.

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | 5:3 | καὶ οὐ μίανουσιν τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καταγίνομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς. |
| | NETS | and they shall not defile their camps in which I dwell among them |
| | MT | ולא יטמאו את מחניהם אשר אני שכן בתוכם |
| | NRSV | they must not defile their camp, where I dwell among them |
| 2 | 35:33 | καὶ οὐ μὴ φονοκτονήσητε τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικεῖτε. |
| | NETS | And you shall not kill by murder the land on which you live |
| | MT | ולא תחניפו את הארץ אשר אתם בה |
| | NRSV | You shall not pollute the land in which you live |

In both #1 and #2, the Hebrew has a relativizer (אשר) followed by a resumptive pronoun attached to a preposition (בתוכם [5:3] and בה [35:33]). In Greek, a *preposition precedes* the relative pronoun when the coreferential element in the RC is the object of a

⁶⁰ For a definition of pied piping, see footnote 33. For examples and detailed explanation, see §3.3.4.

⁶¹ See also my critique of Takamitsu Muraoka (§2.3.3.3), who seems to fall into this trap.

preposition, a construction that is ungrammatical in Hebrew.⁶² Therefore, since Greek and Hebrew are quite different in this regard, the appearance of these prepositions can only be explained by Greek's use of pied piping. Thus, the prepositions in the phrases ἐν οἷς and εἰς ἣν arise through Greek syntactical constraints alone. Nevertheless, note that the resumptive pronoun—a grammatical feature in Hebrew—is represented in #1 with ἐν αὐτοῖς. This, I will argue in chapter 4, is unidiomatic in Greek and due to Hebrew influence. To repeat, these are features of Greek and Hebrew that are quite distinct. G is not absolutely consistent in allowing this type of interference, as illustrated by #2—where the resumptive *is not used although present in Hebrew*. Here (and in other instances) G spontaneously allows Greek syntactical constraints to suppress Hebrew interference. These two examples serve to illustrate how the syntax of the Septuagint is a creative and variable interplay of Greek syntactical constraints and Hebrew interference; additionally, they illustrate how one might go about explaining the syntactical features of the Septuagint without simply describing them.

2.2.5. Formulation and Testing of a Typology

As a final step towards producing a reference grammar, the syntactical features of the Septuagint are compiled into a typology along with appropriate examples and explanation. I take it as the goal of a reference grammar to offer a rigorous description of the syntax of the language at hand and in some cases, a particular corpus. In the case of the Septuagint, the goal is to provide a typology that encompasses all syntactical possibilities found in its text. For practical reasons, I have suggested that one begin from a narrow corpus and work outward—testing the predictability on a larger corpus. Even in

⁶² See a fuller treatment in §3.3.4 below.

a corpus the size of the Greek Pentateuch, achieving a typology encompassing all syntactical features is quite a large task! As is typical of reference grammars, this typology should offer judiciously selected representative examples in order to elucidate the construction under consideration as well.

In this step, is it sufficient to operate simply from the Greek text? That is, could one construct this typology of Septuagintal syntax without reference to the Hebrew parent text? On the one hand, such an approach might seem to meet the goals of a reference grammar. However, in my view, a reference grammar *of the Septuagint* should not stop there for a few reasons. First, since the Septuagint is not a straightforward example of Koiné but rather exhibits *translational syntax* (see definition in §1.3), its syntax is therefore not completely *explained* at the level of the Greek text. One cannot simply note the presence of this or that feature without offering some explanation of its origins—which perforce includes interference from the source text. For instance, one could note that the Septuagint includes many examples of resumptive elements in RCs although there are few in compositional literature.⁶³ If the researcher considers that certain syntactical features originate through Hebrew interference, he/she would be able to conclude this unique feature is explained due to its translational nature.⁶⁴ Second, although a reference grammar operating only at the level of the Greek text could compare compositional Koiné and the translational Koiné of the Septuagint, it could not offer any (conclusive) reasons for the difference since, as implied above, it lacks adequate

⁶³ See chapter 4 for detailed argumentation.

⁶⁴ This is quite close to a principle of the interlinear paradigm: “what th[e] Septuagint says, and how it says it, can only be understood in its entirety with the help of the Hebrew” (Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xv).

explanation. Therefore, it is important for a reference grammar of the Septuagint to include *both* description and explanation.

Additionally, both descriptive and explanatory elements are required if a reference grammar of the Septuagint is to inform our understanding of the Koiné Greek language in general. Without this, one could never know if a syntactical feature derived from a Greek syntactical constraint at work in the Septuagint or if it were due to Hebrew interference (and therefore largely irrelevant to our understanding of Koiné in general). Additionally, both elements would be required in order to identify Septuagintalisms in later compositional Jewish-Greek writings as well as the New Testament and early Christian writings. In other words, in order to discern elements introduced into Koiné Greek based on the influence of the Septuagint and its translational syntax, it is important to discern what aspects of the Septuagint derive from Greek syntactical strictures and Hebrew interference. Although a full typology cannot be offered within the constraints of this work, Appendix A presents a brief example of how one might go about writing one using the approach of this study.

2.3. Survey of Literature

Since few studies on the syntax of relative clauses in the Septuagint have been completed, the following survey of literature will also deal with the methods of various studies on Septuagintal syntax in general. Methodologically, approaches can be roughly placed on a continuum between two poles: one pole seeks to explain the syntax of the Septuagint by Hebrew interference and the other pole seeks to explain it via Greek syntactical constraints (to the exclusion of the Hebrew parent).⁶⁵ While few are situated

⁶⁵ Bénédicte Lemmelijn and Hans Ausloos have also characterized approaches to the Septuagint along two poles—a “quantitative” and “qualitative” approach—but this differs from my characterization

precisely at these extreme poles, most approaches—which can vary depending on the aim of the study—focus on one over the other. It will be argued that my approach attempts to offer a *via media*, taking positives from both poles.

2.3.1. *The Helsinki School*

This influential school of Septuagint studies owes its origins to the extensive work of Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen.⁶⁶ Following Soisalon-Soininen, two of his most prominent pupils—Raija Sollamo⁶⁷ and Anneli Aejmelaeus⁶⁸—have carried the torch and been followed, in turn, by their own academic progeny, generating a considerable body of studies on the translation technique of the Septuagint. Both Sollamo and Aejmelaeus point back to the work of their teacher, Soisalon-Soininen, and his monograph *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, as establishing the method and goal of the school’s substantial research activity and output.⁶⁹ Accordingly, the following presentation of the method and work of this school focuses on Soisalon-Soininen’s foundational essays and brings in Sollamo and Aejmelaeus where helpful. At the outset, it should be noted that

here; see “Content-Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique” (in *Die Septuaginta: Text, Theologien, und Einflüsse* [ed. Wolfgang Krause et al.; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 357–76, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, “Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

⁶⁶ See especially his *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* and idem., *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987). The latter is a compilation of many studies published throughout his career, covering such areas as RCs, various aspects of personal pronouns, temporal uses of כּ, etc.

⁶⁷ See especially Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979); idem., *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint*; idem., “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the LXX of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich; SBLSCS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 43–62; idem., “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch,” in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 75–85.

⁶⁸ See especially Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982); idem., *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

⁶⁹ See Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 1 n. 1, 7–8.

my critique of the Helsinki school functions on two levels. On the one hand, I affirm the applicability of studies of translation technique and their explanatory power for Septuagintal syntax. On the other hand, given that the area of translation technique and syntax are overlapping but distinct, one must acknowledge the limits of a translation technical approach alone to produce a reference grammar of the Septuagint.

2.3.1.1. Goals of the Helsinki School's Research

It is fitting to start with the objectives of this school since, as Soisalon-Soininen states of any research, “Die Art der Behandlung des Materials muß allerdings von gewissen Zielsetzungen bestimmt sein.”⁷⁰ Additionally, it is not controversial that the intended result (or goal) of any scientific inquiry—and particularly for the investigation of Septuagint syntax—has significant impact on the method. For our present purposes, a key difference between the method of this study and that of the Helsinki School is the respective goal(s) of each. In his introduction to *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*,⁷¹ Soisalon-Soininen distinguishes between three goals of research on Septuagintal syntax: (1) comparison between the syntax of the Septuagint and compositional literature; (2) comparison of the various Septuagintal books and translators; (3) identification and evaluation of Hebraisms.⁷² If one were to broadly characterize the Helsinki School's

⁷⁰ Soisalon-Soininen, “Methodologische Fragen,” 40; translation: “The type of treatment of material [in scientific research] of course must be determined by certain objectives.” This comment is made at the start of the essay in which he makes general comments about method and scientific research.

⁷¹ Republished in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*.

⁷² In his words, “Die drei Hauptfragen, von denen man bei der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax ausging, sind also 1) der Vergleich mit der übrigen Koine, besonders mit dem NT und mit den griechisch geschriebenen Büchern der Septuaginta, 2) der Vergleich der Bücher und Übersetzer der Septuaginta miteinander und 3) die Frage der Hebraismen” (“Einleitung,” 16). Here, I view the primary questions or issues (Hauptfragen) and starting point as goal—since it is clear that these should be the results of such a study. I have given “evaluation of Hebraisms” above for “die Frage der Hebraismen”—this could probably also be, “the identification of Hebraisms.” Soisalon-Soininen elsewhere defines Hebraisms as “ein aufgrund des Hebräischen entstandener Ausdruck, der nicht mit dem Sprachgebrauch des gleichzeitigen Griechisch im Einklang steht oder der vom Hebräischen aus erklärliche Gebrauch möglicher Vokabeln oder Ausdrücke im Griechischen in Zusammenhängen, in denen sie nach dem griechischen Sprachgebrauch

research in terms of the results of their studies, one would have to say that all three are operative in a majority of the studies at various levels. However, Soisalon-Soininen formulated these principles in 1965, and the Helsinki School has grown to include some other goals in its program of research.

In particular, Aejmelaesus notes that there are two overlapping goals in the study of translation technique: “[T]here will be a large area of overlap between the study of Septuagintal syntax and studies with the primary aim of describing the translation techniques of the various translators and the differences between them.”⁷³ She ranks these two aims: “[T]he main interest of this kind of [translation-technical] study lies in the area of syntax, and its ultimate goal is the grammatical description of syntactical phenomena in Septuagintal Greek.”⁷⁴ It is clear from the rest of my description here that I disagree with Aejmelaesus on this point. As I am contending, there is a difference between the study of the way in which the translators worked (translation technique) and their product (syntax). Second, “As a by-product, translation-technical study of the syntax allows a comparison between the various translators and characterization of their modes of translation.”⁷⁵ Because she notes that some syntactical features are studied that *do not* reveal anything helpful for a comparison of the translators, this is only a byproduct and not the overarching goal.

Significantly, an implication of Aejmelaesus’s views is that the syntax of the Septuagint and translation technique of the Septuagint *are actually separate*, although

nicht passend sind” (“Zurück zur Hebraismenfrage,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* [ed. Detlef Fraenkel et al.; MSU XX; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990], 35–51, here 39).

⁷³ Aejmelaesus, “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Rev. ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 205–22, here 207.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

closely linked. For instance, if one aims at comparing the individual aspects of the various Septuagint translators, then “only phenomena which help us to recognize the difference are of interest in this case and such phenomena may be picked out of different areas of language.”⁷⁶ It follows that a comprehensive description of Septuagintal syntax does not have as its goal a comparison of the various translation techniques of the different books (although it may reveal some points in this regard), since it treats all features of the Septuagint’s language and not simply those that draw out differences in translation technique. A distinctive feature of the Helsinki School is that its members have studied Septuagintal syntax with great success via a study of translation technique. However, it still remains to be seen how the study of Septuagintal syntax and the study of translation technique actually differ in their respective methods—or, whether or not they are actually the same thing.

2.3.1.2. Syntax of Translation Greek and Translation Technique

Due to the impetus of Soisalon-Soininen, the Helsinki School sees the study of translation technique as the primary (but note the only) way to research the Septuagint syntax with a goal of being able to describe its syntax on a deep level. Soisalon-Soininen states, “[D]ie Untersuchung der Syntax einer Übersetzung [verwandelt sich] zum großen Teil in eine Untersuchung der Übersetzungstechnik.”⁷⁷ This seems to serve as a foundational principle for the Helsinki School. It is important to determine what logic lies behind this methodological premise.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 18; translation: “the investigation of the syntax of a translation turns in large part into an investigation of translation technique.” See also idem., “Syntax of Translation-technique,” 10.

Soisalon-Soininen defines three aspects that are of cardinal importance for studying the syntax of the Septuagint as a translation: “[D]ie Syntax der Ausgangsprache, die Anforderungen der Zielsprache und das Verhältnis des Übersetzers zu beiden.”⁷⁸ What Soisalon-Soininen here defines as “the relationship of the translator” (das Verhältnis des Übersetzers) to his target language and source text is variously referred to as *Übersetzungsweise* (manner of translation), *Übersetzungstechnik* (translation technique), and *Arbeitsweise der Übersetzer* (manner [or method] of working of the translator).⁷⁹ In the Helsinki School’s English publications, “translation technique” is most frequently seen—a term which, following Aejmelaeus, I take to mean the relationship of the Greek text to the Hebrew *rather* than a method.⁸⁰ This understanding of translation technique is quite similar to what I have defined above (see §1.3 and §2.2.4). Since it is clear that the syntax of the source text and the requirements of the target language are stable variables, it is the relationship of the translator to both of these that changes from book to book and so provides the variegated character of the Septuagint.⁸¹ In other words, the *way* in which a translator navigates between these two is

⁷⁸ Ibid., 16; translation: “the syntax of the source language, the requirements [or strictures] of the target language, and the relationship of the translators to both of these.” His full comment is as follows, “Wenn man an die Syntax einer Übersetzung denkt, darf man nicht vergessen, daß dabei drei Faktoren von Bedeutung sind, nämlich die Syntax der Ausgangsprache, die Anforderungen der Zielsprache und das Verhältnis des Übersetzers zu beiden.” See also “Methodologische Fragen,” 41. Anneli Aejmelaeus makes a similar statement, “there are three entities that play a part and must be taken into consideration in every kind of Septuagint studies: (1) the text of the translation, (2) the text of the *Vorlage*, and (3) translation technique” (“What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” 206).

⁷⁹ See, Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 11–18.

⁸⁰ The term “translation technique” is used in various ways. It can describe the method (as in “translational-technical approach”) or object of research (as in “the translation technique of the Septuagint translators”). Anneli Aejmelaeus has pleaded for uniformity of terminology: “I suggest that ‘translation technique’ be understood as simply designating the relationship between the text of the translation and its *Vorlage*” (idem., “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” 205).

⁸¹ Obviously, this is not to say that the text of the Hebrew Bible was stable at all periods or that Greek has experienced no change over time; rather, this comment is made in regards to the moment in which the Septuagint was translated, where the text (or scroll) and language can more or less be considered constants.

dependent on the individual translator and can vary greatly.⁸² It is for this reason that Soisalon-Soininen rightly cautions against treating Septuagintal syntax as a monolithic whole, particularly when discussing translation technique.⁸³

One might infer from the preceding paragraph that where one finds differences between the various books, this is due to differences in the translation technique of the various translators. This, however, is a methodological fallacy that has plagued certain studies and fails to understand properly the first factor mentioned by Soisalon-Soininen (the syntax of the source text).⁸⁴ As a corrective, Soisalon-Soininen notes,

Man muß auch beachten, in welchem Maß der hebräischen Urtext den Übersetzer etwa veranlassen konnte, gewisse Ausdrücke zu verwenden. Wenn man die Unterschiede zwischen den verschiedenen Büchern untersucht, muß man die Einwirkung der Ursprache und die Arbeitsweise des Übersetzers deutlich voneinander trennen.⁸⁵

In other words, since the Septuagint is a relatively literal translation, evaluation of its syntax must take into account potential influence from its *Vorlage* before concluding that the presence or absence of a certain syntactical phenomenon is due only to the translator.⁸⁶ Soisalon-Soininen sees this statement as applicable *both* to Greek constructions that are subject to Hebrew interference and those that are relatively

⁸² Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 16: “Die Übersetzungsweise—d.h. in welchem Maß die Anforderungen der Syntax der Zielsprache berücksichtigt werden—ist immer individuell.” See also Sollamo, “Translation Technique as Method,” 35–36.

⁸³ Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 17.

⁸⁴ For a critique of a few studies, see Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 11–16. In particular Soisalon-Soininen critiques Clyde Votaws, *The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek* (Ph.D. Diss.; University of Chicago, 1896); J. Merle Rife, “The Mechanics of Ancient Greek,” *JBL* 52 4 (1933), 244–52; Robert Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928); Pentti Aalto, *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitivs des Griechischen* (Helsinki: Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, 1953); Martin Johannesson, *Der Gebrauch des Kasus und der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926).

⁸⁵ Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 17; translation, “One must also consider to what extent the Hebrew Ur-text could perhaps cause the translator to use certain expressions. If one is investigating the difference between the various books, one must separate the influence of the source language and the working manner of the translators from one another.”

⁸⁶ See Aejmelaeus for succinct defense of this principle and the use of statistics to evaluate Septuagintal syntax (“What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” 209).

independent. For one feature of the Greek language that is independent of Hebrew interference, Soisalon-Soininen notes mood and to some extent also tenses in Greek verbs.⁸⁷

Further explanation on why it is actually necessary to consider the Hebrew *Vorlage* in aspects of Greek usage that are independent of Hebrew interference may be helpful. Soisalon-Soininen gives an example for clarity: an investigation into the use of the genitive absolute in the Septuagint.⁸⁸ As even a cursory comparison of Greek and Hebrew participles makes clear, Hebrew does not have a neat counterpart to Greek's genitive absolute construction. Since the genitive absolute renders a variety of Hebrew expressions, it is not far-fetched to imagine that it is relatively independent of Hebrew interference. *However*, supposing that one intends to compare the various translators. It is important to note the underlying Hebrew expressions, since two translators may use the genitive absolute to render adjunct phrases but the Hebrew *Vorlage* of one has a plethora of adjunct phrases whereas the *Vorlage* of the other only a few. If Soisalon-Soininen's caution is not followed, one might wrongly conclude that this is a genuine difference in the translation technique of these two translators. On the other hand, if one has kept track of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, it becomes clear that this difference is not actually due to

⁸⁷ Soisalon-Soininen, "Einleitung," 18; so also Sollamo, "Translation Technique as a Method," 35. For how translation technique could inform the use of tenses in the Pentateuch, see Anssi Voitila, "What the Translation of Tenses Tells [sic.] About the Septuagint Translators," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10 2 (1996): 183–196. Anneli Aejmelaeus states, "For the study of syntax the translation-technical method is naturally only one of the methods used, although an important one. In some areas of syntax, it is possible to proceed without the translation viewpoint" ("The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint," 47). She cites positively a study by Sterenberg on the use of mood in Greek conditionals, stating, "the crucial point here is the use of the Greek moods to distinguish different types of conditional, [sic.] a usage which has no correspondence in Hebrew and for this reason is not a translation problem at all" (ibid., 47). See also Tjen on Sterenberg, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 4–5. Tjen apparently takes issue with Sterenberg's study, particularly in that it took the Greek text as his point of departure, and does not pay attention to "translational syntax" (ibid.).

⁸⁸ For this argument, I am summarizing Soisalon-Soininen, "Einleitung," 17–8.

variation in translation technique but to the Hebrew source text. Anwar Tjen's study on conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch provides an excellent example of the heeding of Soisalon-Soininen's warning. Tjen does not compare the translation techniques of the translators because his study reveals that variation in the structure of conditionals is largely genre dependent, which so skews the data as to make comparison of translation technique impossible.⁸⁹ In sum, the intended results of one's study are key here. If one intends to compare the various translators and books to one another, one must keep track of the Hebrew expressions and factors that could influence the distribution of these expressions, even with respect to aspects of the Greek language that are relatively independent from Hebrew interference (e.g., in Tjen's case, genre constraints). If one does not intend to compare the translators for factors that are independent of Hebrew interference, it is less important.

We are now in a position to return to how Soisalon-Soininen brings translation technique and the study of Septuagint syntax together. He states,

In den meisten Fällen ist es am besten, von bestimmten hebräischen grammatischen Kategorien auszugehen und zu untersuchen, wie diese von den Septuaginta-Übersetzern wiedergegeben sind. Nur so wird deutlich, welche Unterschiede zwischen den verschiedenen Büchern bereits im Hebräischen bestehen und welche den Übersetzern zuzurechnen sind. Wie die Übersetzer gearbeitet haben, was für Ausdrücke sie wortgetreu wiedergeben, in welchen Fällen und wie oft sie wortgetreue Wiedergaben vermeiden und durch freie Wiedergaben ersetzen, das gelangt nur dann ins rechte Licht, wenn man vom Hebräischen ausgeht und die Übersetzungsweisen, d.h. die Übersetzungstechnik der Übersetzer, untersucht.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 227; he states, "a detailed comparison [of the translation technique of the different books], however, has not been attempted in this study owing to the uneven distribution of conditionals among Pentateuchal books."

⁹⁰ Soisalon-Soininen, "Einleitung," 18; translation: "In most instances, it is best to begin from the Hebrew grammatical categories and to examine how these are rendered in the Septuagint translations. Only then does it become clear which differences between the various books are already present in the Hebrew and which are attributable to the translators. How the translators worked—what expressions they rendered literally, in which instances and how often they avoided a literal rendering and compensated with a free

He follows this by stating that research into the syntax of the Septuagint is largely research into the translation technique, as I have quoted at the start of this section. In critique of Soisalon-Soininen's statement here, it is important to note that the study of syntax largely becomes a study of translation technique *if one's goal is to elucidate the translation technique of the translators* (die Übersetzungstechnik der Übersetzer). If one's goal is to offer description and explanation of syntactical phenomena, to what extent does Soisalon-Soininen's judgment apply?

In my opinion, translation technique is an important, but supplemental tool for the study of Septuagintal syntax.⁹¹ It is helpful to think in terms of the processes one uses to study either translation technique or syntax. To paraphrase Soisalon-Soininen, using his method we can see how the translator has worked, what renderings he gives for certain expressions, and in which instances and how often he uses literal or free renderings.⁹² In other words, a study of translation technique asks, "How did the Septuagint translators translate *x* or *y* Hebrew construction?" In order to answer this question, one must follow the primary question with, "What is the syntax of *x* or *y* Greek construction in the Septuagint? And, is that reflective of standard Koiné or not?"⁹³ In my view, a study of Septuagintal syntax (not *translation technique*) must ask, "How is *x* or *y* Greek construction formed in the Septuagint?" In order to answer this question, one must also

rendering—is only obtained in the right light, when one begins from the Hebrew and researches the translation method, that is, translation technique of the translator."

⁹¹ See also Soisalon-Soininen, "Syntax of Translation-technique," 10: "The two [study of translation technique and syntax], though not coterminous, are far from being mutually exclusive, but their respective provinces must be determined, and full account taken of their bearing one upon the other."

⁹² This is intended as a rough paraphrase of Soisalon-Soininen's German statement, quoted in full above from Soisalon-Soininen, "Einleitung," 18.

⁹³ Aejmelaeus seems to indicate this when she states regarding clause connectors, "Methodologically speaking, the study of clause connectors in the Septuagint must be seen as a combination of syntactical study using a translation-technical method and a translation-technical study using syntactical material. For the study of syntax the translation-technical method is naturally only one of the methods used, although an important one" ("The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint," 47).

ask the consequent questions, “How did Greek syntactical constraints influence this construction? How did *z* underlying Hebrew construction influence *x* or *y* Greek construction?”⁹⁴ The second question here leads to a *translation technical inquiry*. In some instances, the underlying Hebrew *Vorlage* will have clear influence on how a construction is formed; in others, the influence will be subtle. In still other instances, the Hebrew *Vorlage* will not actually help explain how the construction is formed at all. For one area in which this last judgment applies, the use of mood in the Septuagint is due to the syntactical strictures of the Greek language, as Soisalon-Soininen has noted. In summary, we could say that a study of translation technique must work with syntactical constraints of Greek and the Koiné background and a study of Septuagintal syntax must work through translation technique. The distinction lies in the order of questions and intended results.⁹⁵

2.3.1.3. *Examples and Exemplary Studies of Translation Technique*

Anneli Aejmelaeus produces a short but excellent study of the *participium coniunctum*. In relation to this feature of the Greek language, she states, “Merely reading

⁹⁴ Soisalon-Soininen’s own plan to complete a grammar of the Septuagint reverses these questions. He planned to begin with translation technique and move to syntax (“Syntax of Translation-technique,” 10–11). So also Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 24: “The analysis of the translation techniques of each book or of each unit of translation has to precede any study of syntax.”

⁹⁵ Compare this with Sollamo, “Prolegomena to a Syntax of the Septuagint,” 33–34, where she compares the methods of Soisalon-Soininen and Takamitsu Muraoka (whose approach I have summarized in §2.3.3.3). It is instructive to quote her remarks in this regard at length: “I think that there is no great disagreement between Soisalon-Soininen and Muraoka on the level of principles nor on the level of traditional syntactical categories and framework. But in practice there might still be a difference, because in the practical writings of a syntax one has to decide whether one starts from Hebrew or Greek and on which side the main emphasis lies. The question, how important and how essential for a syntax of the Septuagint is the fact that it is a translation, even a very literal translation for the most part, is a crucial one. If the main emphasis lies on the Greek text [as Muraoka would have it], is it enough to compare it with other contemporary Koiné documents and state that whenever Septuagintal Greek differs from the Koiné the reason for it is the Hebrew source language? Of course, one then has to show what are the exact differences and how they are due to the syntax of the source language. At the second stage, the analysis comes close to translation-technical studies in any case. Ultimately, the difference is not very great, but there is a clear difference in emphasis” (ibid.).

the Greek text certainly gives one an impression of the quality of the language used, revealing odd as well as appropriate [read: idiomatic] expressions. Certain questions of great importance, however, remain unanswered.”⁹⁶ Foremost among these questions is, “Why is the language of the translation such as it is?” Presumably, what she means is, Why is it odd vis-à-vis compositional literature?⁹⁷ Other questions relate to the quality and competence of the various translators and the extent of Hebrew influence of the use of *participia coniuncta* (hereafter *p.ca.* for plural and *p.c.* for singular).

She then presents the data according to the Hebrew expressions that *p.ca.* render in the Septuagint: infinitives absolute, אָמַר introducing direct discourse, asyndetic pairs of verbs, participles (rarely), temporal expressions (e.g., כִּי + infinitive construct), and coordinate clauses.⁹⁸ The last of these is the subject of the rest of her investigation. First, she notes that these appear in only a few verbs (given here in their participial form): λάβων, ἰδών, ἐλθών, ἀναστάς, ἐξαναστάς, and λέγων.⁹⁹ In terms of actual usage, she first notes that “the usual functions of [*p.ca.*] in Greek are modal, temporal, conditional, concessive, final, and causal.”¹⁰⁰ Thus, the participle usually indicates action that is separate from and not a part of the action of the main verb. On the other hand, Hebrew tends to use a coordinate phrase to express parts or aspects of a single event.¹⁰¹ Thus, consider the following example cited by Aejmelaeus:

⁹⁶ “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Rev. ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 1–10, here 1.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2–5.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 6; see Smyth §2059–69.

¹⁰¹ “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 6.

3	Num 13:25	καὶ πορευθέντες ἦλθον πρὸς Μωυσῆν
	NETS	And going, they came to Moyses ¹⁰²
	MT 13:26	וילכו ויבאו אל משה
	NRSV	And they came to Moses

Such usage, where the *p.c.* basically repeats the action of the main clause, Aejmelaeus calls “pleonastic,” indicating that it is in fact superfluous. Such pleonastic constructions derive, however, from the translation of coordinate Hebrew clauses in which two verbs represent a single action or aspects of a single action. She finds that this represents 35% of the instances the *p.ca.* in the Greek Pentateuch.¹⁰³

For a moment, let us suppose that Aejmelaeus did *not* take into account that the Septuagint is a translation and simply assumed that it should be approached as a Greek document. One might easily conclude that such uses of the participle are in fact idiomatic, given that the Septuagint often uses a *p.c.* when it is redundant to the main verb. Since the *p.c.* is a distinct feature of Greek syntax vis-à-vis Hebrew clause structure, one might even suppose that such an assumption is well-founded. Nevertheless, one must differentiate between Greek constructions that are greatly divergent from Hebrew and those that are independent of Hebrew influence (see §2.2.4). In this case, Aejmelaeus has shown that Hebrew influence is felt even in a distinctively Greek syntactical feature.

Before making general remarks regarding the method of the Helsinki School, one more exemplary study from Aejmelaeus must be mentioned. She examines the use of ὅτι *causale* in the Septuagint, as a standard translation of causal כִּי. First, she details and compares the use of כִּי and ὅτι. In brief, כִּי is used to introduce object clauses, subordinate clauses of direct causality, and coordinate clauses of indirect causality (i.e., motivation or

¹⁰² Translation mine; NETS: “And they went and came back to Moyses.”

¹⁰³ “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 7.

explanation).¹⁰⁴ ὅτι, on the other hand, introduces object clauses and subordinate clauses of direct causation. However, for indirect causality, Greek usually uses γάρ, but also ἐπεὶ or ὡς.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, Greek syntactical constraints should have compelled the Septuagint translators to use ὅτι consistently for כִּי when it introduced object clauses and direct causality but γάρ for indirect causality. Nevertheless, Aejmelaeus finds, “As a result of their habit of rendering כִּי with ὅτι, the Septuagint translators failed to consider the logical properties of the כִּי clause they were about to render and thus used ὅτι even to introduce a motivation or an explanation in loose connection with the preceding context.”¹⁰⁶ She notes the following example:

- 4 Num 21:34 μὴ φοβηθῆς αὐτόν, ὅτι εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου παραδέδωκα αὐτόν.
 NETS Do not be afraid of him, [because]¹⁰⁷ into your hands I have delivered him
 MT אַל תִּירָא אֹתוֹ כִּי בִידְךָ נִתְּתִי אֹתוֹ
 NRSV Do not be afraid of him; for I have given him into your hand

In example #4, it is clear that the ὅτι clause does *not* give a cause but an explanation and so should be introduced with γάρ. Aejmelaeus then turns to contemporaneous compositional Greek and finds that there is no comparison with this use of ὅτι.¹⁰⁸

Again, let us assume that Aejmelaeus did not complete her study from the perspective of translation technique. She could have easily concluded that ὅτι *causale* is unique vis-à-vis contemporaneous compositional Greek—but what explanations would

¹⁰⁴ Aejmelaeus, “OTI *causale* in Septuagintal Greek,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Rev. ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11–30, here, 11–12.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰⁷ NETS translates ὅτι with *for*. It is better rendered as *because*, highlighting the unidiomatic nature of the Greek text.

¹⁰⁸ She goes on to note that the various translators do use γάρ and ὅτι appropriately; the degree to which they use these conjunctions according to Greek syntactical constraints can be evaluated as a clue of their translation technique (Aejmelaeus, “OTI *causale* in Septuagintal Greek,” 19–26).

be available to her to account for this anomalous usage? From this perspective, unless one assumed (mistakenly) that this is reflective of an unknown Greek syntactical constraint, all one could do is point to the difference between the Septuagint and compositional literature in this regard. Hebrew interference, which is certainly the correct explanation, would be excluded.

What then does the focus on translation technique contribute to the study of syntax in the Septuagint? First, in the case of *p.ca.*, it carefully notes the tendency of Hebrew to give rise to a so-called pleonastic *p.c.* construction. Second, Aejmelaeus demonstrates that the translators frequently translated וְ with the standard equivalent ὅτι, but without adequately considering the nuance of the expression. This translation technique resulted in some unidiomatic usages (i.e., ὅτι where γάρ is otherwise idiomatic). Thus, these studies on translation technique reveal some things about the Septuagint's translational syntax, particularly in regard to areas of Hebrew interference, and they also offer an *explanation* for why a certain feature appears there. However, one point must also be mentioned in critique. Aejmelaeus's article on *p.ca.* focuses on its rendering of coordinate clauses. However, she mentions that *p.ca.* also render a few other expressions (e.g., infinitives absolute). So, one must ask, do all *p.ca.* function as those that render coordinate clauses? That is, do those also show Hebrew interference or are they all idiomatic? In reference to ὅτι, she is only concerned with those uses that render וְ. If there are other uses, what do they render? And are they idiomatic or do they *also* show Hebrew interference? In other words, these studies present a correct and helpful but incomplete picture of the relevant features.

Additionally, whereas translation technical studies start with the Hebrew–Greek translational matches and work their way to a comparison with compositional Greek, this study will begin with an examination of compositional literature (i.e., the papyri). For instance, when examining ὅτι, I would have started with standard uses and meaning of ὅτι in the papyri before looking at the Septuagint. Once I arrived at the Septuagint, the study would have looked much the same as Aejmelaeus’s, except that it would not have only considered those that translate כִּי, but all instances of ὅτι.

2.3.1.4. *The Helsinki School on Relative Clauses in the Septuagint*

This school has produced four article-length studies on relative clauses in the Greek Pentateuch, and three of these spend most of their time on one aspect, the Greek rendering of the resumptive pronoun in Hebrew relative clauses. Soisalon-Soininen’s article, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch,”¹⁰⁹ is only seven pages long and states explicitly, “[I]t is not my intention to deal exhaustively with the topic.”¹¹⁰ In fact, he deals only with nominal relative clauses in Hebrew (i.e., those without verbs in the RC) and RCs with a resumptive pronoun. He discusses the syntactical features of the Hebrew construction as well as a general outline of the Greek constructions used. For example, he notes that Hebrew nominal RCs are often rendered with an explicit copula in the Septuagint, although this does not seem to be requisite in Greek (e.g., Gen 3:3 reads τοῦ ξύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου for אשר בתוך הגן (הע)). The translators also employ other renderings. For instance, a Greek prepositional phrase can become functionally equivalent to an adjective phrase when introduced by a

¹⁰⁹ Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 55–61.

¹¹⁰ Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 55.

definite article (e.g., Gen 43:16 reads *καὶ εἶπεν τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ* for *לאשר על ביתו* (ויאמר)).¹¹¹ As Soisalon-Soininen also concludes, such constructions are quite idiomatic.¹¹² Finally, he briefly notes a few constructions in which the resumptive pronoun (or adverb) is present or omitted. He finishes by asserting, without giving the relevant examples, that the ratio of omission to retention of the resumptive pronoun is statistically significant.¹¹³

Apart from the fact that the study is not comprehensive and rather brief—which alone leaves space for further work to be done—one further critique can be made. It is not clear from his study that nominal RCs with only a prepositional phrase as the predicate (i.e., no copula) are grammatical. The sole example he cites from compositional Greek literature contains an *adjective* as predicate: *μῦθος, ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγιής, εἰρημένος ἔστω*.¹¹⁴ In my opinion, it still remains to be demonstrated whether a relative clause such as **τὸ ξύλον ὃ ἐν τοῦ παραδείσου* is idiomatic Koiné or not. In Gk Num alone, there are six cases in which an explicit copula is *added* to the RC when translating a Hebrew RC

¹¹¹ For greater detail on this construction see §3.6.

¹¹² See Soisalon-Soininen, “Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 56–57. He expands: “But wherever it does occur, the reader of the Greek text gets the impression that the translator is using good Greek. The good stylistic quality of this translation is not due here to any freedom on the part of the translator. This is shown especially by the fact . . . that the unusually literal translator of Judges has considered this the normal translation. As is natural, it has sufficed that each word has been given its natural equivalent, with *אשר* being translated by the article, and even the word-order possibly remaining unchanged” (ibid., 57).

¹¹³ Soisalon-Soininen, “Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 61.

¹¹⁴ See Soisalon-Soininen, “Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 56; cited from Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik, von Albert Debrunner vervollständigt und herausgegeben* (2 vols.; Munnich: C. H. Beck, 1950), 2.624. Schwyzer *loc. cit.* gives a few more examples of nominal relative clauses. See also Mayser 2.3.17–18. I have found another: Callimachus, *In Dian.* 3.136: *πότνια, τῶν εἴη μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλος ὅστις ἀληθής*. Among these examples, a construction cited by Mayser are significant for our purposes. Consider P.Petr. 3.107 (b) l. 4 (226 BCE, Gurob): *ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐφ’ οὗ κ(υβερνήτης) Φανῆτις* (in the king’s [city?; so Mayser *loc. cit.*], upon which was governor Phanētis). Here, the prepositional phrase (ἐφ’ οὗ) is the predicate in a verbless nominal sentence. Significantly, the object of the prepositional phrase is the coreferential element itself. The alternative, which Soisalon-Soininen is suggesting is grammatical, is to have the coreferential element as subject and prepositional phrase as predicate. This, I have still not found an example of.

that consists only of a participle.¹¹⁵ To break with the otherwise usual translational norm of retaining quantitative equivalence suggests that there was some strong idiomatic pull in favor of adding the copula. And, although I have not done a comprehensive investigation of this, I have found a number of examples in the papyri where a copula is present when the predicate of a RC is a prepositional phrase but none without.¹¹⁶ This issue needs further study to establish results with greater confidence. Additionally, although Soisalon-Soininen only briefly touches on the grammaticality of the resumptive pronoun in Koiné—intimating that it is a feature of clumsy writers¹¹⁷—Sollamo has taken up this task in her first essay on relative clauses, to which we now turn.

Raija Sollamo essentially picks up where Soisalon-Soininen left off, devoting her two studies to the presence or absence of resumptive pronouns in the Greek Pentateuch.¹¹⁸ Her first article focuses on the Koiné background of resumption in RCs and the data in Genesis and Exodus,¹¹⁹ and her second on the data in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.¹²⁰ She characterizes the Greek renderings of Hebrew RCs with resumptive pronouns along a literal–free axis. After examining proposed occurrences of the resumptive pronoun in compositional Koiné, she concludes that the relative abundance of resumptive pronouns in RCs in the Septuagint “is due to a close adherence by the translators to the Hebrew text.”¹²¹ Thus, if the clause has both a relative pronoun

¹¹⁵ See Gk Num 7:89; 11:20; 15:14; 21:11; 22:36 (2x). Additionally, a participial form of *εἶμι* is added five times when a definite article is used in place of *אשר*: Gk Num 3:26; 4:25; 12:3; 16:5, 32. A participial form of *κατοικέω* is added in Gk Num 32:39.

¹¹⁶ See e.g., P. Eleph. 27, l. 6–9 (223/222 BCE, Elephantine).

¹¹⁷ Soisalon-Soininen, “Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 60.

¹¹⁸ See also §4.4.4.2 for further treatment of Sollamo’s articles.

¹¹⁹ “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch,” 75–85.

¹²⁰ “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the LXX of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” 43–62.

¹²¹ Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch,” 78.

and a resumptive pronoun, it is called *literal*; and conversely, if the clause only has one (i.e., the relative pronoun), it is called *free*.¹²² She provides the example of Gen 2:19 as a literal translation, which reads *καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδάμ* for the MT's *כל אשר יקרא לו האדם*. Gen 3:23 is an example of a free translation: *τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήμφθη* for the MT's *את האדמה אשר לקח משם*. These free translations she also calls idiomatic Greek “as regards the non-use of the *pronomens abundans* [= resumptive pronoun].”¹²³ The renderings that transform the Hebrew relative clause into a different type of clause (and thereby avoiding bringing the resumptive into Greek) she also characterizes as *free*.¹²⁴ Based on her analysis, she is able to characterize Greek Genesis as literal in 54% of the instances and free in 46%, whereas the percentages in Greek Exodus are 51% and 49%,¹²⁵ in Greek Leviticus 70% and 30%, in Greek Numbers 81% and 19%, and in Greek Deuteronomy 81% and 19%.¹²⁶ Regarding Gk Num, she characterizes its style as “monotonously slavish,” but maintains that G “does not create clumsy expressions.”¹²⁷

We will examine the use and non-use of the resumptive pronoun in greater detail in chapter 4, but suffice it to say here that “free” and “literal” can barely characterize the majority of these renderings, a point that James Barr has made forcefully regarding the term “literal.”¹²⁸ For example, consider the case of Num 5:3: *καὶ οὐ μὴ μισοῦσιν τὰς*

¹²² See *ibid.*, 78–79.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹²⁴ Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” 47.

¹²⁵ The remaining 5% is made up of two cases “where the translator has changed the Hebrew relative clause into a subordinate clause of another kind, properly interpreting the nature of the Hebrew *אשר*-clause (*ὅτι* 18:9 and *ὅπως* 20:26)” (Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch,” 82).

¹²⁶ Raija Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” 44. She uses these statistics to argue for a hypothetical division between the books of the Pentateuch (i.e., Gen and Exod together, and Lev, Num, and Deut together) (see *ibid.*, 61).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹²⁸ See James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU XV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), esp. 5–7.

παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καταγίνομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, which renders וְלֹא יִטְמְאוּ אֶת מִחְנִיָּהֶם אשר אני שכן בתוכם.¹²⁹ Here, G placed ἐν before the relative pronoun “*freely*,” which derives from idiomatic Greek’s use of *pied piping* since it clearly does not represent an element in the MT. However, G also renders the pleonastic pronoun (and repeats the preposition!) in the phrase ἐν αὐτοῖς, a literal and “Hebraistic rendering.”¹³⁰ Thus, this example defies categorization as “literal” or “free,” but is an admixture of both. Based on Sollamo’s criteria, however, it would simply be characterized as literal.

Moreover, Sollamo is incorrect at a few points in her characterization of the translation technique in Greek Numbers. She states that G “never uses a participle construction to replace the relative clause, nor does he ever use the conjunction εἰ or any other conjunction for the Hebrew relative pronoun [sic, relative complementizer].”¹³¹ As to the first assertion, consider example #5.¹³²

5	Num 3:26	καὶ τὰ ἱστία τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς οὔσης ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὰ κατάλοιπα πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ
	NETS	and the curtains of the court and the veil for the gate of the court, which is by the tent, and the rest of all its tasks.
	MT	וְקִלְעֵי הַחֹצֵר וְאֵת מִסְךְ פֶּתַח הַחֹצֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמִּשְׁכָּן וְעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב וְאֵת מִיתְרָיו לְכָל עֲבֹדָתוֹ
	NRSV	the hangings of the court, the screen for the entrance of the court that is around the tabernacle and the altar, and its cords-- all the service pertaining to these.

With respect to the second, consider example #6.

¹²⁹ Further examples can be found at Exod 23:27, Lev 15:4, Num 11:21, 35:23; cp. Lev. 5:5 (καὶ ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν περὶ ᾧν ἡμάρτηκεν κατ’ αὐτῆς); Num 5:8 (πλῆν τοῦ κριοῦ ἰλασμοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἐξιλάσεται ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ).

¹³⁰ See also Soisalon-Soininen, “Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 59–60.

¹³¹ Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” 53.

¹³² See also Num 1:17 *inter alia*.

- 6 Num 4:37 ἡ ἐπίσκεψις δήμου Καάθ, πᾶς ὁ λειτουργῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου
καθὰ ἐπεσκέψατο Μωυσῆς
NETS This was the enrollment of the division of Kaath, everyone who was
ministering in the tent of witness, just as Moyses commanded
MT אלה פקודי משפחת הקהתי כל העבד באהל מועד אשר פקד משה
NRSV This was the enrollment of the clans of the Kohathites, all who
served at the tent of meeting, whom Moses ... enrolled

In addition, her analysis of Num 3:3 is questionable,¹³³ but we will take up the particulars in chapter 4.

Cornelis den Hertog's article¹³⁴ on RCs in Greek Leviticus is a good example of an investigation of translation technique that has failed to distinguish between the three aspects of translational syntax (i.e., according to Soisalon-Soininen, requirements of Greek language, syntax of source text, and the relationship of the translator to both [see §2.3.1.2 above]). His starting point is Hebrew RCs marked by אשר, and the goal of his essay is a valid typology of Greek renderings of this type of Hebrew RC. He divides the data between "relative clauses containing a verbal clause and [those] containing a nominal clause,"¹³⁵ and attempts to create a typology based on this major division.¹³⁶ Nominal RCs are rendered predominantly by prepositional phrases as the predicate (e.g., Lev 11:9, כל אשר לו סנפיר) and he seeks to differentiate the Greek renderings based on the type of preposition used.¹³⁷ Finally, he argues that the Greek rendering can be classified as to whether a "distributivity-bearer" (e.g., כל, איש) is present as the HN or modifying the HN (e.g., Lev 11:32 כל אשר יעשה מלאכה בהם). In this portion, which takes up the latter half of his essay, he argues that the Greek "relative pronoun is

¹³³ Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy," 54.

