Representation of the Hebrew Predicators of Existence in the Septuagint

by

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APPROVAL

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the function in Biblical Hebrew (H) and translation into Greek in the Septuagint (G) of 'ayyeh, yesh, `ôd, 'ên, and hinneh, which belong to a H form-class called "predicators of existence".

A translator-centered study, it addresses one aspect of the matrix used to characterize translation technique--namely, consistency of rendering. It asks how each word functions in H in order to determine how the translators may have understood it. It then discusses its translation in every passage where the usual rendering was not used (book by book).

Each word has a usual rendering; these can be divided between those which entail a form of eimi and those which do not, reflecting both the nature of the syntagms within which these words occur, and their primary functions.

'ayyeh (pou eimi) yesh (eimi), and 'ên (ou eimi) are primarily syntagmatic predicators of existence and only secondarily, if at all, adverbs.

`ôd is usually represented by eti, which entails both its functions of continuance and repetition. hinneh, which functions as a deictic predicator syntagmatically and as a discourse-level particle supra-syntagmatically, is usually rendered by idou, which recognizes its function in deixis, but not in discourse.

The characterization of the translation technique of the individual books of G which resulted from this study was compared to, and found basically to agree with, the results of other such studies, indicating the appropriateness and value of studying only one aspect of the matrix of characterization. Brief excurses address (1) the need for caution in asserting the unity of the translation of the Minor Prophets in light of this study; and (2) the benefit of studying the translation of synonyms assists both G and H lexicology.

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When I registered for "Retroversion of the Septuagint" I did so ignorant of both professor and subject. As I began to explore the Greek Bible I came to respect deeply Dr. Emanuel Tov's scholarship and his gracious and patient teaching. His mentorship and his oversight of this dissertation have fostered and enabled its completion.

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Above all these, my wife Emilie has been patience, empathy, and encouragement incarnate throughout these years. She is indeed "that righteous woman without whom the world would perish."

---

w^{e}`attah,
lô '^{a}sher 'ahab 'otanû
ûb^{e}damô g^{e}'alanû
r^{e}xatsanû mexaTTo'tênû
wayya`as 'otanû
lim^{e}lakîm
w^{e}koh^{e}nîm l'elohîm 'abîw;
lô
hakkabôd w^{e}ha`oz
l^{e}`ôlam `ôlamîm.
'amen.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASFDHL	ANNALES ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM FENNICAE, DISSERTATIONES HUMANARUM LITTERARUM
AB	THE ANCHOR BIBLE
AJSLL	AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
AL	AFROASIATIC LINGUISTICS
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs, eds. HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICON
BHS	BIBLIA HEBRAICA STUTTGARTENSIA
BIB	BIBLICA
BIOSCS	BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES
BJRL	BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
BT	THE BIBLE TRANSLATOR
CTL	CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS
CTiL	Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics
G	Greek Bible
GKC	GESENIUS'S HEBREW GRAMMAR, edited by Kautsch and translated by Cowley
H	Biblical Hebrew
HbAT	HANDBUCH ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT
HAT	HANDKOMMENTAR ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT
ICC	INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY
IDB	INTERPRETER'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE
IDBS	IDB, SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME
IOSCS	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES
JAOS	JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
JBL	JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
JNSL	JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES
KBL^3	Koehler and Baumgartner, eds., HEBRÄISCHE LEXICON (3rd edition)
MP	Minor Prophets
OPTAT	OCCASIONAL PAPERS IN TRANSLATION AND TEXTLINGUISTICS
OTS	OUDESTAMENTISCHE STUDIEN
RB	REVUE BIBLIQUE
SBL	SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
SCS	SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES
TBT	THE BIBLE TRANSLATOR
VT	VETUS TESTAMENTUM
WBC	WORD BIBLICAL COMMENTARY
ZAW	ZEITSCHRIFT FUR DIE ALTTESTAMENTLICHE WISSENSCHAFT
ZSGS	ZEITSCHRIFT FUR VERGLEICHENDE SPRACHFORSCHUNG AUF DEM GEBIETE DER INDOGERMANISCHEN SPRACHENNAND

BIBLICAL REFERENCES	TRANSLITERATION	
	Hebrew	Greek
Gn Genesis	' 'aleph	a alpha
Ex Exodus	b bet	b beta
Lv Leviticus	g gimel	g gamma
Nu Numbers	d dalet	d delta
Dt Deuteronomy	h he	e epsilon
Js Joshua	H he (mappiq)	z zeta
Jg Judges	w waw	e eta
S1 1 Samuel	z zayin	th theta
S2 2 Samuel	x xet	i iota
K1 1 Kings	T Tet	k kappa
K2 2 Kings	y yod	l lambda
Is Isaiah	k kaph	m mu
Jr Jeremiah	l lamed	n nu
Ek Ezekiel	m mem	c xi
Ho Hosea	n nun	o omicron
Jl Joel	s samek	p pi
Am Amos	` `ayin	r rho
Ob Obadiah	p pe	s sigma
Jn Jonah	ts tsade	t tau
Mi Micah	q qoph	u upsilon
Na Nahum	r resh	ph phi
Hb Habakuk	s sin	x chi
Zp Zephaniah	sh shin	ps psi
Hg Haggai	t taw	w omega
Zc Zechariah		
Ma Malachi	a patax,	
Ps Psalms	qamets	
Jb Job	o xolem	
Pr Proverbs	e segol, tsere	
Ru Ruth	i xireq	
SS Song	u qibbuts	
Qo Qohelet	e shewa	
La Lamentations	a xateph-patax	
Es Esther	ê tsere-yod	
Dn Daniel	î xireq-yod	
Ez Ezra	û shureq	
Ne Nehemiah		
C1 1 Chronicles		
C2 2 Chronicles		

understanding of the Hebrew text from which he worked. In order to discern the reasons for his choice of means by which to represent H, therefore, I analyze the meanings which he could have ascribed to H.[6]

The next step is to describe and attempt to explain both its usual representation in G and other renderings used by the translators.[7] In several cases it is also necessary both to discuss the use and translation of a word's synonyms in H, and to ask whether or not a particular word in G may have been used as an emphatic insertion by the translators.

The results of this study enable me to arrange the units of G on a continuum from "consistent" to "inconsistent"--an assignment which I also compare to the typologies of other studies that rank the units of G on the more general continuum from "literal" to "free".

THE TYPOLOGY OF TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

"Typology" here refers to our attempt to characterize the methods of the translators of G on the basis of a

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[6]This does not, of course, obviate the need for and value of studying the LXX as a text in its own right (Muraoka, ibid.). It merely clarifies this approach's role in the study of translation technique.

[7]The latter on a case-by-case basis, working through the units of G.

reconstruction of those methods.[8] This reconstruction is an important step in the textual criticism and retroversion of G. Further, since different translators dealt differently with their Vorlage, it is necessary to discuss the translation technique, not of G, but of the units of G,[9] if this discussion is to further the process of retroversion.

Therefore the units of G are generally classified with regard to translation technique along a continuum ranging from "literal" to "free". This is often taken to imply "good" to "poor",[10] but these terms must be understood as descriptive, not prescriptive: "literal" translators were no better or worse than those who were

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[8]We can attempt to reconstruct both the work of the original translators and that of their revisors; this dissertation addresses the former only.

The question of which text we try to reconstruct is also addressed in Tov, TCU (30-34, 40-46, esp. the literature cited on 42). On the nature of textual criticism and retroversion cf. further Anneli Aejmalaeus, "What can we know about the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint?" ZAW 99 (1987):58-89, esp. 58-65.

[9]I use "unit" as a neutral term that may refer to books or to larger or smaller sections putatively the work of one translator (e.g., MP).

On the need to discuss the translation technique of the units of G separately cf. Aejmalaeus, "What Can We Know" (63f).

[10]Cf. Barr's discussion of the common [mis]understanding of these terms (TYPOLOGY, 279f). See also Tov's careful discussion of these terms (TCU, 50-66).

"free".[11] The placement of a book along this continuum, however, does indicate a greater or lesser degree of statistical certainty in reconstructing its Vorlage by helping the textual critic who is weighing the value of variant readings in G and H.

The characterization of a translation unit, however, does not foreordain the choice of a particular reading, since in itself the characterization represents merely the sum (or average) of individual readings. G may well reflect H in 96% of Qo, but this does not mean that we may presume to prefer the reading of G over that of H at any point by 24:1. Although characterization certainly denotes tendencies in the relative value of G and H in a given unit, each instance must still be approached individually, without reference to the character of the whole, since a given text may either contribute to that overall characterization or work

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[11]Cf. Lyons, LANGUAGE:

> Translation is relative to the purpose for which a particular translation is intended and to the assumed background of those who will use it. It is for this reason that so-called literal translation is at times more appropriate than free translation. . . . [Literal translation is] the kind of translation which fails to make adjustments for differences of symbolism and metaphor in the two languages [and is an example of the] more or less deliberate use of loan-translation ... (326).

against it (by being part of the 4%). The certainty of a particular reading is not, therefore, determined by the nature of the unit within which it lies. The logical sequence is precisely opposite.[12]

Another potential misunderstanding of the characterization of style is that literal and free entail a value judgment concerning the "accuracy" of a translation--how well the translator represented his Vorlage.[13] Characterization of a particular unit as "literal" or "free" should be a nearly mechanical (at best statistical) computation of the ways in which the translator represented the individual and several elements of his Vorlage.[14] If not, it may be based on educated hunches, or become, at worst, anecdotal. A translator who used one word in G to render a word in H

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[12]"Weather reports" provide an apt analogy. A "100% chance of showers" does not mean that the Lord will flip a switch, but that every time meteorological conditions have been what they are today, there have been showers; "50% chance" means that on half of the days with similar conditions, etc.

[13]Cf. the fifth element in Tov's typological matrix (above), although "how well" (here) implies more than simply lexical choice.

[14]Cf. Emanuel Tov and Benjamin G. Wright, "Computer-assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX" TEXTUS 12 (1985):149-87; Benjamin G. Wright, "A Note on the Statistical Analysis of Septuagintal Syntax", JBL 104 (1985):111-14; _____, "The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating `Literalness' in the LXX", in VI CONGRESS OF THE IOSCS, edited by Claude E. Cox, SBLSCS, 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987):311-35.

was consistent; one who used several renderings was less so.[15]

This dissertation shows that consistency--admittedly incomplete as a basis for typologizing a unit[16]--nonetheless produces results generally consonant with other studies that assess translation technique.

THE PREDICATORS OF EXISTENCE

When 'ayyeh, 'ên, hinneh, yesh, and `ôd are mentioned in the grammars and lexica of H, it is usually under the

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[15]For an extended discussion of consistency as it relates to "literal" and "free" cf. Barr, TYPOLOGY (305-14).

Galen Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion of the Evaluation of Translation Technique: As Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel", in VI CONGRESS OF THE IOSCS, edited by Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS, 23 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987):337-59, defines "consistency" as

> the degree to which a word in the source text is translated by one word in the translation (lexical equivalent), relative to the total number of occurrences of the word in the source text.

[16]"Incomplete" in that it addresses only one of the elements that Tov identifies as entailing the multi-dimensional matrix that enables us to typify the translation of a given unit (TCU, 54-60).

Barr, TYPOLOGY, discusses the relationship between consistency and "literalism" extensively (305-314).

rubric of adverb or particle,[17] but never, to my knowledge, are they discussed as a syntactical group.

A study of the predicators of existence and their clauses is, properly speaking, an examination of a type of verbless clause, since they normally occur in clauses without finite verbal forms. Despite extensive work on the verbless (or nominal) clause in H, this analysis has not been undertaken.[18] Nor has the translation technique used to render the predicators of existence as a group been studied.[19]

In classifying them I have adopted the theory of

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[17]This is not entirely incorrect because ever since Aristotle "distinguished words which have meaning in isolation and those which are merely grammatical tools" (Stephen Ullman, SEMANTICS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF MEANING [London: Blackwell & Mott, 1962; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, 1979]:3), words which are, at first sight, neither nouns nor verbs have been lumped into the category of particles. It is also a half-truth because some of the predicators of existence function both as adverbs and, in other passages, as predicators of existence.

[18]Cf. Andersen, VERBLESS CLAUSE, 23: "Analysis of the clauses in which they occur "needs to be separated from [the analysis of] verbless [clauses], even though they are interrelated by important transformations."
This dissertation is not a study in transformational grammar, nor does it attempt to solve the problems of verbal origins and development, for which cf., i.a., Carleton T. Hodge, "Reflections on Verbs `To Be'," AFROASIATIC LINGUISTICS 2 (1975):69-75.

[19]The exception is hinneh: cf., e.g., Martin Johannessohn, "Das biblische kai idou in der Erzahlung samt seiner hebräischen Vorlage," ZSGS 66 (1939):145-195; 67 (1942):30-84.

"form-class", which in rests in turn on that of inter-substitutability.[20]

The concept of inter-substitutability was developed to expedite phonemicization of phonological structures within languages--especially allophones, and then extended to other aspects of linguistic research. The inter-substitutability of two or more linguistic elements is determined by analyzing their distribution[21] in order to determine the degree to which they are

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[20]Cf. Robert P. Stockwell, "The Counterrevolution: Generative Grammar"; in READING ABOUT LANGUAGE, edited by Laird & Gorrell (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971):217-224:

> "Grouping by classes is a result of similarity in the way words combine with other words ... [A class represents] "the various intersections of the syntactic features required for the description of the way words can combine in [a] language. . . . [Any words] "with the same set of syntactic features [are] identical in [their] combinatory behavior (total intersection of syntactic features) ... [and] would be similar to the extent that they shared any of these syntactic features (partial intersection)" (221).

[21]John Lyons, LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS: AN INTRODUCTION (Cambridge: University Press, 1981): "... the distribution of an entity is the set of contexts in which it occurs throughout the sentences of a language" (85).

synonymous or to which they share the same function (distribution):[22]

> Two or more entities have the same distribution if and only if they occur in the same environment--i.e. they are substitutable for one another, intersubstitutable--in all contexts (subject to the condition of well-formedness).[23]

A form-class therefore consists of a group of words, all of which have the same syntactic function.[24] Entities can also overlap or be in complementary distribution.[25] On these bases, the words discussed in

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[22]"To the extent that languages are rule-governed systems, every linguistic entity that is subject to the rules of a language-system [= Saussure's langue] has a characteristic distribution" (Lyons, LANGUAGE, 86).

[23]Lyons (LANGUAGE, 86). He uses "entity" because "the notion of distribution ... is relevant ... in phonology, ... grammar and semantics" (85).

[24]Lyons, LANGUAGE: "Though there is an intrinsic connection between the meaning of forms and their distribution, it is their distribution alone that is of direct concern to the grammarian. [In studying grammatical theory, we] must be able to think of the distribution of forms independently of their meaning" (111f).

Their relative syntactic synonymity is interpreted distributionally. Words that are intersubstitutable have the same distribution and therefore share the same syntactic function (Lyons, ibid., 111).

Thus morphology does not necessarily determine syntactical function or class (although it can certainly be a guide), since usage precedes structure in determining syntactical classification. [This ties in nicely with the concept of translator-centered analysis of translation technique.]

[25]Lyons, ibid. Although the predicators of existence are largely inter-substitutable, their distribution is neither synonymous nor complementary, but overlapping.

this dissertation belong to a form-class, that of "predicators of existence."[26]

'ayyeh, 'ên, hinneh, yesh, `ôd have been called "particles",[27] since in most schemata this includes all words other than nouns and verbs but which, for that very reason is relatively meaningless except on a "macro-grammatical" level.

When the predicators of existence have a pronominal subject, it is normally suffixed according to a regular, albeit incomplete, paradigmatic structure. This sets them off syntactically from both particles and most other forms in H.[28] Their function differs from that of most particles, which tend to complement the main clause. The predicators of existence are indispensable components of the syntactical core, and cannot be removed without changing, often significantly, the sense of the sentences within which they occur.

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[26]For this term, cf. Thomas O. Lambdin, INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW (New York: Scribners, 1970):§§133, 135-37.

[27]E.g., GKC (§§99-105); also above.

[28]Cf. the suffix-conjugation of the verb, suffixed subjects on infinitives absolute, and subjective genitives used with participles.

They are often called "adverbs"[29], but the traditional definition of an adverb as a "word that modifies a verb" does not describe their syntactic context, since they usually occur in verbless clauses.[30]

They have also been called "nouns" or "nominal verbs",[31] on the basis of their putative etymology, but this does not recognize their function(s) in H.

Francis I. Andersen designated yesh, `ôd, and hinneh "quasi verbals,"[32] but since they entail none of

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[29]GKC (§100o), under "Particles"; Joüon, GRAMMAIRE, discusses 'ayyeh under "Adverbes interrogatifs" (§102i), and the other members of the class as "Adverbes avec suffixes" (§102k).

[30]hinneh and `ôd both function much more frequently as adverbs than as predicators of existence; they belong to the form-class because of their intersubstitutability with the other members in certain syntagms.

[31]Heinrich Ewald, SYNTAX OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; translated by James Kennedy (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1879): "The whole family of particles which, without being verbs, yet have their meaning, and which may therefore be briefly designated nominal-verbs, consists of nouns (except such words as hinneh "behold", and 'ayyeh "where?") originally in the construct state, which require their proper complement" (§286h).
Cf. "Nomina der Existenz", Georg Beer (HEBRÄISCHE GRAMMATIK [1915]; ed. Rudolf Meyer, four vols. [1952-1955]; third ed. [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966]):§86; and Wolfgang Schenkel, "Semiverb, Seminoun und Partikel," ZASA 98 (1970):32-34, for a helpful terminological discussion related to Egyptian.

[32]Francis I. Andersen, THE HEBREW VERBLESS CLAUSE IN THE PENTATEUCH, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1974): "Besides verbal and verbless clauses, Hebrew has a class of clause in which predication is manifested by such quasi verbals as yes, `od, hinne, etc." (23).
He explains his choice of this term: "Because they have paradigms, with pronoun suffixes (inflections, if

the morphological characteristics of the Hebrew verbal paradigm,[33] and principally predicate existence, a more accurate description of their function is "predicators of existence".[34]

As this dissertation demonstrates, the members of the group merely assert or inquire about the existence[35] or non-existence of a substantive subject: hinneh and yesh refer to present locative and temporal existence ("Here is/are ..." "There is/are ...," "There exist[s] ..."); 'ayyeh inquires about present locative existence ("Where is/are ...?"); `ôd predicates continuing existence ("... still is/are/ exist[s]"); 'ên predicates lack of existence ("There is/are no(t) ...").

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you like), and because the 'particle' has a predicative function in such forms, I call them 'verbal' because they are predicative, but quasi- because they do not belong to the main verb system, with roots, binyanim and the rest" (private communication of 11 November 1985).

He is followed in using this term by J. F. A. Sawyer, A MODERN INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW (Stocksfield: Oriel, 1976):67.

[33]"Verbal paradigm" here refers to the sets of finite forms of the verb which occur in the matrix formed by the intersections of the inflectional (grammatical) categories of tense, person, number, gender, etc. Cf. Matthews, MORPHOLOGY (67).

[34]This term was coined, so far as I know, by Lambdin in INTRODUCTION (§§133, 135-137). He identifies these words as the members of this class (although he does not appeal to the concept of form-class).

[35]Andersen (private communication, 11 November 1985) twice mentions their predicative function in his discussion of the term "quasi verbal" (above).

An important characteristic which they share--indeed, the primary morphological characteristic that differentiates them from other particles--is the suffixation of their pronominal subject (above).[36]

The predicators of existence meet the general linguistic criteria of "function words":[37] they belong to a small class and their distribution is strongly determined by the syntactic rules of H, i.e., their syntactical distribution is relatively circumscribed.

"To" is an a function word in English in sentence (a):

(a) I want to go home
(b) *I want go home

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[36]These are not the only non-verbal predicates in H, nor are they the only words with suffixed pronominal subjects (cf., e.g., infinitives construct). They are non-verbs that normally function as the predicate of the clause within which they lie, but without the semantic content of full words (verbs, nouns, adjectives).

Other predicates are usually either descriptive or classificatory (Andersen, VERBLESS CLAUSE, 32), while these predicate existence "tout court" (Joüon, GRAMMAIRE, §154k), the different words emphasizing different facets of that existence.

[37]"Linguists sometimes draw a distinction between full words, belonging to the major parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs), and so-called function words of various kinds, including [in English] the definite article, prepositions, conjunctions, the negative particle . . . such function words belong to classes of small membership and their distribution tends to be very strongly determined by the syntactic rules of the language, and very often they play the same role as inflectional variation does in other languages" (Lyons, LANGUAGE (158)).

"To" adds no information to (a), but is essential to its grammatical well-formedness; its absence means that (b) is not well-formed, even though (b) may communicate.[38] "To" meets the requirement of English "want [+ verb]." The sentence cannot be considered well-formed without it, but "to" adds no semantic content.

The content of the predicators of existence has not been widely discussed, probably because these words do not have wide ranges of meaning: function words tend to be less lexical than full words,[39] although it will become clear that the several of the predicators of existence lie among the more lexemic function words. This dissertation therefore contributes to the lexica of both H and G, as well as to the discussion of consistency as it relates to translation technique.

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[38](b) may not communicate accurately, however, since without "to" (b) cannot specify who will or should go.

[39]"It is generally accepted that function words are less lexical than full words (including most adverbs), and that they are lexical in varying degrees. In the limiting case, where a function word must occur in a given syntactic construction, it has no lexical meaning at all [as, e.g., the word "to" in "He likes to eat."]. But between the limiting case of purely grammatical words, without lexical meaning, and full lexemes at the other extreme, there are many subclasses of function words, which, without being full lexemes, contribute some measure of lexical meaning to the sentences in which they occur" (Lyons, ibid.).

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

Certain assumptions underly this study. I assume that each translator knew both Hebrew and Greek, probably more fully and idiomatically than we. If the translators knew at least some of the nuances of H, we too must be familiar with the various ways in which a word was used in H in order to understand the basis of the translators' choice of a particular rendering in general as well as in a given passage. The uses and meanings of each Hebrew word therefore form the basis for evaluating the translation equivalent used in any given passage of G. Study of syntax in G should involve "a detailed comparison between the Hebrew and Greek texts."[40]

The translation equivalent(s) of a particular word cannot be analyzed simply on the basis of the total occurrences of the word in H. If the meaning of a word varies widely, it would be meaningless to say that it is rendered by five or more equivalents in Greek since the equivalent used in each passage could be that required by the meaning or function which the Hebrew word has in that passage. If, on the other hand, the meaning of a Hebrew word varies widely, but a single translation equivalent is used in every or nearly every passage in which it occurs, we might conclude that the translator

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[40]Aejmelaus, PARATAXIS (1).

was more concerned to represent the Hebrew form than the nuances of its meaning. In either case, understanding the use(s) of H allows us to estimate more accurately the extent of the translators' understanding of the uses of the Hebrew term,[41] and the degree to which he attempted to reproduce that in his translation.

I also assume that the goal of all translation, including that of G, is the representation of the meaning and intent of the source in the receptor language. This implies that the translators of G expressed the meaning of H as they understood it in the way in which they thought Greek most closely represented that meaning.[42]

I therefore investigate and describe the function of each predicator of existence before analyzing its translation, especially the choice of the usual rendering. This analysis examines not only the semantic choices involved in rendering H into G, but the syntactic and grammatical choices as well, especially if other words were available.

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[41]Cf. E. Tov, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words," RB 83 (1976):529-544.

[42]Cf. again Lyons's statement:

> Translation is relative to the purpose for which a particular translation is intended and to the assumed background of those who will use it (Lyons, LANGUAGE (326)).

I then examine the renderings of the word in each book of G, and (especially) analyze those passages in which the usual equivalent is not found. Conclusions characterize each book's position on the "consistent - inconsistent" continuum"; each chapter's text ends with a discussion of the translation of the predicator of existence.

Statistical information regarding each word's occurrence in H and translation in G may be found in the tables and graphs following each chapter.[43]

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

The transliteration system is an adaptation of that used by CATSS.[44] The main difference is in the use of lower- rather than upper-case letters, and the substitution of some smaller signs (e.g., ' for)) in order to maintain relative scale. Some less transparent symbols are also replaced with [largely] phonetic equivalents (e.g., sh

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[43]I consider the predicators of existence in order from the least to the most frequent. Statistics for occurrences for all words are taken from a comparison of lexica (BDB, KBL[3]) and concordances (Even-Shoshan, Mandelkern). In the course of my study I have needed to correct some of these references; these have been incorporated into the totals without remark. Restored readings, however, are noted at first mention.

[44]For information on this project see, i.a., Robert A. Kraft and Emanuel Tov, "Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies" BIOSCS 14 (1981):22-40; and frequent articles in BIOSCS.

for $). The differences between the two systems, in alphabetical order, are:[45]

Letter	CATSS	Herein
HEBREW		
aleph	)	'
tet	+	T
ayin	(	`
tsade	C	ts
sin	&	s
shin	$	sh
GREEK		
eta	H	e
theta	Q	th
phi	F	ph
chi	X	x
psi	Y	ps
Breathing marks		
smooth	)	---
rough	(	h

[45]These charts do not list the upper- vs. lower-case letters, since these correspond.

Chapter One: 'ayyeh

'ayyeh is the least common predicator of existence, occurring fifty-five times in seventeen biblical books,[1] including three occurrences in Hosea (13.10, 14 [bis]), where I restore 'ayyeh for 'ehî[2]. This number does not include Job 15.23, where I read 'ayyah "vulture, eagle" for 'ayyeh.[3]

'ayyeh has cognates in several Semitic languages;[4] within H 'ayyeh is related to 'ay "Where?"[5]

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[1]See Tables 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

[2]These are sometimes read as 1cs jussive (hayah), but this fits neither the syntax, nor the context. G also recognized that these function as 'ayyeh, rendering all three by pou.

[3]This is based on evidence from the versions, especially G, and on the syntax and semantics of BH. The H root ndd implies aimless wandering, not intentional searching or seeking. In addition, without inserting "saying" before 'ayyeh, the syntax does not fit any other occurrences of 'ayyeh, which always fronts its clause. Cf. also Dhorme, JOB, ad loc.

[4]Cf. Akk. ayyanu, Syr. 'ayka, Ar. 'ayna, Eth. 'aytê; all "where?"

[5]KBL, I:38, "Fragewort, < *'Y, verlangert (BDB) od. verdoppelt (Lex.1)." Albrecht Goetze, "Ugaritic Negations," in STUDIA ORIENTALIA IOANNI PEDERSEN, edited by Flemming Hvidberg (Denmark: Einar Munksgaard, 1953):115-123. Cf. also Brockelmann, GRUNDRISS, II:196.

FUNCTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

'Ayyeh fronts[6] the clauses in which it occurs,[7] and is followed immediately by its subject,[8] which is usually

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[6]"Fronting" describes the relocation of an element to the beginning of the clause in which it occurs. The reconstructed progression, typical of "wh-words" in English (i.e., who, which, what, etc.), is: "The man is there" > "The man is where?" > "Where is the man?" Another example from English shows the normalization of the fronted word to the (grammatical) status of subject (nominative): "You are speaking to him" > "You are speaking to whom?" > "Whom are you speaking to?" (NB: archaically, "To whom speakest thou?") > "Who are you speaking to?"

Cf. the normally clause-terminal position of sham "there" in H.

[7]'ayyeh is preceded by the conjunction ten times; it follows its subject only in Zc 1.5, where proleptic 'abotêkem is "resumed" by the pronoun following 'ayyeh: 'abotêkem 'ayyeh hem "Where are your ancestors?"

[8]C. Brockelmann, HEBRÄISCHE SYNTAX (Neukirchen: Moers, 1956):§80e. There are five exceptions: Jg 6.13; 9.38; Is 19.12; Ps 115.2; Jb 17.15.

In Jg 9.38 and Jb 17.15 'ayyeh is followed by 'ephoh. Brockelmann suggests that in these passages 'ephô' "strengthen[s] the interrogative" (ibid., §55b), although it is probably impossible to determine emphasis in a language without living speakers (pace Muraoka): 'ayyam 'ephô' xakmeka `Where, then, are your wise (men)?" (Is 19.12); 'ayyeh 'ephô' pîka `Where, then, is your mouth?" (Jg 9.38); 'ayyeh 'ephô tiqwatî "Where, then, is my hope?" (Job 17.15).

In Jg 6.13 its subject is modified by kol which therefore comes between 'ayyeh and its subject as a pre-posed modifier: we'ayyeh kol-niphle'otayw ... "Where are all his wonderful deeds ..."

In Ps 115.2 it is followed by na' (lacking in 4QPsb), a unique combination.

In all of these cases the "intervening" form is either bound to the preceding 'ayyeh or the following word, and the subject of 'ayyeh is the next structural element. The rule of an immediately following subject is therefore still correct.

definite (nominal or pronominal),[9] or participial.[10] Whenever its subject, which is usually third person,[11] is pronominal, it is indicated by a pronominal suffix.[12]

When discussed in traditional grammars 'ayyeh is usually termed an adverb or particle, the point of primary interest to grammarians being its "verblike" function and occurrence with suffixed pronominal subjects.[13] 'Ayyeh has two main functions: to ask about

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[9]There are seven exceptions: La 2.12; Na 2.12; Jb 21.28 (2xx); Is 33.18 (3xx).

[10]'ayyeh with a participial subject occurs only in Is 33.18 (3xx) and 63.11 (2xx).

[11]Gn 3.9: 'ayyeka "Where are you?" is the only exception.

[12]Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (§102k). It occurs with 2ms (once: Gn 3.9, above), 3mp (2xx: Is 19.12; Na 3.17), and 3ms (5xx: Ex 2.20; 2K 19.13; Mi 7.10; Jb 14.10; 20.7). This distribution merely fits the larger patterns of person and gender in BH.

There are three apparent exceptions to this rule. In 2K 19.13 the suffix "anticipates" (so BDB, 32), and therefore apposes, the noun to which it refers: 'ayyô melek hamat "Where is he--the king of Hamath?" In the parallel passage (Is 37.13) 'ayyeh occurs without the pronominal suffix; this suggests that little if any emphasis should be placed on the presence of the apposed suffix in 2K 19.13.

This same anticipatory apposition between the nominal subject and pronominal [subject] suffix of 'ayyeh occurs in Is 19.12 'ayyam 'ephoh x^{e}kameka and Mi 7.10 'ayyô YHWH 'eloheka.

[13]E.g., GKC:§100o; Joüon, GRAMMAIRE, discusses 'ayyeh under both "Adverbes interrogatifs" (§102i) and "Adverbes avec suffixes" (§102k). Ewald, SYNTAX, calls them "nominal-verbs" (§286h).

the location of a person or thing, and to assert the nonexistence of its subject.[14]

In "real" questions--those asking for information--'ayyeh asks "Where is/are ...?" about the present (static)[15] location of its subject:

'ayyeka — Gn 3.9
Where are you?

'ayyeh sara ishteka — Gn 18.9
Where is Sara your wife?

w^{e}'ayyeh ben 'adoneka — 2 Sa 16.3
... Where is your master's son?

It inquires neither about direction (e.g., "Whither ...?" or "Whence ...?") nor activity (e.g., "Where is X doing Y?").[16] It also refers only to location at the

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[14]In rhetorical questions, which exist "mainly to give a chance to assert the presupposition behind [the question]." Joseph Grimes, "Kinds of Information in Discourse" KIVUNG 4 (1971):70.

[15]Cf. Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: " 'ayyeh [=] où (sans mouvement) ..." (§102i).

[16]Na 3.17 w^{e}lo'-noda` m^{e}qomo 'ayyam "Their place is not known--where are they?" or "Their place, where they are, is not known."

'ayyam is sometimes added to the beginning of v. 18 and usually emended to 'eyka "How?" (cf., e.g., Th. H. Robinson and F. Horst, DIE ZWÖLF KLEINEN PROPHETEN HAT, 14 [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1954]:166 and John M. P. Smith, et al., A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON MICAH, ZEPHANIAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, OBADIAH, AND JOEL, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911]:352f) or 'oy ma on the basis of LXX (cf. the apparent ambivalence of BHS, ad loc.).

It seems more reasonable, however, to retain it at the end of v. 17 as a rejoinder: "Their place is not known--where is it?" Cf., e.g., the discussion in D. W. Nowack, DIE KLEINEN PROPHETEN, HAT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897):245, who strongly disagrees with J. Wellhausen (DIE KLEINEN PROPHETEN

moment of asking, never meaning or implying "Where will X be?" or "Where was X?"

'ayyeh is also used rhetorically in questions which imply that the subject of 'ayyeh does not exist. This use occurs mainly in poetry, especially in questions about (a) deity:

'ayyeh 'eloheka — Pss 42.4
Where is your God? (= 42.11; 79.10)

'ayyeh-na' 'elohehem — Ps 115.2
Where is their God?

'ayyam 'epo' xekameka — Is 19.12
Where then are they--your wise men?

we'ayyeh 'eloheka 'asher `asîta lak — Jr 2.28
Where now are your gods which you made for yourselves?

'ayyeh sopher 'ayyeh shoqel — Is 33.18
'ayyeh sopher 'et-hammigdalîm
Where is the scribe? Where is the one who weighs? Where is the one who counts the towers?

'ayyeh 'elohê xamat we'arpad — 2K 18.34
'ayyeh 'elohê sepharvayim hena` we`ivvah (= Is 36.19)
Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?

'ayyô melek-xamat ûmelek 'arpad ûmelek la`ir separvayim hena` we`ivvah — 2K 19.13 (= Is 37.13)
Where is he--the king of Hamath and the King of Arpad and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?

[Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1963]:165) on the question of number in this verse, but does not emend or change the text.

Rhetorical questions with 'ayyeh also occur in prose:

> w^{e}'ayyeh kol-niphl^{e}'otaw 'asher sipp^{e}rû-lanû 'a$^{}$botenû ... Jg 6.13
> And where are all his wonderful deeds which our fathers have recounted to us ... ?
>
> 'ayyeh 'epho' pika 'a$^{}$sher to'mar ... Jg 9.38
> Where is your mouth that said ... ?

In his speech (Is 36.12-20 = 2K 19.28-35) Sennacherib's field commander warns the Jerusalemites that no other god had yet been able to deliver his people from Assyria. Why then should they trust in Hezekiah or YHWH? This may be a real question--the kings and their gods perhaps being exiled to another part of Assyria's empire; wherever they were, they were not in their own cities, protecting their people. These occurrences of 'ayyeh typify its rhetorical use.[17]

SUMMARY

'ayyeh occurs only in verbless questions that inquire about the present static location of their subjects, meaning "In what place is/are ... [at this time]?," a question that might or might not expect an answer.[18]

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[17]An interesting example is 'ayyeka Where are you? (Gn 3.9). Was YHWH truly ignorant of Adam's whereabouts?

[18]It may seem strange, or at best careless, to say of a word which does not necessarily assume the existence of its subject that it predicates existence. 'ayyeh functions, however, as the predicate of the clauses and sentences in which it occurs, and refers to

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

USUAL RENDERING

'ayyeh is represented by pou [e][19] (41xx), pou alone (11xx),[20] and once each by ouketi [e] (Job 14.10) and ouai (Na 3.17). It is not represented in Is 63.11.

pou is therefore the main semantic element used to render 'ayyeh (52/55xx [94.6%]).[21]

What alternatives were open to the translators?[22] The preferred form in Classical Greek, poi "Whither?", occurs, however, only once in G (a disputed reading in Jr 2.28), where it patently stands for pou.[23] No other locative adverb in Greek is as non-specific as pou,[24]

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the locative existence (potential or assumed) of its subject.

[19]Hereafter, [e] represents "a[ny] form of the verb eimi."

[20]Which incidentally proves that pou could occur in verbless constructions.

[21]See Chart 1.2.1.

[22]See chart on following page, adapted from Herbert Weir Smythe, GREEK GRAMMAR (Cambridge: Harvard, 1963):102.

[23]F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, SELECTIONS FROM THE SEPTUAGINT, ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF SWETE (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905; reprint edition, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988):§34.

[24]This lack of specificity probably reflects its origin: Pou was originally an indefinite local adverb "somewhere", which became by extension an interrogative, after a long use in pre-LXX Greek as a particle implying doubt. Denniston, GREEK PARTICLES (490-5).

nor does any other regularly refer to simple location without implying motion. pou was, therefore, the most apt translation equivalent available to the translators, and that which they naturally and consistently used.

Greek Locative Particles[25]				
Dir/Indir Interrog.	Indef. (enclit	Demonstrat.	Relative Specific	Indefinite Ind Interr
poû	poú	entha[de] entautha ekei	hou entha	hopou
póthen	pothén	enthen enthen[de] enteuthen ekeithen	hothen enthen	hopothen
poî	poí	entha[de] entautha ekeise	hoi	hopoi

The translators generally rendered 'ayyeh by pou [e], rather than pou alone. pou occurs with and without a verbal form in both pre- and post-G Greek, as well as in G itself (cf. eleven times in which pou alone renders 'ayyeh, as well as other occurrences of pou in which it does not represent 'ayyeh). The translators may have used this combination (pou [e]) because they recognized 'ayyeh, or at least the clauses in which it occurred, as inherently verbal and therefore chose, as a rule, to represent this aspect of its function. They also

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[25]Adapted from Herbert Weir Smyth, GREEK GRAMMAR (Cambridge: Harvard, 1963):§346.

recognized its inherent "presentness," using the present tense of [e] in every case.

'ayyeh is always rendered by pou [e] in Jg (2xx), Jr (6xx), Ma (3xx), and Ps (5xx), and in Ex, Ek, Jl, and Zc, where it occurs only once.

'ayyeh is never rendered by pou [e] in 2S (2xx), or Ho (3xx), or in Mi and La, in which it occurs only once. In each of these books it is rendered by pou [alone]. G has two unique renderings of 'ayyeh: ouai (Na 3.17) and ouketi [e] (Jb 14.10).

RENDERINGS OF 'AYYEH IN G

'ayyeh occurs five times in Genesis. Four times it is rendered by pou [e]:

> wayyo'mer lô 'ayyeka Gn 3.9
> kai eipen autw Adam pou ei?
>
> 'ayyeh ha'^{a}nashîm '^{a}sher-ba'û 'eleka hallaylah Gn 19.5
> pou eisin hoi andres hoi eiselthontes pros se ten nukta?
>
> w^{e}'ayyeh hasseh l^{e}`ôlah Gn 22.7
> pou estin to probaton to eis holokarposin?
>
> 'ayyeh haqq^{e}deshah hî' ba`ênayim `al-hadderek Gn 38.21
> pou estin he porne he genomene en Ainan epi tes hodou?

Each inquires about the present location of a person or animal, and each is rendered by pou plus a present form of [e] (inflected for grammatical concord with its subject).

Once in Genesis 'ayyeh is rendered by pou alone

'ayyeh sarah 'ishteka Gn 18.9a
pou Sarra he gune sou?

which probably reflects the form of Abraham's answer:

wayyo'mer hinneh ba'ohel Gn 18.9b
idou en te skene

rather than the form of the question in H, since he answers with a non-verbal clause that uses a[nother] predicator of existence. This rendering certainly evidences the subtlety with which the translator of Genesis is usually credited.

In Exodus 2.20, its only other pentateuchal occurrence, 'ayyeh is rendered by pou [e]. Upon being told that they had returned from watering the flocks earlier than usual because an Egyptian had helped them, Jethro asked his daughters:

wayyo'mer 'el-b^{e}notayw w^{e}'ayyô Ex 2.20
kai eipen tais thugatrasin autou Kai pou esti?

Here as elsewhere, the pronominal suffix is not represented by a separate translation unit--pou does not occur in G in constructions using pronouns only (i.e., kai pou autos).

In Judges 'ayyeh occurs twice--both are rendered by pou [e]. Gideon complains against the angel's assertion of YHWH's presence and beneficence, and Zebul taunts Gaal to act on his words and go out to fight:

w^{e}'ayyeh kol-niphl^{e}'ôtayw '^{a}sher sipp^{e}rû-lanû
'^{a}botênû ... Jg 6.13
kai pou estin panta ta thaumasia autou ...

'ayyeh 'epho' pîka 'asher to'mar ... Jg 9.38
Pou estin nun to stoma sou to legon ...

'ayyeh occurs twice in 2 Samuel, where it is rendered by pou alone. David, fleeing from Absalom, asks Ziba, Mephibosheth's erstwhile servant

w^{e}'ayyeh ben '^{a}doneka 2Sa 16.3a
Kai pou ho huios tou kuriou sou

and Absalom's servants ask the woman who had hidden Ahimaaz and Jonathan

'ayyeh '^{a}xîma`ats wînatan 2Sa 17.20a
Pou Aximaas kai Iwnatan

Apparently the translator of S2 did not feel the same need to represent the verbal aspect of 'ayyeh (by pou [e]).

Three of its four occurrences in 2 Kings parallel passages in Isaiah. In all three 'ayyeh is rendered by pou [e]:

'ayyeh '^{e}lohê x^{e}mat w^{e}'arpad 'ayyeh '^{e}lohê
s^{e}pharwayim 2Kg 18.34(2xx)
(= Is 36.19)
pou estin ho theos Aimath kai Arfad? kai pou
estin ho theos Sepfarim?

'ayyô[26] melek-x^{e}mat ûmelek 'arpad ûmelek la`îr s$^{e}$phrwayim hena` w^{e}`iwwah 2Kg 19.13 (= Is 37.13)
pou estin ho basileus Aimath kai ho basileus Arfad? kai pou estin Sepfarouain, Ana kai Aua?

In the non-parallel passage pou alone represents 'ayyeh, when Elisha, having picked up Elijah's mantle, strikes the water with it and cries out:

'ayyeh YHWH '^{e}lohê 'eliyahû 'aph-hû' 2Kg 2.14
Pou ho theos Eliaou affo?[27]

pou appears alone here perhaps because the translator wished to reflect the emphatic nature of the question, but, not knowing how to render 'ap-hû, used a non-verbal adverbial predication.

'ayyeh occurs eleven times in Isaiah, where it is rendered by pou [e] (8xx) and pou alone (2xx).[28] It is not represented in 63.11 (first occurrence).

libb^{e}ka yehgeh 'êmah 'ayyeh sopher 'ayyeh shoqel 'ayyeh sopher 'et-hammigdalîm Is 33.18 (3xx)
he psyxe humwn meletesei fobon Pou eisin hoi grammatikoi? Pou eisin hoi sumbouleuontes? Pou estin ho arithmwn?

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[26]Is 37.13 reads 'ayyeh ... Since the rendering of 'ayyeh in G does not distinguish between forms of 'ayyeh with and without pronominal suffixes, it is not possible to determine which of the forms is original, especially in light of the occasional use of final -h as mater lectiones for -ô.

[27]affo for 'aph-hû' indicates the translator's uncertainty concerning how to render this form.

[28]Three are listed with K2, above.

'ayyam 'ephô' x^{e}kameka — Is 19.12
pou eisin nun hoi sofoi sou?

The weight which the usual rendering exerted on the translator can be seen in 63.15b where, after rendering 'ayyeh by pou [e] 63.15a, the translator simplified the syntax of the second half of the verse by adding pou [e] (the full complement of the usual rendering) and hoti, making h^{e}môn me`eka w^{e}raxmeka the subject of pou [e] rather than of hit'appaqû, which was thus relegated to an inferential clause:

'ayyeh qin'atka ûg^{e}bûroteka h^{e}môn me`eka w^{e}raxmeka 'elay hit'appaqû — Is 63.15
pou estin ho zelos sou kai he isxus sou pou estin to plethos tou eleous sou kai ton oiktirmon sou?

'ayyeh is rendered twice by pou alone, and once is not represented.

w^{e}'ayyeh x^{e}mat hammetsîq — Is 51.13
kai nun pou ho thumos tou thlibontos se?

In Is 36.19, where 'ayyeh occurs twice, its second occurrence is probably rendered with pou alone due to ellipsis:[29]

'ayyeh '^{e}lohê x^{e}mat w^{e}'arpad 'ayyeh '^{e}lohê s^{e}pharwayim — Is 36.19 (2xx) (= 2Kg 18.34)
pou estin ho theos Emath kai Arfad? kai pou ho theos tes poleos Sepfarim?

'ayyeh is not represented in its first occurrence in Is 63.11:

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[29]In 33.18, on the other hand, the translator, in order to maintain the strong formal parallelism of H, represented 'ayyeh each time as pou [e].

wayyizkor y^{e}mê-'ôlam mosheh `ammô
'ayyeh hamma`$^{a}$lem miyyam 'et ro`ê tso'nô
'ayyeh hassam b^{e}qirbô 'et-ru^{a}x qodshô
Is 63.11 (2xx)
kai emnesthe hemeron aionion ho anabibasas ek tes ges ton poimena ton probaton; pou estin ho theis en autois to pneuma to hagion?

G interpreted mosheh as a substantive participle (rather than as "Moses"). The preposition 'et therefore had to be interpreted as the direct object marker, leading to divergent meanings between the two versions, including a minus in G which encompasses the first occurrence of 'ayyeh, and which probably reflects parablepsis due to the translator's anticipation that the source from which the shepherd would be "drawn out" would follow the occurrence of mashah:

The translator of Isaiah rendered 'ayyeh regularly by pou [e], the two occurrences of pou without [e] being explained contextually.

In all six of its occurrences in Jeremiah 'ayyeh is rendered by pou [e]. In each passage [e] is present tense, inflected for number. E.g.:

w^{e}lo' 'am^{e}rû 'ayyeh YHWH hamma`^{a}leh 'otanû me'arets mitsrayim Jr 2.6
kai ouk eipan pou estin kurios ho anagagon hemas ek ges Aiguptou

w^{e}'ayyeh '^{e}loheka '^{a}sher `asîta lak Jr 2.28
kai pou eisin hoi theoi sou hous epoiesas seauto

w^{e}'ayyô[30] n^{e}bî'îm '^{a}sher nibb^{e}'û lakem
Jr 37.19 (44.19)
kai pou eisin hoi prophetai humon hoi propheteusantes humin

The translator of Jeremiah was thus absolutely regular in representing 'ayyeh.

'ayyeh occurs once in Ezekiel (13.12), where it is rendered by pou [e]:

w^{e}hinneh naphal haqqîr h^{a}lo' ye'amer '^{a}lêkem
'ayyeh haTTîx '^{a}sher Taxtem Ek 13.12
kai idou peptoken ho toixos kai ouk erousin pros humas pou estin he aloiphe humwn hen eleipsate

In the Minor Prophets 'ayyeh occurs eleven times. It is rendered by pou [e] (6xx), pou alone (4xx), and once by ouai (Na 3.17). This percentage of the usual rendering is well below that of G as a whole,[31] but within the range found between individual books or sections of G:[32]

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[30]So Kethib; Qere reads w^{e}'ayyô (with a 3ms suffix), probably to avoid lack of concord between the plural subject and singular suffix.

[31]See chart, following page.

[32]See the excursus "Is MP a Translation Unit" in the Conclusion (below).

Renderings of 'ayyeh in MP						
Bk	Occ	pou [e]	pou	Unq	--	Usual
Ma	3	3				100%
Jl	1	1				100%
Zc	1	1				100%
Na	2	1		1		50%
Ho	3		3			0%
Mi	1		1			0%
TTL	11	6	4	1	0	
MP	(%)	55	36	9	0	
All	(%)	75	20	2	4	

In Hosea[33] (3xx) 'ayyeh is rendered by pou alone:

'ayyeh malk^{e}ka 'ephô' w^{e}yôshî`ka b$^{e}$kol-`areka
Ho 13.10
pou ho basileus sou houtos? kai diaswsatw se in pasais tais polesin sou

'ayyeh d^{e}bareka mawet 'ayyeh qaTabka sh^{e}'ôl
Ho 13.14 (2xx)
pou he dike sou, thanate? pou to kentron sou, hade?

'ayyeh occurs once in Micah, where it is also rendered by pou alone:

w^{e}tere' 'oyabtî ût^{e}kasseha bûshah Mi 7.10
ha'omra 'elay 'ayyô YHWH '^{e}lohayik ...
kai opsetai he exthra mou kai peribaleitai aisxunen he legousa pros me Pou kurios ho theos sou?

---

[33]Where I restore 'ayyeh for 'ehî.

'ayyeh is represented by pou [e] and ouai (once each) in Nahum:

> 'ayyeh m^{e}`ôn '$^{e}$rayôt ûmir`eh hû' lakk^{e}phirîm Na 2.12
> pou esti to katoiketerion twn leontwn kai he nome he ousa tois skumnois, ...

In Na 3.17, a verse-terminal use with a pronominal suffix, it is rendered by ouai:

> shemesh zarxa w^{e}nôdad w^{e}lo'-nôda` m^{e}qômô 'ayyam Na 3.17
> ho helios aneteile, kai aphelato, kai ouk egnw ton topon autes ouai autois

Here the translator read 'ayyam as 'ôyyam, which is unlikely, however, since the interjection 'ôy "Woe!" occurs nowhere else with pronominal suffixes. G did not join 'ayyam to the following verse, but interpreted it as a "parting shot" at Nineveh's guards, before turning to Assyria's nobles and lords (v 18).

In Zechariah, where 'ayyeh occurs once, and uniquely with a following pronoun rather than a pronominal suffix, it is rendered with the usual rendering, but without a separate indication of the presence of the pronoun:

> '^{a}bôtêkem 'ayyeh hem Zc 1.5
> hoi pateres humwn pou eisi

In Psalms 'ayyeh is always rendered by pou [e] (five times), three of which are the same ('ayyeh '^{e}loheka),

although the introductory formulae are different in Pss 42 and 79:

'ayyeh '^{e}loheka Pss 42.4, 11 (41.4, 11)
Pou estin ho theos sou? (= 79.10 [78.10])

'ayyeh x^{a}sadeyka hari'shonîm '^{a}donay Ps 89.50 (88.50)
pou eisin ta elee sou ta arxaia, kurie?

'ayyeh-na' '^{e}lohehem Ps 115.2 (113.10)
Pou estin ho theos autwn?

'ayyeh is rendered by pou [e] in five of its six occurrences in Job:

w^{e}'ayyeh 'ephô tiqwatî Jb 17.15
pou oun mou eti estin he elpis?

ro'ayw yo'm^{e}rû 'ayyô Jb 20.7
hoi de idontes auton erousin Pou estin?

kî to'm^{e}rû 'ayyeh bêt-nadîb w^{e}'ayyeh 'ohel mishk^{e}nôt r^{e}sha`îm Jb 21.28 (2xx)[34]
hoti ereite Pou estin oikos arxontos?
kai pou estin he skepe twn skenwmatwn twn asebwn?

w^{e}lo'-'amar 'ayyeh '^{e}lo^{a}h `osay ... Jb 35.10
kai ouk eipen Pou estin ho theos ho poiesas me, ...

The second[35] unique rendering of 'ayyeh, used in Jb 14.10, is ouketi [e]:

w^{e}geber yamût wayyex^{e}lash wayyigwa` 'adam w^{e}'ayyô Jb 14.10
aner de teleutesas wxeto peswn de brotos ouketi estin

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[34]21.28-33 were not part of G (under asterisk in Jerome, Syro-hexaplar [not v. 32]).

[35]In addition to ouai (Na 3.17, above).

This may be another misread passage (reading w^{e}'ayyô as w^{e}'ayin; ouketi renders 'ayin in a not insignificant number of passages),[36] although this more likely reflects contextual exegesis.[37]

Despite its usual characterization as a free translation unit, Job is thus regular in rendering 'ayyeh.

'ayyeh occurs once in Lamentations, where it is rendered by pou alone:

l^{e}'immotam yo'm^{e}rû 'ayyeh dagan wayayin
La 2.12
tais metrasin autwn eipan Pou sitos kai oinos?

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[36]It is barely possible, however, that, since brotos "mortal man" occurs only in Job, where it is used primarily in contexts that contrast man with God (4.17; 9.2; 10.4; 33.12), or express man's transience (14.1, 10; 34.15), the translator may have intended to represent this latter meaning, which it has in 14.7-12, by ouketi "After he falls, he is no longer," rather than by the rhetorical pou estin "Where is he?" in the mistaken assumption that the indicative is stronger than the (rhetorical) interrogative. I believe this alternative much weaker than a simple misreading of H as it stands.

[37]I am indebted to Emanuel Tov for this suggestion.

POU IN G

In studying translation technique we must determine whether or not the majority of the occurrences of the usual translation equivalent represent the [Hebrew] word being studied, because if, for example, most occurrences of 'ayyeh were rendered by pou, but pou also rendered many different Hebrew words so that it represented 'ayyeh in only a minor percentage of its occurrences, we might reasonably conclude that its use as the usual translation equivalent of 'ayyeh was coincidental.

pou occurs about one hundred times in the canonical books--in fifty-two of these passages it represents 'ayyeh. In addition to 'ayyeh, pou represents 'anah (18xx, 'an once), 'ephoh (9xx), 'ekah (4xx, 'ek once), and 'ey (3xx), as well as being a G plus (at least nine times).

pou therefore represents 'ayyeh more often than it represents any other Hebrew word. It does, however, have a much broader meaning and function than 'ayyeh. pou is often used with fientive verbs[38] although it never occurs in such verbal contexts when rendering 'ayyeh. When pou occurs with a verb other than [e], the

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[38]Some examples of each: with verbs signifying (1) motion: Gn 16.8; 32.18(17); 37.30; Dt 1.28; Jos 2.5; 8.20; Jg 19.17; 1S 10.14; 2S 2.1; Zc 2.6; Jr 15.2; Ps 139(138).7a, b; SS 6.1a; (2) action: Gn 37.16; 2K 6.6; Ob 5; Jr 3.2; Ru 2.19 (2xx); SS 1.7 (2xx); (3) both: 2S 13.13; Is 10.3; Zc 5.10.

tense of that verb is present (10xx), aorist (9xx), future (6xx), and perfect (once). It is therefore especially striking that G consistently renders 'ayyeh with pou plus the present tense.

pou does not require a verb in its clause, as is demonstrated by its use in non-verbal clauses to render 'ayyeh and other Hebrew words.[39] The regularity with which it is found with [e] when rendering 'ayyeh, therefore (74.6%), suggests that the translators understood 'ayyeh or the clauses in which it occurs to have verbal connotations in H. Since Greek, like Hebrew, does not require the presence of a verb for explicit predication, the regular use of [e] in conjunction with pou to render 'ayyeh further supports this conclusion.

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[39]Either with [e], e.g., Gn 4.9; Dt 32.37; 1S 26.16; Is 49.21; Jb 38.4; or without [e], e.g., Jg 8.18; 1S 19.22; 2S 9.4; 2K 6.13; Jr 36.19 (43.19).

SYNONYMS OF 'ayyeh IN G

'Ay, an interrogative adverb meaning "where?", occurs thirty-one times, twenty-seven in combination with other particles, and is closely related to 'ayyeh in both morphology and function. When combined with other elements, the resulting interrogrative locative expressions are usually described as synonyms of 'ayyeh[40] and translated "Where?"

This section examines first 'ay, then its combinatory forms and their translation into G in order to ascertain whether or not the translators distinguished between them.

'ay

'ay[41] normally contracts to 'ê.[42] It occurs four times absolutely (i.e., not in composition), in nominal clauses which it fronts and means "Where is ...?"

'ay functions as a complete synonym of 'ayyeh, and therefore as a predicator of existence. No syntactical or semantic condition hinders their complete

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[40]Cf. BDB, ad loc.

[41]'ay (< PS *'ay) is related to Ugaritic 'iy, Arabic 'ayyu, and Akkadian 'ay(y)akam (KBL[3]:36).

[42]Ibid., cf. Gn 4.9; Dt 32.37; 1 S 26.16; Pr 31.4 (Q).

intersubstitutability.[43] Compare the examples of 'ayyeh (above) with:

'ê hebel 'ahika — Gn 4.9
Pou estin hAbel adelfos sou?

'ê 'elohêmo — Dt 32.37
Pou eisin hoi theoi autwn

'ê-xanît hammelek ... — 1S 26.16
to doru tou basilews kai ho fakos tou hudatos pou estin ta pros kefales autou?

'ey shekar — Pr 31.4

In three of these clauses (all of which occur in books in which 'ayyeh does not occur), 'ay is rendered by pou plus a present form of [e],[44] the only passages in which 'ay in any of its permutations is so rendered. This indicates that the G translators interpreted 'ay, when it occurred alone, like 'ayyeh.

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[43]"Two forms have the same syntactic function function if, and only if, they have the same distribution (i.e., are intersubstitutable) throughout the ... sentences of the language" Lyons, LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS (111).

[44]In Pr 31.4 G and H cannot be aligned.

'ê-zeh

'ê-zeh (< 'ê + zeh), is usually translated "Where is ...?" and occurs in both verbal (7xx) and nominal (10xx) clauses. Its subject is usually impersonal.[45] It is rendered by poios in all but one passage (Jb 38.24), where it is rendered by pothen.

The semantic content is the same as, but the syntax of 'ê-zeh differs so markedly from, that of 'ay and 'ayyeh that they are not intersubstitutable. It occurs in verbal clauses, and tends not to have a personal subject; in the single passage in which its subject is pronominal (and incidentally personal), it departs further from syntactic synonymity with 'ayyeh in that its pronominal subject is not suffixed, but independent.

The translators of G recognized these differences. Neither poios nor pothen ever renders 'ayyeh, nor is it apparent that either would, in any given case, be an appropriate rendering.

