

**The Translation of Biblical Hebrew Verbal Stems in the Septuagint of the
Pentateuch and Former Prophets**

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I, Benjamin William Whittle, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This dissertation analyses the translation of Biblical Hebrew verbal stems in the Greek version of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets codified in the Septuagint. The Biblical Hebrew system of stems differs significantly from the Greek verbal system, and therefore systematic investigation of the strategies employed by the Greek translators can shed light on the ways in which they negotiated this linguistic difference, as well as contributing to our understanding of ancient perceptions of the functions of the Biblical Hebrew stems.

This analysis complements previous research on the Biblical Hebrew verbal system in Greek translation. Recent studies of verbal translation (Evans 2001; Good 2003) have focused largely or wholly on the conjugations, while Wevers' (1985) assertion that the nuance of the verbal stems is 'partially reproduced by Greek voice' and that other distinctions 'can only be handled lexically' has remained underinvestigated.

The dissertation interrogates Wevers' claims through detailed analysis of the translation of the *qal*, *piel*, *hiphil*, *hitpael*, *niphal*, *pual*, and *hophal*. The translations are analysed in terms of Greek voice morphology, as well as in terms of factitive-causative elements seen in lexis, some verb endings, and compound verbs.

With respect to voice, the majority of verbs in the *qal*, *piel* and *hiphil* are translated actively, and a small majority of verbs in the *niphal*, the *pual*, and the *hophal* are translated passively, while the *hitpael* has no clear majority translation for voice. Differences in voice between Hebrew and Greek are often due to the use of Greek deponent verbs.

The proportion of Greek lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning and are used to translate the 'active' Hebrew stems follows the pattern *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*. This same pattern can also be seen with the use Greek lexemes featuring denominative/deverbative verb endings and preverbs when translating the three 'active' stems.

Impact statement

The research conducted in this dissertation is useful within the academic fields of Biblical translation, and text-criticism of the Bible and Septuagint. It is additionally useful in the teaching of Hebrew and Greek, as well as collaborations between the two, in both schools and universities.

An understanding of how the translation of the Hebrew Bible was conducted can only be improved by more data. While there has been detailed research on the translation of Hebrew verbal conjugations, the stems have been left mostly unexamined. The patterns displayed in this dissertation provide future researchers with more information as to the likelihood of unexpected translations, and some of the reasons behind that.

One of the main aims of text-criticism of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint is to determine the originality of the texts and where it has been changed or corrupted. The overarching patterns of translation which are described in this dissertation provide a framework of probabilities, providing textual critics with a tool to determine if a text has been written following the most likely patterns.

Furthermore, this dissertation has applications for how the verbal stems of Biblical Hebrew are taught in courses at universities and other institutions. The conclusions reached by this study show that the distinctions between the verbal stems are not often as clear-cut as they are asserted in several grammars, as verbs in different stems can be translated identically in some cases, or exhibit a distinction based on elements such as transitivity, which is not something that is usually listed as a distinguishing feature between the stems. If these conclusions are taken into advisement, they will help students of Biblical Hebrew to better understand the nuances of the language, and prevent a rigidity of thought that may hinder translation and enjoyment of Hebrew.

This research shows how connected the fields of Greek and Biblical Hebrew can be. This could provide opportunities for greater interaction and collaboration between departments in schools and universities when teaching Greek and Hebrew (even within the frameworks of Classics and Theology), with this dissertation acting as a possible case study and springboard for discussion.

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To God alone be the glory.

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1 Introduction

When studying the translation of ancient languages the event ‘without precedent [and] of extreme importance for the history of our civilization’ (Fernández Marcos 2000: 18) is the translation of the Pentateuch – the first five books of the Hebrew Bible – from Biblical Hebrew into Greek in the 3rd century BCE, and, following that, the translation of the later books of the Hebrew Bible, such as the Former Prophets. These works of translation, often known collectively as the Septuagint (LXX), were ‘the invention of the translation language’ (Rajak 2009: 127).

This study investigates overarching patterns of translation which can be gleaned from the work of the Greek translators, with a focus on the verbal stems of Biblical Hebrew. The core research questions are: How did the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible translate these stems? Can we determine their understanding of the verbal stems from their strategies? How do their translation strategies affect our modern understanding of the stems?

The translation of Hebrew verbal stems in the LXX remains a relatively underdeveloped area of research. In more recent studies of verbal translation in the Pentateuch by Evans (2001), in Chronicles by Good (2003), and in Ecclesiastes by Gorton (2016), the focus is often either split between verbal stems and conjugations or all the attention is on the conjugations. Tov (1982) investigated the Greek translation of verbs in the *hiphil*, but did not look at the other stems. Some have even regarded investigation of the translation of the verbal stems in the as unnecessary: as Wevers (1985: 17) claimed in a short paragraph.

‘The seven-stem system of Hebrew verbal inflection is partially reproduced by Greek voice inflection. Thus Qal, Piel and Hiphil are normally rendered by an active (or deponent) inflection; the Niphal and Hoph, by the medio-passive; the Hithp by the middle, and the Pual by the passive. Other distinctions, i.e., simple stems vs «D» stems vs causative stems, can only be handled lexically in the Greek system.’

The data presented in this study partially agree and partially disagree with this assessment. The statement is mostly correct in the broad strokes, which is presumably how Wevers intended it: the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* are mostly translated using verbs which are active or deponent, although the

degree of usage of deponent verbs varies between the *qal* and *piel*, which employ deponent verbs regularly, and the *hiphil*, which does not. This difference in the use of deponent verbs to translate different active stems was noticed by Gorton (2016: 420), although his results differ in that he grouped the *piel* with the *hiphil* in being less likely to be translated with deponent verbs, as compared to the *qal*.

Contrary to Wevers' assessment, the *hophal* and the *pual* are the two stems which are most likely to be translated with medio-passive Greek verbs, while the *niphal* has the highest proportion of non-deponent morphologically passive translations (aside from the minor stem the *qal* passive), with the morphological middle being used to translate it relatively rarely. The *hitpael* does have the highest proportion of morphological middle translations compared to the other stems, but the majority of verbs in the *hitpael* are not translated with verbs in this voice.

While it is true that lexis is commonly used to indicate the other distinctions between the stems – with a greater proportion of lexemes that allow a factitive-causative nuance being used to translate it those verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil* than the *qal*, for example – some morphological factors, such as voice marking, are also used to distinguish between the verbal stems in terms of other grammatical features, particularly transitivity (which is connected to factitivity-causativity). This is related to the fact that verbs in the derived stems tend to have a higher transitivity (Kouwenberg 1997: 109), and transitivity can be marked in Greek using voice, with the passive voice used for intransitive verbs (Allan 2013c).

The comparison of the translations of verbs of roots which appear in more than one stem shows that the Greek translators often did not distinguish between verbs in different stems if their meanings were considered sufficiently similar and often when their valencies were identical – for example, verbs of the root $\psi\tau\tau$ in the *piel* and *hiphil* are often translated identically, with active voice forms of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$. This is an interesting contrast to the discussions of verbal stems found in grammars (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 358; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 124), which often try to make clear and finely delineated distinctions between the stems; it appears that the ancient translators of the LXX,

who knew both Hebrew and Greek, either did not consider some distinctions important, or found it impossible to indicate them by means of verbal morphology, or did not recognise these distinctions at all.

1.1 Outline

The next introductory sections (1.2-1.8) define and discuss the texts which are explored in this study, along with relevant aspects of translation theory, followed by an exploration of the general grammatical features that are pertinent to the research, and discussions of the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems. There is a brief discussion of relevant current research in the field of LXX translation and Hebrew verbal stems, and this introductory chapter is rounded off by the research methodology of this study.

The first section of the main body of this dissertation is divided into chapters 2-8, examining the voice translations of each of the main seven verbal stems in turn: *qal*, *piel*, *hiphil*, *hitpael*, *niphal*, *pual*, and *hophal*.

The second section (chapter 9) is a discussion of translation as regards other grammatical features, under the umbrella of factitivity-causativity; this includes discussions of lexis, denominative/deverbative verbs, and compound verbs.

The third section (chapter 10) shows comparisons of the Greek verbal translations of Hebrew roots which appear in more than one stem. These comparisons build upon each other stem by stem, and thus the first part (10.1) focuses on comparisons of the *piel* with the *qal*, followed by comparisons of the *hiphil* with the *piel* and the *qal* (10.2), and so forth.

Following these three sections, a concluding chapter (11) highlights the main patterns of translation which have been discussed in the body of the dissertation and their impact, along with suggestions for further study in related areas.

1.2 The Texts

In this study, the compared verbs are taken from two texts: the Masoretic Text of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, and the LXX of the same selection. This corpus of texts (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 & 2 Samuel, and 1 & 2 Kings¹) was selected for three main reasons: first, it is a large enough body to allow for the kind of ‘big data’ analysis that is the main feature of this study (particularly with the comparison of verbs of the same root which appear in different stems); second, these books feature predominantly narrative text, and thus the comparison of translations across books should not be overly affected by different literary styles; and third, it is generally understood that the Greek translation of these books does not differ widely from the Masoretic Hebrew text (see 1.3), meaning that comparison is less likely to be affected by any such differences.

The following sections (1.2.1 and 1.2.2) explain which texts the terms Masoretic Text and LXX refer to in this dissertation, and the following section (1.3) demonstrates that they can be legitimately compared.

1.2.1 The Masoretic Text (MT)

The Masoretic Text (MT) is a term which usually refers to a group of manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible consisting of the consonants from Second Temple sources and other elements (including vowel pointing) added in the medieval period (Tov 1992: 23). The extra-consonantal additions were added in the medieval period, and are the work of the Ben Asher family of Tiberian Masoretes (Contreras 2016). This family were crucial in codifying and marking the vocalisation of the Hebrew Bible (Khan 2013: 1-2), and their texts are used as the ‘basis for modern editions of the Hebrew text’ (Norton 2006: 212).

¹ In the LXX, these last four books are sometimes titled collectively as 1-4 Kingdoms, but that terminology will not be used here.

The oldest complete MT, finalised at the beginning of the second millennium CE, is found in the Leningrad Codex (MT^L) (Khan 2013: 10; Contreras 2016). This is the Hebrew text which is used in this study, against which the Greek translation is compared, and will henceforth be referred to as the MT. However, the use of the MT, despite its central position in the study of Biblical Hebrew, can present some difficulties.

Through work on the LXX and other texts, such as the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Peshitta, as well as the discoveries in the Judean desert, it has been established that the MT represents only one form of the varied textual history of the Hebrew Bible (Tov 1992: 23). This means that there may exist differences between the MT and the older Hebrew texts, including those upon which the LXX was based (the *Vorlage* of the LXX) (see 1.3).

1.2.2 The Septuagint (LXX)

1.2.2.1 Outline

The Septuagint (LXX) can be complex to define. Originally, the term ‘Septuagint’, and the designation LXX, referred solely to the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. This is the oldest definition of the LXX but it implies a homogeneity in the text which does not exist (Jobes and Silva 2000: 30), as while the books of the Pentateuch were most likely translated at roughly the same time, Swete (1912: 240) warns that it cannot be assumed that the translators worked under the same circumstances. Moreover, it is certain that there were different translators for different books of the Pentateuch, and as such the books of the LXX do not reflect a ‘unity of translation’ which might be expected from translations grouped under one name, in contrast to the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible, which was completed in its entirety by one man, Jerome (Fernández Marcos 2000: 23).

The Greek translation of other sections of the Hebrew Bible can be technically referred to by the term Old Greek (OG) translations. However, ‘Septuagint’ has been commonly expanded to include all the Greek translations of the books of the Hebrew Bible, as well as other Greek versions of

books not found in the Hebrew Bible, some of which are translations from Hebrew or Aramaic texts (such as 1 Maccabees) but others of which were composed in Greek (such as 2 Maccabees) (Dines 2004: 19).

In this study, which focuses on the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets, the term Septuagint and the designation LXX will be used according to the expanded sense with reference to the Greek translation of this corpus, on the understanding that these terms refer here to a larger selection of texts than is technically defined under the original meaning. In some quotations which refer to the LXX, only the Pentateuch may be meant.

1.2.2.2 Origin and development of the LXX

The Letter of Aristeas – which appears in manuscripts of Octateuch catenae, Byzantine collections of exegetical quotations attached to the first eight books of the Bible (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 19) – claims to tell the story of the creation of the LXX. It describes it as the work of 72 Jews, who came to Alexandria from Jerusalem at the behest of Ptolemy II, and who carried out the translation of the Pentateuch independently of each other and arrived at the same outcome by divine inspiration.

It is far more likely, however, that the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek was begun in the 3rd century BCE by translators from a Greek-speaking Jewish community already living in Alexandria (Dines 2004: 41-2; Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 10; Tov 2016).² The Greek-speaking Jewish community would have needed to be able to access their scriptures in their vernacular, as few of them had knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (Aejmelaeus 1989 in 2007: 60; Jobes and Silva 2000: 34).

Of the two of the main proposed models regarding the development of the manuscripts of the LXX-Pentateuch in particular – i.e. that they all ultimately derive from a single initial translation of the Hebrew scriptures, or that they come from several, possibly unrelated, translations – ‘most

² However, there is evidence that some books, particularly later books, may have been translated in Palestine (Tov 2016).

scholars' are in favour of the single original translation model (Tov 2016), which has functioned as 'the working assumption for most specialists' (Jobes and Silva 2000: 62); it is noted that divergence into many manuscripts may have occurred rapidly before a period of stabilisation in the early centuries CE (Tov 1981: 40-42). The Hebrew text of this assumed single original translation, the *Vorlage* of the LXX, cannot practically be reconstructed, although many details from it can be (Tov 1981: 253).

There exist many different witnesses of the LXX, from various periods in history. These include papyri and leather texts found in the Judean desert and Egypt (dating from the 2nd century BCE onwards), medieval uncial manuscripts, and miniscule manuscripts (dating from the 9th to 16th centuries CE) The main source for the text of the LXX comes from three uncial manuscripts which date from the 4th to the 5th centuries CE: Codex Vaticanus (LXX^B), Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A), and Codex Sinaiticus (LXX^S). LXX^B is the considered the best manuscript as it is the most complete and freest from corruptions due to later recensions (such as the Hexapla) (Jobes and Silva 2000: 59; Tov 2016).

The recensions of the LXX, which were composed at a later time, probably in the period between 200BCE and 200CE (Gentry 2016), influenced (or, 'corrupted') later manuscripts. For example, in the fifth column of his famous Hexapla – a six-column text comprising various translations of Hebrew into Greek, with the fifth column containing the standard Greek text of the contemporary Christian church (Jobes and Silva 2000: 49) – Origen made numerous corrections to the Greek where it differed from the Hebrew text of the time. This recension of his was copied and circulated, often missing the editorial symbols that Origen had added to indicate his corrections, leading to many manuscripts containing a mixed text (Jobes and Silva 2000: 53).

The three modern scholarly editions of the LXX are the Göttingen edition (1931-2015), the Rahlfs edition (1935), and the Brooke-Maclean edition (1906-1940).

The Göttingen edition is the most up-to-date of the three, with the volumes containing the books of the Pentateuch published between 1974 and 1991 (Jobes and Silva 2000: 75). It is a critical

edition which aims to offer the reading closest to the original text after an examination of all available textual witnesses. The Rahlfs edition is based mostly on LXX^B, with some sections drawn from passages found in LXX^A and LXX^S where they are considered more accurate, or where sections of Vaticanus are missing, but it also explored a great deal of other textual witnesses. It was the precursor work to the Göttingen edition. Brooke-Maclean, as a diplomatic edition, tries to reproduce LXX^B in its entirety, but provides a critical apparatus showing other readings and is therefore helpful for comparison of textual variants.

1.3 Differences between the MT and the LXX

Differences between the MT and the LXX can be ascribed to two main factors: differences in the Hebrew texts upon each was based, and the translation strategies employed by the translators of the LXX. Wherever there are unexpected translations in Greek, it is always a possibility that one of these two factors is responsible.

Where there are differences, it can be very difficult to determine if they are because the *Vorlage* differed from the MT, because the translators made a change themselves, or because an error was made in the transmission as the texts were copied (Perkins 2016; Zippor 2016). Indeed, a combination of these factors may be at play in any particular passage and scholars have differing opinions about which of the factors is most responsible in each instance (Jobes and Silva 2000: 149-150).

1.3.1 MT and Vorlage-LXX

As has been noted, given the diverse textual history of the MT and LXX, it is very unlikely that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was identical to the MT, and thus there exist differences between the two texts.

The books Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, 1&2 Samuel, 1&2 Kings all have a difficult textual history, which makes it hard to determine how close their respective *Vorlage* was to the MT. Some particular places where there are obvious differences include Exodus 35-40 where the narrative of the construction of the tabernacle is shorter and differently ordered in the Greek text compared to the MT (Perkins 2016; Salvesen 2015: 33), several additions to Joshua (van de Meer 2015: 87), and the longer text of 1&2 Samuel compared to the MT (Hugo 2015: 136). Generally, it is understood that one of the key differences between the two texts is that the LXX is ‘characterised by a large number of harmonising pluses’ (Tov 2016).

However, in most places, the *Vorlage-LXX* must be similar and even identical to the MT. This would be expected as otherwise the *Vorlage* ‘could not be regarded as representative of the same Scriptures’ (Aejmelaeus 2007: 73), and hence neither could the LXX itself be used as authorised

translation. The text of the Pentateuch ‘for the most part does not present problems’ (Aejmelaeus 2007: 85), and this is seen by the fact that Genesis (Rösel 2016a), Leviticus (Voitila 2016: 52), and Numbers (Evans 2015: 58; Rösel 2016b) in particular have been noted to each have had a *Vorlage* which was overall closely similar, although not identical to, the MT, as has Judges (Satterthwaite 2015: 102).

The fact that there are some differences between the MT and *Vorlage*-LXX does not present a great difficulty for this study, as there is still a majority similarity between the two, and, as the research conducted here is exploring general, overarching patterns of translation from Hebrew into Greek, smaller differences should not greatly affect the overall results. Even where the order of chapters and/or verses of the LXX-*Vorlage* differed from that of the MT, verses which are similar can still be compared.

However, that the *Vorlage* was different in some areas should always be remembered where there are unexpected or peculiar results.

1.3.2 Translation strategies

As stated earlier, this study aims to examine overarching patterns of translations, rather than the individual translation strategies of particular translators. However, these strategies of the LXX translators do need some consideration, given that if a translator were to have a particular style that meant that the Greek did not correspond at all to the Hebrew, this could lead to difficulties.

Translation always involves a degree of interpretation on the part of the translator, and results in a ‘translation strategy’. The ‘translation strategy’ is the term given to ‘all the different renderings used by a translator’ (Aejmelaeus 2007: 63), and exploring this does not mean discovering a theoretical ‘system’ employed by the translators, but instead means performing a systematic analysis of these renderings.

One might assume only reasonable strategy when translating would be to literally reproduce the source text, word-for-word, in the target language, relying on the idea of equivalence, where there exists some equal value between words in two languages (Pym 2014). But translation performed so rigidly may lead to problems of understanding, as languages have different structures; if Biblical Hebrew and Greek are taken as examples ‘each language has its own internal logic, which complicates the translation activity when categories of the source language do not exist in the target language’ (Tov 2016). The ways in which such differences are reflected in the verbal systems of Hebrew and Greek are explored below (see 1.5 and 1.6).

This means that there exists a strategy of sense-for-sense, rather than word-for-word, translation which can be employed. In his letter to Pammachius, Jerome notes this as his technique (save in the case of sacred scriptures): ‘Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu’ (Letter LVII in Migne 1859, as rendered on bible-researcher.com/jerome.pammachius.html; see also in Venuti 2012: 23).

The fact that these strategies exist means that between them there must also exist a ‘spectrum of literalness’, and there are commonly used criteria for determining where on this spectrum a text may lie. The criteria as they are listed below are on a list developed by Barr (1979), but are noted in a developed form by Tov (1981: 54) and Jobes and Silva (2000: 115) specifically for the LXX as follows:

- i) Internal consistency – are Hebrew words always translated by the same Greek words?
- ii) Matching representation – are sections of Hebrew represented by individual Greek words?
- iii) Word order – is the word order of a section of Hebrew the same in the Greek translation?
- iv) Quantitative representation – does the number of Hebrew words equal the number of Greek words used?
- v) Linguistic adequacy – are the Greek translations adequate in conveying the sense of the Hebrew?

These criteria can be used to define how faithful or literal a translation is and, in general, it seems that the translator of each part of the studied corpus accurately translated the relevant *Vorlage*. Looking just at the Pentateuch, while the books can be occasionally inconsistent in how literal their translation is from Hebrew to Greek, most likely due to an uncertainty over whether to translate the books as legal or literary texts (Brock 1979: 72), ‘as a general rule, the [Greek] translation of the Pentateuch is faithful to the Hebrew text’ (Fernández Marcos 2000: 23).

The books of Numbers and Deuteronomy in particular sit very firmly on the more literal side of the spectrum (Evans 2015: 58; Perkins 2015: 71; Salvesen 2015: 30). The LXX text of Deuteronomy ‘adheres very closely to the Hebrew source texts’ and the translator is less free in their approach than even the translator of Genesis or Exodus, translating ‘at the isomorphic level of the word or small phrase’ (Crawford 2016). They clearly possessed a high knowledge of Hebrew and Greek (Wittstruck 1972: 387).

Genesis (Scarlatà 2015: 18), Exodus (Salvesen 2015: 30), and Leviticus (Voitila 2015: 50; Zipor 2016) are reasonably literal – still being far more faithful renderings of the Hebrew than not – but are freer in style than Numbers or Deuteronomy, tending to move more readily between literal and free translations. The translators of Joshua, Judges, and 1&2 Samuel are all generally accurate in their translations (Aejmelaeus 2007: 123; Hugo 2015: 131; Satterthwaite 2015: 102; van de Meer 2015: 87). The only outlier is 1&2 Kings, where the translation technique has not been fully studied and ‘perplexes scholars’ (Law 2015: 148), although it can be noted that in OG sections (as opposed to later recensions) the translator closely adheres to the word order of the Hebrew, but uses the grammar and syntax of Koine Greek (ibid.: 150).

With the majority of books being translated with reasonable literalness, and the fact that the research in this study looks at overarching patterns of translation based on large pools of statistical data, the various translation strategies of the translators need not cause great concern, but should always be held in mind in the case of unexpected translations.

1.4 Grammatical features

In order to understand the Greek translation of the Biblical Hebrew verbal stems, an explanation is required of several grammatical features which they are implied to affect:³

- i) Voice (1.4.1)
- ii) Fientivity (1.4.2)
- iii) Transitivity (1.4.3)
- iv) Factitivity-causativity (1.4.4)
- v) Reflexive-reciprocal action (1.4.5)

Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 348) believe that these features are those most closely connected to the verbal stems as they 'describe the kind of situation a verb refers to' (see also Creason 1995: viii). These features do not fit into the category of tense, which refers to the time of the situation compared to another time (Comrie 1976: 2; Trask 1993: 276), nor aspect, which is concerned with a situation's internal temporal structure (Comrie 1976: 5; Trask 1993: 21).

1.4.1 Voice

Voice describes the relationship between the arguments of a verb: how they act as participants in the action and how they function grammatically (Trask 1993: 299). The three important voices for this study are active, passive, and middle.

In basic terms, verbs are said to be in the active voice when the subject of the verb is also the agent of the verb (the one performing the action) (Trask 1993: 5), which contrasts with the passive

³ This list is based upon Waltke and O'Connor (1990:348), who call the overall category into which these features fit *Aktionsart*, a term which is partly agreed to by Gzella (2004: 93) who writes 'Dabei treten jedoch gerade die semitischen Sprachen seit jeher als Kronzeugen für eine Trennung beider Kategorien [aspect and *Aktionsart*] auf, da dort ausgewählte Aktionsarten wie Kausativität, Faktitivität oder Iterativität über die Stammbildung realisiert werden...'. However, the term *Aktionsart* can be confusing, as it is often used to describe elements of grammatical aspect that are more closely connected to lexis rather than grammar (Comrie 1976: 6; Trask 1993: 12; Pang 2016: 11), and voice is a category which does not fall so readily under its umbrella. Therefore, the use of the broad term *Aktionsart* is unhelpful here, and so the designation 'grammatical features' is used when a wider term is needed.

voice, where the subject of the verb is the patient (the one on whom/which the action is performed) (Trask 1993: 201). Both categories are linked to transitivity (see 1.4.3), as truly intransitive verbs are unable to appear in the passive voice, but verbs in the active voice can be transitive or intransitive.

The middle voice most commonly describes situations where the subject of a verb acts upon themselves or for the benefit of themselves (Trask 1993: 171), or where ‘the subject is affected by an action or state’ (Wolde 2019: 454). Lexical-semantic definitions of the middle voice given by Kemmer (1993: 16-20), include verbs of grooming (shave, wash, etc.), nontranslational motion (twist, turn, bow, etc.), change of body posture (sit down, lie down, etc.), self-benefactivity⁴ (acquire, ask, etc.), naturally reciprocal events (meet, embrace, etc.), translational motion (climb up, walk, etc.), emotion (become frightened, be angry, etc.), emotive speech acts (complain, curse, etc.), cognition (think, ponder, etc.), and spontaneous events (germinate, grow, stop, etc.).

The definitions of the middle voice have some overlap with the feature of reflexive-reciprocal action (see 1.4.5), but they are not identical in meaning, as middle voice verbs are not necessarily reflexive-reciprocal. As Kemmer notes, ‘the reflexive marker and the middle marker in a given language often show synchronic and/or diachronic formal relations’ (1993: 42), but, when looking at direct reflexives and middle verbs in particular, there can be a distinction ‘reflected in cross-linguistic marking patterns of various sorts’ (ibid.: 93).

In several languages, the voices, particularly middle and passive, are not always morphologically distinct. This means that there can exist a bivalent distinction between active and non-active verbal morphology, where the active verb is unmarked and the non-active verb is marked in some way (e.g. in Greek, see Willi 2018: 2). In these cases, verbs marked with non-active morphology can, depending on the context and the verbs involved, cover meanings of both the middle and passive voice. Grestenberger (2014: 20-22) lists the canonical uses of non-active/middle morphology (in an oppositional context) as follows:

- i) Anticausatives/inchoatives

⁴ Bacharova refers to this as ‘indirect middle’.

- ii) Naturally reflexive-reciprocal use
- iii) Self-benefactive/indirect reflexive use
- iv) Dispositional/generic middles⁵
- v) (Medio)passives

Although there is some overlap, this classification of uses differs from Kemmer's list (1993: 16-20) above, which is based on lexical-semantic considerations, but Grestenberger believes that their own list is 'superior, in that it allows a unified account of what middle morphology 'does' in each instance' (2014: 22).

Creason (1995: 389) argues that the difference between active and passive is not one of *Aktionsart* (their term), because '[a]n active verb and a passive verb refer to the same kind of situation, but differ with respect to which participant in the situation is highlighted by being represented as the subject of the clause' – it is simply a matter of representation in a clause, rather than different situations. This is unlike the difference between active and middle, which 'can be defined in terms of the relationship of the participants in the situation to objects in the real world and so it does indicate a distinction in *Aktionsart*.' This lends further support for the decision not to define the grammatical features discussed in this dissertation as *Aktionsart* (see 1.4 footnote 3), as the three voice categories need to be included in the examination when comparing Hebrew stems and their Greek translations.

1.4.2 **Fientivity**

Fientivity describes the overall dynamism of a verb or 'the type of movement or activity inherent in the verb' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 349).

⁵ Dispositional/generic middles are those verbal situations where the internal argument of a verb is promoted to the subject position (Grestenberger 2014: 33), which leads to constructions such as 'The door opened smoothly.' In this example, the door is the subject of the verb but is technically incapable of performing this action by itself, as it lacks the agency (in the regular understanding of how doors work). This idea aligns with Waltke and O'Connor's description of the middle in their chapter on the *niphal* (1990: 381).

The feature of fientivity contains two broad categories, one of which is invariably called stative, referring to verbs that describes the state or quality of an object rather than an event (Trask 1993: 259; Creason 1995: 12). The other category, describing verbs which do refer to an event, is given a variety of labels by academics: it can sometimes be termed active or eventive, which could be confusing as these terms can be used to define other grammatical features (Trask 1993: 5, 95). Many scholars of Hebrew call verbs in this category fientive (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 365; Creason 1995: 12; Joüion-Muraoka 2006: 115; Williams 2007: 57); however, in this study, in order to avoid confusion, these verbs which are not stative will be called dynamic, in agreement with Comrie (1976: 37) and Trask (1993: 87).

There exist subcategories within dynamic verbs, and the differences between these can be determined not just by their fientivity but also by their durativity (how long the action lasts) and their telicity (whether the action has a clear ending, and hence is telic, or does not, and is hence atelic) (Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 28). Taking these determinations into account, dynamic verbs are traditionally categorised as (i) activities, (ii) accomplishments, or (iii) achievements (Vendler 1957: 146-7; Vendler 1967: 102-3).

Activities are actions which are dynamic and have a duration, but no clear endpoint – they are [+dynamic] [+durative] [-telic]. An example would be ‘Will ran’ (Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 29).

Accomplishments are actions which are dynamic and durative, and *do* have a clear endpoint – they are [+dynamic] [+durative] [+telic]. ‘Will ran a mile’ (Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 29) is an example of an accomplishment. Note with these examples, the same verb in the same form (‘ran’) is used in both these contexts, but fits into a different subcategory of dynamic verbs in each situation. In both cases they are still dynamic.

Achievements are actions which are dynamic and telic, but, uniquely for these subcategories, do not have a duration (Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 29) – they are [+dynamic] [-durative] [+telic]. An example is ‘He reached the top of the mountain’ (Vendler 1967: 103).

Stative situations are, by definition, not dynamic, nor do they have any kind of clear endpoint, but they clearly have duration – they are [-dynamic] [+durative] [-telic]. For example, ‘I know’ is a situation describing a state which lasts for a period of time with no clear ending.

1.4.3 Transitivity

The traditional definition of transitivity divides verbs into two categories, transitive and intransitive: a transitive verb is capable of taking at least two arguments, one of which is a direct object, while an intransitive verb can have only one argument (see also similar definitions by Trask 1993: 145, 283; Givón 2001, 1: 109; Bowers 2002: 183). The number of arguments which a verb takes is called its valency (Trask 1993: 296), and thus transitive constructions have a higher valency than intransitive constructions.

A key point of this definition is that transitive verbs *may* have a direct object but also may not in certain circumstances – ‘tout ce qu’on peut dire, c’est que tel verbe comporte *ordinairement* un objet direct, mais le verbe le plus constamment transitif peut *toujours* être employé *sans objet direct*’ (Humbert 1960: 102, italics in original). The property of a verb whereby it may appear with or without a direct object in a particular clause can be called syntactic transitivity – it is a binary property of a verb as it is used in a sentence. For example, the verb ‘to hunt’ would (under the first definition) be considered transitive, as it can take two arguments, with one of these being a direct object, and it is syntactically transitive in the sentence ‘She hunts deer’; however, in the question ‘Does she hunt?’, the verb is syntactically intransitive, as it appears with no direct object.

As Beckman (2015: 21) highlights, syntactic transitivity does not distinguish between transitive verbs that actually affect their direct object (e.g. ‘She hunts deer’) and those which do not (e.g. ‘She sees deer’). This layer of transitivity, describing how far the action of a verb actually affects the direct object, is called semantic transitivity, and is not a binary property as much as a spectrum.

The landmark discussion of semantic transitivity is Hopper and Thompson (1980), in which they list a number of criteria that can be used to indicate whether a verb has high or low semantic transitivity in a given situation:

	High	Low
A. Participants (Valency)	2 or more participants, A and O ⁶	1 participant
B. Kinesis	Dynamic	Stative
C. Aspect	Telic	Atelic
D. Punctuality⁷	Adurative	Durative
E. Volitionality	Volitional	Non-volitional
F. Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
G. Mode	Realis	Irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 1: Criteria of semantic transitivity, based on Hopper and Thompson (1980: 253)

By these criteria, a verb has a higher level of semantic transitivity if it has more than one participant (A, which aligns with the idea of syntactic transitivity), is dynamic rather than stative (B), is complete as an action (as a telic action has a built-in ‘terminal point’ – Comrie 1976: 44) (C), is not

⁶ A = agent, O = object

⁷ The terms ‘punctual’ for adurative and ‘non-punctual’ for durative are used by Hopper and Thompson. Adurative and durative are used here to indicate the connection with the classes of action seen with fientivity (see 1.4.2).

a process (D), is a volitional choice of the agent (E), is a positive action (F), and actually occurs in reality (G). The animacy and definiteness of both the agent (H) and the object (J) are also crucial, as is the level of affectedness of the object (I).⁸

As an example, the syntactically transitive verb ‘kill’ in the sentence ‘I killed you’ has a very high level of semantic transitivity as it involves two participants, is a dynamic action that is both complete and not a process, was a volitional choice of the agent, and is described as a real action, not merely as a potential or desired action. Moreover, both ‘I’ and ‘you’ are definite, animate individuals with clear agency, and the object was completely affected by the action of the agent.

This can be contrasted with the syntactically transitive verb ‘carry’ in the sentence ‘Even if it were fast-flowing, a river couldn’t carry a house’, which has very low semantic transitivity. Here, while the action is dynamic, it is not clearly a complete, non-process action, and it is certainly not a volitional choice of the agent, as a river has cannot decide for itself whether or not to carry a house. The verb is also negative and presented only as a potential action, rather than something that either is actually occurring, or has occurred. And although there are two arguments, they are both common nouns which are inanimate and indefinite, and so have low agency and individuation.

Under these criteria, Hopper and Thompson also note that syntactically intransitive verbs can have a higher semantic transitivity than some syntactically transitive ones (1980: 254). The intransitive verb in the sentence ‘I left’ has more criteria of high semantic transitivity (+dynamic, +telic, +adurative, +volitional, +affirmative, +realis, +high potency of A) than the semantically transitive verb in the sentence ‘John didn’t hear the music’ (+2 participants, +dynamic[?], +telic[?], +adurative[?], +realis).

Transitivity overlaps heavily with several of the other grammatical features which are important to this study, particularly voice, fientivity, and factitivity-causativity.

⁸ Beckman (2015: 24-29) expands on each of these categories in his exploration of Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) study.

Both voice and factitivity-causativity can change the number of participants involved in an action, which is related to both syntactic and semantic transitivity; a passive verb will often have fewer participants than an active verb – ‘The house was being built’ (1 participant), versus ‘The man built the house’ (2 participants); and a non-causative verb can have fewer participants than a causative verb – ‘I made the man build the house’ (3 participants). Indeed, Trask (1993: 38) describes causative constructions as being specifically transitive (see below, 1.4.4).

Transitivity is also clearly related to fientivity, as the notion of whether a verb describes an action or a state is the second criterion of semantic transitivity, and the nature of an action as telicity and durativity (punctuality) are also features of fientivity (see 1.4.2).

1.4.4 Factitivity-causativity

In a general sense, causativity describes a complex (as opposed to basic) verbal situation where the subject causes an object to do or experience something. Trask (1993: 38) describes a causative verbal construction as ‘a transitive construction, related to a second, simpler, transitive or intransitive construction, from which it differs by the additional presence of an agent NP perceived as the direct instigator of the action expressed in the simpler construction.’

Because these more complex situations involve new participants in the action, an underlying basic intransitive construction leads to a transitive construction, while an underlying basic transitive construction leads to a ditransitive construction; hence, causativity increases the valency of the underlying construction. Thus, it follows that the reverse can be true, where lexemes which allow a causative meaning which undergo valency reducing operations (such as passivization) are less likely to have that causative meaning.

Causativity as a semantic category can be split into two subordinate categories, factitive and causative, based on the fientivity of the simpler (non-causative) construction (thus it overlaps again with transitivity, as fientivity is a key criterion of semantic transitivity). In this study, the overall wider category of causativity will be called factitivity-causativity,

Under the umbrella of factitivity-causativity, a verb is causative if its primary subject makes the object participate as the subject of what would be a dynamic verb (i.e. it has the feature +dynamic) in the underlying basic construction (Trask 1993: 38).

For example, in the sentence ‘I made the man kill the deer’, the underlying simpler construction would be ‘The man killed the deer’, which is dynamic, as well as being both syntactically and semantically transitive. Therefore, the verbal construction ‘to make (someone) kill’ can be called causative.

A verb is factitive if the primary subject of the verb makes the object the subject of what would be a stative verb (i.e. it has the feature -dynamic) in the underlying simpler situation (Trask 1993: 101).⁹ As all true stative verbs are intransitive, or have a lower semantic transitivity, it can often, but certainly not always, be said that a verb is factitive if its primary subject makes the object participate as the subject of what would be an intransitive verb.

For example, in the sentence ‘I made the altar holy’ (or ‘I consecrated the altar’), the underlying simpler construction would be ‘The altar was holy’, which is stative (providing the existence of a stative verb ‘to be holy’). Therefore, the verbal construction ‘to make (something) holy’ can be called factitive.

A slightly different way of defining the difference between causative and factitive, that amounts to the same idea, is put across by Kouwenberg in his study on the Akkadian D-stem (2010), and is summarised and adapted by Beckman (2015: 46-8): a factitive verb is defined as using an agentive subject with a patientive verb (those which can occur a patient as its subject), while a causative verb is defined as adding another agent to an agentive verb (those which by their nature require an agent as a subject).

⁹ This definition can include the related category of declarative-estimative verbs (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 349; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 144), as they are complex situations where the underlying simple situation involves a verb with the feature -dynamic.

Factitive-causative verbs, which are transitive, can sit in alternation with intransitive partners, called anticausatives, which is different from the passive in that anticausatives do not imply the use of an agent (Lamicela 2020: 7). Causative/anticausative pairs include examples such as ‘burn (trans.)/burn (intrans.)’ and ‘break (trans.)/break (intrans.)’.

Morphologically, the distinction between a verb with a basic meaning and one with a factitive-causative meaning can be morphologically coded in three ways: causative, anticausative, and nondirected (Comrie 2006: 304; see also Haspelmath 1993). Causative coding is where the causative member of a causative/basic pair (often possible to categorise as transitive/intransitive) is the one that is morphologically marked. Anticausative coding is the opposite, where the intransitive/basic member of the pair is more marked. Nondirected is where there is no greater morphological marking on either member of the pair, and nondirected itself can be subdivided into three parts: i) labile, where the same verb is used for both parts of the pair; ii) equipollent, where both verbs in the pair are marked, but differently; and iii) suppletive, where different transitive and intransitive roots are used. The distinctions between these are difficult to display in English, thus the examples below (table 2) are in German and Japanese, drawn directly from Comrie (2006: 304):

		German		Japanese	
		<i>Intransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Intransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>
Causative coding		<i>enden</i> ‘finish’	<i>be-enden</i> ‘finish’	<i>ak-u</i> ‘open’	<i>ak-e-ru</i> ‘open’
Anticausative coding		<i>sich umdrehen</i> ‘turn’	<i>umdrehen</i> ‘turn’	<i>or-e-ru</i> ‘break’	<i>or-u</i> ‘break’
Nondirected	<i>Labile</i>	<i>kochen</i> ‘boil’		<i>hirak-u</i> ‘open’	
	<i>Equipollent</i>	<i>versinken</i> ‘sink’	<i>versenken</i> ‘sink’	<i>kowa-re-ru</i> ‘be destroyed’	<i>kowa-s-u</i> ‘destroy’
	<i>Suppletive</i>	<i>sterben</i> ‘die’	<i>töten</i> ‘kill’	<i>sin-u</i> ‘die’	<i>koros-u</i> ‘kill’

Table 2: Causative, anticausative, and nondirected coding examples from Comrie 2006

Both German and Japanese (and many other languages) have examples of all different kinds of coding, but some languages tend towards one or another. Grestenberger notes that in languages which distinguish morphologically between active and non-active voice, verbs which can have a causative/anticausative alternation (such as ‘break’) have a tendency towards anticausative coding based on marking via voice morphology: ‘the anticausative version usually takes non-active morphology, while the causative version takes active morphology’ (2014: 22).

1.4.5 Reflexive-reciprocal action

This category consists of two types of related actions: reflexive and reciprocal.

A key part of these types of actions is that the agent(s) of the verb also function as the patient(s). As the two roles are played by the same actor(s), they can be said to be coreferent (see Kemmer 1993: 44; Trask 1993: 64-5). Coreference has been described as ‘the essence of a reflexive’ (Faltz 1977: 34).

Where there is a single agent acting on themselves, this can be said to be reflexive (Reinhart and Siloni 2005: 390). An example in English would be ‘Lisa washed herself’ (see Trask 1993: 233).

Where the situation expresses ‘the action of two entities on each other, or of several entities on one another’, this is reciprocal (Trask 1993: 229), e.g. ‘the women talked to each other.’

Some verbs are *naturally* reflexive-reciprocal – where coreference of the agent and patient is understood unless otherwise stated – while others are *derived* and thus do not inherently have a reflexive-reciprocal meaning but can be made to have one through morphosyntactic means such as a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun; naturally reflexive verbs ‘include *wash, shave, comb* [...] other ‘body action verbs’...and predicates like *be ashamed*’ while naturally reciprocal verbs can include those such as ‘*meet, fight, embrace, kiss, etc.*’ (Grestenberger 2014: 25, italics in original).

As noted above, reflexive-reciprocal situations often overlap with situations where verbs appear in the middle voice (see 1.4.1) (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 350; Kemmer: 1993: 42; Creason 1995: 13). For example, verbs of grooming – which often appear in the middle voice – are naturally reflexive. This connection to the middle voice is expected, as in languages with a bivalent voice system (active vs. non-active), naturally reflexive-reciprocal verbs take non-active morphology (Grestenberger 2014: 25) and, in some languages, the marking of verbs in the middle voice is morphologically identical to the marking of reflexives (Kemmer 1993: 24); thus one can ‘therefore presume there to be a semantic relation between the categories that these markers express’ (ibid.: 42).

However, the reverse does not hold – ‘there is consensus...that non-active morphology by itself cannot reflexivize a predicate’ (Grestenberger 2014: 26).

1.5 Biblical Hebrew verbal stems

This section concentrates on a general overview of the system of verbal stems in Biblical Hebrew. It does not discuss the Biblical Hebrew conjugations, which are not directly relevant for this study.¹⁰

Like other Semitic languages, Biblical Hebrew has a system of verbal stems, or *binyanim*, into which the conjugation paradigm of a verbal root can be placed in order to change the overall meaning of the verb, with vowel changes, as well as by either doubling the middle radical, adding a prefix, or both (Cohen 1984: 60).

There are seven major verbal stems, called the *qal*, *niphal*, *piel*, *pual*, *hiphil*, *hophal* and *hitpael*.¹¹ Specific meanings for each of these stems are discussed at the beginning of each of the relevant chapter for that stem (2-8), but in order generally to define the meaning of these stems, they are commonly arranged into a framework. Several frameworks can and have been constructed, with the only main consensus being that they express some of the grammatical features seen above (1.4). The difficulty is in discovering exactly *which* features they express, and how.

One of the more common arrangements (similar to those found in Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 114 and Beckman 2015: 1) is as so:

	Active voice	Passive voice	Middle / Reflexive voice
Simple action	<i>Qal</i>	<i>Niphal</i> (/ <i>Qal</i> passive)	<i>Niphal</i>
Intensive(?) / Disputed action	<i>Piel</i>	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>
Causative action	<i>Hiphil</i>	<i>Hophal</i>	-

Table 3: Framework of Biblical Hebrew verbal stems based on Joüon-Muraoka (2006: 114) and Beckman (2015: 1).

¹⁰ When used in connection to Biblical Hebrew, the term ‘conjugation’ is used throughout this dissertation to refer to the *qatal*, *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, etc.

¹¹ There are several other minor stems, such as the *qal* passive, *polel*, *pilpel*, etc, but these are relatively infrequent in the studied corpus and thus are not examined in this work.

From this framework, focusing on the columns, it is apparent that these verbal stems express the voice value of the verbs: three of them are used for active voice verbs, three(/four) for passive voice verbs, and two for reflexive/middle voice verbs, with the *niphal* fitting into two categories.

Focusing on the rows, these verbal stems also express another criterion of the action that is more difficult to define: two/three are used for simple action verbs, three for verbs which have a disputed action, tentatively described as ‘intensive’ by Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 114), and two for verbs which have a causative action. The ‘disputed action’ in particular has been the focus of much scholarly debate and research and it is discussed in more detail below in the chapter on the *piel* (see 3.1), which is the verbal stem most clearly affected. From this framework, it is unclear which of the grammatical features from 1.4, if any, are involved in the ‘disputed action’ category.

Another arrangement of the stems, which is easier to connect to the grammatical features, is made by Walke and O’Connor (1990: 358), who provide columns indicating the ‘Voice of the Primary Subject’ and rows indicating the ‘Voice of the Undersubject’, which leads to the following framework:

		Voice of the Primary Subject		
		Active	Middle/Passive	Reflexive
Voice of the Undersubject	Ø	<i>Qal</i>	<i>Niphal</i>	<i>Niphal</i>
	Passive	<i>Piel</i>	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>
	Active	<i>Hiphil</i>	<i>Hophal</i>	<i>Hiphil (internal)</i>

Table 4: Framework of Biblical Hebrew verbal stems based on Walke and O’Connor (1990: 358).

This layout of verbal stems is almost identical to that in table 3, but the use of ‘Primary Subject’ and ‘Undersubject’ helps to remove the uncertainty of ‘disputed action’.

The ‘Voice of the Primary Subject’ still refers to voice as a grammatical feature as discussed in 1.4.1, although the category of ‘Reflexive’, referring to reflexive-reciprocal action (1.4.5) has been added. While not strictly a voice category, reflexive-reciprocal action is closely associated with the middle voice, so it is suitable for inclusion under the umbrella of ‘Voice of the Primary Subject’.

The real difference comes with the category of ‘Voice of the Undersubject’, which addresses the feature of factivity-causativity. As Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 355) write ‘the two types of causation forms [meaning causative and factitive] differ from one another with reference to the status of the subject being acted upon by the main verb, that is, the voice associated with the undersubject or secondary subject’. This aligns with the description of factivity-causativity seen in 1.4.4 if the ‘undersubject’ is understood as the subject of the underlying simpler construction, and ‘voice’ is understood as a way of describing that subject’s factivity (see 1.4.2): what Waltke and O’Connor refer to as a passive voice of the undersubject is equivalent to a factitive-causative verb where the underlying construction has the feature -dynamic, and hence the verb is factitive; an active voice of the undersubject is equivalent to a factitive-causative verb where the underlying construction has the feature +dynamic, and hence the verb is causative. As the *qal* and the *niphal* are seen (correctly or not) as the stems which describe ‘basic’ situations, and thus do not have undersubjects/underlying simpler constructions, they do not feature a voice of the undersubject, although they do have their own subject.

With those considerations in place, it may be worth inserting the stems into another framework, my own further adjusted version of Waltke and O’Connor’s (note the change in ordering of voice categories in the columns):

				Voice of the Subject		
				Passive	Middle (including reflexive-reciprocal)	Active
Verbal situation	Simple	<i>Fientivity of simple construction</i>	<i>-dynamic</i>	<i>Niphal (/Qal passive)</i>	<i>Niphal</i>	<i>Qal (stative)</i>
			<i>+dynamic</i>			<i>Qal (dynamic)</i>
	Complex	<i>Fientivity of underlying construction</i>	<i>-dynamic</i>	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>	<i>Piel</i>
			<i>+dynamic</i>	<i>Hophal</i>	<i>Hiphil (internal)</i>	<i>Hiphil</i>

Table 5: Framework of Biblical Hebrew verbal stems, accounting for fientivity

The last feature to take into account is transitivity, and adding this to the framework can be challenging. However, some general principles can be determined.

A verb moving from a basic meaning to one of factitivity-causativity is known to be a valency increasing operation (see 1.4.4), and both an increase in participants and the feature +dynamic are seen to be criteria of higher semantic transitivity (see table 1 in 1.4.3), therefore those stems further down the table should be expected to have a higher transitivity than those higher up. This, for example, would mean that the *piel* would be expected to have a higher transitivity than the *qal*, and this is indeed one of the newer proposed explanations of the nuances of the *piel* given by Kouwenberg (1997; 2010) (see 3.1 for further discussion).

As passivizing a verb has a tendency to reduce its valency, it should also be expected that those verbal stems on the left-hand side of the table should have lower transitivity than those on the right.

Taking these considerations into account, two general trendlines of transitivity can be added to the newest framework. These are the most nebulous part of the framework, as they dictate only general trends, rather than concrete categories. They certainly do not indicate that verbs in the *hiphil* will always have higher transitivity than those in the *piel*, or indeed the *qal*, but that it should be expected.

				Voice of the Subject			General trend of increasing transitivity
				Passive	Middle (including reflexive-reciprocal)	Active	
Verbal situation	Simple	Fientivity of simple construction	-dynamic	<i>Niphal</i> (/Qal passive)	<i>Niphal</i>	<i>Qal</i> (stative)	↓
			+dynamic			<i>Qal</i> (dynamic)	
	Complex	Fientivity of underlying construction	-dynamic	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>	<i>Piel</i>	
			+dynamic	<i>Hophal</i>	<i>Hiphil</i> (internal)	<i>Hiphil</i>	
General trend of increasing transitivity				→			

Table 6: Framework of Biblical Hebrew verbal stems, accounting for fientivity and transitivity

Whether any of these frameworks encapsulates the full nuance of the verbal stems is doubtful, and research has been done (particularly on the *piel*) to show that such strict frameworks are impossible to maintain (Joosten 1998: 227; Beckman 2015: 251-2). There are even some scholars who have argued against the notion that the stems have a different meaning at all: ‘I am going to disprove this notion by demonstrating that the so-called verbal stems were interchangeably used in order to indicate one and the same meaning, without implying the slightest differentiation’ (Sperber 1966: 6). One of the key aims of this study is investigate the LXX translators’ understanding of the Biblical

Hebrew verbal stems as reflected in their Grek version, with a view to ascertaining whether their translations align with the above discussed frameworks or whether, conversely, their translations reflect a different interpretation which can potentially be used in support of future adjustments to our 21st-century paradigms.

1.5.1 The translators' understanding of the verbal stems

The frameworks laid out above are modern constructions overlaid on an ancient language. The understanding of the grammar of Biblical Hebrew has developed over many hundreds of years and is still developing today.

It is important to acknowledge that the translators of the LXX did not have these modern structures of verbal stems laid out for them in such concrete terms. As Evans (2001: 157) states, 'a technical sensitivity to the Hebrew verbal stems among the translators of the LXX...is at best doubtful and [something] for which we have no positive evidence.' This means that it is supremely unlikely that the translators consciously identified individual verbs as belonging to a particular stem, or were even familiar with such a concept, and then decided which Greek verbal form best carried the sense of the stem. Rather, it is more likely that they understood the meaning of the Hebrew verbs in context and then conveyed that in Greek – their translation 'strategy' or 'technique' was not a grammatical process but 'a more human process of intuitive trial and error and of finding ways to express in the target language – their mother tongue – what was understood to be the meaning in the source text' (Aejmelaeus 2007: xiv).

This does not mean that an investigation into the translation of the verbal stems is rendered moot, and indeed Tov (1982: 417), Evans (2001: 63), Benton (2009: 383), and Gorton (2016: 420) all indicate that further statistical study into the translation of all, or some of, the verbal stems would be instructive and valuable.

1.6 The Greek of the LXX

Greek, as an Indo-European language, has a different morphological and, often, syntactic, structure to Biblical Hebrew.

The LXX was not written in Classical Greek but rather with a form of Koine Greek, and the translation of the Pentateuch in particular is ‘representative of standard Koine of the time’ (Scarlata 2015: 16). In many places, however, the Greek does have a certain Hebraic flavour to it (Gehman 1951: 81; Dines 2004: 110), which is not to say that there was a specific ‘Jewish Greek’ dialect, as Gehman (1951) argues, but rather that the Greek of the translation was affected by the Semitic language of the Hebrew text (Jobes and Silva 2000: 106-114). For instance, the Greek of the LXX tends to be more paratactic than Classical Greek, eschewing ‘nested subordinate clauses and participles in favour of a string of syntactically coordinate sentences linked together by *καί* ‘and’ (George 2010: 268), which mirrors Biblical Hebrew syntax.

Koine Greek itself can be a challenge to define exactly – it has ‘traditionally proved a difficult notion to pin down’ (Colvin 2001: 31) – but it can be described as the Greek that spread across the western Mediterranean and Levant through the conquest of Alexander the Great. It was based primarily on Attic Greek, and was ‘clearly in use by the end of the fourth century BC’ (Colvin 2014: 170). As such, it is unsurprising that this variety was used for the LXX.

Koine Greek developed several key differences from Classical Greek (Palmer 1980: 185-7):

- i) Several verbs were regularised and simplified (see also Meillet 1965: 295).
- ii) The aorist and perfect tenses merged, both morphologically and functionally.
- iii) The future tense became periphrastic.
- iv) The optative mood gradually disappeared.

Also in the Koine period, and importantly for this study, there was some development in grammatical voice as well. There was both a merging of the forms and functions of the middle and passive voices (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 161; Evans 2001: 53; Good 2003: 55), as well as

some disintegration of the boundaries between active and middle (Wackernagel I, 21 in Langslow 2009).

Koine Greek has many more potential verbal forms than Biblical Hebrew does, with Greek having six indicative forms compared to the four of Hebrew (Good 2003: 61). Greek also has wider range of potential participle forms as they are declined for three genders (as opposed to the two genders of Hebrew), and in several grammatical cases, voices, and tenses. Despite this wide range of forms, the only grammatical feature mentioned above (see 1.4) for which Greek verbs are consistently morphologically marked is voice.

The ways in which voice functions and is marked in Greek is expounded below, including a discussion of deponency (1.6.1.3). This is followed by a brief overview of factivity (1.6.2), a section on how factivity-causativity, while not standardly marked, is sometimes exhibited in Greek verbs (1.6.3), as well as explanations of reflexive-reciprocal action in Greek (1.6.4), denominative/deverbative verbs (1.6.5), and compound verbs (1.6.6).

1.6.1 Voice

Greek classically distinguishes between three voices: active, middle, and passive.

Morphologically, in most tenses, distinction between the active and non-active voices in Greek is basically bivalent (Grestenberger 2014: 88), only becoming trivalent in the aorist and future tenses. The active form is considered to be unmarked, while the non-active forms are marked (Willi 2018: 2). Examples from the present tense and the aorist tense are shown below using indicative first-person verbal forms of the verb *λύω*, ‘I loosen’:

Present active: *λύ-ω*

Present non-active: *λύ-ομαι*

Aorist active: *ἔ-λυ-σ-α*

Aorist non-active (middle): *ἔ-λυ-σ-άμην*

Aorist non-active (passive): ἐ-λύ-θην

Whenever a verb is not in the aorist or future tense, morphologically the voice of the verb can only be accurately described as active or non-active; non-active verbs which cannot be determined as morphologically middle or passive can be called medio-passive, following the usage of Rijksbaron (1994: 132).¹²

As noted above, although the Classical system has three voices, in the Koine period there was a merging of the forms and functions of the middle and passive voices, which meant the system of three voices became less distinct (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 161; Evans 2001: 53; Good 2003: 55). Also, there were cases where previous differences between the active and middle forms of certain verbs were less carefully observed; Wackernagel (I, 21 in Langslow 2009) gives the example of the verb *μοιχεύειν*, and its middle form *μοιχεύεσθαι*, which were originally used to refer to adultery by a man (active form) and by a woman (middle form), but which are used with this distinction in the LXX only in Leviticus 20:10, and elsewhere are ‘completely confused.’

However, these differences spread gradually across the full scope of the language and the middle voice had by no means disappeared or been dropped in Koine Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 161; Mussies 1971: 235; Croy 1999: 47).

1.6.1.1 Active

Active verbs in Greek have the meaning described for the active voice in 1.4.1, where they indicate that the subject is the agent of the verb. Allan (2003: 248) believes that active voice verbs are also ‘neutral with respect to subject-affectedness,’ which means that they do not indicate whether or not the action of the verb has an impact on the subject of verb.

¹² The term ‘mediopassive’ can have a different interpretation, referring to transitive verbs used intransitively with the subject as patient (Trask 1993: 170). Its use in this study is confined to describing non-active Greek verbs which are not in the future or aorist tense and thus cannot be described morphologically as middle or passive.

Morphologically active verbs can be syntactically transitive or intransitive, and some can be both depending on the context (as is the case with many English verbs; see 1.4.3). However, in his conclusion discussing the use of the middle voice in Ancient Greek, Allan remarks that ‘the prototypical transitive event is coded by the unmarked active voice’ (2003: 248), drawing on Langacker’s ‘billiard-ball model’, which is used to comment that ‘transitive sentences in the active voice describing physical interactions among third-person participants are highly unmarked’ (1991: 212). This would imply that morphologically active verbs are more suited to transitive situations and, indeed, non-active verbs (particularly those in the aorist passive) are used to indicate intransitivity in Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c).

1.6.1.2 Non-active

The non-active voices are middle and passive. As stated above, these are only morphologically distinct from each other in the aorist and future tenses, but non-active morphology is always distinct from active morphology.

As described in the grammatical features section on voice, the classification of non-active verbs can vary. Non-active verbs can indicate a passive situation (see 1.4.1) but there are further meanings for verbs with a non-active form: Kemmer (1993: 16-20) gives lexical-semantic definitions of the middle voice as to include verbs of grooming, nontranslational motion, change of body posture, self-benefactivity, naturally reciprocal events, translational motion, emotion, emotive speech acts, cognition, and spontaneous events; Grestenberger’s list for oppositional middles (2014: 20-22) includes the categories of anticausatives/inchoatives, naturally reflexive-reciprocal verbs, self-benefactive/indirect reflexive verbs, dispositional/generic middles, and (medio)passives. In their contexts, neither of these lists is applied solely to Greek – as both Kemmer and Grestenberger explore how the non-active/middle voice is used in multiple languages – but they can apply here.

Connecting these more specifically to a Greek context, Bacharova (2007: 129), in an article aiming to increase the understanding of Greek (and Latin) verbal paradigms, repeats Kemmer’s list

with examples taken from (Classical) Greek to show the typical uses of the middle voice. Allan too, in outlining the semantic fields which the middle voice governs, includes a list which is similar to Kemmer's, and includes the passive middle, spontaneous processes, mental processes, body motion, collective motion, reciprocals, direct reflexives, perception, mental activity, speech acts, and indirect reflexives (2003: 57-8); he also gives categories of the middle voice, from an inventory by Rijksbaron (1994), as passive use, direct-reflexive use, indirect reflexive use, pseudo-reflexive and pseudo-passive use (which, by Allan's definition, are generally equivalent to anticausative use), as well as *media* and *passiva tantum* (middle- and passive-only) verbs, which are equated to deponent verbs (see below, 1.6.1.3) (2003: 1-3).

Despite the wide range of potential meanings and uses of non-active verbs, their context-specific meaning is not always necessarily unclear. Ladewig states that where a verb's form is non-active 'our first choice of the use of the form should be passive' (2010: 156), but 'a passive aorist form with non-passive meaning is nothing extraordinary in Greek' (Veksina 2017: 223).

Non-active verbs (particularly those in the aorist passive) can be used to indicate that a verb has an intransitive (but active) meaning (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c). This overlaps with the dispositional middles, which are also active and intransitive, and with anti-causative/pseudo-reflexive and pseudo-passive use because, as seen above in 1.4.4, anticausatives refer to the intransitive member of a causative/anticausative set.

1.6.1.3 Deponent verbs

Deponent verbs are generally described as those which occur only in a form with non-active morphology. While he dislikes the term 'deponent' (or *deponentia*), Allan similarly describes middle-only verbs as 'middle verbs that do not have active counterparts' (2003: 2 footnote 4).

More technically, deponency in Koine Greek can be described as 'a syntactical designation for the phenomenon...in which a lexically-specified set of verbs demonstrates incongruity between voice form and function by using middle and/or passive morphology to represent active voice

function while simultaneously lacking active morphology for a particular principal part in Koine literature and lacking a beneficiary/recipient-subject' (Ladewig 2010: 162), or, more simply, 'a mismatch between the form and function of voices' (Ladewig 2010: 120).

Grestenberger gives a narrower definition: 'In an active—non-active voice system, a deponent is a syntactically active verb whose surface subject is an agent and whose finite forms are morphologically non-active', a definition which usually implies that the verb be transitive (2014: 65).

There are verbs which are classed as being deponent in some tenses and not in others. The verb *ἔρχομαι* has a middle form in the present, but an active form in the aorist and perfect, while *γίνομαι* is middle in the present but has an active form in the perfect. In addition, a large set of verbs are deponent only in the future tense, including: *αἰρέω, βαίνω, γινώσκω, εἰμί, ἐσθίω, θνήσκω, λαμβάνω, ὀράω, πίνω, πίπτω, τίκτω, φεύγω, and χαίρω*.

Which verbs are deponent in Koine Greek may not (or, no longer) be related to their meaning, as a middle-only form may have originally been 'confined to those verbs that denoted an action in the interests of the subject...[but] deponent inflection was then extended analogically to other verbs which were somehow semantically or morphologically similar' (Wackernagel I, 22 in Langslow 2009). For this study it is enough reach a conclusion as to whether deponent verbs have an active meaning or retain some canonical middle meaning as implied by their morphology.

There is scholarly debate as to whether, in Koine Greek, these deponent verbs are active in sense – and thus do indeed have 'a mismatch between the form and function of voices' (Ladewig 2010: 120) – or whether they actually do have a middle sense. Pennington describes deponency as a category that does 'more harm than good' (2003a: 69), as it only continues due to confusion over the meaning of the middle voice in English: verbs that are thought of as deponent are actually middle in meaning; as such there is no mismatch between form and meaning – deponent verbs are simply middle. Ladewig (2010: 193) contends that Pennington's (2003a, 2003b) arguments are weak and unconvincing, requiring an expansion of the definitions of the middle voice to encapsulate the deponent verbs (as done by Allan 2013a, 2013b); he maintains that deponent verbs are too diverse in

meaning to be defined as middle (Ladewig 2010: 161). Grestenberger, giving the definition discussed above, would seem to agree that deponent verbs are active in meaning, and thus the mismatch exists.

Following the work of Ladewig and Grestenberger, deponent verbs in Greek will be taken in this study to be those which only appear with non-active morphology, but have an active meaning. Any further discussion on particulars will be carried out for specific examples if necessary.

1.6.2 Fientivity

Fientivity is not standardly marked in Greek. However, there have been several studies investigating how, and whether, Koine Greek displays stative aspect (among others) in its verbal morphology, with some agreement that it is the perfect tense which expresses stativity in some way (Porter 1989; Fanning 1990; Evans 2001: 32).

This study does not examine the use of conjugations in translation, but investigates whether stativity in Biblical Hebrew, particularly in the *qal*, is at all represented in Greek translation through voice.

1.6.3 Factitivity-causativity

Koine Greek has no standard linguistic morphemes for factitivity-causativity, however, there are certain non-standard ways that it is occasionally marked in Greek. Kulikov (2013), as part of a list, notes active/middle voice distinction, which is particularly pertinent to this study.

In Classical Greek, there was a strong tendency for the intransitive member of a causative/anticausative set to appear with non-active morphology (and thus is considered to be marked), while the transitive member would appear with active morphology – ‘the presence of the non-active form is stable in the anticausative structures in Classical Greek’ (Lavidas 2010: 93). This is an example of anticausative coding (see 1.4.4), which agrees with the general trend for languages with a bivalent system for voice morphology described by Grestenberger (2014: 22-3).

In the period of Koine Greek there were several developments, outlined by Lavidas (2010: 94-99). First, some previously intransitive active forms took on a causative meaning, e.g. *βασιλεύω*: ‘to rule’ *and* ‘to cause someone to rule’, where previously it had only meant ‘to rule’; with these verbs, this is an example of labile coding (1.4.4).

Second, there was an innovation whereby previously solely intransitive non-active verbs acquired a transitive active partner, e.g. *ἐντρέπομαι*: ‘to feel shame’ *and* *ἐντρέπω* ‘to make someone feel shame’, where previously only *ἐντρέπομαι* had been used;¹³ this is an innovation of anticausative coding.

Third, there was another innovation whereby verbs which had an intransitive meaning in forms with both active and non-active morphology also acquired a transitive active member, with no difference in meaning, leading to a triplet e.g. *λευκαίνω*: ‘to whiten’ intransitive, with active and non-active morphology, *and* ‘to whiten’ transitive, with active morphology;¹⁴ this is a combination of labile coding (between the new transitive active form and old intransitive active form) and anticausative coding (between the intransitive non-active and transitive active forms).

Fourth, there was a spread of active forms being used for anticausatives – ‘the active voice is extended to anticausatives that participate in transitivity alternations and is not connected with the production of new alternations’ (Lavidas 2010: 112).

All these changes can lead to a confusing situation, with instances where there is no clear distinction between factitive-causative and non-factitive-causative forms (which is also mentioned by Kulikov 2013). However, some anticausative marking can still be expected as ‘quite a few transitivity alternations continue (in spite of the general extension of active anticausatives) to mark with non-active voice the anticausative type (the same as in classical Ancient Greek)’ (Lavidas 2010: 116).

This possible anticausative coding, put more simply, means, for the most part, changing the voice of an active (thus, unmarked) non-factitive-causative Greek verb cannot make it factitive-

¹³ Only *ἐντρέπομαι* is used in the studied corpus; see 1 Cor 4:14 for active form *ἐντρέπω* with causative meaning.

¹⁴ This verb does not appear in the studied corpus.

causative; however, with Greek verbs which *do* have a factitive-causative meaning, it is possible to negate that meaning – and thus lead to a ‘basic’ meaning – by changing the voice from active to non-active, thus marking the verb.

For a list of Greek verbs in this corpus which allow a factitive-causative nuance, see Appendix B (12.2).

1.6.4 Reflexive-reciprocal action

Greek, having an essentially bivalent voice system (Grestenberger 2014: 88), marks verbs in reflexive-reciprocal situations with non-active (middle, where distinguishable) morphology:

ὅταν εἰσπορεύωνται εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου νίμονται ὕδατι ...

Whenever they enter into the tent of meeting, they shall wash (themselves) with water...

Exodus 30:20

However, ‘Greek has a way of expressing reflexivity that is separate from the middle voice’ (Bacharova 2007: 130). There is a series of reflexive pronouns for all 3 persons in Greek (like English) – *ἐμαυτοῦ* ‘myself’, *σεαυτοῦ* ‘yourself’, and *ἐαυτοῦ* ‘him/her/itself’¹⁵ – and these can be used in situations of derived, not natural, reflexivity-reciprocity (see 1.4.5).

In the example below, from Leviticus 25:29, the verb *λυτρόω*, ‘to redeem’, appears twice, both times with middle morphology. The verb is not naturally reflexive-reciprocal (as the agent of the verb ‘to redeem’ is not necessarily coreferent with its patient), and thus only in the second occurrence, where a reflexive-reciprocal meaning can be derived, is one of the reflexive pronouns used:

ἀδελφὸς πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ υἱὸς ἀδελφοῦ πατρὸς λυτρώσεται αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς αὐτοῦ λυτρώσεται αὐτόν ἐὰν δὲ εὐπορηθεὶς ταῖς χερσὶν λυτρώσεται ἑαυτόν

¹⁵ These reflexive pronouns never appear in the nominative case, hence their lexical form is in the genitive.

A brother of his father or a son of his father's brother shall redeem him, or some of his relatives who are of his own flesh, of his own tribe, shall redeem him, but if he prospers with his hands he shall redeem himself.

Leviticus 25:49

1.6.5 Denominative and deverbative verbs

A denominative verb is one which is derived from a nominal stem (see Trask 1993: 76 for 'denominal'), while a deverbative verb comes from a verbal base (Maquieira 2013b; see Trask 1993: 81 for 'deverbal').

Denominative verbs in Greek can sometimes, but not always, have a factitive sense, particularly those which have the ending *-όω* (Debrunner 1917: 99; Tucker 1981: 15; Tucker 1990: 325; Maquieira 2013a). Tucker also notes the endings *-αίνω* and *-ύνω* (the latter discussed further in Hamp 1988: 89), which, along with *-όω*, 'could be employed to derive factitives from thematic stem adjectives' (1981: 15). This is why Kulikov (2013) includes these suffixes (along with *-έω*, *-άω*, and *-ύω*, the development of which is discussed in Tucker 1990) as more non-standard markers of causativity in Greek verbs.

Greppin writes that 'Greek verbs in *-ίζω* and *-άζω*...are usually regarded as factitive, tending to activate the root, which is frequently nominal' (1997: 107) – although he makes the point that verbs with these endings are certainly not exclusively factitive. These two suffixes can be seen on denominative verbs (Debrunner 1917: 116), and also be used to form deverbative verbs, which can, like denominatives, have the nuance of factitivity-causativity, or intensiveness (Maquieira 2013b).

The fact that many of these denominative/deverbative endings can be used to derive verbs which may have a factitive-causative meaning is why they are included by Tov, who, when discussing the translation of the *hiphil*, goes so far as to say that 'the causative aspect of the verb is often expressed by causative suffixes, such as are used also in secular Greek: *-όω*, *-έω*, *-άω*, *-ύω*, *-ίζω*, *-άζω*, *-άνω*, *-αίνω*, *-ύνω*, *-εύω*' (1982: 419). Note the addition here of the suffixes *-άνω* and *-εύω*.

This study does not claim that *all* verbs with these specific endings have a factitive-causative nuance, or vice-versa. For example, the verb *λαλέω*, ‘to speak’, has one of the endings listed by Kulikov, but is not factitive-causative, and neither is, for example, the verb *ἀρόω*, ‘to plough’; meanwhile the verb *σφάλλω*, ‘to make fall’, does have factitive-causative meaning, but does not feature one of these endings. Nevertheless, several verbs with these endings can be expected to have these nuances. For example: *δηλόω* – ‘to make visible’; *παροργίζω* – ‘to provoke to anger’; *ἀγιάζω* – ‘to make holy’; these are all factitive as the underlying situations in each are [-dynamic] (see 1.4.4).¹⁶

Some of these endings appear on verbs which are causative in nuance (they are often deverbatives): *ἀκουτίζω* – ‘to cause to hear’; *ἀναβιβάζω* – ‘to cause to go up’; these are causative as the underlying situations are [+dynamic] (see 1.4.4).¹⁷

It is not always easy to determine with certainty how productive these endings were by the Koine period; while the translators may have created neologisms using these endings – *ἀγαθόω*, for example, which ‘is not evidenced in the Greek language before the time of the LXX’ (Tov 1982: 418) – they certainly did not always use them to derive innovative verbs specifically in order to convey a causative or factitive nuance. Rather, in the course of their translations, they more often *employed* pre-existing verbs which already had the nuance that best carried the meaning of the Hebrew, and may have had those endings – the ‘choice’ was semantically determined.

Given the factitive-causative nuance of many of these Greek denominative/deverbative verbs, and the factitive-causative sense of Hebrew verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil* in particular, it may be expected that Greek verbs which feature these endings, and also have a factitive-causative nuance, are more widely found in translations of verbs in those stems. The *piel* in particular is the stem which is ‘most commonly used to form denominatives in Hebrew’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 410), and thus

¹⁶ Given the definitions in 1.4.4, verbs which are declarative are related to factitives and can be included under the same umbrella. Thus the verb *δικαιόω*, which can have the definition ‘to declare someone/thing righteous’ can still be called factitive, as it is a complex situation where the underlying simple situation is [-dynamic].

¹⁷ It could be argued that *ἀκουτίζω* is factitive, not causative, as *ἀκούω* is not [+dynamic]. This reassessment would have no significant impact on the points of the study.

it may be expected to be translated with a large proportion of Greek verbs exhibiting these endings. The present study will examine the extent to which this expectation is borne out by the data (see 9.2).

1.6.6 Compound verbs

Verbs in Greek can be prefixed by elements, which can be used by themselves as prepositions, but, in the case of prefixation, can be called preverbs (Margolis 1909: 33; Humbert 1960: 330). A verb without a preverb can be termed ‘bare’, while one with a preverb can be termed ‘compound’ (Trask 1993: 53; Haug 2013). Verbs with preverbs are common in Greek, particularly in Koine Greek as opposed to Classical (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 63).

The prepositions that commonly feature as preverbs, and their general prepositional meanings, are (Humbert 1960: 300 ff):¹⁸

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| • ἀμφί around | • κατά down |
| • ἀνά up | • μετά with |
| • ἀντί back | • παρά beside, to |
| • ἀπό from | • περί around |
| • διά through | • πρό before |
| • εἰς into | • πρός toward |
| • ἐκ out of | • σύν with |
| • ἐν in | • ὑπέρ above |
| • ἐπί on | • ὑπό under |

Most of these preverbs are ‘local in origin, and many of them remain fundamentally local in meaning’ (Haug 2013) – this is the case with examples such as ἐκ ‘out’ + βάλλω ‘I throw’ = ἐκβάλλω ‘I throw out’. However, in some cases ‘the contribution of the preverb sometimes becomes opaque...or bleached’ (ibid.), so the meaning of a bare verb and a compound verb can differ in unpredictable ways: ἀνά ‘up’ + γινώσκω ‘I know’ = ἀναγινώσκω ‘I read’ (Duff 2005: 50).

¹⁸ These prepositions can, for various phonetic reasons, change when they are prefixed, e.g. before a vowel with rough breathing. This can lead to changes such as ἐκ- > ἐξ-, ἀπό- > ἀφ-, and κατά- > καθ-. As these changes are simply phonetic and have no semantic significance, where verbs with these preverbs appear in the results and analysis, they are included under the original prefix, i.e. the verb ἐξάγω is counted as having the suffix ἐκ.

The addition of a preverb can sometimes (but certainly not always) change the aspect of the action of a given verb, and ‘dans beaucoup de cas ils le font abstraitement, sans que le choix du preverbe influe sur la nuance exacte’ (Brunel 1939: 254). In Humbert’s listing of preverbs (1960: 300 ff.), he distinguishes their function into two categories, which he calls ‘plein’ and ‘vide’. ‘Plein’ preverbs change the verb in a concrete way (for example *ἀμφί*, ‘qui n’est jamais « vide »’, and *ἀντί*, which ‘est toujours « plein »’), while ‘vide’ preverbs affect the aspect of action.

For example, a preverb can convert a previously atelic verb into a telic one (Haug 2013), indicating that the action now has a ‘terminal point’ built into it (Comrie 1976: 44); this telicisation of a Greek verb can be seen with *ἔρχομαι* (atelic) vs. *εἰσέρχεται* (telic), as discussed by Shain (2011). Whether a verb is telic or atelic affects its level of semantic transitivity (see table 1 in 1.4.3), as telic verbs have a higher semantic transitivity.

The addition of a preverb can also change the valency of a verb – as noted by Grestenberger (2014: 90) with *πέτομαι*, ‘fly’ vs. *εἰσπέτομαι*, ‘fly into’ – with the compound verb having a higher valency. This again affects the transitivity, because valency is one of the criteria for determining the transitivity of a verb (see table 1 in 1.4.3). As transitivity is one of the factors governing which Hebrew verbal stem is used (1.5), it does not seem unreasonable to assume that there may be some Greek translations of Hebrew verbs in different stems which are distinct from each other due to the use of bare vs compound verbs.

A preverb can lend a verb a factitive value (Brunel 1939: 281; see *ἀνά* in Humbert 1960: 332), while some preverbs can give a sense of sustained action requiring a continued effort (see *διά* in Humbert 1960: 335), or even a sense of intensiveness (Brunel 1939: 281; see *εἰς-ἐν* and *κατά* in Humbert 1960: 335-6, 339). As these notions (factitivity and intensiveness) have been associated in particular with the *piel* (see 3.1), it may be instructive to examine whether the translation of verbs of that stem in particular do use Greek compound verbs with those preverbs (see 9.3).

Sometimes the difference between a bare and a compound verb, or between two compound verbs with the same Greek base verb but different preverbs, can be negligible, or the difference has

been lost over time, particularly by the point of Koine Greek. This leads to their varied use, even within a given corpus, to be one of style (avoidance of repetition, for metrical considerations, etc), rather than semantics: ‘c’est le cas de ἀποκτείνω et de κατακτείνω’ (Brunel 1939: 281).

1.7 Current Research

This section provides a brief overview of some of the previous research that has been conducted on a) verbal translation of the LXX and b) investigations into the Biblical Hebrew verbal stems. It is not exhaustive, but is intended to offer representative survey of some of the most relevant studies that have been conducted and contextualise the need for the present research.

Extant research on translation technique with respect to the LXX is mostly focused on two areas: translation of conjugations and translation of syntactic forms. However, work has been done that addresses some of the issues of the translation of stems in the LXX, which leads to some interesting threads that can be investigated in light of the findings presented in this dissertation.

L. Gorton (2016), studying the translation of Hebrew verbs into Greek in the book of Ecclesiastes, focuses on the conjugations more than the verbal stems. Nevertheless, he makes several conclusions about the stems: he notes that the *piel* and the *hiphil* are more regularly translated using the active voice than the *qal*, and that middle voice Greek verbs (even deponent middles) are rarely used for these two stems. This calls into question the idea that the middle voice was ‘functionally the same as the active...by the time of the Koine period’ (Gorton 2016: 420). Gorton argues that further study in this field would shed light on the use of voice in translation and would clarify whether this is an overarching pattern in the Hebrew Bible or one more specific to Ecclesiastes, the book upon which his study is focused.

When comparing the *niphal* with the *pual*, Gorton concludes that, in Ecclesiastes, both stems are regularly translated passively and that they ‘pattern completely’ with each other, just as the *qal* and *piel* do, with a lack of aspectual difference in the translation (2016: 420-1). The *hitpael* too has a default translation ‘as a passive’ (2016: 421).

The findings, that the *piel* and *hiphil* eschew the use of the middle voice more than the *qal*, that the *niphal* and the *pual* follow a pattern of translation (as do their active equivalents), and that the *hitpael* is predominately translated passively, can all be investigated in this study across a wider scale to ascertain whether they do form larger patterns of translation of the Hebrew Bible as a whole.

Good (2003) examines the translation of Hebrew verbs into Greek in the books of Chronicles, focusing on the conjugations. In doing so he barely touches on verbal stems, discussing the Hebrew verbal system and *Aktionsart* with hardly any reference to them, but this is to be expected given his attention to the conjugations (2003: 42-54, 204-7). In his summary he remarks that the translation of Chronicles is part of the trend of translation to move from the ‘the freer (but still literal) translation of Pentateuch and Samuel/Kings, to the slavishly literal translation of Aquila’. (2003: 281). As Chronicles sits in this later translation period in comparison to the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, Good’s observation is difficult to transpose across to the present study.

Evans (2001) too focuses on the conjugations, but this time from the Greek perspective, in his study *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*. He notes that analysis of translation techniques with regards to the Hebrew verbal stems ‘would be interesting’, but makes it clear that such study is ‘outside the scope of the present work’ (2001: 63).

Although his chief conclusions are that the Greek of the Pentateuch is close to the idiomatic Greek expected of the early Koine period, he does comment briefly on the stems when refuting S. Thompson’s theory that verbs in stems other than the *qal* can be identified via the abnormal use of the Greek perfect indicative. Evans writes that the evidence for this proposal is unconvincing, noting that the uses of the Greek perfect indicative are not abnormal, and that the proposal itself relies on the translators having a ‘technical sensitivity’ to the Hebrew stems, which Evans does not believe to be likely as ‘the first grammar containing the now familiar seven-stem system...appeared some three hundred years after Saadia [a 10th century Jewish grammarian]’ (Evans 2001: 156-8). This issue of the translators not having the now-standard idea of Hebrew verbal stems is crucial to this study.

Anneli Aejmelaeus has written extensively on the translation of syntactic forms in the LXX, including the verbal topic of conjunctive participles (1982). In none of her studies does she focus on the translation of verbal stems, and as such her research does not directly overlap with that conducted here, although she notes that the translators of the LXX ‘were not necessarily particular with respect to the grammatical equivalence of the Hebrew and Greek words and verbal forms’ (Aejmelaeus 2007:

3), meaning that the imperative in Hebrew could be translated using a Greek participle, for example. As there is no direct equivalence in Greek for the Hebrew verbal stems, this statement does not necessarily apply to a study of their translation of the stems, but it reinforces the notion that the translators were not looking to closely recreate Hebrew grammar using Greek.

Emanuel Tov (1982) researched how the causative sense of the *hiphil* is represented in the LXX. By examining the whole LXX, Tov gives a broad overview of how this stem is represented and, in doing so, he describes four different ways in which the causative meaning of the *hiphil* is represented in translation into Greek (1982: 417):

- i) Verbs bearing no special features
- ii) Causative suffixes (-όω, -έω, -άω, -ύω, -ίζω, -άζω, -άνω, -αίνω, -ύνω, -εύω)
- iii) Auxiliary verbs (using an auxiliary verb or verb + adj/adv/prep + noun/verb)
- iv) Reversal of the causative action

Tov does not discuss the first point, whereby the causative aspect of the *hiphil* is often translated simply with Greek verbs having a causative meaning. The majority of Tov's attention is focused on points two and three, which he considers the most interesting. In particular, when listing translations which use Greek verbs with causative suffixes, he notes presumed neologisms, indicating some innovation on the part of the translators. In addition, he makes the point that the translators of the LXX overextended the use of the 'causative' suffixes, employing intransitive verbs with these suffixes as if they were causative, such as βασιλεύω in the sense of both 'to reign' and 'to cause to reign' (1999: 199).

Tov makes no note of finding any of the other causative markers which Kulikov (2013) lists, such as voice distinction or sigmatic aorists, but he does include compound verbs as a causative feature in his 'auxiliary verb' section, which Kulikov does not mention. Moreover, this auxiliary verb category could be broadened to include compound verbs, which are explored in the present dissertation.

Tov also remarks that ‘no data are available for the relative frequency for each of the above-mentioned techniques’ (1982: 417) – the data of which Tov bemoans the lack are the kind which this present dissertation will produce. Although it will not provide the relative frequency for all of Tov’s categories, the research presented here will show the proportion of translation for several causative features. As well as providing that statistical data, it will be instructive to ascertain whether the data for the *hiphil* analysed in this initial research, and potentially in subsequent studies, match with Tov’s results, and whether the results for other verbal stems with causative aspects tally at all with his four points.

The fact that Tov’s paper constitutes an investigation of the translation of a verbal stem across the whole LXX also gives precedence to the kind of research conducted in this study, which searches for overarching patterns of translation using data from a wide range of books.

Richard Benton (2009) has examined the aspect of the *niphal* and *hitpael* in BH and he concludes that there is a great overlap between the passive and middle voices and that the same root can appear in the *niphal* and the *hitpael* in the same context (2009: 377). He makes the point that a case study of how verbs in the *niphal* and *hitpael* are translated in the LXX would ‘help solidify diachronic models of development of BH’ (2009: 383). While this study will not specifically look in depth at just the *niphal* and *hitpael*, or at the diachronic development of Biblical Hebrew, those two verbal stems are examined and the data provided will be useful in further studies on the development of the language.

1.8 Methodology

Using the MT^L, every Hebrew verb in each of the seven major stems were found for the books of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings.