¹³⁴ Cornelis G. den Hertog, "The Treatment of Relative Clauses in Greek Leviticus," *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (Finnish Exegetical Society 82; ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 65–98.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 80–81, 97.

accompanied by the particle $\alpha\nu$ to express the indefinite character of the group”¹³⁸ or occasionally the indefinite relative $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$.¹³⁹ He goes so far as to call $\alpha\nu$ “the distributive particle,”¹⁴⁰ arguing that it is used in distributive renderings even where the MT is not distributive.¹⁴¹

A few points of critique must be made in response to den Hertog’s assertions. First, as far as I can tell, his analysis does not include any unmarked Hebrew RCs, unmarked Greek RCs, or relatives that are marked with anything other than $\alpha\omega\sigma\eta\rho$. For example, in Lev 11:21 the Hebrew definite article η is rendered as a relative in the Septuagint. According to my search, there are 36 instances in Leviticus where the translator has used a relative pronoun where there is no corresponding element in Hebrew (see e.g., Lev 4:12, 29; 5:6).¹⁴² Den Hertog’s method does not account for these either. Thus, it falls short of what Aejmelaeus states is the aim of translation technical studies, i.e., “comprehensive description of the syntax.”¹⁴³ Second, in his discussion of relative clauses with Hebrew distributives (e.g., $\omega\iota\alpha$), he argues that, as was mentioned above, “the [Greek] relative pronoun is accompanied by the particle $\alpha\nu$ to express the indefinite character of the group involved.”¹⁴⁴ He fails to notice, however, that $\alpha\nu$ is used in conjunction with the verb—i.e., usually with subjunctives in dependent clauses.¹⁴⁵ It is used to indicate *conditionality* rather than when the subject is distributive and is certainly

¹³⁸ Ibid., 83, see also 86.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 84, 85, 86.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 88.

¹⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 95–96.

¹⁴² According to a search on Logos 5 parallel alignment of LXX/MT.

¹⁴³ Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” 207.

¹⁴⁴ den Hertog, “Relative Clauses in Greek Leviticus,” 83.

¹⁴⁵ See Smyth §1761b. See also Gildersleeve’s extensive treatment of $\alpha\nu$ in Classical Greek: *Syntax of Classical Greek* (2 vol.; New York: American Book Company, 1900), 1.168–90; Charles Baron, *Le Pronom Relatif et la conjonction en grec* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1891), 75–76.

not a “distributive particle,” as he calls it. In fact, according to Smyth, “conditional, relative, and temporal clauses requiring the subjunctive must have *ἄν*.”¹⁴⁶

Based on this erroneous analysis, he runs into two problems that he is unable to explain. First, he asks, “Is it just by accident, [sic] that nearly all verbal relative clauses [with *כִּל* + determined singular substantive] (2:11; 5:3; 13:52; 15:4 [2x], 9, 24, 26 [2x]) have been translated distributively, [and] all nominal relative clauses (6:8; 11:2, [21,] 23, 26) inclusively?”¹⁴⁷ His answer, which, is mistaken in my opinion, attempts to explain why these are rendered “distributively” or not based on whether the translator could possibly have seen the Hebrew HN as distributive. In the end, he has to say, “the fact that most verbal relative clauses with *כִּל* + determined singular antecedent have been rendered distributively, whereas all four nominal relative clauses of this subgroup have not, *may be accidental*.”¹⁴⁸ This problem dissolves if Greek syntactical categories are brought to bear on the construction (as Soisalon-Soininen himself would have it!): *ἄν* is a marker of conditionality and used with modal verbs; ergo, it does not appear in nominal clauses. Second, he is unable to explain—although to his credit he does mention them—why the translator would render certain relative clauses with *ἄν* when the Hebrew text has no “distributivity bearer” (see Lev 2:8; 6:3; 13:54).¹⁴⁹ Based on this example, I might point out the methodological error here in the form of a syllogism: Since a Hebrew RC with a distributive HN is sometimes (frequently?) rendered with *ἄν*, *ἄν* is a distributive marker

¹⁴⁶ Smyth §1769. For an extensive and elucidating discussion of *ἄν* in Classical Greek, see Philomen Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 81–97. She argues that the key distinction is between a generalization over *occasions* or a generalization over *individuals*. When the RC generalizes over *occasions*, *ἄν* with the subjunctive is used; conversely, when generalizing over individuals, the present indicative without *ἄν* is used. In any case, the distinction is surely not between distributive and non-distributive sentences.

¹⁴⁷ den Hertog, “Relative Clauses in Greek Leviticus,” 91.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 93; emphasis added.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 95–96.

(or “distributivity-bearer”) and the Greek constructions that include them, even when the Hebrew is not distributive, are therefore also distributive. This is, however, to *import* Hebrew syntactical categories onto the Greek rendering and is as fallacious as importing Hebrew meanings onto every Greek word that renders the former.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, on the level of explaining the syntax of the Septuagint, it does not account for uses of ἄν outside of relative clauses (e.g., Lev 6:4; 10:9; 12:4; 14:34).

The problem with his method is that it does not, in fact, explain the syntactical phenomena in the language of the Septuagint, since his discussion has actually excluded a good number of Greek relative clauses and attempts to explain the data *via* the Hebrew parent that is in fact independent of Hebrew (i.e., use of ἄν). In other words, this is not a description of translational syntax (i.e., Greek language phenomena), but of syntax that has been translated (i.e., Hebrew language phenomena in Greek dress). At certain points, such a method begins to break down and lose explanatory power—which is seen clearly in den Hertog’s inability to explain the Septuagint’s use or non-use of ἄν. If I were to press my critique of den Hertog’s essay a bit further, I would have to say that certain syntactical phenomena *cannot be explained by starting from the Hebrew* (a point on which Soisalon-Soininen and other members of the Helsinki School agree [see §2.3.1.2

¹⁵⁰ Aejmelaeus would likely agree with my critique here. She states, “The Greek text of the Septuagint—whether good or bad, correct or incorrect, intentional or unintentional—should be interpreted as such according to the meaning and rules of Greek . . . It should neither be interpreted according to the original nor according to the assumed intention of the translator” (“Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* [Rev. ed.; CBET 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007], 69). On Greek words in the Septuagint taking on meaning from Hebrew, see Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 24–25; Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of Words in the Septuagint,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 85–94, here 87–90. Tov argues that *certain* stereotyped Greek renderings could be viewed as *symbols* for their Hebrew counterpart (e.g., εἰρήνη for שָׁלוֹם)—which is rather different than applying a Hebrew meaning to every Greek rendering. In some instances the normal lexical value of Greek word may be stretched or incongruent in its context. For some detailed studies following Tov’s premise, see also idem., “Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 109–27.

above]). Attempting to do so does not necessarily lead to errors, but it may assist in introducing errors, particularly if Greek syntactical constraints are not carefully accounted for. This error could be avoided if the fact that certain elements of the Septuagint's language are seen to be *independent* of Hebrew interference and worked more seriously into den Hertog's method.

Since the Helsinki school has produced the only studies on RCs in the Septuagint, it should be clear at this point that there is much room for further work to be done, not all of which can be achieved in this thesis. First, there are a few areas of problematic explanation or incomplete explanation: (1) *ὅτι* in RCs and (2) Greek RCs in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase. Additionally, a few aspects have yet to be addressed: (1) variation of Greek relative words (i.e., *ὅς*, *ὅστις*, *ὅσος*, etc.); (2) use of prepositions preceding the relative clause; (3) the use of cases in translational Greek RCs; (4) the occurrence of Greek RCs where there is not a relative in Hebrew and vice versa.

2.3.1.5. *Summation*

The method of the present study has much in common with the Helsinki School. In particular, it shares its supposition that analysis of syntax in the Septuagint *without* consideration of the Hebrew parent text is not only quite limited but can also lead to some erroneous conclusions. As will be seen in the evaluation of Takamitsu Muraoka's work below (§2.3.3.3), not all share this methodological assumption regarding Septuagintal syntax.¹⁵¹

This survey of the Helsinki School has attempted to highlight the distinction between an investigation into the syntax of the Septuagint and an investigation into

¹⁵¹ See also Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique," 206.

translation technique. It is important to summarize the key differences. First, there is a difference in intended result. A study of translation technique intends to reveal something about how the translators worked and to offer a profile of the translators.¹⁵² A study of syntax aims at description and explanation of syntactical features of the Septuagint. As was clearly seen in the examples of studies by Aejmelaeus, the examination of translation technique can reveal important aspects of the syntax that *cannot* be obtained without such an approach—thus, it is an important aspect of syntactical research. Second, there is a difference in the organization of data. Because a description of syntax aims at describing the Greek-language phenomena, it is natural to arrange one’s data according to Greek syntactical categories. This allows one to offer a unified and comprehensive description and analysis of one feature, rather than to distribute the results of one’s investigation in accordance with the various Hebrew grammatical categories that it translates.¹⁵³

However, an investigation of translation technique naturally starts from the Hebrew grammatical categories so that it can more easily reveal how the various translators grappled with the problem presented by this or that Hebrew construction. Third, analysis of features that are independent of Hebrew interference or distinct aspects of Greek grammar is naturally included in a study of syntax but not in a study of translation technique. In Soisalon-Soininen’s pioneering work, he laid out the three aspects of the syntax of a translation—the strictures of the target language, the syntax of the original,

¹⁵² For instance, Aejmelaeus states, “I do not see the study of translation technique as an attempt to break the hidden code behind the translation—there probably is none—but to see the translator behind it and appreciate his work” (“The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint,” 44).

¹⁵³ So also Walter Eisenbeis, “Toward a Lexicon and Grammar of the Septuagint,” *BIOSCS* 4 (1971): 7–8, here, 7: With reference to a grammar of the Septuagint, it “will certainly be necessary to deal extensively with *all* grammatical phenomena, to present them in a systematic fashion, and to explain them by characteristic examples” (emphasis original). On this point, see also my critique of Anwar Tjen below (§2.3.3.1).

and the relationship of the translator to both (see §2.3.1.2). The first of these provides a theoretical basis for consideration of the strictures of the target language in analysis of translation technique. However, a study of translation technique must examine something that has a source-language syntactical element and a translational counterpart to reveal meaningful data about translation technique.¹⁵⁴ Target language syntactical constraints are brought in to explain why this or that source construction is not rendered literally but transformed into an idiomatic construction. The Helsinki School uniformly agrees that there are aspects of the Septuagint that are not quite relevant for a study of translation technique.¹⁵⁵ For instance (at the risk of overusing one example), could one successfully study the use of the subjunctive mood in the Septuagint by starting with the categories of Hebrew verbs? However, to this point, it seems that the Helsinki School has not adequately considered syntactical features of the Septuagint that derive wholly from Greek syntactical constraints due to their focus on translation technique.

In my view, then, it is important to ask at the outset of a study on Septuagintal syntax, *What is the intended result of this study?* If it is to compare the various translation styles in the Septuagint to one another or even to offer a profile of a single translator, then one is working in the realm of *translation technique*—and the method espoused by the

¹⁵⁴ Some constructions provide more fruitful ground for translation technical research than others: “If the literal rendering of an expression produced acceptable Greek and also corresponded to the meaning of the original, it was no problem for the translator. But what were a real challenge to the translator, and are equally challenging for the student of translation technique, are Hebrew expressions the literal rendering of which produced grammatically incorrect or otherwise intolerable Greek. The translator’s decisions in such cases are the most interesting and important part of the study of translation technique” (Aejmelaeus, “The Significance of Clause Connectors,” 44); see also Sollamo, “Translation Technique as Method,” 38: “one should prefer the phenomena where the source language and the target language are in sharp contrast with one another. It is likely that in such cases, differences both within the work of an individual translator and between different translators frequently occur.”

¹⁵⁵ See §2.3.1.2.

Helsinki School should be followed. However, if one intends to offer a description or explanation of the syntax of the Septuagint, a slightly different method is called for.

In the light of the previous discussion, some comments from Aejmelaeus regarding a translational-technical approach to Septuagint syntax should be evaluated.

She states,

From the methodological point of view, the advantage of conducting the study of the syntax as a study of translation technique is that this approach enables the scholar *not only to describe the various syntactical phenomena* in the translation but also *to explain them*.¹⁵⁶

In contrast to approaches that neglect to take into account that translation technique can influence the syntax, Aejmelaeus's methodology is certainly correct.¹⁵⁷ Could one reach proper conclusions regarding the use of the *p.ca.* or the *ῥτι causale* in the Septuagint if translation technique were neglected? Certainly not. However, do these examples prove that translation technique (as investigated by the Helsinki school) is always the correct answer, explaining all syntactical phenomena? This is unlikely. Rather, Aejmelaeus's studies demonstrate the applicability of the translation technical approach to *some* syntactical phenomena. In other words, the translation-technical approach is well equipped for explaining *some* areas of the syntax of the Septuagint—particularly those due to Hebrew interference—but not for offering a comprehensive *explanation* of Septuagintal syntax.¹⁵⁸ This is not an attack on the competency of the scholars who produce translation technical studies, but rather to note that their method does not suit the goal to write a reference grammar that provides a comprehensive treatment of

¹⁵⁶ Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique," 207; emphasis added.

¹⁵⁷ See for instance my critique of Takamitsu Muraoka below (§2.3.3.3).

¹⁵⁸ Contra Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique," 207. This sentiment is also expressed by Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 5–6.

Septuagintal syntax. At times, the translation technical approach elucidates Hebrew interference as the correct explanation—as was shown in Aejmelaeus’s exemplary studies, “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique” and “*Ὅτι causale* in Septuagintal Greek.” At other times, such an approach is misguided, as was shown in den Hertog’s study on RCs in Gk Leviticus.

As a final point of critique, the Helsinki school tends to draw a sharp line of distinction between idiomatic Greek (usually “free” renderings) and unidiomatic Greek (usually literal renderings). In order to aid in discussion here, it is important to distinguish carefully between what the labels *free* and *literal* describe and what *idiomatic* and *unidiomatic* describe. *Free* and *literal* are labels that can only be applied to translation technique and are not intended for a description of syntax. *Idiomatic* and *unidiomatic*, on the other hand, describe syntactical phenomena. In other words, one may rightly say that “this unidiomatic construction is the result of a literal translation technique,” whereas one cannot say “this *literal* [sic] construction is idiomatic.” Mixing these two creates some problems. For example, Sollamo states that the translator’s work can be characterized along the lines of “accuracy with regard to the source text and/or idiomatic Greek, *to mention the two extremes.*”¹⁵⁹ In my view, the picture is far from black and white and a distorted picture emerges when the data is forced into such a binary system. Rather, a rendering could be *literal* and *idiomatic* (e.g., in the case of ἐν τῷ + infinitive for כּ + infinitive construct) or *literal* and *unidiomatic* (e.g., in the case of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses). Additionally, it could be *free* and *unidiomatic*, as Sollamo herself notes

¹⁵⁹ Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint*, 4; emphasis added.

in some instances.¹⁶⁰ Or, it could be a mixture of free and idiomatic and literal and unidiomatic, as we have noted above on Num 5:3.¹⁶¹ My contention here is that analyzing the translational syntax of the Septuagint, as I have defined it in §1.3, will help counter this issue since it does not seek to characterize *the syntax* of the Septuagint as “free” or “literal” but assesses each case individually, describing its syntax as idiomatic or unidiomatic (or a mixture of both).

It can now be seen how the approach of this study in some ways differs from that of the Helsinki school and in other ways is ancillary to theirs. Whereas the Helsinki School begins from the Hebrew expression, I begin by taking full consideration of the Greek syntactical constraints on this or that construction. Subsequently, if a certain Septuagintal construction departs in some way from these Greek constraints, a careful Greek–Hebrew comparison enables me to discern whether interference from the source text has caused the deviation. Therefore, this study seeks to take full account of the Hebrew *Vorlage* as well as full account of the syntactical strictures of Greek in order to explain the *syntactical* makeup of the Septuagint text and avoid the trap of privileging one explanation to the exclusion of the other. In this way, I am able to address matters of both syntax and translation technique, although the former is the primary aim and the latter is secondary.

¹⁶⁰ See her discussion on Lev 27:9 (“The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy,” 50): “He began freely, but then ended in total failure.”

¹⁶¹ See Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, on the varieties of literal renderings.

2.3.2. *The Interlinear Paradigm*

Although no studies directly related to the syntax of the Septuagint have been produced from the perspective of the interlinear paradigm (hereafter, IP),¹⁶² it is a significant theory in the field of Septuagint studies and as such deserves to be mentioned here. Additionally, the present study shares much in common with the IP in its approach to syntax. My goal in mentioning the IP is not to offer a comprehensive description of it but simply to note some shared features and the relationship between this study and the IP.

The chief proponents of the IP are Albert Pietersma and Cameron Boyd-Taylor.¹⁶³ From the “Guidelines for the Contributors to the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint” (hereafter, “Guidelines”), the theoretical underpinnings and methodological applications of the IP can be seen to be quite similar to those of the present study. Significantly, the “Guidelines” state, “[T]he primary focus of the commentary is the verbal make-up of the translation, understood in terms of conventional linguistic usage (i.e., the grammar and lexicon of the target language) rather than in terms of what may be encountered in translation Greek.”¹⁶⁴ This guiding principle is quite similar my methodological assumption that the translational Greek of the Septuagint is reflective of the Koiné language’s grammar and lexicon, but with a measure of influence

¹⁶² To my knowledge, this remains true despite the stated possibility to the contrary: see Albert Pietersma, “Beyond Literalism,” in *“Translation is Required”: The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert; SBLSCS 56; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 4. See also Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xvii. When Pietersma and Wright present five “lexical guidelines”—i.e., guidelines on how to translate Greek words—they state, these “can be made to apply as well, *mutatis mutandis*, to the grammar of Septuagint Greek.”

¹⁶³ See especially Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright, “To the Reader of NETS”; Albert Pietersma, “New Paradigm for Old Questions: Interlinearity,” in *Bible and Computer* (ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64; idem., “A Response to Muraoka’s Critique of Interlinearity,” in *A Question of Methodology* (ed. Cameron Boyd-Taylor; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 315–39; “Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited”; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

¹⁶⁴ “Guidelines,” §1.2.

that produces syntax that is “un-Greek.”¹⁶⁵ The IP takes up the pervasive interference of the Hebrew parent on the Septuagintal syntax in order to characterize the relationship of the Septuagint’s language as one of “formal dependence.”¹⁶⁶ I take this to mean that the *form* of the Septuagint is by and large dependent upon its Hebrew parent.

In the light of this, the application of the IP to a study of Septuagintal syntax becomes clearer. Here it is helpful to quote Boyd-Taylor at length:

On the assumption of interlinearity, it becomes possible to give a satisfactory account of the language of the Septuagint. An atomistic and quantitative approach to the parent [by the Septuagint translators], in which many of its formal features are mirrored in the target text, will yield the very pattern of interlingual phenomena seen in the typical Septuagintal translation. What distinguishes the interlinear, and accounts for the sort of evidence appealed to by those who argue for strong isomorphism, is that the formal features carried over into the target language through the process of translation are not only deemed acceptable by the translator but desirable. . . . For this reason, while there is a high degree of tolerance for interference, an acceptable [read: grammatical] linguistic translation is typically produced, i.e. one which acknowledges certain limits imposed by grammatical acceptability within the target language.¹⁶⁷

Therefore, as Boyd-Taylor describes it, the IP expects that the Septuagint will follow closely the order of the elements in Hebrew, often giving one Greek word for every Hebrew word, but that the resultant text is often constrained by Greek syntactical strictures (and Greek syntactical strictures constrained by the formal elements of the Hebrew). Given this, Boyd-Taylor comments, “[I]nterference is expected primarily in the selection of matches, and hence felt most readily in word order, the lexicon and features of discourse.”¹⁶⁸ This inference from the IP regarding the particular nature of inference

¹⁶⁵ See Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” xvii: “though the LXX is in Greek, there is also much that is decidedly un-Greek.” See also Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 100.

¹⁶⁶ See, e.g., Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines*, 100–1.

¹⁶⁷ *Reading Between the Lines*, 374.

¹⁶⁸ *Reading Between the Lines*, 375. He later states, “What is important to note for the time being is that the translators evidently made little attempt to assimilate the word order of the Hebrew to Greek norms. Rather, what has happened is that a formal feature of the source text, i.e. its word order, was permitted to govern the selection of target constituents in such a way that rules hitherto unknown to the

will be demonstrated quite clearly in our study of inclusion in RCs below (see §3.3.3, see also the summation in §3.3.5). Although this study does not attempt to operate within the IP *per se*, its view of Septuagintal language is similar to that of the IP. If a study of Septuagintal syntax were to be written from the perspective of the IP, it might very well look much like this study.

2.3.3. *Other Notable Studies*

2.3.3.1. *Anwar Tjen, On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*

Although Anwar Tjen's study, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, could have been categorized with the Helsinki school since he favors the approach pioneered by Soisalon-Soininen,¹⁶⁹ he departs (it seems to me) in a few ways from that method. Here I will comment briefly on his method. Although he does not give much attention to articulating a theoretical foundation for it, he aims to describe the Septuagint's "translation syntax."¹⁷⁰ In other words, he undertakes a study of the Greek syntax, *not* its translation technique. He states, "[T]his approach takes seriously the double character of LXX Greek, both as a translation from Hebrew and as vernacular Greek."¹⁷¹ He provides an overview of both Hebrew and Greek conditionals in chapters 2 and 3, respectively, and then examines and categorizes the data from the Pentateuch. This represents the first departure from the standard method of the Helsinki school: translation-technical studies *usually* start with a Hebrew construction and detail the variety of Greek renderings corresponding to the source text expression. Tjen, instead, examines all the instances

target language came into play. The resulting text is grammatical, true, but its acceptability within the target culture as Greek literary prose would have been low. This finding is of course just what we would predict on the assumption of interlinearity" (ibid., 377).

¹⁶⁹ Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 1–3.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 2, 9.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 2.

where a conditional appears in Greek and categorizes these according to what Hebrew phrase they translate. Accordingly, this is a sort of reverse translation-technical approach.

Tjen devotes the majority of his attention to analyzing the Greek equivalents for the Hebrew verb forms in conditional sentences. One example of his analysis is helpful. He studies the translation of *yiqtol* by means of *ἐάν* + subjunctive of the protasis in conditional sentences. He notes that a majority of these appear in “Pentateuchal casuistic laws,” 86.9% of 473.¹⁷² The high correspondence is not attributed to interference, but rather shown to be “in conformity with the conventionalized form of conditionals employed in Greek legal formulations” by citing examples from Classical and Koine sources.¹⁷³ However, as he presents examples from Septuagint texts that match this idiomatic function, he notes five distinct areas of Hebrew interference in them, including the use of the participle to represent the infinitive absolute and the employment of the so-called apodotic *καί*, both underlined in the following example he provides from Numbers¹⁷⁴:

7	30:15	<p><i>ἐὰν δὲ σιωπῶν παρασιωπήσῃ αὐτῇ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, <u>καὶ</u> στήσει αὐτῇ πάσας τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῆς</i></p>
	NETS	<p>But if her husband is silent and says nothing to her from day to day, then he shall establish for her all her vows</p>
	MT 30:14	<p>וְאִם הִחְרַשׁ יַחְרִישׁ לָהּ אִישָׁה מִיּוֹם אֶל יוֹם וְהִקִּים אֶת כָּל נִדְרֶיהָ</p>
	NRSV	<p>But if her husband says nothing to her from day to day, then he validates all her vows</p>

¹⁷² He gives the following figures on specific books: Exodus 86/96 = 89.6%; Leviticus 138/138 = 100%; Numbers 44/56 = 78.6%; Deuteronomy 148/148 = 100% (Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 111).

¹⁷³ He cites Demosthenes 21.47; Aeschines 1.21; Polybius 3.22.10; P.Rev. 51.13–15 (259 BCE, Arsinoite?) (Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 112–3).

¹⁷⁴ Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 114–5. On the renderings of the infinitive absolute, see Emanuel Tov, “Rendering of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the LXX—Their Nature and Distribution,” in *Studien Zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart Zu Ehren* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel et al; Göttingen: Vandenoek & Ruprecht, 1990), 64–73. On the apodotic *καί*, see also Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 214–9, and Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis*, 126–47.

Overall, Tjen’s study is close methodologically to the present study. He carefully weighs the possibility of Hebrew interference as well as Greek syntactical constraints at every point. By way of critique, his organization of the data makes it extremely difficult to follow what is usual for the syntax of the Septuagint and what is unusual, since his statistics are always presented according to the translational counterpart in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, since he organizes his study according to Hebrew grammatical categories, his discussions of the *Greek* constructions are scattered and seem almost haphazard. For instance, the construction mentioned above—ἐάν + aorist subjunctive—is treated as an equivalent of *wayyiqtol* in the protasis on pages 159–62. Tjen notes that, “all the eleven occurrences of wayYIQTOLs are matched by the aorist subjunctive” and appear “within legal-instruction conditionals.”¹⁷⁶ As an equivalent of *yiqtol* in the protasis, this same Greek construction is treated on pages 111–15. Since the Greek construction is identical and the reasoning for the use of this construction the same in both cases, it intimates that the choice of mood is *free* from direct Hebrew interference and dependent on Greek syntactical constraints.¹⁷⁷ In a *syntactical* study, then, treating the data according to Greek syntactical categories is not only more natural,¹⁷⁸ but also avoids an otherwise scattered treatment. The only “interference”—if it can even be called that—is not syntactical *per se* but the source text’s control over the genre in which these constructions appear.

¹⁷⁵ See Tjen, *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch*, 69, 111, 139, *passim*.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁷⁷ Aejmelaeus asserts this clearly: “The crucial point here is the use of the Greek moods to distinguish different types of conditional [sic.], a usage which has no correspondence in Hebrew and for this reason is *not a translation problem at all*” (“The Significance of Clause Connectors,” 47). It should be noted that the syntax is, in some ways, genre-dependent. This point has been mentioned previously when clause and discourse-pragmatic levels of syntax were distinguished (see section §1.2).

¹⁷⁸ So also Tov, “The Nature and Study of Translation Technique,” 241.

One more point of critique should be made concerning the decision to start from the Hebrew construction in a syntactical study. In his presentation of the data, it seems that “taking the Hebrew into full consideration” means, in part, that if a conditional appears in Greek without a corresponding conditional in the Hebrew parent text, he seeks the explanation for the appearance of the Greek conditional from the Hebrew text. As such, it is reminiscent of den Hertog’s attempt to explain the placement of *ἄν*. For instance, in Num 16:22, the interrogative *ה* is rendered by *εἰ*.

8	16:22	<i>εἰ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἡμαρτεν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συναγωγὴν ὀργὴ κυρίου;</i>
	NETS	if one person sinned, is the anger of the Lord upon all the congregation?
	MT	האיש אחד יחטא ועל כל העדה תקצף
	NRSV	shall one person sin and you become angry with the whole congregation?

Why would G render it thus? Tjen explains, “[T]he rendering basically brings out the inherent conditionality in the polar question owing to the feature of unassertiveness shared by the two types of clauses.”¹⁷⁹ In other words, conditional clauses and polar questions (i.e., *yes* or *no* questions) are similar in that neither makes factual claims. To frame the question differently, why do we have a conditional here? According to Tjen, it is because the *Hebrew text* has something that is similar to, or could be interpreted as, a conditional sentence.¹⁸⁰ This sort of analysis seems to be a (translation-technical) red herring, since it asks, “Why is there a conditional here?” rather than, “How are conditionals constructed in the Greek Pentateuch?” In fact, the many pages establishing why conditionals appear do little to elucidate the “translational syntax” of the Septuagint although it may help us understand the translation technique of the translators. In sum,

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 97.

¹⁸⁰ See his conclusion of this section: “In spite of their diversity, their conditional rendering is explicable in terms of semantic features—such as unassertiveness, disjunctiveness or indefiniteness—that they share with conditionals, hence *making them susceptible to a conditional interpretation*” (ibid., 107).

these two critiques seem to stem from Tjen’s failure to align his stated goal (to investigate Septuagintal syntax) with his method (investigate translation technique). Although this somewhat weakens the results, his study provides much valuable information regarding conditionals in the Septuagint.

2.3.3.2. Trevor Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*

Trevor V. Evans, in his *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, approaches the Septuagint with a different set of aims than that of the Helsinki school. Whereas Soisalon-Soininen was intent on writing a *syntax* of the Septuagint, Evans wants to use the data from the Septuagint to elucidate a Koiné syntax and the development of Greek language from its classical period: “The book is also intended to contribute more generally towards study of the Greek verbal system.”¹⁸¹ Evans, moreover, is skeptical about the ability of translation-technical analysis to produce syntactical interpretation: “It must be noted that many pages of translation-technical analysis tend to yield very limited syntactical interpretation.”¹⁸² Because Evans wants to produce a “syntactical interpretation” in service of articulating the development of Koiné and because, as he states, “certain features of LXX Greek verbal syntax are independent, wholly or in part, of Hebrew syntax,”¹⁸³ his method differs accordingly. The central question of his methodology appears to be, “How can we use the Greek Pentateuch to inform our understanding of Koiné syntax?” rather than, “How can we account for the verbal system in the Greek Pentateuch?”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 2.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 5–6; he also cites Tov’s article “The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present,” as stating “As a rule, such studies [meaning translational technical] contain no earth-shaking conclusions.” I disagree here, particularly in light of the studies by Aejmelaeus detailed in §2.3.1.3.

¹⁸³ Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 74, also 2.

¹⁸⁴ See *ibid.*, 5–6.

Nevertheless, Evans cannot be said to *deny* the “double-character” or “mixed-character” of the Septuagint texts as translated documents. He states, “[T]he syntax of translation Greek documents is undoubtedly affected in many respects by that of their Hebrew originals.”¹⁸⁵ For Evans, then, Hebrew interference can help explain syntactical features in some instances, but it will not be an explanatory factor in every instance (i.e., the verbal system). Evans is careful to establish that this is indeed the case in a series of tables presenting translation-technical data and interpretation of these data.¹⁸⁶ Once this is accomplished, he is free to discuss various aspects of the Greek verbal system in the Greek Pentateuch.¹⁸⁷

A brief example helps illustrate this. An optative form is used for a Hebrew imperfect form in a comparative *ὡς* or *ὡς εἰ/ὡσεὶ* clause nine times.¹⁸⁸ This occurs twice in Gk Num: 11:12 and 22:4.

9	11:12	λαβὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου ὡσεὶ ἄραι τιθηνὸς τὸν θηλάζοντα
	NETS	Take them to your bosom, as a nurse might take up the suckling child
	MT	שאהו בחיקך כאשר ישא האמן את הינק
	NRSV	Carry them in your bosom, as a nurse carries a sucking child
10	22:4	νῦν ἐκλείξει ἡ συναγωγὴ αὕτη πάντα τοὺς κύκλω ἡμῶν ὡς ἐκλείξαι ὁ μόσχος τὰ χλωρὰ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου
	NETS	Now this gathering will lick up all those who are around us, as the bull calf might lick up the greenery of the plain.
	MT	ילחכו הקהל את כל סביבתינו כלחך השור את ירק השדה
	NRSV	This horde will now lick up all that is around us, as an ox licks up the grass of the field.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 73, see also 2. Elsewhere, he states, “That this is not normal Greek is clear” (ibid., 3).

¹⁸⁶ See his chapter 5, especially p. 118. He notes that he looked at 18,953 verb forms in the Greek Pentateuch (ibid., 91).

¹⁸⁷ In chs. 6–9, he discusses the perfect system, optative mood, the imperfect and aorist indicatives, and the periphrastic tense form.

¹⁸⁸ See Gen 33:10; Exod 33:11; Num 11:12; 22:4; Deut 1:31, 44; 8:5; 28:29; 32:11.

In his interpretation of this construction, he first notes that “the frequency of Greek similes is inevitably restricted by the distribution of similes in the underlying Hebrew text.”¹⁸⁹ He does not draw conclusions from the distribution of examples in the various books (i.e., none in Leviticus, five in Deuteronomy) either regarding “idiolect preference” (his term) or translation technique. Second, although ὥς (ἄν) εἰ + optative is the usual construction, he notes that the distribution of ὥς and ὥς εἰ has a translation-technical explanation: “The ὥς εἰ type renders the Hebrew expression באשר, while ὥς renders כּ.”¹⁹⁰ Since it is unlikely that the Hebrew imperfect has influenced the use of the optative,¹⁹¹ he seeks another explanation for the verb form. As ὥς (εἰ) + optative is found eight times in Homer—and then rarely on through various other Classical and Attic writers (e.g., Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato)—he tentatively concludes, “[a] Homeric reminiscence is the most plausible explanation.”¹⁹² There is also one instance of this construction in P. Cairo Zen. 59093.18 (257 BCE).¹⁹³

As can be seen clearly in these examples, his consideration of both Hebrew interference and features of Greek language allows a rigorous explanation that would not be possible if both were not considered. If his goals did not incline him towards using the Greek Pentateuch to inform our understanding of the Koiné syntax as a whole, his method would likely be similar to my own. As he states, “the two factors of natural Greek usage and Hebrew influence (and the tensions between them) control all syntactical

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 190.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 192.

¹⁹¹ See Evans’s figures presented in his Appendix 3 on the Hebrew–Greek matches (ibid., 281–96). Of the 591 non-consecutive imperfects in Hb Num, only 2 (.34%) are rendered by the aorist optative. By contrast, 400 (67.68%) are rendered with the future indicative and 104 (17.6%) with the aorist subjunctive.

¹⁹² Ibid., 196.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 193–4. For the papyrus reference, he is citing Mayser 2.1.293.

phenomena in translation Greek.”¹⁹⁴ The main methodological difference between his goal and that of the present study is that Evans works to establish the independence of a certain syntactical feature from Hebrew interference so that it can be used to inform our understanding of Koiné verbal system broadly. My method seeks to account for syntactical features of the Septuagint that are more-or-less independent of Hebrew influence as well as those that are products of Hebrew influence with the goal of comprehensive explanation of Septuagintal syntax.

2.3.3.3. *Takamitsu Muraoka*

Finally, Takamitsu Muraoka deserves mention here for his various essays on syntax in the Septuagint. In his paper at the 1992 IOSCS meeting, he stated his intention to produce a reference grammar of the Septuagint by the turn of the millennium.¹⁹⁵ On that occasion, he described the two methodological trails in investigations of Septuagintal syntax: “one group of scholars sees the body of Greek texts written in essentially contemporary Hellenistic Greek.... The other school, represented chiefly by Soisalon-Soininen and his students, takes the Hebrew text as its starting point for a study of Septuagint Greek.”¹⁹⁶ In the former, he grouped G. Adolf Deissmann, J. H. Moulton, Henry St. J. Thackeray, and Robert Helbing. In 2012, he revisited this discussion:

Although we all agree that every ancient LXX translator allowed himself knowingly or unwittingly to be influenced to varying degrees by the source text and the structure of the source language, we should try to understand the resultant

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁹⁵ In a private communication with Professor Muraoka (12/14), he informed me that he expects the publication of the complete syntax of the Septuagint in either 2015 or 2016. He discusses methodological issues in anticipation of its publication in his article “Syntax of the Participle in the Septuagint books of Genesis and Isaiah” and “The Infinitive in the Septuagint,” 259–71.

¹⁹⁶ Muraoka, “The Infinitive in the Septuagint,” 260. In this group, we could also place Johan Lust (so James Aitken, “The Language of the Septuagint: Recent Theories and Future Prospects,” *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* 24 [1999]: 26). See Lust *et al.*’s introduction to *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), VII–IX.

LXX text as a Greek document by taking the source text into account as occasions arise, and also *as part of the contemporary Hellenistic Greek literature*.¹⁹⁷

Clearly, he has cast his lot with the former grouping and against the Helsinki School.¹⁹⁸

More specifically, the method he advocates for is termed by him a “two-pronged approach.” At some points, he identifies one prong as “reader-centred” and the other, “translator-centred.”¹⁹⁹ Alternatively, he states that one prong of the approach is to focus on the Septuagint as translation and the other, the Septuagint as “literary work of its own merits and history.”²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it seems that his method focuses on the latter approach, since he is adamant that the Septuagint should be regarded *as a Greek document* among other works of Hellenistic Greek literature. For justification of this, his repeated example is that of the case system in Greek:

¹⁹⁷ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 185; emphasis added.

¹⁹⁸ Muraoka posits, “given the size of the LXX and the variety of literary genres represented by it, one should, I believe, keep one’s mind open to usages which can be judged to attest to be natural in Greek, but have so far not been identified in contemporary, non-Septuagintal sources or even in earlier Greek sources” (ibid., 187). Although this supposition seems plausible—if not even likely—it is a separate question of *how* one would go about arguing for and identifying “natural” Greek usage that is not found in non-Septuagintal sources; Muraoka himself does not mention anything in this regard. As a first point, I believe that it is important to establish that the feature in question is *not deriving from Hebrew influence*. For instance, one might wrongly conclude that resumption in RCs is grammatical in Greek based on the Septuagint texts, until one realizes these are always due to their Hebrew parent (see ch. 4, “Resumption in Greek Numbers”). Muraoka’s examples—e.g., the future periphrastic tense—seem to follow this rule (see “Syntax of the Participle,” 200–1). It would also seem that this supposition undergirds Evans’s whole work (see Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, vii).

¹⁹⁹ Muraoka, “The Infinitive in the Septuagint,” 259. Surprisingly, see also the “Guidelines for the Contributors to the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint,”

When the text is a translation rather than an original composition, one should take an essentially two-pronged approach to the actual commentary. First, because it is a translation, one must keep in mind that the contextual sense of Greek words or expressions may have suffered interference from the Greek’s close relationship to the parent text. Consequently, one may be forced to acknowledge the disjointed nature of the Greek text. Second, because, in spite of its precise relationship to its parent text, the Greek text is nevertheless a new entity, one should treat it, as much as is warranted, as a unitary whole (§4, <http://www.twu.ca/research/institutes-and-centres/university-institutes/john-william-wevers-institute-for-septuagint-studi/sblcsseriesguidelinesrev2.pdf>, accessed 12/11/2014).

Nevertheless, the SBLCS is focused at the point of production, viewing the Septuagint from the angle of *text-as-produced* rather than *text-as-received* (Ibid., §1.2 and 1.2.1).

²⁰⁰ Muraoka, “Translation Technique and Beyond” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 13. Broadly, this seems to be a similar distinction that NETS and its commentators hold to: *text-as-produced* and *text-as-received*. Both are equally applicable, but quite different.

For any serious syntax of the Greek the chapter on the case system is essential and very important. Hebrew and Aramaic of the Hellenistic period, however, had long since divested themselves of the case system. A syntax of LXX Greek written from the perspective of translation technique would necessarily lack a chapter on the case system.”²⁰¹

Since he assumes that translation technical method starts from Hebrew syntactical categories, the method cannot, of course, engage matters of Greek syntax that have no correspondence in Hebrew.²⁰² It would seem then that this means a “serious syntax” must approach it as a *Greek* document (i.e., not a translated document?)—beginning from and using Greek categories.²⁰³ What position then does he assign to Hebrew interference? He only states that it is considered “as occasions arise.”²⁰⁴

We will confine ourselves to examples taken from Muraoka’s most recently published preliminary study, “Syntax of the participle *in the Septuagint books of Genesis and Isaiah*” (2012), which limits itself to the first ten chapters of each book mentioned in his title. Muraoka begins with the Greek participles (i.e., not Hebrew participles), as befits his methodological assumption. Accordingly, he organizes his presentation around the major uses of Greek participles: substantivized, adjectival, adverbial, and various verbal functions (e.g., periphrastic participle construction, genitive absolute). The only instance where he clearly assigns a syntactical feature to Hebrew influence is the

²⁰¹ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 185; see also Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 74, and Soisalon-Soininen, “Einleitung,” 17–18.

²⁰² Similarly, Evans states, “There is special need for work on Greek features (verbal and other) which lack obvious motivation from the Hebrew text, since these tend to escape the net of specialists in translation technique” (*Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 6).

²⁰³ Conversely, he also does not want the Septuagint to be “treated like a Cinderella of Greek philology any more” (“Syntax of the Participle,” 186 n. 2). Presumably, he means by this it should not be shunned by philologists as a proper source of Greek linguistic material.

²⁰⁴ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 185.

translation of the infinitive absolute—but even this he softens by calling it “not entirely un-Greek.”²⁰⁵

Muraoka’s treatment of substantival participles is of particular interest. He first cites Mayser to the effect that substantival participles can appear *with* or *without* the definite article.²⁰⁶ Subsequently, he disapprovingly cites BDF, stating that, “the neuter singular and plural participles appear as substantives with the article.”²⁰⁷ With these remarks in mind, he notes constructions such as Isa 1:17 (ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον), 3:2 (γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα), 12 (οἱ ἀπαιτοῦντες κυριεύουσιν), among others.

As a part of this analysis of substantival participles, Muraoka states, “*Pace* Blass-Debrunner-Funk [§413] we find a good number of cases without the article.”²⁰⁸ In support of this, he cites non-articular substantival participles in Isa 1:17; 3:1; 40:3. Notice, however, that the article is absent from Hebrew in every instance, a crucial point that he does not note.

11	Isa 1:17	ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον
	NETS	rescue the one who is wronged
	MT	אשר חמוץ
	NRSV	rescue the oppressed
12	Isa 3:1	ὁ δεσπότης κύριος ... ἀφελεί ... ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἰσχύουσιν
	NETS	the Lord ... will take away ... a strong man and a strong woman
	MT	האדון יהוה ... מסיר ... משען ומשענה
	NRSV	The LORD ... is taking away support and staff

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 197–8, 200. On these, see Emanuel Tov, “Rendering of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the LXX,” 64–73. Tov clearly assigns these to the translational nature of the Septuagint (see esp. *ibid.*, 72).

²⁰⁶ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 188. He incorrectly cites Mayser 2.1.339; the correct reference is Mayser 2.1.346. Mayser states: “Der Gebrauch des Partizips mit oder ohne Artikel zur Bezeichnung von Personen ist überaus ausgedehnt, weicht aber nirgends von der klassischen Sprache ab, so daß die Aufzählung von Beispielen sich erübrigt.”

²⁰⁷ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 188. See BDF §413.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 189.

- 13 Isa 40:3 φωνή βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου²⁰⁹
NETS A voice of one crying out in the wilderness: “Prepare the way of the Lord.”
MT קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה
NRSV A voice cries out: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD”

Let us consider this from the perspective of the translation technique of Greek Isaiah, chapters 1–10. For the substantival participles in the Greek text, do they render articular or anarthrous Hebrew expressions²¹⁰?

	Hebrew Articular	Hebrew Anarthrous	Other (verbs, etc.)
Greek Articular	7 ²¹¹	27 ²¹²	7 ²¹³
Greek Anarthrous	0	3 ²¹⁴	0

Note that in only three instances is a substantival participle anarthrous. In each of these, the Hebrew parent construction is also anarthrous. In 27 instances, an anarthrous Hebrew expression is rendered with an articular substantival participle, suggesting that some Greek syntactical norm constrained the use or disuse of a definite article with substantival participles. Additionally, no articular Hebrew construction is rendered anarthrously. Do the anarthrous substantival participles derive from Greek syntactical constraints or Hebrew interference? Although further work needs to be done to argue this conclusively, it would seem that Muraoka has assumed that the Septuagint constructions are evidence of a Greek syntactical constraint without consideration of possible Hebrew interference.²¹⁵ Moreover, Muraoka provides no examples of anarthrous substantival

²⁰⁹ In my view, βοῶντος is better categorized as adjectival to φωνή.

²¹⁰ Note that since I am concerned with the syntax of the Greek participle, I am leaving aside whether the Greek participle renders a Hebrew participle in every instance.

²¹¹ Isa 4:3; 5:19, 20 (1°); 6:12; 8:19; 10:1, 15.

²¹² Isa 1:3, 28, 31; 3:12, 25; 4:2; 5:10, 11 (1°), 18, 20 (2–3°), 22, 23, 29; 7:3; 9:1 (2 MT), 2 (3 MT); 8 (9 MT), 10 (11 MT); 14 (15 MT), 15 (16 MT); 10:18, 19, 20 (2x); 21, 24, 31.

²¹³ Isa 1:24, 25; 5:11 (2°), 17; 8:16; 9:3 (4 MT); 11 (12 MT).

²¹⁴ Isa 1:17; 3:1, 2.

²¹⁵ Muraoka would likely treat this as *positive interference*, that is, interference that does not create ungrammatical constructions but simply a higher frequent of grammatical constructions than is usual (see

participles from compositional literature—contemporaneous or otherwise—to substantiate his argument that Greek substantival participles *can be anarthrous*. While this does not entirely disprove Muraoka’s point, it does point to a weakness in his method: without sufficient consideration of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, one cannot be sure that a syntactical feature in the Septuagint is evidence of an idiomatic Greek feature. A method that ignores the possibility Hebrew interference and also fails to compare Septuagintal phenomena with compositional Koiné Greek can present dubious syntactical interpretation of Septuagintal phenomena at best.