'ê-mizzeh

'ê-mizzeh occurs in three verbal and six nominal clauses. It is an explicitly directional combination of 'ê and mizzeh (< *min-zeh), usually translated "Whence?" "From where?" It is followed immediately by its

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[45]Es 7.5, where Ahasuerus asks 'ey-zeh hû' 'asher-mela'ô ... is the only passage in which 'ey-zeh occurs with a personal subject.

pronominal subject four times.[46] Twice a noun intervenes between 'ê-mizzeh and its pronominal subject,[47] which is never suffixed.

'ê-mizzeh is rendered by pothen seven times and poios twice. The passages rendered by poios are those in which a noun intervenes between 'ê-mizzeh and its subject.[48] Its translation thus overlaps that of 'ê-zeh, but is completely different from that of 'ayyeh since, as noted above, neither poios nor pothen ever renders 'ayyeh.

'ê-mizzeh differs from 'ayyeh in function. Like 'ê-zeh, it occurs with both verbal predicates and non-suffixed pronominal subjects. There is some semantic overlap with 'ayyeh in that both are locative, but its usage is not close enough to that of 'ayyeh for them to be more than partial synonyms, which is reflected in G.

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[46]The two third-person examples are indirect questions: Jg 13.6 'ey-mizzeh hû'; 'ey-mizzeh hema. These are the only times that 'ey-mizzeh occurs in indirect questions.

1S 30.13 and 2S 1.13 both read 'ey-mizzeh 'attah, both times asked of an Amalekite by David.

[47]In both cases the noun specifies the nature of the question: 2S 15.2 'ey-mizzeh `îr 'attah "From what city are you (have you come)?" Jn 1.8 'ey-mizzeh `am 'attah "From what people are you (do you come)?"

[48]Note the inversion between the usual translation equivalents used to render these two combinations. This shows that the translators possessed a considerable degree of familiarity with the uses and meaning of the particles as well as with the text and its meaning.

'ê-lazo't

This combination, "Why/On what basis ...," occurs only in in Jr 5.7 (a verbal sentence), and where it is rendered by poios.

'ephoh

'ephoh "where?" (10xx)[49] is a partial synonym of 'ayyeh compounded from 'ay "where?" and locative poh "here, in this place."[50] Although BDB says that it occurs "with a verb [contrast 'ayyeh]," [51] it occurs in more non-verbal (six)[52] than verbal clauses.[53]

'ephoh resembles 'ayyeh by asking "Where?" about

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[49]Gn 37.16; 2S 9.4; Jg 8.18; 1S 19.22; Is 49.21; Jr 3.2; 36.19 (43.19); Jb 4.7; 38.4; Ru 2.19.

[50]I. Eitan ("Hebrew and Semitic Particles," AJSLL 44 [1928]: 177-205), argues for an Egyptian origin of 'ephoh: "These considerations would point to a comparison of poh rather with the Egyptian demonstrative pronoun pa (= p'), `this' (also pw), the root f containing a basic idea of remoteness (`that,' `then,' or `there'). . . . Primitive Hebrew seems to have been hesitating in the choice of a proper particle for `here,' and ... it may finally have borrowed an Egyptian word that would leave room for no mistake" (197f).

[51]BDB, ibid.

[52]2S 9.4; Is 49.21; Jr 36.19; Jg 8.18; 1S 19.22; Gn 37.16.

[53]All four verbs are perfect: Jr 3.2; Jb 4.7; 38.4; Ru 2.19.

static location,[54] but differs in that it both refers to past time and occurs in verbal contexts.[55]

'ephoh occurs pleonastically,[56] as well as in questions that ask "Where is ... doing ...?"[57] Both uses are foreign to 'ayyeh. 'ephoh fronts the clauses in which it occurs; once it follows a [proleptic] pronoun. When its subject is pronominal,[58] both independent pronouns and the pronominal element indicated by the verbal form occur.

pou renders 'ephoh nine times, pote once (Jb

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[54]Its meaning is debated in Jg 8.18, but it is probably best rendered "Where are... ?" BDB suggests "What kind of ... ?" because of Zebach's and Salmuna's answer to Gideon's question: "They were just like you--king's sons in appearance" (Jg 8.18b). It is possible, however, that their answer was deliberately evasive. Rather than answer Gideon's question about his brothers (which they knew would result in their execution) they tried to mollify him by flattery.
Robert G. Bowling, Judges, AB, 6A [Garden City: Doubleday, 1975]) says: "Heb. 'epo nowhere means `of what sort?'" He posits an equally unknown sense in this verse: "How about the men ...?" (157).

[55]Jr 3.2; Jb 4.7; 38.4; Ru 2.19.

[56]Brockelmann, SYNTAX: "Das Fragewort kann auch durch die Interjektion 'ephoh verstärkt werden." Cf. Gn 27.33; Is 19.12; Jg 9.38" (§55b).

[57]Gn 37.16 'ephoh hem ro`îm "Where are they tending [the sheep]?"

[58]Four times: Gn 37.16; 2S 9.4; Is 49.21; Jr 36.19 (43.19), three of which are the subjects of finite verbs, expressed within the verbal form: Ru 2.19; Jr 3.2; Jb 38.4.

4.7).[59] Unlike 'ayyeh, however, 'ephoh is usually rendered by pou without [e].[60]

Although it does not occur often enough in BH to have great statistical significance, its syntactical distinction from 'ayyeh was recognized by the G translators.

This section demonstrates the translators' ability to discern semantically and syntactically "close" forms. They did not equate all forms beginning with 'y- by rendering them in the same way, which would make the usual rendering of 'ayyeh merely part of a larger (and much less exact) pattern. When 'ay occurs by itself (not in combination with another particle), its meaning and function cannot be distinguished from those of 'ayyeh, nor did the translators distinguish them. In its combined forms, however, 'ay differs significantly from 'ayyeh semantically and syntactically, which the translators recognized,[61] and distinguished--even in the case of such infrequent words.

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[59]pote is an interrogative with two functions: a temporal adverb or an intensifier). L-S, s.v. "pote."

[60]Four of six occurrences in verbless clauses are translated without a verb in G: Jg 8.18; 1S 19.22; 2S 9.4; Is 49.21; Jr 36.19 (43.19), which demonstrates that the translators did not feel that pou required a verbal context.

[61]The translators may not have thought about this at all, but the consistent rendering of 'ay by [e] shows that they understood the two forms in much the same way, even if only subconsciously.

SUMMARY

'ayyeh is normally rendered by pou, usually together with a form of the present tense of [e] (75%), which indicates that the translators recognized its basic predicate function, as well as its semantic function to inquire exclusively of present location. No contextual, grammatical, or syntactic element common to those passages in which 'ayyeh is rendered by pou alone explains the origin of this, as contrasted to the usual, rendering.

Suffixed 'ayyeh[62] was not treated any differently by the various translators (67%).[63] This is below the overall average for 'ayyeh (75%), but is not significantly different, especially since both unique "renderings" arose out of [mis]interpretation of H, not from a particular philosophy of or approach to translation [of 'ayyeh].

'ayyeh is always rendered by pou [e] in Jr (6xx), Ps (5xx), Ma (3xx), and Jg (2xx), and in Ex, Ek, Jl, and Zc (in each of which it occurs only once).

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[62]Contrast that of yesh+sfx, below.

[63]Cf.:

'ayyeh w/sfx	Rep	pou [e]	pou	unique	Usual (%)
9	9	6	1	2	67%

It is never rendered by pou [e] in Ho (3xx), 2S (2xx), or in Mi or La (in which it occurs only once). In these books it is rendered only by pou.

In Gn, K2, Is, and MP it is rendered by both pou [e] and simple pou, although the usual rendering in each book is the usual rendering of G as a whole. It is striking that in MP, an alleged translation unit, individual books use one rendering or the other--none uses both.[64] The use of pou in La (one occurrence of 'ayyeh) is also surprising in light of the consistency with which 'ayyeh is rendered by pou [e] in Jr (6xx; 100%).

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[64]Cf. the excursus in the Conclusion (below).

TABLES AND GRAPHS: 'ayyeh

Table 1.1
Occurrences of 'ayyeh

Book		'ayyeh	
Gn	20613	5	0.024%
Ex	16713	1	0.006%
Jg	9886	2	0.020%
S2	11040	2	0.018%
K2	12284	4	0.033%
Is	16943	11	0.065%
Jr	21836	6	0.027%
Ek	18730	1	0.005%
Ho	2381	3	0.126%
Jl	957	1	0.104%
Mi	1396	1	0.072%
Na	558	2	0.358%
Zc	3128	1	0.032%
Ma	876	3	0.342%
MP	14363	11	0.077%
Ps	19587	5	0.026%
Jb	8351	6	0.072%
La	1542	1	0.065%
TTL	305634	55	0.018%

Chart 1.1.1
'ayyeh: Occurrences

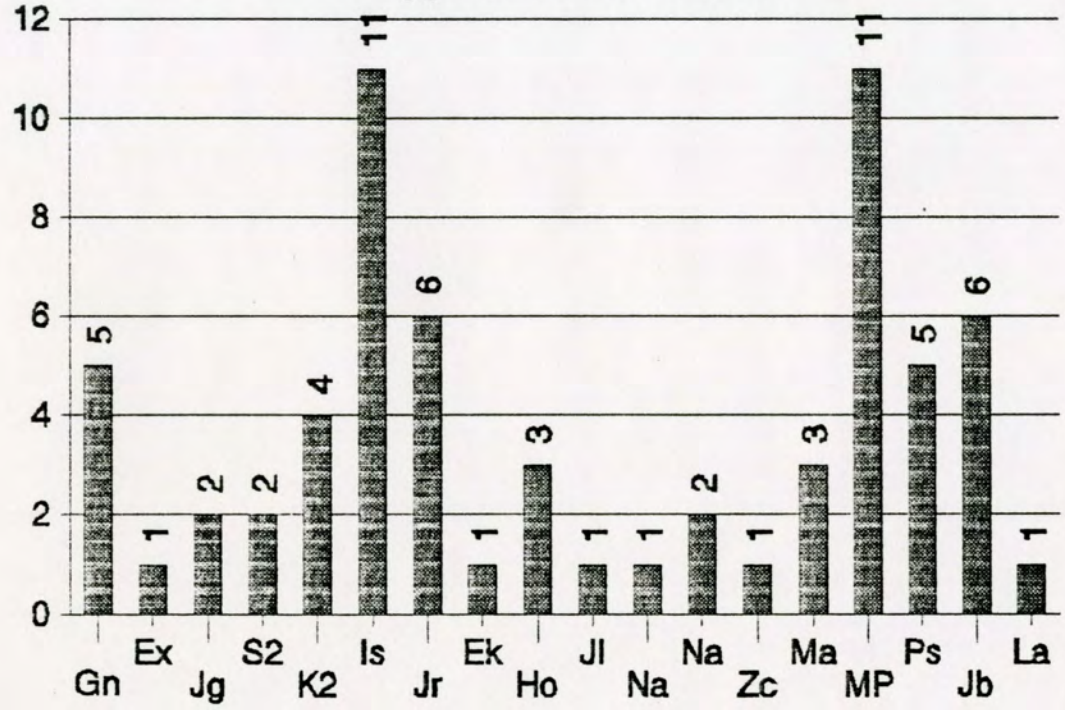


Chart 1.1.2
'ayyeh: Frequency

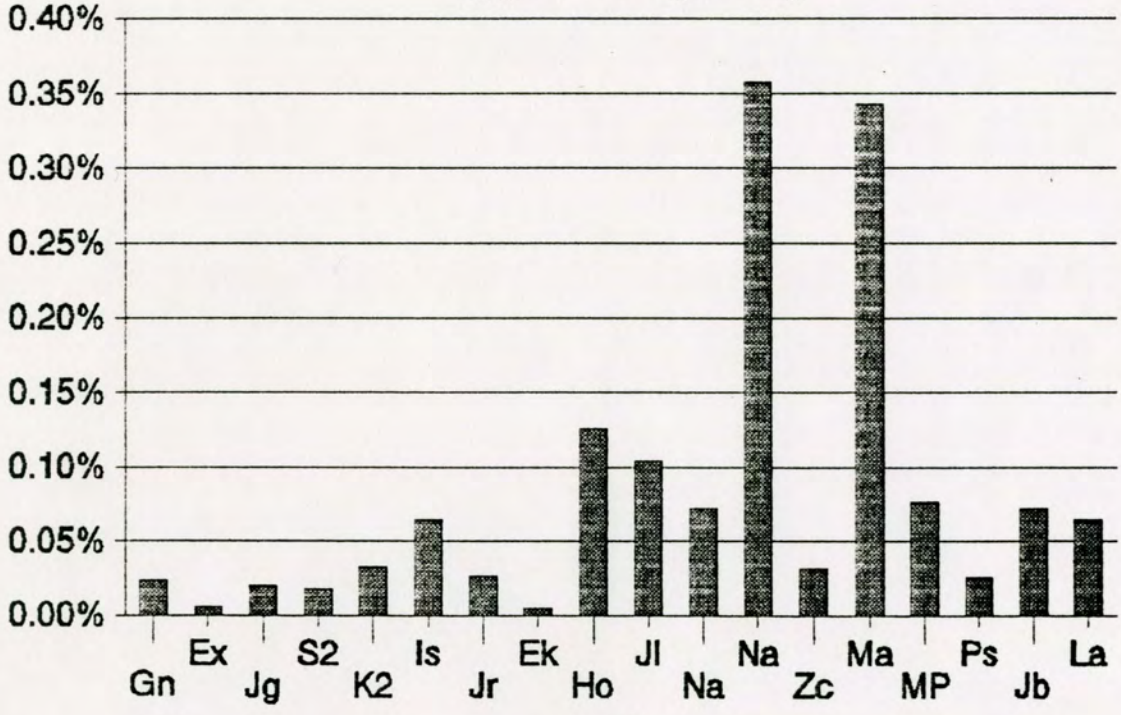


Table 1.2
Renderings of 'ayyeh

Bk	Occ	Rep	1	2	3	4	Usual
Gn	5	5	4	1			80.0%
Ex	1	1	1				100.0%
Jg	2	2	2				100.0%
S2	2	2		2			0.0%
K2	4	4	3	1			75.0%
Is	11	10	8	2		1	80.0%
Jr	6	6	6				100.0%
Ek	1	1	1				100.0%
Ho	3	3		3			0.0%
Jl	1	1	1				100.0%
Mi	1	1		1			0.0%
Na	2	2	1		1		50.0%
Zc	1	1	1				100.0%
Ma	3	3	3				100.0%
MP	11	11	6	4		1	54.6%
Ps	5	5	5				100.0%
Jb	6	6	5		1		83.3%
La	1	1		1			0.0%
TOT	55	54	41	11	2	1	75.9%
PERCENT			76%	20%	4%	<1%	

KEY	
1 pou [e]	3 Unique
2 pou	4 ---

Chart 1.2.1
'ayyeh: Summary of Renderings

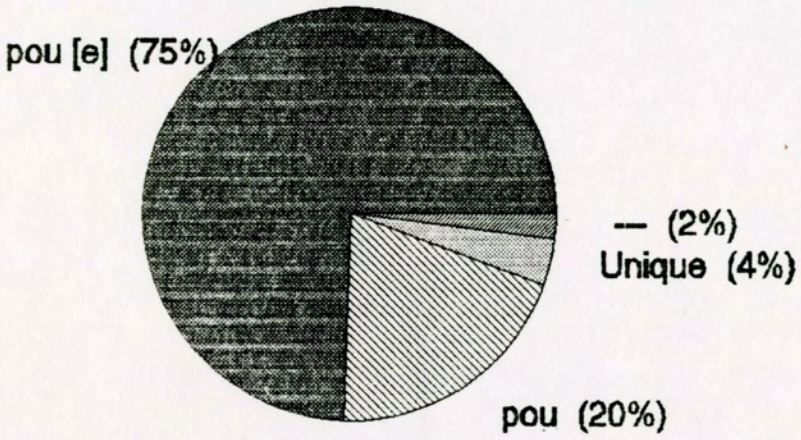


Chart 1.2.2

'ayyeh: pou eimi & Other Renderings

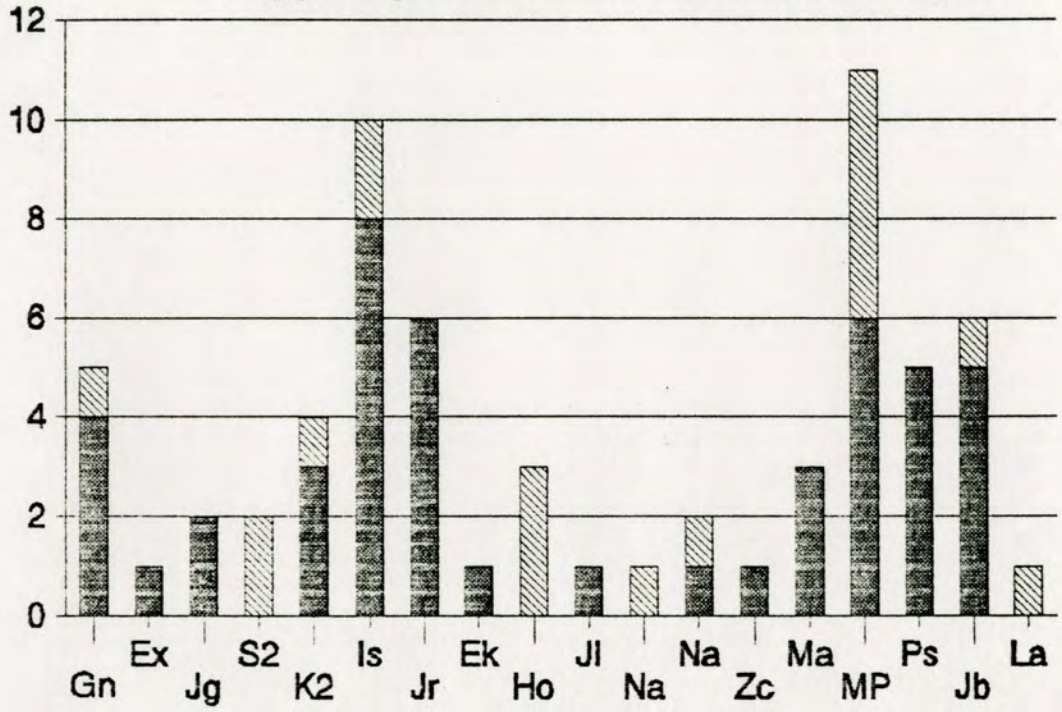
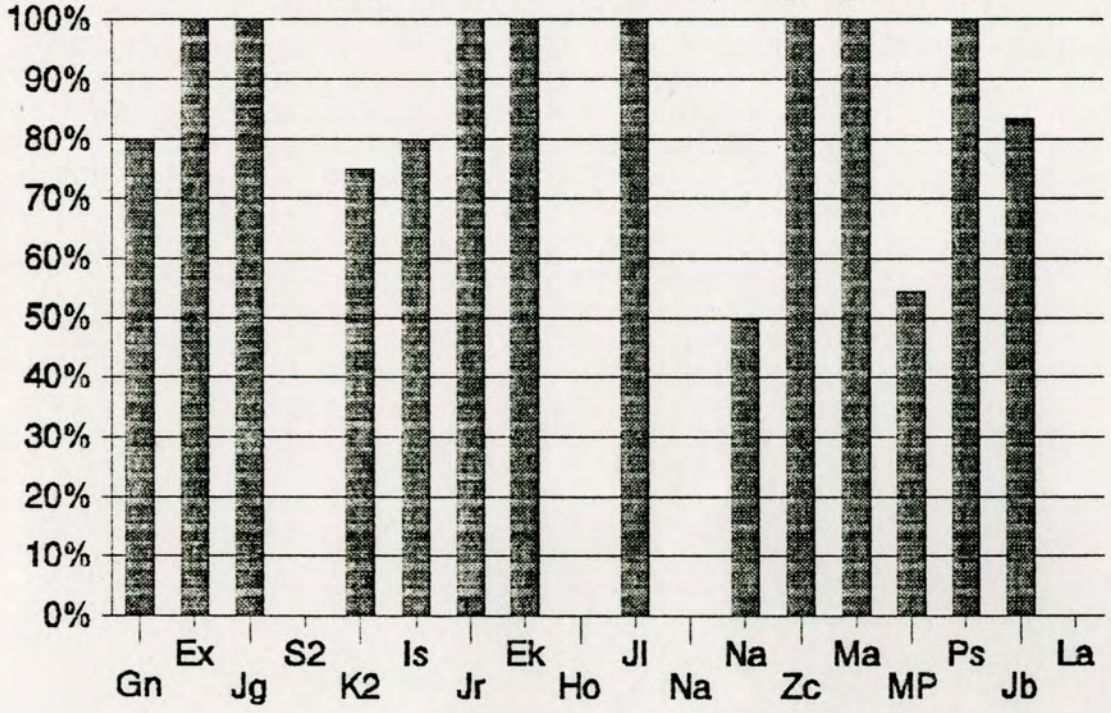


Chart 1.2.3

'ayyeh: Usual Rendering by Book



Chapter Two: yesh

yesh,[1] the biblical predicator of existence par excellence, occurs 140 times in H, including S2 14.19 and Mi 6.10.[2]

FUNCTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

yesh, usually translated "There is/are ...",[3] predicates

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[1]yesh < PS *'itay), cf. Ugaritic 'it = *'îtê (Cyrus Gordon, UGARITIC MANUAL §12,4); cf. Nöldecke (MANDÄISCHE GRAMMATIK, §213), for a diachronic description of [yesh] in the Semitic languages.

[2]In these passages I read 'ish as yesh.

[3]"There" in this construction in English is non-deictic: its only function is to fulfill the requirement that every English verb have an expressed subject (except imperatives and interjections). This use of "there" is therefore an excellent example of a non-lexemic function word in English. E.g., in the sentence "There is a draft in here," "there" is is not a relative locative, and therefore non-deictic, whereas "here" is deictic.

Deictic [Greek deiknumi] expressions are referring forms (e.g., pronouns, relative adverbs) which can be fully understood only if the hearer/reader knows the temporal and spatial context of their use. Thus "He saw her there" has meaning beyond its immediate syntax only if we know to whom "he" and "her" refer, and where "there" is.

the existence of an indefinite subject.[4] It is called the Hebrew copula,[5] equivalent to non-deictic English "There is/are,"[6] but should probably not be so described, however, since "copula" refers to forms used to link two entities--usually in order to specify that one identifies, defines, or otherwise modifies the other (thus the syntactical categories of predicate nominative

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[4]The only definite subject that occurs with yesh is YHWH (3xx):

'aken yesh YHWH bammaqôm hazze — Gn 28.16

h^{a}yesh YHWH b^{e}qirbenû 'im-'ayin — Ex 17.7

w^{e}yesh YHWH `imannû w^{e}lammah m^{e}tsa'tnû kol-zô't — Jg 6.13

In each case, the point is the LORD's presence with the speaker(s).

Cf. Heinrich Ewald, SYNTAX OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, translated by James Kennedy (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879): "yesh is always followed by indefinite nouns, and these, too, in the singular; far more rarely is yesh construed with a definite noun" (§299a).

[5]Takamitsu Muraoka (EMPHATIC WORDS AND STRUCTURES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985]): "as far as the meaning of the words goes, it is yesh, ... that [is] the exact Hebrew counterpart[s] of the Indo-European copula" (77). He goes on to warn against the "careless use of the misleading term "copula" applied to yesh ..." (ibid.) because he finds yesh pleonastic and therefore emphatic (79).

[6]Cf., i.a., GKC: "... yesh includes the idea of being in all tenses, ..." (§152i); Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: "L'adverbe d'existence yesh il y a exprime d'abord l'existence dans le lieu, à savoir la présence, puis, par extension, l'existence tout court. Il en est de même du fr. il y a et de l'ital. c'è (= hic est)" (§154k).

and adjective). That this is not the function of yesh in H will become obvious from the following analysis.

yesh occurs only in non-verbal sentences. Jacob exclaimed upon awakening from his dream

> yesh YHWH bammaqôm hazzeh — Gn 28.16
> YHWH is in this place!

Saul, seeking to destroy David, vowed

> w^{e}hayah 'im yeshnô ba'arets w^{e}xippastî 'otô
> b^{e}kol 'al^{e}phê y^{e}hûdah — S1 23.23
> If he is in the land, I will search him out among all the tribes of Judah.

It normally precedes its subject, but may be separated from or even follow it:[7]

> w^{e}'im-yesh-bî `awôn h^{a}mîtenî 'attah — S1 20.8
> If there is [any] guilt in me, kill me yourself

> hôtsî' `am-`iwwer w^{e}`ênayim yesh — Is 43.8
> Lead out a people who have eyes, but are blind

When its subject is pronominal, it is always suffixed[8]--the distinguishing mark of the predicators of existence--but these pronominal subjects are relatively

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[7]Contrast the usual syntax of 'ayyeh (above). Cf., e.g., Gn 24.23; 43.7; 44.19f; 1S 20.8; 1S 21.5; Is 43.8; Jg 19.19.

[8]They are sometimes explained as verbal forms on the basis of yeshnô (Joüon, §154k) which occurs four times (De 29.14; 1Sa 14.39; 23.23; Est 3.8), but to impute any aspect of "verbal government ... is at least inadmissible for forms (like 'ayyô, b^{e}`ôdî) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable" (GKC:§100p).

Brockelmann suggests that in these passages "wofur iesennu zu lesen sein wird" (GRUNDRISS DER VERGLEICHENDEN GRAMMATIK DER SEMITISCHEN SPRACHEN, two volumes, 1908; reprint ed., New York: Georg Olms, 1982).

infrequent,[9] and their distribution within the paradigmatic matrix quite limited.[10]

yesh is used in several different ways in H:[11] absolutely in [elliptic] answers to questions, to predicate locative or "relational"[12] existence,[13] to

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[9]6.43% (9/140xx), lower than half the relative frequency of 'ên (13.05%) or 'ayyeh (14.29%) with suffixes.

[10]3ms (4xx), 2ms (3xx), 2mp (2xx). Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: "de yesh ... seulement yeshka yeshkem Gn 24.49, h[a]yeshkem Dt 13.4, et la forme anormale, bien que probablement authentique, yeshnô Dt 29.14; 1 S 14.39; 23.23; Esth 3.8, avec un nun d'origine analogique" (§102k).

I have borrowed the concept of "matrix" from P. H. Matthews, MORPHOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF WORD-STRUCTURE, CTL, edited by W. Sidney Allen, et al. (Cambridge: University Press, 1974):

> "The framework of intersecting morphosyntactic categories is the main contribution of what may reasonably be called the traditional model of description ... the Word and Paradigm [WP] model. The word is its central unit, and the grammatical words are the minimal elements in the study of syntax ... the intersecting categories form a framework or matrix within which the paradigm of a lexeme may be set out" (67).

[11]Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS, analyzes the syntagms in which yesh occurs (100f), but some of his categories overlap, or seem somewhat artificial--or perhaps over-analytic. E.g., he separates yesh + nomen determinatum + loc. (his category #9; Gn 28.16 'axen yesh YHWH bammaqôm hazze; and Ex 17.7) from yesh + nomen indeterminatum + adv. (his category #22; 2Kg 2.16 yesh 'et `[a]badexa x[a]missîm '[a]nashîm; 2Kg 3.12; and Jr 27.18). I believe that these should be combined as locatives.

[12]Further, below.

introduce the subject or object of a following verbal (with or without the relative 'asher), and in both (future) conditions and real questions as well as contrary-to-fact conditions and rhetorical questions.

It occurs without an expressed subject only in elliptical affirmative replies to questions--only to questions asked with yesh,[14] where it indicates agreement, representing simply "Yes" or "It/ There is":

> wayyo'mer h^{a}yesh dabar me'et YHWH wayyo'mer yirmiyahu yesh Jr 37.17
> [Zedekiah] said,"Is there a word from the LORD?" And Jeremiah said,"Yes [There is a word from the LORD]."
>
> h^{a}yesh bazzeh haro'eh [12] watta`^{a}neynah 'ôtam watto'marna yesh hinneh l^{e}phaneka 1 Sa 9.11f
> "Is the seer here?" and they answered them, "Yes, [the seer is here]. There he is--right in front of you."

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[13]This is not philosophical predication, "divorced from identification, classification, or localisation, [that] would be tautologous" (A. F. L. Beeston, "Reflections on Verbs `To Be'." JSS 29 [1984]:10), since yesh primarily predicates localised existence.

[14]"Many utterances are composed of parts which are linguistically equivalent to whole utterances occurring elsewhere." Zellig S. Harris, METHODS IN STRUCTURAL LINGUISTICS (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951; reprinted as Structural Linguistics, 1961):14; quoted in John Lyons, INTRODUCTION TO THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968):172.

wayyo'mer 'elayw h^{a}yesh l^{e}babka yashar
ka'^{a}sher l^{e}babî `im-l^{e}babka wayyo'mer
y^{e}hônadab yesh 2 Kg 10.15b
[Jehu] said to him,"Is your heart as honest
[toward me] as mine is toward yours?
Jehonadab said,"Yes [my heart etc.]"[15]

yesh occurs in situation-specific contexts, often with an adverbial or prepositional locative phrase.[16] The preposition characteristically, though by no means exclusively, used in this construction is b^{e}-:[17]

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[15]The fourth absolute occurence of yesh is Jr 23.26--a difficult verse

`ad matay h^{a}yesh b^{e}leb hann^{e}bi'îm nibb^{e}'ê
hashsheqer ûn^{e}bî'ê tarmet libbam Jr 23.26

This can perhaps be interpreted as "How long (will this continue)? Is it in the mind of the prophets who prophecy lies and the prophets of the deceitfulness of their own hearts, that they will make my people forget my name ...?"--the "it" being the dream that they claim to have had. The question is rhetorical (below).

[16]All occurences with 3ms suffix are locative:

yeshnô poh Dt 29.14

kî 'im-yeshnô bîyonatan b^{e}nî ... 1S 14.39

'im-yeshnô ba'arets ... 1S 23.23

yeshnô `am-'exad ... bên ha`ammîm Es 3.8

[17]With b^{e} (among many examples): Gn 42.1, 2; Nu 22.29; S1 17.46; K1 18.10; K2 5.8.
With poh: h^{a}yesh 'ish poh (Jg 4.20), cf. S1 21.9; S2 9.1; K2 10.23.
With sham: 'im-yesh goy umaml^{e}ka '^{a}sher ... sham (K1 18.10).
With `im: h$^{a}$yesh YHWH `immanû (Jg 6.13), cf. Gn 43.4; 44.26; Nu 9.20f; Dt 29.14; S1 21.4; K2 2.16; 10.23; Jr 27.18; Es 3.8.

[wayyar' ya`aqob kî] yesh sheber b^emitsrayim
Gn 42.1 (=42.2)
[Jacob saw that] there was[18] grain in Egypt

lû yesh xereb b^eyadî Nu 22.29
If there were (had been)a sword in my hand

'im yesh goy umamlakah 'asher lo'-shalax
'adonî sham ... K1 18.10
... if there is a nation or kingdom to which
my master has not sent

yesh occurs with lamed + object to predicate possession or ownership:

yesh lî rab Gn 33.9
I have plenty.

yesh lî kol Gn 33.11[19]
I have everything [that I need]

This construction is also used for other relationships:

yesh lanû 'ab zaqen Gn 44.20
We have an elderly father

yesh sakar lip^e`ulatkem 2 Ch 15.7[20]
Your labor has a reward [= There is a reward
for your labor; a subjective genitive]

yesh + lamed should probably be understood as existence in various relationships, rather than strict possession,

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[18]The past tense here is due to English sequence of tenses in indirect discourse.

[19]Cf., further, Gn 39.4, 5 (2xx); 43.7; 44.19, 20; Jg 19.19b.

[20]This clause may reflect a proverbial saying: yesh sakar l+sfx b/l [p`l/`ml]. Cf.

kî yesh sakar lip^e`ûlatek Jr 31.16

yesh-lahem sakar Tob ba`amalam Ec 4.9

Contrast w'ên-`ôd lahem sakar (Ec 9.5).

since sons do not own their father, nor does labor possess a reward.[21]

yesh predicates the existence of the subject or object of a following participle or verb, which is often linked to its predicate by a relative marker:[22]

> yesh hebel 'ᵃsher naʿᵃsah ... yesh tsaddîqîm 'ᵃsher magiᵃʿ 'ᵃlehem ... wᵉyesh rᵉshaʿim shemmagiᵃʿ 'ᵃlehem Qo 8.14
> There is something futile which is perpetrated upon the earth: there are righteous men who are repaid according to the deeds of the wicked; there are wicked men who are repaid according to the deeds of the righteous.[23]

It also occurs in this construction without the relative:[24]

> yesh tsaddîq 'obed bᵉtsidqô wᵉyesh rashaʿ ma'ᵃrîk bᵉraʿatô Qo 7.15
> There is a righteous man who perishes in his righteousness, and a wicked man who lives long in his wickedness.

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[21]Cf. Emile Benveniste, "The Linguistic Functions of `To Be' and `To Have'" in PROBLEMES DE LINGUISTIQUE GéNéRALE (Paris: Gallimard, 1966); translated by Mary Elizabeth Meek, MIAMI LINGUISTIC SERIES, 8 (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami, 1971):163-179.
It could be procrusteanated into a "dative" of interest, relation, possession, all of which might then fall under the general heading of "dative of reference."

[22]Cf. Dt 29.14; La 1.12; Ec 1.10 (where yesh introduces the direct object of 'amar); Ne 5.2-4.

[23]NB: This is equivalent to saying "Something meaningless is perpetrated upon the earth: some who are righteous are repaid according to the deeds of the wicked; some who are wicked are repaid according to the deeds of the righteous." This "generic" use of yesh is related to its occurence with indefinite subjects.

[24]In Ec 5.12 and 10.5 it introduces verbal objects.

The other examples of this construction are either conditional or deliberative (and therefore implicitly conditional) clauses:[25]

> 'im-yeshka-na' matslî$_a$x darkî ... Gn 24.42
> If you are prospering my mission
>
> h^{a}yishkem 'oh^{e}bîm 'et-YHWH '^{e}lohêkem Dt 13.4
> whether you love the LORD your God

yesh occurs with conditional or interrogative particles forty-six times.[26] 'im (if) precedes six of the nine suffixed occurrences of yesh; five of which have participial predicates. In these passages the suffix on yesh indicates the pronominal subject of the participle. yesh+sfx therefore occurs primarily in combination with 'im in conditional clauses,[27] which Joüon interprets as volitional conditions,[28] but this

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[25]Ec is the only biblical book in which this construction is not conditional (cf. Gn 43.4; Jg 6.36; Ps 58.12).

[26]h^{a}yesh (21xx), 'im yesh (20xx), 'ûlay yesh and lû yesh (2xx each), and h^{a}kî-yesh (once).

[27]If Dt 13.4 is seen in this light, seven of the nine passages in which yesh appears with a suffix have some sort of conditional function (five of these have participial predicates).

[28]Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: "Dans la protase d'une proposition conditionnelle yesh ou 'ên avec le participe exprime la disposition (ou la non-disposition) de la volonté à faire une chose: Gn 43.4, 5. Avec yesh: Gn 24.42, 49; 43.4; Jg 6.36" (§184l).

interpretation is more probably contextual than due to the presence of yesh.[29] He suggests, e.g.:

> 'im-yeshka-na' matslî^{a}x darkî Gn 24.42
> If you intend to prosper my journey ...
>
> 'im-yeshka m^{e}shalle^{a}x 'et-axînû 'ittanû Gn 43.4[30]
> If you intend to send our brother with us ...

These passages are more likely simple conditions (i.e., future conditions capable of fulfillment or non-fulfillment, at least in the mind of the speaker):

> 'im-yeshka moshî^{a}` b^{e}yadî 'et-yisra'el Jg 6.36
> If you are going to deliver Israel by my hand ...
>
> 'im-yeshkem `ôsîm xesed we'^{e}met 'et-'^{a}donî Gn 24.49
> If, therefore, you are dealing honestly and faithfully with my master ...

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[29]Cf. Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS: "The aspect of readiness pointed out by Joüon seemingly stems from the general meaning of the context in which a given statement is made, for his view cannot explain adequately why the very words signifying existence are chosen to express "la disposition (ou non-disposition) de la volonté à faire une chose." (77f).

Muraoka then suggests that yesh [and 'en] "emphatically indicate the fact that a state of things or behaviour of a certain man or men is actually as one wants or expects it to be, or as one thinks it should be, because the primary meaning of yesh is `existence,'" for, he says, the feature of actual [non-]realization derives from that meaning (i.e. `existence' or `non-existence') (78), and therefore interprets these passages as "If Thou dost prosper my way [as I naturally expect on the basis of my master's assurance, ...]". This, however, is still essentially a contextual, not syntactic or grammatically required or based interpretation.

[30]"If you intend to deal faithfully and honestly with my master ... (Gn 43.4); "If you intend to deliver Israel by my hand ..." (Jg 6.36).

h^{a}yishkem 'oh^{e}bîm 'et-YHWH '^{e}lohêkem Dt 13.4
[the LORD your God is testing you in order to find out] whether you love the LORD your God ...

ki 'im-yeshnô b^{e}yonatan b^{e}nî 1Sa 14.39
Even if it [the offence] is in Jonathan my son

w^{e}hayah 'im-yeshnô ba'arets 1Sa 23.23
... if he is [anywhere] in the land ...

'im also occurs with yesh rhetorically, and (as a negative) in oaths:

'im-yesh-Ta`am b^{e}rîr xalamût Jb 6.6
Is there any taste in the juice of purslane?

'im-yesh-milîn h^{a}shîbenî Jb 33.32
If there are any words, answer me!

xay-YHWH '^{e}loheyka 'im-yesh-lî ma`ôg kî 'im-lo' kaph-qemax bakad ûm$^{e}$`aT-shemen batstsapaxat K1 17.12
As YHWH your God lives, I do not have a cake--only a handful of meal in a jar and a little oil in a jug[31]

h^{a}yesh (interrogative) occurs twenty-two times, half of which are requests for information, half of which are rhetorical, where it questions the existence of its subject.[32]

h^{a}yesh bêt-'abîk maqôm lanû lalîn Gn 24.23
Is there [in] your father's house a place where we may spend the night?

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[31]Cf. Gn 44.19.

[32]This rhetorical use is essentially the same as that of 'ayyeh (above).

h^{a}yesh lakem 'ax — Gn 43.7[33]
Do you have a brother?

h^{a}yesh YHWH b^{e}qirbenu 'im 'ayin — Ex 17.7
Is the LORD among us or not?

h^{a}yesh '^{e}lôh mibbal`aday — Is 44.8
Is there a(ny) god besides me?

h^{a}yesh b^{e}hablê haggôyîm magshimîm — Jr 14.22[34]
Is there among the gods of the nations one who sends rain?

SUMMARY

yesh predicates the existence of its subject in a particular location or relationship, not its absolute existence. It is not a narrative device, occurring only in quotations (direct and indirect), never in the mouth of the narrator (unlike, e.g., hayah), and asserts or asks about the present and actual existence of its subject, or, used rhetorically, questions its existence.[35] Whenever yesh has a pronominal subject,

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[33]Cf. Gn 44.19. This question (Gn 43.7) was obviously real to the brothers, and was probably real to Joseph as well, since after his sojourn in Egypt he would wonder whether or not his father and [full] brother were still alive.

The other real questions: Nu 13.20; Dt 13.4 (also deliberative); Jg 4.20; 1S 9.11; 2K 4.13; 10.15a; Jr 23.26; 37.17a.

[34]Cf. other rhetorical uses: Mi 6.10; Ps 14.2 (= 53.3); Jb 5.1; 6.30; 25.3; 38.28.

[35]yesh should be interpreted as a substantive only in Pr 8.21:

l^{e}hanxîl 'ôh^{a}bay yesh w^{e}'ôts^{e}rôtêhem '^{a}malle' — Pr 8.21
to profit those who love me with prosperity,

that subject is suffixed.[36] It does not function as a copula, and is not therefore deictic.[37]

The syntax and semantic content of yesh indicate that it should be regarded as a member of the same form-class as 'ayyeh.

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and [to] fill their treasuries.

[36]Cf. on 'ayyeh, above, which followed the same pattern.

[37]Contra Eitan ("Particles"): "... of the English expression `there is,' yesh translates much more the first member which is demonstrative than the verb `is' that would need no rendering in [Biblical] Hebrew" (I:188f).

USUAL RENDERING

yesh is usually rendered by G using [forms of] eimi ([e]; 108xx = 81.2%). Three verses in which it occurs are minuses in G (Pr 18.24; 20.15; La 3.29), in three passages yesh is not represented, even though G and H are parallel (JgA 18.14; K2 2.16; Jr 31.17), and in three texts G and H cannot be aligned with any degree of certainty--specific identification of elements, at least, is uncertain (Jb 25.3; Pr 3.28; 13.23).

The representation of yesh by [e] can be further broken down into the actual forms of [e] used, which are present (95xx), future (7xx: all 3sfi), imperfect (3xx: all 3sii), and a participle (Dt 29.14).

Based on the analysis of yesh above, [e] was used as the usual rendering either because the translators viewed yesh as an essential, not pleonastic,[38] syntactic element, or because they wanted to leave no element of H unrepresented, especially in those books characterized by a literal translation technique, such as Qo.

yesh is always represented by [e] in Ps (6xx), Ne, C2, and S2 (4xx each), K1, Is, and Ru (2xx each), and Ex and C1, where it occurs only once.

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[38]I recognize that it may be anachronistic to think that the translators considered pleonasm as a linguistic phenomenon.

yesh is rendered by several forms other than [e] in G: pronoun, huparxw (5xx each); [exw], men oun (2xx each);[39] and nun (Gn 31.29), apokrinomai (S1 14.39), airw (Mi 2.1), katoikew (Jn 4.11), hupokeimai (Jb 16.4), and huparcis (Pr 8.21).[40]

It is never rendered by [e] in Mi (2xx), Jn, Ma, and Es (in each of which it occurs once).[41]

RENDERINGS OF YESH IN G[42]

Thirteen of twenty-one occurrences of yesh in Genesis are rendered by [e] (3spi (9xx), 3sii (2xx), and 3ppi and 3pps (once each)). It is also rendered by exw, (2xx), and huparxw and kai nûn (once each). yesh is not represented (4xx), the following participle in each case having been rendered by a finite verb, making its representation superfluous (Gn 24.42, 49; 43.4; 44.26).

The 3spi renderings include:

> h^{a}yesh bêt-'abîka maqôm lanû lalîn Gn 24.23
> ei estin para tw patri sou topos hemin katalusai?

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[39]Since men represents yesh (2xx) only in Gn (with and without oun) I consider this a "unique rendering".

[40]yesh occurs thirteen times in Pr, but is rendered in only ten (18.24 and 20.15 are minuses in G; in 13.23 the text of G does not parallel H).

[41]It is thus never rendered by [e] in MP (4xx).

[42]This section focusses on the "other" renderings since, given the predictability of the usual rendering, it is more instructive to discuss "other" renderings in searching out the translators' technique.

wayyo'mer [Jacob] 'aken yesh YHWH bammaqôm hazzeh Gn 28.16
kai eipen hoti estin kurios en tw topw toutw

wayyo'mer `esaw yesh lî rab '^{a}xî Gn 33.9
eipen de Esau Estin moi polla, adelphe; ...

hen '^{a}donî lo' yada` 'ittî mah-babbayit w^{e}kol '^{a}sher-yesh-lô natan b^{e}yadî Gn 39.8
Ei ho kurios mou ou ginwskei di' eme ouden en tw oikw autou kai panta hosa estin autw edwken eis tas xeiras mou

wayyar' ya`^{a}qob kî yesh sheber b^{e}mitsrayim Gn 42.1 (= 42.2)
Idwn de Iakwb hoti estin prasis [42.2: sitos] en Aiguptw ...

h^{a}yesh lakem 'ax Gn 43.7
ei estin humin adelphos?

In two parallel texts yesh is represented by 3sii of [e], which may be for consistency with the narrative (which requires a past tense):[43]

wayyaphqidehû `al-bêtô w$^{e}$`al-kol '^{a}sher yesh lô natan b^{e}yadô Gn 39.4 (= 39.5a)
kai katestesen auton epi tou oikou autou kai [39.5a: + epi] panta hosa ên autw

Once yesh is rendered by 3pps of [e], which is grammatically required by the future condition:

'ûlay yesh x^{a}mishshîm tsaddîqîm b^{e}tôk ha'îr ha'aph tispeh w^{e}lo'-tissa' lammaqôm l^{e}ma`an x^{a}mishshîm hatstsadîqîm '^{a}sher b^{e}qirbaH Gn 18.24
ean wsin pentekonta dikaioi en te polei, apoleis autous? ouk aneseis panta ton topon heneken twn pentekonta dikaiwn ean wsin en aute?

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[43]The other passages in Genesis might seem to require a past tense, but are in fact quotations, not narrations, which in Greek require the tense of the original quotation, not the "sequence of tenses" expected in, e.g., English or French.

The translator repeated the condition at the end of the verse, thus implying that fifty righteous did not exist in Sodom; he used wsin to render 'asher in the second half of the verse.

yesh is represented by exw twice in Genesis. Once it renders an idiom without exact equivalent in G:

> waydabber 'ittam le'mor 'im-yesh 'et-naphshekem liqbor 'et-metî millipheney ... Gn 23.8
> kai elalesen pros autous Abraam legwn Ei exete te psyxe humwn hwste thapsai ton nekron mou, ...

The other passage in which exw representes yesh is striking in that it is one of only two passages in G in which yesh + l in the sense of possession or ownership is rendered by exw.[44] The translator of Genesis, as G generally, renders this consistently by [e] + [dative] pronoun:[45]

> 'adonay sha'al 'et-'abadayw le'mor hayesh lakem 'ab 'ô 'ax Gn 44.19
> kurie, su erwtesas tous paidas sou legwn Ei exete patera e adelphon?

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[44]The other is Nu 22.29, below.

[45]7xx in Genesis (33.9, 11; 39.4, 5a, 8; 43.7; 44.20, above), and regularly throughout G. The "dative of possession" is a normal construction in pre-LXX Greek, and should certainly not be considered a Hebraism, in light of its broad extra-LXX usage. Cf. Smythe, GREEK GRAMMAR, where it is subsumed under the general topic "dative of interest" (§1474-80), which is essentially the same as the function of yesh le- (above). G probably uses this construction since it is far more fluid than [exw], allowing a variety of relationships to be expressed most efficiently.

It is also appropriate to mention at this point a passage in which 'asher yesh + l is rendered by a substantive participle:

> wayhî birkat YHWH b^ekol-'^asher yesh lô babbayit ûbassadeh Gn 39.5b
> kai egenethe eulogia kuriou en pasin tois huparxousin autw en tw oikw kai en two agrw.

Here huparxw has its frequent connotation of possession or property.

When yesh is followed by a participle the participle is usually represented by a verb and yesh not represented in G. In two of these cases the pronominal suffix on yesh, which identifies the subject of the participial action, is represented by a personal pronoun:

> YHWH '^elohê '^adonî 'abraham 'im-yeshka-na' matslî^ax darkî '^asher 'anokî holek `aleha ... Gn 24.42
> Kurie ho theos tou kuriou mou Abraam, ei su euodois ten hodon mou, hen nun egw poreuomai ep' auten, ...
>
> w^e`attah 'im yeshkem `osîm xesed ... Gn 24.49
> ei oun poieite humeis eleos ...

Although in 43.4 the translator seems to use men oun to acknowledge the presence of yesh, this example actually falls within the same pattern, whereby yesh+sfx followed by a participle is rendered by a finite verb that represents the action of the participle and adopts the pronominal subject of yesh as its own.[46]

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[46]Cf. Dt 13.4; JgA 6.36; contrast Ne 5.2-4 (below).

'im yeshka mashle^{a}x 'et 'axînû 'ittanû ner^{e}dah
w^{e}nishb^{e}rah l^{e}ka 'okel Gn 43.4
ei men oun apostelleis ton adelphon hemwn
meth' hemwn katabesometha kai agoraswmen soi
brwmata[47]

Here, in contrast to Gn 24.42 and 49, the pronominal suffix is not separately represented, being entailed in the verbal form.[48]

In 44.26 the translator of Genesis made explicit the contrast between the two halves of this sentence by using adversative alla. He has also exegeted and specified the function of yesh: the question is not whether or not Benjamin is (will be) with them, but whether or not he will go down to Egypt with them.[49]

wanno'mer lo' nûkal laredet 'im yesh 'axînû
haqqaTon 'ittanû w^{e}yaradnû Gn 44.26
hemeis kai eipamen ou dunesometha katabenai,
all' ei men ho adelphos hemwn ho newteros
katabainei meth' hemwn katabesometha

yesh is rendered once by nun in an apparent attempt to represent each element of H, since the translator obviously understood the idiom:[50]

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[47]Cf. Gn 43.5:
w^{e}'im 'ênka mashle^{a}x ... Gn 43.5
ei de me apostelleis ...

[48]This reflects the wide variation of renderings used to represent yesh+sfx (see under "Summary", below).

[49]With the same delicate touch, he uses me and a conditional participle of [e] to represent 'ên at the end of this verse--making explicit the conditional nature of the disjunctive clause in H.

[50]On this idiom, cf. Frank Moore Cross, 'el, TDOT 1.261. I have not had access to Simcha Kogut ("The Biblical Expression yesh/'ên le'el yad, The

yesh l^{e}'el yadî la`$^{a}$sot `immakem ra` Gn 31.29
kai nun isxuei he xeir mou kakopoiesai se

The translator of Genesis was relatively free in rendering yesh ([e] = 62%). He therefore, being relatively sensitive to Greek nuance and style, used various means, including "burying" its representation within verbal forms other than [e], although he used [e] more than any other rendering.

yesh occurs once in Exodus, when the children of Israel grumbled at the lack of water at Massah and Meribah. Its occurrence in this deliberative (rhetorical?) question is rendered by [e] (3spi):

h^{a}yesh YHWH b^{e}qirbenû 'im-'ayin Ex 17.7
Ei[51] estin kurios en hemin e ou?

In Numbers yesh occurs four times, where it is rendered by [e] three times (3sfi, 2xx; 3spi once) and exw (once). In his list of questions that the spies are to answer about the land Moses asks

h^{a}yesh baH `ets 'im 'ayin Nu 13.20
ei estin en aute dendra ê ou

Interpretation and Development of a Mistake," TARBIZ 57 (1987/88):435-44), who apparently supports Cross's redivision of the clause as yesh lo' lyad+ on the basis of a root l'y "be powerful".

[51]For further examples of ei as a deliberative particle in both direct and indirect questions, cf. Conybeare and Stock, GRAMMAR (§100).

In the parallel constructions in Nu 9.20 and 21 the translator correctly interpreted yesh 'asher yihyeh as equivalent to an initial wayhî followed by a temporal clause (e.g., preposition + infinitive construct). The future of [e] in these verses should be interpreted as potential or habitual: "whenever [it would happen that]."

> we yesh 'asher yihyeh he`anan yamîm mispar `al hammishkan `al pî YHWH yaxanû we`al pî YHWH yissa`û Nu 9.20
> kai estai hotan skepase he nephele hemeras arithmw epi tes skenes, dia phwnes kuriou parembalousin kai dia prostagmatos kuriou aparousin
>
> we yesh 'asher yihyeh he`anan me`ereb `ad boqer wena`alah he`anan babboqer wenasa`û 'ô yômam walaylah wena`alah he`anan wenas`û Nu 9.21
> kai estai hotan genetai he nephele aph' hesperas hews prwi kai anabe he nephele to prwi kai aparousin hemeras e nuktos

In a contrary-to-fact condition the translator's choice of exw presents the meaning, if not the form, of H.[52] Balaam warns his ass that

> lû yesh xereb beyadî kî `attah haragtîka Nu 22.29
> kai ei eixon maxarian en te xeiri mou ede an ecekentesa se

These renderings show that the translator of Numbers, like that of Genesis, did not feel constrained in his choice of equivalents, but based his translation on the requirements of both H and Greek.

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[52]This is the third passage in G where [exw] represents yesh; the other two are in Gn (above).

In Deuteronomy (4xx) yesh is rendered by [e] (3xx: 3spi (2xx); mdppp (once)) and once entailed in a verbal form.

yesh occurs in two negative purpose clauses in Dt 29.17, both of which are rendered by [e] (3spi):

> pen-yesh bakem 'îsh 'ô-'ishsha ...
> pen-yesh bakem shoresh poreh ro'sh w^{e}la`^{a}nah
> Dt 29.17 (2xx)
> me tis estin en humin aner e gune ...
> me tis estin en humin hriza anw phuousa en xole kai pikria

In 29.14, where Moses expands the scope of the covenant beyond those physically present, the translator used a substantive participle of [e] to represent the construction '^{a}sher yeshnô,[53] which is the only way in which the force of the construction could have been represented in G:

> kî 'et '^{a}sher yeshnô poh 'immanû 'omed hayyôm liphnê YHWH '^{e}lohênû w^{e}'et '^{a}sher 'ênennû poh `immanû hayyôm
> Dt 29.14
> alla kai tois hwde ousin meth' hemwn semeron enantion kuriou tou theou humwn kai tois me ousin meth' hemwn hwde semeron

In 13.4, Moses warns the people not to listen to false prophets or visionaries, because the LORD will use them to test Israel, as he states in this deliberative question:

> h^{a}yeshkem 'oh^{e}bîm 'et YHWH '^{e}lohêkem b^{e}kol l^{e}babkem ûb^{e}kol naphsh^{e}kem
> Dt 13.4
> ei agapate kurion ton theon humwn ec holes tes kardias humwn kai ec holes tes psuxes humwn

---

[53]Just as he used a substantive participle with me to render '^{a}sher 'ênennû at the end of the verse.

The translator has represented the interrogative prefix by ei (and the rest of the combination -yeshkem 'ohbîm) by a finite verb, but did not use a separate form to represent the pronominal suffix.[54]

The translator of Deuteronomy used [e], but was free to render yesh in ways that were contextually accurate, even idiomatic (13.4).

In Judges (6xx) A and B[55] differ widely.[56] Judges A renders yesh by [e] (3spi) and huparxw (2xx each), yesh (with a following participle) by a finite verb once (6.36), and does not represent it once (18.14).

yesh is rendered by [e] only in its first two occurrences in Judges. Sisera directed Jael to protect him by standing at the entrance of the tent in order to fend off anyone who, pursuing him, might ask

... h[a]yesh-poh 'îsh Jg 4.20
... Estin entautha aner?

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[54]Unlike Gn 24.42, 49. Cf. Gn 43.4; 44.26 (above); on suffixed forms of yesh see "Summary" (below).

[55]Judges B renders yesh by [e] (Jg 4.20; 6.13; 18.14; 19.19 (2xx) all 3spi). Once (6.36) the translator represents the pronominal suffix rather than yesh itself.

[56]The distribution of yesh in Jg raises the question of its dialectical use in Israel: It occurs in the mouth of a northern Canaanite (Sisera; 4.20), a Manassite (Gideon; 6.13, 36), a Danite (traveling through Ephraim; 18.14), and a Levite living in Ephraim (originally from Judah (19.19)).

The usual rendering also captures the essence of Gideon's rhetorical question to the angel:

> w^{e}yesh YHWH `immanû ... Jg 6.13
> kai ei estin kurios meth' hemwn ...

yesh is rendered twice by huparxw, when the Levite responded (curtly?) to the old man of Gibeah who had offered his hospitality:

> w^{e}gam teben gam mispô' yesh lax^{a}môrênû w^{e}gam lexem w^{e}yayin yesh lî ... Jg 19.19 (twice)
> kai ge axura kai xortasmata huparxei tois onois hemwn kai ge artos kai oinos huparxei moi ...

This probably reflects huparxw with the connotation of ownership.[57] Here again it is striking that the translator used verb + dative pronoun for possession, rather than exw.[58]

As in Dt 13.4, Judges A renders the construction of yesh+sfx + participle by a finite verb, again showing a fine sensibility for the nuances of H:[59]

> 'im yeshka môshî^{a}` b^{e}yadî yisra'el ... Jg 6.36
> ei swzeis en te xeiri mou ton Israel ...

In Judges 18.14 yesh is not represented in G:

> hay^{e}da`tem kî yesh babbatîm ha'elleh 'ephôd
> ût^{e}raphîm ... Jg 18.14
> ei oidate hoti en tois oikois toutois ephoud
> kai theraphim ...

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[57]Cf. the normal use of the substantive participle of huparxw in the sense "belongings, property."

[58]Cf. on Gn 44.19 (above).

[59]JgB represents the pronominal suffix by a personal pronoun.

The translator of Judges A, therefore, was relatively inconsistent in representing yesh, using [e] in only one-third of the occurrences of yesh.

yesh occurs nine times in 1 Samuel, where it is rendered by [e] (8xx: 3spi (7xx), 3ppi (once)) and by apokrinomai (once; 14.39).

When the young women answered Saul, they did so with yesh and a separate hinneh-clause. Here, as in all of the absolute occurrences of yesh in answer to a question, [e] is used,[60] which demonstrates the force exerted by the usual rendering on the translators' choice of rendering, since we might expect that in these passages, where yesh means simply "Yes," G would use nai instead.

h^{a}yesh bazzeh haro'eh — S1 9.11
Ei estin entautha ho blepwn?