Every verb appearing in the corpus, in each of the seven major stems, with a specific verbal translation in Greek was included in the analysis. For each verb, in each stem, a comparison was made against their verbal translations in the LXX, using the CATSS morphological marking of Rahlfs' LXX as found on Bibleworks software. This version of the LXX was used as the base for this study because of the searchability, and ability to compile and manipulate large sets of data. The LXX manuscripts found in Qumran were not used as, despite their older provenance, they do not contain a complete enough selection of the books in the studied corpus to be able make the kind of data comparisons that are the main feature of the current study (Ulrich 1999: 165; Vermes 2011: 639-655).

Data was gathered of the following type, as labelled by the CATSS marking:

Genesis 1:1 – ברא verb, *qal qatal* 3ms = *ποιέω* verb, indicative aorist active 3s

Overall data of the voice of verbs used in translation for each stem was compiled into two major categories by morphological marking: active and non-active. Non-active verbs in each stem were further divided into passive, middle, and medio-passive.

The Greek lexemes used in translation of verbs in each stem were compiled and their definitions found in Liddell and Scott (1940). These were classed, by their definition, as those that allow a causative meaning, those that allow a factitive meaning, and those which allow only basic (non-complex) meanings.

The frequency of translations in each stem which appear with a preverb (compound verbs) and also can be considered denominative/deverbative, were also gathered.

In each of the chapters below (2-8), the voice translations of the stems are discussed in sequence: *qal*, *piel*, *hiphil*, *hitpael*, *niphal*, *pual*, *hophal*. Chapter 9 deals with the translations

involving lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning (9.1), as well as denominative/deverbative verbs (9.2), and compound verbs (9.3). Chapter 10 contains examples and discussions of translations of verbs with the same root that appear in different verbal stems.

Definitions of Hebrew verbal roots are from *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament* (Koehler and Baumgartner 2001), and definitions of the Greek verbs are from the *Greek-English Lexicon* (Liddell and Scott 1940) unless otherwise specified.

English translations of Biblical verses are my own, or from the New Revised Standard version, unless otherwise specified.

2 Qal

2.1 Introduction

The *qal* is the most commonly occurring verbal stem in the Hebrew Bible, with nearly 69% of verbs found in the MT appearing in this stem (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 361). It is generally considered to be the most basic, unmarked of the stems, and thus verbs in the *qal* are most frequently active in voice and are without any elements of causativity or reflexive-reciprocal action (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 362); this is described as having 'basic' or 'simple' action. Verbs in the *qal* can be either dynamic or stative, and either transitive or intransitive (Jouion and Muraoka 2006: 126).

The separation of those roots appearing in the *qal* into dynamic and stative can present challenges (which are addressed below), but it is possible to accomplish to a degree and is a worthwhile undertaking in this study as it can provide valuable insight into the translation patterns of those roots.

Separating the dynamic verbs into transitive and intransitive groups is more difficult as the verbs are not morphologically marked for transitivity, and the same root in the *qal* may be found in a verb that can be syntactically transitive in one situation and intransitive in another (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 363-4). Waltke and O'Connor consider the separation of roots by transitivity to be 'for practical and theoretical reasons unimportant' (1990: 371), but it is mentioned in the analysis where relevant.

2.1.1 Stative qals

In defining roots in the *qal* which are stative, there are two definitions that can be used, one based on morphology and one based on semantics. There can be overlap between these two fields, but there are also roots that fall into only one of them: they look morphologically stative, but seem to have a dynamic meaning, or have a stative meaning but do not follow a typically stative morphological pattern.

2.1.1.1 Morphology

Waltke and O'Connor list six patterns of verbs in the *qal* (1990: 368). According to their list, patterns 1 (*qāṭal/yiqṭōl*) and 5 (*qāṭal/yēqṭēl*) were for dynamic roots; patterns 2 (*qāṭēl/yiqṭal*) and 3 (*qāṭōl/yiqṭal*) were for stative roots but some (particularly pattern 2) have dynamic meaning; and patterns 4 (*qāṭal/yiqṭal*) and 6 (*qāṭēl/yiqṭōl*) mix dynamic and stative in both form and meaning. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 127) agree that the patterns 2 and 3 are stative patterns, seen in similar forms in Akkadian for verbal adjectives (see also Huehnergard 2011: 25-6).

Determining the vowel patterns for certain roots can be difficult, however, due to the presence of other factors which affect vowels, such as weak and guttural letters, as well as the scarcity of particular roots appearing at all or in particular conjugations.

2.1.1.2 Semantics

As well as a morphological definition for statives, a semantic one can be employed.

Semantically, stative verbs describe a situation where no change occurs and which lasts for a indeterminate period of time with no end – this was defined in 1.4.2 as [-dynamic] [+durative] [-telic] – e.g. כָּבֵדוּ ‘they were/are heavy’. Stative verbs in Hebrew can also have an inchoative meaning, which describes entering into a state – נִגְדַל ‘he has become big’. This latter understanding could, in English, be considered to have a dynamic (non-stative) meaning, or, at the very least, to have nuances which can ‘come close to the notion of action’ (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 127). The inchoative meaning of a stative can more often be discerned either when the ‘stative’ verb is in a narrative sequence, usually indicated by the *wayyiqṭol* conjugation, or when the clause contains an adverb which places the verb in a momentary or punctiliar frame (Creason 1995: 75; Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 44-5).

The difficulty with categorising stative roots by their definition is that, as well as the simple state and inchoative meanings, there are several contexts where a true dynamic reading of a stative

verb can be more appropriate, and thus it can be considered to describe an event (Williams 2007: 57).

Some of these contexts are:

- Where the stative appears in conjunction with the verb הָלַךְ, ‘go, walk’, in the participle or infinitive construct (Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 34-5).
- Where the stative appears as an imperative, which adds a dimension of volition creating a dynamic situation (Creason 1995: 134; Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 36-7).
- Where the stative appears as a participle. The progressive meaning of the participle is at odds with a non-dynamic reading of a stative verb (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 366) and, as such, statives rarely appear in this form (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 117). Dobbs-Allsopp (2000: 39) believes that only stative roots with active derivational morphology appear in the participle with this dynamic reading, so it cannot be applied to all statives which appear as participles.
- Where the stative verb has a direct object (although this only applies in certain situations as verbs such as אָהַב ‘love’ and יָדַע ‘know’ can have a direct object and yet still describe a state; see Dobbs-Allsopp 2000: 35-6).
- Where the stative verb appears in a different verbal stem to the *qal*, such as the *piel* (Creason 1995: 168-219). This idea is addressed in comparisons of the *qal* with other stems (see chapter 10).

2.1.1.3 Stative Roots in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets

By combining both morphology and semantics, and by looking at lists of stative roots found in Waltke and O’Connor (1990) and Joüon-Muraoka (2006), a list of stative roots which appear in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets can be compiled and is given in Appendix A (12.1).

The list of stative roots is not exhaustive, and not all the roots in the list appear in every one of the books in the corpus, but in order to investigate the Greek translation of stative verbs it is helpful to have a set of roots to use as a basis.

Even when following the guidelines listed above, there is always a degree of subjective interpretation when deciding whether a certain verbal root is stative, and even more so when analysing verbs of those roots in particular instances.

2.2 Voice translations

The trends of voice translations of verbs in the *qal* are detailed below.

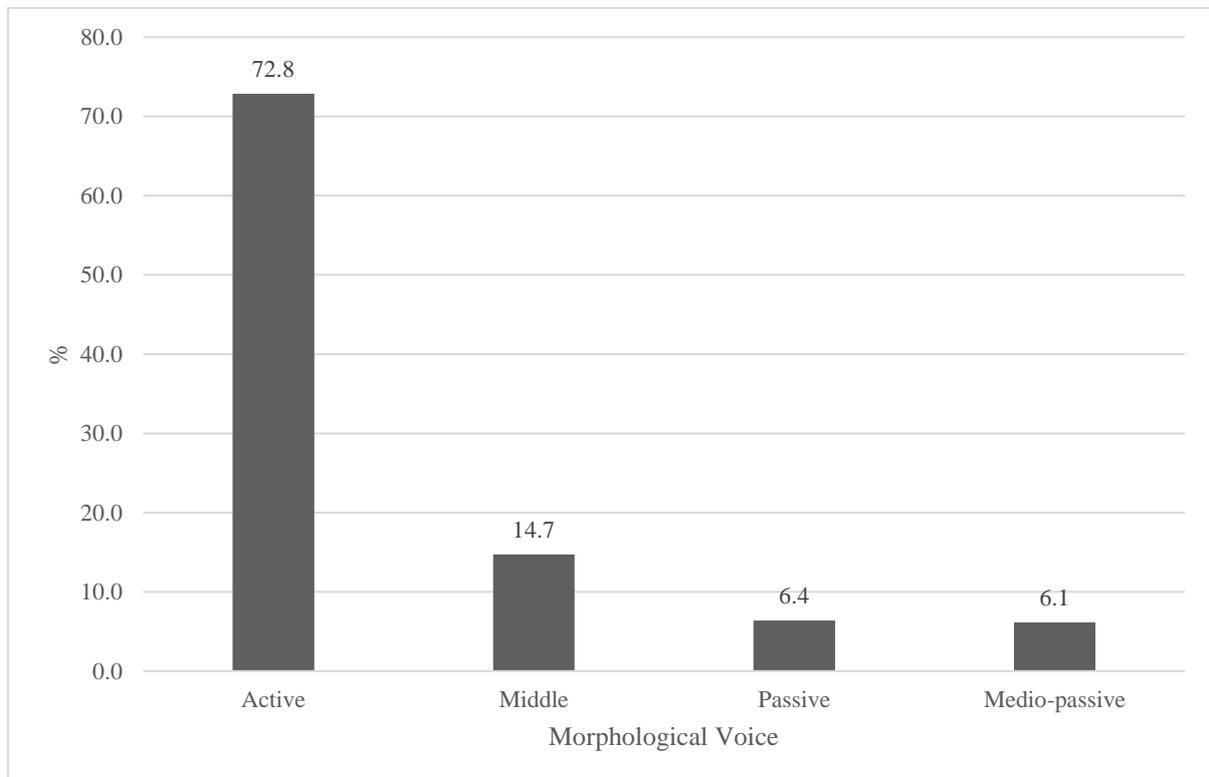


Figure 1: Morphological voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the qal, by percentage

Figure 1 shows that active morphological forms are used in 72.8% of verbal translations of the *qal*, comprising the clear majority, with 27.2% (more than one quarter) of verbs appearing in the *qal* translated using Greek verbs with non-active morphology.

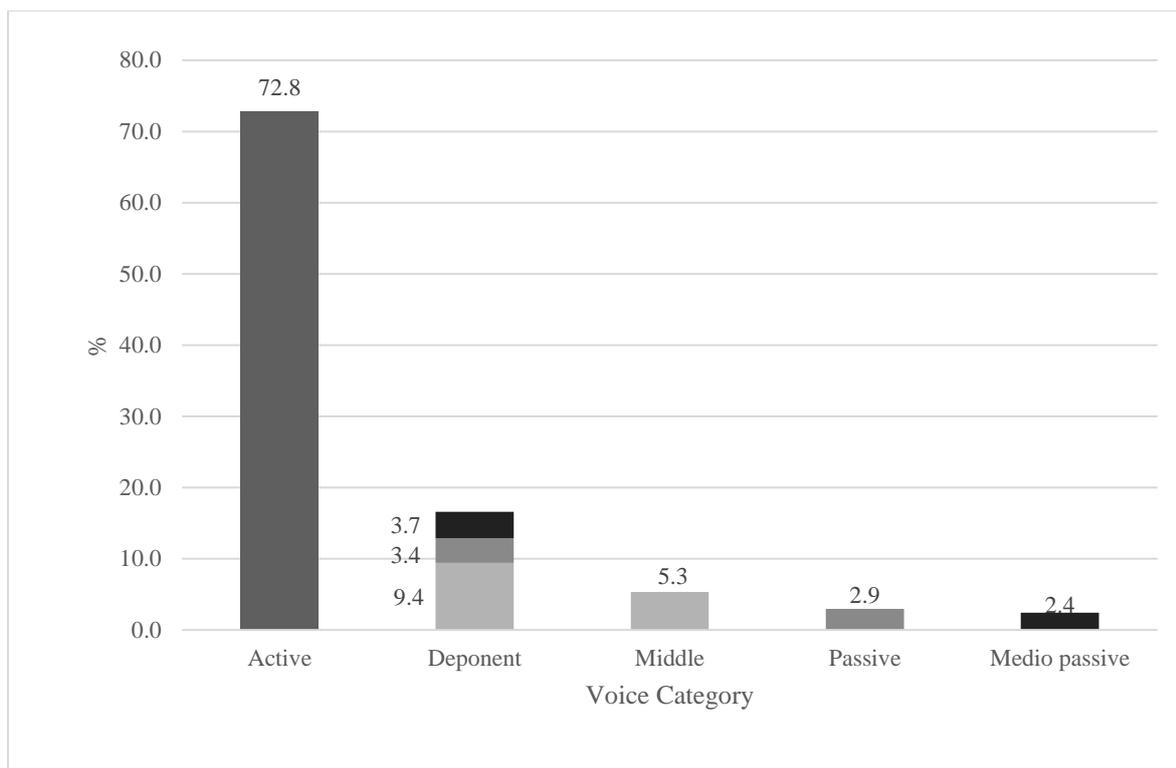


Figure 2: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the *qal*, by percentage

Figure 2 provides a more detailed picture by illustrating the high proportion of deponent translations seen in the non-active voices: 63.8% of morphologically middle translations, 54% of morphologically passive translations, and just over 60% of medio-passive translations involve deponent verbs. This means that a total of 3827/23084 (16.6%) of all verbal translations use deponent verbs and, if they are considered to be active in sense, this brings the proportion of active translations of the *qal* to 89.4%, leaving 10.6% non-active, non-deponent translations. This overall high proportion of active and deponent translations agrees with Wevers' (1985: 17) assessment of the translation of the *qal*.

It is noteworthy that, although the proportion of verbal translations of the *qal* which have non-active morphology and are not deponent is not high, it is higher than may be expected for a stem considered to be active, and certainly higher than the proportion of non-active translations of verbs in the two other 'active' stems, the *piel* and the *hiphil*, as shown below in table 7.

	Non-active translations (incl. deponent) (%)	Deponent translations (%)	Non-active, non-deponent translations (%)
<i>Qal</i>	27.2	16.6	10.6
<i>Piel</i>	19.2	15.2	4.0
<i>Hiphil</i>	10.0	2.9	7.1

Table 7: Percentage of non-active translations, deponent translations, and non-active, non-deponent translations of the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil*.

There is a clear difference between the three stems, with the data highlighting two questions: first, why is the *qal* still more likely to be translated with non-active translations than either of the other stems? Second, why does the *hiphil* have far fewer deponent translations than the *qal* or the *piel*? The first of these questions which will be addressed in this chapter (2.2.2), while the second is addressed later (4.2.3).

As verbs in the *qal* can be divided into dynamic and stative categories, it is possible to examine the voice translation of the *qal* statives specifically. When this is done, a far smaller subset of data is available – there are only 2309/23084 (10.0%) verbal translations of *qal* statives. The pattern of voice translation in this subset is subtly different from the translation of *qals* as a whole.

While figure 3 gives an overall view, the most noteworthy changes in voice are made apparent by figure 4: the active and deponent Greek translations both decrease, while the non-deponent translations of the other voices increase, with a particularly marked increase in morphologically passive verbal translations (10.6%).

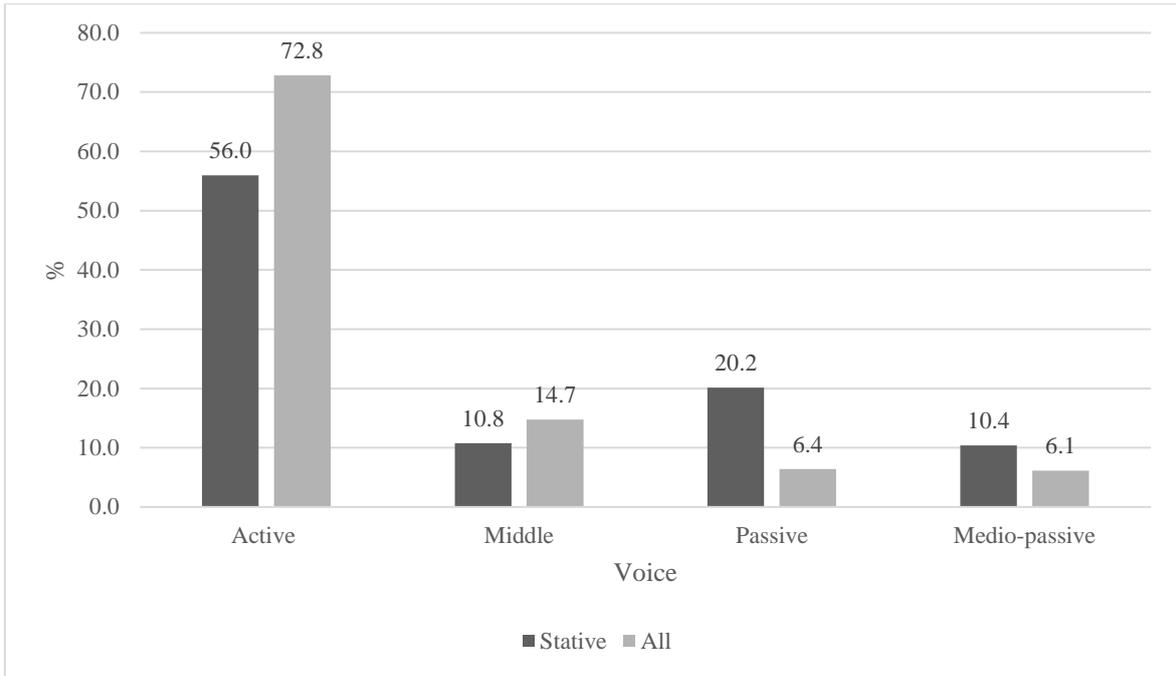


Figure 3: Morphological voice translation of purely verbal translations of qal stative verbs compared to all qal verbs, by percentage.

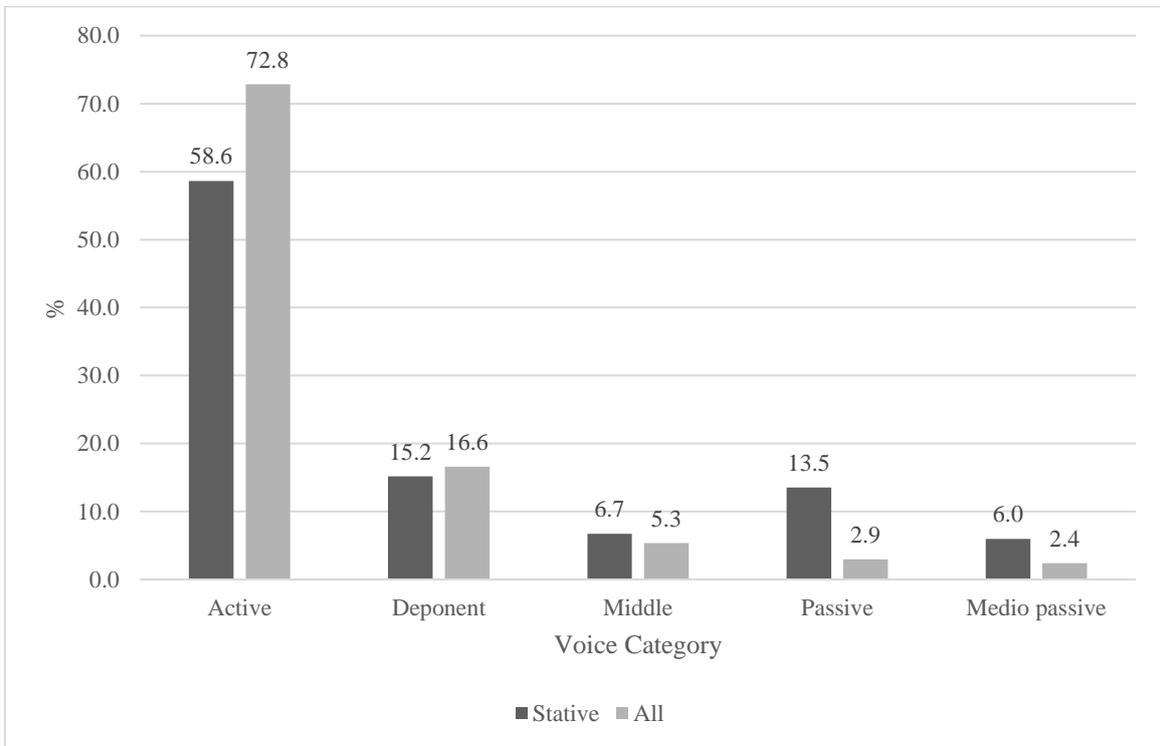


Figure 4: Voice category of the translation of purely verbal translations of qal stative verbs compared to all qal verbs, by percentage.

This means that the proportion of non-active, non-deponent translations of *qal* statives is much higher than for verbs in the *qal* in general:

	Non-active translations (%)	Non-active, deponent translations (%)	Non-active, non-deponent translations (%)
<i>Qal</i> statives	44.0	15.2	26.2
All <i>qals</i>	27.2	16.6	10.6

Table 8: Percentage of non-active, non-active deponent, and non-active non-deponent translations of stative verbs in the qal and all verbs in the qal

However, while there is a shift in the pattern of translation away from active voice translations, it is not so radical that active voice translations are not used, or even become rare. Active and deponent translations combined are still used in the majority of verbal translations of *qal* statives.

The following sections illustrate active form translations of both dynamic and stative verbs followed by non-active form translations, with an exploration of possible explanations for the latter

2.2.1 Active form translations

16815/23084 verbal translations of the *qal* feature Greek verbs with active forms; these active verbal translations account for 72.8% of all verbal translations in the *qal*, and includes verbs which are dynamic and stative.

Active form translations are the default for translations of the *qal* and require little explanation.

2.2.1.1 Dynamic verbs

There are 20775/23084 (90.0%) verbal Greek translations of *qals* which can be classed as dynamic, and the great majority of these are translated by active form verbs, e.g.:

בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ:

ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν

In the beginning, God **created** the heavens and the earth.

Genesis 1:1

As transitive verbs tend to be dynamic (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 364), it is also true to say that the majority of verbs which appear in transitive contexts in the *qal* are translated actively.

However, the reverse is certainly not true – dynamic intransitive verbs can also be translated using active voice forms:

וַיֹּאמֶר הַשְׁלִיכֵהוּ אָרְצָה וַיִּשְׁלִיכֵהוּ אָרְצָה וַיִּהְיֶה לְנֹחַשׁ נִנָּס מִפְּנֵי:

καὶ εἶπεν ῥίψον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγένετο ὄφης καὶ ἔφυγεν Μωσῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

And he said, 'Throw it on the ground.' So he threw the staff on the ground, and it became a snake; and Moses **drew back^{MT}/fled^{LXX}** from it.

Exodus 4:3 [intransitive]¹⁹

2.2.1.2 Stative verbs

The majority of verbs which are classed as stative are translated with active form Greek verbs (58.6%). Often the Greek verb, in active form, is the natural translation, as their definition is stative or the verb can be used with stative nuance. This can be seen in the following examples:

וַיְהִי כִּי־יִמְּוּ יִצְחָק וַתִּכְהַיֶּינּוּ עֵינָיו מִרְאָת...
... וַיְהִי כִּי־יִמְּוּ יִצְחָק וַתִּכְהַיֶּינּוּ עֵינָיו מִרְאָת...

ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ **γηρᾶσαι** Ἰσαακ καὶ ἠμβλύθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄραν...

When Isaac **was old** and his eyes were dim so that he could not see...

Genesis 27:1a [זקן]

γηράσκω – ‘to grow old, become old’

אֲנֹכִי הֵלֵךְ בְּדַרְדַּר כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וְהִנְיִתְּ לְאִישׁ:
אֲנֹכִי הֵלֵךְ בְּדַרְדַּר כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וְהִנְיִתְּ לְאִישׁ:

ἐγὼ εἶμι πορεύομαι ἐν ὁδοῦ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ **ἰσχύσεις** καὶ ἔση εἰς ἄνδρα

‘I am about to go the way of all the earth. **Be strong** and be courageous [lit: to a man]’

1 Kings 2:2 [זקח]

ἰσχύω – ‘to be strong’

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַתָּה וְעַד עַד כִּי צִמְאַתִּי וַתִּפְתָּח אֶת־נְאֻד הַקֶּלֶב וַתִּשְׁקָהוּ וַתִּכְסְּהוּ:
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַתָּה וְעַד עַד כִּי צִמְאַתִּי וַתִּפְתָּח אֶת־נְאֻד הַקֶּלֶב וַתִּשְׁקָהוּ וַתִּכְסְּהוּ:

καὶ εἶπεν Σισαρα πρὸς αὐτήν πότισόν με διη μικρὸν ὕδωρ ὅτι **ἐδίψησα** καὶ ἤνοιξεν τὸν ἄσκὸν τοῦ γάλακτος καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτὸν καὶ περιέβαλεν αὐτόν

¹⁹ With this second example the final prepositional phrase **בְּפָנָיו / ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ** could be removed without losing the sense of the sentence, highlighting the intransitivity of the verb.

Then he said to her, ‘Please give me a little water to drink; for **I am thirsty.**’ So she opened a skin of milk and gave him a drink and covered him.

Judges 4:19 [צמא]

διψάω – ‘to thirst, be thirsty’²⁰

While stative verbs are often intransitive (as in the above examples), they can appear in syntactically transitive situations with a direct object. In some of these cases, such as with mental states, there is no actual transfer of action (and therefore a low affectedness of the object), so these examples have low semantic transitivity (1.4.3). The definite object of these verbs can be attached to the verb as a suffix or can exist as a noun or noun phrase, often preceded by the definite direct object marker:

וַיֹּצֵא שָׁאוּל אֶת־עֶבְדָּו דָּבָר וְאֶל־דָּוִד בְּלֵט לְאָמֹר הֲנֵה חַיָּץ בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־עֲבָדָיו אֶתְּבוֹרָה וְעַתָּה הִתְחַתֵּן בְּמִלְחָה:

καὶ ἐνετείλατο Σαουλ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ λέγων λαλήσατε ὑμεῖς λάθρα τῷ Δαυιδ λέγοντες ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς θέλει ἐν σοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἀγαπῶσίν σε καὶ σὺ ἐπιγάμβρευσον τῷ βασιλεῖ

Saul commanded his servants, ‘Speak to David in private and say, “See, the king is delighted with you, and all his servants **love you**; now then, become the king’s son-in-law.”’

1 Samuel 18:22 [אהב]

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִצְחָק מִדָּוִד כִּי אָתָּם אֵלַי וְאַתֶּם שֹׂנְאֵתֶם אֹתִי וְתִשְׁלַחֲנִי מֵאַתְּכֶם:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰσαακ ἵνα τί ἤλθατε πρὸς με ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμισήσατέ με καὶ ἀπεστείλατέ με ἀφ’ ὑμῶν

Isaac said to them, ‘Why have you come to me, seeing that **you hate me** and have sent me away from you?’

Genesis 26:27 [שנא]

²⁰ The use of the aorist in Greek to translate a state in Hebrew may seem unusual, but is not really remarkable, as indicative aorists are used to translate Hebrew verbs in the *qatal* in almost a quarter of times that they appear in the LXX of the Pentateuch (Evans 2001: 95).

2.2.1.3 Passive participles

Passive participles in the *qal* are usually translated by Greek verbs in a non-active voice (see below, 2.2.2.6), but 17/278 (6.1%) of all *qal* passive participles are translated actively. In some instances this appears to be ascribable to a change of subject in the Greek translation (which also occurs in reverse, leading to passive translations of other *qal* verbs, see 2.2.2.2), while in other cases it is because the active Greek translation has the same (or very similar) meaning to the *qal* passive participle.

וְאַמַּרְתָּ לְעַבְדְּךָ לְיַעֲקֹב מִנְתָּה הוּא שְׁלוֹחָהּ לְאֵדֹנָי לַעֲשׂוֹ וְהִנֵּה גַם־הוּא אֶחָרִינִי:

‘Then you shall say, “They belong to your servant Jacob; they are a present **sent** to my lord Esau; and look, he is behind us.”’

ἐρεῖς τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰακωβ δῶρα ἀπέσταλκεν τῷ κυρίῳ μου Ἡσαυ καὶ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ὀπίσω ἡμῶν

‘You shall say, “Your servant Iakob’s; **he has sent** presents to my lord Esau, and look, he is behind us.”’

Genesis 26:27 [change of subject]

פָּקֹד פְּקֻדָּתִי אֶתְכֶם וְאֶת־הַעֲשׂוּי לְכֶם בְּמִצְרָיִם...

... I have given heed to you and to what **has been done** to you in Egypt.

... ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπέσκεμμαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅσα συμβέβηκεν ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

... With concern I have concerned myself with you and what **has happened** to you in Egypt.

Exodus 3:16b [similar meaning]

2.2.1.4 Summary

Active forms of Greek verbs are the default translation for *qals*, as they make up the majority of translations both for dynamic and stative verbs in that stem. They are used for both transitive and

intransitive situations. In some rare cases, verbs with active morphology are also used to translate *qal* passive participles, either because a Greek active verb has similar meaning, or because the subject of the sentence is different in the Hebrew and Greek, and therefore an active verb is appropriate.

2.2.2 Non-active form translations

As noted above, more than a quarter of Greek verbal translations of *qals* have non-active morphology (6269/23084, 27.2%), and this proportion is greater in the *qal* than for the equivalent category in either the *piel* or the *hiphil*.

The use of Greek deponent verbs partly accounts for the number of non-active translations, as they convey the (prevalent) active sense *qals* whilst having a non-active form; however, as the above chart (see 2.2, table 7) shows, approximately 10% of verbal translations of the *qal* are still non-active and also non-deponent.

The various factors explaining the contexts for these non-active translations will be explored in the upcoming sections. It is crucial to note that in many cases, these non-active translations are ascribable to lexical considerations, i.e. the Hebrew verb in question is used in a context where the translation most closely corresponds to a Greek verb with a non-active form, and thus does not constitute a deviation from expected Greek usage. The different contexts can be divided into the following categories, which are discussed in the sections indicated:

- Canonical uses of non-active morphology (2.2.2.1)
- Change of subject (2.2.2.2)
- Deponent verbs (2.2.2.3)
- Different reading (2.2.2.4)
- Lexicalised use of a verb with non-active morphology (2.2.2.5)
- Passive participles of the *qal* (2.2.2.6)
- Translation of the Hebrew root אָרַע 'fear' (2.2.2.7)
- The different uses of the Hebrew root שָׂם 'put, place' (2.2.2.8)

2.2.2.1 Canonical non-active morphology

The categories of canonical uses of non-active morphology are described in 1.4.1 and 1.6.1.2.

2.2.2.1.1 Causative/anticausative

The proposal that non-active Greek forms are used to translate the intransitive member of a causative/anticausative Hebrew set is explored further below, when the *qal* is compared to other stems (see chapter 10), but an initial discussion will be provided here.

A good example is the root מלא: verbs of this root can be used intransitively with a stative meaning ('to be full'), in which case they are translated with non-active Greek verbs, and they can also be used transitively, with a dynamic and factitive meaning ('to fill'), in which case they are translated with active Greek morphology. This is an example of Hebrew utilises labile coding (see 1.4.4) which is translated using anticausative marking in Greek (see 1.6.3). E.g.:

וַיִּמְלֵאוּ יָמֶיהָ לֵלֶדֶת וְהָגָה תּוֹמָם בְּבֶטְנָהּ:

καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν καὶ τῆδε ἦν δίδυμα ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς

When her time to give birth was at hand [her days to give birth **were full**], there were twins in her womb.

Genesis 25:24 [מלא – passive translation of intransitive]

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-גִּנְזָאֵם וְאֶת-בְּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ:

καὶ ἠλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Νῶε καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἀξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς

God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and **fill** the earth.'

Genesis 9:1 [מלא – active translation of transitive]²¹

²¹ These two examples use different Hebrew conjugations (*wayyiqtol* in Gen 25:24, and an imperative in Gen 9:1), but it would be incorrect to suggest that this is the sole deciding factor, as both tend to lead to a more dynamic understanding of stative roots (see 2.1.1.2). Moreover, an example is attested wherein a *wayyiqtol* of מלא has an active translation (where it has a direct object), as in Gen 50:3, indicating that attestation in the *wayyiqtol*, as compared to in an imperative form, does not lead to a non-active translation.

The same phenomenon can be observed in the following pair of examples, which illustrate Greek translation of a Hebrew root in different stems (further examples in chapter 10). The root בער is intransitive in the *qal*, with the sense of ‘to burn’, and this is translated non-actively in 10/10 occasions; by contrast, it is transitive in the *piel*, ‘to kindle, light something’, and is translated actively.

...ותהייתה העבתיים אשר על-זרועותיו כפשתים אשר בערו באש וימסו אסוריו מעל ידיו:

...καὶ ἐγενήθη τὰ καλώδια τὰ ἐπὶ βραχίουσιν αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ στιππύον ὃ ἐξεκαύθη ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἐτάκησαν δεσμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ

...and the ropes that were on his arms became like flax that burns, and his bonds melted off his hands.

Judges 15:14b [qal]

...ובערתני אחריו והכרתני לאחאב משתיין בקיר ועצור ועזוב בישרראל:

...καὶ ἐκκαύσω ὀπίσω σου καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσω τοῦ Αἰααβ οὐροῦντα πρὸς τοῖχον καὶ συνεχόμενον καὶ ἐγκαταλελειμμένον ἐν Ἰσραηλ

...I will burn/consume you, and will cut off from Ahab every male, bond or free, in Israel;

1 Kings 21:21b [piel]

2.2.2.1.2 Intransitive

2.2.2.1.2.1 *Dynamic Hebrew verbs*

Some Hebrew verbs which are intransitive in the *qal*, but are dynamic and not stative, are translated using Greek verbs with a non-active form, as these non-active forms have an intransitive meaning in Greek – the use of non-active Greek forms (particularly the aorist passive) in intransitive dynamic contexts is a recognised feature of the language (1.6.1.2).

While this does occur, it is certainly not true that all intransitive verbs are translated non-actively (see 2.2.1.1 for counter-examples), nor is it a consistent pattern for any verbal root

The following examples illustrate non-active verbal forms translating dynamic *qal* verbs which are intransitive:

... וַיִּקְרַץ יַעֲקֹב מִשְׁנָתוֹ

καὶ ἐξήγερθη Ἰακωβ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου...

Then Jacob **woke** from his sleep...

Genesis 28:16

תָּרַתִּיב צַעְדִּי תַחְתָּנִי וְלֹא מְעַדוּ קַרְסְלֵי:

εἰς πλατυσμὸν εἰς τὰ διαβήματά μου ὑποκάτω μου καὶ οὐκ ἐσαλεύθησαν τὰ σκέλη μου

You have made me stride freely, and my feet do not **shake**.

2 Samuel 22:37

2.2.2.1.2.2 *Stative Hebrew verbs*

Stative verbs, by nature, have low semantic transitivity (1.4.3), and usually low syntactic transitivity, as they can only rarely take a direct object (e.g. אהב 'love' and ידע 'know'); when they do, they can perhaps best be regarded as dynamic. As stative verbs often have low transitivity, it is not unusual for them to be translated with non-active Greek verbs (although stative verbs can be translated with active voice verbs, as seen in 2.2.1.2).

The use of Greek verbs in these examples, wherein the non-active morphology serves to translate intransitive verbs, is unremarkable, and the verbs used can be regarded as nothing more than the default option for the transference of the concepts in question from Hebrew to Greek. The key issue here is the difference in grammatical marking between the two languages: these stative verbs in

Hebrew exhibit an unmarked verbal stem (although some have a different vowel pattern, see 2.1.1.1), while Greek can use marking, via non-active morphology, to convey the same meaning.

There are 8 stative Hebrew roots which are always translated with Greek verbs that are morphologically passive in form (בצק, חמץ, יבש, יקד, פחד, פתה, שבע, and שכר) and they are almost always found in syntactically intransitive situations. The following examples illustrate such cases. These 8 Hebrew roots are not commonly attested in the corpus: שבע has the highest frequency, but still only appears 9 times in the Pentateuch and former prophets.

הִשְׁמְרוּ לָכֶם פֶּן יִפְתָּה לְבַבְכֶם וְסָרְתֶם וְעַבַדְתֶּם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתֶם לָהֶם:

πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ πλατυνθῇ ἡ καρδία σου καὶ παραβῆτε καὶ λατρεύσητε θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ προσκυνήσητε αὐτοῖς

Take care of yourself, lest your heart **be opened**, and you turn away and serve other gods and do obeisance to them,

Genesis 38:26 [פתה]

וְנָתַתִּי עֵשֶׂב בְּשָׂדֶךָ לְבַהֲמֹתֶךָ וְאָכְלֹתָ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ:

καὶ δώσει χορτάσματα ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς σου τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου καὶ φαγὼν καὶ ἐμπλησθεῖς

And he will give grass in your fields for your livestock, and you will eat and **you will be sated**.

Deuteronomy 11:15 [שבע]

In certain cases, these roots do not have a simple stative meaning, but rather are inchoative, and thus could be understood as dynamic (although they remain syntactically intransitive). For example, in the verses below with שכר and יבש, both appear in the *wayyiqtol*, which where statives are concerned often has an inchoative meaning (see 2.1.1.2). They are still translated using non-active Greek verbs, e.g.:

וַיִּשְׂתֶּי מִיַּיִן וַיִּשְׁכַּר וַיִּתְגַּל בְּתוֹךְ אֶהְלֵה:

καὶ ἔπιεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ

He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and he lay uncovered in his tent.

Genesis 9:21 [שכר]

וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ יָמַיִם וַיִּיבֹשׁ הַנָּחַל כִּי לֹא־הָיָה גֶשֶׁם בְּאֶרֶץ:

καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐξηράνθη ὁ χειμάρρους ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑετὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

But after a while the wadi became dry, because there was no rain in the land.

1 Kings 17:7 [יבש]

These two stative roots are not always translated into Greek in a way that maps directly onto the Hebrew, so that a Hebrew adjectival form may be translated with a Greek verb and vice versa. For example, when שכר appears in the adjectival form, שכור, ‘drunken’, the Greek translation features active forms of the verb μεθύω, ‘to be drunken’; conversely, where יבש appears as a verb, and can be read as a simple state, the Greek translation features the adjective ξηρός. The following examples illustrate this point.

וַחֲנָה הָיָא מְדַבְּרַת עַל־לִפְתָּהּ, רַק שְׂפָתֶיהָ נִזְעוֹת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע וַיַּחֲשֹׁבָה עָלַי לְשׂפָתָהּ:

καὶ αὐτὴ ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῆς ἐκινεῖτο καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο καὶ ἐλόγισατο αὐτὴν Ἡλι εἰς μεθύουσιν

Hannah was praying silently; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard; therefore Eli thought she was drunk.

1 Samuel 1:13 [שכר] (see also 1 Sam 25:36, 1 Ki 16:9, 1 Ki 21:16)

... וְכָל־לֶחֶם צֵידָם יָבֹשׁ הָיָה נֶאֱדָרִים:

... καὶ ὁ ἄρτος αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ξηρός καὶ εὐρωσιῶν καὶ βεβρωμένους

... and all their provisions were dry and moldy.

Joshua 9:5 [יבש]

2.2.2.1.3 *Reflexives*

In certain circumstances, a *qal* is translated into Greek by means of a verb with non-actove morphology (see 1.6.4), reflecting a reflexive or self-benefactive reading

With some roots, such as *קשק*, non-active translations occur in all instances, whereas with others, such as *אסר*, it depends on the context in which the verb appears.

The root *קשק*, ‘to love, desire’, is understood to have the meaning ‘to desire for oneself’ and, in the 3 verses where it appears, it is translated with a middle voice form of *προαιρέω*, ‘to choose for oneself’:

לֹא מִרְבֹּבִים מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים הִשְׁקָה הַיְהוָה בְּכֶם וַיִּבְחַר בְּכֶם כִּי־אַתֶּם הִמְעַט מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים:

οὐχ ὅτι πολυπληθεῖτε παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη προεῖλατο κύριος ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξελέξατο ὑμᾶς ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε ὀλιγοστοὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη

It was not because you were more numerous than any other people that the LORD desired you/chose you for himself and chose you-- for you were the fewest of all peoples

Deuteronomy 7:7

In 10 out of the 39 times when the root *אסר* occurs in the *qal*, it has the reflexive meaning ‘to bind oneself’, usually employed metaphorically with respect to a vow (as opposed to other meanings of the root which refer to physical binding). This reflexive idea is one which can be conveyed in Greek by the middle voice, and thus when used in this sense, this root is translated with the verb *ὀρίζω*, ‘to set or determine’, in the middle voice. As neither the Hebrew root *אסר* nor the Greek verb *ὀρίζω* has a naturally reflexive meaning, the reflexive sense is underscored by means of an additional

element, namely a preposition + noun phrase (עַל־נַפְשָׁהּ in Hebrew and *κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς* in Greek), as shown below:

וְאִם־הִיָּה תְהִיָּה לְאִישׁ וַיְנַדְרֶיהָ עָלֶיהָ אוֹ מִכַּטְּא שְׂפִתֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר אֶסְרָהּ עַל־נַפְשָׁהּ:

ἐὰν δὲ γενομένη γένηται ἀνδρὶ καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ αὐτῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν διαστολὴν τῶν χειλέων αὐτῆς οὗς ὠρίσατο κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς

If she marries, while obligated by her vows or any thoughtless utterance of her lips by which she has bound herself against her soul.

Numbers 30:7

The following examples illustrate verbs with nuances of self-benefactive/indirect reflexivity:

...הִנֵּה שָׂכַרְתָּ עֲלֵינוּ מְלָךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־מֶלֶךְ הַחִתִּים וְאֶת־מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם לְבֹא עָלֵינוּ:

...νῦν ἐμισθώσατο ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν Χετταίων καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας Αἰγύπτου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς

‘...Look, the king of Israel has hired against us the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt to fight against us.’

2 Kings 7:6b

כִּי אִם־אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְשִׁכְנוֹ שָׁמוֹ שָׁם תִּזְבַּח אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בְּעֶרְבַּב ...

ἀλλ’ ἢ εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἐὰν ἐκλέξῃται κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ θύσεις τὸ πασχα ἐσπέρας...

But at the place that the LORD your God will choose as a dwelling for his name, only there shall you offer the passover sacrifice, in the evening...

Deuteronomy 16:6a

2.2.2.1.3.1 *Statives*

There are occasions when a middle voice Greek verb is used to translate a *qal* that can be considered stative but that has a direct object. In these cases, the middle voice is used because the sense of the stative verb is reflexive.

For example, the root לבש, ‘to put on, wear’ is translated 18/19 times with middle voice forms, often of the verb ἐνδύω, ‘to put on, clothe’. The wearing of clothes is considered a directly and naturally reflexive action, e.g.:

וַיִּשְׁלַח יואב תקועה ויקח משם אשה חכמה ויאמר אליה התאבליי ואלבשי בגדיי אבל...

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἰואβ εἰς Θεκωε καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐκεῖθεν γυναῖκα σοφὴν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν
πένθησον δὴ καὶ ἐνδύσαι ἱμάτια πενθικὰ...

Joab sent to Tekoa and brought from there a wise woman. He said to her, ‘Pretend to be a mourner; put on mourning garments...’

2 Samuel 14:2a

2.2.2.2 Change of subject

Non-active Greek verbal forms are sometimes used to translate a *qal* with active meaning when doing so results in a change of subject so as to make better sense in Greek. Often this is ascribable to the fact that Hebrew, as a pro-drop language, can use verbs without an explicit nominal or pronominal subject, either because the subject is irrelevant or because it can be inferred. Rather than inserting an explicit subject to an active verb phrase, the Greek translators tend to replace the active verb with a non-active one and thereby change the subject. This phenomenon has also been observed in Chronicles by Good (2003: 103). In the present corpus, it occurs, for example, in 17 cases involving the root קרא (‘to call’), where the Hebrew text indicates that the name of a place is called something, but the general subject(s) – those who actually carry out the calling – are syntactically absent.

על־כֵּן קרא שמה בבל כִּי־שָׁם בָּלַל יְהוָה שִׁפְתַי כָּל־הָאָרֶץ וּמִשָּׁם הִפִּיצָם יְהוָה עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ:

διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Σύγχυσις ὅτι ἐκεῖ συνέχεεν κύριος τὰ χεῖλη πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς

Therefore it was called Babel, because there the LORD confused the language of all the earth; and from there the LORD scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth.

Genesis 11:9

In the example below, featuring a different Hebrew verb, the implied subjects who actually actively closed the gate are unimportant and therefore are not specifically mentioned. In the Greek translation, the perspective is changed so that the gates become the subject of the passive verb:

וְהָאֲנָשִׁים רָדְפוּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם בְּרֶדֶף הַיַּרְדֵּן עַל הַמַּעְבְּרוֹת וַהֲשִׁיעַר סְגְרוּ אַחֲרַי פֶּאֶשֶׁר יִצְאוּ הַרְדְּפִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם:

So the men pursued them on the way to the Jordan as far as the fords. And they shut the gate when the pursuers had gone out after them.

καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες κατεδίωξαν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις καὶ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείσθη καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξήλθσαν οἱ διώκοντες ὀπίσω αὐτῶν

And the men pursued after them on the way by the Jordan to the fords, and the gate was closed. And it happened, when those who were pursuing after them had gone out

Joshua 2:7²²

In addition to pro-drop, ambiguity or lack of explicitness of a Hebrew subject is another factor resulting in the use of a passive Greek verb as a translation of an active qal. The following two examples illustrate such cases. In the first example, it is not easy to determine the subject of the qal אָפַק, God or Adam/the man. Adam/the man is clearly the subject of the earlier part of the verse, but in the second part he appears to now be the indirect object as the noun is preceded by the preposition לְ. As the only other active character so far in Genesis 2 has been God, He is the logical choice for the

²² As noted by Barr (1989: 113), passive participles (particularly those used irregularly) can be written defectively, so the verb אָפַק could be a defective passive participle, which would also explain the Greek passive translation. However, if this were the case, the verb would need to be understood as singular rather than plural.

2171/3403 (63.8%) of morphologically middle voice verbal translations of the *qal* are deponent. Of these, 1277/2171 (58.8%) involve two verbs: *γίνομαι*, ‘to be, become’, (and its compounds) with 576 examples, and the future tense of *εἶμι*, ‘to be’, (and its compounds), with 701 examples. These are largely translations of verbs of the common Hebrew root הָיָה, ‘to be, become’, e.g.:

וַיְהִי הַמֶּכֶסֶד לַיהוָה מִן־הַצֹּאֵן וְשֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת הַמִּשְׁבָּעִים:

καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τέλος κυρίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἑξακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε

And the LORD’s tribute of sheep and goats was six hundred seventy-five.

Numbers 31:37 [*γίνομαι*]

כִּי תַעֲבֹל אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה לֹא־תִסַּף תַּת־כֶּהָה לָךְ גַּע וְגַד תִּהְיֶה כְּרֹרֵץ:

ὅτι ἐργῶ τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐ προσθήσει τὴν ἰσχὸν αὐτῆς δοῦναί σοι στένων καὶ τρέμων ἔση ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

When you till the ground, it will no longer yield to you its strength; you will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth

Genesis 4:12 [*εἶμι*]

Some deponent verbs have a passive rather than a middle form, and thus have an active meaning despite their passive morphology (1.6.1.3). 796/1474 (54%) of morphologically passive verbal translations are deponent passives. Of these passive deponent translations, four Greek verbs dominate²³: *πορεύομαι*, ‘to go’ (319 occurrences)²⁴, *γίνομαι*, ‘to become’ (162)²⁵, *ἀποκρίνομαι*, ‘to

²³ This includes compounds of these verbs.

²⁴ This could be described as translational movement, a canonical use of non-active morphology (see 1.6.1.2).

²⁵ Here we depart from Ladewig’s (2010) data, as *γίνομαι* is listed as having normal function in the passive (passive in form and meaning), but this does not agree with the majority of cases where it is used.

answer' (106), and *κοιμάομαι*, 'to fall asleep, lie down' (103)²⁶. These four verbs account for 690/796 (86.7%) of passive deponent translations and 46.8% of all passive verbal translations of the *qal*.

An example with *πορεύομαι* is shown below:

וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ הַהָרָה וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים עַד-שָׁבוּ הַרְדִּיפִים ...

καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν καὶ κατέμειναν ἐκεῖ τρεῖς ἡμέρας...

They departed and went into the hill country and stayed there three days, [until the pursuers returned^{MT}]...

Joshua 2:22a

There are also deponent verbs which cannot be definitively classified as middle or passive due to the fact that they appear in tenses where the two voices are morphologically indistinguishable. These deponent medio-passives make up the majority of medio-passive verbal translations: 860/1417 (60.7%), e.g.:

וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּשׁוֹנֵם וַיִּקְבְּצוּ שְׂאוּל אֶת-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְבֹּעַ:

καὶ συναθροίζονται οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν εἰς Σωμαν καὶ συναθροίζει Σαουλ πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν εἰς Γελβοε

The Philistines assembled, and **came** and encamped at Shunem. Saul gathered all Israel, and they encamped at Gilboa.

2 Samuel 5:6a [ἔρχομαι]

2.2.2.3.1 *Statives*

Several translations of *qal* stative verbs are rendered with Greek deponent verbs, e.g.:

הַשְּׁמָרוֹ לָכֶם פְּנוֹתֵיכֶם וְאַתֶּם בְּרִית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת עִמָּכֶם ...

²⁶ This could be described as change in body posture, a canonical use of non-active morphology (see 1.6.1.2).

προσέχετε ὑμεῖς μὴ ἐπιλάβησθε τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἣν διέθετο πρὸς ὑμᾶς...

So be careful lest you forget the covenant that the LORD your God made with you...

Deuteronomy 4:23a [שכח]

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנָשֵׁי בֵּית-שֵׁמֶשׁ מִי יִכָּל לַעֲמֹד לְפָנָי יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים הַקְּדוֹשׁ הַזֶּה וְאֶל-מִי יֵעָלֶה מֵעַלְיָנוּ:

καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐκ Βαιθσαμυς τίς δυνήσεται διελθεῖν ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου καὶ πρὸς τίνα ἀναβήσεται κιβωτὸς κυρίου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν

Then the people of Beth-shemesh said, ‘Who is able to stand before the LORD, this holy God? To whom shall he go so that we may be rid of him?’

1 Samuel 6:20 [יכל]

וְרָם יִשְׁכָּבוּ וְאֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר אֲנָשֵׁי הַסֶּבֶם נִסְבוּ עַל-הַבַּיִת מִנְעַר וְעַד-יָקוֹן כָּל-הָעָם מִקְּצֵה:

πρὸ τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως οἱ Σοδομίται περιεκύκλωσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἅμα

But before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom, both young and old, all the people to the last man, surrounded the house;

Genesis 19:4 [שבע]

There are occasions when a stative *qal* is translated by both a regular active Greek verb and a deponent one, with the two used seemingly interchangeably as their meanings overlap (see 1.6.1.3). This is illustrated in the following pair of examples: both of the Hebrew verses contain a stative *qal* of the root שכב, whereas in the Greek versions the deponent verb *κοιμάομαι*, “to sleep, fall asleep”, is used in one verse and the active verb *καθεύδω*, “to sleep” in the other.²⁷

²⁷ It could be argued that the selection of the active Greek verb in the second example (Gen 28:13) is ascribable to the fact that the *qal* root appears in the participle, which is normally associated with dynamic rather than a stative meaning. However, it is important to note that participles of stative roots are not all translated actively; there are many medio-passive examples.

... ויקח מאבני המקום וישם מראשיתו וישכב במקום ההוא:

...καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκεν πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ

...And he took one of the stones of the place, and he put it under his head and lay down in that place.

Genesis 28:11b [שכב – deponent translation]

... אני יהוה אלהי אברהם אביך ואלהי יצחק הארץ אשר אתה שכב עליה לך אתננה ולזרעך:

...ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαακ μὴ φοβοῦ ἡ γῆ ἐφ' ἧς σὺ καθεύδεις ἐπ' αὐτῆς σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου

...I am the LORD, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring;

Genesis 28:13b [שכב – active translation]

2.2.2.4 Different reading

A non-active Greek translation of a Hebrew *qal* may have non-active meaning in cases when the translators seem to have attributed a different voice to the Hebrew verb than that understood by the Masoretes, who pointed it as an active *qal* in the MT.

The reason for this could either be that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different from the MT, or that the LXX translator read the unpointed Hebrew differently from the later Masoretes. It can be difficult to distinguish which of these two reasons is more likely – or even if these are the most likely reasons at all – as non-grammatical, stylistic, or idiomatic reasons are always possible as well.

As will be discussed later in this study, the possibility of different readings is certainly more plausible where the unpointed form of a Hebrew verb looks identical in different stems (see examples with the *piel* in 3.2.2.3.1). Nevertheless, it can still apply here, even though those verbs pointed as

qals in the MT and translated with non-active Greek verbs can be distinguished in their consonantal form from non-active Hebrew counterparts (e.g. *puals*). This is because the consonants in question are sometimes *matres lectionis*, and the translators of the LXX have been working with a Hebrew text that did not contain these but rather exhibited defective morphology in the relevant words. As such, the active and non-active Hebrew forms may indeed have looked identical. which would be absent if the translators of the LXX were using a Hebrew text where some words had defective orthography, leading to cases where the forms may indeed have been identical.

This possibility is undermined by the likelihood that the *Vorlage* of the LXX tended to have *matres lectionis*, given that Hebrew writings from the post-exilic period and later tended to include more *plene* forms than defective ones (Saenz-Badillos 1993: 116; Garr and Fassberg 2016: 87).

Nevertheless, some scholars have argued that the MT sometimes seems to have read more *matres lectionis* than appear to have been present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX (Lust 1993: 118), and there are examples that seem to support this position.

This point is illustrated in the following example, wherein the verb *יָבֹא* (*qal yiqtol* 3ms) is translated passively in Greek as though it were a *hophal yiqtol* 3ms, *יָבֵא*. As both verbs would have had the identical unpointed, defective form *יָבֵא*, if the translator's *Vorlage* had defective orthography that could have led to this passive interpretation. Indeed, Barr (1989: 100) notes that this form of the verb can appear in the *qal* in the MT with exactly the proposed defective orthography. Moreover, while not common in the MT, there are examples of verbs in the *hophal yiqtol* written without a shureq (cf. *יָצַע* Exodus 10:24).

וְכֹל כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וְכֵלֵי נְחֹשֶׁת וְכֵלֵי בְרֹזֶזֶת וְכֵלֵי קְדֵשׁ הֵם לַיהוָה אֲוִצָר יְהוָה יָבֹא:

‘But all silver and gold, and vessels of bronze and iron, are sacred to the LORD; they shall go into the treasury of the LORD.’

καὶ πᾶν ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἢ χαλκὸς ἢ σίδηρος ἅγιον ἔσται τῷ κυρίῳ εἰς θησαυρὸν κυρίου εἰσενεχθήσεται

‘And all silver or gold or bronze or iron shall be sacred to the Lord; **it shall be carried** into the treasury of the Lord.’

Joshua 6:19

2.2.2.5 *Lexicalised*

There are cases when morphologically non-active Greek verbal translations function in what can be described as a ‘lexicalised’ way, whereby the non-active form has a meaning which is not clearly connected to the active form, but clearly conveys the same sense as that of the Hebrew and is likely to have been the most obvious translation choice for the desired meaning. These lexicalised verbs are not the same as deponent verbs, as they do have corresponding active forms, although those may be used very rarely and/or may have a distinctly different meaning to their non-active counterparts.

For example, the Greek verb *ἀρχω* has the active meaning ‘to rule’ in the active voice, but the different (active) meaning ‘to begin’ in the middle voice. In the extract below, the middle-voice form (meaning ‘to begin’) is used to translate a *qal* with the slightly different meaning of ‘to create’.

וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יְוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדְּשֵׁהוּ וַיִּמְדַּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי בּו שָׁבַת מִכָּל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-עָבַד אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת:

So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all the work that he had created in creation. [NRS]

καὶ ἠλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι

And God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it he left off from all his works that God **had begun** to make. [NETS]

Genesis 2:3

2.2.2.6 Passive participles

261/23084 (1.1%) of all verbs in the *qal* are passive participles with a non-active Greek translation.

This is predictable based on their meaning, e.g.:

וַיִּתֵּן דְּבָרָיו רְסָבָעַם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הִלְא־הֶמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ροβοαμ καὶ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἴδου ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ
λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα

Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did, are they not **written** in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Judah?

1 Kings 4:29

2.2.2.7 ירא

Translations of the *qal* stative root ירא, ‘to be afraid, fear’, are always translated with non-active (passive in aorist and future) forms of the Greek verb φοβέω, ‘to terrify’. The active form of this verb never appears in the LXX; as such, the use of the non-active voice forms is to be expected and clearly conveys the sense of the Hebrew. This is illustrated below:

וַתִּכְחַשׁ שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר לֹא צִחַקְתִּי כִּי וַיִּרְאַהּ וַיֹּאמֶר לָא כִּי צִחַקְתִּי:

ἠρνήσατο δὲ Σαρρα λέγουσα οὐκ ἐγέλασα ἐφοβήθη γάρ καὶ εἶπεν οὐχὶ ἀλλὰ ἐγέλασας

But Sarah denied, saying, ‘I did not laugh’; for **she was afraid**. He said, ‘Oh yes, you did laugh.’

Genesis 18:15 [ירא – passive translation]

וַיְהִי כִּי־יִרְאוּ הַמִּדְּוָיִת אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים:

ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ μαῖαι τὸν θεόν ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας

And because the midwives **were afraid** of God, he gave them families.

Exodus 1:21 [יר – medio-passive translation]

2.2.2.8 שים

Greek translations of the root שים, ‘to put, set, place’ with middle voice forms of the Greek verbs *τίθηναι* (‘to lay’), and its compound *ἐπιτίθηναι* (‘to lay on, put on, place on’) demonstrate some canonical non-active voice usage, but there are additional noteworthy reasons for their selection. They are used to translate *qal* verbs of the root שים in four circumstances:

- i) Placing something on one’s own body
- ii) Placing something for one’s own benefit
- iii) The involvement of God in the action
- iv) The setting out of statutes

While the first two of these circumstances (i and ii) are ideas which can be considered to be naturally or indirectly reflexive – and thus fall into the category of canonical middle use – the second two (iii and iv) are more unusual, but still use the middle voice. Examples of all four are shown below:

וַיִּקַּח שֵׁם וַיָּפֶת אֶת־הַשָּׂמָלָה וַיִּשְׂמֶה עַל־שִׁכְמָם וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרָיוּת וַיִּכְסֹּה אֶת עֲרֹת אֲבֵיהֶם ...

καὶ λαβόντες Σημ καὶ Ιαφεθ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐπέθεντο ἐπὶ τὰ δύο νῶτα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπισθοφανῶς καὶ συνεκάλυψαν τὴν γύμνωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν...

Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it on both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father...

Genesis 9:23a [i]

... וַיִּמְרוּ־לְכֶם עָלַיָּהּ וַדְּבַרוּ:

... θέσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτήν βουλήν καὶ λαλήσατε

‘...Consider it [put it to yourselves], take counsel, and speak out.’

Judges 19:30b [ii]

וַיִּטֵּעַ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גַּן-בְּעֵדֶן מִקְדָּם וַיַּשְׂם אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָצָר:

καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασεν

And the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

Genesis 2:8 [iii]

וַיַּשְׂם אֱלֹהִים יוֹסֵף לְחֹק עַד-הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם לְפָרֵץ לְחֹמֶשׁ...

καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοῖς Ἰωσήφ εἰς πρόσταγμα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐπὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου...

So Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt, and it stands to this day...

Genesis 47:26a [iv]

The active voice forms of *τίθημι* and *ἐπιτίθημι* are more commonly used when the Hebrew *qal* of the root **נש** indicates the placement of an object, particularly when that placement is not on the subject's own body, as below. As this action does not have any middle nuance, the use of the active voice is unsurprising.

וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם אֶת-עֵצֵי הַעֹלָה וַיִּשְׂם עַל-יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ...

ἔλαβεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὰ ξύλα τῆς ὀλοκαρπώσεως καὶ ἐπέθηκεν Ἰσαακ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ...

Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it on his son Isaac...

Genesis 22:6a

However, this apparent pattern whereby the active and middle voice translations are used in entirely different contexts does not hold perfectly. There are examples where the active voice of *ἐπιτίθημι* is used to translate verbs of the root **ישׁ** when someone is placing something on themselves, while conversely there are examples where middle voice forms of *τίθημι* are used to translate **ישׁ** where there is no clear middle meaning, and the use of the active voice might be more expected. This is evinced in the examples below:

... וַתִּשֶׂם יָדָהּ עַל־רֹאשָׁהּ וַתֵּלֶךְ הַלֹּךְ וְזָעָקָה:

...καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπορεύθη πορευομένη καὶ κρᾶζουσα

...and she put her hand^{MT}/hands^{LXX} on her head, and went away, crying aloud as she went.

2 Samuel 13:19 [reflexive - active voice]

וַיִּשְׂמוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה אֶל־הָעֲגֹלָה וְאֵת הָאָרְזִים וְאֵת עֲבֹבֵי הַזָּהָב וְאֵת צִלְמֵי טַחְרֵיקָם:

καὶ ἔθεντο τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ τὸ θέμα εργαβ καὶ τοὺς μῦς τοὺς χρυσοῦς

And they put the ark of the LORD on the cart, and saddlebag^{MT}/the deposit as ergab^{LXX} and the box with the gold mice [and the images of their tumors^{MT}.]

1 Samuel 6:11 [not reflexive - middle voice, cf. 1 Samuel 6:8 where the active voice is used]

It does appear that the blurring of distinction of the voices is more common in the Former Prophets than in the Pentateuch, so it may be that the use of the middle voice to translate classically middle ideas was less commonly used at this later point in the overall translation.

2.2.2.9 Summary

Non-active Greek verbs are used to translate verbs in the *qal* in a minority of cases but for a variety of reasons. In most case the uses in question are predictable for Greek, and closely correspond in meaning to the *qal* of the source text, despite the fact that the *qal* is considered to be an active stem.

The majority of these non-active translations feature deponent verbs (61.0%), with a select few deponent verbs (such as *γίνομαι* and *πορεύομαι*) making up the bulk of the translations.

2.2.3 Verb + addition

In some instances, single verbs in Hebrew are translated by a Greek verb + an addition, usually either a noun or an adjective.

Two verbal roots in the *qal* whose Greek translations exhibit this pattern more regularly are טהר 'to be clean' (14/27 occurrences), and טמא 'to be unclean' (55/68 occurrences).

... וְטָהַר הַכֹּהֵן מִכַּהֵן הֵיא וְכַבֵּס בְּגָדָיו וְטָהַר:

...καθαριεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς σημασία γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ πλυνόμενος τὰ ἱμάτια καθαρὸς ἔσται

...the priest shall pronounce him clean; it is only an eruption; and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean.

Leviticus 13:6 [טהר – adjective + verb]²⁸

דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אִשָּׁה כִּי תִזְרִיעַ וְיִלְדָה זָכָר וְטִמְאַהּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים כִּי־מִי נִדְתָה דִּוְתָה תִטְמָא:

λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς γυνή ἥτις ἐὰν σπερματισθῆ καὶ τέκη ἄρσεν καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τῆς ἀφόδρου αὐτῆς ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται

Speak to the people of Israel, saying: If a woman conceives and bears a male child, she shall be ceremonially unclean seven days; as at the time of her menstruation, she shall be unclean.

Leviticus 12:2 [טמא – adjective + verb]

In the other occurrences of verbs of these roots, they are often translated with non-active forms of *καθαρίζω* (for טהר)²⁹ and *μιαίνω* (for טמא). These non-active verbs convey the intransitive, stative nature of the *qal* verbs just as readily as the verb + addition construction – it is not certain that one formation is used for, say, an inchoative meaning and the other for a simple state.

²⁸ It is noteworthy in this example that there is an active translation (with *καθαριεῖ*) of the root טהר when it appears in the *piel* and thus has a transitive, factitive meaning – an example of anticausative coding.

²⁹ Cf. Lev 12:8, 14:20, 15:28; Num 31:23, 31:24; 2 Kings 5:10, 5:12.

2.2.4 Qal voice translation conclusions

Verbs in the *qal* are translated with active form Greek verbs in the majority of cases, and verbs which are transitive or intransitive, as well as dynamic or stative, can be translated so. With non-active translations, the largest segments feature deponent verbs, and thus have active meaning. Hence, overall 89.4% of verbs in the *qal* are translated by means of Greek verbs with an active meaning, either active in form or because they are deponent. This does not include a smaller number of verbs that are in the morphologically middle voice and are not deponent but have an active meaning.

These conclusions agree with Wevers' (1985) brief assessment that Hebrew verbs in the *qal* are usually translated with active or deponent Greek verbs, and with Gorton's smaller study of Ecclesiastes (2016: 420), in which he notes that deponent translations are not uncommon in the *qal*.

Unsurprisingly, non-active translations of verbs in the *qal* often occur when those verbs are conjugated as passive participles, but this makes up a very small proportion of verbal translations. Other reasons for non-active non-deponent translations of the *qal*, many of which are common and canonical uses of non-active morphology in Greek, include the indication of reflexivity, the indication of intransitivity, and marking the intransitive member of a causative/anticausative set. Non-active translations also occur where the Greek has a different subject than the Hebrew, often when the latter lacks an explicit subject or when the subject is ambiguous.

Occasionally the translators of the LXX appear to have read a given verb differently from the Masoretes, possibly due to a markedly different *Vorlage* or one exhibiting defective spelling in the cases in question. This does not seem to be a very common phenomenon in the *qal*, with other reasons being more likely explanations for many potential cases, but it is more commonly seen in the translation of other verbal stems (see, for example, 3.2.2.3.2).

When verbs which are stative in the *qal* are taken as a specific subset of the whole, the trends of voice translation shift slightly. While active form translations are still the most common – and thus it is certainly not true to say that all stative Hebrew verbs are translated with Greek verbs featuring non-active morphology – their proportion is reduced, and the proportion of non-active, particularly

passive, form translations increases, which is made all the more significant by the fact that deponent passives are more rarely used for statives than for verbs in the *qal* overall. As stative verbs are often intransitive – ‘all pure statives...are intransitive’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 349) – and the passive voice in Greek can indicate intransitivity (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c), it is unsurprising that a higher proportion of passive forms should be used to translate statives. As will be seen in chapter 10, the pattern of passive translations being used for intransitive stative verbs is made even clearer when comparisons are made between roots which are attested in the *qal* and other verbal stems where there is an increase in valency.

The translation of *qal* statives with active and/or deponent verbs can be explained both by the existence of those *qal* statives which are often used transitively (such as כָּהֵן and שָׁנָא), and by the fact that intransitive verbs are not invariably translated by non-active forms.

As noted above, the translations of the *qal* show a higher proportion of non-active translations than is seen in the other two ‘active’ stems. This imbalance could be due to a statistical fluke, whereby the proportion of verbs likely to be translated with Greek verbs using non-active morphology is roughly equal in the *qal*, *piel* and *hiphil*, but, in the sample taken from the corpus, the verbs which appear in the *qal* simply happen to be those which are more likely to be translated with non-active Greek verbs than the ones attested in the *piel* and *hiphil*. However, it is arguably more probable that there is a grammatical/semantic, non-voice, feature which is more prevalent in verbs in the *qal* than in the *piel* and *hiphil*, and which is marked using non-active Greek morphology in translation. This feature seems to be lower transitivity.

It would be patently untrue to say that all verbs in the *qal* are intransitive, or that all verbs in the *hiphil* and *piel* are not, or even that all verbs in those stems have a higher transitivity than verbs in the *qal*. However, there is a general tendency for verbs in the *qal* to have a lower transitivity than those in the *piel* and *hiphil* (see 1.5), which can be particularly noticeable when a root is attested in more than one of these stems.

The general tendency for lower transitivity in the *qal* may be partly due to the prevalence of stative verbs in the *qal*. As noted in the section on grammatical features (1.4.2 and 1.4.3), stativity is related to transitivity, as stative verbs are [-dynamic], and [-dynamic] is one of the key features of low transitivity. When stative verbs are considered as a specific subset, active voice translations are still the majority. However, the overall pattern of voice distribution does change, as passive voice translations appear more commonly.

Verbs in the *qal* are also more likely to be lower in transitivity than those in the *piel* or *hiphil*, as both of those stems are connected to causativity, which is a valency-increasing operation (1.4.4), and, as this leads to more participants in an action, it results in higher transitivity. A verb in the *qal* often takes the part of the intransitive member of a causative/anticausative set when a verb of that same root also appears in the *piel* and/or *hiphil*. Importantly, Hebrew and Greek often mark members of a causative/anticausative set differently: Hebrew frequently uses causative coding, whereby the *qal*, as the unmarked stem, is used for the intransitive member, while the marked *piel* and *hiphil* stems are used for the transitive member; Greek does the reverse and often uses anticausative coding (1.6.3), whereby the active (unmarked) form of a verb is used for the transitive member, while the non-active (marked) form is used with the intransitive member.

As this is best understood in comparison with other stems, most examples of these causative/anticausative sets are found in chapter 10.

3 Piel

3.1 Introduction

The *piel* is perhaps the most complex verbal stem to define, with a list of meanings that can be difficult to combine under one grammatical definition (Williams 2007: 59). It is clearly predominantly an active stem, but the ways in which it differs in meaning from the *qal* and the *hiphil* continues to be the subject of scholarly debate.

The traditional interpretation is that the *piel* makes a verbal root more intensive (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 396; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 151). According to this explanation, this semantic intensiveness is represented morphologically in the doubling of the middle radical of the root. Roots such as שבר were used as the paradigms for this meaning in various traditional grammars and textbooks, with the *qal* meaning 'to break' and the *piel* meaning 'to break completely, to shatter' (e.g. Weingreen 1959: 105).

This view of 'intensiveness', and particularly its link the gemination of the middle radical, was challenged in the twentieth century by A. Goetze (1942) with respect to the Akkadian D-stem (the equivalent of the *piel*), and then more specifically with respect to the *piel* by E. Jenni (1968) and S. Ryder (1974), who conclude that the *piel* has a factitive-resultative/denominative meaning rather than an intensive one. Ryder argues that the concept of intensiveness constitutes a romanticisation of the connection between the function of the *piel* and its doubled form (1974: 166).

Waltke and O'Connor (1990) discuss and generally support both arguments, particularly those of Jenni. They come to the following conclusions:

'With *Qal intransitive* verbs the Piel is *factitive*: it designates without regard to the process the bringing about of the state depicted by an adjective... With *Qal transitive* verbs the Piel is *resultative*: it designates the bringing about of the outcome of the action designated by the base root, which action can be expressed in terms of an adjective, and without regard to the actual process of the event... *Denominative* verbs in the Piel have either a *factitive or resultative* meaning. More specifically, the denominative expresses itself in terms of productive, or successive iterative, or privative verbal meanings, rather

than in terms of an actual event or a causative meaning.’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 399-400; italics are mine)

Waltke and O’Connor push further than Jenni, by describing the *piel* as having an element of causation (which in their opinion Jenni overlooks), but the object of the causation (the ‘undersubject’) is passive, as they simply suffer the effects of an action (1990: 354, 358, 400). This can be contrasted with the *qal*, where there is no undersubject, or the *hiphil*, where the undersubject is an active participant (1990: 358).

Unlike Waltke and O’Connor, Claassen (1971) disagrees with several of Jenni’s points, particularly the assumption that the stative/factitive relationship in the D-stem of Akkadian can be transferred so easily to the Hebrew *piel*.

Turning again to the Akkadian D-stem, N. Kouwenberg (1997) criticises Goetze’s theory, upon which much of the work by Jenni and Ryder (and hence, Waltke and O’Connor) is based. He argues that Goetze cannot explain the relationship of all statives to D-stem factitives, nor D-stem verbs which exist without statives, nor D-stems of transitive verbs, and that he leaves the morphological form of D-stem verbs, the doubled second radical, unexplained (1997: 12-14). Kouwenberg posits instead that verbs in the D-stem are far more often associated with high-transitivity situations, as opposed to the wide span of transitivity of the G-stem, and that this comes from an original association of the morphological doubling indicating plurality and intensiveness (1997: 109, 196-7). In a later work (2010: 287), he makes it clear that his conclusion is that the gemination of the second radical was originally linked to ‘plurality and intensity’ but was replaced by a function of ‘underlining agentivity and high transitivity’.

In his dissertation on the meaning of the *piel*, Beckman (2015: 211) neatly summarises Kouwenberg’s hypothesis:

‘Kouwenberg argues that the Semitic D stem began in Proto-Semitic with D-stem verbs derived from adjectives that indicated intensity (e.g., adjective ‘very wide’ → D ‘to be/become/make very wide’). Over time this developed into a productive mechanism, whereby intensive D-stem verbs were formed from G-stem verbs directly rather than

from intensive adjectives. Since intensity is a component of verbal plurality, the meaning of the D stem in some verbs broadened to indicate non-intensive types of verbal plurality, such as action on multiple objects (e.g., ‘to kiss multiple people’). Since intensity is also a component of high semantic transitivity, the meaning of the D stem in other verbs came to be associated with high transitivity. In particular, because a factitive meaning connotes high transitivity, the D stem became preferred over the G stem for factitive meanings, so non-intensive factitive meanings (e.g., ‘to make wide’) were lost by the G stem and gained by the D stem. Due to the lack of a contrast with a non-intensive factitive G stem, the factitive D-stem lost its original intensive meaning (e.g., D ‘to make very wide’ → ‘to make wide’).’

Beckman then explores and compares the hypotheses of both Waltke and O’Connor (1990) and Kouwenberg (1997, 2010). He concludes that, while both can explain the factitive meaning of *piels* that are stative in the *qal*, and Waltke and O’Connor can fit their definitions of the *piel* more elegantly into a verbal stem framework than is possible with Kouwenberg’s looser hypothesis, it is only Kouwenberg’s model that can explain the ‘preferential use of the D stem for GD-similar verbs with a high-transitivity meaning as well as the tendency of the D stem to have features of verbal plurality, such as a plural direct object, a frequentative meaning, or a reference to professional activity’ (2015: 251-2).

Joosten (1998), following on from Kouwenberg’s earlier work (1997), suggested that the development of the D-stem in Semitic languages led to a twofold meaning resulting from a twofold use of voice (active and middle) in the G-stem (the equivalent of the *qal*), and so ‘for some verbs the D-stem expresses a meaning close to that of the simple stem, while for other verbs it functions as a causative-factitive’ (1998: 225). However, Joosten (1998: 227) concludes that, due to the bewildering variety of meanings that are found for *piel* verbs, the stem’s functions ‘cannot...be reduced to one underlying basic function’.

Given the relative recency of Beckman’s work, and even Kouwenberg’s later work, many grammars and dictionaries follow the Jenni/Waltke and O’Connor model. For example, in *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Koehler and Baumgartner (2001) define the root מלא in the *piel* as a factitive, ‘to fill’, corresponding to the intransitive (and stative) *qal* ‘to be full’

(2001: 583); and the root שבר in the *piel* has the definition ‘to smash into fragments’, which could be considered the resultative corresponding to the transitive *qal* ‘to shatter, smash’ (2001: 1403-4).

However, as regards this particular root, Williams (2007: 60) describes שבר as an iterative use of the verb, ‘to break repeatedly’, rather than the resultative meaning cited above. Indeed, the intensive meaning could also be appropriate, even for the definition given by Koehler and Baumgartner.

The *piel* is the stem which is ‘most commonly used to form denominatives in Hebrew’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 410) (see discussion of denominative verbs in Greek, 1.6.5). These verbs can be intransitive or transitive; for example, the verbal root כהן ‘to be a priest’ (from the noun כהן ‘priest’), is intransitive, while the root לבב ‘to encourage’ (from the noun לבב ‘heart’), is transitive. Some of these denominative verbs can have a factitive meaning (ibid.: 411).

Two other propositions further complicate attempts to define the meaning of the *piel*. The first is that the *piel* may no longer have been a productive stem by the time of the composition of the Hebrew Bible, and that all the forms were simply lexicalised fossils. The second is that by the Second Temple period, the difference between the *piel* and the *qal* may not have been maintained – ‘whatever original distinction between the two stems may have existed earlier in Hebrew no longer obtained’ – and that some verbal roots that had been in the *qal* were shifting to be in the *piel* instead (Fassberg 2001: 244). This second point is particularly important to consider for the present study as the Greek translation of many of the books of the Hebrew Bible was conducted in the Second Temple period (Jobes and Silva 2000: 45).

3.2 Voice translations

The trends for voice translations of *piel* verbs are detailed below.

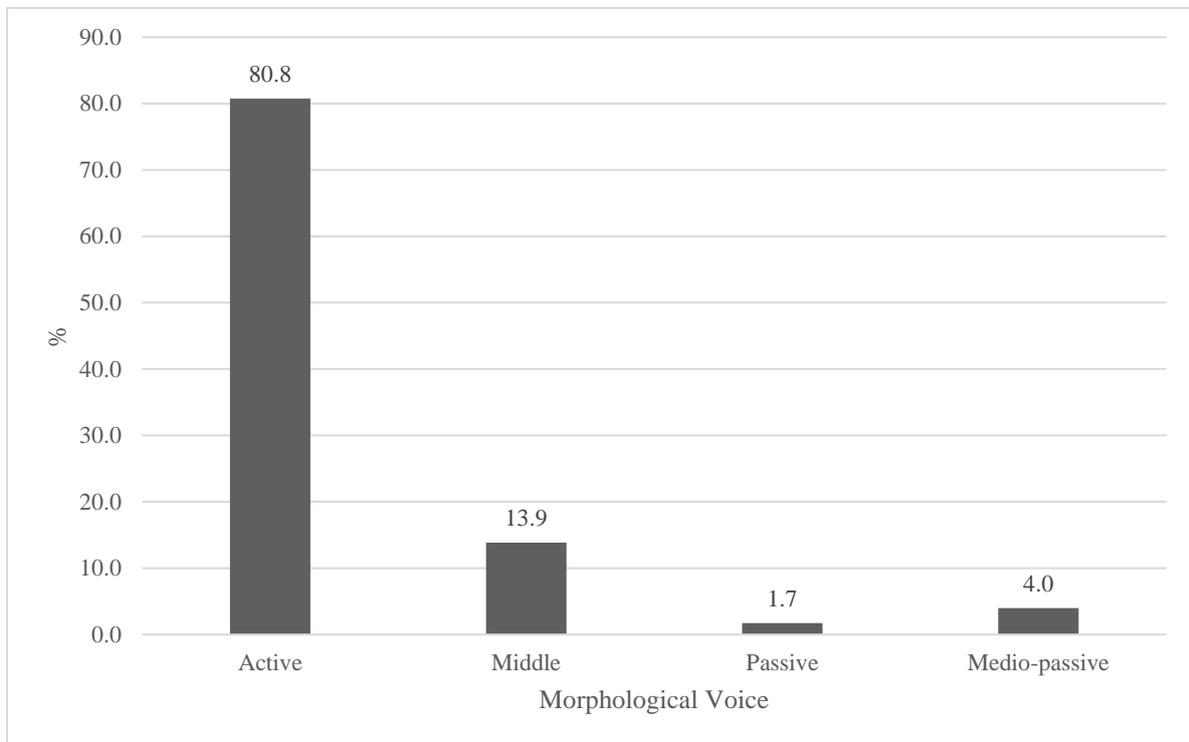


Figure 5: Morphological voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the *piel*, by percentage

Figure 5 shows that the majority of verbal translations of *piels* feature Greek verbs which are morphologically active (80.8%). Non-active translations are uncommon, with morphologically passive voice translations particularly rare: only 48 Hebrew verbs (1.7%) are translated this way. Middle voice translations, although uncommon, appear to be more frequently attested in the *piel* than they are in the *niphal* (9.0%); this is partly due to a low proportion of morphologically middle translations of verbs in the *niphal*, but also to the use of deponent middle translations, which is shown below in figure 9.

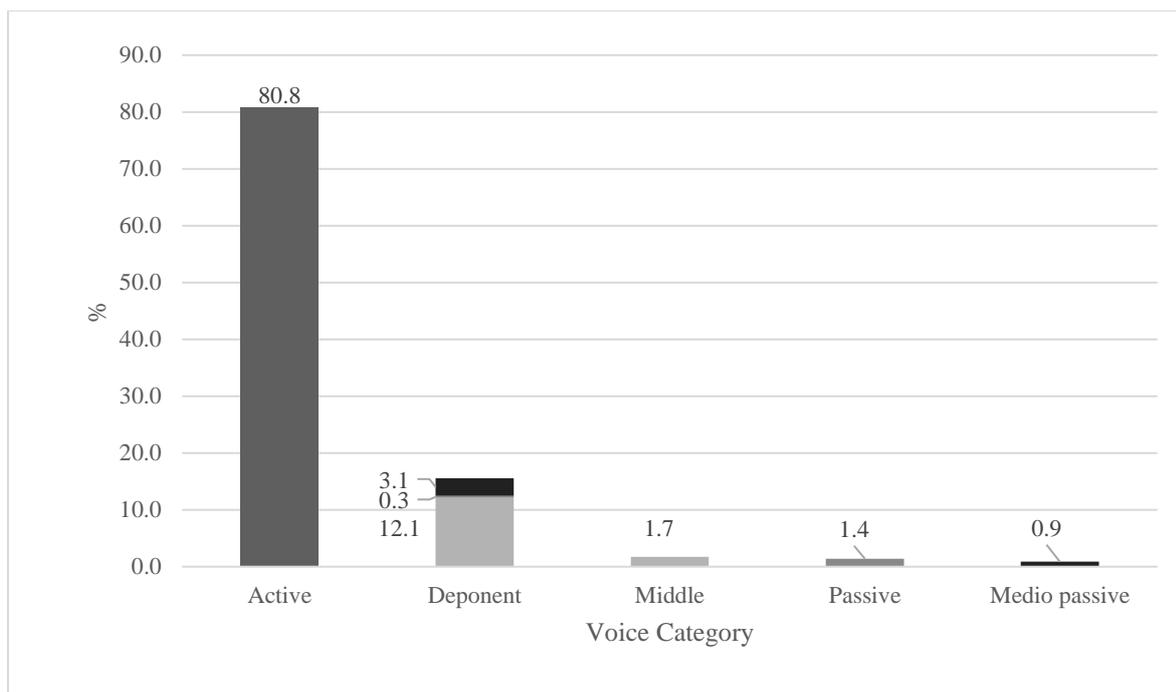


Figure 6: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the piel, by percentage

As figure 6 shows, the majority of middle and medio-passive translations are deponent, as is a small proportion of passive translations. Altogether, 429/2755 verbal translations are deponent (15.6%), a proportion similar to that of the deponent translations of the *qal* (16.6%). This somewhat disagrees with a hypothesis proposed by Gorton (2016: 420) regarding the Greek translation of Ecclesiastes, namely that *piel* verbs are less likely to be translated into Greek with deponents than *qal* verbs are. If all deponents are included as active translations, then 2654/2755 (96.3%) verbs are translated actively, which matches Wevers' (1985:17) assessment that *piels* are translated with active and deponent Greek verbs.