Another example demonstrates this further. In his discussion of adverbial participles, Muraoka states, “An adverbial participle may precede or follow its lead verb. When preceding, it is often aorist and rendering a *wayyiqtol*, e.g., Gen 3:5 *καὶ λαβοῦσα τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ ἔφαγεν*.”²¹⁶ Since Hebrew does not have a corresponding participial expression, “its selection in the LXX bespeaks a measure of freedom by the translator concerned and his concern about the adherence to the norms of the contemporary Greek.”²¹⁷ This is true—but it is not complete. It must be asked, “Does this free translation technique actually create idiomatic Greek constructions in every instance?” According to Aejmelaeus’s study on the *participium coniunctum* (which Muraoka does not mention), the answer is *no*, they actually show Hebrew interference:

Most of the cases [of idiomatic Greek *participia coniuncta*] may be considered as substitutes for subordinate clauses. In the Septuagint, however, the participle is used particularly frequently in cases where two Hebrew verbs in successive

Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 275). On the other, I am suggesting that this is an example of negative interference, that is, interference that creates ungrammatical or unidiomatic Greek. This points to the necessity to establish from compositional literature when and if substantival participles can be anarthrous.

²¹⁶ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 191.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 190–1; see also Aejmelaeus, “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 1–2.

coordinate clauses belong closely together, describing in fact the same activity or parts of the same activity.... Expressions of this kind are typical of Hebrew.... These expressions are numerous in the material now under discussion. Since they fit badly into the usual functions of the *part[icipium] coni[unctum]* I prefer to call them pleonastic.²¹⁸

Now, Muraoka notes that such pleonastic constructions are frequent: “[T]he collocation ἀποκριθεὶς ... εἶπεν occurs hundreds of times as the standard rendering of ויאמר ... ויען alongside the literalistic ἀπεκρίθη ... καὶ εἶπεν and the slightly less mechanical ἀπεκρίθη ... λέγων.”²¹⁹ However, it is unclear from his treatment whether he considers this idiomatic Greek or not.²²⁰ Moreover, his neglect of the insights from the translation technique on the syntax of the Septuagint has caused him to miss an important observation that some adverbial participle constructions are reflective of both Greek syntactical constraints and Hebrew interference. That is, the very appearance of the adverbial participle shows natural Greek syntax at work but this construction is employed in such a way as to allow the coordinated clauses in the Hebrew parent text to influence its otherwise idiomatic form. For instance, in an example that he cites explicitly, a coordinated Hebrew expression is translated with an adverbial participle, followed by a finite verb:

²¹⁸ Aejmelaeus, “*Participium Coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique,” 6.

²¹⁹ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 191 n. 19.

²²⁰ Since “mechanistic” or “literalistic” are descriptions of translation technique and not syntax, his statement does not indicate whether these are idiomatic or unidiomatic. There is one hint that he considers the collocation ἀπεκρίθη ... λέγων to be idiomatic; he states, “*Pace* Turner, who says [ἀπεκρίθη ... λέγων] occurs in J[ohn] and it is [sic.] an Aramaism, the corresponding Aramaic idiom is not asyndetic as shown in J[ohn] 1:26 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννης λέγων” (Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 191 n. 19). The reference to Nigel Turner is found in *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Volume 3, Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 155. The implication from Muraoka’s comment seems to be that if this construction is *not* an Aramaism, it is reflective of idiomatic Greek. This is admittedly speculative and may not reflect Muraoka’s views.

14	Gen 8:5	τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἠλαττονοῦτο
	NETS	Now the water, as it was proceeding, was diminishing
	MT	והמים היו הלך וחסור
	NRSV	The waters continued to abate

Although this Greek construction has two different lexemes (*πορεύομαι, ἠλαττονέω*), it does employ an adverbial participle and finite verb to describe two facets of the same action, a conclusion that is substantiated by taking note of the underlying Hebrew construction. It is uncontroversial that הלך + coordinated verb portrays a single action as a continuous event.²²¹

As is apparent above, I share Muraoka’s view regarding the limits of the translation-technical approach—although I disagree with his assessment of its inability to produce syntactical interpretation if done rightly. Additionally, the approach to the syntax of the Septuagint proposed here is similar in some regards to that of Muraoka. However, the method of the present study differs at a few points. First, my method does not require a two-pronged approach—particularly, it rejects a “reader-centred” approach. Although obvious, it must not be forgotten that the translator of Gk Num (and the other books) was a Koiné Greek speaker himself and that this is the language of the Septuagint. My method then attempts to identify both the Greek language constraints and Hebrew interference where it appears. Second, my method does not allow the assumption that the Septuagint reflects genuine Koiné syntax to suppress appeals to Hebrew interference as a plausible explanation, as Muraoka’s seems to. I have shown two instances in which Muraoka’s approach to the syntax of the Septuagint—assuming that the “LXX text [is] a Greek

²²¹ In J–M (Muraoka’s own grammar!), he states, “A second inf[initive] is found after הלך in G[e]n 8.3 וישבו המים מעל הארץ הלך ושוב *and the waters receded in a continuous fashion* (the second infinitive strengthens the idea of continuity expressed by הלך” (397). In this verse Greek Genesis translates, *καὶ ἐνεδίδου τὸ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνεδίδου*.

document”²²²—has not pursued the potential of Hebrew interference to the detriment of his syntactical interpretation. Since he states that one should only take “the source text into account as occasions arise,” it is not entirely clear when he finds Hebrew interference to be an adequate explanation or at what stage he elects to take it into account.²²³ And although his warning that the “extent [of Hebrew interference] . . . is not to be exaggerated” is well taken,²²⁴ it must equally be stressed that certain syntactical features cannot be accounted for *without taking Hebrew interference into account* (e.g., resumption in RCs). Insofar as natural Greek syntax and Hebrew interference are both at play in the formation of Septuagintal constructions, our approach to its syntax must account for *both* instead of requiring two distinct approaches. An approach such as Muraoka’s that consistently “tries” (his word) to approach the Septuagint as a Greek document may too quickly assume that the syntax of the Septuagint is idiomatic Greek—which will be, in my view, intermittently correct and incorrect!

Finally, the reader should be advised that my above remarks in critique of Muraoka might be rendered irrelevant or unfounded at the publication of Muraoka’s promised reference grammar of the Septuagint.

2.3.4. Summation and Need for the Current Study

From this survey of literature, a few things are clear. First, this study is similar methodologically to a few other studies—particularly those of Anwar Tjen and Trevor Evans. It is, however, distinguished from them in two aspects: unlike Tjen (and the Helsinki school), I will not take Hebrew syntax as my starting place nor organize my data

²²² Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 185.

²²³ I expect that when his syntax of the Septuagint appears this year or next, this uncertainty regarding his method will be made clear.

²²⁴ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 200.

around Hebrew constructions. Unlike Evans, my goal is not to contribute to our understanding of the development of Koiné Greek. Thus, my concern is not specifically to demonstrate and examine only the areas that are free from Hebrew influence but to offer a method that can account for all of the syntactical features of the Septuagint. Second, unlike some members of the Helsinki school, this study will not examine translation technique as *the* approach to account for Septuagint syntax but only *an* approach. Third, it will avoid the erroneous assertion made by some in the Helsinki school that Septuagint syntax is essentially Hebrew syntax. Fourth, unlike Muraoka's publications to date, this study will not use a two-pronged approach nor will it assume that a syntax must be written from the Hellenistic Greek reader's perspective, treating the Septuagint as any other piece of Greek literature. Fifth, it is also clear that previous studies on the relative clause—all completed by the Helsinki school—have not only left large gaps in our understanding (or been misleading in some cases!), but have also lacked rigorous syntactical explanation. Methodologically, then, the current study seeks to offer a *via media* that can adequately account for the peculiar syntax of the Septuagint as well as demonstrate this method at work on a single function (i.e., relative clauses) in a select corpus (i.e., Gk Num).

2.4. A Few Assumptions

First, I am assuming that the Septuagint genuinely *communicates*. Although some debate whether the Septuagint, at its point of inception, was intended to be a standalone text (i.e., apart from its parent text) or to be a subservient crib, that is immaterial to this question, since both positions presuppose that the finished Greek piece actually

communicates in Greek (although not always grammatically).²²⁵ However, in my view, the issue is better framed as *what* the translation communicates. Either as *communication* of its Hebrew text (so Cameron Boyd-Taylor²²⁶) or as an independent piece of Koiné literature (so Takamitsu Muraoka²²⁷), the Septuagint *communicates*.

Second, I assume that *choice* implies *meaning*. In other words, if the Septuagint translator had alternatives—especially grammatical alternatives—at his disposal and selected one, I will assume that the selection of one over the other, even if this cognitive process was not conscious, is significant. Therefore, at certain points, alternatives to the text of the Septuagint will be presented and discussed.

Third, I am assuming that the Greek of the Pentateuch is an artifact of the Koiné dialect of Greek, despite any interference that may have come through from its *Vorlage*. That is, it is *not* a (sub-)dialect of Greek that has sometimes in the past been referred to as Jewish-Greek.²²⁸ Therefore, I am attributing any/the “Semitic cast” of the Septuagint to its Semitic parent text, rather than characterizing it as a product of a ghetto of Greek-

²²⁵ Contra Pietersma, “A Response to Muraoka’s Critique of Interlinearity,” 322. Pietersma here pits a “representational” conception of the Septuagint translator’s intention against “communication.”

²²⁶ In his discussion of this point from the interlinear perspective, Cameron Boyd-Taylor states, “Understood in relation to the Hebrew parent, the translation makes ready sense, and conveys specific information” (Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Who’s Afraid of Verlegenheitsübersetzungen?,” in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* [ed. Hans Ausloos et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008], 197–212, here 199). He continues, “the Greek text carries meaning in the present instance [3 Rgns 3:17a]—not as Greek discourse but as a formal representation of its Hebrew source” (*ibid.*, 199).

²²⁷ Muraoka, “Syntax of the Participle,” 185.

²²⁸ So Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 299: “The translators write Greek largely as they doubtless spoke it.” For a more recent articulation, see Henry S. Gehman, “The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek,” *VT* 1 2 (1951): 81–90. Aitken correctly notes that this is better termed “sociolect” than “dialect” (“The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish-Greek Identity,” 125). See also Jan Joosten who speculates that such a hypothesis helps explain certain orthographic details (“The Vocabulary of the Septuagint in Its Historic Context,” 7).

speaking Jews in which Semitisms in the Greek language were considered grammatical.²²⁹

Fourth, I do not assume that this focus on syntax can *fully* explain the text of the Septuagint. Other facets of Septuagint research—such as the investigation of discourse-level pragmatics, ideological or theological *Tendenzen*, as well as the articulation of translation norms and intended function in the target culture—offer valuable contributions to the explanation of its text as well as its syntax.

2.5. Texts Employed

For the Septuagint texts, I am using John W. Wevers's Göttingen editions of the Pentateuch. The companion volumes, the text histories and Wevers's commentaries, will also be consulted if there is a question of establishing the original text of the Septuagint. If I deviate from Wevers's critical text, it will be noted and appropriate argumentation and evidence will be presented. Outside of the Pentateuch, I will consult the Göttingen Septuagint editions where available and Rahlfs's text where these are still absent.

The Hebrew text will be the Masoretic text (MT) as represented in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS). Although I am fully aware that the BHS does not represent the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint exactly and current ideas regarding the textual pluriformity of the Hebrew in third century BCE, significant discussion with respect to establishing the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint is ancillary to my focus. Moreover, such enterprises, although certainly valuable, would draw the focus away from the task at

²²⁹ For critique, see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 74. For a thoroughgoing critique of this view, see Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 11–19. Aitken suggests that Jewish-Greek could be applied to later Jewish Greek writings such as the Wisdom of Solomon who were *influenced* by or *intentionally mimicked* the language and syntax of the Septuagint (“The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish-Greek Identity,” 134).

hand.²³⁰ Where such a discussion is relevant to the case at hand, I will utilize comparative material from the Samaritan Pentateuch in August F. von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*²³¹ and the texts from the Judean desert, published in the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series. Peshitta texts consulted are those of Brill's Peshitta series.

²³⁰ For a discussion of some issues in this reconstructing the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint, see Emanuel Tov, *The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997); idem., *Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 115–54.

²³¹ Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann Verlag, 1966.

3.1. Introduction

Whereas **וְאִשׁ** is the dominant relativizer in Hb Num (295x), a few different relative words mark RCs in Gk Num: *ὅς* (196x), *ὅσος* (45x), *ὅστις* (13x).²³² Additionally, in Gk Num, some Hebrew RCs marked by **וְאִשׁ** are translated with the definite article that nominalizes an adjective phrase (23x) or with conjunctions, such as *καθά* (4x), *ὅταν* (3x), *διότι* (2x), etc. Given this, it would seem that variation in relativizers would be relatively free of Hebrew interference. This chapter will argue that this is indeed the case: variation of relativizers in Gk Num is controlled by Greek syntactical strictures, although a translational norm to retain the order of the Hebrew words constrains the type of idiomatic Greek constructions that are possible. This chapter will deal with only *ὅς*, *ὅσος*, *ὅστις*, and the locations where *ὁ* translates **וְאִשׁ**.

In order to demonstrate the interplay of both Greek syntactical strictures and Hebrew interference in the use of relativizers, two criteria must be satisfied. First, one must confirm that each instance of the various relativizers reflects idiomatic Greek. In other words, when *ὅς* or any other relativizer appears, it conforms to idiomatic usage. Second, one must determine that the choice between one relativizer and another is due to Greek constraints. The question that will not be pursued is whether the Hebrew *Vorlage* has affected the distribution in some manner. As Evans has argued with respect to the use of verbs in the Pentateuch, the Hebrew parent text exercises some influence on the

²³² On other relativizers, see Mayser 2.3.57; Robertson 710. For a perspective on Classical Greek but still helpful for Koiné, see Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 119–25.

relative frequency of the forms but the system overall is reflective of Greek.²³³ To demonstrate this, one would have to check the relative frequency of the various relativizers in (a sample of) compositional Koiné against the relative frequency in Gk Num.²³⁴ While this is possible, it simply is not the primary point of investigation here. This chapter is arguing for a certain interpretation of the variation (i.e., it is due to Greek language concerns) rather than an interpretation *of the distribution* of the variation.

3.2. Methodological Concerns

In order to document certain constructions in compositional Greek, I provide examples from the Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period. These citations aim at being *representative* of the types of constructions found in compositional Greek writings concurrent with the translation of the Septuagint and are not *exhaustive*. At these key points, I have relied heavily on Mayser's *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*²³⁵—who frequently cites copious examples of all possible constructions—in order to mitigate any weakness in this approach. References to Mayser's examples will be made frequently in the footnotes. Additionally, I present examples from both Gk Num and the Ptolemaic papyri that aid in explaining the text of Gk Num. Nevertheless, an effort will be made to note if an example is unusual for some reason or other.

²³³ Trevor V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*, 135–6. He refers to this as “formal interference.”

²³⁴ Raymond A. Martin's *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1974) proposes seventeen syntactical criteria for distinguishing Greek translated from Semitic sources. His method is similar to the one suggested here. Note that he does not examine relativizers.

²³⁵ Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus Der Ptolemäerzeit* (2 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1906–1934).

3.3. Relative Pronoun (ὅς, ἧ, ὅν²³⁶)

In Koiné Greek, the basic and most common form of the relativizer is ὅς.²³⁷ Since this relativizer carries a pronominal value²³⁸—i.e., it occupies an argument slot within the relative clause as well as shows agreement features with its antecedent²³⁹—it is properly called a relative pronoun. In Gk Num, the simple relative pronoun (ὅς) occurs 196x, making it the most common relativizer and the most frequent translation of the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר. It translates אֲשֶׁר (also with prefixed preposition as in כִּאֲשֶׁר and מֵאֲשֶׁר), כִּי, מֵה, genitive expressions, unmarked relatives, etc.

3.3.1. Standard Uses

The relative pronoun ὅς can appear in all cases except the vocative, in all genders, and in all numbers. Supplying examples to cover each of the 24 possible forms would be superfluous. Additionally, ὅς can refer to both definite (#1) and indefinite HNs (#2) and in restrictive (##2–3) and non-restrictive clauses (##4–5). It can also introduce headless RCs (#6).

- 1 CPR 18.3 (231 BCE, Theogonis)
Ἰσάζελμις ... ἐμίσθωσεν Μασάρται ... τὸν αὐτοῦ κλ[ῆ]ρον, ὃν ἔχει περὶ τὸν Ἰβιδῶνα
Isazelmis ... let out to Masartes ... his allotment, which he has near Ibiḏn.

²³⁶ For convenience I will continue to only use the masculine singular form ὅς although intending to denote all three genders.

²³⁷ On the etymology of ὅς, see Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 120–3 and her ch. 3 (“Approaches to Proto-Indo-European”); Charles Baron, *Le Pronom relatif et la conjonction en grec*, 35–42. Originally, it was a demonstrative: “le rôle de ὅς, comme pronom demonstrative, est incontestable” (ibid., 37).

²³⁸ See Robertson 710–11. Smyth states, “ὅς *who* and the other simple relatives (e.g., οἷος, ὅσος) refer to a particular and individual person or thing” (§2493). He also states the relative pronouns show agreement features (§2501). Finally, the paucity of resumption within Koiné RCs confirms this (see also ch. 4).

²³⁹ Robertson 712–4; Smyth §2501. See also Mayser 2.1.76, who treats relative pronouns under the heading “Artikel und Pronomen in substantivischer Funktion.”

- 2 P. Cair. Zen. 1 59049 (257 BCE, Memphis?)
 Νίκων Ζήνω[ν]ι χ[αίρειν. ἀπόστει]λ[όν] τινα ὃς παραλήψεται τὸν χόρτον τὸν
 γινόμενον ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν
 Nicōn. To Zēnōn. Greetings. I sent someone who will obtain from the farmers the
 grass which has come to us (or perhaps, which is due to us).
- 3 P. Cair. Zen. 1 59034 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ὑγιάσθην, παρεγένετό τις ἐκ Κνίδου ὃς ἐνεχείρησεν οἰκοδομεῖν
 Σαραπιεῖον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ προσαγγήγχει λίθους.
 But since I regain my health quickly, someone from Cnidos who undertook to build
 the temple of Sarapis in this place arrived and brought (?) stones.
- 4 P. Cair. Zen. 1 59033 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
 ἐδώκαμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἠβούλοντο, ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν ὑπογεγράφαμεν.
 Therefore, we have given to them as much as they have desired, [concerning] each
 one of which we have written below [the final greeting].
- 5 O. Bodl. 1 138 (2nd cent. BCE, Thebes)
 Ἡρα(κλειδῆς) Μέμνονι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ χωρὶς ὧν μοι δέδωκας ἄλλας χα(λκοῦ)
 (δραχμὰς) ψμ εἰς πλήρω(σιν) (ταλάντων).²⁴⁰
 Herakleidēs, to Memnōs, greetings. I have from you—apart from which you gave to
 me—another 740 copper drachmas for the full balance.
- 6 BGU 10 1912 (ca. 250 BCE, Arsinoite Nome?)
 ὃν ἂν σοι παραδείξῃ Πετεμούθης παρ[άδος τοῖς] φυλακίταις καὶ α[ὐτὸν
 κα]ταστησά[τ]ωσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς²⁴¹
 But that which²⁴² Petemouthēs showed to you, before handing over to the officials
 also bring it to us.

One notices that, in each instance, the relative pronoun matches its HN (if it has one) in gender and number, but its case is determined by its function in the sentence. For instance, in #1 the relative pronoun is in the accusative case since it functions as the direct object; in #2, it appears in the nominative case since it functions as subject.

These account for the majority of occurrences of the relative pronoun in Gk Num. They can take either definite (#7) or indefinite HNs (#8). They can be found in headless

²⁴⁰ Note that in this example, the HN appears after the RC.

²⁴¹ On this example of resumption, see §4.7 on resumption in MCs.

²⁴² The presence of ἂν makes this conditional. There is not a good way to represent this in English; we could say, somewhat awkwardly, “that whichever.”

RCs (#9). They are also found in restrictive (##8–10) and non-restrictive clauses (##7, 11).

- 7 6:18 *καὶ ἐπιθήσει τὰς τρίχας ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου.*
 NETS and he shall place the hair upon the fire, which is under the sacrifice of deliverance
 MT *ולקח את שער ראש נזרו ונתן על האש אשר תחת זבח השלמים*
 NRSV and shall take the hair from the consecrated head and put it on the fire under the sacrifice of well-being
- 8 5:30 *ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πνεῦμα ζηλώσεως, καὶ ζηλώσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.*
 NETS or in case a man on whom a spirit of jealousy comes and he becomes jealous of his wife
 MT *איש אשר תעבר עליו רוח קנאה וקנא את אשתו*
 NRSV when a spirit of jealousy comes on a man and he is jealous of his wife
- 9 23:8 *τί ἀράσομαι ὃν μὴ ἀρᾶται κύριος, ἢ τί καταράσομαι ὃν μὴ καταρᾶται ὁ θεός;*
 NETS How shall I curse whom the Lord does not curse? Or how shall I call down curses on whom God does not call down curses?
 MT *מה אקב לא קבה אל ומה אזעם לא זעם יהוה*
 NRSV How can I curse whom God has not cursed? How can I denounce those whom the LORD has not denounced?

Note that in example #9, the Hebrew relative phrases are unmarked (i.e., there is no relativizer). Thus, G’s translation shows a correct interpretation of the Hebrew text—namely that *אל קבה לא* and *יהוה זעם לא* are in fact RCs—and adds an explicit relativizer to make this clear.

- 10 5:7 *ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἣν ἐποίησεν*
 NETS he shall confess the sin which he has committed
 MT *והתודו את חטאתם אשר עשו*
 NRSV and shall confess the sin that has been committed.

The RC—*ἣν ἐποίησεν*—gives essential information to identify which sin is to be confessed.

- 11 3:3 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀαρών, οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἡλειμμένοι, οὓς ἐτελείωσαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἱερατεύειν.
NETS These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the anointed priests, whose ad validated to serve as priestshands they h
MT אלה שמות בני אהרן הכהנים המשחים אשר מלא ידם לכהן
NRSV these are the names of the sons of Aaron, the anointed priests, whom he ordained to minister as priests

Here, the RC—οὓς ἐτελείωσαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἱερατεύειν—provides circumstantial information about the priests who were anointed rather than information essential to their identification.

3.3.2. *Proper Attraction and Inverse Attraction*

As I have noted, the case of the relative pronoun is normally dictated by its function in the RC, whereas the gender and number of the form matches its antecedent.²⁴³ However, the case of the relative pronoun can be influenced by the HN. When this happens, the relative pronoun’s case matches that of the HN and so the relative pronoun becomes incongruous with its function within the RC. This is called *proper attraction* or simply *attraction*. This is a noted, even idiomatic, part of Greek grammar, and occurs “especially from the accusative into the genitive or dative” (Smyth §2522).²⁴⁴ Mayser has treated this extensively with copious examples from the papyri²⁴⁵—I will give only a few examples here to demonstrate how this construction works.

- 12 P. Mich. 1.14 = P. Cair. Zen. 59071 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
γεγράφαμεν Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ ἐλεάτρῳ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἀβακείων (= ἀβακίων), ὧν παρεθέμεθ[α] παρ’ αὐτῷ, ἀποδοῦναί σοι
We have written to Artemidoros, the steward, to return to you the price of the dishes, which we deposited with him.

²⁴³ See Robertson 711.

²⁴⁴ See also Robertson 715–17; Mayser 2.3.101–8; Albert Rijksbaron, “Relative Clause Formation in Ancient Greek,” in *Predication and Expression in Functional Grammar* (ed. A. M. Bolkestein and H. A. Combé; London: Academic Press, 1981), 235–59, here 238; Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 162–192. Incidentally, Probert finds that there is only inverse attraction before Aeschylus (ca. 526–456 BCE), at which point both proper and inverse attraction are found (ibid., 169–92).

²⁴⁵ See Mayser 2.3.98–108.

13 P.Rev. (259 BCE, Arsinoite?)

τοῦ τε ἐλαίου \οὐ ἂν μὴ ἐνδείξωνται εἰσαγηγοχότες/

and the oil, which the ones who have brought it might not show ...

In example #12, the verb *παρατίθημι* would under usual circumstances require that the relative pronoun, which is clearly functioning as the direct object, be placed in the accusative case. Via attraction to the HN (*ἀβακείων*), the case of the relative pronoun has become genitive.

In the current understanding of case attraction in Greek, it is not thought to be obligatory²⁴⁶—nevertheless, Rijksbaron has formulated some “rules” as to when proper attraction is *not* possible.²⁴⁷

1. Attraction is only possible with restrictive RCs.²⁴⁸
2. When the relative pronoun would be the subject of a passive verb, attraction is blocked. The verbal action will be realized with a passive participle phrase.
3. When the verb in the RC requires a non-accusative case (e.g., *ἄπτω* takes a genitive direct object), attraction is blocked.²⁴⁹
4. When the HN is nominative, attraction is blocked.
5. When the relative pronoun is governed by a preposition, attraction is blocked.

These seem to match the data found in Gk Num.

In Gk Num, there are few unequivocal examples of attraction of the case of the relative pronoun. I have identified seven probable instances of attraction: 10:29; 14:11; 15:23; 22:8, 20; 30:16; 31:50. Consider examples ##14–15.

²⁴⁶ So Smyth §2524.

²⁴⁷ See Rijksbaron, “Relative Clause Formation in Ancient Greek,” 238–41. He expresses these in the language of functional grammar, which can be somewhat difficult for those not familiar with the jargon of this particular linguistic theory. I have represented his rules in language more easily recognizable to the general reader familiar with Greek grammar terminology.

²⁴⁸ See also Smyth §2524.

²⁴⁹ It is a significant delimitation that these only apply to *proper attraction*, as was noted. In example #20 (Gk Num 19:22), we find, “καὶ παντός, οὐ ἂν ἄψηται αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀκάθαρτος, ἀκάθαρτον ἔσται.” *ἄπτω* governs a non-accusative (i.e., a genitive) and the HN, *παντός*, has been attracted to it.

If ποιέω takes an object, it is almost always an accusative.²⁵² Here, the case of the relative pronoun is produced by attraction to the dative τοῖς σημείοις. This is a stereotypical occurrence of case attraction.²⁵³

Alternatively, the HN can be attracted to the case of the relative pronoun, a phenomenon of Koine as well as Classical Greek. This is referred to as “inverse attraction.”²⁵⁴ In Mayser’s words, “wenn nicht das Relativ dem Nomen, sondern umgekehrt das vorausgehende Nomen dem darauf bezogenen Relativ im Kasus angeglichen wird.”²⁵⁵ Moreover, this is most frequent when the relative pronoun is in the accusative, as in the second example (#17) below.²⁵⁶

16 P. Cair. Zen. 2.59264 (251 BCE, Philadelphia)
ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι καὶ ἀμίδας ι. καὶ ἄλλου δὲ οὗ ἂν χρείαν ἔχῃς γράφε ἡμῖν.
Now, I have sent to you also the 10 pots. But of another of which you might have need, write to us.

17 P. Cair. Zen. 2 59186 (255 BCE, Philadelphia)
τὴν δ[ὲ] ἐπιστο[λὴν] ἣν ἔγραψας Ἀμμωνίῳ ἠπίθηκεν (sic., ἠπείθηκεν) αὐτῆς.
But the letter which you wrote to Ammonios, he has disobeyed it.

Since ἐπιστολή is the object of ἠπίθηκεν—which is from ἀπειθέω and takes the genitive or dative²⁵⁷—its case should be either of these and not accusative. However, it is attracted to the relative pronoun ἣν and then resumed with the personal pronoun (αὐτῆς), which now

²⁵² See LSJ, “ποιέω.”

²⁵³ NETS rendering, “amidst the signs I have performed,” does not seem to recognize this. LBdA’s “les signes que j’ai faits parmi eux” and LXXD’s “allen Wundern, die ich unter ihnen getan habe” convey this idiomatic Greek construction well.

²⁵⁴ Mayser 2.3.107; BDF §295; Robertson 107.

²⁵⁵ Mayser 2.3.107; translation: “If not the relative to the noun, but the preceding noun is aligned in case to the following relative.”

²⁵⁶ See Mayser 2.3.108.

²⁵⁷ See LSJ, “ἀπειθέω.” A genitive is found Greek Josh 5:6. A dative is found in e.g., Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.2.2.; *Hipparchicus* 1.3.

appears in the proper case. Thus, this is also an instance of anacoluthon, common with inverse attraction.²⁵⁸

Dorival has only a few short paragraphs on syntax, but he notes inverse attraction in three places: 13:33 (32 MT), 19:22; 35:6, 7.²⁵⁹ To his list, 32:4 and 35:8 should also be added.²⁶⁰ In total, there are six instances of inverse attraction in Gk Num.

- 18 13:33 καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν ἕκστασιν τῆς γῆς, ἣν κατεσκέψαντο αὐτήν, πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες Τὴν γῆν, ἣν παρήλθομεν αὐτήν κατασκέψασθαι, γῆ κατέσθουσα τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐστίν· πᾶς ὁ λαός, ὃν ἑώρακαμεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἄνδρες ὑπερμήκεις
- NETS And they brought about consternation for the land that they had spied out, to the sons of Israel, saying, “The land that we passed through to spy it out—it is a land that devours those who live upon it. All the people that we saw in it are very tall men”
- MT 13:32 ויוציאו דבת הארץ אשר תרו אתה אל בני ישראל לאמר הארץ אשר עברנו בה לתור אתה ארץ אכלת יושביה הוא וכל העם אשר ראינו בתוכה אנשי מדות
- NRSV So they brought to the Israelites an unfavorable report of the land that they had spied out, saying, “The land that we have gone through as spies is a land that devours its inhabitants; and all the people that we saw in it are of great size.”

It should be noted that with anacoluthon, the MC would normally take a resumptive *pronoun* rather than a full copy of the pendent noun.²⁶¹ Thus, in OG 13:33, one would expect *Τὴν γῆν, ἣν ... αὐτὴ (γῆ) κατέσθουσα ... ἐστίν*. This is a case of obvious influence from the Hebrew text, and it represents a paradigmatic example of my method of evaluating Septuagint syntax (see also 32:4).

²⁵⁸ Robertson 717, 435; BDF §243, §466. See also Mayser 2.3.206.

²⁵⁹ Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 4; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 185. See also *ibid.*, 315. On these, Wevers only makes comment at 19:22: “Since the verb *ἄψηται* governs the genitive, its modifier *αὐτοῦ* for (ב) is genitive, and the introductory *παντός* is genitive by case attraction. One might have expected either *πᾶς* ‘everyone’ or *πᾶν* ‘everything’” (*NGTN*, 321). So far, Wevers is exactly correct. Then he states, “Possibly the genitive was used to preserve the ambiguity of כּל of MT” (*Ibid.*). He gives no further explanation and this explanation is entirely unconvincing. The genitive *παντός* is certainly produced by inverse attraction.

²⁶⁰ Wevers recognizes the inverse attraction at 32:4 (*NGTN*, 528).

²⁶¹ See BDF §466; Smyth §3005; §3008.e.-f.; Mayser 2.3.198–9.

23 P. Tebt. 1.14 C.36–42 (118 BCE, Tebtynis)

προσπετάχα[σι] ... ἀποβάντας ὧν ἔχουσι πλειων ἀπάντων καὶ προσαγγείλαντας
 ἐα[υ]τοὺς καὶ παραδόντ[ας] ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφόριον ἀπολύεσθαι τῶν ἕως τοῦ να (ἔτους)
 χρόνων

They have commanded ... for those returning²⁶⁶ all the extra that they have and
 declaring themselves and giving back a year's rent to be released from the payment
 from then until the 51st year.

Note, significantly, that the HN (ἀπάντων) appears *after* the relative pronoun (ὧν) and
 that both match in gender, case, and number. Of these constructions, Mayser states, “In
 der Mehrzahl der Fälle wird das Bezugswort in den Relativsatz einbezogen und
 gewöhnlich vom Pronomen durch ein oder mehrere getrennt.”²⁶⁷ Note that this sort of
 construction also appears where a preposition governs the RC.²⁶⁸ Moreover, the relative
 pronoun and noun agree in gender, case, and number. The relative pronoun also, in a
 sense, replaces the definite article that would otherwise appear at the head of the
 phrase.²⁶⁹ With reference to the phrase under examination in example #23—ὧν ἔχουσι

²⁶⁵ See Robertson 718–9; Smyth §2536. See also Mayser 2.3.98. Stéphanie J. Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 79–82, argues that there is nothing special about these types of clauses. According to her, they are constructed in the same way as other pronominal modifiers—thus, she disputes the language of “incorporation.” The definite article, which would appear at the front of the clause—is omitted “to prevent the somewhat awkward juxtaposition” (ibid., 268). Although I agree with her assessment, I retained the accepted terminology since it is ancillary to my purposes here. Contra Bakker, Stefanie Fauconnier recently argued that the construction that has been termed “inclusion” *inter alia* is in fact better analyzed as an internally headed RC (“Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 14 [2014]: 141–162). Although Fauconnier’s article is the most direct treatment of the topic, two other works have also analyzed Koiné RCs in a similar manner: Martin M. Culy, “A Typology of Koine Relative Clauses,” in *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session* (ed. Robert A. Dooley and J. Albert Brickford; vol. 33; Grand Forks, ND: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1989), 67–92; Allison Kirk, “Word Order and Information Structure in New Testament Greek” (PhD Diss.; University of Leiden, 2012), 177–224.

²⁶⁶ Meaning uncertain.

²⁶⁷ Mayser 2.3.103–4. Translation: “in the majority of instances, the antecedent is included in the RC and usually separated from the pronoun by one or more words.”

²⁶⁸ Here are a few examples from Mayser’s text: UPZ 20.19, ἀφ’ ὧν ἔχομεν οἰκιῶν; UPZ 58.2, ἀφ’ ἧς ἐπεδώκαμεν ἐντεύξεως.

²⁶⁹ See Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 79–81. Contra Mayser 2.3.98, who understands this HN to take the case of the relative: “Wird ein Nomen in den Relativsatz einbezogen, so erhält es den Kasus den Relativs, verliert aber den Artikel und tritt in der Regel nicht unmittelbar hinter das Pronomen (abgesehen von Zeitbegriffen wie ἡμέρα, μῆν, χρόνος, ὥρα).” See also Fauconnier, “Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” 146–9.

πλείων ἀπάντων—it could also be written without attraction or inclusion as τῶν ἀπάντων οὓς ἔχουσι κτλ. The term *inclusion* suggests the following processes explain the development: τῶν ἀπάντων οὓς ἔχουσι κτλ. > τῶν οὓς ἔχουσι πλείων ἀπάντων. The juxtaposition of the definite article and relative pronoun then collapses, τῶν οὓς > ὧν.²⁷⁰ This final stage would be termed proper attraction, since the relative matches the case of the HN. Accordingly, the HN’s case is controlled by the syntactical constraints of the MC (i.e., not the RC). This observation cannot be applied broadly, as the following example will make clear. In linguistic terminology, this would be called a “prenominal” RC, where the RC *precedes* its HN.

For those who analyze these as internally headed relative clauses, it is thought that Greek possesses *two* different RC structures—the dominant and more versatile externally headed RC and the internally headed RC.²⁷¹ Cross-linguistic analysis has revealed that other languages have internally headed RCs and some have both internal and external RCs.²⁷² Additionally, *contra* the understanding of inclusion presented above, Fauconnier argues that the HN is a part of the syntactical matrix of the RC and not the MC.²⁷³ She presents the following example from Xenophon:

24 Xenophon, *Cryopaedia* 6.4.19

ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσευξάμενοι οἷς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς ἴτε ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις

After having gone to the temples and having worshipped the gods to whom we have sacrificed, go to your ranks.

²⁷⁰ See Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 267–8.

²⁷¹ So Fauconnier, “Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” 141–61.

²⁷² See Van Valin and Lapolla, *Syntax*, 598–603; Pavey, *The Structure of Language*, 248–53. She notes that *Tukang Besi* (a Malayo-Polynesian language of Indonesia) is unusual in that it has both internally and externally headed RCs (*ibid.*, 252–3).

²⁷³ Fauconnier, “Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” 146.

She comments, “In this example, the [HN θεοῖς] (‘gods’) is dative-marked because it is the indirect object of *the relative clause*. If its case marking were determined by its function in the main clause, it would be accusative-marked as the direct object of [προσευξάμενοι].”²⁷⁴ Since she clearly demonstrates that the HN is dependent upon the verb in the RC, it would seem to present a strong case in favor of the internally headed analysis, in which, by definition, the HN is a part of the syntactical matrix of the RC. However, a counter example, drawn from Culy’s work, shows that her analysis does not present the entire picture:

25 Luke 3:19

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετραάρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρωδιάδος ... καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης
 But Herod the ruler, who had been rebuked by him because of Herodias ... and because of all the evil things that Herod had done (NRSV)

The two prepositional phrases marked with *περὶ* specify the iniquities that Herod was being rebuked for (ἐλεγχόμενος). In the RC, the verb ἐποίησεν would take the accusative case, *not* the genitive. The only element that requires the genitive is *περὶ*. Culy states, “the head noun πονηρῶν ‘evils’ is in the genitive case. It is therefore not case marked as the direct object of the relative clause.”²⁷⁵ On the other hand, the analysis of inclusion with attraction does makes sense of this: *περὶ πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν οὓς ἐποίησεν* > *περὶ πάντων τῶν οὓς ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν* > *περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν* (where τῶν οὓς > ὧν).²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Fauconnier, “Internal and External Relative Clauses in Ancient Greek,” 147. *Pace* Cully, who fails to notice this: “in fact in all the possible examples of prenominal relative clauses [=RCs with inclusion and/or internally headed RCs], there is no way to give a definite answer, based on the data, as to whether it is a prenominal or internally-headed relative clause. The reasons for this are simple: whether the head is a constituent of the relative clause or the matrix clause it would receive the same case marking in most of the examples” (“A Typology of Relative Clauses,” 83).

²⁷⁵ Culy, “A Typology of Relative Clauses,” 87.

²⁷⁶ Contra BDF §294, which notes a similar example from Luke 19:37 and states, “the noun itself then attracted to the case of the relative.”

Additionally, in the discussion of examples #23 in the preceding paragraph, it was shown that the HN's case was controlled by the MC and not RC. Thus, it seems that the situation is manifestly not as clear as Fauconnier has portrayed it. Although Fauconnier's theory has cross-linguistic viability, it does not fit all the data inasmuch as some HNs are clearly a part of the syntactical matrix of the MC.²⁷⁷ Since the analysis of this construction does not have direct bearing on this study, changing mainly the terminology, I have preferred the older language of "inclusion" with the caveat that an internally headed analysis, when refined, may prove to be the better theory.

When considering the structure of RCs with inclusion vis-à-vis that of Hebrew relatives, it is clear that the order of elements—i.e., relative pronoun, clausal elements, HN—is entirely foreign to Hebrew. Headed Hebrew RCs are always postnominal, that is, the RC follows after its HN—although an element can intervene between the HN and **אשר**.²⁷⁸ Thus, one would expect that this feature of Greek would be rare in the Septuagint since it tends to follow the word order of the Hebrew closely. Indeed, this is *mostly* true—I have identified only one possible example in Gk Num translating a normal Hebrew RC. However, as will be shown in the following section, some phrases rendering **ביום** + infinitive construct and **כאשר** are the only (clear) examples of inclusion.

²⁷⁷ In all fairness to Fauconnier, she has considered only data from Xenophon—so it may be that her analysis fits *her* data, but not all the data.

²⁷⁸ See Holmstedt, "The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew," 301–5; idem., "Headlessness and Extraposition: Another Look at the Syntax of **אשר**" *JNSL* 27 1 (2001), 1–16, esp. 9–12. Note that Holmstedt does not list any examples of extraposition in Hb Num. See the following Pentateuchal uses cited by Holmstedt ("The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew," 301 n. 31): Gen 1:11; 22:14; 30:2; 33:18; 34:13; 35:14; 48:9, 22; Exod 1:8; 4:17; 5:21; 13:5; 20:2; 29:42; 32:4; Lev 1:5; Deut 4:19, 28; 8:16; 11:10 (2x); 19:9; 23:16.

26	31:50	<p>καὶ προσενηγόχαμεν τὸ δῶρον κυρίῳ, ἀνὴρ δ' εὗρεν σκεῦος χρυσοῦν, χλιδῶνα καὶ ψέλιον καὶ δακτύλιον καὶ περιδέξιον καὶ ἐμπλόκιον</p> <p>NETS And we have brought forward the gift to the Lord, a man what golden object he found: an anklet and a bracelet and a ring and an armlet</p> <p>MT ונקרב את קרבן יהוה איש אשר מצא כלי זהב אצעדה וצמיד טבעת עגיל וכומז</p> <p>NRSV And we have brought the LORD's offering, what each of us found, articles of gold, armlets and bracelets, signet rings, earrings, and pendants</p>
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The question here is, why is the relative pronoun δ accusative? In the tradition, many mss support a reading of $\delta\varsigma$, which seems to make good sense: “a man *who* found a golden article.”²⁷⁹ Nevertheless, this smoother reading should be regarded as secondary.

According to Wevers, “The [first] clause is then explicated by ἀνὴρ δ' εὗρεν [sic, εὗρεν] ‘each what he found,’ exactly what the MT says. This is then identified as ‘a golden article’ (σκεῦος χρυσοῦν), followed by a list specifying such golden articles.”²⁸⁰ Therefore, it is clear that Wevers views δ as a headless relative and σκεῦος χρυσοῦν as appositional to this (headless) RC—each will offer [that] which he found, namely, a golden article.

However, this can also be read as an instance of inclusion. Note that the definite article is usually omitted in such cases and is common with accusatives (over against genitives or datives).²⁸¹ Thus, the process is τὸ δ' εὗρεν σκεῦος > δ' εὗρεν σκεῦος. This analysis stands behind the rendering in NETS, “a man what golden object he found” and LBdA, “chaque homme ce qu'il a trouvé comme objet d'or.”²⁸² Can Hebrew interference help explain this curious usage? Hebrew interference is certainly the best explanation for the otherwise inexplicable intrusion of ἀνὴρ. However, there is no plausible argument to explain the

²⁷⁹ V 58–376 551 b f¹²⁹ 54–75' 407 59 799 Cyr I 340 Lat^{cod} 104. $\delta\nu$ is found in ms 72.

²⁸⁰ *NGTN*, 523. Dorival makes no mention of this issue (*Les Nombres*, 531–2).

²⁸¹ Smyth §2536.

²⁸² Cp. also LXXD: “jeder, der einen goldenen Gegenstand gefunden hat.” This translation errs in two aspects: they translate ἀνὴρ as distributive, “jeder” (i.e., wrongly importing the sense of the Hebrew איש), and “der” renders the neuter δ as if it were masculine (i.e., $\delta\varsigma$). LBdA, similarly, makes the first mistake with “chaque homme.” Wevers, also, errs here and renders ἀνὴρ with “each” (*NGTN*, 523).

accusative case from this viewpoint, and while Wevers’s argument is possible, it seems less likely to me.

When translating the Hebrew phrase ביום + infinitive construct—which appears fifteen times in Hebrew Numbers²⁸³—G frequently creates a RC with inclusion.

Syntactically, each of the Hebrew phrases can be analyzed in the same manner: the ביום phrase is a part of the MC, giving peripheral temporal information. The following infinitive construct functions as a genitive, but with a verbal idea: “the inf[initive construct] is *nomen rectum* of יום.”²⁸⁴ Thus, the Hebrew text example #27 could be woodenly rendered as “on the day of [their] anointing it.”

- 27 7:10 Καὶ προσήνεγκαν οἱ ἄρχοντες εἰς τὸν ἐγκαινισμὸν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐν τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἔχρισεν αὐτό
 NETS And the rulers offered for the dedication of the altar in the day on which
 he anointed it
 MT ויקריבו הנשאים את הנכת המזבח ביום המשח אתו
 NRSV The leaders also presented offerings for the dedication of the altar at the
 time when it was anointed

As can be seen in #27, G renders ביום as one might expect—the ב with ἐν + dative. G simply also adds the relative pronoun (ἣ) and translates the infinitive as a finite verb.²⁸⁵ The relative pronoun is probably only added to create a new clause and so make it grammatical to render the infinitive construct as finite verb. Additionally, G at times disregards the ב and translates ביום with a simple dative (#28).²⁸⁶

²⁸³ See Num 3:1, 13; 6:9, 12, 13; 7:1, 10, 84; 8:17; 9:15; 30:6, 8, 9, 13, 15.