... yesh hinneh l^{e}phaneka — S1 9.12
... Estin, idou kata proswpon humwn

The translator of 1 Samuel did not feel limited to using 3spi of [e] to represent yesh, however. In 21.5, Ahimelek answered David's request for provisions by stating that there was no bread which he was authorized to give out (i.e., to non-priests), but that

lexem qodesh yesh ... — S1 21.5
artoi hagioi eisin; ...

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[60]Cf. K2 10.15b; Jr 37.17 (second occurrence).

Here the translator used 3ppi of [e] to effect concord with the plural form of artos "loaf" with which he rendered lexem,[61] since to offer a single loaf to David and his entourage would have been an affront.

In 14.39 the translator also felt free to use a verbal form to represent yesh, when Saul swore to the people:

> kî 'im yeshnô b^{e}yônatan b^{e}nî môt yamût S1 14.39
> hoti ean apokrithe kata Iwnathan tou huiou mou thanatw apothaneitai

He may have used apokrinomai to render yesh rather than a form of [e] (which would have filled the function) because he interpreted biyônatan as "against (rather than "in") Jonathan." He may also have wanted further to specify that God, not Saul, was about to render the verdict (thus "if he answers").[62] He used apokrinomai as a pun with the people's failure to respond to Saul's proclamation: God would answer Saul's question that the people had refused to answer.[63]

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[61]Since lexem does not occur in the plural, but can have both singular and collective meanings, his interpretation is well within the bounds of translation regularity.

[62]It is also possible that the subject of apokrithe is the lot, in which case G reads "if it answers."

[63]It is also possible, based on the orthography of shin/'ayin and waw/he at Qumran, that this reflects a textual variant yeshnô/ya'^{a}neh (graciously suggested to me by Emanuel Tov).

w^{e}'ên `onehû mikkol-ha`am S1 14.39b
kai ouk en ho apokrinomenos ek pantos tou laou

Thus, although the translator of 1 Samuel used a fairly consistent technique to render yesh, he was also able to interpret his text with sensitivity and even irony.

yesh occurs only four times in 2 Samuel.[64] All four are rendered with [e] (3spi), as are both of its occurrences in 1 Kings.[65]

In 2 Kings yesh occurs ten times, and is rendered by [e] (9xx; all 3spi). It is not represented in 2.16.

When the sons of the prophets in Jericho saw Elisha returning alone, they said to him:

hinneh-na' yesh 'et-`^{a}badeka x^{a}mishîm '^{a}nashîm
b^{e}nê xayil yel^{e}kû na' ... K2 2.16
Idou de meta twn paidiwn sou pentekonta andres
huioi dunamews. Poreuthentes de ...

It seems that the translator either overlooked yesh, which is unlikely given his regular technique in the rest of the book, or felt that it need not be represented, given the preceding cluster of particles.

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[64]Including S2 14.29, where I read yesh for 'ish; S2 9.1; 14.32; 19.29.

[65]K1 17.12; 18.10.

yesh occurs only twice in Isaiah, where it is rendered by [e] (3spi).[66]

In Jeremiah, where yesh occurs ten times, it is rendered by [e] nine times (3spi (7xx), 3sfi and 3ppi (once each)). It is not represented due to ellipsis with the preceding verse (once; 31.17). The usual rendering:

> ... ûbaq^{e}shû bir^{e}xôbôteyha 'im-timts^{e}'û 'îsh 'im-yesh `oseh mishpaT m^{e}baqqesh '^{e}mûnah ... Jr 5.1
> ... kai zetesate en tais plateiais autes, ean heurete andra, ei estin poiwn krima kai zetwn pistin, ...

The choice of the future in 23.26 is grammatically motivated by the preceding `ad-matay (hews pote), which implies [is required by] futurity:

> `ad-matay h^{a}yesh b^{e}leb hann^{e}bî'îm nibb^{e}'ê hashshaqer ûn^{e}bî'ê tarmit libbam Jr 23.26
> hews pote estai en kardia twn prophetwn twn propheteuontwn pseude kai en tw propheteuein autous ta thelemata kardias autwn?

Ishmael spared the lives of ten of the men who brought offerings from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria when they said to him

> 'al-t^{e}mitenû kî-yesh-lanû maTmonîm bassadeh xiTTîm ûs^{e}`orîm w^{e}shemen ûd^{e}bash Jr 41.8 (48.8)
> Me aneles hemas, hoti eisin hemin thesauroi en agrw, puroi kai krithai, meli kai elaion;

The translator used 3ppi for grammatical concord with the plural "treasures" hidden in the field.

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[66]Is 43.8; 44.8.

yesh is not represented in 31.17 (38.17), due to ellipsis with its occurrence in the preceding [and parallel] verse, where it is rendered by [e] (3spi):

> kî yesh sakar liph^{e}`ullatek n^{e}'um-YHWH w^{e}shabû me'erets 'ôyeb — Jr 31.16 (38.16)
> hoti estin misthos tois sois ergois, kai epistrepsousin ek ges exthrwn,
>
> w^{e}yesh-tiqwah l^{e}'ax^{a}rîtek n^{e}'um-YHWH — Jr 31.17
> monimon tois sois teknois.

The translator of Jeremiah, therefore, was regular in rendering yesh, although (as in the latter passage), he was sensitive to the subtleties of more literary Greek--using an ellipsis rather than mere repetition.

yesh occurs four times in the Minor Prophets. It is not rendered by [e].

yesh in MP				
Bk	Occ	huparxw	Unique	[e]
Jn	1		1	0%
Mi	2		2	0%
Ma	1	1		0%
TTL	4	1	1	0%
MP	(%)	25%	75%	--
All	(%)	4%	<1	82%

In Jonah (once) yesh is rendered by 3ppai of katoikew (the G plural allows grammatical concord with the subject):[67]

> 'asher yesh-baH harbeh mishtêm-`esrah ribbô 'adam ... Jn 4.11
> en he katoikousi pleious e dwdeka muriades anthrwpwn, ...

In the "Woe" pronounced upon those who plotters and doers of evil (Micah 2.1) the translator [mis]interpreted the idiom (yesh l^{e}'el yad with a suffix ("it is in their power [to do so]")) as the reason for their action, rather than as a reflection of their ability, "rendering" yesh by ouk airw:

> b^{e}'ôr habboqer ya`^{a}sûha kî yesh-l^{e}'el yadam Mi 2.1
> kai hama te hemera suneteloun auta, dioti ouk eran pros ton theon tas xeiras autwn

In Micah 6.10, G read h^{a}'esh where I read h^{a}yesh for ha'ish, interpeting this as a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer: "There is no house ..., is there?"

> h^{a}yesh bêt rasha` 'ots$^{e}$rôt resha` Mi 6.10
> me pur kai oikos anomou thesaurous anomous ...

In a curse aimed at the one who offers a blemished animal instead of the male suitable for sacrifice that

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[67]This may reflect a scribal variant (yesh-bah vs. yash^{e}bah)--a rendering otherwise lost. This suggestion, graciously made by E. Tov, does not, however, seem to account for en he at the beginning of the clause.

he owns and has vowed to give, huparxw signifies not merely existence, but ownership:[68]

> w^{e}'arûr nôkel w^{e}yesh b^{e}`edrô zakar w^{e}noder
> w^{e}zobex mashxat la'donay Ma 1.14
> kai epikataratos hos en dunatos kai huperxen
> en tw poimniw autou arsen kai euxe autou ep'
> autw kai thuei diephtharmenon tw kuriw;

The translation technique of MP is thus rather far removed from that of the rest of G, even from those sections usually typified as free.

yesh occurs six times in Psalms, where it is rendered only by [e] (3spi).[69] Ps 14.2 (13.2) = 53.3 (52.3)) is a good example of yesh in a deliberative, albeit indirect, question asking "whether there is anyone who understands, who seeks God":

> YHWH mishshamayim hishqîph `al-b^{e}nê-'adam
> lir^{e}'ôt h^{a}yesh maskîl doresh 'et-'^{e}lohîm
> Ps 14.2 (= 53.3)
> kurios en tou ouranou diekupsen epi tous
> huious twn anthrwpwn tou idein ei estin suniwn
> e ekzetwn ton theon

In Job yesh (12xx) is represented by [e] (9xx; 3spi (6xx), and 3sii, 3pps, and 3ppi (once each)), and a pronoun (tis) and hupokeimai (once each). In 25.3 G and H cannot be aligned.

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[68]The aorist is gnomic ("proverbial"), not past.

[69]Pss 7.4; 14.2 (13.2) = 53.3 (52.3); 58.12 (57.12); 73.11 (72.11); 135.17 (134.17).

h^{a}ye'akel taphel mibb^{e}lî-melax 'im-yesh-Ta`am
b^{e}rîr xallamût Jb 6.6
ei brwthesetai artos aneu halos? ei de kai
estin geuma en hremasin kenois?

kî yesh lakkeseph môtsa' ûmaqôm lazzahab
yazoqqû Jb 28.1
estin gar arguriw topos, hothen ginetai, topos
de xrusiw, hothen dietheitai

The 3ppi of [e] occurs for the sake of concord with the subject of yesh:

'im-yesh-millîn h^{a}shîbenî dabber kî-xaphatstî
tsad^{e}qeka Jb 33.32
ei eisin logoi, apokritheti moi; laleson,
thelw gar dikaiwthenai se.

The translator understood lo' yesh as the protasis of a contrary-to-fact condition, for which G requires a secondary tense, usually the imperfect. I see no reason to read lo' as lu'.[70]

lo' yesh bênênû môkî$_{a}$x Jb 9.33
eithe en ho mesites humwn kai elegxwn

The subjunctive of [e] is required by the grammar of the (future) condition:

'im yesh `alayw mal'ak Jb 33.23
ean wsin xilioi aggeloi thanatephoroi

In another contrary-to-fact condition, lû-yesh is rendered by ei + imperfect of hupokeimai, which occurs only here in the canonical books, but represents the meaning of H quite well:

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[70]Cf. Dhorme, JOB (144). Jb 9.33 is the only occurrence of eithe in G, although Symmachus renders lû with eithe in 6.2 and 16.4--its other occurrences in Job. In 16.4, G rendered lû with ei (+ imperfect), in another contrary-to-fact condition (below).

'anokî kakem '^{a}dabberah lû-yesh naphsh^{e}kem taxat naphshî ... Jb 16.4
kagw kath' humas lalesw, ei hupekeito ge he psuxe humwn anti tes emes

yesh is once represented by the indefinite pronoun tis, when the translator wanted to make explicit the indefinite nature of the question "Is there anyone who will answer you?", although this could be also be described as a rendering of yesh + participle "within" a finite form of the verb:

q^{e}ra'-na' h^{a}yesh `ôneka w^{e}'el-mî miqq^{e}doshîm tiphneh Jb 5.1
epikalesai de, ei tis soi hupakousetai, e ei tina aggelwn hagiwn opse.

In 25.3 hyesh has been paraphrased by G in such a way that an "equivalent" of yesh cannot be identified with any certainty:

h^{a}yesh mispar lig^{e}dûdayw Jb 25.3
me gar tis hupolaboi hoti estin parelkusis peiratais

The translator of Job was thus fairly consistent in using [e] to represent yesh, within the bounds of the grammatical requirements of G.

In Proverbs yesh (13xx) is represented primarily by [e] (9xx; 3ppi and 3sfi (3xx each), 3spi (2xx), and a participle (mgspp; once)),[71] but is also rendered by a

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[71]Note the sequence of the forms of [e] used to render yesh in Pr: two highly interpretive renderings (3.28; 8.21), then [e] 3ppi (11.24; 12. 18; 13.7), 3spi (14.12; 16.25), and 3sfi (19.18; 23.18; 24.14). Each rendering is used in consecutive occurrences of yesh

noun (huparcis once; 8.21). Two verses are minuses in G (18.24;[72] 20.15); in 13.23 G does not reflect H.[73]

The three renderings of yesh by 3ppi of [e] seem to represent an attempt by the translator to explicitly (grammatically) universalize these proverbs, which contain three consecutive occurrences of yesh:

> yesh m^{e}phazzer w^{e}nôsaph `ôd w^{e}xôsek miyyosher 'ak-l^{e}maxsôr Pr 11.24
> eisin hoi ta idia speirontes pleiona poiousin, eisin kai hoi sunagontes elattonountai.
>
> yesh bôTeh k^{e}madqrôt xareb ûl^{e}shôn x^{a}kamîm marpe' Pr 12.18
> eisin hoi legontes titrwskousin maxaira, glwssai de sophwn iwntai
>
> yesh mit`assher w^{e}'ên kol mitrôshesh w^{e}hôn rab Pr 13.7
> eisin hoi ploutizontes heautous medein exontes, kai eisin hoi tapeinountes heautous en pollw ploutw

yesh is rendered by 3sfi of [e] three times. In 19.18 this reflects the translator's interpretation of the second clause as result rather than cause:

> yasser binka kî-yesh tiqwah w^{e}'el h^{a}mîtô 'al-tissa' naphsheka Pr 19.18
> paideue huion sou houtws gar estai euelpis; eis de hubrin me epairou te psuxe sou.

(not counting passages in which either the verse is a G minus or the texts are not parallel). Does this suggest a translation "committee", each member working on a small section?

[72]This refers to Pr 18.24b. I see no reason to read yesh for 'îsh as the first word in the verse.

[73]G translates H into a "clear-cut expression of the doctrine of theodicy." McKane, Proverbs (46).

In the other two, somewhat parallel, verses the future reflects the future condition:

> kî 'im yesh 'axrît w^{e}tiqwatka lo' tikkaret Pr 23.18
> ean gar tereses auta estai soi ekgona, he de elpis sou ouk apostesetai
>
> ken d^{e}`eh xakmah l^{e}naphsheka 'im-matsa'ta w^{e}yesh 'axrît w^{e}tiqwatka lo' tikkaret Pr 24.14
> ean gar heures estai kale he teleute sou, kai elpis se ouk egkataleipsei.

In 3.28 the translator used a conditional participial clause to render the disjunctive clause with w^{e}yesh, freely but idiomatically--even elegantly--representing H:

> 'al to'mer l^{e}re`eyka lek washûb ûmaxar 'etten w^{e}yesh 'ittak Pr 3.28
> me eipes Epanelthwn epaneke kai aurion dwsw, dunatou sou ontos eu poiein

It seems that the translator used either dunatos or the participle of [e] to render yesh.

In Pr 8.21, the passage often cited to prove the substantive origin of yesh,[74] and an admittedly difficult text,[75] the translator rendered yesh by means of a noun--the only time it is so rendered in G, but which seems to capture the essence of H:

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[74]See under "Function" (above). Pace Scott, who suggests that this be read as yosher (cf. R. B. Y. Scott, PROVERBS AND ECCLESIASTES. AB 18:67).

[75]The difficulty lies not in the meaning of the individual words, nor in the meaning of the verse as a whole, but in explaining the syntax of this unique use of yesh.

l^{e}hanxîl 'oh^{e}bay yesh w^{e}'otsrotêhem '^{a}malle' Pr 8.21
hina merisw tois eme agapwsin huparcin kai tous thesaurous autwn emplesw agathwn

It seems that the translator has interpreted yesh by means of the parallelism with (substantive) agathwn, using huparcis because of its connotations of possession.

The translator of Proverbs consistently used [e] to render yesh, but with some degree of freedom in both grammar and idiom.

yesh occurs twice in Ruth, where it is rendered by [e] (3spi).[76] In Lamentations 1.12 it is represented by [e] (3spi); La 3.29 is a G minus.

yesh occurs sixteen times in Qohelet, second only to Genesis (21xx) in number of occurrences, and the highest percentage of occurrence in H (.54%). It is rendered by [e] (15xx: 3spi (13xx); 3ppi (2xx)); once it is represented by a relative pronoun (hos 1.10).

w^{e}ra'îtî 'anî sheyesh yitrôn laxakmah min-hassiklût kîtrôn ha'ôr min-haxoshek Qo 2.13
kai eidon egw hoti estin perisseia te sophia huper ten aphrosunen hws perisseia tou phwtos huper to skotos

Both occurrences of the plural (2xx) reflect grammatical concord with the subject:

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[76]Ru 1.12; 3.12.

yesh-hebel 'asher na`asah `al-ha'arets 'asher
yesh tsadîqîm 'asher maggîa` 'alêhem kema`aseh
haresha`îm weyesh resha`îm shemmaggîa` 'alêhem
kema`aseh hatstsadîqîm ... Qo 8.14 (3xx)
estin mataiotes, he pepoietai epi tes ges,
hoti eisi dikaioi hoti phthanei pros autous
hws poiema twn asebwn, kai eisin asebeis hoti
phthanei pros autous hws poiema twn dikaiwn;

The only rendering other than [e] in Qo is a relative pronoun (1.10). The translator interpreted (the noun) dabar as a participle, which then forced him to interpret yesh as some sort of "generalizing particle", perhaps because (unlike the other occurrences of yesh + participle) yesh lacks a suffix:[77]

yesh dabar she'yo'mar re'eh-zeh xadash hû'
Qo 1.10
hos lalesei kai erei îde touto kainon estin

The translator of Qo, again not surprisingly, shows a high degree of consistency in rendering yesh--the only exception (1.10) results from a different interpretation of H.

In its only occurrence in Esther, suffixed yesh is rendered by huparxw, when Haman informs King Artaxerxes that a unique people, scattered throughout his dominion, threatens the peace and prosperity of his realm:

wayyo'mer haman lammelek 'axashwerôsh yeshnô
`am-'exad mephuzzar ûmephorad bên ha`ammîm
bekol medînôt malkûteka Es 3.8
kai elalesen pros ton basilea Artacercen legwn
Huparxei ethnos eiesparmenon en tois ethnesin
en pase te basileia sou, ...

---

[77]On yesh+sfx see the "Summary" (below).

In Ezra (2xx) it is rendered once by [e] (Ez 10.2; 3spi) and once, in a difficult text, may parallel gennaw:[78]

> kol 'elleh nasa'û nashîm nokriyyôt w^{e}yesh mehem nashîm wayyasîmû banîm Ez 10.44
> pantes houtoi elabosan gunaikas allotrias kai egennesan ec autwn huious. [Es1 10.44]

This verse summarizes the results of the preceding section (Ez 9-10), emphasizing the obedience of the people--that they would put away even those wives who had given them sons. The translator seems to have chosen an exegetical rendering of the second half that avoids the grammatical and syntactical anomalies of H, since the Greek verb is unmarked for gender.

yesh occurs in four syntactically parallel clauses in a span of four verses in Nehemiah (5.2-5; Es2 15.2-5), when the Jews who have been financially oppressed bring their complaint to Nehemiah. It is rendered by [e] all four times, although never by 3spi (3ppi (3xx), 3pii (once)):

> w^{e}yesh '^{a}sher 'omrîm banênû ... Ne 5.2
> kai esan tines legontes En huiois hemwn ...

---

[78]Many commentators simply replace the second half (w^{e}yesh ...) with Es1 9.36: pantes houtoi sunwkisan gunaikas allogeneis kai apelusan autas sun teknois (cf., e.g., Jacob M. Meyers, EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, AB 14:82).

The lack of agreement of gender between a masculine form of the verb and a feminine subject is not uncommon (unlike the opposite situation), however, and does not require a different text, nor should the repetition of facts already well known be surprising in a summary statement (contra Loring W. Batten, EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, ICC:351).

w^{e}yesh '^{a}sher 'omrîm s^{e}dotênû ... Ne 5.3
kai eisin tines legontes Agroi hemwn ...
w^{e}yesh '^{a}sher 'omrîm lawînû Ne 5.4
kai eisin tines legontes Edaneisametha
... w^{e}yesh mibb^{e}nôtênû nikbashôt ... Ne 5.5
... kai eisin apo thugaterwn hemwn
katadunasteuomenai, ...

The translator used the imperfect to establish the general framework, the present forms are then "historic," reflecting that temporal framework. Here the combination yesh + participle is rendered by periphrastic participles (analytic tenses) in the first three passages, rather than by the finite verbs as elsewhere.[79] In 5.5 the participle modifies thugaterwn as a predicate adjective.

The translator of Nehemiah seems to have felt that the analytic verbal form expressed the continual and iterative nature of the crowd's complaints more accurately than the [usual] rendering of yesh + participle by a finite form of the [G] verb.

In its sole occurrence in 1 Chronicles (29.3), yesh is rendered by [e] (3spi). It occurs four times in 2 Chronicles, where it is also rendered only by [e] (3spi (3xx), 3sfi (once)).

The future (3sfi) occurs appropriately at the end of a prophecy to King Asa from the LORD by the mouth of Hanani, after Asa bribed Ben-Hadad to break his treaty

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[79]Gn 43.4; Dt 13.4; Jg 6.36 (above).

with Baasha (and thus relieve the military pressure which Israel was exerting on Judah), rather than rely on the LORD to deliver him:

kî me`attah yesh `immak milxamôt C2 16.9
apo tou nun estai meta sou polemos

The translator of Chronicles consistently represented yesh by [e].

SUMMARY

yesh was rendered consistently by [e] in G (108xx = 81.2%),[80] except in Judges (33%) and MP (0%).[81] The general consistency of its translation value indicates that the understanding of its function in H suggested above was that of the translators also--yesh was used to indicate the present temporal existence of a person or thing (or actor) in a specific location, or to question whether or not its subject existed.

The forms of [e] used vary according to the requirements of G grammar and syntax, although 3spi occurs most frequently.

The greatest variety in renderings represent yesh with a pronominal suffix. These are probably the least regular because yesh+sfx tends to occur in conditional clauses, which require various verbal forms in Greek. Of nine occurrences with a (suffixed) pronominal subject, yesh is rendered by [e] only in Dt 29.14, where a participle in G represents the participle in H

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[80]This does not count the passages in which yesh is not represented but G and H are otherwise parallel (JgA 18.14; K2 2.16; Jr 31.17), those which are minuses in G (Pr 18.24; 20.15; La 3.29), or those in which G and H are not parallel (Jb 25.3; Pr 3.28; 13.23).

[81]yesh is always represented by [e] in Ps (6xx), Ne, C2, and S2 (4xx each), K1, Is, and Ru (2xx each), and Ex and C1 (once each). It is never rendered by [e] in Mi (2xx), or in Jn, Ma, and Es, in each of which it occurs only once.

(above).[82] The other participles are rendered with verbs,[83] making representation of yesh syntactically superfluous[84] (this is not, however, peculiar to its occurrence with a suffix).[85]

yesh is always represented by [e] in Ps (6xx), Ne, C2, and S2 (4xx each), K1, Is, and Ru (2xx each), and Ex and C1, where it occurs only once.

yesh is not represented by [e] in 25 passages (19%), but is rendered by huparxw (5xx), exw (3xx), a pronoun (2xx), and various unique renderings (15xx, 5 of which occur in Gn). There does not seem to be any common denominator among these occurrences and their renderings that would explain this lack of consistency

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[82]In Jg A, 18.14 is lacking.

[83]Especially in the rendering of yesh+sfx with a participle by a finite verb (with or without a pronoun representing the suffixed subject of the participle, above), but cf. also 1 Sa 14.39; Es 3.8.

[84]In five passages this yields a G minus (on all five, see discussions ad loc, above):

Text	H	G
Gn 24.42	yesh+sfx P	PN V
Gn 24.49	yesh+sfx P	PN V
Gn 43.4	'im yesh+sfx P	ei [.] V
Dt 13.4	'im yesh+sfx P	ei V
Jg 6.36	'im yesh+sfx P	ei V

[85]By a pronoun: Jb 5.1; Ec 1.10; by a particle: Gn 31.29; 44.26 (see above).

in representation. yesh is never rendered by [e] in Mi (2xx), or in Jn, Ma, or Es (once each).[86]

When the usual rendering is broken down into the actual forms of [e] used (i.e., present, future, imperfect, participle),[87] Genesis, Job, and Proverbs represent yesh most freely, whereas 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and Psalms are the most literal. Proverbs is both exceptional ([e] 3spi only twice), and least consistent.

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[86]It is thus never rendered by [e] in MP (4xx). See the excursus "Is MP a Translation Unit?" in the Conclusion (below).

[87]See Chart 2.2.5.

TABLES AND GRAPHS: yesh

Table 2.1 Occurrences of yesh			
Book		yesh	
Gn	20613	21	0.102%
Ex	16713	1	0.006%
Nu	16408	4	0.024%
Dt	14294	4	0.028%
Jg	9886	6	0.061%
S1	13264	9	0.068%
S2	11040	4	0.036%
K1	13140	2	0.015%
K2	12284	10	0.081%
Is	16943	2	0.012%
Jr	21836	10	0.046%
Jn	688	1	0.145%
Mi	1396	2	0.143%
Ma	876	1	0.114%
MP	14363	4	0.028%
Ps	19587	6	0.031%
Jb	18351	12	0.144%
Pr	6915	13	0.188%
Ru	1296	2	0.154%
Qo	2987	16	0.536%
La	1542	2	0.130%
Es	3045	1	0.033%
Ez	3754	2	0.053%
Ne	5312	4	0.075%
C1	10746	1	0.009%
C2	13315	4	0.030%
TTL	305634	140	0.046%

Chart 2.1.1
yesh: Occurrences

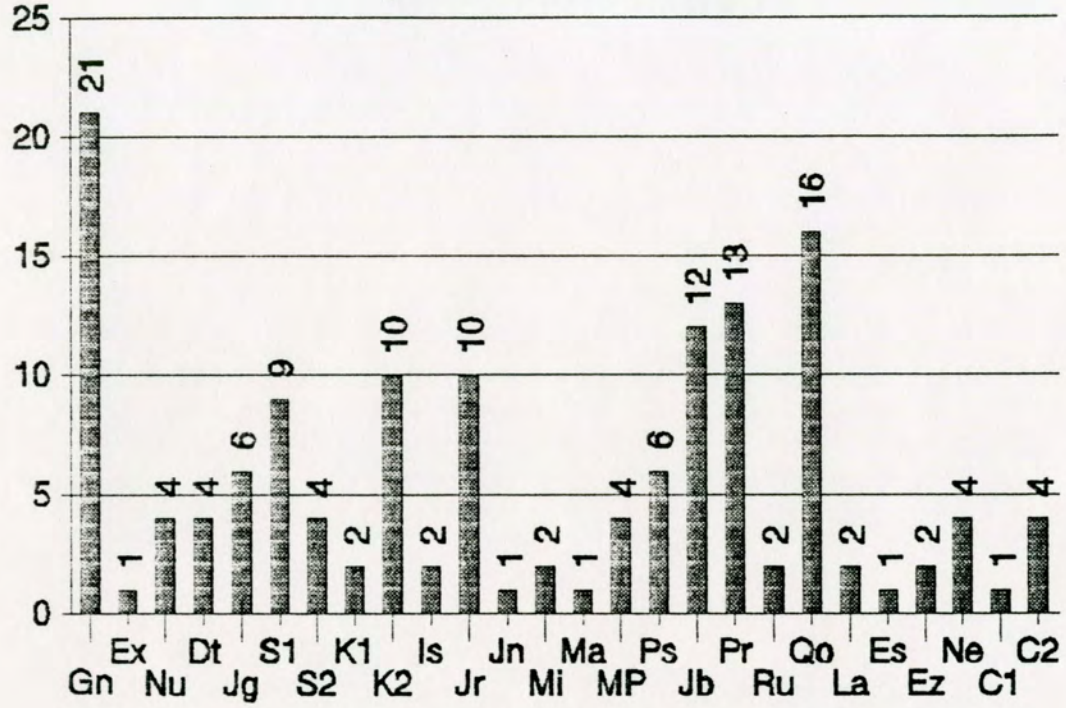


Chart 2.1.2
yesh: Frequency

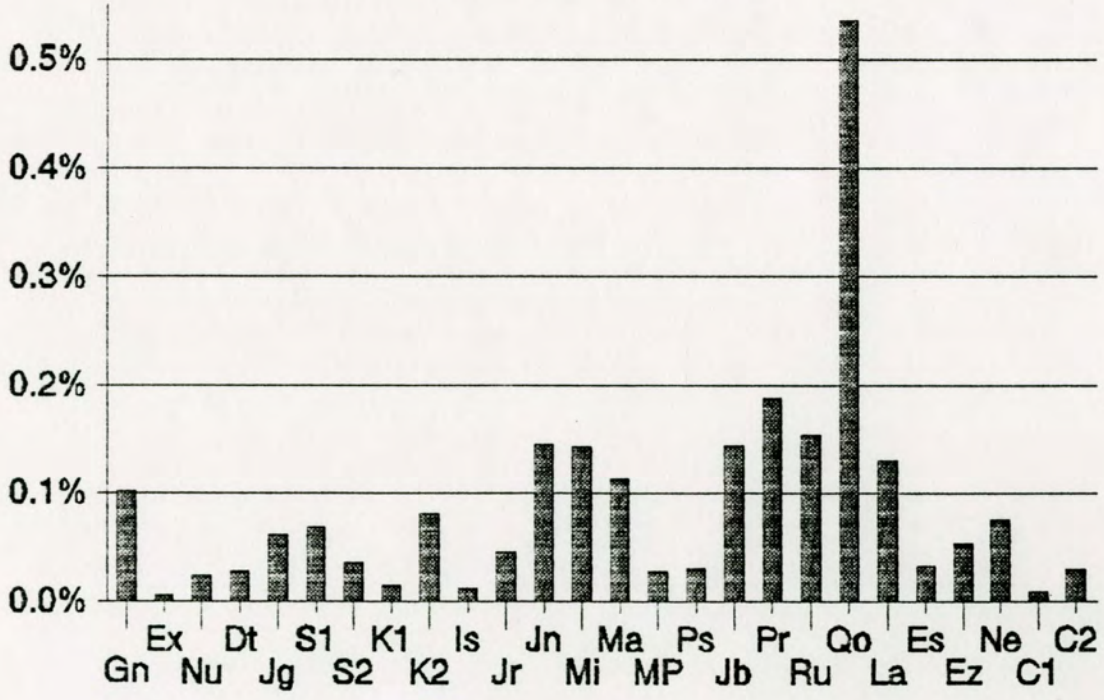


Table 2.2
Renderings of yesh

Bk	Occ	1	2	3	4	5	6	%
Gn	21	13	1	2	1	4		61.9%
Ex	1	1						100.0%
Nu	4	3		1				75.0%
Dt	4	3				1		75.0%
JgA	6	2	2			2		33.0%
S1	9	8			1			88.9%
S2	3	3						100.0%
K1	2	2						100.0%
K2	10	9				1		90.0%
Is	2	2						100.0%
Jr	10	9				1		90.0%
Jn	1				1			0.0%
Mi	1				1			0.0%
Ma	1				1			0.0%
MP	3				3			0.0%
Ps	6	6						100.0%
Jb	12	10		1	1			83.3%
Pr	13	9			1	1	2	81.8%
Ru	2	2						100.0%
Qo	16	15		1				93.8%
La	2	1				1		100.0%
Es	1		2					0.0%
Ez	2	1			1			50.0%
Ne	4	4						100.0%
C1	1	1						100.0%
C2	4	4						100.0%
TOT	138	108	5	5	8	11	2	80.0%
Percent		80%	3.7%	3.7%	2.2%	6.7%	4.4%	

Key		
1 [e]	3 Shared	5 ---[88]
2 huparxw	4 Unique	6 < G

[88]NB: Five of these minuses are because the following participle was rendered verbally.

Chart 2.2.1
yesh: Summary of Renderings

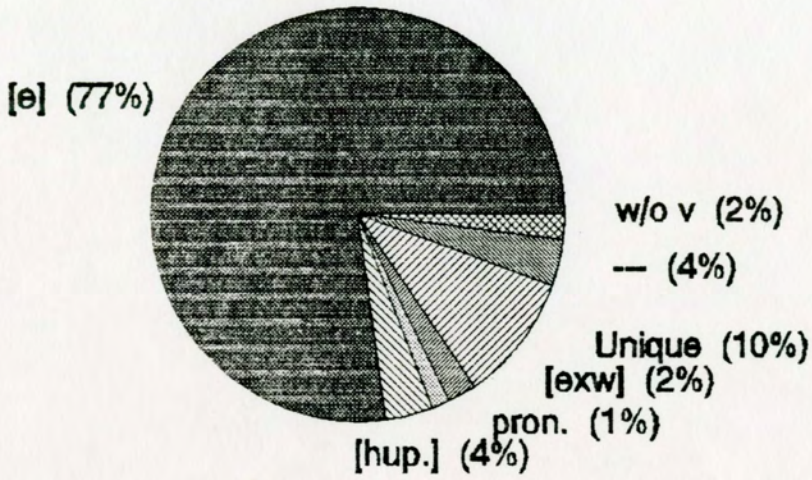


Chart 2.2.2

yesh: eimi & Other Renderings

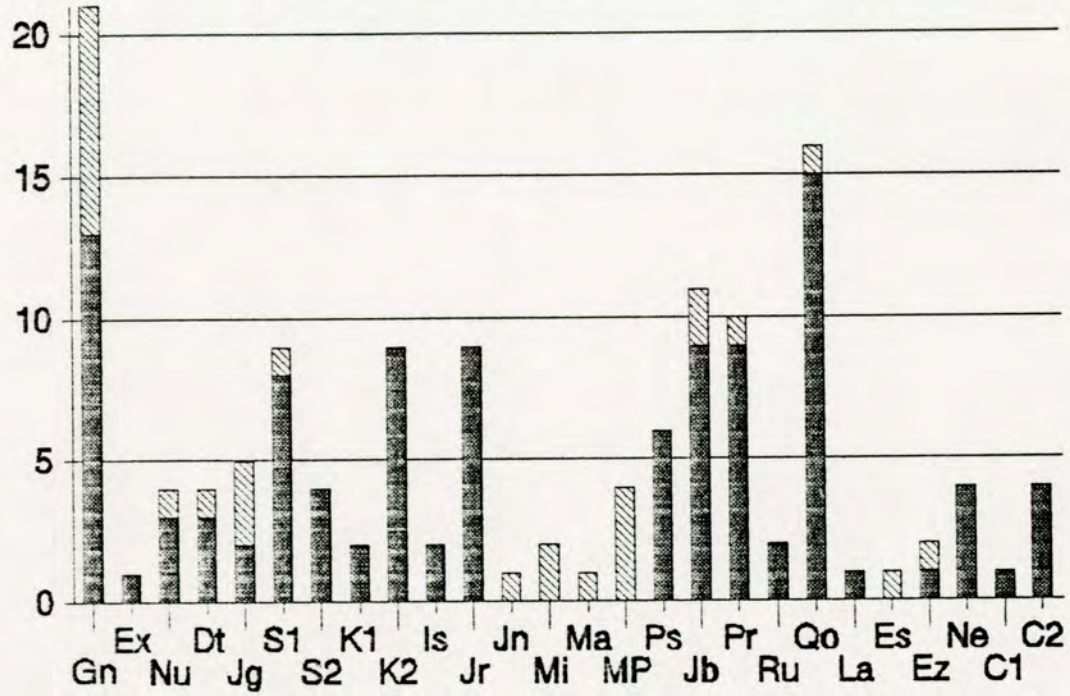


Chart 2.2.3

yesh: Usual Rendering by Book

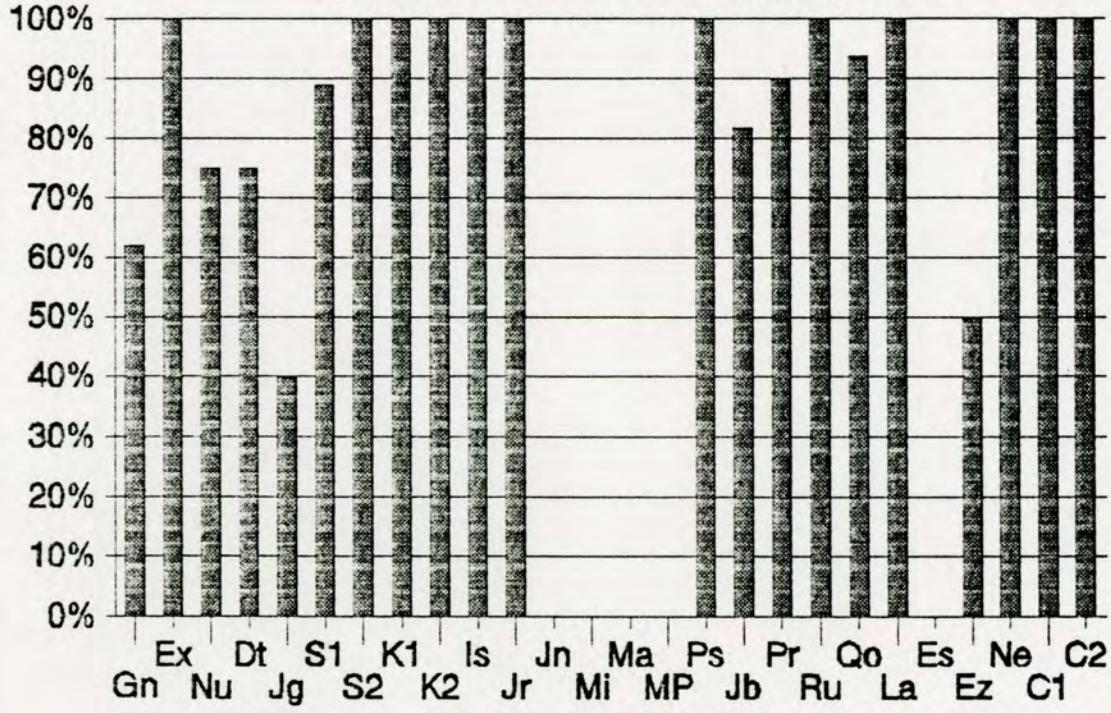
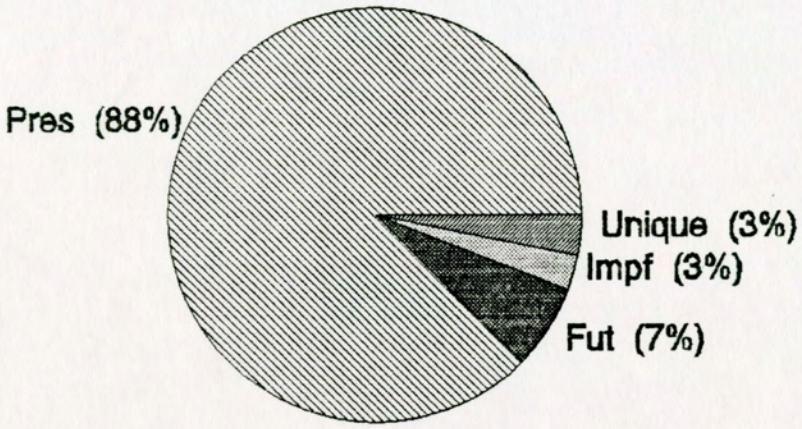


Table 2.3
Forms of [e] Used to Render yesh

Bk	[e]	Present	Future	Imperfect	Other
Gn	13	11		2	
Ex	1	1			
Nu	3	1	2		
Dt	3	2			1
Jg	2	2			
S1	8	8			
S2	4	4			
K1	2	2			
K2	9	9			
Is	2	2			
Jr	9	8	1		
Ps	6	6			
Jb	9	1		1	
Pr	9	2	3		1
Ru	2	2			
Qo	15	15			
La	1	1			
Ez	1	1			
Ne	4	3			1
C1	1	1			
C2	4	3	1		
TOT	108	95	7	3	3
Percent		88%	6.5%	2.8%	2.8%

Graph 2.3.1
yesh: Forms of eimi



Chapter Three: `ôd

`ôd[1] ("again", "still", "yet") occurs 489 times in H,[2] primarily in finite verbal contexts (316xx; 65%), as well as in non-verbal contexts (20%), and syntagms with hayah (7%) and participles (8%).[3]

FUNCTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

`ôd[4] modifies the time or manner[5] of the predicate of its clause by signaling that an action, state, or

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[1]`ôd is derived from the verb `ûd ("[re]turn, repeat,") [Arabic `âda "return", `âdat "habit; Ethiopic `ôda "turn about" (C. van Leeuwen, " `ad," THAT, II:210)]. Cf. Cross & Freedman, EARLY HEBREW ORTHOGRAPHY: A STUDY OF THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952): "The diphthong is uncontracted in Judahite", based on b`wd in line 2 of the Siloam Inscription (50). This comment was pointed out to me by Dr. Stephen Geller.

[2]It does not occur in Ob, SS, or Ez.

[3]This differs considerably from the use and function of both 'ayyeh and yesh, but `ôd functions like the other members of this group when it occurs in non-verbal syntagms.

[4]`ôd may be classified as a constituent adverb. These "... modify clauses [by modifying] the predicate, that is, they specify the time, place, or manner of the predicated situation" (Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL HEBREW SYNTAX (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990): #39.3.1d).

[5]"Scalar adverbs ... refer to grades of degree [m^{e}'od, m^{e}`aT] ... or ... identity of action [tamîd]" (Waltke and O'Connor, INTRODUCTION: #39.3.1i).

situation may be or have been repeated ("again")[6] or recur without interruption ("continually").[7] Combined with negative adverbs, it asserts the non-repetition of an action.

`ôd indicates that an action is or is not repeated:

> wayyeda` 'adam `ôd 'et-'ishtô Gn 4.25
> Now Adam again knew his wife, ...
>
> wayyabo' mal'ak ha'elohîm `ôd 'el-ha'isshah Jg 13.9
> and the Angel of God came to the woman again
>
> wayyoseph YHWH qero' `ôd shemû'el S1 3.6
> And YHWH again called, "Samuel!"
>
> kî lô'-ya`aseh `ôd `abdeka `olah wezebax
> le'lohîm 'axerîm kî 'im lYHWH K2 5.17
> for your servant will never again perform
> burnt offering or sacrifice to other gods--
> only to YHWH.

In this function `ôd often occurs pleonastically with yasaph and an infinitive construct:

> wayyoseph `ôd ledabber 'elayw wayyo'mer ...
> He spoke to him again and said ... Gn 18.29

---

[6]This repetition may be single or multiple. Repetition in H may be indicated in other ways: [yasaph] without `ôd, pa`am or pa`amayim and in a hendiadys composed of, e.g., [shûb] with another verbal. These are outside the scope of this study, although a study of the renderings of formulae of repetition from H into G would certainly be worthwhile.

[7]Continuity is indicated in other ways in H, especially by verbal hendiadys in which halak occurs as the first of two participles (Jo 1.11), two infinitives absolute (Gn 8.3), or as a participle followed by either an adjective (Ex 19.19; S2 3.1) or an infinitive absolute (Jr 41.6). In each case the second of the two is the primary predicate, made continuous by the preceding halak. This phenomenon would also be the subject of an interesting and profitable study of translation technique.

lo'-'osiph `ôd r^{e}'ôt paneyka Ex 10.29
[Moses said] "... I will never see your face again"

`ôd indicates continuance ("still") by qualifying the time of the action or state of its predicate:[8]

'ashîrah l^{e}YHWH b^{e}xayyay ['^{a}hal^{e}lah YHWH ... 146.2] '^{a}zamm^{e}rah le'lohay b^{e}`ôdî Ps 104.33 (= 146.2)
I will sing to YHWH while I live; I will make music to my God while I continue [to live]

... w^{e}'er'eh h^{a}`ôdam xayyîm Ex 4.18
so that I may see if they are still alive

wayyo'mer h^{a}`ôdennû xay 'axî hû' K1 20(21).32
He [Ahab, king of Israel] said, "Is he still alive? He is my brother."

In this function `ôd can also indicate overlap, especially in participial syntagms.[9] This is common when a speaker is interrupted:[10]

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[8]See on `ôd ... xay (below).

[9]Overlap is a sub-type of continuance which indicates that one action was not complete when the next began. Cf. Joseph E. Grimes, "Kinds of Information in Discourse" KIVUNG 4 (1971):64. For a slightly different interpretation of this syntagm, cf. Waltke and O'Connor, INTRODUCTION (#37.6d).

[10]Cf. Johannessohn, "Das biblische kai idou in der Erzählung samt seiner hebräischen Vorlage; C. Exkurse: "Noch er redend" ...", ZSGS 67 (1942):62-4.

hinneh `ôdak m$^{e}$dabberet sham `im-hammelek wa'^{a}nî 'abô' 'ax^{a}rayik ... K1 1.14[11]
While you are still speaking there with the king I will come in after you ...

`ôdennû m^{e}dabber 'immam w^{e}hinneh hammal'ak yored 'elayw wayyo'mer K2 6.33a
While he was still speaking with them the messenger suddenly came down to him and said

`ôdam m$^{e}$dabbrîm `immô w^{e}sarîsê hammelek higgî`û wayyabhilû l$^{e}$habî' 'et haman 'el-hammishteh '$^{a}$sher-`as^{e}tah 'ester Es 6.14
While they were still speaking with him, the king's servants arrived and quickly took Haman to the feast which Esther had prepared.

`ôd may also indicate that a period of time will intervene before an event takes place.[12] The length of this period of time is always specified.

kî l^{e}yamîm `ôd shib`ah 'anokî mamTîr Gn 7.4
... for in just [yet] seven days I am going to bring rain

wayyo'mer lô q^{e}ra' sh^{e}maH lo' ruxamah kî lo' 'ôsîph 'ôd '^{a}raxem 'et-bêt yisra'el Ho 1.6
He said to him, "Name her 'Not-pitied' because I will no longer pity the household of Israel."

In non-verbal contexts `ôd indicates [continued] existence in the state defined by its predicate, which

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[11]Cf. in the immediate context: w^{e}hinneh `ôdennah m$^{e}$dabberet `im-hammelek w^{e}natan hannabî' ba' "While she was still talking with the king, Nathan the prophet came in" (K1 1.22); `ôdennû m^{e}dabber w^{e}hinneh yônatan ben-'ebyatar hakkohen ba' wayyo'mer ... "While he [Joab] was still speaking, Jonathan ben Abiathar the priest arrived and said ..." (K1 1.42).

[12]`ôd here is a non-deictic adverb of the extent of time (cf. `ôlam "forever", rabbat "for a long time"). "Non-deictic" means that its meaning does not depend on either the context or cotext.

may be an adjective, [locative] prepositional phrase, or adverb:[13]

> wayy'omer YHWH 'el-gid`ôn `ôd ha`am rab Jg 7.4
> But YHWH said to Gideon, "There are still too many people"

`ôd frequently occurs with negative adverbs to indicate non-repetition or non-continuity.[14] This construction, which accounts for nearly one-quarter of the total occurrences of `ôd,[15] is especially common in the Latter Prophets,[16] where the reader must decide whether it means that something will absolutely never happen again, or that a specific situation is happening no longer:

> w^{e}lo' yilm^{e}dû `ôd milxamah Is 2.4
> nor will they study war any longer.

---

[13]Cf. Gn 44.14, above (sham); also with b^{e} (7xx) and `im and bên (once each).

[14]The meaning of lo' ... `ôd ("no longer" or "never again"; i.e., does `ôd modify lo' or the predicate?) can be debated because determining the distribution of a negative is often troublesome. E.g., "You can't cook eggplant too long". Does this mean that eggplant may be cooked, but not too long (lest it be ruined), or that the length of time for which eggplant is cooked is immaterial? This discussion (and example) were brought to my attention in a paper by Merle M. Brubaker entitled "Semantics Investigation".

[15]This construction accounts for 26.3% of all biblical occurrences of `ôd (155xx).

[16]80% of the occurrences of this construction are in the Latter Prophets (124xx).

laken hinneh-yamîm ba'îm n^{e}'um-YHWH w^{e}lo'-
yo'm^{e}rû xay-YHWH Jr 23.7
Therefore days are soon coming--a proclamation
of YHWH--when they will no longer say 'As YHWH
lives ..."

w^{e}lo'-yisshama` `ôd qôl mal'akekeh Na 2.14
nor will the voice of your messenger be heard
again

w^{e}lo'-ya`$^{a}$bor `^{a}lêhem `ôd noges kî `attah
ra'îtî b^{e}`ênay Zc 9.8
Nor will an oppressor pass over them again,
for now I have seen with my own eyes.

On the basis of its occurrences in the historical books this construction may emphasize the finish of an activity, not its non-recurrence:

wayyikkan`û happlishtîm w$^{e}$lo'-yas$^{e}$phû `ôd
labô' big^{e}bûl yisra'el S1 7.13
So the Philistines were humbled and no longer
came into the territory of Israel[17]

`ôd denies existence in the formula 'ên `ôd (11xx), found first in K1 8.60, then in the Latter Prophets:[18]

l^{e}ma`an da`at kol-`ammê ha'arets kî YHWH hû'
ha'^{e}lohîm 'ên `ôd K1 8.60
... that all the nations of the earth may know
that YHWH is God--there is no other.

---

[17]Cf. S1 10; 13f; 17-19; 23; 28-31; S2 3, 5, 8). If S1 7.13 is interpreted as an absolute statement, it might be assigned to the putative anti-monarchical document said to underlie parts of S1 7-15. This, however, argues for a remarkably short-sighted (at best) author or editor, especially in light of the role which the Philistine incursions play in the plot of S1 10-31. It probably means that that particular invasion was stopped, and was not repeated.

[18]It is nearly a refrain in Is 45-47 (8xx), where it appears with 'ên (6xx) and lo' and 'aphsî (once each). See under 'ên, below.

'^{a}nî YHWH w^{e}'ên `ôd zûlatî 'ên '^{e}lohîm Is 45.5
I am YHWH, and there is no other; there is no one else except me.

watto'mer 'el-b^{e}naH haggîshah 'elay `ôd kelî
wayyo'mer 'eleyha 'ên `ôd kelî K2 4.6
She said to her son, "Bring me another vessel," but he replied to her, "There is no other vessel."

`ôD WITH AFFIXES

Unlike 'ayyeh, hinneh, and yesh, `ôd appears with prefixes other than the conjunction or interrogative marker. It occurs with two prepositions; both constructions indicate continuance. b`ôd[19] occurs nineteen times:[20]

ûb^{e}`ôd shisshîm w^{e}xamesh shanah yexat
'ephrayim me`am Is 7.8
In just sixty-five years Ephraim will be shattered from (= as) a people.

w^{e}gam 'anokî mana`tî mikkem 'et-haggeshem
b^{e}`ôd sh^{e}losha x^{a}dashîm laqqatsîr ... Am 4.7
I also withheld the rain from you while there were yet three months til the harvest ...

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[19]In verbal clauses "while yet" or "[with]in yet"; in non-verbal clauses a predicator of continued existence.

[20]In four of those nineteen passages it occurs with a pronominal suffix (Dt 31.27; Is 28.4; Pss 104.33; 146.2).

'ashîrah l^{e}YHWH bxayyay '^{a}zammrah le'lohay b^{e}`ôdî Ps 104.33 (= 146.2)[21]
I will sing to YHWH while I live; I will sing to my God while I continue [to live] (= as long as I live).

Idiomatic min+`ôd occurs twice, both times with a 1cs suffix:

ha'^{e}lohîm haro`eh 'otî me`ôdî `ad-hayyôm hazzeh Gn 48.15
the God who has shepherded me from my birth to this day ...

watto'mer ha'atôn 'el-bil`am h$^{a}$lô' 'anokî '$^{a}$tonka '$^{a}$sher-rakabta `alay me`ôdî `ad-hayyôm hazzeh Nu 22.30
The donkey said to Balaam, "Am I not your she-ass upon whom you have ridden from my birth to this day?"[22]

When the subject of `ôd is pronominal, it is indicated by a pronominal suffix.[23] The distribution of this combination in the various types of syntagm is nearly an inversion of its general use, and corresponds roughly to the distribution of yesh and 'ayyeh:[24]

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[21]Cf. Dt 31.27: hen b^{e}`ôdennî xay `immakem, where the presence of xay specifies the nature of the continuance. In Ps 146.2 the same effect is created by the parallelism b^{e}xayyay ... b^{e}`ôdî.

[22]Since donkeys are not ridden until they are one or two years old, Balaam's makes its point via hyperbole.

[23]3ms (21xx), 1cs (7xx), 2ms (5xx), 3fs and 3mp (2xx); 2fs and 1cp (once each). Its frequency with pronominal suffixes (7.98%; 39xx of 789xx) is comparable to that of yesh, but less than half that of 'ayyeh.

[24]With suffixes, `ôd occurs in non-verbal (56.1%), participial (26.9%), and verbal clauses (12.2%). Unlike yesh and 'ayyeh, however, which are used only in quotations, `ôd occurs in quotations, direct address, and as a narrative device (e.g., Gn 8.12, 21).

`ôd with Affixes					
Prefix/ Suffix	Tot Occ	Type of Clause			
		Vbl	Nml	Ptc	hyh
b+	15	7	6	2	
b+/+sfx	4	3	1		
min+/+sfx	2		2		
+sfx	33	2	20	11	
TOTALS	54	12	29	13	---
PERCENT		22.2%	53.7%	24.1%	---
`ôd (%)		65%	20%	8%	7%

Suffixes with `ôd occur primarily with either xay or a participle (especially m$^{e}$dabber).[25] `ôd+sfx xay (10xx) indicates that the subject continued to be alive at the time of the main verb:

> wayshall^{e}xem me`al yitsxaq b$^{e}$nô b$^{e}$`ôdennû xay Gn 25.6
> ... and he [Abraham] sent them away from Isaac while he [Abraham] was still living
>
> wayyitqa`em b$^{e}$leb 'abshalôm `ôdennû xay b^{e}leb ha'elah S2 18.14
> ... and he [Joab] thrust them into Absalom's heart while he was still alive in the heart of the oak
>
> h^{a}`ôdennû xay Gn 43.27[26]
> Is he [your elder father about whom you spoke] still alive?

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[25]On `ôd with m^{e}dabber, see above. It occurs four times with xazaq: as a participle (Ex 9.2; Jb 2.3, 9) and adjective (Js 14.11).

[26]Cf. 'abîkem `ôdennû xay "Our father is still alive" (Gn 43.28); kî `ôdka xay "for you are still alive" (Gn 46.30).

Unlike 'ayyeh and yesh, the pronominal suffixes used with ôd occur together with their antecedents:[27]

> w^{e}'abraham `ôdennû `omed liph^{e}nê YHWH Gn 18.22
> Now Abraham was still standing before YHWH
>
> ûbish^{e}môneh shanîm l^{e}malkô w^{e}hû' `ôdennû na`ar hexel lid^{e}rôsh le'lohê davîd 'abiw C2 34.3
> In the eighth year of his reign, while he was still a young man, he began to seek the God of David his ancestor
>
> wayyabo' y^{e}hûdah w^{e}'exayw bêtah yôseph w^{e}hû' `ôdennû sham wayyipp^{e}lû l^{e}phanayw 'artsah Gn 44.14
> So Judah and his brothers went to Joseph's house while he was still there, and fell to the ground before him
>
> habbasar `ôdennû bên shinnêhem Terem yikkaret w$^{e}$'aph YHWH xarah ba`am ... Nu 11.33
> Now the flesh was still between their teeth--it was not even cut off--when the anger of YHWH burned against the people ...

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[27]Two pronominal passages are anomylous in that a finite verb stands where the other passages lead us to expect a participle. In La 4.17, the suffix (reading -ah with K, rather than -nu with Q) on `ôd reflects the verbal suffix, even as it refers to the same subject: `ôdênah tikleynah `ênênû 'el-`ezratenû habel "Our eyes still failed [as they looked] in vain for our help".

Jr 40.5 w^{e}`ôdennû lo'-yashûb w^{e}shubah 'el-g^{e}dalyah ben-'^{a}xîqam ... (when he [Jeremiah] still did not go back), "Return, then, to Gedaliah ben Ahiqam ..."

SUMMARY

Within the apparent diversity of this catalog, the basic function of `ôd in verbal syntagms in H is to extend an event by indicating its repetition ("again"), or a state by indicating its continuance ("still"). These two functions are related, the second probably as an extension of the first.

`ôd also indicates that a [specified] period of time will elapse before an event comes to pass or a state into existence ("In X [X = #] (days/years/...) Y will occur"), which is also a sort of extension--this time of the intervening time before the event, rather than of the event.

In non-verbal syntagms, where it functions as a predicator of existence, `ôd indicates that its [often pronominal] subject either continues in a state or persists in an action.

In combination with negative adverbs `ôd denies the extension of an action or state, or the continued existence, of its subject.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

USUAL RENDERING

The usual rendering of `ôd is eti (322xx = 76.1%), which also occurs with [e] (21xx = 5%). `ôd is also rendered by ouketi (40xx = 9.5%),[28] [e] alone and hews (5xx each = 1.2% each), and palin (4xx = 1%). Unique renderings total 26 (6.1%); it is not represented in G in 66 passages (13.5%). eti is therefore the primary lexical component used to represent `ôd in G (383xx = 90.6%).

Given "again as the basic meaning of `ôd, we might expect its usual rendering to be palin "again". This is not the case. Why is eti, rather than palin, the usual equivalent of `ôd?[29] Both eti and palin connote repetition, but the idea of continuance or duration is foreign to palin.[30] eti, however, can entail both

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[28]All but one of these occurrences fall in the Latter Prophets (Is, 5xx; Jr, 3xx; Ek, 15xx; MP, 16xx). The exception is in S2 (below). This number does not include those passages in which only the element -eti of ou/meketi represents `ôd (12xx), which are instead included under the usual rendering.

[29]This question was posed to me by E. Tov, who like me expected palin to be the usual translation equivalent of `ôd.