With the majority of morphological middle translations being deponent, the proportion of non-deponent middle translations falls to only 1.7%, which is less than the 6.5% non-deponent middle translations seen in the *niphal*, and means that the *piel* is the stem which is the least likely to be translated with non-deponent middle verbs, as well as with non-deponent passive verbs.

3.2.1 Active form translations

2225/2755 of verbal translations of verbs in the *piel* feature morphologically active Greek verbs (80.8%). This is a higher proportion of verbs translated by morphologically active voice forms than that of verbal translations of the *qal* (72.8%), e.g.:

וְאַבְרָהָם זָקֵן בָּא בְיָמָיו וַיְהִי בְרַחֲמֵי אֱתֵר־אֲבְרָהָם בְּכָל:

καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἦν πρεσβύτερος προβεβηκὸς ἡμερῶν καὶ κύριος ἐλόγησεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ πάντα

Now Abraham was old, well advanced in years; and the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things.

Genesis 24:1

The above example is syntactically transitive, but intransitive *piels* can also be translated actively. Intransitive *piels* are not common, but there are roots which have an adverbial meaning, such as מהר and שחח (Joüion and Muraoka 2006: 145), and are therefore intransitive:

וַיִּמְהַר אֲבְרָהָם הָאֵלֶּלֶה אֶל־שָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר מִהָרִי שְׁלֵשׁ סָאִים קִמַּח סֹלֶת לְיוֹשֵׁי וַעֲשֵׂי עֲגוֹת:

καὶ ἔσπευσεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρὸς Σαρραν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ σπεῦσον καὶ φύρασον τρία μέτρα σεμιδάλεως καὶ ποίησον ἐγκρυφίας

And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, ‘Make ready quickly three measures of choice flour, knead it, and make cakes.’

Genesis 18:6

There are also some intransitive denominative *piels* (Joüion and Muraoka 2006: 145; Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 410-414), which are translated actively:

...וַיִּכְהֹן אֶלְעָזָר וַיְאִתְמָר עַל־פְּנֵי אֲהֲרֹן אֲבִיהֶם:

...καὶ ἱεράτευσεν Ἐλεάζαρ καὶ Ἰθαμαρ μετ’ Ἀαρὼν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν

...Eleazar and Ithamar served as priests in the lifetime of their father Aaron.

Numbers 3:4b [כהן]

3.2.2 Non-active form translations

Just under a fifth (19.2%) of verbal translations of the *piel* have non-active morphology, which is certainly lower than the 27.2% of non-active translations seen for the *qal*.

As with the *qal*, the majority of these non-active forms are deponent (3.2.2.2) so, while not active in form, they are active in meaning.

3.2.2.1 Canonical non-active morphology

The categories of canonical uses of non-active morphology are described in 1.4.1 and 1.6.1.2.

3.2.2.1.1 Intransitive meaning

There are a few occasions where it appears that a non-active Greek verb, particularly in a passive form, is used because the Hebrew verb is not passive but intransitive, which is an expected use of Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c).

For example, the root בָּשַׁל shown in the following extract usually has the transitive sense of ‘to boil/cook something’ in the *piel*, and is translated actively in those situations (cf. Exodus 29:31). Conversely, where it is used intransitively, as below, its Greek translation (ἔψω) is non-active. As there is there is no implied agent, the non-active Greek form indicates the intransitive member of the causative/anticausative set, demonstrating Greek’s typical anticausative coding (see 1.6.3) in contrast to Hebrew’s nondirected, labile coding.

...וְבָא גַעַר הַפֶּהוּן כְּבֹשֶׁל הַבְּשֹׂר וְהַמְזֻלָּג שֶׁל־שֶׁהִשְׁגִּים בְּיָדוֹ:

...καὶ ἦρχετο τὸ παιδάριον τοῦ ἱερέως ὡς ἂν ἠψήθη τὸ κρέας καὶ κρεάγρια τριόδους ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ

...the priest’s servant would come, while the meat was boiling, with a three-pronged fork in his hand,

1 Samuel 2:13b

3.2.2.1.2 *Reflexives*

A few non-active translations of the *piel* indicate reflexivity, as in the following example:

וַיִּרְאֶה הָהוּזָה וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ לְזוֹנָה כִּי כִסְתָהּ פָּנֶיהָ:

καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτήν Ἰουδας ἔδοξεν αὐτήν πόρνην εἶναι κατεκαλύψατο γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτήν

When Judah saw her, he thought her to be a prostitute, for she had covered her face [and he did not recognise her^{LXX}].

Genesis 38:15 (cf. Numbers 4:5, wherein the Greek verb is active in a non-reflexive situation)

3.2.2.1.3 *Mental states*

In the example below, a *piel* of the root קקש ‘to detest’, is translated by a non-active form of the verb βδελύσσω.

וַיִּשְׁקֹץ יְהוָה לֶבְבָם מִבְּשָׂרָם לֹא תֹאכְלוּ וְאַתֶּם-נִבְלָתָם תִּשְׁקָצוּ:

καὶ βδελύγματα ἔσονται ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔδεσθε καὶ τὰ θνησιμαῖα αὐτῶν βδελύξεσθε

And detestable they shall remain. Of their flesh you shall not eat, and you shall feel detest for their carcasses.

Leviticus 11:11

Where the *piel* of קקש appears with a form of שִׁקַּץ, as it does in Leviticus 20:25 below, it has a factitive meaning ‘to make (something/one) detestable’, and is there translated with an active form of βδελύσσω, ‘to cause to be detestable’.

... וְלֹא-תִשְׁקָצוּ אֶת-נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם בְּבַהֲמָה וּבְעוֹף וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁר תִּרְמָשׁ הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר-רִבְּבִתִּי לָכֶם לְטֹמֵא:

... καὶ οὐ βδελύξετε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πετεινοῖς καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔρπετοῖς τῆς γῆς ἃ ἐγὼ ἀφώρισα ὑμῖν ἐν ἀκαθαρσία

...and you shall not make yourselves [lit: your souls] detestable by animal or by bird or by anything with which the ground teems, which I have set apart for you to hold unclean.

Leviticus 20:25

3.2.2.2 *Deponent verbs*

Of the 540 non-active Greek verbal translations of the *piel*, 429 (79.4%) are deponent. This is a greater proportion of deponent translations than is seen for the *qal* (61.0%). Of these deponents, the translation of two roots, צוה and כפר, comprise the majority.

200/429 are translations of the root צוה (*piel*: ‘to command’) with the verb ἐντέλλομαι ‘to give orders, command’.

... וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְשִׁלְמֹה יֶעֱזֹר אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה־נְאֻת עִמָּךְ וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ בְּרִיתִי וְחֻקֹּתַי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי עִלְיָיךְ ...

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Σαλωμων ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐγένετο ταῦτα μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξας τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ προστάγματα μου ἃ ἐνετειλάμην σοι...

Therefore the LORD said to Solomon, ‘Since this has been your mind and you have not kept my covenant and my statutes that I have commanded you...’

1 Kings 11:11a

66/429 are translations of the root כפר (*piel*: ‘to cover, atone’) with the verb ἐξιλάσκομαι ‘to make atonement’.

וַיִּכְפֹּר עֲלָיו הַכֹּהֵן בְּאַיִל הָאֵשׁ לְפָנָי יְהוָה עַל־חַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא וְנִסְלַח לוֹ מִחַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא:

καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ κριῶ τῆς πλημμελείας ἔναντι κυρίου περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἧς ἤμαρτεν καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἣν ἤμαρτεν

And the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of guilt offering before the LORD for his sin that he committed; and the sin he committed shall be forgiven him.

Leviticus 19:22

3.2.2.3 Different reading

As with the *qal* (2.2.2.4), some Greek translations of *piels* seem to suggest that the translators read the verbs in question differently from how they were later pointed in the MT, or, alternatively, that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different in these places from the MT.

3.2.2.3.1 Identical forms

As the *Vorlage* forming the basis for the LXX was unpointed, verbal forms could look identical in different stems. As such, a verb pointed as a *piel* in the MT, which one might hence expect to be translated actively, appears in the LXX with a different, possibly passive, sense, suggesting that the translators might have read it as belonging to another stem.

The most common such reading is the interpretation of a *piel* as though it were a *pual*, with a passive sense and therefore a passive Greek translation. This may have been the case in the extracts below. In both examples, Targum Onkelos agrees with the active (*piel*) reading of the MT, featuring the D-stem verbs **יְבָרַךְ** and **וַיְסַאֲיֵב** in each case. However, the Peshitta and the Vulgate both read the verb as though it was passive, with the Peshitta using the Dt-stem verbs **בִּנְיָב** and **בִּנְיָבָא**, while the Vulgate has the passive forms *benedicetur* and *polluetur*. This may support the possibility that the LXX translator was working from a different *Vorlage* to the MT.

וַיְבָרְכֵם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לֵאמֹר בְּךָ יִבְרַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל ...

So he blessed them that day, saying, ‘By you Israel **will invoke blessings...**’ [NRS]

καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγων ἐν ὑμῖν **εὐλογηθήσεται** Ἰσραηλ...

And he blessed them on that day, saying, ‘In you Israel will be blessed...’ [NETS]

Genesis 48:20a

... וְכִי־יָמוּת מִתְּעַלְיוֹ בְּפִתְעָא פְתָאֵם וְטָמְאָ רֵאשׁ נְזָרוּ ...

If someone dies very suddenly nearby, defiling the consecrated head... [NRS]

ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐξάπινα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα μανθήσεται ἡ κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ...

Now if someone dies suddenly nearby him, at once the head of his vow shall be defiled...

[NETS]

Numbers 6:9a

The two examples below are noteworthy cases where identical forms could be confused, but other confusion also seems to occur. In both examples, verbs of the root כבס ‘to wash’ are pointed as *piel yiqtol* 2ms forms but are translated passively in the LXX, as though they were *pual yiqtol* 3fs forms, which would be identical to the corresponding *piels* if unpointed.³⁰ However, this change in person is significant, as the masculine and feminine third-person forms in Hebrew would not be identical to each other; since the objects in the Hebrew (which become the subject in the Greek) are masculine, confusion seems unlikely. However, in Greek, the main item referred to, τὸ ἱμάτιον, is neuter, the translator may indeed have been uncertain regarding the verb’s expected gender. This means that the verb כבס could potentially have been interpreted as a second-person form. In both cases, while Targum Onkelos matches the MT, using the D-stem תְּחַוֵּר, the Peshitta and Vulgate have passive translations: the Peshitta uses Dt-stem verbs, **ܘܝܘܨܪܘܢ** in the first case and **ܘܝܘܨܪܘܢ** in the second; the Vulgate translation matches the LXX only in the first example, where it uses the passive form

³⁰ It could be argued that the non-active translations are indicative of indirect reflexivity relating to the washing of clothes, but there are several examples of the root כבס appearing in the *piel* and used in the context of washing clothes where an active Greek verb appears (cf. Num 19:19, Gen 49:11).

stative meaning ‘to be deprived of children’, which would align more closely with the Greek. However, if this were a *qal* participle, the initial *mem* would be absent. This means that while a different reading is possible, the Greek could, as is so often the case, be a stylistic or idiomatic change. The Vulgate does not use a verb at all, but rather an adjective, *sterilis* ‘unfruitful’.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר אֶל-אֶלְיָשָׁע הַנָּבִיא מוֹשָׁב הָעִיר טוֹב כַּאֲשֶׁר אָדָנִי רָאָה וְהַמַּיִם רָעִים וְהָאָרֶץ מְשַׁכְּלֶת:

Now the people of the city said to Elisha, ‘The location of this city is good, as my lord sees; but the water is bad, and the land is making childless[?].’

καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως πρὸς Ελισαίε ἰδοὺ ἡ κατοίκησις τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθὴ καθὼς ὁ κύριος βλέπει καὶ τὰ ὕδατα πονηρὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀτεκνουμένη

And the men of the city said to Elisaie, ‘Behold, the location of the city is good, as our lord sees, but the waters are bad, and the land is deprived of children.’

2 Kings 2:19 [see also 2 Kings 2:21]

3.2.2.3.2 *Non-identical forms*

In contrast to the cases discussed in the previous section, there are verbs pointed as *piels* which are translated with passive Greek forms where confusion between Hebrew stems is less likely because even in their unpointed state they would most likely be distinguishable. As mentioned in the chapter on the *qal* (2.2.2.4), some of these forms could be identical if the *Vorlage* of the LXX had defective orthography, but while this is not impossible (Lust 1993: 188) it is unlikely (Saenz-Badillos 1993: 116; Garr and Fassberg 2016: 87).

For example, in the extract below the unpointed verb וַחֲטֹא would still most likely have been read actively due to the word-final *mater lectionis waw* indicating the 3ms object suffix. However, in a *Vorlage* with defective orthography, this final character would be absent and thus the verb וַחֲטֹא could have been read passively, as though it were a *pual*:

... וַחֲטֹא בְּיָוִם הַשְּׁבִיעִי ...

...and **purifying him** on the seventh day...

...καὶ ἀφραγνισθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ...

...and **he shall be purified** on the seventh day... [NETS]

Numbers 19:19b

3.2.2.3.3 *Different Vorlage*

There is one specific case where it seems clear that the *Vorlage* upon which the LXX was based was different from the MT. In the extract below, it is initially difficult to ascertain why the translator used not only a passive translation, but also one which has a notably different meaning, especially as the same verbal form, **וַיַּמְהַר**, appeared in Genesis 18:7 and was translated actively with ‘and he hastened’. In this case it seems very likely that that the *Vorlage* of the LXX did not feature a verb of the root **מהר**, but rather one of the root **בהל**. In the *piel* this root has the meanings ‘to terrify’ and ‘to make haste’, whereas in the *niphal* it has the meanings ‘to be horrified’ and ‘to make haste’. Therefore, it is conceivable that the translator, reading the unpointed *wayyiqtol* **וַיַּבְהֵל** in a syntactically intransitive setting, understood it to have the passive meaning ‘to be horrified’, as though it were a *niphal*, rather than the active meaning ‘to make haste’ of the *piel*.

וַיַּמְהַר יוֹסֵף קִיַּי־נִכְמְרוּ רַחֲמָיו אֶל־אָחָיו וַיִּבְקַשׁ לְבָכוֹת וַיָּבֹא הַחֲדָרָה וַיִּבְכֶּה שָׁמָּה:

And Joseph **hurried out**, because he was overcome with affection for his brother, and he was about to weep. So he went into a private room and wept there. [NRS]

ἐταράχθη δὲ Ἰωσήφ συνεστρέφετο γὰρ τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐζήτει κλαῦσαι εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον ἔκλαυσεν ἐκεῖ

And Joseph **was troubled**, for his insides were twisting up over his brother, and he was seeking to weep. And going into the chamber he wept there. [NETS]

Genesis 43:30

3.2.2.4 Difficult readings

There are some rare examples where a non-active translation of a *piel* is challenging to explain. In these cases the translation could be ascribable to a different *Vorlage*, a purposeful change on the part of the translators for stylistic reasons, or simply difficulty in understanding the Hebrew, leading to a translation that is different from expected. The following examples illustrate such cases.

וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְיָוָה רָאָה פָּנַי לֹא פָקַדְתִּי וְהִנֵּה הָרָאָה אֶתִּי אֱלֹהִים גַּם אֶת־רַעְדִּי:

Israel said to Joseph, ‘I did not expect to see your face; and here God has let me see your children also.’ [NRS]

καὶ εἶπεν Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ ἰδοὺ τοῦ προσώπου σου οὐκ ἐστερήθη καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔδειξέν μοι ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου

And Israel said to Joseph, ‘See, I was not deprived of your face, and see, God has shown me your offspring also.’

Genesis 48:11

וַתֹּאמֶר לְאִמֶּר דְּבַר דְּבָרוֹ בְּרֵאשִׁיטָה לְאִמֶּר שְׂאֵל שְׂאֵלוֹ בְּאָבֶל וְכֵן הִתְמַוּ:

Then she said, ‘They used to say in the old days, “Let them inquire at Abel”; and so they would settle a matter. [NRS]

καὶ εἶπεν λέγουσα λόγον ἐλάλησαν ἐν πρώτοις λέγοντες ἠρωτημένος ἠρωτήθη ἐν τῇ Ἀβελ καὶ ἐν Δαν εἰ ἐξέλιπον ἂ ἔθεντο οἱ πιστοὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐρωτῶντες ἐπερωτήσουσιν ἐν Ἀβελ καὶ οὕτως εἰ ἐξέλιπον

And she said, saying, ‘A saying they spoke at first, saying, “When inquired of, one was inquired of in Abel,” and in Dan if they had abandoned what the faithful of Israel had established. “When inquiring, they shall inquire in Abel,” and likewise if they had abandoned it.

2 Samuel 10:18

3.2.3 *Piel voice translation conclusions*

Morphologically active Greek verbs are used to translate the majority of Hebrew *piels* (80.8%), and the overall proportion is higher than that seen for the *qal* (72.8%). This high rate of active translations is further bolstered by the large proportion of verbs which have non-active morphology but can be classed as deponent and hence active in sense.

The proportion of deponent translations in the *piel* overall (15.6%) is roughly equal to the proportion of deponent translations in the *qal* (16.6%). However, when one examines only the category of non-active translations, the *piel* has a much higher proportion of deponent translations than the *qal*: 79.4% compared to 61.0%. This indicates that, where the *piel* is translated by a verb with non-active morphology, it is much more likely (vis-à-vis the *qal*) to be attributable to the fact that the verb is deponent, rather than to the canonical use of a verb with non-active morphology (1.6.1.2).

Non-deponent non-active Greek verbs account for only 3% of translations, which is a minor and almost insignificant proportion. These non-active translations can be used to indicate reflexivity and intransitivity (as similarly seen with the *qal*), but there are occasions where the ‘mismatch’ between stem and expected voice of translation may be due to the translator seemingly reading the verb differently from how it was later pointed by the Masoretes. While in some instances this is due to unpointed verbal forms in different stems being identical, in others, where the forms are non-identical, it could be because of defective orthography, or where the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different from that of the MT.

4 Hiphil

4.1 Introduction

The *hiphil* is an active stem and is most often described as causative (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 148; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 434). This definition distinguishes it from the *piel*, which is commonly thought to be factitive. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 358) define the difference between the *piel* and the *hiphil* using the category of an 'undersubject' – the secondary subject in the action – which is passive in the *piel*, where it simply enters a state, but active in the *hiphil*, where it participates in the action (see 1.5).

The distinction between the *hiphil* and the *piel* is not always clear-cut, and some roots appear to have an almost identical meaning in both stems. Claassen (1971: 10) notes that Jenni, in trying to distinguish the *piel* from the *hiphil*, focuses too strongly on one root (אבד), and that even the differences that he (Jenni) tries to show between them, such as occasional (*hiphil*) versus habitual and occasional (*piel*), are not obvious. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 144) write that, despite discussion by Waltke and O'Connor about אבד and קדש in both the *piel* and the *hiphil*, they 'have not demonstrated any meaningful difference between the members of these and other pairs'.

As putting a root into the *hiphil* tends to be a valency-increasing action (compared to the *qal*), the *hiphil* of a verbal root which is intransitive in the *qal* tends to be transitive, and a root which is transitive in the *qal* tends to lead to a doubly transitive *hiphil* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 436, 441; Ben-Asher 1978: 11-12). Comparison of the following pair of examples illustrates this point: the first shows a singly transitive *hiphil* derived from an intransitive *qal*, while the second shows a doubly transitive one derived from a transitive *qal*.

... וַיַּעֲבֹר אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ עַל-הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁכּוּ הַמַּיִם:

...and God **made** a wind **blow** over the earth, and the waters subsided.

Genesis 8:1

... וַיִּהְיֶה כְּאֲשֶׁר-גָּא יוֹסֵף אֶל-אָחָיו וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ אֶת-יוֹסֵף אֶת-כְּתֹנֶתוֹ ...

So when Joseph came to his brothers, they stripped him of his robe...

Genesis 37:23

Although a rarity, verbs in the *hiphil* can also be intransitive; these usually occurs when the action remains with the subject itself, and can thus be regarded as internally causative (Ross 2001: 214). An example is the *hiphil* of קִיץ ‘to wake up’ (or perhaps ‘to make oneself wake up’), which is always intransitive (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 151).

Some intransitive *hiphils* can be described as adverbial, and often have a stative meaning, while others are internally causative or denominative (Joüon-Muraoka 2005: 163).

The few roots appearing in the corpus which can be intransitive in certain contexts are חָרַשׁ (‘to be silent’), קִיץ (‘to wake up’), שָׁכַל (‘to prosper, be successful’), סָכַל (‘to behave foolishly’), זִיד (‘to act presumptuously’), רָחַק (‘to be far away’), מָטַר (‘to rain’), פָּרַס (‘to have a cloven hoof’), and אָרַךְ (‘to be long’).

4.2 Voice translations

The trends of voice translations of *hiphils* are detailed below.

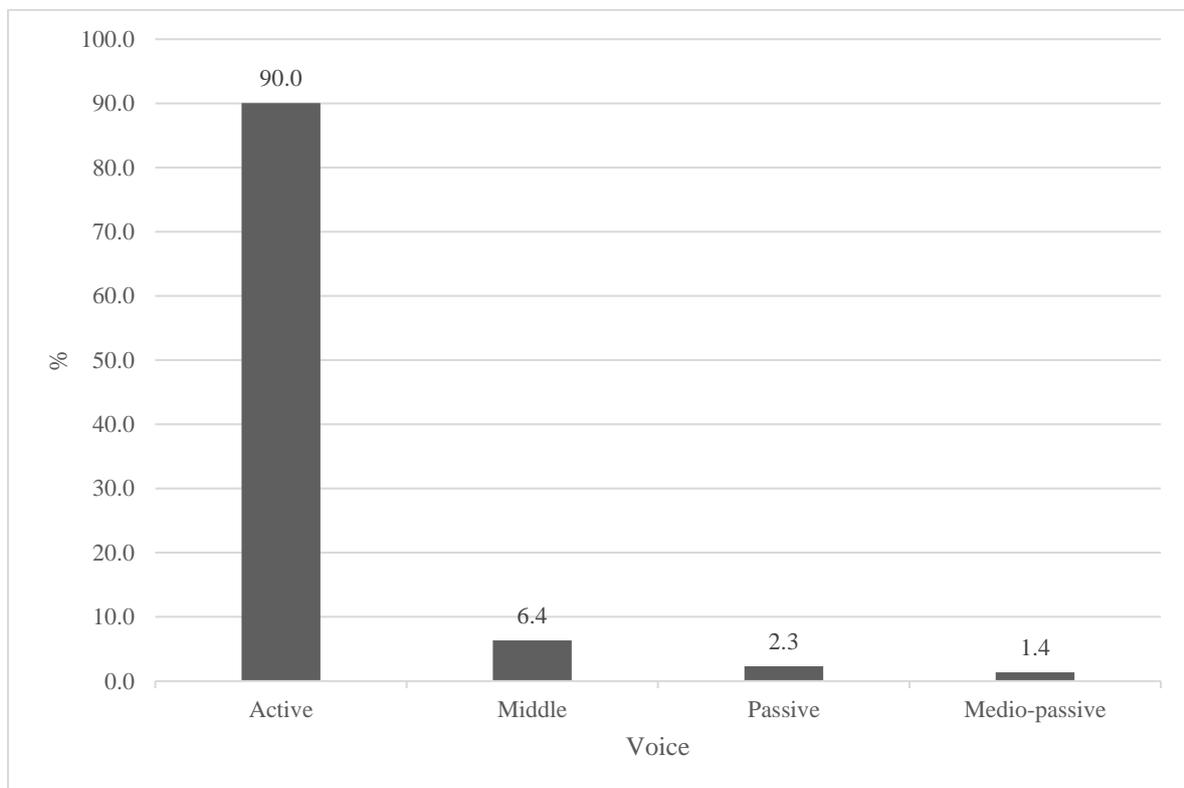


Figure 7: Morphological voice translation of purely verbal translations of *hiphil* verbs, by percentage

As figure 7 illustrates, 90.0% of verbal translations of the *hiphil* use a morphologically active Greek verb, making the *hiphil* the stem most likely to be translated actively. Focusing purely on morphologically active verbal translations, Greek renditions of the *hiphil* have a proportion close to 10% higher than the *piel* (80.8%) and almost 20% higher than the *qal* (72.8%).

However, the inverse is not true: the *hiphil* is not the stem that is least likely to have a morphologically passive translation (though the distinction is minimal). With respect to morphological passives, 2.3% of verbal translations of the *hiphil* fall in this category, which is slightly more than the 1.7% of verbs in the *piel*. However, the difference is so slight that one cannot claim that the *hiphil* is more likely to be translated with a morphological passive than the *piel*: it is unlikely in both stems.

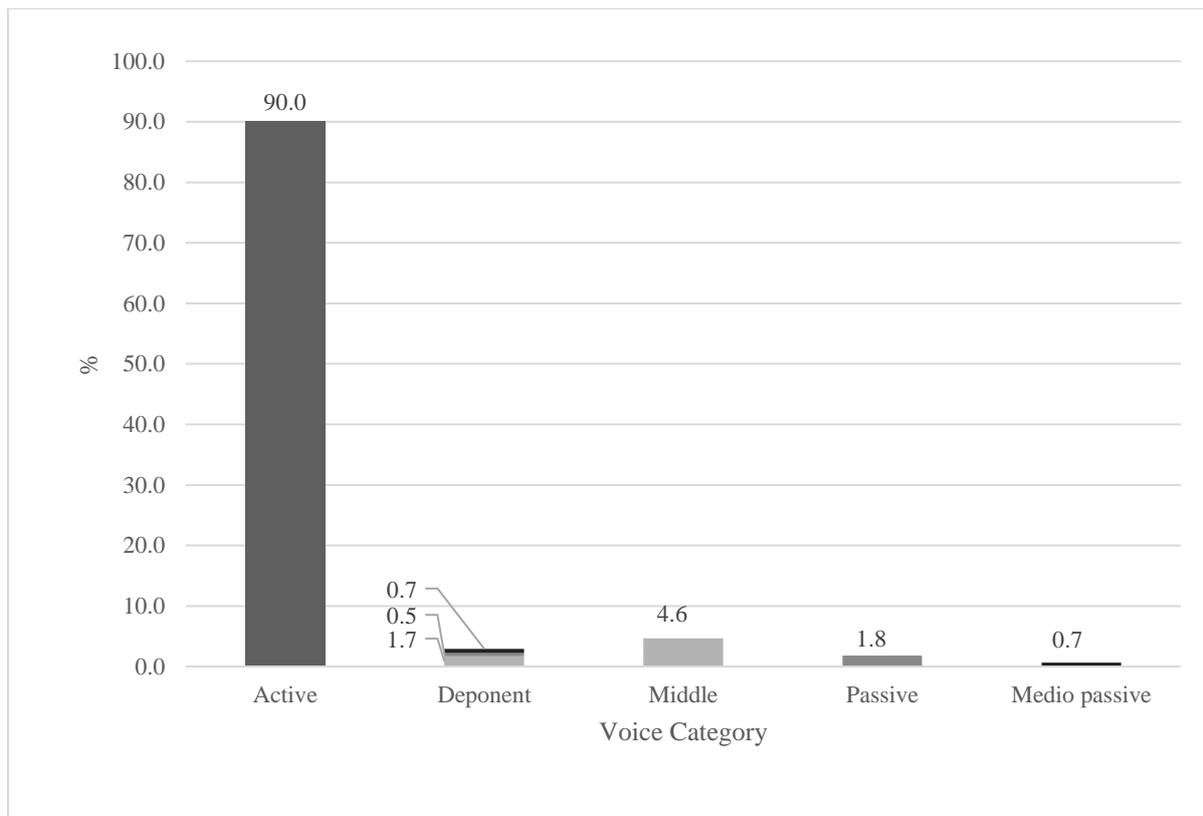


Figure 8: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the *hiphil*, by percentage

As shown in figure 8, some proportion of all the middle, passive, and medio-passive translations are deponent, but if middle, passive, and medio-passive deponent verbal translations of the *hiphil* are all combined, it totals only 110/3819 (2.9%) of total *hiphils*. This is far fewer deponent translations than seen for the *qal* (16.6%) and the *piel* (15.6%). If the translator perceived *hiphil*, *piel*, and *qal* verbs as similarly active, comparable proportions of deponent translations might be expected for each verbal stem. Wevers (1985: 17) states that active and deponent translations are used for the *qal*, *hiphil*, and *piel*, but while it is certainly true that both *are* used in all three, there is a great lack of deponent translations when it comes to the *hiphil*.

This lack may simply be a feature of the corpus, with fewer *hiphil* verbs in the texts under examination having semantic meanings that align with deponent verbs in Greek; however, a similar

pattern whereby translations of the *hiphil* are unlikely to feature deponents has been observed by Gorton (2016: 420) in his examination of Greek verbal translations in Ecclesiastes. The data from the present study add credence to Gorton's theory that the translators were reluctant to translate a causative stem with a verb that may have still had medio-passive overtones (Gorton 2016: 420), although Gorton includes the *piel* with the *hiphil*, in opposition to the *qal*, and the data displayed here do not support this interpretation.

Because of the lack of deponent middle translations in particular, the *hiphil* does not have the smallest proportion of non-deponent middle translations, despite having the smallest proportion of morphological middle translations. Rather, the *piel* is the stem least likely to be translated by non-deponent middle verbs.

4.2.1 Active form translations

3438/3819 of verbal translations of *hiphils* feature an active form Greek verb. This includes *hiphils* with both causative and simple transitive meaning as well as intransitive force.

4.2.1.1 Dynamic verbs

The following are examples of dynamic Hebrew verbs in the *hiphil* translated with active form Greek verbs:

וַיַּבְרֶךְ הַגְּמָלִים מִתּוֹיָן לְעִיר אֶל־בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם לְעֵת עֶרְבַּ לְעֵת צֹאת הַשָּׁמֶלֶת:

καὶ ἐκοίμισεν τὰς καμήλους ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ πρὸς ὀψέ ἡνίκα ἐκπορεύονται αἱ ὑδρευόμεναι

He made the camels kneel down/rest outside the city by the well of water; it was toward evening, the time when women go out to draw water.

Genesis 24:11

בְּהַנְחִיל עַל־יוֹן גּוֹיִם בְּהַפְרִידוֹ בְּגֵי אָדָם יֵצֵב גְּבֻלַּת עַמִּים לְמִסְפַּר בְּגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

ὅτε διμερίζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδαμ ἕστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ

When the Most High apportioned the nations, when he divided humankind, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the gods.

Deuteronomy 32:8

4.2.1.2 Intransitive verbs

41/49 translations of intransitive *hiphils* feature morphologically active verbs. For example, the root ַיַּז can have the intransitive meaning ‘to act presumptuously’, and it is translated on 2/3 occasions with an active voice form of the verb ἀσεβέω ‘to act impiously’.

וְכָל־הָעָם יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיִּירָאוּ וְלֹא יִזְדָּוּן עוֹד:

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀκούσας φοβηθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἀσεβήσει ἔτι

All the people will hear and be afraid^{MT}/when they have heard they will be afraid^{LXX}, and will not act presumptuously again.

Deuteronomy 17:13 [see also Deu 18:20]

4.2.1.2.1 'Stative' hiphils

Some intransitive *hiphils*, such as those of the roots ארך and חרש, can have a stative meaning. In these cases, the corresponding Greek verb often has the stative meaning encoded within it. For example, while the *hiphil* of the root ארך often has the transitive, causative meaning 'to make something long', there are occasions where it has the intransitive meaning 'to continue' and is translated with an active Greek form, as in the following extract:

אֲוִימִים אֲוִי־תִדְּשׁ אֲוִי־נִמִּים בְּהַאֲרִיךְ הָעֶנְנׁוֹן עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּן לְשָׁכֵן עָלָיו ...

μηνὸς ἡμέρας πλεοναζούσης τῆς νεφέλης σκιαζούσης ἐπ' αὐτῆς...

Whether it was two days, or a month, or a longer time, that the cloud **continued** over the tabernacle, resting upon it...

Numbers 9:22a

Moreover, even when it has the intransitive and stative meaning 'to be long', this root can still be translated with a single active voice Greek verb, e.g.:

וַיִּאָרְכוּ הַבַּדִּים וַיִּירָאוּ רְאֵי הַבַּדִּים מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ עַל־פְּנֵי הַדְּבָר וְלֹא יִרְאוּ הַקּוֹצָה וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

The poles **were so long** that the ends of the poles were seen from the holy place in front of the inner sanctuary; but they could not be seen from outside; they are there to this day. [NRS]

καὶ ὑπερεῖχον τὰ ἡγιασμένα καὶ ἐνεβλέποντο αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἡγιασμένων ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ δαβὶρ καὶ οὐκ ὠπτόνοντο ἔξω

And the sacred things **projected**, and the heads of the sacred things were seen from the holy place in front of the dabitir, but they could not be seen from outside. [NETS]

1 Kings 8:8

The root שׁרח ‘to be silent’ is always translated with active voice Greek verbs: *παρασιωπάω* (‘to pass over in silence’), *σιωπάω* (‘to be silent’), *κωφεύω* (‘to be/keep silent’), and *σιγάω* (‘to be/become silent’). These are all expected translations as the Greek verbs have an internally encoded stative meaning. An example with *παρασιωπάω* is shown below:

והאיש מישתטח לה מחריש לנעת ההצליח והנה דרכו אסקא:

ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κατεμάνθανεν αὐτήν καὶ **παρασιώπα** τοῦ γινῶναι εἰ εὐόδοκεν κύριος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ οὐ

The man gazed at her **in silence** to learn whether or not the LORD had made his journey successful.

Genesis 24:21

4.2.1.2.2 Intransitive and transitive

A few *hiphils* can be syntactically transitive or intransitive depending on the situation. However, active voice Greek verbs are used to translate both. For example, the denominative *hiphil* of the root מטר can have either the transitive meaning ‘to send down rain’ or the intransitive meaning ‘to cause rain’. The same active Greek verb, *βρέχω* (‘to send rain, to rain’), can be used whether the *hiphil* in question has an intransitive or transitive sense in the context in question – as in the first and second extracts below respectively.

...כי לא המטיר יהוה אלהים עליהארץ ואדם אין לעבד אתהאדמה:

...οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν

...for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no one to till the ground;

Genesis 2:5b [intransitive]

...וַיִּמְטַר יְהוָה בָּרֶד עַל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:

καὶ ἔβρεξεν κύριος χάλαζαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν Αἰγύπτου

And the LORD rained hail on the land of Egypt;

Exodus 9:23 [transitive]

Similarly, the root כָּלַץ in the *hiphil* can mean ‘to prosper, be successful’, where it is intransitive, or ‘to make something prosper’, which is transitive. In both cases, the same Greek verb in the active voice is used in translation, *συνίημι* (‘to understand’), as in the following two examples respectively.³¹

וַהֲרִיב יְהוָה עִמּוֹ בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר-יַצֵּא יְשׁוּבִיל וַיִּמְרָד בְּמַלְכֵּי-אַשּׁוּר וְלֹא עָבְדוּ:

καὶ ἦν κύριος μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίει συνήκεν καὶ ἠθέτησεν ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ οὐκ ἐδούλευσεν αὐτῷ

The LORD was with him; wherever he went, he prospered^{MT}/in all that he did he understood^{LXX}. He rebelled against the king of Assyria and would not serve him.

2 Kings 18:7 [intransitive]

³¹ The use of the verb *συνίημι* is noteworthy, as the meaning ‘to understand’ is markedly different from ‘to prosper’, as though the idea of prosperity is more closely related to knowledge and understanding (which is also the idea apparent in the Vulgate translation: *et in cunctis ad quae procedebat sapienter se agebat*, ‘and in all things to which he went he behaved himself wisely’).

...למען תשפיל את כל־אשר תעשה ואת כל־אשר תפנה שם:

...ἵνα συνίης ἃ ποιήσεις κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι

...so that you may prosper in all that you do and wherever you turn^{MT}/you may understand what you shall do in all things, whatever I command you^{LXX}.

1 Kings 2:3b [transitive]

4.2.2 Non-active form translations

Most instances involving non-active Greek translations require little discussion as the Greek forms in question are to be expected in the given contexts. Some examples are included below for the sake of illustration of this type of translation.

4.2.2.1 Canonical non-active morphology

The categories of canonical uses of non-active morphology are described in 1.4.1 and 1.6.1.2.

4.2.2.1.1 Intransitive meaning

Although the majority of intransitive *hiphils* are translated actively (see 4.2.1.2), some *hiphils* with intransitive meaning are translated with passive Greek verbs. Such translations reflect a standard feature of Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c) and the extracts shown here serve simply to illustrate instances when an active Hebrew verbal stem is translated by a non-active Greek equivalent.

For example, the root קיץ, ‘to wake up’, which is always used intransitively (Joüion and Muraoka 2006: 163), is twice translated with non-active forms of the verb ἐξεγείρω ‘to wake up [intrans in the passive]’.³²

...ואין ראיה ואין יודע ואין מקיץ כי כלם ישנים כי תרדמת יהיה נפלה עליהם:

³² See Hdt 1.34.3.

...καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ βλέπων καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ γινώσκων καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξεγειρόμενος πάντες ὑπνοῦντες ὅτι θάμβος κυρίου ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτούς

...No one saw it, or knew it, nor **did anyone awake**; for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the LORD had fallen upon them.

1 Samuel 26:12b

...וַיָּשָׁב לְקִרְיָתָיִם וַיִּגְדֹּלְוֹ לְאַמֵּר לֵאמֹר הֲקִיץ הַנַּעַר:

...καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς ἀπαντήν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ λέγων οὐκ ἠγέρθη τὸ παιδάριον

...He came back to meet him and told him, ‘The child has not **awakened**.’

2 Kings 4:31b

4.2.2.1.2 *Reflexive meaning*

There are a few instances where morphologically middle verbs are used to translate Hebrew verbs in the *hiphil* that do have a nuance of reflexivity, e.g.:

...בֹּקֶר יִדְעַ הַיְהוָה אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ וְאֶת־הַקְּדוֹשׁ וְהַקְּרִיב אֵלָיו וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר יְבָרַךְ בּוֹ יְקַרֵּב אֵלָיו:

...ἐπέσκεπται καὶ ἔγνω ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ προσηγάγετο πρὸς ἑαυτόν καὶ οὗς ἐξελέξατο ἑαυτῷ **προσηγάγετο** πρὸς ἑαυτόν

‘...In the morning^{MT}/He has enrolled and^{LXX} the LORD will make known who is his, and who is holy, and who will be allowed to approach him; the one whom he will choose **he will cause to approach him**.’

Numbers 16:5b

Note that despite the often reflexive meaning of the middle voice, there are no middle voice translations of intransitive *hiphils* which can be interpreted internally causative, with the subject itself affected. It seems that the translators did not perceive these Hebrew verbs as reflexive, or perhaps that

they associated the reflexivity in these cases with the passive or active morphology of the Greek verb which they selected, as opposed to the middle.

4.2.2.2 *Deponent verbs*

There are 110 instances wherein deponent verbs – which can be regarded as having an active sense despite their non-active form (see 1.6.1.3) – appear in translations of the *hiphil*. Only 2.9% (110/3819) of all verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with deponents, which, as stated above, is far lower than deponent translations of the *qal* (16.6%) and the *piel* (15.6%). Examples are shown below:

וַיֹּאמֶר לְמִקְדָּשָׁיו עֲדָה וְצִלָּהּ שְׁמַעוּן קוֹלִי נִשְׂי לְמִן הַאֲזִינָה אֶמְרָתִי ...

εἶπεν δὲ Λαμεχ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ γυναιξίν Ἀδα καὶ Σελλα ἀκούσατέ μου τῆς φωνῆς γυναιῖκες Λαμεχ ἐνωτίσασθέ μου τοὺς λόγους...

Lamech said to his wives: ‘Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; you wives of Lamech, **listen** to what I say...’

Genesis 8:21a

וַיִּגַּשׁ וַיִּשְׁקֵק לוֹ וַיִּרְחַץ אֶת־רַגְלָיו בְּגִדָיו וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ ...

καὶ ἐγγίσας ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν καὶ ὠσφράνθη τὴν ὀσμὴν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠύλογησεν αὐτόν...

So he came near and kissed him; and **he smelled** the smell of his garments, and blessed him...

Genesis 27:27a

וַיִּתְּלֵם וְהָגָה סֶלֶם מִצָּב אֶרְצָה וַרְאִישׁוֹ מִגִּיעַ הַשְּׂמִמָּה וְהָגָה מִלְאֲכָי אֱלֹהִים עַל־יָרְדִים בּוֹ:

καὶ ἐνυπνιάσθη καὶ ἶδου κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῆ ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ’ αὐτῆς

And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it.

Genesis 28:12

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם לֵינּוּ פֹה הַלְיָלָה וְהִשְׁבַּתְתִּי אִתְּכֶם דְּבַר פְּאֻזָּר יִדְבַּר יְהוָה אֵלַי ...

He said to them, ‘Stay here tonight, and I will bring back word to you, just as the LORD speaks to me’ ... [NRS]

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς καταλύσατε αὐτοῦ τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν πράγματα ἃ ἐὰν λαλήσῃ κύριος πρὸς με...

And he said to them, ‘Lodge here tonight, and I will answer you matters the Lord may speak to me.’ ... [NETS]

Numbers 22:8a

4.2.2.3 Different reading

As noted in 2.2.2.4 and 3.2.2.3, on occasions where an unexpected ‘mismatch’ of voice occurs, it is possible that, rather than the difference being ascribable to an idiomatic or stylistic translation, it is the result of the LXX translator interpreting the unpointed Hebrew verb differently from the Masoretes, or the result of the LXX and MT being based on different *Vorlagen* for the section where the mismatch occurs. It can be very difficult to determine with certainty which of these two possibilities is correct (or indeed whether a different reason altogether is at play).

4.2.2.3.1 Identical forms

Certain verbs in their unpointed form look identical in different stems, with one active and the other passive. In such cases the translators of the LXX may have interpreted the verbs in question as passive, while by contrast the Masoretes pointed them as active *hiphils*. In several of these cases, the

passive interpretation is supported by other ancient translations, i.e. the Targums, Peshitta, and Vulgate.

The following example illustrates such a case. In this extract (and one with an identical verb in 1 Samuel 13:8), the LXX translators clearly understood the verb נִפְצָן to be either intransitive (as in the NRS translation) or passive (as in the NETS translation). In either case, the use of a passive Greek verb indicating intransitivity is to be expected (the intransitive use of non-active Greek forms has been mentioned several times above). The more salient point here is the later interpretation of this verb as a *hiphil*, as indicated by the MT. Brown-Driver-Briggs (1996: 807) argue that this form is an intransitive *hiphil*, highlighting the identical use in 1 Samuel 13:8. However, when the same verb – in the same form – appears in Genesis 11:8, it is used transitively and is translated with an active Greek form. This raises the question of whether the forms in the example above, and in 1 Samuel 13:8, are not *hiphils* but *qals* (HALOT 2001 vol 2: 919). In the *qal*, this root has either an intransitive or passive meaning, ‘to scatter [intrans], to be scattered’; the unpointed *qal* form would be identical to a *hiphil*, but the *hiphil* would be more expected if subject of the verb had a direct object to scatter, which is not the case in the example below. That this Hebrew verb can be understood as passive/intransitive, and translated as such in Greek, is not in doubt; this is supported by one of variant readings of Targum Onkelos and by the Peshitta, both of which use Dt-stem forms (אֲחַבְדֵּר and אֲחַבְדֵּרֵיהּ respectively) which have passive meaning, and by the Vulgate, which also translates it passively (*dispersusque est*).

וַיִּפְצָן הָעָם בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם לְקַשֵּׁשׁ קֶשׂ לְחֶבֶן:

So the people scattered throughout the land of Egypt, to gather stubble for straw. [NRS]

καὶ διεσπάρη ὁ λαὸς ἐν ὅλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ συναγαγεῖν καλάμην εἰς ἄχυρα

And the people were scattered in the whole of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. [NETS]

Exodus 5:12

In the example below, the unpointed form of the verb *וַיִּהְיֶה* can be interpreted as an active *hiphil* ('to begin' or 'to profane') or as a passive *niphal* ('to be profaned'). While this is pointed actively as a *hiphil* in the MT, the translator of the LXX has interpreted it as a passive, potentially due to the lack of a direct object. This possibility is supported by the fact that when an almost identical verbal form (*וַיִּהְיֶה*) appears a few chapters later (Numbers 30:3), this time in a syntactically transitive context, it is translated actively and still with the meaning of profaning: *βεβηλώσει*, 'he will profane'. In this example, both Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta agree with the MT and translate the verb actively, with *וַיִּשְׂרִי* and *וַיִּשְׂרִי* respectively (both D-stem). The Vulgate partially agrees with the LXX and translates this verse without the meaning of 'to begin': ...*et fornicatus est populus cum filiabus Moab*.

וַיִּשְׂבּוּ בְּשִׂטִּים וַיִּהְיֶה לָעָם לְזָנוֹת אֶל-בָּנוֹת מוֹאָב:

While Israel was staying at Shittim, the people **began** to have sexual relations with the women of Moab. [NRS]

καὶ κατέλυσεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σαττιν καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωαβ

And Israel stayed in Sattim, and the people **were profaned** by whoring after the daughters of Moab.

Numbers 25:1

4.2.2.3.2 *Non-identical forms*

As seen in the *qal* and the *piel*, there are occasions involving a 'mismatch' between the pointed Hebrew verb and the voice translation of the Greek form, where a different reading of the unpointed Hebrew is possible if the *Vorlage* of the LXX had defective orthography in the relevant instances. As defective orthography in the LXX's *Vorlage* is unlikely (Saenz-Badillos 1993: 116; Garr and Fassberg 2016: 87), but not impossible (Lust 1993: 118), the examples below may constitute cases where that could be an explanation for the passive translation of active *hiphils*.

The following example illustrates such a case. Even unpointed, the verb יותר appears to be a *hiphil* with the active meaning of ‘to leave, have remaining’ due to the presence of the *yod* indicating the long vowel. However, it is interpreted in the LXX as having the passive meaning ‘to be left over, remain’, which would pertain if the verb were a *niphal*. Such a reading would be possible only if the unpointed form were the defective יותר, without the *yod*. This possibility is partially supported by Targum Onkelos, which has two variants for the form in question, one active in the C stem (ישאר), and one passive in the Gt stem (ישתאר), with the latter corresponding to the LXX.

אִישׁ הַרְדּוּ בְּךָ וְהַעֲנֵג מְאֹד תִּלְעַע עֵינָיו בְּאַחֵירוֹ וּבְאַשְׁתּוֹת חֵילָוֹ וּבְגִתָּהּ בְּנִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹתֵר:

Even the most refined and gentle of men among you will begrudge food to his own brother, to the wife whom he embraces, and to the last of his children who **he leaves**

ὁ ἀπαλὸς ἐν σοὶ καὶ ὁ τρυφερὸς σφόδρα βασκανεῖ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ καταλειμμένα τέκνα ἃ ἂν **καταλειφθῇ**

The gentle among you and the very soft will begrudge with his eye his brother and the wife in his bosom and the remaining children who **are left**,

Deuteronomy 28:54

The following extract may reflect the same phenomenon: the Hebrew seems to have been pointed as a *hiphil*, although the verb is probably passive, but the situation is complicated by the confusing nature of the verse:

וְהָבֵא אֶל-הַבַּיִת כָּל-יְמֵי הַסָּגִיר אֹתוֹ יִטְמָא עַד-הָעָרֶב:

And the one who enters the house all the days of(?) **he(?) has shut it up**, he will be unclean until evening

καὶ ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς **ἀφωρισμένη ἐστίν** ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται ἕως ἑσπέρας

And the one who enters the house while it is shut up shall be unclean until the evening;
[NETS]

Leviticus 14:46

The English translation under the Hebrew (my own) is an attempt to follow the syntax and morphology of the Hebrew, but it makes little literal sense (although the general idea is the same).

The two main problems are the ‘*hiphil*’ verb and the noun יָמֵי which appears to be in construct to it. While the transitive *hiphil* הִקְטִיבְהוּ ‘to shut something up’ explains the presence of the definite direct object marker אֹתוֹ and aligns well with the morphology, and while both Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta likewise translate this actively with C stem verbs (קִטְוִיבְהוּ and אֲסִיבְהוּ), it is difficult to match the form with the meaning of the text. A passive sense would fit more naturally (and is seen in the Vulgate translation, *clausa est*). Such a passive sense could be possible if the verb were in the *niphal*, in which stem the root סָגַר means ‘to be shut’, and is translated with the passive of ἀφορίζω (‘to set apart’) in 2/3 occasions (both in Numbers).

The construct noun before the verb then seems to imply that it is more likely to be an infinitive construct (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 402), as finite verbs are very rarely preceded by construct nouns. Moreover, were this an infinitive construct in the *niphal*, it would still feature the *he* prefix. Hence, as in other cases discussed above, defective orthography would make this reading plausible.

If the verb is actually a *niphal* infinitive construct, this could make that phrase ‘all the days of the shutting up (of it?)’. While such an explanation does not account for all the unusual features of the verse, it would make the Greek translation with its medio-passive participle ἀφορισμένη more understandable, even though infinitives construct in the *niphal* are only rarely translated with passive participles.

4.2.2.3.3 *Context-driven different reading*

Context-driven different readings of verbs in the *hiphil* are those where it seems that the translator read a particular verb as having a non-active meaning because of the context in which it appears.

Many such potential cases concern the root נגנ, forms of which are pointed in the MT only as *hiphils* ('to tell, declare') or *hophals* ('to be told').

In 11/182 examples where verbs of the root נגנ are pointed as *hiphils* – always *wayyiqtol*s in the third person – they are translated with non-active morphology. This often occurs where no clear subject is present, leading the translators to read the verb as impersonal and thus opt for a passive (and impersonal) translation, often disregarding the number of the verb. This is illustrated in the example below, where the subjectless, plural *hiphil* is translated with a singular non-active Greek verb:

וּתְאַהֲבָה מִיכָל בַּת־שָׁאֵל אֶת־דָּוִד וַיִּגְדּוּ לְשָׁאֵל וַיֵּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינָיו:

Now Saul's daughter Michal loved David. **And they told** Saul, and the thing pleased him.

καὶ ἠγάπησεν Μελχολ ἡ θυγάτηρ Σαουλ τὸν Δαυιδ καὶ ἀπηγγέλη Σαουλ καὶ ἠθύνηθη ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ

And Saoul's daughter Melchol loved David, and Saoul **was told**, and it was right in his eyes.
[NETS]

1 Samuel 18:20³³

In 8 of the examples with the root נגנ, including the one above, one could argue that the phenomenon is not context-driven, but rather due to confusion over identical forms: the short unpointed form (נגנ) would be identical in both the *hiphil* and the *hophal*, meaning that the translators may have understood it as non-active while the Masoretes later pointed it as a *hiphil* (with

³³ This example is noteworthy because, unlike many others (cf. 1 Samuel 14:33, seen below), it lacks a translation of the prepositional prefix seen with לְשָׁאֵל, despite it being clear that the news is reported 'to Saul'. The NETS uses the translation seen above, but the Greek indeclinable noun Σαουλ can also be understood as a dative, 'to Saul', simply lacking the relevant article τῷ.

As regards other ancient translations of this example, the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan more closely agree with the MT, using the D-stem verbs נגנ and נגנ (which are usually active in sense) respectively and also having a preposition before Saul; the Vulgate is closer to the LXX, exhibiting a passive translation, *et nuntiatum est*, and lacking any direct translation of the preposition.

a presumably active sense). However, in such a case the plural verbal ending would be a difficulty, as the Greek verb ἀπηγγέλη is singular; the confusion could only reasonably have occurred if the original form lacked the final *waw* indicative of the plural ending. These non-active translations of the *hiphil* are thus more likely ascribable to the translators interpreting an impersonal context.

This argument is further supported by 3 non-active Greek translations of *hiphils* of נגד where the Hebrew forms appear with a *mater lectionis* indicating the long vowel of the stem, which renders them even less similar to the form of a *hophal*, as in the following example:

... וַיִּגִּדוּ לְשָׂאוּל לְאֹמֶר הִנֵּה הָעַם חָטְאוּ לַיהוָה לֶאֱכֹל עַל-הַדָּם ...

And they reported to Saul, ‘Look, the troops are sinning against the LORD by eating with the blood.’ ...

καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Σαουλ λέγοντες ἡμάρτηκεν ὁ λαὸς τῷ κυρίῳ φαγὼν σὺν τῷ αἵματι...

And it was reported to Saoul, saying, ‘The people have sinned against the Lord eating with the blood.’ [NETS]

1 Samuel 14:33a³⁴

Conversely, there are instances where Hebrew verbs of this root appear but clear subjects are present, and in these cases the Greek translation is active, as expected for the *hiphil*. Such an example is shown below. Thus, a context-driven translation, based on the presence or lack of subjects, seems to govern the use of active or non-active translations.

וַיִּגְדֹּעַ עֲבָדֵי שָׂאוּל לוֹ לְאֹמֶר פְּדָבְרִים הָאֵלֶּה דִּבֶּר דָּוִד׃

καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ παῖδες Σαουλ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἃ ἐλάλησεν Δαυὶδ

³⁴ In the Peshitta, Targum Jonathan, and the Vulgate, the translations are all active/in active stems: **נִגְדָה** (G stem), **נִגְדָה** (D-stem), and *nuntiaverunt* respectively.

The servants of Saul **told** him, ‘This is what David said.’

1 Samuel 18:24

The reverse of this issue is examined in the chapter on the *hophal* (see 8.2.2.2), where verbs of the root נגנ which have been pointed as *hophals* in the MT, and would therefore have passive meaning, are translated actively in the LXX.

4.2.2.4 Intentional change

Occasionally it appears as though there is an intentional passive translation of a verb in the *hiphil*, possibly for clarification of the verse, or for a stylistic reason. For example, in the extract below a passive reading of the unpointed verb הקריבם (as though it were a *hophal*) would require not only defective spelling but also a reading of the final *mem* as an enclitic rather than an object suffix. It is thus far more likely that the change of voice in the Greek is instead an intentional decision made in order to maintain the focus on the plates, as the removal of the active subjects in the Greek reduces any potential confusion.

...ועשו אותם רקעי פחים צפוי למזבֶּחַ כִּי־הִקְרִיבָם לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה וַיִּקְדָּשׁוּ וַיְהִי לְאוֹת לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

...make them into hammered plates as a covering for the altar, for **they presented them** before the LORD and they became holy. Thus they shall be a sign to the Israelites. [NRS]

...καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὰ λεπίδας ἐλατάς περίθεμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὅτι **προσηνέχθησαν** ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ ἡγιάσθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς σημεῖον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ.

...And make them into hammered plates, a covering for the altar, because **they were brought forward** before the Lord and were sanctified and became a sign to the sons of Israel.

Numbers 17:3b

4.2.2.5 Non-deponent verbs

Unlike the other active stems, the majority of non-active Greek translations of the *hiphil* which are clearly morphologically middle in form are non-deponent (177/243, 72.8%), meaning that they do have a commonly used form with active morphology. However, most of these morphologically middle translations do not clearly have a non-active meaning, but instead seem to be active in sense. Some degree of interpretation is required here, as it is possible that the translators did consider these verbs to be middle in nuance, but parallel situations can often be found where an active or deponent verb is found instead, implying that the middle form is considered to have the same (i.e. active) meaning.

For example, there are 41 occasions where the root נצל (*hiphil*: ‘to snatch, deliver’) is translated with middle forms of the compound verbs ἀφαιρέω ‘to take away’, or ἐξαιρέω ‘to deliver, rescue’. These could be considered to have middle meaning, with a nuance of indirect reflexivity as there may be benefit for the subject. However, one can find parallel situations where the verb ρύομαι, ‘to rescue, deliver’, is used instead; this verb is deponent (Ladewig 2010: 287), and therefore has an active meaning.

וַיְדַבֵּר דָּוִד לַיהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת בְּיוֹם הַצִּיל יְהוָה אֶת־וּמְקָרָאִיבִי וּמִכַּף מַכָּה פְּלִיאִיבִי וּמִכַּף שְׂאִוֵל:

καὶ ἐλάλησεν Δαυὶδ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ᾠδῆς ταύτης ἐν ἡ ἡμέρα ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς Σαουλ

David spoke to the LORD the words of this song on the day when the LORD delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul.

2 Samuel 22:1 [ἐξαιρέω]

...כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנֹכִי מִשְׁחַתֵּיתִי לְמַלְכֵּךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַנְכִי הַצַּלְתִּיתִי מִיַּד שְׂאִוֵל:

...τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐγὼ εἶμι ἔχρισά σε εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμι ἐρρυσάμην σε ἐκ χειρὸς Σαουλ

...Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel: I anointed you king over Israel, and I rescued you from the hand of Saul;

2 Samuel 12:7b [רָוַמַי]

Similarly, there are 30 occasions where where the root רָוַם (*hiphil*: ‘to add, do again’) is translated with a middle voice form of προστίθημι ‘to add, add to’, which is used to match the Hebrew construction indicating repetition or continuation; active forms of the same Greek verb are used in parallel situations.

וַיִּסַּף אֲבִרְתָּם וַיִּקַּח אִשָּׁה וַיִּשְׁמָה קִטּוּרָה:

προσθέμενος δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα ἣ ὄνομα Χεττουρα

Abraham again took a wife, whose name was Keturah.

Genesis 25:1 [middle]

וַתִּסַּף עוֹלַם בְּתוֹלַד בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שְׁלֵה וַהֲגָה בְּכֶזֶב בְּלִדְתָהּ אֵת:

καὶ προσθεῖσα ἔτι ἔτεκεν υἱὸν καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σηλωμ αὐτὴ δὲ ἦν ἐν Χασβι ἡνίκα ἔτεκεν αὐτούς

Yet again she bore a son, and she named him Shelah. She was in Chezib when she bore him.

Genesis 38:5 [active]

There are also places where the middle voice form of a verb does have an active meaning, and one that is different to the active form. The root הָלַל commonly means ‘to begin’ in the *hiphil*, and, where this meaning is intended, such verbs are translated 24/29 times with middle voice forms of ἄρχω (or a compound of the same), which has the same active sense of ‘to begin’. By contrast, when ἄρχω appears in the active voice, it has the meaning ‘to rule over’.

וַיְהִי כִּי־הִתְחַלּוּ הָאָדָם לְרַב עֲלֵפְנֵי הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּבְנֹת יִלְדוּ לָהֶם:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς

When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them

Genesis 6:1

4.2.3 Hiphil voice translation conclusions

The *hiphil* has the greatest difference between the most and least prevalent voices used in verbal translations and the largest standard deviation of any of the verbal stems, indicating that it is the stem which is the most likely to be translated with verbs in one voice category. For the *hiphil*, this is the active voice. The *hiphil* is clearly the verbal stem with the highest proportion of active translations at 90%. A further 2.9% of all *hiphils* are translated with deponent verbs, and thus have an active meaning. In addition there is a number of middle and medio-passive form verbs which, although not deponent, do have active meaning.

As the *hiphil* is considered to be an active stem, the high proportion of active translations is unsurprising. What is more noteworthy is the low proportion of deponent verbs used in translation, which, at 2.9%, is far lower than the proportion used to translate verbs in the *qal* (16.6%) and *piel* (15.6%). This result partly agrees with Gorton (2016: 420), who found that both the *piel* and the *hiphil* tended to have fewer deponent verb translations in his corpus (Ecclesiastes). He hypothesised that this may be attributable to a lexical lack of suitable deponent verbs to translate concepts in the *hiphil*, or to the translator regarding a framework of middle-form verbs as unsuitable for stems such as the *hiphil*, which usually lack a middle meaning. While it is still difficult to reach a firm conclusion, the much larger dataset investigated in the present study shows that Gorton's findings do not apply only to Ecclesiastes. As the translation of the Pentateuch certainly had a large impact on later translations (Tov 1999: 183), including Ecclesiastes, one might suggest that the translator of Ecclesiastes based their tendency to avoid deponent verbs when translating *hiphils* directly on the translation patterns seen in the corpus under examination here.

Non-deponent middle translations usually have a meaning that can be considered active, as parallel situations can be found where an active or deponent verb is used instead. True middle translations of the *hiphil* appear rarely.

Cases whereby the *hiphil* is translated with a non-active form, and the verb is not deponent, can be attributed to several factors, namely: a) the translation of an intransitive *hiphil* (uncommon); b)

the existence of a different reading, where verbs which the Masoretes pointed as active *hiphils* were considered passive by the LXX translators and translated as such; and c) the intentional selection of a passive translation for the purpose of clarity and/or style.

The second case, where a different reading is possible, can occur where the unpointed forms of the verbs are identical in the *hiphil* and in another stem with passive meaning, and therefore the passive form can be utilised if the context allows. Sometimes these passive readings are also found in other ancient translations, i.e. the Targums, Peshitta, and Vulgate.

More unusually, passive Greek translations can occur where the underlying Hebrew could have been read as a passive stem rather than a *hiphil* if the *Vorlage* exhibited defective spelling (a possibility that is somewhat unlikely given that later copies of biblical texts were more likely to have been written *plene*; see Garr and Fassberg 2016: 87 and Saenz-Badillos 1993: 116).

In other cases, translators seem to have selected passive Greek verbs based not on the form of the Hebrew but rather on the context and sense. This echoes Aejmelaeus' assessment that the work of the translators is 'characterized by intuition' (2007: 60). The use of intuition certainly seems to be the case with verbs of the root גג , which are translated actively and passively depending more on context than on form, regardless of whether they were later pointed as *hiphils* (or, as shall be seen, as *hophals*; see 8.2.3.2.1) in the MT.

5 Hitpael

5.1 Introduction

The *hitpael* is one of the more sparsely used stems, appearing only more commonly than the *pual* and the *hophal*.

In general, the *hitpael* is considered the reflexive-reciprocal counterpart of the *piel* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 429; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 147). This idea of reflexiveness can cover a range of meanings including direct reflexive, indirect reflexive, and benefactive reflexive (1.4.5), but may also encapsulate some nuances of the *piel*. However, the *hitpael* is not always reflexive (Benton 2009: 374), and can have meanings such as declarative, iterative, and passive.

Particularly as regards the notions of reflexivity and passivity, it has been noted that the meaning of the *hitpael* overlaps with that of the *niphal* 'frequently and deeply', although it is rarer for the *hitpael* to be passive as it 'almost never takes the passive meaning primarily associated with the *niphal*' (Baden 2010: 37). However, some roots do appear in the *hitpael* with a passive meaning (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 431-2; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 14).

Analysing the work of Speiser (1955), Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 428) list 5 roots which appear in the *hitpael* with an iterative meaning, three of which appear in the corpus studied in this dissertation: אבל 'to mourn, observe mourning rites', געש 'to rise and fall loudly', and שאה 'to turn something desolate'. The root הלך 'to go, walk' may also fall into the category of iterative (Speiser 1955: 119). However, the nuance of these roots in the *hitpael* as strictly iterative is still disputed in scholarly circles.

Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 147-8) place emphasis on what they call the 'simulating' nuance of the *hitpael*, wherein roots in this stem indicate that the subject is only acting (either truly or falsely) in doing the action of the stem. They include several roots under this definition that are classed as having a different nuance by other grammarians, such as אבל 'mourn' and נבא 'prophecy', which are called iterative and reflexive respectively by Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 428).

5.2 Voice Translations

The trends for voice translations of *piel* verbs are detailed below.

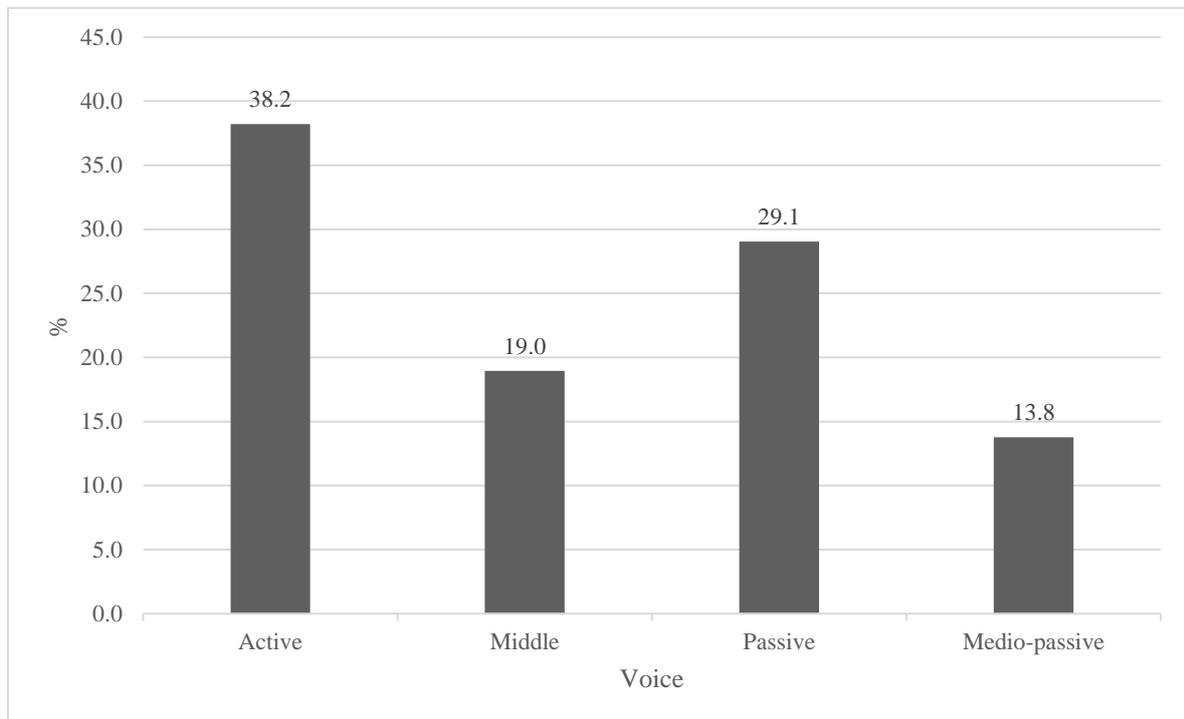


Figure 9: Voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the *hitpael*, by percentage

Unlike with the *qal*, *hiphil*, and *piel*, it is apparent that verbs in the *hitpael* are more commonly translated with non-active verbs morphologically (61.9%). Active voice forms as a single morphological category (in comparison to morphologically middle, passive, and medio-passive) make up the plurality of translations, with 38.2%.

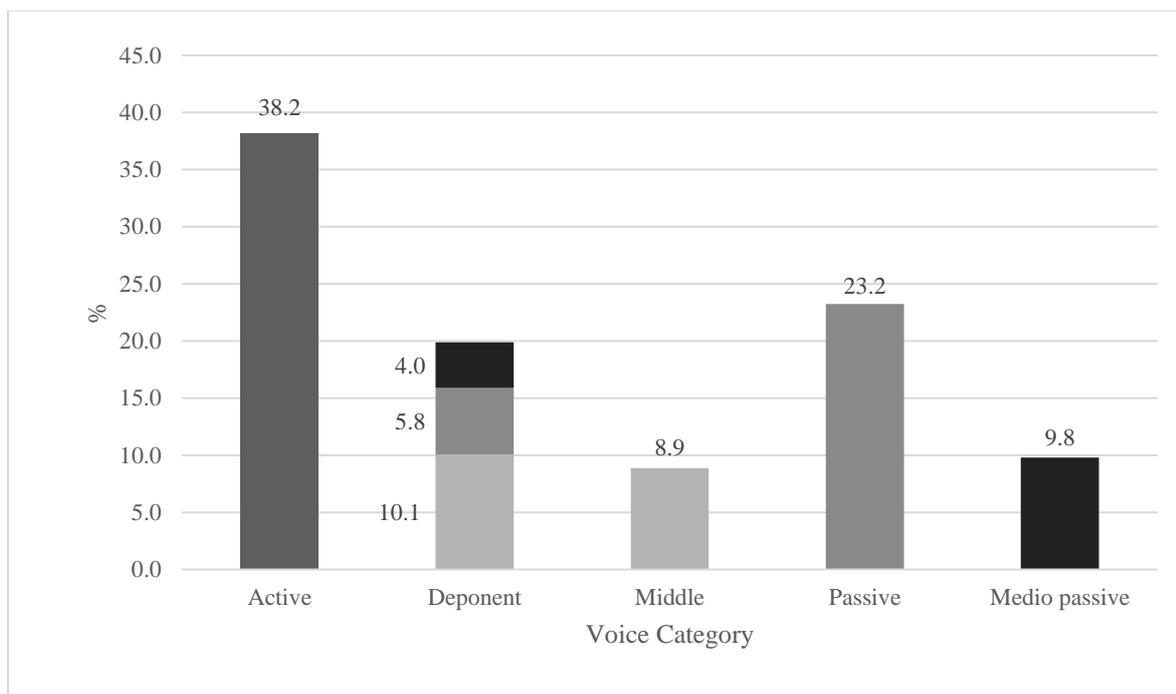


Figure 10: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the *hitpael*, by percentage

The *hitpael* has a high proportion of deponent translations, especially deponent middles, as can be seen in figure 10. Compared to the other stems, the *hitpael* has the highest percentage of total deponent translations (19.9%), as well as of total passive deponent translations, although the proportion of morphologically passive voice translations of the *hitpael* which are deponent is similar to that of the *hiphil* and lower than the *qal*.

Even after deponent translations are taken into account, verbal translations which are morphologically passive are the most common non-active translation in this stem, and are proportionally more prevalent in the *hitpael* (29.1%) than in the *pual* (23.8%), and only slightly lower than in the *hophal* (32.6%). These passive translations of the *hitpael* do not always indicate passive meaning, but rather a canonical middle meaning, often direct or indirect reflexivity, which can be a function of the passive voice in Koine Greek (Mussies 1971: 237; Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76).

Morphologically middle voice forms are rarely used to translate verbs in the *hitpael*, with only 8.9% of all verbal translations being with non-deponent middles. However, this low percentage

is still a greater proportion of the total translations than is seen for any other stem except the *hophal* (10.0%) which has far fewer overall verbal translations than the *hitpael*.

5.2.1 Active form translations

125/327 (38.2%) of verbal translations of *hitpaels* are with Greek verbs that are morphologically active. Hebrew verbs in the *hitpael* are more likely to be translated with an active voice if they do not have a reflexive value, or are not considered to have one by the translators, at least. However, there are some instances where the Hebrew verb does appear to have a reflexive-reciprocal meaning, but is translated actively in Greek, whereby the reflexive-reciprocal nuance is not as apparent. This can also occur with the translation of some non-reflexive-reciprocal *hitpaels*, such as with the simulating nuance, but iterativity can appear to be conveyed, on occasion, by lexis. Whether this means that iterative, reciprocal and simulating were not considered to be meanings of the *hitpael* by the time of the translation, whether the translators did not realise that these verbs had these meanings, or whether they knew but did not think it necessary or possible to convey, is difficult to ascertain definitively.

It is not true to say that all roots which have a non-reflexive value in the *hitpael* (or are defined as such in modern grammars and dictionaries) are necessarily translated with an active voice.

5.2.1.1 Active meaning

A Hebrew verb in the *hitpael* can be translated with an Greek active verb when the meaning of the Hebrew root seems to be more straightforwardly active in the *hitpael*, rather than falling into the categories of middle or passive, or featuring any of the nuances of simulation, reciprocity, or iterativity.

In the example below, the root עשק ('to quarrel with') is translated actively with ἀδικέω, 'to do wrong, do injustice', which changes the meaning of the verse slightly, even going so far as to create a new place name for the well, but the difference is not radical. The meaning of the root in the *hitpael* could be considered to be reciprocal ('they contended with each other [and] with him'), but if this is true then it is not apparent in the Greek.

... ויקרא שם הבאר לעשק כי התעשקו עמו:

...So he called the well Esek, because they contended with him. [NRS]

...καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ φρέατος Ἀδικία ἠδίκησαν γὰρ αὐτόν

...And he called the name of the well Injustice, for they did him injustice. [NETS]

Genesis 26:20b

5.2.1.2 Different readings

There are instances where verbs where verbs in the *hitpael* are translated actively but the meaning is different from the usual meaning of that root in the *hitpael*. This means that it is not a direct active translation of the meaning of the *hiphil*, but rather a slight reinterpretation of the meaning, which is conveyed with an active verb.

The example below 42:1 features the the verb תִּתְרֹאוּ, which is a *hitpael* of the root רָאָה ('to look at one another'), is translated with an active form of ῥαθυμέω, 'to leave off work', which leads to the verse having quite a different meaning in Greek. The main possibilities in these cases are that the text upon which the LXX was based was different from that upon which the MT was based at this point, or that these instances are examples of interpretation by the translator, where they understood the context of the verb and decided that if Jacob's sons were looking at one another, they were also idle, and as such translated the idiom more literally.

In the text of Targum Onkelos, the relevant verb from this verse is תִּתְחַזֵּון, which is from the root חָזַן, 'to see', in the Ct stem. While this would seem to align with the MT, the CAL gives the definition not as the reciprocal 'to look at one another' but 'to wait around', which is closer in meaning to the Greek verb. Neither the Peshitta or the Vulgate translate the verb as the reciprocal 'to look at one another': the Peshitta appears to confuse the Hebrew verb with one of the root יָרָא, 'to be afraid of', so uses the verb וְאַתְּמֵלֵאן, 'you are afraid', while the Vulgate translates it with *neglegitis*, 'You are careless'.

וַיֵּרָא יַעֲקֹב כִּי יֵשׁ-שֶׁבֶר בְּמִצְרָיִם וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב לְבָנָיו לָמָּה תִּתְרָאוּ:

When Jacob learned that there was grain in Egypt, he said to his sons, ‘Why **do you keep looking at one another?**’ [NRS]

ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰακωβ ὅτι ἔστιν πρᾶσις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶπεν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τί ῥαθυμεῖτε

Now Iakob, when he saw that there was a sale in Egypt, said to his sons, ‘Why **are you idle?**’ [NETS]

Genesis 42:1

5.2.1.3 *Iterative*

The root הלך in the *hitpael* may have the iterative meaning ‘to walk about’, and in 22/27 occurrences it is translated actively. In some of these occurrences, literal iterative movement is involved and an active Greek verb of movement, such as the compound *ἐμπεριπατέω*, ‘to walk about, move among people’, is used, which has an iterative meaning.

וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּתוֹכְכֶם וְהָיִיתִי לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְאַתֶּם תְּהִיוּ-לִי לְעָם:

καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μου λαός

And **I will walk about** among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people.

Leviticus 26:12

However, in several places in Genesis specifically, the *hitpael* of הלך can be used to describe people walking with God, which is understood as metaphorical idiom for being pleasing to God and does not have the same iterative meaning. In the Greek translation, the idiom is translated (still actively) with the Greek verb *εὐαρεστέω*, ‘to be pleasing’:

וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ אֶת-הָאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרָיו הוֹלִיכֵו אֶת-מְתוֹשֵׁלַח שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיִּוֹלַד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:

Enoch **walked** with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. [NRS]

ἐὐηρέστησεν δὲ Ἐνωχ τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Μαθουσαλα διακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας

Now Henoch **was well pleasing** to God after he became the father of Mathousala, for two hundred years, and had sons and daughters. [NETS]

Genesis 5:22

The root **האשׁ** (*hitpael*: ‘to take a close look’) is listed by Waltke and O’Connor as being iterative (1990: 428), and on the single occasion where it appears in the *hitpael* in this corpus is translated actively with the verb *καταμανθάνω*, ‘to observe closely’, which is a meaning not dissimilar to the iterative meaning of the Hebrew.

וְהָאִישׁ מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהּ מִמַּרְיִשׁ לְדַעַת הַהַצְלָיִים הַהֵנָּה דָרָבּוּ אִם־לָא׃

ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος **κατεμάνθανεν** αὐτήν καὶ παρεσιώπα τοῦ γινῶναι εἰ εὐόδοκεν κύριος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἢ οὐ

The man **gazed** at her in silence to learn whether or not the LORD had made his journey successful.

Genesis 24:21

5.2.1.4 Reciprocal action

Reciprocal is considered a rare use of the *hitpael* (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 431). The sense of reciprocity that is meant by the *hitpael* is not conveyed in the Greek translation when an active verb is used.

וַיִּרְא דָוִד כִּי עֹבְדָיו מְתַלְחֵשִׁים וַיָּבֹן דָּוִד כִּי מֵת הַיָּלֵד ...

But when David saw that his servants **were whispering together**, he perceived that the child was dead... [NRS]

καὶ συνῆκεν Δαυὶδ ὅτι οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ψιθυρίζουσιν καὶ ἐνόησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτι τέθνηκεν τὸ παιδάριον...

And David noticed that his servants were whispering, and David perceived that the child was dead... [NETS]

2 Samuel 12:19a

5.2.1.5 Simulating

The simulating nuance of the *hitpael* means that the subject of the verb is acting, truly or falsely, when doing the action.

The root אבל is defined as ‘to observe mourning rites’, but could have the simulating meaning ‘to act as a mourner’ (Jouion and Muraoka 2006: 147-8), or an iterative interpretation. In any case, when it appears in the *hitpael*, it is always translated actively, usually with the verb *πενθέω* (‘to mourn’), and once with the compound *καταπενθέω* for no distinct reason (Exodus 33:4), but neither has a strictly simulating meaning, or indeed an iterative one.

וְלֹא־יָסַף שְׂמוּאֵל לִרְאוֹת אֶת־שְׂאוּל עַד־יוֹם מוֹתוֹ כִּי־הִתְאַבֵּל שְׂמוּאֵל אֶל־שְׂאוּל ...

καὶ οὐ προσέθετο Σαμουηλ ἔτι ἰδεῖν τὸν Σαουλ ἕως ἡμέρας θανάτου αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐπένθει Σαμουηλ ἐπὶ Σαουλ...

Samuel did not see Saul again until the day of his death, but Samuel grieved over Saul...

1 Samuel 15:35a

The root נבא, ‘to exhibit the behaviour of a prophet’ in the *hitpael*, is found 15 times in this stem and is always translated actively with the verb *προφητεύω*, which has simple active meaning of ‘to prophesy’.

וַיִּרְצַח הַנְּעָר וַיִּגְדַּל לְמִשְׁחָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְגֹּד וַיִּמְיָדוּ מִתְּנַבְּאִים בְּמִתְנָה:

καὶ προσδραμὼν ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπήγγειλεν Μωυσῆ καὶ εἶπεν λέγων Ελδαδ καὶ Μωδαδ
προφητεύουσιν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ

And a young man ran and told Moses, ‘Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp.’

Numbers 11:27

5.2.2 Non-active form translations

The majority of Greek translations of *hitpaels* are with non-active verb forms - 61.9%.

Of these, there are 62/327 (19.0%) Greek verbal translations which are morphologically in the middle voice; 110/327 (33.6%) verbal translations which are morphologically passive, and a further 45/327 (13.8%) verbal translations of the *hitpael* are in tenses where the middle and passive are not morphologically distinct and can thus be referred to as medio-passive.

Several of these verbs are deponent (1.6.1.3), while others have meanings which are canonical for the non-active voices in Greek (1.6.1.2), including passive meaning, direct and indirect reflexivity, and reciprocity.

There are also a few non-active form translations which are seemingly used when the Hebrew verb in the *hitpael* has an iterative meaning.

5.2.2.1 Canonical non-active morphology

The categories of canonical uses of non-active morphology are described in 1.4.1 and 1.6.1.2.

5.2.2.1.1 Intransitive

As has been noted before, passive forms of Greek verbs can be used, unremarkably, to indicate simple intransitivity (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c).

The *hitpael* of the root אָנַף ‘to be angry’ is stative in meaning, and thus intransitive. A passive form of *θυμώω*, ‘to make angry’, is used to translate it, highlighting this intransitivity:

גַּם־בִּי הִתְאַנַּף יְהוָה בְּגַלְלֵכֶם לְאִמָּר גַּם־אַתֶּם לֹא־תִבְּאוּ שָׁם:

καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐθυμώθη κύριος δι’ ὑμᾶς λέγων οὐδὲ σὺ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃς ἐκεῖ

Even with me the LORD was angry on your account, saying, ‘You also shall not enter there.’

Deuteronomy 1:37

5.2.2.1.2 *Reflexive-reciprocal*

There are several roots in the *hitpael* (such as פרק, חפש, and נצל) which have a reflexive-reciprocal meaning (either direct or indirect) and are translated with non-active verbs.

5.2.2.1.2.1 *Directly reflexive*

Verbs in the *hitpael* which are clearly directly reflexive can be translated in the morphologically middle voice. E.g.:

... וַיִּתְחַפֵּשׂ שָׂאוּל וַיִּלְבַּשׁ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים ...

καὶ συνεκαλύψατο Σαουλ καὶ περιεβάλετο ἱμάτια ἕτερα...

So Saul **disguised himself** and put on other clothes...

1 Samuel 28:8a

In several other instances, directly reflexive *hitpaels* are translated with morphologically passive Greek verbs. E.g.:

... וַיִּתְחַבֵּא הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתוֹךְ עֵץ הַגָּן...

...καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὁ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου

...and the man and his wife **hid themselves** from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden.

Genesis 3:8b

... הוּא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ אָבֹוּ בְיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וּבְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי יִטְהָר ...

οὗτος ἀγνισθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ καθαρὸς ἔσται ...

They shall purify themselves on the third day and on the seventh day, and so be clean...

Numbers 19:12a

There are instances where English translations of a verse take different approaches in their translation of *hitpaels*, even though a reflexive meaning seems the most likely. For example The only time a verb of the root גלה appears in the *hitpael* (‘to expose oneself’) in the corpus it is translated passively with the Greek verb *γυμνόςω*, which alone can be used to indicate the reflexive idea ‘to strip oneself of clothes’. Considering English translations, the NRS and JPS use the stative ‘he lay/ was uncovered’, while the NETS chooses the passive construction ‘he was stripped naked’. While these translations capture the sense of the verse, the passive form of *γυμνόςω* being used as a reflexive seems most likely (cf. Odyssey.22.1 for this use in Homeric Greek).

בַּתּוֹךְ אֶהְיֶה
וַיִּשְׁכַּר וַיִּתְגַּל בְּתוֹךְ אֶהְיֶה:

καὶ ἔπιεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ

He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and he stripped himself naked in his tent.

Genesis 9:21

In the example below, the root טמא has the reflexive definition ‘to defile oneself’ in the *hitpael* and is translated with a morphologically passive form of *μιάνω* ‘to stain, defile’. Again, the probable understanding is that the passive form is indicating the reflexive idea of the *hitpael*; however, the NRS, JPS and NETS use a different English translation in Lev 11:24, preferring the more stative ideas of ‘become defiled/unclean’ (NRS/JPS) and ‘incur defilement’ (NETS). However, all use the reflexive ‘defile yourselves’ in Lev 11:43, even though the form of the verb is identical in both verses and they appear in the same chapter.