²⁸⁴ J–M 402.

²⁸⁵ So also Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Wiedergabe einiger Hebräischer Zeitangaben Mit der Präposition ב in Der Septuaginta,” in *Studien Zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 107–15, here 111: “Zusammen mit einem Relativsatz, der einem hebräischen *inf[initive] c[onstruct]*, Substantiv bzw. finiten Verb entspricht.”

²⁸⁶ Cf. Soisalon-Soininen on the use of ἐν versus bare dative in his translational-technical analysis of this clause type: “Die Wiedergabe einiger Hebräischer Zeitangaben Mit der Präposition ב,” 110–11. In his treatment, he only mentions that both the order (ἐν) ἣ ἡμέρα and (ἐν) ἡμέρα ἣ occur, but offers no syntactical observations regarding the difference between the two.

- 28 9:15 Καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἣ ἑστάθη ἡ σκηνή, ἐκάλυψεν ἡ νεφέλη τὴν σκηνήν
NETS And on the day on which the tent was set up, the cloud covered the tent
MT ביום הקים את המשכן כסה הענן את המשכן
NRSV On the day the tabernacle was set up, the cloud covered the tabernacle

However, in other instances, the HN appears *within* the bounds of the RC. This happens both with ἐν (29) and without (30).

- 29 30:6 ἐὰν δὲ ἀνανεύων ἀνανεύσῃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς, ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα ἀκούσῃ πάσας τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῆς ... οὐ στήσονται
NETS But if her father in withholding consent withholds consent from her on the day when he hears of all her vows ... they shall not stand
MT 30:5 ואם הניא אביה אתה ביום שמעו כל נדריה ... לא יקום
NRSV But if her father expresses disapproval to her at the time that he hears of it, no vow of hers ... shall stand
- 30 3:1 Καὶ αὗται αἱ γενέσεις Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωυσῆ ἐν ἣ ἡμέρα ἐλάλησεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ ἐν ὄρει Σινά·
NETS And these are the generations of Aaron and Moyses in the day when the Lord spoke to Moyses in Mount Sina.
MT ואלה תולדת אהרן ומשה ביום דבר יהוה את משה בהר סיני
NRSV This is the lineage of Aaron and Moses at the time when the LORD spoke with Moses on Mount Sinai.

As can be seen in the examples given above, there is a difference between #27 and #28, on the one hand, and #29 and #30, on the other. In #27 and #28, the noun (ἡμέρα) is a part of the MC whereas the RC, as is usual, is begun by the relative pronoun after the HN.

However, in #29 and #30, the HN appears *after* the relative pronoun by inclusion. On this Greek expression, Mayser states,

Wird ein Nomen in den Relativsatz einbezogen, so erhält es den Kasus des Relativs, verliert aber den Artikel und tritt in der Regel nicht unmittelbar hinter das Pronomen (abgesehen von Zeitbegriffen wie ἡμέρα, μῆν, χρόνος, ὥρα). Der Gebrauch erstreckt sich auf alle Casus obliqui mit oder ohne Präposition; doch wird er keineswegs in allen Fällen durchgeführt.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ Mayser 2.3.98; translation: “If a noun is included in the RC, it [i.e., the noun] preserves the case of the relative but loses the article and is not usually found directly after the pronoun (apart from temporal concepts such as, ἡμέρα, μῆν, χρόνος, ὥρα). The use is found in each of the oblique cases with or without preposition; but is not applied in every instance.” For other uses, see e.g., P. Hal. 1, col. 2, l. 143: ἐν

In other words, in this construction, the normal position with words related to time—such as *ἡμέρα*—is as we find in Gk Num: relative pronoun followed immediately by HN.

Additionally, the relative pronoun takes the place, as it were, of the definite article (note that the definite article occurs in #27 and #28, but not in #29 and #30). Mayser gives numerous examples of this phenomenon in the Ptolemaic papyri.²⁸⁸ I will cite only a few relevant examples.

31 UPZ 1 20.10 (163 BCE, Memphis)

ἐτίθετο ἡ σύνταξις ὧν χρόνων [ἐλειτούργουν ἐν] τῷ ἱερῷ

The arrangement was put in place at the time when they were serving in the temple

Mayser's text reads “ἐτίθετο ἡ σύνταξις ὧν χρόνων (= τῶν χρόνων ὧν) [ἐλειτούργουν ἐν] τῷ ἱερῷ.”²⁸⁹

32 P.Rev. 33.10 (259/258 BCE, Arsinoite?)

οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς ἀπογραφάτωσαν [τοῖς] τῆν ὠνὴν πριαμένοις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας τὸ ἔκθεμα ποιήσωνται ἐν ἡμέραις ι.

Let the kingly scribes notify the tax-farmers within 10 days from whichever day the make the announcement.²⁹⁰

Regarding another example, Mayser explains that “ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου” is equal to “ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, ἀφ' οὗ.”²⁹¹ This applies as well to example #32 cited above; accordingly, ἀφ' ἧς is equal to ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς.

In Gk Num, the phrasing (ἐν) ἧ ἡμέρα only appears six times.²⁹² Otherwise, ἧ ἡμέρα appears 9x.²⁹³ Additionally, the dative with reference to time is the correct case

οἷς χρόνοις. See also BDF §294 (5); Culy, “A Typology of Relative Clauses,” 83–89, for examples in the NT.

²⁸⁸ See Mayser 2.3.98–99.

²⁸⁹ Mayser 2.3.98.

²⁹⁰ For this translation, I have received some help by consulting B. P. Grenfell, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 108–9.

²⁹¹ Mayser 2.3.100.

²⁹² Num 3:1, 13; 6:12; 7:10; 9:15; 30:15.

here, since, as Smyth states, “The dative without a preposition is commonly used to denote a definite point in time,”²⁹⁴ which these certainly are. Therefore, with respect to both the case and the appearance of a relative pronoun in the translation of ביום + infinitive construct, the syntactical strictures of Greek language provide the best explication of the (έν) ἧ ἡμέρα construction.

A second construction should be included under this discussion of inclusion.

There are fourteen occurrences of the phrase δν τρόπον in Gk Num.²⁹⁵ As in the above examples with words of time, the HN in this construction, τρόπος, also follows directly after the relative pronoun. In most instances, the phrase renders the Hebrew expression כאשר (#33), but twice it renders the simple אשר (4:49, 34:13)²⁹⁶ (#34).

- 33 14:28 εἶπὸν αὐτοῖς Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἧ μὴν δν τρόπον λελαλήκατε εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου, οὕτως ποιήσω ὑμῖν·
NETS Say to them, “I live,” says the Lord, “surely in the way you have spoken in my ears, so I will do to you.”
MT אמר אלהם חי אני נאם יהוה אם לא כאשר דברתם באזני כן אעשה לכם
NRSV Say to them, “As I live,” says the LORD, “I will do to you the very things I heard you say”
- 34 34:13 Αὕτη ἡ γῆ, ἣν κατακληρονομήσετε αὐτήν μετὰ κλήρου, δν τρόπον συνέταξεν κύριος δοῦναι αὐτήν ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει φυλῆς Μανασσή·
NETS This is the land that you shall obtain as a possession by lot, in the manner that the Lord instructed Moyses to give it to the nine tribes and to the half-tribe of Manasse.
MT זאת הארץ אשר תתנחלו אתה בגורל אשר צוה יהוה לתת לתשעת המטות וחצי המטה
NRSV This is the land that you shall inherit by lot, which the LORD has commanded to give to the nine tribes and to the half-tribe;

²⁹³ Num 6:9, 13; 7:1, 85; 8:17; 30:6, 8, 9, 13.

²⁹⁴ Smyth §1539. Additionally, he states, “The dative denotes the time *at which* an action takes place and the place of an event” (§1540).

²⁹⁵ Num 1:19; 3:16, 42, 51; 4:49; 14:17, 28; 15:14; 23:2; 26:4; 31:47; 32:27; 34:13; 36:10.

²⁹⁶ Huber also notes δν τρόπον for אשר in Lev 7:28 (MT 38) (*Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des Griechischen Leviticus*, 51).

In nine of these instances, the **כֹּאשֶׁר** introduces what YHWH commanded (צוה) Moses: 1:19; 3:16, 42, 51; 4:49; 26:4; 31:47; 34:13; 36:10. Additionally, in three others, YHWH's speaking (דבר) is introduced by **כֹּאשֶׁר** (14:17, 28; 32:27). In only one instance, **כֹּאשֶׁר** introduces the speech of someone other than YHWH, namely, Balaam (23:2).²⁹⁷ Thus, it stands to reason that, in Num 34:13, G encountered **אשר צוה יהוה לתת** and rendered the clause according to his pattern (*ὄν τρόπον συνέταξεν κύριος*). There is no other textual or versional evidence to suggest that G in fact read **כֹּאשֶׁר** here.²⁹⁸

In the final instance of this construction, the action of a proselyte is to be coordinated with that of the Israelites.

- 35 15:14 *ἐὰν δὲ προσήλυτος ἐν ὑμῖν προσγένηται ἐν τῇ γῆ ὑμῶν ἢ ὃς ἂν γένηται ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ ποιήσῃ κάρπωμα ὀσμῆς εὐωδίας κυρίῳ· ὄν τρόπον ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς, οὕτως ποιήσῃ ἢ συναγωγῇ κυρίῳ*
- NETS But if there is a guest among you in your land or one who is born among you in your generations and he makes an offering, an odor of fragrance to the Lord—in the manner you yourselves do, so the congregation shall do for the Lord.
- MT 15:14–15a *וכי יגור אתכם גר או אשר בתוכם לדתכם ועשה אשה ריח ניהח ליהוה כאשר תעשו בן יעשה הקהל*
- NRSV An alien who lives with you, or who takes up permanent residence among you, and wishes to offer an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the LORD, shall do as you do. As for the assembly ...

²⁹⁷ Of its occurrence in the rest of the Pentateuch, Anneli Aejmelaeus notes, “[ὄν τρόπον] is the most common rendering of **כֹּאשֶׁר** in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, the second after *καθά* in Numbers and after *καθάπερ* in Exodus” (“The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint,” 55). Also, she remarks: “Although so common in the Pentateuch, *ὄν τρόπον* is no trademark of Septuagintal Greek; it has been favoured by the translators of Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets, but is hardly used at all in other books, except for Ezekiel where it is fairly common in Section 1 (Ezek 1–25)” (*ibid.*, 55). Her purposes with treating *ὄν τρόπον* are translation-technical and she concludes that “the various renderings of **כֹּאשֶׁר** may be helpful in making distinctions between the translators” (*ibid.*, 55).

²⁹⁸ The Samaritan Pentateuch agrees in all important details here; Num 34:13 is in a lacuna in 4QNum^b. The Targumim and Peshitta all use **כ** or **ד**.

In the papyri, *ὄν τρόπον* is frequently found (##36–38),²⁹⁹ although it is also appears with *κατά* (#39).³⁰⁰ It is significant that it is not infrequent in the Greek papyri across various regions in the period BCE³⁰¹

36 Chr. Wilck. 50 (3rd cent. BCE, Arsinoite Nome?)

[ἔδο]ξέν [μο]ι [κα]ὶ περὶ τοῦ ὁράματος διασαφῆναί σοι, ὅπως εἰδῆις, ὄν τρόπον οἱ θεοὶ σε οἶδασιν.

It seems to me also to make clear to you [things] concerning the vision, so that you might know in that manner that the gods know you.

37 P.Lond. 7 2041 (3rd cent. BCE, Philadelphia)

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Μένων. οἶδας μὲν αὐτὸς ὄν τρόπον τὰ ἔργα λυσιτελῶς τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως συντελῶ σοι, πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι βελτίον προστῆναι.

To Zenōn, greetings. [From] Menōn. On the one hand, you yourself know in which manner I completed the works for you—cheaply and blamelessly—on the other, I am attempting even yet to present something better

38 PSI 4.375 (250/249 BCE, Philadelphia)

ἀνήγγελλεν δ' ἡμῖν καὶ Διόγνητος ὄν τρόπον ἐφιλοτιμήθης περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπολέσωμεν τὸ κερμάτιον.

But Diognētōs also reported to us the manner in which you have prided yourself upon us, so that we might not lose the bit of cash.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ In one place, I have found *τρόπον ὄν*: P. Cair. Zen. 1 59001 (273 BCE). It also appears in the NT 7x (see Culy, “A Typology of Relative Clauses,” 82).

³⁰⁰ In the papyri, *καθ' ὄντινον τρόπον* is also found: BGU 10.1958 (216/215 BCE, Tholthis); BGU 10.1959 (215/214 BCE, Tholthis); BGU 10 1964 (221–213 BCE, Tholthis); P. Frankf. 1 (214/213 BCE, Tholthis); P. Genova 3.100 (2nd cent. BCE, Arsinoite Nome); P. Grad. 10 (215/214 BCE, Tholthis); P. Koeln 6.258 (215 BCE, Arsinoite Nome), etc. Also, *καθ' ὅτινα ὄν τρόπον* appears in SB 6.9405 (exterior) (75 BCE, Ibiōn Eikosipentarouron). See LSJ, “*τρόπος*,” 3, for some other options.

³⁰¹ See BGU 6 1248 (148/147 BCE, Syene); Chr. Wilck. 50 (3rd cent. BCE, unknown provenance); P. Berl. Zil. 1 (156/155 BCE, Harakleopolis); P. Cair. Zen. 2 59221 (254 BCE, Philadelphia); P. Col. 3.6 (257 BCE, Philadelphia); P. Hib. 2.242 (246–205 BCE, Herakleopolite Nome); P. Koeln. 12.479 (145–140 BCE, Herakleopolite Nome); P. Lond. 7.2041 (3rd cent. BCE, Philadelphia); P. Mich. 1.57 (248 BCE, Philadelphia); P. Mil. Cong. XVII, p. 21 (142/141 BCE, Arsinoite Nome); P. Mil. Cong. XVII, p. 233 (129 BCE, Arsinoite Nome); P. Petr. 2.4 (260–246 BCE, Arsinoite Nome); P. Petr. 2.9 (ca. 240 BCE, Arsinoite Nome); PSI 4 375 (250/249 BCE, Philadelphia); PSI 5.531 (3rd cent. BCE, Philadelphia); P. Tarich. 3, fg. a (189 BCE, Arsinoite Nome); P. Tebt. 1.28 (114 BCE, Tebtynis); P. Tebt. 3.1.744 (245 BCE, Tebtynis); P. Tebt. 3.1.760 (215–214 BCE?, Tebtynis); P. Tebt. 3.2.913 (139 BCE, Tebtynis); SB 14.12075 (2nd cent. BCE, Tebtynis); SB 22.15545 (146 BCE, Theadelphia); UPZ 1.39 (161 BCE, Memphis).

Pace Aejmelaeus, “The Significance of Clause Connectors,” 44–57, here 55: “*ὄν τρόπον* in the comparative function is no doubt correct but not commonly used in Greek.”

³⁰² The previous context reads, “ἔγραψας ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐ δυνατόν εἶη κομίσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ σησάμου τὴν τιμὴν” (You have written to us that it may not be possible to recover from the bank the price of the sesame).

39 UPZ 1 40 (161 BCE, Memphis)

τοιαύτην παρακατεχομένης [sic., παρακατεχομένος] χρονοτριβεῖσθαι, ἀξιοῦμέν σε ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεφάλαιον ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, καθ' ὃν τρόπον σοι ὑποπίπτει, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶ[ν σ]ε παρενοχλῶμεν.

We ask you yet also now to dispatch a sum to those things according to us, according to the manner that it has been accrued to you, so that we might not cause you much annoyance concerning them.

As with ἡ ἡμέρα the HN has been pulled inside the RC by inclusion. Although Mayser only notes that words of time have the order of pronoun followed directly by the noun,³⁰³ the many occurrences of ὃν τρόπον confirm that it is true of this construction as well. On the level of clauses, ὃν τρόπον allows for a finite RC to be subordinated to the MC.³⁰⁴ Semantically, this can be equated to the manner in which the action of each clause—the RC and the MC—is completed, as in example #39 and frequently in Gk Num. Strictly speaking, the RC defines the manner and the action of the MC is coordinated with it. Additionally, it is important to note that the accusative phrase ὃν τρόπον does not fill a subject or an object argument position within the RC when it functions *adverbially*.³⁰⁵ Alternatively, as in ##36–38, ὃν τρόπον is the object of the MC with verbs of knowing or speaking.

In sum, it can be seen that, although inclusion is present in Gk Num, it is only in certain situations. Inclusion appears in idiomatic expressions that have been created by the addition of a single word to the otherwise isomorphic rendering, as is the case with both (ἐν) ἡ ἡμέρα or ὃν τρόπον. I have argued for one other instance of inclusion, made

³⁰³ Mayser 2.3.98.

³⁰⁴ κατὰ τρόπον, e.g., does not allow for a finite clause: τηρουμένα [sic.? τηρουμένων] γὰρ κατὰ τρόπον τὴν ἐν τῷ νομῷ διάθεσιν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν [εἰς]{δ'} ἐπίδοσιν ἄξεις καὶ τὰ διακλεπτόμενα ἐπισταθήσεται (P. Tebt. 3.1.703, lines 138–141 [3rd cent. BCE, Tebtynis]).

³⁰⁵ Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter*, 51: “Ein adverbialer Akk[usativ] findet sich allein in dem häufigen ὃν τρόπον [für] 𐤆𐤍𐤁𐤁.” This is particularly clear in Num 34:13, where G adds a pronominal direct object (αὐτήν) where one is not present in the MT; see example #34.

possible only by the coincidental similarity of the Hebrew parent text. Again, a translational norm of retaining the Hebrew word order limits G's abilities to compose in idiomatic Greek.

3.3.4. *Pied Piping*

When the coreferential element is the object of a preposition, Greek brings both the coreferential word (in the form of a relative pronoun) and its preposition to the front of the clause. This phenomenon is referred to as pied piping, alluding to the fairy tale of the Pied Piper.³⁰⁶ In English, one might say “the car *in which* I rode is red,” where *in* has been pulled to the front of the clause by the relativizer *which*. Incidentally, Greek does not allow for preposition stranding.³⁰⁷ There are three types of pied piping, which I will refer to as type 1, 2, and 3 for ease of reference. Each will be defined and for each, examples will be given in turn.

As for type 1 pied piping—the most simple—the relative pronoun is governed by a preposition and the resultant prepositional phrase is only a constituent in the argument structure of the RC (i.e., not the MC). It can appear with a HN (#40) or in headless constructions (#41).

40 O. Bodl. 1 44 (222 BCE, Diospolis Major)

Παχῶν κε πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Διὸς πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃι τρά(πεζαν) ἐφ' ἧς Ζώϊλος
Pachōn has fallen upon the great bank in Diospolis, over which is Zōilos

³⁰⁶ According to the legend, a piper wearing multi-colored clothing led a great number of children away from a German town never to return, probably alluding to a tragedy in which many children died by disease.

³⁰⁷ English allows for preposition stranding in RCs. When the correlative element serving as the object of a preposition is drawn to the front of the clause in the form of a relative pronoun —its natural position—the preposition that governed the correlative element can be stranded. For example, “The car that he rode *in* is red.”

- 41 BGU 6 1301 (2nd or 1st cent. BCE, unknown region)
 νυνὶ δὲ καλῶς π[ο]ιήσεις γράψ[ας μο]ι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας χ[α]! περὶ ὧν ἄν
 σοὶ ὑπ[ο]πίπτῃ
 But now, you would do well to write to me concerning your deliverance and
 concerning the things which might have befallen you.

In contrast, type 2 and type 3 pied piping are identical to each other in *form*, but differ in one detail. The common structure will be shown and then the distinguishing feature explained. Both types 2 and 3 pied piping appear in combination with attraction and so-called incorporation of the RC into the HN. Structurally, these are constructed just like the examples of inclusion above. A full treatment of this phenomenon in compositional Greek is not necessary here since it has been discussed extensively by Mayser.³⁰⁸ Only a few examples are needed to show the structure.

- 42 UPZ 1 58 verso (ca. 160 BCE, Memphis)
 τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλ[ίσσης] ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέδῶκαμεν αὐτοῖς ἐντεύξεως,
 προστεταχότων των τὰ καθήκοντα ἡμῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι καθ' ἣν ἐποίησαντό σοι
 ὑπογραφὴν
 Of the the king and queen from which petition we gave to them, [they] commanded
 to render to us the payments due according to the decision which they submitted to
you.
- 43 UPZ 1 42, l. 18 (162 BCE, Memphis)
 διὸ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς ἐπέμπομεν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους καὶ ὑμῖν, καθ' ἃς ἐποεῖσθ'
 ἐν Μέμφει παρουσίας ἐνεφανίζομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων.
 Therefore, we sent the things being appealed both to the managers and to you
 [=Ptolemy and Cleopatra], at the time of the appearance that was made in Memphis,
 we were clear concerning these things.
- 44 P. Tebt. 38 recto (113 BCE, Tebtynis)
 εὐρηκέναι τῆι ια τοῦ ... μ[ηνὸς Θραϊκά τινὰ παραπωλήσαντα ἔλαιον] ἐν ὧι
 καταγίνεται[ι] Πετεσοῦχος σκυτεὺς οἴκ[ωι]
 On the 11th of the month, he [=Apollodoros] found a certain Thracian selling oil in
the house in which Petesouchos (a leather cutter) lived.

As for the feature that distinguishes type 2 pied piping from type 3, it depends on whether the prepositional phrase belongs with the MC alone (type 2) or the MC and RC

³⁰⁸ See Mayser 2.3.99–100.

(type 3). Mayser expresses this in terms of whether the HN or relative pronoun serves as the object of the preposition: “Dabei ist in jedem Einzelfall zu entscheiden, ob die Präposition nur zum Beziehungswort oder sowohl zu diesem also zum Relativ gehört.”³⁰⁹ In examples ##42–43, the prepositional phrase belongs with the MC *only* and not the RC (type 2). In example #44, the prepositional phrase belongs to both clauses (type 3). In those of the type 2, the case of the relative pronoun is attracted to the case of *noun*, which is controlled by the preposition. In example #43, καθ’ ἧς ἐποεῖσθ’ ἐν Μέμφει παρουσίας could be expanded to καθ’ τὰς παρουσίας αἱ ἐποεῖσθ’ ἐν Μέμφει, or closer to the construction as a prenominal relative, καθ’ τὰς αἱ ἐποεῖσθ’ ἐν Μέμφει παρουσίας. Thus, this could be represented as τὰς αἱ > ἧς. In contrast, in type 3 pied piping, the case of both the relative pronoun and HN is controlled by the preposition. Consider that example #44 would have to be expanded as εὐρηκέναι ... ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐν ᾧ καταγίνεται or as ἐν τῷ ἐν ᾧ καταγίνεται Π. οἴκῳ. Accordingly, this construction can be represented as ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐν ᾧ > ἐν ᾧ οἴκῳ or, the more likely, ἐν τῷ ἐν ᾧ ... οἴκῳ > ἐν ᾧ οἴκῳ. This difference becomes significant in Gk Num.

The following table summarizes the three types of pied piping.

Table 1: Summary of Pied Piping Constructions in Koiné			
	Prepositional phrase belongs with	Included HNs?	Example³¹⁰
Type 1	RC only	No	γράφω περὶ ᾧ ἂν μοι ὑποπίπτῃ
Type 2	MC only	Yes	ἀποδίδωμι καθ’ ἣν ἐποίησαντο σοι ὑπογραφὴν
Type 3	RC and MC	Yes	εὐρίσω τινα ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ οἴκῳ

³⁰⁹ Mayser 2.3.99; translation: “It is important to decide in each instance whether the preposition belongs only with the antecedent or both the this as well as with the relative [pronoun].”

³¹⁰ These have been adapted from examples #41, #42, #44, respectively.

Before turning to Gk Num, it should be noted that pied piping is not a phenomenon one can ascribe to Hebrew.³¹¹ Nevertheless, pied piping in the simplest sense—type 1—is found 34 times in Gk Num with the following prepositions: *ἀντί* (1x), *εἵνεκεν* (2x), *εἰς* (9x), *ἐκ* (2x), *ἐν* (9x), *ἐπί* (8x), *διὰ* (1x), *περί* (1x), and *χώρας* (1x). In every instance, there is no—and indeed there can be no—corresponding element in the Hebrew text.

- 45 10:31 *καὶ εἶπεν Μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἦσθα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*
NETS And he said, “Do not leave us, on account of the fact that you were with us in the wilderness.”
MT ויאמר אל נא תעזב אתנו כי על כן ידעת חנתנו במדבר
NRSV He said, "Do not leave us, for you know where we should camp in the wilderness.”
- 46 35:33 *καὶ οὐ μὴ φονοκτονήσητε τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικεῖτε.*
NETS And you shall not kill by murder the land on which you live.
MT ולא תחניפו את הארץ אשר אתם בה
NRSV You shall not pollute the land in which you live;

Type 2 pied piping has been treated more fully in the preceding section on inclusion (*ἢ ἡμέρα* and *ὄν τρόπον*). In 21 instances, there is a possibility of type 2 pied piping: the HN is controlled by a preposition, but the RC remains independent (#47).³¹²

- 47 20:24 *οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν δέδωκα τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ*
NETS For you shall not enter into the land that I have given to the sons of Israel.
MT לא יבא אל הארץ אשר נתתי לבני ישראל
NRSV For he shall not enter the land that I have given to the Israelites

³¹¹ See Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 69–71, 96. When a preposition stands before *אשר*—such as happens in the phrase *כאשר* and *מאשר*—this is not, in fact, pied piping since the preposition prefixed to the *אשר* is part of the argument structure of the MC (ibid., 69). That is, the preposition is occurring in its natural position and has not been “pied piped.” Holmstedt finds that there are only four instances in which it has been suggested that the preposition prefixed to the relativizer actually belongs to the MC (and so could be called pied piped), but that these have alternative explanations (ibid., 96 n. 53).

³¹² See Gk Num 6:18; 8:4; 9:17; 10:29; 11:12; 13:25 (24 MT); 14:11, 16, 40; 15:2, 23; 18:15; 20:12; 22:36 2x; 28:23; 30:16; 31:35; 32:7, 9; 33:6, 7.

Idiomatically, using type 2 pied piping, Num 20:24 could be translated, *οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς ἣν δέδωκα τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ γῆν. Note, however, that this requires a significant reworking of the order of the Hebrew words. Since there is no instance of such a construction, a translational norm of fidelity to the order of the Hebrew words has made it prohibitively difficult for G to use this idiom, although his translation is not ungrammatical.

There are only two examples of type 3 pied piping, both translating ביום + infinitive construct with the phrase ἐν ἧ ἡμέρᾳ. Moreover, there are five instances in which both the HN and relative pronoun are controlled by the same preposition.³¹³ Again, G does not rearrange the structure of the Hebrew to create an idiomatic Greek expression.

- 48 13:28 καὶ διηγῆσαντο αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν Ἦλθομεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἀπέστειλας ἡμᾶς, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι
 NETS And they explained to him and said, “We came into the land into which you sent us, a land flowing with milk and honey.”
 MT 13:27 ויספרו לוֹ ויאמרו באנו אל הארץ אשר שלחתנו וגם זבת חלב ודבש הוא
 NRSV And they told him, “We came to the land to which you sent us; it flows with milk and honey”

Idiomatically (and economically), this could be translated *Ἦλθομεν εἰς ἣν ἀπέστειλας ἡμᾶς γῆν. Again, the fidelity to the Hebrew word order and representing each element explains why this idiom—which would require both omission and rearrangement—does not appear. However, G’s renderings are not ungrammatical, but neither are they idiomatic.

³¹³ See Gk Num 13:28 (27 MT); 14:24; 15:18; 33:55; 35:18. See also Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des Griechischen Leviticus*, 68 (a). When there is also a resumptive pronoun in the RC, see *ibid.*, 68–69 and my section §4.6 below. Note that Huber does not distinguish between the types of pied piping, but simply notes the construction attested in Greek Leviticus along with examples.

3.3.5. *Summation*

Although the most occurrences of $\delta\varsigma$ can be traced back to Greek language constraints, it is clear that the Hebrew *Vorlage* also affects them. First, attraction and inverse attraction both reflect idiomatic Greek. Second, the phrases $(\acute{\epsilon}\nu) \tilde{\eta} \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ for $\text{ביום} +$ infinitive construct and $\delta\acute{\nu} \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ (predominantly) for כשרא were shown to reflect known and well-attested idioms from the Ptolemaic papyri. However, inclusion is more-or-less prohibited by the translational norm of retaining the Hebrew word order. Third, pied piping—unattested in Hebrew—type 1 pied piping was also shown to match idiomatic Greek. And although type 3 pied piping does appear, adherence to the order of Hebrew words and the constraint to represent each Hebrew word disallows type 2 or 3 pied piping in places where it could be employed to create an idiomatic construction.

3.4. $\delta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$

After the simple relative pronoun, G selects $\delta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ as his next most favored relativizer: 48 times. According to Mayser, $\delta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ (among other words) introduces “Vergleichungssätze der Quantität, des Grades und Maßes.”³¹⁴ As a comparative clause, they can be *adjectival* or *adverbial*, but both clauses are introduced with the same forms.³¹⁵ It is helpful to distinguish carefully between these two constructions. Comparative *adjectival* clauses of quantity, degree, or measure compare a certain property of a noun. In English, one could say, “She drives a car as fast as the one he drives,” in a comparison of the two cars. Alternatively, *adverbial* comparative clauses

³¹⁴ Mayser 2.3.95; Smyth speaks of *quantity* and *degree* (§2468). Boyer states, “ $\delta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ is a *correlative* pronoun which adds the concept of quantity to the relative concept and can be translated ‘as much as,’ ‘how much,’ or ‘as great as’” (“Clauses in the Greek New Testament: A Statistical Study,” *Grace Theological Journal* 9.2 [1988]: 233–56, here 243).

³¹⁵ For a full treatment of comparison in Greek, see Smyth §2462–80.

compare the degree to which two actions are completed or two states exist. In English, one could say, “She drove her car as fast as he drove.” Clearly, the clause “as fast as” does not compare the car itself but the driving. ὅσος is difficult insofar as it introduces both types of clauses. These will be examined in turn and examples from papyri and Gk Num will be given.

3.4.1. ὅσος as a relative pronoun

When ὅσος introduces an adjectival clause, it functions as a relative pronoun. Mayser states, “Meist fehlt ein demonstratisches Korrelat [e.g., τοσοῦτος], so daß der Vergleichungssatz völlig den Charakter eines Relativsatzes annimmt und, was den Modus betrifft, wie ein Adjektivsatz behandelt wird.”³¹⁶ Therefore, ὅσος will agree with its HN in gender and number but its case will be controlled by the strictures of the RC. Additionally, it fills an argument position within the relative clause.³¹⁷ Semantically, the RC itself modifies a noun, as do RCs introduced by ὅς. In contradistinction to ὅς, the clause is *comparative*—it compares a quantity, degree, or measure of the noun being modified—instead of simply relating a quality of the HN.³¹⁸

49 P. Hib. 54 (ca. 245 BC.)

ἀπόστειλον δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τυρούς ὅσους ἂν δύνῃ καὶ κέραμον κενὸν καὶ λάχανα
π[αντο]δοπά.

Now send us also as many cheeses as you [Ptolemaeus] can, an empty jar,
vegetables of all sorts³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Mayser 2.3.95; translation: “Mostly, a demonstrative correlative is lacking, so that the comparative clause fully assumes the character of a relative clause and regarding mode, is treated as an adjectival clause.” Contra Smyth—although difference may be to corpora: “The principal [=MC] clause usually contains the corresponding demonstratives τοσοῦτω, τοσοῦτον (§2468).

³¹⁷ Note that Mayser treats ὅσος in the section under “Artikel und Pronomen in substantivischer Funktion” (2.2.56–80).

³¹⁸ Incidentally, comparison of quality of manner is introduced by ὡς *inter alia* (Smyth §2463).

³¹⁹ LCL, *Select Papyri*, 1.280.

Thus, the quantity of the cheeses to be sent is relative to Ptolemaeus’s ability. The gender (masculine) and number (plural) of ὄσους is determined by its HN, τυρούς. The case of ὄσους (accusative) is determined by its function in the RC: it is the direct object of the implied complement of δύνηι, probably ἀποστεῖλαι “to send.” This could be referred to as a RC of comparison.³²⁰

ὄσος can be used with both plural (#50) and singular HNs (#51). In order for ὄσος to refer to a singular HN, the word must be quantifiable in terms of quantity, degree, or measure (i.e., one can speak of measure of wine [#51]). Additionally, it can appear with marked conditionals, using ἄν + subjunctive (##50–51)³²¹ and those without (#52).

- 50 P. Hal. 1, lines 156–159 (3 century BCE, Apollonopolite Magna?)
 Τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ τεταγμένων ὅσοι ἂν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι πεπολιτογραφημένοι ἐγκαλῶσιν περὶ σιταρχιῶν καὶ σιτομετριῶν ...
 “Of persons enrolled in the army [as many as] have been admitted to the citizenship in Alexandria and bring complaints concerning salaries and corn allowances ...”³²²
- 51 P.Rev. col 34 (259 BCE, Arsinoite?)
 ὄσος δ’ ἂν ληφθῆι παρ’ αὐτῶν οἷν[ος εἰς τὸ βασι]λικὸν, ὑπολογισθήσεται ἡ τιμὴ εἰς τὰς [γινομένας ἀνα]φοράς.
 But however much wine is received from them into the royal stock, the price will be put to the accounts being credited.
- 52 P.Freib. 1.7 (251 BCE?, Fayum?)
 ἔγραψα ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἰππέ[ων] ὅσοις καταμεμέτρηται γῆ δυναμένη σπείρεσθαι
 I wrote to attend to [some] horses, for as many as land that is being able to be sown can be assigned.

Closely related to this, a form of πᾶς is commonly found with ὄσος, both as a substantive (#53) and as an adjectival modifier (#54). I have not found any occurrences with a singular form of πᾶς, with or without an accompanying noun, with ὄσος.

³²⁰ Smyth, who treats “classes of relative clauses,” omits this (§2553–61).

³²¹ See also Mayser 2.3.95.

³²² LCL, *Select Papyri*, 2.5.

- 53 P.Eleph. 1 l. 4–5 (311 BCE, Elephantine)
 παρεχέτω δὲ Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίαι ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ ἐλευθέραι πάντα³²³
 and Heraclides shall supply to Demetria all that is proper for a freeborn wife.³²³

Note that the HN, πάντα is the direct object of παρεχέτω and thus, the relative clause, ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ ἐλευθέραι, precedes the HN. This is an instance of inclusion and inverse attraction, as was also seen with ὅς.

- 54 BGU 6 1271 (180–145 BCE, Philadelphia?)
 τὰ δὲ βασιλικά πάντα ὅσα καθήκει ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης μετρείτω ...
 But all the kingly communications,³²⁴ as many as concern this land ...

Headless relative clauses using ὅσος are also found with some frequency. They can often be functionally equivalent to πᾶς (##55–56), although that is not the case in every occurrence.³²⁵

- 55 P.Dryton 1 4 = P.Grenf. 1 21 (126 BCE, Pathryis)³²⁶
 ἐὰν δέ τι ἀνθρώπινον πάθω, καταλείπω καὶ [δίδωμι τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι ἔγγαι]ά τε καὶ ἔπιπλ]α καὶ κτήνη καὶ ὅσα ἂν προσεπικτήσωμαι.
 but if I should suffer the lot of man, I bequeath and give my property in land and movable objects and cattle and whatever [=everything] else I may have acquired.³²⁷

Mayser cites the following example and comments, “Hier steht ὅσοι im Sinne von πάντες.”³²⁸

- 56 P. Tebt. 1.5, l. 214 (118 BCE, Tebtynis)
 ὅσοι δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες συγγραφόμενοι κατ’ Αἰγύπτια συναλλάγματα ὑπέχειν τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν.
 Now as for all the Greeks who compose contracts according to the Egyptian style, give an account before the judges.

³²³ LCL, *Select Papyri*, 1.3.

³²⁴ See LSJ, “βασιλικός,” II.3.f.

³²⁵ Mayser 2.3.95; 2.1.345. See also Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 152.

³²⁶ A copy is also found in P.Dryton 1 3 (126 BCE, Pathryis).

³²⁷ LCL, *Select Papyri*, 1.239

³²⁸ Mayser 2.1.345; translation: “Here ὅσοι appears in the sense of πάντες.” See also *ibid.*, 2.1.77.

For other examples, see P. Tebt. 104, l. 29–30 (92 BCE, Tebtynis); P. Hal. 1, l. 142 (3rd cent. BCE, Apollonopolite Magna?); P.Rev. col. 52, l. 25–26 (259 BCE, Arsinoite?).

In Gk Num, *ὅσος* clearly introduces adjectival clauses 42x.³²⁹ Although possible—as was shown above (example #51)—singular forms of *ὅσος* are not attested in Gk Num. In a number of instances, the HN is definite, but its quantity is compared to the relative clause.

- 57 4:14 *καὶ ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ σκεύη, ὅσοις λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς*³³⁰
NETS And they shall put on it all the implements with which they minister in the sanctuary
MT ונתנו עליו את כל כלי אשר ישרתו עליו בהם
NRSV and they shall put on it all the utensils of the altar, which are used for the service there
- 58 6:5 *πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ ξυρὸν οὐκ ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ· ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι, ὅσας ἠῦξατο κυρίῳ, ἅγιος ἔσται τρέφων κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς.*
NETS All the days of his vow of purification a razor shall not come upon his head until the days be fulfilled, as many as he vowed to the Lord; he shall be holy, letting the hair of his head grow into a mane.
MT כל ימי נדר נזרו תער לא יעבר על ראשו עד מלאת הימים אשר יזיר ליהוה קדש יהיה גדל פרע שער ראשו
NRSV All the days of their nazirite vow no razor shall come upon the head; until the time is completed for which they separate themselves to the LORD, they shall be holy; they shall let the locks of the head grow long.

These can be further subdivided: those without *πᾶς* and those that are headless. In nineteen instances, *πᾶς* appears as the HN of *ὅσος* (#59).³³¹ In each instance, the MT reads בל.

³²⁹ See Gk Num 1:50, 54; 2:34; 3:31; 4:9, 12, 14, 16, 26 2x; 5:9; 6:3, 4, 5; 14:15, 23, 29, 34; 16:26, 30, 33, 39; 18:9, 12, 13 2x, 24, 28; 19:14, 18; 22:2, 17; 23:12; 24:13; 28:3; 30:1, 3; 30:13, 17; 31:23; 32:31.

³³⁰ On this instance of *ἐν αὐτοῖς*, see ch. 4 (“Resumption in Greek Numbers”).

³³¹ See Gk Num 1:50, 54; 2:34; 4:9, 12, 14; 5:9; 6:4; 16:26, 30; 18:9, 13 2x, 28; 19:15; 30:1, 3, 13; 31:23. On 19:15, see in the section “Difficult Cases” below.

- 59 5:9 *καὶ πᾶσα ἀπαρχὴ κατὰ πάντα τὰ ἁγιαζόμενα ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ὅσα ἂν προσφέρωσιν κυρίῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ, αὐτῷ ἔσται.*
NETS And every first fruit with respect to all the sanctified things among the sons of Israel, whatever they offer to the Lord for the priest shall be his.
MT *וכל תרומה לכל קדשי בני ישראל אשר יקריבו לכהן לו יהיה*
NRSV Among all the sacred donations of the Israelites, every gift that they bring to the priest shall be his.

Additionally, it appears without *πᾶς* but with a simple plural as its head noun fourteen times (#60).³³²

- 60 16:39 *καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἐλεαζάρ υἱὸς Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως τὰ πυρεῖα τὰ χαλκᾶ, ὅσα προσήνεγκαν οἱ κατακεκαυμένοι*
NETS And Eleazar son of Aaron the priest took the bronze fire-pans, as many as those who had been burned up brought forward
MT 17:4 *ויקח אלעזר הכהן את מחתות הנחשת אשר הקריבו השרפים*
NRSV So Eleazar the priest took the bronze censers that had been presented by those who were burned

There are nine instances in which *ὅσος* is headless in Gk Num.³³³ In six of these, the RC in the MT is not headless but has *כל* as the HN in the Hebrew text (example #61); these are 4:16, 26 (2°), 6:3; 16:33; 19:14; 22:17. This leaves only three examples that are headless both in Hebrew and Greek (example #62); these are 23:12; 24:13; 32:31. Note that in each of these instances, the headless RC precedes the matrix clause in the Hebrew. Otherwise, headless RCs are rare in Hebrew.

- 61 4:25–26 *καὶ ἄρει τὰς δέρρεις τῆς σκηνῆς ... καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη τὰ λειτουργικὰ, καὶ ὅσα λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιήσουσιν.*
NETS and it shall carry the skins of the tent ... and all the ministry implements, and they shall handle as many as those with which they minister.
MT *ונשאו את יריעת כל כלי עבדתם ואת כל אשר יעשה להם ועבדו*
NRSV They shall carry the curtains of the tabernacle ... and all the equipment for their service; and they shall do all that needs to be done with regard to them

³³² See Gk Num 3:31; 4:26 (1°); 6:5; 14:15, 23, 29; 14:34; 16:39; 18:19, 24; 19:18; 22:2; 28:3; 30:17. On 18:19, see in the section “Difficult Cases” (§3.4.3) below.

³³³ See Gk Num 4:16, 26 (2°); 6:3; 16:33; 19:14; 22:17; 23:12; 24:13; 32:31.

It is of significance that G neglects the conjunction on וַיְבַרְכֵם and renders only ποιήσουσιν.

Thus, G has made ὅσα the direct object of ποιήσουσιν: “and they shall handle as many as those with which they minister” (NETS).³³⁴

- 62 23:12 καὶ εἶπεν Βαλαὰμ πρὸς Βαλάκ Οὐχὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐμβάλη ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα μου, τοῦτο φυλάξω λαλῆσαι;
NETS And Balaam said to Balak, “No, as much as God puts in my mouth, shall I beware of speaking it?”
MT ויען ויאמר הלא את אשר ישם יהוה בפי אתו אשמר לדבר
NRSV He answered, "Must I not take care to say what the LORD puts into my mouth?"

This omission of a rendering for כל in favor of a headless RC marked with ὅσα is quite similar to the examples seen in the papyri (examples ##55–56). In all likelihood, this evinces G’s spontaneous—and unintentional—use of an idiomatic rendering where ὅσος is equal to πᾶς.³³⁵

Since ὅσος itself does not necessitate a conditional RC, as can be seen in the abundant examples that do not have ἂν + subjunctive, extended treatment is outside the bounds of our present focus. However, it is worth mentioning that the comparative nature of ὅσος lends itself to conditional RCs and thus there is a prevalence of conditionals (42% or 16 out of 38), nearly twice as frequent as RCs marked with ὅς (19% have marked conditionality or 37 of 196). Nevertheless, the conditionality of the RC is determined by contextual factors other than the presence of ὅσος (i.e., the relationship of the action to time and likelihood of fulfillment³³⁶).

³³⁴ So also LBdA, “et ce qui est nécessaire à leur service, ils le feront.”

³³⁵ Again, see Mayser 2.1.345; see also *ibid.*, 2.1.77.

³³⁶ Boyer states, “The relative has no affect whatever on the mood. The mood in relative clauses is governed by the same principles as it would be in an independent clause, and conveys the same semantic significance” (“Relative Clauses in the Greek New Testament,” *Grace Theological Journal* 9 2 [1988]: 233–56, here 250). See Mayser’s extensive treatment of the RCs with the subjunctive mood (2.1.261–67); Smyth §2545–50.

3.4.2. ὅσα as an adverbial conjunction

There are a few keys to identifying adverbial constructions introduced by ὅσος. First, when ὅσος is an adverbial conjunction, only a few particular forms of its paradigm are applicable: “Vergleichende Adverbialsätze werden eingeleitet durch adverbiales ὅσον, ὅσα oder präpositionale Wendungen wie ἐφ’ [ὅσον], καθ’ ὅσον, ὀπόσον etc.”³³⁷ It should be noted that the dative form (ὅσῳ) is also functions this way.³³⁸ These forms are often coordinated with a form of τοσοῦτος in the MC (i.e., τοσοῦτῳ with ὅσῳ, τοσοῦτον with ὅσον, etc.).³³⁹ Second, since it functions as an adverb, it does not usually show agreement features with any logical HN. This can at times be difficult to ascertain if there are, for example, neuter singular or plural nouns that match the forms ὅσον or ὅσα. Third, when ὅσος is an adverbial conjunction—in contradistinction to when it serves as a relative pronoun introducing an RC—it occupy an adverb argument slot in the MC and RC and do not occupy subject, object, or other slots filled by substantives or pronouns.