[30]Where palin can be aligned with a Hebrew form (29 of 50xx), it represents shûb (24xx) in a verbal hendiadys that shows repetition of the action described by the following verb (above), `ôd (4xx; Gn 29.33; Ex 3.15; 4.6; Jb 6.29; I found nothing common to these passages to explain this rendering), and yasaph with an infinitive (Gn 8.10).

functions of `ôd, and is thus the most appropriate form available to the translators.

RENDERINGS OF `ôd IN G

`ôd occurs 54xx in Genesis. It is translated by eti (37xx; = 68.5%), eti [e] (3xx), [e] alone (2xx), and by palin, epi loipa, neotetos, pleiwn, heteros, and henika (once each). It is not represented seven times (6xx where H and G are otherwise parallel (4.25; 8.22; 29.30; 37.9; 45.26; 48.7); 37.5b is lacking in G). eti thus renders `ôd in 80.4% of the occurrences (37/46xx) in which it is represented in Gn.

> lo'-'osiph l^{e}qallel `ôd 'et-ha'$^{a}$damah ba`^{a}bûr ha'adam Gn 8.21
> Ou prosthesw eti tou katarassasthai ten gen dia ta erga twn anthrwpwn, ...

In 45.28 Jacob's declaration becomes a conditional statement of intent:

> wayyo'mer yisra'el rab `ôd-yôseph b^{e}nî xay Gn 45.28
> eipen de Israel Mega moi estin ei eti ho huios mou Iwseph ze

The translator had some trouble deciding what to do with rab, which is difficult, although his interpretation is that followed in many modern translations. Here he represents `ôd + adjective by eti ... verb.

In 29.9 he rendered the construction found in Gn 18.22 (above) with a genitive absolute:

`ôdennû m^{e}dabber 'immam w^{e}raxel ba'ah Gn 29.9
eti autou lalountos autois kai Raxel he thugater Laban erxeto

In a parallel construction, with an adjective rather than a participle, the translator used a genitive absolute to represent b^{e}+`ôd+sfx + adjective. The pronominal suffix is represented by the independent pronoun (in genitive) that functions as the "subject" of the G participle:[31]

wayshall^{e}xem me`al yitsxaq b$^{e}$nô b$^{e}$`ôdennû xay Gn 25.6
kai ecapesteilen autous apo Isaak tou huiou autou eti zwntos autou

Again Joseph, after inquiring about Jacob's health, asks further:[32]

... h^{a}`ôdennû xay Gn 43.27[33]
... eti ze?

and they reply with the same words:

... `ôdennû xay Gn 43.28
... eti ze

In the same construction, but without the suffix, eti occurs with a finite verb:

h^{a}`ôd '^{a}bîkem xay Gn 43.7
Ei eti ho pater humwn ze?

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[31]Cf. Dt 31.27.

[32]Note interesting (oxymoronic?) inversion in which Joseph first asks if their father is healthy, then asks if he is still alive.

[33]Cf. Gn 45.3 for another variant on this question, and 46.30 for the same statement and rendering: kî `ôdka xay > eti gar su zes.

`ôd is represented by eti [e] in three passages. eti [e] + (periphrastic) participle occurs once:[34]

> w^{e}'abraham `ôdennû `omed liph^{e}nê YHWH Gn 18.22
> Abraam de en eti hestekws enantion kuriou

In Gn 31.14, where `ôd is represented by eti [e], the translator specified that Rachel and Leah expected a negative answer to their complaint by representing the interrogative prefix with me (rather than leaving it "neutral" by using, e.g., deliberative ei):

> h^{a}`ôd lanû xeleq w^{e}nax^{a}lah b^{e}bêt 'abînû Gn 31.14
> Me estin hemin eti meris e kleronomia en tw oikw tou patros hemwn?

Another variant on the syntagm found in 18.22 occurs when Judah and his brothers return to Joseph's house after Benjamin's arrest and find Joseph still there. Here `ôd+sfx[35] with an adverb is represented by eti [e] (genitive absolute); again the pronominal suffix determines the pronominal "subject" of the participle:

> wayyabo' y^{e}hûdah w^{e}'exayw bêta yôseph w^{e}hû' `ôdennû sham Gn 44.14
> Eiselthen de Ioudas kai hoi adelphoi autoi pros Iwseph eti autou ontos ekei

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[34]Also known as an "analytic tense" (Conybeare & Stock, §72). This is the pattern used only by the translator of Nehemiah (5.2-5) in representing yesh in this syntagm. Cf. Ex 9.2 (below) for an example of a pattern similar to that used for yesh.

[35]The suffix here reiterates a proleptically fronted pronoun in this adverbially disjunctive clause, which is most effectively represented by the genitive absolute.

It is not easy, however, to assign exact equivalents in this verse, probably because the translator found it difficult to represent the combination of a disjunctive pronoun (w^{e}hû') and suffix on `ôd.

In 19.12 `ôd is rendered by [e] alone; the difference between G and H is that of continuity ("Who of yours is still here?" vs. "Who of yours is here?"):

> `od mî-l^{e}ka poh — Gn 19.12
> Estin tís soi hwde ...?

`ôd is also rendered by [e] when Jacob asks his sons why they have brought disaster upon him by revealing Benjamin's existence to "the man":

> ... l^{e}haggîd la'îsh h^{a}'ôd lakem 'ax — Gn 43.6
> ... anaggeilantes tw anthrwpw ei estin humin adelphos?

This makes Jacob's question conform to Joseph's, as quoted by Jacob's sons in the next verse:

> h^{a}yesh lakem 'ax — Gn 43.7
> ei estin humin adelphos

`ôd is represented by several renderings that are unique. In Gn 45.6, in contrast to the translator's normal custom of using one word for two, `ôd is rendered by eti loipa. This emphasizes the futurity of the years of famine by anticipating the future tense in the following relative clause:

> w^{e}`ôd xamesh shanîm '^{a}sher 'ên-xarîsh w^{e}qatsîr — Gn 45.6
> kai eti loipa pente ete, en hois ouk estai arotriasis oude ametos

Five verses later he renders the same construction (without the following relative clause) with simple eti:

kî `ôd xamesh shanîm ra`ab — Gn 45.11
eti gar pente ete limos

The idiom min+`ôd+sfx `ad-hayyôm hazzeh "from [my] birth til today" is rendered fluently,[36] although the translator may have read m^{e}'od as minn^{e}`ûray:[37]

ha'^{e}lohîm haro`eh 'otî me`ôdî `ad-hayyôm hazzeh — Gn 48.15
ho theos ho trephwn me ek neotetos hews tes hemeras tautes, ...

The pronominal suffix is not represented due to the propensity of Greek not to use possessive forms with parts of one's body (here, by extension, one's life).

henika is used in a text where G conflates two verses--apparently to telescope (and thus equate) two events. It appears that the translator chose an exegetical translation rather than that his Vorlage differed significantly from H.[38]

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[36]Cf. Nu 22.30 for the same representation of this idiom (there 2ms, below).

[37]neotes represents either no`ar or n$^{e}$`ûr in 37 of its 47 occurrences in G. no`ar and n$^{e}$`ûr, in turn, are represented by neotes 2/4xx and 35/46xx, respectively.

[38]35.16 (G) contains a conflation of vv. 16 and 21. 35.21 (G) then corresponds to 35.22 (H), and 35.22 (G) to 35.22b (H). Cf. a vertical (parallel) alignment of these texts:

35.16	35.21	G
wayyis^{e}`û	wayyis^{e}`û	Aparas + de
	Israel	Iakwb
mibbêt 'el		ek + Baithel
	wayyeT	epecen
	'oh^{o}lôh	ten + skenen + autou

henika, which in G usually represents either the conjunction kî or the prepositions k^{e}- and b^{e}- when they introduce temporal clauses,[39] is used here because H is misunderstood, especially the idiom kibrat-ha'arets, the first half of which was simply transliterated.[40]

pleiwn, comparative of polus, corresponds to `ôd once when Joseph again sees his father after twenty-two years and weeps on his shoulders:

> wayyippol `al-tsawwa'rayw wayyebk `al-tsawwa'rayw `ôd — Gn 46.29
> epepesen epi traxelon autou kai eklausen klauthmw pleioni[41]

If the translator used klauthmos to reflect Gn 45.2 (its only other occurrence in Genesis) then we could expect

	mehal'ah lmigdal-`eder	epekeina tou + purgou Gader
wayhî-`ôd	...	egeneto + de henika eggisen
kibrat-ha'arets labô' 'ephratah		xabratha eis gen elthein Ephratha

[39]Cf., e.g., Gn 6.1; 12.11, 14; 16.16; 17.24, 25; 48.7 (all with b^{e}-).

[40]H: "While they were still some distance from the entrance to Ephratah ..." is not well represented by G: "When they approached xabratha in the land [and were about?] to enter Ephratah ..."
The translator may have used henika because he read `ôd as `ad, but this would not fit his usual pattern (above).

[41]The second occurrence of `al-tsawwa'rayw is not repeated in G, perhaps overlooked or elided due to its presence two words earlier.

him to have represented `ôd with eti "again" rather than pleiwn "greatly". The cognate combination klaiw ... klauthmos is not infrequent in G, and the greatly increased use of the cognate construction generally in Gn[42] may have encouraged the translator to use that construction. He most likely understood `ôd in the sense of m'od (Although polus/pleiwn usually renders rab) and used the cognate + pleiwn to emphasize the abundance of his sobbing rather than its continuity.

In Gn 29.33 the translator represented `ôd by means of palin:

> wattahar `ôd watteled ben ... Gn 29.33
> kai sunelaben palin Leia kai eteken huion deuteron tw Iakwb

To avoid misunderstanding and emphasize both that this was Leah's son, and that he was her second, the translator inserted both Leia and deuteron tw Iakwb.[43]

In 37.9 heteros corresponds to `ôd, probably under the influence of 'axer/heteron in the preceding clause:[44]

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[42]Usually accusative, here dative of manner, despite its rather infrequent pre-LXX appearance. Cf. Conybeare & Stock, Grammar (§61).

[43]Note that the other occurrences of this conception and birth formula are all rendered with eti (29.34, 35; 30.7, 19 (30.12 (H) parallels the G text of 29.33)).

[44]This rendering is shared only with two clauses that are identical (Is 47.8, 10).

wayyax^{a}lom `ôd x^{a}lôm 'axer ... wayyo'mer
hinneh xalamtî x^{a}lôm `ôd Gn 37.9 (2xx)
eiden de enupnion heteron ... kai eipen Idou
enupniasamen enupnion heteron[45]

In seven passages in Gn there is no form that corresponds to `ôd, although in six of these H and G are otherwise parallel.[46] Gn 37.5b is a minus in G.

In some passages `ôd may be a minus in G because it was not part of the translator's Vorlage, or because he felt that it was rendered superfluous by either the context or the connotation of the form modified by 'ôd. In Gn 29.30 he may have thought that 'axer alone entailed continuance, expressing seven [additional] years of service:

wayya`$^{a}$bod `immô `ôd sheba`-shanîm '^{a}xerôt
kai edouleusen autw hepta ete hetera Gn 29.30

The brothers' report to Jacob that Joseph lives(!) is rendered without representing `ôd, perhaps since zaw, which represents the adjective, necessarily entails continuity:[47]

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[45]The first occurrence of `ôd may be a minus in G either because it was lacking in the translator's Vorlage or because it seemed redundant or superfluous in representing `ôd ... 'axer.

[46]Gn 4.25; 8.22; 29.30; 37.9; 45.26; 48.7. On 37.9, see above.

[47]Although in essentially the same construction just two verses later `ôd is represented by eti (Gn 45.28, above).

wayyaggidû lô le'mor `ôd yôseph xay Gn 45.26
kai aneggeilan autw legontes hoti Ho huios sou Iwseph ze, ...[48]

Where the exact function of `ôd was not clear the translator left it out rather than merely fill in eti or some other form:

`od kol-y$^{e}$mê ha'arets zera` w^{e}qatsîr ... lo' yishbotû Gn 8.22
pasas tas hemeras tes ges sperma kai therismos, ... ou katapausousin.

In Gn 48.7 b^{e}`ôd is not represented, probably because of the distortion of the text caused by the introduction of hippodromos:[49]

wa'^{a}nî b^{e}bo'î mippaddan metah `alay raxel b$^{e}$'erets k$^{e}$na`an badderek b^{e}`ôd kibrat-'erets labo' 'ephratah Gn 48.7
egw de henika erxomen ek Mesopotamias tes Surias apethanen Raxel he meter sou en ge Xanaan eggizontos mou kata ton hippodromon xabrathra tes ges tou elthein Ephrath

`ôd is not represented in 4.25, which stands contrary to the conception and birth formulas connected with the births of Jacob's children (above), where the

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[48]Although `ôd is not represented, the rest of the verse is consistent with the translator's pattern of using a verb to represent an adjective (above). It is thus possible that the translator's Vorlage lacked `ôd, although I think it more difficult to explain its insertion into H.

[49]b^{e}`ôd parallels kata ton hippodromon, but `ôd is a G minus. In 48.7b hippodromos corresponds to 'ephrat. It appears that the translator did not identify 'ephrat with 'ephratah (cf. 35.16, 19; 48.7a, in all of which 'ephratah is rendered as Ephratha), but rendered it with hippodromos, which was then read back into the parallel passages. G might suggest that the translator read b^{e}`ad (which would be unique to this passage in H).

translator was careful to represent `ôd each time that it occurred:

wayyeda` 'adam `ôd 'et-'ishtô Gn 4.25
Egnw de Adam Euan ten gunaika autou

Genesis therefore shows some variation in rendering `ôd, although eti is the usual rendering (76.6%). The translator also did not represent `ôd, or translated it emphatically (29.33).

`ôd occurs thirteen times in Exodus, where it is rendered by eti (11xx)[50] and palin (2xx).

Some examples of the usual rendering:

`ôd m$^{e}$`aT ûs^{e}qalunî Ex 17.4
eti mikron kai katalithobolesousin me

Although eti was used in 4.18, the translator rendered the deliberative question with ei for the interrogative prefix and used 3ppi of zaw for the adjective, determining the person and number of the verbal form from the pronominal suffix on `ôd:

w^{e}'er'eh ha`ôdam xayyîm Ex 4.18
kai opsomai ei eti zwsin

This is not, however, as free as it might seem at first glance, since it is the best way to represent the meaning and force of H in Greek.

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[50]Including two passages where `ôd is represented by the second element of [ouk]eti (10.29; 36.6).

In a parallel translation[51] the combination `ôd + participle is rendered by eti + finite verb, with the pronominal suffix of `ôd again determining the person and number of the verbal form:

w^{e}`ôdka max^{a}zîq bam — Ex 9.2
all' eti egkrateis autou, ...

Twice in Exodus `ôd is represented by palin. The same general formula introduces a direct address in both verses:

wayyo'mer `ôd '^{e}lohîm 'el-mosheh ... — Ex 3.15
kai eipen ho theos palin pros Mwusen ...

wayyo'mer YHWH lô `ôd ... — Ex 4.6
eipen de autw kurios palin ...

In Ex 10.29, the translator represented lo' yasaph `ôd (inf) with ouketi with a passive verb. `ôd here appears as the second half of ouketi, although this probably entails yasaph as well:

lo' 'osiph `ôd r^{e}'ôt paneyka — Ex 10.29
ouketi ophthesomai soi eis proswpon

When Moses told the people to stop bringing materials for the tabernacle the translator similarly used meketi to represent 'al ... `ôd,[52] again representing `ôd with the second element of the compound negative adverb:

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[51]The same pattern is followed in 9.17 (oun is not part of the rendering of `ôd--it represents the summary force of the verse).

[52]me- rather than ou- is due to the imperative.

'îsh w^{e}'isshah 'al-ya`$^{a}$sû-`ôd m^{e}la'kah
lit^{e}rûmat haqqodesh Ex 36.6
Aner kai gune meketi ergazesthwsan eis tas
aparxas tou hagiou

With the exception of the two occurrences of palin, therefore, the translator of Ex used only the usual rendering (11xx = 84.6%), albeit also in compound forms (2xx = 15.4%).

`ôd occurs four times in Leviticus, where it is rendered by eti (2xx) and by ouketi and [e] (once each).

In a non-verbal clause it is rendered by [e]; tis specifies the indefinite nature of the condition (which requires the subjunctive):

'im-`ôd rabbôt basshanîm ... Lv 25.51
ean de tini pleion twn etwn e, ...

The laws concerning redemption of land consecrated to YHWH say that one who consecrates property but does not redeem it or sells it to another has lost forever his opportunity to redeem it for himself:

lo' yigga'el `ôd Lv 27.20
ouketi me lutrwsetai auton

Here ouketi me corresponds to lo' ... `ôd, the additional negative emphasizing the permanence of his loss of the right of redemption.

The translator of Lv was thus fairly consistent in representing `ôd (3xx = 75%).

In Numbers `ôd (9xx) is rendered by eti (5xx), eti [e] (2xx), and neotetos (once; 22.30). It is not represented in Nu 18.5.

It is rendered by eti alone in verbal clauses[53] but not in the others, showing that the translator may have drawn some distinction between the different constructions in which he found `ôd.

`ôd is represented by eti [e] twice, once in an initial disjunctive clause with a fronted subject reiterated by the pronominal subject affixed to `ôd:

> habbasar `ôdennû bên shinnêhem ... Nu 11.33
> ta krea eti en en tois odousin autwn ...

Whoever refuses ritual purification after touching a corpse will be cut off; here eti and [e] are separated by the length of the clause:

> `ôd Tum'atô bô Nu 19.13
> eti he akatharsia autou en autw estin

In both of these passages the idea of continued existence is especially prominent, which is probably why the translator used [e] in addition to eti.

Balaam's she-ass asked if she had ever behaved in such a way before. The translator rendered idiomatic me`ôdka[54] according to its sense, rather than formally:

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[53]Nu 8.25; 18.22; 32.15.

[54]Only here and Gn 48.15 (1cs suffix), where `ôd is also rendered with neotetos.

h^{a}lô' 'anokî '^{a}tonka '^{a}sher-rakabta `alay
me`ôdka `ad-hayyôm hazzeh Nu 22.30
Ouk egw he onos sou, eph' hes epebaines apo
neotetos sou hews tes semeron hemeras?

`ôd is not represented in one passage in Nu; perhaps because the translator felt it superfluous given the accompanying hayah (rendered by [e]):

w^{e}lo'-yihyeh `ôd qetseph `al-b^{e}nê yisra'el
Nu 18.5
kai ouk estai thumos en tois huiois Israel

The translator of Nu rendered `ôd relatively consistently as eti, using [e] when required by the nature of the clause (2xx), interpreting an idiom, and choosing not to represent it when to do so seemed superfluous to the requirements of G.

Deuteronomy contains fifteen occurrences of `ôd, rendered without exception by eti. `ôd itself is represented by eti in 31.27, but the construction b^{e}+`ôd+sfx with an adjective is rendered by eti and a genitive absolute, with an independent pronoun that represents the pronominal suffix. The translator used a concessive genitive absolute in order to represent the duration implied by the preposition b^{e} affixed to 'ôd:

hen b^{e}`ôdennî xay `immakem hayyôm mamrîm
h^{e}yîtem `im-YHWH Dt 31.27
eti gar emou zwntos meth' humwn semeron
parapikrainontes ete ta pros ton theon

The stylized formula[55] 'ên `ôd is, as normally in G, rendered by ouk [e] eti. ouk [e] represents 'ên, and eti represents `ôd:

YHWH hû' ha'^{e}lohîm 'ên `ôd mill^{e}baddô Dt 4.35[56]
kai ouk estin eti plen autou

The translator of Dt rendered `ôd with absolute regularity.

`ôd occurs five times in Joshua, where it is renderd by eti (3xx),[57] and eti [e] and oudemia (once each). Unlike Numbers, the renderings do not reflect the type of clause.

It occurs once with the preposition b^{e}- where the translator represented the sense by rendering the following participle paratactically with a verb, rather than subordinating the `ôd-clause by means of a participle or subordinating conjunction:

kî b^{e}`ôd sh$^{e}$loshet yamîm 'attem `obrîm 'et hayyarden hazzeh Js 1.11
hoti eti treis hemerai kai humeis diabainete ton Iordanen touton[58]

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[55]That this was a traditional formula can be seen from 4.39, where mill^{e}baddô is elided.

[56]Cf. 4.39.

[57]Including the second element of [ouk]eti (once).

[58]G readings in Joshua are from Max L. Margolis, The Book of Joshua in Greek, two volumes (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1931).

eti [e] renders `ôd when Caleb asserted that he was still able to possess his inheritance:

> `ôdennî hayyôm xazaq ca'^{a}sher b^{e}yôm sh^{e}lo$_{a}$x 'ôtî mosheh Js 14.11
> eti eimi semeron isxuwn hwsei hote apesteilen me Mwuses

lo' ... `ôd[59] is represented by [ouk]eti:

> w^{e}lo'-hayah `ôd lib^{e}nê yisra'el man Js 5.12
> kai ouketi huperxen tois huiois Israel manna[60]

The translator used oudemia to emphasize[61] the complete absence of any king courageous enough to stand against Israel, whereas H states simply that the kings (en masse) no longer had the heart to stand before Israel:

> w^{e}lo' hayah bam `ôd rû$_{a}$x mipp^{e}nê b^{e}nê-yisra'el Js 5.1
> kai ouk en en autois phronesis oudemia apo proswpou twn huiwn Israel.

The translator of Js was thus relatively free (60%) to use differing representations to emphasize the force and function of `ôd in different contexts.

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[59]Three times: Js 2.11; 5.1, 12.

[60]Note also the use of huparxw to render hayah l in the sense of "have" or "possess", as occurred with yesh l^{e}- (above).

[61]Multiple negatives in Greek increase the force of the negation; they do not, as in English, "cancel" each other.

`ôd occurs twelve times in Judges. It is represented by eti (6xx) and by eti [e] and [e] (once each). It is not represented four times.[62]

The translator of Jg twice used non-verbal clauses that correspond to H. YHWH told Gideon, after the elimination of 22,000 warriors that:

> `ôd ha`am rab — Jg 7.4
> eti ho laos polus

Micah, lamenting the loss of his idol and priest, complained to the Danite warriors:

> ûmah lî `ôd — Jg 18.24
> kai tí emoi eti

eti [e] represents `ôd in a non-verbal clause which is rendered as a genitive absolute governing the second half of the verse:

> `ad hayyôm hazzeh `ôdennû b^{e}`ophrat '$^{a}$bî ha`ezrî — Jg 6.24
> hews tes hemeras tautes eti autou ontos en Ephratha patros tou Ezri

In the explanation of Jether's reluctance to obey his father Gideon by killing Zebah and Zalmunnah the translator used [e] (3sii) to represent `ôd+3ms:

> kî `ôdennû na`ar — Jg 8.20
> hoti en newteros

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[62] 3xx where G and H are otherwise parallel; 11.14a is a minus in G.

These statistics reflect the A text of Jg; Jg B is far more consistent, using eti (10xx, including all 4xx where `ôd is a minus in Jg A), eti [e] (2xx; 6.24--Jg A also has eti [e], and 8.20--Jg A has only [e]). Jg B thus reflects H much more closely (cf. on yesh, above).

`ôd is not represented in four passages in Jg; in three H and G are otherwise parallel. In Jg 2.11-19, a paradigmatic overview of the book, Israel became as helpless as their enemies had been before them (cf. Js 2.11; 5.1, 12). The translator absolutizes their inability to resist by not reflecting the presence or force of `ôd:

> w^{e}lô' yak^{e}lû `ôd la`^{a}mod liph^{e}nê 'ôybêhem Jg 2.14
> kai ouk edunasthesan antistenai kata proswpon twn exthrwn autwn

In Manoah's prayer for further instruction from the man of God `ôd is again a minus in G, probably because the next verse--13.9 (where `ôd is represented by eti)--explicitly mentions his return:

> yabô'-na' `ôd 'elênû w^{e}yôrenû ... Jg 13.8
> elthetw de pros hemas kai photisatw hemas ...

In the account of the Second Battle of Gibeah `ôd is not represented. Here the translator wished to avoid an [apparent] contradiction into his text, since 22000, not 18000 had been killed on the first day of fighting, so did not represent `ôd:[63]

> wayyashxîtû bib^{e}nê yisra'el `ôd 18000 Jg 20.25
> kai diephtheiren ek tou laou 18000

G cannot be aligned satisfactorily with H in Jg

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[63] `ôd modifies the verb, referring to the previous Benjamite victory, not to the number of casualties.

11.14a, where apostrephw seems to represent yasaph.[64] This verse, however, is unusual in describing repetition by yasaph `ôd with a preterite, rather than the usual infinitive construct, and the translator may have been unsure of the best way to render this syntagm:

> wayyoseph yiphtax 'ôd wayyishlax mal'akîm 'el-melek b^{e}nê `ammôn Jg 11.14
> kai apestrepsan hoi aggeloi pros Iephthae kai apesteilen Iephthae aggelous pros ton basilea huiwn Ammwn

The translator of Jg used eti to represent only one-half of the occurrences of `ôd (7xx of 12 if eti [e] is counted here), and chose not to represent it in one-third of its occurrences, usually for editorial reasons.

In 1 Samuel (17xx) `ôd is represented by eti (9xx) and eti [e] (2xx). It is not represented in six passages.[65]

In one non-verbal clause eti renders `ôd, but the verb with which `ôd occurs is not represented, when Jesse tells Samuel that he had yet another son:

> wayyo'mer `ôd sha'ar haqqaTan S1 16.11
> kai eipen Eti ho mikros

eti [e] represents `ôd twice in S1. S1 13.7 ([e] 3sii), reports that most of the Hebrews had fled beyond

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[64]If true, this would be the only place where yasaph > apostrephw.

[65]In five of these G parallels H; 18.8b is a minus in G.

the Jordan to the territory of Gad and Gilead, but Saul and his entourage were still at Gilgal:

> w^{e}sha'ûl `ôdennû bagilgal w$^{e}$kol-ha`am xar^{e}dû 'ax^{a}rayw S1 13.7
> kai Saoul eti en en Galgalois, kai pas ho laos eceste opisw autou

eti + genitive absolute of [e] represents Jonathan's request in a difficult verse, where w^{e}lo' was probably read as w^{e}lu', the resulting condition being represented by the adverbial participle:

> w^{e}lo' 'im-`ôdennî xay ... S1 20.14
> kai men eti mou zwntos ...

`ôd is not represented in six passages; in five G parallels H.[66] In 3.6 the translator may have felt that prostithemi alone indicated repetition, and so did not represent `ôd:[67]

> wayyoseph YHWH q^{e}ro' `ôd sh^{e}mû'el S1 3.6
> kai prosetheto kurios kai ekalesen Samouel Samouel[68]

In Saul's promise to refrain from further plotting against David `ôd is not represented, probably because the future entails the idea of "any longer" or "again:"[69]

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[66]S1 18.8b is a minus in G.

[67]He did, however, use this combination in the other occurrences of this syntagm (7.13; 23.4; 27.4).

[68]The repeated Samouel is probably due to parablepsis which caused the intervening wayyaqam (or its rendering) to be overlooked.

[69]But cf. 1.18, where this function of `ôd is represented by ou ... eti.

kî lo'-'ara` l$^{e}$ka `ôd ... S1 26.21
hoti ou kakopoiesw se ...

This is also the probable explanation for the minus in 27.1:

w^{e}nô'ash mimmennî sha'ûl l^{e}baqshenî `ôd b^{e}kol-g^{e}bûl yisra'el S1 27.1
kai ane Saoul tou zetein me eis pan horion Israel

When Saul was named but could not be found at Mizpah, the assembly inquired further:

wayyish'^{a}lû-`ôd b$^{e}$YHWH h$^{a}$ba' `ôd h^{a}lom 'îsh S1 10.22 (2xx)
kai eperwtesen Samouel eti en kuriw Ei erxetai ho aner entautha?

The rendering sets Samuel apart as the principal figure (in 10.22a, where `ôd > eti), but appears to have read the second occurrence of `ôd as the preposition `ad, which is entailed in entautha.

`ôd is not represented to avoid a contradiction, since David had neither sworn nor answered Jonathan previously:

wayyisshaba` `ôd david wayyo'mer ... S1 20.3
kai apekrithe Dauid tw Iwnathan kai eipen ...

S1 shows minimal regularity in rendering `ôd (eti = 52.9%), choosing not to represent its presence (5xx = 29.4%) by entailing its function within verbal forms (especially the future) and depending on the context for the concept of repetition. The translator therefore saw it as an essentially pleonastic component of H which could, with relative impunity, be left unrepresented.

`ôd occurs thirty-five times in 2 Samuel. It is represented by eti (26xx = 74.3%), eti [e] (3xx), and by ouketi (once). It is not represented in five passages. It is thus represented by eti in 86.7% of its occurrences.

David answers his servants' perplexity about his changed attitude and appearance:

> wayyo'mer b^{e}`ôd hayyeled xay tsamtî S2 12.22
> kai eipen Dauid En tw to paidarion eti zen enesteusa ...

Here G captures precisely the force of H with an idiomatic articular infinitive.[70]

Although the genitive absolute is temporally adverbial `ôd is represented by eti. The adjective is rendered by the genitive participle, in a rendering similar to that of 12.22.

> `ôdennû xay b^{e}leb ha'elah S2 18.14
> eti autou zwntos en te kardia tes druos

When Absalom complained about his "internal exile" to Joab, he claimed that he would be better if he had remained in Geshur:

> Tôb lî `od '^{a}nî-sham S2 14.32
> agathon moi en ([e] 3sii) tou eti einai me ekei

The first occurrence of [e] (3sii) represents the predication of the clause. The second (the [articular]

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[70]Note the contrast with the usual rendering of b^{e}`ôd (genitive absolute).

present infinitive), along with the encompassed eti, represents `ôd, in a fashion similar to that of 12.22.

`ôd is rendered twice as eti in a conversation between David and Siba when Siba, in answer to David's question about Saulide survivors, reveals Mephibosheth's existence. Its first occurrence is represented by eti, the second by eti [e]. The difference is probably to be explained by the repetition of hupoleipw from 9.1--the presence of the verb made [e] unnecessary:

> wayyo'mer hammelek ha'ephes `ôd 'îsh l$^{e}$bêt sha'ûl 'e`^{e}seh `immô xesed '$^{e}$lohîm wayyo'mer tsîba' 'el-hammelek `ôd ben lîhônatan n^{e}keh raglayim S2 9.3 (2xx)
> kai eipen ho basileus Ei hupoleleiptai ek tou oikou Saoul eti aner kai poiesw met' autou eleos theou? kai eipen Siba pros ton basilea Eti estin huios tw Iwnathan peplegws tous podas

b^{e}`ôd appears as eti [e] in a genitive absolute, which represents well its force with adverbial hayyôm:

> wayyabo' kol-ha`am l$^{e}$habrôt 'et-dawid lexem b$^{e}$`ôd hayyôm S2 3.35
> kai elthen pas ho laos perideipnesai ton dauid artois eti ouses hemeras, ...

The translator uses ouketi to represent `ôd in order to emphasize YHWH's promise that the nation will no longer be disturbed by the wicked:

> w^{e}lo' yirgaz `ôd S2 7.10
> kai ou merimnesei ouketi

`ôd is not represented in five passages in S2. In S2 2.28 (where it occurs twice) its second occurrence

appears in G as eti, but its first--repetition by means of a verb + `ôd--is not represented:

> w^{e}lo'-yird^{e}phû `ôd 'ax$^{a}$rê yisra'el w$^{e}$lo'-yas$^{e}$phû `ôd l^{e}hillaxem S2 2.28
> kai ou katediwcan opisw tou Israel kai ou prosethento eti tou polemein

The first half of the verse makes it clear that the people stopped (wya`am$^{a}$dû kol-ha`am ...), which makes `ôd superfluous, as does its second occurence in this verse.

When Absalom sent for Joab the second time, `ôd is not represented in G. It is patently pleonastic, being entailed in an adverbial phrase, as also in G:

> wayyishlax `ôd shenît S2 14.29
> kai apesteilen ek deuterou pros auton, ...

`ôd occurs five times in as many verses in S2 21, four times in the construction watt$^{e}$hî `ôd [ham]milxamah ... In three of these verses it is represented by eti, once it is not--21.19, where the battle was in Gob not in Gath, as in the other verses. The translator, wishing to avoid an apparent contradiction, merely left out the reference to repeated warfare in Gob.

Saul, dying, commands the Amalekite to kill him

> kî-kol-`ôd naphshî bî S2 1.9
> hoti pasa he psuxe mou en emoi

The translator, uncertain of the force of `ôd in this

hypallage,[71] did not reflect its presence in his translation--perhaps also because he felt that it was superfluous.

The translator also seems not to have known how to represent `ôd in 7.19, when David asks YHWH:

> wattiqTan `ôd zo't b$^{e}$`êneyka '^{a}donay YHWH
> wat^{e}dabber gam ... S2 7.19
> kai katesmikrunthe mikron enwpion sou, kurie
> mou kurie, kai elalesas ...

The force of `ôd here, indeed, is not obvious. It may be equivalent to that of gam [-zo't]: "And this too is a small thing in your sight, O Lord YHWH, ..."

The difference in proportion of renderings between S2 and S1 is striking, S2 being far more regular than S1 (86.7% to 52.9%). The translator of S2 also showed sensitivity for the nuances of G in his rendering of `ôd + adjective and b$^{e}$`ôd.

1 Kings contains twelve occurrences of `ôd. It is represented by eti (7xx), eti [e] (2xx), and hews (once: 12.5). It is not represented in 10.5 and 22.7.

It is rendered by eti in three parallel verses describing Nathan and Bathsheba's plot to ensure Solomon's succession. Here `ôd+sfx + participle > eti

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[71]Hypallage is "inversion of normal syntactical order" (Williams, Hebrew Syntax, #30). It is not surprising that Saul, wounded and dying, with his dead sons near him, was not concerned with the niceties of syntax or grammar!

witha a genitive absolute in all three cases, the suffix supplying the pronominal "subject" of the genitival participle:[72]

> hinneh `ôdak m$^{e}$dabberet sham `im-hammelek
> wa'^{a}nî 'abô' 'ax^{a}rayik K1 1.14
> kai idou eti lalouses sou ekei meta tou
> basilews kai egw eiseleusomai opisw sou ...

At the end of Solomon's prayer of dedication `ôd is also represented by eti:[73]

> l^{e}ma`an da`at kol-`ammê ha'arets kî YHWH hû'
> ha'^{e}lohîm 'ên `ôd K1 8.60
> hopws gnwsin pantes hoi laoi tes ges hoti
> kurios ho theos, autos theos kai ouk estin eti

In a disjunctive clause in K1 12.2 (11.43a in G) `ôd+sfx is represented by eti [e] (genitive absolute), with a genitive pronoun again representing the pronominal suffix:

> w^{e}hû' `ôdennû b^{e}mitsrayim K1 12.2
> kai autou eti ontos en Aiguptw

It is also rendered by eti [e] when the king of Israel admitted to Jehoshaphat of Judah that there was yet another prophet, Micaiah, whom he hated because of his prophecies:

> `ôd 'îsh-'exad lid^{e}rosh 'et-YHWH me'otô K1 22.8
> eti estin aner heis tou eperwtesai ton kurion
> di' autou

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[72]Cf. K1 1.22, 42, which are precisely parallel. Cf. also K1 12.2 (below), where `ôd is represented by eti [e] (genitive absolute).

[73][e] is part of the representation of 'ên (often rendered by ouk [e]). See on 'ên, below.

In the previous verse, which contains the question that solicits this grudging response, however, it is not represented in G, perhaps to throw Ahab's reluctance into greater relief:

ha'ên poh nabî' l^{e}YHWH `ôd K1 22.7
Ouk estin hwde prophetes tou kuriou ...

`ôd is not represented in K1 10.5, which describes the effect of the splendor of Solomon's court upon the Queen of Sheba:

w^{e}lo'- hayah bah `ôd rû$_{a}$x K1 10.5
kai ec heautes egeneto

Here the translator's free rendering of the idiom did not require (allow?) that he represent `ôd.

Although `ôd is consistently represented by eti (and eti [e]), the translator of K1 also left it unrepresented (10.5; 22.7) and translated it according to its sense (12.5: hews).

`ôd occurs thirteen times in 2 Kings, in all of which it is represented by eti.

In Isaiah (48xx) `ôd is represented by eti (29xx = 50%),[74] ouketi (4xx), heteros and me (2xx each), and by eti [e], plen, and allos (once each). In one passage (28.4) it may be represented by prin e.

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[74]Including five occurrences in which `ôd is represented by the second element of [ouk]eti.

It is not represented in seven occurrences, in all of which G parallels H (10.31(32); 26.21; 49.20; 56.8; 60.19, 20; 62.4 (second occurrence). eti is thus contained within the representation of `ôd in 82.9% of its occurrences, although eti alone accounts for only 58.5%.

The parallelism of Is 2.4c is made more explicit in G by the addition of eti to the first colon:

> lo'-yissa' gôy 'el-gôy xereb w^{e}lo'-yilm^{e}dû `ôd milxamah Is 2.4c
> kai ou lempsetai eti ethnos ep' ethnos maxairan, kai ou me mathwsin eti polemein

In the refrain[75] "Despite all this, his anger has not turned away, but his hand is still outstretched" `ôd + participle > eti + adjective, in marked contrast to the genitive absolutes, and verbal and periphrastic constructions seen in other books:

> b^{e}kol-zo't lo'-shab 'appô w^{e}`ôd yadô n^{e}Tûyah Is 5.25
> epi toutois pasin ouk apestraphe ho thumos, all' eti he xeir hupsele

In its last occurrence in Isaiah, however, `ôd, which occurs here with an independent pronominal subject(!) and participial predicate is rendered with eti + genitive absolute:

> w^{e}hayah Terem-yiqra'û wa'^{a}nî 'e`$^{e}$neh `ôd hem m^{e}dabbrîm wa'^{a}nî 'eshma` Is 65.24
> kai estai prin e kekracai autous egw epakousomai autwn, eti lalountwn autwn erw Tì esti?

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[75]Cf. Is 9.11(12), 16(17), 20(21).

The translator divided Is 45.5 into three clauses rather than four, reading w'ên ... 'elohîm as one clause rather than two, but nonetheless represented `ôd by eti:[76]

> 'anî YHWH we'ên `ôd zûlatî 'ên 'elohîm
> 'a'azzerka welo' yeda`tanî Is 45.5
> hoti egw kurios ho theos kai ouk estin eti
> plen emou theos kai ouk edeis me[77]

eti [e] represents `ôd in a non-verbal clause:

> we`ôd bah `asiriyyah ... Is 6.13
> kai eti ep' autes esti to epidekaton, ...

In 32.10 it appears that the translator, after reading `ibrî as `ibdî, struggled to make sense of the rest of the text,[78] yielding the rather different reason for the instruction given at the beginning of the verse. He nonetheless recognized and rendered lo' ... `ôd by the compound form ouketi:[79]

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[76]Cf. Is 45.6, 18; 46.9. In this clause, 'ên > ouk [e] (further, below).

[77]The minus of 'a'azzerka in G is puzzling, although it probably reflects the translator's freedom with his text, especially in light of the nearly identical preceding verse (45.4b):

> wa'eqra' leka bishmeka 'akanneka welo'
> yeda`tanî Is 45.4b
> egw kalesw se tw onomati mou kai prosdecomai
> se, su de ouk egnws me

[78]`ibrî could be read as `ibdî, and a redivision of consonants could have read kay'ôr bat as kî ûrab, but tarshîsh as a hypocatastasis for 'oniyyôt tarshîsh (cf. 23.14) is unlikely.

[79]As he does in 10.20; 23.10; 29.17; 52.1; 62.4 (first occurrence).

`ibrî 'artsek kay$^{e}$'or bat-tarshîsh 'ên mezax `ôd Is 32.10
ergazou ten gen sou kai gar wkî ploia rab ouketi erxetai ek Karxedonos

Only two verses later (32.12) he represented `ôd itself by ouketi, separately representing lo' by me:[80]

lo'-tôsîphî `ôd la`^{a}lôz Is 32.12
Ouketi me prosthete tou hubrizein

The translator used several forms only once to represent `ôd--several in essentially the same syntagm. In 45.14 and 21 the statement found in Is 45.5 is expanded, leading the translator to different renderings of `ôd:

'ak bak 'el w^{e}'ên `ôd 'ephes '^{e}lohîm Is 45.14
hoti en soi ho theos esti kai erousin Ouk esti theos plen sou

h^{a}lô' '^{a}nî YHWH w^{e}'ên-`ôd '$^{e}$lohîm mibbal`aday Is 45.21
Egw ho theos, kai ouk estin allos plen emou

In a parody of this saying, YHWH puts these words in the mouth of Jerusalem as an expression of her self-sufficiency, where `ôd is represented by heteros:[81]

'^{a}nî w^{e}'aphsî `ôd Is 47.8
egw eimi kai ouk estin hetera

In an exegetical translation that heightens the imagery of H by stressing the immediacy of the action, b^{e}`ôd+sfx is rendered by prin e "before":

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[80]He also does this in 30.20; 32.5; 38.11; 65.19.

[81]This is repeated two verses later (47.10), in both H and G.

'asher yir'eh haro'eh 'ôtah be`ôdah bekappô yibla`ennah Is 28.4
ho idwn auto prin e eis ten xeira autou labein thelesei auto katapiein

`ôd is not represented seven times in Isaiah. In 60.18-20, where `ôd occurs in the opening (negative) clause of three consecutive verses, the first occurrence of `ôd is rendered by eti, but it is not represented in the other two, most probably due to ellipsis. This explanation appears to apply to Is 62.4 also, where lo' `ôd is represented by ouketi in the first line, but is elided in the second, which depends on the preceding line for its connotation of continuance.

10.32 was seen by G as the introduction to the words of encouragement (10.33ff), not the conclusion to the picture of the ravages of the Assyrian, and so became a call to exhortation to stand against him:

`ôd hayyôm benob la`amod yenopheph yadô har bat-tsiôn gibe`at yerûshalaim Is 10.32
parakaleite semeron en hodw tou meinai, te xeiri parakaleite, to oros ten thugatera Siwn, kai hoi bounoi hoi en Ierousalem[82]

It is not represented, perhaps due to the use of the negated future tense (which itself implies "no longer"), or because the translator thought that the context sufficed to imply that the land was already

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[82]Cf. H: "Yet today they will halt at Nob; they will shake their fist at the mountain of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem"; G: "Today exhort [them] to remain in the way; exhort with [your] hand the mountain, the daughter of Zion, even you, O Hills of Jerusalem."

concealing the victims of violence, and that the non-continuance need not therefore be expressed:

> w^{e}lo'-t^{e}kasseh `ôd `al-h^{a}rûgeyha — Is 26.21
> kai ou katakalupsei tous aneremenous

This may also apply to 56.8, where `ôd is not represented in a positive expression, although there the translator may not have been certain about the function of `ôd ("again" or "yet"):

> `ôd '$^{a}$qabbets `alay l^{e}niqbatsayw — Is 56.8
> sunacw ep' auton sunagwgen

Perhaps again due to the translator's uncertainty about the function of `ôd it is not represented in 49.20 (it is parallel to gar, but this is a highly unlikely rendering of `ôd):

> `ôd yo'm^{e}rû b^{e}'oznayik b^{e}nê shikkulayik — Is 49.20
> erousi gar eis ta wta sou hoi huioi sou hous apolwlekas

It may be represented twice by the negative me.[83] This is more likely in Isaiah, where lo' ... `ôd is represented by ou me ... eti only twice, than in other books where this is a not uncommon rendering.[84]

> lo' tizk^{e}rî-`ôd — Is 54.4
> ou me mnesthese

The translator of Is was thus quite free in rendering `ôd into Greek, using eti alone in only 58.5% of its occurrences, leaving it out--especially in

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[83] 54.4 and 65.20.

[84] Cf. on Jr (below).

passages in which its function was unclear, rendering it with unique forms, and combining its rendering with other forms as he felt appropriate.

Jeremiah contains fifty-four occurrences of `ôd,[85] in which it is represented by eti (41xx = 75.9%), ouketi (3xx), and eti [e] (33.1). `ôd is a G minus in five passages in which G and H are parallel, and in three that are G minuses. In 40.5 its equivalent cannot be discerned--if, indeed, it is even represented. eti therefore renders `ôd in 89.1% of the passages in which it is represented in G.

In Jr 15.9 b^{e}`ôd + adverb is rendered by eti with a genitive absolute, as elsewhere in G when rendering b$^{e}$`ôd ...:[86]

> ba' shimshah b^{e}`od yômam Jr 15.9
> epedu ho helios aute eti mesouses tes hemeras

In Jr 33.1 `ôd+sfx with a participle is rendered by eti [e] (3sii) in a periphrastic participial[87] clause in which the passive participle in H is rendered by a

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[85]The same number as Gn; only Ek has more occurrences (58xx). Both Gn and Ek have a much higher incidence of occurrence, however, due to their lower word-count.

[86]E.g., S2 3.35 (b^{e}`ôd + noun); Gn 25.6; Dt 31.27 (both = b$^{e}$`ôd+sfx + adj). In most texts in which `ôd is represented by eti witha genitive absolute, however, `ôd has a pronominal suffix.

[87]"Analytic tense" (see under yesh, above).

passive pariticiple in G. [e] is necessary for the periphrastic participle:

> w^{e}hû' `ôdennû `atsûr bax^{a}tsar haTTaTTarah ... Jr 33.1(40.1)
> kai autos en eti dedemenos en te aule tes phulakes, ...

It is tempting to understand the use of ouketi as emphatic in Jr 22.11, where YHWH prophecies Shallum's death in exile, but `ôd is rendered by eti in verses 10 and 12 in a repeated statement that he will never return nor again see his homeland:

> kî lo' yashûb `ôd w^{e}ra'ah 'et-'erets môladtô Jr 22.10
> hoti ouk epistrepsei eti kai ou me ide ten gen patridos autou
>
> ... lo'-yashûb sham `ôd Jr 22.11
> ... Ouk anastrepsei ekei ouketi
>
> ... w^{e}'et-ha'arets hazzo't lo'-yir'eh `ôd Jr 22.12
> ... kai ten gen tauten ouk opsetai eti.

Both other passages in which `ôd is represented by ouketi use a repeated negative (ou me ... ouketi). The first is a promise from YHWH that the Jews who are about to flee Judah for Egypt will never see their land again:

> w^{e}lo'-tir^{e}'û `ôd 'et-hammaqôm hazzeh Jr 42.18(49.18)
> kai ou me idete ouketi ton topon touton, ...

The second falls within the oracle against Babylon (Jr 50.1-51.58):

> w^{e}lo'-tesheb `ôd lanetsax Jr 50.39(27.39)
> ou me katoikethe ouketi eis ton aiwna

Although it is likewise tempting to see the translator writing from the vantage point of his own knowledge of the history of the exiles and of Babylon, this does not seem likely given his relatively consistent use of ou ... eti for lo' ... `ôd throughout Jeremiah, even in consecutive passages (as shown above on 22.10-12).

`ôd is not represented in five passages--all Jr 31(!)--in which H and G are otherwise parallel. Two verses in which `ôd is not represented contain the common[88] syntagm lo' ... `ôd, which occurs four times in Jr 31 (38). In 31.29 and in 31.34 (first occurrence) `ôd is not represented:[89]

> bayyamîm hahem lo'-yo'm^{e}rû `ôd 'abôt 'ak^{e}lû boser w^{e}shinnê banîm tiqheynah Jr 31.29
> en tais hemerais ekeinais ou me eipwsin Hoi pateres ephagon omphaka, kai hoi odontes twn teknwn hemwdiasan
>
> w^{e}lo' y^{e}lammdû `ôd 'îsh 'et-re`ehû ... kî 'eslax la`$^{a}$wonam û$^{e}$xaTTa'tam lo' 'ezkor-`ôd Jr 31.34
> kai ou me didacwsin hekastos ton politen autou ... hoti hilews esomai tais adikiais autwn kai twn hamartiwn autwn ou me mnesthw eti.

It is possible that in both verses one element of ou me represents lo' ... `ôd, but this is unlikely, since in

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[88]This formula occurs 27xx (50% of the occurrences of `ôd in Jeremiah), where it is rendered by ou ... eti (18xx), ou me ... eti (5xx), ou me ... ouketi (2xx), and ou ... ouketi (once).

[89]This despite its rendering as ou ... eti in 31.12 (which is, incidentally, the only occurrence in Jr of the "standard" formula of repetition: yasaph ... `ôd with an infinitive.

five passages in Jr (including 31.34, only five verses later) lo' ... `ôd is represented by ou me ... eti.[90]

His freedom in rendering lo' ... `ôd does not seem to be based on semantic, contextual, or syntagmatic considerations, but rather on his apparent belief that ou me ... is equivalent to ou ... eti, that ou me ... ouketi is an emphatic form of the same, and that all three represent lo' ... `ôd well.[91]

In 31.20 (38.20), a representation of `ôd may be lacking because of the combined effect of the adverbial infinitive absolute and the repetition implicit in remembering:

> kî-middê dabb^{e}rî bô zakor 'ezk^{e}rennû `ôd
> Jr 31.20(38.20)
> hoti anth' hwn hoi logoi mou en autw, mneia mnesthesomai autou;

In 31.40 (38.40) `ôd was probably read as `ad, especially since `ad `ôlam is far more common than [`ôd] l`ôlam,[92] although it is also possible that the translator saw `ôd as redundant, entailed with l`ôlam (hews tou aiwnos):

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[90]Cf., in addition to 31.34b: 11.19; 20.9; 22.30; 51.44.

[91]Cf. his regularity in rendering 'ên `ôd, which is only translated as ouk [e] eti (4xx: 10.20 (with participle); 38.9; 48.2; 49.7).

[92]ouketi occurs in the previous clause, but this is more likely for emphasis than due to transposition from the following clause.

lo'-yinnatesh w^{e}lo'-yehares `ôd l$^{e}$`ôlam
Jr 31.40(38.40)
kai ouketi ou me eklipe kai ou me kathairethe hews tou aiwnos

In 31.39 H implies that the measuring line had already gone out in this location (thus `ôd), but G does not represent this at all:

w^{e}yatsa' `ôd q$^{e}$weh hammiddah negdô `al gib^{e}`at gareb
Jr 31.39(38.39)
kai eceleusetai he diametresis autes apenanti autwn hews bounwn Gareb

The translator may have read `ôd as `ad and seen it as superfluous (cf. yatsa' `ad), but this seems unlikely. I have no explanation for this minus.

The equivalent of `ôd is unclear in 40.5, which is itself a rather unusual use of `ôd+sfx with a finite verb, rather than the usual participle:[93] the translator apparently interpreted `ôd+sfx ... lo' on the basis of the context, which is Nebuchadrezzar's offer of a choice to Jeremiah:

w^{e}`ôdennû lo'-yashûb w^{e}shubah 'el-g^{e}dalyah
Jr 40.5
ei de me, apotrexe kai anastrepson pros Godolian

Although this reflects the variety with which `ôd+sfx is generally rendered,[94] I have no clear explanation for his choice here.

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[93]This only occurs elsewhere in La 4.17.

[94]See discussion of "Renderings of `ôd with Prefixes and Suffixes", below.

The translator of Jr thus rendered `ôd consistently (eti = 89.1%), but was rather free in rendering lo' ... `ôd, its most frequent use in Jeremiah.[95]

In Ezekiel `ôd occurs fifty-eight times.[96] It is rendered by eti (34xx = 66.7%),[97] ouketi (15xx), hews (2xx). Seven occurrences are G minuses; four of these are otherwise parallel.[98]

In 8.6 eti represents not just `ôd, but apparently `ôd shûb, the translator interpreting this combination as the equivalent of simple `ôd with a verb:[99]

w^{e}`ôd tashûb tir'eh tô`ebôt g^{e}dolôt Ek 8.6
kai eti opsei anomias meizonas

In 15.5 `ôd is rendered by eti, but in the first half of the verse eti represents the temporal force of a preposition:[100]

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[95]Of 27xx (50% of the occurrences of `ôd in Jeremiah), it is rendered by ou ... eti (18xx = 67%), ou me ... eti (5xx), ou me ... ouketi (2xx), and ou ... ouketi (once). See "Renderings of `ôd with Negatives" (below).

[96]`ôd occurs more times in Ek than in any other book (Gn and Jr are next with 54xx), although never with b^{e}- or suffix.

[97]This includes 4xx in which the second element of ouketi represents `ôd.

[98]Three passages (Ek 7.13b; 36.15c; 39.28b) are lacking in G.

[99]Cf. 8.13 and 15 for the same rendering of this clause.

[100]This is often rendered with henika (above).

hinneh bih^{e}yôtô tamîm lo' ye`aseh lim^{e}la'kah Ek 15.5
oude eti autou ontos holoklerou ouk estai eis ergasian[101]

The combination lo' ... `ôd, relatively common in the Latter Prophets, occurs forty-three times in Ek (74.2% of total occurrences), where it is rendered in seven ways.[102]

In 8.23-28 this combination occurs four times and is rendered in four different ways, showing that, for this translator at least, these are variant renderings without special significance; THEY may even have been used simply to avoid monotony:

w^{e}lo' yimsh^{e}lû `ôd b^{e}yisra'el Ek 8.23
kai ouketi me eipwsin ten parabolen tauten oikos tou Israel

kî lo' yihyeh `ôd kol-x^{a}zôn shaw' Ek 8.24
hoti ouk estai eti pasa horasis pseudes

lo' timmashek `ôd Ek 8.25
ou me mekunw eti

lo'-timmashek `ôd kol-d^{e}baray Ek 8.28
Ou me mekunwsin ouketi pantes hoi logoi mou

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[101] eti [e] (genitive absolute) represents bih^{e}yôt (infinitive construct), eti representing b^{e}-.

[102] By ou/me ... eti (12xx); ou/me ... ouketi (10xx); ou me ... eti (9xx); ou me ... ouketi (5xx); [ouk]eti (4xx). `ôd is not represented in me ... --- (2xx) or ou me ... --- (36.15b). As normally in Greek, eti follows rather than precedes the predicate.

In 18.3 the translator missed the negative function of 'im in oath formulae, rendering it by ean (rather than using a negative rendering, which might have shed some light on his reasons for choosing one or the other renderings of the negative formula).

It is possible that the translator saw the last two clauses as climactic repetition, or that he used ouketi in vv. 23 and 28 as a sort of "envelope", but there seems to be no compelling reason for this range of renderings in such a short compass.

It was rendered by hews twice, apparently because it was interpreted as `ad in the phrase `ôd zo't:[103]

> `ôd zo't gidd^{e}phû 'ôtî '^{a}bôtêkem — Ek 20.27
> hews toutou parwrgisan me hoi pateres humwn
>
> `ôd zo't `asû lî — Ek 23.38
> hews kai tauta epoiesan moi

`ôd is not represented in G seven times in Ek.[104] In 19.9 this is probably due to parablepsis, either of `ôd/`ad or of juxtaposed eti epi[105] which could easily be confused or "corrected" as dittography (cf. eti epi in uncial).[106]

> l^{e}ma`an lo'-yisshama` qôlô `ôd 'el harê yisra'el — Ek 19.9
> hopws me akousthe he phwne autou epi ta ore tou Israel

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[103] In both passages a catalog of offences follows this preface (cf., however, 36.37, where `ôd zo't is represented by eti touto.

[104] By parablepsis (homoioarcton) in 7.13 (lo' yashûb w- ... lo' yashûb w- ...) and 36.15 (third occurrence: lo' tis^{e}'î-`ôd ... lo'-takshilî `ôd ...).
Ek 39.28b is also not represented in G, but the reason for this minus is unclear.

[105] epi for 'el in the sense of `al, as often in H.

[106] Cf. Ek 36.30, where this explanation may also apply. In at least two passages, however (??.??; ??.??), this same combination is both rendered and preserved.

In its second (of three) occurrences in 36.15 `ôd was probably not rendered by either ou or me (given the variety of renderings of lo' ... `ôd in Ek (above)), but should instead be understood as entailed within the prefixed preposition on the compound verb anapherw:

> w^{e}xerpat `ammîm lo' tis'î-`ôd Ek 36.15
> kai oneidismous lawn ou me anenegkete

`ôd occurs three times in 37.22. The third occurrence is not represented--this is, in fact, a difficult use, apparently repeating the preceding occurrence. Although emphasis can hardly be determined in a language without any native speakers, this occurrence of `ôd appears to be emphatic. The translator, not recognizing this function, and thus not knowing how to represent it, omitted it from his text:[107]

> w^{e}lo' yexatsû `ôd lishtê mamlakôt `ôd Ek 37.22
> oude me diairethwsin ouketi eis duo basileias

`ôd is not represented in 36.30. The translator may have wanted either to avoid the implication that this had ever happened, or would never happen again:[108]

> l^{e}ma`an '$^{a}$sher lo' tiq$^{e}$xû `ôd xerpat ra`ab baggôyim Ek 36.30
> hopws me labete oneidismon limou en tois ethnesin

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[107]It is barely possible that oude me represents lo' ... `ôd, and ouketi then represents the final `ôd. I do not think this likely, however, given the translator's usual renderings (see on lo' ... `ôd, above).

[108]We have no way of determining this, of course.