וְלֹאֲלֹהֵי תִטְמָאוּ כֹּל־הַנִּגְעַע בְּנִבְלֹתָם מִטְמָא עַד־הָעֶרֶב:

καὶ ἐν τούτοις μιανθήσεσθε πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν θνησιμαίων αὐτῶν ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται ἕως ἑσπέρας

By these you shall make yourselves unclean; whoever touches the carcass of any of them shall be unclean until the evening,

Leviticus 11:24 [cf. Leviticus 11:43]

Below is the translation of a directly reflexive *hitpael* with a medio-passive form:

... וְלֹא־יָכַל יוֹסֵף לְהִתְאַפֵּק לְכָל הַנִּצְבִּים עָלָיו

καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο Ἰωσήφ ἀνέχεσθαι πάντων τῶν παρεστηκότων αὐτῷ...

Then Joseph was no longer able to control himself before all those who stood by him...

Genesis 45:1a

5.2.2.1.2.2 Indirectly reflexive

There are two examples, from Exodus 32:3 and 33:6, of נצל and פרק in the *hitpael*, with indirect reflexive meaning, being translated with the middle voice. The example from Exodus 33:6, with נצל, is shown below:

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נִצְלוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־עֲדִינֵי מִתַּר חוֹרֵב:

καὶ περιείλαντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν περιστολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Χωρηβ

Therefore the Israelites stripped themselves of their ornaments, from Mount Horeb onward.

Exodus 33:6

5.2.2.1.2.3 Benefactive reflexive

There are some *hitpaels* with benefactive reflexive meaning which are translated passively, such as *hitpaels* of the root צי which has benefactive reflexive meaning ‘to supply oneself with provisions’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 432):

... וְהָיָה לְחֶמְנוּ הֵם הַצִּטִּינֻּם אֹתָם מִבְּתֵינֵם בְּיוֹם צִיָּתָם לְלֶכֶת אֲלֵיכֶם ...

οὗτοι οἱ ἄρτοι θερμοὺς ἐφωδιάσθημεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐξήλθομεν παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς...

Here is our bread; it was still warm when we packed it as provisions (for ourselves) from our houses as our food for the journey, on the day we set out to come to you...

Joshua 9:12

5.2.2.1.2.4 *Reciprocal*

The root ראה has the reciprocal meanings ‘to look at one another’ or ‘to pit themselves against one another’. In 2/3 occurrences these are translated with morphologically passive forms of *ὁράω*, ‘to see’.³⁵ Although the passive form is used in the Greek, it seems more likely that the passive voice Greek verb should be read as a reciprocal, not as the passive given in the English translation by NETS, ‘they were seen by faces’, which is fairly nonsensical:

... וְלֹא־שָׁמַע אֲמַצְיָהוּ וַיַּעַל יְהוֹשָׁע מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּרָאוּ פְנֵיהֶם הוּא וְאֲמַצְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה ...

But Amaziah would not listen. So King Jehoash of Israel went up; he and King Amaziah of Judah **faced one another** in battle at Beth-shemesh...[NRS]

καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν Ἀμεσσίας καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ὄφθησαν προσώποις αὐτὸς καὶ Ἀμεσσίας βασιλεὺς Ἰουδα ἐν Βαιθσαμυς...

And Amessias did not listen. And the king of Israel went up, and he and Amessias, king of Iouda, **were seen by means of their faces** in Baithsamys...

2 Kings 14:11a [see also 2 Kings 14:8]

5.2.2.2 *Deponents*

64/202 (31.7%) of all non-active translations of the *hitpael* feature deponent verbs. Of these 64 verbal translations, 33 have clear middle morphology, 18 have passive morphology, and the remaining 13 are morphologically ambiguous.

³⁵ The remaining example, in Genesis 42:1, is translated actively but the meaning of the verb is completely different.

In the example below, both the NRS and the NETS translate the verbs יִתְהַלְכוּ and *διελεύσεται* with the iterative idea of ‘to go in and out’. But this idea is not obviously defined by the Greek, as the verb *διέρχομαι* means ‘to go/pass through’, and is also used to translate the root הִלַּךְ in the *qal* (Gen 22:5), where the idea of repeated action is not expected. The ‘in-and-out’ nuance seems to be used in the English translation simply because the Hebrew verb is in the *hitpael*, so the belief exists that a more complex movement must be necessary.

לָכֵן נִאֲמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲמֹר אֲמַרְתִּי בְּיַדְךָ וּבְיַת אֲבִיךָ יִתְהַלְכוּ לְפָנַי עַד־עוֹלָם ...

*διὰ τοῦτο τάδε εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ εἶπα ὁ οἶκός σου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς σου
διελεύσεται ἐνώπιόν μου ἕως αἰῶνος...*

Therefore the LORD the God of Israel declares: ‘I promised that your family and the family of your ancestor **should pass through** before me forever’...

1 Samuel 2:30a

Some of these deponent Greek verbs which translate verbs in the *hitpael* do have meanings that could be understood as canonical for non-active morphology. This can be seen with the examples below:

וְעַתָּה הֲשִׁב אִשְׁתְּ-הָאִישׁ כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַדְךָ וְהָיָה ...

νῦν δὲ ἀπόδος τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶν καὶ προσεύξεται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ζήσῃ...

Now then, return the man’s wife; for he is a prophet, and **he will pray** for you and you shall live...

Genesis 20:7a

The root פָּלַל (*hitpael*: ‘to make intercession for, pray’) can be understood as having either the benefactive reflexive meaning ‘to seek a mediation for oneself’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 428) or as having an asking force (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 148), neither of which are a simple active

meaning. Thus it could be argued that these verbs, rather than being deponent, do in fact have a canonical middle meaning, which aligns with that of the *hitpael*.

In the Deu 3:23 below, the verb of the root *הגן* ('to implore favour') could be understood as having the benefactive reflexive meaning 'to appeal (on one's own behalf)' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 432), which is a canonical meaning for non-active morphology, and thus its translation with a passive form of *δέομαι*, 'to beseech', could be considered not as deponent:

וַאֲתַחֲנֶנּוּ אֶל־יְהוָה בְּעַת הַהוּא לֵאמֹר:

καὶ ἐδεήθηγν κυρίου ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ λέγων

At that time, too, I entreated the LORD (on my own behalf?), saying:

Deuteronomy 3:23

5.2.2.3 *Iterative*

The iterative meaning of verbs in the *hitpael* is rare, but, as mentioned above (5.1), there are three roots (*אבל*, *געש* and *שאש*, according to Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 428) which can be defined as having this nuance. Of these three only *געש* is translated with non-active Greek forms.

The root *געש* can be defined as having an iterative meaning 'to rise and fall loudly' (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 428; Koehler and Baumgartner 2001: 200), and is an interesting case. In the studied corpus, it only appears twice in the *hitpael*, both in the verse (2 Samuel 22:8), and both times it is translated passively, albeit with a different verb each time.

וַתַּגַּעַשׁ (וַיִּתְגַּעַשׁ) וַתִּרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ מִסִּדְּוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם יָרְגָזוּ וַיִּתְגַּעַשׁוּ בְּיַתְדֵיהֶם לֵאמֹר:

καὶ ἐταράχθη καὶ ἐσεισθη ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συνεταράχθησαν καὶ ἐσπαράχθησαν ὅτι ἐθυμώθη κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ

Then the earth reeled^{MT}/was stirred up^{LXX} and rocked; the foundations of the heavens trembled and quaked, because he was angry.

2 Samuel 22:8

Iterativity is not considered to be usual canonical use of non-active morphology, and its use here with a sole root is not good evidence for its inclusion in that category. With the example above, the use of the passive verbs could simply be due to the intransitive nature of the verb, rather than to carry any indication of iterativity.

Moreover, the first *hitpael* in the verse is only a *hitpael* if the *qere* is used, as the *ketiv* of the verb looks like a *qal*. Helpfully, this verse is almost identical to psalm 18:8 (a verse which falls in a book outside of the studied corpus) and in that verse, the verb is שָׁעַרְתָּ, with no *ketiv/qere* alternative, and is understood as being a *qal*. The passive translation of an intransitive *qal* is certainly possible (see 2.2.2.1.2), thus it may be that the *Vorlage* of 2 Sam 22:8 featured a *qal* (which aligns with the *ketiv* and with psalm 18:8); the fact that both verbs are translated with passive verbs certainly does not indicate that this verb must have been a *hitpael* in the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

5.2.3 Hitpael voice translation conclusions

Verbs in the *hitpael* are commonly translated with non-active Greek verbs. But, of the seven major stems, the *hitpael* has the smallest difference between the most prevalent and least prevalent morphological voice form used in translation. This means that the *hitpael* is the stem which is the least likely to be translated with verbs of one particular morphological voice, and has a significant number of verbs translated by verbs in each voice category.

Contrary to Wevers' brief assessment that verbs in the *hitpael* are usually translated with middle voice verbs (1985:17), the morphological middle voice is actually rarely used: only 8.9% of all Greek verbal translations of *hitpaels* use a non-deponent morphologically middle voice verb. This is a greater proportion than is seen in all other stems except the *hophal* (10.0%), but it is not particularly greater than the proportion of non-deponent middle translations of the *niphal* (6.5%) or the *qal* (5.3%). Where they appear, they are commonly either deponent or have a reflexive-reciprocal meaning.

Active form verbs to be used where the *hitpael* does not have a reflexive meaning, but may be still seen where the verb in the *hitpael* is understood to have a simple active meaning, or to have an iterative, reciprocal, or simulating meaning. Nevertheless, it is not the case that all verbs in the *hitpael* with these latter meanings are translated actively, as there are examples where the passive form Greek verbs are used.

Passive morphological form translations with a middle, usually reflexive, meaning are more common than passive form translations with passive meaning. This has been noted several times as a function of the passive form in Koine Greek (Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76; Mussies 1971: 237).

6 *Niphal*

6.1 Introduction

It is difficult to assign one definition to the *niphal*, especially in terms of how its meanings correspond to the Indo-European voice system. It has been stated that ‘Hebraists almost unanimously agree that the Niphal...can bear multiple meanings depending on context’ and that it is like the *hitpael* in this respect (Benton 2012: 385).

The meanings of the *niphal* are usually given as reflexive (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 138; Williams 2007: 57), passive (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 382; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 139, Williams 2007: 58), or, more generally, middle (Gesenius 1910: 137; Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 381; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 139; Williams 2007: 57-8; Dan 2014) – sometimes even middle as opposed to specifically reflexive or passive (Wolde 2019: 477).

While notions of reflexivity and reciprocity are linked to the middle voice (see 1.4.1 and 1.4.5), being defined as middle does not necessarily mean that the *niphal* is primarily reflexive, as there exist ‘few genuine examples of reflexive Niphals in the Hebrew Bible’ (Noonan 2010: 75). Rather it can be thought of as having a meaning which ‘expresses the occurring of an event, or an occurring of an action in the subject independent of the fact whether the subject participates voluntarily or involuntarily, to a greater or lesser extent, or whether it co-operates in the event’ (Jenni 1969, in Siebsma 1991: 35).

Although it can have these different meanings, the *niphal* does not distinguish between them morphologically; for example, passive and reflexive *niphals* have the same form (Siebsma 1991: 34).

As *niphal* verbs can be passive and have no element of causation, the *niphal* is often regarded as the passive counterpart of the *qal*. The passive sense of the *niphal* is by no means uncommon, particularly as the *niphal* took the place of the *qal* passive, the original passive counterpart to the *qal* (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 382-3; Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 139). Moreover, as well as sometimes having a passive meaning which matches an active *qal*, the *niphal* can have a passive meaning which

pairs with an active verb in the *piel* or *hiphil* (Siebsma 1991: 171; Williams 2007: 58). However, the *niphal* also has meanings which go beyond simply passive.

Given its seemingly wide-ranging meanings, one might agree with Jenni (1981: 131, in Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 379) that no single 'equivalent category of thought in the Indo-European languages' exists for the *niphal*. Indeed several authors note the danger of trying to use these definitions to describe Biblical Hebrew stems: Benton (2009: 381) writes that 'the lack of distinction [in BH] among the passive, reflexive, and middle should warn us against applying Indo-European categories...too hastily', and Siebesma (1991: 170) notes that 'the distinctive notions of reflexive-passive-tolerative do not apply' when looking at Biblical Hebrew. Given these difficulties in categorisation, investigation of the ways in which the Greek translators perceived the *niphal* may provide a different and instructive perspective which can contribute to present-day attempts to define the stem.

6.2 Voice translations

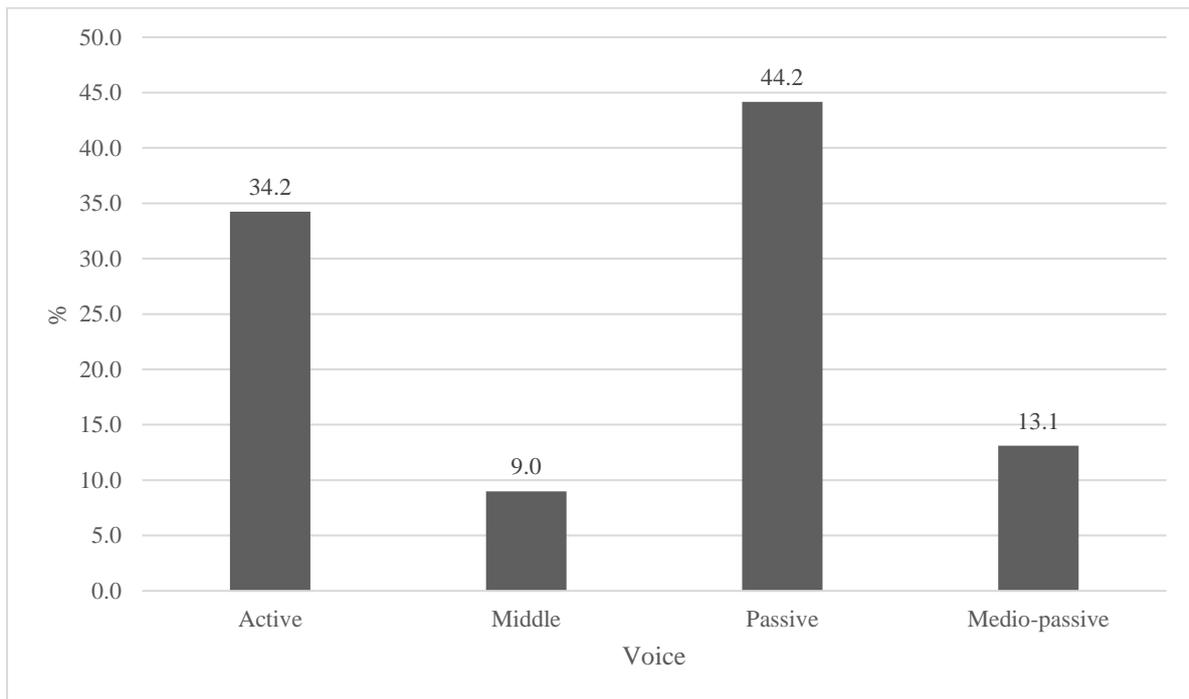


Figure 11: Voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the niphal, by percentage

As shown in figure 11, morphologically passive translations make up the plurality (although not the majority) of verbal translations of the *niphal*, and, indeed, this is the highest proportion of morphologically passive translations of any of the studied stems. If the *niphal* is understood as a passive stem, this high proportion is not surprising.

What is perhaps more surprising, given the prevalent understanding of the *niphal* as having middle meaning, is that morphologically middle Greek forms seem to be very rarely used to translate *niphals*, with only 9.0% of all verbal translations using morphologically middle forms. At first glance, this is a lower proportion than that of the *hitpaal* (19.0%), the *qal* (14.7%), and the *piel* (13.9%). However, the figures do not take the use of deponent middles into account.

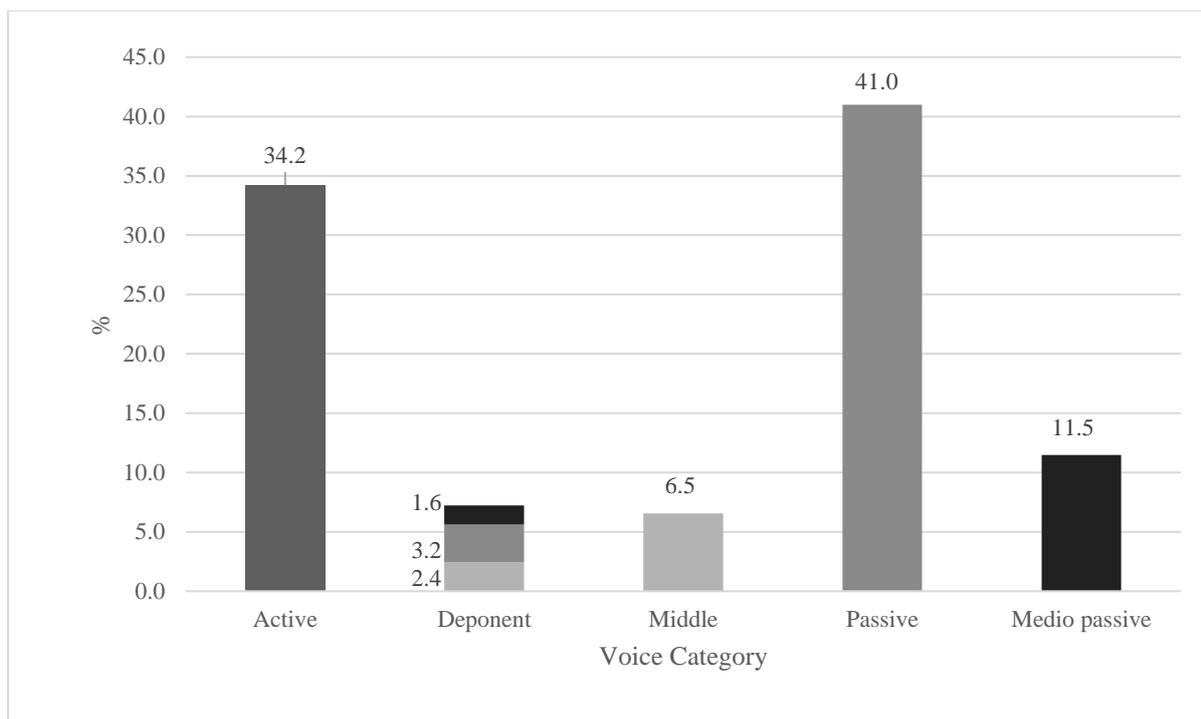


Figure 12: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the *niphal*, by percentage

Figure 12 shows that the proportion of deponent translations of the *niphal* is not large – only 7.2% in total – which, given that deponent translations have active meaning and the *niphal* is thought to be non-active, is not unexpected. 2.4% of the deponent verbs are middle in form, which is only 27.1% of the morphologically middle form translations of the *niphal*. Taking into account the removal of deponent verbs, 6.5% of all translations of the *niphal* are non-deponent middles, which is a higher proportion than is seen in all the stems except for the *hitpaal* (8.9%).

The proportion of active form Greek translations of *niphals* is perhaps surprisingly high given that the stem is not typically regarded as having an active meaning. One reason for this is the existence of a small number of *niphals* with active meaning, mostly of the root שבע ‘to swear’. Occasionally there are other reasons, such as where an active form Greek verb has a non-active nuance, where a verb pointed as *niphal* in the MT seems to have been read differently by the translators of the LXX, or where the voice has been changed intentionally in the Greek version.

6.2.1 Non-active form translations

Passive voice forms are most commonly used for verbal translations of verbs in the *niphal* – 654/1481 (44.2%).

While, as previously noted, the *niphal* is often assumed to have a function similar to that of the middle voice in Greek (see 6.1), it is translated with middle voice verbs relatively rarely – only 9.0% (133/1481) of verbal translations of *niphals* in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets feature verbs which are morphologically middle. When the small number of deponent middles are also taken into account, only 6.5% of verbs in the *niphal* are translated with non-deponent middles; while this is a higher proportion than that seen for all other stems except the *hitpael*, it is not a high percentage compared to active or passive form translations.

194/1481 verbs (13.1%) in the *niphal* are translated with Greek verbs that could be in either the middle or passive voice as they appear in conjugations where those forms are identical. As such, they are classed here as medio-passive.

6.2.1.1 Canonical non-active morphology

The categories of canonical uses of non-active morphology are described in 1.4.1 and 1.6.1.2.

6.2.1.1.1 Intransitive

The sense conveyed by non-active, usually passive, Greek verbs can be simply intransitive rather than passive. This is a recognised function of the passive voice in Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c), and also occurs with other Hebrew stems (e.g. stative or dynamic intransitive *qals*; see 2.2.2.1.2). An example with the *niphal* is shown here:

וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם מִשְׁפֹּחַתָּהּ בַּיּוֹם נִסְרָף אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֶדְרִמְלֵךְ וְשִׂרְאֵצֶר (כד) [בְּנִירוֹ] הִכְהוּ בְחֶרֶב וְהָמָּה נִמְלְטוּ אֶרֶץ אֲרָרָט ...

καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ προσκυνοῦντος ἐν οἴκῳ Νεσεραχ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀδραμελεχ καὶ Σαρασαρ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσώθησαν εἰς γῆν Ἀραρατ...

As he was worshipping in the house of his god Nisroch, his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer killed him with the sword, and they escaped into the land of Ararat...

2 Kings 19:37a

6.2.1.1.2 *Reflexive-reciprocal meaning*

There are some instances where the *niphal* has a reflexive-reciprocal meaning and non-active, often middle, forms are used. For example, the verse below contains a *niphal* translated with a middle Greek form with a reflexive pronoun, clearly reflecting a reflexive interpretation:

וְיִשְׁעוּ אֲנִי וְיִשְׁעוּ ...

... ἐὰν δὲ εὐπορηθεὶς ταῖς χερσὶν λυτρώσῃται ἑαυτόν.

...or if they prosper they may redeem themselves.

Leviticus 25:49

In some instances, the Greek translation may alternatively be read passively, but a reflexive sense makes sense semantically and aligns with associated syntactic elements, e.g.:

וַעֲמָסָא לֹא-נִשְׁמָר בְּיַד-יֹאבָב וַיַּחֲבֹד בְּיַד-יֹאבָב אֶת-אֲמָסָא וַיִּפֹּל אֶת-בֶּטְנוֹ אֶת-יָדָיו וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ מַעְיוֹ אֶת-דַּמָּתוֹ וַיָּמָת ...

καὶ Ἀμεσσαὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατο τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ Ἰωαβ καὶ ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰωαβ εἰς τὴν ψόαν καὶ ἐξεχύθη ἡ κοιλία αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐκ ἐδευτέρωσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπέθανεν...

But Amasa did not guard himself from the sword which was in Joab's hand, and Joab struck him in the belly and his entrails fell to the ground. He [Joab] did not strike him [Amasa] a second time and he died...

2 Samuel 20:10a

Passive form translations can sometimes have reflexive-reciprocal meaning (Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76; Mussies 1971: 237). This sense is probable in the following two examples:

ויקרא יעקב אל־בָנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר הֲאִסְפוּ וְאֵינְדָה לָכֶם אֶת אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא אֲתֶכֶם בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים:

ἐκάλεσεν δὲ Ἰακωβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν **συνάχθητε** ἵνα ἀναγγείλω ὑμῖν τί ἀπαντήσῃ ὑμῖν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν

Then Jacob called his sons, and said: ‘**Gather [yourselves] around**, that I may tell you what will happen to you in days to come.’

Genesis 49:1

וּשְׁלֹשָׁתָּה תֵּרַד מָאָד וּבֹאתָ אֶל־הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־נִסְתַּרְתָּ שָׁם בְּיוֹם הַמַּעֲשֵׂה וַיִּנְשַׁבְתָּ אֶצֶל הָאֲבֹן הַהַזֵּל:

καὶ τρισεύσεις καὶ ἐπισκέψῃ καὶ ἤξεις εἰς τὸν τόπον σου οὗ **ἐκρύβης** ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐργασίμῃ καὶ καθήσῃ παρὰ τὸ εργαβ ἐκεῖνο

On the day after tomorrow, you shall go a long way down; go to the place where **you hid yourself** earlier, and remain beside the stone there.

1 Samuel 20:19

6.2.1.1.3 *Spontaneous events*

Some *niphals* denote spontaneous events and are translated with non-active Greek verbal forms, e.g.:

וַנְהָר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגֶּן וּמִשָּׁם יִפְרֹד וְהָיָה לְאַרְבָּעָה רְאשִׁים:

ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον ἐκεῖθεν **ἀφορίζεται** εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς

A river flows out of Eden to water the garden, and from there **it divides** and becomes four branches.

Genesis 2:10

6.2.1.2 Deponents

Of the 974/1481 *niphals* which are translated with a non-active Greek verb, 107 (11.0%) of them are deponent and as such are not non-active in meaning, despite their non-active morphology. This is an unsurprisingly low percentage if the *niphal* is considered to be a stem which has a predominantly non-active meaning. The use of deponent verbs occurs where the meaning of the *niphal* is active (but may be stative and/or intransitive).

For example, the root נחם in the *niphal* has the active, stative value ‘to be sorry’, but it is translated by a passive deponent Greek verb, a form of ἐνθυμέομαι, which has the active/middle value ‘to ponder, consider’. This gives a different slant to the verse but does not change the sense markedly.

וַיִּנְחַם יְהוָה כִּי־עָשָׂה אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּאָרֶץ וַיִּתְעַצֵּב אֶל־לְבוֹ:

And the LORD **was sorry** that he had made humankind on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. [NRS]

καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διενοήθη

Then God **considered** that he had made humankind on the earth, and he thought it over. [NETS]

Genesis 6:6

Similarly, in the example below the *niphal* of the root סבב ‘to turn around’ is translated with the middle deponent verb περιέρχομαι ‘to go around’.

וַיֵּצֵא הַגְּבֹול הַיָּמָה הַמִּמְמַתְחַת מִצְפּוֹן וַיָּסֹבֵב הַגְּבֹול מִזְרְחָהּ תַּאֲנַת שִׁילוֹה וַעֲבַר אוֹתוֹ מִמִּזְרַח יְנוֹחַהּ:

And the boundary will go to the sea; on the north is Michmethath; then the boundary **will turn around** eastwards to Taanath-shiloh, and will cross it on the east to Janoah

καὶ διελεύσεται τὰ ὄρια ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν εἰς Ἰκασμων ἀπὸ βορρᾶ Θερμα περιελεύσεται ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς εἰς Θηγασα καὶ Σελλησα καὶ παρελεύσεται ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν εἰς Ἰανωκα

And the boundaries will go to the sea, into Iskamon from the north of Therma; they will go around to the east and Sellesa, and will pass by from the east into Ianoka

Joshua 16:6

The selection of deponent Greek verbs can lead to a change in meaning vis-à-vis the Hebrew, as in the following example where the *niphal* of ברא ('to be created') is translated with the middle deponent γίνομαι, 'to become'.

אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם ביום עשות יהוה אלהים ארץ ושמים:

These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created. In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens [NRS]

αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν

This is the book of the origin of heaven and earth, when it originated, on the day that God made the heaven and the earth

Genesis 2:4

6.2.1.3 Non-deponent active meaning

The root חלל ('to fight, wage war' in the *niphal*) is often translated with an active Greek form, but 29 times it is translated with a morphologically middle form of παρατάσσω, which has the meaning 'to draw up in battle'. The majority of these appearances are found in the book of Judges (24/29), and παρατάσσω is the majority translation of חלל in that book, e.g.:

מִן־שָׁמַיִם גָּלְתָמוּ הַכּוֹכָבִים מִמְּסֻלּוֹתָם גָּלְתָמוּ עַם־סִיסְרָא:

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρετάζαντο οἱ ἀστέρες ἐκ τριβῶν αὐτῶν παρετάζαντο μετὰ Σισαρα

They fought from the heavens, the stars from their courses fought against Sisera.

Judges 5:20

6.2.1.4 *Passive meaning*

In many cases, the *niphal* has a passive sense, commonly corresponding to an active *qal* of the same root (as is to be expected given that the *niphal* is the semantic heir to the older *qal* passive stem). In such instances the Greek translation often has both a passive form and sense, e.g.:

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הַזֶּה עַצָּם מֵעַצְמִי וּבֶשֶׁר מִבְּשָׁרִי לְזֹאת יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִשִּׁי לָקַחְתִּי־הָאִתָּהּ:

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀδαμ τοῦτο νῦν ὅστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήμφθη αὕτη

Then the man said, ‘This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken.’

Genesis 2:23

Similarly, some *niphals* are translated with medio-passive Greek forms that are certainly passive in nuance, e.g.:

... וַיִּלְכַּד שָׂאוּל בְּיָדֵי שִׁיבָה וַיִּבְקַשְׁהוּ וְלֹא נִמְצָא:

...καὶ κατακληροῦται Σαουλ υἱὸς Κις καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτόν καὶ οὐχ εὗρίσκειτο

...and Saul the son of Kish was taken by lot. But when they sought him, he could not be found.

1 Samuel 10:21b

The following example illustrates a medio-passive form translating a *niphal* with probable passive meaning. (While the *niphal* could theoretically have a reflexive meaning, this is unlikely as circumcising oneself would be impractical.)

וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶל־מִוֹרָאֵל־שָׁכֶם בְּנֹוֹ כָּל־יִצְאָי שְׁעַר עִירוֹ וַיִּמְלִיחוּ כָּל־זָכָר כָּל־יִצְאָי שְׁעַר עִירוֹ:

καὶ εἰσήκουσαν Ἐμμωρ καὶ Συχεμ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐκπορευόμενοι τὴν πύλην τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν καὶ περιετέμοντο τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτῶν πᾶς ἄρσην

And all who went out of the city gate heeded Hamor and his son Shechem; and every male was circumcised, all who went out of the gate of his city.

Genesis 34:24

6.2.1.5 Unusual Cases

There are a few cases where *niphals* are translated with Greek passive forms having a seemingly different meaning. For example, the root נחם has a stative meaning ‘to be sorry’ in the *niphal*. In 8/16 cases it is translated with a passive form of *παρακαλέω* (‘to comfort’), as though it were a passive equivalent of the *piel* (‘to comfort’) and identical in meaning to a *pual*.

...וַיִּנְחַם אִשָּׂאק אַחֲרֵי אִמּוֹ:

...And Isaac was sorry after [the death of] of his mother.

...καὶ παρεκλήθη Ἰσαακ περὶ Σαρρας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ

...And Isaak was comforted concerning his mother Sarra. [NETS]

Genesis 24:67b

6.2.2 Active form translations

507/1481 (34.2%) verbal translations of *niphals* are in the active voice. This is the highest proportion of active voice translations for one of the so-called ‘passive’ verbal stems.

6.2.2.1 Active form, non-active nuance

In certain rare cases a *niphal* with passive or middle meaning may be translated with an active Greek verb with a non-active nuance. For example, the root נפח means ‘to be refreshed’ or ‘to refresh oneself’ in the *niphal*, with either a passive or reflexive sense. *Niphals* of this root appear three times in the corpus and are always translated with active form Greek verbs without a direct object, twice with ἀναψύχω³⁶ and once with καταπαύω. In these cases, where the active form Greek verbs are used intransitively, they hence have a nuance that can be semantically equivalent to that of the *niphal*. An example with ἀναψύχω is given here:

וַיִּפְּחֵם יְמֵים תַּעֲשֶׂה הַיּוֹם מִעֲשֵׂיךָ וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי תִשְׁבֹּת לְמַעַן יָנוּחַ שׂוֹרְךָ וַחֲמֹרְךָ וְיִנְפְּחוּ בְּיָמֵיךָ וְיִהְיֶה לְךָ רֵפוּת וְיִהְיֶה לְךָ יִשְׁכָּן וְיִהְיֶה לְךָ יִשְׁכָּן וְיִהְיֶה לְךָ יִשְׁכָּן וְיִהְיֶה לְךָ יִשְׁכָּן

Ἐξ ἡμέρας ποιήσεις τὰ ἔργα σου τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀνάπαυσις ἵνα ἀναπαύσῃται ὁ βοῦς σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου καὶ ἵνα ἀναψύξῃ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδείας σου καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος

Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh day you shall rest, so that your ox and your donkey may have relief, and your homeborn slave and the resident alien may be refreshed.

Exodus 23:12

³⁶ The translators may have chosen ἀναψύχω intentionally because of its etymological connection to ψυχή, just as the root נפח is found in the noun נִפְחָה. The noun ψυχή is used 288 times to translate נִפְחָה in the corpus.

The Greek verb *άλίσκω* appears active in form but has the passive meaning ‘to be taken, caught’. In this way it can be used to translate *niphals* of the root מצמ, ‘to be found’, e.g.:

כִּי־מִצְמָא אִישׁ לְגַב גִּבּוֹ מִשָּׂא מֵאֶחָיו מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִתְעַמְרֶרְבוּ וּמָכְרוּ וּמֵת הַגָּבּ הָהוּא וּבָעֲרַת הָרַע מִקִּרְבֶּךָ:

ἐὰν δὲ *άλῶ* ἄνθρωπος κλέπτων ψυχὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ καταδυναστεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποδῶται ἀποθανεῖται ὁ κλέπτης ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν

If someone is found/caught kidnaping another Israelite, enslaving or selling the Israelite, then that kidnaper shall die. So you shall purge the evil from your midst.

Deuteronomy 24:7

Niphals of the root תסא ‘to assemble (themselves)’ are usually translated with passive or middle form Greek verbs, but active verbs are used on occasion. For example, in the extract below the Greek verb *συνέρχομαι* ‘to come together, gather’, appears in the active voice. While the reciprocal nature of ‘gathering themselves’ may be implied, the Greek verb does not directly indicate this.

וַיַּעֲמֵד מֹשֶׁה בַּשַּׁעַר הַמַּחֲנֶה וַיֹּאמֶר מִי לַיהוָה אֵלַי וַיִּצְטַפּוּ אֵלָיו כָּל־בְּנֵי לֵוִי:

ἔστη δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ εἶπεν τίς πρὸς κύριον ἴτω πρὸς με *συνῆλθον* οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Λεβὶ

Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, ‘Who is on the LORD’s side? Come to me!’ And all the sons of Levi gathered [themselves] around him.

Exodus 32:26

6.2.2.2 Active/middle niph'al meaning

In some cases, an active Greek translation is used because the meaning of the *niph'al* in the source text is itself active. Some of these translations could be construed to have a middle, often reflexive, meaning, but the active voice is still used instead of the middle voice, which is possible in Koine Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163).

Almost a fifth (99/507) of such active translations involve the root שבע 'to swear' in the *niph'al* (Koehler and Baumgartner 2011: 1397). Such *niph'als* are most commonly translated with the active voice form of the Greek ὄμνυμι/ὄμνύω, 'to swear'. Due to the active meaning of שבע, which does not appear in the *qal*, the use of the active voice in Greek is unsurprising. Verbs of this root appear very often in Deuteronomy (32 times, compared to 14 times in Genesis), which goes some way towards explaining the higher overall proportion of active verb translations of the *niph'al* in that book.³⁷ This type of translation is illustrated in the following example:

וְעַתָּה הַשְׁבַּעָה לִּי בְּאֵלֵהֶיִם הַנָּה אִם־תִּשְׁקַר לִּי

vŭn ouŭn ὄμοσόν μοι τὸν θεὸν μὴ ἀδικήσῃς με...

'Now therefore swear to me here by God that you will not deal falsely with me...'

Genesis 21:23a

A further 71/507 active Greek translations involve the root להם ('to come to blows, fight with' in the *niph'al*), which is very often translated with active forms of the Greek πολεμέω 'to fight, wage war', or compounds thereof.³⁸ A non-compound example is shown below:

יְהוָה יִלָּחֶם לָכֶם וְאַתֶּם תִּמָּרְאוּ:

³⁷ The few times the *niph'al* of שבע is translated by a middle voice form, it is rendered by a deponent middle of ὄμνυμι/ὄμνύω in the future, and as such the meaning is still active, as in Deuteronomy 10:20.

³⁸ When the *niph'al* of the root להם is not translated actively, a middle form of παρατάσσω 'to array in battle' is commonly used. Most attestations of παρατάσσω are in Judges (24/29 occurrences).

κύριος πολεμήσει περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε

The LORD will fight for you, and you have only to keep still^{MT}/you will keep silent^{LXX}.

Exodus 14:14

On 23 occasions נצב ('to stand, station oneself' in the *niphal*) is translated with an active Greek verb, usually ἵστημι 'to cause to stand, to stand', or compounds of it. This almost always occurs when נצב appears as a participle (29/35 occurrences).

הָנָה אֲנֹכִי נֹצֵב עַל-עֵין הַמַּיִם וּבְנוֹת אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר יֹאָצְבִּין לְשָׂבֵב מַיִם:

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορεύονται ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ

I am standing here by the spring of water, and the daughters of the townspeople are coming out to draw water.

Genesis 24:13

The active translation of *niphals* of these three roots alone, which certainly have a more active meaning than a passive one, makes up 37.9% of all the active translations of the *niphal*.

There are verbs of other roots which appear less often (fewer than 15 times each) either in the *niphal* or at all, but which also fit into this category, where the translation is always active because the meaning of the verb in the *niphal* is also active/middle.

For example, *niphal* of the root לין 'to murmur against', which could be construed as middle, is always translated actively with forms of γογγύζω or the compound διαγογγύζω, both of which have the meaning of 'to grumble, mutter'.

וַיִּלְנוּ כָּל־עַדַת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּקְרָת עַל־מֹשֶׁה וְעַל־אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר ...

καὶ ἐγόγγυσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐπὶ Μωϋσῆν καὶ Ἀαρὼν λέγοντες

On the next day, however, the whole congregation of the Israelites **muttered** against Moses and against Aaron, saying...

Numbers 17:6a

Similarly, the root אבק, which appears only in the *niphal* and has the active(/middle) meaning ‘to wrestle’, is invariably translated with an active verb, *παλαίω* ‘to wrestle with’.

וַיִּנְתַּר יַעֲקֹב לְבַדּוֹ וַיִּאָבֵק אִישׁ עִמּוֹ עַד עֲלוֹת הַשָּׁחַר:

ὕπελείφθη δὲ Ἰακώβ μόνος καὶ ἐπάλασεν ἄνθρωπος μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἕως πρωί

Jacob was left alone; and a man **wrestled** with him until daybreak.

Genesis 32:25(24)

Niphals of the root נגח ‘to approach, step forward’, are always translated with active or future middle deponent verbs, e.g.:

וְהִזָּה אִם־תַּעֲלֶה תִּמְתַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאָמַר לְךָ מִדְּוַע נִגַּחְתָּם אֶל־הָעִיר לְהִלָּחֵם ...

καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν ἀναβῆ ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἴπη σοι τί ὅτι ἤγγίσατε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν πολεμῆσαι...

Then, if the king’s anger rises, and if he says to you, ‘Why did **you go so near** the city to fight...?’

2 Samuel 11:20a

The root שקף ('to look down' in the *niphal*), is never translated with the same Greek verb on more than one occasion, but the different Greek verbs used are always active in form. In some cases it has a middle sense, in that it refers to mountains or geographical structures looking down on an area (as in the first example below), but it also has an active definition whereby a person is looking down on something (as in the second example).

וַיִּקַּח בָּלָק אֶת־בִּלְעָם רֹאשׁ הַפְּעֹר הַנִּשְׁקָף עַל־פְּנֵי הַיַּשְׁמֹן:

καὶ παρέλαβεν Βαλακ τὸν Βαλααμ ἐπὶ κορυφῆν τοῦ Φογωρ τὸ παρατεῖνον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον

So Balak took Balaam to the top of Peor, which overlooks the wasteland.

Numbers 23:28 [middle nuance]

וַהֲיָה אֲרֹן יְהוָה בָּא עִיר דָּגֹד וּמִלֵּל בַּת־שֵׁאוּל נִשְׁקָפָה בְּעַד הַחַלּוֹן וַתֵּרָא אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד ...

καὶ ἐγένετο τῆς κιβωτοῦ παραγινομένης ἕως πόλεως Δαυὶδ καὶ Μελχολ ἡ θυγάτηρ Σαουλ διέκυπτεν διὰ τῆς θυρίδος καὶ εἶδεν τὸν βασιλέα Δαυιδ...

As the ark of the LORD came into the city of David, Michal daughter of Saul looked out of [LXX: stooped through] the window, and saw King David...

2 Samuel 6:16a [active nuance]

The root לחץ ('to press oneself against' in the *niphal*) has a clearly reflexive meaning but is translated with the active verb *προσθλίβω* 'to press, squeeze against'. This verb does not carry the same reflexive sense as the *niphal*, but it is accompanied by a reflexive pronoun (*ἑαυτὴν*) to maintain the same meaning, e.g.:

וַתֵּרָא הָאִשָּׁה אֶת־מִלְאָךְ יְהוָה וַתִּלְחַץ אֶל־הַקִּיר וַתִּלְחַץ אֶת־רַגְלָהּ בְּלֶעַם אֶל־הַקִּיר וַיִּסָּף לְהַפְתָּהּ:

καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἡ ὄνος τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ προσέθλιψεν ἑαυτὴν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ ἀπέθλιψεν τὸν πόδα Βαλααμ καὶ προσέθετο ἔτι μαστίσαι αὐτήν

When the donkey saw the angel of the LORD, it scraped itself against the wall, and scraped Balaam's foot against the wall; so he struck it again.

Numbers 22:25

The root *לה* is a similar but more complex case as it has two meanings in the *niphal*. The primary meaning is 'to be horrified', but it also has the secondary meaning 'to make haste', which is identical to the meaning of the corresponding *piel*, *pual*, and *hiphil*. On three occasions *niphals* of this root are translated actively with the verb *σπεύδω* 'to hurry, urge on', reflecting the secondary meaning of the Hebrew. By contrast, other ancient translations (and modern English ones as well) reflect the primary meaning of 'to be horrified'.

... ותבוא האשה אל-שאול ותרא כי-נבהל מאד

The woman came to Saul, and she saw that he was very disturbed...

καὶ εἰσήλθεν ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς Σαουλ καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἔσπευσεν σφόδρα...

And the woman came to Saoul and saw that he hastened greatly... [NETS]

1 Samuel 28:21

Other *niphal* roots which are always or often translated actively into Greek due as they have an active/middle meaning include *אנה* 'to sigh, groan', *חסף* 'to long for', and *יהל* 'to wait'.

6.2.2.3 Different reading

The corpus exhibits a reverse phenomenon to that discussed in sections 2.2.2.4, 3.2.2.3, and 4.2.2.3, whereby active stems were read as passive. In the reverse phenomenon, the translators of the LXX seem to have interpreted the verbs in question as active while the Masoretes later pointed them as passive. In these cases, it is possible that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different than the MT in these places, or alternatively the translators' selection may have been based on an alternative but equally valid reading of forms which look identical in unpointed text. There are also forms which can be distinguished consonantly in different stems, but whose Greek translations nevertheless seem to reflect a different reading.

6.2.2.3.1 Identical forms

Unpointed verbs can look identical in different verbal stems, so there are places where the LXX translators have understood a verb to be active in meaning though the Masoretes later pointed it as a *niphal*. The example below is potentially one such case. The root מִדָּש appears only in the *niphal* ('to be destroyed') and the *hiphil* ('to destroy'). It appears 5 times in Deuteronomy pointed as a *niphal* infinitive construct, but on every occasion it is translated with an active form of $\epsilon\acute{\zeta}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'to destroy entirely'. As the *niphal* infinitive construct has a *he* prefix, like the *hiphil qatal*, it is very possible that the translator of the LXX of Deuteronomy read the verb actively, as though it were a *hiphil*, rather than passively like a *niphal*, which is how it was later pointed by the Masoretes. In all these cases, the translators seem to have interpreted the element pointed as a possessive suffix on the infinitive construct as a 3mp object suffix on a *qatal*.

וַיִּתְּנֵם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְפָנֶיךָ וְהֵמָּה מְהוּמָה גְדֹלָה עַד הַשְׁמָדָם:

But the LORD your God will give them over to you, and throw them into great panic, until they are destroyed. [NRS]

καὶ παραδώσει αὐτοὺς κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς ἀπολεία
μεγάλη ἕως ἂν ἐξολεθρεύσῃ αὐτούς

And the Lord your God will deliver them into your hands, and he will destroy them with a
great destruction until he has destroyed them utterly. [NETS]

Deuteronomy 7:23

The presence of the *he* prefix on *niphal* imperative and infinitive forms may have led to more confusion with the *hiphil*, as can be seen from the following example. The root שמר means ‘to be guarded’ in the *niphal*, and verbs of this root regularly appear pointed as imperatives, as in the example. In 15/20 occurrences of the *niphal* imperative, it is translated with active forms of προσέχω ‘to give heed to’, while the other 5 are translated with middle forms of φυλάσσω ‘to guard’, which seems more appropriate for the *niphal*. These differing translations can be similar in context and can appear in the same book mere verses apart (cf. Genesis 31:24).

These differences could be ascribed to translator preference or a desire for stylistic variation. However, it is also possible that, in the 15 cases involving an active Greek verb, the translators read השמר actively, as though it were a *hiphil*, despite the fact that verbs of this root are never pointed as *hiphils*. The supporting evidence for this is that verbs of this root pointed as *niphals* which are not imperatives, and hence do not have the *he* prefix, are never translated with προσέχω, but almost always with middle or medio-passive forms of φυλάσσω. Active forms of προσέχω are also used to translate *hiphils* of the root אָזַן ‘to hear’, in Deuteronomy 1:25 and 32:1.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֵינוּ אַבְרָהָם הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תָּשִׁיב אֶת־בְּנִי שָׁמָּה:

Abraham said to him, ‘Watch out [*lit.*: Be guarded to yourself] that you do not take my son back there.’

εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀβραὰμ πρόσσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸν υἱόν μου ἐκεῖ

But Abraam said to him, ‘Take heed to yourself; do not bring my son back there.’ [NETS]

Genesis 24:6

In the example below, the unpointed form of the verb, ויצעק, can be understood passively as a *niphal* of the root צעק ('to summon, call out' in the *niphal*), as in the MT, or actively as either a *qal* ('to cry out') or a *piel* ('to cry aloud'), as in the LXX, where the translator has selected an active form of βοάω 'to cry out'.³⁹ Other ancient translations reflect both readings: Targum Jonathan exhibits a passive translation (with a slight change in meaning), וְאֵתְכִנְיִשׁ, 'and they were gathered', whereas the Vulgate has an active translation mirroring the LXX: *conclamantes*, 'shouting out'.

וַיִּצְעַק אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִנַּפְתָּלִי וּמִן־אַשֶׁר וּמִן־כָּל־מְנַשֶּׁה וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אַחֲרָי מִדִּיָּן:

And the men of Israel were called out from Naphtali and from Asher and from all Manasseh, and they pursued after the Midianites. [NRS]

καὶ ἐβόησαν ἄνθρωπος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Νεφθαλί καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσηρ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς Μανασση καὶ ἐδίωξαν ὀπίσω Μαδιὰμ

And a man of Israel sounded the cry from Nephthalim and from Aser and from all Manasses, and they took up the pursuit after Madiam. [NETS]

Judges 7:23

The following extract contains a further example of this point. In this case the *niphal yiqtol* יֵאָכַל, of the root אכל ('to be eaten' in the *niphal*) is translated actively, as though it were a *qal yiqtol* 3MS (both forms are identical without vocalisation), creating a new subject, 'he'.⁴⁰

³⁹ Note that the Greek verb is plural with a singular subject, ἄνθρωπος Ἰσραὴλ. In one of the alternate texts of Judges (compiled as Judges A by Rahlfs) the verb is still active but is singular.

⁴⁰ The subject could also be understood as the preceding word, יֵאָכַל (which is pointed as a *niphal* infinitive absolute) if it were repointed as a definite substantive active participle: 'the eater', but this is unlikely because the use of the Greek participle to translate the paranomastic infinitive absolute in these constructions is very common, used in 55.8% of translations in the studied corpus (see, for example, Judges 11:25, 1 Sam 2:27, and 1 Sam 20:6).

וְאִם הָאֵכָל אֲכָל מִבְּשַׂר־נֶבֶחַ שְׁלֵמִיו בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי ...

If any of the flesh of your sacrifice of well-being is indeed eaten on the third day... [NRS]

ἐὰν δὲ φαγὼν φάγη ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς τρίτης...

But if when eating, he should eat some of the meat on the third day... [NETS] / But if the eater should eat some of the meat on the third day...

Leviticus 7:18a

6.2.2.3.2 Non-identical forms

In contrast to the category discussed in the previous section, there are cases when a form pointed as a *niphal* in the MT seems to have been interpreted an active verb by the translator despite the fact that it could not easily be confused with another stem on orthographic or morphological grounds. This category includes cases when the consonantal form of a *niphal* is identical to that of the same root in another stem, but an active reading would require the translator to ignore an associated syntactic feature such as a definite direct object marker or a pronoun.

The following example illustrates such a case. The unpointed form of the verb in question (וימצא) is identical in the *niphal* and the *qal*, so one could argue that the LXX understood the verb was understood as active though it was later pointed as a *niphal* in the MT. (Alternatively, as in many other cases, it is possible that the translators purposely changed the voice for stylistic or idiomatic reasons.) The fact that the noun הַגִּבִּיעַ lacks an accusative marker in the Hebrew, might seem to support the MT's reading of the verb as a *niphal*, in contrast to the LXX, in which this noun functions as the direct object of the active verb; however, the Hebrew accusative marker can be absent in places where it might be expected (Shemesh 2013). With respect to other ancient translations, the Vulgate has an active form, *invenit* 'he found', like the LXX, while Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta both use Gt forms, וַאֲשַׁתְּכָה and אֲשַׁתְּכָה respectively, which are passive and agree with the MT.

וַיִּחְפֹּשׂ בַּגְדוֹ לְהֵחֵל וּבְקֶטֶן כְּלֵה וַיִּמְצָא הַגְּבִיעַ בְּאַמְתַּחַת בְּנִימִין:

He searched, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest; and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack. [NRS]

ἤρῥύνα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀρζάμενος ἕως ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ εὔρεν τὸ κόνδυ ἐν τῷ μαρσίππῳ τῷ Βενιαμιν

And he was searching, beginning from the elder until he came to the younger, and he found the cup in the bag of Beniamin. [NETS]

Genesis 44:12

וַעֲשִׂיתָ מִנְרֵת וְהָבָה טְהוֹר מְקֻשָּׁה תַעֲשֶׂהּ הַמְנוֹרָה וְרַכָּה וְקִנָּה גְבִיעֶיהָ כַּפְתָּרֶיהָ וּפְרָתֶיהָ מִמְּנָה יְהִיוּ:

You shall make a lampstand of pure gold. The base and the shaft of the lampstand shall be made of hammered work; its cups, its calyxes, and its petals shall be of one piece with it; [NRS]

καὶ ποιήσεις λυχνίαν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ τορευτήν ποιήσεις τὴν λυχνίαν ὁ καυλὸς αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ καλαμίσκοι καὶ οἱ κρατῆρες καὶ οἱ σφαιρωτῆρες καὶ τὰ κρίνα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσται

And you shall make a lampstand from pure gold. You shall make the lampstand engraved. Its stem and branches and bowls and buds and lilies shall be part of it. [NETS]

Exodus 25:31

The following example illustrates a similar case. Verbs of the root קבר are usually translated passively when appearing in the *niphal*, but two such forms are translated actively in the LXX. This decision may have been a conscious choice rooted in stylistic considerations, namely an attempt to maintain the same subject, Benaiah, as that of previous verbs in the sequence. This possibility is supported by the fact that the Greek translator had to insert the pronoun *αὐτὸν* (following the name *Ιωαβ*), which does not appear in the Hebrew, in order to make the verb active. Moreover, this active translation is particular to the LXX, as other ancient versions (Targum Jonathan, the Peshitta, and the

Vulgate) all feature passive verbs here. Alternatively, as the unpointed ויקבר would be identical in the *qal*, *piel*, or *niphal*, it is possible that the translator simply read the verb as a *qal*.

וַיַּעַל בְּנֵיָהוּ בֶן־יְהוֹיָדָע וַיִּפְגַּע־בּוֹ וַיִּמְתְּהוּ וַיִּקְבֹּר בְּבֵיתוֹ בַּמִּדְבָּר:

Then Benaiah son of Jehoiada went up and struck him down and killed him; and he was buried at his own house near the wilderness. [NRS]

καὶ ἀπῆντησεν Βαναίου υἱὸς Ἰωδαε τῶ Ἰωαβ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθαψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῶ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

And Banaïou son of Iodae came upon Ioab and put him to death and buried him at his house in the wilderness. [NETS]

1 Kings 2:34

6.2.2.3.3 *Different Vorlage*

It is always difficult to ascertain with certainty whether the text of the LXX is based on a different *Vorlage* from the MT, but in some cases the translation may support such a possibility. The following example illustrates an instance where the active Greek translation of a *niphal* may be ascribable to a difference in the underlying text. Here, the passive *niphal* וַיֵּרָא ‘he was seen’ is translated with an active form of the Greek verb *κατέβη*, ‘he descended’ (from *καταβαίνω*).

וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה בְּאַהֲלָהּ בַּעֲמֹד עַנָּן וַיַּעֲמֵד עֲמֹד עַנָּן עַל־פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל:

And the LORD was seen at the tent in a pillar of cloud; the pillar of cloud stood at the entrance to the tent.

καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἐν νεφέλῃ καὶ ἔστη παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηנῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ἔστη ὁ στῦλος τῆς νεφέλης παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηנῆς

And the Lord descended in a cloud, and he stood at the entrance of the tent of witness, and the pillar of cloud stood at the entrance of the tent. [NETS]

Deuteronomy 31:15

The verb *κατέβη* is used in other places with a similar context where it aptly translates a different Hebrew verb, the active *qal* וַיֵּרָד ‘and he came down’, e.g.:

... וַיֵּרָד יְהוָה בְּעָנָן

καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἐν νεφέλῃ...

The LORD descended in the cloud...

Exodus 34:5a and **Numbers 11:25a** [both *qal*]

In light of these examples, an explanation for the voice mismatch in Deu 31:15 is that the translator identified the verb וַיֵּרָד as וַיֵּרָד because the latter was featured in the *Vorlage* of this part of the LXX. This seems more plausible than a misreading of the same verbal form, as mistaking an *aleph* for a *dalet* is unlikely. However, Perkins (2013) argues that the translator of Exodus made the conscious choice in his rendition to avoid any suggestion of humans actually seeing God. It is possible that the translator of Deuteronomy followed a similar pattern, and translated וַיֵּרָד with *κατέβη* to make it clear that God descended but was not physically seen (see 4.4.3.2.3 for other potential examples of this phenomenon in Deuteronomy).

6.2.2.4 Purposeful change in voice

There are also occasions where the translators may have understood the Hebrew construction to be passive but still employed an active translation. The reasons for this are, as always, difficult to ascertain with certainty, but some attempts have been made below to categorise them.

6.2.2.4.1 Clarification

Sometimes the translators may have made a change in voice to clarify the meaning of the Hebrew. It is difficult to be certain whether this was a conscious decision rooted in the translator's acknowledgement of the complexity of the Hebrew, or simply an instinctive and obvious choice to convey the meaning in a plainer and more accessible Greek.

For example, in the extract below, the passive *niphal* participle is translated with the active Greek verb ἔχω 'to have' preceded by a relative pronoun. The Greek is relatively close in meaning to the Hebrew and reflects a clear understanding of the source text, but the construction is different, and may have been easier for a Greek-speaking reader to comprehend than a participle would have been.

... וְכַמּוֹלֵה שָׁחַר עָלָהּ וַיֵּאָצְרוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים בְּלוֹט לְאִמֶּר קוּם לְקַח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בְנֹתֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאֹת ...

When morning dawned, the angels urged Lot, saying, 'Get up, take your wife and your two daughters **who are here** [lit: the ones who are found here]...' [NRS]

ἡνίκα δὲ ὄρθρος ἐγίνετο ἐπεσπούδαζον οἱ ἄγγελοι τὸν Λωτ λέγοντες ἀναστὰς λαβὲ τὴν γυναῖκά σου καὶ τὰς δύο θυγατέρας σου ἃς ἔχεις...

Now when dawn was breaking, the angels were urging Lot, saying, 'Rise, take your wife and the two daughters **whom you have**...' [NETS]

Genesis 19:15a

6.2.2.4.2 Theological reasons

On occasion, the selection of an active Greek verb to translate a *niphal* may be an intentional choice designed to make a theological point (Tov 1999: 257). This is similar to the previous category, but the change in voice results in an active clause with God as its subject, thereby giving Him more explicit agency.

This type of scenario is illustrated in the following example. The change in voice from passive to active is unlikely to be ascribable to confusion on the part of the translator, as the verb **נִתְּנָו** does not look like a first-person form, even when unpointed. Thus, unless the *Vorlage* was different, the difference can be interpreted as an active decision to make God the explicit subject of the verb.

...בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר תִּרְמָשׁ הַדָּמָה וּבְכֹל-דְּגַי הַיָּם בְּיַדְכֶם נִתְּנָו:

...on everything that creeps on the ground, and on all the fish of the sea; into your hand **they** are delivered. [NRS]

...καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κινούμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰχθύας τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὸ χειρᾶς ὑμῶν **δέδωκα**

...and on all the things that move on the earth and on all the fish of the sea; **I have given** [them] under authority to you. [NETS]

Genesis 9:2b

The following example constitutes another possible case of a theologically motivated voice change. Here, the NRS (and JPS) assign a middle meaning to the *niphal* of **עָרַף** ‘to make oneself known’. By contrast, the Greek translation features an active form of *δηλώω* ‘to make known’, with no middle connotations. Had the Greek translator wanted to indicate the reflexivity here (but still use the active voice), they could have employed a reflexive pronoun; the fact that they did not opt for this seems to indicate that they intended to make it clear that it was specifically His name that God did not reveal to the Patriarchs, not His actual person.

וַאֲנִי אֶל-אַבְרָהָם אֶל-יִצְחָק וְאֶל-יַעֲקֹב בָּאֵל שְׁדֵי וְשֵׁמִי יְהוָה לֹא נִוְדַעְתִּי לָהֶם:

I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as God Almighty, but by my name ‘The LORD’ **I** did not make myself known to them. [NRS]

καὶ ὄφθην πρὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακώβ θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς

And I appeared to Abraam and Isaak and Iakob, being their God, and my name, Lord, I did not make known to them. [NETS]

Exodus 6:3

6.2.3 *Niphal voice translation conclusions*

Although the *niphal* is defined as primarily having a middle meaning (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 380), and thus may be thought to align with the middle voice of Indo-European languages, this is not borne out in the Greek translation, with passive voice forms being used in the plurality of verbal translations, and active voice translations being more prevalent than middle voice ones.

While there are some deponent passives, the passive form translations often have a passive meaning, which is unsurprising given that the *niphal* can often have such a sense. Sometimes the passive form of the verb can be used to indicate not a passive meaning but rather intransitivity, reflexivity, or reciprocity, all of which are recognised uses of the passive voice in Greek (Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76; Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Mussies 1971: 237; Allan 2013c).

Active voice translations of *niphals* are not uncommon, but they are often seen in the translation of three verbal roots which have a meaning that could be (and clearly are) construed as active: שבע 'to swear', להם 'to wage war', and נצב 'to stand, station oneself'. By contrast, the reverse situation can occur, whereby a Greek verb with an active form can have a meaning regularly indicated by non-active morphology, such as passive or reflexive. This occurs with the roots נפש 'to be refreshed, refresh oneself', מצא 'to be found', and אסף 'to assemble (oneselves)'.

With respect to active translations of other roots, where the meaning of the *niphal* is not obviously active, the difference may be rooted in an alternative reading of the verb as an active stem (given that the unpointed forms of the *niphal* and certain other stems are identical in some cases). However, in some of these instances the translators would also have had to ignore the absence of relevant syntactic features, such as the accusative marker. Where there is an unexpected voice translation, the possibility of a different *Vorlage* is always possible, but is hard to ascertain definitively. Occasionally it appears that the translators made an active decision to change the voice of the verb for clarification or potentially for theological reasons (Tov 1999: 257).

Where the middle voice is used, and is not deponent, it generally has a reflexive meaning, although both passive and active meanings are also possible.

7 Pual

7.1 Introduction

The *pual* is the passive equivalent of the *piel* (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 153). For example, with the root כלה, the meaning in the *piel* is active, ‘to finish’, while it is passive in the *pual*, ‘to be finished’ (Koehler and Baumgartner 2001: 477).

This distinction between the *piel* and the *pual* is mirrored less by the *qal* : *niphal* pairing, than instead by that of the *qal* : *qal passive* or *hiphil* : *hophal* (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 418). However, it is possible for the *pual* to have a meaning that relates to another stem more readily than to the *piel* (Benton 2009: 6).

Verbs in the *pual* very often appear in participial form, where they essentially function as adjectives (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 418-9).

Throughout the following analysis of the *pual*, it is crucial to remember that the investigation of this stem is made significantly more difficult by the fact that there are only 80 *puals* that appear in it in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets and are translated with Greek verbs.

7.2 Voice translations

Voice translations of the *pual* are discussed below.

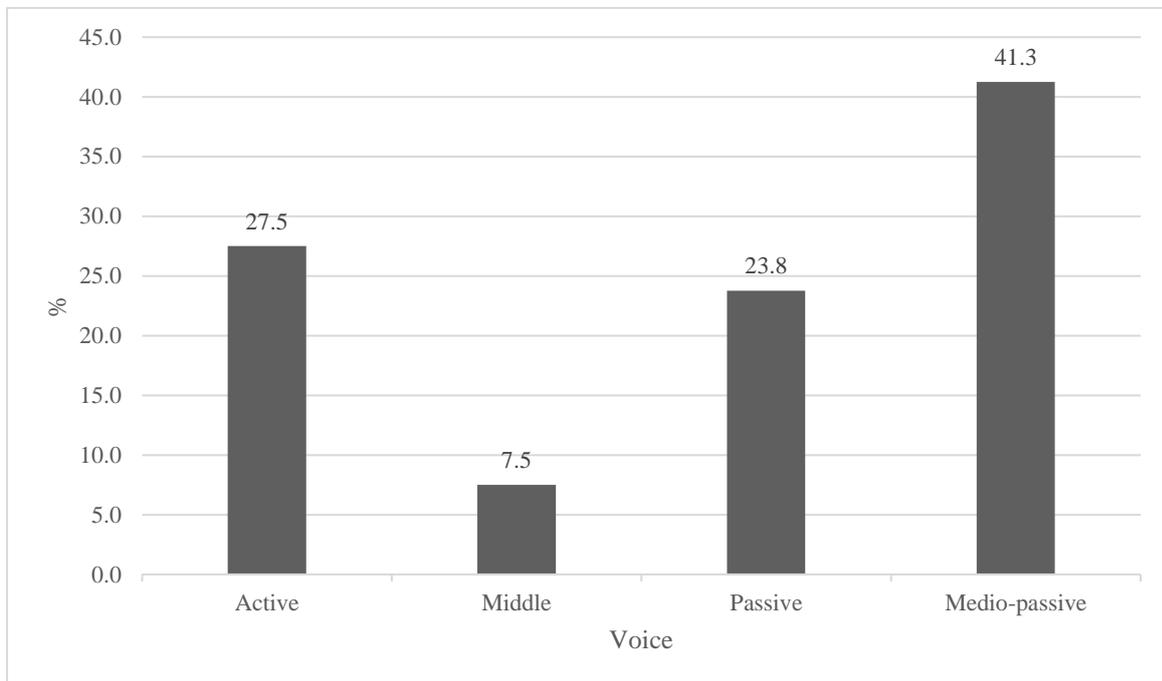


Figure 13: Voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the *pual*, by percentage

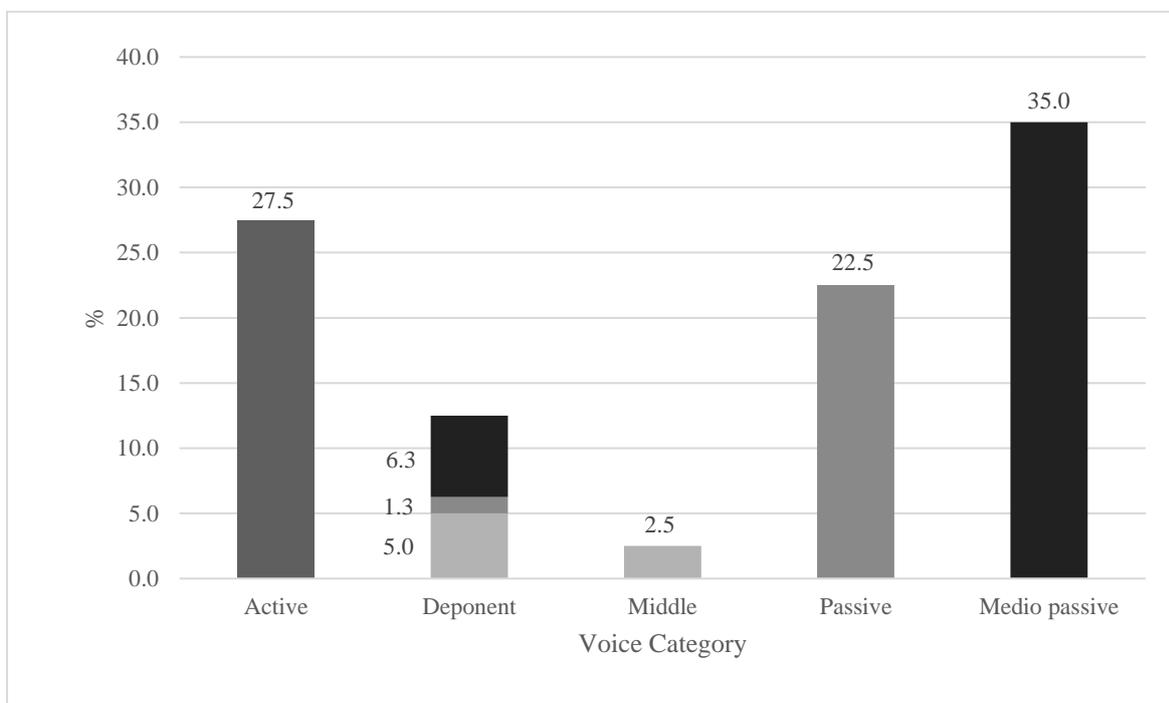


Figure 14: Voice categories of verbal translations of verbs in the *pual*, by percentage

Figure 13 shows that the clear majority of verbal translations of the *pual* (72.5%) are with non-active Greek verbs, while figure 14 shows that some of the non-active verbs which translate the *pual* are deponent, which leads 60% of verbal translations of the *pual* which are non-active and also non-deponent.

As the *pual* is considered to be a passive stem it is noteworthy that there is relatively high proportion of active form (27.5%) and deponent translations (12.6%). With respect to both, translations of the *pual* exhibit higher proportions than the *hophal*, as verbs in that stem are translated with active Greek forms in only 20.0% of occasions, and *hophals* are never translated with deponent verbs (8.2).

The *pual* is the second to least likely stem to be translated with a verb which is unambiguously morphologically middle, with only verbs in the *hiphil* being less likely to be translated in that way (1.7%).

7.2.1 Non-active form translations

The majority of translations of verbs in the *pual* are non-active in morphology: 58/80 (72.5%).

The largest part of these non-active translations (33/58, 56.9%) consists of verbs which are morphologically ambiguous with regards to voice, while, of the others, 6/58 (10.3%) are morphologically middle and 19/58 (32.8%) morphologically passive.

Given that the percentage of non-deponent translations which are morphologically passive (22.5%) is lower than might be expected for a stem that is described as passive, and that Wevers' (1985: 17) states that verbs in the *pual* are 'normally rendered' by the passive, it may be expected that the majority of the medio-passive verbs can also be understood as having a passive meaning.

10 of the total 58 non-active translations feature deponent verbs, which means that 60% of translations are non-active and non-deponent, which is still the majority of translations overall.

7.2.1.1 Deponents

17.2% of non-active translations of the *pual* are deponent.

Only one of these deponent verbs appears with passive morphology:

וְלֹא יִכָּפֵר לְדָם אֲשֶׁר שִׁפְדָהּ כִּי־אֵם בְּדָם שִׁפְכוּ:

...And the land will **not be atoned for**, for the blood which is spilled in it, except by the blood of the one who shed it.

...καὶ οὐκ ἐξιλασθήσεται ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχέοντος

...and the land **shall not appease** from the blood that was shed upon it, except by the blood of the one who shed it.

Numbers 35:33b

The verb in question, ἐξιλάσκομαι, is defined as deponent by Ladewig (2010: 299) – while the bare form is defined as deponent by Grestenberger (2014: 91) – and has the definition 'to appease'.

Curiously, it is possible that a passive understanding may have been intended by the translator, as the passive phrasing ‘the land shall not be appeased’ fits the sense of the verse more readily.

Of the 6 verbal translations which are rendered with morphologically middle forms, 4 of them use deponent middle verbs.

Three of these four examples feature the root צוה (*piel*: to command, *pual*: to be commanded) translated with the deponent verb ἐντέλλομαι, ‘to command’. On each occasion, the use of the deponent Greek verb gives a non-passive meaning to the translation of the *pual*. This non-passive meaning can be seen by the insertion in the Greek of a subject κύριος (‘lord’), and an indirect object pronoun, αὐτῷ (‘to him’):

וַיֵּצֵא וַדְּבַר אֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵת אֲשֶׁר נִצְוָה:

...and when he came out, and told the Israelites what he had been commanded [NRS]

καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐλάλει πᾶσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὅσα ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος

And when he came out, he would tell all the sons of Israel what the Lord commanded him. [NETS]

Exodus 34:34b [see also Leviticus 8:35]

As with many of these circumstances where the voice value of the verb used in translation is different from what is expected, it could be that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different from that of the MT, that the translators were translating idiomatically, or that the translators were reading the verb as active when it was later pointed as passive.

The remaining example of a deponent middle is a translation of the *pual* of the root בכר (*pual*: ‘to belong as a firstborn to the LORD’) using the verb γίνομαι, ‘to be, become’, followed later by the phrase ἔσται τῷ κυρίῳ, ‘it will be to the LORD’. The slightly confusing meaning of this root in the *pual*, along with its status as a *hapax legomenon*, results in a Greek translation that is subtly different from the Hebrew:

אֶדְבָּר בְּכוֹר אֲשֶׁר-יִבְכָּר לַיהוָה בְּבִהְמָה לֹא-יִקְדָּשׁ אִישׁ אָתּוּ ...

A firstling of animals, however, which **as a firstling belongs to the LORD**, cannot be consecrated by anyone... [NRS]

καὶ πᾶν πρωτότοκον ὃ ἂν **γένηται** ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου ἔσται τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐ καθαγιάσει οὐθεὶς αὐτό...

And every firstling which **may become** among your animals shall belong to the Lord, and no one shall consecrate it...

Leviticus 27:26

There are five deponent medio-passives in the corpus, of which four have a non-passive stative meaning. Three involve the Greek verb *λεπρόομαι*, ‘to become leprous’, which is active but stative in meaning, and they are appropriately used to translate the root צרע, ‘to be leprous’:

וַצַּרְעַת גַּעְמֹל תִּדְבַּק-בָּךְ וּבְיִרְעֶךָ לְעוֹלָם וְיִצְאָ מִלְּפָנָיו מִצַּרְעַת כַּשָּׁלֵג:

καὶ ἡ λέπρα Ναυμαν κολληθήσεται ἐν σοὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ **λελεπρωμένος** ὡσεὶ χιών

‘Therefore the leprosy of Naaman shall cling to you, and to your descendants forever.’ So he left his presence **having become leprous**, as white as snow.

2 Kings 5:27 [cf. 2 Kings 5:1 and 15:5]

The last stative deponent is a translation of an adjectival participle of the *pual*, *מְטֻלָּא* (‘patched’), with the verb *καταπελματοόμαι*, ‘to be cobbled’:

וַיִּנְעָלוּת בְּלוּת וּמְטֻלָּאוֹת בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם וּשְׂלֵמוֹת בְּלוּת צְלִיָּהֶם וְכָל לֶחֶם צֵידָם יָבֵשׁ הָיָה נֶשְׁדָּיִם:

With worn-out, **patched** sandals on their feet, and worn-out clothes; and all their provisions were dry and moldy.

καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σανδάλια αὐτῶν παλαιὰ καὶ **καταπελματομένα** ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν πεπαλαιωμένα ἐπάνω αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρτος αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ξηρὸς καὶ εὐρωτιῶν καὶ βεβρωμένος

And the hollows of their shoes and their sandals were old and **cobbled** on their feet, and their garments were worn out upon them, and the bread of their provision was dry and moldy and bug-infested^{NETS}/worm-eaten.

Joshua 9:5

7.2.1.2 Passive meaning

There is a deponent medio-passive which does seem more likely to have a passive, impersonal meaning. It is of the root צוה (*pual*: ‘to be commanded’) with the verb ἐντέλλομαι, ‘to command’, which is one of the understandings of the passive voice of ἐντέλλομαι.

וְאָכַלְתֶּם אֶת־הַבְּרֵכָה בְּמִקְוֹם קֹדֶשׁ כִּי חָקָה וְחֻק־בְּנֵי־יְהוָה הוּא מֵאֲשֵׁי יְהוָה כִּי־בָן צִוִּיתִי:

And you will eat in a holy place, for this is your statute and the statute of your sons, from the offering to the LORD, for thus **I was commanded**.

καὶ φάγεσθε αὐτήν ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ νόμιμον γάρ σοί ἐστὶν καὶ νόμιμον τοῖς υἱοῖς σου τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν καρπωμάτων κυρίου οὕτω γὰρ ἐντέταλαί μοι

And you shall eat it in a holy place. For this is a precept for you and a precept for your sons from the offerings to the LORD, for so **it is commanded** to me.

Leviticus 10:13

2 non-deponent non-active verbs which are used as translations of the *pual* have middle morphology and a probable passive, rather than reflexive meaning.

The examples both appear in Judges as translations of the root הלל (*pual*: ‘to be shaved’) with middle forms of the verb ζυρέω, ‘to shave’. With middle morphology, the verb ζυρέω can have either a reflexive meaning (‘to shave oneself’) or a passive one (‘to be shaved’). The translations are best understood as passive, as while the example in Judges 16:17 could be reflexive given the fact that the

verb is first person, a reflexive sense would be inappropriate in Judges 16:22 where the act of shaving had been performed by someone else on Samson.

...אם־גַּלְתִּי וְסָר מִמֶּנִּי כֹחִי וְחַלְתִּי וְהָיִיתִי כְּכָל־הָאָדָם:

ἐὰν οὖν **ξυρήσωμαι** ἀποστήσεται ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἡ ἰσχύς μου καὶ ἀσθενήσω καὶ ἔσομαι ὡς πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι

'...If my head **were shaved**, then my strength would leave me; I would become weak, and be like anyone else.'

Judges 16:17b

וַיִּקַּח לְעַרְרֵי־אֵפוֹ לְצַמֵּם כַּאֲשֶׁר גָּלָה:

καὶ ἤρξατο θριζῆ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ βλαστάνειν καθὼς **ἐξυρήσατο**

But the hair of his head began to grow again after **it had been shaved**.

Judges 16:22⁴¹

In instances where the *pual* is translated with a non-deponent verb with passive morphology, the meaning can be understood as passive (without an explicit agent), or medio-passive, as though there is no agent. E.g.:

וַיִּכְלְמוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם:

καὶ **συντετέλεσθησαν** ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος

Thus the heavens and the earth **were completed** and all the cosmos.

Genesis 2:1

...וַיְהִי כִּי־גָמַל מִבְּרִית הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת־מִצְרָאֵם הַגִּבּוֹר יְשׁוּלָם שְׁנָיִם:

⁴¹ In an alternative text of Judges, gathered by Rahlfs as Judges A, the translation in Judges 16:22 uses a passive form of the verb ξυρέω, while the translation in Judges 16:19 is left unchanged.

...καὶ κλαπῆ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐὰν εὔρεθῆ ὁ κλέψας ἀποτεῖσει διπλοῦν

...and it is stolen from the neighbor's house, then the thief, if caught, shall pay double.

Exodus 22:6

7.2.1.3 *Stative adjectival meaning*

The majority of non-deponent medio-passive translations of verbs in the *pual* are perfect participles (23/28), and most of these are translations of *pual* participles (20/23). They have an adjectival meaning, but the verbs are passive in sense. E.g.:

וְעָרַת אֵילָם מְאֻדָּמִים וְעָרַת תְּחָשִׁים וְעֲצֵי שִׁטִּים:

tanned rams' skins, fine leather, acacia wood [NRS]

καὶ δέρματα κριῶν ἠρυθροδανομένα καὶ δέρματα ὑακίνθινα καὶ ξύλα ἄσηπτα

and red-dyed rams' skins and blue skins and decay-resistant wood [NETS]

Exodus 25:5

7.2.2 Active form translations

There are 22/80 (27.5%) examples of verbal translations of the *pual* which are rendered using active form Greek verbs. This is almost a third of all verbal translations of the *pual*, which is quite a high proportion, considering the passive meaning of the *pual*. A few of these are due to translations of specialised verbs in the *pual*, while others are due to Greek active verbs having a passive nuance that appropriately translates the *pual*.

As usual, there are also cases where there is an unexpectedly different voice translation, and the cause of this can be a different reading of the verbs by the translators, a different *Vorlage*, or an intentional change.

7.2.2.1 Active form, non-active nuance

Like was seen for translations of the *niphal* (see 6.2.2.1), stative/passive Hebrew verbs in the *pual* can be translated with active Greek verbs which have a passive/stative nuance when they appear in the active voice. For example, the active Greek verb used in the example below, *λεπράω* ‘to be/become leprous’, adequately translates the stative nuance of the verb of the root צרע in the *pual* (‘to be leprous’). Indeed, this same verb is also used in the active voice to translate this root in the *qal*, where it has the same stative meaning ‘to be/become leprous’ (cf. Leviticus 22:4).

וְהָעֲנָן סָר מֵעַל הָאֹהֶל וְהָגָה מִרְגְּמֵי מִצְרַעַת כַּשֵּׁלֶג וַיִּפֹּן אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ אֶל־מִרְגְּמֵי וְהָגָה מִצְרַעַת:

καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἀπέστη ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ἶδὸν Μαριαμ λεπρῶσα ὡσεὶ χιών καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν
Ααρων ἐπὶ Μαριαμ καὶ ἶδὸν λεπρῶσα

When the cloud went away from over the tent, Miriam had become leprous, as white as snow. And Aaron turned towards Miriam and, look, she was leprous.

Numbers 12:10

In the example below, the *pual* participle of בקע, ‘to be ripped open’, is translated with an active Greek participle of the verb *καταρρήγνυμι*, ‘to tear into pieces’. When this verb is an active

participle in the perfect it has the passive nuance ‘to be ripped, torn’, so its use here is certainly valid. It is a little curious that the two *pual* participles in this verse are not translated in a similar manner, as second, מְצַרְרִים, is translated with a passive participle, which might be a more expected translation for a *pual* participle.

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ גַם־הֵמָּה בְּעֶרְמָה וַיִּלְכְּדוּ וַיִּצְטַיְגּוּ וַיִּקְחֻהוּ שְׂקִים בָּלִים לְתַמְרוֹיָהֶם וְנֹאדוֹת לֵין בָּלִים וּמְבַקְעִים וּמְצַרְרִים:

αὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ γε αὐτοὶ μετὰ πανουργίας καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐπεσιτίσαντο καὶ ἠτοιμάσαντο καὶ λαβόντες σάκκους παλαιούς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσκοὺς οἴνου παλαιοὺς καὶ κατερρωγότας ἀποδεδεμένους

They on their part acted with cunning: they went and prepared provisions [and got themselves ready^{LXX}], and took worn-out sacks for their donkeys, and wineskins, worn-out and **torn** and mended

Joshua 9:4

7.2.2.2 Different reading

In a similar way to that seen in other stems (e.g. with the *niphal* 6.2.2.3), there are instances where it appears that the LXX translators read as active verbs which were later pointed as *puals* in the MT. Sometimes the active and passive forms would be identical in their unpointed forms, so confusion is understandable, but at other times the verbs would have had to have been spelled defectively. The likelihood of this defective orthography has been explored in previous chapters (see 2.2.2.4).

7.2.2.2.1 Identical forms

In the examples below, there are active translations of verbs in the *pual* where the explanation appears to be that the translator read the verb as active when it was later pointed as a *pual*, because the unpointed forms of the verb are identical in passive and active forms. In some of these cases, the absence of other syntactic features, such as the definite direct object marker, may cast doubt on the

supposition that these are misread verbs. However, in the particular case of the definite direct object marker, its absence is possible where it would normally be expected (Shemesh 2013).

With all of these cases, assuming that the *Vorlage* of the section with that particular verb was the same, it is always possible that the translator has made an intentional change for the purpose of style or idiom or to clarify the meaning of the verse in some way.

The potential confusion of verbs of the root צוה was already explored in the section on middle form translations. The same phenomenon can be seen in the example below, where the unpointed verb צוה would look identical in the active and passive forms, and the translator read it as active where it was later pointed as a *pual*. In order for this to work syntactically, the translator has also inserted a subject, κύριος ‘Lord’, and a pronoun, αὐτοῖς ‘to them’.

וַיִּפְקֹד אֹתָם מֹשֶׁה עַל־פִּי יְהוָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה:

So Moses enrolled them according to the word of the LORD, as he was commanded.

καὶ ἐπεσκέψαντο αὐτοὺς Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν διὰ φωνῆς κυρίου ὃν τρόπον συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς κύριος

And Moses and Aaron enrolled them according to the voice of the Lord, in the manner which Lord had instructed them.

Numbers 3:16

The verb יָסַד has been read and translated actively in the example below, as though it were a *piel*. For this to be fully correct, the definite direct object would be expected before the noun sequence which has become the direct object, בַּיִת יְהוָה ‘the house of the LORD’. This means that either the translator was unconcerned that it was missing, or that the *Vorlage* was different, and originally included the marker.

בְּשִׁנְהָהּ הָרְבִיעִית יָסַד בַּיִת יְהוָה בְּגֵרָח זֶה:

In the fourth year **the foundation** of the house of the LORD **was laid**, in the month of Ziv.
[NRS]

ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ ἐθεμελίωσεν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν μηνὶ Νισῶ τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ

In the fourth year **he laid the foundation** of the house of the Lord in the month Niso, the second month [NETS]

1 Kings 6:37 [1 Kings 6:1c in LXX]

7.2.2.2 *Non-identical forms*

In several places, the verbs which are pointed as *puals* and translated actively could be read as active only if the verbs were spelled defectively, where the lack of the *matres lectionis* would allow for the verbs to be understood by the LXX translators differently from how they appear in the MT. A selection of examples are seen below where this occurs

In the example below there are two verbs which are pointed as *puals* and are translated actively. In the active translation, however, they are singular in person, while they are plural in Hebrew. This could be due to a different reading only if the Hebrew verbs were spelled defectively and thus the final *shureq*, indicating the plural, were absent.