Since ὅσος only appears in the neuter plural in Gk Num in this sense, examples of other adverbial constructions with ὅσος (e.g., in the dative case or controlled by prepositions) will not be given here.³⁴⁰ They can be either in the neuter singular (#63) and neuter plural (#64).

³³⁷ Mayser 2.3.95. See also LSJ, “ὅσος,” IV; Kühner–Gerth 2.2.496–9. Robertson (733) notes only that the use of ἐφ’ ὅσον and καθ’ ὅσον appear as adverbial conjunctions. BDF §106 notes that “the system of correlative adverbs is waning in Koiné”; thus, it is not surprising that the adverbial use is not treated in the New Testament grammars.

³³⁸ LSJ, “ὅσος,” V.

³³⁹ See Mayser 2.3.95–6; Kühner–Gerth 2.2.496–9. In Kühner–Gerth’s treatment, they spend most of their time treating the coordinated use of τοσοῦτον with ὅσον and do not directly mention the neuter plural ὅσα. However, their treatment also does range into the Koiné period, stopping with Attic usage (e.g., in Plato and Xenophon).

³⁴⁰ See examples in Mayser 2.3.95–6.

- 63 P. Cair. Zen. 3 59384 (3rd Cent. BCE Philadelphia)
 Τιμοθέωι μεντον (= μεντοι) δεδώκαμεν ἐν τῷ προσανγέλματι ὅσον³⁴¹ καὶ σοὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐπιστολῇι γεγράφαμεν
 Nevertheless, we have given [it] to Timotheos in this report, just as also we have
 written to you in this letter.
- 64 P. Cair. Zen. 59060 (257 BCE Alexandria)
 π[ερ]ὶ μὲν οὐ[ν τοῦ με] ἐπιστασθαι οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστ' ἂν εἰδέησαν, Πτολεμαίωι δὲ
 φαίνεται, ὅσα κατ' ἄ[νθρωπον] ...
 Now as for my being certain, the gods should know best, but it seems to Ptolemaeus,
 as far as a man can tell ...³⁴²

Notice that the phrase ὅσα κατ' ἄ[νθρωπον] modifies the verb φαίνεται. The degree to
 which “it seems” to Ptolemaeus is equal to the degree of human capability.

In Gk Num, clear adverbial examples are found six times.³⁴³ In the commentaries
 by Wevers, Dorival, and Rösler and Schlund, there is no mention of the possibility of
 analyzing ὅσα as a comparative adverb. At these points, Dorival employs a few different
 interpretive strategies, each of which is questionable (see below on the individual cases).
 Wevers seeks to understand the ὅσα in these instances “as a fossilized relative adjective
 used as a relative pronoun ‘whatever.’”³⁴⁴ Wevers himself cites no evidence for this and I
 have not found any in my investigations to this point.

- 65 30:10 καὶ εὐχὴ χήρας καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης, ὅσα ἂν εὔξηται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς
 αὐτῆς, μενοῦσιν αὐτῇ
 NETS And a vow of a widow and of one cast out, whatever things she vows
 against her soul, shall remain for her.
 MT 30:9 ונדר אלמנה וגרושה כל אשר אסרה על נפשה יקום עליה
 NRSV (But every vow of a widow or of a divorced woman, by which she has
 bound herself, shall be binding upon her.)

³⁴¹ The scribe originally wrote ὅσα, but then changed it to ὅσον. See Plate 1 in Appendix

C.
³⁴² LCL, *Select Papyri*, 1.269.

³⁴³ See Gk Num 10:32; 18:12, 21; 19:2; 25:18; 30:10.

³⁴⁴ Wevers, *NGTN*, 311.

Since the neuter accusative *ὅσα* clearly does not match the feminine *εὐχή*, it is unlikely that it could be the antecedent. The same applies to *χήρα* (widow) and *ἐκβεβλημένη* (the woman cast out). However, interpreting *ὅσα* as a comparative adverb makes good sense: “Insofar as she prays according to her soul, the prayer of a widow will remain with her.”³⁴⁵

- 66 18:21 *καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευὶ ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πᾶν ἐπιδέκατον ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν κλήρῳ ἀντὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν αὐτῶν, ὅσα αὐτοὶ λειτουργοῦσιν λειτουργίαν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου.*
NETS And to the sons of Leui, behold, I have given every tithe in Israel as an allotment for their ministries, as much as they minister in the ministry in the tent of witness.
MT ולבני לוי הנה נתתי כל מעשר בישראל לנחלה חלה עבדתם אשר הם עבדים את עבדת אהל מועד
NRSV To the Levites I have given every tithe in Israel for a possession in return for the service that they perform, the service in the tent of meeting.

The primary difficulty in #66 stems from the fact that there is no obvious antecedent for *ὅσα*, or *אשר* for that matter. The one choice neuter choice, *πᾶν ἐπιδέκατον*, is nonsensical as the HN of the RC.³⁴⁶ In the tradition, there is little variation: *ὅσος* is read in 426 54-75' 619 z 646^{Lat}Cod 100, presumably taking the feminine plural *λειτουργιῶν* as the antecedent.³⁴⁷ The paucity of variation suggests that this was not ungrammatical. It is correctly interpreted as an adverb: “to the sons of Levi, behold, I have given every tenth

³⁴⁵ Another possible analysis can be proposed: *ὅσα* could introduce a headless RC in apposition to *εὐχή*. As such, it would mean “as many things as she prays.” Thus, one could paraphrase, “the prayer of the widow and the castigated woman, as many things as she prays according to her soul, will remain with her.” Cp. NETS: “And a vow of a widow and of one cast out, whatever things she vows against her soul, shall remain for her.” This rendering, however, requires *ἅτινα* for “whatever” and so mistake *ὅσα*. See also Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 134–5, 426–7, on distinguishing between postnominal RCs (their usual function) and headless RCs in apposition vis-à-vis diachronic development in Classical Greek.

³⁴⁶ *Contra* Dorival, “le neutre pluriel *hósa* a pour antécédent « le dîmes » ; la traduction « tout ce que » [whatever] s’efforce de rendre compte de la valeur de généralité de *hósos*” (*Les Nombres*, 375).

³⁴⁷ Wevers seems to think that this is the antecedent of *ὅσα*: “These services are then explained by a *ὅσα* clause syntactically unconnected; it explicates the *λειτουργιῶν* by the descriptive “whatever they (i.e., the Levites) perform (as a) service in the tent of testimony” (*NGTN*, 305).

in Israel as an inheritance in place of their services, so far as they perform the service in the tent of testimony.”

- 67 19:2 Αὕτη ἡ διαστολὴ τοῦ νόμου, ὅσα συνέταξεν κύριος λέγων Λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ λαβέτωσαν πρὸς σὲ δάμαλιν πυρρὰν ἄμωμου, ἣτις οὐκ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ μῶμον καὶ ἣ οὐκ ἐπεβλήθη ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ζυγός.
- NETS This is the requirement of the law, inasmuch as the Lord instructed, saying: Speak to the sons of Israel, and let them take to you an unblemished red heifer, which does not have a blemish on it and which no yoke was upon.
- MT זאת חקת התורה אשר צוה יהוה לאמר דבר אל בני ישראל ויקחו אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום אשר לא עלה עליה על
- NETS This is a statute of the law that the LORD has commanded: Tell the Israelites to bring you a red heifer without defect, in which there is no blemish and on which no yoke has been laid.

Again, there is a problem here with agreement between *ὅσα* and either *διαστολή* (feminine singular) and *νόμου* (masculine singular). Dorival attempts to see the aspect as diverse points of the *διαστολή* in question: “La LXX emploie le relatif pluriel neutre *hósa*, qui en toute rigueur ne peut avoir comme antécédent *diastolē*, qui est un singulier féminin; l’antécédent est à suppléer: les divers points que contient la *diastolē* en question.”³⁴⁸

Wevers again reads “whatever” and understands it as a modification of *τοῦ νόμου*.³⁴⁹ In this adverbial sense, *ὅσα* can take on the meaning of *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ* (LSJ, “ὅσος,” IV.7.). In this way, it takes on a similar function to *καθά* for *באשר*.³⁵⁰ A translation might be: “This is the command³⁵¹ of the law as far as the Lord commanded.”

³⁴⁸ Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 379; translation: “The LXX uses the plural neuter relative *ὅσα*, which strictly speaking, cannot have *διαστολή* as its antecedent, which is a feminine singular; the antecedent is a substitute: the various aspects the *διαστολή* in question contains.” See also *ibid.*, 185.

³⁴⁹ Wevers, *NGTN*, 311.

³⁵⁰ See Gk Num 4:37; 8:20; 9:5; 15:23.

³⁵¹ LSJ defines *διαστολή* as “command, injunction, order” (“*διαστολή*,” 3).

- 68 25:18 ὅτι ἐχθραίνουσιν αὐτοὶ ὑμῖν ἐν δολιότητι, ὅσα δολιοῦσιν ὑμᾶς διὰ Φογῶρ
NETS For they are at enmity with you in deceitfulness, as much as they
deceived you on account of Phogor
MT כִּי צָרְרִים הֵם לָכֶם בְּנִכְלִיָּהֶם אֲשֶׁר נִכְלוּ לָכֶם עַל דְּבַר פְּעוֹר
NRSV for they have harassed you by the trickery with which they deceived you
in the affair of Peor

Neither Dorival nor Wevers make any comment regarding this instance of ὅσα. LXXD renders this well, “denn sie behandeln euch heimtückisch als Feinde, *insofern* sie euch wegen Phogor verraten” (emphasis added).³⁵² Compare this with NETS, “For they are at enmity with you in deceitfulness, *as much as* they deceived you on account of Phogor” (emphasis added). This compares the degree of enmity (a verb in Gk Num, ἐχθραίνω) with the degree of deceit (again, a verb, δουλιόω).

3.4.3. Difficult Cases

There are three instances remaining in which it is difficult to discern whether ὅσος is adverbial or adjectival: 18:12; 18:19; 19:15. Each is discussed in turn below. In terms of content, both 18:12 and 19 are quite similar, although I am arguing that ὅσα is adverbial in 18:12 and adjectival in 18:19.

- 69 18:12 πᾶσα ἀπαρχὴ ἐλαίου καὶ πᾶσα ἀπαρχὴ οἴνου καὶ σίτου, ἀπαρχὴ αὐτῶν, ὅσα ἂν δῶσιν κυρίῳ, σοὶ δέδωκα αὐτά.
NETS Every first fruit of oil and every first fruit of wine and of grain, their first fruit, as much as they may give to the Lord, to you I have given them.
MT כָּל חֶלֶב יִצְהָר וְכָל חֶלֶב תִּירוֹשׁ וְדָגַן רֵאשִׁיתָם אֲשֶׁר יִתְּנוּ לַיהוָה לְךָ נֹתְתִים
NRSV Every first fruit of oil and every first fruit of wine and of grain, their first fruit, as much as they may give to the Lord, to you I have given them.

There is incongruence in gender here: ἀπαρχή is feminine whereas ὅσα is neuter. Thus, ms 56 reads ὅσαν, no doubt intending to match ἀπαρχή αὐτῶν. Dorival apparently reads

³⁵² This is the only instance in which LXXD renders an adverbial form of ὅσα with an adverb. A simple RC is given without notation in the commentary.

this as the antecedent since he translates “toutes leurs prémices qu’ils donnent à Seigneur” (LBdA). NETS also seems to take it this way: “their first fruit, as much as they may give to the Lord.” However, if *πάσα ἀπαρχή κτλ.* is read as *anacolouthon*, which is resumed with *αὐτά*,³⁵³ then *ὅσα* could be read as an adverb introducing a comparative clause of measure. This would be translated, “as for their first fruit offering, in whatever measure they should give to the Lord, I have given these things to you.”

- 70 18:19 *πᾶν ἀφαίρεμα τῶν ἁγίων, ὅσα ἂν ἀφέλωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ κυρίῳ, σοὶ δέδωκα καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς σου καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν σου μετὰ σοῦ, νόμιμον αἰώνιον.*
- NETS Every advance deduction of the holy things, as many as the sons of Israel may deduct for the Lord, I have given to you and to your sons and to your daughters with you, as a perpetual precept.
- MT כל תרומת הקדשים אשר ירימו בני ישראל ליהוה נתתי לך ולבניך ולבנותיך אתך לחק עולם ברית מלח עולם
- NRSV All the holy offerings that the Israelites present to the LORD I have given to you, together with your sons and daughters, as a perpetual due; it is a covenant of salt forever before the LORD for you and your descendants as well.

At first blush, it seems that there is an incongruity between the singular *ἀφαίρεμα* and plural *ὅσα*.³⁵⁴ However, it is more likely that G has matched gender and number to *ἁγίων*—which is almost certainly neuter.³⁵⁵ Thus, G’s choice of the accusative case signals that it serves as the direct object of *ἀφαιρέω*.³⁵⁶ This is best translated, “Every tribute of holy things, as many as they might set aside for the Lord.” Wevers’s rendering,

³⁵³ As a separate issue, *αὐτά*—a plus—probably refers to *ἐλαίον, οἶνος, and σίτος*.

³⁵⁴ Note that the tradition did not seem to have any problem with it since there are no variants on the form *ὅσα* itself.

³⁵⁵ For support, in Gk Num 18:17, the substantival form *ἅγιος* is clearly neuter: *πλὴν πρωτότοκα μόσχων καὶ πρωτότοκα προβάτων καὶ πρωτότοκα αἰγῶν οὐ λυτρῶσθι· ἅγια ἐστίν* (“But firstborn of calves and firstborn of sheep and firstborn of goats you shall not redeem; they are holy,” NETS).

³⁵⁶ Cp. 1 Macc 15:5: *νῦν οὖν ἵστημί σοι πάντα τὰ ἀφαιρέματα, ἃ ἀφῆκάν σοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δόματα ἀφῆκάν σοι* (“Now then, I affirm for you all the tribute from which the kings before me exempted you and as many other payments as they exempted you,” NETS).

which correctly understands its adjectival nature, fails to take note of the comparative sense: “Every dedicatory gift of sacred things which the Israelites might dedicate.”³⁵⁷

- 71 19:15 καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος ἀνεωγμένον, ὅσα οὐχὶ δεσμὸν καταδέδεται ἐπ’ αὐτῶ, ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν.
NETS And every open vessel, as many as do not have a band tied on it, are unclean.
MT וכל כלי פתוח אשר אין צמיד עליו טמא הוא
NRSV And every open vessel with no cover fastened on it is unclean.

Dorival finds a disagreement in number, “Un relatif au pluriel neutre nominative-accusatif a pour antécédent un substantif neutre au singulier.”³⁵⁸ NETS, similarly, takes it as adjectival. Sollamo notes the incongruity of number and takes the plural ὅσα to arise via a *constructio ad sensum*, indicating that she also analyzes this as adjectival.³⁵⁹

Wevers, also, indicates that it is adjectival.³⁶⁰ What, then, explains the incongruence with the singular? Smyth notes, “[a] relative in the plural may follow a singular antecedent denoting a whole class.”³⁶¹ Although I have not found an example of a plural form of ὅσος in an adjectival sense with a singular antecedent in the papyri, this seems to be the best explanation.

3.4.4. Summation

Since ὅσος is quite distinct from any relativizer in Hebrew, one might expect that ὅσος is quite independent of Hebrew interference. Where G has selected ὅσος for אשר over against ὅς, it indicates that G has *added* a comparison of quantity, degree, or measure that cannot be present Hebrew. Since G constructs RCs with ὅσος in a similar

³⁵⁷ Wevers, *NGTN*, 304.

³⁵⁸ Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 185; translation: “a relative in the neuter plural nominative/accusative has for its antecedent a neuter substantive in the singular.”

³⁵⁹ Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Lev Num Deut,” 55. On Gk Num 19:15 as a whole, she states, “In constructing this sentence the translator was very unsuccessful” (*ibid.*)

³⁶⁰ Wevers, *NGTN*, 318: “What is meant then is vessels which are not securely sealed. Num [= G] follows a similar understanding.”

³⁶¹ Smyth §2502c. See also Mayser 2.3.25; 2.3.103.

manner to the papyri—even employing *ὅσα* adverbially in place of *אשר*—I conclude that the occurrences of *ὅσος* in Gk Num reflect idiomatic syntactical constraints. Noticeably absent are any constructions with prepositional phrases (e.g., ἐφ’ ὅσον) or coordinated with *τοσοῦτος*. Moreover, it was shown that G at times does not render כל in the collocation *אשר כל* (“all which etc.”), translating the phrase with *ὅσος* alone. This suggests that plural forms of *ὅσος* can have an inclusive sense without the addition of *πᾶς* (i.e., “all who etc.”), a Greek feature attested in the papyri. In these instances G (spontaneously) allowed Greek features to surpress his otherwise usual rendering of כל with a form of *πᾶς*.

3.5. ὅστις

The compound form *ὅστις* is formed by conjoining the relative pronoun *ὅς* and indefinite pronoun *τις* (“a certain person, someone”). In order to distinguish between *ὅς* and *ὅστις*, it is generally thought that *ὅς* appears with definite HNs and *ὅστις* with indefinite.³⁶² However, grammarians of Koiné frequently note that the distinction between forms *ὅς* and *ὅστις* are collapsing in the Koiné period.³⁶³ Mayser states, “Zwischen dem individuell bestimmenden Relativpronomen *ὅς*, *ὅσος*, *οὗ* etc. und dem

³⁶² Smyth §2508; LSJ, “ὅστις.” However, for a compelling critique, see Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 98–108. She summarizes, “With very few exceptions, *ὅστις* is only usable when the antecedent (if any) plus relative clause pick out something whose identity is not precisely known to the speaker, but *ὅστις* does not itself convey the item’s uncertain identity.... If we consider a relative clause to denote a set or (for inherently maximalizing relative clauses) everything in a set, what *ὅστις* does is to insist a bit of extra diligence in considering potential members of the relevant set” (ibid., 107). It must be kept in mind that her corpus is strictly limited to Classical Greek (up to 550 BCE), so her comments may not be entirely applicable to the Koiné period.

³⁶³ E.g., BDF §293: “The definite relative *ὅς* and the indefinite relative *ὅστις* are no longer clearly distinguished in the NT”; see also Robertson 726–8; Karl Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik* (3rd ed.; Munnich: C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900), 558–9; LSJ, “ὅστις,” II. Pace Probert, who assesses Classical Greek: “Although *ὅστις* and *ὅς* do not simply mean the same things, the choice is not always highly significant” (*Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 108).

unbestimmt verallgemeinernden ὅστις, ὁπόσος, ὅπου etc. wird nicht mehr klar geschieden.”³⁶⁴ Moreover, ὅστις outside of the nominative case is growing less frequent in the last centuries BCE.³⁶⁵ Apart from a stock phrase ἕως ὅτου,³⁶⁶ there are only fragmentary occurrences of ὅστις in oblique cases in papyri from the period BCE.³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, although the nominative form of all genders and numbers is dominant, Apollonius of Rhodes and Callimachus—both 3rd century BCE writers in and around Egypt—have a number of instances of ὅστις in oblique cases.³⁶⁸ Thus, there is some difficulty in discerning when and why ὅστις appears and not ὅς, a task that is not wholly possible since both occur when the other is allowed.³⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the *collapsing* distinction between ὅς and ὅστις does not mean it is wholly *collapsed* and there does remain some measure of distinction in many uses.³⁷⁰ A few criteria are given here. Smyth notes, “[W]hen [the HN is] indefinite, the compound

³⁶⁴ Mayser 2.1.76; translation: “Between the individually determined relative pronouns ὅς, ὁσος, οὗ etc. and the undetermined generalizing pronouns ὅστις, ὁπόσος, ὅπου etc. there is not longer a clear distinction.”

³⁶⁵ Robertson 291; Moulton and Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament in Greek*, 91.

³⁶⁶ See Mayser 2.3.77, 79.

³⁶⁷ E.g., καθ’ ὅτινα οὖν τρόπον appears in SB 6.9405 (exterior) (75 BCE, Ibiou Eikosipentarouron).

³⁶⁸ Apollonius of Rhodes (3rd cent. BCE, Alexandria?): ὅτω (*Argon.* 1.466; 2.412; 4.258); ὅτινα (*Argon.* 2.875); ὄντινα (*Argon.* 1.6; 2.781; 3.795; 4.746, 1053); ἦντινα (*Argon.* 2.799; 3.475, 949; 4.1660). Callimachus (ca. 310–240 BCE, Cyrene): ᾗτινι (*Carmina Epica et Elegiaca Minora* f. 384.56); ὅττι (*Aet.* f. 1.23; f. 186.1; *Hymn. Dian.* 24, 144; *Hymn. Del.* 319); ὄντινα (*Aet.* f. 85.14; *Iambi* f. 192.16); ἦντινα (*Hymn. Dian.* 18, 19; *Hymn. Del.* 159). Among these writers, as well as in Euclid (ca. 325–250 BCE, Alexandria), the nominative form is found most frequently. For point of comparison, Xenophon (ca. 430–354 BCE, Athens), who is a bit removed geographically and temporally, attests many forms of ὅστις: ᾗτινι (*Anab.* 2.5.32); οὗτινος (*Anab.* 1.4.15); οὗστινας (*Hell.* 1.4.15); οἷστισιν (*Cry.* 3.2); ὅτω (*Hell.* 1.7.7, 9, 10); ὅτου (*Mem.* 1.4.4; 2.2.5); ὄντινα (*Hell.* 2.3.22; *Oec.* 6.15).

³⁶⁹ See Karl W. Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen* (Leipzig: R. W. Krüger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1861), 138: “Leicht erkennbar ist die angegebene Bedeutung des ὅστις auch in den Fällen, wo es sich auf ein Demonstrativ, ja selbst, wo es sich auch einen individuellen Begriff bezieht” and, conversely, “kann ὅς eintreten, wo auch ὅστις zulässig wäre, z.B. in Verbindung mit ἄν und dem Konjunktiv.”

³⁷⁰ So Moulton and Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament in Greek*, 92: “The large number of places in which ὅστις is obviously right, according to classical use, may fairly stand as proof that the distinction is not yet dead.”

relatives (*ὅστις, ὁποῖος, ὁπόσος*, etc.) are used, but the simple relatives are often employed instead. When the antecedent is indefinite, *ὅς* usually has the subjunctive with *ἄν* or the optative; while *ὅστις* is preferred to *ὅς* if the verb is indicative.³⁷¹ However, “the subjunctive with *ἄν* is also used when the reference is to future time or to general present time.”³⁷² Thus, he makes two assertions: (1) *ὅστις* is preferred with indefinite HNs; (2a) *ὅστις* + indicative is common in general conditions but also (2b) subjunctive if the reference is future or general time. Smyth also states, “*ὅς* is often used instead of *ὅστις* (or *οἷος*) especially with *ἄν* or *μή*” (§2493.b.), which happens in Gk Num seven times.³⁷³ Additionally, LSJ notes that *ὅστις* refers “to a definite object prop[erly] only when a general notion is implied.”³⁷⁴

Finally, there may be one more possible criterion. Mayser states, “Bei *ὅστις* und *ὅς* mag in manchen Fällen die Rücksicht auf den Hiatus mitgewirkt haben.”³⁷⁵ In other words, Greek would avoid placing a vowel back to back by using *ἥτις* rather than *ἥ* (the feminine relative pronoun).³⁷⁶ Moulton notes a similar feature: an older proposal, based

³⁷¹ Smyth §2508. See also §2569, “The present indicative instead of the subjunctive with *ἄν* occurs in general conditional relative clauses. This occurs chiefly after *ὅστις*, which is sufficiently general in meaning”; and §2570: “The indicative is generally used in parenthetical [i.e., non-restrictive] or appended relative clauses with *ὅστις*.”

³⁷² Smyth §2570.a. He cites Aeschines, *Tim.* 127: *ἀλλ’ ὁ προσαιψάμενος αὐτῶν καὶ παρατυχῶν, ὅστις ἄν ᾖ, κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης λόγον παρέχει* (“the man who happens to have become connected with them, whoever he may be, gives them a name according to the greatness of his own reputation,” from *Aeschines with an English Translation by Charles Darwin Adams* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919]).

³⁷³ See Gk Num 5:10, 30; 6:2; 17:5; 19:16, 20; 30:3; cp. 16:7.

³⁷⁴ LSJ, “*ὅστις*,” II.

³⁷⁵ Mayser 2.3.57; translation: “in the case of *ὅστις* and *ὅς*, concern for (or attention to) the hiatus may have played a contributing role in many instances.”

³⁷⁶ Mayser (2.3.57) cites the following example among others: UPZ 8i col 5.4 *κατανωῆσαι θυγατέρα, ἥτις ἦν καλλίστη*.

on Polybius, is that ὅστις was used “for ὅς before words beginning with a vowel.”³⁷⁷

Apart from the feminine nominative forms (ἥτις for ἧ), this is only relevant for oblique forms (e.g., οὔτινος for οὔ). The following example is one of a few cited in Mayser.³⁷⁸

72 P. Oxy. 1.110 (1st cent. CE, Oxyrhynchus)

ἔρωτᾷ σε Χαιρήμων δειπνήσαι εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ αὔριον, ἥτις ἐστὶν ιε, ἀπὸ ὥρας θ.

Xairēmōn desires eagerly for you to eat at the banquet of the lord, Sarapis, in the Temple of Sarapis tomorrow, which is the 15th, from the 9th hour.

In sum, there are five criteria that may help distinguish when ὅστις is idiomatic over against ὅς:

1. Generally, ὅστις is used with indefinite HNs (Smyth, LSJ).
2. In general conditions, ὅστις with the indicative is common (Smyth).
3. In general conditions, ὅστις with the subjunctive + ἄν is used for future time and general present conditions (Smyth).
4. With definite HNs, ὅστις creates a general sense (LSJ)
5. ὅστις or ἥτις may be used to avoid having vowel-initial words follow vowel-final forms of ὅς (Mayser, Kaelker via Moulton).

3.5.1. ὅστις in the papyri

According to the position expressed above (§3.5), ὅστις is indeed correct in the papyri at times. In ##73–74, ὅστις refers to an indefinite HN and the following RC contains an indicative verb. In #75, ὅστις refers to an indefinite HN and the RC itself contains a subjunctive + ἔάν, indicating a general future condition.

³⁷⁷ Moulton and Turner, *A Grammar of the New Testament in Greek*, 92. See F. Kaelker, *Quaestiones de elocutione Polybiana*. At this point, I have not been able to find a copy of Kaelker. Smyth (§1105) also notes that “the tragic poets use only the forms in τ-, and chiefly to avoid hiatus” and cites the example from Euripedes (*Andocides* 810) κτείνουσα τοὺς οὐ χρῆ κτανεῖν. This comment pertains particularly to the Classical period when ὅς, ἧ, ὅ [= the relative pronoun in Koiné] and ὁ, ἡ, τό [= the definite article in Koiné] were both used as relatives. Accordingly, τοὺς in the example above derives from the ὁ, ἡ, τό paradigm, whereas οὓς from the ὅς, ἧ, ὅ would create hiatus. This at least suggests that writers were conscious of hiatus and would select an alternative relativizer to avoid it.

³⁷⁸ See also UPZ 81 col. 5.4. He also notes that this is perhaps an (intentional?) imitation of the Ionic dialect (Mayser 2.3.57).

- 73 P. Cair. Zen. 1.59107 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
 εἰ μὲν οὖν δύνασαι τῶν ἐγ [=έν] Κερκῆι τισὶν δοῦναι, οἵτινες ἐργῶνται καὶ
 δια[θ]ρέψουσι τοὺς ν[αύ]τ[α]ς
 If, on the one hand, you are able to give to some people of those in Kerkē, whoever
 might work and [?] the sailors
- 74 P. Hib. 2 198, recto col. 5 (242–222 BCE, unknown provenance)
 συναποστελλέτω ὁ ἀρχιφυλακ[ίτης φυλακῆν] ἱκανὴν οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν ...
 And let the warden send with a sufficient guard, whomever will guard ...

The nominative plural is an *ad sensum* rendering for φυλακή (i.e., a garrison of soldiers).

- 75 PSI 10.1098 (51 BCE, Tebtynis)
 ἡ μίσθωσις ἥδε [= ἡ δὲ] εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτο[ς], ἐκφορίου [τοῦ] παντὸς
 πυρῶν ἀρτάβας εἰκουσιεπτὰ ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀκινδύνον παν[τὸς] κινδύνου καὶ
 ἀνυπολόγον πάσης φθορᾶς πλὴν ἀβρόχου ἢ καταβρόχου, ἥτις ἐὰν [γέ]νηται ἐν τῇ γῆι
 ταύτῃ ἕως Ἀθὺρ τριακάδος, τῆς δὲ γενομένης ὑπόλογο[ς] ἔ[σ]τωι ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων
 ἐκφορίων κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀροχίας [=ἀβροχίας] ἕκαστον.
 Let the payment for one year be for the second year [also], the whole payment of the
 wheat is 27 artaba apart from those guaranteed from risk and not subject to any
 deduction except for that of drought and flood—whichever might be in this land by
 the thirteenth of Athur—when it is liable from the aforementioned payments
 according to the each matter of the drought.

ἥτις refers to the deduction (φθορά), either a φθορὰ ἀβρόχου (drought) or φθορὰ

καταβρόχου (flood). Thus, the HN is clearly not definite. Additionally, ἐὰν (in place of

ἂν) plus subjunctive is expected for a future, according to criterion #3.

3.5.2. ὄστις in Greek Numbers

Forms of ὄστις occur only thirteen times in Gk Num. It is worth noting that all of these are in the nominative.³⁷⁹ Of these eleven appear with indefinite HNs: 5:6, 14:8; 15:30; 19:2; 24:4; 27:27 (4x); 31:17, 18. Moreover, ten appear with indicative verbs

³⁷⁹ Robertson (291) states, “The N.T. follows the papyri and inscriptions in using only the nominative ὄστις save the neuter accusative ὄ τι.” He is, however, wrong that the papyri use only the nominative; see e.g., ὄτινι in O.Claud. 1 170 (ca. 100 CE); οὗτινος in P.Oxy. 41 2983 (2nd–3rd cent. CE). To his credit, they are quite rare vis-à-vis nominative forms.

(##76–77)³⁸⁰ and only once with a subjunctive in a general future sense (#78). Both of these types seem to match up well with Smyth’s explication given above.

- 76 27:16–
17 Ἐπισκεψάσθω κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς ταύτης, ὅστις ἐξελεύσεται πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ ὅστις εἰσελεύσεται πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅστις ἐξάξει αὐτούς καὶ ὅστις εἰσάξει αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγή κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμὴν.
- NETS Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, consider a person over this congregation, who shall go out before them and who shall come in before them and who shall bring them in, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be like sheep who have no shepherd.
- MT יפקד יהוה אלהי הרוחת לכל בשר איש על העדה אשר יצא לפניהם ואשר יבא לפניהם ואשר יוציאם ואשר יביאם ולא תהיה עדת יהוה כצאן אשר אין להם רעה
- NRSV Let the LORD, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint someone over the congregation who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in, so that the congregation of the LORD may not be like sheep without a shepherd.
- 77 24:4 φησὶν ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ, ὅστις ὄρασιν θεοῦ εἶδεν,
- NETS Says one who hears divine oracles, who saw a divine vision
- MT נאם שמע אמרי אל אשר מחזה שדי יחזה
- NRSV the oracle of one who hears the words of God, who sees the vision of the Almighty
- 78 5:6 Δάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων Ἄνηρ ἢ γυνή, ὅστις ἂν ποιήσῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ παριδῶν παρίδη, καὶ πλημμελήσῃ ἢ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη
- NETS Speak to the sons of Israel, saying: Man or woman, if anyone commits one of the human sins and disregarding disregards and that individual commits an offense.
- MT דבר אל בני ישראל איש או אשה כי יעשו מכל חטאת האדם למעל מעל ביהוה ואשמה הנפש ההוא
- NRSV Speak to the Israelites: When a man or a woman wrongs another, breaking faith with the LORD, that person incurs guilt

In two places, however, ὅστις refers to a definite HN: 1:5 and 14:14.

³⁸⁰ See 15:30 and 27:7 (4x) use future verbs (=5x). In 24:24, 31:17, 18, aorist indicatives are used (=3x). In 14:8 and 19:2, a present copula is used (=2x).

- 79 1:5³⁸¹ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες παραστήσονται μεθ' ὑμῶν.
NETS And these are the names of the men who shall be present with you
MT ואלה שמות האנשים אשר יעמדו אתכם
NRSV These are the names of the men who shall assist you
- 80 14:14 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης ἀκηκόασιν ὅτι σὺ εἶ
κύριος ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ὅστις ὀφθαλμοῖς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτάζει, κύριε,
καὶ ἡ νεφέλη σου ἐφέστηκεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν,
NETS But also, all those who dwell upon this land have heard that you are Lord
among this people—you who are seen with eyes by eyes, O Lord, and
your cloud has stood over them
MT ואמרו אל יושב הארץ הזאת שמעו כי אתה יהוה בקרב העם הזה אשר עין בעין
נראה אתה יהוה וענגך עמד עליהם
NRSV and they will tell the inhabitants of this land. They have heard that you, O
LORD, are in the midst of this people; for you, O LORD, are seen face to
face, and your cloud stands over them

In neither instance does the avoidance of hiatus (criterion #5) explain the selection of ὅστις. In #3, it would read οἱ παραστήσονται and in #4, ὅς ὀφθαλμοῖς. Additionally, there are not a few instances in which G allows the final vowel of a form of ὅς (e.g., οἷ or ἦ) to appear before a word starting with a vowel and does not change the form.³⁸² In both examples, the situation is rooted in a particular historical circumstance (i.e., a particular group of men [1:5] and a particular group of people [14:14]), so it is unlikely that either instance of ὅστις could imply general condition. It seems best to conclude that these are examples of contexts in which ὅστις has been improperly selected over against ὅς.³⁸³

Not only are there occurrences in Gk Num where ὅστις reflects ὅς, but ὅς also appears at a few points where one might expect ὅστις. For instance, ὅς appears with an

³⁸¹ Cp. 13:17 (ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὗς ἀπέστειλεν Μωυσῆς κατασκέψασθαι τὴν γῆν) and 34:17 (Ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ κληρονομήσουσιν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν).

³⁸² See Gk Num 9:6; 22:36; 25:59, 63; 31:12. This list is not complete but sufficient to demonstrate the point.

³⁸³ Cp. Gk Num 1:5 and 13:17 (MT 16).

indefinite HN and an indicative eight times.³⁸⁴ Moreover, in one of these, 19:2, ὅστις and ὅς both refer to the same HN in successive clauses!

- 81 19:2 καὶ λαβέτωσαν πρὸς σὲ δάμαλιν πυρρὰν ἄμωμου, ἣτις οὐκ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ μῶμον καὶ ἣ οὐκ ἐπεβλήθη ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ζυγός
NETS and let them take to you an unblemished red heifer, which does not have a blemish on it and which no yoke was put upon³⁸⁵
MT ויקחו אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום אשר לא עלה עליה על
NRSV to bring you a red heifer without defect, in which there is no blemish and on which no yoke has been laid.

3.5.3. Summation

Although a hard and fast distinction *cannot* (and should not) be drawn between ὅς and ὅστις, Gk Num more often than not reflects a fading distinction between them, in view of the fact that ὅστις does frequently appear in proper usage with indefinite HNs. Nevertheless, there is indication in two instances of ὅστις and eight of ὅς that the other “should” have been selected. In this light, it could be said that Gk Num reflects the current idiom in which ὅστις and ὅς are becoming, but have not yet totally become, interchangeable.

3.6. The definite article rendering אשר

This section, unlike the previous three, does not treat every instance of a certain construction in Greek or Hebrew Numbers, but rather treats only the instances where the MT contains a RC that is rendered with an adjectival phrase in Gk Num. More specifically, this section is concerned with attributive adjectival phrases serving as translational equivalents of Hebrew RCs. In 23 instances, the Hebrew relative complementizer אשר is translated with a Greek definite article (ὁ, ἡ, τό). On the Hebrew

³⁸⁴ See Gk Num 19:2, 22; 20:5; 21:20; 24:6; 35:17, 18, 23.

³⁸⁵ NETS does not render the resumptive pronoun, ἐπ’ αὐτῇ. To convey the unidiomatic nature of the Greek here, one could render, “and *to which* no yoke was put *upon it*.”

side, these 23 occurrences can be broken down into three clause types in which the RC includes (1) a prepositional phrase (e.g., *אשר לו*) or an adverb (e.g., *אשר שם*), (2) a verbal clause (e.g., *אשר קטלת אתו*), or (3) a nominal clause (e.g., *איש אשר קטון*). In Greek, there are only two clause types. In the first, the definite article (corresponding to the Hebrew relativizer) introduces a phrase that is comprised of a prepositional phrase alone (i.e., there is no accompanying participle). In the second, a *participial* adjective phrase follows the definite article. This is frequently a participial form of *εἰμί* + prepositional phrase, but it can also be a simple participle phrase (i.e., without a prepositional phrase).

In Koiné Greek, the definite article is frequently nominalizes phrases so that they become adjectival phrases modifying substantives.³⁸⁶ The key distinction between these and relative clauses is that a nominalized *phrase* is not a clause and therefore cannot take a finite verb.³⁸⁷ If there is a verbal action within the phrase, it is denoted by a participle. Additionally, the definite article itself does not occupy an argument slot within the phrase, as the relative pronoun does within the relative phrase. Rather, the definite article is a function word—in linguistic terms, a nominalizer.

Syntactically, there are a few positions that the definite article can occupy relative to the noun and adjectival phrase: “A word or group of words standing between the

³⁸⁶ Smyth §1154–6. Significantly, *ὁ, ἡ, τό* was not originally a definite article, but both a demonstrative and relative. Probert finds that in “Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Attic tragedy, and Herodotus, *ὁ, ἡ, τό* competes with *ὁς, ἣ, ὅ*” (*Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 121). Smyth only notes that the definite article is used as a relative pronoun in Homer, but only with a definite HN (§1105). Additionally, “the tragic poets use only the forms in *τ-*, and chiefly to avoid hiatus” (Smyth §1105). It is fairly certain that *ὁ ἡ τό* originated as a demonstrative pronoun in Greek: “Nous commençons par l’examen du pronom *ὁ ἡ τό*, parce que son origine demonstrative est absolument certaine” (Charles Baron, *Le Pronom Relatif et la conjonction en grec*, 25; see also Smyth §1099–100). Probert finds that “It is generally agreed that the relative use of *ὁ, ἡ, τό* developed within Greek itself [i.e., rather than a proto-Indo-European language]” (*Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 121; see also her illuminating discussion on *ibid.*, 120–22). See also Kühner–Gerth 2.1.575–90. However, there is evidence that *ὁ, ἡ, τό* was also used as a definite article in the classical period (Probert, *Early Greek Relative Clauses*, 120–21; Smyth §1100).

³⁸⁷ This can still be considered “relativized,” as Kirk does (“Word Order and Information Structure in New Testament Greek,” 181–2). They simply cannot be treated as *clauses*.

article and its noun or immediately after the article if the noun, with or without the article, precedes, is *attributive*.³⁸⁸ Smyth adds, “Adjectives, participles, adverbs, and (generally) prepositions with their phrases if preceded by the article, have *attributive position*.”³⁸⁹ Prepositional phrases can also be non-articular.³⁹⁰ The following examples illustrate the four possible constructions (Types 1–4) with an adjective, participle, and prepositional phrase in respective columns.

	Adjective	Participle	Preposition
Type 1	ὁ καλὸς ἀνὴρ	ὁ λέγων ἀνὴρ	ὁ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀνὴρ
Type 2	ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ καλός	ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ λέγων	ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ
Type 3	ἀνὴρ ὁ καλός	ἀνὴρ ὁ λέγων	ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ
Type 4	(ὁ) ἀνὴρ καλός	(ὁ) ἀνὴρ λέγων	(ὁ) ἀνὴρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ

Note that when the article appears only with the adjective (e.g., ἀνὴρ ὁ καλός), it can also carry a predicative value.³⁹¹ This is the least frequent of all three types³⁹² and is not found in Gk Num.

3.6.1. Definite Article with Prepositional Phrase

Mayser offers a thorough examination of the many various prepositions and their cases.³⁹³ In the Ptolemaic papyri, each of the four structural types occurs in varying frequency with prepositions. Examples of only the two most common structures are given below—type 1 (#82) and type 2 (#83).

³⁸⁸ Smyth §1154; emphasis original. See also Mayser 2.2.52–55.

³⁸⁹ Smyth §1156; emphasis original. See also Mayser 2.2.52–59. With prepositions, see also Mayser 2.2.152. On the pragmatic usage of the various types, see Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 82–88.

³⁹⁰ Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 215–6, 19.

³⁹¹ See Smyth §1168 and §1154. Stéfanie Bakker argues that this pattern occurs when the adjective phrase is *more salient* than the noun phrase (*The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 86–87).

³⁹² Smyth §1159.

³⁹³ Mayser 2.2.152–68, esp. 162–8.

82 P. Tebt. 703 (3rd cent. BCE, Alexandria?)
 ἡ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπ[ιγο]νή, ὅταν εἰς τὸ χορτ[ο]φαγεῖν, π[αρ]αδίδωτ[αι]
 εἰς τὰ μ[οσχο]τροφῖα.
 the offspring from the king's stalls—whenever [they are able] to eat
 hay—shall be given over to farms for calf-breeding.

83 PSI 402 (3rd cent. BCE, Philadelphia)
 ὁ λαὸς οὖν ὁ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς κολυκύνθας [sic, κολοκύνθας] ὀπτῶσιν.
 Now the people in the city are roasting pumpkins.

Significantly, Mayser proposes a diachronic development with this construction.

First, he presents a table summarizing the relative frequencies of types 1–4 (as summarized in table #2 above) in the 3rd–1st centuries BCE. He finds that types 1–2 are most common in the 3rd century BCE whereas types 1 (vastly dominant) and 3 prevail in the 2nd–1st centuries BCE.³⁹⁴ Significant for our purposes, he states, “Weit seltener als im III. Jahrh. v. Chr., das die klassische Tradition gewahrt hat, aber immerhin häufiger als beim attributive Adjektiv ist im II.–I. Jahrh. v. Chr. bei präpositionalen Attributen die II. Stellung mit Wiederholung des Artikels nach dem Substantiv vertreten.”³⁹⁵ In the 2nd–1st centuries BCE, the ratio of type 1 to type 2 constructions is 35:1.³⁹⁶

In fourteen instances, Hebrew RCs consist entirely of a prepositional phrase (e.g., אשר לו). When G renders these, a participle—usually from εἰμί—is added six times (on which, see the following section §3.6.2).³⁹⁷ However, in the remaining eight, G renders

³⁹⁴ See Mayser 2.2.161–2, for precise figures and statistics.

³⁹⁵ Mayser 2.2.164; translation: “Far less common than in the 3rd century BCE, which has preserved the Classical tradition, but at least more often than with the attributive adjective, the 2nd position with the repetition of the article after the noun is represented by the attributive prepositions in the 2nd–1st centuries BCE.”

³⁹⁶ Mayser 2.2.164; see also *ibid.*, 54.

³⁹⁷ Gk Num 3:26; 4:25; 12:3; 16:5, 32. Notice that this appears to happen in 5:17 as well, but there the MT actually reads יהיה, suggesting that οὕτως actually reflects his *Vorlage*.

the Hebrew prepositional phrase with a simple preposition (#84) or adverb (#85) and does not add a participle.³⁹⁸

- 84 22:40 καὶ ἔθυσεν Βαλάκ ... καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τῷ Βαλαάμ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ.
 NETS And Balak sacrificed ... and sent ... to Balaam and to the rulers who were with him.
 MT ויזבח בלק ... וישלח לבלעם ולשרים אשר אתו
 NRSV Balak sacrificed ... and sent ... to Balaam and to the officials who were with him.
- 85 16:34 καὶ πᾶς Ἰσραήλ οἱ κύκλω αὐτῶν ἔφυγον
 NETS And all Israel who were around them fled
 MT וכל ישראל אשר סביבתיהם נסו
 NRSV All Israel around them fled

In example #85, the plural definite article οἱ is *ad sensum* for the collective πᾶς Ἰσραήλ.