Although the translator of Ek showed considerable regularity in rendering _`ôd_ (66.7%),[109] he also showed considerable variety, especially in rendering _lo' ... `ôd_, its most frequent syntagm in Ek.[110]

In the _Minor Prophets_,[111] _`ôd_ is rendered by _eti_ (59%), _ouketi_ (16xx), and by _nun_ (Ho 12.1), _pro_ (Am 4.7), _eti huparxw_ (Am 6.10), and _hews_ (Mi 1.15). It is not represented in Mi 6.10 and Zc 1.17a.

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[109]This does not count those passages in which it is not represented, but does include those in which it is represented by the second element of _[ouk]eti_.

[110]43xx = 74.2%.

[111]With the exception of Ob, one of three books in which _`ôd_ does not occur.

`ôd in MP						
Bk	Occ	eti[112]	ouketi	Other	--	eti
Hg	2	2				100%
Jn	1	1				100%
Hb	1	1				100%
Ma	1	1				100%
Zc	15	11	3		1	80%
Na	4	3	1			75%
Ho	10	7	2	1		70%
Zp	3	1	2			33%
Jl	3	1	2			33%
Am	7	1	4	2		14%
Mi	4		2	1	1	0%
TTL	51	29	16	4[113]	2	59.2%
MP	(%)	59%	33%	8%		
All	(%)	76%	2%			

In Hosea (10xx) `ôd is represented by eti (7xx) and ouketi (2xx); in 12.1 it appears to parallel nun.

The renderings of lo' ... `ôd in Hosea are particularly interesting because the syntagm is rendered in four different ways, demonstrating much the same variety as Jeremiah, although, of course, due to the

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[112]This includes eti huparxw (Am 6.10) and [ouk]eti (Zc 13.2), below.

[113]The "other" renderings in Ho (once) and Am (2xx) are unique; that in Mi (once) is hews (1% of G).

much higher total number of occurrences in Jeremiah, this variety is more significant in Hosea:[114]

> w^{e}lo'-tiqr^{e}'î-lî `ôd ba`lî Ho 2.18(16)
> kai ou kalesei me eti Baalim
>
> kî lo' 'ôsîph '`ôd '^{a}raxem 'et-bêt yisra'el Ho 1.6b
> dioti ou me prosthesw eti eleesai ton oikon Israel

In both other occurrences of this combination in Ho `ôd is rendered by ouketi--perhaps because the translator wanted to relate these statements concerning the rejection of idolatry:

> w^{e}lo'-no'mar `ôd '$^{e}$lohênû l$^{e}$ma`^{a}seh yadênû Ho 14.4
> ouketi me eipwmen Theoi hemwn, tois ergois twn xeirwn hemwn;
>
> w^{e}lo'-yizzak^{e}rû `ôd bish^{e}mam Ho 2.19(17)
> kai ou me mnesthwsin ouketi ta onomata autwn

In Ho 12.1 the translator obviously struggled with much the same difficult H text that we have,[115] apparently reading yda`em for rad `im, `am for `im, and ne'^{e}mar for ne'^{e}man. He rendered `ôd by nun:

> `od rad `im-'el w^{e}`im q^{e}dôshîm ne'^{e}man Ho 12.1
> nun egnw autous ho theos, kai laos hagios keklesetai theou

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[114] ou ... eti (2.18); ou me ... eti (1.6b); ou me ... ouketi (2.19); ouketi me (14.4).

[115] Cf., i.al., Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, HOSEA, AB 24 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1980): 601-3.

`ôd occurs three times in Joel. In two verbal clauses it is represented by ouketi:

> w^{e}lo'-'etten 'etkem `ôd xerpah baggôyim Jl 2.19
> kai ou dwsw humas ouketi eis oneidismon en tois ethnesi
>
> w^{e}zarîm lo'-ya`ab$^{e}$rû-bah `ôd Jl 4.17
> kai allogeneis ou dieleusontai di' autes ouketi

In a non-verbal declaration of YHWH's uniqueness it is rendered by eti, with an emphatic plus (plen emou):[116]

> wa'^{a}nî YHWH `$^{e}$lohêkem w$^{e}$'ên `ôd Jl 2.27
> kai egw kurios ho theos humwn, kai ouk estin eti plen emou

If MP is the work of one translator, we might expect some consistency of rendering--especially when renderings other than the usual are used, but this is not the case between Hosea and Joel.

In Amos (7xx) `ôd is rendered by ouketi (4xx), eti (8.14), eti huparxw (6.10), and the preposition pro (4.7).

lo' ... `ôd occurs five times in Am. ouketi represents `ôd in four of these texts:

> lo'-'ôsîph `ôd `^{a}bôr lô Am 7.8 (= 8.2)
> ouketi me prosthw tou parelthein auton

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[116] ouketi is a plus in 2.27c, which has been translated most emphatically:

> w^{e}lo'-yeb^{e}shû `ammî l$^{e}$`ôlam Jl 2.27
> kai ou me kataisxunthwsin ouketi pas ho laos mou eis ton aiwna

> ûbêt-'el lo'-tôsîph `ôd l^{e}hinnabe' Am 7.13
> eis de Baithel ouketi me prosthes tou propheteusai

The common element between these texts is the complete repetition formula (lo' yasaph `ôd with an infinitive], but this is not true of its fourth appearance as ouketi:

> w^{e}lo' yinnat^{e}shû `ôd me`al 'admatam '^{a}sher natattî lahem Am 9.15
> kai ou me ekspasthwsin ouketi apo tes ges autwn, hes edwka autois

The reasons for the translator's choice of eti (alone) are also unclear in its sole appearance in Am, especially given his preference for ouketi, and its use in the same construction one chapter later (above):

> w^{e}naph^{e}lû w^{e}lo'-yaqûmû `ôd Am 8.14
> kai pesountai kai ou me anastwsin eti

He apparently felt relatively free, within certain parameters, to represent negative repetition or continuance in several different ways.

The two unique renderings in Am appear in the two non-verbal clauses in which `ôd occurs. In a fluent translation he represents `ôd in an unusual manner, but captures well the nuance of H:

> w^{e}gam 'anokî mana`tî mikkem 'et-haggeshem
> b^{e}`ôd sh^{e}loshah x^{o}dashîm laqqatsîr Am 4.7
> kai egw anesxon ec humwn ton hueton pro triwn menwn tou grugetou

In the other passage the translator used huparxw (rather than the far more common [e]), which reflects the relative infrequency of eti [e] in G:

w'amar la'^{a}sher b^{e}yark^{e}tê habbayit h^{a}`ôd
`immak w^{e}'amar 'aphes Am 6.10
kai erei tois proestekosi tes oikias Ei eti
huparxei para soi? kai erei Ouketi.

Given that the semantic ranges of [e] and huparxw overlap considerably[117] it is difficult to know what, if any, significance to attach to this rendering--especially given the context which does not have any hint of possession as might be expected from the use of huparxw.[118]

Thus in Am the usual rendering of `ôd in G is replaced by ouketi. The translator also was free to use other renderings where he, for fluency or whatever reason, felt them appropriate.

`ôd occurs once in Jonah (3.4), where it is represented by eti.

`ôd occurs four times in Micah. It is rendered by ouketi (2xx) and hews (1.15). In 6.10 it is not represented. Mi thus contains no occurrences of the usual rendering.

In two occurrences of lo' ... `ôd it is represented by prepositioned ouketi suggesting that this is

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[117]Despite the nuances mentioned under yesh, above.

[118]Unless this force ("hint") comes from `immak (suggested by Stephen Geller).

equivalent, in the translator's mind, to ou me ... eti:[119]

w^{e}lo'-yilm^{e}dûn `ôd milxamah — Mi 4.3
kai ouketi me mathwsi polemein[120]

In the parallel to this verse (Is 2.4) ou me ... eti represents the same text, possibly showing either that the translator of the later of these books[121] were aware of the other's work, or that the later felt no compulsion to reflect his predecessor's decisions.[122]

w^{e}lo'-tishtax^{a}weh `ôd l$^{e}$ma`^{a}seh yadeyka — Mi 5.12
kai ouketi me proskuneses tois ergois twn xeirwn sou

In Mi 1.15, the translator read [defective] `od as `ad, probably because of the parallel `ad in 1.15b:

`od hayyoresh `abî lak yôshebet mareshah — Mi 1.15
hews tous kleronomous agagw soi, katoikousa [Laxis] kleronomia

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[119]The word order of this rendering (ouketi me ...) also occurs in Ho 14.4; Am 7.8, 13; 8.2. This is not the usual rendering using ouketi (ou [me] ... ouketi), found throughout MP, even in the context of the rendering above (Ho 2.19; Jl 2.19; 4.17; Am 9.15; Na 2.14; Zp 3.11, 15; Zc 9.8; 11.6; 14.21).

[120]Note the addition of ouketi in the previous line, probably to balance the parallelism:
lo'-yis^{e}'û gôy 'el-gôy xereb — Mi 4.3
kai ouketi me antare ethnos ep' ethos hromphaian

[121]"Later" to be translated into G.

[122]The study of the translation technique of parallel passages could yield valuable results concerning inter-dependency of translation technique, help secure a partial chronology of translation and thus an evolution of translation technique, or both.

In Mi 6.9-10--a difficult text which has as many rearrangements as commentators[123] and which obviously puzzled the translator--no form in G parallels `ôd, although it is just possible that he read `ôd as `îr, yielding the direct object for kosmew:

> qôl YHWH la`îr yiqra' w$^{e}$tûshîyyah yir'eh sh$^{e}$meka shim$^{e}$`û maTTeh ûmî y^{e}`adah `ôd ha'îsh bêt rasha` 'ots$^{e}$rôt resha` w^{e}'êphat razôn z^{e}`ûmah Mi 6.9-10
> phwne kuriou te polei epiklethesetai kai swsei[124] phoboumenous to onoma autou. akoue, phule, kai tìs kosmesei polin? me pur kai oikos anomou [thesaurizwn] thesaurous anomous kai metron hubrews adikia?[125]

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[123]E.g., Delbert R. Hillers, MICAH in HERMENEIA (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), who emends H following Wellhausen, and rearranges the text: 9, 12, 10, 11, 13 (80f).

The problematic second clause of v. 9 is often omitted entirely. Cf. J. M. Powis Smith, A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON MICAH in ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911):129f.

[124]In Pr 2.7 tûshîyyah is rendered by swteria.

[125]H: "The voice of YHWH calls to the city (and the one who is wise fears Your Name): "Hear the rod and the One who appointed it [or Hear, O tribe: Who has appointed it?]. Are there still in the house of the wicked treasures of wickedness and cursed scant measures?

G: "The voice of the Lord calls to the city (and he will save those who fear his name): "Hear, O tribe, and who shall set the city in order? Is there not fire: the house of the wicked piling up wicked treasures and the unrighteous measure of the proud?

G apparently struggled with a text close to MT, reading tûshîyyah as from yasha` and yir'eh as from ra'ah. He also made the pronominal reference (sh$^{e}$meka) 3ms rather than 2ms, and shim$^{e}$`û 2s rather than 2mp (for grammatical concord with maTTeh/phule). In v. 10 he read `ôd as `îr and 'îsh as 'esh (I suggest yesh, above).

Mi thus stands apart from the rest of MP in never using the usual rendering of `ôd.

`ôd occurs only in the combination lo' ... `ôd in Nahum, where it is represented by eti (3xx) and ouketi (2.14).

In 1.12 and 14 lo' ... `ôd is represented by ou ... eti:

> w^{e}`innitik lo' '$^{a}$`annek `ôd — Na 1.12
> kai he akoe sou ouk enakousthesetai eti[126]

In 2.1 the double negative was used, but still with eti for `ôd:

> kî lo' yôsîph `ôd la`^{a}bar-bak b^{e}lîyya`al — Na 2.1
> dioti ou me prosthwsin eti tou dielthein eis palaiwsin

In 2.14, however, the translator used both the double negative and ouketi:

> w^{e}lo'-yisshama` `ôd qôl mal'akekeh — Na 2.14
> kai ou me akousthe ouketi ta erga sou

Could this progression be conscious: ou ... eti (1.12, 14), ou me ... eti (2.1), ou me ... ouketi (2.14)?

`ôd occurs only in Habakkuk 2.3, and is rendered by eti.

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[126]Even though he otherwise misread the text. Cf. H: "Although I have afflicted you I will afflict you no longer" vs. G: "Your report will no longer be heard".
akoe usually represents a form or derivative of shama` in G (37/41xx); enakouw occurs only here in G.

In Zephaniah, where `ôd occurs three times, it is rendered by ouketi (2xx) and eti (Zp 2.15). In combination with 'ephes[127] it is rendered with eti:

> ha'om^{e}rah bil^{e}babah '^{a}nî w^{e}'aphsî `ôd Zp 2.15
> he legousa en kardia autes Egw eimi, kai ouk esti met' eme eti[128]

lo' ... `ôd is rendered consistently (twice) with me or ou ... ouketi, again with the syntax noted above:[129]

> w^{e}lo'-tôsiphî l^{e}gab^{e}hah `ôd b^{e}har qodshî Zp 3.11
> kai ouketi me prosthes tou megalauxesai epi to oros to hagion mou
>
> lo' tîr^{e}'î ra` `ôd Zp 3.15
> ouk opse kaka ouketi

Both occurrences of `ôd in Haggai are rendered by eti (2.6, 19). In 2.6 it means "in yet ...":

> `ôd 'axat m$^{e}$`aT hî' wa'^{a}nî mar`îsh 'et-hashshamayim ... Hg 2.6
> Eti hapac egw seisw ton ouranon ...

In 2.19b the translator read `ad as `od (written defectively), probably because of the parallelism,

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[127]Further under 'ên, below.

[128]Here, as when `ôd occurs in combination with 'ên, [e] is to be reckoned as part of the rendering of 'ephes (here as ouk [e]). See further on 'ephes under "Renderings of Synonyms of 'ên" (below).

[129]See on Mi 4.3, above.

although some commentators accept this as a correct interpretation:[130]

> ha`ôd hazzera` bamm^{e}gûrah w^{e}`ad-haggephen w^{e}hatt^{e}'enah w^{e}harimmôn ... Hg 2.19
> ei eti epignwsthesetai epi tes halw kai ei eti he ampelos kai he suke kai he hroa ...

`ôd occurs fifteen times in Zechariah where it is rendered by eti (10xx), ouketi (3xx), and [ouk]eti (once). `ôd '^{a}sher, an unusual syntagm, is rendered by eti:

> `od '$^{a}$sher yabo'û `ammîm ... Zc 8.20
> eti hecousi laoi polloi ...

As with Hosea (above) the renderings of lo' ... `ôd are particularly varied--four renderings are used in five occurrences. `ôd appears in a negated hayah clause once as eti

> w^{e}yashbû bah w^{e}xerem lo' yihyeh-`ôd Zc 14.11
> katoikesousin en aute, kai anathema ouk estai eti

It is represented by [ouk]eti once, where the verb in H was rendered by [e] + pronoun (gen) + noun, with the person of the pronoun taken from the subject of the verb:

> 'akrît 'et-sh^{e}môt ha`^{a}tsabbîm min-ha'arets
> w^{e}lo' yizzak^{e}rû `ôd Zc 13.2
> ecolethreusw ta onomata twn eidwlwn apo tes ges, kai ouketi estai autwn mneia

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[130]E.g., Ralph L. Smith, MICAH-MALACHI. WBC, edited by David A. Hubbard, et al., 32 (Waco, TX: Word, 1984):159.

`ôd is represented by ouketi in two verbal clauses and one clause with hayah:

> kî lo' exmôl `ôd `al-yosh^{e}bê ha'arets n^{e}'um-YHWH Zc 11.6
> dia touto ou pheisomai ouketi epi tous katoikountas ten gen, legei kurios
>
> w^{e}lo'-yihyeh k^{e}na`$^{a}$nî `ôd b^{e}bêt-YHWH ts^{e}ba'ôt bayyôm hahû' Zc 14.21
> kai ouk estai Xananaios ouketi en tw oikw kuriou pantokratoros en te hemera ekeine

In 9.8 lo' `ôd is rendered by ou me ... ouketi:

> w^{e}lo'-ya`$^{a}$bor `alêhem `ôd noges Zc 9.8
> kai ou me epelthe ep' autous ouketi ecelaunwn

I interpret these renderings as mere variants of one another, chosen by the translator perhaps for that very reason, or for some reasons apparently independent of syntactical or contextual considerations.[131]

In its first occurrence (1.17) `ôd is either represented by the preposition on the compound verb anakrazw, or was left out intentionally due to ellipsis or unintentionally (parablepsis). Its other three occurrences in that verse are rendered by eti:

> `ôd q$^{e}$ra' le'mor koh 'amar YHWH ts$^{e}$ba'ôt `ôd t^{e}phûtseynah `aray miTôb w$^{e}$nixam YHWH `ôd 'et-tsîyôn ûbaxar `ôd bîrûshalaim Zc 1.17
> Anakrage legwn Tade legei kurios pantokratwr Eti diaxuthesontai poleis en agathois, kai eleesei kurios eti ten Siwn kai hairetiei eti ten Ierousalem

Zc is thus rather regular in rendering `ôd by eti (and quite at variance with the rest of MP!) although,

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[131]See "Renderings of `ôd with Negatives", below.

as in several other books, ouketi was preferred in the negative formula.

`ôd is represented by eti in Malachi 2.13, a difficult verse:[132]

> cassôt dim`ah 'et-mizbax YHWH b$^{e}$kî w$^{e}$'$^{a}$naqah me'ên `ôd p^{e}nôt 'el-hamminxah w^{e}laqaxat ratsôn miyyedkem Ma 2.13
> ekaluptete dakrusi to thusiasterion kuriou kai klauthmw kai stenagmw ek kopwn. eti acion epiblepsai eis thusian e labein dekton ek twn xeirwn humwn

In the Minor Prophets `ôd is thus rendered most often by eti (59%) but, due in part to the large number of negated constructions in which it occurs (25xx = 49%), ouketi is also frequent (33%). `ôd is always represented by eti in Hg (2xx) and Jn, Hb, and Ma (once each); it is never rendered by eti in Mi (4xx). There is thus considerable variation within both MP as a whole, and individual books (Ho, Zc).

In Psalms `ôd (21xx) is represented by eti (10xx), eti [e] (2xx), and hews huparxw (2xx--parallel texts). In 39.2 it is rendered by a prepositional articular infinitive, and in 84.5 by eis tous aiwnious twn aiwniwn. It is not represented in five passages (three are parallel).

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[132]See further under 'ên, below.

`ôd in a non-verbal (locative prepositional) clause was rendered by eti [e] (genitive absolute):

> `ôd 'aklam b^{e}phîhem — Ps 78.30(77.30)
> eti tes brwsews autwn ouses en tw stomati autwn

This may reflect the rendering in the parallel passage (Nu 11.33, above), where `ôd+3ms is represented by eti + 3sii of [e].

In another clause of the same type `ôd+1cs was rendered by eti [e] (1cspp), rather than the more frequent construction with a genitive absolute:

> h^{e}qîtsotî w^{e}`ôdî `immak — Ps 139.18(138.18)
> ecegerthen kai eti eimi meta sou

This is a rather wooden translation, not as fluent as is seen in other passages in G. The translator certainly understood the text, but seems not to have known how to capture the force of the subordinated clause.

`ôd with both a suffix (1cs) and preposition (b^{e}) occurs in identical clauses in 104.33 (103.33) and 146.2 (145.2). In both it is rendered idiomatically by hews huparxw (1cspap):

> '^{a}zamm^{e}rah le'lohay b^{e}`ôdî — Ps 104.33 (103.33)
> psalw tw thew mou, hews huparxw

The interesting parallel of b^{e}`od ¦¦ en tw sustenai (39.2 [38.2]) is more probably due to an interpretative rendering than to parablepsis,[133] since the translator

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[133] I.e., reading `amad for `od (pace BHS).

felt it necessary specify what the wicked were doing in the psalmist's presence:

'eshm^{e}rah liphî maxsôm b^{e}`ôd rasha` l^{e}negdî
Ps 39.2 (38.2)
ethemen tw stomati mou phulaken en tw sustenai ton hamartwlon enantion mou

In 84.5 a lengthy phrase stands parallel to `ôd, which is used as a simple "yet" or "again":

'ashrê yôsh^{e}bê bêteka `ôd y^{e}hallûka
Ps 84.5 (83.5)
makarioi hoi katoikountes en tw oikw sou eis tous aiwnas twn aiwnwn ainesousin se

The translator read `ôd as `ad, which he then expanded.[134]

In the thrice-repeated "refrain" of Pss 42-43[135] `ôd is not represented, possibly because the translator was uncertain of its force, or because he felt that its sense was entailed in the future tense of ecomologew:

kî-`ôd 'ôdennû Ps 42.6
hoti ecomologesomai autw

The same approach--depending on the future of the verb to convey the sense of `ôd--seems also to be reflected in 49.10, where it is not represented:[136]

wîxî-`ôd lanetsax lo' yir'eh hashshaxat
Ps 49.10
kai zesetai eis telos oti ouk opsetai kataphthoran

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[134]I am indebted to Stephen A. Geller for this suggestion.

[135]hôxîlî le'lohîm kî-`ôd 'ôdennû (42.6, 12; 43.5).

[136]Note, however, Ps 92.15; 103.16, where eti is used with the future of the verb.

`ôd is also not represented in 104.35, where it occurs in conjunction with 'ên (below), adding the sense of continued non-existence to 'ên. Its presence is not reflected in G, which identifies the "sinners" of 35a with the "wicked" of 35b and makes the second half of the verse the result of the first, rather than a parallel occurrence:

> ûr^{e}sha`îm `ôd 'ênam — Ps 104.35(103.35)
> kai anomoi, hwste me huparxein autous

The characterization of Psalms as a relatively free translation seems accurate in this instance as well, since the usual rendering accounts for only 47.6% of the occurrences of `ôd, and other [unique] renderings, each of which reflect the presence of `ôd in the translator's Vorlage, are used in passages in which it occurs with suffixes or prefixes.

`ôd occurs eighteen times in Job where it is rendered by eti (6xx), eti [e] (3xx; 2xx [e], once eneimi), and once each by mexri (2.9) and palin (6.29). Once it was incorrectly read as `îr and rendered by polis (6.10). Four passages in which it occurs were lacking in G (20.9; 32.15, 16; 34.23), and one passage cannot be aligned (24.20).

`ôd occurs in conjunction with lo' twice in 7.10, where it is rendered by eti, but with compound negatives in both cases:

lo'-yashûb `ôd l$^{e}$bêtô w$^{e}$lo'-yakkîrennû `ôd m^{e}qomô Jb 7.10
oud' ou me epistrepse eti eis ton idion oikon, oude me epignw auton eti ho topos autou.

The compound negatives reflect the translator's desire to emphasize death's finality and the impossibility of return[137] (cf. the same emphasis is also seen in 7.9, where simple lo' is rendered by means of ouketi me).

In S2 1.9 `ôd was not represented, probably because the translator did not understand the syntactical inversion. Jb 27.3 is structurally parallel to that parallel, but the translator understood the construction and rendered it by eti eneimi (genitive absolute), a simple variant of eti [e] that uses a compound form of the verb rather than a separate prepositional phrase:[138]

kî-kol-`ôd nishmatî bî Jb 27.3
e men eti tes pnoes mou enouses

`ôd with a suffix (3xx in Job) in 8.12 is rendered by eti [e], which captures the essence of H, although a genitive absolute might be more exact, since in this rendering there is no indication of the pronominal

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[137]The second half of this verse could be a proverb. Cf. Ps 103.16, where lo' ... `ôd is rendered by ou ... eti.

[138]Cf. a similar construction in Jb 36.2, where, in addition to the theological interpretation [read: correction, so Dhorme, JOB (538)], 'ôd is rendered by eti [e], and the [dative] l^{e}- by en + dative:

kî `ôd le'^{e}lô$_{a}$h millîm Jb 36.2
eti gar en emoi estin lecis

The translator avoided implying that anyone need [could?] speak "for" God by shifting the reference back to Elihu.

suffix, although its referent is clearly boutomon (v. 11):

> `odennû b^{e}'ibbô lo' yiqqaTeph — Jb 8.12
> eti on epi hrizes kai ou me theristhe

b^{e}`ôd is rendered by hote [e] in 29.5 which reflects the translation of ka'^{a}sher hayîtî (29.4), either because the translator felt the two expressions were functionally equivalent in H, or because he wished to maintain the strict parallelism of H:

> b^{e}`ôd shadday `immadî s^{e}bîbôtay n^{e}`aray — Jb 29.5
> hote emen hulwdes lian, kuklw de mou hoi paides[139]

He derived the person and number of [e] from the context (`immadî), rendering the rest of 5a exegetically.

In 6.29 the translator read the first shubû as yashab rather than shûb and rendered the second with sunerxomai, probably because of `ôd, which he rendered with palin:

> shubû-na' 'al-t^{e}hî `aw$^{e}$lah w$^{e}$shubû `ôd tsidqî-baH — Jb 6.29
> kathisate de kai me eie adikon kai palin tw dikaiw sunerxesthe

Mexri tinos karterew is probably an exegetical rendering of `odka max^{a}zîq btummateka[140] in 2.9:[141]

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[139]H: "When Shaddai was still with me my children surrounded me." G: "When I had many fields [my] children were round about me."
The translator read shadday as saday and possibly 'immadî as m^{e}'ôd.

[140]Cf. Dhorme, JOB (19), especially on the lengthy G plus in this verse, and its transmission history.

watto'mer lô 'ishtô `odka max^{a}zîq b^{e}tummateka
barek '^{e}lohîm wamut Jb 2.9
... eipen autw he gune autou Mexri tinos
kartereseis legwn [9a-e] alla eipon ti hrema
eis kurion kai teleuta

`ôd was rendered by polis when the translator misread it as `îr, and then struggled to reinterpret the rest of the verse in light of this initial mistake:

ûthî `ôd nexamatî ... Jb 6.10
eie de mou polis taphos ...

`ôd is not represented in four passages (20.9; 32.15,16; 34.23) because they "did not exist in G".[142] It is also not possible to align G and H in 24.20a with any certainty; G has numerous pluses, some of which appear to be taken from the preceding verse (e.g., autou he hamartia, based on a different pointing of the last word in 24.19):

yishkaxehû rexem m^{e}taqô rimmah `ôd lo'-
yizzaker wattishshaber ka`ets `aw^{e}lah Jb 24.20
eit' anemnesthe autou he hamartia hwsper de
homixle drosou aphanes egeneto apodotheie de
autw ha epracen suntribeie de pas adikos isa
culw aniatw

There does not seem, at any rate, to be a form or syntagm which reflects `ôd.

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[141]Cf. the straightforward rendering of `ôd in essentially the same clause in 2.3 (although the commendation has been reversed by using a privative adjective):

w^{e}`ôdennû max^{a}zîq b^{e}tummatô Jb 2.3
eti de exetai akakias

[142]Dhorme, JOB (293, 481, 520). They are marked with asterisk in Jerome, Syro-hex, and Codex 248, and lacking in the Sahidic.

`ôd is rendered by the usual rendering in only one-third of its occurrences in Jb (although renderings which entail eti in some way account for one-half of its occurrences). It was rendered exegetically, and without apparent regard for formal correspondence, although four passages in which it occurs were lacking in G and one passage cannot be aligned.

In Proverbs (6xx) `ôd is represented once each by eti (31.7) and ek (31.15), but its presence is usually implied or entailed in another form.

In 31.7 the use of me ... eti for lo' ... `ôd is due simply to the translator's telic rendering of this clause:

> yishteh w^{e}yishkax rîshô wa`$^{a}$malô lo' yizkar-`ôd Pr 31.7
> hina epilathwntai tes penias kai twn ponwn me mnesthwsin eti.

No form corresponds to `ôd in 9.9, but its function is represented by the comparative form of the adjective:

> ten l^{e}xakam w^{e}yexkam-`ôd Pr 9.9
> didou sophw aphormen,[143] kai sophwteros estai

This explanation also applies to 11.24, where pleiwn represents `ôd (and poiew interpets yasaph):

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[143] aphorme in the sense of "pretext" or "starting point" arises out of the translator's exegesis--he is apparently unwilling to leave the verse somewhat ambiguous.

yesh m^e^phazzer w^e^nôsaph `ôd Pr 11.24
eisin[144] hoi ta idia speirontes pleiona poiousin

In 19.19, an obscure verse with which the translator seems to have struggled, the elliptical construction[145] yasaph `ôd is telescoped into prostithemi:

g^e^dal-xemah nose' `onesh kî 'im-tatsîl w^e^`ôd tôsiph Pr 19.19
kakophrwn aner polla zemiwthesetai; ean de loimeuetai, kai ten psuxen autou prosthesei

In a temporal clause, b^e^`ôd is represented by the preposition ek, although this is more interpretive and pictorial (poetic) than literal:

wattaqam b^e^`ôd laylah wattitten Tereph l^e^bêtah Pr 31.15
kai anistatai ek nuktwn kai edwken brwmata tw oikw

In the highly interpretive translation of Pr 23.35 `ôd does not appear to be represented, although its presence may be reflected in the adverbial participle, which emphasizes the idea of continued seeking:

matay 'aqîts 'ôsîph 'abaqshennû `ôd Pr 23.35
pote orthros estai, hina elthwn zetesw meth' hwn suneleusomai?

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[144]See on yesh, above.

[145]Will his poorly-controlled temper increase, or will the rescuer find himself in that role repeatedly or continually (since a short temper is only one outworking of the foolish heart in Pr)? In G's rendering he will continue his troublesome behavior and be forced to add his life--the ultimate fine--to those he has already paid.

The translator of Pr, therefore, used a highly idiosyncratic method to render `ôd, apparently choosing renderings on a case-by-case basis, depending on the grammar, context, and content of the verse.

In both Ruth (2xx) and Ecclesiastes (6xx) `ôd is rendered consistently by eti.

In its only occurrence in Lamentations (4.17) `ôd+1cp was rendered by eti [e] in a genitive absolute, trying to make sense of a difficult passage ("Our eyes still failed [as they looked] in vain for our help:

> `ôdeynaH[146] tikleynah `ênênû 'el-`ezratenû habel La 4.17
> Eti ontwn hemwn ecelipon hoi ophthalmoi hemwn eis ten boetheian hemwn mataia

`ôd occurs three times in Esther, where it is rendered by eti (6.14; 9.12) and [ouk]eti (2.14). In 6.14 `ôd+3mp with a participle is rendered by eti and a genitive absolute, in which the pronominal subject of the genitive absolute was determined by the pronominal suffix, as often in G:[147]

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[146]Reading `ôdênaH with K.

[147]This is the usual rendering of `ôd+sfx with an adjective or participle (cf., e.g., Gn 25.6; 29.9; 44.14; Dt 31.27; Jg 6.24; S1 20.14; S2 18.14; K1 1.14, 22, 42; 12.2 (11.43); K2 6.33a).
There are exceptions: e.g., Ex 4.18; 9.2, 17 (where a finite verb represents the adjective or participle);

`ôdam m^edabb^erîm `immô w^esarîsê hammelek higgî`û wayabhilû l^ehabî' 'et-haman 'el hammishteh '^asher `as^atah 'ester Es 6.14
eti autwn lalountwn paraginontai hoi eunouxoi epispeudontes ton Aman epi ton hetoimasen Esther.

In Daniel (6xx) `ôd is rendered without exception by eti alone, including nominal clauses, where no verbal forms ([e] or otherwise) occur in G. This suggests that the translator felt no need to use verbals with eti:

kî-`ôd qets lammô`ed Dn 11.27
hoti eti peras eis kairon

`ôd occurs exceptionally with independent pronominal subjects in a participial clause:[148]

w^e`ôd '^anî m^edabber ... Dn 9.20
kai eti emou lalountos ...

The translation technique used in Dn, therefore, is entirely regular in its representation of `ôd.

`ôd occurs once in Nehemiah (2.17), where it is represented by eti.

All eleven occurrences of `ôd in 1 Chronicles are rendered by eti. In 14.13b eti appears to have been added for the sake of parallelism with 13a:

Nu 11.33 and S1 13.7 (`ôd+3ms > eti [e] (3sii)); Js 14.11 (`ôd+3ms > eti [e] (1cpi)); Jg 8.20 (`ôd+3ms > [e] (1cpi)); K1 20.32 (21.32).

[148]The same clause is repeated and parallel to 9.21 (cf. GKC #116u).

wayyosîphû `ôd p$^{e}$lishtîm wayyiphsh$^{e}$Tû ba`emeq C1 14.13
kai prosethento eti allophuloi kai sunepesan eti en te koiladi twn gigantwn[149]

The translator's technique was so regulated by the normal rendering that in one text he rendered `ôd by eti in one case where the parallel in S2 used ouketi:[150]

w^{e}lo' yirgaz `ôd C1 17.9
kai ou merimnesei eti

The translator of C1 was absolutely consistent in representing 'ôd.

In 2 Chronicles (14xx) `ôd is rendered by eti (10xx) and hews (10.5). In three passages its equivalent, if any, cannot be identified.

In a non-verbal clause `ôd+3ms was rendered by eti (alone), when Josiah is described as "still a boy":

w^{e}hû' `ôdennû na`ar C2 34.3
kai autos eti paidarion

This shows clearly that the translator of C2 felt no need to represent `ôd verbally (with [e] or any other form). This is further reflected in 14.7, where the usual rendering was used even though `ôd was rendered by eti [e] in K1 22.8 (the parallel text):

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[149]The plusses in G reflect the parallel passage (S2 5.22).

[150]This is the only case where C1 and S2 are parallel where `ôd is rendered differently.

`ôd 'îsh-'exad lid^{e}rôsh 'et-YHWH me'otô
C2 14.7
Eti aner heis tou zetesai ton kurion di' autou

In 18.6 `ôd is represented by eti, even though it was not rendered in the parallel passage (= K1 22.7):

ha'ên poh nabî' l^{e}YHWH `ôd C2 18.6
ouk estin hwde prophetes tou kuriou eti[151]

In two texts `ôd is apparently rendered by en with a pronoun, which, although parallel and therefore a representation of the presence and function of `ôd, were probably used as means of representing one aspect of the clause as a unit. The rendering of 14.6 reflects the sense of the passage (albeit heavily interpreted):

`ôdennû[152] ha'arets liph^{e}nênnû C2 14.6
en hw tes ges kurieusomen

The translator may have wanted to avoid an apparent contradiction when he chose en toutw to render `ôd in 28.17, since a prior Edomite invasion is not mentioned:[153]

w^{e}`ôd '^{a}dômîm ba'û wayyakkû bîhûdah C2 28.17
kai en toutw, hoti Idoumaioi epethento kai epatacan en Iouda

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[151]NB: 'ên is represented by ouk [e]. See further under 'ên (below).

[152]The use of the 3ms suffix with reference to [usually] feminine 'erets merely reflects the noun's dual status.

[153]The contradiction is only apparent because `ôd could mean "also" (in addition to Syria, Israel (5-14), and the Philistines (18ff)), or "again" in the sense of a repeated affliction, albeit by a different foe.

C2 9.4 describes the Queen of Sheba's response to the magnificence of Solomon's wealth. Its rendering here is the same interpretative rendering found in the parallel passage (K1 12.5):

w^{e}lo'-hayah `ôd bah rû$_{a}$x — C2 9.4
kai ec heautes egeneto

C1 and C2 thus differ in their renderings of `ôd.[154] Of the four passages in C2 in which `ôd is not represented by eti, two (9.4; 10.5) use the renderings found in the parallel passages in K1. In two other passages (C2 14.6; 28.17; both explanatory clauses) the translator used the preposition en with a pronoun.[155]

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[154]Cf. on S1 and S2 (above).

[155]Did he see this as a separate function of `ôd, or was he exegeting [and "protecting" the accuracy of] his text (cf. C2 28.17)?

RENDERINGS OF `ôD WITH AFFIXES

These constructions account for slightly less than one-tenth of all occurrences of `ôd (54xx = 9.2%). The use of eti to render these forms is significantly lower than its use to represent `ôd as a whole (26xx = 50% vs. 76.1%), although it is still most common. There are three times as many unique renderings for these forms than for `ôd as a whole (10xx = 19.1% vs. 6.2%), suggesting that the translators were unsure of either the significance or the best way to rendering them.

Four combinations occur: b^{e}+`ôd (15xx), b+`ôd+sfx (4xx), min+`ôd+sfx (2xx), `ôd+sfx (33xx). These combinations are rendered as follows:

Renderings of `ôd with Affixes							
Combtn.	Occ.	eti	eti [e]	[e]	Uniq.	---	eti
b^{e}+[156]	15	8	1	1	3	2	53.5%
b^{e}+/+sfx	4	1			3		25%
min+/+sf	2				2		0
+sfx[157]	33	17	12	1	3		51.5%
TOTALS	54	26	13	2	11	2	
PERCENT[158]		50%	25%	3.8%	21.2%	3.8%	

`ôd thus follows the pattern of 'ayyeh and yesh: the greatest variation in rendering occurs when representing `ôd with pronominal suffixes (although eti is the preferred rendering of `ôd+sfx, it is much less frequent than that of `ôd as a whole: 26xx = 50% vs. 76.1%).

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[156] b^{e}`ôd is rendered by eti (Gn 40.19; Dt 31.27 (suffixed); Js 1.11; S2 12.22; Is 7.8; 21.16; Jr 15.9; 28.3), eti [e] (S2 3.35), [e] (Jb 29.5), and eti kai (Gn 40.13). It also corresponds to pro (Am 4.7), en tw sunistemi (Ps 39.2), and ek (Pr 31.15). With suffixes (in addition to Dt 31.27, above) it is rendered by prin e (Is 28.4) and hews huparxw (Ps 104.33 = 146.2).
Gn 48.7 is a problem text (above); Jr 28.11b is lacking in G.

[157] These figures include two occurrences of `ôd in combination with both the interrogative prefix and a pronominal suffix (Ex 4.18; K1 20.32). Since there is no irregularity in rendering (both are represented by eti), I have not made this combination a separate category.
These figures also include Jr 40.5 under the heading "unique", although I am unable to determine the exact correspondence between H and G in this verse.

[158] Percentages are calculated against a base of 54, since b^{e}`ôd is not represented in two passages (Gn 48.7; Jr 28.11).

RENDERINGS OF `ÔD WITH NEGATIVES

`ôd occurs with negatives meaning "never again", "no longer",[159] or "there is no other" in more than one quarter of all of its biblical occurrences (155xx; 26.3%).[160] Because of the frequency of this construction and the need to discuss many of these texts in the preceding pages, it seems appropriate to summarize the representation of `ôd with negatives.

The overall rate of representation for this construction is higher than that of `ôd as a whole (146 = 94.2% vs. 86.5%). The frequency of the usual rendering, however, is significantly lower (94xx = 64.3%), although eti is still preferred. This is because 80% of the occurrences of `ôd with a negative are in the Latter Prophets, which have the lowest incidence of the usual rendering of `ôd, both generally and with negatives.[161]

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[159]This sense of "no longer" is not absolute. It signals instead that the particular occurrence of the action or incident just described came to an end, and implies nothing regarding its recurrence. Cf., e.g., the discussion on S1 7.13 (above).

[160]80% of the occurrences of `ôd with a negative are in the Latter Prophets: Is (45.8%), MP (52.9%), Jr (59.3%) and Ek (72.4%).

`ôd occurs in four books of MP only in this construction: Na (4/4), Jl and Zp (each 3/3), and Ma (1/1). `ôd with a negative does not occur in Jn or Hb (each 0/1), or Hg (0/2).

[161]The frequency of eti for `ôd (all) in the sections of the Bible: Pentateuch (80.3%), Former Prophets (83.1%), Latter Prophets (70.4%), and Writings

I have tried to distinguish two uses of ouketi in contexts of lo' ... `ôd: those in which `ôd is represented by the -eti element of the compound form,[162] and those in which ouketi--the entire form--corresponds to `ôd. The use of the latter is particularly striking in the Latter Prophets, and significantly affects the frequency of eti as the usual rendering in those books:[163]

Renderings of `ôd with Negatives[164]								
Sect.	Neg.	eti	o[e]	o/e	Unque	---	?	eti
Penta	8	6	1	1				75.0%
F Pro	16	11	1	1	2	2		68.8%
L Pro	124	62	9	41	5	6	1	58.1%
Wrtgs	17	15	1			1		88.2
TOTAL	155	94	12	43	7	9	1	64.3%
PRCNT	26.3%	64.3%	8.2%	29.4%	4.1%	5.8%		

The rate of unique renderings for `ôd in these constructions is slightly lower than that of `ôd as a whole (6xx = 4.1% vs. 6.2%), suggesting that although

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(75.7%).

[162]These are counted under eti since ouketi = ou + eti.

[163]A negative occurs only once with `ôd+sfx (Jr 40.5); I cannot explain this rendering (above).

[164]o[e] = `ôd is represented by the -eti element of ouketi; o/e = `ôd is represented by ouketi (the entire word).

the translators felt somewhat freer when rendering `ôd with negatives, they had no trouble understanding it.

Since G uses multiple negatives for emphatic negation, it is worth considering whether theological, grammatical, syntactical, or other considerations may underly the various renderings of lo' ... `ôd. To this end I examined the content of each statement to see if there was any common element that might provide a basis for a particular rendering. The range of renderings of this construction is quite broad:

Renderings of `ôd with Negatives																				
Occurrences			Using eti				Using ouketi								Other					
Bk	`ôd	Neg	eti	o+e/ m+e	o+m+e		o/e	o+o/e		m+o/e		o+m+o/e			me	Unique		---	?	
Is	48	22		6	1		4			5					2	3		1		
Jr	54	32		21	5			1				2						2	1	
Ek	58	43		12	9		4	9		1		5						3		
MP	51	27	1	6	3		1	5		7		4								
TOTAL		124	1	45	18		9	15		13		11			2	3		6	1	
		124	eti = 64				ouketi = 48								other = 12					

Abbrev.	Represents	Abbrev.	Represents
o+e	ou . eti	o+o/e	ou . ouketi
m+e	me . eti	m+o/e	me . ouketi
o+m+e	ou me . eti	o+m+o/e	ou me . ouketi
o/e	[ouk]eti	me	ou me .

No pattern appears to underlie the distribution of these renderings. They are scattered throughout the

units[165] in which they occur. No rendering is limited to one or another part of a unit, nor does any rendering reflect a specific type of promise or content (favorable promises, e.g., are not more emphatic than unfavorable).

In fact, the opposite phenomenon is true. The renderings often vary in the space of a few verses, even when referring to the same general topic. This variety of renderings of `ôd with a negative suggests that the translators did not seek consistency, but were willing to vary their representations, perhaps because absolute regularity was not an issue in this area, for the sake of variety, or for some other reason not yet known.

Although there is significant variation in the representation of `ôd with negatives, this was not true of its occurrences with 'ên (20xx). In these passages 'ên was consistently represented by ou [e] (95%), and `ôd by eti (92%).[166] This consistency is especially striking in Is, which did not render `ôd consistently.[167]

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[165]"Unit" is not intended either to impugn the identity of either the individual books or to impute unity of translation to MP.

[166]In this combination `ôd is represented once by plen (Is 45.14). Twice it is a minus in G (K1 22.7; Ps 104.35).

[167]On the other hand, five of six texts in Is are identical: 'ên `ôd > ou [e] eti (Is 45.5, 6, 18, 22; 46.9). The exception has plen for `ôd (Is 45.14).

SUMMARY

'ôd was rendered fairly consistently by eti throughout G (322xx = 76.1%), except for Amos (14.3%), Job (46.2%), and MP as a whole (59.2%). Its generally regular translation suggests that the translators chose eti for its ability to represent both functions of `ôd--repetition and continuance--depending on the context in which it occurred.

The frequency of the usual rendering, however, is quite broad, ranging from those books which are absolutely consistent (100%: Dt (15xx), K2 (13xx), C1 (11xx), Qo and Da (6xx each), Es (3xx), Hg and Ru (2xx each), and in Jn, Hb, Ma, and Ne (once each)), to those in which the usual rendering represents `ôd in fewer than 70% of its occurrences: Is (68.3%), Ek (66.7%); Nu and Ps (62.5% each), Js (60%), MP (59.2%), and Jb (46.2%).

In MP `ôd is rendered most often by eti (59.2%) but, due in part to the large number of negated constructions in which it occurs (25xx = 49%), ouketi is also frequent (33%).[168] Ho and Zc, the two books of MP in which `ôd occurs the most, render `ôd fairly consistently: Zc (11/14xx = 78.6%) and Ho (7/10xx =

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[168]Cases in which the entire form (ouketi) represents `ôd, not just -eti (which are included under eti).

70%), but `ôd is always represented by eti in Hg (2xx) and Jn, Hb, and Ma (once each); it is never rendered by eti in Mi (4xx). There is thus considerable variation within MP as a whole, and even a wide range of renderings in individual books (Ho, Zc).[169]

It is possible to group some books. The rate of the usual rendering in the Pentateuch hovers near the average for G as a whole, with the exception of Nu (62.5%) and Dt (100%). The Former Prophets range from Js (60%) to S2 (86.7%); K2, however, stands out from this group by virtue of its consistency (100%). Jr (91.1%) is far more consistent than either Is (68.3%) or Ek (66.7%). In the Writings `ôd was generally rendered consistently (100%), apart from Ps (62.5%), Pr (50%), Jb (46.2%), La (once; 0%), and C2 (76.9%).

`ôd is also represented by ouketi (40xx = 9.5%) and by eti [e] (21xx = 5%), making the total number of occurrences in which eti figures in its representation 383 (90.1%).

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[169]See the excursus "Is MP a Translation Unit?" in the Conclusion (below).

CHARTS AND GRAPHS

Chart 3.1 Distribution of `ôd			
Bk	Words	`ôd	
Gn	20613	54	0.262%
Ex	16713	13	0.078%
Lv	11950	4	0.033%
Nu	16408	9	0.055%
Dt	14294	15	0.105%
Js	10151	5	0.049%
Jg	9886	12	0.121%
S1	13264	17	0.128%
S2	11040	35	0.317%
K1	13140	12	0.091%
K2	12284	13	0.106%
Is	16943	48	0.283%
Jr	21836	54	0.247%
Ek	18730	58	0.310%
Ho	2381	10	0.420%
Jl	957	3	0.313%
Am	2042	7	0.343%
Jn	688	1	0.145%
Mi	1396	4	0.287%
Na	558	4	0.717%
Hb	671	1	0.149%
Zp	767	3	0.391%
Hg	600	2	0.333%
Zc	3128	15	0.480%
Ma	876	1	0.114%
MP	14363	51	0.355%
Ps	19587	21	0.107%
Jb	8351	18	0.216%
Pr	6915	6	0.087%
Ru	1296	2	0.154%
Qo	2987	6	0.201%
La	1542	1	0.065%
Es	3045	3	0.099%
Da	5919	6	0.101%
Ne	5312	1	0.017%
C1	10746	11	0.102%
C2	13315	14	0.105%
TTL	305634	489	0.160%

Chart 3.1.1

`od: Occurrences

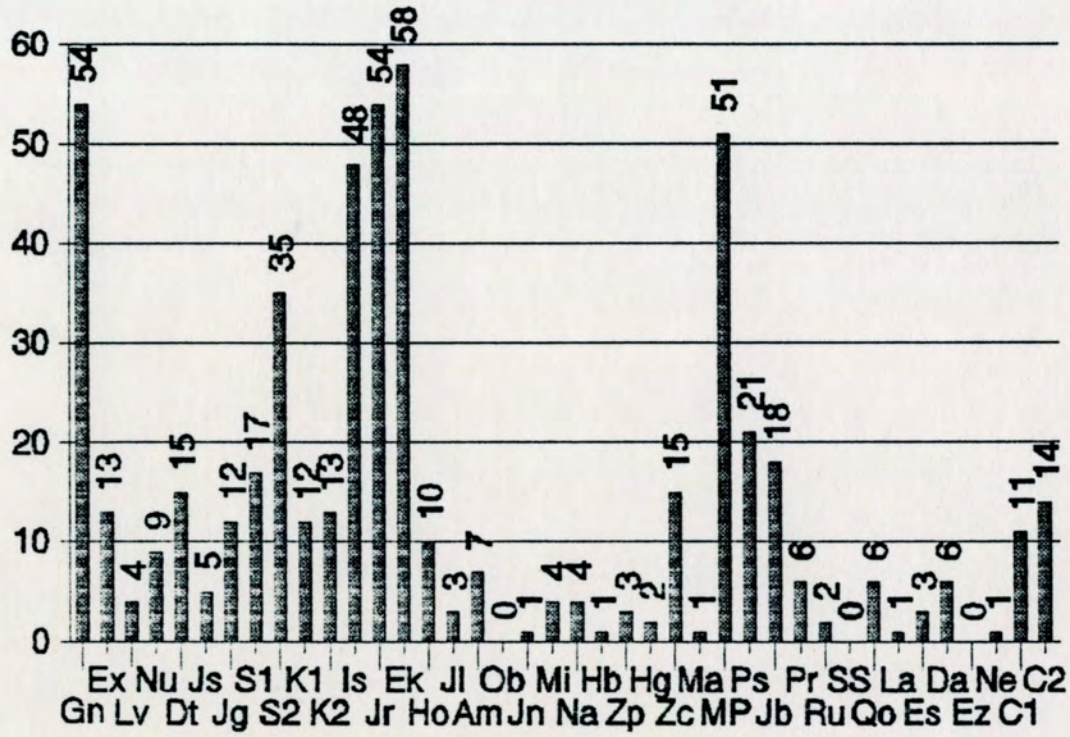


Chart 3.1.2

`od: Frequency

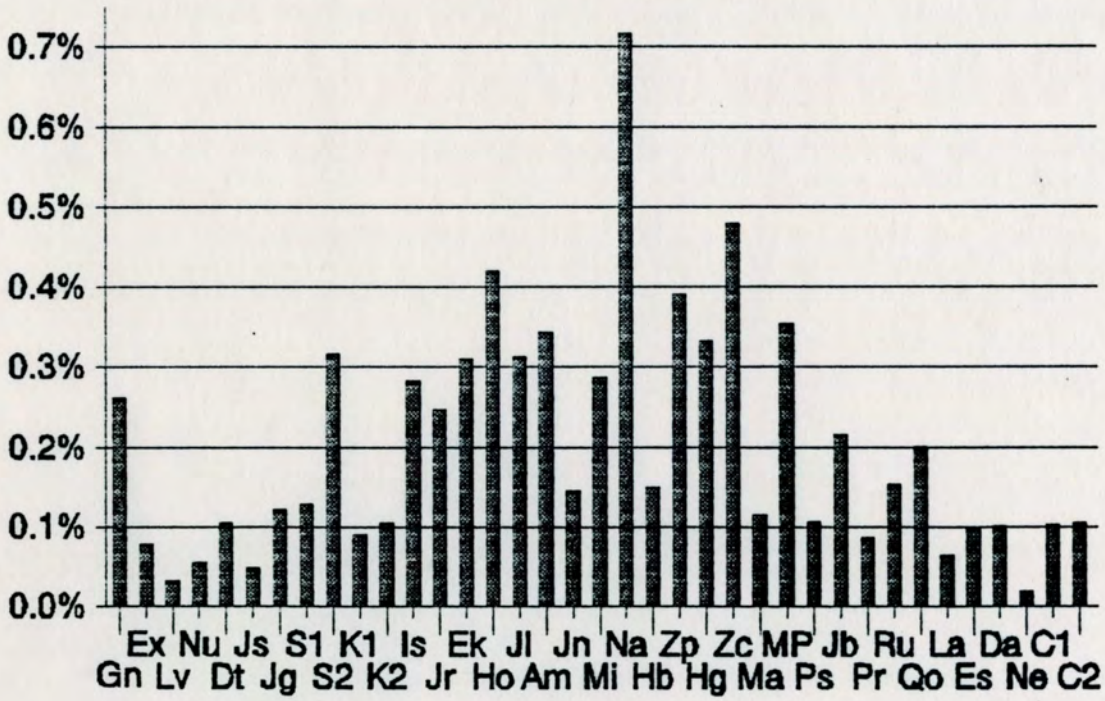


Chart 3.2 Renderings of `ôd

Book	`ôd	Rep'd	eti	ouketi	eti [e]	palin	[e]	hews	Uniq	--	G < v	Usual
Gn	54	47	36		3	1	2		5	6	1	76.6%
Ex	13	13	11			2						84.6%
Lv	4	4	3				1					75.0%
Nu	9	8	5		2				1	1		62.5%
Dt	15	15	15									100.0%
Js	5	5	3		1				1			60.0%
Jg	12	8	6		1		1			3	1	75.0%
S1	17	11	9		2					5	1	81.8%
S2	35	30	26	1	3					5		86.7%
K1	12	10	7		2			1		2		70.0%
K2	13	13	13									100.0%
Is	48	41	28	5	1				7	7		68.3%
Jr	54	45	41	3	1					6	3	91.1%
Ek	58	51	34	15				2		4	3	66.7%
Ho	10	10	7	2					1			70.0%
Jl	3	3	1	2								33.3%
Am	7	7	1	4					2			14.3%
Ob	0											
Jn	1	1	1									100.0%
Mi	4	3		2				1		1		0
Na	4	4	3	1								75.0%
Hb	1	1	1									100.0%
Zp	3	3	1	2								33.3%
Hg	2	2	2									100.0%
Zc	15	14	11	3						1		78.6%
Ma	1	1	1									100.0%
MP	51	49	29	16				1	3	2		59.2%
Ps	21	16	10		2				4	5		62.5%
Jb	18	13	6		2	1	1		3	1	4	46.2%
Pr	6	2	1						1	4		50.0%
Ru	2	2	2									100.0%
SS	0											
Qo	6	6	6									100.0%
La	1	1			1							0
Es	3	3	3									100.0%
Da	6	6	6									100.0%
Ez	0											
Ne	1	1	1									100.0%
C1	11	11	11									100.0%
C2	14	13	10					1	2	1		76.9%
TOTALS	489	423	322	40	21	4	5	5	26	53	13	
PERCENT		86.5%	76.1%	1.5%	5.0%	1.0%	1.2%	1.2%	6.2%	12.5	3.1%	76.12%

Chart 3.2.1

`od: Summary of Renderings

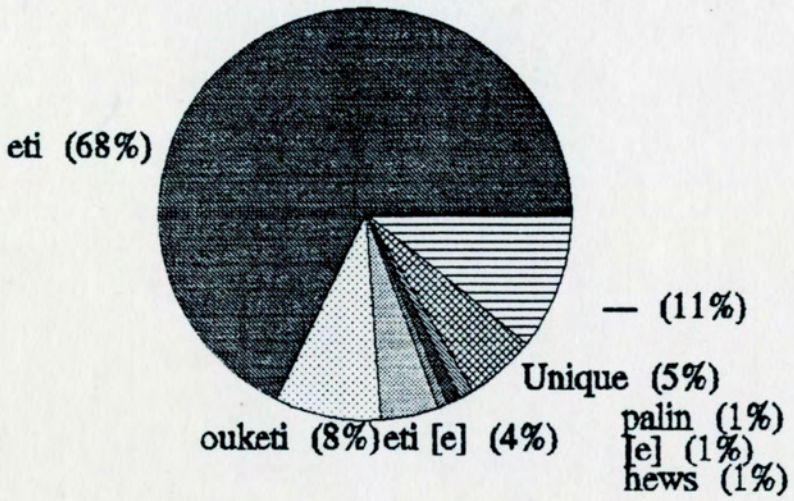


Chart 3.2.2

`od: eti & Other Renderings

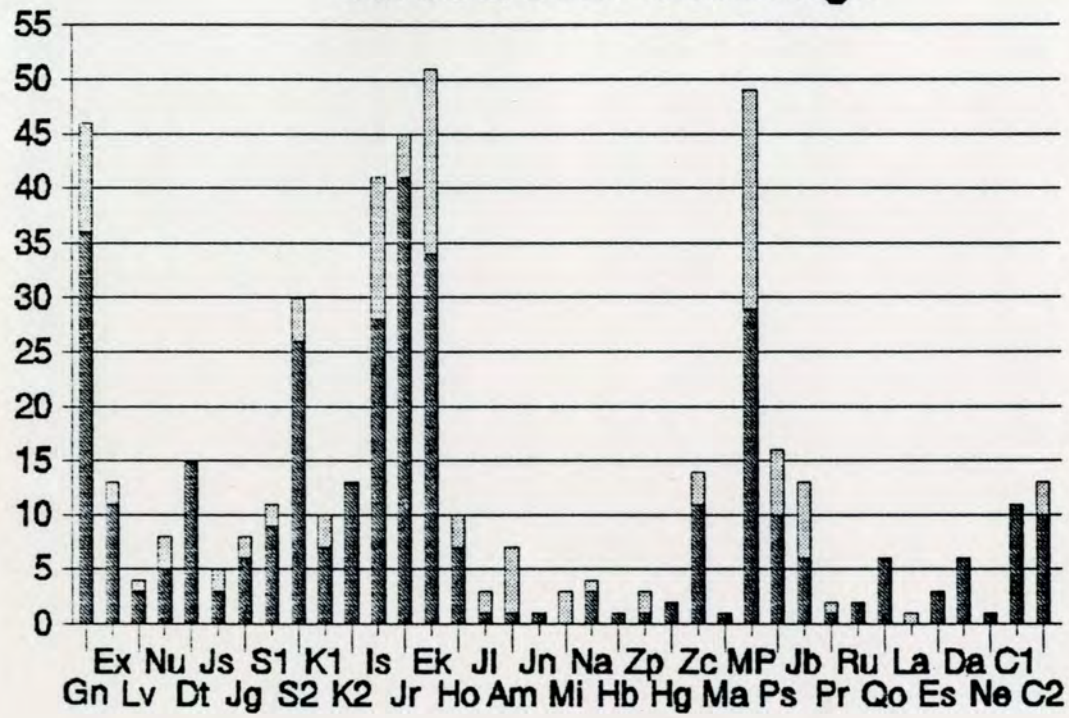
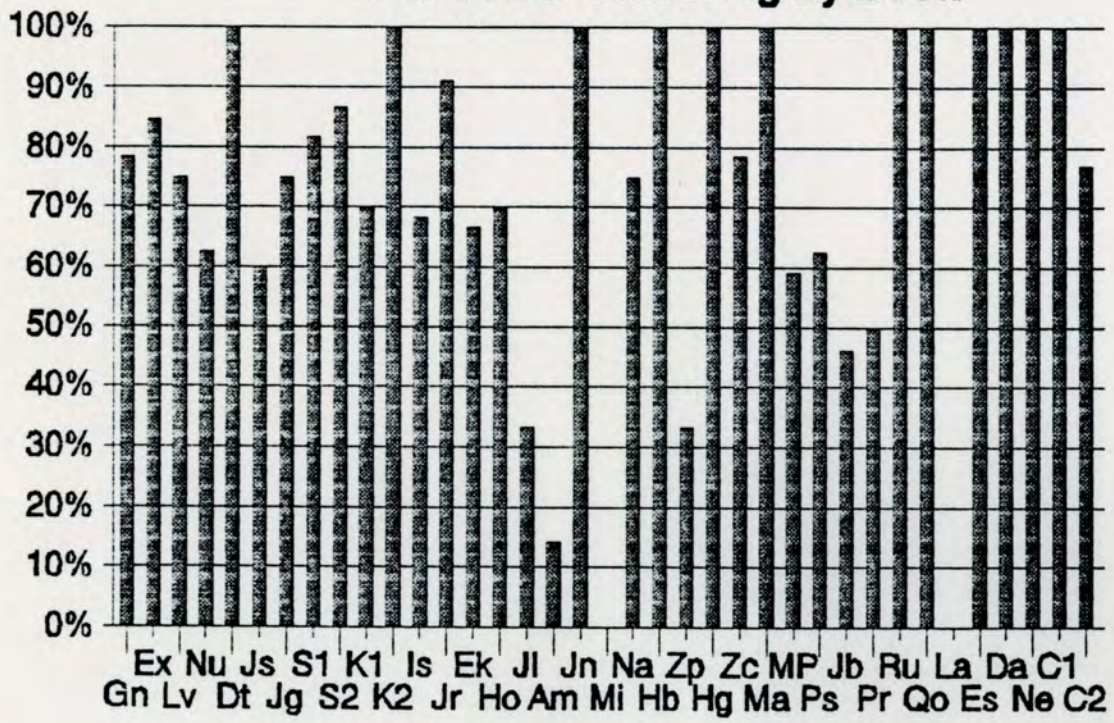


Chart 3.2.3

`od: Usual Rendering by Book



Chapter Four: 'ên/'ayin[1]

'ên,[2] the predicator of non-existence,[3] occurs seven hundred and eighty-nine times in H.[4]

The form 'ayin is either clause-terminal or syntactically separate from the following phrase or clause, and answers a question or offers an alternative to something previously mentioned, normally by ellipsis.