וְהַמַּיִם גָּבְרוּ מְאֹד מְאֹד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּכָּסּוּ כָּל־הַהָרִים הַגְּבוּהִים אֲשֶׁר־תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם:

וְהַמַּיִם גָּבְרוּ מְאֹד מְאֹד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּכָּסּוּ כָּל־הַהָרִים:

And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven **were covered**. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains **were covered**. [JPS]

τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐπεκράτει σφόδρα σφοδρῶς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπεκάλυψεν πάντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλά ἃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δέκα πέντε πήχεις ἐπάνω ὑψώθη τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπεκάλυψεν πάντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλά

So the water was prevailing very greatly on the earth, and **it covered** all the high mountains that were under heaven; the water was raised up fifteen cubits above, and **it covered** all the high mountains. [NETS]

Genesis 7:19-20

The same situation, but in reverse, is found in the example below from Genesis 25. The active, plural Greek translation would only be due to a potential misreading if the verb קבר were read as though it were defective, without the *mater lectionis* indicating the plural ending.

... וְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ: קָבְרָה אֲבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ:

...There Abraham **was buried**, with his wife Sarah. [NRS]

...ἐκεῖ ἔθαψαν Ἀβρααμ καὶ Σαρραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ

...there **they buried** Abraam and his wife Sarra. [NETS]

Genesis 25:10b

Two more examples are given below, where in each case, the number of the Greek verb does not match the number of the Hebrew verb and this would only be possible if *matres lectionis* were not being written for those verbs in the *Vorlage*.

וַיִּנְיְחוּ אֹתוֹ בַּמִּשְׁמֶרֶת כִּי לֹא פָּרַשׁ מֵהַיַּעֲשִׂיהָ לוֹ:

They put him in custody, because it was not clear what **should be done** to him. [NRS]

καὶ ἀπέθεντο αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν οὐ γὰρ συνέκριναν τί ποιήσωσιν αὐτόν

And they placed him in custody, for they did not decide what **they should do** to him. [NETS]

Numbers 15:34

מִרְכָּבֹת פָּרְעֹה וְחֵילוֹ יָרָה בָּיָם וּמִבְּתָר שְׁלֵשִׁיו טָבְעוּ בַיַּם־סוּפִי:

‘Pharaoh’s chariots and his army he cast into the sea; his picked officers **were sunk** in the Red Sea.’ [NRS]

ἄρματα Φαραω καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας
κατεπόντισεν ἐν ἔρυθρῇ θαλάσσει

‘The chariots of Pharaoh and his host he threw into the sea; choice riders, third-ranked officers, he drowned in the Red Sea.’ [NETS]

Exodus 15:4

In all of these examples it is possible that, rather than a different reading, the translator has made an intentional change in order to create a continuation of the subject from earlier in the same verse, or from an earlier verse. For example, in Genesis 7:19-20, the waters remain the active subject, and in Genesis 25:10, Ishmael and his sons become the (unnamed) active subjects, taken from 25:9 where they are mentioned as the ones who bury Abraham.

7.2.2.3 *Specialised puals*

Three of the active form verbs in the *pual* are specialised participles.

All three are in the same verse and from the same root, שלש, which means ‘three years old’. This use of the *pual* in a denominative sense to indicate an idea of age is a specialised use and is not reflective of a passive use (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 422-3).

It might be expected that the more stative meaning of these verbs might be translated passively, but the verb *τριετίζω*, itself a rare verb in Greek, already contains the stative meaning ‘to be three years old’ in the active voice, so its appearance in that form here is appropriate.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו קַח לִי עֲגֵלָה מְשֻׁלֶשֶׁת וְעֵז מְשֻׁלֶשֶׁת וְאַיִל מְשֻׁלֶשׁ וְתֵר וְגֹזָל:

εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ λαβέ μοι δάμαλιν τριετίζουσας καὶ αἴγα τριετίζουσας καὶ κριὸν τριετίζοντα καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰν

He said to him, ‘Bring me a heifer three years old, a female goat three years old, a ram three years old, a turtledove, and a young pigeon.’

Genesis 15:9

7.2.3 *Pual voice translation conclusions*

There are few verbal translations of verbs in the *pual*, so any patterns regarding the Greek translation should be viewed with some caution.

Although Wevers (1985: 17) posited that verbs in the *pual* are often rendered with passive form verbs in Greek, this has been demonstrated not to be entirely the case. While non-active Greek translations are the most prevalent, translations with morphologically passive voice verbs are less common than translations with either active form verbs or medio-passive verbs. It is true that the majority (23/28) of non-deponent medio-passive translations are rendered by means of perfect passive participles which, although not morphologically passive, do have a passive (often adjectival) meaning.

Active form translations of verbs in the *pual* are surprisingly common, more so than for a comparable passive stem such as the *hophal*. Where these active form verbs are used, they are usually due to an active form of a Greek verb having a passive nuance that accurately conveys the meaning of the *pual*. There is great potential for verbs in the *pual* to have been read as though they were active, sometimes due to the identical consonantal form of the *pual* and an active counterpart, and sometimes only if the verb found in the *Vorlage* was also spelled defectively.

In examples where an unexpected voice translation is found, it could also be because of a different *Vorlage*, or because of a stylistic or idiomatic translation by the translator.

8 Hophal

8.1 Introduction

Across the entire Hebrew Bible, the *hophal* is the rarest of the seven major stems, but in this corpus it is only the second rarest of the major stems, with the *pual* appearing less frequently. Despite this, there are still only 201 verbs which appear in the *hophal* in this corpus, of which only 190 are translated with verbs, and hence any analysis must be considered within that limitation.

The *hophal* is the passive equivalent of the *hiphil*, much as the *pual* is the passive equivalent of the *piel*. It therefore ‘represents the subject as the undergoer of a causative situation involving an event’ (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 448). The fact that the subject is a passive participant in an event is the crucial part of the definition that distinguishes the *hophal* from the *pual*, under Waltke and O’Connor’s framework, as in the *pual* the subject is made to enter into a state. This definition is illustrated by the following example:

Hophal: הִבְרַחְתָּהּ 'It was breached (lit. caused to be breached)'

Verbs of the root מוּת appear very commonly in the *hophal*, with the definition of ‘to be put to death’; the verbal translations of this root have a sizeable impact on the categories which are discussed: voice translations, causative translations, and comparisons.

8.2 Voice translations

These voice translations cover the purely verbal translations of the *hophal*, which accounts for 190 total examples of verbs in this stem.

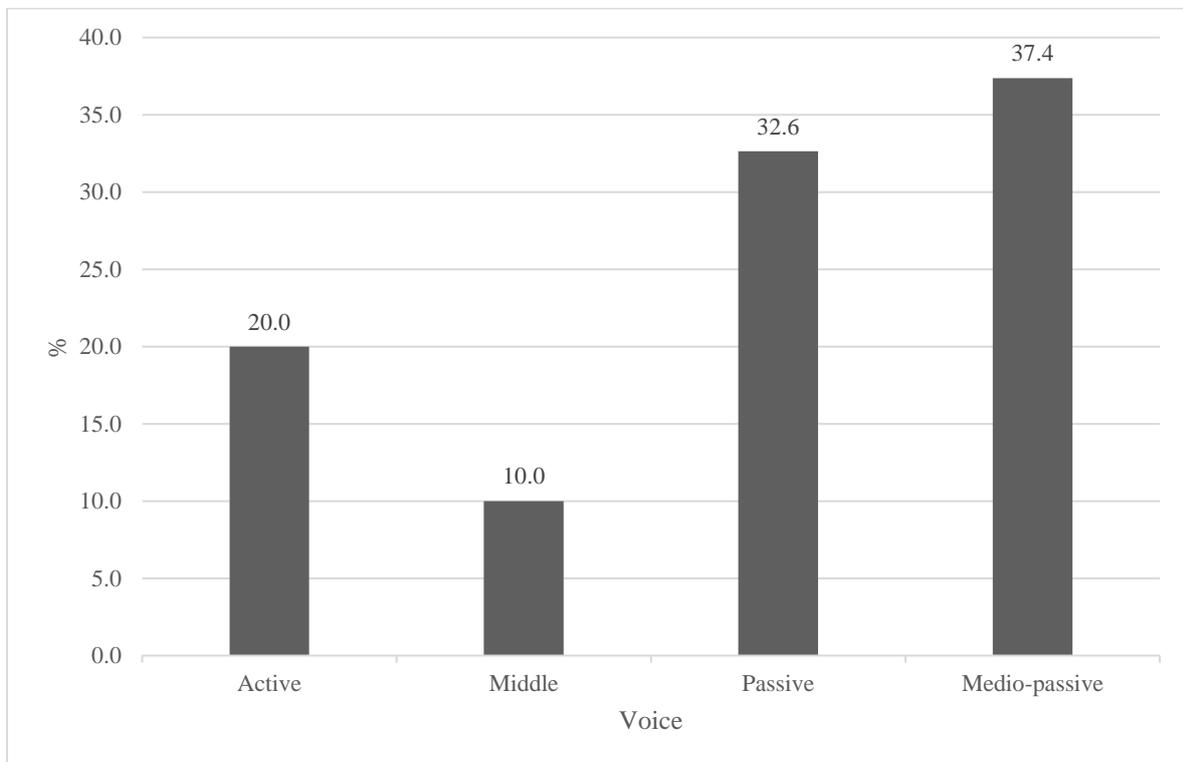


Figure 15: Voice translation of purely verbal translations of verbs in the *hophal*, by percentage

The overall pattern of voice translations is very similar to that of the *pual*, with morphologically middle voice translations being the least commonly used, while medio-passive translations are widely used. There are no deponent translations of verbs in the *hophal* so there is no requirement to present the data differently, in contrast to previous chapters.

As would be expected, non-active voice translations are the most common for the *hophal*, with only 20% of all translations being active. But, as with the *pual*, the fact that even a fifth of translations are active is unexpected. Where the active voice (and often the middle voice) is used in translation, it can be due to the fact that the verb in the *hophal* is translated without its causative meaning and an active, basic meaning is considered equivalent to a passive, causative meaning.

Active translations can also occur where it looks as though a verb which is pointed as a *hophal* has been read by the translators as though it is active, often due to the form looking identical to an active form.

8.2.1 Non-active form translations

80% of Greek verbs which are used to translate the *hophal* are non-active in form, none of which can be defined as deponent.

The largest proportion of these non-active Greek verbs are not clearly either middle or passive as regards their morphology. If these medio-passive translations are taken as an individual category then they make up the plurality of translations of the *hophal*: 71/190 (37.4%).

Morphologically passive forms are also commonly used to translate verbs in the *hophal* in the corpus: 62/190 (32.6%) of verbal translations of the *hophal* are translated using passive form verbs. 18/190 verbal translations of the *hophal* use the morphologically middle voice (10.0%).

As the *hophal* is a passive stem, the passive translation is not surprising. Additionally, it is unsurprising that there are no deponent translations, both because these would have an active meaning and because the *hophal* may be expected to show a similar pattern of low proportions of deponent translations to the *hiphil*, its active counterpart.

8.2.1.1 Middle form translations

As noted above, 18/190 verbal translations of the *hophal* use the morphologically middle voice (10.0%).

The large majority of these, 17/18 cases, are translations of the root מוּת, ‘to be killed’, using ἀποθνήσκω (‘to die, come to the end of one’s physical existence’), or a compound thereof, in middle future forms. These middle future forms of ἀποθνήσκω are active in meaning, which may seem strange for a translation of the *hophal*, but it is a standard feature of Greek idiom that ἀποθνήσκω is used as the passive of ἀποκτείνω, ‘to kill’, thus it is a completely natural translation for this ‘passive’ stem.

וַיֵּאמֶר וְשִׂאֵל לְאִי־יָמֵת אִישׁ בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה-יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה בְּיַשְׂרָאֵל:

But Saul said, ‘No one shall be put to death this day, for today the LORD has brought deliverance to Israel.’

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ οὐκ ἀποθάνειται οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ὅτι σήμερον κύριος ἐποίησεν σωτηρίαν ἐν Ἰσραηλ

And Saoul said, ‘No one shall die in this day, for today the Lord has wrought deliverance in Israel.’

1 Samuel 11:13 [ἀποθνήσκω]

The remaining *hophal* translation using a middle voice verb is more curious. A *yiqtol* of the root נצ (hophal: ‘to be left’) is translated with a middle imperative of ὑπολείπω (‘to leave behind’), which, as a command form, would seem incompatible with the passive meaning of the *hiphil*.

With this being the only appearance of this root in the *hophal* in the Hebrew Bible, it may be that the translators did not consider it to have a passive meaning; hence the rendering with a command form is an appropriate translation.

וַיִּקְרָא פַרְעֹה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר לְכוּ עַבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כִּי צִאֲנַתְּם וַיִּבְרַחְתֶּם אֶת־עַמְּכֶם:

Then Pharaoh summoned Moses, and said, ‘Go, worship the LORD. Only your flocks and your herds shall remain behind. Even your children may go with you.’

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Φαραω Μωυσῆν καὶ Ααρων λέγων βαδίσετε λατρεύσατε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν πλὴν τῶν προβάτων καὶ τῶν βοῶν ὑπολίπεσθε καὶ ἡ ἀποσκευὴ ὑμῶν ἀποτρεχέτω μεθ’ ὑμῶν

And Pharaoh summoned Moyses and Aaron, saying, ‘Go! Serve the Lord your God. Only leave behind the sheep and cattle. And let your chattels depart with you.’

Exodus 10:24

8.2.1.2 Passive meaning

The majority of *hophals* which are translated with morphologically passive forms are from two roots: נגד ('to be told' in the *hophal*), which accounts for 23/62 passive form translations, and מות ('to be killed' in the *hophal*), which accounts for 12/62 passive form translations. An example with נגד is below:

וַיְהִי אַחֲרַיִם הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה נִגְדָה לְאַבְרָהָם לְאִמּוֹ הִנֵּה יֹלְדָה מִלְכָּה גַם־הוּא בָנִים לְנַחֲוֹר אַחֲוִי:

ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ ἀνηγγέλη τῷ Ἀβραάμ λέγοντες ἰδοὺ τέτοκεν Μελχὰ καὶ αὐτῇ υἱοῦς Ναχωρ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου

Now after these things **it was told** Abraham, 'Milcah also has borne children, to your brother Nahor:

Genesis 22:20

8.2.1.3 Medio-passive translations

36/71 medio-passive translations are perfect participles, and 17 of these are translations of *hophal* participles of the root שזר, 'to be twisted', using the Greek verb κλώθω, 'to twist by spinning'. They are all found in Exodus 26-39 and can be understood to be passive, which would not be unexpected for translations of the *hophal*.

וְאַתְּ־תַשְׁמְכֶנּוּ תַעֲשֶׂה עֲשֶׂה שֶׁ־יִרְיֶצֶת שֶׁ־מִשְׁזָר וַתְּקַלֵּת וְאַרְגְּמֶן וַתִּלְעַת שְׁנֵי כְּרָבִים מַעֲשֶׂה חֶשֶׁב תַעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם:

καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ποιήσεις δέκα ἀυλαίας ἐκ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου χερουβιμ ἐργασία ὑφάντου ποιήσεις αὐτάς

Moreover you shall make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine **twisted** linen, and blue, purple, and crimson yarns; you shall make them with cherubim skillfully worked into them.

Exodus 26:1

Another large body of medio-passive translations comprises verbs of the root מוּת (*hophal*: ‘to be put to death’). Medio-passive imperatives of this root account for a further 19/71 medio-passive translations. These imperative translations are of an imperfect *hophal* and a *qal* infinitive absolute, and, except for one in 2 Kings 11:2, are found exclusively in Exodus, Numbers, and Leviticus. They can be understood as the passive of a verb with a factitive nuance, which is different from the previously seen translations of the root מוּת, as they are translated actively with ἀποθνήσκω (the standard passive equivalent of ἀποκτείνω) with a basic meaning ‘to die’.

מִכָּה אֵישׁ נָמַת מוּת יוּמַת:

ἐὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ θανάτῳ θανατούσθω

Now if someone strikes someone and he dies, he shall surely be put to death^{MT}/let him be put to death with death^{LXX}.

Exodus 21:12

8.2.2 Active form translations

There is a surprisingly high proportion of *hophals* translated with the active voice: 38/190 (20%). This seems to potentially be because a verb in the *hophal* can be translated without its causative nuance, creating a verb with a basic, active meaning (as seen above 8.2.2), or it can be due to a difference from the MT, potentially either because of a different *Vorlage* or different reading of the same verb by the translators.

8.2.2.1 Active understanding

Some verbs in the *hophal* are understood with an active meaning, but this results in the causative nuance of the *hophal* being lost and a basic meaning being preferred instead.

The root מוּת ('to be killed, put to death' in the *hophal*), which commonly appears in the *hophal*, is translated with an active verb on 12 occasions: τελευτάω ('to die'), and ἀποθνήσκω ('to die'). The way that ἀποθνήσκω is used as the passive equivalent of ἀποκτείνω has already been mentioned (see 8.2.1.2), so no more needs to be said about it here. It appears that τελευτάω is being used in a similar way, as with active morphology it is can act as an intransitive verb, and thus has equivalent valency and sense to the transitive verb 'to kill' when it appears passively (as with the *hophal*).

וּמְקַלֵּל אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ מוּת יוּמָת:

Whoever curses father or mother shall be put to death. [NRS]

ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ μητέρα αὐτοῦ τελευτήσει θανάτῳ

Let the one who insults his father or his mother end with death. [NETS]

Exodus 21:17 (16)

וַיַּעַן יְהוֹנָדָן אֶת־שָׂאוּל אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לְמָה יוּמָת מָה עָשָׂה:

Then Jonathan answered his father Saul, ‘Why should he be put to death? What has he done?’ [NRS]

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ἰωναθαν τῷ Σαουλ ἵνα τί ἀποθνήσκει τί πεποίηκεν

And Jonathan answered Saoul, ‘Why does he die? What has he done?’ [NETS]

1 Samuel 20:32

8.2.2.2 Different reading

Active translations can also occur because a verb which is pointed as a *hophal* in the MT is read by the translator, and thus translated, as though it belongs to a different, active stem, often the *hiphil*. This can seem to occur where verbal forms would be identical in different stems in their unpointed forms, but unexpected translations can also be found where the forms would not be expected to be identical due to the presence of *matres lectionis*.

As always, the difference may be due to stylistic reasons, or there is potential for the *Vorlage* of the LXX to be different from that of the MT.

8.2.2.2.1 Identical forms

There are 3 examples involving a root that was discussed in the chapter on the *hiphil* (see 4.2.3.3.3): גָּלַל (*hiphil*: ‘to declare’; *hophal*: ‘to be told’). These examples are the reverse of those cases which were explored in the chapter on the *hiphil*: there, expected active verbs were translated passively, but here expected passive verbs are translated actively.

As certain conjugations of this root can look identical in both verbal stems when they are in an unpointed form (as they would have been at the time of translation), it is very possible, particularly in ambiguous situations without a clear subject, that the translators were reading the verbs differently from how they were later pointed in the MT. An example is given below:

וַיָּבֹא אֵלִישָׁע וַיִּשְׁעֶק וַיְבַרְכֵהוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַלֵּה וַיִּגְדֹּל לְאֹמֶר בְּאֵישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים עַד־הַנֶּהָ:

Elisha went to Damascus while King Ben-hadad of Aram was ill. When **it was told** him, ‘The man of God has come here,’ [NRS]

καὶ ἦλθεν Ελισαιε εἰς Δαμασκόν καὶ υἱὸς Ἀδερ βασιλεὺς Συρίας ἠρρώσκει καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ἦκει ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἕως ᾧδε

And Elisaie went to Damascus, and Hader’s son, king of Syria, was ill. And **they reported** to him, saying, ‘The man of God has come here.’ [NETS]

2 Kings 8:7

In this example, what is also noteworthy is that the Hebrew verb is translated in the plural in Greek. This may be a stylistic/idiomatic translation on the part of the translator, or it may be that they read the verb ויגד as a plural, but spelled defectively, without the *mater lectionis* indicating the *u*-vowel of the 3cp form. Other forms which would have to be spelled defectively are discussed below.

The examples below from Genesis and 2 Samuel also seem to be cases where, without pointing, the translators have understood the verbs to be active, as if they were *hiphils*, rather than passive *hophals*, as they are pointed; thus, they have used active verbs in the translation.

קַח־נָא אֶת־בְּרִכְתֵּי אֲשֶׁר הִבֵּאתָ לִּי כִּי־חַנּוּנִי אֱלֹהִים וְכִי יִשְׁלִי־לְךָ נִפְצָר־בוּ וַיִּקַּח:

‘Please accept my gift that **is brought** to you, because God has dealt graciously with me, and because I have everything I want.’ So he urged him, and he took it. [NRS]

λαβὲ τὰς εὐλογίας μου ἃς ἤνεγκά σοι ὅτι ἠλέησέν με ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔστιν μοι πάντα καὶ ἐβιάσατο αὐτόν καὶ ἔλαβεν

‘Receive my blessings that **I have brought** to you, because God has shown mercy to me and I have everything.’ And he urged him, and he received them. [NETS]

Genesis 33:11 [בוא]

וְהָאֲנָשִׁים טָבִים לָנוּ מְאֹד וְלֹא הִכְלַמְנוּ וְלֹא־פָקַדְנוּ מְאֹמָה כָּל־יְמֵי הַתְּהַלְכָנוּ אַתֶּם בְּהִיּוֹתְנוּ בַשָּׂדֶה:

Yet the men were very good to us, and **we were** not **humiliated**, and we never missed anything when we were in the fields, as long as we were with them

καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἡμῖν σφόδρα οὐκ ἀπεκόλυσαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἐνετείλαντο ἡμῖν πάσας τὰς
ἡμέρας ἃς ἤμεν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀγρῷ

And the men were very good to us; they did not hinder us nor make demands on us, and when
we were in the fields (NETS)

1 Samuel 25:15 [כלם]

There is also an example where not only is the verb read as though it were in a different
verbal stem from how it was later pointed in the MT, but also as though it had a different verbal root,
which results in a different meaning in the Greek translation.

The verb in question, הִתְחַל, is found in Genesis 4:26 and is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew
Bible. The pointing of the MT implies that it is a *hophal* of the root חלל, which is a root that means ‘to
begin’ in the *hiphil*, and therefore, passively ‘to be begun’ in the *hophal*. This leads to a difficult
reading, as even if the sense of ‘to begin’ is correct, the passivity is hard to reconcile with the sense
(and indeed, the English translation of the NRS does not use a passive sense, nor does the Latin of the
Vulgate).

However, the Greek translator seems to analyse this verb as a *hiphil* of the root יחל (‘to wait’
in the *hiphil*), and so translates it with ἐλπίζω, ‘to hope’, in the active voice, which is a slightly
exegetical translation, but appropriate if the root were indeed יחל.

וּלְשֵׁת בְּמִהוּא יֵלֶד-בֶּן וַיִּקְרָא אֶת-שְׁמוֹ אֶנֶשׁ אִזְי הַיְחַל לְקִרְא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה:

To Seth also a son was born, and he named him Enosh. At that time people began to invoke
the name of the LORD. [NRS]

καὶ τῷ Σηθ ἐγένετο υἱός ἐπωνόμασεν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐνωσ οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ
ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ

And to Seth a son was born, and he named his name Enos. He hoped to invoke the name of
the Lord God. [NETS]

Genesis 4:26

8.2.2.2.2 Non-identical forms

The phenomenon of forms only being identical if spelled defectively has been discussed in previous chapters (see 2.2.3.5), and possible examples were shown there for those stems. Examples relating specifically to the *hophal* are shown below.

The root שׁוּם ('to be put' in the *hophal*) appears pointed as a *hophal* in Genesis 24:33 and is translated actively in Greek with a form of *παράτιθμι*, 'to set before'; in the *qere* the form of the Hebrew verb is וַיִּשֶׂם, while the *ketiv* is וַיִּשֶׂם. In an unpointed, defective form, this verb in either case would be וישם. This would be identical to the *qal*, 'to put, place', and thus an active translation would be appropriate. Both Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta agree with an active translation of this verb, using the D-stem verb וישׁוּא and the G-stem verb וישׁוּא respectively.

וַיִּשֶׂם לְפָנָיו לְאֹכֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲכַל עַד אֲם־דִּבַּרְתִּי דְבָרִי וַיֹּאמֶר דְּבַר:

Then [food] was set before him to eat; but he said, 'I will not eat until I have told my errand.'
He said, 'Speak on.' [NRS]

καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ἄρτους φαγεῖν καὶ εἶπεν οὐ μὴ φάγω ἕως τοῦ λαλήσαι με τὰ ῥήματά μου
καὶ εἶπαν λάλησον

And he set bread loaves before them to eat. And he said, 'I will not eat until I have spoken my piece.' And they said, 'Speak on.' [NETS]

Genesis 24:33

Similarly, a verb of the root שׁוּב appears pointed as a *hophal* ('to be brought back') in Exodus 10:8, but is translated with an active form of the Greek verb *ἀποστρέφω* ('to turn back'), as though it were translating a *hiphil* instead ('to bring back'). The unpointed and defective form would have looked identical in the active (*hiphil*) and passive (*hophal*) forms: וישב. It appears that the translator has read this verb to be active rather than passive and has translated it accordingly.

With this example in particular, it may be that the use of the passive form in Hebrew simply serves to indicate an impersonal subject, which is made more apparent in the Greek.

וַיָּבֹאוּ מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן אֶל־פַּרְעֹה וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם לְכוּ עֲבַדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִי נָמִי הַהֲלֹכִים:

So Moses and Aaron **were brought back** to Pharaoh, and he said to them, ‘Go, worship the LORD your God! But which ones are to go?’ [NRS]

καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρὼν πρὸς Φαραῶ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθε καὶ λατρεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν τίνες δὲ καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ πορευόμενοι

And **they brought back** both Moyses and Aaron to Pharaoh, and he said to them, ‘Go! Serve the Lord your God. But who and who are those that are going?’ [NETS]

Exodus 10:8

8.2.3 Hophal voice translation conclusions

The *hophal* is widely translated passively, both with passive form verbs with passive meaning and with passively understood medio-passive forms. The high prevalence of medio-passive translations in particular strongly agrees with Wevers' assessment on the translation of verbal stems (1985: 17).

Where there are middle and active form translations, the reason is often that the verb in the *hophal* is translated with a basic meaning rather than a causative one, particularly with the root מוּת, which in the *hophal* has the passive, causative meaning 'to be put to death' ('to be made to die'). This can be translated with the more basic meaning, 'to die', and an active translation can be used, or a middle voice translation with active meaning.

It has been discussed in previous chapters that the translators sometimes appear to have read a verb differently from how it was later pointed in the MT, i.e. with an active meaning when the pointing indicates a passive stem. This appears to occur with the *hophal* too and explains some of the active translations. It can be that unpointed verbs look identical in active and passive stems, and so the different reading requires no further explanation. However, there are also occasions where it would be necessary for the verbs to be spelled defectively in order for the forms in different stems to look indistinguishable from each other.

9 Factitive-causative translations

9.1 Lexis

There are verbal lexemes in Greek which allow a factitive-causative meaning in certain circumstances and when appearing in verbs with certain morphology (see Appendix B, 12.2). This next section explores the relative proportions of Greek lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning being used to translate verbs in each of the seven major stems of Hebrew.

9.1.1 Qal

As the *qal* is considered to be a basic stem, with no causative meaning, it would be expected that fewer of the verbs used in translations of the *qal* would have a factitive-causative nuance than the *piel* or the *hiphil*, both of which are active stems with a greater potential for factitivity-causativity (see 1.5). This is ascribable to the fact that the *qal* is understood to convey basic transitive and intransitive actions and thus the translators – who are not thinking in terms of ‘choosing’ a verb within a grammatical framework, but are rather relying on their understanding of Hebrew – use Greek verbs which match these meanings, and these verbs are unlikely to be factitive-causative in meaning.

There are 823 different Greek verbal lexemes which are used to translate Hebrew verbs in the *qal*. Semantically, lexemes are the most unspecified form of a verb and can have a range of definitions, which only become more specific when the lexemes are actually used as words and have a definite morphology and context. However, it is still possible to look through these lexemes, look at their definitions as listed in a dictionary (such as Liddell and Scott 1940), and find those which have the potential for a factitive or causative meaning – i.e. they are recorded as having one of these meanings in certain contexts and/or with certain morphology.

Of the 823 Greek lexemes which are used to translate the *qal*, only 22 (2.7%) have a causative meaning listed as at least one of their definitions. A further 99 (12.0%) have definitions that can have a factitive nuance. This results in 121/823 (14.7%) verbal lexemes used to translate the *qal* which have the potential of a factitive-causative nuance.

The subset of Greek verbal lexemes used to translate the *qal* which allow a factitive-causative meaning can be further broken down by looking at the voice morphology of the verbs derived from these lexemes. Of the 121 lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning, 47 appear exclusively in verbs which sometimes have non-active morphology. A further 36 lexemes appear in verbs which sometimes feature active morphology and sometimes non-active morphology (described below as ‘mixed’), which leaves 38 factitive-causative lexemes which appear in verbs that exclusively have active morphology. For clarification, these categories here, and in later chapters, do not mean that these lexemes only appear in verbs with active or non-active morphology in Koine Greek in general, but that they do specifically in the corpus under consideration.

These data are displayed in the figure below (figure 16) as percentages of the total Greek lexemes used to translate the *qal* (823):

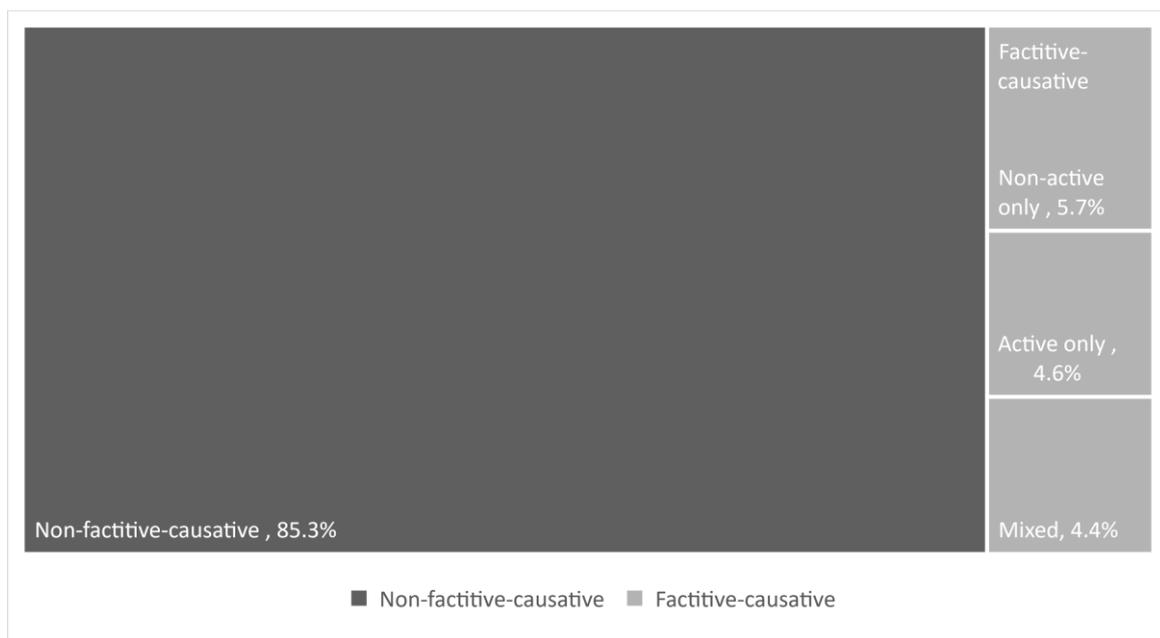


Figure 16: Figure showing proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *qal*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *qal*.

The data show that the plurality of potentially factitive-causative lexemes are non-active only (47/121; 38.8% of this subset). As Koine Greek does still use anticausative marking using voice morphology (1.6.2), this would continue to suggest that the *qal* is perceived to have a basic, i.e. non-

factitive-causative, meaning, as the translators are using lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning with morphology (i.e. non-active voice) that commonly conditions the verb not to have a complex sense, and thus a basic one.

As an example, one factitive-causative lexeme which appears only with verbs which have non-active morphology when translating the *qal*, is *πλανάω*. This verb has the definition ‘to cause to wander’ when it appears with active morphology; the underlying simpler construction here is ‘to wander/stray’, which has the feature +dynamic, thus *πλανάω* is causative, not factitive, when it has an active voice form (see 1.4.4). When it appears with non-active morphology, it does not have a passive meaning, but has the underlying basic (intransitive) meaning ‘to wander/stray’, and thus is no longer causative. It is in this non-active form that it is used to translate the *qal* in 4/4 cases in this corpus:

וַיִּמְצָאֵהוּ אִישׁ וְהָגָה תְּעָה בַּשָּׂדֶה וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ הָאִישׁ לְאָמֵר מַה־תְּבַקֵּשׁ:

καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπος **πλανώμενον** ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἠρώτησεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγων τί ζητεῖς

And a man found him **wandering** in the plain, and the man asked him, saying, ‘What are you seeking?’

Genesis 37:15

Another example is the verb *ὀργίζω* which has, with active morphology, the factitive definition ‘to make angry, annoy’ (the simpler underlying construction is ‘to be angry, annoyed’, which is -dynamic, thus *ὀργίζω* is factitive, not causative); with non-active morphology, *ὀργίζω* has the meaning ‘to be/become angry’. Whenever verbs of this lexeme are used to translate verbs in the *qal*, as below in Genesis 31:36, they always appears with non-active morphology, and thus have the basic meaning, and so cannot be considered factitive:

וַיִּחַר לְיַעֲקֹב וַיִּרְבַּב בְּלָבוֹ ...

ὀργίσθη δὲ Ἰακωβ καὶ ἐμαχέσατο τῷ Λαβαν...

Then Jacob **became angry**, and quarreled with Laban...

Genesis 31:36

However, even the Greek verbal lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning, and appear in verbs which feature active morphology, do not always have a factitive-causative meaning in the contexts where they appear, as many of these verbs also have a basic meaning alongside their complex one.

In some cases, the syntax and transitivity can be factors for determining which meaning is to be understood. For example, the Greek lexeme *βασιλεύω* allows both the basic meaning ‘to rule, be a king’ and the complex⁴² meaning ‘to make someone king’ when it appears in verbs with active morphology; however, the basic meaning is syntactically intransitive, while the complex meaning requires a direct object. Thus, when *βασιλεύω* is used to translate verbs in the *qal* of the root מלך – ‘to be king, rule’ – it can be understood as having a basic meaning, despite always having active morphology, as the *qal* of מלך always appears in syntactically intransitive contexts.⁴³ This is shown in the example below:

וַיִּמְכְּרֵם יְהוָה בְּיַד מֶלֶךְ-כְּנָעַן אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ בְּחָצוֹר ...

καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Ιαβιν βασιλέως Χανααν ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἀσωρ...

So the LORD sold them into the hand of King Jabin of Canaan, who ruled in Hazor...

Judges 4:2

But there are other cases where Greek lexemes which both allow a factitive-causative meaning and always appear in verbs with active morphology, also have basic definitions that can be

⁴² The complex meaning of *βασιλεύω* is causative if the basic situation ‘to rule, be a king’ is understood as +dynamic, while it is factitive if the meaning is understood as -dynamic. In the categorisation of lexemes, *βασιλεύω* is defined as causative from Liddell and Scott (1940) ‘II: causal, appoint as king...’.

⁴³ This in contrast to where *βασιλεύω* is used to translate the *hiphil* of מלך, ‘to make someone rule’, (e.g. Judges 9:6), where the syntactic context is transitive, so the complex meaning is understood.

both intransitive and transitive, so the syntax cannot solely determine if the meaning should be understood as complex or basic.

For example, the verb *βλαστάνω* allows the causative meaning ‘to make to grow’ (causative, as the underlying basic situation, ‘to grow’, is +dynamic), but can also have the basic meaning ‘to bud, sprout, grow’, which can be used in both transitive and intransitive contexts. In Numbers 17:23, below, identical active forms of *βλαστάνω* are used to translate verbs in the *qal* (of the roots פרח, ‘to bud’, and גמל, ‘to ripen’), once in an intransitive context and once in a transitive context. Even in the transitive context, it is unlikely that a complex, causative meaning presumably meant:

וַיְהִי מִמָּחָרֹת וַיָּבֵא מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָהָלָק הַעֲדוּת וְהִגִּיהָ פָּרַח מִשֶׁה־אֶרְחוֹן לְבַיִת לְגִי וַיֵּצֵא פָּרַח וַיִּצְוֶן צִיִּץ וַיִּגְמַל שְׂקָדִים:

καὶ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐπαύριον καὶ εἰσήλθεν Μωυσεῖς καὶ Ααρων εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ῥάβδος Ααρων εἰς οἶκον Λευι καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν βλαστὸν καὶ ἐξήνθησεν ἄνθη καὶ ἐβλάστησεν κάρυα

When Moses went into the tent of the covenant on the next day, the staff of Aaron for the house of Levi had sprouted. It put forth buds, produced blossoms, and sprouted ripe almonds.

Numbers 17:23

It becomes difficult to find translations of the *qal* with verbs which allow a factitive-causative meaning where they do indeed have a complex sense. Some possible (not exhaustive) examples are given below (note that all the Greek verbs have active morphology):

וַיִּקַּן אֶת־תְּהַלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר נָטַח שָׁם אֶהְלֹו מִיַּד בְּנֵי־חָמוֹר אָבִי שָׁכֵם בְּמֵאָה קֶשֶׁט:

καὶ ἐκτήσατο τὴν μερίδα τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὗ ἔστησεν ἐκεῖ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ παρὰ Εμμωρ πατρὸς Συχεμ ἑκατὸν ἀμνῶν

And from the sons of Hamor, Shechem’s father, he bought for one hundred pieces of money the plot of land on which he had pitched/made stand his tent.

Genesis 33:19

... ותאמרו לו כי־מלך תשים עלינו ועמה התנצבו לפני יהוה לשבטיכם ולא לפיכם:

...καὶ εἶπατε οὐχὶ ἀλλ' ἢ ὅτι βασιλέα στήσεις ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ νῦν κατάστητε ἐνώπιον κυρίου κατὰ τὰ σκηπτρα ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς φυλὰς ὑμῶν

‘...and you have said, “No! but **set/make stand** a king over us.” Now therefore present yourselves before the LORD by your tribes and by your clans.’

1 Samuel 10:19

ויאמר לאברהם ידע תדע כי־גר יהיה ורעה בארץ לא להם ועבדום וענו אתם ארבע מאות שנה:

καὶ ἐρρέθη πρὸς Ἀβραμ γινώσκων γνώση ὅτι πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῆ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ καὶ **δουλώσουσιν** αὐτοὺς καὶ κακώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταπεινώσουσιν αὐτοὺς τετρακόσια ἔτη

Then the LORD said to Abram, ‘Know this for certain, that your offspring shall be aliens in a land that is not theirs, and **they will enslave them** and they will oppress them [and they will humble them^{LXX}] for four hundred years;’

Genesis 15:13

When compared other active verbal stems, translations of the *qal* use a lower proportion of verbal lexemes which allow a factitive-causative nuance: only 14.7%, lower than the *piel* (9.1.2) and the *hiphil* (9.1.3).

Of these lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning, the proportion which actually *do* display such a nuance in the contexts where they appear is certainly even smaller than 14.7%, as many examples can be found where realisations of these lexemes are used in translations but have a basic meaning, while it is difficult to find cases where a translation of the *qal* does display a factitive-causative meaning.

This low proportion of factitive-causative verbal lexemes is completely in agreement with the *qal*'s definition as a basic stem, rather than a factitive-causative one.

9.1.2 *Piel*

The *piel* is a complex stem to define (see 3.1). In terms of factitivity-causativity, it is generally considered, in many cases, to have a meaning that is not basic but factitive (see 1.4.4). As such, it would be expected to feature translations with a higher proportion of Greek verbal lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning than are used for the *qal*.

The same method of categorising lexemes in the *piel* can be done as was seen for the *qal* (9.1.1). There are 344 different verbal Greek lexemes which are used to translate Hebrew verbs in the *piel*. Of these, 9 (2.6%) can be defined as having a causative meaning as one of their meanings – which is not dissimilar to the proportion of causative lexemes used to translate the *qal* (2.7%) – while 78/344 (22.6%) can be said to have the potential for a factitive nuance, which is certainly higher than the proportion seen for the *qal* (12.0%). If the factitive and causative verbal lexemes are added together then 87/344 (25.3%) of these total lexemes allow a factitive-causative meaning in certain contexts and/or with certain morphology.

Of the 87 factitive-causative lexemes, a total of 6 appear exclusively in the corpus with non-active morphology. There are 13 lexemes which appear in verbs which sometimes feature active morphology and sometimes non-active (the ‘mixed’ category), and the remaining 68 always have active morphology.

These data are displayed in the figure below (figure 17) as percentages of the total Greek lexemes used to translate the *piel* (344):

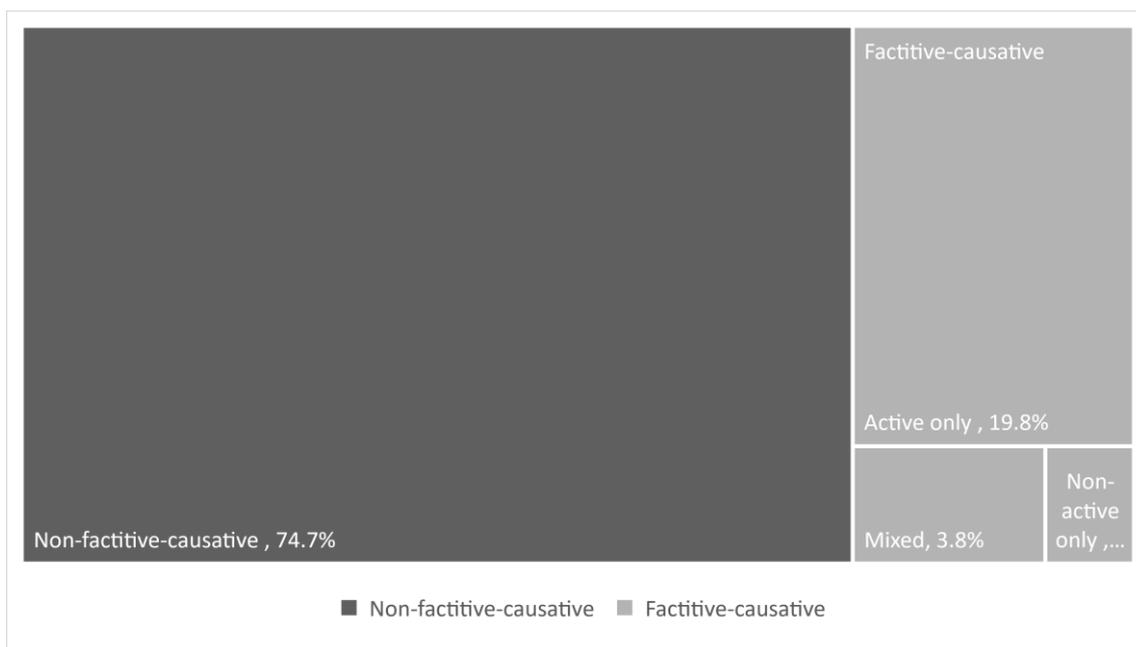


Figure 17: Figure showing proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *piel*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *piel*.

All of these data show that verbs in the *piel* are not exclusively translated with factitive-causative Greek verbs, but they are more likely to be translated with factitive-causative verbal lexemes than verbs in the *qal* are – 25.3% seen in the *piel* compared to 14.7% seen in the *qal*.

It is also apparent that when verbs in the *piel* are translated using lexemes that allow a factitive-causative meaning, a large proportion of them (78.2% of this subset) appear exclusively with active morphology, which is far higher than the 31.4% for the same category in the *qal*, and the smallest proportion (6.9%) appear exclusively with non-active morphology, which is far lower than the *qal*'s 38.8%. This is not unexpected, given the continued existence of anticausative coding in Koine Greek (see 1.6.3), as the *piel* (being understood to have factitive-causative meaning) is more likely than the *qal* to be translated with a Greek verb with active morphology. While active verbs can have anticausative meaning, they are more likely to be used to indicate the causative/transitive meaning. As is shown below (see chapter 10), there are several examples where Hebrew roots which appear in verbs in both the *piel* and the *qal* are translated with the same Greek verb, but where active morphology is used for the *piel* and non-active for the *qal*.

As noted above, when looking at just those lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning, translations of the *piel* have a far greater proportion of factitive lexemes compared to causative lexemes – 78 factitive to 9 causative – and thus 89.7% of factitive-causative lexemes are factitive, while only 10.3% are causative.

9.1.3 *Hiphil*

The *hiphil* is considered to be a causative stem (4.1) and thus would be expected to be translated with a high proportion of Greek verbal lexemes that are factitive-causative, particularly causative verbs.

There are 465 different Greek verbal lexemes which are used in translations of the *hiphil*. Of these, 31/465 (6.7%) can be defined as having a causative meaning, and 125/465 (25.8%) can be defined as having a factitive meaning, leading to a total of 156/465 (33.5%) of verbal lexemes which translate verbs in the *hiphil* and can be said to allow a factitive-causative meaning.

Of these 156 factitive-causative verbal lexemes translating the *hiphil*, a total of 7 appear exclusively in verbs with non-active morphology. Another 19 factitive-causative lexemes appear in verbs which have both active or non-active morphology (mixed), and thus there are 130 factitive-causative Greek lexemes which are used to translate the *hiphil* and appear exclusively in Greek verbs with active morphology.

As with the previous stems, these data can be shown in a figure (figure 18) as proportions of the total lexemes used to translate the *hiphil* (465):

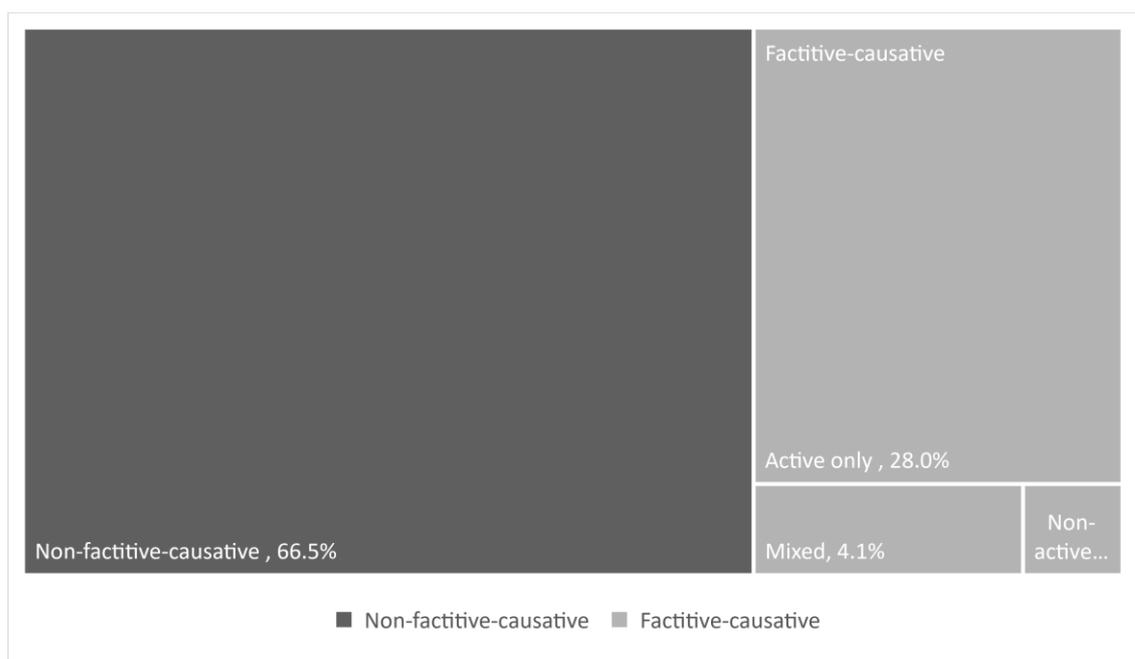


Figure 18: Figure showing the proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *hiphil*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *hiphil*.

The *hiphil*, clearly, has a higher proportion of translations with factitive-causative lexemes (33.5%) than either the *piel* (25.3%) or the *qal* (14.7%). Not only that, but the proportion of those factitive-causative lexemes which are active only is higher when translating the *hiphil* (83.3%) than it is for the *piel* (78.2%) or the *qal* (31.4%). In both cases, the pattern is *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*.

Looking at the balance of factitive to causative lexemes within the category of factitive-causative lexemes, 19.9% of those used to translate the *hiphil* are causative, while 80.1% are factitive. This is a greater proportion of causative lexemes than are used to translate either the *piel* (10.3%) or the *qal* (18.2%) – which makes sense if the *hiphil* is understood to be a causative stem – but it is not as high as might be expected, as the larger proportion are still factitive. This implies that the meaning of verbs in the *hiphil* may often align with a factitive, rather than a strictly causative, sense. As will be shown below (chapter 10), there are occasions where Hebrew verbs of roots which appear in both the *hiphil* and *piel* are translated using the same Greek verb with the same voice morphology, which may also imply that the translators understand certain roots in the *hiphil* and *piel* to have similar enough meanings that they do not require morphological or lexical distinction.

9.1.4 *Hitpael*

The *hitpael* is commonly understood as a reflexive counterpart to the *piel* (5.1).

There are 126 different Greek verbal lexemes which are used to translate verbs in the *hitpael*. Of these, 4 (4.0%) can have a causative meaning and 28 (21.4%) can have a factitive meaning – a total of 32/126 (25.4%) of lexemes which allow a factitive-causative sense.

Looking at the voice of these factitive-causative lexemes, 14 appear with exclusively non-active morphology, 7 with only active morphology, and 11 which can appear with either in different contexts. As with previous stems, these data are presented in the following figure (figure 19) as percentages of the total lexemes (126):

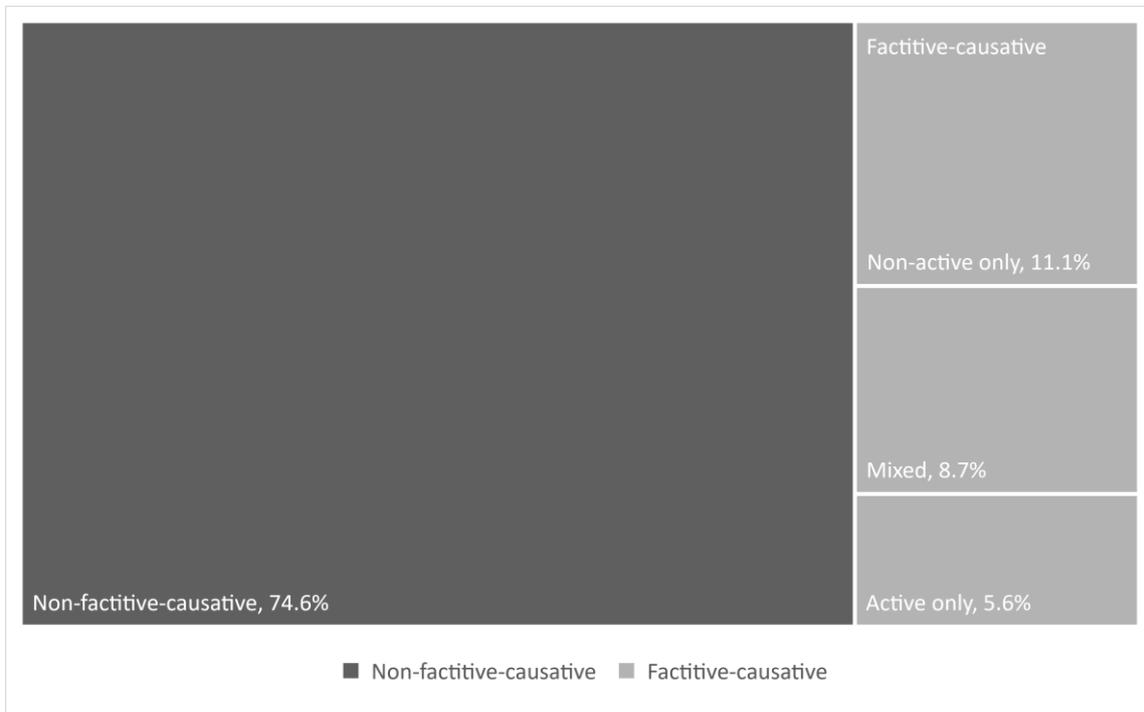


Figure 19: Figure showing the proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *hitpael*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *hitpael*.

In terms of the proportion of factitive-causative lexemes used in translation, the *hitpael* is extremely similar to, and in actuality slightly greater than, the *piel* (25.4% compared to 25.3%, respectively). From this it could be inferred that the Hebrew stems have a similar nuance, and indeed

they do both sit in the same row of the table which attempts to organise the stems by structure (see table 6 in 1.5).

When looking at the voice of the specific factitive-causative lexemes as a proportion of that subset in comparison to the stems that have been examined so far the *hitpael* is more similar to the *qal* than the *piel*, although with a greater tendency towards non-active forms: 21.9% active only (*qal* 31.4%; *piel* 78.2%); 34.4% mixed (*qal* 29.8%; *piel* 14.9%); and 43.8% non-active only (*qal* 38.8%; *piel* 6.9%).

It may be important to notice that the data for the *hitpael* are drawn from a relatively smaller data set of lexemes than for the other stems so far, so this makes any conclusions drawn from comparisons of the *hitpael* data with other stems less certain.

9.1.5 *Niphal*

The *niphal* is considered to be a basic stem (i.e. without a factitive-causative nuance) and middle/passive in voice (6.1). As it is often used as the passive equivalent to verbs in the *qal*, there may be an expectation that has a similar proportion of factitive-causative lexemes to that stem, but this is not the case..

Translations of the *niphal* feature 308 different Greek verbal lexemes. Of these, only 9 (2.9%) allow a causative meaning, while 58 (18.8%) have the potential for a factitive meaning – 67/308 (21.8%) factitive-causative verbal lexemes in total. As was done to the previous stems, this set of factitive-lexemes can be broken down by the voice morphology of the verbs they are used for. With translations of the *niphal*, there are 41 factitive-causative lexemes used exclusively with non-active morphology, there are 12 in the mixed category (featuring active and non-active morphology in different circumstances), and 14 exclusively active.

These data are shown as proportions of the total lexemes used to translate the *niphal* (308) in the figure below (figure 20):

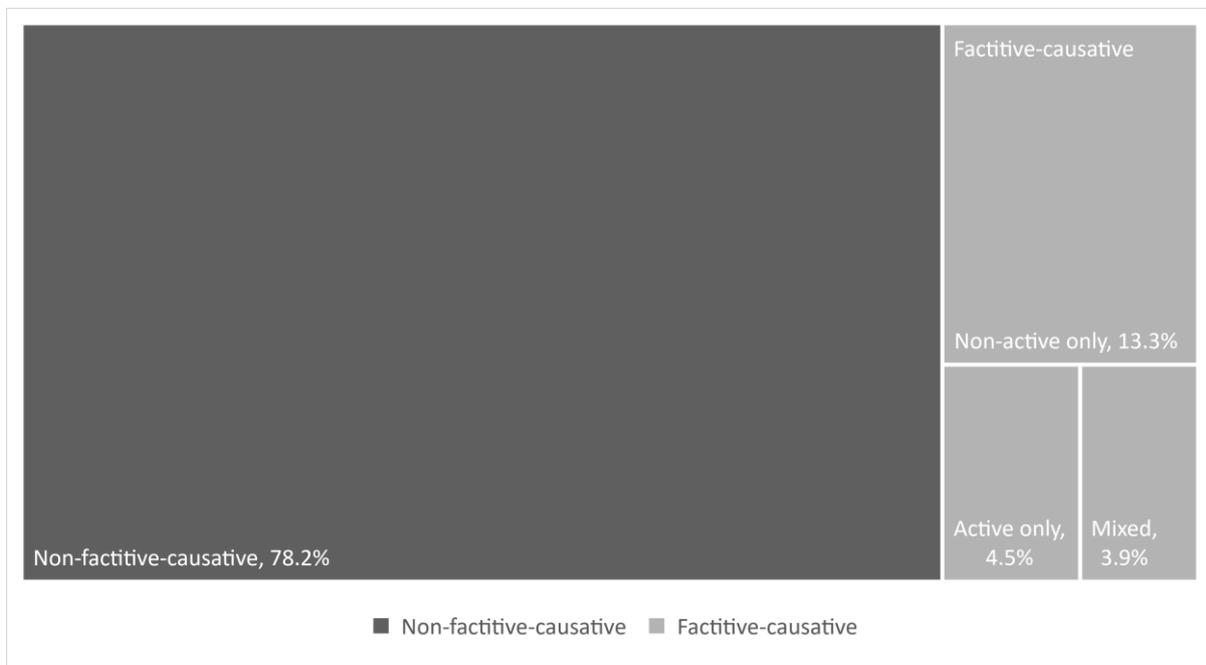


Figure 20: Figure showing the proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *niphal*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *niphal*.

The *niphal*, which, as mentioned, may be expected to be translated with a similar proportion of factitive-causative Greek lexemes to the *qal*, instead has a total proportion slightly closer to the *piel* and the *hitpael*: *niphal* 21.8%, *piel* 25.3%, *hitpael* 25.4%; compared with *qal* 14.7%.

Translations of the *niphal* are also more similar to the *hitpael* with respect to the voice morphology of these factitive-causative lexemes in some areas, as both the stems feature fairly low proportions of active only factitive-causative lexemes (*niphal*: 20.9% as a proportion of just factitive-causative lexemes; *hitpael*: 21.9%), although the translations of the *niphal* clearly feature more exclusively non-active translations of these lexemes: 61.2%, compared to 43.8% respectively.

These trends, where the *niphal* has closer proportions to the *piel* than the *qal*, may be in part because the *niphal* can be used as a passive counterpart to verbs in the *piel* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 393-4), so perhaps there is a great overlap of factitive-lexemes which are used to translate the *piel* and *niphal*, where those translating the *niphal* appear with non-active morphology. However, this is seen not to be the case, as of the 67 factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *niphal*, only 6 are also used to translate the *piel* with active morphology.

Thus it may be a statistical fluke of the lexemes which are seen in the corpus which means that there happen to more factitive-causative lexemes that are used to translate the *niphal* than might be expected. And, as translations of *niphal* use fewer than half the lexemes of the *qal* (823), a difference of a few verbs can have a larger impact on the overall proportions (this is a problem which will be seen more clearly with the *pual*, 9.1.6, and the *hophal*, 9.1.7).

The *niphal* has the highest proportion of exclusively non-active translations of factitive-causative lexemes of any of the stems examined so far, which agrees with its assessment as a middle/passive stem.

9.1.6 *Pual*

The *pual*, being the passive equivalent to the *piel*, may be expected to be translated with a similar proportion of lexemes which allow a factitive-causative understanding, but with a much larger proportion of non-active translations.

With only 51 total Greek lexemes used to translate verbs in the *pual*, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the gathered data. This is the lowest number of lexemes of any of the stems, and is a group that is more than twice as small as the *hitpael*, which, with only 126 lexemes, already had a small data set.

Of the 51 lexemes, 17 allow a factitive-causative understanding, with all of them being understood as being generally factitive. These 17 lexemes can, as before, be separated into three categories based on voice: 14 appear with non-active morphology only, 2 are mixed, and only 1 appears exclusively with active morphology.

The figure below (figure 21) displays these data as percentages of the total lexemes (51):

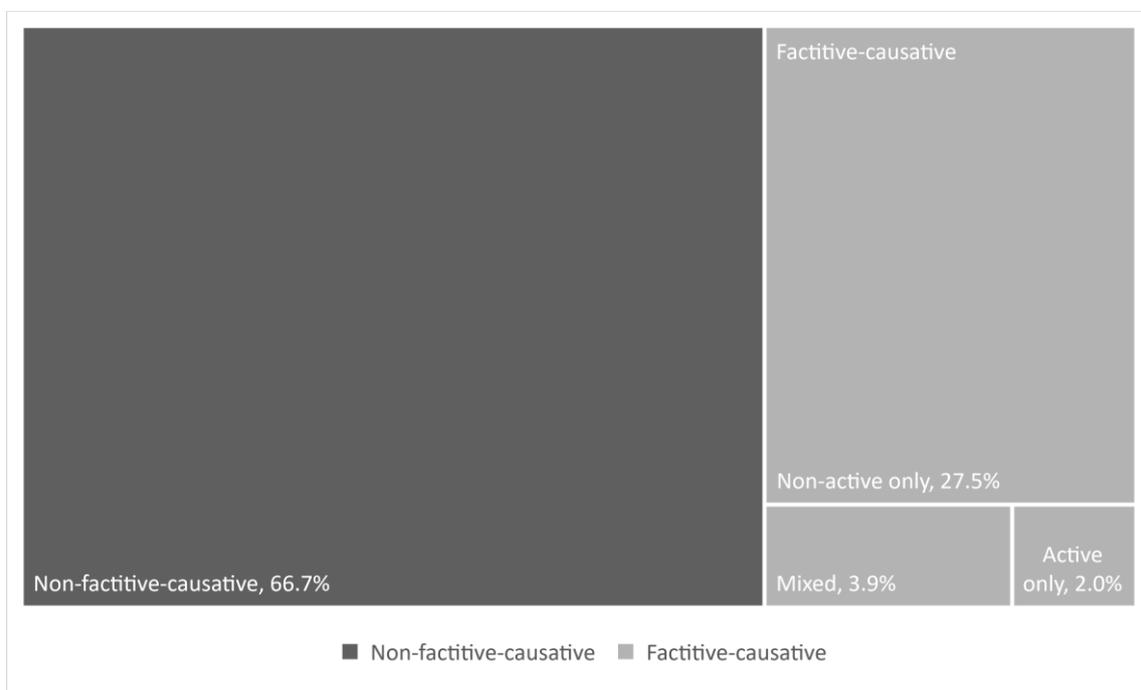


Figure 21: Figure showing the proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *pual*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *pual*.

The proportion of factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *pual* (33.3%) is much larger than seen for any stem except the *hiphil* (34.0%); it is certainly much larger than the equivalent proportion for the *piel* (25.3%).

The majority of the factitive-causative Greek lexemes used to translate the *pual* appear in verbs which have non-active morphology – this category is 82.4% of the factitive-causative lexemes, which is the highest of any of the stems, with the *hophal* having the next highest proportion (see 9.1.7).

From this data, the *pual* looks to be the passive pair, not to the *piel*, but to the *hiphil*. The proportion of factitive-causative lexemes is similar for both (seen above), while the proportion factitive-causative lexemes translating the *pual* which appear with non-active morphology in the corpus (82.4%) is very close to the proportion of factitive-causative lexemes translating the *hiphil* which appear with only active morphology in the corpus: 83.3%.

However, of the 17 factitive-causative lexemes of the *pual*, only 5 are passive equivalents to those found translating the *hiphil* (and 4 also appear as passive equivalents to the lexemes factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *piel*), while 6/14 of the factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *hophal* are passive equivalents to the those which translate the *hiphil*. Thus it seems that the *pual* is not the surprising passive pair to the *hiphil*, but simply the set of lexemes is not large enough to draw any such conclusions in comparison.

9.1.7 *Hophal*

As the *hophal* is the passive equivalent to the *hiphil*, it may be expected to be translated with a similar proportion of factitive-causative lexemes as that stem, only with a higher proportion of non-active forms. This is a similar expectation as was held for the *pual* as compared to the *piel* (see 7.3), although this was seen not to be entirely correct.

The *hophal* is translated with only 57 distinct lexemes, so there is a similar problem as mentioned with the *pual* and the *hitpael*, in that conclusions are likely to be less firm, as they are based on a smaller subset of data.

Of these 57 lexemes, 14 (24.6%) allow a factitive-causative meaning. These 14 can be categorised by the voice morphology of the verbs in which they appear: 9 are non-active only, 3 are mixed, and 2 are active only. All these data is shown in the figure below (figure 22):

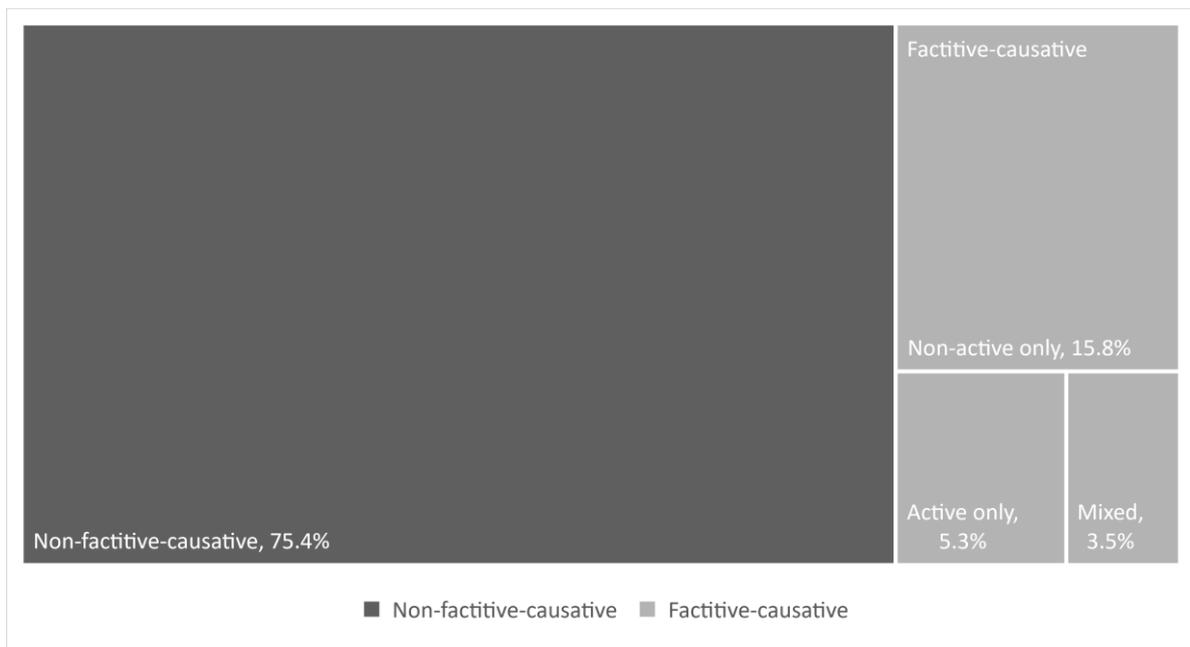


Figure 22: Figure showing the proportion of non-factitive-causative vs factitive-causative verbal lexemes (broken down by voice morphology) used in translations of the *hophal*, as proportions of the total lexemes used in translations of the *hophal*.

Just under a quarter of lexemes (24.6%) used to translate verbs in the *hophal* allow a factitive-causative meaning. This is lower than the proportion of factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *hiphil* (34.0%), and is in fact closer, in proportional terms, to the *piel* (25.3%) and the *hitpael*

(25.4%). As with the *pual*, rather than assume that the *hophal* is actually closer to the *piel* than the *hiphil*, it is more likely that there are not enough lexemes to make any conclusions like this.

In terms of the balance of causative and factitive lexemes used to translate the *hophal*, 21.4% (3/14) are causative, while 78.6% (11/14) are factitive. That the majority of these lexemes are factitive, and not causative, in a stem which is considered to be a passive equivalent to a causative stem, is not unexpected, as the same pattern was seen even for the *hiphil*. The proportion of causative lexemes within those lexemes that allow factitivity-causativity is close to that of the *hiphil* (24.1%), but is based on far fewer lexemes, so, as before, the conclusions drawn are less firm.

9.2 Denominative/deverbative verbs

The denominative/deverbative Greek verbs in often feature a particular set of endings (-όω, -έω, -άω, -ύω, -ίζω, -άζω, -άνω, -αίνω, -ύνω, and -εύω; see 1.6.5), and the *piel* is the Hebrew stem most commonly associated with denominative verbs (3.1). Thus, it may be expected that those denominative verbs in the *piel* will be translated with denominative Greek verbs.

Looking at the lexemes of the *piel* in general, a slightly greater proportion of them do feature the denominative/deverbative endings than is seen for the *hiphil* and the *qal*: *piel* 53.9%, *qal* 50.9%, *hiphil* 51.4%. There are several clear examples of denominative verbs in the *piel* being translated by denominative verbs in Greek.

The table below (table 9) shows several denominative verbs in the *piel* which appear in the corpus, and the Greek verbal lexemes used to translate them, including the nominal root of the lexeme (if possible to determine) as well as the verbal ending.

<i>Piel</i> denominative	Nominal root of <i>piel</i>	Greek verbal lexeme used in translation	Nominal root of Greek lexeme	Ending
בכר	בָּכַר 'first-born'	πρωτοτοκεύω	πρωτότοκος 'first-born'	-εύω
גרם	גָּרַם 'bone'	έκμυελίζω	μυελός 'marrow'	-ίζω
דבר	דָּבַר 'word' (?)	(κατά-, σύν-) λαλέω ⁴⁴	-	-έω
חטא	חָטָא 'sin offering'	ἀναφέρω	-	-ω
		ἀποτιννύω	τίνω (verb) 'to pay'	-ύω
		ἀφαγνίζω	ἅγιος 'holy'	-ίζω
		καθαρίζω	καθαρός 'clean'	-ίζω
חמש	חָמֵשׁ 'five'	ἀποπεμπτόω	πέμπτος 'five'	-όω
זנב	זָנַב 'tail'	καταλαμβάνω	-	-άνω

⁴⁴ The verb *λαλέω* is not the only verb used to translate the root *דבר* in the *piel*, but it makes up 85.6% of translations. The majority of the remaining of translations (11.7%) are with *λέγω*.

		<i>κόπτω</i>	-	- <i>ω</i>
כהן	כֹּהֵן 'priest'	<i>ἱερατεύω</i>	<i>ἱερατεία</i> 'priesthood' (< <i>ἱερός</i> 'holy')	- <i>εύω</i>
מהר ⁴⁵	מְהִיר 'skilled'	<i>(κατα-)σπεύδω</i>	-	- <i>ω</i>
		<i>ταχύνω</i>	<i>ταχύς</i> 'quick'	- <i>ύνω</i>
סקל	*unknown, but presumed	<i>λιθάζω</i>	<i>λίθος</i> 'stone'	- <i>άζω</i>
עור	עֵוֶר 'blind'	<i>ἐκτυφλόω</i>	<i>τυφλός</i> 'blind'	- <i>όω</i>
ענן	עָנָן 'cloud'	<i>συννεφέω</i>	<i>νέφος</i> 'cloud'	- <i>έω</i>
קדם	קִדְמָה 'front'	<i>προφθάνω</i>	-	- <i>άνω</i>
		<i>συναντάω</i>	<i>ἄντα</i> (adverb) 'over against, face to face'	- <i>άω</i>
שלוש	שְׁלוֹשׁ 'three'	<i>τριμερίζω</i>	<i>τρεῖς</i> 'three' + <i>μέρος</i> ⁴⁶ 'portion'	- <i>ίζω</i>
		<i>τρισεύω</i>	<i>τρεῖς</i> 'three'	- <i>εύω</i>
		<i>τρισσόω</i>	<i>τρεῖς</i> 'three'	- <i>όω</i>

Table 9: Denominative verbs in the piel and their Greek translations.

Many of the *piel* denominatives are clearly translated by Greek denominatives, where the nominal root of the Greek verb has the same meaning as the nominal root of the *piel*.

The use of denominative Greek verbs to translate denominative Hebrew verbs in other stems also occurs:⁴⁷

Hebrew denominative	Nominal root	Greek verbal lexeme used in translation	Nominal root of Greek lexeme	Ending
שָׁבַר (<i>qal</i> : 'to buy grain')	שֶׁבֶר 'grain'	<i>ἀγοράζω</i>	<i>ἀγορά</i> 'marketplace'	- <i>άζω</i>

⁴⁵ The root מהר is also translated once by the Greek verb *ταράσσω* (Gen 43:30), but the meaning of the verb is different from the meaning of מהר.

⁴⁶ Originally from the verb *μείρομαι*.

⁴⁷ See also the analysis of causative aspects of the *hiphil* by Tov (1982: 419-421).

שָׁמַע (<i>hiphil</i> : ‘to hear’)	שָׁמַע ‘ear’	ἐνωτίζομαι	ὠτίον ‘ear’	-ίζομαι
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It was shown above (9.1) that a greater proportion of lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning are used to translate the *hiphil* than the *piel*, and the *piel* than the *qal*. Looking at these specific possible factitive-causative lexemes, it may be expected that more of them would feature some of the denominative/deverbative endings (1.6.5) when they are used to translate the *hiphil* and *piel* in comparison to the *qal*, as some of these endings, such as *-όω*, can (but do not invariably) lead to verbs with a factitive meaning and the *piel* and *hiphil* are generally understood to have a factitive-causative meaning more often than the *qal* (see 1.5).

Greek lexemes that allow a factitive-causative meaning are more likely to have that meaning if they appear in verbs with active morphology (1.6.3). The graph below (figure 23) shows the percentage of lexemes allowing a factitive-causative meaning which appear with exclusively active morphology in the corpus, and feature one of the denominative/deverbative endings when they are translating verbs in the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* (as a proportion of all possible factitive-causative lexemes used to translate those stems):

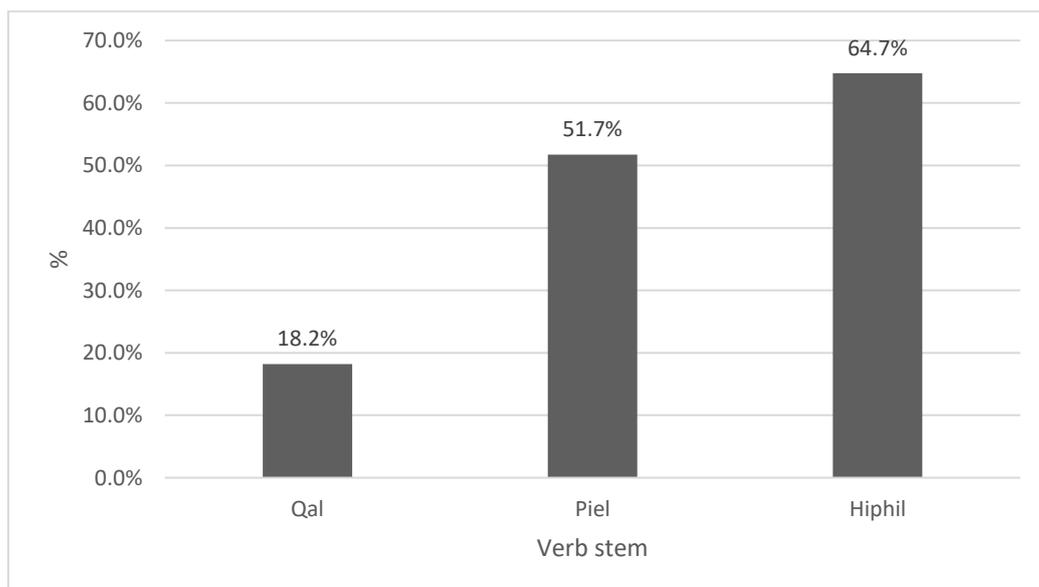


Figure 23: Percentage of factitive-causative lexemes used to translate the three ‘active’ stems, which feature one of the denominative/deverbative endings.

The data in this graph (figure 23) demonstrate that, when lexemes which allow a factitive-causative nuance are used to translate the *piel* and the *hiphil*, more than half of them appear with only active morphology and with one of the denominative/deverbative endings. This is in stark contrast to the *qal*, as fewer than a fifth of factitive-causative lexemes used to translate the *qal* feature the endings and always appear with active morphology. The overall pattern is *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*.

Of the lexemes in this category (allowing factitivity-causativity, with the endings, exclusively active) that are used to translate the verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil*, the graph below (figure 24) shows the specific breakdown of the denominative/deverbative endings:

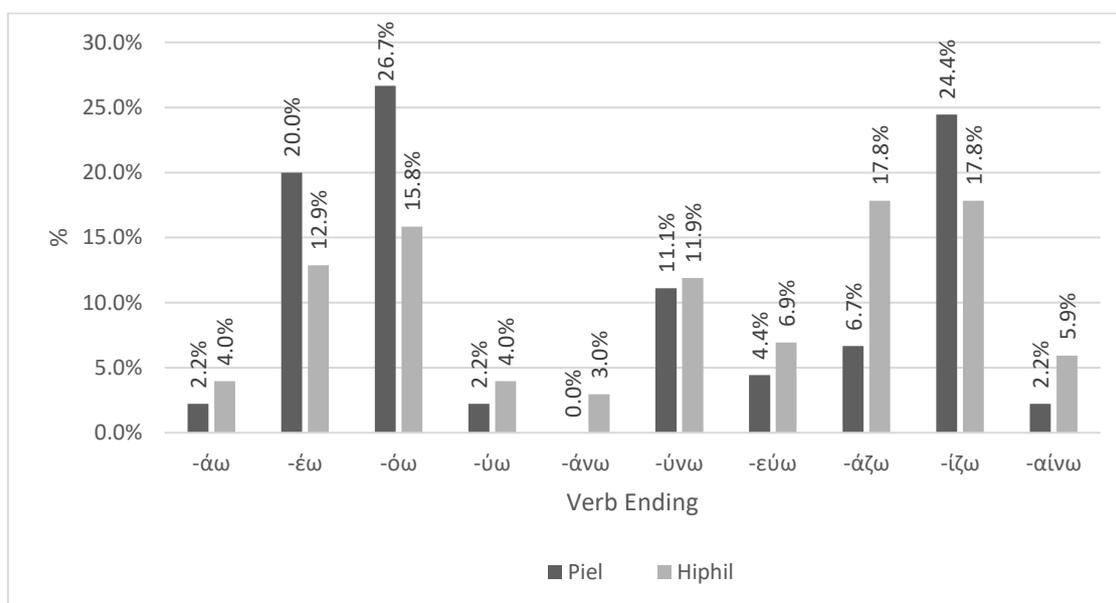


Figure 24: Percentage of factitive-causative lexemes which translate the *piel* and the *hiphil* featuring each of the denominative/deverbative endings.

This graph shows that the most commonly occurring endings on the lexemes under examination are -έω, -όω, and -ίζω for translations of the *piel*, while for translations of the *hiphil*, the most commonly occurring endings are -άζω, -ίζω, -όω and -έω, although, of these, only those lexemes ending in -άζω are proportionally more commonly used in the *hiphil* as opposed to the *piel*.

There are specific instances where verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil* are translated with Greek verbs which use a lexeme that allows a factitive-causative nuance and have one of the denominative/deverbative endings, and where verbs of the same root in the *qal* (and/or another stem) are translated with a Greek verb without one of these endings, or with a nominal form from which the denominal is formed. Some of these examples can be found in chapter 10 (e.g. 10.2.1.4).

9.3 Compound verbs

Compound verbs are those in Greek which are prefixed by a preverb, and the addition of this preverb may, in various ways, have an affect on the aspectual values of the action of the verb (see 1.6.6), which can, in turn, have a direct or indirect impact on the examined grammatical features in this study (1.4).

If all the Greek lexemes which are used to translate the verbal stems are considered, then the percentage of compound lexemes is as follows:

Stem	% Compound lexemes
<i>Qal</i>	48.6
<i>Piel</i>	52.0
<i>Hiphil</i>	54.8
<i>Hitpael</i>	48.4
<i>Niphal</i>	54.5
<i>Pual</i>	50.9
<i>Hophal</i>	54.4

Table 10: Proportion of compound Greek lexemes used in the translation of the Hebrew verbal stems.

All the proportions are fairly close, ranging from 48.4-54.8% (a difference of only 6.4%).⁴⁸ Looking at the three ‘active’ stems – which are also those with the greatest number of lexemes – the *hiphil* has the highest proportion of compound lexemes used in translation, followed by the *piel*, followed by the *qal*.

⁴⁸ It is worth remembering, once again, that the number of lexemes which are used to translate the *pual* and *hophal* in particular is far smaller than for the other stems (see 9.1.6 and 9.1.7) – especially than the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* – so conclusions for those two stems should be considered tentative.

The following table, rather than looking at lexemes, shows the percentage of compound verbs used in translations of the verbal stems as a proportion of overall verbal translations:

Stem	% Overall compound verbal translations
<i>Qal</i>	32.0
<i>Piel</i>	42.9
<i>Hiphil</i>	60.5
<i>Hitpael</i>	48.9
<i>Niphal</i>	44.0
<i>Pual</i>	41.3
<i>Hophal</i>	48.9

Table 11: Percentage of overall compound Greek verbal translations of Hebrew verbs in the seven stems

Once again, the pattern for the three ‘active’ stems is *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*, the same as was seen above with the lexemes (table 10), although the gap between the three stems is increased (the largest difference, once more between *hiphil* and *qal*, is now 28.5%). This shows that, although compound lexemes are used with all the stems, the proportional frequency of their use in translations of verbs in *hiphil* is far greater than that seen for verbs in the *piel* (by 17.6%), and their use in translations of verbs in the *piel* is, in turn, greater than that seen for verbs in the *qal* (by 10.9%).

This certainly does not mean all compound verbs which are used to translate the *hiphil* or the *piel* have the causative or factitive meaning that is commonly associated with those two stems; however, it does imply there may well be features of meaning in the *hiphil* and *piel* which are more readily translatable through the use of compound verbs. For example it was noted in the discussions in 1.5 and 1.6.6 that verbs in the *hiphil* and *piel* are more likely to be transitive than those in the *qal*, and the addition of preverb can increase the transitivity of a Greek verb. Thus, compound verbs may be

used proportionally more often in translations of the *piel* and *hiphil* than the *qal* because they are more likely to match in meaning the higher transitivity of these two derived stems.

This transitivity difference can often be seen when the verbal translations of Hebrew roots which appear in different stems are compared – see 10.1.1.3.1, 10.2.1.3.1, 10.2.2.2.1, 10.2.3.2.2, and others in chapter 10.

Below is a single example (taken from 10.2.3.2.2) to illustrate the point, where verbs of the root *נחל* are translated with forms of the bare verb *κληρονομέω* in the *qal* (intransitive), while verbs in the *piel* and the *hiphil* (both transitive) are translated with the compound verb *κατακληρονομέω*:

וַיִּנְחְלוּ בְנֵי־יוֹסֵף מִנַּשֶׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם:

καὶ ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωσήφ Ἐφραιμ καὶ Μανασσῆ

The Josephites-- Manasseh and Ephraim-- received their inheritance.

Joshua 16:4 [Qal]

אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַל מֹשֶׁה בְּעַרְבֹת מוֹאָב מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן יְרִיחוֹ מִזְרְחָהּ:

These are the inheritances that Moses allotted in the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan east of Jericho.

οὗτοι οὗς κατεκληρονόμησεν Μωυσῆς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν Ἀραβωθ Μωαβ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ Ἰεριχω ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν

These are the ones whom Moyses caused to inherit beyond the Jordan in Araboth Moaba, beyond the Jordan by Jericho eastward. [NETS]

Joshua 13:32 [Piel]

מְעַפָּר לְ מֶלֶךְ מִצְרָיִם אֶת־יְרִיחוֹ לְהוֹשִׁיב עַם־נְדִיבִים וְכַסָּא כְּבֹד וְנִחְלָם ...