In each instance, the construction could be characterized as a type 2 adjectival construction (e.g., ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ καλός). This allows G to stay close to the word order of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, representing אשר with the definite article followed by the prepositional phrase.

3.6.2. Definite Article with Participle

A participle in the attributive position is quite frequent in the Ptolemaic papyri.³⁹⁹ It can occur in all four types delineated above, although types 1 (ὁ λέγων ἀνὴρ) and 2 (ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ λέγων) are most common. In its own phrase, the attributive participle can occur in various places, but often is directly after its definite article (as in #86) or at the end of the phrase (as in #87).⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ Gk Num 8:24; 11:4, 17, 25; 16:34; 22:40; 30:15; 31:49.

³⁹⁹ See the copious examples provided by Mayser 2.2.51–64, esp. 61–4.

⁴⁰⁰ See Mayser 2.2.61, for all six options.

- 86 BGU 6 1273 = 14 2395 l. 9–11 (221–220 BCE, Takona)
 [ἀ]ντὶ δὲ τοῦ τόκου [τοῦ] δανείου τούτου ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀπολλώνιος
 Δημη[τ]ρίαι τὸν αὐτοῦ πατρικὸν πύργον τὸν ὄντα ἐγ[=ἐν] κώμηι Τακόναι
 τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου [νομ]οῦ
 but in the place of the interest on this loan Apollonius has leased to
 Demetria his tower inherited from his father in the village of Takona of
 the Oxyrhynchite nome
- 87 P.Rev. col. 39, l. 13–15 (259 BCE, Arsinoite?)
 Λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ παρὰ τῶ[ν γεω]ργῶν εἰς τὰς δύο δραχμὰς τὰς
 λογ[ευσ]μένας ἀπὸ τοῦ σησάμου ...
 But let them receive from the farmers for the two drachmas which are
 collected from the sesame ...

In terms of their function in the sentence, Mayser states,

Das attributive Partizip, das hinter einem artikulierten Substantiv (oder substantivierten Adjektiv) steht, erhält regelmäßig den Artikel, wenn es einen Bestimmungssatz vertritt, der den Umfang des Nominalbegriffs beschränkt und determiniert oder ein wesentliches Merkmal und eine integrierende Eigenschaft desselben ausdrückt.⁴⁰¹

Thus, the phrase is similar to a restrictive relative clause in that it provides essential information for delimiting the otherwise referentially non-specific substantive.

In Gk Num, there are fourteen instances in which a relativizer occurs with a definite article followed by a participle. In six of these, G renders a Hebrew RC that includes a prepositional phrase (##88–89) or an adverb (#90).⁴⁰² Obviously, G has added a participle where there is nothing present in his *Vorlage*. In seven, he renders a verbal clause (##91–92), using a participle in place of the Hebrew finite verb.⁴⁰³ Once G renders a nominal clause in this manner (#93).

⁴⁰¹ Mayser 2.2.55; translation: “The attributive participle which appears behind an articular substantive (or substantival adjective), regularly receives the article, if it replaces a determining clause, which restricts and determines the scope of the nominal term or expresses an integrated attribute of the same.”

⁴⁰² See Gk Num 3:26; 4:25; 16:5, 32; 21:32 (adverb); 32:39.

⁴⁰³ See Gk Num 1:17; 5:17; 13:32 (31 MT); 15:41; 20:14; 26:9; 35:33.

- 88 3:26 *καὶ τὰ ἱστία τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς οὔσης ἐπὶ τῆς σκηנῆς καὶ τὰ κατάλοιπα πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.*
NETS and the curtains of the court and the veil for the gate of the court, which is by the tent, and the rest of all its tasks.
MT וקלעי החצר ואת מסך פתח החצר אשר על המשכן ועל המזבח סביב ואת מיתריו לכל עבדתו
NRSV the hangings of the court, the screen for the entrance of the court that is around the tabernacle and the altar, and its cords—all the service pertaining to these
- 89 32:39 *καὶ ἐπορεύθη υἱὸς Μαχὶρ υἱοῦ Μανασσῆ εἰς Γαλαὰδ καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀπόλεσεν τὸν Ἀμορραῖον τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν αὐτῇ.*
NETS And a son of Machir son of Manasse went to Galaad and took it, and he destroyed the Amorrite who was living in it.
MT וילכו בני מכיר בן מנשה גלעד וילכדה ויורש את האמרי אשר בה
NRSV The descendants of Machir son of Manasseh went to Gilead, captured it, and dispossessed the Amorites who were there
- 90 21:32 *καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Μωυσῆς κατασκέψασθαι τὴν Ἰαζήρ, καὶ κατελάβοντο αὐτήν καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξέβαλον τὸν Ἀμορραῖον τὸν ὄντα ἐκεῖ*
NETS And Moyses sent to spy out Iazer, and they captured it and its villages, and they cast out the Amorrite who was there.
MT וישלח משה לרגל את יעזר וילכדו בנתיה ויורש את האמרי אשר שם
NRSV Moses sent to spy out Jazer; and they captured its villages, and dispossessed the Amorites who were there.
- 91 13:32 *καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ συναναβάντες μετ' αὐτοῦ εἶπαν*
NETS But the men who went up together with him said
MT 13:31 והאנשים אשר עלו עמו אמרו
NRSV Then the men who had gone up with him said
- 92 35:33 *καὶ οὐκ ἐξιλασθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχέοντος*
NETS and the land shall not be atoned for from the blood that was shed upon it, except by the blood of the one who shed it.
MT ולארץ לא יכפר לדם אשר שפך בה כי אם בדם שפכו
NRSV and no expiation can be made for the land, for the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of the one who shed it

- 93 35:31 καὶ οὐ λήμψεσθε λύτρα περὶ ψυχῆς παρὰ τοῦ φονεύσαντος τοῦ ἐνόχου ὄντος ἀναιρεθῆναι· θανάτῳ γὰρ θανατωθήσεται.
NETS And you shall receive ransom for a soul from the one that committed murder, liable to be killed, for he shall be put to death by death.
MT לֹא תִקְחוּ כֶּפֶר לְנֶפֶשׁ רָצַח אֲשֶׁר הוּא רָשָׁע לְמוֹת כִּי מוֹת יוֹמֵת
NRSV Moreover you shall accept no ransom for the life of a murderer who is subject to the death penalty; a murderer must be put to death.

In example #93, the participle ὄντος matches G’s general habit of translating the pronoun in bipartite nominal clauses with εἰμί.⁴⁰⁴ Notice, also, example #93 is the only instance in Gk Num where an element or elements appear(s) between the definite article and its preposition.

In nine of these fourteen examples, one could make a good case that the adjectival participial phrase provides information to restrict the referent of the noun it modifies. For instance, in examples #88 and ##91–93, the noun is grammatically definite but not referentially specific. “The men” in example #91 could be anyone, but “the men who went up with him” is referentially specific. This holds true for all but five examples: 15:41; 16:32; 21:32; 26:9; 32:39.

In 21:32 and 32:39, the phrase modifies the definite noun, ὁ Ἀμορραῖος, providing information about where they live. Mayser finds that the addition of the otherwise periphrastic participle is common in the official language (“Kanzleisprache”) for designating place and time: “Ein für die hellenistische Kanzleisprache besonders charakteristische, wie es scheint volkstümliche (auch im N. T. nachgewiesene) Manier ist ὁ ὢν, ἡ οὔσα bei Orts- und Zeitangaben, namentlich in Datierungen und Präskripten bei

⁴⁰⁴ For a number of bipartite nominal clauses translated with the addition of a finite εἰμί form, see Gk Num 12:7; 13:19–21 (MT 18–20); 13:31; 14:9; 15:25; 19:9, 20; 35:16, 17, 18, 21.

der Aufzählung der Eponymen, endlich bei sonstigen Attributen der Kanzleisprache.”⁴⁰⁵

It is possible that the translators were influenced by such a convention.

The final three cases—15:41, 16:32, and 26:9—all involve substantival participles. In 15:41, the phrase appears to modify *ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν*:

- 94 15:41 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου εἶναι ὑμῶν θεός.
NETS I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your god
 MT אני יהוה אלהיכם אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים
NRSV I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God

Wevers calls this “an attributive participle structure” but then translates it as a participial phrase in apposition, “the one who brought you out.”⁴⁰⁶ He is correct that the structure matches that of an attributive participial phrase, but it is more correct to call this a substantival participial phrase standing in apposition to *ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν*. Finally, it bears mentioning that, in two instances (16:32; 26:9), headless relative clauses are transformed into substantival participle expressions. Such substantival participles are commonplace.⁴⁰⁷

3.6.3. *Summation*

I am in agreement with Soisalon-Soininen’s comments on this translation of Hebrew RCs:

⁴⁰⁵ Mayser 2.1.347; translation: “One characteristic for the Hellenistic administrative language particularly, as it seems popular style (also demonstrable in the NT), is *ὁ ὢν, ἡ οὖσα*, with place and time designations, especially in dating or introductions [of a document] in the list of eponyms, finally with other attributes of the administrative language.” However, Mayser notes that “In den stereotypen attributiven Ortsangaben nach dem Schema *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆι οὖσῃ ἐν τόπωι τινί* ... tritt nur vereinzelt die Vollform ein, wie ... *τῆς λεγομένης οἰκίας ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει*” (2.3.56). However, he is commenting on the relative frequency of the attributive form with the article versus the form with the relative clause with reference to place names rather than the presence or absence of the participle (in his example, *οὖσῃ*).

⁴⁰⁶ Wevers, *NGNT*, 257.

⁴⁰⁷ Mayser 2.1.346–7; BDF §413; Smyth §2050.

As far as the form is concerned, the use of the article for the relative pronoun is simple. In some cases the form is actually identical [to the Hebrew]. The expression thus formed is idiomatic, one might even say polished from the viewpoint of the Greek language. Since the translators quite naturally did not consider the equivalence of such grammatical categories—although they obviously had a certain intuitive understanding of various grammatical categories—this type of translation is not to be taken as a significant indication of the liberties taken by the Septuagint translators.⁴⁰⁸

This construction represents idiomatic Greek in every instance. Nevertheless, in the context of this chapter, it is also important to note that only inner-Greek concerns can explain the syntax of this construction.

However, Hebrew interference is seen in that the common type 1 construction—in which the participle or prepositional phrase is between the definite article and noun (e.g., $\delta \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\tilde{\omega} \omicron\lambda\kappa\omega \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$)—is *not found* in Gk Num. This suggests that G did not have freedom (or his translation technique did not allow him) to arrange his clause into a more fully idiomatic construction.⁴⁰⁹ Rather, type 2 constructions were used, allowing G to produce an idiomatic translation that preserved the word order of Hebrew.

Thus, one would be incorrect to take the prevalence of type 2 adjectival phrases as an indication of a 3rd century BCE date for Gk Num (although likely on other grounds). One might draw such a conclusion from Mayser’s analysis that type 2 adjectival phrases are rare in the 2nd–1st centuries BCE.⁴¹⁰ Such a distribution in Gk Num is influenced by its Hebrew *parent* and not directly by its stage in the development of Koiné.

⁴⁰⁸ Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch,” 57. According to Mayser, “Im Grunde genommen kann jedes attributive Adjektiv, das einen substantivischen Begriff näher bestimmt, als verkürzter Adjektivsatz betrachtet werden, für den ein Relativsatz mit $\delta\varsigma$, $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ usw. eintreten könnte“ (2.3.55). If Mayser is correct, then it provides further support for Soisalon-Soininen’s conclusion.

⁴⁰⁹ This is one of Martin’s criteria of syntactical evidence of Greek translated from Semitic sources (*Syntactic Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, 21–25). He terms it “Separation of the Greek Article from its Substantive.” See also Rife, “The Mechanics of Translation Greek,” 248.

⁴¹⁰ See Mayser 2.2.164, and §3.6.1 above.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the selection of different relativizers in Gk Num is controlled by Greek syntactical strictures. Nevertheless, it was also demonstrated that two translational norms are at work: first, G tends to represent each Hebrew word with one Greek word; second, he tends to retain the order of the Hebrew words. These translational norms limit the types of idiomatic Greek constructions that are possible, which is exactly what Boyd-Taylor predicted on the basis of the IP (see §2.3.2).⁴¹¹ In other words, to use a fruit-picking metaphor, the lower translational fruit—those kinds that can be reached without too much trouble (i.e., straying too far from the Hebrew *Vorlage*)—are plucked and the rest are left.

In summary, the following features were found to be reflective of idiomatic Koiné: The appearance of (1) case attraction, inclusion, and inverse attraction with ὅς in particular; (2) type 1 pied piping with various prepositions; (3) type 3 pied piping with ἐν ἡ ἡμέρα; (4) the coordinating phrase δὲν τρόπον as a creative rendering of כַּאֲשֶׁר; (5) the selection of ὅσος to create comparative RCs and (6) neuter plural forms introducing comparative adverbial clauses; (7) instances in which כֹּל in כֹּל אֲשֶׁר is not rendered since ὅσοι can equal πάντες in meaning; (8) occurrences of ὅστις that reflects its distinction from ὅς; (9) the definite article rendering אֲשֶׁר clauses as type 2 adjectival clauses with either a participial phrase or preposition. Finally, it should also be mentioned that there appears to be evidence of the breakdown between ὅς and ὅστις—which is taking place in Koiné through the Ptolemaic period.

⁴¹¹ James Aitken suggests that this is characteristic of ancient translations in general, and not simply the Septuagint (“The Language of the Septuagint,” 127).

Additionally, a few aspects of Hebrew interference should also be noted: (1) Inclusion of the HN in the RC, although found in phrases like ἡ ἡμέρα and ὁν τρόπον, is generally avoided.⁴¹² (2) Type 2 and 3 pied piping is disallowed in many instances in which it would be idiomatic. The resultant sentence—while not ungrammatical or incomprehensible—simply eschews the cleaner idiom. (3) Although type 1 attributive constructions are exceedingly common with adjectival participles and prepositional phrases in Koiné, only type 2 adjectival constructions appear in Gk Num.

⁴¹² Minus one instance in which I have argued for inclusion (Gk Num 31:50).

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue that every instance of resumption in RCs in Gk Num is the result of interference from its Hebrew parent text. Although G avoids such interference in some instances, he more often allows the Hebrew to disrupt the Greek idiom and create unidiomatic sentences. In order to support this judgment, I first argue that resumption in Greek RCs is not idiomatic—although it is idiomatic to have resumption in a MC that follows a RC. This Greek phenomenon is also found in Gk Num. In the end, it will be apparent that the presence or absence of resumption in relative clauses can only be explained by taking into account both the interference of the parent text and the constraints of the Greek language. I will not attempt to account for resumption in Hebrew, but will rely largely on Holmstedt’s explanation.⁴¹⁴

4.2. Definition of Resumption

A resumptive word⁴¹⁵ reiterates an element that has already appeared in the sentence.⁴¹⁶ Although our primary focus is on resumption in RCs, resumption does not appear *only* with RCs.⁴¹⁷ In many languages—including English, Greek, and Hebrew—

⁴¹³ Thanks are due to Chris Fresch and John Screnock who provided helpful critique on an earlier version of this chapter.

⁴¹⁴ See Robert Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 22–37, 97–107, 267–89.

⁴¹⁵ I am using “resumptive word” rather than resumptive pronoun because resumption encompasses more than simply pronouns—adverbs, pronouns, and even nouns can be resumptives.

⁴¹⁶ Emma Pavey defines it thus, “A pronoun that is coreferential with another argument within the clause” (*The Structure of Language*, 366). Willem F. Bakker’s definition is: “The *pronomens abundans* is a personal or demonstrative pronoun which repeats the relative pronoun in a single-limbed relative clause” (*Pronomen Abundans and Pronomen Coniunctum: A Contribution to the history of the Resumptive Pronoun within the Relative Clause in Greek* [Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1974], 9).

⁴¹⁷ E.g., resumption frequently appears after left dislocation in Biblical Hebrew (see Joshua R. Westbury, “Left Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach,” [Ph.D. Diss.; University of Stellenbosch, 2014], 23). This is fully grammaticalized in the similar Greek pendent nominative, also known as the *nominativus pendens* or the nominative absolute, construction as well (Robertson XI.V.e; and §4.7). English has a similar expression: van Valin and Lapolla state, “When an element appears in the precore slot, there is a corresponding gap in the following clause ... unless it is an

resumption occurs after left-dislocation.⁴¹⁸ Left-dislocation can be defined as the presence of a constituent before and outside of the clause that it would otherwise be a syntactical constituent of. In Greek grammars, this is often referred to as a *nominativus pendens* or pendent nominative.⁴¹⁹ In the following examples of this phenomenon, the subscripted “i” indicates words that refer to the same entity; the first entity (to the left of the clause) set off by comas is the left-dislocated element.⁴²⁰

- (a) That house_i, I will buy it_i for you.
- (b) וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל אַבְרָהָם שְׂרַיִךְ אִשְׁתְּךָ לֹא תִקְרָא אֶת שְׂמָהּ; שְׂרַיִךְ
 God said to Abraham, “As for Sarai_i your wife_i, you shall not call her_i Sarai”
 (Gen 17:15 NRSV)
- (c) ὁ δὲ τελώνης_i, ἐὰν πρὸς τινα τῶν γεωργῶν μὴ συγγράψῃται βουλομένου (τούτου),
 μὴ ἔστω αὐτῷ_i τοῦτων ἡ πράξις
 But as for the tax collector_i, if he does not draw up a contract with a certain one
 of the farmers when (the farmer) wishes, let the recovery of debt for these things
 not come to him_i (P.Rev. col. 28, l. 9 [259 BCE, Arsinoite?])⁴²¹

adjunct. In contrast, there is a corresponding (resumptive) pronoun in the following clause if the element in the left-detached position corresponds to a semantic argument of the verb” (*Syntax*, 228). They give the following sentence as an example: “As for Sam, Jane met him at the airport.”

⁴¹⁸ In fact, this is one of the key components of left-dislocation. See Westbury, who states, “[Left-dislocation] is generally identified by the presence of a referential constituent that could function as an argument or adjunct within the predicate-argument structure of the clause but, instead, occurs outside the left-peripheral boundaries of the clause containing the predicate” (“Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew,” 97–98).

⁴¹⁹ Smyth §3008.e.: “The nominative ‘in suspense’ may stand at the head of a sentence instead of another case required by the following construction. This involves a relative pronoun.” See also Mayser 2.3.198–9; Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 19–20.

⁴²⁰ Westbury’s caveat is helpful here: “For many languages in the world, the term ‘Left Dislocation’ is a misnomer since the term originated out of the study of English which is written and read from left to right. However, since many languages (e.g., Hebrew) are written from right to left, the left dislocated constituent is technically speaking not located to the left, but to the right of the clause” (“Left Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew,” 98 n. 182).

⁴²¹ My translation is intentionally stilted so that the Greek construction might be seen more clearly. For a more idiomatic rendering, see the translation in B. P. Grenfell, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), “If the tax-farmer fails to make an agreement with the cultivator, when the cultivator wishes him to do so, he shall not exact payment of the tax” (100). Their translation does not note the left-dislocation (or anacoluthon) of ὁ τελώνης. See also Mayser 2.3.197.

However, in English, resumption with RCs is ungrammatical, since English relative pronouns occupy an argument slot in the RC into which the “resumptive element” also attempts to squeeze. Consider the following example:

(d) *The man_i with *whom*_i you spoke with *him*_i last week bought milk.

In example (d), the object of the preposition *with* is occupied by *whom* until the resumptive pronoun (with) *him* appears. In other words, without resumption, we would have “the man with whom you spoke,” where the coreferential word signified by *whom* occupies the argument slot after the preposition. *Him*, then, tries to jump into single occupancy argument slot that is already filled. As I argue below, Greek matches English in this regard, but Hebrew does not. We turn now first to resumption in Hebrew and then to resumption in Greek.

4.3. Resumption in Hebrew

In the vast majority of instances, Hebrew relative clauses are marked with a relative complementizer, אֲשֶׁר or -שׁ.⁴²² Holmstedt defines relative complementizers as follows, “The linguistic definition of complementizer is a *function word* that introduces a clause and allows it to be subcategorized as a noun phrase.”⁴²³ That is, Hebrew אֲשֶׁר/-שׁ are *not* relative pronouns, only particles of relation. Consequently, *neither of these relative complementizers in Hebrew occupies an argument slot within the relative clause*

⁴²² An older form וְ, which is homomorphic with the demonstrative, is also used (John Huehnergard, “Relative Particles” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* [ed. Geoffrey Khan et al.; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 3.363).

⁴²³ Robert Holmstedt, “The Story of Ancient Hebrew ’āšer,” *ANES* 43 (2006): 7–26, here 9 n. 7; see also idem., “Relative Clause: Biblical Hebrew,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Languages and Linguistics* (ed. Geoffrey Khan et al.; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 3.350–57. By extension, “relative pronoun”—which by definition shows agreement features—is inappropriately applied to the Hebrew word אֲשֶׁר (e.g., in John Huehnergard, “On the Etymology of the Hebrew Relative Še-,” in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* [ed. Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz; Publications of the Institute for Advanced Studies 1; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press / Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006], 103–25).

since it is merely a function word. In Hebrew relatives, the argument slot that corresponds to the HN is either left phonetically null or is filled with a resumptive element (often a pronoun).⁴²⁴

One should not take the above paragraph to mean that resumption is an entirely arbitrary decision by the writer/speaker; rather, resumption in Hebrew is requisite in certain instances to create a grammatical sentence. Holmstedt describes a few of the kinds of situations in which resumption is grammatically requisite in Hebrew. First, in RCs, when the coreferential word is a possessive (#1), resumption is required.⁴²⁵ When the coreferential word appears as the object of a preposition, it must either appear as a resumptive pronoun attached to the preposition (#2) or both preposition and pronoun must be omitted (#3).⁴²⁶ When the coreferential word provides peripheral information—such as locatives—resumption is in most cases optional, but common.⁴²⁷ Frequently, this happens with the adverb אֲשֶׁר , “there” (#4). Moreover, there are certain argument slots where resumption is possible in certain circumstances, but unlikely—i.e., subject (#5)⁴²⁸

⁴²⁴ See Holmstedt, “The Story of Ancient Hebrew ’āšer,” 10.

⁴²⁵ Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 96. Additionally, Holmstedt details other uses where the resumptive is requisite to avoid syntactical failure or eschew ambiguity (ibid., 97–107). They are useful to a rigorous account of resumption in Hebrew, but ancillary to our focus here.

⁴²⁶ This derives from the ungrammaticality of both pied piping and preposition stranding. That is, since Hebrew cannot say “the land in which I live” (pied piping) or “the land that I live in” (preposition stranding), it uses resumption to create grammaticality: **“the land that I live in it.”* For a full explanation, see Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 33–34, 94–97. It is important to note that resumption is requisite only when the preposition is actually used; thus, it may *omitted*.

⁴²⁷ Holmstedt draws attention to a few instances in which a locative adverb saves the sentence from semantic failure (“The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 99, especially examples (128)–(129)).

⁴²⁸ Holmstedt notes only forty examples of resumption in the nominative/subject slot in the Hebrew Bible (“The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 32 n. 23 and 93 n. 50). Examples in Num are found at 9:13; 14:8; 17:5; 35:31. All but 14:8 occur with “verbless” or nominal clauses. Additionally, all but 14:8 are examples of *non-obligatory* resumption (ibid., 100 n. 56).

or object (#6). Although rare, it is also possible that a full copy of the HN or HN-phrase appears in the relative clause as a resumptive, but this does not occur in Numbers.⁴²⁹

- 1 3:3 אלה שמות בני אהרן הכהנים המשחים אשר מלא ידם לכהן
NRSV these are the names of the sons of Aaron, the anointed priests, whom he ordained to minister as priests.
- 2 19:15 וכל כלי פתוח אשר אין צמיד פתיל עליו טמא הוא
NRSV And every open vessel with no cover fastened on it is unclean.
- 3 13:27 ויספרו לו ויאמרו באנו אל הארץ אשר שלחתנו וגם זבת חלב ודבש הוא וזה פריה
NRSV And they told him, “We came to the land to which you sent us; it flows with milk and honey, and this is its fruit.”
- 4 14:24 והביאתיו אל הארץ אשר בא שמה
NRSV I will bring [him] into the land into which he went [there]
- 5 14:8 והביא אתנו אל הארץ הזאת ונתנה לנו ארץ אשר הוא זבת חלב ודבש
NRSV he will bring us into this land and give it to us, a land that flows with milk and honey.
- 6 13:32 ויוציאו דבת הארץ אשר תרו אתה אל בני ישראל
NRSV So they brought to the Israelites an unfavorable report of the land that they had spied out

As we would expect, resumption that is grammatically requisite—i.e., with prepositions and possessives—is most frequent in Hb Num.

4.4. Resumption in Koiné Greek Relative Clauses

4.4.1. Precursory Observations

In RCs, resumption in Koiné (as well as Classical) Greek is not a common grammatical feature⁴³⁰; however, at the same time, a few instances of resumption in RCs

⁴²⁹ See Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 92, esp. 92 n. 49. Mira Ariel has argued from a cross-linguistic perspective that the presence or absence of resumptive pronouns is based on the “accessibility” of the HN (“Cognitive Universals and Linguistic Conventions: The Case of Resumptive Pronouns,” *Studies in Language* 23 2 [1999]: 217–69). In other words, the speaker/writer judges the ease with which the hearer/reader can access the coreferential word and uses a resumptive to disambiguate the reference. In my view, this approach based in cognitive linguistics and Mira Ariel’s accessibility theory (see her *Accessing Noun-Phrase Antecedents* [London: Routledge, 1990]) may prove beneficial in explaining both the occurrences and non-occurrences of resumption in Biblical Hebrew but would require a thesis or dissertation in itself. Incidentally, I later found that Holmstedt has recently made similar proposal: “Relative Clause: Biblical Hebrew,” 353–4.

have been found. The analysis of resumption in Koiné hinges upon the pronominal value of the relative pronoun. In other words, does the relative pronoun function as a pronoun, filling an argument slot in the RC, or not? The relative pronoun is frequently found in the subject (#7), object (#8), genitive/possessive (#9) argument slots. Additionally, since Greek allows for pied piping (although it disallows preposition stranding),⁴³¹ the relative pronoun is frequently found as the object of prepositions (#10–11).

- 7 P.Cair. Zen. 1 59034, l. 12–14 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
παρεγένετό τις ἐκ Κνίδου ὃς ἐνεχείρησεν οἰκοδομεῖν Σαραπιεῖον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ
 Someone arrived from Knidos, who attempted to build a temple of Sarapis in this place
- 8 P.Cair. Zen. 2 59150, l. 1–4 (256 BCE, Philadelphia)
ἐν τῷ κη (ἔτους) κατήχθησαν ἡμῖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἅς ἐμετρήσαμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πυρῶν ἀρτάβαι ἐνενήκοντα.
 In the 28th year, 90 artabai⁴³² were kept back for us at Alexandria, which they measured out from the region of wheat.
- 9 BGU 6 1247, l. 3–4 (ca. 149 BCE, Syrene/Ombos)
[ἀδικ]οὔμα[ι] ὑπ[ὸ] Νεοπτολέμ[ο]υ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, οὗ τὴν πατρί[δ]α ἀγνοῶ.
 I was done wrong by Neoptolemos, son of Neoptolemos, of whose fatherland I am ignorant.
- 10 P.Grenf. 2 17, l. 2–6 (136 BCE, Pathyris[?])
ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ κῶνον σιδηροῦν ἐν ὑποθήκῃ, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐὰν με ἀπαιτῆς καὶ μὴ ἀποδίδω σοι ἀποτίσω σοι χαλκοῦ (τάλαντον) α Β τιμὴν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου κῶνου.
 I acknowledge that I have from you an iron helmet in pledge, upon which, if you should demand from me and I should not repay you, I will pay you 201 talents of copper, the price of the aforementioned helmet.
- 11 P.Heid. 3 228, l. 7–10 (3rd cent. BCE, unknown provenance)
ἐκομισάμην τὸ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον ἐν ᾧ διεσάφεις ἄλλα τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμόμ [= σταθμόν] σοι λαβεῖν.
 I received the letter from you in which you make known [that] you received other things and even beyond your quarters.

⁴³⁰ That this is a phenomenon of Koiné should be emphasized. Modern Greek uses an invariant relative marker, *που*, and makes frequent use of resumption.

⁴³¹ See §3.3.4 (“Pied Piping”) above.

⁴³² An Egyptian measure of capacity; see LSJ, “ἀρτάβη,” II.

Such constructions are so commonplace that they require little comment here. However, it should be noted that these *almost never* occur with resumption—the rare occurrences that do appear with resumption will be mentioned in the following section.

4.4.2. *Examples of Resumption in Koiné*

W. F. Bakker presents 26 purported examples of resumption in his *Pronomen Abundans and Pronomen Coninunctum*. After a detailed analysis of these examples, I have accepted six, which will be detailed below.⁴³³ A fuller analysis and critique of Bakker will be presented later in this chapter (§4.4.3); treatment of Bakker’s other “examples” of resumption can be found in Appendix B.

As defined above, resumption occurs when a certain element repeats a word or phrase that has already appeared in the sentence. Additionally, I have discussed one type of construction, left dislocation, in which resumption is attested in Greek (as well as English and Hebrew).⁴³⁴ With relative clauses in Greek, however, two aspects of resumption should be distinguished. First, there is the repetition of the entire relative clause in the MC. For instance, see the following example from Polybius:

12 Polybius, *Hist.* 1.20.15 (ca. 200–118 BCE)

ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπαναχθέντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ μιᾷ νεῷ καταφράκτου διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν προπεσούσης, ὥστ’ ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον, ταύτη παραδείγματι χρώμενοι τότε πρὸς ταύτην ἐποιούντο τὴν τοῦ παντὸς στόλου ναυπηγίαν

On this occasion, when the Carthaginians put to sea to attack them as they were crossing the straits, and one of their decked ships advanced too far in its eagerness to overtake them and ran aground so as to fall into the hands of the Romans, this (ship) they [the Romans] then used as a model, and built their whole fleet on its pattern.

⁴³³ Note that although I have not made a comprehensive search for resumption in Greek literature—a monstrous task in itself—I have also not found any examples in my reading. This is a weakness not possible to overcome in the scope of this study. See also Appendix B, which offers a full treatment of the rejected examples.

⁴³⁴ See further in §4.7.

Instead of a pronoun occupying the same argument slot in the RC itself, the semantic content of the *entire* relative clause is resumed in the MC. In other words, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ κτλ. provides temporal information in two genitive absolute clauses and a ὥστε clause—which obviously becomes quite distended, taking up 22 words. In the MC, τότε then reiterates the *entirety* of the preceding temporal clause.

Second, resumption can also occur when the relative pronoun and a demonstrative or personal pronoun occupy the same argument slot in a RC. A relative pronoun occupies the first position in its clause and, if governed by a preposition, the preposition is also brought to the front with it. Thus, the element of the sentence represented by the relative pronoun is no longer in its normal position but pulled to the front the clause. In an example quoted above, the underlined prepositional phrase occupies its normal position in its clause:

- 13 P.Cair. Zen. 1 59034, l. 12–14 (257 BCE, Philadelphia)
 παρεγένετό τις ἐκ Κνίδου ὃς ἐνεχείρησεν οἰκοδομεῖν Σαραπιεῖον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ
 Someone arrived from Knidos, who attempted to build a temple of Sarapis in this place

Compare this with another example quoted above where the object of the preposition is now represented by a relative pronoun:

- 14 P.Heid. 3 228, l. 7–10 (3rd cent. BCE)
 ἐκομισάμην τὸ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον ἐν ᾧ διεσάφεις ἄλλα τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμόμ [= σταθμόν] σοι λαβεῖν.
 I received the letter from you in which you make know [that] you received other things and even beyond your quarters.

If this clause were rewritten without a relative, it would be διεσάφεις ἐν τῷ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολίῳ ἄλλα κτλ. When this is relativized, the phrase “moves” to the front: τὸ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον ἐν ᾧ διεσάφεις ____ κτλ. I am referring to this “gap” in the clause as an

“argument slot” that has been filled by the relative pronoun. However, in six instances in Koiné Greek writings, a resumptive pronoun appears in this argument slot.

For the constructions with prepositions, note that in each instance, the resumptive pronoun is governed by the same preposition as the one governing the relative pronoun.

- 15 Diod., *Bibliotheca Historica* 1 97.2⁴³⁵ (1st cent. BCE)
ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει πίθον εἶναι τετρημμένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου.
For in the city of Akanthōn a cask was pierced, into which three hundred and sixty of the priests carry water each day from the Nile into it.
- 16 Polybius, *Hist.* 8.2.1. (ca. 200–118 BCE)
δι’ ὧν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ πολλάκις ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμῖν τῆς πραγματείας εἰρημένον νῦν δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἀληθινὴν λαμβάνειν πίστιν.
Through which things, I consider that the statement I frequently made at the beginning of this work, now, through these very works, receives a true proof.
- 17 P.Oxy. 1 117 l. 12–14 (2nd–3rd cent. CE, Oxyrhynchus)
ἐπεμψα ὑμῖν ... ῥάκη δύο ... , ἐξ ὧν δώσεις τοῖς σου ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν.
I sent to you ... two garments⁴³⁶ ... from which you will give to your kin one from them.

Three others that follow this same analysis have been found without the pied piped preposition. Note that the relative and resumptive are found in the same case.

- 18 Pedanius Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 3 8.1. (ca. 40–90 CE)
χαμαιλέων λευκός, ὃν ἔνιοι ἰζίαν καλοῦσι ... , ᾧ καὶ ἀντὶ μαστίχης αὐτῷ αἰ γυναῖκες χρῶνται.
A white *Atractylis gummifera*, which some call *pine-thistle* ... which the women also use it in the place of *Pistacia*.

⁴³⁵ Bakker notes that this is the only use of resumption found in Diod.’s work (*Pronomen Abundans*, 27).

⁴³⁶ Hesychus’s lexicon glosses ῥάκη as ἀποσκορακισματα, καὶ ἀποσπάσματα, ἱμάτια “excretions, and rags, garments” (*Hesychii Alexandrini: Lexicon* [ed. Mauricius Schmid; 5 vols.; 1851], 3.420. LSJ does not include an entry for ῥάκη.

19 P.Ryl. 2 154, l. 13 (66 CE, Arsinoite)⁴³⁷

ἐν προσφορᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γι (ἔτους) Νέρωνος ... τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶι Σισοίτι
περὶ Βακχιάδα κλήρον κατοικικὸν ἀρουρῶν δέκα ἡμίσιους τετάρτου ἐν δυσὶ σφραγεῖσι
ἀφ' ὧν ἐν τῶι λεγομένωι Σαδίη κλήρου ἀρουραι ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ τέταρτον , ὧν γείτονες
τούτων νότου πρότερον Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ζωίλου κλήρος ...

as a gift from the present 13th year of Nero ... the one who has a catoecic holding
10³/₄ arurae of the property of Sisoīs in the area of Bacchias in two plots, consisting
of 7³/₄ arurae of a holding in the place called Sade, the boundaries of which of these
are, on the south the holding formerly belonging to Heraclides son of Zoilus ...

20 P.Oxy 1 95, l. 16–20 (129 CE, Oxyrhynchus)

καὶ Ἀλθαιέως, δούλης Διοσκοροῦτος ὡς (ἔτων) κε ἀσήμου, ἣν ἔκτοτε παρει<λει>φεν
παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰούλιος Γερμανὸς ταύτην τοιαύτην ἀναπόριφον

And Althaios, unmarked female servant of Dioskorōn of about 25 years, who
thereafter Julius Germanos took away from him this very one blamelessly

This accounts for all six instances of resumption in the Koiné Greek period. For those that appear in relative proximity to the Ptolemaic period, there are only two (Polybius, *Hist.* 8.2.1. and Diod., *Bibliotheca Historica* 1 97.2). However, these can be explained under other constraints. Notice that the relative pronoun in examples ##15–16 is pulled to the front of the clause and separated by some distance from its otherwise usual position, represented by the resumptive pronoun. This suggests that, for clarity's sake, a resumptive is placed when a long clause intervenes between the relative and the MC. As Kühner–Gerth state, “wenn zwischen das Relativ und sein Verb ein anderer Satz getreten ist, oder der Adjektivsatz einen grossen Umfang hat, der Deutlichkeit wegen neben dem einleitenden Relative auch das Demonstrativ gesetzt.”⁴³⁸ Apart from these, there are no other examples in the period BCE that I am aware of.⁴³⁹ The remaining four

⁴³⁷ This papyrus is readable, but significantly damaged. I have omitted text critical signs for ease of reading in this example.

⁴³⁸ Kühner–Gerth 2.2.433–4; translation: “if another clause appears between the relative and its verb, or the adjective clause [=RC] is large, the demonstrative also appears in addition to the relative for clarity.” See also Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 11–12.

⁴³⁹ The astute reader will notice that Bakker cites one example from Callimachus, *Epigram* 43. This example has been excluded on multiple grounds: first, it is not clear that this should actually be attributed to Callimachus (see J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e Codd. Manuscriptis* [4 vols.; Oxford:

examples, although they do indeed appear to be examples of resumption in the RC, all appear in the first century CE or later.

4.4.3. *W. F. Bakker's Pronomen Abundans*

Although many studies have been published attempting to account for resumption from a linguistic perspective, especially cross-linguistically, few studies have been published on resumption in Koiné Greek.⁴⁴⁰ I will here interact with the major study on this feature.

Two aspects of Bakker's monograph—which ambitiously attempts to analyze a syntactical feature in the entirety of Greek literature from the ancient period to modern times—must be discussed here: (1) his treatment of the so-called *pronomen abundans* in Koiné Greek; (2) his treatment of resumption or the *pronomen abundans* in the LXX. The main object of Bakker's study is to discern the connection, if any, between the Koiné Greek *pronomen abundans* and the Modern Greek *pronomen coniunctum*⁴⁴¹—which we will leave aside here. He defines a *pronomen abundans* as follows: “The *pronomen abundans* is a personal or demonstrative pronoun which repeats the relative pronoun in a

1839–1841] 4.384 n. k). Moreover, it also appears that the relative pronoun can actually be analyzed as part of the second clause: “Ἀκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ’ ἠνάγκασαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν εἴλεκεν, ὁ δ’ οὐκ εἶα τὴν προπέτειαν εἶν” (“Wine and Love constrained me; whereof the one dragged me, the other allowed me not to stay away with rashness”) from *Callimachus–Lycophron–Aratus* (trans. A. W. Mair and G. R. Mair; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 166–7. Notice that ὧν and αὐτῶν appear close together, but after ὁ, αὐτῶν does not appear. Therefore, this imbalance can be fixed by placing the relative pronoun logically with the second clause: “of whom, the one of them dragged me, but the other [of whom] did not permit me.” It is admittedly awkward, but the alternative is just as, if not more awkward. See further in Appendix B.

⁴⁴⁰ Studies on resumption in Modern Greek are of little help since RCs in Modern Greek resemble Hebrew relatives in this feature more than they resemble Koiné Greek (i.e., invariable relative complementizer; grammaticalized resumption). See Theodore Alexapolou, “Resumption in Relative Clauses,” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24 (2006): 57–111; Brian Joseph, “Recovery of Information in Relative Clauses: Evidence from Greek and Hebrew,” *Journal of Linguistics* 16 2 (1980): 237–44.

⁴⁴¹ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 9.

single-limbed relative clause.”⁴⁴² Additionally, he gives the example of P. Oxy. 1 117 l. 12–14 (example #17 above).⁴⁴³

First, one note on Bakker’s terminology should be mentioned. Although they are similar, he distinguishes the *pronomen abundans* from the resumptive pronoun in one significant way: a *pronomen abundans* does not have a grammatical *function* but strengthens and/or clarifies the deictic value (if any) of the relative pronoun *pleonastically* whereas a resumptive pronoun has a grammatical function (as in Biblical Hebrew).⁴⁴⁴ He rejects the term *pronomen abundans* in classical Greek and later Koiné, asserting that the resumptive pronoun is properly so called since it is not pleonastic.⁴⁴⁵ I find this distinction tenuous and will treat the *pronomen abundans* and the resumptive pronoun as one and the same.⁴⁴⁶

Additionally, he argues that the *pronomen abundans* in compositional Greek only occurs in non-restrictive clauses with *relative connection*.⁴⁴⁷ A non-restrictive clause, of course, does not provide information essential to the identity of the HN. According to Bakker, *relative connection* (from the German “relativer Anschluß”) happens when an independent sentence is connected to the preceding sentence by means of a relative

⁴⁴² Ibid. Apart from references to Bakker’s work, I have not been able to find other references to RCs as “single-limbed” in English grammar. Therefore, I am here assuming that he is referring to a single RC that does not *join* to a second subordinated (relative) clause with a conjunction, which can take a pronoun (see Smyth §2517; Kühner–Gerth 2.2.431–2). It is likely that Bakker has somewhat awkwardly imported the German expression as Mayser refers to an RC as a *Glied*, “limb” (2.3.98).

⁴⁴³ Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, IV, also cites this example. The question of dating should be put to this example, as I have above (§4.2.2).

⁴⁴⁴ See Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 15, 17–18, 32, 36.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁴⁶ I find it particularly tenuous since it relies upon the weakening of the relative pronoun to the point that it is merely a connective in Koiné Greek (see following discussion in this section). Although the relative pronoun $\delta\varsigma$ does eventually disappear in Modern Greek and $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\varsigma$ take on a similar semantic force (BDF §293), gutting the deictic potential of $\delta\varsigma$ surely overreaches. Mayser (2.3.57) states, “Die Vollsatzform der Adjektivsätze wird eingeleitet durch Relativpronomina aller Art, wie $\delta\varsigma$, η , θ , $\theta\varsigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ [sic.] $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\theta\tau\iota$, [etc.]. Der Gebrauch ist sehr häufig und unterscheidet sich nicht wesentlich von dem der klassischen Sprache.”

⁴⁴⁷ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 13–14, 29.

clause. In other words, the relative pronoun as relative connector is functionally equivalent to a conjunction (e.g., *καί*), but leaves the relationship between the two “sentences” implied.⁴⁴⁸ He bases this assertion on his (mis)understanding of the statement by Kühner–Gerth, which follows here:

Das Relativpronomen dient nicht allein zur Verbindung eines Nebensatzes mit einem Hauptsatze, sondern auch zur Anknüpfung solcher Sätze, welche eigentlich als beigeordnete Hauptsätze hätten ausgedrückt werden sollen. Das Relativpronomen vertritt dann die Stelle eines Demonstrativ- oder Personalpronomens in Verbindung mit einem Bindeworte, wie *καί*, *ἀλλά* od[er] *δέ*, *γάρ*, *οὖν*, *ἄρα*.⁴⁴⁹

Note that Kühner–Gerth do not say that the relative pronoun simply becomes a connective—but it also still functions as a pronoun (vertritt ... die Stelle eines Demonstrativ- oder Personalpronomens).⁴⁵⁰ Thus, it does not mean, as Bakker continues to take it, that a “relative connective” functions essentially like a wildcard conjunction with no pronominal value. He states,

If, however, we look at the later examples, being aware of the possible weakening of the relat[ive] pronoun, we cannot say that the pers[onal] or demonstr[ative] pronoun is pleonastic. In such cases a ‘*pronomen abundans*’ has a definite function, viz. reinforcing *the relat[ive] pronoun, which has been reduced to a mere connective*. If it is necessary to speak of a *pronomen abundans*, it is not the pers[onal] or demonstr[ative] pronoun, but rather the relat[ive] pronoun: *it only serves as a means of connective to two principal sentences*.⁴⁵¹

By way of critique, Bakker has stretched the syntax too far here in my view. In order to create an actual grammatical function for his *pronomen abundans*—i.e., open a argument slot—he makes the relative pronoun a mere connector. Thus, the relative

⁴⁴⁸ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 15.

⁴⁴⁹ Kühner–Gerth 2.2.434; translation: “The relative pronoun is used not only for connecting a subordinate clause to a main clause, but also for the connection of such clauses which should, actually, have to be expressed as coordinated independent clauses. The relative pronoun then takes the place of the demonstrative or personal pronoun in conjunction with a binding-word, such as *καί*, *ἀλλά*, or *δέ*, *γάρ*, *οὖν*, *ἄρα*.”

⁴⁵⁰ See Kühner–Gerth 2.2.434–6, for examples.