'ayin monophthongizes to 'ên when it is clause-

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[1]For the sake of simplicity I will refer to it as 'ên, which is by far more common (747xx vs. 42xx).

[2]'ên (<PS *'ayin) is related morphologically and semantically to forms in several other Semitic languages (the relation between these forms reflects the standard monophthongization (ayi > ê).

Cf., e.g., Akkadian yanu/ya'nu (<ayyanum "where?"), Ugaritic 'n, Moabite 'n, Phoenician 'e/i, Ethiopic 'en. Even the pronominal suffixation characteristic of 'en is seen in Akkadian. Wolgfang von Soden, GRUNDRISS DER AKKADISCHEN GRAMMATIK (Rome, 1952):#111b.

For the reasonable theory that 'ên has developed by semantic shift from the interrogative ('ayin), see Bauer-Leander, HEBRÄISCHE GRAMMATIK (§80,2), and Jenni-Westermann, THAT (I:127f). Cf. 'ayyeh "Where is ...?" which can imply "X is nowhere/does not exist" (above).

[3]It tends to function as the negative complement to yesh. Cf. Brockelmann, GRUNDRISS: "Es verneint zunächst als Gegensatz su ies die Existenz einer Sache ..." (II:114). We shall see, however, that at least one of its major functions is completely distinct from those of yesh.

[4]'ên appears in every biblical book except Jn.

initial or medial,[5] or has a suffixed pronominal subject.[6]

FUNCTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

'ên, usually described as the antonym or negative complement of yesh,[7] is normally translated "There is/are no[t] ..."[8] It is the second most common negative in H,[9] occurring almost exclusively in nominal clauses (whereas lo' usually occurs in verbal contexts).[10]

It has two main functions: to negate the [primarily participial] clause within which it occurs, and to deny

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[5]I.e., whenever it precedes its subject, whether immediately or at a distance.

[6]'ên occurs 103xx with suffixes: 3ms (48xx), 3mp (16xx), 1cs and 2ms (12xx each), 2mp (6xx), 3fs (5xx), 2fs (2xx), 1p (1). This accounts for 12.9% of its occurrences.

[7]Although 'ên can be described vis à vis yesh, 'ên affects the overt meaning of its sentence in a way foreign to yesh, since it negates the predication that would have been positive without it. 'ên thus has much more lexical "fullness" than yesh, even though their syntagmatic functions appear similar.

[8]See on yesh, above.

[9]Less frequent than lo' (c. 5050 times), but slightly more common than 'al (c. 730 times).

[10]Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS, lists twenty-five different syntagms (102-108). Although I do not agree with all of his analyses, it at least shows the possibilities.

the existence (or, conversely, predicate the absence) of its subject.

It normally fronts its clause,[11] preceding the word it negates, but there are many exceptions:[12]

> w^{e}'îsh 'ên ba'arets labô' `alênû ... Gn 19.31
> Since there is no man in the land [area] to have sexual relations with us ...
>
> 'im-t^{e}'anneh 'et-b^{e}notay w^{e}'im-tiqqax nashîm 'al-b^{e}notay 'ên 'îsh `immanû r$^{e}$'eh '$^{e}$lohîm `ed bênî ûbêneka Gn 31.50
> If you harm my daughters or if you take other wives in place of my daughters, although no one is with us, note that God is a witness between you and me.

'ên negates a clause in a manner functionally equivalent to lo'.[13] The two are even found in exactly parallel texts:[14]

> ûmin habb^{e}hemah '^{a}sher lo' t^{e}horah hî' Gn 7.2
> and from the animals that are not clean
>
> ûmin habb^{e}hemah '^{a}sher 'ênennah t^{e}horah Gn 7.8
> and from the animals that are not clean

---

[11]For a description of fronting, see under 'ayyeh (above).

[12]These examples are also cited by Jean Carmignac, "L'emploi de la nègation 'ên dans la Bible et a Qumran" REVUE DE QUMRAN 8 (1974):407f.
The difference between these clauses appears to be related to discourse, not syntax. In Gn 19.31 it sets out the reason for the proposition to follow; in Gn 31.50 it grants a concession in the covenantal [threat].

[13]We shall see below that they were usually translated into G as though this were the understanding of the translators as well.

[14]Joüon, GRAMMAIRE, distinguishes sharply between these verses (#160b).

This occurs frequently when 'ên is followed by a participial predicate:

> 'ên sar bêt-hassohar ro'eh 'et-kol-m^{e}'ûmah b^{e}yadô Gn 39.23
> The official over the prison did not observe (know) anything that he [Joseph] did
>
> 'ên YHWH ro'eh 'otanû Ek 8.12
> YHWH does not see us
>
> 'ên 'ester maggedet môladtaH w^{e}'et-`ammaH Es 2.20
> Esther did not make known either her ancestry or her people.[15]

'ên predicates absence in degrees ranging from absolute non-existence to present or particular non-existence. Absolute non-existence states that the subject of 'ên does not exist.[16] In, e.g., Nu 27.4 there is no possibility that the man in question will ever have a son, since he is dead:

> 'ên lô ben Nu 27.4
> he does not have a son[17]

If there is no one to whom restitution can be made, restitution must be made to YHWH through the priest:

> w^{e}'im 'ên la'îsh go'el Nu 5.8
> if the man does not have a go'el

---

[15]Cf. Ex 33.15; Lv 14.21; Ek 9.9; Ec 9.1; Es 3.5; 7.4; Ez 3.13. With one exception (Ec 9.1) the order in these clauses is 'ên-subject-predicate (vs. lo'-predicate-subject).

[16]Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: " 'ayin exprime d'abord la non-existence dans le lieu, à savoir l'absence, puis, par extension, la non'existence tout court" (#154k).

[17]Cf. Nu 27.8-11 for other examples of the same predication.

Monotheistic passages in the Latter Prophets, especially Isaiah, assert the uniqueness of YHWH and the absence of any true rival:[18]

'anokî 'anokî YHWH w'ên mibbal`aday môshî`a` Is 43.11
I, I am YHWH; there is no other Savior.[19]

'en also indicates the spatial or temporal absence of persons or things, usually at the time of speaking:

w^{e}haya kir^{e}'otô kî-'ên hanna`ar wamet Gn 44.31
When he sees that the lad is not there, he will die

w^{e}hinneh 'ên yonatan w^{e}nose' kelayw 1S 14.17
Neither Jonathan nor his armor bearer was there

ra'îtî . . . w^{e}'el-hashshamayim w^{e}'ên 'ôram Jr 4.23
I looked ... to the heavens, but their light was gone

ra'îtî w^{e}hinneh 'ên ha'adam Jr 4.25
I looked--but no one was there

With locatives 'ên predicates situation-specific physical and temporal non-existence or absence:

raq 'ên-yir'at '^{e}lohîm bammaqôm hazzeh Gn 20.11
Surely there is no fear of God in this place

kî 'ên YHWH b^{e}qirb^{e}kem Nu 14.42
... for YHWH is not in your midst[20]

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[18]Pace C. J. Labuschagne, THE INCOMPARABILITY OF YAHWEH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. PRETORIA ORIENTAL SERIES, edited by A. van Selms, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1966): passim.

[19]Cf. Is 44.6; 45.5 (twice, once with `ôd), 6, 14.

[20]Cf. kî 'ên YHWH b^{e}yisra'el "for YHWH is not in Israel (C2 25.7).

ûmano^{a}x 'îshaH 'ên `immaH Jg 13.9
but Manoah her husband was not with her
[circumstantial clause]

kî 'ên bammawet zikreka Ps 6.6
for there is no memory of you [objective
genitive] in Zion

w^{e}haddabar 'ên bahem Jr 5.13
when the [my] word is not in them[21]

kî 'ên ha'îsh b^{e}betô Pr 7.19
for [my] husband is not at home[22]

'ên functions privatively[23] when, in effect, it forms a compound adjective with the word it negates:

w^{e}`ammî sh^{e}kexûnî yamîm 'ên mispar Jr 2.32
My people have forgotten me for numberless
days (days without number)[24]

shamayim larûm wa'arets la`omeq w^{e}leb m^{e}lakîm
'ên xeqer Pr 25.3
As the heavens for height and the earth for
breadth, so the heart of kings is
unsearchable[25]

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[21]Reading haddabar for haddibber.

[22]Cf. Gn 37.29; Ex 22.13; Dt 31.17; Jg 16.15; Jr 8.19a; 8.19b; 15.1; 22.17; 38.9; Ps 36.2; Jb 6.13; 41.25.

[23]Also called "item adverb" (Waltke & O'Connor, BIBLICAL HEBREW SYNTAX (#39.3.3)).

[24]For the same idiom, cf. C1 22.4.

[25]Cf. the same function, but in a different syntagm:

lammah-zeh m^{e}xîr b^{e}yad-k^{e}sîl liq^{e}nôt xokmah
w^{e}leb-'ayin Pr 17.16
Why is there a price in the hand of a fool to
acquire wisdom when there is no heart [he is
senseless]?

'ên with l^{e}- + infinitive indicates negative result or inability:[26]

w^{e}'adam 'ayin la`^{a}bod 'et-ha'^{a}damah Gn 2.5
nor was there anyone to till the ground[27]

w^{e}'ên mayim lishtôt ha`am Ex 17.1
but there was no water for the people to drink

ût^{e}shûra 'ên-l^{e}habî' la'îsh ha'^{e}lohîm S1 9.7
but there is [we have] no gift to bring to the man of God

`ad '^{a}sher 'ên-bahem kô^{a}x libkôt S1 30.4
until there was no more strength in them to weep

ûl^{e}banon 'ên dê ba`er Is 40.16a
Lebanon is not sufficient for burning

'ên 'eshkol le'^{e}kol Mi 7.1
There is no bunch of grapes to eat

w^{e}'ên shenî lah^{a}qîmô Qo 4.10
but there would be no one else to lift him up

Even without an explicit subject this syntagm implies general inability or lack of permission:[28]

kî 'ên labo' 'el-sha`ar hammelek bil^{e}bûsh saq Es 4.2
for no one may enter the king's gate dressed in sackcloth

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[26]Cf., among others, Nu 22.26; K2 19.3 (= Is 37.3); Is 47.14; Jr 19.11; Mi 7.1; Dn 11.15.

Carmignac, "L'emploi de la Négation", sees this as a development of later H: "... on ne peut douter que l'association de 'YN et d'un infinitif pourvu de lamed est une création récente en hébreu ..." (410). Although this is an observable tendency, he limits his citations to Pr, Ru, Qo, C1-2, as does Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (#160j).

[27]Had there been human beings, they could have tilled the ground (they would at least have been available). The action is impossible because the subject is lacking.

[28]8xx; only Es, Ez, C1-2.

kî k^{e}tab '^{a}sher niktab ... 'ên l^{e}heshîb Es 8.8
for that which is written ... no one may revoke
w^{e}'ên `imm^{e}ka l^{e}hityatstseb C2 20.6
No one can stand against you ...[29]

Limited inability is also signalled by l^{e} with a nominal or pronominal:

w^{e}gam lal^{e}wiyîm 'ên lase't 'et hammishkan C1 23.26
and the Levites would have no more carrying of the Tabernacle (= ... would not have to carry the Tabernacle [any longer])

The nature of the inability is sometimes explicit:

w^{e}'ên l^{e}bêt '^{a}xazyahu la`tsor ko^{a}x l^{e}mamlakah C2 22.9
but the house of Ahaziah had no one able to hold the kingship

'ên occurs without an explicit subject in elliptical clauses that offer an alternative or answer a question:[30]

h^{a}yesh baH `ets 'im-'ayin Nu 13.20
whether or not there are any trees in it

'im-'ayin 'atta sh^{e}ma` lî Jb 33.33
but if not [if there are no words], listen to me.

w^{e}'amart 'ayin Jg 4.20
then you shall say,"No [no one is here.]"

---

[29]The other examples are Ez 9.15; 2C 5.11; 35.15.

[30]Although his discussion is limited to lo', cf. the same point by Ziony Zevit, "Expressing Denial in Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew, and in Amos" VT 29 (1979):505-9.
In the passages cited here 'ên stands opposite yesh.

'êN WITH AFFIXES

'en occurs with both prefixes and suffixes. It is used with all four prefixed prepositions: min [me] (27xx), b^e- and l^e- (10xx each), and k^e- (7xx).[31]

'ên with Prefixes				
Bk	b^e	k^e	l^e	min
Is	1	4	2	4
Jr				19
Ek	1			2
Hg		1		
Ma				1
Ps		2		
Pr	8			
La			1	1
Ne			1	
C1			1	
C2			5	
Ttl	10	7	10	27

me'ên "without" occurs primarily in passages that foretell covenantal disaster through decimation of the population, especially with yosheb (13xx) and 'adam (5xx):

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[31]It shares this characteristic with `ôd (above; contrast 'ayyeh and yesh). It also occurs with the conjunction w^e and interrogative h^a, but these do not affect its function.

Its distribution is interesting because each combination tends to occur in one book: min primarily in Jr (19/27xx = 70%); b^e- in Pr (8/10xx = 80%); l^e- in C2 (5/10xx = 50%); k^e- in Is (4/7xx = 58%).

'ên does not occur with any prefix other than the conjunction or interrogative in the Torah or Former Prophets.

`arîm me'ên yosheb ûbattîm me'ên 'adam
Is 6.11 (twice)
Cities without inhabitants, and houses without people.

`arayik titstseynah me'ên yôsheb Jr 4.7
your cities shall fall into ruin without inhabitants

b^{e}'ên appears to have the same function:[32]

hû' yamût b^{e}'ên mûsar Pr 5.23
He will die without discipline

hapher max^{a}shabôt b^{e}'ên sôd Pr 15.22
Plans are frustrated without counsel

In k^{e}'ayin the negative functions as a substantive "nothing":[33]

yihyû k^{e}'ayin wyo'b^{e}dû 'anshê rîbeka Is 41.11
Those who strive against you will become like nothing--they will perish

k^{e}'ên (only Is 59.10) seems to be periphrastic for ka'^{a}nashîm '^{a}sher 'ên lahem:

ûk^{e}'en `ênayim n^{e}gasheshah Is 59.10
And we grope like [those who have] no eyes

'ên occurs with suffixes that identify its pronominal subject (103xx).[34] In one-fifth of these passages 'ên

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[32]Cf. Pr 8.24; 11.14; 14.4; 26.20; 29.18; Is 57.1; Ek 38.11 (all occurrences).

[33]6/7xx with k^{e}-: Is 40.17; 41.11, 12; Hg 2.3; Ps 39.6; 73.2.

[34]It appears with more than eight forms due to morphological variation, but in only eight of the ten positions in the identificatory matrix of H.
Four suffixes are added to the monophthongized stem: 2ms ('ênka), 2fs ('ênêk), 2mp ('ênkem), and 3mp ('ênam).
41 of these occurrences with pronominal suffixes

occurs with only a pronominal suffix (21xx),[35]

generally "to be/exist no longer":[36]

> wayyithallek h^{e}nôk 'et-ha'^{e}lohîm w^{e}'ênennû kî-laqax 'ôtô '^{e}lohîm Gn 5.24
> And Enoch walked with God, then he was no longer, because God took him.
>
> yîbash niddaph w^{e}'ênenû Is 19.7
> [They] will dry up, be driven away, and be no more.
>
> banay y^{e}tsa'ûnî[37] w^{e}'ênam Jr 10.20a
> My children have left me--they are not (= no longer) here.
>
> w^{e}hitbonnanta `al-m^{e}qomô w^{e}'ênennû Ps 37.10b
> And you will consider his place, but it will not be there.[38]

---

fall in Gn (16xx), Jr (13xx), Qo (12xx).

The other suffixes--all vocalic--are added with a prosthetic syllable: 1cs ('ênennî), 3ms ('ênennû), 3fs ('ênennâ), 1cp ('ênennû; only in Jr 44.16 (haddabar 'a^{a}sher-dibbarta 'elenû b^{e}shem YHWH 'ênennû shom^{e}`îm 'eleka "As for the message which you have given to us in the name of the LORD, we will not listen to you"), where syntax and grammar require that the form be plural).

[35]On the more frequent syntagm with a suffix ('ên with a suffix and participle), see above.

[36]In addition to the examples cited, cf. Jr 31.15 (14); 49.10; 50.20; Ek 26.21; Ps 37.36; 39.14; 59.14; 103.16; Jb 3.21; 7.8, 21; 24.24; 27.19; Pr 12.7; 23.5; La 5.7 (all occurrences).

[37]G and VSS apparently read tsô'nî here, but yatsa' with an accusative of source is not unknown (cf. Gn 44.4; Ex 9.29; Jb 31.34).

[38]At least one case seems not to have this temporal significance:

> hen qedem 'oh^{e}lok w^{e}'ênennû Jb 23.8
> If I go ahead, he is not there

(cf. 23.8b: w^{e}'axôr w^{e}lo' 'abin lô "... or back, I do not perceive him").

'ên occurs infrequently with independent pronouns: zeh/zo't (7xx)[39] and personal pronouns (2xx):

'ên zeh kî-'im bêt 'elohîm Gn 28.17
This is nothing but the house of God [= Is this not the house of God?]

ûmadû^{a}` yastîr 'abî mimmennî 'et-haddabar hazzeh 'ên zô't 1S 20.2
Or why would my father hide this thing from me? This [what you are suggesting] is not so!

'ên zô't biltî-'im xereb gid^{e}`on Jr 7.14
This is nothing but the sword of Gideon [= Is this not ... ?]

ha'aph 'ên zô't b^{e}nê-yisra'el Am 2.11
Is this not so, O children of Israel?

'ên zeh kî-'im ra` leb Ne 2.2b
This is nothing but sadness of heart [= Is this not ... ?]

In Ne 4.17 'ên is followed by an independent personal pronoun:[40]

w^{e}'ên 'anî w^{e}'axay ûna`^{a}ray w^{e}'anshê hammishmar 'asher 'ax^{a}ray 'ên '^{a}naxnû posh^{e}Tîm b^{e}gadênû Ne 4.17 (twice)
So neither I, my brothers, my servants, nor the men of the guard who followed me--none of us stripped off our clothes.[41]

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[39]These tend to be followed by 'im, which sets off the contrast: "This is nothing but ..."

[40]It is preceded by a proleptic independent pronoun in Ne 2.2a.

[41]The first occurrence here is proleptic, anticipating the second before the participle, in precisely the same function that we have seen with the pronominal suffix and participle (above).

SUMMARY

'ên has two primary functions in H: to negate the clause which it heads (especially with a participial predicate), and to predicate the local, temporal, or absolute non-existence or lack of its subject.

It differs from 'ayyeh and yesh (especially) and from `ôd (as a predicator of existence) in that its function with participial predicates is very nearly that of lo' with a finite verb.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

USUAL RENDERING

The usual rendering of 'ên is ou/me[42] [e][43] (515xx = 67%). 'ên is also rendered by ou (106xx = 14.8%),[44] ou huparxw (27xx = 3.8%), oudeis (22xx = 3.1%), and alpha privative (16xx = 2.3%). Other renderings include oudeis [e] (5xx), ou heuriskw (4xx), and thirty-six passages in which a rendering is common to only two books[45] or is unique.[46]

'ên is not represented in G in 40 passages (5.6%). Taking into the account the use of ou alone to negate a

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[42]Alternation between me and ou is grammatically motivated; they are therefore considered a single rendering.

[43]As above, [e] refers to "any form of the verb eimi".

[44]Primarily when 'ên occurs with a participle and the participle is rendered by a finite verb in G (below).

[45]There are five of these "shared" renderings: alpha privative with [e] (Jb 22.5; Pr 30.27), aneu (Ex 21.11; Am 3.5), ou me huparxw (Ps 59.14; Pr 29.18), ouketi (Ex 5.10; Is 23.10), and ouketi [e] (Ek 27.36; Jb 7.21; 23.8).

[46]Nineteen renderings occur only once. The preposition apo occurs five times but only in Jr; I therefore classify it as unique.

participle rendered as a finite verb, ou is the primary component used to render 'ên in G (87.3%).

The use of ou [e] to represent 'ên in the great majority of its occurrences shows that the interpretation suggested above was that of the translators as well--they viewed 'ên as a predicator, not merely as an adverb.

RENDERINGS OF 'êN IN G

'ên occurs 37xx in Genesis where it is represented by ou [e] (26xx), ou/me (7xx), ou huparxw (2xx), and ou exw and ou heuriskw (once each). It is striking that the translator rendered 'ên four different ways in its first five occurrences.[47] The usual rendering occurs frequently, e.g.:

> w^{e}'adam 'ayin la`^{a}bod 'et-ha'^{a}damah Gn 2.5
> kai anthrwpos ouk en ergazesthai ten gen
>
> wayyo'mer 'abraham kî 'amartî raq 'ên yir'at
> '^{e}lohîm bammaqôm hazzeh Gn 20.11
> eipen de Abraam Eipa gar Ara ouk estin
> theosebeia en tw topw toutw
>
> wa'omar 'el-haxarTummîm w^{e}'ên maggîd lî
> Gn 41.24
> eipa oun tois ecegetais, kai ouk en ho
> apaggellwn moi
>
> wayyo'mer '^{a}lehem ya`^{a}qob ... yôseph 'ênennû
> w^{e}shim`ôn 'ênennû ... Gn 42.36 (2xx)
> eipen de autois Iakwb ... Iwseph ouk estin,
> Sumewn ouk estin ...

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[47] ou [e] (2.5), ou heuriskw (5.24), me (7.8), ou (11.30), oudeis [e] (19.31).

w^{e}'axînû haqqaTon 'ênennû 'ittanû Gn 44.26
tou adelphou tou newterou me ontos meth'
hemwn[48]

In 41.39 ouk estin anthrwpos might be considered a unique rendering, but here anthrwpos reflects the substantive nature of the adjectives in H, not an aspect of 'ên:[49]

'ên-nabôn w^{e}xakam kamôka Gn 41.39
ouk estin anthrwpos phronimwteros kai
sunetwteros sou

Less frequent renderings which Gn has in common with at least two other books of G are ou/me (6xx), ou huparxw (2xx), and ou exw and ou heuriskw (once each).

In another apparently unique rendering the translator seems to have used ou outheis[50] to represent 'ên in order to emphasize Joseph's authority in Potiphar's house:[51]

'ênennû gadôl babbayit hazzeh memmennî Gn 39.9
kai ouk huperexei en te oikia taute outhen
emou

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[48]The translator used an adverbial participle (here a concessive genitive absolute) to subordinate the disjunctive clause (cf. Gn 44.31, 34, and often, passim, below).

[49]Further evidence for this understanding of this passage is the translator's propensity for oudeis/outheis (even in the relatively near context: Gn 19.31; 31.50; 39.9). Further on oudeis [e], below.

[50]Combining a negative adverb with a negative [neuter] subject plus a genitive of comparison.

[51]Thus avoiding the possible misinterpretation that he was greater than one particular person.

Here, however, ouk, representing 'ên, negates huperexw (representing gadôl). outhen, the subject of huperexw, represents the pronominal suffix used with 'ên and specifies that Joseph is superior to everyone else.

In another occurrence of ou/me without [e] (5xx, including the preceding)[52] the translator interpreted walad verbally and rendered it as an historic present:

watt^{e}hî saray `^{a}qarah 'ên laH walad Gn 11.30
kai en Sara steira kai ouk eteknopoiei

Included in the list of the animals that entered into the ark with Noah and his family are those that are unclean:

ûmin-habb^{e}hemah '^{a}sher 'ênennaH T^{e}horah Gn 7.8
kai apo twn ktenwn twn me katharwn[53]

The translator elegantly turned the relative clause into an attributive adjectival phrase,[54] which makes [e] not only unnecessary, but grammatically unacceptable.[55]

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[52]Four of five uses of ou alone represent 'ên with a suffix (see "Renderings of 'ên with Affixes", below).

[53]Note that the translator did not use akatharos, an alpha-privative form of the adjective found in Lv and G generally, but not in Gn or Ex.

[54]This translation is also used six verses earlier to represent the same construction with lo':

ûmin-habbhemah '^{a}sher lo' Thorah hî' shnayim ... Gn 7.2
apo de twn ktenwn twn me katharwn duo duo, ...

[55]All relative clauses are of course adjectival, but the point here is that the translator used a different grammatical realization to represent H.

In Gn 37.29 ou corresponds to 'ên, which here follows w^{e}hinneh:

> wayyashab r^{e}'ûben 'el-habbôr w^{e}hinneh 'ên yôseph babbôr Gn 37.29
> anestrepsen de Rouben epi ton lakkon, kai oux hora ton Iwseph en tw lakkw

hinneh was rendered as a transitive verb, and 'ên as ouk which negates it.[56]

When 'ên with a pronominal suffix occurs with a verbal participle in Gn,[57] 'ên is rendered by the simple negative in G, and the participle by a verb which is assigned person and number on the basis of the pronominal suffix:[58]

> w^{e}'im 'ênka meshîb da' kî-môt tamût 'attah w^{e}kol-'^{a}sher-lak Gn 20.7
> ei de me apodidws, gnwthi hoti apothane su kai panta ta sa

> w^{e}'im 'ênka m^{e}shalle^{a}x lo' nered Gn 43.5
> ei de me apostelleis ton adelphon hemwn meth' hemwn, ou poreusometha

In Gn 30.1 me shows that there is a conditional ellipsis in H. Again [e] would be grammatically unacceptable, since it is not the elided verb:[59]

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[56]See further under hinneh, below.

[57]Twice, both are conditions.

[58]This is analogous to the representation of `ôd in similar syntagms (above).

[59]This distinction is not maintained in H where we would expect lo', since the reconstructed ellipsis would read w^{e}'im 'ênka [noten(?) lî banîm] (yahab, which Rachel uses in the preceding clause, was not used in H other than as an imperative).

w^e'im 'ayin metah 'anokî Gn 30.1
ei de me, teleutesw egw

'ên 'îsh is translated outheis ... [e] three times in Gn. Here ou- of outheis together with [e] represents the force of 'ên:[60]

w^e'im-tiqqax nashîm `al-b^enotay 'ên 'îsh `immannû ... Gn 31.50
ei lepse gunaikas epi tas thugaterasin mou hora outheis meth' hemwn estin

w^e'îsh 'ên ba'arets labô' `alênû ... Gn 19.31
kai oudeis estin epi tes ges, hos eiseleusetai pros hemas, ...[61]

w^e'ên 'îsh me'anshê habbayit sham babbayit Gn 39.11
kai outheis en twn en te oikia esw

Less common renderings in Gn which are nonetheless common to at least two other books of G are ou huparxw (Gn 42.13, 32), ou exw (Gn 37.24), and ou heuriskw (Gn 5.24).

Twice ou huparxw represents 'ên with a pronominal suffix when the brothers explain (to Joseph!) that Joseph their eleventh brother was dead:

w^eha'exad 'ênennnû Gn 42.13
ho de heteros oux huparxei

ha'exad 'ênennû Gn 42.32
ho heis oux huparxei

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[60]This rendering is analogous to the use of ouketi [e] for lo' ... `ôd, in which the ou[k]- represents lo' and eti `ôd (above). These occurrences are therefore counted with the usual rendering.

[61]The translator used the same rendering despite the unusual word order (the subject does not usually precede 'ên).

huparxw can mean "live" (properly "exist"), but it occurs elsewhere in Gn only as "property" or "belongings".[62]

ou heuriskw is an exegetical representation of 'ên in Gn 5.24. Enoch was no more (= could not be found) because God had taken him away:[63]

> wayyithallek h^{a}nôk 'et-ha'^{e}lohîm w'ennennû kî-laqax 'otô '^{e}lohîm Gn 5.24
> kai euerestesen hEnwx tw thew kai ouk heurisketo, hoti metetheken auton ho theos.[64]

ou exw, another exegetical rendering of 'ên, nicely captures the idiom of H, although the syntax of the clause is "inverted", mayim becoming the object rather than the subject:

> w^{e}habbôr req 'ên bô mayim Gn 37.24
> ho de lakkos kenos, hudwr ouk exein

The translator of Gn was relatively consistent--he used ou [e] to represent 'ên in 70% of its occurrences. Variation from this was normally to use ou alone (19%) either because of the presence of a participle in H which he rendered with a finite verb, or because he

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[62]Cf., e.g., r^{e}kûsh (Gn 12.5; 13.6; 14.16; 36.7), migneh (Gn 36.7; 46.6; 47.18). Other occurrences represent various combinations expressing ownership, e.g., '^{a}sher l^{e} (25.5; 45.11).

[63]On ou heuriskw for 'ên, cf. on Pr 14.6, below.

[64]The New Testament author of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes G, as is his custom, when referring to Enoch: ouk heurisketo dioti metetheken auton ho theos (Hb 11.5, probably quoted from memory; cf. dioti vs. hoti).

interpreted an adjective or noun verbally and rendered it so in G, yielding a context in which [e] would not have been grammatically proper.

In Exodus (22xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] (9xx), ou (8xx), me huparxw (2xx), and by oudeis, ouketi, and aneu (once each).[65]

ou [e] is in two comparisons, where the translator supplied allos to heighten the incomparability of YHWH:

> l^{e}ma`an teda` kî-'ên k^{e}YHWH '^{e}lohênû Ex 8.6
> hina eides hoti ouk estin allos plen kuriou;
>
> ba`$^{a}$bûr teda` kî 'ên kamonî b^{e}kol-ha'arets Ex 9.14
> hin' eides hoti ouk estin hws egw allos en pase te ge

Other occurrences of the usual rendering parallel those in Gn (above).[66]

ou alone represents 'ên when 'ên occurs with a verbal participle, whether or not 'ên has a suffix:

> wayyar' w^{e}hinneh hass^{e}neh bo`er ba'esh
> w^{e}hass^{e}neh 'ênnenû 'ukkal Ex 3.2
> kai hora hoti ho batos kaietai puri, ho de batos ou katekaieto
>
> kî 'im-'ênka m^{e}shalle^{a}x 'et-`ammî ... Ex 8.17
> ean de me boule ecaposteilai ton laon mou ...

---

[65] aneu for 'ên occurs only twice in G (cf. Am 3.5, below). Its occurrence in only two books makes it a "shared" rendering.

[66] Ex 12.30a, b; 17.1; 22.1, 13; 32.18a, b (where oude [e] represents w^{e}'ên).

kî 'ên nigra` me`^{a}bodatkem dabar Ex 5.11
ou gar aphaireitai apo tes suntacews humwn outhen[67]

In two absolute occurrences of 'ayin, both presenting alternatives, elision of the clause in H is reflected in G:[68]

h^{a}yesh YHWH b^{e}qirbenû 'im-'ayin Ex 17.7
Ei estin kurios en hemin e ou?

wa`attah 'im-tissa' xaTTa'tam w^{e}'im-'ayin m^{e}xenî na' missiphr^{e}ka ... Ex 32.32
kai nun ei men apheis autois ten hamartian, aphes; ei de me, ecaleipson me ek tes biblou sou, ...

In 2.12 Moses killed the Egyptian:

wayyiphen koh wakoh wayyar' kî 'ên 'îsh Ex 2.12
periblepsamenos de hwde kai hwde oux hora oudena

'ên is represented by oux; oudena renders 'îsh, which is now the direct object of the verb (negated by oux).[69] The first clause of the verse was subordinated to the second, so that the indirect observation [discourse] introduced by kî is the main clause in G.

ou huparxw represents 'ên twice in Ex. In Ex 14.11, when the people grumble to Moses for bringing

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[67]Ex 5.16; 33.15, the other two occurrences of this construction, have the same rendering as 5.11.

[68]In neither case would [e] be appropriate, since it is not the verb elided.

[69]The use of [ou] oudeis ([e]) to represent 'ên 'îsh is not uncommon: cf. Gn 19.31; 31.50; 39.11 (all oudeis [e]); S1 21.2; Is 41.28a; 57.1a (all oudeis). These are all the biblical examples of this rendering.

them into the wilderness, the translator's motives in choosing me huparxw are unclear:[70]

> wayyo'merû 'el-mosheh hamibb^{e}lî 'ên-q^{e}barîm b^{e}mitsrayim ... Ex 14.11
> kai eipan pros Mwusen Para to me huparxein[71] mnemata en ge Aiguptw ...

'ên l^{e} (22.2) refers to the lack of possessions that prevents a thief from making restitution, so huparxw was chosen for its connotations:

> 'im-'ên lô w^{e}nimkar bignebatô Ex 22.2
> ean de me huparxei autw, prathetw anti tou klemmatos

In Ex 5.10 ouketi represents 'ên because of the larger context. Pharaoh announced that he would no longer supply straw for the bricks, signalling the end of his former policy. The translator used ouketi because of his sensitivity to the context and, probably, to stress the point of Pharaoh's changed attitude toward the Hebrews:

> koh 'amar par`oh 'ênennî noten lakem teben Ex 5.10
> Tade legei Pharaw Ouketi didwmi humin axura

oudeis renders 'ên once (22.9) when the translator

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[70] huparxw occurs in Ex three times (cf. 32.24, where the idiomatic l^{e}mî zahab ... is rendered as Ei tini huparxei xrusia ...).

[71] huparxw could well imply "Do [they] have no graves ..."; if not, I have no explanation for this rendering other than as a lexical choice which, to the translator, reflected the function of 'ên as well as ou [e].

rendered 'ên with medeis[72] because he interpreted the participle as a finite verb;[73] medeis thus negates the verb (corresponding to 'ên) by functioning as its subject (reflecting the substantive nature of the participle in H):

> ûmet 'ô-nishbar 'ô-nisbah 'ên ro'eh Ex 22.9
> kai suntribe e teleutese e aixmalwton genetai
> kai medeis gnw

aneu (2xx in G) represents 'ên in Ex 21.11, where 'ên means "without". This infrequency of this literal rendering in G is surprising:[74]

> w^{e}'im-sh^{e}lash-'elleh lo' ya`^{a}seh laH w^{e}yats'ah
> xinnam 'ên kaseph Ex 21.11
> ean de ta tria tauta me poiese aute,
> eceleusetai dwrean aneu arguriou

The translator was far less consistent than Gn: ou [e] (41%) represents 'ên in non-verbal contexts, but ou alone (32%) represents 'ên (with or without a suffix) followed by a participle, which he usually rendered verbally.

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[72]The me- form is used because this further clause of the protasis is governed by ean (at the beginning of the verse).

[73]It is also entirely possible that he simply thought this the best way to capture the flavor of H.

[74]aneu occurs 29xx in G (three times in Jb under *). It represents lo'/b^{e}lo' (6xx), bil`ad/mibbil`ad (5xx), b^{e}lî/mibb^{e}lî (5xx), 'ên and `al (2xx each), interrogative h^{a} (once).

It also occurs in two identical clauses in the Aramaic portion of Dn, where it corresponds to dî-la'. In S1 6.7 aneu occurs within a G plus; Es 3.13f is part of the Additions to Esther.

In Leviticus 'ên occurs twenty-one times, primarily in three contexts: laws concerning skin disease (10xx), dietary law (5xx), and covenantal blessings and curses (4xx). It is rendered by ou [e] (11xx), ou (6xx), and outheis (3xx). It is not represented in 11.26a.

In Lv 11.4, its first occurence of five in this chapter, 'ên followed by a participle is rendered by ou with a finite verb:[75]

> ûpharsah 'ênennû maphrîs Lv 11.4
> hoplen de ou dixelei

The other four verses in which 'ên is rendered by ou fall in the laws concerning skin diseases.[76] The renderings in this chapter, however, are not easily explained, especially the variation between ou [e] and ou. Its first five occurrences are rendered as ou [e],[77] which then alternates with ou:

> w^{e}hinneh 'ên-mar'ehû `amoq min-ha`ôr w^{e}se`ar shaxor 'ên bô Lv 13.31 (2xx)
> kai idou oux he opsis egkoilotera tou dermatos, kai thric canthizousa ouk estin en aute
>
> ûmar'eh hanneteq 'ên `amoq min-ha`ôr Lv 13.32
> kai he opsis tou thrausmatos ouk estin koile apo tou dermatos[78]

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[75]Cf. the same rendering in 11.26b, below.

[76]'ên occurs nine times in Lv 13; it is represented by ou [e] (6xx) and ou (3xx).

[77]Lv 13.4, 21 (2xx), 26 (2xx).

[78]Despite the slightly different syntax of H (ûmar'ehû 'ênennû ...) the translator rendered 13.34 in exactly the same form.

I have no explanation for this variation,[79] since egkoilotera[80] is simply a comparative of egkoilos (the comparative functioning as apo with the genitive). Could the translator have seen a grammatical difference between koilos and egloilos, so that when he rendered 'ên ... min by ouk ... koilos apo he needed [e], but when he used egkoilotera he did not?

The last three occurrences of 'ên in Lv, which are translated by oudeis/outheis, fall within the list of covenantal curses (26.14-39). The translator represented each subordinate 'ên-clause with a genitive absolute,[81] using the genitive of outhenos to negate the participle as its subject:[82]

> w^{e}nastem w^{e}'ên rodeph etkem — Lv 26.17
> kai pheucesthe outhenos diwkontos humas
>
> w^{e}naphalû w^{e}'ên rodeph — Lv 26.36
> kai pesountai outhenos diwkontos

---

[79]These occurrences fall within both a topical unit and relatively close context, and since the statements are all quite similar. Stylistic variation does not seem reasonable, especially in light of the distribution of the renderings.

[80]egkoilos occurs only twice in G: Lv 13.30, 31.

[81]The 'ên-clause is disjunctive, and thus subordinate.

[82]Cf. on Ex 22.9, above.

w^{e}kashlû 'îsh-b^{e}'axîw k^{e}mippnê-xereb w^{e}rodeph 'ayin Lv 26.37
kai huperopsetai ho adelphos ton adelphon hwsei en polemw outhenos katatrexontos[83]

Lv 26.6 is an exception to this pattern, even though 'ên occurs with a participle and in the same context:

ûsh^{e}kabtem w^{e}'ên max^{a}rîd[84] Lv 26.6
kai koimethesesthe, kai ouk estai humas ho ekphobwn

The translator apparently interpreted the syntax of w'ên rodeph differently from that of w'ên max^{a}rîd, and wanted to distinguish what he saw as the essentially substantive character of the latter vs. the verbal nature of the former.

In Lv 11.26, where 'ên occurs twice, the translator's mis-interpretation of his Vorlage led him to view its first occurrence as superfluous:

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[83]The lexical variance here (diwkontos, katatrexontos) is probably textural, i.e., to avoid repetition.

[84]This is the first canonical occurrence of max^{a}rîd (12xx), which always occurs in descriptions of the blessings of YHWH upon Israel, and always following 'ên. In every case 'ên is represented with ou [e], showing that max^{a}rîd was understood substantivally by the translators. max^{a}rîd is mainly represented by a participle of ekphobew (7xx, including here). In its other five occurrences it is represented by: diwkw (Is 17.2), aposobew (Jr 7.33), parenoxlew (Jr 46.27), and polemew (Jb 11.19). Jr 30.10 is lacking in G.
All three occurrences in MP are translated with ekphobew (Mi 4.4; Na 2.12; Zp 3.13).

l^{e}kol-habb^{e}hemah '^{a}sher hî' maphreset parsah w^{e}shesa` 'ênennah shosa`at w^{e}gerah 'ênennah ma`^{a}lah Tme'îm hem lakem Lv 11.26 (2xx)
kai en pasin tois ktenesin, ho estin dixeloun hoplen kai onuxisteras onuxizei kai merukismon ou marukatai, akatharta esontai humin

The second occurrence of 'ên is represented as ou to negate the verb with which he rendered ma`^{a}lah.

The translator of Lv was not regular in rendering 'ên, although more so than the translator of Ex. He used ou [e] (55%), but also used ou alone to represent the same construction in H.

'ên occurs 19xx in Numbers, where it is rendered by ou [e] (13xx), ou (3xx), oudeis (2xx, once with and once without [e]), and ou exw (once).

'ên is represented by ou thrice. 13.20 contains an either-or alternative using yesh and 'ayin, which is used elliptically in H and rendered that way in G:

h^{a}yesh-baH `ets 'im-'ayin Nu 13.20
ei estin en aute dendra e ou

In Nu 21.5 'ên occurs twice in parallel and continguous clauses. The translator did not use [e] to represent its second occurrence because he assumed its distribution across the conjunction:

kî 'ên lexem w^{e}'ên mayim Nu 21.5 (2xx)
hoti ouk estin artos oude hudwr

ou negates katadedetai in Nu 19.15, which apparently represents patîl, in a difficult rendering:

w^{e}kol k^{e}lî phatû^{a}x '^{a}sher 'ên-tsamîd patîl `alayw Tame' hû' Nu 19.15
kai pan skeuos anewgmenon, hosa ouxi desmon katadedetai[85] ep' autw, akatharta estin

It is not unlikely that the translator read patûl.[86]

In 11.6 'ên kol is probably a separate clause: "There is nothing at all--only manna [for] our eyes!" which the translator understood as the object of an implied verb "Our eyes [look] at nothing--only at manna!" He then represented 'ên kol by ouden, which both serves as the subject (of an implied verb) and negates the clause:[87]

w^{e}`attah naphshenû y^{e}beshah 'ên kol biltî 'el-hamman 'ênênû Nu 11.6
nuni de he psuxe hemwn kataceros, ouden plen eis to manna hoi ophthalmoi hemwn

The translator rendered 'ên consistently with oudeis insofar as in 20.19, where 'ên appears as oudeis [e], it is as the negative subject of [e]:

raq 'ên-dabar b^{e}raglay 'e`^{e}borah Nu 20.19
alla to pragma ouden estin para to oros pareleusometha

Once in Nu the translator represented 'ên with ou exw:

parah ... '^{a}sher 'ên baH mûm ... Nu 19.2
damalin ... hetis ouk exei en aute mwmon ...

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[85]In its other occurrence (Nu 15.38) patîl (11xx in H) is represented accurately by klwsma "thread".

[86]Cf. BHS, note 15a.

[87]It is also possible, given the similarity of bet and kaph, that kol is a minus due to haplography.

ou [e] would seem as good a rendering, if not better,[88] but this preserves the word order of H--he had no real choice in G if he was to do so, given the use of 'asher with the resumptive pronoun.

The translator of Nu was thus fairly regular in rendering 'ên (68%).

In Dueteronomy (30xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] (24xx) and ou (6xx).

In the five occurrences in which 'ên is represented by simple ou, 'ên plus pronominal suffix is followed by a particple. In each of these passages the participle is rendered as a finite verb (which is given its person and number on the basis of the pronominal suffix):[89]

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[88] [e] is not even a variant in this verse.

[89] The exception to this pattern occurs in 21.18, where the participle in H is rendered as a participle in G, which is surprising in light of the usual rendering of this syntagm in the parallel expression (two verses later):

kî-yihyeh l^e'îsh ben sôrer ûmôreh 'ênennû
shome^a` b^eqôl 'abîw ûb^eqôl 'immô Dt 21.18
ean de tini e huios apeithes kai erethistes
oux hupakouwn phwnen patros kai phwnen metros

Contrast:

... 'ênennû shome^a` b^eqolenû Dt 21.20
... oux hupakouei tes phwnes hemwn

In 21.18 the translator rendered the participles adjectivally, treating 'ênennû shome^a` as grammatically parallel to sôrer and môreh, but in 21.20 he interpreted them verbally, with 'ênennû shome^a` again parallel, but as a finite verb. This may contrast an abstract description of a rebellious son (21.18) with that rebellious son's actual deeds (21.20).

> ûbaddabar hazzeh 'ênkem ma'^{a}mînim b^{e}YHWH 'e^{e}lohêkem Dt 1.32
> kai en tw logw toutw ouk enepisteusate kuriw tw thew humwn
>
> ût^{e}mûnah 'ênkem ro'îm zûlatî qôl Dt 4.12
> kai homoiwma ouk eidete, all' e phwnen
>
> kî anokî met ba'arets hazzo't 'ênennî `ober 'et-hayyarden Dt 4.22
> egw gar apothneskw en te ge taute kai ou diabainw ton Iordanen touton

The idiom yesh/'ên l'el yad- (28.32) is rendered exegetically with ou isxuw, which captures the sense of this construction:[90]

> w^{e}'ên l^{e}'el yadeyka Dt 28.32
> kai ouk isxueis he xeir sou

The translator of Dt used ou [e] as his standard rendering (80%), varying from it only to use ou when 'ên occurred with a participle and in an idiom.

'ên occurs five times in Joshua, where it is rendered by ou [e] (3xx), and by oude and outheis (once each).

Both secondary renderings (outheis, oude) represent 'ên in Js (6.1). In 6.1a two participial clauses were rendered as main clauses.[91] 'ên was represented as the negatives governing the verbs--as the subject (outheis)

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[90]On this idiom, cf. Frank Moore Cross, TDOT, 1:261. His explanation does not, however, explain the idiom in its positive form (with yesh).

[91]The first is made more explicit by the insertion of the prepositional phrase.

of the first and a negative conjunction (oude) governing the second:[92]

'ên yotse' w^{e}'ên ba' Js 6.1
kai outheis eceporeueto ec autes oude eiseporeueto

The translator of Js was fairly consistent in his use of ou [e] for 'ên (60%).

In Judges (27xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] (22xx), ou (4xx), and oudeis [e] (once).

In Jg 19.28 the participle following 'ên was rendered as a finite verb; 'ên as ou negates it:

wayyo'mer 'eleyha qûmî w^{e}nelelkah w^{e}'ên `oneh Jg 19.28
kai eipen pros auten Anastethi kai apelthwmen;
kai ouk apekrithe autw, alla tethnekei[93]

In Jotham's fable of the trees and their search for a king and in its interpretation, 'ayin presents the elided alternative of the prospective king's ultimatum: if they are not anointing him in good faith they will be destroyed. Here w'im-'ayin should be understood, with the translator, as an independent clause:

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[92]This rendering conforms to the general pattern of G (passim) in representing 'ên with a participle by ou with a finite verb.

[93]apokrinomai requires a dative object of the one answered; the translator either (unintentionally) spoiled the suspense of H by adding the last clause, or thought that she died as he spoke to her.

w^{e}'im-'ayin tetse' 'esh min-ha'aTad w^{e}to'kal
'et-'arzê hall^{e}banôn Jg 9.15
kai ei me, ecelthoi pur ek tes hramnou kai
kataphagoi tas kedrous tou Libanou

w^{e}'im-'ayin tetse' 'esh me'^{a}bîmelek w^{e}to'kal
'et-ba`^{a}lê sh^{e}kem ... Jg 9.20
kai ei me, ecelthoi pur ec Abimelex kai
kataphagoi tous andras Sikimwn ...

In Jg 14.3 Samson's parents remonstrate with him concerning his desire for a Philistine wife; the translator used me to represent the interrogative prefix, and ouk estin for 'ên:

ha'ên bib^{e}nôt 'axeyka ûb^{e}kol-`ammî 'ishshah
Jg 14.3
Me ouk estin apo twn thugaterwn twn adelphwn
sou kai en panti tw law mou gune,

Three verses later (14.6) m^{e}'ûmah 'ên was rendered by ouden [e]. It is difficult to determine the correspondence between the two phrases, but the negative predication was derived from 'ên--ouden represents the substantive m^{e}'ûmah:

ûm^{e}'ûmah 'ên b^{e}yadô Jg 14.6
kai ouden en en xeiri autou

'ên l^{e} was represented as ou exw in its second occurrence in Jg 18.7; ou corresponds 'ên. The translator interpreted the last clause in this verse as implying that the people of Laish had no communication

(treaty?) with anyone.[94] ou exw well represents this idiom:

> w^{e}'ên-maklîm dabar ba'arets yôresh `etser[95] û$r^{e}$xoqîm hemmah mitstsidonîm w$^{e}$dabar 'ên lahem `im-'adam Jg 18.7
> kai me dunamenous lalesai hrema, hoti makran eisin apo Sidwnos, kai logos ouk exousin pros anthrwpon

The translator of Judges was consistent in representing 'ên with ou [e] (81%).

'ên in 1 Samuel (33xx) is represented mainly by ou [e] (28xx) and ou (2xx), as well as by outheis and ou heuriskw (once each).[96] S1 17.50f is lacking in G.

In 18.25 'ên was rendered as ou because the

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[94]Reading 'adam, with H (and contra, e.g., Boling, JUDGES, AB 6A, who says that this should be read as 'aram "Aram" on the basis that 'adam "leaves MT unintelligible" (263)). There is no reason for emendation--the versions seem to have tried to conflate this idiom with the context (but cf. 18.28, where the same phrase is rendered meta anthrwpwn):

> w^{e}'ên matsîl kî r^{e}xôqah-hî' mitstsîdôn w^{e}dabar 'ên-lahem `im-'adam Jg 18.28b
> kai ouk estin ecairoumenos, hoti makran estin apo Sidwniwn, kai logos ouk estin autois meta anthrwpwn

[95]This clause, difficult in H, was not understood by the translator and so omitted. It may, however, be a minus in G due to haplography ('rts ... `tsr). lalesai was supplied to make sense of dabar following maklîm.

[96]It is striking that all five exceptions to the usual rendering of 'ên occur in one section of S1 (14.17-21.2), although four occurrences within these parameters are represented by ou [e] (14.26, 39; 20.2, 21). Before 14.17 (13xx) and after 21.2 (11xx) 'ên is only represented by ou [e].

translator interpreted xephets as xaphats, so rendering it with a finite verb:

> 'ên-xephets lammelek b^{e}mohar kî b^{e}me'ah `arlôt p^{e}lishtîm S1 18.25
> ou bouletai ho basileus en domati all' e en hekaton akrobustiais allophulwn

In Michal's warning to David (19.11) the translator used a finite verb to represent the participle following 'ên (with pronominal suffix):[97]

> 'im-'ênka m^{e}malleT 'et-naphshka hallaylah maxar 'attah mûmat S1 19.11
> Ean me su swses ten psuxen sautou ten nukta tauten, aurion thanatwthese.[98]

When Ahimelech went out to meet David as he fled from Saul he asked why David was alone:

> maddû^{a}` 'attah l^{e}baddeka w^{e}'îsh 'ên 'ittak S1 21.2
> Ti hoti su monos, kai outheis meta sou?

G represents H well, using outheis for 'îsh 'ên,[99] but the translator left the phrase predicate, rather than make it explicitly verbal.

The translator used ou heuriskw as an exegetical

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[97]The independent pronoun for the pronominal suffix contrasts with the pattern of much of G, where the pronominal suffix is entailed within the form of the verb that represents the participle.

[98]See "Renderings of 'ên with Affixes", below.

[99]As in the first four occurrences of oudeis in G (Gn 19.31; 31.50; 39.11; Ex 2.12), above.

rendering of 'ên in S1 14.17 to specify that Jonathan and his armor-bearer were not with the army:[100]

wayyiphqdû w^{e}hinneh 'ên yônatan w^{e}nose' kelayw S1 14.17
kai epeskepsanto, kai idou oux heurisketo Iwnathan kai ho airwn ta skeue autou

The translator of S1 was fairly consistent in using ou [e] to represent 'ên (85%).

In 2 Samuel (15xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] (12xx), me (2xx), and oudeis (once).

In S2 17.6 Absalom asks Hushai the Archite if he should act according to Ahitophel's counsel:

'im-'ayin 'attah dabber S2 17.6
ei de me, su laleson

Here, as often, 'ên in an alternative is represented by simple me.[101]

Joab rebuked David for not thanking his troops (19.8) and warned him that they would desert him if he persisted in mourning Absalom:

kî-'ênka yôtse' 'im yalîn 'îsh 'itt^{e}ka hallaylah S2 19.8
ei me ekporeuse semeron, ei aulisthesetai aner meta sou ten nukta tauten

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[100]As opposed to an assertion that they were no longer; cf. Gn 42.13, 32, 36. This rendering is in fact not unlike that of ou horaw (Gn 37.29), and probably arises from a similar motivation (on ou heuriskw, cf. on Pr 14.6, below).

[101]It is not only the equivalence of 'ên with me that is regular, but the phrase 'im-'ayin (usually with maqqeph) is normally rendered as ei de me (passim).

This is again the frequent use of a finite verb for a participle negated by 'ên, making the use of [e] superfluous and grammatically unacceptable in G.

In S2 'ên kol appears again as ouden,[102] but this time without a verbal predicate:

w^{e}larash 'ên-kol kî 'im-kibsah 'axat q^{e}Tannah
S2 12.3
kai tw peneti ouden all' e amnas mia mikra

The lack of a verbal predicate here is surprising in light of the parallel[103] and of the translator's strong tendency to use ou [e] for 'ên (12/15xx). He may have felt that the force of the preceding verse would carry over into this text, or that his rendering made the statement more dramatic--highly desirable in a parable.

The translator of S2 was consistent in his representation of 'en (80%).

In 1 Kings (25xx) 'ên is represented by ou [e] (21xx) and corresponds to eis Ainakim (once). Its second and third occurrences in K1 18.29 are minuses in G,[104] as is K1 6.18.

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[102]Cf. on Nu 11.6, above.

[103]The preceding verse contains a parallel construction:

l^{e}`ashîr hayah tso'n ûbaqar harbeh m^{e}'od
S2 12.2
kai tw plousiw en pimnia kai boukolia polla sphodra

[104]These clauses are lacking in G.

The usual rendering occurs in K1 3.18, but with a "twist", in that outheis here represents zar, resulting in a double negative (adverb and subject) that emphasizes their isolation more than would a "literal" rendering of zar:

> wa'^{a}naxnû yaxdaw 'ên-zar 'ittanû babbayit
> zûlatî sh^{e}tayim '^{a}naxnû babbayit K1 3.18
> kai hemeis kata to auto, kai ouk estin outheis
> meth' hemwn parec amphoterwn hemwn en tw oikiw

The only other rendering used in K1 is eis Ainakim (15.22), where the translator apparently did not understand the H idiom of this admittedly awkwardly placed clause:[105]

> w^{e}hammelek 'asa' hishmî^{a}` 'et-kol-y^{e}hûdah 'ên
> noqî wayyis^{e}'û 'et-'abnê haramah w^{e}'et-
> `etseyha '$^{a}$sher banah ba`sha' wayyiben ...
> K1 15.22
> kai ho basileus Asa pareggeilen panti Iouda
> eis Ainakim,[106] kai airousin tous lithous tes
> Rama kai ta cula autes ha wkodomesen Baasa,
> kai wkodomesen ...