ἀνιστᾶ ἀπὸ γῆς πένητα καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἐγείρει πτωχὸν καθίσει μετὰ δυναστῶν λαῶν καὶ θρόνον δόξης κατακληρονομῶν αὐτοῖς

He raises up the poor from the dust; he lifts the needy from the ash heap, to make them sit with princes and inherit a seat of honor...

1 Samuel 2:8a [*Hiphil*]

Some compound verbs are described as having an ‘intensive’ value (Brunel 1939: 281; see also εἰς-έν and κατά in Humbert 1960: 335-6, 339). As an example, Brunel notes that the verb καταφθείρω often appears with an intensive meaning in Attic Greek (1939: 278). If verbal translations which use φθείρω, ‘to destroy’, or its compounds, καταφθείρω and διαφθείρω, ‘to destroy utterly’, are found in the corpus then the number of verbs from each stems they translate can be counted, and a ratio of bare:compound translations for this case can be determined:

Stem	Number of translations with <i>φθείρω</i>	Number of translations with <i>καταφθείρω, διαφθείρω</i>
<i>Qal</i> ³³	2	1
<i>Piel</i>	0	8
<i>Hiphil</i>	1	18
<i>Niphal</i> ³³	1	2
<i>Pual</i> ⁴⁹	0	2

Table 12: Number of Greek translations using φθείρω and κατα-/δια-φθείρω

From the data in this example, it is clear that verbs in the *piel* and the *hiphil* are translated with the compound verbs (in an active form) far more often than they are with the bare verb, in stark contrast to the *qal* in particular. The difference cannot be one of syntactic transitivity, as the sole time that a verb in the *hiphil* is translated simply with φθείρω, the context is still transitive (Lev 19:27).

⁴⁹ Translations of the *qal*, *niphal*, and *pual* are all with non-active forms, whether they use the bare or compound verb.

Another non-intensive:intensive pair in Greek is with *ὄλεθρεύω*, ‘to destroy’, and *ἐξόλεθρεύω*, ‘to destroy utterly’. If a similar search as above is carried out, the results are as follows:

Stem	Number of translations with <i>ὄλεθρεύω</i>	Number of translations with <i>ἐξόλεθρεύω</i>
<i>Qal</i>	3	7
<i>Hiphil</i>	3	79 ⁵⁰
<i>Niphal</i>	0	25 ⁵¹
<i>Hophal</i>	1 ⁵²	0

Table 13: Number of translations with *ὄλεθρεύω* and *ἐξόλεθρεύω*.

Once again, the data here show that a far greater proportion of verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with the compound, ‘intensive’, verb than the *qal*. And, again, the difference cannot be one of syntactic transitivity, because both *ὄλεθρεύω* and *ἐξόλεθρεύω* appear in situations with a direct object (see Num 4:18 and Lev 26:30).

To conclude that, from the data, the *hiphil* and the *piel* must give a value to Hebrew verbs that the translators understand as simply intensive – which may be tempting, as intensiveness is a traditional nuance of the *piel* (see 3.1), although not of the *hiphil* – and thus their translations with the compound verbs reflect that, may be unwise, however. Rather than an purely intensive meaning, the Greek verbs *ἐξόλεθρεύω*, *καταφθείρω*, and *διαφθείρω*, with their meanings of ‘to destroy utterly’, do indicate a telicity which the bare forms lack, since once something is utterly destroyed, no further action to destroy it is possible and thus the action must come to an end. Telicity, as noted above (see 1.4.3), is one of the indicators of higher semantic transitivity, and both the *piel* and the *hiphil* can be

⁵⁰ Three of these translations have non-active morphology: Jos 11:20 (bis), 1 Ki 18:5.

⁵¹ Only 5 of these translations have active morphology, and some of these cases may be due to confusion where the verbs in the *niphal* are understood as being in the *hiphil* due to the *he* prefix of the infinitive construct – see 6.2.2.3.1 for more details.

⁵² This translation has non-active morphology.

understood as having a higher transitivity than the *qal* (see 1.5), so it may be *this* nuance, rather than that of intensiveness, which the Greek translation reflects.

This does not mean that the verbs *ἐξόλεθρεύω*, *καταφθείρω*, and *διαφθείρω* are not used in higher intensity situations than their bare counterparts, but more that their use does not invariably indicate that the *hiphil* and the *piel* have a more intensive meaning than the *qal*.

9.4 Factitive-causative conclusions

The pattern of proportions for lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning and are used in translations for the three ‘active’ stems is *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*. This aligns with the modern perception of the *hiphil* and *piel* being used for more complex situations than the basic *qal*, and the *hiphil* being the stem most associated with causativity.

The same pattern (*hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*) is also seen for the proportion of translations for these three stems as regards factitive-causative lexemes which have one of the denominative/deverbative verbal endings. With the *piel* in particular, some of this can be attributed to the use of the *piel* as a stem most clearly associated with denominative verbs in Hebrew.

Greek lexemes which are compounds are common in translations of all the stems. Focusing on the three ‘active’ stems, the pattern of proportions both for lexemes and for verbal translations overall is the same as for above: *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*. This implies that there may be, in certain circumstances, grammatical features governed by the *hiphil* and the *piel* which are more readily translated by Greek compound verbs. These features may be associated to factitivity-causativity (i.e. increased transitivity), but could also be connected to ideas of intensiveness.

10 Comparisons

10.1 Comparisons of the piel

This section exhibits comparisons of verbal roots which appear in both the *piel* and the *qal* in the studied corpus, to see how and if their translations differ. Comparisons with roots appearing in other stems (such as the *hiphil*) are found later in the chapter (e.g. 10.2, 10.3, etc.)/

Only certain examples of patterns are shown here. Very often the Greek lexis will be used to indicate a difference between stems, particularly *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil*, thus Hebrew verbs of roots in different verbal stems will be translated with different Greek verbs (Wevers 1985: 17). Some of these lexical differences are explored in 9.1. However, there are patterns that seem to occur where distinctions between stems are made morphologically, and these are explored here.

For many of the comparisons in this chapter, the patterns seen are not perfectly consistent for all translations, so while a proportion of verbs of a root will follow a particular pattern of translation, there will often be exceptions. However, the strength of proof for the existence of patterns comes not just from the proportions seen for one particular stem, but for the patterns seen across several stems.

10.1.1 With the qal

10.1.1.1 Identical translations

There are several roots where the translation of the *piel* and the *qal* uses the same Greek verb in the same voice. These roots often have meanings in the *qal* and the *piel* that are very similar and often, but not always, have the same transitivity in both stems, so an identical translation seems unremarkable.

However, the dictionary definitions of these roots, while similar, are not always identical (see, for example, the definitions of לקט given by Koehler and Baumgartner 2001: 535). Therefore the question can be asked as to whether there was actually a difference in meaning between certain roots in certain stems that the Greek translators understood, but either could not, or thought unnecessary to,

indicate morphologically or lexically, or if the translators did not understand there to be a difference in meaning at all, so using identical verbs would be a natural translation. It is difficult to know for certain either way, and this difficulty will continue in all cases of comparison where there are identical translations.

In these cases where there are identical translations, if just the Greek translation was seen then it would be impossible to tell whether the underlying Hebrew verb was in the *qal* or the *piel*.

10.1.1.1.1 *Similar meaning, same transitivity*

There are three verbal roots which are found in the *piel* and the *qal* which are both transitive and have a meaning that seems to be identical in both stems. These are the roots חבק ('to embrace'), לקט ('to gather, glean'), and נפץ (the definition which exists for both the *qal* and the *piel* is 'to shatter, dash to pieces').

Where חבק is used (1/1 in the *qal* and 3/3 in the *piel*) it is always translated using active forms of the verb περιλαμβάνω, which can mean 'to embrace'.

וַיֹּאמֶר לְמוֹעֵד הַזֶּה כָּעֵת הַזֹּאת [אִתִּי] חֲבַקְתָּ בְּנֵי וְהָאִמָּר אֶל־אֶדְנִי אִישׁ הָאֵלֹהִים אֶל־תְּכַבֵּד בְּשֵׁפְתֶיךָ:

καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε πρὸς αὐτήν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὡς ἡ ὥρα ζῶσα σὺ περιειληφυσῖα υἱόν ἢ δὲ εἶπεν μή κύριέ μου μὴ διαψεύσῃ τὴν δούλην σου

He^{MT}/Elisaie^{LXX} said [to her^{LXX}], 'At this season, in due time, you shall embrace a son.' She replied, 'No, my lord, [O man of God^{MT}]; do not deceive your servant.'

2 Kings 4:16 [Qal]

וַיֵּרֶץ עֲשׂוֹ לְקַרְאָתוֹ וַיִּבְרָא וַיִּפֹּל עַל־צוּאָרוֹ וַיִּשָּׁקְהוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ:

καὶ προσέδραμεν Ησαυ εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν καὶ προσέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσαν ἀμφοτέροι

But Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him, and they wept.

Genesis 33:4 [Piel]

טקט is an interesting case, as Koehler and Baumgartner (2001: 535) give subtly different definitions for each stem: ‘to gather, glean’ in the *qal* and ‘to collect’ in the *piel*, but they are translated identically, using active forms of the Greek verb *συλλέγω*, ‘to gather in, collect’, 9/11 times in the *qal* and 6/8 times in the *piel*. Also, there are no examples of this root appearing in the *qal* in this corpus after Exodus – all further examples are in the *piel* (or *hitpael*). Given the identical translation, this could be a case where this transitive root in the *qal* is moving to the *piel*, as proposed by Fassberg (2001).

שְׁשַׁת יָמִים תִּקְטְטוּהוּ וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי שָׁבַת לֹא יִהְיֶה־רָבוֹ:

ἕξ ἡμέρας συλλέξετε τῆ δὲ ἡμέρα τῆ ἑβδόμη σάββατα ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῆ

‘Six days you shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is a sabbath, there will be none.’

Exodus 16:26 [Qal]

וּכְרַמְדָּךָ לֹא תַעֲוֹלֵל וּפְרֵט פְּרֻמָּךָ לֹא תִקְטֹט ...

καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου οὐκ ἐπανατρυγήσεις οὐδὲ τοὺς ῥῶγας τοῦ ἀμπελῶνός σου συλλέξεις...

You shall not strip your vineyard bare, or gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard...

Leviticus 19:10 [Piel]

The root *נפץ* only appears twice with the meaning ‘to shatter’, once in the *qal* and once in the *piel*, but both times it is translated using active forms of *ἐκτινάσσω*, ‘to shake off’.

... וַיִּתְקַעַל בְּשׁוֹפְרוֹתַי וַנִּפֹץ הַכִּדָּיִם אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדָם:

...και ἐσάλπισαν ἐν ταῖς κερατίαις και ἐξετίναξαν τὰς ὑδρίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν

...and they blew the trumpets and broke/shook out the jars that were in their hands.

Judges 7:19b [Qal]

...וַיִּנְיֵא אֶשְׁמֵם דְּבָרֵי בַיָּם עַד-מִקְוֵם אֶשְׁרֵת-הַלַּיְלָה אֲלֵי וַיִּנְפְּצֵתִים שֶׁם וְאִתָּהּ תִּשָּׂא...

...ἐγὼ θήσομαι αὐτὰ σχεδίας ἕως τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἐὰν ἀποστείλῃς πρὸς με και ἐκτινάξω αὐτὰ ἐκεῖ και σὺ ἀρεῖς...

...I will make it into rafts to go by sea to the place you indicate. I will break/shake out them there for you to take away...

1 Kings 5:23b [Piel]

10.1.1.1.2 Similar meaning, different transitivity

There is only one verbal root, שׁמַשׁ, which appears to have different transitivity in the *qal* and *piel*, but is often translated using an identical Greek verb nonetheless. 2/2 verbs of this root in the *qal* ('to touch, handle something' *transitive*) and 2/3 verbs in the *piel* ('to search, grope' *intransitive*) are translated with active forms of the verb ψηλαφάω, 'to feel about'.

וַיָּגַשׁ יַעֲקֹב אֶל-יִצְחָק אָבִיו וַיִּמְשָׁהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר הַקֵּל קוֹל יַעֲקֹב וְהִנֵּנִי בְּיָדֶיךָ יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה:

ἤγγισεν δὲ Ἰακωβ πρὸς Ἰσαακ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ και ἐψηλάφησεν αὐτὸν και εἶπεν ἡ μὲν φωνὴ φωνὴ Ἰακωβ αἱ δὲ χεῖρες χεῖρες Ἡσαυ

So Jacob went up to his father Isaac, who felt him and said, 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.'

Genesis 27:22 [Qal]

וְהָיְתָ מִמְשַׁשׁ בְּצַהֲרָיִם כְּאִשֶּׁר יִמְשָׁשׁ הָעוֹר בְּאֶפְלָה ...

και ἔση ψηλαφῶν μεσημβρίας ὥσει ψηλαφήσαι ὁ τυφλὸς ἐν τῷ σκότει...

You shall grope about at noon as blind people grope in darkness...

Deuteronomy 28:29a [*Piel*]

Curiously, the one occasion where the verb is used transitively in the *piel* (in a similar manner to the *qal*), a different verb is used in translation: *ἐρευνάω*, ‘to search, examine’ in the active voice. This may imply that, for this root, there was a difference in meaning that the translator of Genesis was keen to highlight.

... כִּי־מִשְׁשָׁתָּה אֶת־כָּל־כְּלֵי־מַה־מְצִאָהּ מִכֶּלֶךְ כְּלֵי־בִיָּהּ...

καὶ ὅτι ἠρεύνησας πάντα τὰ σκεύη μου τί εὑρες ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν σκευῶν τοῦ οἴκου σου...

Although you have felt about through all my goods, what have you found of all your household goods?

Genesis 31:37a [*Piel*]

10.1.1.2 Voice difference

There are several roots where the translation of the *qal* and the *piel* uses the same verb but a different voice is used for each. Generally, but not always, when they differ in voice, they differ in meaning by a matter of transitivity. Thus where the *piel* is transitive while the *qal* is intransitive or stative, the verb in the *piel* tends to be translated actively while the verb in the *qal* is translated passively.

This indicates that voice is being used in Greek to translate a wider set of features than simply voice in Hebrew. Allan (2013c) notes that the passive voice in Greek can have an intransitive function.

10.1.1.2.1 Stative qal

Two roots which are stative (and hence intransitive) in the *qal* also appear in the *piel*, but with transitive meaning: *שָׁכַל* (*qal*: ‘to become childless’; *piel*: ‘to deprive of children, cause an abortion’)

and *שמ* (*qal*: ‘to rejoice, be glad’; *piel*: ‘to make glad’) . When these verbs appear in these two stems, they use the same Greek verb but in the passive voice for the *qal* and the active voice for the *piel*.

In all four occasions that *שכל* appears in the *qal* it is translated using passive forms of *ἀτεκνώω*, ‘to make childless’, while 3/7 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active forms of the same Greek verb. There is a verse which shows an example of both.

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂמוּאֵל כִּפְלֵךְ נְשִׂימַתְּ בְּיָדְךָ וְנִשְׂפָּטוּ אֲנִי וְיִשְׁפֹּט שְׂמוּאֵל אֶת־אֲגָג לִפְנֵי יְהוָה בְּגִלְגָּל:

καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ πρὸς Ἀγαγ καθότι ἠτέκνωσεν γυναῖκας ἢ ῥομφαία σου οὕτως ἀτεκνωθήσεται ἐκ γυναικῶν ἢ μήτηρ σου καὶ ἔσφαξεν Σαμουηλ τὸν Ἀγαγ ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐν Γαλγαλ

But Samuel said, ‘As your sword has made women childless, so your mother shall be childless among women.’ And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD in Gilgal.

1 Samuel 15:33 [1st: *Piel*, 2nd: *Qal*]

A similar situation is seen with *שמ*: the Greek verb *εὐφραίνω*, ‘to gladden, cheer [act.]; to be merry, enjoy oneself [non-act]’ is used in a non-active form to translate almost all occurrences of the stative *qal* (18/22), and actively both times the root appears in the *piel*.

... וְשִׂמְחָתְךָ בְּחַגְגְּךָ

καὶ εὐφρανθήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ σου...

Be glad/rejoice during your festival...

Deuteronomy 16:14a [*Qal*]

... וְנָתַתְּ יְהוָה לְבֵיתוֹ שָׁנָה אֶחָדָה תִּשְׂמַח אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח:

...ἀθῶος ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα εὐφρανεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἣν ἔλαβεν

...he shall be free for his house one year, and shall cheer his wife whom he hath taken. [JPS]

Deuteronomy 24:5b [*Piel*]

10.1.1.2.2 Non-stative qal

The root כבה is intransitive, and is technically dynamic and not stative in the *qal*, as it describes the event of a fire going out, while in the *piel* it has the factitive (and transitive) meaning ‘to extinguish’. 3/4 verbs of this root in the *qal* are translated using passive forms of *σβέννυμι*, ‘to extinguish, put out’, while 2/2 verbs in the *piel* are translated using active forms of the same verb. Thus, even when there is not a stative verb, the intransitive:transitive difference is enough for there to be a differentiation with voice.

...ונצתה חמתי במקום הזה ולא תכבה:

...καὶ ἐκκαυθήσεται ὁ θυμός μου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ οὐ σβεσθήσεται

...and my wrath will be kindled against this place, and it will not go out/be quenched.

2 Kings 22:17b [*Qal*]

...וכבו את-גַּחְלְתִּי אֶשֶׁר נִשְׁאַרָה לְבִלְתִּי (שׁוּם-)]לְאִשִּׁי שָׁם וְשִׂאֲרֵית עַל-פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה:

...καὶ σβέσουσιν τὸν ἄνθρακά μου τὸν καταλειφθέντα ὥστε μὴ θέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ μου κατάλειμμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς

‘...And they would quench my one remaining ember, and leave to my husband neither name nor remnant on the face of the earth.’

2 Samuel 14:7b [*Piel*]

10.1.1.3 Same Greek base

Comparing verbs of the same root in the *qal* and the *piel*, the pattern of ‘same Greek base’ seen here is one of a bare verb being used to translate the *qal* versus a compound of the same verb used for the *piel*.

10.1.1.3.1 Bare vs compound

There are four roots which appear in both the *qal* and the *piel* and are distinguished in translation by a contrast between a compound and bare verb, rather than by voice. These roots are *זמא* (*qal*: ‘to be strong’; *piel*: ‘to strengthen someone, something’), *בקע* (‘to split’ in both stems), *זרה* (‘to scatter’ in both stems), and *סקל* (*qal*: ‘to stone’; *piel*: ‘to throw stones at’).

In a similar way to the pattern seen above, the contrast between bare and compound verbs can delineate between a basic (and stative), sometimes intransitive, meaning in the *qal* and a complex, often transitive, meaning in the *piel*. This is the case with *זמא* where 4/10 verbs in the *qal* use the verb *ίσχύω*, ‘to be strong, prevail’, and 1/3 verbs in the *piel* use *κατίσχύω*, ‘to prevail, overpower’, all in the active voice.

... ויקרא משה ליהושע ויאמר אליו לעיני כל־ישראל תקום ואמץ

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Μωυση̄ς Ἰησοῦν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἔναντι παντὸς Ἰσραηλ ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε...

Then Moses summoned Joshua and said to him in the sight of all Israel: ‘Be strong and bold...’

Deuteronomy 31:7 [*Qal*]

...כִּי־הִקְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־רוּחוֹ וְאִמְצָן אֶת־לִבְּךָ לְמַעַן תִּתּוּן בְּיַדְךָ כְּיוֹם הַהוּא:

...ὅτι ἐσκλήρυνεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατίσχυσεν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἵνα παραδοθῇ εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου ὡς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ

...for the LORD your God had hardened his spirit and made his heart defiant in order to hand him over to you, as he has now done.

Deuteronomy 2:30 [*Piel*]

However, this pattern does not always hold. Sometimes the distinction between the *qal* and the *piel* does not appear to be one of transitivity, as verbs appearing in both verbal stems can be transitive, but can have a difference in meaning that is still distinguished. For example, this might be

seen with the root בקע, where the distinction seems to be a bare verb being used to translate the *qal* with the idea of damage to objects, as 2/3 verbs of this root in the *qal* are translated with *ρήγνυμι*, ‘to break (into pieces)’⁵³; in contrast, an active compound verb, *ἀναρρήγνυμι*, ‘to break up, tear open’, used to translate the *piel* in 3/5 occasions with the meaning of damage to humans.

וַיִּבְקַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַמְּכַתֵּשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בְּלֶחִי וַיֵּצֵאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מַיִם וַיִּשְׁבַּב רֹדְפוֹ ...

καὶ ἔρρηξεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λάκκον τὸν ἐν τῇ σιαγόνι καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὕδωρ καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ...

So God split open the hollow place that is at Lehi, and water came from it. When he drank, his spirit returned...

Judges 15:19a [*Qal*]

וַיִּפְּן אַחֲרָיו וַיִּרְאֵם וַיִּקְלַלם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וַתֵּצֵאנָה שְׁתֵּימֵ דְבָיִם מִן־הַיַּעַר וַתִּבְקַעַנָּה מִהֶם אַרְבָּעִים וּשְׁנַיִ יְלָדִים:

καὶ ἐξένευσεν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατηράσατο αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθον δύο ἄρκοι ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ ἀνέρρηξαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο παῖδας

When he turned around and saw them, he cursed them in the name of the LORD. Then two she-bears came out of the woods and ripped apart forty-two of the boys.

2 Kings 2:24 [*Piel*]

Occasionally a distinction can occur in Greek where there appears to be no distinction in Hebrew, as appears to be the case with the root זר, as, although it has the same meaning in both stems, 2/2 verbs in the *qal* use the ‘bare’ verb *σπείρω*, ‘to sow, scatter’, while 1/1 verb in the *piel* uses the compound verb *διασπείρω*, ‘to scatter’, with all verbs in the active voice.

וַיִּשָּׂח אֶת־הָעֵגְלָל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּשְׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ וַיִּטְהַר עַד אֲשֶׁר־דָּק וַיִּזְרַח עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם וַיִּשָּׂק אֶת־בְּגָדֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

⁵³ There is also 1 occasion where a verb of this root in the *qal* is translated with the compound verb *διαρρήγνυμι*, ‘to tear, rend’, despite doing damage to a structure: 2 Samuel 23:16a.

καὶ λαβὼν τὸν μόσχον ὃν ἐποίησαν κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ κατήλεσεν αὐτὸν λεπτὸν καὶ ἔσπειρεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτὸ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ

He took the calf that they had made, burned it with fire, ground it to powder, scattered it on the water, and made the Israelites drink it.

Exodus 32:20 [Qal]

... וַאֲזַכְּמֶם לְאֻמִּים בְּגוֹיִם וְהָרִיקְתִּי אֶתְרִגְלֵיכֶם קָרָב

καὶ διασπερῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐξαναλώσει ὑμᾶς ἐπιπορευομένη ἡ μάχαιρα...

And I will scatter you among the nations, and I will unsheathe the sword against you^{MT}/and the dagger, coming by surprise, will utterly destroy you^{LXX}...

Deuteronomy 2:30 [Piel]

The final root, לִקַּח, is an unusual case as it is an exception to the general distribution pattern of compound verbs, where the *qal* tends to be translated with the barer form of the verb. Although the translations all feature the same stem – λίθος, ‘stone’ – it is the verb in the *piel* which is translated with a bare verb, λιθάζω, ‘to throw stones, to stone’ (2/2 times); meanwhile two compounds are used for the *qal*: λιθοβολέω, ‘to pelt with stones, to stone’ (8/9 times), and καταλιθοβολέω, ‘to throw stones at’ (once). There is potential difference in meaning between the stems, where of the *qal* implies death as an end result to the stoning, while the examples with the *piel* make no such assumption – the stones are simply being thrown and the action of throwing is the important information, not the resulting death.

...וְהוֹצִיאוּ אֹתוֹ וְלִקְחוּ אֹתוֹ לְמוֹתוֹ...

...καὶ ἐξαγαγέτωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ λιθοβολήσάτωσαν αὐτόν καὶ ἀποθανέτω

‘...Then take him out, and stone him to death.’

1 Kings 21(20):10b [Qal]

... וַיִּקְלֹק בְּאַבְנֵי אֶת־דָּוִד וְאֶת־כָּל־עַבְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּגַד

καὶ λιθάζων ἐν λίθοις τὸν Δαυὶδ καὶ πάντα τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ βασιλέως Δαυὶδ...

He threw stones at David and at all the servants of King David...

2 Samuel 16:6a [Piel]

10.1.1.4 Combinations

These roots show a combination of previously seen patterns of translation which can involve identical translation, change of voice, and/or some other feature such as the use of compound verbs. These different patterns can sit atop one another, where the translations will exhibit a difference in several ways simultaneously, or they can sit alongside one another, where some translations of a verb exhibit one pattern while other translations exhibit a different pattern.

In general, if these roots seem to share a similar meaning in different stems, then there will be cases where they have an identical translation.

The roots in which these combinations appear are listed below with examples.

10.1.1.4.1 Identical translation and voice change

7/14 verbs of the root הלג in the *qal* and 27/27 verbs in the *piel* (both ‘to uncover’) are translated with active forms of the compound verb ἀποκαλύπτω, ‘to reveal, lay bare’.

וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם הַלַּיְלָה אֶת־אָזְנוֹ שְׂמוּאֵל לִיּוֹם אֲחֵת לַפָּגַע בּוֹ־אִשְׁשׂוּר לְאָמָר:

καὶ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψεν τὸ ὠτίον Σαμουηλ ἡμέρα μιᾶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαουλ λέγων

The LORD had uncovered the ear of Samuel the day before Saul came, saying:

1 Samuel 9:15 [Qal]

אָרוֹר שֶׁכֵּב עִם־אִשְׁתּוֹ אָבִיו כִּי גִלָּהּ כְּנָגַף אֲבִיו וְאָמַר כָּל־הָעַם אָמֵן:

ἐπικατάρατος ὁ κοιμώμενος μετὰ γυναικὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἀπεκάλυψεν συγκάλυμμα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐροῦσιν πᾶς ὁ λαός γένοιτο

Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife; because **he hath uncovered** his father's skirt.
And all the people shall say: Amen. [JPS]

Deuteronomy 27:20 [Piel]

There is an example of a change in voice being used as well, but it is only in a very specific circumstance. Twice this root appears as a *qal* passive participle and in these cases the Greek verb ἀποκαλύπτω is used in a medio-passive form with passive meaning. The Greek text is slightly different, and the NETS translates this passive Greek verb with passive meaning, but principle still stands.

נִאֲמָם שִׁמְעַע אִמְרֵי־אֵל אֱשֶׁר מִתְּוֶה שְׂדֵי יְיָ הִיא נִפְלָ וְגִלְוִי עֵינָיִם:

The oracle of one who hears the words of God, who sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls down, but with eyes **uncovered**: [NRS]

φησὶν ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ὅστις ὄρασιν θεοῦ εἶδεν ἐν ὕπνῳ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ

Says one who hears divine oracles, who saw a divine vision, in sleep when his eyes **had been uncovered**: [NETS]

Numbers 24:4 [Qal]

A similar phenomenon occurs with אָנַן, as 34/39 verbs in the *qal* ('to hate') and 4/4 verbs in the *piel* ('enemy') are translated by active forms of *μισέω*, 'to hate'.⁵⁴ But 5/39 verbs in the *qal* are translated passively, because they are passive participles:

...כִּי אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַדֵּם עֹן אֲבוֹת עַל-בְּנֵיהֶם וְעַל-רַבֵּעֵים לְשֹׂנְאָי:

...ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου θεὸς ζηλωτῆς ἀποδιδούς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεάν τοῖς μισοῦσίν με

...for I the LORD your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me,

Deuteronomy 5:9b [*Qal* – active]

וְהָיָה בְּנִסְעַת הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה קוֹמָהּ יְהוָה וַיִּפְצַץ אֶת-בְּרִיָּהּ וַיִּגְסוּ מִשְׁנֹאֶיהָ מִפְּנֵיהֶּ:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐξαίρειν τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ εἶπεν Μωυσῆς ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντές σε

Whenever the ark set out, Moses would say, 'Arise, O LORD, let your enemies be scattered, and your foes flee before you.'

Numbers 10:35 [*Piel*]

...כִּי-תִהְיֶינָה לְאִישׁ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים הַצַּחֲתָה וְהַחֲבָה וְהַצַּחֲתָה וְהַחֲבָה וְהַשְׂנֹאָה ...

ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες μία αὐτῶν ἠγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ ἢ ἠγαπημένη καὶ ἢ μισουμένη...

If a man has two wives, one of them loved and the other disliked, and if both the loved and the disliked have borne him sons...

Deuteronomy 21:15a [*Qal* - passive]

⁵⁴ The verbs in the *piel* only appear as active participles, literally 'the one who hates', hence 'enemy'.

Verbs of the root כלל display the same patterns, but with a *piel* infinitive construct being translated passively, rather than a *qal* passive participle.

5/9 verbs of this root in the *qal*, ‘to stop, come to an end, be finished’, are translated with passive forms of *συντελέω*, ‘to complete, accomplish, finish’, while 37/70 verbs in the *piel*, ‘to complete, bring to an end’, are translated with active forms of the same verb.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹנָתָן חֲלִילָה לָּךְ כִּי אִם־יָדַע אֲדָע כִּי־כָלְתָהּ הִרְעָה מֵעַם אֲבִי לְבֹא עָלָיְךָ וְלֹא אֶתָּה אֲגִיד לָּךְ:

καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωνάθαν μηδαμῶς σοι ὅτι ἐὰν γινώσκων γινῶ ὅτι **συντετέλεσται** ἡ κακία παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σέ και ἐὰν μὴ εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ σοι

Jonathan said, ‘Far be it from you! If I knew that **it was decided** by my father that evil should come upon you, would I not tell you?’

1 Samuel 20:9 [*Qal*]

וַיִּכַּל מְהֵרָבֹות וַיָּבֹא הַבָּמָה:

καὶ **συντετέλεσεν** προφητεύων καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸν βουνόν

When his prophetic frenzy **had ended**, he went home

1 Samuel 10:13 [*Piel*]

1/70 instances in the *piel* is translated with a passive voice form of *συντελέω*, where the *piel* is an infinitive construct. A passive voice in the translation is legitimate, as the verb כָּלְתָם could have the more nominal English translation ‘their completion’, and idea which is in some ways equivalent to the passive voice of the Greek verb (*συντελεσθῆ*: ‘it is completed’ = ‘its completion’).

וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ צְדָקָה בְּוִכְנְעָנָה קָרְנֵי בְרֹגְלֵי וַיֹּאמֶר כָּה־אָמַר יְהוָה בְּאַלְהֵי תַנְגָּה אֶת־אַרְמֵם עַד־כָּלְתָם:

καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐαυτῷ Σεδεκίας υἱὸς Χανανα κέρατα σιδηρᾶ καὶ εἶπεν τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐν τούτοις **κερατιεῖς τὴν Συρίαν ἕως συντελεσθῆ**

Zedekiah son of Chenaanah made for himself horns of iron, and he said, ‘Thus says the LORD: With these you shall gore the Arameans^{MT}/Syria^{LXX} until they are^{MT}/it is^{LXX} finished.’

1 Samuel 10:13 [*Piel*]

10.1.1.4.2 *Identical translation and same Greek base*

Alongside the pattern of identical translation, three roots in this section (נהג ,שכן ,הלך) also show a kind of bare:compound distinction, while the root נהג displays translations with different endings.

With שכן, several Greek verbs are found. The *qal* and *piel* can be translated identically, with the same verb in the same voice, while occasionally a Greek compound verb is used, but seemingly not in order to create a distinction between stems.

3/34 verbs in the *qal* (‘to settle’) and 6/7 verbs in the *piel* (‘to cause to dwell’) are translated with passive voice forms of ἐπικαλέω, ‘to call, name, invoke’:

וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְשֹׁכְנֵי בְתוּכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם:

καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτοῖς καὶ θεὸς εἶναι αὐτῶν

And they shall know that I am the LORD their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them^{MT}/to be invoked by them^{LXX}; I am the LORD their God.

Exodus 29:46 [*Qal*]

וַהֲיֵה הַמִּקְוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בּוֹ לְשֹׁכֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁמָּה תִבְיָאוּ אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי מְצַוֶּה אֶתְכֶם...

καὶ ἔσται ὁ τόπος ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξῃται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐκεῖ οἴσετε πάντα ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον...

Then you shall bring everything that I command you to the place that the LORD your God will choose as a dwelling for his name^{MT}/for his name to be called there^{LXX}...

Deuteronomy 12:11a [*Piel*]

The use of *ἐπικαλέω* in a non-active form to translate the *piel* is unusual, but the meaning of the verb is so different that it is because of this that the voice is similarly different. The use of *ἐπικαλέω* applies to God, and seems to imply that the Greek translators considered the dwelling place of God to be related to where His name is invoked, rather than where He actually exists. Perkins (2013) argues that the translator of Exodus tries to avoid the indication of seeing God physically, and so it could be that the translator of Deuteronomy is acting similarly here.

3/34 verbs in the *qal* are also translated with the bare verb *σκηνώω*, ‘to spread a tent, dwell’, while 6/34 verbs in the *qal* and 1/7 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active forms of the compound verb *κατασκηνώω*, ‘to cause to dwell, settle, abide’.

גִּלְעָד בַּעֲבָר הַיַּרְדֵּן שָׁכַן וְדָן לְמַה נִּגְוַר אֲנִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר יָשַׁב לְהוֹרִף יָמָיו וְעַל מִפְרָצָיו יִשְׁכְּוּן:

Γαλααδ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐσκήνωσεν καὶ Δαν εἰς τί παροικεῖ πλοίοις Ἀσηρ ἐκάθισεν παραλίαν θαλασσῶν καὶ ἐπὶ διεξόδοις αὐτοῦ σκηνώσει

Gilead **stayed** beyond the Jordan; and Dan, why did he abide with the ships? Asher sat still at the coast of the sea, **settling down** by his landings.

Judges 5:17 [Qal]

וְלֹא תִטְמָא אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יֹשְׁבֵיהֶם כִּי אֲשֶׁר אָנִי שָׁכַן בְּתוֹכָהּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה שָׁכַן בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

καὶ οὐ μιανεῖτε τὴν γῆν ἐφ’ ἧς κατοικεῖτε ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐφ’ ἧς ἐγὼ κατασκηνώσω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι κύριος κατασκηνῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ

You shall not defile the land in which you live, in which **I also dwell**; for I the LORD dwell among the Israelites.

Numbers 35:34 [Qal]

אִם־אַתֶּם תִּבְאוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאַתִּי אֶת־יְדֵי לְשָׁכְנֵי אֲתָכֶם כִּי אִם־כָּלֵב בְּוִיִּפְנֵיהּ וַיְהוּשַׁע בְּוִיִּנִי:

εἰ ὑμεῖς εἰσελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἣν ἐξέτεινα τὴν χειρὰ μου κατασκηνοῦσαι ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀλλ' ἢ Χालεβ υἱὸς Ιεφοννη καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυη

Not one of you shall come into the land in which I swore to settle you, except Caleb son of Jephunneh and Joshua son of Nun.

Numbers 14:30 [Piel]

The root נהג (*qal*: ‘to drive, lead’; *piel*: ‘to remove forcibly, lead’) is noteworthy because bare and compound verbs are used to translate both the *qal* and the *piel*. Some instances of נהג are translated with ἄγω (‘to lead’) – 3/8 times in the *qal* and 1/5 times in the *piel* – while the compound ἀπάγω (‘to lead away’) is used 4/8 times in the *qal* and 4/5 times in the *piel*. Both Greek verb is used, sometimes mere verses apart, with no seeming distinction being made with regards to stem.⁵⁵ This could be because the translators were not making a distinction between forms, reading them all as though they were one stem, and distinction was only made in the tradition which led to the MT.

וּמִשָּׁה הִגָּה רֹעֵה אֶת־צֹאן יִתְרוֹ חֹתֶנִּי פָּהֶן מִדְּיָן וַיִּנְהַג אֶת־הַצֹּאן אַתָּר הַמִּדְבָּר וַיָּבֵא אֶל־הָר הָאֱלֹהִים הַרְבֵּה:

καὶ Μωσῆς ἦν ποιμαίνων τὰ πρόβατα Ιοθρο τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱερέως Μαδιαμ καὶ ἤγαγεν τὰ πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Χωρηβ

Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian; he led his flock beyond the wilderness, and came to Horeb, the mountain of God.

Exodus 3:1 [Qal - ἄγω]

וַיֹּסֶר אֶת אֶפְסוֹן מִרְכָּבֹתָיו וַיִּנְהַגְהוּ בַּכְּבֹּדָת ...

καὶ συνέδησεν τοὺς ἄξονας τῶν ἀρμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς μετὰ βίας ...

He bound their chariot wheels and led them with heaviness...

Exodus 14:25a [Piel - ἄγω]

⁵⁵ While the definitions of נהג are similar in the *qal* and the *piel*, the *qal* is usually used for leading animals, while the *piel* is used for leading humans (HALOT 2001).

... וַיִּגְדַּל אֶת-כָּל-מִקְנֵהוּ וְאֶת-כָּל-רְכֻשׁוֹ...

καὶ ἀπήγαγεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτοῦ...

And he led away all his livestock and all his property that he had gained...

Genesis 31:18a [Qal - ἀπάγω]

... וַתִּגְדַּל אֶת-בָּנֹתַי כַּשְּׁבִיּוֹת הָרֶבֶב:

... καὶ ἀπήγαγες τὰς θυγατέρας μου ὡς αἰχμαλώτιδας μαχαίρα

‘... and [you have] carried away [led away] my daughters like captives of the sword.’

Genesis 31:26b [Piel - ἀπάγω]

With חלק, there is only a weak pattern, as most of the translations do not share a common feature, but 1/7 verbs in the *qal* (‘to divide, allot’), and 3/8 verbs in the *piel* (‘to divide, allot’), are translated with active forms of *μερίζω*, ‘to divide, allot’, while 3/8 verbs in the *piel* are translated with the compound verb *διαμερίζω*, ‘to divide, separate’, in the active voice. The use of the compound verb does not seem to impart any different meaning in this context from the bare verb.

כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת-מֹשֶׁה בְּן־עֲשׂוֹ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּחֲלֶקוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ:

ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατο κύριος τῷ Μωσῆϊ οὕτως ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐμέρισαν τὴν γῆν

The Israelites did as the LORD commanded Moses; they allotted the land.

Joshua 14:5 [Qal]

וַעֲתָה סֵלֶךְ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַנָּתַת בְּנִחְלָה לַתְּשַׁעַת הַשְּׁבַטִים וְחָצִי הַשְּׁבַט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה:

καὶ νῦν **μέρισον** τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἐν κληρονομίᾳ ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει φυλῆς
Μανασση...⁵⁶

‘Now therefore **divide** this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and the half-tribe of
Manasseh.’

Joshua 13:7 [Piel - μερίζω]

אָרְרָם כִּי יָזוּ וְעָבְרָתָם כִּי קָשָׁתָהּ אֲחַלְקֵם בְּיַעֲקֹב וְאֶפְיָצֵם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:

ἐπικατάρατος ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ὅτι αὐθάδης καὶ ἡ μῆνις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐσκληρύνθη **διαμεριῶ** αὐτοὺς
ἐν Ἰακωβ καὶ διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰσραηλ

Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel! **I will divide** them in
Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

Genesis 49:7 [Piel - διαμερίζω]

The root זבח (*qal*: ‘to slaughter (for sacrifice)’; *piel*: ‘to sacrifice’) displays, in some cases,
identical translations of verbs in the *qal* and the *piel*. However, verbs of this root in the *piel* are also
proportionally more likely to be translated with a verb ending with *-άζω*, one of the
denominative/deverbative endings (9.2).

58/67 verbs in the *qal* and 4/11 verbs in the *piel* are translated with an active form of the
Greek verb *θύω*, ‘to sacrifice’.

וַהֲלֹלָהּ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּו זָבְחוּ זִבְחִים זָבַח לִפְנֵי יְהוָה:

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ **ἔθυσαν** θυσίαν ἐνώπιον κυρίου

Then the king, and all Israel with him, **sacrificed** sacrifices before the LORD.

1 Kings 8:62 [Qal]

⁵⁶ The LXX verse is longer than that in the MT

...מזבחים צאן ובקר אשר לא יספרו ולא ימנו מרב:

...θύοντες πρόβατα και βόας ἀναρίθμητα

...sacrificing so many sheep and oxen that they could not be counted [or numbered^{MT}].

1 Kings 8:5b [Piel]

8/67 verbs in the *qal* and 6/11 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active forms of *θυσιάζω*, ‘to sacrifice’, which has the same stem as *θύω*, but has the different ending *-άζω*. *θυσιάζω* becomes used a more regular translation in later books, as only 1/14 of its appearances is in the Pentateuch.

זבח לאלהים יחרם בלתי ליהוה לבדו:

ὁ θυσιάζων θεοῖς θανάτω ὀλεθρευθήσεται πλὴν κυρίῳ μόνῳ

Whoever sacrifices to any god, other than the LORD alone, shall be devoted to destruction.

Exodus 22:19 [Qal]

רק הבמות לא יסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות:

πλὴν τῶν ὑψηλῶν οὐκ ἐζήρεν ἔτι ὁ λαὸς ἐθυσίαζεν και ἐθυμίον ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς

Nevertheless the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and made offerings on the high places.

2 Kings 15:4 [Piel]

10.1.1.4.3 Combination of multiple patterns

In this section, the roots טהר and מלא show a combination of multiple patterns.

Two contrasting patterns exist for verbs of טהר: a voice distinction pattern and an ‘adjective + verb’ versus just verb pattern. Neither pattern is completely perfect across the two verbal stems, but

the tendency is for the *qal* to be translated with a passive verb or the ‘adjective + verb’ construction, while the *piel* is translated with an active verb.

13/27 verbs in the *qal* (‘to be clean, pure’) are translated with passive forms of *καθαρίζω*, ‘to wash, make clean, cleanse’, and 13/16 verbs in the *piel* (‘to cleanse, pronounce clean’) are translated with active forms of the same verb.⁵⁷

וְכַבְּדֶתֶם בְּגֵדֵיכֶם בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְטָהַרְתֶּם וְאַחַר תִּכְאוּ אֶל־הַמִּטְהָרִים:

καὶ πλυνεῖσθε τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν

You must wash your clothes on the seventh day, and you shall be clean; afterward you may come into the camp.

Numbers 31:24 [*Qal*]

וְאַחֲרַיִכֶן יָבֹאוּ הַלְוִיִּם לַעֲבֹד אֶת־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד וְטָהַרְתֶּם אֹתָם וְהִנְפַתָּ אֹתָם תְּנוּפָה:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσονται οἱ Λευῖται ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ καθαριεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποδώσεις αὐτοὺς ἔναντι κυρίου

Thereafter the Levites may go in to do service at the tent of meeting, once you have cleansed them and presented them as an elevation offering.

Numbers 8:15 [*Piel*]

A further 12/27 verbs in the *qal* are translated with the adjective + verb phrase *καθαρός εἰμί*, ‘to be clean’. In these cases, the verb *εἰμί* is always in the future (deponent middle) so the meaning in each case is ‘will be clean’

⁵⁷ There is one occasion where a verb of the root טהר pointed as a *qal* is translated using an active form of *καθαρίζω* in Leviticus 12:7 Here, it appears as though the translator of the LXX is reading the verb וטרהר as a *piel weqatal* 3ms with a 3fs object suffix, whereas the MT is pointed as a *qal qatal* 3fs.

וְהָיָה יְתָחַטְּאוּ-בָּו בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וּבְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְיִטְהַרוּ אִם-לֹא יִטְהַרוּ בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וּבְיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי לֹא יִטְהָרוּ:

οὗτος ἀγνισθήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφαγνισθῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ οὐ καθαρὸς ἔσται

They shall purify themselves with the water on the third day and on the seventh day, and so be clean; but if they do not purify themselves on the third day and on the seventh day, they will not become clean.

Numbers 19:12 [Qal]

Only once, this adjective + verb formation is used for the *piel* as well. It is possible that this is another occasion where the LXX translator is making a different reading, considering the verb וטהרו to be *qal*, while the MT considers it to be a *piel*. This does not necessarily require a different *Vorlage*, as an unpointed *piel* will look identical to an unpointed *qal*, however, translating the verb as a *qal*, and hence intransitive, cannot explain the final *waw*, which only makes sense as a *holem waw* for the 3ms object suffix of the *piel* (or potentially as a *shureq* to make the verb 3cp).

וְהִזָּהוּ עַל הַמַּטְהָר מִן-הַצָּרַעַת שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים וְיִטְהַרוּ וְשָׁלַח אֶת-הַצֶּפֶר עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה:

καὶ περιρρανεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν καθαρισθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας ἐπτάκις καὶ καθαρὸς ἔσται καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖ τὸ ὄρνιθιον τὸ ζῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον

He shall sprinkle it seven times upon the one who is to be cleansed of the leprous disease; then he shall pronounce him clean^{MT}/he shall be clean^{LXX}, and he shall let the living bird go into the open field.

Leviticus 14:7 [Piel]

All of the translations of מלא, in both the *qal* and the *piel*, have the same Greek stem, *πλη-*. However, within these translations there exists the full range of patterns: identical translations, differentiation by voice, and differentiation by ‘bare’ and compound verbs. Where there is a differentiation by voice, the pattern is often not perfect across the verbal stems, seemingly indicating

that the active:passive / transitive:intransitive distinction is more important than the distinction between the stems – the meaning takes precedence over the morphology.

7/27 verbs in the *qal* ('to be full, fill up') and 6/49 verbs in the *piel* ('to fill') are translated with active forms of the verb *πληρόω*, 'to fill, fulfil':

וַיִּמְלֵאוּ-לוֹ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם כִּי בָן מִלְאָו מִי הַחַגְגִּים וַיִּכְרוּ אֹתוֹ מִצְרַיִם שְׁבַע יָמִים יוֹם:

καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῦ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας οὕτως γὰρ καταριθμοῦνται αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ταφῆς καὶ ἐπένθησεν αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτος ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας

And they filled forty days in doing this, for that is the time required for embalming. And the Egyptians wept for him seventy days.

Genesis 50:3 [Qal]

וְהָאִישׁ מִיכָה לֹ בַּיִת אֱלֹהִים וַיַּעַשׂ אֶפֹּוד וְתַרְפִּים וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת-יָד אַחַד מִבְּנָיו וַיְהִי-לּוֹ לְכֹהֵן:

καὶ ὁ οἶκος Μιχαῖα αὐτῷ οἶκος θεοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν εφωδ καὶ θαραφιν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν χεῖρα ἀπὸ ἐνὸς υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ εἰς ἱερέα

As for the man Micha, he had a house of god, and he made ephoud and theraphin and filled the hand of one of his sons, and he became for a priest to him.

Judges 17:5 [Piel]

7/27 verbs in the *qal* and 1/49 verbs in the *piel* are translated with *πληρόω* in the passive voice:

וַיִּמְלֵאוּ יָמֵיהָ לֵלְדָתָהּ תּוֹמִם בְּבִטְנָהּ:

καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν καὶ τῆδε ἦν δίδυμα ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς

When the days of her birth were filled, there were twins in her womb.

Genesis 25:24 [Qal]

כִּי יִמְלֵאוּ יָמֶיךָ וְשָׁכַבְתָּ אֶת־אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וְהָקִימְתִי אֶת־רַעְיִי אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּיָמֶיךָ וְנָצַח מִמֶּעַיִד וְהָכִינְתִי אֶת־מַמְלַכְתּוֹ:

καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι σου καὶ κοιμηθῆσῃ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων σου καὶ ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σέ ὃς ἔσται ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου καὶ ἐτοιμάσω τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ

When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your ancestors, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom.

2 Samuel 7:12 [Piel]

8/27 verbs in the *qal* are translated with passive voice forms of *πίμπλημι*, ‘to fill’, while 13/49 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active voice forms of the same verb. Here the distinction is not between transitive and intransitive but more between stative and not, with the passive voice being used to indicate a stative nuance.

וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים לַעֲמֹד לְשָׁרֵת מִפְּנֵי הָעַנַּן כִּי־מָלֵא כְבוֹד־יְהוָה אֶת־בַּיִת יְהוָה:

καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο οἱ ἱερεῖς στήναι λειτουργεῖν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς νεφέλης ὅτι ἐπλησεν δόξα κυρίου τὸν οἶκον

And the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD.

1 Kings 8:11 [Qal]

וַיִּלְכּוּ הַמַּיִם סָבִיב לְמִזְבֵּחַ וְגַם אֶת־הַתְּעֹלָה מָלֵא־מַיִם:

καὶ διεπορεύετο τὸ ὕδωρ κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τὴν θαλάρα ἐπλησαν ὕδατος

So that the water ran all around the altar, and filled the trench also with water.

1 Kings 18:35 [Piel]

There are also 8/49 translations of the *piel* with active forms of the compound verb *ἐμπίπλημι*, ‘to fill up, satisfy’:

ובתים מלאים כליטוב אֶשְׂרָר לֹא־מִלְאָתָּהּ וּבְרֵת הַצּוּבִים אֶשְׂרָר לֹא־הִצַּבְתָּ כְּרַמִּים וְיִתְּיִם אֶשְׂרָר לֹא־נִטְעַתָּ...

οἰκίας πλήρεις πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἃς οὐκ ἐνέπλησας λάκκους λελατομημένους οὐδς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας οὐδς οὐ κατεφύτευσας...

Houses filled with all sorts of goods that you did not fill, hewn cisterns that you did not hew, vineyards and olive groves that you did not plant...

Deuteronomy 6:11a [Piel]

The *qal* is twice translated with this compound verb, once actively and once passively:

אָמַר אֹיִב אֶרְדָּה אֶשְׂרִיג אֶחֱלַק שְׁלָל תִּמְלֶאמֶנּוּ נִפְשֵׁי אֶרְיִק חֲרָבִי תוֹרִישְׁמוּ נְדִי:

εἶπεν ὁ ἐχθρὸς διώζας καταλήμψομαι μεριῶ σκῶλα ἐμπλήσω ψυχὴν μου ἀνελῶ τῆ μαχαίρη μου κυριεύσει ἡ χεὶρ μου

The enemy said, ‘I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, my desire shall have its fill of them. I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.’

Exodus 15:9 [Qal] (active)

וַיְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן־נֹון מִלֵּא רַוּם חֲכָמָה כִּי־סָמַד מִשָּׁה אֶת־יָדָיו עָלָיו...

καὶ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη ἐνεπλήσθη πνεύματος συνέσεως ἐπέθηκεν γὰρ Μωυσῆς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτόν...

Joshua son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands on him...

Deuteronomy 34:9a [Qal] (passive)

10.1.2 Piel comparison conclusions

Verbs in the *piel* and the *qal* can be translated identically. This usually, but not always, happens when the meaning of verbs in the two stems are very similar and they have the same level of transitivity. This may simply indicate that the translators read the verbs as being identical, and they were only later distinguished by the vocalisation of the Masoretes.

Where verbs of a root have different levels of transitivity in the *qal* and the *piel*, with the *qal* being intransitive and the *piel* being transitive, the same verb can be used in the translation but the *qal* is translated with the passive voice while the *piel* is translated with the active voice. This can occur when the *qal* is stative (with true statives being intransitive), which is a pattern that aligns with data seen in the chapter on the *qal* where it was highlighted that *qal* statives are more likely to be translated passively than *qals* in general (see 2.2.5). It also occurs when verbs in the *qal* are simply intransitive and verbs of the same root are transitive in the *piel*, and verbs in the *piel* are more likely to be transitive than those in the *qal* (Kouwenberg 2010: 287).

The pattern of roots being translated with passive forms when they appear in stems where they are intransitive and with active forms in stems where they are transitive will be seen throughout this study in other comparisons, and agrees with the idea that morphological passives in Greek can have intransitive meaning (Allan 2013c).

Verbs in the *piel* are sometimes translated with a compound verb while verbs of the same root in the *qal* are translated with the ‘bare’ equivalent. Sometimes this does indicate a basic:factitive distinction, while at other times there seems to be no difference between meanings or levels of transitivity.

A combination of any of these patterns can occur alongside one another or in conjunction with one another.

10.2 Comparisons of the *hiphil*

In this section, verbal roots which appear in the *hiphil* and either one or both of the *qal* and *piel* are held in comparison, to see how and if their translations differ.

Hebrew verbs of roots in different verbal stems will often be translated with different Greek verbs (Wevers 1985: 17), and that is not explored below; only investigated are the patterns which occur where distinctions between stems are made morphologically. These patterns are rarely perfectly consistent across all translations of a particular root, but overarching patterns can still be seen, such as identical translations of verbs in different stems, or a change of voice of the verb used in the translation when a different stem leads to a different level of transitivity.

10.2.1 With the *qal*

This section deals with comparisons between roots which appear in the *hiphil* and *qal* and show noteworthy patterns of translation.

10.2.1.1 Identical translations

With a few roots, verbs in the *hiphil* and the *qal* are regularly translated with identical Greek verbs in the same grammatical voice. This can be due to the fact that the *qal* and *hiphil* share a meaning and have the same transitivity, because the Greek verb can have multiple meanings in the same voice, or because the translators read a verb differently to how it was later pointed.

10.2.1.1.1 Similar meaning, same transitivity

There is one root, עָתַר, where the meaning of the verbs in the *qal* and the *hiphil* is very similar (both meaning ‘to plead, supplicate’) and the level of transitivity is the same. In these cases, as was seen with the *piel*, the use of the same verb in translation is not unusual, and 2/4 verbs in the *qal* and 5/6

verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with the deponent verb *εὔχομαι*, ‘to pray’.⁵⁸ Again, simply examining the Greek of the relevant verses would not be enough to determine whether the underlying Hebrew verb was in the *qal* or the *hiphil*.

וַיֵּצֵא מֹשֶׁה מֵעַם פְּרָעֹה וַיִּעֲתָר אֶל־יְהוָה:

ἐξῆλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ Φαραῶ καὶ ἠὔξατο πρὸς τὸν θεόν

So Moses went out from Pharaoh and **prayed** to the LORD.

Exodus 8:30(26) [*Qal*]

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה הֲנֵה אֲנֹכִי יוֹצֵא מֵעַמְּךָ וְהִעֲתַרְתִּי אֶל־יְהוָה וְסָר הָעָרָב מִפְּרֹעָה מֵעַבְדֶּיךָ וּמֵעַמְּךָ מָחָר...

εἶπεν δὲ Μωυσῆς ὅδε ἐγὼ ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ εὔξομαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ ἀπελεύσεται ἡ κυνόμυια ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων σου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ σου αὔριον...

Then Moses said, ‘As soon as I leave you, **I will pray** to the LORD that the swarms of flies may depart tomorrow from Pharaoh^{MT}/you^{LXX}, from his^{MT}/your^{LXX} officials, and from his^{MT}/your^{LXX} people...’

Exodus 8:29a(25a) [*Hiphil*]

10.2.1.1.2 Multiple meaning Greek verb

Identical translation can also occur where the meanings of a root in the *qal* and *hiphil* are different, usually with the *qal* being basic and the *hiphil* being causative. In these cases, the Greek verb can have the same form but two meanings, and the appropriate meaning in each situation can only be determined from context.

This phenomenon is most clear with the root מלך, which is translated by the Greek verb *βασιλεύω* in the sense of ‘to be king, rule’, translating the *qal* 166/166 times, and in the sense of ‘to make (someone) a king’, translating the *hiphil* 22/24 times; this causative sense of *βασιλεύω* is unique

⁵⁸ The active deponent compound verb *προσεύχομαι*, ‘to pray’ is used in a further example for each of the *qal* and the *hiphil*.

to the LXX, and is an example of a development whereby the LXX translators used originally intransitive verbs with particular endings to indicate causative ideas (Tov 1982: 421; Lavidas 2010: 94-99):

... וַיִּמְכְּרֵם יְהוָה בְּיַד יַבִּין מֶלֶךְ־חַנָּנִי אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ בְּחָצוֹר ...

καὶ ἀπέδοτο αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Ιαβιν βασιλέως Χανααν ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἀσωρ...

So the LORD sold them into the hand of King Jabin of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor...

Judges 4:2a [Qal]

... וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־אַבִּימֶלֶךְ לְמֶלֶךְ עַם־אֵלֹן מִצֶּבֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּשֵׁכֶם:

... καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν τὸν Αβιμελεχ πρὸς τῆ βαλάνω τῆ εὐρετῆ τῆς στάσεως τῆς ἐν Σικιμοῖς

... and they went and made Abimelech king, by the oak of the pillar at Shechem.

Judges 9:6b [Hiphil]

This pattern occurs with two other roots as well, but they are not as straightforward as מָלַךְ.

For example, two verbs, one a compound of the other, are used to translate the root נָטַה in both the *qal* ('to stretch, incline') and the *hiphil* ('to turn, incline'), and the context is used to determine what is meant in each case.

6/52 verbs in the *qal* and 2/17 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active voice forms of κλίνω, 'to cause to bend, bow'. The examples in the *hiphil* are both clearly causative whereas the examples in the *qal* vary, with some appearing to have the basic meaning 'to incline', while others have the causative meaning 'to make something incline'. Additionally, 14/52 verbs in the *qal* and 7/17 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of the compound verb ἐκκλίνω, 'to deviate, turn away', again despite the difference between basic meaning and causative meaning in the Hebrew.

...ונט לפם אַתְּרֵי אַבִּימֶלֶךְ כִּי אָמְרוּ אֶחָיו הוּא:

...καὶ ἔκλινεν ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ὀπίσω Αβιμελεχ ὅτι εἶπαν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν

...and their hearts **inclined** to follow Abimelech, for they said, 'He is our brother.'

2 Samuel 22:10 [Qal] [κλίνω – basic]

נִטְשׂוּ שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרֶד וַעֲרַפֵּל תַּחַת רַגְלָיו:

καὶ ἔκλινεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη καὶ γνόφος ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ

He inclined the heavens, and came down; thick darkness was under his feet.

2 Samuel 22:10 [Qal] [κλίνω – causative]

וַיַּטְשׂ אֶת־לִבָּב כָּל־אִישׁ־יִהוּדָה כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ שׁוּב אַתָּה וְכָל־עַבְדֶּיךָ:

καὶ ἔκλινεν τὴν καρδίαν παντὸς ἀνδρὸς Ιουδα ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἑνός καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγοντες ἐπιστρέφητι σὺ καὶ πάντες οἱ δοῦλοί σου

And he made the hearts of all the people of Judah **turn** as one, and they sent word to the king, 'Return, both you and all your servants.'

2 Samuel 19:16 [Hiphil] [κλίνω – causative]

וַיִּרְדֵּף עֲשָׂהאֵל אַחֲרַי אַבְנֵר וְלֹא־נָטָה לְדָכַת עָלָיִם וְעָלָיִם מֵאֲחֵרַי אַבְנֵר:

καὶ κατεδίωξεν Ασαηλ ὀπίσω Αβεννηρ καὶ οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς δεξιά οὐδὲ εἰς ἀριστερὰ κατόπισθεν Αβεννηρ

Asahel pursued Abner, **turning** neither to the right nor to the left as he followed him.

2 Samuel 2:19 [Qal] [ἐκκλίνω – basic]

וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְנֵר חֶבְלוֹן וַיִּטְהַר יוֹאָב אֶל־תּוֹךְ הַשָּׁעַר לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ בַּשָּׂלִי וַיִּבְהוּ שָׁם הַחֲמִשׁ וַיָּמַת בָּרָם עֲשָׂה־אֵל אַחֲרָיו:

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ἀβεννηρ εἰς Χεβρων καὶ ἐξέκλινεν αὐτὸν Ἰωαβ ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς πύλης λαλῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῶαν καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἀσαηλ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰωαβ

When Abner returned to Hebron, Joab **took** him **aside** in the gateway to speak with him privately, and there he stabbed him in the stomach. So he died for shedding the blood of Asahel, Joab's brother.

2 Samuel 3:27 [Hiphil] [ἐκκλίνω – causative]

The situation is even more complicated with verbs of the root קני. They are translated with *θηλάζω* once in the *qal* ('to suckle') and 8/9 times in the *hiphil* ('to nurse'). The verb *θηλάζω* has the basic meaning 'to suckle' when the subject is an infant, and the causative meaning 'to nurse' when the subject is a mother. However, confusion over the translation still occurs, given that the verb pointed as a *qal* in the MT is translated as a causative in the LXX – as though it were identical in meaning to the *hiphil* – which requires the insertion of the accusative object pronoun *σε*, 'you'. Meanwhile there is a case in the preceding chapter of Deuteronomy wherein a verb of this root appears, this time pointed as a *hiphil*, and it is translated using the same verb with a non-causative meaning in the LXX. This lends credence to the idea, already explored in this chapter and previous, that the translators read the verbs differently from how they were later pointed in the MT (see 2.2.3.5, 3.2.3.2, and 4.2.3.3).

עַמִּים הַרְיִקְרָאוּ שָׁם יִזְבְּחוּ זִבְחֵי צְדָקָה כִּי יִשְׁפַע יַמִּים יִזְבְּחוּ וַיִּשְׁפּוּגּוּ טְמוֹנֵי הַיָּם:

They call peoples to the mountain; there they offer the right sacrifices; for **they suck** the affluence of the seas and the hidden treasures of the sand. [NRS]

ἔθνη ἐξολεθρεύουσιν καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθε ἐκεῖ καὶ θύσετε θυσίαν δικαιοσύνης ὅτι πλοῦτος θαλάσσης **θηλάσει** σε καὶ ἐμπόρια παράλιον κατοικούντων

They shall utterly destroy nations, and you shall invoke there, and you shall sacrifice a sacrifice of righteousness, for the riches of the sea **will suckle you** and the trade of those living by the seacoast. [NETS]

Deuteronomy 33:19 [Qal]

וַיִּצְרֹף וַיֵּאָכֵל תְּנוּבֹת שָׂדֵי וַיִּנְקֶהוּ דְבַשׁ מִסֹּלֶעַ וְשֶׁמֶן מִחִלְמֵי שָׂרָר:

He set him atop the heights of the land, and fed him with produce of the field; **he nursed** him with honey from the crags, with oil from flinty rock [NRS]

ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχύον τῆς γῆς ἐψώμισεν αὐτοὺς γενήματα ἀγρῶν ἐθήλασαν μέλι ἐκ πέτρας καὶ ἔλαιον ἐκ στερεᾶς πέτρας

He made them ascend onto the strength of the land, fed them with produce of the fields; **they sucked** honey from a rock and oil from solid rock,

Deuteronomy 32:13 [*Hiphil*]

10.2.1.1.3 *Different reading*

As has been noted (see 2.2.2.4, 3.2.2.3, and 4.2.2.3), there are occasions where the translators read a verb with a different meaning than that which it would be expected to have considering its pointing in the MT.

With the root ידע, the majority (177/304) of verbs in the *qal* ('to notice, know, learn') are translated with active or middle future deponent forms of γινώσκω, 'to come know, realise, know'. Oddly, in 1/17 occurrence of this root in the *hiphil* ('to let someone know something, make known'), it is translated in the same way, without the causative meaning of the *hiphil*. As this is an unusual translation for the *hiphil*, it is very possible that the translator read the verb as a non-causative (as though it were a *qal*), in contrast to its later pointing as a *hiphil* by the Masoretes. This is possible given that the two forms would look identical if they were unpointed.

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה בְּזֵאת תִּדְעוּן כִּי־יְהוָה שְׁלַחְנִי לַעֲשׂוֹת אֵת כָּל־הַמַּעֲשִׂים הָאֵלֶּה כִּי־לֹא מִלְּבָבִי:

καὶ εἶπεν Μωσῆς ἐν τούτῳ γινώσεσθε ὅτι κύριος ἀπέστειλέν με ποιῆσαι πάντα τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ

And Moses said, 'This is how **you shall know** that the LORD has sent me to do all these works; it has not been of my own accord:

Numbers 16:28 [*Qal*]

... וַיִּדְבֹר אֶל־קֹרַח וְאֶל־כָּל־עֲדָתוֹ לֵאמֹר בֹּקֶר וַיִּלַּע יְהוָה אֶת־אֶשְׁרָר־לּוֹ

καὶ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Κορε καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν συναγωγὴν λέγων ἐπέσκεπται καὶ ἔγνω ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ...

Then he said to Korah and all his company, ‘In the morning^{MT}/He has enrolled and^{LXX} the LORD will make known^{MT}/will know^{LXX} who is his...’

Numbers 16:5a [Hiphil]⁵⁹

10.2.1.2 Voice difference

There are some roots for which *qal* forms are translated with a passive voice Greek verb, while *hiphil* forms are translated with the same Greek verb but in the active voice. In the examples below where this particular pattern occurs, the *qal* is intransitive, often stative, and the *hiphil* is transitive. In such cases, the precise definition of the *hiphil* (causative, declarative, etc.) is immaterial, as long as the transitivity increases.

10.2.1.2.1 Stative qal

There are two roots which are stative in the *qal* and are translated passively in Greek, while having an active translation with the same Greek verb when they are translating *hiphil* forms: צדק, and רבה. This is another example of the passive voice serving to indicate a stative meaning (seen in the *qal*) and the active voice serving to indicate transitive meaning.

⁵⁹ The first discrepancy in this verse between the MT and LXX, where the MT has בֹּקֶר, ‘(In the) morning’ and the LXX has ἐπέσκεπται, ‘He has enrolled’ [NETS], appears to be where the translator of the LXX has read a verb of the root פקד instead, as verbs of this root are usually translated by the Greek ἐπισκέπτομαι. The Targums, Peshitta, and Vulgate all agree with the MT. In any case, this does not affect the following verb which is the focus of the example.

הַרְבֵּה עָלַי מְאֹד מְהֵרָה וּמִתֵּן נְאֻתָנָה כְּאֲשֶׁר תֹּאמְרוּ אֵלַי וְתַנְוֵנֵנִי לֵאמֹר:

πληθύνετε τὴν φερνήν σφόδρα καὶ δώσω καθότι ἂν εἴπητέ μοι καὶ δώσετε μοι τὴν παῖδα ταύτην εἰς γυναῖκα

‘Put the marriage present and gift as **high** as you like, and I will give whatever you ask me; only give me the girl to be my wife.’

Genesis 34:12 [Hiphil]

10.2.1.2.2 *Non-stative qal*

As observed in comparisons with the *qal* and *piel*, and as noted in the voice translations of the *qal*, a verb can be dynamic in the *qal* and still have a passive translation if its transitivity is considered to be different compared to another stem. For example, 13/15 verbs in the *hiphil* of לבש (‘to clothe [trans.]’) are translated with active forms of the verb ἐνδύω, ‘to put on, clothe’. When this root appears in the *qal* (‘to put on, clothe oneself’) on 14/19 occasions it is translated with middle voice forms of ἐνδύω. This has the reflexive meaning of putting clothes on oneself. While it appears that these would have the same level of transitivity, the reflexive meaning of the *qal* is taken by the translators to be different from the more obviously transitive *hiphil*.

וַתִּקַּם וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתִּסַּר צַעֲפָה מֵעֵלֶיהָ וַתִּלְבַּשׁ בְּגָדֵי אֲלֻמְנוֹתָהּ:

καὶ ἀναστᾶσα ἀπῆλθεν καὶ περιείλατο τὸ θέριστρον ἄφ’ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐνεδύσατο τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς χηρέυσεως αὐτῆς

Then she got up and went away, and taking off her veil **she put on [herself]** the garments of her widowhood.

Genesis 38:19 [Qal]

וַיִּסַּר פֶּרְעֹה אֶת-טַבַּעְתּוֹ מֵעַל יָדוֹ וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָהּ עַל-יַד יוֹסֵף וַיִּלְבַּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי-שֵׂשׁ וַיַּשְׂם רֶגֶד הַזָּהָב עַל-צַוְנָאָיו:

καὶ περιελόμενος Φαραῶ τὸν δακτύλιον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ περιέθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτὸν στολὴν βυσσίνην καὶ περιέθηκεν κλοιὸν χρυσοῦν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ

Removing his signet ring from his hand, Pharaoh put it on Joseph's hand; he arrayed him in garments of fine linen, and put a gold chain around his neck.

Genesis 41:42 [Hiphil]

10.2.1.3 Same Greek base

For comparisons between the *qal* and the *hiphil*, the category 'same Greek base' is wider and can refer to four related patterns of translation:

- i. A 'bare' verb for the *qal* vs a compound of the same verb used for the *hiphil*, as seen in comparisons of the *qal* and the *piel*.
- ii. A verb + adjective translation used for the *qal* vs a verb based on the adjective used for the *hiphil*.
- iii. A verb with one verbal ending used for the *qal* vs a verb with the same stem but a different verbal ending used for the *hiphil*.
- iv. *εἶμι* + an adjective used for the *qal* vs *ποιέω* + the same adjective used for the *hiphil*.

For each of these patterns, the shift from *qal* to *hiphil* is accompanied by an increase in transitivity.

10.2.1.3.1 Bare vs compound

The root סח in the *qal* means 'to sin', whereas in the *hiphil* it has the causative meaning 'to cause to sin'. This distinction is borne out through the contrast between the bare verb *ἁμαρτάνω*, 'to sin', which is used in 84/88 occasions to translate the *qal*, while the compound verb *ἐξᾠμαρτάνω*, 'to err from the mark', is used in 25/27 occasions. That *ἐξᾠμαρτάνω* is used in a causative sense at all is an unusual development in the LXX considering that its regular meaning is not causative; in this respect it is similar to the use of *βασιλεύω* in both an intransitive and causative sense. Both of these are mentioned by Tov (1982: 421).

וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוּדָה הַרְעָה בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּקְנֵאוּ אֹתוֹ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂו אֲבֹתָם בְּחַטָּאתָם אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ:

καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ παρεζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν αἷς ἤμαρτον

And Judah^{MT}/Roboam^{LXX} did what was evil before the Lord and provoked him to jealousy with all that his fathers did and with their sins with which **they sinned**

1 Kings 14:22 [*Qal*]

וַיַּעַשׂ הַרְעָה בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּדַרְךְ אָבִיו וַיִּבְחַטְּאֹתָו אֲשֶׁר חָטְטָא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ αἷς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραηλ

And he did what was evil before the Lord and went in the way of his father and in his sins with which **he made** Israel **sin**

1 Kings 15:26 [*Hiphil*]

While the standard definition for *ἐξᾶμαρτάνω* does not contain any notion of causativity, it is clear that this is how it functions in these verses with the meaning ‘to cause to sin’.

This use is a later development (from the translation of Judges onwards): when the *hiphil* of the same root appears in books earlier in the selected corpus, this compound verb is not used. Instead, a different verb may be used:

...וְלֹא תַחַטְּיֵא אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ נַחֲלָה:

...καὶ οὐ μανεύετε τὴν γῆν ἣν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν δίδωσιν ὑμῖν ἐν κλήρῳ

...and you shall not **cause the land to sin^{MT}/defile** the land^{LXX} that the LORD your God is giving you as a possession

Deuteronomy 24:4b [*Hiphil*]

Alternatively, a formation with the verb *ποιέω* alongside *ἀμαρτάνω* may be seen:

לֹא יִשְׁבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כִּי יִשְׁבּוּ בְּאֶרֶץ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְמִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְמִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαθήσονται ἐν τῇ γῆ σου ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτεῖν σε ποιήσωσιν πρὸς με ἐὰν γὰρ δουλεύσης τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν οὗτοι ἔσονται σοι πρόσκομμα

They shall not live in your land, or they will make you sin against me; for if you worship their gods, it will surely be a snare to you.

Exodus 23:33 [*Hiphil*]

10.2.1.3.2 *Adjective vs verb*

In these examples, a verb + adjective translation is used for the *qal* while a verb based on the adjective is used to translate the *hiphil*.

The root *קק* is a good example. In the *qal* ('to crush, become fine through grinding'), 1/1 verb is translated with the construction *γίνομαι λεπτός*, 'to become thin', whereas 3/3 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to pulverize') are translated using the verb *λεπτύνω*, 'to make small, fine'. This is a clear contrast between a Greek verb + adjective construction translating the *qal*, denoting an intransitive, stative notion (2.2.3), and a *hiphil* with factitive meaning, which is necessarily transitive, being translated with a single denominative verb based on the adjective.

...לְקַחְתִּי וְשָׂרַפְתִּי בְּאֵשׁ וְנָאֲמַתְתִּי אֶת־וְחֹן הַיָּבֵט עַד אֲשֶׁר־רָקַע לְעֹפָר...

...καὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ὑμῶν ἣν ἐποιήσατε τὸν μόσχον ἔλαβον αὐτὸν καὶ κατέκαυσα αὐτὸν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ συνέκοψα αὐτὸν καταλέσας σφόδρα ἕως οὗ ἐγένετο λεπτόν...

...And I took [the calf] and burned it with fire and crushed it, grinding it thoroughly, until it was reduced to dust...

Deuteronomy 9:21b [*Qal*]

...וְשָׂרַפְתִּי אֶת־הַבְּמֹתָהֶם לְעֹפָר וְשָׂרַפְתִּי אֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרָה:

...καὶ συνέτριψεν τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν εἰς χοῦν καὶ κατέκαυσεν τὸ ἄλσος

... and burned the high place^{MT}/crushed their stones^{LXX}, **crushing** it to dust; he also burned the sacred pole.

1 Kings 23:15b [*Hiphil*]

The root פלץ also shows this pattern but less strongly. 1/9 verbs in the *qal* ('to succeed') are translated with the verb + addition construction of *εἰμί*, 'to be', as a middle future deponent, plus *εὐδοος*, 'easy to pass'. Meanwhile, 10/12 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to be successful, make someone succeed') are translated with a denominative verb formed from the same adjective with the ending -*όω* verb ending, *εὐδοόω*, 'to ensure success'.

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה לְמַה הָיָה אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים אֶת־פִּי יְהוָה וְהוּא לֹא תִצְלַח:

καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς ἵνα τί ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὸ ρῆμα κυρίου οὐκ **εὐδοα** ἔσται ὑμῖν

But Moses said, 'Why do you continue to transgress the command of the LORD? That **will** not be **easy to pass for you/successful**.'

Numbers 14:41 [*Qal*]

וְהָיִיתָ מְמַשֵּׁשׁ בַּצָּהָרִים כְּאִשָּׁר מְמַשֵּׁשׁ הָעוֹר בְּאֶפְלֵה וְלֹא תִצְלַח אֶת־דְּרָכֶיךָ...

καὶ ἔση ψηλαφῶν μεσημβρίας ὥσει ψηλαφήσαι ὁ τυφλὸς ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ οὐκ **εὐδοώσει** τὰς ὁδοὺς σου...

You shall grope about at noon as blind people grope in darkness, but **you shall not make your way successful**...

Deuteronomy 28:29a [*Hiphil*]

10.2.1.3.3 Different endings

With the root שכב, the verb *κοιμάομαι*, ‘to sleep, fall asleep’ is used in 103/127 instances for the *qal* (‘to lie down’) but *κοιμίζω*, ‘to put to sleep’, which has the same Greek stem but a different ending, is used in all five instances in which this root appears in the *hiphil* (‘to lay’).

... כִּי יִמָּלֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁכַּבְתָּ אֶת־אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וְהִקִּימְתִי אֶת־יִרְעוּרְעֵי אֶרְצֵךָ

καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι σου καὶ **κοιμηθήσῃ** μετὰ τῶν πατέρων σου καὶ ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σε...

When your days are fulfilled and **you lie down** with your ancestors, I will raise up your offspring after you...

2 Samuel 7:12a [Qal]

... וְהָאֶת־מוֹאָב וְיִמְדַּדְמָם בְּהַכֹּל הַשָּׁכַב אֹתָם אֶרְצָה

καὶ ἐπάταξεν Δαυὶδ τὴν Μωαβ καὶ διεμέτρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν σχοινίοις **κοιμίσας** αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν...

He also defeated the Moabites and, **making them lie down^{MT}/putting them to sleep** on the ground, measured them off with a cord...

2 Samuel 8:2a [Hiphil]

10.2.1.3.4 εἰμί vs ποιέω

The use of *ποιέω*, ‘to make, do’, in conjunction with an additional part of speech to translate the *hiphil* is rare with only 14 total examples, although it is noted by Tov as a method of showing causative aspect (1982: 422). This example with the root מעט (*qal*: ‘to be small, few’; *hiphil*: ‘to make small, few’), which displays the contrast between the *qal* and *hiphil* through the use of *εἰμί* + addition versus *ποιέω* + addition is particularly interesting. The root is not widespread, appearing once in the *qal* and once in the *hiphil*, both using the adjective *ὀλιγοστός*, ‘one out of the few’ but with their respective different verbs.

... ואם ימעט הבית מהנית משה ללקח הוא וישכנו הקרב אל-ביתו במכסת נפש... [NETS]

If a household is too small for a whole lamb, it shall join its closest neighbour in obtaining one... [NRS]

ἐὰν δὲ ὀλιγοστοὶ ᾖσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὥστε μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι εἰς πρόβατον συλλήμμεται μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν γείτονα τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν...

But if those in the household are too few so that they are not enough for a sheep, he shall join with himself his nearby neighbour according to the number of souls... [NETS]

Exodus 12:4a [*Qal*]

... והמעטים אתכם ונשמו דרכיכם:

...καὶ ὀλιγοστοὺς ποιήσει ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρημωθήσονται αἱ ὁδοὶ ὑμῶν

...and they shall make you few in number, and your roads shall be deserted.

Leviticus 26:22b [*Hiphil*]

10.2.1.4 Combinations

As discussed in the comparison of the *qal* and the *piel* (see 3.4.1.4), and as will be seen in many further cases throughout this study, the patterns explored above can appear in combinations, either atop one another, meaning that the translations will exhibit a difference in two two ways, or alongside one another, where some translations of a verb exhibit one pattern while other translations of verbs of the same root exhibit a different pattern.

The change of voice pattern is seen in all the following examples, and this appears in combination with another pattern.

The root *יבש* shows a combination of two patterns on top of one another: a voice distinction and a bare:compound distinction. When this root appears in the *qal* ('to dry up [intrans.], be dry'), it is translated 5/5 times with passive forms of the verb *ξηραίνω*, 'to dry up [intrans.]'. When in the *hiphil*

(‘to cause (water) to dry up, cause (plants) to wither, to dry up [intr.]’), 4/4 verbs are translated with active compound forms of ξηραίνω, such as ἀποξηραίνω and καταξηραίνω, both of which mean ‘to dry up (something) [trans.]’.

What is interesting about this verb is that the use of the compound verb to translate the *hiphil* seems unnecessary, the addition of the preverb does not adjust the transitivity of the ‘bare’ verb ξηραίνω, which already means ‘to dry up’ with a transitive sense. It could be argued that the preverb is for emphasis (Brunel 1939: 281; see εἰς-ἐν and κατά in Humbert 1960: 335-6, 339), as drying up of the Jordan (see example below) is a more emphatic activity than drying an item of clothing, for example. This is difficult to test, as there are no translations of the *hiphil* which use a bare form of the verb, but since the examples featuring the bare form which translate the *qal* are not unimpressive events – the Earth drying (Gen 8:7, 14), a hand withering (1 Kings 13:4), a wadi drying up (1 Kings 17:7) – the implication seems to be that the compound form is not required for emphasis.⁶⁰

וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנַיִ בְּשַׁבְּעָה וָעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ יָבֶשֶׁה הַיַּרְדֵּן

ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνός ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ

In the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth was dry.

Genesis 8:14 [Qal]

... אֲשֶׁר-הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶת-מִי הַיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵיכֶם עַד-עַבְרַתְכֶם

ἀποξηράναντος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐκ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν μέχρι οὗ διέβησαν...

For the LORD your^{MT}/our^{LXX} God dried up the waters of the Jordan for you until you^{MT}/they^{LXX} crossed over...

Joshua 4:23a [Hiphil]

⁶⁰ Indeed, the bare form is used in other literature for similarly emphatic situations of drying, cf. Homer *Iliad* 21.345, 348.

In contrast to *יָבֵשׁ*, the root *קשה* (*qal*: ‘to be hard’; *hiphil*: ‘to harden’) exhibits two patterns alongside, rather than atop, one another: the *qal* is, on two occasions, translated with a passive form of the verb *σκληρύνω*, ‘to harden’ (which has an unremarkable stative, intransitive meaning with the passive morphology, rather than a passive one), and on one other occasion it is translated with the adjective *σκληρός*, ‘hard’, with the future deponent middle form of *εἰμί*, ‘to be’; the *hiphil*, meanwhile, is translated with active forms of *σκληρύνω* on 7/8 occasions.

אָרוּר אַפְּם כִּי עָז וְעִבְרָתָם כִּי קָשָׁה אֲחַלְקֵם בְּיַעֲקֹב וְאַפְיָצִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:

ἐπικατάρατος ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ὅτι αὐθάδης καὶ ἡ μῆνις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐσκληρύνθη διαμεριῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰακωβ καὶ διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰσραηλ

Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce^{MT}/self-centred^{LXX}, and their wrath, for it is hard! I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

Genesis 49:17 [*Qal*]

לֹא יִקְשֶׁה בְּעֵינֶיךָ בְּשִׁלְחֵם אֶתְּוּ קִפְשֵׁי מַעֲבָדֶיךָ...

οὐ *σκληρὸν ἔσται* ἐναντίον σου ἐξαποστελλομένων αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀπὸ σοῦ...

It shall not be hard in your eyes when they are being sent out from you as free persons...

Deuteronomy 15:18a [*Qal*]

לֹא אָבָה סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הַחִשְׁבּוֹן הַעֲבִירָנוּ בּוֹ כִּי־הִקְשִׁה הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־רוּחוֹ...

καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν Σηὼν βασιλεὺς Εσβεβὼν παρελθεῖν ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐσκληρύνεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ...

But King Sihon of Heshbon was not willing to let us pass through, for the LORD your God had hardened his spirit...

Deuteronomy 2:30a [*Hiphil*]

The root יטב (*qal*: ‘to go well with, be agreeable, be pleasing’; *hiphil*: ‘to be friendly towards, do good to someone’) also displays several patterns alongside one another.

3/17 verbs in the *qal* are translated with passive voice forms of *ἀγαθύνω*, ‘to do good’, and 4/17 verbs in the *hiphil* translated with active forms of the same verb, which shows a voice change.

וַיֵּטֵב לֵב הַכֹּהֵן וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָאֱזֹוֹד וְאֶת־הַתְּרָפִים וְאֶת־הַפֶּסֶל וַיָּבֵא בְּקֶרֶב הָעָם:

καὶ ἠγαθύνθη ἡ καρδία τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸ εφωδ καὶ τὸ θεραφιν καὶ τὸ γλυπτὸν καὶ τὸ χωνευτὸν καὶ ἦλθεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ

Then the priest’s heart **was glad**. He took the ephod, the teraphim, and the idol, and went along with the people.