⁴⁵¹ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 32; emphasis added.

pronoun does not occupy an argument slot since it no longer has any pronominal value and the so called *pronomena abundans* is “not pleonastic at all, as it has a very definite function in the sentence.”⁴⁵² As he himself notes, if his analysis is correct, we would expect to find a great number of such examples, but we do not, even in such non-literary texts as the papyri. Since it seems that he has misunderstood Kühner–Gerth to mean that the connective function of the relative pronoun makes it essentially a type of conjunction, thereby gutting the relative pronoun of its referential and pronominal value. The better explanation is to say that the relative pronoun retains its pronominal value and the resumptive pronoun is indeed *resumptive* and also *pleonastic* in Koiné. Such an understanding helps explain why only six examples are found in Koiné Greek writings (see §4.4.2).

4.4.3.1. Bakker’s “Pronomen Abundans” in Koiné Greek (excluding the LXX and NT)

Apart from the examples cited in §4.4.2 above, Bakker includes examples from Koiné that are quite questionable.⁴⁵³ One example that he cites is instructive:

21 P.Petr. 2 13, f. 19 (ca. 255 BCE, Gurob)

οὐ μὴν οὐθὲν ἐμοὶ [ἔσται με]ῖζον ἢ σοῦ προστατῆσα[ι τὸν] ἐ[π]ίλοιπον βίον, ἀξίως [μὲ]ν σοῦ, ἀξίως δ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐάν τι τῶν κατ’ ἀνθρώπων γίνηται, τυχεῖν σε πάντων τῶν καλῶν· ὁ ἐμοὶ [μ]έγιστον ἔσται καλ[λ]ῶς σου προστατῆσαι καὶ ζῶντός σου καὶ εἰς θεοὺς ἀπελθόντος.

Nothing truly will be dearer to me than to protect you for the rest of your life in a manner worthy of you and of myself, and if the fate of mankind befalls you, to see that you enjoy all due honours; this will be my chief desire, honourably to protect you both while you live and when you have departed to the gods.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² Ibid., 15.

⁴⁵³ Similarly, see Sollamo who has already scrutinized his list of 26 examples and accepted only twelve (“The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch,” 76, 84 n. 4).

⁴⁵⁴ A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 278–9.

If one follows the translation in the LCL volume, the relative pronoun is translated as “this,” suggesting that an antecedent must be selected. Bakker reads the antecedent of the relative pronoun δ as *both* phrases *τυχεῖν σε πάντων τῶν καλῶν* and the repeated phrase *καλῶς σου προστατῆσαι* following the relative pronoun.⁴⁵⁵ However, in my view, it is preferable and much simpler, to analyze δ as a headless relative serving as the subject of $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ that takes as its predicate nominative the infinitive: “that which is chief for me will be to protect you well both while you are living and when you have departed to the gods.” In this way, this statement *summarizes* the previous two statements but does not actually find as its antecedent one or the other since it is a headless relative.

Additionally, Bakker includes $\delta\iota\acute{o}$, which—although originating from the phrase $\delta\iota' \delta$ “on account of which”—can scarcely be considered a relative marker in Koine Greek but is purely a conjunction, as even its morphology now indicates.⁴⁵⁶ Mayser states, “Aus $\delta\iota' \delta$ entstanden, aber stets als ein Wort geschrieben, leitet $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ eigentlich einen subordinierten Relativsatz ein, aber diese Subordination wurde gewiß nicht mehr empfunden, und die Partikel hat ganz die Bedeutung ‘daher, demnach, darum’

⁴⁵⁵ Beyond this, Bakker’s explanation on this point is opaque to me: “The phrase *καλῶς σου προστατῆσαι* has a very obvious function: there is a double antecedent, the one printed and . . . *τυχεῖν σε πάντων τῶν καλῶν* (*sc.* when you will have died). The phrase *κ.σ. προστατῆσαι* etc. is repeated, so that there will not be any misunderstanding about which of the two is meant: no only the last one, but both of them: *καὶ ζῶντός σου καὶ εἰς θεοῦς ἀπελθόντος!*” (Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 27).

⁴⁵⁶ LSJ lists $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ as a conjunction “for $\delta\iota' \delta$ ” (“ $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ ”); BDAG call it an “inferential conjunction” and gives the glosses “therefore, for this reason” (“ $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ ”). BDF characterizes $\delta\iota\acute{o}$ under the heading “consecutive (inferential) co-ordinating conjunctions” (§451).

angenommen.”⁴⁵⁷ Thus, excluding these from consideration removes five examples, all in Polybius, from Bakker’s count.⁴⁵⁸

After examining each of his examples, I have accepted only six (see §4.4.2): Polybius, *Hist.* 8.2.1; Diod., *Bibliotheca Historica*, 1.72.9; Pedanius Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 3.8.1; P.Ryl. 154.13; P.Oxy. 1 95, l. 16; P.Oxy. 1 117, l. 12–14.⁴⁵⁹ Of these, as I have noted, only two occur before the Common Era (##15–16)—those found in Polybius (ca. 200–120 BCE) and Diodorus Siculus (1st cent. BCE)—and are explainable as occurring in clarifying statements.

4.4.3.2. The “*Pronomen Abundans*” in the LXX

Bakker’s approach to the data in the LXX is intended to discern whether or not the clauses can be considered to be idiomatic or deriving from Semitic influence. He states,

[W]hen a relat[ive] clause in which occurs a *pronomen abundans* is essential (restrictive), it does not follow the rules of the Greek language and must be considered as non-Greek, and therefore as a Semitism. When such a clause is nonessential, the chance is great that the *pronomen abundans* [in the LXX] can be defended as something that is innate to Greek, but it may also be considered as a consequence of Semitic influence.⁴⁶⁰

It should be noted that this represents a stretching of his account of “relative connection.”

As Kühner–Gerth define and Bakker reiterates, relative connection is between two

⁴⁵⁷ 2.3.134; translation: “Originating from δι’ οὗ, however always written as one word, δι’ οὗ really introduces a subordinated relative sentence, but this subordination is certainly no longer observed, and the particle has entirely adopted the meaning ‘hence, therefore, because of that.’”

⁴⁵⁸ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 26. The uses in Polybius’s *Histories* are 1.20.8; 41.2, 81.5; 5.35.12; and 6.16.5.

⁴⁵⁹ Cp. those accepted by Sollamo are Polybius, *Histories* 1.41.2, 6.10.3; Diod. 1.97.2; Callimachus, *Epigr.* 43.3; Anthologia Palatina 7.72; Pedanius Dioscurides, *De Materia Medica* 3.8.1; Asclepiodotus, *Tactica* 1.3; Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.4.6; P.Ryl. 154.13; P.Oxy. 1 95.16; P.Oxy. 1 117: 12–14; and P.Bad. 22 43.6–8. She omits to mention P.Amh. 2 77.25–27 and BGU 1 330. Therefore, I reject four she accepts (Polybius, *Histories* 1.20.15; 6.10.3, Anth. Pal. 7.72, Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.4.6; P.Bad. 2.43.6; Asclepiodotus, *Tactica*, 1.3) and accept one she rejects (Polybius, *Histories*, 8.2.1).

⁴⁶⁰ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 36.

independent clauses, or in his words, “two principal sentences”⁴⁶¹—and not a MC and a non-restrictive RC. Nevertheless, he cites a handful of examples, which come primarily from Genesis.⁴⁶² His treatment of Gen 10:13–14, which he considers an example of a *non-restrictive* relative clause, is representative. According to him, as was noted above, a resumptive pronoun after so-called relative connection is idiomatic in Koiné. Here the OG and MT are cited together:

22	Gen	καὶ Μεσράϊμ ἐγέννησεν τοὺς Λουδιεῖμ ... καὶ τοὺς Χασλωνιεῖμ ὅθεν
	10:13–14	ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν Φυλιστιεῖμ, καὶ τοὺς Καφθοριεῖμ.
	NETS	And Mesraim became the father of the Loudieim ... and the Chaslonieim, <u>there where</u> Phylistieim came from, and the Kaphtorieim.
	MT	ומצרים ילד את לודים ... ואת כסלחים אשר יצאו משם פלשתים
	NRSV	Egypt became the father of Ludim ... and Caphtorim, from which the Philistines come.

Bakker states, “This is not a genuine case of Semitic influence. Yet, I believe, it owes [sic, owes] its existence to the Hebrew original: a Hebrew and a Greek phenomenon find each other.”⁴⁶³ As the following argument will make clear, I disagree with Bakker’s assessment of this—this is a genuine case of Semitic influence.

Although he collects examples only from Greek Genesis, he finds 23 examples where resumption occurs in a non-restrictive clause (which he considers idiomatic)—only three fewer than he has found in 600 years of Greek literature! It is obvious that the Hebrew *Vorlage* has exerted its influence here. Unfortunately, he does not provide the corresponding figure on how many times resumption occurs in restrictive clauses, which he considers unidiomatic.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁶² He cites Gen 10:13–14; 20:13; 38:30; 48:15; Lev 15:26; 3 Regn 13:15; Isa 1:21. He also makes mention of Gen 31:13; 33:19; 39:20; 40:3; Lev 15:4, 24; 3 Regn 13:31; Bar 2:4; 13:29; 3:8.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 37. He continues in a footnote, “I must admit that I am not too sure of the Greek spirit of Gen 10:13–14” (ibid., 38 n. 120).

By way of critique, I would suggest that if Bakker is right in his assessment that the resumptive pronoun is idiomatic in non-restrictive clauses—of which I am not convinced—we would naturally expect it to show up more often than normal in a translation of a Hebrew text. This, as Bakker shows, happens at least in Greek Genesis. However, we would *not* expect that the translator would suppress resumption when it both accords with his source text and the idiom of his target language (i.e., in non-restrictive clauses), as in fact does happen. In Gk Num, I have found sixteen instances in which the translator avoids resumption when it is present in the MT.⁴⁶⁴ Of these, five can confidently be said to occur in non-restrictive clauses: 14:8, 16:40 [MT 17:5]; 22:30; 27:18; 35:25. On the basis of these data in Gk Num and Greek Genesis, I suspect that if the entire LXX were examined more examples could be added to this.

4.4.3.3. *Evaluation of Bakker*

Bakker’s study pushes forward our understanding of resumption in Koiné Greek and has produced much valuable data; however, I think it suffers from a few errors. First, his database of resumption in compositional Koiné Greek is subject to much question, as Sollamo first pointed out and with which I concur after independent analysis.⁴⁶⁵ Second, as I have pointed out, he finds that his own theory breaks down at a few points. Specifically, it is unable to account for (a) his inability to explain the nature of “relative connection” and (b) the relative paucity of resumption in Koiné, although his explanation expects it. Third, the frequency of resumption in the Septuagint—aside from whether it is idiomatic or not—must be attributed to the source text. As we shall see below, Gk Num *never* adds a resumptive element where it is not present in his source text, suggesting that

⁴⁶⁴ See below on §4.6.2 (“Omission or Avoidance of Resumption”).

⁴⁶⁵ See Appendix B for detailed analysis of examples presented in Bakker’s work that have been rejected.

resumption in RCs derives only from the source text. Fourth, his theory does not explain why resumption is avoided in non-restrictive RCs, as I have found in Gk Num. If it was idiomatic *and* in his source text, what reason is there for a translator to avoid it? Finally, assuming that we have only six occurrences of resumption in Koiné Greek literature over a 600 year period—and only two in the period BCE—can we call this construction *idiomatic*? I think the scant evidence does not warrant such a conclusion. Therefore, I conclude that resumption in Koiné Greek relative clauses is better considered unidiomatic. As to the types of contexts in which it occurs, it extends beyond the data to say on the basis of this analysis that it is *ungrammatical*, something quite difficult to prove without access to native speakers. If this could be shown without a doubt, Edward Sapir’s famous statement would likely apply—“All grammars leak.”⁴⁶⁶ Therefore, I conclude that it is at least unidiomatic and likely ungrammatical. This conclusion, I believe, better explains why G would suppress resumption in non-restrictive RCs.

4.4.4. The Helsinki School’s Treatments

Resumption is treated in two essays by Raija Sollamo and only briefly by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen.

4.4.4.1. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen

Soisalon-Soininen makes a few claims that are impossible to substantiate, but that have the ring of truth to them:

In general, pleonastic repetitions occur more frequently in the spoken language, but are also found in the written language, especially when the latter is somewhat

⁴⁶⁶ The full statement is, “Were a language ever completely ‘grammatical,’ it would be a perfect engine of conceptual expression. Unfortunately, or luckily, no language is tyrannically consistent. All grammars leak” (Edward Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* [New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1921], 39). Van Valin and Lapolla provide some helpful commentary on this statement: “If I am not misinterpreting Sapir, I believe he did not assert here that *all* rules of grammar leak *all the time*, but rather that no grammar is totally leak-free” (*Syntax*, 1.28).

careless. Since these expressions are quite common in the Pentateuch, they obviously did not offend the ear of the Septuagint translators to any great extent.⁴⁶⁷

However, he also claims—without providing accompanying statistics or citations—that “omission [of the resumptive element] is most frequent in cases in which the Hebrew has e.g. repeated the object by a suffix, that is, without a separate word.”⁴⁶⁸ That is, a suffixed pronoun is more likely to have been omitted than an independent pronoun. In Gk Num, there are sixteen instances in which G avoids resumption and 25 in which resumption is retained. Although I do not have figures for the whole of the Greek Pentateuch, the following table summarizes my findings. This table includes both pronominal and adverbial resumption in its figures, since Soisalon-Soininen’s comments are made in relation to both.

	Omitted/Avoided ⁴⁶⁹	Retained
Independent	6 ⁴⁷⁰	5 ⁴⁷¹
Suffixed	10 ⁴⁷²	20 ⁴⁷³

Thus, it can be seen that Soisalon-Soininen is correct (at least when it comes to Gk Num): *when a resumptive element is omitted*, it more frequently involves a suffixed pronoun than an independent element. Nevertheless, suffixed resumptive pronouns are more frequently retained than they are omitted.

⁴⁶⁷ Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause in the Greek Pentateuch,” 60. Bakker also speculates about the spoken language (*Pronomen Abundans*, 17, 45–46).

⁴⁶⁸ Soisalon-Soininen, “The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause,” 60.

⁴⁶⁹ In this category, I am including both places where G simply omits a corresponding element (e.g., Num 27:17) and where he avoids it by recasting the clause (e.g., Num 3:3).

⁴⁷⁰ See Num 9:13, 17; 14:8; 16:40 (MT 17:5); 35:25 1^o; 35:31.

⁴⁷¹ See Num 14:24; 15:18; 17:4 (MT 17:19); 33:54; 35:26.

⁴⁷² See Num 3:3; 19:2; 22:30; 27:17, 18; 33:55; 35:33, 34; 36:3, 4.

⁴⁷³ See Num 4:9, 14; 5:3, 30; 11:21; 13:20 2x [MT 13:19]; 13:33 [MT 13:32]; 14:7, 30, 31; 15:39; 19:2 2^o; 23:13; 34:13; 35:17, 18, 23, 25 2^o, 34.

4.4.4.2. *Raija Sollamo*

Sollamo's treatment is focused on producing statistics by which the "literalness" or "freeness" of the translations of the Pentateuch might be compared.⁴⁷⁴ Thus, she counts each instance in which the resumptive element present in Hebrew is included and each case in which it is not present, and compares the numbers for each book. Those that *include* the resumptive frequently are considered literal in their translation technique; those that do not are considered free.⁴⁷⁵ She agrees with the essential points of Bakker's work—although disputing some of his examples in Koiné—and argues that, since this construction does appear at points in Greek literature, it should be considered a "statistical Hebraism."⁴⁷⁶ She makes some interesting observations that suggest Greek Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are tending towards increasing literalness.⁴⁷⁷

For Gk Num, she finds that there are thirty instances in which resumption is retained and seven instances in which it is omitted. As I have noted above, there are 25 instances of retention and sixteen of avoidance/omission. Whereas Sollamo does observe that the translator discreetly avoids resumption by manipulating the syntax of Greek—which she notes in Num 19:2; 35:25, 55—she does not catch it in every instance.⁴⁷⁸ Additionally, she does not notice that the accusative plural οὓς is the subject of *ἱερατεύειν*

⁴⁷⁴ Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch"; idem., "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Lev, Num, and Deut."

⁴⁷⁵ The following represents her findings. The first number represents retentions and the second omission. Gen 26/22; Exod 22/21; Lev 51/22; Num 30/7; Deut 65/15. Thus, it seems there is a move towards a literal rendering later in the Pentateuch (Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch," 78–84). Soisalon-Soininen's figures vary slightly (see "The Rendering of the Hebrew Relative Clause: Greek Pentateuch," 61).

⁴⁷⁶ Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Greek Pentateuch," 78; also Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 39.

⁴⁷⁷ See Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun: Lev Num Deut," 60.

⁴⁷⁸ She does not observe this in Gk Num 9:13; 14:8; 16:40 (MT 17:5); 27:18.

in Num 3:3.⁴⁷⁹ Since she does not provide a complete list of verses, it is difficult to evaluate all of her decisions. These minor points weaken slightly but do not negate her other observations. Nevertheless, her translation-technical study has left much space for further syntactical interpretation.

4.6. Resumption in Greek Numbers

4.6.1. Retention of Resumption in Relative Clause

I have counted 25 instances of resumption of Gk Num: 4:9, 14; 5:3, 30; 11:21; 13:20 2x [MT 13:19], 33 [MT 13:32]; 14:7, 24, 30, 31; 15:18, 39; 17:4 [MT 17:19]; 19:2 2° (in the first, G avoids resumption); 23:13; 33:54; 34:13; 35:17, 18 [cp. 35:17], 23, 25 [2°], 26, 34.

When the coreferential element is the object of a preposition, it is grammatically requisite to have a resumptive pronoun in Hebrew, as we have already noted (§4.3.). G renders many of these, which accounts for most instances of resumption in Gk Num (##23–25).

23	5:3	καὶ οὐ μίανουσιν τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καταγίνομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς.
	NETS	and they shall not defile their camps <u>in which</u> I dwell <u>among them</u>
	MT	וְלֹא יִשְׂמְאוּ אֶת מַחֲנֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁכֵן בְּתוֹכָם
	NRSV	they must not defile their camp, where I dwell among them

⁴⁷⁹ Gk Num 3:3 reads: οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἠλειμμένοι οὓς ἐτελείωσαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἱερατεύειν. In the RC, there is an open argument slot for the accusative relative pronoun: the subject of the infinitive. I take the plural verb ἐτελείωσαν to reference a general 3rd person group (so Wevers, *NGTN*, 33; contra Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 84–85). αὐτῶν, then, represents the resumptive pronoun in Hebrew but is not itself resumptive.

- 24 5:30 ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα ζηλώσεως, καὶ ζηλώσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ,
NETS a man on whom a spirit of jealousy comes [upon him]⁴⁸⁰ and he becomes jealous of his wife
MT אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר תֵּעָבֵר עָלָיו רוּחַ קִנְאָה וְקָנָא אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ
NRSV or when a spirit of jealousy comes on a man and he is jealous of his wife
- 25 13:20 καὶ τίς ἢ γῆ, εἰς ἣν οὗτοι ἐγκαθίστανται ἐπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ καλὴ ἐστὶν ἢ πονηρά· καὶ τίνες αἱ πόλεις, εἰς ἃς οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰ ἐν τειχίῃσιν ἢ ἐν ἀτειχίστοις·
NETS and what the land is, which they dwell on [it], whether it is good or bad, and what the cities are which they live in [them], whether they are walled or unwalled
MT 13:19 וּמָה הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הוּא יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ הַטּוֹבָה הוּא אִם רַעָה וּמָה הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר הוּא יוֹשֵׁב בְּמִבְצָרִים
NRSV and whether the land they live in is good or bad, and whether the towns that they live in are unwalled or fortified,

Frequently, as in #23, the preposition attached to the relative pronoun—which is a plus vis-à-vis G's *Vorlage*—matches that of the resumptive pronoun.⁴⁸¹ Alternatively, as in #24, the relative pronoun is bare (i.e., not governed by a preposition), but the relative is governed by a preposition.⁴⁸² At times, the preposition governing the relative pronoun differs from that of the resumptive pronoun, as in #25.⁴⁸³

In every instance, pied piping can only be accounted for via Greek syntactical constraints since Hebrew disallows pied piping. However, it seems that G chose the pied piped preposition before he had fully looked at the clause in most instances. This would explain why he adds a preposition in certain instances before the relative pronoun—or does not use a preposition—but then selects a different preposition with the resumptive pronoun. However, his translational norm of representing every Hebrew element

⁴⁸⁰ I have added the resumptive in this and the following examples in brackets where NETS does not render them.

⁴⁸¹ This occurs at 5:3; 11:21; 14:30; 35:17, 23.

⁴⁸² See 4:9, 14; 5:30; 14:31 (notice the difference at 14:30); 19:2 2° (in the first, G avoids resumption)

⁴⁸³ See 13:20 [MT 13:19] 2x; 15:39; 35:18 [cp. 35:17].

constrains him—against his Greek ear—to place a resumptive pronoun governed by a preposition into the otherwise complete RC. What remains to be explained is the variation.

In some instances, I surmise that he chose whether or not to use a preposition as well as which preposition to govern the *relative* pronoun on the basis of his Greek sensibilities. When translating the RC itself a few moments later, G allows the Hebrew to interfere and he ends up selecting a common translational equivalent for the Hebrew preposition that governs the *resumptive* pronoun.⁴⁸⁴ This happens in five instances.

	Case of Relative Pronoun ± preposition	Second Preposition	Hebrew Preposition
4:9	dative	ἐν	ב
4:14	dative	ἐν	ב
5:30	dative	ἐπί	על
15:39	ἐν + dative	ὀπίσω	אחור
35:18	ἐκ + genitive	ἐν	ב

Note that, in each instance, the Greek preposition governing the resumptive pronoun could be considered a stereotyped rendering of the Hebrew preposition.

In other instances, however, a different mixture of target language constraints and Hebrew interference obtains: a resumptive pronoun appears in the Greek RC due to the resumptive in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, the cases of the relative and resumptive pronouns as well as the preposition (if any) are only explainable via Greek syntactical constraints. This is found in four instances: 13:20 [MT 13:19]; 14:7, 31; 19:22.

⁴⁸⁴ Soisalon-Soininen gives a similar presentation of the “Arbeitsweise” of the translators (“Beobachtungen zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* [ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987], 28–39, here, 37–38).

	Case of Relative Pronoun ± preposition	Second Preposition	Hebrew Preposition
13:20 ⁴⁸⁵	εἰς + accusative	ἐπί	ב
14:7	accusative	accusative	ב
14:31	accusative	ἀπό	ב
19:22	genitive	genitive	ב

In 14:7, 31, and 19:22, the constraints of the Greek language are quite clear. In 14:31, it is likely that G placed the relative pronoun in the accusative case by attraction to the HN and selected the preposition ἀπό under influence of ἀφίστημι.

- 26 14:31 καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἀπέστητε ἀπ' αὐτῆς.
NETS and they shall inherit the land, that which you turned away from [it].
MT וידעו את הארץ אשר מאסתם בה
NRSV and they shall know the land that you have despised

In 14:7 and 19:22, pied piping does not appear due to target language restraints. This same constraint causes G to avoid rendering the preposition that governs the resumption (i.e., בו in #27).

- 27 19:22 καὶ παντὸς, οὗ ἂν ἅψηται αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀκάθαρτος, ἀκάθαρτον ἔσται
and all which the unclean one should touch it will be unclean⁴⁸⁶
MT וכל אשר יגע בו הטמא יטמא
NRSV Whatever the unclean person touches shall be unclean

The Greek verb ἅπτω demands a genitive object whereas the Hebrew verb it renders, נגע, usually takes the preposition ב or אל to mark its object. Thus, ἅπτω has influenced the case of αὐτοῦ as well as suppressed the translation of the ב preposition. In 14:7, the Greek verb is κατασκέπτομαι, but the explanation similar.⁴⁸⁷

Finally, 13:20 [MT 13:19] is a bit more difficult to discern.

⁴⁸⁵ MT 13:19.
⁴⁸⁶ Translation mine; NETS reads, “And everything the unclean one touches shall be unclean.”
⁴⁸⁷ The full text of Num 14:7 reads, καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες Ἡ γῆ, ἣν κατεσκεψάμεθα αὐτήν, ἀγαθὴ ἐστὶν σφόδρα σφόδρα.

28	13:20	καὶ τίς ἡ γῆ, εἰς ἣν οὗτοι ἐγκαθίστανται ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, εἰ καλὴ ἐστὶν ἢ πονηρά
	NETS	and what the land is, which they dwell on [it], whether it is good or bad
	MT 13:19	וְהִיא הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הוּא יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ הֲטוֹבָה הִיא אִם רָעָה
	NRSV	and whether the land they live in is good or bad

I have found one instance of εἰς with ἐγκαθίσταμαι in Greek literature before the Common Era.

Antiphanes Comic, f. i, line 8:

ξουθῆς μελίσσης νάμασιν δὲ συμμιγῆ μηκάδων αἰγῶν ἀπόρρουν θρόμβον, ἐγκαθήμενον εἰς πλατὺ στέγαστρον ἀγνῆς παρθένου Διοῦς κόρης ...⁴⁸⁸
 but quickly flowing milk of goats mixed with honey curd, sitting in a covering/receptacle of the holy virgin girl of Zeus

Additionally, although it also appears with ἐν in Greek literature,⁴⁸⁹ ἐπί is frequent in the Septuagint. Thus, it may be that G simply selected the two prepositions possible with his verb.

Finally, there are two more types that must be considered. When resumption occurs in the object slot, both the relative pronoun and the resumptive pronoun appear in the accusative (#29).⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁸ See also Judg 2:2.

⁴⁸⁹ ἐν is found earliest in Hippocrates, *De mulierum affectibus*, 78.60, 135.18; see also Polybius, *Histories*, 18.11.6; elsewhere in the Septuagint, see Exod 23:33; 34:12; Deut 1:46; 2:12; 3:29; Ezek 29:3; Isa 8:14. ἐπί is found in the Septuagint at Gen 49:17; Lev 18:25; Deut 2:10. See also Philo, *Leg.* 2.94.3; *Agr.* 94.5. In Gk Num, G uses εἰς and ἐπί with ἐγκαθίσταμαι at 13:20 [MT 13:19], ἐν at 14:45, and the phrase ἐχόμενος + genitive at 22:5, 11.

⁴⁹⁰ See 13:33 [13:32 MT]; 14:7; 34:13.

- 29 13:33 καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν ἔκστασιν τῆς γῆς, ἣν κατεσκέψαντο αὐτήν, πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες Τὴν γῆν, ἣν παρήλθομεν αὐτήν κατασκέψασθαι, γῆ κατέσθουσα τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐστίν.
- NETS And they brought about consternation for the land that they had spied [it] out, to the sons of Israel, saying, “The land that we passed through [it] to spy it out—it is a land that devours those who live upon it.”
- MT 13:32 ויוציאו דבת הארץ אשר תרו אתה אל בני ישראל לאמר הארץ אשר עברנו בה לתור אתה ארץ אכלת יושביה הוא
- NRSV So they brought to the Israelites an unfavorable report of the land that they had spied out, saying, “The land that we have gone through as spies is a land that devours its inhabitants; and all the people that we saw in it are of great size.”

Last, in some places, pied piping with the relative is followed by a locative adverb

(#30).⁴⁹¹

- 30 15:18 Ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ εἰσάγω ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ
- NETS When you enter into the land, there where I am bringing you into
- MT בבאכם אל הארץ אשר אני מביא אתכם שמה
- NRSV After you come into the land to which I am bringing you,

4.6.2. Omission or Avoidance of Resumption

I have counted the following sixteen instances in which there is no corresponding resumptive element in Gk Num where it is present in the Hb Num: 3:3; 9:13, 17; 14:8; 16:40 [MT 17:5]; 19:2; 22:30; 27:17, 18; 33:55; 35:25, 31, 33, 34; 36:3, 4.⁴⁹² As we have noted above, contra Bakker, omission of the resumptive element occurs in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses.

⁴⁹¹ See 14:24; 15:18; 17:4 [MT 17:19]; 23:13; 33:54; 35:26.

⁴⁹² Note that I have counted 16 instances of resumption whereas Sollamo has only counted 7. She does not make mention of the following in her article: 3:3; 14:8; 16:40 [MT 17:5]; 35:33, 34. Additionally, it appears that she made a typographical error and included 35:55 (which does not exist), but intended 33:55. Some of these may be counted, but it is not clear which are since no complete list is included in her article. Finally, she also includes 16:5, which I do not (see Sollamo, “The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in the Septuagint: Lev, Num, Deut”). She argues that G interprets the Hebrew text differently, which is true since he takes the object of יִבְחַר as *dativus commodi* (ibid., 54). However, the Hebrew RC is *headless*, so it seems tenuous to imply that the argument slot taken by the resumptive is already occupied by another null constituent.

In most cases, G simply omits the resumptive element which is pleonastic in Greek, including resumptive adverbs (#31) and the Hebrew prepositional phrase along with its resumptive pronoun (##32–33). This happens at 3:3; 9:17; 14:8; 22:30; 27:17; 33:55; 35:25, 33; 36:3, 4.

- 31 9:17 *καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, οὗ ἂν ἔστη ἡ νεφέλη, ἐκεῖ παρενέβαλον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ.*⁴⁹³
NETS and in the place where the cloud stood, there the sons of Israel encamped.
MT *ובמקום אשר ישכן שם הענן שם יחנו בני ישראל*
NRSV and in the place where the cloud settled down, there the Israelites would camp
- 32 27:17 *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμὴν.*
NETS and all the congregation of the Lord shall not be like sheep that have no shepherd.
MT *ולא תהיה עדת יהוה כצאן אשר אין להם רעה*
NRSV so that the congregation of the LORD may not be like sheep without a shepherd.
- 33 33:55 *καὶ ἐχθρεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικήσετε.*
NETS and they shall act with hostility upon the land on which you will settle.
MT *וצררו אתכם על הארץ אשר אתם יושבים בה*
NRSV they shall trouble you in the land where you are settling

Although G does retain the resumptive element in the majority of instances, it seems that in these instances, G spontaneously allows the Greek idiom to come through.

In two instances, G transforms the syntax in such a way that what is the resumptive in Hebrew has its own argument slot in the Greek translation: 19:2 1°, 27:18.

- 34 19:2 1° *καὶ λαβέτωσαν πρὸς σὲ δάμαλιν πυρρὰν ἄμωμου, ἣτις οὐκ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ μῶμον*
NETS and let them take to you an unblemished red heifer, which does not have a blemish on it.
MT *ויקחו אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום*
NRSV to bring you a red heifer without defect, in which there is no blemish

⁴⁹³ ἐκεῖ is resumptive to ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, but, as such, it represents resumption in the MC rather than resumption in the RC.

Since G has selected the verb ἔχει, it is grammatically possible to have both a subject (here, ἥτις) and peripheral information (here, ἐν αὐτῇ). Thus, there is not double-occupancy in a single-occupancy argument slot! The same analysis holds at 27:18.⁴⁹⁴

Additionally, in each instance of resumption in the subject position of the Hebrew RC, G transforms the syntax in order to avoid using a resumptive in the subject position of the Greek RC (9:13; 14:8; 16:40 [MT 17:5]; 35:31). In three instances (9:13; 14:8; 16:40 [MT 17:5]), G renders the Hebrew resumptive pronoun—which serves as the subject in a bipartite nominal clause⁴⁹⁵—with a form of εἰμί (#35). In one instance, he translates the Hebrew relative complementizer with a definite article, transforming the clause into an adjectival phrase (#36).

- 35 9:13 καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν καθαρὸς ᾦ καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ μακρὰν οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ ὑστερήσῃ ποιῆσαι τὸ πάσχα, ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκεῖνη
NETS And a person who is pure and is not a journey far off and fails to keep the pascha, that soul shall be far off
MT והאיש אשר הוא טהור ובדרך לא היה וחדל לעשות הפסח ונכרתה הנפש ההוא
NRSV But anyone who is clean and is not on a journey, and yet refrains from keeping the passover, shall be cut off from the people
- 36 35:31 καὶ οὐ λήμψεσθε λύτρα περὶ ψυχῆς παρὰ τοῦ φονεύσαντος τοῦ ἐνόχου ὄντος ἀναιρεθῆναι.
NETS And you shall not receive ransom for a soul from the one that committed murder, liable to be killed
MT ולא תקחו כפר לנפש רצח אשר הוא רשע למות
NRSV Moreover you shall accept no ransom for the life of a murderer who is subject to the death penalty

⁴⁹⁴ The Greek text reads, Λάβε πρὸς σεαυτὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυῆ, ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἔχει πνεῦμα ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

⁴⁹⁵ Broadly, this fits into G's rendering of bipartite clauses; see Num 1:16; 5:15, 18, 28; 6:8; 6:20; 8:4; 12:7; 13:4 (MT 13:3), 13:19–21 (MT 18–20), 31; 14:9; 15:25; 16:7; 18:9, 16, 17, 31; 19:9, 20; 21:26; 22:3, 6, 12; 33:36; 35:16, 17, 18, 21.

Finally, in 35:34, G translates the MT's בַּתּוֹכַחַת as ἐν ὑμῖν (= בתוככם). The reason for this transformation is opaque, but it is possible that G simply wished to avoid the resumption.⁴⁹⁶ In any case, ἐν ὑμῖν occupies a different argument slot than ἐφ' ἧς.

4.6.3. *Summation*

First, it should be noted that nowhere does G add a resumptive where there is not one in the MT—although he does omit the resumptive on a few occasions. Second, as is immediately apparent, there is a far greater number of resumptive pronouns in Gk Num alone (23) than in the entirety of Koiné Greek literature apart from the LXX in the period BCE (2). Third, Gk Num's resumptives evidence syntactical variety that extends beyond anything found in compositional Koiné Greek literature. For these reasons, I conclude that every instance of resumption in Gk Num derives from interference from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, although resumption in RCs is one aspect in which the Hebrew interference is strongly felt, aspects of these RCs can only be explained from the strictures of Greek syntax.

4.7. Resumption in Matrix Clauses

First, it should be noted that this section does not aim for a complete account of resumption in Greek matrix clauses (or Hebrew, for that matter). However, it aims to account for the types of resumption in MCs after relative clauses that are found in Gk Num.

⁴⁹⁶ Also, G could have made a graphic error here. In Qumran Hebrew, the 2ms suffix is commonly written כה- (Eric Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology* [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014], 39, 156). It is possible that G—who we are assuming for the sake of argument had of *Vorlage* which partook of a similar orthographic tradition—read a 2nd person pronoun here and so translated ἐν ὑμῖν rather than ἐν αὐτῆς. Such a mistake involves reading two *kafs* (בתוככה) as well as translating the singular with the plural. It is unlikely in my opinion that this was the case.

First, it was noted that Greek allows for resumption after left dislocation, particularly in the case of the *nominativus pendens*.⁴⁹⁷ In this construction, the pendent noun is resumed in the MC with a resumptive pronoun in a different case.⁴⁹⁸ Second, Smyth notes that fronted relatives often come with resumption in the MC: “The relative clause is often made emphatic by placing after it the main clause with the demonstrative antecedent.”⁴⁹⁹ This can be understood under the heading of anacoluthon: “The simplest form of anacoluthon is where a preceding case is assimilated by attraction to a following relative clause which required an antecedent.”⁵⁰⁰ For instance, see the resumptive ἐν ταύταις in the following example:

37 P.Rev. col. 43, l. 3–4 (259 BCE, Arsinoite)
 Ὅσαι δ' ἐν δωρεῖαι κῶμαι⁵⁰¹ εἰσιν, ἐν ταύταις δὲ ἐλαιουργῖον μηθὲν καθιστάτωσαν.
 But *whichever villages* are held in gift, now *in these* they shall set up no oil factory.

Note that this could be constructed grammatically without the anacoluthon and resumption: *ἐν ὅσαις κώμαις ταῖς ἐν δωρεῖα ἐλαιουργῖον μηθὲν καθιστάτωσαν (in whichever villages that are held in gift, they shall set up no oil factory). In addition to cases of this sort that involve the *nominativus pendens*, Smyth notes that “the accusative often stands absolutely when at the head of a sentence.”⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ See §4.2.

⁴⁹⁸ See BDF §466; Smyth §3001–8.

⁴⁹⁹ Smyth §2492.

⁵⁰⁰ BDF §466; see also §467. BDF cites LXX Ex 32:1. On anacoluthon in Greek, see Smyth §3001–8.

⁵⁰¹ Although the papyri often use a non-subscripted iota with the dative singular endings—i.e., αι, ηι, ωι as opposed to ς, η, φ—so that κῶμαι could be dative singular or nominative plural, it is here taken as a nominative plural. Note that that accenting on a dative singular would be κῶμαι (κῶμα) rather than κῶμαι since long ultimas forbid circumflex accents on penults. (NB the diphthong αι [as well as οι] is only short when at the end of a word, as it is in κῶμαι).

⁵⁰² Smyth §3008.f; see also Mayser 2.3.198.

- 41 23:12 καὶ εἶπεν Βαλαὰμ πρὸς Βαλάκ Οὐχὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐμβάλη ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα μου, τοῦτο φυλάξω λαλήσαι;
NETS And Balaam said to Balak, “No, as much as God puts in my mouth, shall I beware of speaking it?”
MT ויען ויאמר הלא את אשר ישים יהוה בפי אתו אשמר לדבר
NRSV He answered, “Must I not take care to say what the LORD puts into my mouth?”
- 42 15:30 καὶ ψυχὴ, ἣτις ποιήσει ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν προσηλύτων, τὸν θεὸν οὕτως παροξύνει
NETS And a soul that shall act with a hand of arrogance, from the natives or from the guests, this one provokes God
MT והנפש אשר תעשה ביד רמה מן האזרח ומן הגר את יהוה הוא מגדף
NRSV But whoever acts high-handedly, whether a native or an alien, affronts the LORD, and shall be cut off from among the people.

G follows the gender of the MT’s pronoun, resuming ψυχὴ (feminine) with the masculine near demonstrative οὗτος. οὕτως is used as a resumptive in Num 8:4.

- 43 8:4 κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὃ ἔδειξεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ, οὕτως ἐποίησεν τὴν λυχνίαν.
NETS according to the pattern that the Lord showed Moses, so he made the lampstand
MT כמראה אשר הראה יהוה את משה בן עשה את המנרה
NRSV according to the pattern that the LORD had shown Moses, so he made the lampstand.

Although I have not conducted a thoroughgoing analysis of resumption in the MC, it is clear that in some instances (e.g., #38) G has depended upon his Hebrew source text and produced idiomatic Greek. In others, G makes minor shifts to preserve his Greek idiom (e.g., #39). Nevertheless, a pendent *nominative* followed by a RC and then a *nominative* resumptive element in the MC, as we have seen in Num 15:30 (#42), is more than likely due to interference from his source text.

4.8. Conclusion

In sum, I have demonstrated in this chapter that the resumptive elements in RCs is the result of interference from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Hebrew allows for resumption in

certain constructions and in others, requires resumption. In contrast, although Koiné Greek does allow for resumption in the MC after a pendent nominative, I have argued that it is not idiomatic in Koiné to resume the relative pronoun with a resumptive pronoun in the RC. In my treatment of Bakker and his examples, I have argued that, of the few examples of resumption in RCs from compositional Greek literature, the two instances from the period BCE seem to match what is found in Classical Greek: resumption occurs for clarity when the RC precedes the MC and is separated from it by (an) intervening clause(s) or phrase(s). These examples do not support the conclusion that resumption is idiomatic in non-restrictive clauses. Nevertheless, with respect to the syntax of the Septuagint, it was shown that the constraints of Koiné Greek in combination with interference from the Hebrew *Vorlage* are able to explain every instance of resumption or lack thereof. The peculiar distribution of these in the Septuagint as a whole and in each book is attributable to the spontaneity of the translator and the translational norms of the community.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1. Summation of Study

In the introduction of the present thesis, the following definition of the syntax of the Septuagint was articulated: “the translational syntax of the Septuagint is a coding system native to the target language, Koiné Greek, that shows a measure of interference from its parent text that varies from construction to construction and from clause to clause” (§1.3). Additionally, it was further explicated that, as an inference from this definition, “neither the syntax of the target language nor the syntax of the parent text can fully explain the translational syntax of the Septuagint, but that both are required in varying measures depending both upon the construction and the clause at hand” (§1.3). In chapter 2, I presented a method for evaluating the syntax of the Septuagint that takes into account both the constraints of the target language (Koiné Greek) and the possibility of interference from the parent text. Other methods, particularly those of the Helsinki school, Anwar Tjen, Trevor Evans, and Takamitsu Muraoka, were presented and critically evaluated. On the one hand, it was shown that the Helsinki school’s method of translation technical analysis tends to underplay the explanatory power of Greek syntactical constraints on the text of the Septuagint. On the other hand, it was shown that approaching the Septuagint purely as a Greek text—as Takamitsu Muraoka seeks to do—fails consistently to take into consideration the explanatory power of interference from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Although the method of the present study is close to those of Anwar Tjen and Trevor Evans, it is also distinguished from them in a few aspects. In this way, the method of the present study aims to provide a *via media* that allows for more rigorous analysis and gives a comprehensive account of Septuagintal syntax.

Chapters 3 and 4 applied this method to two different aspects of RCs in Gk Numbers. Chapter 3 investigated variation of relativizers and chapter 4, resumptive elements in Greek RCs. This study has put forward the following thesis: the syntax of RCs in Greek Numbers conforms, in the majority of instances, to normal Koiné syntax, particularly in the variation of relativizers, case attraction and inclusion, pied piping with prepositions, and its suppression of resumption. Nevertheless, RCs show interference from the Hebrew parent text in the absence of certain (common) Greek constructions and in the frequent appearance of resumptive pronouns. Before evaluating the success of this thesis, it is worth summarizing the aspects of idiomatic Greek features and Hebrew interference that were found in the course of this study.

5.2. Summary of Idiomatic Greek Features Analyzed

In chapter 3, the following nine aspects of idiomatic Greek were discussed and their usage in Gk Num evaluated. This investigation gave rise to the following observations and conclusions. First, the use of *ὁς*, *ὅσος*, *ὅστις*, and the definite article for a Hebrew relativizer reflects constructions attested also in the Greek papyri. Second, in the case of *ὁς*, both proper case attraction and inverse attraction are operative. Third, the expressions (*ἐν*) *ἧ* *ἡμέρα* and *ὄν* *τρόπον*, representing the syntactical feature of inclusion of the HN into the RC, are found with some frequency. Fourth, pied piping occurs with various prepositions. Predominantly, pied piping in Gk Num was seen to be “type 1”—which occurs when the prepositional phrase is a part of the syntactical matrix of the RC only. It was also shown that type 3 pied piping happens with *ἐν* *ἧ* *ἡμέρα* in Gk Num, i.e., when the prepositional phrase is a part of the syntactical matrix of both the MC and RC. Fifth, *ὅσος* introduces comparative RCs. Sixth, as a neuter plural, *ὅσα* introduces

comparative adverbial clauses. Seventh, *ὅσοι* appears to have the value of *πάντες*, as was noted in the papyri, since *כל* in *כל אשר* is not rendered. Eighth, in a majority of cases, *ὅστις* appears to remain distinctive in sense from *ὅς*. However, two instances of *ὅστις*, as well as a few of *ὅς*, reflect the collapsing distinction between the two relativizers. Ninth, the definite article is used to render *אשר* clauses as type 2 adjectival clauses with either a participle or a preposition.

In chapter 4, only one aspect of idiomatic Greek was dealt with. First, it was argued that resumption is at least not idiomatic—with only two instances in Koiné in the period BCE—and it is also likely ungrammatical. Second, it was shown that, at certain points, Gk Num avoids resumption where it is present in the MT. In some instances, G creatively rendered a Hebrew RC so as to avoid resumption, although it allowed him to represent every element of his source text. In other instances, G simply did not render the Hebrew resumptive word, but spontaneously allowed the constraints of Koiné Greek to suppress the resumptive. Finally, resumption in the MC after a RC was demonstrated to be idiomatic and instances of this construction examined in Gk Num.

5.3. Summary of Hebrew Interference Analyzed

In chapter 3, a few aspects of Hebrew interference were observed. For instance, inclusion of the HN into the RC, although found in phrases like *ἡ ἡμέρα* and *ὁν τρόπον*, is generally avoided.⁵⁰⁸ Next, Type 2 and 3 pied piping does not occur in many instances where it would be idiomatic. Lastly, type 1 attributive constructions—where the attributive element appears between the definite article and HN—are exceedingly

⁵⁰⁸ Minus one instance where I have argued for inclusion (Gk Num 31:50).

common with adjectival participial and prepositional phrases in Koiné. These do not appear in Gk Num, although type 2 adjectival constructions do appear.