The translator of K1 was thus absolutely consistent (95%) except where he misunderstood his Vorlage (once).

The translator of 2 Kings (20xx) represented 'ên by means of ou [e] (15xx) and ou (3xx). It is not represented in 17.34 (twice).

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[105]"So King Asa proclaimed to all Judah (no one was excluded) ..."

[106]Did he read 'ên as `ad?

K2 4.2 resembles K1 3.18 (above) in that ouk [e] represents 'ên, but its subject (kol) is rendered by outhen, again emphasizing the widow's complete lack of anything with which to sustain herself and her son, without adding the burden of caring for Elijah:

watto'mer 'ên l^{e}shiphxatka kol babbayit kî 'im-'asûk shamen K2 4.2
he de eipen ouk estin te doule outhen en tw oikw hoti all' e ho aleipsomai elaion

In two places 'ên with a pronominal suffix follwed by a participle is rendered by ou with a finite verb. Joash interrogated Jehoiada and the priests about the lack of work done on the Temple:

maddû^{a}` 'ênkem m^{e}xazzqîm 'et-bedeq habbayit K2 12.8
Ti hoti ouk ekrataioute to bedek tou oikou?[107]

The report to the king of Assyria concerning the devastation by lions of the persons displaced to Samaria by Assyria placed the responsibility on the shoulders of the deportees, saying that these things had come to pass because they did not know YHWH. Two constructions (lo' yad`û, 'ênam yod`îm) are rendered with the same

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[107]The translator did not know how to render bedeq so he transliterated it in every occurrence in K2 (7xx in K2 12; also K2 22.5). Ez 27.9, 27 are its only other occurrences.

syntagm,[108] but different lexical choices,[109] apparently to avoid repetition.[110]

> lo' yad^{e}`û 'et-mishpaT '^{e}lohê ha'arets
> wayshallax-bam 'et-ha'^{a}rayôt w^{e}hinnam m^{e}mîtîm
> 'ôtam ka'^{a}sher 'ênam yod^{e}`îm 'et-mishpaT
> '^{e}lohê ha'arets K2 17.26
> ouk egnwsan ta krima tou theou tes ges, kai
> apesteilen eis autous tous leontas, kai idou
> eisin thanatountes autous, kathoti ouk oidasin
> to krima tou theou tes ges.

In K2 2.10 'ayin represents the negative of two alternatives, when Elijah responded to Elisha's request for a double portion of Elijah's spirit after his departure, by saying that if he saw him when he was taken away he would receive his request,

> w^{e}'im 'ayin lo' yihyeh K2 2.10
> kai ean me, ou me genetai

This absolute [elliptical] use of 'ên is rendered elliptically; [e] is not used because it is not the verb which has been elided.

In K2 17.34 suffixed 'ên occurs twice before participles. It is not represented either time:

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[108]This may show, especially given this close proximity, that for the translator of K2, at least, there was no functional difference between lo' with a finite verb and 'ên with a verbal participle.

[109]The aorist of gignwskw is grammatically equivalent to the perfect of oida.

[110]But cf. the putative difference between ginwskw as "find out" or "learn" and oida as more simply and generally "know [someone or something]".

> `ad hayyôm hazzeh hem `osîm kammishpaTîm hari'shonîm 'ênam y^{e}re'îm 'et-YHWH w^{e}'ênam `osîm k^{e}xuqqotam ... K2 17.34 (2xx)
> hews tes hemeras tautes autoi epoioun kata to krima autwn autoi phobountai kai autoi poiousin kata ta dikaiwmata autwn ...

The translator was probably avoiding the apparent contradiction between statements that they did fear YHWH (17.32, 33, 41) and this verse.

The translator of K2 was thus fairly consistent in his representation of 'ên (75%), but in at least one place did not distinguish in his translation its use with a participle from that of lo' with a finite verb.

Isaiah has more occurrences of 'ên than any other book (91xx).[111] It is rendered by ou [e] (57xx), ou (10xx), oudeis (7xx), ou exw (4xx), and once each by oudeis [e] (40.17), hoti exw (47.14), ou huparxw (59.10), ouketi (23.10), and alpha privative (44.12). Seven of its occurrences are not represented.[112]

me'ên,[113] is represented by para to me and para to me [e] (6.11).[114] Its first occurrence lacks [e]

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[111]Although its relatively frequency is not particularly high due to the size of Is.

[112]It is a minus because the clause or verse in which it appears is a minus (3xx), or because the translation of the text made it superfluous or impossible to align the two texts (4xx).

[113]20xx in H.

[114]More exactly, para to corresonds to me- and me [e] to 'ên.

because the participle which follows 'ên is rendered with an infinitive; the second occurrence requires the infinitive of [e] because 'ên negates a noun:[115]

> `ad 'asher 'im-sha'û `arîm me'ên yôsheb
> ûbattîm me'ên 'adam weha'adamah tishsha'eh
> shemamah Is 6.11 (2xx)
> hews an eremwthwsi poleis para to me
> katoikeisthai kai oikoi para to me einai
> anthrwpous kai he ge kataleiphthesetai eremos

The translator used an unusual construction (para to with infinitive), since he used ou [e] (5.9) and me [e] (50.2d) in the other two occurrences of me'ên in Is.[116]

ou without [e] represents 'ên nine times in Is--with participles, in ellipses, and in an idiomatic phrase. When 'ên occurs with a "verbal" participle, as throughout G, the participle is rendered with a finite verb, and 'ên with ou:

> gam kî-tarbû tephillah 'ênennî shomea` Is 1.15
> kai ean plethunete ten deesin, ouk
> eisakousomai humwn
>
> 'ên-`ayeph we'ên-kôshel bô Is 5.27 (2xx)
> ou peinasousin oude kopiasousin
>
> ya`an qara'tî we'ên `ôneh dibbartî wlo'
> shame`û Is 66.4
> hoti ekalesa autous kai oux huperkousan mou,
> elalesa kai ouk ekousan[117]

---

[115]This rendering is shared only with Jr (33.10c, 12).

[116]This rendering, which may reflect the influence of mibbelî (see below under "Synonyms of 'ên"), is especially puzzling since he had just used kai ouk esontai hoi enoikountes for the same clause (5.9).

[117]The pronouns are plusses in G, and both ou with a participle and lo' with a verb were rendered with ou and a finite verb. This implies either that the

When 'ên occurs in consecutive clauses, its second occurrence is represented by oude with an ellipsis of the predicate:

> lo'-'ehyeh xobesh ûb^{e}bêtî 'ên lexem w^{e}'ên simlah Is 3.7 (2xx)
> Ouk esomai sou arxegos ou gar estin en oikw mou artos oude himation
>
> 'aph 'ên-maggîd 'aph 'ên-mashmî^{a}` 'aph 'ên-shome$^{a}$` 'imrêkem Is 41.26 (3xx)
> ouk estin ho prolegwn oude ho akouwn tous logous humwn[118]

In 40.16, where 'ên occurs twice with dê, the translator used ou hikanos without [e] as is not uncommon in G:[119]

> û^{l}ebanôn 'ên dê ba`er w$^{e}$xayyatô 'ên dê `ôlah Is 40.16 (2xx)
> ho de Libanos oux hikanos eis kausin kai panta ta tetrapoda oux hikana eis holokarpwsin[120]

---

translator saw no difference between the two syntagms in H, or that he wanted to maintain [strengthen] the parallelism between the two by making it grammatical as well as semantic.

[118]That these participles were understood as substantives is clear from the first clause and their representation with articular (and substantive) participles in G:

> 'ên-maggîd Is 41.26 (first occurrence only)
> ouk estin ho prolegwn

The second clause in which 'ên occurs is a minus in G due to homoioarcton.

[119]"The copula is often omitted" (BGD, 374). His examples, however, are largely from G (e.g., Gn 30.15; Ek 34.18; Lk 22.38). hikanos (31xx in G) occurs both with and without [e] (cf., e.g., Ex 4.10; 12.4; 36.7; K1 16.31).

[120]In 40.17 'ên (2xx) is rendered as oudeis both times (below).

In 40.29 l^{e}'ên, in combination with the following noun, is rendered by a substantive participle negated by me (between the article and participle):

> noten layya`eph ko$^{a}$x ûl$^{e}$'ên 'ônîm `atsmah yarbeh — Is 40.29
> didous tois peinwsin isxun kai tois me hodunwmenois lupen

The translator correctly treated the clause as a functional substantive: "to [the one(s)] without strength".

In 50.2 (4xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] thrice and once by ou when its clause was represented idiomatically by a verb:

> maddû^{a}` ba'tî w$^{e}$'ên 'îsh qara'tî w$^{e}$'ên `ôneh h^{a}qatsôr qats^{e}rah yadî mipp^{e}dût w^{e}'im-'ên-bî ko^{a}x l^{e}hatstsîl ... tib'ash d^{e}gatam me'ên mayim w^{e}tamot batstsama' — Is 50.2 (4xx)
> ti hoti elthon kai ouk en anthrwpos? ekalesa kai ouk en ho hupakouwn? me ouk isxuei he xeir mou tou hrusasthai? e ouk isxuw tou ecelesthai? ... kai ceranthesontai hoi ixthues autwn apo tou me einai hudwr kai apothanountai en dipsei

'ên is also represented by oudeis/outheis in Is (8xx).[121] In two of these passages 'ayin is substantive:

> kol-haggoyim k^{e}'ayin negdô me'ephes w^{e}tohû nexsh^{e}bû-lô — Is 40.17
> kai panta ta ethne hws ouden eisi kai eis outhen elogisthesan[122]

---

[121]This is the only book in the Latter Prophets to represent 'ên with oudeis.

[122]Here 'ayin is rendered by oudeis [e].

hannôten rôz^{e}nîm l^{e}'ayin shophTê 'erets
kattohû `asah Is 40.23
ho didous arxontas eis ouden arxein, ten de
gen hws ouden epoiesen[123]

Is 41.28a contains an exegetical translation based on the context. YHWH derides the lack of wisdom or counsel to be found in Jerusalem. Twice in Is, w'ên 'îsh is represented by outheis:[124]

w^{e}'ere' w^{e}'ên 'îsh ûme'elleh w^{e}'ên yô`ets
Is 41.28a
apo gar twn ethnwn idou outheis kai apo twn
eidwlwn autwn ouk en ho anaggelwn[125]

In Is 57.1 (2xx) 'ên is again rendered by oudeis. The first occurrence follows the pattern of w'ên 'ish (above), but the second--a subordinate clause (b'ên mebîn)--was translated to parallel the first:

hatstsaddîq 'abad w^{e}'ên 'îsh sam `al-leb
w^{e}'anshê-xesed ne'^{e}saphîm b^{e}'ên mebîn Is 57.1a
idete hws ho dikaios apwleto, kai oudeis
ekdexetai te kardia kai andres dikaioi
airontai, kai oudeis katanoei

For 'ên with a participle the translator used oudeis and a finite verb in 59.4a,[126] but oude [e] with a noun in 59.4b:

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[123]The translator interpreted shophTê not as construct with 'erets, but as the predicate governing l^{e}'ayin, although G reflects the sense of H.

[124]Cf. above, on Gn 19.31, et passim.

[125]The translator demonstrates his sensitivity to the grammar and syntax of the context by rendering 'ên as ouk [e] in its second occurrence in this verse; both renderings are appropriate in their place.

[126]Cf. on Is 63.5b, below.

'ên-qore' b^{e}tsedeq w^{e}'ên nishpaT be'^{e}mûnah
Is 59.4a
oudeis lalei dikaia oude esti krisis alethini

The variation may well be artistic.

Another unusual use of oudeis occurs in 63.5a, where w'ên plus noun is rendered non-verbally by kai oudeis, even though in the next clause w'ên plus a participle is represented by outheis with a verb:

w^{e}'abbîT w^{e}'ên `ozer w^{e}'eshtômem w^{e}'ên sômek
Is 63.5a
kai eblepsa kai oudeis boethos; kai prosenoesa kai outheis antelambaneto;

The translator used ou exw (5xx in Is) fairly consistently to represent 'ên l^{e}, whether the idiom indicates possession or existence:

ûk^{e}gannah '^{a}sher-mayim 'ên laH Is 1.30
kai hws paradeisos hudwr me exwn

The translator rendered 'ên l^{e} by me and a participle of exw, with which he subordinated the relative clause, obviating the need for a relative pronoun, since that relation is now shown by the participle.

In Is 37.3 the combination of 'ên with an infinitive, which shows inability, is also rendered with ou exw:

kî ba'û banîm `ad-mashber w^{e}ko^{a}x 'ayin l^{e}ledah
Is 37.3
hoti hekei te tiktouse, isxun de ouk exei tou tekein

The translator has personalized the abstract statement that "there is no strength to bear" by applying the

saying to he tiktousa, which is thus the subject of exw (here supplied due to the requirements of G).

The translator also represents 'ên l^{e} with ou exw in the question of the clay to the potter:

mah ta`a$^{a}$seh ûpa`alka 'ên-yadayim lô Is 45.9
Ti poieis, hoti ouk ergaze oude exeis xeiras

This rendering represents the thrust of H well. He has, however, made exw second person in order to agree with the preceding clause, and used the second question (in H) explanatory to the first question rather than parallel.

The same approach to 'ên l^{e} and the person of the verb was also used in 55.1:

wa'^{a}sher 'ên-lô kaseph Is 55.1
kai hosoi me exete[127] argurion

In Is 47.14 the translator misinterpreted H[128] by reading it as a threat of fire being "heaped upon their heads":[129]

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[127]Cf. aneu for b^{e}lô' in 55.1b.

[128]H should be translated "This [the fire mentioned in 14a] will not be [merely] a coal to warm themselves by, or a fire to sit before", which would better fit the context of the rest of the verse. [I later discovered that this interpretation was also that of RSV.]

[129]Cf. Is 47.15 where the objective genitive [suffix] was rendered by a dative of possession:
'ên môshî`ek Is 47.15
soi de ouk estai swteria
G is certainly comparable to H (in result!), but not at all formally similar, which shows ou [exw] may well have been formally, not idiomatically, motivated.

'ên-gaxelet lax^{e}mam 'ûr lashebet negdô
Is 47.14
hoti exeis anthrakas puros kathisai ep' autous

In 59.10 ou huparxw represents 'ên:

n^{e}gashshah ka`iwrîm qîr ûk^{e}'ên 'ênayim
n^{e}gashsheshah Is 59.10
pselaphesousin hws tuphloi toixon kai hws oux
huparxontwn ophthalmwn pselaphesousi[130]

'ên 'ênayim has been rendered by means of a genitive absolute with ou huparxw, even though the translator used ou [e] in Is 59 all but once.[131]

In Is 23.10, an extremely difficult verse,[132] the translator apparently misread `ibrî as `ibdî, and then paraphrased heavily in order to make sense of the rest of the verse:[133]

`ibrî 'artsek kay^{e}'or bat-tarshîsh 'ên mezax
`ôd Is 23.10
ergazou ten gen sou, kai gar ploia ouketi
erxetai ek Karxedonos[134]

---

[130]Note the third person in G where H has first. H switches from third to first at 59.9, but G maintains third until 59.11b.

[131]59.4 (once, the first occurrence is rendered by oudeis), 8, 11, 15, 16 (twice).

[132]For a recent summary of the three commonly suggested interpretations see, i.a., John N. Oswalt, THE BOOK OF ISAIAH CHAPTERS 1-39, NICOT, edited by R. K. Harrison (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986):433.

[133]But cf. 4QIs^{a}, which also reads `ibdî (in the immediate context `abar is rendered by diaperaw (which occurs in G only Is 23.2 and Dt 30.13, both for `abar), and aperxomai (23.6, 12)).

[134]Did G read y^{e}'or as '^{o}nî or '^{o}niyyah (in Is ploion usually represents one of these: cf. especially 23.1, 14; but also 2.16; 33.21; 43.14; 60.9)?

In the midst of an extended argument against idolatry, the craftsman becomes tired when he does not eat. The translator may have used the alpha-privative form of the verb for consonance:

gam-ra`eb w^{e}'ên ko^{a}x Is 44.12
kai peinasei kai asthenesei

'ên is not represented seven times in Is. This was sometimes due to parablepsis, and sometimes because the translator misunderstood or reinterpreted his text.

In 1.6 the clause in which 'ên occurs is not represented, perhaps due to homoioarcton:[135]

mikkaph-regel w^{e}`ad-ro'sh 'ên-bô m^{e}tom Is 1.6
apo podwn hews kephales

In Is 22.22b G grammatically parallels the first use of 'ên in H, but it appears that the translator misunderstood sagar as sûg [mis]translated the rest of the clause accordingly. The last clause is probably a minus due to parablepsis caused by the similarity of the material in the two clauses:

w^{e}natattî maphte^{a}x bêt-dawid `al-shikmô
ûphatax w^{e}'ên soger w^{e}sagar w^{e}'ên pote^{a}x
Is 22.22 (2xx)
kai dwsw ten docen Dauid autw, kai arcei, kai
ouk estai ho antilegwn[136]

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[135]In G the succeeding phrases in the verse begin with ou-.
If the translator had a shorter Vorlage there is no record of its existence other than in G.

[136]In Is 50.5 antilegw represents the niphal of sûg; in Is 65.2 it may correspond to the qal participle of sarar.

In 41.26 the second of three consecutive clauses beginning with 'aph 'ên- is a minus in G, probably due to both homoioarcton and homoioteleuton:

> 'aph 'ên-maggîd 'aph 'ên mashmî^{a}` 'aph 'ên-shome$^{a}$` 'imrêkem Is 41.26b
> ouk estin ho prolegwn oude ho akouwn tous logous humwn

In Is 19.7 the disjunctive clause w'ênennû was not represented because the translator used anemophthoros, which he felt implied the destruction of that which had been sown.[137] The adverbial function of the disjunctive clause is reflected in the adverbial use of the adjective in G:

> w^{e}kol mizra` y^{e}'ôr yîbash niddaph w^{e}'ênennû Is 19.7
> kai pan to speiromenon dia tou potamou ceranthesetai anemophthoron

The translator either did not understand the function of the clause in which 'ên occurs in 47.1, or wanted a stronger poetic parallelism between 1a and 1b, and so omitted 'ên-kisse':

> sh^{e}bî-la'arets 'ên-kisse' bat-kasdîm Is 47.1
> eiselthe eis to skotos, thugater Xaldaiwn[138]

The translator interpreted 45.5a-b as two clauses

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[137]He may also have either incorrectly etymologized the an- beginning of the adjective as an alpha-privative, or correctly etymologized the second element of the adjective to imply destruction (anemophthoros < anemos "wind" + phthora "pass out of existence").

[138]He may have used skotos because he interpreted 'erets as "land of the dead".

rather than three, and thus omitted any representation for the second occurrence of 'ên as superfluous:

> 'anî YHWH we'ên `ôd zûlatî 'ên 'elohîm
> Is 45.5 (2xx)
> hoti egw kurios ho theos, kai ouk estin eti plen emou theos[139]

In 34.10 the translator replaced H ('ên `ober baH) with the form that he used at the end of the preceding clause:[140]

> middôr ladôr texerab lenetsax netsaxîm 'ên `ober baH
> Is 34.10
> eis geneas eremwthesetai kai eis xronon polun eremwthesetai

The translator of Is was somewhat consistent in representing 'ên by ou [e] (67%), although it was by far his preferred rendering, the next highest being ou (12%).

'ên in Jeremiah (88xx) is rendered by ou [e] (51xx), ou (14xx), apo (5xx),[141] ou huparxw (4xx), and once each by

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[139]Cf. Is 45.21:

> 'el tsaddîq ûmôshîa` 'ayin zûlatî
> Is 45.21
> dikaios kai swter ouk esti parec emou

[140]Two verses later (34.12) he used ou [e] for 'ên, although he redivided the verse, simplifying its rather unusual syntax:

> xoreyha we'ên-sham melûkah yiqra'û wekol-sareyha yihyû 'aphes
> Is 34.12
> hoi arxontes autes ouk esontai; hoi gar basileis autes kai hoi arxontes autes kai hoi megistanes autes esontai eis apwleian.

[141]In four of these passages apo technically represents privative min (of me'ên) rather than 'ên (below).

alpha privative (5.21) and pou [e] (6.14). Once (48.9) me'ên was read as me'ayin and rendered by pothen. 'ên is not represented in eleven passages in G due to parablepsis or elision, or because the verse in which it occurs is a minus in G (5xx).[142]

In Jr 49.1 me [e] renders 'ên twice; me represents the interrogative prefix:[143]

h[a]banîm 'ên lyisra'el 'im-yôresh 'ên lô
Jr 49.1
me huioi ouk eisin en Israel, e paralempsomenos ouk estin autois

In a rendering common in G, the suffix on 'ên supplies the subject of the transitive verb which represents the participle negated by 'ên, and the clause elegantly reordered, with ou or me alone corresponding to 'ên:[144]

... w[e]'al-tiphga`-bî kî-'ênennî shome[a`] 'otak
Jr 7.16
... kai me proselthes moi peri autwn, hoti ouk eisakousomai.

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[142]Lacking in G are Jr 8.11; 10.6, 7; 39.10; 46.27.

[143]Cf. Jg 14.3, above.

[144]In addition to those cited, cf. Jr 7.17; 11.14; 38.4; 44.16. The exception to this pattern ('ên+suffix) is 38.5 (45.5), where the syntactical function of 'ên appears to approach that of lo', although the accents militate against this:

kî-'ên hammelek [disjunctive] yûkal 'etkem dabar
Jr 38.5 (45.5)
hoti ouk edunato ho basileus pros autous.

kî yatsumû 'ênennî shome^{a}` 'el-rinnatam w$^{e}$kî ta`^{a}lû `olah ûminxah 'ênennî rotsîm
Jr 14.12 (2xx)
hoti ean nesteuswsin, ouk eisakousomai tes deesews autwn, kai ean prosenegkwsin holokautwnmata kai thusias, ouk eudokesw en autois

w^{e}'ênam shom^{e}`îm laqaxat mûsar
Jr 32.33 (39.33)
kai ouk ekousan epilabein paideian

In 37.14, which follows the same pattern, the pronominal suffix on 'ên is represented by means of an independent pronoun in G, probably to reflect the independent pronoun at the end of the previous verse.[145]

'ênennî nophel `al-hakkasdîm Jr 37.14
ouk eis tous Xaldaious egw pheugw

The same phenomenon occurs with the common phrase me'ên yosheb:[146]

'arayik titseynah me'ên yosheb Jr 4.7
kai poleis kathairethesontai para to me katoikeisthai autas.

kol-ha`îr `^{a}zûbah w'ên-yôsheb bahen 'îsh
Jr 4.29
pasa polis egkateleiphthe, ou katoikei en autais anthrwpos[147]

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[145]In 37.13b the same representation of a participle by a finite verb occurs; the pronoun in G reflects that of H:
'attah nophel Jr 37.13
su pheugeis

[146]9xx in Jr, once as w^{e}'ên yosheb; cf. mibb^{e}lî yosheb (2xx) and lo' yihyeh yosheb (50.3 (27.3)).
Four occurrences of me'ên are not represented in G (33.10b, d, e; 44.22).

[147]Cf. also:
me'ên yosheb Jr 51.29
kai me katoikeisthai auten

The wide variation in the rendering of this phrase seems to indicate that the translator thought of various representations as equivalents, since their contexts are generally similar.[148]

In 7.32 and 46.19 (26.19) the translator correctly represented the causative aspect of me'ên with dia to me plus an infinitive; me represents the force of 'ên:

> w^{e}qabarû b^{e}tophet me'ên maqôm — Jr 7.32
> kai thapsousin en tw Tapheth dia to me huparxein topon
>
> kî-noph l^{e}shammah tihyeh w^{e}nitsts^{e}tah me'ên yôsheb — Jr 46.19
> hoti Memphis eis anaphismon estai kai klethesetai ouai dia to me huparxein katoikountas en aute

The translator also used para to me [e] to represent me'ên (2xx):[149]

> me'ên yosheb — Jr 51.37
> kai ou katoiketheisetai

[148]The rendering of these pharases may be analyzed as follows (although it is impossible to determine whether or not the translator actually thought in these terms):

para < min
me/ou < 'ên
to ... [infinitive] < participle

See also under "Renderings of Synonyms of 'ên" (below).

[149]Jr 4.7; Cf. also dia to me [e] for me'ên, above.

xareb hû' me'ên 'adam ûme'ên b^{e}hemah b^{e}`arê y^{e}hûdah ûb^{e}xutsôt y^{e}rûshala^{i}m hanshammôt me'ên 'adam ûme'ên yôsheb ûme'ên b^{e}hemah
Jr 33.10 (5xx; 40.10)
Eremos estin apo anthrwpwn kai ktenwn, en polesin Iouda kai ecwthen Ierousalem tais eremwmenais para to me einai anthrwpon kai ktene[150]

`ôd yihyeh bammaqôm hazzeh hexareb me'ên-'adam w`ad-b^{e}hemah ûb^{e}kol-'arayw Jr 33.12 (40.12)
eti estai en tw topw toutw tw eremw para to me einai anthrwpon kai ktenos kai en pasais tais polesin autou

He may have been influenced to choose this by his early use of para to me [infinitive] to render mibb^{e}lî yosheb, which is the first syntagm with a negative followed by yosheb in Jr (2.15; 9.10).[151]

In rendering other occurrences of me'ên the translator used the preposition apo (5xx; only in Jr). Four times it represents the privative min of me'ên, describing the destroyed land or city as "without" inhabitant, human or animal. Because apo alone may have this privative force, 'ên is not represented as superfluous:

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[150] ûme'ên yôsheb was probably omitted due to homoioarcton.

[151] See further on b^{e}lî under "Synonyms of 'ên" (below). Cf.:
`arayw nitsts^{e}tû mibb^{e}lî yosheb Jr 2.15
kai hai poleis autou kateskaphesan para to me katoikeisthai

w^{e}'et-`arê y^{e}hûdah 'etten sh^{e}mamah mibb^{e}lî yosheb Jr 9.10
kai tas poleis Iouda eis anaphismon thesomai para to me katoikeisthai

w^{e}ha`îr hazzo't tex^{e}rab me'ên yôsheb
Jr 26.9 (33.9)
kai he polis haute eremwthesetai apo katoikountwn

sh^{e}mamah hî' me'ên 'adam ûb^{e}hemah
Jr 32.43 (39.43)
Abatos estin apo anthrwpwn kai ktenous

xareb hû' me'ên 'adam ûme'ên b^{e}hemah
Jr 33.10 (44.10; twice)[152]
Eremos estin apo anthrwpwn kai ktenwn[153]

w^{e}'et `arê y^{e}hûdah 'etten sh^{e}mamah me'ên yosheb
Jr 34.22 (41.22)
kai tas poleis Iouda, kai dwsw autous eremous apo katoikountwn

In the fifth occurrence of apo the translator used the same clause in G despite the different H syntagm:

w^{e}hinnam xarbah hayyôm hazzeh w^{e}'ên bahem yôsheb
Jr 44.2 (51.2)
kai idou eisin eremoi apo katoikountwn[154]

me'ên was thus rendered in six different ways in Jr, reflecting the translator's sensivity to his context, and his consequent freedom in representing H.

ou huparxw represents 'ên four times in Jr. In all four passages it appears to be merely a lexical choice (huparxw vs. [e]), since nothing in the context either requires or suggests its use:

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[152]me'ên occurs five times in Jr 33.10 (below).

[153]The second occurrence of 'ên is elided; apo is to be inferred from the preceding clause.

[154]hayyôm hazzeh was probably omitted by homoioteleuton.

> w^{e}hann^{e}bî'îm yihyû l^{e}rû^{a}x w^{e}haddibber 'ên bahem koh ye`aseh lahem Jr 5.13
> hoi prophetai hemwn esan eis anemon, kai logos kuriou oux huperxen en autois houtws estai autois.[155]

In 50.20 (27.20), where we might expect a form of heuriskw due to the preceding baqash,[156] heuriskw was instead reserved to represent matsa' in the following clause; huparxw represents 'ên:

> y^{e}buqash 'et-`^{a}won yisra'el w^{e}'ênennû w^{e}'et-xatto't y^{e}hûdah w^{e}lo' timmatse'ynah Jr 50.20
> zetesousin ton adikian Israel, kai oux huparcei kai tas hamartias Iouda, kai ou me heurethwsin

Three renderings each occur once in Jr. An alpha privative form of the adjective represents w'ên leb (5.21), probably because of the preceding adjective, although 'ên is patently adjectival here:

> shim`û-na' zo't `am sakal w^{e}'ên leb Jr 5.21
> akousate de tauta, laos mwros kai akardias

In 6.14 the translator may have read w^{e}'ayyeh shalôm for w^{e}'ên, or he may have felt that the rhetorical question represented the force of the negative assertion:

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[155]The translator's use of [e] for the niphal of `asah may have influence him to choose another vocabulary word here.

[156]Cf. Gn 5.24; S1 14.17; Ps 37.10b; Pr 14.6 (all passages in which heuriskw represents 'ên in G); the context of each of these implies or states that a search is made but that the object of the search (e.g., Enoch, the wicked) is not found.

shalôm shalôm w^{e}'ên shalôm Jr 6.14
Eirene eirene; kai pou estin eirene?[157]

In 48.9 (31.9) the translator also rendered a negative assertion with a rhetorical question, again with a locative interrogative adverb, probably because he read me'ayin "Whence" for me'ên:[158]

w^{e}`areyha leshammah tihyeynah me'ên yôsheb bahen Jr 48.9 (31.9)
kai pasai hai poleis autes eis abaton esontai; pothen enoikos aute?

Eleven occurrences of 'ên in Jr are not represented in G. This is due to parablepsis (once),[159] elision (2xx),[160] or because the verse in which it occurs is a minus in G (5xx).[161] In 44.22 (51.22) the clause in which it occurs is a minus in G.[162]

The translator of Jr was fairly consistent in his representation of 'ên (66%), although he was

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[157]If he read w^{e}'ayin "Where" then this is, of course, not a representation of 'ên, but if he used pou to represent 'ên, this is a unique rendering in G (see further on synonyms of 'ayyeh, above).

[158]On pothen see under "Synonyms of 'ayyeh", Chapter 1, above.

[159]33.10d, above.

[160]33.10b, e, above.

[161]Jr 8.11; 10.6, 7; 19.11b; 30.10; 39.10; 46.27 are lacking in G.

[162]The translator may have overlooked me'ên yosheb because he expected to see it after l^{e}xarbah or l^{e}shammah, where it commonly occurs (above), but it is here displaced from its usual context.

considerably freer when rendering [me]'ên yosheb, the most frequent syntagm in which 'ên occurs in Jr.

In Ezekiel 'ên (24xx) is rendered by ou [e] (12xx), ou (6xx), ou huparxw (2xx), and by ou me, ouketi [e], ou eti huparxw, and ou exw (once each).

When 'ên occurs with a participle the participle is rendered by means of a finite verb, and 'ên by simple ou:

> ûbêt yisra'el lo' yo'bû lishmo^{a}` 'eleyka kî-'ênam 'obîm lishmo$^{a}$` 'elay Ek 3.7
> ho de oikos Israel ou me theleswsin eisakousai sou, dioti ou boulontai eisakouein mou[163]
>
> kî 'omrîm 'ên YHWH ro'eh 'otanû Ek 8.12
> dioti eipan Oux hora kurios, ...[164]
>
> kî 'am^{e}rû `azab YHWH 'et-ha'arets w^{e}'ên YHWH ro'eh Ek 9.9
> hoti eipan Egkataleloipe kurios ten gen, ouk ephora ho kurios.[165]
>
> 'im-'ênkem shom^{e}`îm 'elay Ek 20.39
> ei me humeis eisakouete mou

---

[163]This verse is an excellent example of the difference between the functions of lo' with a finite verb and 'ên with a participle: "The house of Israel will not be willing to listen to you because they are not willing to listen to me", which is reflected in the translator's choice of tenses.

[164]G lacks the pronominal direct object, but comparison with Ek 9.9 (per BHS) is not helpful here, since two different objects are in view: here, the elders; in 9.9, all the activities of the land.

[165]This is the only occurrence of ephoraw in Ek (A has this for [horaw] in 8.12).

Once, however, in YHWH's warning that Ezekiel's message would go unheeded, the translator emphasized the certainty of their obstinacy by using the double negative ou me (only here in G):[166]

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[166] ou me huparxw occurs twice (Ps 59.14; Pr 29.18, on which cf. below).

> w^{e}hinn^{e}ka lahem k^{e}shîr `^{a}gabîm y^{e}pheh qôl
> ûmeTib naggen w^{e}sham^{e}`û 'et-d$^{e}$bareyka w$^{e}$`osîm
> 'ênam 'ôtam Ek 33.32
> kai gine autois hws phwne psalterios
> heduphwnou euarmostou, kai akousontai sou ta
> hremata kai ou me poiesousin auta

In two verses where 'ên occurs twice its second occurrences is rendered by oude, with the verbal function elided from its first occurrence (both times with [e]):

> w^{e}'omar lakem 'ên haqqîr w^{e}'ên haTTaxîm 'otô
> Ek 13.15 (2xx)
> kai eipa pros humas Ouk estin ho toixos oude
> hoi aleiphontes auton
>
> w^{e}`al kol-p^{e}nê ha'arets naphotsû tso'nî w^{e}'ên
> dôresh w^{e}'ên m^{e}baqqesh Ek 34.6 (2xx)
> kai epi proswpou pases tes ges diespare, kai
> ouk en ho ekzetwn oude ho apostrephwn

ou huparxw occurs three times in Ek, once with eti. In 26.21 it represents an absolute use of 'ên with a suffix:

> ballahôt 'ett^{e}nek w^{e}'ênek ût^{e}buqshî w^{e}lo'-
> timmats^{e}'î `ôd l$^{e}$`ôlam n^{e}'um YHWH '^{e}lohîm
> Ek 26.21
> apwleian se dwsw, kai oux huparceis eti eis
> ton aiwna, legei kurios.[167]

In its first occurrence in 38.11 [b^{e}]'ên is

---

[167]Note the minus in G which results in oux huparceis eti eis ton aiwna, a syntagm which may have affected his use of ou ... eti for 'ên in two other laments over Tyre (see on 27.36; 28.19, below).

represented by ou huparxw,[168] but 'ên by the usual rendering at the end of the verse:[169]

> b^{e}'ên xômah ûb^{e}rî^{a}x ûd^{e}latayim 'ên lahem Ek 38.11 (2xx)
> en he oux huparxei teixos oude moxloi, kai thurai ouk eisin autois

The translator of Ek used both ouketi [e] and ou huparxw eti in two verses that are parallel in syntax and content:

> sox^{a}rîm ba`ammîm shar$^{e}$qû `alayik ballahôt
> hayît w^{e}'ênek `ad-`ôlam Ek 27.36
> emporoi apo ethnwn esurisan se; apwleia egenou
> kai ouketi ese eis ton aiwna

> kol-yôd`eyka ba`ammîm sham^{e}mû `aleyka ballahôt
> hayîta w^{e}'ênka `ad-`ôlam Ek 28.19
> kai pantes hoi epistamenoi se en tois ethnesi
> stugnasousin epi se; apwleia egenou kai oux
> huparceis eti eis ton aiwna

The translator used eti by analogy with his rendering of 26.21 (above).[170] These passages show that his choice of ou [e] or ou huparxw was probably stylistic.

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[168]The preposition was rendered as a locative by the preposition en (and a relative pronoun), showing that he may not have known quite how to interpret this syntagm (which occurs only here in Ek).

It might seem that the preposition motivated him to use ou huparxw, but he also used huparxw in two other passages without the preposition.

[169]The translator differed from the scribes by joining b^{e}rî^{a}x to xômah rather than to d^{e}latayim.

[170]There (26.21) eti for `ôd immediately follows huparxw because of the minus. This combination could have influenced his use of eti in these verses which also contain the relatively rare ballahôt (3xx in Ek of 10xx in H).

'ên l^{e} is represented by ou [exw] once in Ek. Chambers obviously do not "possess" pillars, although they can be characterized by their presence or absence:[171]

> kî m^{e}shullashôt hennah w^{e}'ên lahen `ammûdîm k$^{e}$`ammûdê hax^{a}tserôt Ek 42.6
> dioti triplai esan kai stulos ouk eixon kathws hoi stuloi twn ecwterwn

The translator of Ek was thus fairly free in representing 'ên, using ou [e] in 50% of its occurrences.[172]

'ên occurs fifty-eight times in Minor Prophets,[173] where it is represented by ou [e] (32xx; 56%), ou/me (10xx), ou huparxw (6xx), ou exw (4xx), alpha-private (2xx), and aneu[174] and ou epistrephw[175] (once each).

'ên is always represented by ou [e] in Na (7xx) and Ob (once; v. 7). It is never represented by ou [e] in Hg (5xx).

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[171]This is a good example of the combination 'ên l^{e}- being used for existence relative to the subject of 'ên, rather than for possession (cf. on yesh, above).

[172]When, however, we consider passages in which 'ên with a participle became ou/me with a finite verb, or in which [e] was elided because of an immediately preceding occurrence, he was relatively consistent (79%).

[173]'ên does not occur in Jn.

[174]Am 3.5; a rendering shared only with Ex 21.11.

[175]Hg 2.17; a unique rendering.

'ên in MP									
Bk	Occ	1	2	3	6	8	9	12	(%)
Na	7	7							100%
Ob	1	1							100%
Ho	15	10		2	2	1			67%
Mi	6	4	2						67%
Hb	3	2	1						67%
Am	5	3			1		1		60%
Zc	4	2	1		1				50%
Zp	3	1		1				1	50%
Jl	3	1	1			1			33%
Ma	6	1		4				1	17%
Hg	5		1	4					0%
TTL	58	32	6	11	4	2	1	2	57%
MP	(%)	57	11	18	7	4	2	4	
All	(%)	73	4	15	2	2	2	2	

KEY[176]	
1 ou [e]	7 ou heuriskw
2 ou huparxw	8 a- privative
3 ou	9 Shared (2 bks)
4 oudeis [e]	10 Unique
5 oudeis	11 < G
6 ou exw	12 --- ('ên not rep'd)

In Hosea 'ên (15xx) is represented by ou [e] (10xx), oude and ou exw (2xx each), and by alpha-privative (once).

'ên occurs three times in Ho 4.1, where it is rendered first by ou [e], then by oude (for w'ên):

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[176]Renderings which were not used are listed in the key for the sake of completeness and comparison.

rîb l^{e}YHWH `im-yôshbê ha'arets kî 'ên-'$^{e}$met w$^{e}$'ên-xesed w$^{e}$'ên da`at '^{e}lohîm ba'arets Ho 4.1

dioti krisis tw kuriw pros tous katoikountas ten gen, dioti ouk estin aletheia oude eleos oude epignwsis theou epi tes ges.

[e] is not required in the second and third instances, since it is understood (distributed) via the conjunction.

To represent 'ên as "without" the translator used ou exw, although in the previous clause (word!) he used an adjective with alpha-privative:[177]

wayhî 'ephrayim k^{e}yônah phôtah 'ên leb Ho 7.11

kai en Ephraim hws peristera anous ouk exousa kardian

In Ho 8.7 the translator made the second half of the line a purpose/result clause dependent upon the first, and rendered 'ên l^{e} as ou with a participle of exw:

qamah 'ên lô tsemax b^{e}lî ya`^{a}seh qemax Ho 8.7

dragma ouk exon isxun[178] tou poiesai aleuron

The translator used alpha-privative in Ho 8.8, which enabled him to avoid an extremely circumlocutory construction in G:

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[177]The adjective which we might expect (akardios) occurs only three times in the canonical books of G: for 'ên leb (Jr 5.21), leb 'ayin (Pr 17.16), and x^{a}sar leb (Pr 10.13). [It also occurs in Sirach 6.20.]

[178]This is the only time that isxus renders tsemax. In Ho 7.9, as often, it represents kô^{a}x. tsemax, which occurs only twelve times, has five other renderings.

nibla` yisra'el `attah hayû baggôyim kik^{e}lî 'ên xephets bô Ho 8.8
katepothe Israel, nun egenonto en tois ethnesin hws skeuos axreston

Each of the three occurrences in Joel is rendered differently: ou [e] (2.27), ou huparxw (1.18), and alpha privative (1.6). The usual rendering occurs in a statement familiar from the discussion of 'ôd (above):

wa'^{a}nî YHWH '^{e}lohêkem w^{e}'ên `ôd Jl 2.27
kai egw kurios ho theos humwn, kai ouk estin eti plen emou

In Jl 1.18 the translator used ou huparxw to represent 'ên, probably for stylistic variation; the sense is that of simple existence:[179]

nabokû `edrê baqar kî 'ên mir`eh lahem Jl 1.18
eklausan boukolia bown, hoti oux huperxe nome autois

The combination w'ên mispar was represented by the alpha-privative form of an adjective (anarithmetos) (Jl 1.6), probably for the sake of parallelism--two adjectives rather than an adjective and a verbal clause:

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[179] ou huparxw represents 'ên six times in MP. This accounts for one quarter of the total occurrence of ou huparxw in G (24xx) as a rendering of 'ên. Its relative frequency in MP (10.7%) is more than three times that of G as a whole (3.2%), although it is never the most frequent rendering of 'ên in any one book of MP, nor does it occur in every book of MP, nor even in a majority of them (Mi (2/6); Jl and Hb (1/3); Zc (1/4); Hg (1/5)).

It appears to be a stylistic variant of the usual rendering in MP; there is no element of grammar, syntax, content, or context common to its occurrences in MP.

kî-goy `alah `al-'artsî `atsûm w^{e}'ên mispar
Jl 1.6
hoti ethnos anebe epi ten gen mou isxuron kai anarithmeton

'ên occurs four times in Amos. It is rendered by ou [e] (3xx) and by ou exw and aneu (once each).

'ên l^{e}, indicating non-possession or lack, is represented by ou exw:

h^{a}yish'ag 'aryeh bayya`ar w^{e}Tereph 'ên lô
Am 3.4
ei ereucetai lewn ek tou drumou autou theran oux exwn

The translator subordinated the second clause by means of a concessive participle which derives its gender and number from the suffix on l^{e}.

In Am 3.5 'ên is rendered by aneu, a rendering of 'ên that this passage shares only with Ex 21.11.[180] Here, however, it is probably influenced by its use in the second half of the verse to represent lo':[181]

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[180]See the note on aneu under the discussion of Ex 21.11, above.

[181]Or vice versa since we have no way of knowing whether or not, or to what extent, the original translator may have edited his (rough?) draft.

> h^{a}tippol tsippôr `al-pax ha'arets ûmôqesh 'ên laH Am 3.5
> ei peseitai orneon epi ten gen aneu iceutou?[182]

In Obadiah (once; v. 7) 'ên is represented by ou [e]. It does not occur in Jonah.

'ên is rendered by ou [e] (4xx) and ou huparxw (2xx) in Micah (6xx total). The renderings are consecutive: ou [e] in the first four occurrences of 'ên; ou huparxw in the last two.

In Mi 7.1 and 2 'ên is rendered by ou huparxw. The first occurrence, in a passage filled with relatively rare vocabulary,[183] falls in a clause which the translator has subordinated by means of a genitive absolute:

> kî hayîtî k^{e}'aspê-qayits k^{e}`ollot batsîr 'ên-'eshkôl le'^{e}kôl bikkûrah 'iww^{e}tah naphshî Mi 7.1
> hoti egenomen hws sunagwn kalamen en ametw kai hws epiphullida en trugetw oux huparxontos botruos tou phagein ta prwtogona. oimmoi, psuxe (voc.).

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[182]Cf. the second half of this verse, where aneu occurs again, this time corresponding to lo':

> h^{a}ya`^{a}leh-pax min-ha'^{a}damah w^{e}lakôd lo' yilkôd Am 3.5
> ei sxasthesetai pagis epi tes ges aneu tou sullabein ti?

[183]Only four of the fourteen words in this verse occur more than ten times in H (l^{e}+suffix, hayah, 'ên, nephesh).

The translator misunderstood bikkûrah "early fig" as b^{e}kôr "first-born".[184] In Mi 7.2, however, this connotation is neither required nor indicated:

> 'abad xasîd min-ha'arets w^{e}yashar ba'adam 'ayin Mi 7.2
> hoti apolwlen eulabes apo tes ges, kai katorthwn en anthrwpois oux huparxei

In Nahum (7xx) 'ên is always represented by ou [e].

'ên occurs three times in Habakkuk, where it is rendered by ou [e] (2xx), and by ou huparxw (once). 'ên occurs twice in Hb 3.17, where it is represented by both ou [e] and ou huparxw:

> kî-t^{e}'enah lo'-tiphrax ^{we}'ên y^{e}bûl bagg^{e}phanîm kixesh ma`$^{a}$seh-zayit ûsh$^{e}$demôt lo'-`asah 'okel gazar mimmiklah tso'n w^{e}'ên baqar bar^{e}phatîm Hb 3.17 (2xx)
> dioti suke ou karpophoresei, kai ouk estai genemata en tais ampelois; pheusetai ergon elaias, kai ta padia ou poiesei brwsin; ecelipon apo brwsews probata, kai oux huparxousi boes epi phatnais

This variation is probably stylistic, not substantive, using huparxw as a variant of [e].

In Zephaniah (3xx) 'ên is represented by ou [e] (3.13; = Mi 4.4) and mede (3.6). It is not represented in Zp 2.5.

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[184]To connote possession he then used ou huparxw, although, given the comment above on Jl 1.18, it may just as likely be a variant of ou [e].

In 3.6 the substantive participle following me'ên was rendered by an infinitive, probably to parallel that in the preceding clause:

> nits^{e}dû `arêhem mibb^{e}lî-'îsh me'ên yôsheb Zp 3.6
> ecelipon hai poleis autwn para to medena huparxein mede katoikein.

In 2.5 'ên is not represented because ek sufficiently represents the force of me'ên with a privative min:

> w^{e}ha'^{a}badtîk me'ên yôsheb Zp 2.5
> kai apolw humas ek katoikias

The usual rendering does not occur in Haggai, where 'ên appears five times.[185] It is rendered by ou (4xx) and ou huparxw (once; Hg 2.3).

In Hg 1.6 the prophet confronts the people with their apparent wealth, but real poverty:

> z^{e}ra`tem harbeh w$^{e}$habe' m$^{e}$`aT 'akôl w^{e}'ên-l^{e}sab`ah shatô w^{e}'ên-l^{e}shakrah labôsh w^{e}'ên-l^{e}xom lô Hg 1.6 (3xx)
> espeirate polla kai eisenegkate oliga, ephagete kai ouk eis plesmonen, epiete kai ouk eis methen, periebalesthe kai ouk ethermanthete en autois

The translator recognized that the first and second occurrences of 'ên in Hg 1.6 are elliptical ("You have eaten, but [you have not eaten] to satiety ...") and rendered them in the same way. Its third occurrence

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[185]Hg is thus the only book in G in which 'ên is found but the usual rendering does not occur.

precedes an infinitive construct, which he rendered by means of a finite verb.

The translator used ou huparxw in Hg 2.3, perhaps to represent the substantive function of 'ayin ("nothing"):[186]

> h^{a}lo' kamohû k^{e}'ayin b^{e}`ênêkem Hg 2.3
> kathws oux huparxonta enwpion humwn

In Hg 2.17 it appears that the translator either had an entirely different Vorlage before him, or tried to make sense out of H.[187]

> hikkêtî 'etkem bashshiddaphôn ûbayyeraqôn
> ûbabbarad 'et kol-ma`^{a}seh y^{e}dêkem w'ên-'etkem
> 'elay n^{e}'um-YHWH Hg 2.17
> epataca humas en aphoria kai en anemophthoria
> kai en xalaze panta ta erga twn xeirwn humwn,
> kai ouk epestrepsate pros me legei kurios

ou here corresponds to 'ên, but epestrepsate came out of his exegesis.

In Zechariah (4xx) 'ên is represented by ou [e] (2xx) and by ou huparxw and ou exw (once each).

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[186]The preceding clause is a minus in G, presumably due to parablepsis.

[187]His rendering does make sense, but whether or not it makes sense of H is debatable. It may be more reasonable to read 'etkem as 'ittkem, and interpret the clause as "it is not with you to me" (i.e., "you have no regard for me", or "we have nothing in common").

It is difficult to think that shûb is a minus in H--it is intransitive, which would not explain 'etkem.

'ên occurs twice in Zc 8.10, where it is rendered by both ou huparxw and by ou [e]:[188]

> ûs^{e}kar habb^{e}hemah 'ênennah w^{e}layyôtse' w^{e}labba' 'ên-shalôm min-hatstsar
> Zc 8.10 (2xx)
> kai ho misthos twn ktenwn oux huparxei, kai tw ekporeuomenw kai tw eisporeuomenw ouk estai eirene apo tes thlipsews

In Zc 9.11 'ên is represented by ou exw. As elsewhere the clause with 'ên has been subordinated to the preceding clause by means of a participle.[189] Here, in 'ên mayim bô, 'ên means "without"; ou exw yields an idiomatic rendering:

> gam-'at b^{e}dam-b^{e}rîtek shillaxtî '^{a}sîrayik mibbôr 'ên mayim bô
> Zc 9.11
> kai su en haimati diathekes ecapesteilas desmious sou ek lakkou ouk exontos hudwr

In Malachi (6xx) 'ên is represented by ou [e] once (1.10) and by ou alone (4xx). It is lacking in (2.13).

In two structurally and semantically parallel rhetorical questions in 1.8 it is apparently verbless for the sake of vividness:

> w^{e}kî-taggishûn `iwwer lizbo$^{a}$x 'ên ra` w^{e}kî-taggîshû pisse^{a}x w^{e}xoleh 'ên ra`
> Ma 1.8 (2xx)
> dioti ean prosagagete tuphlon eis thusian, ou kakon? kai ean prosagagete xwlon e arrwston, ou kakon?

---

[188]See note on Jl 1.18, above.

[189]Cf., i.a., Am 3.4, above.

In 2.2 and 2.9 'ên plus a pronominal suffix followed by a participle is represented by ou. The participle, rendered as a finite verb, takes its person and number from the suffix, which is also represented by the independent pronoun(!):[190]

> w^{e}'arôtî 'et-birkôtêkem w^{e}gam 'arôtîha kî 'ênkem samîm `al-leb Ma 2.2
> kai katarasomai auten kai diaskedasw ten eulogian humwn hoti humeis ou tithesthe eis ten kardian humwn
>
> k^{e}phî '^{a}sher 'ênkem shom^{e}rîm 'et-darkay Ma 2.9
> anth' hwn humeis ouk ephulacasthe tas hodous mou

In 2.13 'ên is not represented since the translator made the line a separate question rather than the result of the preceding statement as it is in H).[191] acion is thus supplied to represent what is implicit in H:

> cassôt dim`ah 'et-mizbax YHWH b$^{e}$kî wa'$^{a}$naqah me'ên `ôd p^{e}nôt 'el-hamminxah w^{e}laqaxat ratsôn miyyedkem Ma 2.13
> ekalupte dakrusi to thusiasterion kuriou kai klauthmw kai stenagmw ek kopwn. eti acion epiblepsai thusian e labein dektwn ek twn xeirwn humwn?

The individual books of MP vary greatly in their representation of 'ên, ranging from Na (7xx) and Ob (once), which use only ou [e], to Hg (5xx), where ou [e] does not occur. MP is fairly free in representing 'ên,

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[190]Cf. Jr 37.14. Note the redistribution of the first two clauses.

[191]H: "so that [He] no longer regards the gift or accepts [it] favorably from your hand"; G: "Is it still worthy (proper, fitting) to consider [your] offering or to receive gifts from your hands?"

using ou [e] less regularly than G as a whole (57% vs. 67%), but differing from the rest of G by its slight inclination to use huparxw.[192] Another interesting aspect of the representation of 'ên in MP is the use of personal pronouns in G to represent pronominals suffixed to 'ên, although this is too infrequent to be called a tendency.[193]

The translator of Psalms (67xx) represented 'ên by ou [e] (51xx), ou huparxw (5xx), and ou/oude (4xx), and once each by outheis, ou exw, ou heuriskw, ou me huparxw, ouketi me huparxw, oligos, and alpha privative.

ou alone represents 'ên three times in verses in which a preceding occurrence of 'ên was rendered by ou [e]:

> 'ên 'omer w^{e}'ên d^{e}barîm b^{e}lî nishma` qôlam
> Ps 19.4 (2xx)
> ouk eisin laliai oude logoi, hwn ouxi akouontai hai phwnai autwn
>
> 'allûphênû îm 'ên-perets w^{e}'ên yôtse't w^{e}'ên ts^{e}waxah birxobotênû
> Ps 144.14 (3xx)
> hoi boes autwn paxeis, ouk estin kataptwma phragmou oude diecodos oude krauge en tais plateiais autwn

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[192]Cf. note on Jl 1.18, above (the relative frequency of ou huparxw for 'ên is 10.5% for MP; cf. 3.2% for all G, and 2.6% for G apart from MP).

[193]'ên occurs three times with pronominal suffixes in MP (Zc 8.10; Ma 2.2, 9). In the latter two occurrences the pronominal suffixes are represented by personal pronouns in G.

In Ps 33.16, the other passage in which ou alone represents 'ên, 'ên with a participle is rendered by ou with a finite verb:

> 'ên hammelek nôsha` b^{e}rab-xayil Ps 33.16
> ou swzetai basileus dia pollen dunamin[194]

ou huparxw (5xx in Ps) seems to be at least partially motivated by content (context). When 'ên refers to non-existence as a result of destruction the translator prefered huparxw (37.10; 39.14; 59.14; 103.16; 104.35):[195]

> w^{e}`ôd m$^{e}$`aT w^{e}'ên rasha` w$^{e}$hitbônanta `al-m^{e}qômô w^{e}'ênennû Ps 37.10
> kai eti oligon kai ou me huparce ho hamartwlos, kai zeteseis ton topon autou kai ou me heures[196]

Here it appears that the translator has also been influenced by the similar content of Ps 37.36.[197] Cf.:

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[194]This is parallel to lo' with a verb, which is rendered in the same way, suggesting that this translator saw these constructions as functionally equivalent:

> gibbôr lo'-yinnatsel b^{e}rab-ko^{a}x Ps 33.16b
> kai gigas ou swthesetai en plethei isxuos autou

[195]The exceptions: Ps 37.36 (which parallels 37.10 but huparxw was not used; artistry probably controlled the translator's choice of rendering, below) and Ps 72.12, where huparxw occurs, but not in a context of destruction.

[196]Cf. on Pr 14.6, below.

[197]The apparently random renderings in these two verses are actually carefully arranged in G (the G plusses ho topos autou (36) and heures (10)):

> kai zeteseis ton topon autou kai ou me heures Ps 37.10
> kai ezetesa auton, kai oux heurethe ho topos

wayya`^{a}bor w^{e}hinneh 'ênnenû wa'^{a}baqshehû w^{e}lo' nimtsa' Ps 37.36
kai parelthon, kai idou ouk en, kai ezetesa auton, kai oux heurethe ho topos autou

This connotation of destruction appears in the other occurrences of huparxw:

hasha` mimmennî w^{e}'ablîgah b^{e}Terem 'elek w^{e}'ênennî Ps 39.14
anes moi hina anapsucw pro tou me apelthein kai ouketi me huparcw[198]

kalleh b^{e}xemah kalleh w^{e}'ênemô Ps 59.14
en orge sunteleias, kai ou me huparcousin[199]

xerpah shab^{e}rah libbî wa'anûshah wa'^{a}qawweh lanûd wa'ayin Ps 69.21
oneidismon prosedokesen he psuxe mou kai talaipwrian, kai hupemeina sullupoumenon, kai oux hupercen

kî rû^{a}x `abrah-bô w$^{e}$'ênennû w$^{e}$lo'-yakkîrennû `ôd m^{e}qômô Ps 103.16
hoti pneuma dielthen en autw, kai oux huparcei kai ouk epignwsetai eti ton topon autou.

yittammû xaTTa'îm min-ha'arets ûr^{e}sha`îm `ôd 'ênam Ps 104.35
eklipoisan hamartwloi apo tes ges kai anomoi, hwste me huparxein autous[200]

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autou Ps 37.36

Note the alternation between the person and his "place": In 37.10 his place is sought but [it--or, better, he is] not found, in 37.36 the wicked is sought, but his place not found.

I have no explanation for ou huparxw (10a) vs. ou [e] (36a) beyond, again, artistic variation.

[198]ouketi may be a plus either because his Vorlage read w^{e}'ênennî `ôd or he wanted to emphasize the finality of death.

[199]The G minus of kalleh is an apparent haplography; word order suggests that the first, rather then second, was overlooked.

[200]On the non-representation of `ôd in G, see above.