Judges 18:20 [*Qal*]

וַיֹּאמֶר מִיכָה עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יֵטֵיב יְהוָה לִי כִּי הִיָּה־לִּי הַלְוִי לְכֹהֵן:

καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας νῦν ἔγνων ὅτι ἀγαθυνεῖ κύριος ἐμοί ὅτι ἐγένετό μοι ὁ Λευίτης εἰς ἱερέα

Then Micah said, ‘Now I know that the LORD **will do good** to me, because the Levite has become my priest.’

Judges 17:13 [*Hiphil*]⁶¹

On one occasion the *hiphil* is translated with the active Greek verb *ἀγαθῶ* (‘to benefit, do good’), which has the same Greek stem as *ἀγαθύνω*, but a different denominative ending (both derived from *ἀγαθός*, ‘good’):

...וַיֵּטֵב יְהוָה לְאֵדָנִי וַיְנַכְרֵת אֶת־אֲמָתָי:

...καὶ ἀγαθῶσαι κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου καὶ μνησθήσῃ τῆς δούλης σου ἀγαθῶσαι αὐτῇ

⁶¹ The translation of the *hiphil* with *ἀγαθύνω* appears twice in Judges. In the alternate text, Judges (A), the Greek verbs are either formed differently or have a different voice.

‘...And when the LORD has dealt well^{MT}/will deal well^{LXX} with my lord, then remember your servant.’

1 Samuel 25:31b [*Hiphil*]

A verb + addition construction is also used, but the verb used in the construction is different translating each stem. 3/17 verbs in the *qal* are translated with the verb *εἰμί* (‘to be’) plus either *ἀρεστός*, ‘acceptable, pleasing’, *εὖ*, ‘well’, or *καλῶς*, ‘beautiful’, while 6/17 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with the verb *ποιέω* (‘to make, do’) plus either *εὖ* or *καλῶς*. These examples show a basic:causative distinction indicated by the change of verb from *εἰμί* to *ποιέω*.

למען ייטב להם ולבניהם לעלם:

...ἵνα εὖ ἢ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν δι’ αἰῶνος

...so that it might be well with them and with their children forever!

Deuteronomy 5:29b [*Qal*]

המאכלך מן במדבר אשר לא ידעו אבותיך למען ענתך ולמען נסתך להיטבך בארצך:

τοῦ ψωμίσαντός σε τὸ μαννα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὃ οὐκ εἶδησαν οἱ πατέρες σου ἵνα κακώσῃ σε καὶ ἐκπειράσῃ σε καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσῃ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν σου

And fed you in the wilderness with manna that your ancestors did not know, to humble you and to test you, and in the end to do you good.

Deuteronomy 8:16 [*Hiphil*]

The root *שב* is similarly translated in several different ways in both the *qal* and the *hiphil*.

Looking at the plurality translations of this root, 197/452 verbs in the *qal* (‘to sit, dwell’) are translated with active voice forms of the verb *κατοικέω*, ‘to inhabit, dwell’, while 6/13 verbs in the *hiphil* (‘to cause to dwell’) are translated with active voice forms of *κατοικίζω*, ‘to cause to dwell’.

This is a very clear example of a basic active (intransitive) verb having one Greek verb translation where the causative (transitive) verb has a verbal translation with a deverbative ending, *-ίζω* in this case (9.2).

...וַיִּנְשָׁל אֶת־הַיְהוּדִים מֵאֵילֹת (וְאֶרְמִים) [וְאֶדוּמִים] בָּאוּ אֵילַת וַיִּשְׁבוּ שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

...καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξ Αἰλαθ καὶ Ἰδομαῖοι ἦλθον εἰς Αἰλαθ καὶ κατώκησαν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης

...and drove the Judeans from Elath; and the Edomites came to Elath, where they live to this day.

2 Kings 16:6b [*Qal*]

...וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹהֶם בְּחֶלְהָ וּבְחֶבְרוֹן נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מְדִי:

...καὶ κατώκισεν αὐτοὺς ἐν Αλαε καὶ ἐν Αβωρ ποταμοῖς Γωζαν καὶ Ὀρη Μήδων

...and he placed/made them live them in Halah, on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

2 Kings 17:6b [*Hiphil*]

There is also a passive:active pattern between the *qal* and *hiphil* with the verb *κατοικίζω*, as in the 8/452 cases where the *qal* uses this Greek verb, the passive voice is used in 7 of these.

...וַאֲתֶן לָכֶם אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נִגְעַתְּ בָּהּ וְעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־בְנִיתֶם וַתִּשְׁבוּ בָהֶם ...

καὶ ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν γῆν ἐφ' ἣν οὐκ ἐκοπιάσατε ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ πόλεις ἃς οὐκ ᾠκοδομήσατε καὶ κατωκίσθητε ἐν αὐταῖς...

I^{MT}/He^{LXX} gave you a land on which you had not labored, and towns that you had not built, and you live in them...

Joshua 24:13a [*Qal*]

83/452 verbs of יָשַׁב in the *qal* and 2/13 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of *καθίζω*, ‘to sit, seat, cause to sit’.⁶² The same active verb is used for both verbal stems, even though the meaning is different, with a clearer causative, transitive meaning meant with the *hiphil*. However, this is a feature of the verb *καθίζω*, which can be used both transitively and intransitively in the same morphological form.

וַיְהִי מִקֶּפֶר הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר־יָשַׁב דָּוִד בְּשֵׂדֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים יָמִים וְאַרְבָּעָה חֳדָשִׁים:

καὶ ἐγενήθη ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν ὧν ἐκάθισεν Δαυὶδ ἐν ἀγρῶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τέσσαρας μῆνας

The length of time that David **lived** in the country of the Philistines^{MT}/allophyles^{LXX} was one year and four months.

1 Samuel 27:7 [*Qal*]

וַיָּבֹא דָוִד אֶל־מַאֲתָיִם הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־פָּגְרוּ מִלְּכַת אַחֲרָי דָּוִד וַיֹּשִׁיבֵם בְּנֶחֱל הַבְּשׂוֹר ...

καὶ παραγίνεται Δαυὶδ πρὸς τοὺς διακοσίους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκλυθέντας τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ τῷ Βοσορ

Then David came to the two hundred men who had been too exhausted to follow David, and **he had made them stay** at the Wadi Besor...

1 Samuel 30:21a [*Hiphil*]

10.2.2 With the piel

Interesting comparisons between verbs of roots which appear *only* in the *hiphil* and *piel* are not common. However, there are many cases which will be seen in later chapters (see 5.4.4, 6.4.5, 6.4.9, and 8.4.2) where verbs in the *hiphil* and *piel* can be compared where they also exist in other stems.

⁶² There are also active translations of verbs in both stems with the compound *ἐγκαθίζω*.

10.2.2.1 Identical translations

The *hiphil* is sometimes translated with verbs which are identical to those used to translate the *piel*, in the same grammatical voice.

10.2.2.1.1 Multiple meaning Greek verb

This identical translation can occur where the meaning of the *piel* and the *hiphil* is different, one being intransitive and one being causative, but the Greek verb can have both meanings in the same form.

This is the case with the root קטר, as 12/13 verbs in the *piel* ('to make a sacrifice, go up in smoke') and 23/68 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to cause to go up in smoke') are translated with active forms of *θυμιάω*, 'to burn incense, make an incense offering'. The use of this root in the *piel* does not appear until 1 Samuel 2:16, and the translation of the *piel* with *θυμιάω* is not used until 1 Kings 22:44.

וַיָּבֵא אֶת־כָּל־הַכֹּהֲנִים מֵעִרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּטְמָא אֶת־הַבְּמֹת אֲשֶׁר קָטְרוּ־שָׁמָּה הַכֹּהֲנִים מִגִּבְעַ עַד־בְּאֵר שָׁבַע ...

καὶ ἀνήγαγεν πάντα τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκ πόλεων Ἰουδα καὶ ἐμίανεν τὰ ὑψηλά οὗ ἔθυμιάσαν ἐκεῖ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ Γαββα καὶ ἕως Βηρσαβε...

He brought all the priests out of the towns of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had made offerings, from Geba to Beer-sheba...

2 Kings 23:8a [*Piel*]

וַיִּקְטֹר אֶת־עֹלָתוֹ וְאֶת־מִנְחָתוֹ וַיִּסַּךְ אֶת־נֶסֶכוֹ וַיִּזְרַק אֶת־דָּמֵהֶשֶׁלֶמַיִם אֶשְׁר־לֹ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ:

καὶ ἐθυμιάσεν τὴν ὀλοκαύτωςιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σπονδὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέχεεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν εἰρηνικῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον

And offered his burnt offering and his grain offering, poured his drink offering, and dashed the blood of his offerings of well-being against the altar.

2 Kings 16:13 [*Hiphil*]

The use of *θυμιάω* to translate the *hiphil* is only slightly less common than the use of *ἀναφέρω*, the other translation which is used in 24/68 occasions.

10.2.2.2 Same Greek base

10.2.2.2.1 Bare vs compound

The difference in translation between the *hiphil* and the *piel* can be based on a contrast between a compound and bare verb. However, in the example given below, with the root קנא (*piel*: ‘to be jealous, zealous’ or ‘to make jealous’; *hiphil*: ‘to make jealous’), the distinction is not perfectly divided across the stems as verbs of this root can have identical meaning in the *piel* and *hiphil*, with the same level of transitivity, and, in these cases, are translated identically

In the 14/16 cases where the *piel* of this root has the stative meaning ‘to be jealous, zealous’, it is translated with the active form of the bare verb *ζηλόω*, ‘to be jealous, zealous’. However, on the 2 occasions where verbs of this root appear in the *piel* with a meaning close to the *hiphil* (‘to make jealous’), they are translated with active forms of the compound *παραζηλόω*, ‘to provoke to jealousy’, which is how the *hiphil* is translated in one out of its two occurrences.

וַיֹּאמֶר קְנֵא קִנְיָתַי לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת ...

καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου *ζηλῶν ἐζήλωκα* τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι...

He^{MT}/Elijah^{LXX} answered, ‘I have been very zealous for the LORD, the God of hosts^{MT}/the Almighty^{LXX}...’

1 Kings 19:10a [*piel*]

הֲלֹא קִנְיָתַי בְּלֹא-אֵל כְּעֶשְׂיִי בְּהַבְלִיָּהֶם וְאֲנִי אֶקְנִיָּאֵם בְּלֹא-שֵׁם בְּגוֹי נִבְּל אֲכַעֲסֵם:

αὐτοὶ *παραζήλωσάν με ἐπ’ οὐ θεῶν παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν* *καὶ γὰρ παραζηλώσω αὐτούς ἐπ’ οὐκ ἔθνει ἐπ’ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτω παροργιῶ αὐτούς*

They made me jealous with what is no god, provoked me with their idols. So I will make them jealous with what is no people, provoke them with a foolish nation.

Deuteronomy 32:21 [1st: *piel*; 2nd: *hiphil*]

10.2.3 With the *qal* and the *piel*

Following are examples of comparisons between roots that appear in the *qal*, *piel* and *hiphil* and have noteworthy patterns of translation.

10.2.3.1 Identical translations

There is one example of comparison with these three verbal stems where all verbs of the same root are translated with the same Greek verb in the same voice no matter which of the three verbal stems they appear in.

Verbs of the root ארב are all translated using active voice forms of the intransitive Greek verb ἐνεδρεύω, ‘to lie in wait’, regardless of the stem, but Koehler and Baumgartner (2001: 83) give slightly different definitions for the three Hebrew verbal stems: ‘to lie in ambush, in wait’ (*qal*), ‘to set up men in ambush’ (*piel*), and ‘to lay an ambush’ (*hiphil*).

In both the Hebrew and the Greek, verbs of this root are intransitive and the basic definition given by the ἐνεδρεύω can work for all cases, so the nuance provided by Koehler and Baumgartner seems unnecessary. This assessment agrees with that of Waltke and O’Connor, who consider this *piel* participle to indicate the profession ‘ambushers’, which would be identical to a participle of the *qal* (1990: 416).

7/7 verbs in the *qal*, 1/1 verb in the *piel*, and 1/1 verb in the *hiphil* (‘to lie in wait’) are all translated with active forms of the verb ἐνεδρεύω.

וַיִּצְוּ אֹתָם לֵאמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַרְבָּיִם לְעִיר מֵאַחֲרַי הָעִיר ...

καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς λέγων ὑμεῖς ἐνεδρεύσατε ὀπίσω τῆς πόλεως...

And he commanded them, saying, ‘You, lie in ambush behind the city...’

Joshua 8:4 [Qal]

וַיִּצְיָמוּ לוֹ בְּעֵלְי שְׂכָם מִרְבֵּימָה עַל רְאִשֵׁי הַהָרִים ...

καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες Σικιμων ἐνεδρεύοντας ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ὀρέων...

So, out of hostility to him, the lords of Shechem set ambushes on the mountain tops...

Judges 9:25 [Piel]

וַיָּבֹא שָׁאוּל וְדָדָיִר עֲמֹלֶק וַיִּרְבּוּ בְּנֵי:

καὶ ἦλθεν Σαουλ ἕως τῶν πόλεων Ἀμαληκ καὶ ἐνήδρευσεν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ

Saul came to the city of the Amalekites and lay in wait in the valley.

1 Samuel 15:5 [Hiphil]

10.2.3.2 Combinations

When comparing three (or more) verbal stems, the patterns of translation are more prone to overlap, which can make separation more challenging, and several patterns can appear in conjunction alongside or atop one another.

There are many cases in which the translations of the *hiphil* and the *piel* can be grouped together as identical, while the *qal* is translated differently, either using the same verb in a different voice or a verb which has the same Greek stem but a different verbal ending or a prefixed preposition.

10.2.3.2.1 Voice difference (hiphil and piel vs qal)

The following examples are particularly noteworthy, not simply because the *qal* is translated non-actively, but because the *piel* and *hiphil* of these roots, which are often assumed to have different meanings, are translated identically. They can also show again that Greek and Hebrew tend mark causative-anticausative pairs differently (see 1.4.4), where it is the causative member that is unmarked in Greek, while it is the anticausative member that is marked in Hebrew.

In examples with אבד, verbs in both the *piel* and the *hiphil* are similarly transitive and are translated identically. This is one of the roots about which Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 144) observe in a footnote that, despite efforts by Waltke and O'Connor and Jenni to ascribe a difference between the *piel* and the *hiphil*, they do not believe there to be one: 'Pi. and Hi. are often interchangeable'. The identical translation of verbs in the two stems supports this view.

6/9 verbs in the *piel* ('to give up as lost, cause to perish, destroy'), and 6/10 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to exterminate') are translated with active forms of ἀπόλλυμι, 'to destroy'. These active translations of the *piel* and the *hiphil* can be contrasted with the translation of the intransitive *qal* ('to become lost, go astray, perish, be destroyed'), where the middle voice form of ἀπόλλυμι ('to perish, be destroyed') is used 13/23 times:⁶³

וַיִּרְדּוּ הֵם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם חַיִּים שָׁאֲלָהּ וַתִּכָּס עַל־הֵם הָאֲרֶץ וַיֵּאבְדוּ מִתּוֹךְ הַקְּהָל׃

καὶ κατέβησαν αὐτοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ζῶντα εἰς ᾄδου καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτοὺς ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀπόλοντο ἐκ μέσου τῆς συναγωγῆς

So they with all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol; the earth closed over them, and they perished from the midst of the assembly.

Numbers 16:33 [Qal]

... וְאֵת כָּל־צִלְמֵי מִסְכַּתְהֶם תֵּאבְדוּ וְאֵת כָּל־בְּמִתָּם תִּשְׁמִידוּ׃

⁶³ On one a further occasion, in Joshua 23:13, the passive voice of ἀπόλλυμι is used to translate the *qal*, with an identical meaning to the middle voice translation.

... και πάντα τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ χωνευτὰ αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖτε αὐτὰ και πάσας τὰς στήλας αὐτῶν ἐξαρεῖτε

...and **destroy** all their cast images, and demolish all their high places^{MT}/steles^{LXX}.

Numbers 33:52b [*Piel*]

וְיִרְדְּ מִיַּעֲקֹב בְּיָמָיו מִיַּד מִצְרָיִם:

καὶ ἐξεγερθήσεται ἐξ Ἰακωβ καὶ ἀπολεῖ σωζόμενον ἐκ πόλεως

One out of Jacob shall rule, and **destroy** the survivors of Ir^{MT}/the city^{LXX}.

Numbers 24:19 [*Hiphil*]

However, no perfect pattern can be observed here, where the translation of the *qal* might be expected to be non-active, as in 6/23 occasions, the *qal* of this root is translated by ἀπόλλυμι in the active voice, while the meaning is still intransitive. Again, this is not an unusual use of Greek, but simply does not follow the pattern that is seen in the majority of cases.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר הֵן גָּנַעְנוּ אֶבְרָהָם כָּל־נַפְשׁוֹ:

καὶ εἶπαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Μωϋσῆν λέγοντες ἰδοὺ ἐξανηλώμεθα ἀπολώλαμεν
παρانهλώμεθα

The Israelites said to Moses, ‘We are perishing; **we are lost**, all of us are lost!’

Numbers 17:27 [*Qal*]⁶⁴

The root בער appears 3/21 verbs in the *piel*, ‘to kindle, burn, consume’, and 2/4 verbs in the *hiphil*, ‘to set fire to, reduce to cinders’, are translated using active forms of καίω ‘to kindle, ignite, burn’, or compounds of the same. 10/10 verbs in the *qal*, ‘to burn, blaze up against, consume’, are

⁶⁴ This is a noteworthy example as the active Greek verb ἀπολώλαμεν is between two passive forms expressing similar ideas (ἐξανηλώμεθα and παρانهλώμεθα). Indeed, the second passive verb, παρانهλώμεθα, ‘we are completely ruined’, is used to translate the same Hebrew verb, אֶבְרָהָם, which is already translated in the same verse with the active of ἀπόλλυμι.

translated using passive forms of *καίω* or its compounds, which have the intransitive meaning ‘to burn, catch fire’ when they have passive morphology. The use of the verbs with or without preverbs does not seem to be a distinguishing feature between verbal stems here, as they appear with translations of all three stems.

Looking at the translations, the translators seem to understand the difference between the *qal* on one side and the *piel* and *hiphil* to be transitivity, between setting fire to something and something burning, and thus use non-active forms for the *qal*, while active forms are used for the other two stems.

...ותהלינה העבתיים אשר על-זרועותיו כפשתים אשר בערו באש וימסו ויסריו מעל ידיו:

...και ἐγενήθη τὰ καλώδια τὰ ἐπὶ βραχίουσιν αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ στιππύον ὃ ἐξεκαύθη ἐν πυρὶ και ἐτάκησαν δεσμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ

... and the ropes that were on his arms became like flax that **has caught fire**, and his bonds melted off his hands.

Judges 15:14b [Qal]

לא-תבערו אש בכל משכתיכם ביום השבת:

οὐ **καύσετε** πῦρ ἐν πάσῃ κατοικίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων...

You shall not burn a fire in any settlement of yours on the day of the sabbaths.

Exodus 35:3 [Piel]

ויבער-אש בלפידים וישלח בקמות פלשתים ויבער מגדניש ועד-קמה ועד-גרם ית:

και ἐξέκαυσεν πῦρ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσιν και ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐν τοῖς στάχυσιν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων και ἐκάησαν ἀπὸ ἄλωνος και ἕως σταχύων ὀρθῶν και ἕως ἀμπελῶνος και ἐλαίας

When **he had set fire to** the torches, he let the foxes go into the standing grain of the Philistines, and **burned up** the shocks and the standing grain, as well as the vineyards and olive groves.

Judges 15:5 [*Hiphil*]

But the difference in the voices is not perfectly an intransitive:transitive divide, as an example with the *piel* is technically intransitive, but has an active translation:

הַנָּגִי (מְבִי) (מְבִיא) אֶלְיָי רָעָה וּבְעַרְתִּי אֶתְרִיף ...

τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σὲ κακὰ καὶ ἐκκαύσω ὀπίσω σου...

‘[This is what the Lord says^{LXX}] “Behold I am bringing disaster on you, and I will consume/burn after you...”’

1 Kings 21(20):21a [*Piel*]

Another example is with the root גדל, as 9/30 verbs of this root גדל in the *qal* (‘to grow up, become strong, be great, become great’) are translated with passive voice forms *μεγαλύνω*, ‘to make great’, while 3/7 verbs in the *piel* (‘to bring up, let grow, make greater than, praise’) and 3/3 verbs in the *hiphil* (‘to enlarge, magnify oneself’) are translated with active forms of the same verb.

...וַיִּגְדַּל הַנְּעָר שְׂמוּאֵל עַם-יְהוָה:

...καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουηλ ἐνώπιον κυρίου

...and the boy Samuel grew up/became great in the presence of the LORD.

1 Samuel 2:21b [*Qal*]

...וַאֲגַדְלָהּ שְׁמֶהּ וְהָיָה בְרָכָה:

...καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός

...and [I will] make your name great, so that you will be a blessing.

Genesis 12:2b [*Piel*]

... וַתַּגְדֵּל לְהַצִּילֵנִי אֶת־נַפְשִׁי...

...καὶ ἐμεγάλυνας τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου ὃ ποιεῖς ἐπ' ἐμέ τοῦ ζῆν τὴν ψυχὴν μου...

...and you have made great your kindness^{MT}/righteousness^{LXX}, which you did for me in saving my life...

Genesis 19:19b [*Hiphil*]

The *qal* example has the distinction of being from a later book, and in books such as Genesis, passive forms of *ύψόω*, ‘to lift up’, and *αύζάνω*, ‘to cause to grow’, are more commonly used instead (cf. Gen 19:13, 21:8, 21:20, 24:35). However, the *piel* and the *hiphil* still regularly use active forms of *μεγαλώνω* even in later books (cf. 1 Sam 12:24 and 1 Kings 1:37 for examples), with no other distinction, once more suggesting that this use is not based solely on the translator’s technique, but on their understanding of the Hebrew.

The root כבד has a stative meaning in the *qal*, ‘to be heavy, weigh heavily upon, be weighty’, and a causative meaning ‘to make heavy, make unresponsive, cause to be honoured’ in the *hiphil*. The *piel* of this root has a different meaning, ‘to honour’, and is usually translated with either *τιμάω*, ‘to honour’, or *δοξάζω*, ‘to glorify’. However, where it has the meaning ‘to make heavy/hard’ (2/14 times), both it and the *hiphil* (4/6 times) are translated identically with the active verb *βαρύνω*, ‘to weigh down’.

... וְלִמָּה תִּכְבְּדוּ אֶת־לִבְבְּכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּבְדוּ מִצְרַיִם וּפְרָעֹה אֶת־לִבָּם

καὶ ἵνα τί βαρύνετε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐβάρυνεν Αἴγυπτος καὶ Φαραῶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν...

Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts?...

1 Samuel 6:6 [*Piel*]

... אֲבִיךָ הִכְבִּיד אֶת־עֵלְנֹו וְאַתָּה הִקַּל מֵעַלְיָנוּ ...

...ὁ πατήρ σου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν ἡμῶν καὶ σὺ νῦν κούφισον ἄφ' ἡμῶν...

‘... Your father **made** our yoke **heavy**, but you must lighten it for us...’

1 Kings 12:10 [*Hiphil*]

There is one occasion where the *hiphil* of this root is translated using the passive of *βαρύνω*. The use of a verb with passive morphology in translation here may well be the choice of the translator in order to remove the agency of Pharaoh:

בְּיָרְא פֶרְעֹה כִּי הִיָּתְהָה הַרְוָהָה וְהַכְבִּיִל אֶת־לְבָבוֹ וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֶלְהֵם כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה:

ιδὼν δὲ Φαραω ὅτι γέγονεν ἀνάψυξις ἐβαρύνθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν κύριος

But when Pharaoh saw that there was a respite, he **hardened** his heart^{MT}/his heart was **weighed down**^{LXX}, and would not listen to them, just as the LORD had said.

Exodus 8:11 [*Hiphil*]

The *qal* is translated 3/7 times with the passive of *βαρύνω*, and a further time with the passive of the compound *καταβαρύνω*, which has the same meaning.

וְתִכְבֵּד נְדִי־הַתְּנָה אֶל־הָאֲשְׁדֹדִים ...

καὶ ἐβαρύνθη χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἀζωτον...

The hand of the LORD **was heavy** upon the people of Ashdod...

1 Samuel 5:6 [*Qal*]

6/7 verbs of רוּם in the *qal* (‘to be high, exalted’) are translated with passive voice forms of *ύψόω*, ‘to lift up, exalt’; 8/37 verbs in the *hiphil* (‘to bring aloft, raise up, lift high’) are translated with active voice forms of the same verb. *ύψόω* in the active form used as a regular translation for the *hiphil* seems to be a later development as it is attested only twice in the Pentateuch, whereas it appears far more frequently in 1 Samuel – 2 Kings.

וַיְהִי הַמַּבּוּל אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּרְבּוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־הַתְּבֹהַבַּת תַּרְסָם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ:

καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμὸς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπληθύνθη τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ ὑψώθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

The flood continued forty days [and forty nights^{LXX}] on the earth; and the waters increased, and bore up the ark, and it rose high above the earth.

Genesis 7:17 [Qal]

וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעוֹ בְּיַד־הַרְיָמָתִי קוֹלִי וְאֶקְרָא וַיִּצְוֶנּוּ בְּגָדוֹ אֶצְלִי וַיָּנֹס וַיִּצָּא הַחוּצָה:

ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ὅτι ὕψωσα τὴν φωνήν μου καὶ ἐβόησα καταλιπὼν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἔφυγεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω

‘And when he heard me raise my voice and cry out, he left his garment beside me, and fled outside.’

Genesis 39:15 [Hiphil]

This root also appears 3 times in the *polet* (‘to raise, exalt’), where it is always translated with an active form of *ύψόω*, or the compound *άνυψόω*, ‘to raise up’. As the meaning of the *polet* in this case is identical to the *hiphil*, it is not surprising that they are translated with the same Greek form in some instances.

וּמוֹצִיאִי מֵאֲיִבֵי וּמִקְמֵי תַרְוָמָמְנִי מֵאִישׁ הַמְּסִים תִּצִּילֵנִי:

καὶ ἐξάγων με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπεγειρομένων μοι ὑψώσεις με ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἀδικημάτων ῥύση με

Who brought me out from my enemies; you exalted me above my adversaries, you delivered me from the violent. [NRS] / And bringing me out from my enemies. And you will exalt me from those who are stirred up against me; you will rescue me from a man of wrongs. [NETS]

2 Samuel 22:49 [Polel]

Once again, where this root is used intransitively(/statively) (i.e. where it appears in the *qal*), it is translated with the passive, whereas in case where it is used transitively (i.e. in the *hiphil* and the *poel*), it is translated with active voice forms.

10.2.3.2.2 Same Greek base (hiphil and piel vs qal)

In this category, translations of verbs in the *hiphil* and the *piel* are once again more likely to share features with each other and to be distinct from translations of the *qal*. The difference in these cases is distinction in compound forms of the verb.

For an example of translation with different verbal endings, the root חַי can be considered. The Greek verbs used in the translation of this root all have the stem $\zeta\tilde{\omega}$ -, with a connection to ‘life’.

58/99 verbs of this root in the *qal* (‘to be alive, stay alive’) are translated with active forms of $\zeta\tilde{\alpha}\omega$, ‘to live, be alive’. Verbs in both the *piel* (‘to preserve, keep alive’) and the *hiphil* (‘to preserve’) are translated with verbs that are essentially compounds with the stem $\zeta\tilde{\omega}$ -: 8/21 *piel* and 1/18 *hiphil* are translated with active forms of $\zeta\omega\sigma\gamma\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, ‘to make alive, keep alive’; 2/21 *piel* and 4/18 *hiphil* with $\zeta\omega\gamma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, ‘to take alive’; and 1/21 *piel* and 1/18 *hiphil* with $\zeta\omega\sigma\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, ‘to make alive’. Again, these are examples where the *qal* is intransitive and the *piel* and *hiphil* are both transitive.

וַיְחִי אָדָם שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאָתַיִם שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד בְּדִמּוּתוֹ כְּצִלְמוֹ וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת:

ἔζησεν δὲ Ἀδὰμ διακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ ἐγέννησεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σηθ

When Adam **had lived** one hundred thirty years, he became the father of a son in his likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth.

Genesis 5:3 [Qal]

וַתִּירָאן הַמַּלְאָכִים אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וְלֹא עָשׂוּ כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים מִלֶּד מִצְרַיִם וַתַּחֲיֶינָא אֶת־הַיְלָדִים:

ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ αἱ μαῖαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαν καθότι συνέταξεν αὐταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐζωογονοῦν τὰ ἄρσена

But the midwives feared God; they did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them, but they let the boys live.

Exodus 1:17 [Piel] - ζωογονέω

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶתִּי בְּנֵי־אִמִּי הֵם חַיִּי־הֵהָּ לִּי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהִים לֹא הֲרַגְתִּי לָהֶם

καὶ εἶπεν Γεδεων ἀδελφοί μου καὶ υἱοὶ τῆς μητρός μου ἦσαν ζῆ κύριος εἰ ἐζωογονήκατε αὐτούς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς

And he replied, ‘They were my brothers, the sons of my mother; as the LORD lives, if you had saved them alive, I would not kill you.’

Judges 8:19 [Hiphil] - ζωογονέω

וַיָּשָׁב בְּנַמְנָם בְּעַתָּה הַהִיא וַיִּתְּנוּ לָהֶם הַנְּשִׂיִם אֲשֶׁר חָיָה מִנְּשִׂי יַבֶּשׁ גִּלְעָד וְלֹא־מִצָּאָה לָהֶם כֹּן

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Βενιαμιν πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ τὰς γυναῖκας ἃς ἐζωοποίησαν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἰαβις Γαλααδ καὶ ἤρρεσεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως

Benjamin returned at that time; and they gave them the women whom they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead; but they did not suffice for them.

Judges 21:14 [Piel] - ζωοποιέω

וַיְהִי כִּקְרָא מְלִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַסֶּפֶר וַיִּקְרַע בְּגָדָיו וַיֹּאמֶר הַאֵלֹהִים אֲנִי לָהֶמְתִּי וְלָהֶחַיִּת

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τὸ βιβλίον διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν μὴ θεὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ θανατῶσαι καὶ ζωοποιῆσαι...

When the king of Israel read the letter, he tore his clothes and said, ‘Am I God, to give death or to give life...’

2 Kings 5:7a [Hiphil] - ζωοποιέω

The roots נחל and שלח show a pattern with a bare:compound distinction between the *qal* and the *hiphil* and *piel*.

12/18 verbs of נחל in the *qal* ('to possess, inherit) are translated with active forms of κληρονομέω, 'to inherit', while 3/4 verbs in the *piel* ('to allot') and 5/9 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to cause to inherit') are translated with the compound verb κατακληρονομέω, 'to give over as inheritance'.

וַיִּנְחֻלוּ בְנֵי־יוֹסֵף מִנַּשֶׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם:

καὶ ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωσήφ Ἐφραϊμ καὶ Μανασσῆ

The Josephites-- Manasseh and Ephraim-- received their inheritance.

Joshua 16:4 [*Qal*]

אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַל מֹשֶׁה בְּעַרְבֹת מוֹאָב מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן יַרְיָחוֹ מִזְרְחָה:

These are the inheritances that Moses allotted in the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan east of Jericho.

οὗτοι οὗς κατεκληρονόμησεν Μωυσῆς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν Ἀραβωθ Μωαβ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ Ἰεριχω ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν

These are the ones whom Moyses caused to inherit beyond the Jordan in Araboth Moaba, beyond the Jordan by Jericho eastward. [NETS]

Joshua 13:32 [*Piel*]

מְקִיִּים מֵעֶפְרָר לָל מֵאֲשָׁפֶת יָרִים אֲבִיוֹן לְהוֹשִׁיב עִם־נְדִיבִים וְכַסָּא כְבוֹד נִנְחֵלָם ...

ἀνιστᾷ ἀπὸ γῆς πένητα καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἐγείρει πτωχὸν καθίσει μετὰ δυναστῶν λαῶν καὶ θρόνον δόξης κατακληρονομῶν αὐτοῖς

He raises up the poor from the dust; he lifts the needy from the ash heap, to make them sit with princes and inherit a seat of honor...

1 Samuel 2:8a [*Hiphil*]

The pattern of the *qal* being translated with a bare Greek verb and the other active stems being translated with a compound of that verb does not hold perfectly as there are two occasions where the *qal* is translated using active forms of *κατακληρονομέω* (Num 34:18 and Jos 14:1), and one occasion (Deu 19:14) where a passive form of that verb is used. However, in all of these examples, it is very possible that the verb in the *Vorlage* is actually a *piel*, or was read as a *piel* by the translators, as the meaning ‘to allot’ fits the sense (see 3.2.2.3). If this is indeed the case, the use of the compound verb would not be surprising

With the root *חלש*, the pattern of verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil* being translated one way and the *qal* in another does also does not hold perfectly, but the trend is still strong.

261/326 verbs of this root in the *qal* (‘to stretch out, let free, send’) are translated with the Greek verb *ἀποστέλλω*, ‘to send out’, while 111/165 verbs in the *piel* (‘to stretch out, let go, send away’) are translated with *ἐξαποστέλλω*, ‘to send out, send away’; 1 verb out of 3 in the *hiphil* (‘to send’) is also translated with *ἐξαποστέλλω*,⁶⁵ as in the example below:

... וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־שָׂרָה:
... וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־שָׂרָה אֲבִימֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ גֵּרָר וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שָׂרָה:

... ἀπέστειλεν δὲ Ἀβιμελεχ βασιλεὺς Γεραρων καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Σαρραν

... and King Abimelech of Gerar sent and took Sarah.

Genesis 20:2b [*Qal*]

... וַיַּעֲשׂוּ־כֵן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אוֹתָם אֶל־מַחֲנֶה לְמַחֲנֶה

καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς...

And the children of Israel did so, and put them out without the camp...

⁶⁵ A further 1 verb in the *hiphil* is rendered with the compound *ἐπαποστέλλω*, ‘to send after, send upon’.

Numbers 5:4a [Piel]

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם הָחֵל יְהוָה לְהַשְׁלִיחַ בְּיַהוּדָה רְצִין מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם וְאֶת פֶּקַח בֶּן־רֵמַלְיָהוּ:

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἤρξατο κύριος ἐξαποστέλλειν ἐν Ἰουδα τὸν Ραασσων βασιλέα Συρίας καὶ τὸν Φακεε υἱὸν Ρομελίου

In those days the LORD began to send King Rezin of Aram and Pekah son of Remaliah against Judah.

2 Kings 15:37 [Hiphil] - ἐξαποστέλλω

Showing that the pattern is not perfect, 38/165 verbs in the *piel* and (1/3) in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of the verb *ἀποστέλλω*:

... וַיִּשְׁלַחְנוּ יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחָתָהּ:...

... καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἡμᾶς κύριος ἐκτρίψαι αὐτήν

‘... and the LORD has sent us to destroy it.’

Genesis 19:13b [Piel]

... וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי בְכֶם אֶת־תַּיִת הַשָּׂדֶה וְיִשְׂפָקָה אֶתְכֶם ...

καὶ ἀποστελεῶ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς τὰ θηρία τὰ ἄγρια τῆς γῆς καὶ κατέδετα ὑμᾶς ...

I will let loose wild animals [of the land^{LXX}] against you, and they shall bereave you of your children^{MT}/destroy you^{LXX}...

Leviticus 26:22a [Hiphil]

Likewise, 19/326 verbs of this root in the *qal* are translated with the compound *ἐξαποστέλλω*:

... וַיִּשְׁלַח אֲתָם מִן־הָאָרֶץ עַל־פִּי יְהוָה ...

καὶ ἐξάπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς Μωυσῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου Φαραν διὰ φωνῆς κυρίου...

So Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran, according to the command of the LORD...

Numbers 13:3a [Qal]

10.2.3.2.3 Combination of multiple patterns

Multiple patterns occur with the root נמצ and they can be hard to tease apart.

There are identical translations of verbs of נמצ in all three stems, as well as slight bare:compound distinction. 2/5 verbs in the *qal* ('to sprout, grow'), 1/2 verbs in the *piel* ('to produce, grow'), and 2/4 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to make plants sprout, cause to sprout') are all translated with ἀνατέλλω, 'to make rise up, grow up'. With these examples, the valency is not the same across the different verbal stems. For the *qal* and the *piel*, the verbs are intransitive, whereas in the *hiphil* it is transitive. This seems to be because the verb ἀνατέλλω can be in the active voice and have both the intransitive meaning 'to rise', as well as the causative one ('to make [something] rise'), so the translators are able to use it in the same form, regardless of the Hebrew stem, relying on context to clarify the meaning.

... וְכֹל-עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה טָרַם וְיִהְיֶה בְּאֶרֶץ וְכֹל-עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה טָרַם וְיִצְמַח...

καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι...

When no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up...

Genesis 2:5a [Qal]

... וַיֹּאמֶר הַמַּלְאָךְ שְׂבוּ בִּירְחוֹ עַד-וְיִצְמַח זֶקֶן זֶקֶן וְיִשְׁבְּחֶם:

...καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς καθίσατε ἐν Ιεριχω ἕως τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι τοὺς πάγονας ὕμῶν καὶ ἐπιστραφήσεσθε

...The king said, ‘Remain at Jericho until your beards **have grown**, and then return.’

2 Samuel 10:5 [Piel]

וקוץ ודרדר תצמיח לך ואכלת את עשב השדה:

ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοὶ καὶ φάγη τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ

Thorns and thistles **it shall bring forth** for you; and you shall eat the plants of the field.

Genesis 3:18 [Hiphil]

This root does appear once (out of 4 occasions) in the *hiphil* with a Greek translation consisting of the compound verb ἐξανατέλλω, ‘to spring up’. The selection of this Greek compound verb is probably intended to emphasise the idea of the trees growing out of the ground, rather than to contrast intransitive with transitive meanings of the root.

... ויהי עץ מן העץ אשר יראה נחמד לפרעץ נחמד למראה וטוב למאכל

καὶ ἐξανάτελεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρωσιν...

Out of the ground the LORD God **made to grow** every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food...

Genesis 2:9a [Hiphil]

1/2 verbs in the *piel* and 1/4 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated by the verb βλαστάνω, ‘to bud, grow, produce’ in the active voice, while verbs in the *qal* are never translated with this verb.

ויקהל שערה ראשו וצמח כפאשר גלה:

καὶ ἤρξατο θριζ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ βλαστάνειν καθὼς ἐξυρήσατο

But the hair of his head began **to grow** again after it had been shaved.

Judges 16:22 [Piel]

...כִּי בְרִית עוֹלָם עָשָׂה לִי עֲרוּכָה בְּכָל־דְּבָרַי וְשִׁמְרָהּ כִּי־לֹא־יִשְׁעֵי וְכָל־תְּפִלָּתִי כִּי־לֹא־יִצְמָחוּ:

...for an everlasting covenant He hath made with me, ordered in all things, and sure; for all my salvation, and all my desire, **will he not make it to grow?** [JPS]

...διαθήκην γὰρ αἰώνιον ἔθετό μοι ἐτοίμην ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ πεφυλαγμένην ὅτι πᾶσα σωτηρία μου καὶ πᾶν θέλημα ὅτι οὐ μὴ βλαστήσῃ ὁ παράνομος

...for he made with me an everlasting covenant, ready in every season, kept safe; for my whole salvation and total will is that the lawless **shall not sprout.** [NETS]

2 Samuel 23:5b [*Hiphil*]

10.2.4 *Hiphil comparisons conclusions*

The *hiphil* is usually translated more similarly to the *piel* than to the *qal*.

There are identical translations of the *qal* and the *hiphil*, but when this occurs is is often where the verb in Greek has multiple meanings – it can be used in a basic manner and a causative manner depending on context. More commonly, there is a distinction made between verbs in the *hiphil* and the *qal*, sometimes by a voice change, where the same Greek verb is employed but the *qal* is translated passively and the *hiphil* actively, and sometimes the same Greek base is employed, with the *qal* translated as bare verb and the *hiphil* as a compound, or the *qal* translated with an adjective and the *hiphil* with a verb based on that adjective.

Identical translations with the *piel* are more common, however, especially where a Hebrew verb appears in all three stems. In several cases, the *piel* and the *hiphil* are translated identically and actively, while the *qal* is translated passively. Nevertheless, even when the distinction is not based on grammatical voice, the *hiphil* is more commonly translated like the *piel* than like the *qal*. This pattern will be seen in later chapters, where translations between more stems are compared (see 6.4, 7.4, and 8.4).

In these examples, where verbs in the *hiphil* and *piel* are translated identically, the examination of the Greek text in isolation would not enable one to determine from the morphology whether the underlying Hebrew verb was in the *hiphil* or the *piel*.

10.3 Comparisons of the *hitpael*

This section explores comparisons of roots which appear in the *hitpael* as well as at least one of the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* stems.

A similar selection of patterns are found with the *hitpael* as are found in the comparisons sections of the other stems: sometimes there are identical translations, but other times distinctions are made by voice difference, by the Greek verbs sharing a common stem, or by a combination of patterns. There is often only one root which fits into each category, which makes the investigation of the patterns more difficult.

10.3.1 With the *piel*

10.3.1.1 Identical translations

Identical translation occurs with only two roots which appear only in the *piel* and *hitpael*.

The root אָוָה means ‘to wish, desire’ in the *piel* and ‘to crave, wish for’ in the *hitpael*, but in all occasions, 5/5 times in the *piel* and 3/3 times in the *hitpael*, the verbs are translated with active forms of ἐπιθυμέω, ‘to desire’. This verb does not have a causative or factitive meaning; as the definitions of the *piel* and *hitpael* are very similar, they can be translated with the same Greek verb.

... וַיִּכְרְתוּ אִתְּךָ בְרִית וּמְלֶכֶת בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר-תִּצְוֶנָה נַפְשְׁךָ...

...καὶ διαθήσομαι μετὰ σοῦ διαθήκην καὶ βασιλεύσεις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου...

‘...and they may make a covenant with you, that you may reign over all that your soul desires...’

2 Samuel 3:21b [*Piel*]

וַיִּתְאַוּ דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר מִי יִשְׁקֶנִי מַיִם מִבְּאֵר בֵּית-לָחֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּשֶׁעַר:

καὶ ἐπεθύμησεν Δαυὶδ καὶ εἶπεν τίς ποτιεῖ με ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τοῦ ἐν Βαιθλεεμ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τὸ δὲ σύστημα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τότε ἐν Βαιθλεεμ

David **desired** and said, ‘O that someone would give me water to drink from the well of Bethlehem that is by the gate!’

2 Samuel 23:15 [*Hitpael*]

The root פלל is the other root which appears in both the *piel* and the *hitpael*; it is usually considered to have different, but connected, meanings in each stem. The *piel* of פלל has the meanings 1) to pronounce judgement, 2) to be the arbitrator, intercessor, 3) to speak up for someone, and 4) to assume; the *hitpael* has the meanings 1) to act as an advocate, and 2) to make an intercession for, pray.

While the *hitpael* of this root is regularly translated with the verb *προσεύχομαι*, ‘to pray’, the *piel* is only once translated identically, in a verse where the *hitpael* also appears. As the *piel* of this root is rare (appearing only one other time in the studied corpus), it seems that the translators (or the translator of 1 Samuel at least) understands the two verbs to have a close enough meaning – and they do have identical transitivity levels – that they can be translated identically.

... אִם-אֶתְּחַנֵּן אִישׁ לְאִישׁ וּפְלִלְלוּ אֱלֹהִים וְאִם לַיהוָה יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ-אֶתְּחַנֵּן מִי וְתִפְלַלְלֵנוּ ...

ἐὰν ἀμαρτάνων ἀμάρτη ἀνὴρ εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ **προσεύζονται** ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς κύριον καὶ ἐὰν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀμάρτη τίς **προσεύζεται** ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ...

‘If one person sins against another, someone **can intercede/pray** for the sinner with the LORD; but if someone sins against the LORD, who can **make intercession/pray** for him...?’

1 Samuel 2:25 [*1st: piel; 2nd: hitpael*]

The regular use of *προσεύχομαι* to translate verbs of this root in the *hitpael* is noteworthy because there is an equally valid Greek verb meaning ‘to pray’ – the bare verb *εὔχομαι* – but this is used far less in the *hitpael* to translate verbs of the root פלל, as it only appears 6 times. There is very little overlap in terms of which books these respective verbs appear in, with *εὔχομαι* being used in Numbers (3 times), Deuteronomy (twice), and 2 Kings (once), while *προσεύχομαι* is used in Genesis

(twice), 1 Samuel (9 times), 2 Samuel (once), 1 Kings (9 times), and 2 Kings (4 times). This means that the difference in use may simply be translator preference for one form over another, with *προσεύχομαι* being a more popular translation in later books. There appears to be no difference in use, but the common use of the prefix *πρός*, ‘to’, following the verb may have influenced the translators to use the version with the prefix as well. In Greek in general, *εὔχομαι* is used far more commonly than *προσεύχομαι*.⁶⁶

וַיִּסַּב אֶת-פָּנָיו אֶל-הַקִּיר וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אֶל-יְהוָה לֵאמֹר:

καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Εζεκιας τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ ἠῴξατο πρὸς κύριον λέγων

Then Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and **prayed** to the LORD:

2 Kings 20:2 [*εὔχομαι*]

וַיִּרְדּוּ אֵלָיו וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אֶל-יְשָׁע אֶל-יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר הֲדָנָא אֶת-הַגּוֹיִם-הָאֵלֶּה בַּסַּנְגָרִים ...

καὶ κατέβησαν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ προσηύξατο Ελισαίη πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν πάταξον δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἀορασίᾳ ...

When the Arameans came down against him, Elisha **prayed** to the LORD, and said, ‘Strike this people, please, with blindness.’ ...

2 Kings 6:18a [*προσεύχομαι*]

10.3.2 With the *qal* and *piel*

The root טהר appears in the *qal* ‘to be clean’, *piel* ‘to cleanse, purify’, and *hitpael* ‘to cleanse oneself’.

The translation of the *qal* and *hitpael* is distinct from the translation of the *piel* mainly by a voice difference, with the *hitpael* and the *qal* translated with passive forms of *καθαρίζω* (‘to make clean’),

⁶⁶ According to <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/logos>, *εὔχομαι* is listed as the 682nd most frequent word, while *προσεύχομαι* is the 2748th most frequent.

and the *piel* translated with active forms of the same verb. There is also a distinction whereby the *qal* and *hitpael* are translated with the adjective *καθαρός*, ‘pure’, and a future deponent form of the verb *εἶμι*, ‘to be’, whereas the *piel* is always translated with a verb.

These patterns should not be unexpected. As the *qal* and the *hitpael* have either an intransitive meaning, or a reflexive meaning which does not have a syntactic direct object, a passive translation is very possible for both circumstances. As has been noted previously, intransitive (and particularly stative) *qals* and reflexive *hitpael*s can be translated passively.

The forms of the *qal* and the *piel* would look identical to each other in their unpointed form, and, as has been previously discussed, this can be a cause of confusion. This seems not to happen with this root, presumably because the verbs in each stem are used with a strong intransitive:transitive distinction.

13/15 verbs in the *hitpael* and 14/27 verbs in the *qal* are translated with passive (or passive medio-passive forms) of *καθαρίζω*, while 13/17 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active forms of the same.

וְצִוָּה הַכֹּהֵן לְקַח לְמַטְהַר שְׁתֵּי צִפְרִיִּים טְהוֹרֹת וְעֵץ אֲרֵז וְשֵׁנִי תוֹלַעַת וְאַזְבִּי:

καὶ προστάξει ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ λήμψονται τῷ **κεκαθαρισμένῳ** δύο ὀρνίθια ζῶντα καθαρά καὶ ζύλον κέδρινον καὶ κεκλωσμένον κόκκινον καὶ ὕσσωπον

The priest shall command that two living clean birds and cedarwood and crimson yarn and hyssop be brought for the **one who is to be cleansed/who is to cleanse himself**.

Leviticus 14:4 [*Hitpael*]

וְאִם-טְהַרְרָה מִזִּבְחָהּ וְסִפְרָה לָּהּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְאַתֵּר **תְּהָרָה**:

ἐὰν δὲ **καθαρισθῆ** ἀπὸ τῆς ρύσεως καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσεται αὐτῇ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα **καθαρισθήσεται**

If **she is cleansed** of her discharge, she shall count seven days, and after that **she shall be clean**.

Leviticus 15:28 [Qal]

...וְהִטָּהַר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַבַּיִת כִּי נִרְפָּא הַנֶּגַע:

...και καθαριεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ὅτι ἰάθη ἡ ἀφή

... the priest shall pronounce the house clean; the disease is healed.

Leviticus 14:48 [Piel]

1/15 verbs in the *hitpael* and 12/27 verbs in the *qal* are translated with *καθαρός + εἰμί*

וְכָהֲתַעֲשֶׂה לָהֶם לְטַהֲרֵם הַגֵּה עֲלֵיהֶם מִי טָטְאָת וְהִעֲבִירוּ תֵּעַר עַל־כָּל־בְּשָׂרָם וְכִבְּסוּ בְּגָדֵיהֶם וְהִטָּהְרוּ:

και οὕτως ποιήσεις αὐτοῖς τὸν ἁγνισμὸν αὐτῶν περιρρανεῖς αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ ἁγνισμοῦ και ἐπελεύσεται ζυρὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν και πλυνοῦσιν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν και καθαροὶ ἔσονται

Thus you shall do to them, to cleanse them: sprinkle the water of purification on them, have them shave their whole body with a razor and wash their clothes, and so **cleanse themselves/be clean.**

Numbers 8:7 [Hitpael]

...וְכִבְּסוּ הַמַּטְהָר אֶת־בְּגָדָיו וְגַלַּח אֶת־כָּל־שָׂעָרוֹ וְרָחַץ בַּמַּיִם וְטָהַר

και πλυνεῖ ὁ καθαρῖσθεις τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ και ζυρηθήσεται αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν τρίχα και λούσεται ἐν ὕδατι και καθαρὸς ἔσται...

The one who is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and bathe himself in water, and **he shall be clean...**

Leviticus 14:8a [Qal]

10.3.3 With the qal and hiphil

There is only one root which can be compared in the *qal*, *hitpael*, and *hiphil*: רפה.

10.3.3.1 Voice difference

The root רפה does not exhibit the pattern of voice difference very strongly, as the verbs tend to be translated with entirely different words, even within the same stem. However, some comparison can still be made.

There are two voice distinction patterns, one which includes only the *qal* and the *hiphil*, while the other includes all three stems, and shows the *qal* and *hitpael* translated in identically and passively, while the *hiphil* is translated actively.

The pattern that is just between the *qal* and the *hiphil* involves the Greek verb *ἀνίημι*, ‘to give up, loosen, unfasten’. It is used in 1/4 occurrences of the *qal* (‘to grow slack, release, let go’) in a passive voice form, while 6/11 verbs in the *hiphil* (‘to abandon, release from’) are translated with active forms of the same verb.

...אָז רָפְתָה רִיחָם מֵעָלְיוּ בְּדַבְרוֹ הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:

...τότε ἀνέθη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λαλῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον

...When he said this, their anger against him subsided.

Judges 8:3b [Qal]

...וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲלָיו זְקֵנֵי יַבִּישׁ הַגִּי שִׁבְעַת יָמִים לָנוּ שְׁבַעַת יָמִים וְנִשְׁלַחְהָ מִלְאָכִים בְּכֹל גְּבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל ...

καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες Ιαβις ἄνες ἡμῖν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀποστελοῦμεν ἀγγέλους εἰς πᾶν ὄριον Ισραηλ...

The elders of Jabesh said to him, ‘Give us seven days’ respite that we may send messengers through all the territory of Israel...’

1 Samuel 11:3a [Hiphil]

The other voice distinction that is weakly demonstrated here involves all three verbal stems. 1/4 verbs in the *qal* and 1/1 verb in the *hitpael* ('to show oneself lax') are translated with passive forms of the verb *έκλύω*, 'to loose, faint, grow weary', while 1/11 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with an active form of the same verb.

וַיִּשְׁמַע בְּן־שָׁאוּל כִּי מָת אַבְנֵר בֶּן־נֶרְפִי וַיִּדְּוּ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל נִבְהָלוּ:

καὶ ἤκουσεν Μεμφιβοσθε υἱὸς Σαουλ ὅτι τέθνηκεν Αβεννηρ ἐν Χεβρων καὶ ἐξελύθησαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες Ἰσραὴλ παρείθησαν

When Saul's son Ishbaal^{MT}/Memphibosthe^{LXX} heard that Abner had died at Hebron, his courage^{MT}/his hands^{LXX} became slack, and all Israel was dismayed.

2 Samuel 4:1 [*Qal*]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־אַנְהָ אַתֶּם מִתְרַפְּיִים לְבוֹא לְרִשֵּׁת אֶת־הָאָרֶץ ...

καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἕως τίνος ἐκλυθήσεσθε κληρονομησαὶ τὴν γῆν...

So Joshua said to the Israelites, 'How long will you be slack about going in and taking possession of the land...?'

Joshua 18:3a [*Hitpael*]

וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֲנָשִׁי גִבְעוֹן אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגִּלְגָּל לֵאמֹר אֶל־תַּרְרָף מֵעַבְדֶּיךָ ...

καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Γαβαων πρὸς Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς Γαλγαλα λέγοντες μὴ ἐκλύσης τὰς χεῖράς σου ἀπὸ τῶν παιδῶν σου

And the Gibeonites sent to Joshua at the camp in Gilgal, saying, 'Do not relax your hands from your servants...'

Joshua 18:3a [*Hitpael*]

10.3.4 With the qal, piel and hiphil

There are two roots that are examined in this section, שָׁכַר and חָזַק. With שָׁכַר the distinction between the stems is one of voice difference, while the situation for חָזַק is markedly more complex, involving a combination of several different patterns.

10.3.4.1 Voice difference

The root שָׁכַר exhibits a pattern of voice difference when its translations are explored. The voice difference is binary, active:passive, but, as there are four stems under consideration, this means that there will be some identical translations as well. The distinction, as may be expected, falls along transitivity lines.

Here, the *qal*, with the stative meaning ‘to be(come) drunk’, is translated on both occasions in which it appears with passive forms of *μεθύσκω*, ‘to make drunk’, which is also used to translate the single occurrence of a *hitpael* of this root, with the supposed meaning of ‘to behave like someone drunk’. Meanwhile, on the one occasion each where the root שָׁכַר appears in the *piel* (‘to make drunk’) and *hiphil* (‘to cause to become drunk’), the translation is always with active forms of *μεθύσκω*.

This means that both the pair formed by the *qal* and the *hitpael*, as well as that formed by the *piel* and the *hiphil*, have no difference in meaning according to their Greek translation. If one were to examine only the Greek text in isolation, the voice value of the verb *μεθύσκω* would help determine only if the underlying Hebrew verb was a *qal/hitpael* or a *piel/hiphil*, but further distinction would be impossible.

בַּיְשָׁרָה מִן־תֵּינִין וַיִּשְׁכַּר וַיִּתְגַּל בְּתוֹךְ אֶהֱלָה׃

καὶ ἔπιεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ

He drank some of the wine and became drunk, and he lay uncovered in his tent.

Genesis 9:21 [Qal]

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ עַל־י עַד־מָתַי תַּשְׂתַּכְרִין הַסִּירִי אֶת־יַיִןךָ מֵעַל־יָדְךָ:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ τὸ παιδάριον Ἡλὶ ἕως πότε μεθυσθήσῃ περιελοῦ τὸν οἶνόν σου καὶ πορεύου ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου

So Eli said to her, ‘How long will you **make a drunken spectacle of yourself [NRS]/ be drunk [NETS]**? Put away your wine [and go out from the presence of the Lord^{LXX}].

1 Samuel 1:14 [Hitpael]

... וַיִּקְרָא־לּוֹ דָוִד וַיֹּאכַל לֶפְנָיו וַיִּשְׁתֶּה וַיִּשְׂכַּרְהוּ ...

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Δαυὶδ καὶ ἔφαγεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐμέθυσεν αὐτόν...

David invited him to eat and drink in his presence and **made him drunk**...

2 Samuel 11:13a [Piel]

... אֲשַׁכֵּיר חֲצַיִם מְדָם וְחַרְבִּי תֹאכַל בָּשָׂר ...

μεθύσω τὰ βέλη μου ἀφ’ αἵματος καὶ ἡ μάχαιρά μου καταφάγεται κρέα...

I will **make** my arrows **drunk** with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh...

Deuteronomy 32:42 [Hiphil]

10.3.4.2 Combinations

The only root which fits into this section is *חזק*, but verbs of this root are translated in several different ways, with multiple patterns existing and overlapping at the same time, often with no clearly ascertainable reason.

קזח has a selection of related meanings in each stem: *qal* – ‘to be strong, prevail over’; *piel* – ‘to make strong, firm’; *hiphil* – ‘to sieze, grasp, keep hold of’; and *hitpael* – ‘to show oneself courageous, prove oneself strong’. Not all the stems are included in each pattern, but, generally, the *hiphil* and *piel* are more likely to be translated actively and with a compound verb or one with a different ending, although this is only a trend rather than an invariable rule.

Adding to the difficulty is the fact that seven different Greek verbs are used in various translations, although some are compounds of others: *ἰσχύω*, ‘to be strong, able’; *κατισχύω*, ‘to overpower, prevail’; *ἐνισχύω*, ‘to strengthen’; *σκληρύνω*, ‘to harden’; *κραταιόω*, ‘to strengthen, become strong’; *κρατέω*, ‘to grasp’; and *ἐπικρατέω*, ‘to prevail over’.

There are several instances where verbs are translated identically in different stems, with active voice translations. In various books and contexts, the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* are all translated with *κατισχύω* and *κραταιόω*; the *qal*, *piel*, and *hitpael* with *ἐνισχύω*; and the *hiphil* and *hitpael* with *κρατέω*.

There are also voice distinctions, with active and passive forms of *κραταιόω* separating the *piel* and *hiphil* from the *qal* and *hitpael* (which is unusual, as the *qal* can be translated with this verb both actively or passively), as well as, solely in Exodus, active and passive forms of *σκληρύνω* separating the *qal* from the *piel* in a clear intransitive:transitive distinction.

The bare verb *ἰσχύω* is used to translate the *qal*, in contrast to the compound translations *ἐνισχύω* and *κατισχύω* seen for the *piel*, *hitpael* and the *hiphil* (although the *qal* can also be translated with the compound verbs). And, in contrast to the expected way that the pattern occurs, the compound verb *ἐπικρατέω*, is used in the active voice to translate the *qal*, only in Genesis, contrasting with the translations using *κρατέω* in the *hiphil* and *hitpael*.

Some examples of these various patterns are given below.

10.3.4.2.1 *Identical translations*

4/37 verbs in the *qal*, 4/24 verbs in the *piel*, and 1/26 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of the verb *κατισχύω* ‘to overpower, prevail’

וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי יִקְרָא בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי לְמַס וְהוֹרִשׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ:

καὶ ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐπεὶ κατίσχυσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς Χανααναίους ὑπηκόους ἐξολεθρεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν

But when the Israelites grew strong, they put the Canaanites to forced labor, but did not utterly drive them out.

Joshua 17:13 [*Qal*]

כִּי מֵאֵת יְהוָה הִיָּחַד לְחַזֵּק אֶת־לִבָּם לְקַרְאֵת הַמִּלְחָמָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל...

ὅτι διὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο κατισχυῶσαι αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν συναντᾶν εἰς πόλεμον πρὸς Ἰσραὴλ...

For it was the LORD’s doing to harden their hearts so that they would come against Israel in battle...

Joshua 11:20a [*Piel*]

...וַאֲתָן כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁלַח אִישׁ לְאֹהֲלָיו וּבִשְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת הָאִישׁ הִחְיִיק...

...καὶ τὸν πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰσραὴλ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἄνδρα εἰς σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἄνδρας κατίσχυσεν...

...and he sent all the rest of Israel back to their own tents, but retained the three hundred...

Judges 7:8b [*Hiphil*]⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Once again, Judges (A) uses a different verb, *κρατέω*

6/37 verbs in the *qal*, 6/24 verbs in the *piel*, and 1/26 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of the verb *κραταιόω*, ‘to strengthen, become strong’. This translation only occurs in 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings

וְלֹא אָבָה לִישָׁמַע בְּקוֹלָהּ וַיַּחֲזֶק מִלְּנָהּ וַיַּעֲזֶבָהּ וַיִּשְׁכַּב אִתָּהּ:

καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν Ἀμμων τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκραταίωσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐταπείνωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη μετ’ αὐτῆς

But he^{MT}/Amnon^{LXX} would not listen to her; and being stronger than she, he forced her and lay with her.

2 Samuel 13:14 [*Qal*]

...אֶל-יָרֵעַ בְּעֵינָיִךְ אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה כִּי-כִזָּה וְכִנָּה תֹאכַל הַחֶרֶב הַחֲזֹק מִלְחַמְתֶּךָ אֶל-הָעִיר וְהָרְסָהּ וְחָקְהָהּ:

...μὴ πονηρὸν ἔστω ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ὅτι ποτὲ μὲν οὕτως καὶ ποτὲ οὕτως φάγεται ἡ μάχαιρα κραταίωσον τὸν πόλεμόν σου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατάσπασον αὐτὴν καὶ κραταίωσον αὐτόν

‘... “Do not let this matter trouble you, for the sword devours now one and now another; strengthen your attack on the city, and overthrow it.” And strengthen him.’

2 Samuel 11:25b [1st: *Hiphil*; 2nd: *Piel*]

3/37 verbs in the *qal*, 4/24 verbs in the *piel*, and 2/8 verbs in the *hitpael* are translated with active voice forms of *ἐνισχύω*, ‘to strengthen’:

בַּתְּשַׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ וַיַּחֲזֶק הָרָעָב בְּעִיר וְלֹא-הָיָה לָהֶם לֶעֱם הָאָרֶץ:

ἐνάτη τοῦ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν ὁ λιμὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν ἄρτοι τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς

On the ninth day of the fourth month the famine became so severe in the city that there was no food for the people of the land.

2 Kings 25:3 [*Qal*]

וַיֵּאָתוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים לְבַלְתִּי קַחַת כֶּסֶף מֵאֵת הָעָם וּלְבַלְתִּי יִחַזַק אֶת-בַּדָּק הַבַּיִת:

καὶ συνεφώνησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν ἀργύριον παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐνισχύσαι τὸ βεδεκ τοῦ οἴκου

So the priests agreed that they would neither accept more money from the people nor to strengthen the fissure of the house.

2 Kings 12:9 (8) [Piel]

וַיִּגַּד לְיַעֲקֹב וַיֵּאמֶר הֲגַהּ בְּנִי יוֹסֵף בָּא אֵלַיךָ וַיִּשְׁמְחֵנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּשָּׁב עַל-הַמִּטָּה:

ἀπηγγέλη δὲ τῷ Ἰακωβ λέγοντες ἰδοὺ ὁ υἱός σου Ἰωσηφ ἔρχεται πρὸς σέ και ἐνισχύσας Ἰσραηλ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην

When Jacob was told, ‘Your son Joseph has come to you,’ he summoned his strength and sat up in bed.

Genesis 48:2 [Hitpael]

11/26 verbs in the *hiphil* and 1/8 verbs in the *hitpael* are translated with active voice forms of the verb *κρατέω*, ‘to grasp’.

...וְאֵל-יִפְרַח מִבַּיִת יוֹאָב בְּיָבֹם וּמִצָּרָע וּמִתַּנִּין בְּפִלֵּי וְנִפְלַח בְּתָרְבּ וְנִסְרַח-לֶחֶם:

...καὶ μὴ ἐκλίποι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ἰωαβ γονορρυῆς καὶ λεπρὸς καὶ κρατῶν σκυτάλης καὶ πίπτων ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐλασσούμενος ἄρτοις

‘...and may the house of Joab never be without one who has a discharge, or who is leprous, or who holds a spindle, or who falls by the sword, or who lacks food!’

2 Samuel 3:29b [Hiphil]

וַיְהִי בַּהַיּוֹת הַמְלָחָמָה בֵּין בַּיִת שְׂאוּל וּבֵין בַּיִת דָּוִד וַאֲבָנָה הָיָה מִתְחַזֵּק בַּבַּיִת שְׂאוּל:

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ οἴκου Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀβεννηρ ἦν κρατῶν τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ

While there was war between the house of Saul and the house of David, Abner **was making himself strong** in the house of Saul.

2 Samuel 3:6 [*Hitpael*]

10.3.4.2.2 *Voice difference*

6/37 verbs in the *qal* and 2/8 verbs in the *hitpael* are translated with passive voice forms of *κραταιόω*, which are held in distinction to the active translations of seen in the *piel*, *hiphil*, and *qal* above.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶם-תִּחַזַק אַרְם מִמֶּנִּי וְהִנֵּתָה לִּי לְיִשׁוּעָה וְאֶם-בָּגַי עִמּוֹן נִחַזְקוּ מִמֶּנִּי וְהִלַּכְתִּי לְהוֹשִׁיעַ לָךְ:

καὶ εἶπεν ἐὰν **κραταιωθῆ** Συρία ὑπὲρ ἐμέ καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐὰν υἱοὶ Ἀμμων **κραταιωθῶσιν** ὑπὲρ σέ καὶ ἐσόμεθα τοῦ σῶσαί σε

He said, ‘If the Arameans **are too strong** for me, then you shall help me; but if the Ammonites are **too strong** for you, then I will come and help you.’

2 Kings 10:11 [*Qal*]

וַיִּחַזַק וַיִּתְחַזַּק בְּעַד-עַמּוֹנוֹ וּבְעַד עַרְי אֱלֹהֵינוּ וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם יַעֲשֶׂה הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינָיו:

ἀνδρίζου καὶ **κραταιωθῶμεν** ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πόλεων τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος ποιήσει τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ

‘Be strong, and **let us be strong** for the sake of our people, and for the cities of our God; and may the LORD do what seems good to him.’

2 Kings 10:12 [*Hitpael*]

3/37 verbs in the *qal* are translated with passive voice forms of *σκληρύνω*, ‘to harden’, while 8/24 verbs in the *piel* are translated with active forms of the same verb. This translation only appears in Exodus.

וַיִּחַזַּק לֵב פְּרַעֲיָה וְלֹא שָׁלַח אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה בְּיַד-מֹשֶׁה:

καὶ ἐσκληρύνθη ἡ καρδία Φαραω καὶ οὐκ ἐξάπεστειλεν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ

So the heart of Pharaoh **was hardened**, and he would not let the Israelites go, just as the LORD had spoken through Moses.

Exodus 9:35 [Qal]

וַיִּחַזַק יְהוָה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֶל־הֵמָּה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה:

ἐσκληρύνεν δὲ κύριος τὴν καρδίαν Φαραω καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν καθὰ συνέταξεν κύριος

But the LORD **hardened** the heart of Pharaoh, and he would not listen to them, just as the LORD had spoken to Moses.

Exodus 9:12 [Piel]

10.3.4.2.3 Same Greek base

6/37 verbs of the root קזק in the *qal* are translated with the bare verb *ίσχύω*, ‘to be strong, able’, while the Greek compounds of the same verb are used on occasion to translate the other three stems (*piel*, 6/16; *hiphil*, 1/23; *hitpael*, 2/8). The distinction of a bare verb having a basic meaning compared to a compound verb having a factitive-causative meaning can be seen with this stem between the *qal* and the *piel* and *hiphil* (9.3).

אֲנֹכִי הֵלֵךְ בְּדַרְדָּר פְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ וְחִזַּקְתָּ וְהִנֵּיתָ לְאִישׁ:

ἐγὼ εἶμι πορεύομαι ἐν ὁδῷ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ **ίσχύσεις** καὶ ἔση εἰς ἄνδρα

‘I am about to go the way of all the earth. **Be strong**, be courageous,’

1 Kings 2:2 [Qal]

... אִתּוֹ חִזַּק פִּי־הוּא וַיַּחֲלֶנְהָ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

...αὐτὸν **κατίσχυσον** ὅτι αὐτὸς κατακληρονομήσει αὐτὴν τῷ Ἰσραηλ

... strengthen him, for he is the one who will secure Israel's possession of it.

Deuteronomy 1:38 [*Piel*]

... ואת כל־איש ישראֵל שלח לְאָהָלָיו ובשלש־מֵאוֹת הָאִישׁ הַחֲזָקִים ...

καὶ τὸν πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰσραηλ ἐξάπεστειλεν ἄνδρα εἰς σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἄνδρας
κατίσχυσεν

... and he sent all the rest of Israel back to their own tents, but retained [lit: made firm] the three hundred...

Judges 7:8 [*Hiphil*]

... וַיִּתְחַזֵּק יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשֶׁב עַל־הַמִּטָּה:

...καὶ ἐνισχύσας Ἰσραηλ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην

...and summoning his strength, Israel sat upon the bed.

Genesis 48:2 [*Hitpael*]

10.3.5 *Hitpael comparison conclusions*

There is a paucity of roots which can be compared in the *hitpael* and the other stems.

Where comparisons can be made, the *hitpael* is often translated passively, in a similar way to the *qal*, in cases wherein there are distinctions to be made with the *piel* and the *hiphil* (which are generally translated actively). The reflexive meaning, or any other meaning, which can be attributed to the *hitpael* often seems to be considered closer to an intransitive meaning in Greek, because there is no syntactic direct object, so it is aligned with the intransitive meaning sometimes found in the *qal*.

10.4 Comparisons of the *niphal*

Below are explored translations of those roots which appear in more than one of the verbal stems which have already been examined in this study, and where the *niphal* is one of those stems.

10.4.1 With the *hiphil*

The *niphal* is rarely compared directly with just the *hiphil*, but there are two patterns that can be seen in this respect: one is where they are translated identically, while the other is where the *niphal* is translated with a passive Greek verb while the *hiphil* of the same root is translated actively.

10.4.1.1 Identical translation

An identical translation of a root in the *hiphil* and *niphal* may be unexpected but this is seen with the root לון, which means ‘to murmur against’ in both the *niphal* and the *hiphil* – both are technically intransitive, as they take a prepositional object to indicate what/who is being murmured against. It is due to this identical meaning and transitivity that the root is translated every time, regardless of the verbal stem, with active forms of the verb γογγύζω or the compound διαγογγύζω, both of which have the meaning of ‘to grumble, mutter’, and also take prepositional objects to indicate what/who is being murmured against.

There does not appear to be a pattern of the bare verb being used with one stem solely, and the compound verb in another. Both γογγύζω and διαγογγύζω are used in the same book, mere chapters apart, with both stems in very similar contexts.

וַיִּלְנוּ כָּל-עֵדֶת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמֶּחֶרֶת עַל-מִשְׁחָה וְעַל-אֲהָרֹן לְאַמֵּר

καὶ ἐγόγγυσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐπὶ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρὼν λέγοντες

On the next day, however, the whole congregation of the Israelites **muttered against** Moses and against Aaron, saying...

Numbers 17:6a [*Niphal* - γογγύζω]

לְכָל־מִסְפָּרָם מִבְּנֵי עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְיָמָעֵלָה אֲשֶׁר הִלִּינְתֶם עָלַי...

...καὶ οἱ κατηριθιμημένοι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ εἰκοσαετοῦς καὶ ἐπάνω ὅσοι ἐγόγγυσαν ἐπ’ ἐμοί

...and of all your number, included in the census, from twenty years old and upward, who have complained against me.’

Numbers 14:29b [*Hiphil* - γογγύζω]

וַיִּלִּנוּ עַל־מֹשֶׁה וְעַל־אַהֲרֹן כָּל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ...

καὶ διεγόγγυσον ἐπὶ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ααρων πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ...

And all the Israelites complained against Moses and Aaron...

Numbers 14:2a [*Niphal* - διαγογγύζω]

וַהֲאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח מֹשֶׁה לְתוֹר אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וַיָּשׁוּבוּ (וַיִּלְוּ) [וַיִּגְיִנוּ] עָלַי אֶת־כָּל־הָעֵדָה לְהוֹצִיא דָבָר עַל־הָאָרֶץ:

καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Μωυσῆς κατασκέψασθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ παραγενηθέντες διεγόγγυσαν κατ’ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐξενέγκαι ῥήματα πονηρὰ περὶ τῆς γῆς

And the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land, who returned and made all the congregation complain against him by bringing a bad report about the land—

Numbers 14:36 [*Hiphil* - διαγογγύζω]

10.4.1.2 Voice difference

The root אמן displays a voice difference between the *niphal* and the *hiphil*, with an passive:active distinction between the two that, although normally more expected between the *qal* and the *niphal* or between the *hiphil* and the *hophal*, is certainly possible between the *niphal* and *hiphil* (Siebsma 1991: 171).

1/3 verbs in the *niphal* ('to prove to be firm, reliable, faithful, to endure') are translated with a passive voice form of the verb πιστεύω, 'to have faith in, believe', while 15/18 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to believe, believe in') are translated with active forms of the same verb (a further 2 verbs in the *hiphil* are translated with active forms of ἐμπιστεύω ('to believe in')).

וַיֵּשְׂבוּ-בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ דְבַר יְהוָה וְלֹא תָמוּתוּ וַיִּשְׁוּ-בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ דְבַר יְהוָה וְלֹא תָמוּתוּ וַיִּשְׁוּ-בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ דְבַר יְהוָה וְלֹא תָמוּתוּ

καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑμῶν τὸν νεώτερον ἀγάγετε πρὸς με καὶ πιστευθήσονται τὰ ῥήματα ὑμῶν εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐποίησαν δὲ οὕτως

'And bring your youngest brother to me. Thus your words will be believed, and you shall not die.' And they agreed to do so.

Genesis 42:20 [Niphal]

וַיִּגְדּוּ לוֹ לֵאמֹר עוֹד יוֹסֵף חַי וְקַיִּי הוּא מִשְׁלַל בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם וַיִּפְגַּע לְבָבוֹ כִּי לֹא-הִאֱמִיִן לָהֶם:

καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς σου Ἰωσήφ ζῆ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχει πάσης γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐξέστη ἡ διάνοια Ἰακώβ οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευσεν αὐτοῖς

And they told him, 'Joseph is still alive! He is even ruler over all the land of Egypt.' He was stunned; he could not believe them

Genesis 45:26 [Hiphil]

However, in the two other occasions where the *niphal* of this root is used, a slightly different pattern is followed as they are translated using passive forms of a verb with the same stem but a different ending: πιστόω, 'to make trustworthy, make sure, confirm'.

וַיִּמְלֵךְ בֵּיתָהּ וּמַמְלַכְתָּהּ עַד-עוֹלָם לְפָנַי כְּסֶדֶף יְהִיָּה נָכוֹן עַד-עוֹלָם:

καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

Your^{MT}/His^{LXX} house and your^{MT}/his^{LXX} kingdom shall be made sure forever before me; your^{MT}/his^{LXX} throne shall be established forever.

2 Samuel 7:16 [Niphal]

The active form of this Greek verb is never used to translate the *hiphil* of אָמַן, but it is used to translate a different *hiphil* a few verses later in 2 Samuel 7:

וַעֲתָהּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ עַל־עַבְדְּךָ וְעַל־בֵּיתוֹ וְעַד־עוֹלָם וְעֲשֵׂה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ:

καὶ νῦν κύριέ μου κύριε τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ **πίστωσον**
ἕως αἰῶνος κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὲ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ καὶ νῦν καθὼς ἐλάλησας

And now, O LORD God, as for the word that you have spoken concerning your servant and concerning his house, **confirm** it forever; do as you have promised. [NRS]

And now, my Lord, O Lord, the word that you spoke concerning your slave and his house, **confirm** it forever, O Lord Almighty, O God of Israel, and now as you said. [NETS]

2 Samuel 7:25 [Hiphil]

Here the *hiphil* verb אָמַן, from the root אָמַן, ‘to raise, establish’, is translated using the active of πιστόω. The slight variation in the text between the Greek and the Hebrew here could imply that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was different from that on which the MT was based, and may have had a *hiphil* of the root אָמַן, instead of the verb אָמַן, leading to a pairing with the *niphal* seen previously.

10.4.2 With the hitpael

10.4.2.1 Identical translation

As has been seen before, identical translations occur when roots in different stems have similar meanings and transitivity, and this occurs with the root אָמַן: when it appears in the *niphal* (‘to be in a prophetic trance, behave like a prophet’) it is translated identically to the *hitpael* (‘to exhibit the behaviour of a prophet’), both translated with active forms of προφητεύω, ‘to prophesy, be an interpreter of the gods’.

The use of an active Greek verb here to translate a root in two of the ‘non-active’ stems is unremarkable, as the active Greek verb still conveys the meaning of the Hebrew. Its identical use in two different stems is likely ascribable to the fact that verbs of נבא have the same valency in both stems and a similar meaning.

1/1 verb in the *niphal* and 14/15 verbs in the *hitpael* are translated using active forms of προφητεύω:

... וְכָל־הַנְּבִיאִים נִבְּאִים בְּן לְאִמָּר עֲלֵה רָמַת גִּלְעָד ...

καὶ πάντες οἱ προφηῆται ἐπροφήτευσον οὕτως λέγοντες ἀνάβαινε εἰς Ρεμμαθ Γαλααδ...

And all the prophets were prophesying the same way, saying, ‘Go up to Remmath Galaad...’

1 Kings 22:12a [*Niphal*]

... וְכָל־הַנְּבִיאִים מִתְנַבְּאִים לְפָנֵיהֶם: ...

...καὶ πάντες οἱ προφηῆται ἐπροφήτευσον ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν

...and all the prophets were prophesying before them.

1 Kings 22:10b [*Hitpael*]

10.4.3 With the qal and piel

10.4.3.1 Identical translation

Below are examples where verbs of the root נקם are translated identically in the *qal*, the *piel* and the *niphal*.

3/6 verbs in the *qal* (‘to take revenge, avenge oneself’), 3/5 verbs in the *niphal* (‘to be avenged, take revenge’), and 1/1 verb in the *piel* (‘to avenge something’) are all translated using active forms of ἐκδικέω, ‘to vindicate, avenge’. The active voice could, in some of these cases, have a

middle nuance (‘to avenge oneself’) which is a possible and occasional function of active Greek forms (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961:163). Or it may be that the translators did not understand the verbs to have significantly different meanings.

... וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל כִּי־תֵאמְרוּ לְדָוִד אֵין־תִּפְּצֶה לְמַלְכָּךָ בְּמָהָר כִּי בְמֵאָה עָרְלוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לְהִנָּקֵם בְּאִבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ ...

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ τάδε ἐρεῖτε τῷ Δαυιδ οὐ βούλεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν δόματι ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν ἑκατὸν ἀκροβυστίαις ἀλλοφύλων ἐκδικῆσαι εἰς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ βασιλέως...

Then Saul said, ‘Thus shall you say to David, “The king desires no marriage present except a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, in order to avenge [himself?] on the king’s enemies.”’

1 Samuel 18:25a [Niphal]

יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוָה בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ וְנִקְמְנִי יְהוָה מִמְּךָ וְיָדִי לֹא תִהְיֶה־בְּךָ:

δικάσαι κύριος ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ καὶ ἐκδικήσαι με κύριος ἐκ σοῦ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου οὐκ ἔσται ἐπὶ σοί

May the LORD judge between me and you! May the LORD avenge me on you; but my hand shall not be against you.

1 Samuel 24:13 [Qal]

וְהִפִּיתִי אֶת־בַּיִת אַחִיָּאָב אֲדֹנָי וְנִקְמְתִי דָמֵי עַבְדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים וְדָמֵי כָּל־עַבְדֵי יְהוָה מִיַּד אִיזָבֵל:

You shall strike down the house of your master Ahab, so that I may avenge on Jezebel the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the LORD. [NRS]

καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσεις τὸν οἶκον Ἀχαιάβ τοῦ κυρίου σου ἐκ προσώπου μου καὶ ἐκδικήσεις τὰ αἵματα τῶν δούλων μου τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τὰ αἵματα πάντων τῶν δούλων κυρίου ἐκ χειρὸς Ἰεζαβελ

And you shall utterly destroy the house of Achaab, your master, from before me and avenge the blood of my slaves the prophets and the blood of all the slaves of the Lord from the hand of Iezabel [NETS]

Judges 8:3b [Piel]

2/6 verbs in the *qal* are translated with active forms of ἐκδικάζω, ‘to avenge’, which has the same basic Greek stem as ἐκδικέω, but features a different ending.

לֹא־תִקֶּם וְלֹא־תִטַּר אֶת־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ וְאֶת־בְּתוּלָתָם לְרַעַן כְּמִוֶּדֶ אֲנִי יְהוָה:

καὶ οὐκ ἐκδικᾷται σου ἡ χεὶρ καὶ οὐ μνησιεύεις τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος

You shall not **take vengeance** or bear a grudge against any of your people, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself: I am the LORD.

Leviticus 19:18 [Qal]

There seems to be no particular reason why this verb is used instead, although it only appears as a translation of נקם in the *qal* in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

10.4.3.2 Voice difference

This section includes two roots which are very commonly held to show the distinction between the *qal* and the *piel* in particular (שבר and קבר), but the morphology of the Greek translation does not maintain this distinction.

Where the voice difference occurs with the two roots that are examined in this category, the distinction is between the *qal* and *piel* translated actively and the *niphal* translated passively. While the passive translation of the *niphal* is not so unusual, the active translations crucially mean that the verbs that appear in the *qal* and the *piel* are translated identically.

The root קבר is often thought to have the distinction of plurality in the *piel*, ‘to bury together’, compared to basic action in the *qal*, ‘to bury’, but the Greek verbal translation does not display this. 54/59 verbs in the *qal* and 2/2 of verbs in the *piel* are translated using active forms of θάπτω, ‘to bury’, with no indication that there is a distinction in meaning between the two. It could be argued that a distinction is not needed here in the morphology of the Greek verb because the *piel* is used with grammatically plural objects and the *qal* with grammatically singular objects so the distinction of singularity:plurality is obvious.

When this root appears in the *niphal* then it is nearly always translated with a passive form of the same Greek verb (20/26), or with medio-passive form which can be understood to be passive (4/26):

... כִּי־שָׁבַח קָבְרוּ אֶת־הָעַם הַמִּתְאַוִּים:

...ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἔθαψαν τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐπιθυμητήν

...because there they buried the people who had the craving.

Numbers 11:34b [Qal]

... וּמִצְרַיִם מִקְבָּרֵיהֶם אֶת אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה יְהוָה בָּהֶם כָּל־בְּכוֹר

καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔθαπτον ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς τεθνηκότας πάντας οὓς ἐπάταξεν κύριος πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ...

...and the Egyptians were burying all their firstborn, whom the LORD had struck down among them.

Numbers 33:4a [Piel]

... וַתָּמָת שָׁם מִרְיָם וַתִּקָּבֵר שָׁם:

...καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ Μαρίας καὶ ἐτάφη ἐκεῖ

...and Miriam died there, and was buried there.