In chapter 4, I argued that there is a far greater number of resumptive pronouns in Gk Num alone (25) than in the entirety of Koiné Greek literature apart from the LXX. Second, the syntactical variety evidenced by resumptives in Gk Num extends beyond that of anything found in compositional Greek literature, CE or BCE.

5.4. Concluding Remarks

A number of features were identified that can be accounted for by Greek syntactical constraints alone. Another set of features were shown to be explainable through Hebrew interference alone. This study has successfully demonstrated the validity of its thesis that the syntax of RCs in Gk Num is reflective of natural Koiné syntax with aspects of Hebrew interference. Additionally, the study has provided a definition of translational syntax and has refined the method of analyzing Septuagintal syntax. I conclude that the method followed in this study would be broadly applicable to the syntactical phenomena found in the translated works of the Septuagint.

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APPENDIX A: A TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK NUMBERS

The following typology is meant merely to be suggestive of how a whole reference grammar might be written following the method of this study. It is not meant to represent exhaustively all syntactical features of RCs in the Septuagint. However, this typology also serves to illustrate how a reference grammar of the Septuagint might be both descriptive and explanatory—which, as I have argued in §2.2.5, it must be. Drawing from the previous chapters, the presentation is intended to reflect the economic style characteristic of reference grammars.

A.1. Relativizers

Greek has at its disposal a greater variety of relativizers than are found in Gk Num. Gk Num uses ὅς, ὅστις, and ὅσος—lacking are οἷος, ὁποῖος, ὅσπερ (really a strengthened form of ὅς), and ὅθεν, *inter alia*.⁵⁰⁹ The lack of some forms cannot confidently be ascribed to Hebrew interference; since G does use multiple relative pronouns, it is possible that the translator simply never felt the need to use the other forms rather than suppose he was restricted by his source text in some fashion.

There is likely a breakdown between the meaning of ὅς and ὅστις (as is uncontroversial⁵¹⁰), which is reflected in Gk Num's use of these two relativizers. In most instances, ὅς takes on its normal force, referring to a definite HN: Num 6:18, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῆν θυσίαν, חב תחת אשר על האש (and *passim*). In a few instances, ὅς is used where ὅστις would properly appear, that is, with an indefinite HN: Num 19:22, καὶ παντὸς, οὗ ἂν ἄψηται αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀκάθαρτος, ἀκάθαρτον ἔσται / כל אשר יגע בו הטמא יטמא. In

⁵⁰⁹ See Robertson 710; Smyth §2495–99.

⁵¹⁰ See BDF §293; Smyth §2493 and §2508; Robertson 726–8; Karl Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*, 558–9; LSJ, “ὅστις,” II.

one instance, both appear with reference to the same HN: Num 19:2, *πυρρὰν ἄμωμου, ἥτις οὐκ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ μῶμον καὶ ἧ οὐκ ἐπεβλήθη* / *אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום אשר לא עלה*.

Additionally, *ὅστις* is used where *ὅς* would properly appear: Num 14:14, *ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ὅστις ὀφθαλμοῖς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀπτάζῃ* / *העם הזה אשר עין בעין נראה*. Note, however, that *ὅστις* is used more frequently with indefinite HNs: Num 5:6, *Ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, ὅστις ἂν ποιήσῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων* / *איש או אשה כי יעשו מכל חטאת האדם* (see also 14:8; 15:30; 19:2; 31:17).

ὅσος introduces comparison clauses of quantity.⁵¹¹ In Gk Num, *ὅσος* always appears in the plural, although singular forms are well-attested with quantifiable HNs (e.g., P.Rev. col. 34): Num 16:39, *τὰ πυρεῖα τὰ χαλκᾶ, ὅσα προσήνεγκαν* / *את מחתות אשר הקריבו* (see also 3:31; 4:26 [1^o]; 6:5; 14:15). Such a construction is frequent. It appears frequently with a form of *πᾶς*, usually translating *כל*: Num 5:9, *κατὰ πάντα τὰ ἁγιαζόμενα ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, ὅσα ἂν προσφέρωσιν* / *לכל קדשי בני ישראל אשר יקריבו*. Plural forms of *ὅσος* can also be semantically equivalent to *πάντες*, an interpretation supported by G's neglect of *כל* when translating *אשר כל*⁵¹²: Num 4:26, *καὶ ὅσα λειτουργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς* / *ואת כל אשר יעשה*. (see also 4:16; 6:3; 16:33; 19:14; 22:17). This instance can be linked with other headless clauses: e.g., Num 23:12, *Οὐχὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐμβάλη ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα,* *הלא את אשר ישים יהוה בפי* (see also 24:13; 32:31).

Since these relativizers each frequently translate *אשר*, there seems to be little, if any, interference from the source text. In all likelihood, the translators selected what they thought to be the most fitting in the context.

⁵¹¹ See Smyth §2497.

⁵¹² See Mayser 2.3.95; 2.1.345.

A.2. Attraction (*proper and inverse*)

Normally, its function within a RC determines the case of the relative pronoun. However, case attraction—in which the case of the relative pronoun matches that of its HN over against its usual case—appears in Gk Num. This idiomatic Greek feature is well known.⁵¹³ Although attraction is possible with *ὅς* and *ὅσος* (not *ὅστις*),⁵¹⁴ it only occurs with *ὅς* in Gk Num: Num 30:16, *μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἣν ἤκουσεν* / *ואחרי שמעו*; 14:11, *ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς σημείοις, οἷς ἐποίησα* / *בי בכל האתות אשר עשיתי*. There are a few other probable instances in Gk Num: 10:29; 15:23; 22:8, 20; 31:50.

The HN can also be attracted to the case of the relative pronoun, which is referred to as inverse attraction.⁵¹⁵ Anacolouthon is common with inverse attraction, in which construction the HN and RC appear before the rest of the MC;⁵¹⁶ the HN's case is influenced by that of the relative pronoun but within the MC a pronoun in the correct case resumes the HN (for example, in P.Cair. Zen. 2 59186, *τὴν δ[ὲ] ἐπιστο[λὴν] ἣν ἔγραψας Ἀμμωνίῳ ἠπίθηκεν* [sic., *ἠπειθήκεν*] *αὐτῆς*). Inverse attraction with anacolouthon appears in Gk Num 13:33 (32 MT): *Τὴν γῆν, ἣν παρήλθομεν αὐτὴν κατασκεύασθαι, γῆ κατέσθουσα* / *הארץ אשר עברנו בה לתור אתה ארץ אכלת*. In this instance, a full copy of the HN (*γῆ*) appears in the MC via interference. Inverse attraction also occurs in 19:22; 32:4; 35:6, 7, 8.

⁵¹³ See Smyth §2522–4; Mayser 2.3.98–108; see also Rijksbaron, “Relative Clause Formation in Ancient Greek.”

⁵¹⁴ See Smyth §2524.

⁵¹⁵ Mayser 2.3.107; BDF §295; Robertson 107.

⁵¹⁶ Robertson 717, 435; BDF §243, 466. See also Mayser 2.3.206.

Attraction in Gk Num reflects native syntactical constraints and is relatively free from Hebrew interference. This is generally true of the case system in the Septuagint (although there are isolated instances of possible interference).

A.3. Inclusion

Inclusion, although common in contemporary Greek in a variety of constructions,⁵¹⁷ is found in Gk Num in only two phrases (ἐν) ἧ ἡμέρα and ὄν τρόπον. In the idiomatic construction, the relative pronoun appears first and the body of the RC then appears, followed finally by the HN. A few examples: Xenophon, *Cryo.*, 6.4.19, καὶ προσευξάμενοι οἷς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς (and having worshipped the goods to whom we have sacrificed); P.Tebt. 1 14 C.36–42, ἀποβάντας ὧν ἔχουσι πλειων ἀπάντων (for those returning all the extra that they have). Significantly, words of time usually appear directly after the relative pronoun rather than at the end of the clause (e.g., UPZ 1 20.10; P.Rev. 33.10).⁵¹⁸

Gk Num has the phrase (ἐν) ἧ ἡμέρα + finite verb in place of the phrase ביום + infinitive construct: 30:6, ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς, ἧ ἂν ἡμέρα ἀκούσῃ πάσας τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῆς / וּאֵם הַנְּדָרִיָּה הַנִּיא אֲבִיָּה אֵתָה בַיּוֹם שִׁמְעוּ כָל נְדָרֶיָּה. However, the ביום + infinitive construct is also translated as a normal externally headed RC (e.g., Num 9:15). ὄν τρόπον appears frequently in the papyri to draw a comparison between the manner of the action in MC and the RC (see Chr. Wilck. 50; BGU 6 1248). The phrase serves as a natural equivalent for כַּאֲשֶׁר, a translation which is found twelve times in Gk Num; e.g., 14:28, Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἧ μὴν ὄν τρόπον λελαλήκατε εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου / חִי אֲנִי נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה אֵם לֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר

⁵¹⁷ See Robertson 718–9; Smyth §2536. See also Mayser 2.3.98–100; Stéphanie J. Bakker, *The Noun Phrase in Ancient Greek*, 79–82.

⁵¹⁸ Mayser 2.3.98.

דברתם באזני (see also 1:19; 3:16; 31:47). It also translates אשר infrequently (Num 4:49; 34:13).

Since the translators follow the Hebrew word order fairly closely *and* the Hebrew RC follows after its HN (or at times with extraposition), inclusion is more or less prohibited apart from the phrases mentioned above. Apart from these phrases, there is only one debateable instance in Gk Num: 30:31, *καὶ προσενηγόχαμεν τὸ δῶρον κυρίῳ, ἀνὴρ δ' εὗρεν σαεῦος χρυσσοῦν* / ונקרב את קרבן יהוה איש אשר מצא כלי זהב. This is not a clear cut example, but seems to follow the pattern described above.⁵¹⁹

The Hebrew *Vorlage* influences the possibility of inclusion, which would require reorganizing the order of the Hebrew words in the Greek translation significantly. Since the translators rarely do this, G has created RCs with inclusion only where he can add one word (in the case of ἧ ἡμέρα) or as a neat equivalent (in the case of δὲ τρόπον).

A.4. Relativizers with prepositions

The coreferential element can be the object of a preposition in a RC: e.g., “the car *that* I rode *in*” or “the car *in which* I rode is red.” Languages vary in how they construct this. In this area particular regard, Greek is quite dissimilar from Hebrew. Hebrew requires that resumptive pronouns (i.e., pronouns resuming the coreferential element) are attached to the preposition within the RC, prohibiting both pied piping and preposition stranding: e.g., 19:14, *וּכְלִי כָּלִי פְתוּחַ אֲשֶׁר אֵין צְמִיד פְּתִיל עָלָיו טָמֵא הוּא* (And every open vessel with no cover fastened on it is unclean [NRSV]).⁵²⁰ Greek, on the other hand, allows pied piping but not resumption: e.g., BGU 6 1301, *π[ο]νήσεις γράψ[ας μο]ι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας κα[α] περὶ ὧν ἄν σοι ὑπ[ο]πι[πτη]ι* (you would do well to write to me

⁵¹⁹ For a different opinion, see Wevers, *NGTN*, 523.

⁵²⁰ Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 69.

concerning your deliverance and concerning the things which might have befallen you). G handles this difference between Greek and Hebrew variously in Gk Num.

At times, G constructs idiomatic sentences and eschews the resumptive. Thus, pied piping of the preposition appears in Gk Num due to Greek syntactical constraints, and no prepositional phrase or resumption in the RC: Num 35:33, τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς κατοικεῖτε / בה אשר אתם בה. In other instances, there appears both a pied piped preposition *and* a (pleonastic) prepositional phrase within the RC: Num 5:3, οὐ μίανουσιν τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐγὼ καταγίνομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς / לא יטמאו את מחניהם אשר אני / שכן בתוכם. In some instances, the two prepositions vary, which is likely due to the translator's tendency to translate in small units without considering the larger clause or phrase⁵²¹: Num 13:20, τίνες αἱ πόλεις, εἰς ἃς οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς / ומה הארץ אשר הוא ישב בה. The second preposition is usually due to a stereotyped rendering of the preposition in the Hebrew *Vorlage* (see also e.g., Num 4:9, 14; 5:30).

Apart from ἐν ἧ ἡμέρᾳ, G does not make use of inclusion with pied piping—again, for the reason that it would require that the HN appear after the RC, which it never does in Hebrew.⁵²² With inclusion, the prepositional phrase can be a syntactical argument in both the HN and RC, as in P.Tebt. 38 recto, εὐρηκέναι ... τινὰ παραπωλήσαντα ἔλαιον ἐν ᾧ καταγίνεται Πετεςσοῦχος σκυτεὺς οἴκῳ (he found a certain person selling oil in the house in which Petesouchos (a leather cutter) lived). The RC with inclusion must be expanded to ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐν ᾧ καταγίνεται κτλ, so that both prepositional phrases have collapsed into one. In some instances, this would be the more idiomatic construction, e.g., Num

⁵²¹ See Soisalon–Soininen, “Beobachtungen zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer.”

⁵²² See Holmstedt, “The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew,” 65.

13:28, "Ἠλθομεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἰς ἣν ἀπέστειλας ἡμᾶς / באנו לא הארץ אשר שלחתנו. It could be, idiomatically, *ἦλθομεν εἰς ἣν εἰς ἀπέστειλας ἡμᾶς γῆν. Again, the fidelity to the Hebrew word order and tendency to represent each element prohibits the frequent appearance of this idiom.

A.5. Resumption

In most normal circumstances, Greek does not allow for resumption of the coreferential element in RCs. However, resumption is commonplace in Hebrew, and grammatically requisite in some (e.g., when the coreferential element is the object of a preposition or a possessive).⁵²³ G at times retains resumption and at other times omits it. For example, in Num 5:30, G translates a resumptive pronoun controlled by a preposition: ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα ζηλώσεως / איש אשר תעבר עליו רוח קנאה. In 9:17, the resumptive is omitted: καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, οὗ ἂν ἔστη ἡ νεφέλη / ובמקום אשר ישכן שם הענן.

In other instances, G is able to creatively transform the syntax so that he translates every Hebrew word with a corresponding Greek word but still avoids resumption: Num 19:2 1°, καὶ λαβέτωσαν πρὸς σὲ δάμαλιν πυρρὰν ἄμωμου, ἥτις οὐκ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ μῶμον / ויקחו אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום מום. Since ἥτις occupies the argument slot and ἐν αὐτῇ a peripheral/adjunct slot, the resumptive element is not grammatically redundant. This is occurs when Hebrew has resumption in the subject slot (see Num 9:13; 14:18).

⁵²³ Holmstedt, "The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew," 96–97.

APPENDIX B: TREATMENT OF W. BAKKER'S EXAMPLES OF RESUMPTION IN KOINÉ

All of the examples resumption in RCs in compositional Koiné literature proposed by Bakker are quoted in full below (excluding the NT, LXX, and later Jewish writings influenced by the Septuagint). They are arranged according to the logic of why they were not accepted as examples of resumption within a RC. For accepted examples, see §4.4.2 above. To reiterate, these were: Polybius, *Histories* 8.2.1; Diod., *Bibliotheca Historica* 1.72.9; Pedanius Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica* 3.8.1; P.Ryl. 154.13; P.Oxy. 1 95, l. 16; P.Oxy. 1 117, l. 12–14.

B.1. Conjunctions conflated with Relative Pronouns

B.1.1. *διό*

Bakker, it seems, counts instances in which *διό* introduces a subordinating clause as RCs. Although *διό* developed from *δι'ὅ*, it has fully assumed the meaning and function of a conjunction and should no longer be considered a relative pronoun phrase and RC. Therefore, repetition (resumption?) of the logical force of a conjunction within the clause cannot count as evidence of resumptive pronouns in RCs. For citations of grammars, see §4.4.3.

Polybius, *Histories* 1.20.8

διὸ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οὐχ ἥκιστα με παρώρμησεν ποιήσασθαι μνήμην ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ προειρημένου πολέμου χάριν τοῦ μηδὲ ταύτην ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐνέβησαν εἰς θάλατταν Ῥωμαῖοι.

And one of the reasons which induced me to narrate the history of this war at some length is just this, that my readers should, in this case too, not be kept in ignorance of the beginning of how, when, and for what reasons the Romans first took to the sea. (LCL)

Polybius, *Histories* 1.41.2

διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἐπερρώσθησαν διὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν εἰς τὸ μετὰ στόλου καὶ ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκπέμπειν

They were consequently encouraged to revert to their original plan of sending out the Consuls to the campaign with a fleet and naval force. (LCL)

Polybius, *Histories* 5.35.12

διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ὥστ' ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ χορηγίας, ἀπεδοκίμασαν διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· τό γε μὴν ὀλιγορήσαντας ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον ἐξαποστεῖλαι, πρόδηλον ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον, οὐδαμῶς ἡγοῦντο σφίσι συμφέρειν.

These, then, were the reasons which made them dismiss the project of sending Cleomenes off with supplies for an expedition; but at the same time they thought it would by no means serve their interests to send away such an eminent man after inflicting a slight on him, as this was sure to make him their enemy and antagonist. (LCL)

Bakker includes this example, but reads an emended text based on a conjecture from

Kaelker⁵²⁴; he takes διὰ ταῦτα as διὸ ταύτην.⁵²⁵ For our purposes, reading either διό or διὰ

ταῦτα makes little difference—this is not an example of resumption.

Polybius, *Histories* 6.16.5

διὸ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων χάριν δέδιδε τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ προσέχει τῷ δήμῳ τὸν νοῦν ἢ σύγκλητος

Therefore for all these reasons the senate is afraid of the masses and must pay due attention to the popular will (LCL)

Polybius, *Histories* 1.81.5

διόπερ εἰς ταῦτα βλέπων οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσειεν ὡς οὐ μόνον τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γεννωμένων ἐλκῶν καὶ φυμάτων ἀποθηριοῦσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ τελέως ἀβοήθητα γίνεσθαι ...

No one looking at this would have any hesitation in saying that not only do men's bodies and certain of the ulcers and tumours afflicting them become so to speak savage and brutalized and quite incurable ...

B.1.2. ὅθεν

ὅθεν has two functions: one the one hand, it is a local relative pronoun, meaning “where.”⁵²⁶ On the other hand, it can also function as a logical conjunction, meaning “for which reason.”⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ See Friedrich Kaelker, *Quaestiones de elocutione polybiana* (Leipzig, 1880), 273–4.

⁵²⁵ See Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 26.

⁵²⁶ See Smyth §2770.

⁵²⁷ See LSJ, “ὅθεν,” II; BDF §451 (6); Smyth §2498; §2770; see also Robertson 301–2; Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2.647, 661.

Pedanius Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica* 1.1.1.

ἢ γὰρ λευκά [ἢ ὠχρά] ἢ μῆλινα ἢ πορφυρᾶ ἢ καυνίζοντα ὄραται, ὅθεν διὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν ἀπεικάσθη Ἴριδι τῆς οὐράνιας.

for [the flowers of the iris] are white or pale or black or purple or blue; for which reason, on account of its varied colors, the iris is compared with the rainbow [?].

Bakker comments, “It looks as though the author was afraid that the reader would not understand what ὅθεν is referring to. This is still another example of a redundant phrase, not of a *pronomens abundans*. ”⁵²⁸ The phrase διὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν repeats the semantic force of the conjunctive ὅθεν and so should not be considered a resumptive with a RC.

Polybius, *Histories* 1.20.7

ὅθεν ὁρῶντες αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ῥοπᾶς λαμβάνοντα τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν πορθουμένην πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, τὴν δὲ Λιβύην εἰς τέλος ἀβλαβῆ διαμένουσαν, ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ συνεμβάινειν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.

Hence when they saw that the balance of the war tended more and more to shift to this side or that for the above reason, and that while Italy was frequently ravaged by the fleet, Libya remained entirely free from damage, they took urgent steps to get on the sea like the Carthaginians. (LCL)

On this example, Bakker states, “[t]he word ὅθεν used in this way is identical to διό”⁵²⁹—supported also by LCL’s translation. Accordingly, this example functions similarly to those in B.1.1 and should not be included as an example of resumption in a RC.

B.1.3. ὅπερ

When joined to a relative pronoun, the addition of *-περ* emphasizes the connection with the antecedent⁵³⁰—thus Smyth gives “the very man who” or “the very thing which” as possible translations.⁵³¹ Although ὅπερ *can* be “freq[ue]ntly]

⁵²⁸ Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 27.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵³⁰ See Smyth §338.c; §2965.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.* §338.c.

indistinguishable from simple *ὅς*,⁵³² the neuter singular *ὅπερ* is also used as a conjunction, meaning “wherefore,” “although,” “as,” or “like.”⁵³³

P.Amh. 2 77, l. 25 (139 CE)

ἐποίησάν με [...]κ[...] αιον ὄντα μαστιγοῦσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀναδῶ[ναί] με α[ὑτοῖς] τὸ τοῦ [Ἄρπ]αγάθου ἀναγράφιον, ὅπερ φανερόν τοῦτο ἐγένετ[ο] τοῖς τε τῆς νομαρχίας ἐπιτηρητ[αῖς] καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τότε ὄντι βεφινικιαρίωι (sic.).

The caused me ... κ ... [?] to be flogged in order that I might deliver to them the list of Harpagathos, although [ὅπερ] this became apparent to the guards of the provenance and to the one who was then the *beneficiarius* [lat.] over these areas.

BGU 1 330 (153 CE)

ἐγνώσθη μοι ὀφείλει[ν ἀπαιτεῖ]σθαι παρὰ Δείου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων Πετεῶτος Ἄτρείου[ς] [ἀπό?] Καρανίδος ὅπερ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπο[π]τεύω.

It became known to me to be bound to demand from Deios and his children, Peteōs and Hatreios from[?] Karanis, just as I suspect this thing itself.

In each instance, a good case can be made for reading *ὅπερ* as a conjunction *rather* than as a relative, as I have demonstrated in my translations. In BGU 1 330, there is no possible antecedent in the previous clause, making it more likely to be a conjunction rather than relative pronoun.

B.2. “Resumptive” Pronoun in Different Clause

Bakker has defined the *pronomen abundans* as a repetitive element in a *single-limbed* relative clause.⁵³⁴ Thus, although the pronoun is clearly resumptive—insofar as it repeats an element that has already appear in the sentence—these examples contradict Bakker’s criteria that a *pronomen abundans* in the clause marked by the relative pronoun. It is helpful to think in terms of argument slots. A resumptive pronoun in the same clause as the relative pronoun is pleonastic since it attempts to occupy the same argument slot as the relative pronoun; in a second and following clause, it has its own argument slot and

⁵³² LSJ, “ὅσπερ.”

⁵³³ Ibid., II.1–2.

⁵³⁴ See 151 n. 437 for a discussion of the term “single-limbed.”

so is not pleonastic.

Palatine Anthology 7.72, from Menander (342–291 BCE, Athens)

Χαῖρε, Νεοκλειδᾶν δίδυμον γένος, ὧν ὁ μὲν ὑμῶν
πατρίδα δουλοσύνας ῥάύασθ', ὁ δ' ἀφροσύνας.

Hail, ye twin-born sons of Neocles, of whom the one saved his country from slavery the other from folly. (LCL)

Callimachus, *Epigr.* 43.3 (285–246 BCE, Cyrene)

Ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, ὧν μὲν αὐτῶν εἶλκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν προτέθειαν ἔαν.
Wine and Love constraine me; whereof the one dragged me, the other allowed me
not to away with rashness. (LCL)

Note that in the μὲν ... δέ construction, both the genitive plural relative pronoun as well as the genitive plural personal pronoun (ὑμῶν, αὐτῶν) seem to appear in the μὲν clause, but no corresponding genitive plural in the δέ clause. In other Greek writings, it is common to repeat the relative pronoun before both the μὲν and the δέ.⁵³⁵ Alternatively, one also finds the pronoun in the δέ clause, as in Bakker's example from Pausanias

2.4.6.⁵³⁶

Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.4.6

ἔς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσίν ἐστιν Ἴσιδος τεμένη, ὧν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν, τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτίαν αὐτῶν ἐπονομάζουσιν.

As you go up this Acrocorinthus you see two precincts of Isis, one of Isis surnamed Pelagian (*Marine*) and the other of Egyptian Isis. (LCL)

The Pausanias example is easier than the other two. There are clearly two clauses, in the first ὧν appears and in the second, αὐτῶν.⁵³⁷ As for the examples in the Palatine

⁵³⁵ See Thucydides, *Historiae*, 2.65.4, 4.92.7; Empedocles, *Testimonia*, f. 86, l. 45; Plato, *Theaetetus*, 194e, l. 3; Lysias, *Pro Polystrato*, 30.3; Lysias, *In Nicomachum*, 16.3; Hippocrates, *De Alimento*, 11.3; Democritus, *Fragmenta*, f. 302; Demosthenes, *De corona*, 213.6; *In Aristogitonem* 2, 21.5; Aeschines, *In Timarchum* 175.9; Aristotle, *Analytica priora et posterior* 68b l. 31; Aristotle, *De generatione animalium* 730a, l. 20; Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione*, 329a, l. 18; Aristotle, *Topica* f. 3; 421a, l. 25; Anaximenes, *Ars rhetorica vulgo Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 11.6.3; Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum*, 3.11.2.

⁵³⁶ See Xenophon, *Cryo*. 1.6.11; Demosthenes, *Eroticus*, 20.6.

⁵³⁷ Bakker comments, "In the example taken from Pausanias the position of αὐτῶν (in the second part) seems more natural" (*Pronomen Abundans*, 28).

Anthology and Callimachus, I analyze these similarly. I surmise that the poetics has caused the ὧν as well as the genitive plural personal pronoun to appear with the μέν clause, although the relative pronoun should be analyzed as part of the argument structure of the δέ clause.

B.3. Resumption of Entire Relative Clause

The key issue here is a subtle but important distinction: there can be an element that repeats the demonstrative force of the relative pronoun *within* the RC itself (Bakker’s definition of a *pronomens abundans*) or the entire semantic content of the RC. See §4.4.2 for a more extensive explication of Polybius 1.20.15.

Polybius, *Histories* 1.20.15

ἐν ᾧ δὴ καιρῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπαναχθέντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ μιᾶς νεῶς καταφράκτου διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν προπεσούσης, ὥστ’ ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον, ταύτη παραδείγματι χρώμενοι τότε πρὸς ταύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ παντὸς στόλου ναυπηγίαν

On this occasion, when the Carthaginians put to sea to attack them as they were crossing the straits, and one of their decked ships advanced too far in its eagerness to overtake them and ran aground so as to fall into the hands of the Romans, this (ship) they [= the Romans] then used as a model, and built their whole fleet on its pattern. (LCL)

Polybius, *Histories* 29.6.5

ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μὲν γέγονέ τις ἐπιπλοκὴ τῷ Περσεῖ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, δι’ ἣ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον ἡλλοτριώθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖοι, προφανὲς ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων.

From all this it is obvious that there had been some approaches made to Eumenes by Perseus, which caused this marked estrangement on the part of the Romans. (LCL)

Polybius, *Histories* 2.12.4

ὧν συντελεσθέντων ὁ Ποστούμιος μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε πρὸς τε τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος.

Having finished these things [= ὧν], Postumius sent after these things ambassadors to the Aetolians and the people of the Achaeans.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁸ W. R. Paton (*Polybius* [LCL; 6 vols.; London: William Heinemann, 1923], 1.269) translates, “When this treaty had been concluded Postumius sent legates to the Aetolian and Achaean leagues.”

This is a possible example of redundancy but not a resumptive pronoun. ὧν συντελεσθέντων is a genitive absolute phrase where the subject of the phrase is a relative pronoun. The relative pronoun refers to a few things, namely the sending of an embassy and the making of a treaty. μετὰ ταῦτα more or less repeats this information.

B.4. Questionable Textual Basis

Asclepiodotus, *Tactica* 1.3

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐγγύθεν ὁμοίως βαρυτάτη κέχρηται σκευῇ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας πανταχόθεν θώραξι περισκέπον, μακροῖς μέντοι χρώμενον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς δόρασιν, δι' ὃ καὶ δορατοφόρον τοῦτο καὶ ξυστοφόρον προσαγορεύεται, ἢ καὶ θυρεοφόρον, ὅτ' ἂν καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔνιοι φορῶσι παραμῆκεις διὰ τὸ συνεπισκέπεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἵππον.

Now the cavalry which fights at close quarters uses, similarly, a very heavy equipment, fully protecting both horses and men with defensive armour, and employing, like the hoplites, long spears, for which reason this arm of the service is also called the spear-bearing and the lance-bearing cavalry, or even the shield-bearing cavalry, when it, sometimes, carries unusually long shields for the purpose of protecting the mount as well as the rider.

Bakker is forthcoming with his readers on this point, although he relegates the discussion to his footnotes. He quotes this example as ὃ καὶ δορατοφόρον τοῦτο κτλ.⁵³⁹ However, he notes in his footnote that “Oldfather changes ὃ to δι' ὃ. Although he does deprive us of one of our examples, it must be admitted that the text as offered by him is more plausible.”⁵⁴⁰

If this were the case, δι' ὃ would mean “on which account”⁵⁴¹ and function as a conjunction. Bakker clearly admits that this example does not meet his criteria if it reads δι' ὃ.

⁵³⁹ See Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 28.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 28 n. 73. The reference to Oldfather is *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander* (trans. Illinois Greek Club; LCL; Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1923).

⁵⁴¹ LSJ, “διά,” B.III.2.

B.5. Miscellaneous

Onasander, *Strategikos* 3.1

Αἰρεῖσθω δὲ ἤτοι συνέδρους, οἱ μεθέξουσιν αὐτῷ πάσης βουλῆς καὶ κοινωνήσουσι γνώμης αὐτοῦ οἱ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀκολουθήσοντες.

The general should either choose a staff to participate in all his councils and share in his decisions, men who will accompany the army especially for this purpose. (LCL)

There is no resumptive pronoun in this example, although οἱ τούτου εἵνεκα

ἀκολουθήσοντες does appear to be in apposition. Bakker himself notes this: “This is actually not a genuine example of a redundant phrase within a relat[ive] clause: the phrase [οἱ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀκολουθήσοντες] is not repetition of the relat[ive] pronoun οἱ or its antecedent.”⁵⁴²

P.Bad. 2 43, l. 6ff. (3rd cent. CE, unknown provenance)

ἐνεβαλόμεθα εἰς τὸ πλοῖον Ἱέρακος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τοῦ φίλου σου, ὅπου ἔμενες ἐνθάδε ἄν’ (=ἄνω?) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐλαίου βᾶδια τεσσερα.

We embarked in the boat of Hierakos, your citizen-friend, whereas you remained in this case above in his house, [for the price] of four measures of oil.

ὅπου can serve as a local relative (“where”)⁵⁴³—although it can also function as a conjunction, “whereas.”⁵⁴⁴ The local function seems unlikely, simply because the only possible antecedent (τὸ πλοῖον) is different from the location specified in ὅπου clause (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ).

The punctuation above reflects the original publication of this letter. However, Hagedorn has subsequently republished this papyrus, and punctuated as follows:

γινώσκειν [= γινώσκειν] σε θέλω, ἀδελφε, ὅτι ἐνεβαλόμεθα εἰς τὸ πλοῖον [Ἱ]έρακος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τοῦ φίλου σου. ὅπου ἔμενες; ἐνθάδε <ἄν> ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ [sic., τῇ οἰκίᾳ].

Accordingly, it seems that “ὅπου ἔμενες” can also be construed as a question. He also

⁵⁴² Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans*, 27.

⁵⁴³ See Smyth §2498, §2770; Robertson 969, also 683, 712.

⁵⁴⁴ LSJ, “ὅπου,” II.2. I have not been able to confirm this understanding of ὅπου with other sources.

comments, “Statt des immer noch schwierigen *αν* (l. 9) steht im Papyrus in Wirklichkeit

ὧν: ‘in dessen Haus du dich, also du hier warst, aufgehalten hast.’⁵⁴⁵

Polybius, *Histories*, 6.10.3

καθάπερ γὰρ σιδήρῳ μὲν ἰός, ξύλοις δὲ θρίπες καὶ τερηδόνες συμφυεῖς εἰσι λῦμαι, δι’ ὧν, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἔξωθεν διαφύγωσι βλάβας, ὑπ’ αὐτῶν φθείρονται τῶν συγγενομένων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ...

For just as rust with iron and wood-worms and ship-works with timber are naturally united destroyers, through them—even though they might escape all harm from without—are corrupted by the very things associated with them, in the same manner also cities ...

The main question is here, can we say that there is a resumptive pronoun that occupies the same argument slot as the relative pronoun? It would seem that δι’ ὧν is recapitulated in ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. However, there is another syntactical problem: what is the function of the genitive τῶν συγγενομένων? I read this as an intensive use of αὐτός, which normally appears in the predicated position. This is somewhat easier to see rearranged slightly: φθείρονται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν συγγενομένων. In light of this, a paraphrase could be offered: “For just with iron and rust and wood and termites, through which they are destroyed, by the very things associated with them.” Accordingly, I see this phrase as explanatory to δι’ ὧν.

If, however, the ὑπό phrase is actually resuming the διά phrase, the change in prepositions seems analogous to anacoluthon—διά is used at first to indicate agency, but ὑπό is usually used to indicated the agent with the passive verb, φθείρονται. In this sense, the object of the preposition ὑπό, which I take to be αὐτῶν τῶν συγγενομένων, is not

⁵⁴⁵ Dieter Hagedorn, “Zwei Heidelberger Papyri,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 14 (1974), 277; translation: “Instead of *αν*, which is even more problematic (line 9), there is in fact *ὧν* in the papyri: ‘in (the one) whose house you sojourned while you were here.’”

simply repeating the relative pronoun but renaming them. Either way, there is not a resumptive pronoun that occupies the same argument slot as the relative pronoun.

P.Petr. 2 13, f. 19 (ca. 255 BCE, Gurob)

οὐ] μὴν οὐθὲν ἐμοὶ [ἔ]σται μεῖζον ἢ σοῦ προστατῆσα[ι τὸν] ἐ[π]ίλοιπον βίον, ἀξίως [μέ]ν σοῦ, ἀξίως δ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐάν τι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρωπον γίνηται, τυχεῖν σε πάντων τῶν καλῶν· ὁ ἐμοὶ [μ]έγιστον ἔσται καλλῶς σου προστατῆσαι καὶ ζῶντός σου καὶ εἰς θεοὺς ἀπελθόντος. Nothing truly will be dearer to me than to protect you for the rest of your life in a manner worthy of you and of myself, and if the fate of mankind befalls you, to see that you enjoy all due honours; this will be my chief desire, honourably to protect you both while you live and when you have departed to the gods.⁵⁴⁶

This example was dealt with at length in §4.4.3.1. In brief, I have analyzed ὁ ἐμοὶ

μέγιστον as a headless RC that serves as the subject of an equative sentence. The

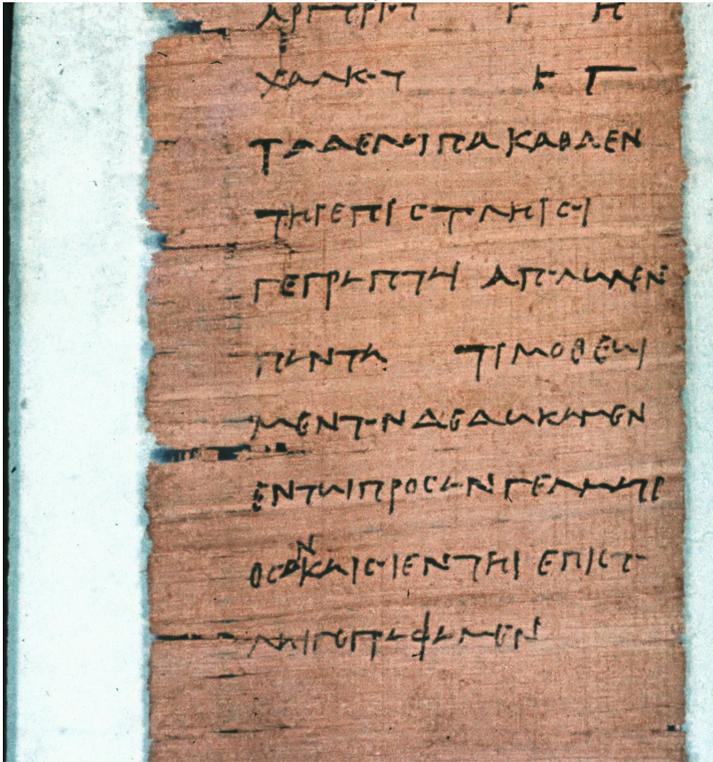
predicate nominative is καλλῶς σου προστατῆσαι and the explicit equative verb, ἔσται,

intervenes.

⁵⁴⁶ Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 278–9.

APPENDIX C: PLATES

Plate 1: P.Cair. Zen. 3 59484, l. 9-18

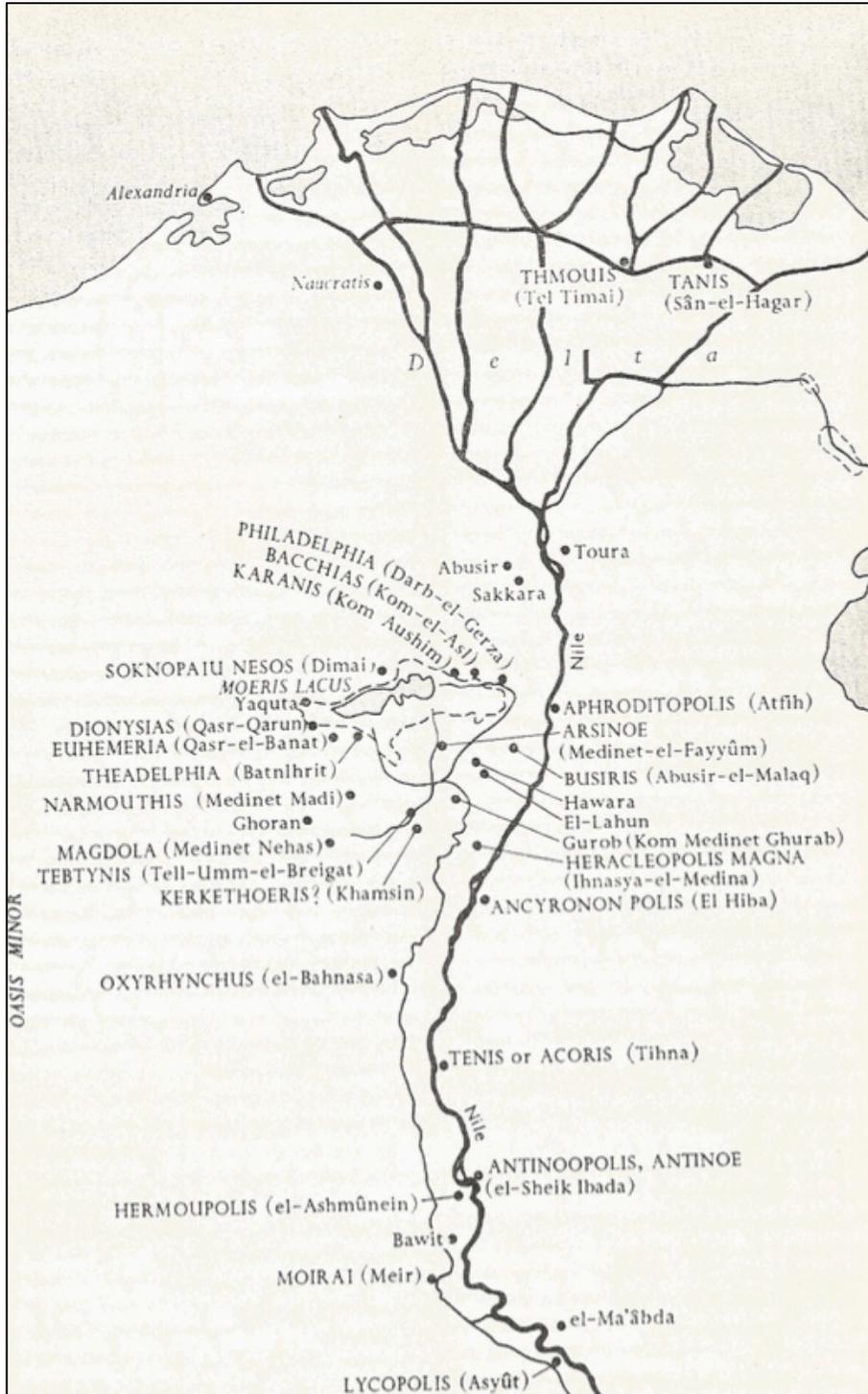


Source:

<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Cair.Zen.&vVol=3&vNum=59384>

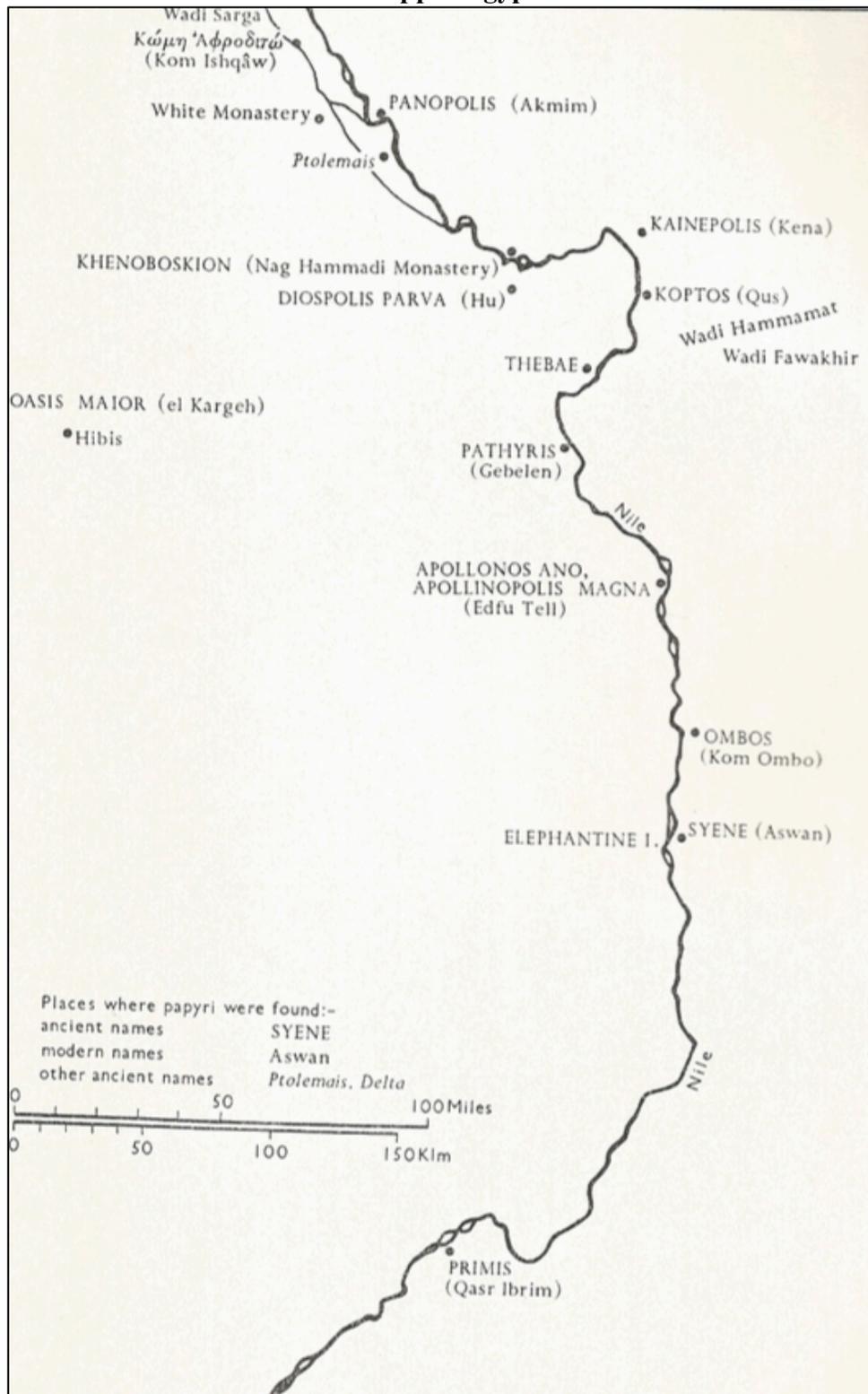
APPENDIX D: MAPS OF PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

D.1. Lower Egypt⁵⁴⁷



⁵⁴⁷ From E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), map 1(a).

D.2. Upper Egypt⁵⁴⁸



⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., map 1(b).