Numbers 20:1b [Niphal]

There are occasions where the *qal* of this root is translated using *θάπτω* in the passive voice, but this occurs either where the Hebrew verb is a passive participle (see 1 Kings 13:31), or where the translator has created a difference, as the Hebrew verb clearly has active meaning due to the use of a direct object pronoun:

וַיִּשְׁכַּב אַבְיָם עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ בְּעִיר דָּוִד וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָסָא בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:

Abijam slept with his ancestors, and they buried him in the city of David. Then his son Asa succeeded him. [NRS]

καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Αβιου μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ καὶ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τοῦ Ιεροβοαμ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ καὶ βασιλεύει Ασα υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ

And Abiou slept with his fathers in the twenty-fourth year of Ieroboam, and he was buried with his fathers in the city of Daudid, and his son Asa reigned instead of him. [NETS]

1 Kings 15:8 [Qal]

שָׁבַר is traditionally thought to have the basic meaning ‘to break’ in the *qal* and either an intensive meaning (‘to shatter’) or factitive meaning (‘to put into a broken state’) in the *piel*. Koehler and Baumgartner (2001: 1403-4) use the definitions ‘to shatter, smash’ for the *qal*, and ‘to smash into fragments’ for the *piel*, noting that Jenni’s work *Pi’el* (1968: 181) should be referred to for the difference between the two stems.

However, there are several places where an identical translation is seen: an active form of the verb *συντριβω*, ‘to break, shatter’ is used 7/8 times to translate verbs in the *qal* and 15/15 times to translate verbs in the *piel*.

...וַאֲשַׁבֵּר מִטָּת עַלְלֶכֶם וְאוֹלָךְ אֶתְכֶם קוֹמְמִיּוֹת:

...καὶ συνέτριψα τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρρησίας

...and I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you walk erect.

Leviticus 26:13b [Qal]

וְאֶתְפַּשׂ בְּשִׁנֵּי הַלְחָת וְאֶשְׁלַחְכֶם מֵעַל שְׁתֵּי יָדַי וְאֶשְׁבַּרְכֶם לְעֵינֵיכֶם:

καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν δύο πλακῶν ἔρριψα αὐτάς ἀπὸ τῶν δύο χειρῶν μου καὶ συνέτριψα ἐναντίον ὑμῶν

So I took hold of the two tablets and flung them from my two hands, and I smashed them before your eyes.

Deuteronomy 9:17 [*Piel*]

When the root appears in the *niphal*, it is translated with the passive form of *συντριβω* 45/51 times, which is unsurprising for the passive and intransitive meaning of the *niphal*:

... וְכִלִּי־תְהָרֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּבְשַׁל־בּוֹ יִשָּׁבֵר ...

καὶ σκεῶς ὄστράκινον οὐ̇ εἰάν ἐψηθῆ̇ ἐν αὐτῶ̇ συντριβήσεται...

An earthen vessel in which it was boiled shall be broken...

Leviticus 6:21 [*Niphal*]

10.4.4 With the *qal* and *hiphil*

Two roots, נגש and שמם are compared in this section, as they appear in the *qal*, *hiphil*, and *niphal* with noteworthy patterns.

10.4.4.1 Combinations

The root נגש sometimes displays the bare versus compound pattern, although there are also places where an identical translation is seen.

19/48 verbs in the *qal* ('to draw near') are translated using active forms of the verb ἐγγίζω, 'to draw near, be near', which is a denominative from the adverb ἐγγύς 'close', while 3/23 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to bring near') are translated using active forms of a compound of the same verb: προσεγγίζω, 'to approach, bring near'.

וַיָּבֹא אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ עַד־הַמִּגְדָּל וַיִּקְרָא בּוֹ וַיִּגַּשׁ עַד־פֶּתַח הַמִּגְדָּל לְשַׂרְפּוֹ בְּאֵשׁ:

καὶ ἦλθεν Αβιμελεχ ἕως τοῦ πύργου καὶ παρετάζαντο αὐτῷ καὶ ἤγγισεν Αβιμελεχ ἕως τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου τοῦ ἐμπρηῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν πυρί

Abimelech came to the tower, and fought against it, and **came near** to the entrance of the tower to burn it with fire.

Judges 9:52 [Qal]

וַיָּבִיאוּ אֵלָיו אֶת־תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּךָ וַיִּגְּשׁוּ:

...καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν τερέμινθον καὶ **προσήγγισεν**

...and brought them to him under the oak and **presented** them.

Judges 6:19b [Hiphil]

However, the pattern of the *hiphil* being translated with a compound and the *qal* with a bare verb does not hold well, as the verb *προσεγγίζω* is also used to translate the *qal* on three occasions, which is the same number of occasions as it is used to translate the *hiphil*:

וַתִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶינָה וַתִּגְּשׁוּ אֵלָיו וַתִּלְדִּינָה וַתִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶינָה:

καὶ **προσήγγισαν** αἱ παιδίσκαι καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν

Then the maids **drew near**, they and their children, and bowed down;

Genesis 33:6 [Qal] (see also Gen 33:7, Num 8:19)

Likewise, the bare verb *ἐγγίζω* is used to translate the *hiphil* on another three occasions:

וַעֲיָגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל פָּבַדוּ מִזֶּקֶן לֹא יוּכַל לְרִאֲוֹת וַיָּבִי אֲתָם אֵלָיו וַיִּשְׂקַם לָהֶם וַיִּחַבְּקוּם לָהֶם:

οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐβαρυνώπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ γήρους καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο βλέπειν καὶ ἤγγισεν αὐτούς πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ἐφίλησεν αὐτούς καὶ περιέλαβεν αὐτούς

Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age, and he could not see well. So Joseph **brought them near** him; and he kissed them and embraced them.

Genesis 48:10 [Hiphil] (see also Gen 48:13, 2 Kings 4:6)

With this root, the *niphal* is sometimes translated with active forms of ἐγγίζω (3/13) and προσεγγίζω (2/13), identically to the the translations of the *qal* and the *hiphil*.

וַיִּגַשׁ מֹשֶׁה לְבָדֹד אֶל־יְהוָה וְהָם לֹא יִגָּשׁוּ וְהָעָם לֹא יֵעָלוּ עִמּוֹ:

καὶ ἐγγιεῖ Μωσῆς μόνος πρὸς τὸν θεόν αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγγιοῦσιν ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὐ συναναβήσεται μετ' αὐτῶν

‘Moses alone shall come near the LORD; but the others shall not come near, and the people shall not come up with him.’

Exodus 24:2 [Niphal]

וַתִּגַּשׁ גַּם־לֵאָה וְיִלְדֶיהָ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ וְאַחַר בָּנָהּ יוֹסֵף וְרָחֵל וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ:

καὶ προσήγγισεν Λεία καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς καὶ προσεκύνησαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσήγγισεν Ραχὴλ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ προσεκύνησαν

Leah likewise and her children drew near and bowed down; and finally Joseph and Rachel drew near, and they bowed down.

Genesis 33:7 [Niphal]⁶⁸

The root *שמ* has patterns lying on top of one another, in a similar manner to the root *יש*, which was investigated in the chapter on the *hiphil* (see 4.4.1.4). Verbs of the root *שמ* show a bare vs compound verb distinction differentiating translations of the *qal* and *niphal* from the *hiphil*, but voice difference is also seen. The curiosity with this root is that the intransitive/stative:transitive/factitive-causative distinction is shown by both patterns at once, when only one would be needed.

⁶⁸ That the *niphal* stands alone here amidst other verbs of the same root in the *qal* and is translated in the same way as a *qal* could imply that it was originally read as though it were a *qal*.

1/4 verbs in the *qal* ('to be uninhabited, deserted') and 1/1 verbs in the *niphal* ('to be made uninhabited') are translated with the passive voice of the verb *ἐρημόω*, 'to desolate, lay waste'.

...וְלֹא יִמְוָה וְהָאֲדָמָה לֹא תִשָּׁמֵם:

...καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐκ ἐρημωθήσεται

'...and that the land may not become desolate^{MT}/be desolated^{LXX}.'

Genesis 47:19b [*Qal*]

וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי בְכֶם אֶת־תַּיִת הַדְּבָר וְהַשְׁחַדְתִּי אֶתְכֶם וְהִשְׁחַדְתִּי אֶת־בְּנֵי אֲנָשְׁכֶם וְהִשְׁחַדְתִּי אֶת־בְּהֵמַתְכֶם וְהִמְעַיְפִי אֶתְכֶם וְנִשְׁמַמוּ דְרָכֵיכֶם:

καὶ ἀποστελῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰ θηρία τὰ ἄγρια τῆς γῆς καὶ κατέδετα ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξαναλώσει τὰ κτήνη ὑμῶν καὶ ὀλιγοστοὺς ποιήσει ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρημωθήσονται αἱ ὁδοὶ ὑμῶν

I will let loose wild animals against you, and they shall bereave you of your children and destroy your livestock; they shall make you few in number, and your roads shall be deserted^{MT}/shall become desolate^{LXX}.

Leviticus 26:22 [*Niphal*]

2/3 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to cause to be deserted, desolated') are translated with an active and compound version of that same Greek verb, *ἐξερημόω*, 'to make quite desolate'.

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־עָרֵיכֶם חָרָבָה וְהִשְׁמֹוֹתִי אֶת־מִקְדְּשֵׁיכֶם וְלֹא אֲרִיחַ בְּרִיחַ גִּיהֻןְכֶם:

καὶ θήσω τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν ἐρήμους καὶ ἐξερημόσω τὰ ἅγια ὑμῶν καὶ οὐ μὴ ὀσφρανθῶ τῆς ὀσμῆς τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν

I will lay your cities waste, will make your sanctuaries desolate, and I will not smell your pleasing odors.

Leviticus 26:31 [*Hiphil*]

10.4.5 With the piel and hiphil

This section investigates roots appearing in the *piel*, *hiphil*, and *niphal*. There is one root, כון, which appears in the the *poel* rather than the *piel*, but the distinctions are still valid.

10.4.5.1 Voice difference

With the voice difference pattern in this section, we have three different groupings. With the root כון, the *poel* and *hiphil* are translated actively (and identically) in distinction to the passive translation of the *niphal*; but with the root כהד, verbs in the *piel* and the *niphal* are translated passively (and identically), while the *hiphil* is translated actively. The final root, כלל, is curious in that the *hiphil* is translated once actively (with the *piel*) and once passively (with the *niphal*).

As has already been mentioned, כון is hollow, and it appears in the *poel* and not the *piel*. 2/4 verbs in the *poel* ('to set up, establish, fix solidly' – transitive) and 13/16 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to prepare, make ready, determine' – transitive) are translated with active forms of *ἐτοιμάζω*, 'to make ready, prepare'. In contrast, the intransitive *niphal* ('to be established, be steadfast, be arranged') is translated with passive forms of *ἐτοιμάζω* 2/7 times, which indicates this intransitivity.

תְּבִאֲמוּ וְתִטְעֲמוּ בְּהַר נַחֲלֹתַי מְכוֹן לְשִׁבְתִּי פְעֻלַּת יְהוָה מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדֹנָי פּוֹנֵנֵנוּ יְדִידֵי:

εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου εἰς ἔτοιμον κατοικητήριόν σου ὁ
κατειργάσω κύριε ἁγίασμα κύριε ὁ ἠτοίμασαν αἱ χεῖρές σου

You brought them in and planted them on the mountain of your own possession, the place, O LORD, that you made your abode, the sanctuary, O LORD, that your hands **have established**.

Exodus 15:17 [Poel]

הֲנֵה אֲנֹכִי שֹׁלַח מַלְאָךְ לְפָנָי לְשַׁמְרֵךְ בְּהַרְרֵי וְלִהְבִּיאָךְ אֶל־הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הִכְנַתִּי:

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὅπως
εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἠτοίμασά σοι

Look, I am going to send an angel in front of you, to guard you on the way and to bring you to the place that I have prepared.

Exodus 23:20 [Hiphil]

... כִּי כָל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר בְּוַיֵּשֶׁב תַּי עַל־הָאֲדָמָה לֹא תִכְנֹן אֶתְּהָ וּמִלְכוּתָּהּ

ὅτι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἃς ὁ υἱὸς Ιεσσαί ζῆ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἐτοιμασθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία σου...

For as long as the son of Jesse lives upon the earth, neither you nor your kingdom shall be established...

1 Samuel 20:31a [Niphal]

The root כהד has two related meanings, which seem to overlap – I) be hidden (*niphal*), keep hidden (*piel*), hide something (*hiphil*); II) be destroyed (*niphal*), destroy (*hiphil*). 1/2 verbs in the *niphal* and 1/6 verbs in the *piel* are translated by the passive of ἐκτριβω, ‘to rub out, destroy’, and 1/1 verbs in the *hiphil* is translated by the active form of ἐκτριβω.

The example below with the *piel* is unusual for two reasons: first, the *piel* does not appear to have the dictionary meaning ‘to destroy’, and second, it is unusual for the *piel* to have a passive translation. The solution may lie in a different reading of the Hebrew by the LXX translator compared to the MT. The verb נִכְהַד is assumed in the MT to be a *piel yiqtol* 1cp, whereas it appears as though the translator of the LXX has read this as a *niphal yiqtol* 1cp, given that both would look the same without pointing. Targum Onkelos and the Vulgate follow the MT in translating it actively with the meaning ‘to conceal’, making it more likely that the translator of the LXX has misread the verb as a *niphal*.

כִּי עַתָּה שָׁלַחְתִּי אֶת־יָדִי נֹאֵף אוֹתְךָ וְאֶת־עַמֶּךָ בַּדָּבָר וְתִכְהַד מִן־הָאָרֶץ:

νῦν γὰρ ἀποστείλας τὴν χεῖρα πατάξω σε καὶ τὸν λαόν σου θανάτῳ καὶ ἐκτριβήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

For by now I could have stretched out my hand and struck you and your people with pestilence, and you would have been cut off from the earth.

Exodus 9:15 [*Niphal*]

...לֹא־נִכְחַד מֵאֲדֹנָי כִּי אִם־תָּם הַכֹּסֶף וּמִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה אֶל־אֲדֹנָי...

...We can not hide from my lord that our money is all spent; and the herds of cattle are my lord's... [NRS]

...μήποτε ἐκτριβῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰ γὰρ ἐκλέλοιπεν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ κτήνη πρὸς σὲ τὸν κύριον...

...Let us not be wiped out by our lord, for if the money has failed and the possessions and the livestock are with you, our lord... [NETS]

Genesis 47:18b [*Piel*]

כִּי־גַלְדָּה מִלְאֲכִי לְפָנָי וְהִבִּיאָה אֶל־הָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַכְּנַעֲנִי הַחִנִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי וְהַכְּתִידִי:

πορεύεται γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελός μου ἡγούμενός σου καὶ εἰσάξει σε πρὸς τὸν Ἀμορραῖον καὶ Χετταῖον καὶ Φερεζαῖον καὶ Χαναναῖον καὶ Γεργεσαῖον καὶ Εὐαῖον καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖον καὶ ἐκτρίψω αὐτούς

When my angel goes in front of you, and brings you to the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, and I blot them out

Exodus 23:23 [*Hiphil*]

The root הלל also shows a voice difference, but in the *hiphil*, this root has two different meanings: I – to allow to be profaned, II – to begin. In many places in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, the *hiphil* of this root has meaning II, but these are not relevant for this comparison.

16/22 *piel* ('to profane') and 1/2* *hiphil* ('to allow to be profaned, render invalid') are translated with active forms of *βεβηλώσω*, 'to desecrate'.

...וְאֶת־קְדוֹשֵׁי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא תַחֲלִילוּ וְלֹא תִמְוֹתוּ:

...καὶ τὰ ἅγια τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ οὐ βεβηλώσετε ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε

But you shall not profane the holy gifts of the Israelites, on pain of death.

Numbers 18:32b [Piel]

אִישׁ כִּי־יִדָּר לַיהוָה אֶת־הַשְּׂבִיעַ שְׂבַעָה לְאַרְבָּעָה עָל־נַפְשׁוֹ לֹא יִקַּל דְּבָרוֹ ...

ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἂν εὐξῆται εὐχὴν κυρίῳ ἢ ὁμώσει ὄρκον ἢ ὀρίσηται ὀρισμῶ περι τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ οὐ βεβηλώσει τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ...

When a man makes a vow to the LORD, or swears an oath to bind himself by a pledge [with determination about his soul^{LXX}], he shall not profane his word...

Numbers 30:2[3] [Hiphil]

1/2* *hiphil* and 1/1 *niphal* ('to be defiled') are translated with the passive of the same Greek verb. The *hiphil* example is noteworthy because the translations of the Hebrew and the Greek are different, as noted in the chapter on the *hiphil* (4.2.3.3.1): the translation of the MT takes the alternative meaning of the *hiphil* ('to begin') and hence the verb לְהִתְחַלֵּם means 'and they began' rather than 'and they let something be profaned'; the Greek translates the *hiphil* using the passive voice, possibly reading the verb as a *niphal* instead. The Vulgate follows the same pattern as the LXX, and translates the verb without the sense of 'to begin': ...*et fornicatus est populus cum filiabus Moab.*

וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשִׁטִּים וַיִּתְחַלְּמוּ הָעָם לְזָנוֹת אֲל־בָּנוֹת מוֹאָב:

While Israel was staying at Shittim, the people began to have sexual relations with the women of Moab. [NRS]

καὶ κατέλυσεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σαττιν καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωαβ

And Israel stayed in Sattim, and the people were profaned by whoring after the daughters of Moab. [NETS]

Numbers 25:1 [Hiphil]

ובת איש פלגן כי תחל לזנות את־אביה היא מסללת באש תשרף:

καὶ θυγάτηρ ἀνθρώπου ἱερέως ἐὰν βεβηλωθῆ τοῦ ἐκπορνεῦσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς αὐτὴ βεβηλοῖ ἐπὶ πυρὸς κατακαυθήσεται

When the daughter of a priest **profanes herself** through prostitution, she profanes her father; she shall be burned to death.

Leviticus 21:9 [Niphal]

10.4.6 With the piel and hitpael

10.4.6.1 Voice difference

In common with the comparison of many other stems, when there is a voice difference involving more than two stems, there are often identical translations between at least two of the stems.

This occurs with with the root נחם, which has an identical passive translation with παρακαλέω, ‘to console, be sorry for [pass]’ several times in the *niphal*, ‘to regret, be sorry, console oneself’ (10/48), and *hitpael*, ‘to plot revenge against, be grieved by, allow oneself to be comforted’ (4/6), and an active translation using the same verb in the *piel*, ‘to comfort’ (5/6).

... כִּי־יִנָּחֵם יְהוָה מִנְּאֻקָּתָם מִפְּגַי לְחַצְיָהֶם וְדַחְקֵיהֶם:

... ὅτι παρακληθή κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκθλιβόντων αὐτούς

... for the LORD would **be moved to pity** by their groaning because of those who persecuted and oppressed them.

Judges 2:18b [Niphal]

כִּי־יִגְדִין יְהוָה עִמּוֹ וְעַל־עֲבָדָיו יִתְנַחֵם כִּי יִרְאֶה כִּי־אָזְלַת לְדֹ וְאָפְסָ עֲצוּר וְעָזוּב:

Indeed the LORD will vindicate his people, **have compassion** on his servants, when he sees that their power is gone, neither bond nor free remaining. [NRS]

ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ **παρακληθήσεται** εἶδεν γὰρ παραλελυμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκλελοιπότας ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ καὶ παρειμένους

For the Lord will judge his people and **be comforted** over his slaves. For he saw them paralyzed, both failed under attack and enfeebled. [NETS]

Deuteronomy 32:26 [Hitpael]

... וַיִּנְחֵם דָּוִד אֶת בַּת־שֶׁבַע אִשְׁתּוֹ וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ וַיִּשְׁכַּב עִמָּהּ וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן...

καὶ **παρακάλεσεν** Δαυὶδ Βηρσαβεε τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσηλθεν πρὸς αὐτήν καὶ ἐκοιμήθη μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ συνέλαβεν καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν...

Then David **consoled** his wife Bathsheba, and went to her, and lay with her; and she bore a son...

2 Samuel 12:24a [Piel]

10.4.7 With the hiphil and hitpael

10.4.7.1 Voice difference

The roots examined here appear in the *niphal*, *hiphil*, and *hitpael* and both involve hiding: חבא and סתר. The familiar pattern is found where the *niphal* and *hitpael*, which have reflexive or intransitive meaning, are predominantly translated passively, while the *hiphil*, with transitive meaning, is translated with the same verb but with active morphology.

With חבא there are 6/8 verbs in the *niphal* and 5/5 verbs in the *hitpael* (both ‘to hide oneself’) which are translated using passive forms of the verb *κρύπτω*, ‘to conceal [active]; to conceal oneself

[passive]⁶⁹, while 4/4 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to hide, keep hidden') are translated using active forms of the same verb.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת־קִלְקֵל שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּגִן וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי־שָׁמַעְתָּ אֶת־קוֹלִי וַיִּתְבַּחֵן:

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὴν φωνὴν σου ἤκουσα περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι καὶ ἐκρύβην

He said, 'I heard the sound of you in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself.'

Genesis 3:10 [*Niphal*]

וַיִּתְבַּחֵן אִתָּהּ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים בְּהִיטֵן מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה וְהָאָדָם...

...καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὁ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου

...and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden.

Genesis 3:8b [*Hitpael*]

כִּי־הִתְבַּחֵשׁ אֶת־הַמַּלְאָכִים אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְרַגֵּל אֶת־יְרִיחוֹ:

...διότι ἔκρυψεν τοὺς κατασκοπεύσαντας οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Ἰησοῦς κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν Ἰεριχώ

...for she hid the messengers whom Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.

Joshua 6:25b [*Hiphil*]

Similarly to above, with the root *סתר*, there are 15/27 verbs in the *niphal* ('to hide, be hid') and 2/5 verbs in the *hitpael* ('to hide oneself') which are translated with passive forms of *κρύπτω*, 'to

⁶⁹ 1/8 verbs in the *niphal* is translated passively with the compound *κατακρύπτω*, 'to conceal away'.

conceal [active]; to conceal oneself [passive]’, while 2/6 verbs in the *hiphil* (‘to hide’) are translated with active forms of the same verb.

וַיִּסְתֵּר דָּוִד בַּשָּׂדֶה בַּיּוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׂנַיִם הַשְּׂמִינִי (על-) [אָל-] הַלְּחֵם לְאֶכֹּל:

καὶ κρύπτεται Δαυὶδ ἐν ἀγρῶ καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ μῆν καὶ ἔρχεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ φαγεῖν

So David **hid himself** in the field. When the new moon came, the king sat at the feast to eat.

1 Samuel 20:24 [*Niphal*]

... הָלוֹא יוֹד מְסֻתָּר עָמְנוּ בְּמִצְדוֹת בְּחֶרֶשׁ בְּגִבְעַת הַחִכְיֵלָה אֲשֶׁר מִיַּמִּין הַיְשִׁימוֹן:

...οὐκ ἴδου Δαυὶδ κέκρυπται παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Μεσσαρα ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ἐν τῇ Καινῇ ἐν τῷ βουνῶ τοῦ Εχέλα τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ιεσσαίμου

...’David **is hiding** among us in the strongholds of Horesh, on the hill of Hachilah, which is south of Jeshimon.’

1 Samuel 23:19b [*Hitpael*]

...וּמַדּוּעַ יִסְתִּיר אָבִי מִמֶּנִּי אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲיִן תְּאָת:

...καὶ τί ὅτι κρύψει ὁ πατήρ μου τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦτο

‘...and why should my father **hide** this from me? Never!’

1 Samuel 20:2 [*Hiphil*]

10.4.8 With the qal, piel, and hitpael

10.4.8.1 Voice difference

Where roots appear in the *qal*, *niphal*, *piel* and *hitpael*, there is often a distinction made by voice, with active translations used to translate the *piel*, and passive translations used for the *niphal* and the *hitpael*. The *qal* can be translated either actively or passively depending on its transitivity.

There are two roots with meanings based around gathering, קבץ and אסף. For these roots, the *qal* is transitive and so is translated actively, like the *piel*, whereas the intransitive or reflexive verbs in the *niphal* and *hitpael* are translated passively.

24/44 verbs of the root אסף in the *niphal* ('to assemble') and 1/1 verb in the *hitpael* ('to gather selves') are translated with passive forms of *συνάγω*, 'to assemble, be gathered together'. As has been seen in the chapter on the *hitpael* (5.5.3.2), this use of the passive does not always imply a passive meaning, but can indicate a reflexive or reciprocal one. However, there certainly are examples of verbs in the *niphal* being translated with a passive voice verb where the meaning is definitely passive. In contrast, 34/47 verbs in the *qal* ('to gather, bring in, receive') and 2/3 verbs in the *piel* ('to glean, receive in one's house') are translated with active forms of the verb *συνάγω*, 'to gather together'.

וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב אֶל-בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר הַאֲסֹפּוּ וְאָנֹכִי לָכֶם אֶת אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרָא אֲתֶכֶם בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים:

ἐκάλεσεν δὲ Ἰακωβ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν **συνάχθητε** ἵνα ἀναγγείλω ὑμῖν τί ἀπαντήσῃ ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν

Then Jacob called his sons, and said: 'Gather around, that I may tell you what will happen to you in days to come.

Genesis 49:1 [*Niphal*] – reciprocal meaning

וַיִּסְפְּרוּ שְׂמָה כָּל-הָעֵדְוָיִם וַיְגַלְלוּ אֶת-הָאֶבֶן מֵעַל פִּי הַבְּאֵר וַהֲשִׁקּוּ אֶת-הַצֵּאֵן ...

καὶ **συνήγοντο** ἐκεῖ πάντα τὰ ποιμνία καὶ ἀπεκύλιον τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ φρέατος καὶ ἐπότιζον τὰ πρόβατα...

And when all the flocks were gathered there, the shepherds would roll the stone from the mouth of the well, and water the sheep...

Genesis 29:3 [Niphal] – passive meaning

וַיָּקָם בִּישׁוּרוֹן מֶלֶךְ בְּהַתְּאַסֵּף רְאִשֵׁי עָם יִשְׂרָאֵל:

καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ἄρχων συναχθέντων ἀρχόντων λαῶν ἅμα φυλαῖς Ἰσραὴλ

There arose a king in Jeshurun, when the leaders of the people assembled-- the united tribes of Israel. [NRS]

And he shall be a ruler in the beloved one, when rulers of peoples have been gathered together with the tribes of Israel. [NETS]

Deuteronomy 33:5 [Hitpael]

וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגִבְלוֹ וַיִּתְאַסֵּף סִיחֹן אֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיַּחֲנֶנּוּ בִּיהַצֵּה ...

καὶ οὐκ ἐνεπίστευσεν Σηων τῷ Ἰσραὴλ παρελθεῖν ἐν ὁρίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνῆξεν Σηων τὸν πάντα λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρενέβαλον εἰς Ἰασα...

But Sihon did not trust Israel to pass through his territory; so Sihon gathered all his people together, and encamped at Jahaz...

Judges 11:20 [Qal]

... וַיָּבֹא וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּרִחְוֹב הַלְעִיר וְאִין אִישׁ מִמֶּנּוּ אֹתָם הִבִּיתָה לָלוֹן:

...καὶ εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀνὴρ σὺνάγων αὐτοὺς εἰς οἰκίαν ἀβλισθῆναι

He went in and sat down in the open square of the city, but no one took them in to spend the night.

Judges 19:15 [Piel]

The root קָבַץ is defined as meaning ‘to gather together’, with the difference between the verbal stems being that the gathering occurs ‘of naturally occurring collectives’ in the *qal* but ‘in unexpected circumstances’ in the *piel* (Koehler and Baumgartner 2001: 1063). However, this distinction is not carried through the morphology of the Greek verb as the verb *συνάγω* is used in the active voice to translate both the *piel* (2/2) and the *qal* (3/16),⁷⁰ presumably because both are transitive. Where verbs of this root appear in the *niphal* or *hitpael*, sometimes with passive meaning and sometimes with reflexive meaning, then *συνάγω* is used in the passive voice.

... וְאַתְּ-כָל-שָׂלְשָׁה יְקָבְצֵהוּ לְתוֹךְ רַחֲבֵהּ...

καὶ πάντα τὰ σκῶλα αὐτῆς **συνάξεις** εἰς τὰς διόδους αὐτῆς...

All of its spoil **you shall gather** into its public square^{MT}/streets^{LXX}...

Deuteronomy 13:16a [*Qal*]

... וְקָבְצָה מִכָּל-הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר הִפְצִיחַ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שָׂמָּה: ...

... καὶ πάλιν **συνάξει** σε ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς οὓς διεσκόρπισέν σε κύριος ἐκεῖ

... and **he will gather** you again from all the peoples among whom the LORD your God has scattered you.

Deuteronomy 30:3b [*Piel*]

... בְּיָקֻבְצוּ אֵלֵינוּ כָּל-מַלְכֵי הָאֲמֹרִי יֹשְׁבֵי הָהָר: ...

...ὅτι **συνηγμένοι** εἰσὶν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἀμορραίων οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν ὄρεινήν

‘...for all the kings of the Amorites who live in the hill country **are gathered** against us.’

Joshua 10:6b [*Niphal*]

⁷⁰ This use of *συνάγω* is limited to the Pentateuch.

וַיִּגַד לְאַבְיִמֶלֶךְ כִּי הִתְקַבְּצוּ כָּל־בְּעָלֵי מְגִדֹלַיִם־שָׂרִים:

καὶ ἀνηγγέλη τῷ Αβιμελεχ ὅτι **συνήχθησαν** πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες πύργων Συχεμ

Abimelech was told that all the lords of the Tower of Shechem **were gathered together**.

Judges 9:47 [Hitpael]

From 1 Samuel onwards, a different Greek verb, *συναθροίζω* ('to gather, bring together'), becomes more commonly used in translation. When it appears in the *qal*, and is transitive in the context, the active form of *συναθροίζω* is commonly used, while the passive form is used when the root is in the *niphal* or *hitpael*, and has an intransitive meaning.

וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיִּחַנּוּ בְּשׁוּנֵם וַיִּקְבְּצוּ שָׂאוּל אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּחַנּוּ בְּגִלְבֹּעַ:

καὶ **συναθροίζονται** οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν εἰς Σωμαν καὶ **συναθροίζει** Σαουλ πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰσραηλ καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν εἰς Γελβουε

The Philistines **gathered**, and came and encamped at Shunem. Saul **gathered** all Israel, and they encamped at Gilboa.

1 Samuel 28:4 [1st: niphal; 2nd: qal]

Where a verb in the *qal* is interpreted as being intransitive, the passive voice is used in translation. In the following example, the Hebrew uses a *qal* transitively, whereas the Greek translation, as it has the prepositional phrase *ἐν ταῖς παρεμβολαῖς αὐτῶν* ('in their camps') rather than the direct object אֶת־מַחֲנֵיהֶם ('their camps'), interprets the verb as being intransitive/reflexive and hence uses a passive verb.

... יְהִי בַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּם וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־מַחֲנֵיהֶם לְצָבָא לְהִלָּחֵם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל ...

In those days the Philistines **gathered** their forces for war, to fight against Israel... [NRS]

The majority of verbs in the *piel* (27/28) are translated using active voice forms of *μαίνω*, which fits with the transitive meaning of the *piel*:

וַיַּעֲקֹב שְׁמֵעַ בְּנֵי אֶת־דִּינָה בְּחֹךְ וּבְגִיזוֹ הִנּוּ אֶת־מִקְנֶהוּ בַשָּׂדֶה וְהַחֲרָשׁ יַעֲקֹב עַד־בָּאָם:

Ἰακωβ δὲ ἤκουσεν ὅτι ἐμίανεν ὁ υἱὸς Ἐμμωρ Διναν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ παρεσιώπησεν δὲ Ἰακωβ ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς

Now Jacob heard that Shechem^{MT}/the son of Hemmor^{LXX} had defiled his daughter Dinah; but his sons were with his cattle in the field, so Jacob held his peace until they came.

Genesis 34:5 [*Piel*]

1/28 verbs in the *piel* ('to defile') is also translated with a passive form of *μαίνω*, but the reading and sense is different in the Greek:

וְכִי־יָמוּת מִתְּעַלְיוֹ בְּפֶתַע פְּתָאֵם אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ נָזְרוּ וְגִלְתָּ רֹאשׁוֹ בְּיוֹם טְהֻרָתוֹ בְּיוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי וַיִּגְלְתָּו:

ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐξάπινα ἐπ' αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα μιανθήσεται ἡ κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ξυρήσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἢ ἂν ἡμέρα καθαρισθῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ξυρηθήσεται

If someone dies very suddenly nearby, defiling the consecrated head^{MT}/at once the head of his vow shall be defiled^{LXX}, then they shall shave the head on the day of their cleansing; on the seventh day they shall shave it.

Numbers 6:9 [*Piel*]

10.4.8.2 Combinations

There are two roots which show a combination of patterns when compared in the *qal*, *piel*, *hitpael*, and *niphal*: רפא and השב. Both roots have some distinctions which consist of a difference in voice, as well as some distinctions where the verbs used have the same Greek base, either a bare:compound difference in the case of השב or the use of verb with the same stem but different endings for the root רפא.

5/11 verbs of **בָּשַׁח** in the *qal* ('to think, devise') and 1/6 verbs in the *piel* ('to devise') are translated with deponent middle (or medio-passive) forms of *λογίζομαι*, 'to account, reckon'.

5/6 verbs in the *piel* are translated with deponent middle (or medio-passive) compounds of *λογίζομαι*: *συλλογίζομαι* ('to reason, discuss'), *προσλογίζομαι* ('to reckon, count in addition to'), and *ἐκλογίζομαι* ('to compute, consider on'), with *συλλογίζομαι* accounting for 3 of the translations.

וְהָיָה אִימָן מְדַבְּרָתָ עַל-לִפְתָּהּ, רַק שִׁפְתֶּיהָ יָנֹזוּת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע וַיַּחְשְׁבָה עָלַי לְשֹׁפְרָהּ:

καὶ αὐτὴ ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῆς ἐκινεῖτο καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο καὶ ἐλογίσατο αὐτὴν Ἡλι εἰς μεθύουσιν

And Hannah^{MT}/she^{LXX} was praying silently; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard; therefore Eli **thought** she was drunk.

1 Samuel 1:13 [*Qal*]

וַיַּחְשַׁב בְּתַשְׁבָּחַי מִמְכָּרָי וְהָיִיב תַּתְּעֵלְנָה לְאַיִשׁ מְכַרְרָלְוּ וְשָׁב לְאַתְּחֵלְנָהּ:

καὶ συλλογιεῖται τὰ ἔτη τῆς πράσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποδώσει ὃ ὑπερέχει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ᾧ ἀπέδοτο ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπελεύσεται εἰς τὴν κατάσχεσιν αὐτοῦ

Then **he shall compute** the years of his sale and give back what he has over to the person who sold it to him, and he shall depart to his holding.

Leviticus 25:27 [*Piel*]

6/12 verbs in the *niphal* ('to be reckoned, be worth') and 1/6 verbs in the *qal* with morphologically passive forms of *λογίζομαι*; 1/1 verb in the *hitpael* ('to reckon oneself among') is translated with a morphologically passive form of a compound form, *συλλογίζομαι*.

וַיַּחְשַׁב לְכֶם תְּרוֹמַתְכֶם כַּדָּגָן מִן-הַגֶּרֶן וְכַמְלֵאָה מִן-הַקֶּבֶב:

καὶ λογισθήσεται ὑμῖν τὰ ἀφαιρέματα ὑμῶν ὡς σῖτος ἀπὸ ἄλλω καὶ ἀφαίρεμα ἀπὸ ληνοῦ

It shall be reckoned to you as your gift, the same as the grain of the threshing floor and the fullness of the wine press.

Numbers 18:27 [Niphal]

וְהֵאָמַן בְּיָהוָה וַיִּחְשַׁבְהָ לְוַדְקָה:

καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην

And he^{MT}/Abram^{LXX} believed the LORD; and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.

Genesis 15:6 [Qal]

כִּי־מֵרָאשׁ צָרִים אֶרְאֶנּוּ וּמִבְּעוֹת אֲשֶׁר־נִרְגְּנוּ הָרָעַם לְבָדָד יִשְׁכֹּן וּבְגוֹזִים לֹא יִתְחַשְׁבּ׃

ὅτι ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ὄρέων ὄψομαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ βουνῶν προσνοήσω αὐτόν ἰδοὺ λαὸς μόνος κατοικήσει καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν οὐ συλλογισθήσεται

For from the top of the crags I see him, from the hills I behold him; Here is a people living alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations!

Numbers 23:9 [Hitpael]

With פָּא there is a distinction between the translation of the *qal* and the *piel* vs the *niphal*, and also a distinction between those three stems and the *hitpael*.

6/6 verbs in the *qal* ('to heal') and 2/2 verbs in the *piel* ('to make healthy, heal') are translated with middle voice forms of the deponent verb *ιάομαι*, 'to heal'.

...הַנְּנִי רָפָא לְךָ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי תַעֲלֶהָ בַּיִת יְהוָה:

...ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἰάσομαι σε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναβήσῃ εἰς οἶκον κυρίου

...indeed, I will heal you; on the third day you shall go up to the house of the LORD.

2 Kings 20:5b [Qal]

...כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה רָפָאתִי לַמַּיִם הָאֵלֶּה לְאִי־יִהְיֶה מִשָּׁם עוֹד מוֹת וּמִשְׂכָּלֶת:

...τάδε λέγει κύριος ἴαμαι τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι ἐκεῖθεν θάνατος καὶ ἀτεκνουμένη

...’Thus says the LORD, I have made this water wholesome/I have healed this water; from now on neither death nor miscarriage shall come from it.’

2 Kings 2:21b [Piel]

6/8 verbs in the *niphal* (‘to be healed’) are translated using passive forms of *ἰάομαι*.

וַיִּרְפוּ הַמַּיִם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כַּדְבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר:

καὶ ἰάθησαν τὰ ὕδατα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Ἐλισαίε ὁ ἐλάλησεν

So the water has been wholesome to this day, according to the word that Elisha spoke.

2 Kings 2:22 [Niphal]

2/2 verbs in the *hitpael* are translated with passive forms of the Greek verb *ἰατρεύω* (passive: ‘to be under medical care, be healed’). The use of the passive form matches the common grouping of the *hitpael* with the *niphal*, in distinction to the *qal* and the *piel*.

וַיָּשֶׁב יוֹרָם הַמֶּלֶךְ לְהִתְרַפֵּא בִּיְזְרְעֵאל מִן־הַמַּכּוֹת אֲשֶׁר יָפְתּוּ אֲרָמִים בְּרַמָּה ...

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωραμ τοῦ ἰατρευθῆναι ἐν Ἰεζραὲλ ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν ὧν ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν ἐν Ρεμμωθ...

King Joram returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds that the Arameans had inflicted on him at Ramah...

2 Kings 2:22 [Niphal]

10.4.9 With the qal, piel, hiphil, and hitpael

10.4.9.1 Voice difference

The root investigated here, *שקד*, is particularly instructive to examine as it appears in five of the seven major stems, but in Greek there is almost entirely a binary distinction made by a change of voice, that between active and passive, with only a rare appearance of the middle voice. It is one of the other roots, like *אבד*, which is specifically mentioned by Joüon and Muraoka as having interchangeable meaning in the *hiphil* and *piel*, an argument with which the data gathered here agree (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 144).

7/8 verbs in the *qal* ('holy, removed from common use'), 4/4 verbs in the *niphal* ('to be sacred'), and 4/7 verbs in the *hitpael* ('to consecrate oneself'), are translated with passive forms of *ἀγιάζω*, 'to make holy, sanctify'. In contrast, 45/45 verbs in the *piel* ('to transfer something or transform something to the state of holiness') and 22/24 verbs in the *hiphil* ('to mark or treat something as sanctified or consecrated') are translated with active forms of *ἀγιάζω*.

This follows the pattern of anticausative coding (see 1.6.3).

כָּל אֲשֶׁר-יִגַּע בְּבִשְׂרָהּ יִשְׁקֶה וְאֲשֶׁר יִגַּע מִדְּמָהּ עַל-הַבְּגָד אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה עָלֶיהָ תִּכְבֵּס בְּמִקְוֹם קֹדֶשׁ:

πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῆς ἀγιασθήσεται καὶ ὃ ἐὰν ἐπιρραντισθῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὃ ἐὰν ραντισθῆ ἐπ' αὐτὸ πλυθήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ

Whatever touches its flesh shall become holy; and when any of its blood is spattered on a garment, you shall wash the bespattered part in a holy place.

Leviticus 6:20 [Qal]

לֹא תִחַלְלֵנִי אֶת-שְׁמִי קֹדֶשׁי וְנִקְדַּשְׁתִּי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדְּשֵׁכֶם:

καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσετε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀγιασθήσομαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ ἀγιάζων ὑμᾶς

You shall not profane my holy name, that I may be sacred among the people of Israel: I am the LORD; I sanctify you,

Leviticus 22:32 [*Niphal*]

... כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתֶם וְהִיִּיתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קְדוֹשׁ אֲנִי

ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἁγιασθήσεσθε καὶ ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε ὅτι ἅγιός εἰμι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν...

For I am the LORD your God; **sanctify yourselves/be sanctified** therefore, and be holy, for I am holy [I, the LORD your God^{LXX}]...

Leviticus 11:44a [*Hitpael*]

... עַל אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תְקַדְּשִׁים אוֹתִי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

...διότι οὐχ ἡγιάσατέ με ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ

... because **you did not sanctify** me among the Israelites.

Deuteronomy 32:51b [*Piel*]

... כָּל־הַבְּכוֹר אֲשֶׁר יִנָּלַד בְּבִקְרֶךָ וּבְצֹאֲנֶךָ הַזָּכָר תְּקַדִּישׁ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

πᾶν πρωτότοκον ὃ ἐὰν τεχθῆ ἐν τοῖς βουσίν σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις σου τὰ ἀρσενικά ἁγιάσεις κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου...

Every firstling male born of your herd and flock **you shall consecrate** to the LORD your God...

Deuteronomy 15:19a [*Hiphil*]

While it is not unusual to see the passive voice used to translate a reflexive *hitpael* (see *Hitpael*), there are two occasions where morphologically middle voice forms of *ἀγιάζω* are used to translate the *hitpael*: Numbers 11:18 and Joshua 3:5. There is also one occasion where a medio-passive form of *ἀγιάζω* is used to translate the *hitpael*, and it is unclear whether a middle, reflexive meaning is intended, or a passive meaning instead.

There is no obvious reason why the middle voice is used in these contexts and not in others. It cannot be a definite indication of the middle voice being used to indicate reflexivity as there is not a clearer indication of reflexivity in these verses compared to others where the *hitpael* is translated passively. This can be seen by comparing Joshua 3:5 and 7:13, where identical Hebrew verbs are translated with different voice verbs in Greek.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־הַעַם הַתְּקַדְּשׁוּ כִּי מָחָר יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם נִפְלְאוֹת:

καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τῷ λαῷ ἁγιάσασθε εἰς αὐριον ὅτι αὐριον ποιήσει ἐν ὑμῖν κύριος θαυμαστά

Then Joshua said to the people, ‘Sanctify yourselves; for tomorrow the LORD will do wonders among you.’

Joshua 3:5 [*Hitpael*] - middle

... קָם קַדְּשׁ אֶת־הָעָם וְאָמַרְתָּ הַתְּקַדְּשׁוּ לְמָחָר ...

ἀναστὰς ἁγιάσον τὸν λαὸν καὶ εἰπὸν ἁγιασθῆναι εἰς αὐριον...

‘Proceed to sanctify the people, and say, “Sanctify yourselves/be sanctified for tomorrow...”’

Joshua 7:13a [*Hitpael*] - passive

10.4.10 Niphal comparisons conclusions

The plurality of *niphal* translations are using passive voice forms, whether or not the root appears in another stem as well.

Where a root in the *niphal* also appears in the *hitpael*, they are both often translated passively, even where their meaning would be assumed to be different. This can indicate the tendency of the *niphal* and *hitpael* to have similar meanings, both having middle and passive functions in certain circumstances.

The grouping of translations with passive voice forms can extend to include translations of the *qal*, where the meanings of a root is similar enough in the *qal* and *niphal*, and often where the *qal* is intransitive.

The *niphal* can be translated, under certain circumstances, actively and identically to the *qal*, the *piel*, and the *hiphil*. And again it is also possible to see that verbs in the *qal*, *piel* and *hiphil* can have identical translations, when they have similar meanings and transivities, which casts doubt on whether some roots, such as קבר, קדש and שבר, were considered by the translators to have distinct meanings in different stems.

10.5 Comparisons of the pual

Below are comparisons of roots which appear in the *pual* and other stems already explored in this thesis.

10.5.1 With the qal, niph'al, piel, and hitpael

The root בָּרַךְ is the most noteworthy root to examine in the *pual*, *qal*, *niph'al*, *piel*, and *hitpael*. There is a voice distinction between the *piel* and both the *pual* and the *qal*, once again along transitivity lines, with the *piel* being transitive and translated actively, while the *pual* and *qal* are intransitive and translated passively.

Additionally, the *niph'al* and the *hitpael* are almost always rendered identically, with a passive voice verb. In some cases, this passive voice verb may be understood as reflexive in meaning.

In the *piel* ('to bless'), 138/138 verbs of this root are translated with active forms of *εὐλογέω*, 'to bless', while 2/3 verbs in the *pual* ('to be blessed') are translated with the passive equivalent of the same verb. 18/18 verbs of this root in the *qal*, which are all passive participles, are translated using non-active forms of *εὐλογέω*, presumably with a passive meaning.

וַיְבָרֶכְהוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ בְרִיךְ אֱבְרָם לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן קֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ:

καὶ ἐὐλόγησεν τὸν Ἀβραμ καὶ εἶπεν ἐὐλογημένος Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ ὃς ἔκτισεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν

He blessed him and said, 'Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth;'

Genesis 14:19 [1st: *Piel*; 2nd: *Qal*]

... כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־תְּבָרֵךְ מִבְּרַךְ וְאֲשֶׁר תְּאָר יִאָּר:

... ὅτι οἶδα οὐς ἐὰν ἐὐλογῆσῃς σὺ ἐὐλόγηνται καὶ οὐς ἐὰν καταράσῃ σὺ κεκατήρηνται

'...for I know that whomever you bless is blessed, and whomever you curse is cursed.'

Numbers 22:6b [1st: *Piel*; 2nd: *Pual*]

3/3 verbs of this root in the *niphal* and 2/3 verbs of this root in the *hitpael*, which both mean ‘to wish on oneself a blessing’, are translated with passive forms of the compound verb *ἐνευλογέω* ‘to bless’.

This identical translation in this particular case is interesting because the difference in meaning between the *niphal* and *hitpael* of this root has been debated as ‘a long-recognized *crux interpretum* in Genesis’ (Noonan 2010: 73). In his paper on the issue, Noonan (2010: 92) acknowledges that the Greek translation is passive for both but concludes that, from context, the *niphal* should have medio-passive meaning, while the *hitpael* should be considered as reflexive, an understanding which Chee-Chiew (2012: 296) later agrees with. These readings are perfectly possible in view of the Greek translation because, as has already been seen, the passive verb in Greek can have a reflexive sense (Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76; Mussies 1971: 237).

וְאַבְרָהָם הַמְבָרְכִיךָ וְיִמְלִלְךָ אֶרֶץ נְבֻרָכוֹ בְּךָ לְכָל מְשֻׁפָּחֵת הָאָדָמָה:

καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε καταράσομαι καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς

I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.’

Genesis 12:3 [*Niphal*]

וְהַתְבָּרַכְוּ בְּזַרְעֵךָ לְכָל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ עֲקֵב אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹלִי:

καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς ἀνθ’ ὧν ὑπήκουσας τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς

‘And by your offspring shall all the nations of the earth gain blessing for themselves, because you have obeyed my voice.’

Genesis 22:18 [*Hitpael*]

10.5.2 Pual comparison conclusions

As the root בָּרַךְ in the *pual* has an intransitive meaning, it is translated passively and identically to the intransitive *qal*, in contrast to the active translation of the transitive *piel*. This passive/active rendering aligning with intransitive/transitive meaning has been seen several times before in previous chapters, and is an example of anticausative coding.

More interesting is the identical passive translation of the *niphal* and the *hitpael* of this root, both of which are regarded as reflexive. The idea of a morphologically passive verb indicating reflexivity has been seen in the *hitpael* (see 5.2.2.1.2) and is a valid understanding of a passive verb (Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76; Mussies 1971: 237). However, the *niphal* and *hitpael* of this root are considered to have different meanings in different situations, and thus the meaning of their identical passive translations can be fully understood only in the context of the verses in which they appear.

10.6 Comparisons of the *hophal*

Discussed below are noteworthy examples of the *hophal* in comparison with verbs of the same root in other stems.

10.6.1 With the *qal* and *hiphil*

There is one root of relevance in this section: קָנָה , which has the definitions ‘to pour out’ (*qal*), ‘to devote a drink offering to’ (*hiphil*), and ‘to be contributed as a drink offering’ (*hophal*). Verbs in all of these different stems are translated identically in Greek.

1/1 verb in the *qal*, 3/3 verbs in the *hiphil*, and 2/2 verbs in the *hophal* are all translated using active forms of $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omega$, ‘to pour over, pour on’. Both the *qal* and the *hiphil* (and their Greek translations) take a direct object of $\text{קָנָה} / \sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\eta\nu$, thus, as they have the same transitivity, they are translated identically – a pattern that has been noted many times before. The identical translation of the *hophal* is more curious, but it is possible that the active translation of the *hophal* is a misreading on the part of the translator of a verb that should be considered a *hiphil*, which has been noted to occur (see 8.2.2.2).

לֹא־תַעֲלֶה עָלָיו קֹטֶרֶת זָרָה וְעֹלָה וּמִנְחָה וְנִסָּךְ לֹא תִסְכּוּ עָלָיו:

καὶ οὐκ ἀνοίσεις ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ θυμίαμα ἕτερον κάρπωμα θυσίαν καὶ σπονδήν οὐ σπείσεις ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ

You shall not offer unholy incense on it, or a burnt offering, or a grain offering; and you shall not pour a drink offering on it.

Exodus 30:9 [*Qal*]

וַיִּצַב יַעֲקֹב מִצְבֵּה בְמִקְוֹם אֲשֶׁר־דִּבְּרָ אֱתוֹ מִצְבֵּה אָבֹן וַיִּעַל עָלֶיהָ נִסָּךְ וַיִּצַק עָלֶיהָ שֶׁמֶן:

καὶ ἔστησεν Ἰακωβ στήλην ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ᾧ ἐλάλησεν μετ’ αὐτοῦ στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἔσπεισεν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν σπονδήν καὶ ἐπέχεεν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἔλαιον

Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he had spoken with him, a pillar of stone; and he poured out a drink offering on it, and poured oil on it.

Genesis 35:14 [*Hiphil*]

וַעֲשֵׂיתָ קֶצֶרֶתְיוֹ וְכַפֹּתָיו וְקִשּׁוֹתָיו וּמִנְקֵי־תָיו אֲשֶׁר יִסַּף בָּהֶן זָהָב וְהָיָה טְהוֹר תַּעֲשֶׂהָ אֹתָם:

ποιήσεις τὰ τρυβλία αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς θύσκακας καὶ τὰ σπονδεῖα καὶ τοὺς κυάθους ἐν οἷς σπείσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς χρυσίου καθαροῦ ποιήσεις αὐτά

You shall make its plates and dishes for incense, and its flagons and bowls with which to pour drink offerings; you shall make them of pure gold.

Exodus 25:29 [*Hophal*]

10.6.2 With the *qal*, *polel*, and *hiphil*

The root מוּת is translated with several different verbs both within individual stems and between stems, with ἀποθνήσκω (‘to die’), ἀποκτείνω (‘to kill’), and θανατόω (‘to put to death’)⁷¹ being the most common. All of the relevant verbs used to translate verbs of the root מוּת have the same Greek base, θαν-, which is related to death. It is found ἀποθνήσκω (it is more easily visible in the 2nd aorist form (ἀπ)έθανον), and is also found in θανατόω, ‘to put to death’.

The patterns of translation can be difficult to disentangle but it is possible to see examples of a kind of voice difference being used to distinguish between stems, as well as verbs with the same Greek base.

With מוּת in the *qal* (‘to die’), the most prevalent translation is with active forms of ἀποθνήσκω, as 286/364 are translated in this way. 22/62 verbs of this root in the *hophal* (‘to be put to death’) are also translated with the same verb, in the active voice or future middle, which has active

⁷¹ This verb is often used in juridical contexts (Liddell and Scott 1940).

meaning. As mentioned above, the verb *ἀποθνήσκω* is used as the passive of *ἀποκτείνω*, ‘to kill’, (Liddell and Scott 1940: 100), which is the verb used to translate מוֹת in the *hiphil*, ‘to put to death’ in 19/90 occasions.

וַיָּמָת שָׁאֻל וַיִּמְלֹךְ תְּחִלָּתוֹ בְּעַל תָּנֹן בְּדֶ-עֶבְרָאָה:

ἀπέθανεν δὲ Σαουλ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ Βαλαεννων υἱὸς Αχοβωρ

Shaul died, and Baal-hanan son of Achbor succeeded him as king.

Genesis 36:38 [*Qal*]

... לֹא יוֹמְתוּ כִּי-לֹא הִפְשָׁה:

... οὐκ ἀποθανοῦνται ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηλευθερώθη

... They shall not be put to death^{MT}/die^{LXX}, since she has not been freed;

Leviticus 19:20b [*Hophal*]

וַיְהִי עַר בְּכֹר יְהוֹדָה רַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּמְתֵּהוּ יְהוָה:

ἐγένετο δὲ Ἐρ πρωτότοκος Ἰουδα πονηρὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός

But Er, Judah’s firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD, and the LORD put him to death.

Genesis 38:7 [*Hiphil*]

θανατώω is the most common verbal translation of מוֹת for the *poel* (‘to kill’) (5/6), *hiphil* (68/90), and *hophal* (32/62), although for the *hophal* it is found in the passive voice. It is very rarely used to translate the *qal*, but is found both passively (3/364) and actively (2/364).

The rare translations of verbs in the *gal* with *θανάτω* are possibly due to them being confused for forms which would be classed into other verbal stems, as they would look identical if spelled defectively.

מָר אֵלָיו דָּוִד (דְּמִיָּה) [דְּמִיָּה] עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ כִּי פִי עָנָה בְּהָ לְאַמֵּר אֲנִי מִתְּתִי אֶת־מִשְׁעֵי יְהוָה:

καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ πρὸς αὐτόν τὸ αἷμά σου ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ὅτι τὸ στόμα σου ἀπεκρίθη κατὰ σοῦ λέγων ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐθανάτωσα τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου

David said to him, ‘Your blood be on your head; for your own mouth has testified against you, saying, “I have killed the LORD’s anointed.”’

2 Samuel 1:16 [*Polel*]

וַיֹּאבֵב וְאַבִּישַׁי אֶחָיו הֲרָגוּ לְאַבְנֵר עַל־אֲשֶׁר הָמִית אֶת־עֲשָׂהָאֵל אֶחָיהֶם בְּגִבְעוֹן בַּמִּלְחָמָה:

Ἰωάβ δὲ καὶ Ἀβεσσα ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διεπαρετηροῦντο τὸν Ἀβεννηρ ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐθανάτωσεν τὸν Ἀσαήλ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῶν ἐν Γαβαὼν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

So Joab and his brother Abishai murdered Abner because he had killed their brother Asahel in the battle at Gibeon.

2 Samuel 3:30 [*Hiphil*]

... וַתֵּגַד לְדָוִד מִיַּבֵּל אֲשֶׁר תֹּם לְאַמֵּר אֶם־אֵינִי מִמְלַט אֶת־נַפְשִׁי הָלֵילָה מָתָר אַתָּה מֵיָמָת:

...καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ Δαυὶδ Μελχολ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ λέγουσα ἐὰν μὴ σὺ σώσης τὴν ψυχὴν σου τὴν νύκτα ταύτην αὔριον θανατωθήσῃ

...David’s wife Michal told him, ‘If you do not save your life tonight, tomorrow you will be put to death.’

1 Samuel 19:11b [*Hophal*]

וַיֹּאמֶר הָעָם אֶל־שָׂאוּל הַיּוֹנָתָן מוֹת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הַיְשׁוּעָה הַגְּדוּלָּה הַזֹּאת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל ...

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Σαουλ εἰ σήμερον **θανατωθήσεται** ὁ ποιήσας τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν μεγάλην ταύτην ἐν Ἰσραὴλ...

Then the people said to Saul, ‘Shall Jonathan be put to **death**, who has accomplished this great victory in Israel?’

1 Samuel 14:45a [Qal] (passive)

... וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל-מֹשֶׁה הַמְּבַלֵּי אֵין-קְבָרִים בְּמִצְרַיִם לְקַחְתָּנוּ לְמוֹת בְּמִדְבָּר

καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς Μωϋσῆν παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν μνήματα ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς **θανατῶσαι** ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ...

They said to Moses, ‘Was it because there were no graves in Egypt that you have taken us away to die^{MT}/to put us to death^{LXX} in the wilderness...?’

Exodus 14:11a [Qal] (active)

10.6.3 Hophal comparisons conclusion

There are only two relevant roots considered when examining comparisons with the *hophal*: נָסַח and מוֹת.

That verbs of the root נָסַח are translated identically is more noteworthy for the *qal* and the *hiphil*, as it implies that once again it is the transitivity of the verb in a stem that is more important than any other factor, with the verb in both stems being transitive. The *hophal* being translated identically and actively is curious, but it is very possible that the verb is being read actively (as though it were a *qal* or *hiphil*) rather than as a *hophal*.

The root מוֹת has a more complicated pattern of translation in comparison, but the trends that have been seen before are still present. The *hophal* and *qal* of this root can be translated identically with an active verb, ἀποθνήσκω, which acts as the passive partner to another Greek verb ἀποκτείνω, and is used to translate the *hiphil*. This creates translation difference between the *qal* and *hophal* on

one hand, and the *hiphil* on the other, which works only if *hophal* is understood as though it has the same meaning as the *qal*.

11 Conclusions

This concluding chapter looks at conclusions from the three main sections of investigation – voice translations (11.1), factitive-causative translations (11.2), and comparison conclusions (11.3). This is followed by a discussion and visualisation of the combination of some of the gathered data (11.4), and finally a discussion of the potential impact of this research (11.5) and ideas for further work (11.6).

11.1 Voice translation conclusions

Hebrew verbs in the *qal*, the *piel*, and the *hiphil* are translated with morphologically active Greek verbs in the majority of instances, a finding which agrees both with Wevers' (1985: 17) assessment of the translation of verbal stems in general, as well as with the findings of Gorton (2016) in his investigation on the translation of verbs in Ecclesiastes.

In the *qal* and the *piel*, a significant proportion of all middle, passive, and medio-passive translations are deponent, and thus have active meaning, a finding which also agrees with Wevers (1985:17). The fact that the *qal* and *piel* are more likely to be translated with deponent verbs than the *hiphil* is more intriguing, as it only partly aligns with the results of Gorton (2016), who concluded that both the *piel* and the *hiphil* were less likely to be translated deponently. While this may be the case just in Ecclesiastes, the general trend over the far larger corpus examined in this study seems to be that, of the active stems, it is the *hiphil* which is rarely translated deponently. The reasons for this are unclear, and of the two hypotheses put forward by Gorton (2016: 420) – either that verbs in the *qal* (and, from these data, in the *piel*) simply happen to be more readily rendered with deponent verbs than those which are featured in the *hiphil*, or that the translators were reluctant to use forms with ‘mediopassive overtones’ for verbs with a causative nuance – the first is the more likely as, in several cases, translations of the *piel* and *hiphil* are identical, in contrast to translations of the *qal* (see 10.2.3)

Stative *qals* are slightly more likely to be translated passively than verbs in the *qal* overall. This is most likely due to the intransitive meaning of many *qal* statives, and verbs which are

intransitive can be translated passively in Greek (Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 163-4; Allan 2013c).

The four remaining stems, the *niphal*, *pual*, *hophal*, and *hitpael*, are all more likely to be translated with non-active Greek verbal forms, which again agrees with Wevers (1985:17). However, the breakdown of specific voice translations with specific stems is more nuanced.

The *niphal* is translated with morphologically passive Greek verbs in the plurality of cases, but translations with the middle voice are rarer than active translations and deponent translations, which does not fully align with Wevers' overall statement that most translations of the *niphal* are medio-passive (1985: 17). Moreover, while the *hitpael* does have the highest proportion of non-deponent middle translations of any of the stems, it is still more likely to be translated with active or passive forms than with middle forms – it is certainly not most commonly rendered by middle forms.

Where there are unexpected voice translations – verbs pointed in active stems being translated passively or vice versa – the explanation can be difficult to ascertain definitively. A different *Vorlage*, or a change for stylistic or idiomatic reasons by the translators, is always possible. However, it also seems to be the case that the translators read verbs differently from how they were later pointed in the MT.

11.2 Factitive-causative translation conclusions

11.2.1 Lexis

The stem translated with the highest proportion of Greek factitive-causative lexemes is the *hiphil*, 33.5%, which is unsurprising given the higher number of roots in this stem which have a causative meaning compared to other stems. If the dubious proportions of factitive-causative lexemes for the *pual* (33.3%) and *hophal* (24.6%) are overlooked, as the number of total lexemes for those stems is so small, the next highest are the *hitpael* (25.4%) and the *piel* (25.3%), and then the *niphal* (21.8%) and finally the *qal* (14.7%).

The *piel* and the *hiphil* are translated with a higher proportion of lexemes allowing a factitive-causative meaning and which also always appear with active morphology than the other stems. As these Greek lexemes are more likely to have a factitive-causative meaning when they are active (1.6.3), this aligns with the idea that the *piel* and *hiphil* are the stems which are more likely to be factitive-causative in meaning.

11.2.2 Denominative/deverbative verbs

Denominative verbs in the *piel* are regularly translated with denominative/deverbative verbs in Greek, and often feature a similar nominal root.

With the lexemes that allow a factitive-causative meaning, and also appear in verbs with exclusively active morphology in the corpus, those used to translate the *piel* and the *hiphil* more commonly feature the denominative/deverbative endings than those used to translate the *qal*. The overall pattern of this proportion is the same as is seen for factitive-causative lexis and for overall active voice translations when just these three ‘active’ stems are examined: *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*.

11.2.3 Compound verbs

In general, the proportion of lexemes which are compounds is roughly equal in the translation of all the stems, the greatest difference between stems being only 6.4%. The *hiphil* is translated with the greatest proportion and the *qal* is translated with the least.

Looking just at the three ‘active’ stems – the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* – the proportion of individual verbal translations which feature compounds follows the pattern seen for lexis, denominative/deverbative verbs, and overall active verbal translations: *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*.

11.2.4 Overall

The overall trend for translations of the three ‘active’ stems (*qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil*), using any of the three metrics, is that translations of the *hiphil* will have the greatest proportion, followed by the *piel* and then the *qal*: *hiphil* > *piel* > *qal*. This matches the order seen in table 6 (1.5) of going from highest complexity and transitivity to lowest – the *hiphil* is generally for more complex verbal situations than the *qal*, where the underlying situation is dynamic; verbs in the *hiphil* also generally have a higher semantic and syntactic transitivity.

This is, of course, only a trend, and does not mean that when comparing any randomly selected selection of Greek verbs which translate *hiphils* to those which translate *qals*, the lexemes of the verbs translating the *hiphil* will always have a factitive-causative nuance, and those lexemes will be compound verbs and/or feature one of the denominative/deverbative endings. But there is a greater probability that this will be true.

11.3 Comparison conclusions

Transitivity appears to be the main feature which determines how Hebrew verbs are translated, as verbs with the same transitivity in different stems are more likely to be translated identically, while those with different transitivity are more likely to be differentiated by voice or by different verbs with the same Greek base. Verbs in the *piel* and the *hiphil* – partly because they are more likely to have a factitive-causative meaning – are more likely to have a higher transitivity than those in the *qal* and the other stems (Kouwenberg 1997: 109), and thus the distinction is often made by translating verbs in the *piel* and *hiphil* one way (e.g. with active forms), and verbs in the *qal* and other stems in another (e.g. with non-active forms). This is by no means an invariable rule, but certainly a trend.

There is often a clear demonstration of the different factitive-causative coding in Hebrew and Greek: Hebrew tends to use causative coding (1.4.4) where the more causative stems (*piel* and *hiphil*) are marked, while Greek more often uses anticausative coding (1.6.3), and thus uses unmarked forms in translation of these stems.

Where roots appear in more than one stem, have similar meanings, and display the same transitivity, they are often translated using identical verbs in the same voice. This can be banal in some cases, with roots that are defined as having the same meaning in different stems, and hence their identical translation is expected, although it does not help to determine what subtle differences may exist between the Hebrew verbal stems. This is the case with roots such as חבק, which means ‘to embrace’ in both the *qal* and *piel*, and עתר, which means ‘to plead, supplicate’ in both the *qal* and the *hiphil*, and in each case there are identical Greek translations of the roots regardless of the stems.

There are more intriguing cases of identical translations, where the Hebrew roots involved are classically defined as having different meanings, and these can usually be explained by the fact that they have the same transitivity in different stems. Examples of these roots include קבר and שבר in the *qal* and *piel*. The difference in meaning between these two stems is often explained in terms of number of objects or intensiveness (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 421; Jotūn and Muraoka 2006: 144). Others are אבד and קדש in the *piel* and *hiphil*, which have been used as example roots to try and

highlight the difference between the two active derived stems (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 435, 438). With each of those roots, Greek verbal translations of Hebrew forms in the above-mentioned stems are identical. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 144) note with אבך and קדש that 'Pi. and Hi. are often interchangeable' (2005: 144), while Claassen (1971: 10) writes that although Jenni succeeds in some of his differentiations between the *piel* and *hiphil* with אבך, this 'does not necessarily hold good for other verbs'. My data support both of these evaluations and show that it can be extended to other verbal roots.

The fact that a root appearing in different stems has an identical Greek translation in each case does not necessarily mean that the translators did not perceive a distinction between forms in the different stems. They may have understood there to be a difference but were simply unable to render it morphologically, or thought it unnecessary to do so.

It may also be the case that identical morphological renderings may have had different semantic nuance. For example, Noonan (2010: 92) notes that the Greek translation of the root ברך in both the *niphal* and *hitpael* is identical and passive, while also concluding that, contextually, they have different meanings: medio-passive for the *niphal*, and reflexive for the *hitpael*, an assessment with which Chee-Chiew (2012: 296) also agrees; these understandings of the two stems are possible with the passive translation as the passive verb in Greek can indicate a reflexive meaning (Mussies 1971: 237; Conybeare and Stock 1905: 76).

Where verbs of roots in different stems are translated identically it may be impossible to ascertain from the Greek text in isolation what the underlying Hebrew stem of a Greek translation was.

11.4 Combining data

In table 6 (see 1.5; reproduced as table 9 below), the verbal stems were laid out in a framework showing their relationship as regards how they affect grammatical voice and verbal situation (i.e. basic meaning vs complex, factitive-causative meaning).

				Voice of the Subject			General trend of increasing transitivity
				Passive	Middle (including reflexive-reciprocal)	Active	
Verbal situation	Simple	Fientivity of simple construction	-dynamic	<i>Niphal</i> (/Qal passive)	<i>Niphal</i>	<i>Qal</i> (stative)	↓
			+dynamic			<i>Qal</i> (dynamic)	
	Complex	Fientivity of underlying construction	-dynamic	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>	<i>Piel</i>	
			+dynamic	<i>Hophal</i>	<i>Hiphil</i> (internal)	<i>Hiphil</i>	
General trend of increasing transitivity				→			

Table 14: Reproduction of table 6 (see 1.5), showing a framework of Hebrew verbal stems

It may be constructive to combine the data gathered from investigating the Greek translations in order to see if the stems are translated in a way which agrees with this table, which is a modern abstraction.

In order to make this comparison, a graph can be plotted: the x-axis has the overall proportions of active voice translations for each stem (see conclusions in 11.1), while the y-axis is slightly more complicated. In order for the proportions of lexemes to be an analogue for verbal situation, the y-axis of the graph shows the percentage of lexemes which allow a factitive-causative

meaning (as a proportion of the overall number of lexemes used in translation) added to the percentage of only those lexemes which allow a causative meaning as a proportion only of the lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning. This addition of the percentage of causative lexemes serves to allow for the inclusion of the proportion of factitive to causative verbal lexemes.

The graph is shown below (figure 25), with the axes aligned to match the headings of table 6 for easy comparison:

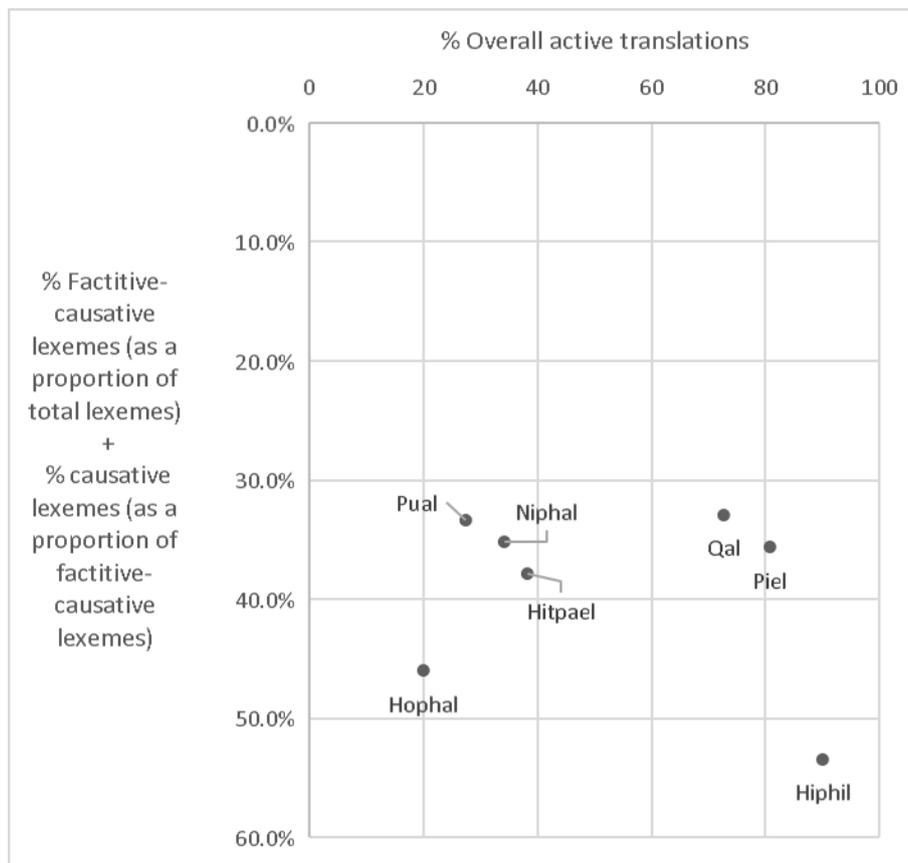


Figure 25: Graph showing percentage of factitive-causative lexemes (as a proportion of total lexemes) plus percentage of causative lexemes (as a proportion of factitive-causative lexemes) used in translation of the stems, against the overall percentage of active translations for each of these stems.

When the relative positions of the data points for each stem are compared to the positions of the stems in the table, there is a reasonable match. Certainly, the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* are all on the right-hand side of both, and follow the same trend order, with the *hiphil* at the bottom and the *qal* at the top. The points for the other, ‘non-active’ stems, are more closely grouped than on the table, but their positions

are not too irregular in comparison to their placement on the table, particularly with regards to x-axis. It should be remembered that the data sets for the ‘non-active’ stems are far smaller than for the other stems – especially with the *pual* and *hophal* – which may explain the skewed placement of the *pual*, which, if it aligned with the table, should be lower.

From comparing the data plotted on the graph, with the table of verbal stems, it can be said that the Greek translators’ understanding of the Hebrew verbal stems – notably with regard to the *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil* is similar to a modern understanding as displayed in the framework above.

11.5 Impact

The translators of the LXX are very capable of reading and understanding the Hebrew text and translating it into Greek. As they are presumed to live in or around Alexandria (Dines 2004: 41-2; Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 10; Tov 2016), Greek is more likely to be their native tongue and thus they have had to learn Hebrew to a degree of high fluency; whether this language learning is attached to a scribal school or similar is difficult to ascertain for certain from the data in this study, but it would not be impossible given the similar translation styles as regards the Hebrew stems across the various books.

The translators are certainly translating the sense of the Hebrew, even when they translate word-for-word, rather than trying to match the morphology of the verbal stems. This is particularly apparent in instances where Hebrew roots which appear in different stems have a similar meaning and are thus translated identically, even when they would have not sounded homophonous (e.g. the *piel* and *hiphil* of the root $\psi\kappa\kappa$ both being translated with active forms of the Greek verb $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$).

There is a possibility that the translators occasionally read and understood Hebrew forms differently from how they were later pointed in the MT, as some of the ‘mismatches’ that occur, such as where there is a passive translation of an active stem, can be explained by unpointed Hebrew verbs looking identical in active and passive stems; in these cases, the context of the verse often appears to be the deciding factor. This is very apparent with the root $\kappa\kappa$, which is sometimes translated passively in the *hiphil* and actively in the *hophal*, especially in cases where the subject is ambiguous.

The different reading of a form also seems to occur when the unpointed verbs would be identical only if spelled defectively. This does not mean that the *Vorlage* of the various books of the LXX contained consistent defective orthography, but that it may have occurred in some cases (Lust 1993: 118).

11.6 Further work

While this dissertation focused on exploring overarching patterns of translation of the verbal stems across a number of biblical books, an instructive area for future research might be to focus on other books, such as the Latter Prophets, or later books such as Daniel and Esther, to see if there are differences or similarities with the data explored here. This may be especially interesting with the sections of those books which are more poetic, as the complexities of the Hebrew may have posed more of a challenge to the translators and this may lead to differences compared to how they translate prose with regards to the stems.

The seven major stems investigated in this study are not the only stems in Biblical Hebrew, as there exist other minor stems: such as the *poel*, *pilel*, *hishtaphel*, etc. These stems appear quite infrequently (in the studied corpus, the total verbal translations of the minor stems combined, setting aside the *hishtaphel*, is smaller than the total verbal translations of the *pual*), but would still be an interesting point of comparison in translation, and their rarity may again pose more of a challenge to the translators.

An investigation into the translation of verbal stems in the Targums, Peshitta, and Vulgate would also be interesting, and may lead to results that would support or add to the data in this dissertation.

12 Appendices

12.1 Appendix A: List of stative roots

Root	Definition	Vowel pattern (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 368)
אהב	to love	2
אור	to be/become light	3[?]
אפס	to be at an end/cease	2
אשם	to be guilty	4[?]
בעל	to be a lord	4
בצק	to swell(/be swollen?)	2[?]
גדל	to be big/great	4
דבק	to cling to/cleave	2/4
חזק	to be strong	4
חכם	to be wise	4
חמץ	to be sour	2
חסר	to diminish/be lacking	2
חפץ	to desire/delight in	6[?]
חרד	to tremble	4
חרב	to be dry	2
חרש	to engrave	1
זקן	to be old	2

טהר	to be clean/pure	2[?]
טמא	to be/become unclean	2
יבש	to be dry	2
יגר	to be afraid	3[?]
ידע	to know	4[?]
יטב	to be good	4
יכל	to be able	3
יקד	to be kindled/burn	4[?]
יקץ	to awake (be awake?)	4[?]
ירא	to be afraid	2
ישן	to sleep	2
כבד	to be heavy	2
לבש	to dress, wear	2
למד	to learn	4
מות	to die	6[?]
מלא	to fill/be full	2
מלך	to be a king/rule	1
נגש	to approach	1
פחד	to be in dread/awe	4
פתה	to be spacious	4[?]

צדק	to be righteous	2
צלח	to rush [?]	4
צמא	to be thirsty	2
קדש	to be set apart/consecrated	4
קטן	to be small	3
קצר	to be short	2
קרב	to be near/draw near	2/4[?]
רגז	to be agitated, angry	4
רחק	to be/become distant	4
רעב	to be hungry	2
שבע	to be sated	2/4[?]
שכב	to be lying/lie down	4
שכח	to forget	4
שכל	to be bereaved	3
שכן	to dwell	1
שמם	to be desolate	6
שנא	to hate	2

12.2 Appendix B: List of Greek lexemes which allow a factitive-causative meaning

These lexemes allow a factitive-causative meaning and appear in the corpus. Crucially, they do not always have a factitive-causative meaning in the contexts or with the morphology where they appear.

Those lexemes with bracketed preverbs allow a factitive-causative nuance both with and without the preverb, while those with unbracketed preverbs only allow such a nuance when they are compounds, not as bare verbs. Verbs are listed alphabetically by their bare form, regardless of whether or not that form allows a factitive-causative nuance.

12.2.1 Lexemes in the corpus allowing a generally factitive nuance

ἀγαθοποιέω	δι-αρτάω	ἐπι-δαιρέω
ἀγαθύνω	ἀτεκνόω	δικαίω
(καθ-) ἀγιάζω	ἀτιμάζω	ἐπι-διπλόω
(ἀφ-) ἀγνίζω	ἀτιμόω	διχοτομέω
κατ-ἀγνυμι	αὐξάνω	(παρα-) δοξάζω
συν-άγω	ἀφανίζω	(κατα-) δουλόω
ἀδρύνω	ἀχρειόω	ἐν-δυναμόω
ἀθετέω	(κατα-) βαρύνω	ἐκ-, ἐν-δύω
συν-αθροίζω	(ἀνα-) βαστάζω	(ἐξ-) ἐγείρω
ἀν- ὑπεξ-αιρέω	βδελύσσω	(προς-) ἐγγίζω
ἐπ-, ἐκκαθ-, καθ-, περικαθ-, μετα-αἴρω	βεβηλόω	ἀπ-ειλέω
(κατ-) αἰσχύνω	δια-, παρα-βιβάζω	εἰρηνεύω
ἀπ-αλλοτριόω	βρέχω	ἐλαττονόω
ἀμαυρόω	γεμίζω	ἐλαττώω
ἀμβλύνω	γλυκαίνω	ἀπ-ελευθερόω
δι-ανοίγω	γνωρίζω	ἐπ-ελπίζω
ἀξιόω	γυμνόω	(ἐξ-) ἐρημόω
ἀπαλύνω	παρα-δειγματίζω	ἐρυθροδᾶνόω
ἐπικατ-, κατ-αράομαι	δείκνυμι	(κατα-) εὐθύνω
κατ-, περι-αργυρόω	συν-δέω	(ἐν-) εὐλογέω
	δηλόω	εὐφραίνω

ἀπ-έχω	κοιμίζω	(ἐξ-) ὀλεθρεύω
ἔψω	κολοβόω	ὀλιγόω
(παρα-) ζηλόω	κατα-κοσμέω	ὁμοιόω
ζυμόω	κραταιόω	ἐπ-ονομάζω
ζωγρέω	κροτέω	(παρ-) οργίζω
ζωννύω	ἀπο-κτείνω	(ἀν-) ορθόω
ζωογονέω	κυρόω	ὀσιόω
ἐξ-ηλιάζω	ἀνα-λαμβάνω	ἐξ-ουδενόω
ἡσυχάζω	λεαίνω	ἐν, παρὲν-οχλέω
θάλπω	ἐκ-, ὑπο-λείπω	ὄχυρόω
θανατόω	λεπτύνω	παλαιόω
θαυμαστόω	λιμαρχονέω	ἀνα-, δια-, κατα-παύω
ἀνα-θεματίζω	λυμαίνω	περαίνω
(δια-, παρα-) θερμαίνω	λυπέω	πήγνυμι
θυμόω	δια-, ἐκ-λύω	ἐκ-, παρά-πικραίνω
ίκανόω	μακαρίζω	πίμπλημι
ἀποκαθ-ιστάνω	μακρύνω	ἐμ-πίπρημι
ἀν-ιστάω	μανθάνω	πιστόω
ἀνθ-, ἐπισυν-ίστημι	μεγαλύνω	ἐμ-πλατύνω
ἐν-ισχύω	μεθύσκω	πλεονάζω
(ἐκ-) καθαρίζω	μελίζω	πληθύνω
ἐγ-καινίζω	κατα-μερίζω	(ἀνα-) πληρόω
(ἐκ-) καίω	(ἐκ-) μαινώ	πλουτίζω
καλλωπίζω	μίγνυμι	πλύνω
ἐπι-καλύπτω	μολύνω	περι-ποιέω
καπνίζω	ἐκ-μυελίζω	πολυπλασιάζω
ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-κενόω	(ἀπο-, κατα-) ξηραίνω	πολυπληθύνω
(μετα-) κινέω	ζυρέω	πτωχίζω
κλείω	ζωπυρέω	ἐμ-πυρίζω
κατα-κληρονομέω	κατ-οικίζω	καταρ-ρήγνυμι
κλίνω	ἀν-οικοδομέω	καταρ-ρομβεύω

δια-σαφέω	ταπεινός	έκ-τυφλόω
σβέννυμι	ταράσσω	ύγιάζω
σημαίνω	συν-τάσσω	ύπνός
σκεπάζω	ταχύνω	ύψός
παρα-σκευάζω	έκ-τείνω	(έπι-) φαίνω
σκληρύνω	τελειός	έκ-φοβέω
σκυλεύω	τελευταίω	φονεύω
κατα-σμηκρύνω	έπι-, συν-τελέω	φονοκτονέω
σοφίζω	άνα-τέλλω	φωτίζω
δια-σπείρω	τήκω	περι-χαλκόω
έπι-σπουδάζω	τιμάω	χαράσσω
άπο-στέργω	έν-τρέπω	(κατα-, περι-) χρυσός
στερεός	(δια-) τρέφω	χωλαίνω
συ-σκοτάζω	τριμερίζω	χωματίζω
στηλόω	τροπόω	χωρίζω
συ-σφίγγω	τροφοφορέω	(άνα-) ψύχω
δια-σώζω	τυλόω	

12.2.2 Lexemes in the corpus allowing a generally causative nuance

παρ-αλλάσσω	διδάσκω	όρκίζω
άκουτίζω	διώκω	παύω
έξ-αμαρτάνω	ζημιός	ποιέω
βασιλεύω	θηλάζω	πλανάω
άνα-, έπι-, κατα-, προ-, συμ- βιβάζω	(αν-, άφ-, έξαν-, έφ-, καθ-, μεθ-, παρά-, ύφ-) ίστημι	έκ-πολιορκέω
(έκ-) βλαστάνω	(συγ-) καθίζω	σαλεύω
κατα-βόσκω	καπνίζω	κατα-σιωπάω
γεννάω	κατα-κλίνω	έπι-στηρίζω
περι-δειπνέω	κοιτάζω	σφάλλω
		ύω

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