Ps 72.12 is the exception to this pattern:

> kî-yatstsîl 'ebyôn m^{e}shawwe^{a}` w`anî w'ên-`ozer lô Ps 72.12
> hoti errusato ptwxon ek xeiros dunastou kai peneta, hw oux huperxen boethos[201]

Substantive 'ayin is rendered once in Ps by outheis (Ps 39.6). The translator probably understood natan as elided from the second clause, voiding the need of a verbal predicate:

> hinneh T^{e}phaxôt natattah yamay w^{e}xeldî k^{e}'ayin negdeka Ps 39.6
> idou palaistas ethou tas hemeras mou, kai he hupostasis mou hwsei outhen enwpion sou

'ên is also rendered by ou exw (Ps 38.15), where the translator used ou with a participle of exw, making 15b a relative clause. He based this rendering on the assumption that k'îsh is elided from the second line:[202]

> w^{e}'^{e}hî k^{e}'îsh '^{a}sher lo'-shome^{a}` w^{e}'ên b^{e}phiw tôkaxôt Ps 38.15
> kai egenomen hwsei anthrwpos ouk akouwn kai ouk exwn en tw stomati autou elegmous.

Although 'ên does not occur here with l^{e}, it obviously connotes non-possession, well-indicated by ou exw.

oligos corresponds to 'ayin in Ps 73.2 (only here in G):

> wa'^{a}nî kim^{e}`aT naTawû raglay k^{e}'ayin shupp^{e}kû '^{a}shuray Ps 73.2
> emou de para mikron esaleuthesan hoi podes, par' oligon ecexuthe ta diabemata mou.

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[201]The connotations of "having" may have influenced the translator here.

[202]Without the ellipsis: ûk^{e}'îsh ['^{a}sher] 'ên b^{e}phiw tôkaxôt.

The translator struggled with his text but settled upon a rendering that makes sense, although it does not represent H.[203]

'ên with a noun is rendered by the alpha-privative form of an adjective once in Ps, where he was probably unsure of the best way to represent 'eyal (hapax legomenon):

> nexshabtî 'im-yôr^{e}dê bôr hayîtî k^{e}geber 'ên-'^{e}yal Ps 88.5
> proselogisthen meta twn katabainontwn eis lakkon, egenethen hws anthrwpos aboethetos en nekrois eleutheros[204]

The translator of Ps was fairly consistent in using ou [e] to represent 'ên (76%), but seems to have used ou huparxw in a sense all his own.

In Job 'ên (37xx) is represented by ou [e] (17xx), ou and alpha privative (3xx each),[205] and ouketi [e] (2xx), and once each by oudeis (2.13), ou oudeis [e] (41.25), me erxomai (3.9), ou tugxanw (3.21), and oudamou (19.7). It is not represented in seven passages which are either minuses in G, or which cannot be aligned with H.[206]

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[203]H: "... were poured [so that they became] like nothing"(?).

[204]The extreme periphrasis of G also reflects the unusual vocabulary.

[205]Including once perhaps by alpha privative with [e] (22.5).

[206]Jb 7.8; 10.7; 12.3; 21.33; 24.7, 24; 33.33.

The correspondence of ou alone with 'ên (3xx) is due the translator's predilection to interpret his text by paraphrase:

> ha'im 'ên `ezratî bî w^{e}tushiyyah nidd^{e}xah mimmennî Jb 6.13
> e ouk ep' autw epepoithein? boetheia de ap' emou apestin
>
> lo' nîn lô w^{e}lo'-neked b^{e}`ammô w^{e}'ên sarîd bim^{e}gûrayw Jb 18.19
> ouk estai epignwstos en law autou oude seswsmenos en te hup' ouranon ho oikos autou all' en tois autou zesontai heteroi
>
> 'im-'er'eh 'ôbed mibb^{e}lî l^{e}bûsh w^{e}'ên k^{e}sût la'ebyôn Jb 31.19
> ei de kai hupereidon gumnon apollumenon kai ouk emphiasa[207]

Alpha privative represents 'ên in three passages, but only two texts (two are identical):

> `oseh g$^{e}$dolôt w$^{e}$'ên xeqer niphla'ôt `ad-'ên mispar Jb 5.9 (2xx; = 9.10)
> ton poiounta megala kai anecixniasta, endoca te kai ecaisia, hwn ouk estin arithmos

The translator may have used the alpha privative form of the adjective in the first half of the verse because of the parallelism between the 'ên-clause and the adjective g^{e}dolôt (megala).[208]

In 22.5, however, the translator used anarithmos, but for w^{e}'ên qets rather than 'ên mispar. His

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[207] amphiazw and amphiasis occur 7xx in G, 6xx in Jb, representing labash/labûsh (29.14; 38.9; 40.10), k^{e}sût (31.19; 24.7), and beged (22.6).

[208] Its second occurrence, however, is absolute and explicit predication (rather than, e.g., hwn anarithmos).

rendering of the clause makes it difficult to tell whether or not [e] should be considered part of the representation of w^{e}'ên:[209]

> h^{a}lo' ra`atka rabbah w$^{e}$'ên-qets la`^{a}wonoteyka Jb 22.5
> poteron oux he kakia sou estin polle, anarithmetoi de sou eisin he hamartiai?

In Jb 2.13 w^{e}'ên with a participle is rendered by oudeis with a finite verb:[210]

> wayyeshbû 'ittô la'arets shib`at yamîm w$^{e}$shib`at lêlôt w'ên-dober 'elayw dabar Jb 2.13
> parekathisan autw hepta hemeras kai hepta nuktas kai oudeis autwn elalesen

ouk [e] ouden in Jb 41.25 emphasizes the incomparability of Leviathan (40.25) to any other created being:[211]

> 'ên-`al-`aphar mashlô Jb 41.25
> ouk estin ouden epi tes ges homoion autw

Jb shares the rendering ouketi [e] with Ek (27.36) but, whereas in Ek 'ênek was followed by `ad `ôlam, 'ên occurs only with a suffix in both passages in Jb:

> kî-`attah le`aphar 'eshkab w^{e}shix^{a}rtanî w^{e}'ênennî Jb 7.21
> nuni de eis gen apeleusomai, orthrizwn de ouketi eimi.

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[209]If it be considered part of the rendering, this passage and Pr 30.27 are the only occurrences of 'ên rendered by an alpha privative form with [e].

[210]The ablative autwn specifies that Job's visitors refrained from speaking.

[211]This is the only passage in which ou oudeis [e] corresponds to 'ên.

hen qedem 'eh^{e}lok w^{e}'ênennû Jb 23.8
eis gar prwta poreusomai kai ouketi eimi[212]

Three renderings of 'ên are unique to Jb. Each is a result of the translator's tendency to explain the text by making explicit in G what is implicit in H:

yexsh^{e}kû kôkbê nishpô y^{e}qaw-l^{e}'ôr wa'ayin Jb 3.9
skotwtheie ta astra tes nuktos ekeines,
hupomeinai kai eis phwtismon me elthoi

hamxakîm lammawet w^{e}'ênennû wayyaxp^{e}ruhû mimmaTmônîm Jb 3.21
hoi homeirontai tou thanatou kai ou
tugxanousin anorussontes hwsper thesaurous

hen 'ets`aq xamas w$^{e}$lo' 'e`aneh '^{a}shawwa` w^{e}'ên mishpaT Jb 19.7
idou gelw[213] oneidei kai ouk lalesw;
kekracomai, kai oudamou krima.

The use of oudamou[214] is striking here because, although it fits the context, we might well expect a form of [e] in the clause.

Seven occurrences of 'ên are not represented in Jb. Four are verses or clauses lacking in G; three are due to exegetical or paraphrastic translations of the text:

In 10.7 the translator renderd the clause with a positive rhetorical question rather than repeat the negative assertion of H:

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[212]The difference in person may be orthographic (yod vs. waw), contextual (Job is here talking of himself, not of YHWH), or under the influence of 7.21.

[213]Apparently reading 'etsxaq for 'ets`aq.

[214]Only elsewhere in Pr 23.5 (with phainw).

`al-da`tka kî-lo' 'ersha` w^{e}'ên miyyadka matstsîlah Jb 10.7
oidas gar hoti ouk esebesa; alla tis estin ho ek twn xeirwn sou ecairoumenos?[215]

G corresponds exactly to H in 24.7a. The second half of the verse in G fits the context, but may be due to the translator's desire for poetic symmetry in these verses, especially 24.6-11, climaxing in v. 12:

`arôm yalînû mibb^{e}lî l^{e}bûsh w^{e}'ên k^{e}sût baqqarah Jb 24.7
gumnous pollous ekoimisan aneu himatiwn, amphiasin de psuxes autwn apheilanto[216]

The difficulty of 24.24 is apparent in his non-representation of 'ên; G and H cannot be aligned:

rômmû m^{e}`aT w^{e}'ênennû Jb 24.24
pollous gar ekakwsen to hupswma autou

Three verses are lacking in G (7.8; 21.33; 33.33), and in 12.3 homoioarcton probably accounts for the lacking clause:[217]

gam-lî libab k^{e}môkem lo'-nophel 'anokî mikkem w^{e}'et-mî-'ên k^{e}mô-'elleh Jb 12.3
kamoi men kardia kath' humas estin.

The translator of Job was not very consistent in his representation of 'ên (53%), although his tendency to explain the text by paraphrase allowed [caused?] him to use a wide variety of renderings.

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[215]In 5.4 the translator used kai ouk estai ho ecairoumenos to represent 'ên matstsîl.

[216]psuxe is probably a variant in transmission from a poorly written pxuke (Dhorme, JOB, 359).

[217]k^{e}môkem ... k^{e}mô-'elleh.

In Proverbs (28xx) 'ên is rendered by alpha privative (8xx),[218] ou (7xx), ou [e] (6xx), oudeis (4xx), me huparxw and pro tou with an infinitive (2xx each), and once each by ou me huparxw (29.18), ou pareimi (7.19), ou heuriskw (14.6), ou dunamai (17.16), me exw (22.27), oudamos phainw (23.5), and epiphainos (25.14).[219] It is not represented in 13.4 or 20.4.

The usual rendering occurs infrequently in Pr:

> 'ên xokmah w^{e}'ên t^{e}bûnah w^{e}'ên `etsah l^{e}neged YHWH — Pr 21.30 (3xx)
> ouk estin sophia, ouk estin andreia, ouk estin boule pros ton asebe[220]

29.1 has been translated as a comparison between two types of men, rather than portraying a certain type of behavior and its result:

> 'îsh tôkaxôt maqsheh-`oreph peta` yishshaber w^{e}'ên marpe' — Pr 29.1
> kreisswn aner elegxwn andros sklerotraxelou; ecapines gar phlegomenou autou ouk estin iasis

The compound b'ên is represented by a temporal

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[218]Including alpha privative with [e] (39.27). These account for nearly half of the occurrences of this rendering in G.

[219]The last five of these are unique to Pr, as is an occurrence of alpha privative with [e] (Pr 39.27).

[220]The incongruity of asebes for YHWH is probably due to the context (21.27-31), which emphasizes the folly of wickedness. The translator may have thought that this verse is continued in the following, i.e., that there are four things which the wicked try to use to their own ends, but the victory ultimately belongs to YHWH (21.31).

clause (14.4), using the genitive, and by a locative clause (26.20), using a relative locative adverb:[221]

b^{e}'ên '^{a}laphîm 'ebûs bar — Pr 14.4
hou me eisin boes, phatnai katharai[222]

b^{e}'ephes `etsîm tikbeh 'esh ûb^{e}'ên nirgan yishtoq madôn — Pr 26.20
en pollois culois thallei pur, hopou de ouk estin dithumos, hesuxazei maxe.[223]

'ên is also represented by ou in Pr (7xx). 'ên is rendered with ou in four passages to negate the verb that represents the participle or noun following 'ên:

naTîtî yadî w^{e}'ên maqshîb — Pr 1.24
zetesousin me kakoi kai oux heuresousin

bid^{e}barîm lo'-yiwwaser `abed kî-yabîn w$^{e}$'ên ma`^{a}neh — Pr 29.19
logois ou paideuthesetai oiketes skleros; ean gar kai noese, all' oux hupakousetai.[224]

nôten larash 'ên maxsôr ... — Pr 28.27
hos didwsin ptwxois, ouk endeethesetai; ...

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[221]Cf. on Jg 14.3; Jr 47.1, above.

[222]The same construction is used in 14.4b for a different syntagm, the translator assuming that the lines are parallel, with the temporal force of the preposition b^{e} extending "across" the conjunction:

w^{e}rab-t^{e}bû'ôt b^{e}ko^{a}x shôr — Jb 14.4
hou de polla genemata, phanera boos isxus.

[223]This verse has also been transformed from emblematic to antithetical parallelism (not that the translator thought in or would have recognized those terms) by making the first half positive rather than negative ('ephes vs. polloi).

[224]Although G explains the slave's rebelliousness (skleros), and changes the verb with 'ên (`anah > hupakouw), it represents the general sense of H.

'îsh-xakam nishpaT 'et-'îsh 'ewîl weragaz
wesaxaq we'ên naxat Pr 29.9
aner sophos krinei ethne, aner de phaulos
orgizomenos katagelatai kai ou kataptessei.[225]

Three other times the translator H with the result that he used ou alone:

hapher maxashabôt be'ên sôd Pr 15.22
hupertithentai logismous hoi me timwntes
sunedria[226]

`îr perûtsah 'ên xômah 'îsh 'asher 'ên ma`tsar
lerûxô Pr 25.28 (2xx)
hwsper polis ta teixe katabeblemene kai
ateixistos, houtws aner hos ou meta boules ti
prassei.

gôzel 'abîw we'immô we'omer 'ên-pasha`
Pr 28.24
hos apoballetai patera e metera kai dokei me
hamartanein

Pr uses an alpha privative nine times--more than any other book of G. It is prefixed to both adjectives (7xx)[227] and a verb (10.25; 12.7, both aphanizw):

hû' yamût be'ên mûsar Pr 5.23
houtos teleuta meta apaideutwn

`al-ken pit'om yabô' 'êdô peta` yishshaber
we'ên marpe' Pr 6.15
dia touto ecapines erxetai he apwleia autou,
diakope kai suntribe aniatos

lammah-zeh mexîr beyad-kesîl liqnôt xokmah
weleb-'ayin Pr 17.16
hina ti hupercen xremata aphroni? ktesasthai
gar sophian akardios ou dunesetai.

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[225]G has redivided the verse, and subordinated the first verb of the second clause to the second verb, making the clause--disjunctive and subordinated--independent.

[226]The translator personalized abstract H.

[227]See Pr 25.28, above.

shamayim larûm wa'arets la`omeq w^{e}leb m^{e}lakîm 'ên xeqer Pr 25.3
ouranos hupselos, ge de batheia, kardia de basilews anecelegktos.

geber rash w^{e}`osheq dallîm maTar soxeph w^{e}'ên laxem Pr 28.3
andreios en asebeiais sukophantei ptwxous. hwsper huetos labros kai anwpheles,

melek 'ên la'arbeh wayyetse' xotests kullô Pr 30.27
abasileuton estin he akris kai ekstrateuei aph' henos keleusmatos eutaktws

ka`$^{a}$bôr sûphah w$^{e}$'ên rasha` w^{e}tsaddîq y^{e}sôd `ôlam Pr 10.25
paraporeuomenes kataigidos aphanizetai asebes, dikaios de ekklinas swzetai eis ton aiwna[228]

haphôk r^{e}sha`îm w$^{e}$'ênam ûbêt tsaddîqîm ya`^{a}mod Pr 12.7
hou ean straphe, asebes aphanizetai, oikoi de dikaiwn paramenousin.[229]

ou huparxw also occurs in Pr (3xx). Pr 6.7 and 11.14 parallel the content of Pr 30.27 (above), but here the translator used ou huparxw:

'^{a}sher 'ên-laH qatsîn shoTer ûmoshel Pr 6.7
ekeinw gar gewrgiou me huparxontos mede ton anagkazonta exwn mede hupo despoten wn

b^{e}'ên taxbulôt yippol-`am ût$^{e}$shû`ah b^{e}rob yô`ets Pr 11.14
hois me huparxei kubernesis, piptousin hwsper phulla, swteria de huparxei en polle boule[230]

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[228]aphanizw "perish" represents the [verbal] sense of 'ên. Note also the adverbial participle to subordinate the first clause to aphanizw. In 10.25b the translator read yasôd as yasûr, and so inserted swzw.

[229]The translatore again used aphanizw, and again reversed the syntactical hierarchy by subordinating the opening clause to the 'ên-clause.

[230]Note that the translator also used huparxw to supply explicit predication in 11.14b.

huparxw occurs once with a double negative;[231] me may represent the preposition b^{e}:

b'ên xazôn nippara` `am Pr 29.18
ou me huparce ecegetes ethnei paranomw

In a highly interpretive yet idiomatic rendering b'ên is rendered by pro tou with an infinitive (8.24), as are bTerem and liphnê in the following verse:

b^{e}'ên t^{e}homôt xôlaltî b^{e}'ên ma`yanôt nikbadê-
mayim b^{e}Terem harîm taTba`û liph$^{e}$nê g$^{e}$ba`ôt
xôlaltî Pr 8.24
pro tou ten gen poiesai kai pro tou tas
abussous poiesai pro tou ore hedrasthenai pro
de pantwn bounwn genna me

ou pareimi corresponds to 'ên once in G:

kî 'ên ha'îsh b^{e}bêtô Pr 7.19
ou gar parestin ho aner mou en oikw

pareimi "to be present" nicely captures the flavor of H, since [e] would have implied that her husband had died.

'ên is rendered by heuriskw four times in G, each time in a context of searching for someone who had disappeared:[232]

biqqesh-lets xokmah wa'ayin Pr 14.6
zeteseis sophian para kakois kai oux heureseis

The translator probably used heuriskw here under the influence of zetew at the beginning of the verse--it rounds off the verse nicely.

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[231]A rendering used only here and Ps 59.14 (above).

[232]Gn 5.24 (Enoch); S1 14.17 (Jonathan and his armor bearer); Ps 37.10 (the wicked who had passed away--his non-existence expressed by ou huparxw, above).

Another unique rendering that occurs in Pr is oudamou phainw, a negative locative adverb "nowhere", which again shows the translator's highly interpretive approach to H:

> h^{a}ta`îph `êneyka bô w^{e}'ênennû Pr 23.5
> ean episteses to son omma pros auton, oudamou phaneitai

Not unrelated to this is his use of epiphainos in Pr 25.14, although here the opposite point is being made, i.e., a boastful liar is as visible as these meteorological phenomena:

> n^{e}sî'îm w^{e}rû^{a}x w^{e}geshem 'ayin 'îsh mithallel b^{e}mattat-shaqer Pr 25.14
> hwsper anemoi kai nephe kai huetoi epiphanestatoi, houtws hoi kauxwmenoi epi dosei pseudei

This of course sounds the opposite of H, but G is still an accurate, if highly paraphrastic, rendition.[233]

In two passages the translator of Pr did not represent 'ên, both times because of his interpretation of the verse. His rendering of 13.4 is so heavily paraphrased that wa'ayin cannot be represented:

> mit'awwah wa'ayin naphshô `atsel Pr 13.4
> en epithumiais estin pas aergos[234]

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[233]Cf. H: "Clouds and wind and rain [but] nothing is there, [this is] one who boasts falsely of a gift"; G: "As winds and clouds and rain are highly visible, so those who boast about false gifts."

[234]There is the slim possibility that the alpha privative on aergos is intended to represent 'ayin, but this is unlikely (the syntax of 'ayin in this verse is admittedly awkward: "The heart of the sluggard desires, but there is nothing").

The translator made 20.4 into a comparison of two types of men, rather than interpreting it as a description of the sloth's [lack of] work and its results:

> mexoreph `atsel lo'-yax^{a}rosh y^{e}sha'al baqqatsîr wa'ayin — Pr 20.4
> oneidizomenos okneros ouk aisxunetai, hwsautws kai ho danizomenos siton en ametw

There is no place for 'ayin in his interpretation of these verses.

The translator made the second half of Pr 5.17 more explict, by making the "strangers" the subject rather than the indirect object of the second half:

> yihyû l^{e}ka l^{e}badka w^{e}'ên l^{e}zarîm 'ittak — Pr 5.17
> estw soi monw huparxonta kai medeis allotrios metasxetw soi

5.17b is translated to parallel 5.17a, using medeis to modify the subject of the [supplied] verb, which is imperative with the dative personal pronoun to complete the parallelism.

oudeis is the subject of a non-verbal clause in Pr 8.8 (oude for the conjunction before the second adjective merely specifies the distribution of the negative):

> b^{e}tsedeq kol-'imrê-pî 'ên bahem niphtal w^{e}`iqqesh — Pr 8.8
> meta dikaiosunes panta ta hremata tou stomatos mou ouden en autois skolion oude straggalwdes

The substantive function of 'ên kol in a disjunctive phrase is idiomatically rendered in Pr 13.7

by meden as the object of a concessive participle supplied for specifity:

> yesh mit`ashsher w^{e}'ên kol mitrôshesh w^{e}hôn rab — Pr 13.7
> eisin hoi ploutizontes heautous meden exontes kai eisin hoi tapeinountes heautous en pollw ploutw[235]

In another disjunctive concessive clause w^{e}'ên with participle is again represented by medeis as the subject of the concessive genitive absolute:

> nasû w^{e}'ên-rodeph rasha` w^{e}tsaddîqîm kik^{e}phîr yibTax — Pr 28.1
> pheugei asebes medenos diwkontos dikaios de hwsper lewn pepoithen

ou exw represents 'ên once in Pr (22.27). In the second half of a warning against pledging surety for another's debt, 'ên-lka lshallem connotes inability to repay [a debt]. The rendering of the clause, using pothen "if you have not whence (= wherewithall [with which]) to repay":

> 'im-'ên-l^{e}ka l^{e}shallem lammah yiqqax mishkabka mittaxteyka — Pr 22.27
> ean gar me exes pothen apoteises, lempsontai to strwma hupo tas pleuras sou

The second half of the verse is a question in H, but an assertion in G, due to the lack of a parallel for lammah.[236]

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[235] [e] is added to the second half of the verse for the sake of the parallelism, although the participle is not repeated.

[236] Probably a G minus due to haplography (it is difficult to imagine what would have induced a scribe to introduce lammah into H).

The translator of Pr was exceedingly free in rendering 'ên.[237] The usual rendering is the third most commonly used (17%); the rendering most frequent in Pr--alpha privative (22%)--occurs only eighteen times in G, nearly half of which are in Pr.

In Ruth (once; 4.4) 'ên is represented by ouk [e].

In Song of Songs 'ên (5xx) is rendered by ou [e] (4xx) and once by ou exw (8.8) where, as elswhere in G, it signals non-possession:

'axôt lanû q^{e}Tannah w^{e}shadayim 'ên laH SS 8.8
adelphe hemin mikra kai mastous ouk exei

In Qohelet 'ên (44xx) is rendered by ou [e] (41xx), ou (2xx), and once by oudeis (3.19).

In Qo 9.2 me for 'ên is required by the translator's extreme literalness, which he attains by representing H formally as well as semantically. Since the participle is rendered substantivally, this is the grammatically correct rendering:

w^{e}lazzobe^{a}x w^{e}la'^{a}sher 'ênnennû zobe^{a}x Qo 9.2
kai tw thusiazonti kai tw me thusiazonti

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[237]Cf. the usual characterizations of his translation technique as "paraphrastic" ever since, e.g., H. St. J. Thackeray, GRAMMAR OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1909):13.

The other occurrence of ou alone also represents 'ên with a participle. This participle, however, is verbal, and is rendered by a finite verb. Its person and number are determined by the suffix on 'ên:

> kî 'ênka yôde^{a}` 'ê zeh yikshar h^{a}zeh 'ô-zeh Qo 11.6
> hoti ou ginwskeis poion stoixesei e touto e touto

In Qo 3.19, where 'ayin is absolute,[238] ouden is also absolute; G captures well the flavor of the rhetorical question and its elliptical answer:

> ûmôtar ha'adam min-habb^{e}hemah 'ayin kî hakkol habel Qo 3.19
> kai ti eperisseusen ho anthrwpos para to ktenos? ouden, hoti ta panta mataiotes

Qo consistently represents 'ên as ou [e] (93%).

In Lamentations (11xx) 'ên is rendered by ou [e] (8xx) and ou huparxw (3xx).

> 'ên-laH m^{e}naxem mikkol-'oh^{a}beyha kol-re`eyha bag^{e}dû baH hayû laH l'oy^{e}bîm La 1.2
> kai oux huparxei ho parakalwn auten apo pantwn twn agapwntwn auten pantes hoi philontes auten ethetesan en aute, egenonto aute eis exthrous[239]

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[238]Technically, in an elliptical answer to the question.

[239]Cf. 1.17 and 21 where clauses parallel to that in 1.2 is rendered with ou [e]:

> persah tsiyyôn b^{e}yadeyha 'ên m^{e}naxem laH ... haytah y^{e}rûshalaim l^{e}niddah bênêhem La 1.17
> Diepetasen Siwn xeiras autes, ouk estin ho parakalwn auten; ... egenethe Ierousalem eis apokathemenen ana meson autwn

> sham^{e}`û kî ne'^{e}naxah 'anî 'ên m^{e}naxem lî

ou huparxw in La 5.3, 7 have in common their reference to fathers, but it is difficult to imagine that this had any effect on the translator:

> y^{e}tômîm hayînû w^{e}'ên 'ab — La 5.3
> orphanoi egenethemen, oux huparxei pater
>
> '^{a}botênû xaT^{e}'û w^{e}'ênam — La 5.7
> hoi pateres hemwn hemarton, oux huparxousin

'ên is fairly regularly represented by ou [e] in La (64%); it is likely that huparxw is used as a stylistic variation for [e].

In Esther (10xx) 'ên is represented by ou [e] (2xx), ou (5xx), and ou ginomai (once). It is not represented in its first occurrence in 3.8; G cannot be aligned with H in 2.7.[240]

'ên with a participle (5xx in Es) is rendered by ou with a finite verb four times:

> 'ên 'ester maggedet môladtaH w^{e}'et-`ammaH — Es 2.20
> he de Esther oux hupedeicen ten patrida autes
>
> wayyar' haman kî-'ên mord^{o}kay kore^{a}` — Es 3.5
> kai epignous Aman hoti ou proskunei autw Mardoxaios

La 1.21
Akousate de hoti stevazw ego, ouk estin ho parakalwn me

[240]Although there is a long plus in G, the clause in which 'ên occurs in H is not represented.

w^{e}'et-datê hammelek 'ênam `osîm w^{e}lammelek 'ên-showeh l^{e}hannîxam Es 3.8 (2xx)
twn de nomwn tou basilews parakouousin kai ou sumpherei tw basilei easai autous[241]

w^{e}kol-zeh 'ênennû showeh lî Es 5.13
kai tauta moi ouk areskei

Its fifth occurrences in this syntagm, however, is non-verbal, possibly to convey the emotional trauma of Esther's appeal:

kî 'ên hatstsar showeh b^{e}nezeq hammelek Es 7.4
ou gar acios ho diabolos tes aules tou basilews[242]

In 1.8, the first occurrence of 'ên in Es, it is rendered by ou ginomai, the only use of this rendering in G:

w^{e}hashsh^{e}tiyyah kaddat 'ên 'ones Es 1.8
ho de potos houtos ou kata prokeimenon nomon egeneto

It was used possibly to convey the sense "the drinking was not [to be at any point during the feast] according to ordinance".

The translator of Es used ou [e] infrequently (20%), but this was largely due to the syntax of the clauses in which 'ên occurred (5xx with participles which he represented as ou with a finite verb).

---

[241]Its first occurrence in this verse is not represented because of the translator's choice of parakouw "disregard" to render 'ênam `osîm.

[242]All three occurrences in H of the qal participle of shawah occur in Es with 'ên, and are rendered in three different ways: ou sumpherei (3.8), ou areskw (5.13), and ou acios (7.4).

In Daniel (9xx) 'ên is rendered in four ways in G:[243] ou [e] (5xx), oudeis [e] (2xx), and ou and alpha privative (once each).

w'ên with a participle is represented by oudeis [e] with a substantive participle which functions as the predicate nominative of the negative subject:

> wa'eshtômem `al-hammar'eh w^{e}'ên mebîn Dn 8.27
> kai eceluomen epi tw horamati, kai oudeis en ho dianooumenos
>
> w^{e}'ên 'exad mitxazzeq `immî `al-'elleh Dn 10.21
> kai outheis en ho boethwn met' emou huper toutwn

In Dn 8.5 w'ên with a participle is, contrary to the above, rendered with ou with a finite verb:

> w^{e}'ên noge^{a}` ba'arets Dn 8.5
> kai ouk hepteto tes ges[244]

alpha-privative with an adjective is used once (Dn 1.4), where it represents the entire relative clause of which 'ên is the predicate:

> y^{e}ladîm '^{a}sher 'ên-bahem kol-mûm ... Dn 1.4
> neaniskous amwmous ...

The translator of the G Dn was thus relatively free in representing 'ên (56%).[245]

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[243]Theodotion renders 'ên consistently as ou [e] in Dn (9xx; 100%).

[244]The translator obviously understood the point of the verse as "he was not touching the ground" rather than "none [of his feet] was touching the ground".

[245]Contrast the absolute regularity of Th (100%).

'ên is always represented by ou [e] in Ezra (4xx).

'ên in Nehemiah (11xx) is represented by ou [e] (9xx) and ou exw (once; 8.10). Its first occurrence in 4.17 is not represented in G.

The repeated l^{e} in Ne 8.10 apparently gives rise to the use of me with a participle of exw. The first preposition (l'ên) defines the indirect object, the recipients of the gifts. The second (lô) indicates non-possession; the resumptive suffix defines who is being described:

> w^{e}shilxû manôt l^{e}'ên nakôn lô Ne 8.10
> kai aposteilate metidas tois me exousin[246]

The preposed 'ên in Ne 4.17 was apparently overlooked by haplography or, more likely because the translator simply did not know what to make of it:

> w^{e}'ên '^{a}nî w^{e}'axay ûn^{e}`aray w^{e}'anshê hammishmar '^{a}sher 'ax^{a}ray 'ên-'^{a}naxnû poshTîm b^{e}gadênû Ne 4.17
> kai emen egw kai hoi andres tes prophulakes opisw mou ec hymwn ekdiduskomenos aner ta himatia autou

The translation of the rest of the verse, however, does relfect H, albeit with minuses and one plus.

Ne regularly represents 'ên by ou [e] (90%).

In 1 Chronicles 'ên is represented only by ou [e] (9xx).

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[246]This is the only text in which l^{e}'ên (10xx, represented 9xx) is represented by ou exw.

2 Chronicles contains twenty-five occurrences of 'ên. It is rendered by ou [e] (22xx) and once by ou. It is not represented in 14.10b or 20.25.

In C2 14.10 'ên appears twice. The first time it is rendered as ouk, negating the supplied verb adunamai; the second time, however, the translator apparently rendered the idiom l^{e}'ên ko^{a}x by en oligois, apparently under the influence of S1 14.6:[247]

YHWH 'ên `imm$^{e}$ka la`zôr bên rab l^{e}'ên ko^{a}x C2 14.10
Kurie ouk adunatei para soi swzein en pollois kai en oligois

In C2 20.25 'ên is not represented, apparently because of a misinterpreted Vorlage:

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[247]S1 14.6 is not parallel in H, but the renderings make it most likely that the translator of C2 knew, or was influenced by, Jonathan's statement. It is possible that he rendered it in this way in order to call S1 14.6 to the mind of the reader.

kî 'ên l^{e}YHWH ma`tsôr l$^{e}$hôshî$^{a}$` b^{e}rab 'ô bim^{e}`aT S1 14.6
hoti ouk estin tw kuriw sunexomenon swzein en pollois e en oligois

wayyabo' yhôshaphaT w^{e}`ammô laboz 'et-sh^{e}lalam
wayyimts^{e}'û bahem larob ûr^{e}kûsh ûph^{e}garîm
ûk^{e}lê x^{a}mudôt waynats^{e}lû lahem l^{e}'ên massa'
wayyihyû yamîm ... C2 20.25
kai elthen Iwsaphat kai ho laos autou
skuleusai ta skula autwn kai heuron polla
ktene[248] kai aposkuen kai skula kai skeue
epithumeta kai eskuleusan heautois kai
egenonto hemerai ...

C2 is thus quite regular in using ou [e] to represent 'ên (88%), although the translator was not above interpretation (14.10a), the influence of other passages (14.10b), and even misinterpretation of his Vorlage (20.25).

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[248]G read b^{e}hemah for bahem, if the waw on r^{e}kûsh introduces the list ("both ... and ..."). If, on the other hand, this waw continues rather than introduces the list of spoil, a substantive must have preceded it, which would support G. I think it more likely that G misread H because the translator saw what he thought most likely.

RENDERINGS of 'êN WITH AFFIXES

'ên occurs with prefixed prepositions (54xx) and with pronominal (103xx). These combinations severely affected the translators' renderings of 'ên.

With prefixes (54xx, represented 44xx) it is represented by ou [e] (17xx = 39%), ou huparxw (8xx = 18%), ou (7xx = 15%), and other renderings (none more than 2xx).[249] In the case of Jr and Pr, at least, the relatively high frequency of prefixed occurrences of 'ên effectively lowered the rate at which those translators used ou [e] to represent it.

This wide variation in rendering 'ên with prefixes is due mainly to the translators' attempts to represent the H constructions idiomatically, which they often did very well indeed.[250]

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[249]Unique renderings (8xx) account for 18%.

[250]See on various passages (above).

Renderings of 'ên with Prefixes

By Book

Bk	Px	Oc	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	11	12	%
Is	b+	1					1							0
	k+	4	2	1		1								50%
	l+	2			1		1							0
	m+	4	3		1									75%
Jr	m+	19	2	2	3						5	2	5	17%
Ek	b+	1		1										0
	m+	2	2											100%
Hg	k+	1		1										0
Ma	m+	1										1		--
Ps	k+	2					1				1			0
Pr	b+	8	2	1	1				1	1	2			25%
La	l+	1		1										0
	m+	1	1											100%
Ne	l+	1						1						0
C1	l+	1	1											100%
C2	l+	5	3									2		100%

By Prefix

Pfx		1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	11	12	%
b+	10	2	3	2		1		1	1	2			20%
k+	7	2	2		1	1				1			29%
l+	10	4	1	1		1	1				2		50%
m+	27	8	2	4						5	3	5	42%
Ttl	54	17	8	7	1	3	1	1	1	8	5	5	
Percent		39	18	15	2	7	2	2	2	18			

KEY TO RENDERINGS

1 ou [e]	7 ou heuriskw
2 ou huparxw	8 a- privative
3 ou	9 Shared (2 bks)
4 oudeis [e]	10 Unique
5 oudeis	11 < G
6 ou exw	12 --- ('ên not rep'd)

'ên occurs 103xx with a pronominal suffix identifying its subject. In these clauses it is

represented by ou [e] (40xx = 42%), ou (35xx = 37%), ou huparxw (8xx = 8%), and other renderings (none more than 2xx).[251]

'ên with a suffix is rendered less frequently by ou [e] than 'ên as a whole, due mainly to its frequent use to negate a participle, since this construction is normally rendered in G as a finite verbal clause (in which 'ên is represented by ou/me). In the table on the following page the column on the right shows that this pattern is true of nearly every book of G.[252]

This tendency is not unlike that of 'ayyeh, yesh, and `ôd, where suffixed forms were less likely to be represented with the usual rendering (above). Both of these patterns show that the translators were much more likely to use ou [e] when the form was not affixed by either prefixed prepositions or suffixed pronominals.

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[251]Unique renderings (5xx) account for 5%.

[252]The exceptions are Jg, K1, Ne. The most striking difference between the two is in K2 (0 vs. 75%), La (0 vs. 73%), Ek and Zc (both 0 vs. 50%), and Dt (29% vs. 80%). A glance at rendering #3 (ou), however, reveals that this is partially due to a high occurrence of 'ên with suffix plus a participle.

Renderings of 'ên with Suffixes											
Bk	Occ	1	2	3	7	8	9	10	11	12	%	All
Gn	16	9	2	4	1						56%	70%
Ex	3			2			1				0	41%
Lv	6	2		3						1	40%	52%
Dt	7	2		5							29%	80%
Jg	2	2									100%	82%
S1	2	1		1							50%	85%
S2	2	1		1							50%	80%
K1	2	2									100%	84%
K2	4			2						2	0	75%
Is	3	1		1					1		50%	63%
Jr	13	3	1	9							23%	58%
Ek	6		1	2			1	2			0	50%
Zc	1		1								0	50%
Ma	2			2							0	17%
Ps	7	2	2		1		1	1			29%	76%
Jb	7	2					2	1	1	1	40%	46%
Pr	2					1		1			0	16%
Qo	12	10		2							85%	93%
La	1		1								0	73%
Es	2			1					1		0	20%
Ne	2	2									100%	82%
C2	1	1									100%	100%
TO	103	40	8	35	2	1	5	5	3	4		
Sfx (%)		42	8	37	2	1	5	5				
'ên (%)												

KEY TO RENDERINGS	
1 ou [e]	7 ou heuriskw
2 ou huparxw	8 a- privative
3 ou	9 Shared (2 bks)
4 oudeis [e]	10 Unique
5 oudeis	11 < G
6 ou exw	12 --- ('ên not rep'd)

SYNONYMS OF 'ên IN G

How did the translators of G render 'ephes (42xx)[253] and b^{e}lî (58xx),[254] alleged synonyms of 'ên?[255] Did they view them as synonyms (and use ou [e] to represent them), or did they assess them differently and so use other rendering(s)?[256]

'ephes

'ephes[257] has three main functions in H:[258] as a substantive (20xx),[259] as a negative predicator of existence (14xx),[260] and as a strong adversative "but" (6xx).[261]

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[253]Primarily in Is (14/42xx = 33%).

[254]Mainly in Jb (21/58xx = 36%).

[255]Cf. Waltke & O'Connor, BIBLICAL HEBREW SYNTAX, #39.3.3a; Joüon, GRAMMAIRE, #160n; Hamp, in TDOT, I:362.

[256]See the background to this question under 'ayyeh (above).

[257]Hamp tentatively suggests an etymology from Akk. apsu. TDOT I:361.

[258]One passage does not fit these uses. In Dn 8.25 b^{e}'ephes signals "without":

ûb^{e}'ephes yad yishshaber	Dn 8.25
without a hand he will be destroyed	

[259]It can be translated "nothing" (7xx) and "end" (13xx). The latter occurs only in the phrase 'aphsê 'arets "the ends of the earth".

[260]These occurrences are used to align it with 'ên.

[261]Especially when followed by kî (5xx).

'ên does not function as an adversative, so it is not surprising that 'ephes in this use is not translated at all like 'ên, but by plen hoti (3xx), and by plen, hoti, and all' e hoti (once each).[262]

Nor does its use or translation in the phrase 'aphsê 'arets parallel 'ên.[263] In its other substantive uses (7xx) 'ephes is rendered five different ways, only once by ou [e] (two are not represented).

In those passages in which it seems to be analogous to 'ên (14xx) 'ephes is represented most frequently by ou [e] (4xx),[264] but this is not a majority of the passages in which it occurs (30%). It is also represented by plen and ekleipw (2xx each), and by five other renderings, each used once to represent 'ephes.[265]

Its use in some occurrences may parallel that of

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[262]It is interesting that the last translation listed is probably the most accurate representation of the strong adversative function of 'ephes kî.

[263]'aphsê (in 'aphsê 'arets) is represented by akros (5xx), perata (6xx, all Ps), and by exatou and diekbole (once each).

[264]Is (3xx) and Zp (once). Three are identical in H, though not in G:

'anî YHWH we'aphsî `ôd	Is 47.8, 10
Egw eimi, kai ouk esti hetera	
Egw eimi, kai ouk esti met' eme eti	Zp 2.15

[265]In Is 41.29 H and G cannot be aligned.

'ên, but 'ephes is at best a partial synonym--this was also recognized by the translators.

b^{e}lî

b^{e}lî (58xx) occurs more frequently with prefixes than without[266] and, unlike 'ên, negates both perfect and imperfect verbs. It has no usual rendering in G, being represented by a variety of prepositions with an articular infinitive (usually negated by me),[267] by ou and alpha privative (6xx each), aneu (5xx), and six other renderings, each of which represents b^{e}lî only once.[268]

b^{e}lî should probably be considered only a partial synonym of 'ên; it appears from G that the translators did not view it as parallel in function either.

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[266] 34xx: with mibb^{e}lî (25xx), bib^{e}lî (8xx), and lib^{e}lî (once).

[267] The following prepositions precede the infinitives with b^{e}lî: para to me (9xx), para to ('ên > me) (3xx), dia to me (2xx with [e], 2xx with an infinitive of another verb), tou me (3xx). Once tou without a negation precedes an infinitive (Ma 3.10).

[268] It is not represented in G (11xx), either because the verse is a minus in G (8xx), or because the translators paraphrased or interpreted the text in such that it is not possible to discern an equivalent (3xx).

SUMMARY

'ên occurs 789xx in H, ranging from Is (91xx) to Ob and Ru (once each).[269] Its frequency varies from Qo (1.5%)[270] to Js (.05%).

It is rendered by ou [e] (515x = 72.5%), ou/me (105xx = 14.8%), ou huparxw (27xx), oudeis (22xx), alpha privative (17xx), ou exw (15xx), oudeis [e] (5xx), and ou heuriskw (4xx). Five other renderings are limited to two books ("shared" renderings).[271] Twenty-five renderings are unique, each occurring only once (3.5%). When [e] occurs in a rendering of 'ên it is usually

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[269]It does not occur in Jn.

[270]Cf. on yesh (above), which is also most frequent in Qo.

[271]alpha private [e] (Jb 22.5; Pr 30.27), aneu (Ex 21.11; Am 3.5), ou me huparxw (Ps 59.14; Pr 29.18), ouketi (Ex 5.10; Is 23.10), and ouketi [e] (Ek 27.36; Jb 7.21; 23.8).

present tense.[272]

Five books use only ou [e] to represent 'ên: C1 (9xx), Na (7xx), Ez (4xx), and Ob and Ru (once each). Only one never uses ou [e]: Hg (5xx).

The frequency of ou [e], the usual rendering, ranges widely: from 100% in C1 (9xx), Na (7xx), and Ez (4xx)[273] to Ma (20%), Pr (16.2%), and Hg (0/5xx).[274]

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[272]The following forms and tenses of eimi represent 'ên, with various forms (ou, me, oudeis, etc.; 528xx):

Forms of eimi Used to Render 'ên				
Mood, Person, & Number	Tense			Totals
	Present	Imperfect	Future	
Indicative				
3spi	304	104	34	542
3ppi	16	5		21
1spi	3			3
2spi	2		1	3
Subjunctive		*	*	
3sps	12			12
3pps	2			2
Participle	9	*		9
Infinitive	10	*		10
Totals	325	109	35	
Percent	70.4%	21.6%	6.9%	
* These forms do not exist in Greek				

The present was the preferred tense used to represent 'ên, which suggests that the translators recognized in the function of 'ên the same present aspect seen in 'ayyeh and yesh (above).

[273]In addition, Ob and Ru, where 'ên occurs only once, use ou [e].

Some books can be grouped regarding their consistency: Jg - K2 are all well above the average (80% - 95.5%), as are Ez - C2 (90% - 100%). Gn, Lv, Nu, Is, Jr, on the other hand, all hover near the average.[275] Qo, in which 'ên is most frequent, is quite consistent (93.2%), using only ou [e] and, in three participial clauses, ou. The variation within MP[276] is again striking,[277] ranging from 100% in Na (7xx) to 0% in Hg (5xx).

That the translators understood 'ên to convey not merely negation, but negative predication,[278] can be seen in their use of ou [e] to represent it, rather than simple ou (or me).

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[274]Other books with the usual rendering in fewer than half of its occurrences are Ex (9/22xx = 40.9%) and Es (2/8xx = 25%). ou [e] represents only 33% of the occurrences of 'ên in Jl (1/3xx).

[275]The range within the Pentateuch is noticeable: Dt (80%) vs. Ex (40.9%).

[276]ou [e] in MP = 57.1%, below the average for G as a whole.

[277]See the excursus "Is MP a Translation Unit?" in the Conclusion (below).

[278]Which I suggested as a more proper understanding of its function (above).

TABLES AND GRAPHS

Chart 4.1 Occurrences of 'ên			
Book	Words	'ên	
Gn	20613	37	0.179%
Ex	16713	22	0.132%
Lv	11950	21	0.176%
Nu	16408	19	0.116%
Dt	14294	30	0.210%
Js	10151	5	0.049%
Jg	9886	27	0.273%
S1	13264	33	0.249%
S2	11040	15	0.136%
K1	13140	25	0.190%
K2	12284	20	0.163%
Is	16943	95	0.561%
Jr	21836	90	0.412%
Ek	18730	24	0.128%
Ho	2381	15	0.630%
Jl	957	3	0.313%
Am	2042	5	0.245%
Ob	299	1	0.334%
Jn	688	0	
Mi	1396	6	0.430%
Na	558	7	1.254%
Hb	671	3	0.447%
Zp	767	3	0.391%
Hg	600	5	0.833%
Zc	3128	4	0.128%
Ma	876	6	0.685%
MP	14363	58	0.404%
Ps	19587	71	0.362%
Jb	8351	38	0.455%
Pr	6915	39	0.564%
Ru	1296	1	0.077%
SS	1250	5	0.400%
Qo	2987	44	1.473%
La	1542	11	0.713%
Es	3045	10	0.328%
Da	5919	9	0.152%
Ez	3754	4	0.107%
Ne	5312	11	0.207%
C1	10746	9	0.084%
C2	13315	25	0.188%
TOTAL	305634	798	0.261%

Chart 4.1.1
'en: Occurrences

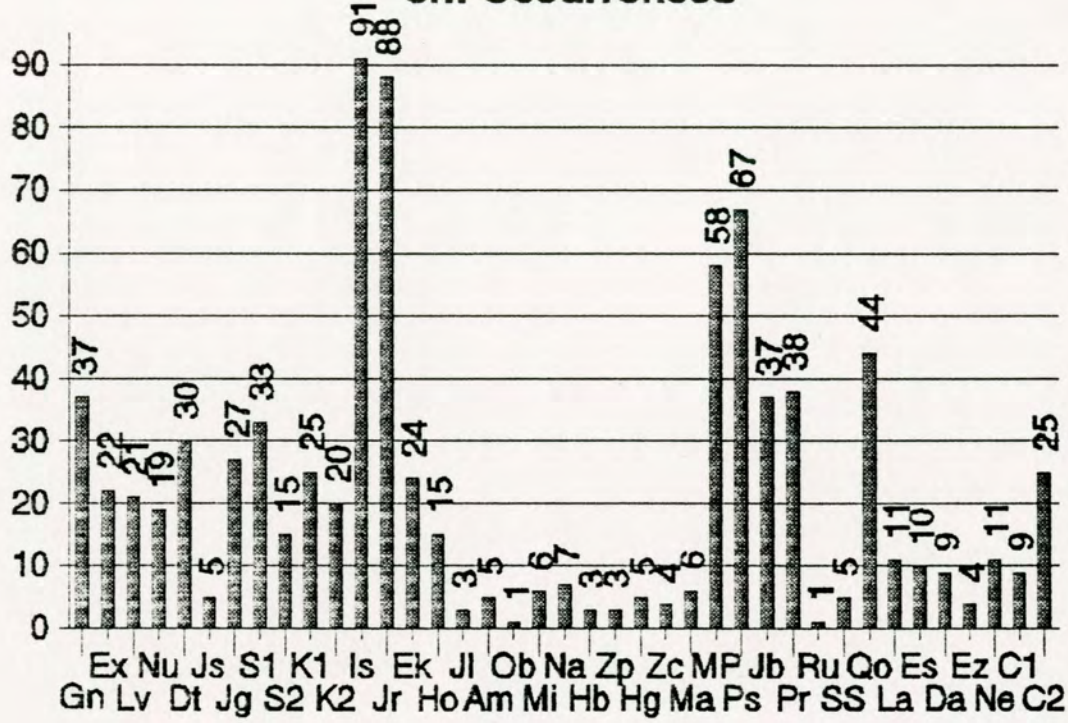


Chart 4.1.2
'en: Frequency

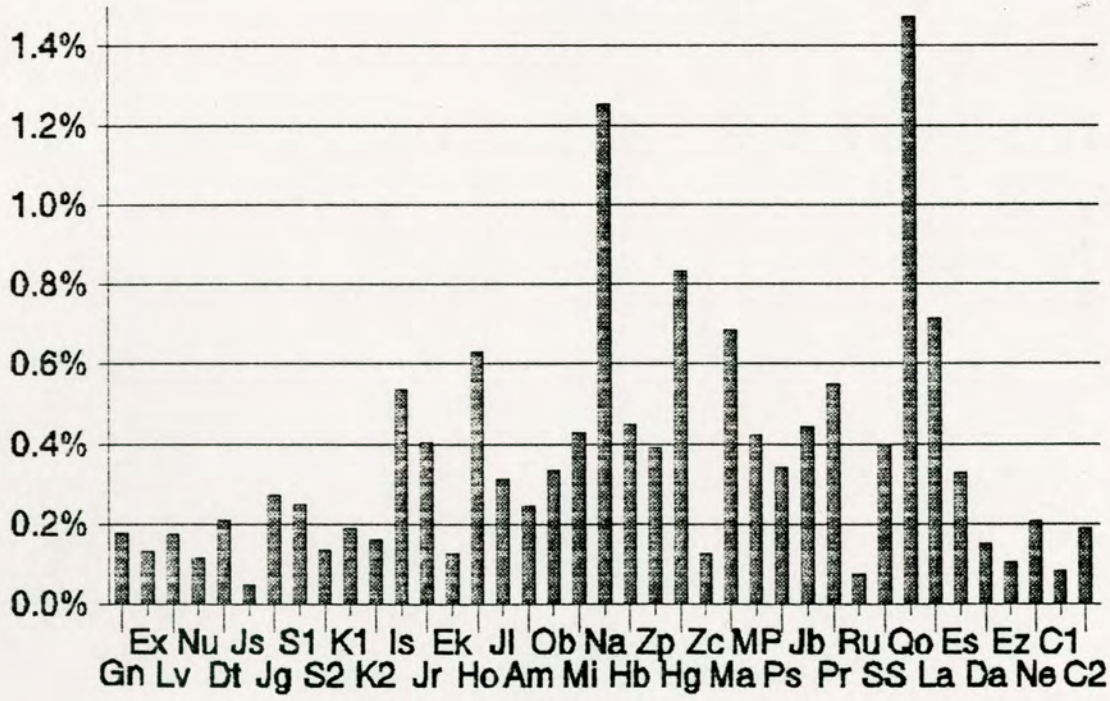


Chart 4.2 Renderings of 'ên

Book	'ên	Rep'd	Renderings 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	'ên < G 11	12	Total Other	ou [e] (%)
Gn	37	37	26	2	7			1	1						11	70.3%
Ex	22	22	9	2	8		1				2				13	40.9%
Lv	21	20	11		6		3							1	9	55.0%
Nu	19	19	13		3	1	1	1							6	68.4%
Dt	30	30	24		6										6	80.0%
Js	5	5	3		1		1								2	60.0%
Jg	27	27	22		4	1									5	81.5%
S1	33	32	28		2		1		1				1		4	87.5%
S2	15	15	12		2		1								3	80.0%
K1	25	22	21									1	3		1	95.5%
K2	20	18	15		3									2	3	83.3%
Is	91	84	57	1	10	1	7	4		1	1	1	3	4	26	67.9%
Jr	88	77	51	4	14					1		7	9	2	26	66.2%
Ek	24	24	12	2	6			1			1	2			12	50.0%
Ho	15	15	10		2			2		1					5	66.7%
Jl	3	3	1	1						1					2	33.3%
Am	5	5	3					1			1				2	60.0%
Ob	1	1	1													100.0%
Jn	0	0														---
Mi	6	6	4	2											2	66.7%
Na	7	7	7													100.0%
Hb	3	3	2	1											1	66.7%
Zp	3	2	1		1									1	1	50.0%
Hg	5	5		1	4										5	0.0%
Zc	4	4	2	1				1							2	50.0%
Ma	6	5	1		4									1	4	20.0%
MP	58	56	32	6	11			4		2	1			2	24	57.1%
Ps	67	67	51	5	4		1	1	1	1	1	2			16	76.1%
Jb	37	30	17		3		1			2	3	4	4	3	13	56.7%
Pr	38	37	6	2	7		4	1	1	8	2	6	2		31	16.2%
Ru	1	1	1													100.0%
SS	5	5	4					1							1	80.0%
Qo	44	44	41		2		1								3	93.2%
La	11	11	8	3											3	72.7%
Es	10	8	2		5							1	1	1	6	25.0%
Da	9	9	5		1	2				1					4	55.6%
Ez	4	4	4													100.0%
Ne	11	10	9					1						1	1	90.0%
C1	9	9	9													100.0%
C2	25	23	22		1									2	2	95.6%
TTL	786	710	515	27	105	5	22	15	4	16	11	24	23	18	231	67.0%
Percent		90.3%	72.5%	3.8%	14.8%	0.7%	3.1%	2.1%	0.6%	2.3%	1.5%	3.5	3.2%	2.4%	32.5%	

KEY TO RENDERINGS	
1 ou [e]	7 ou heuriskw
2 ou huparxw	8 a- privative
3 ou	9 Shared (2 bks)
4 oudeis [e]	10 Unique
5 oudeis	11 < G
6 ou exw	12 --- ('ên not rep'd)

Chart 4.2.1.

'en: Summary of Renderings

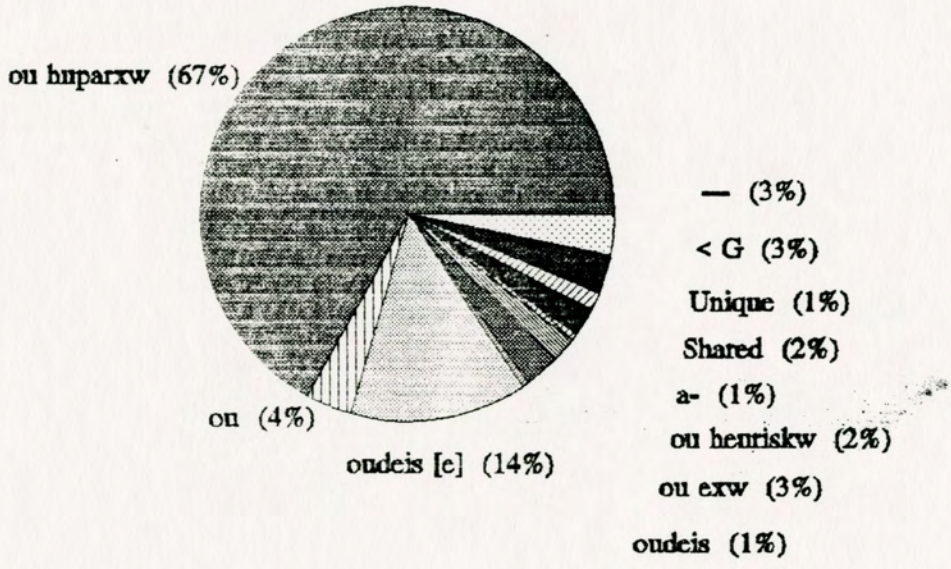


Chart 4.2.2

'en: ou eimi & Other Renderings

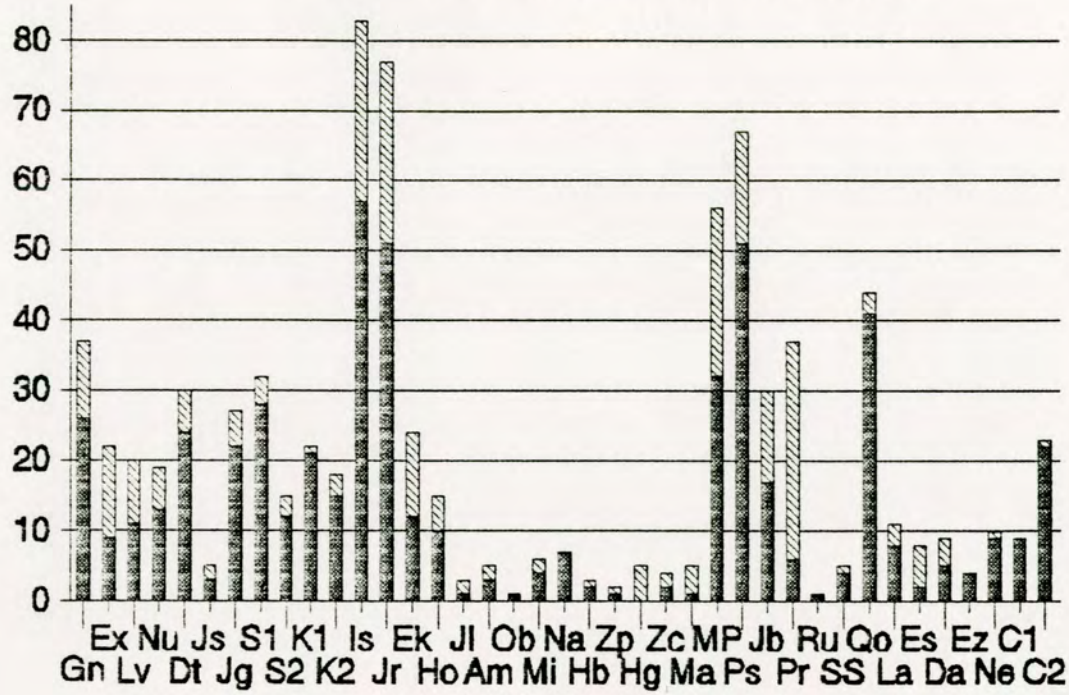
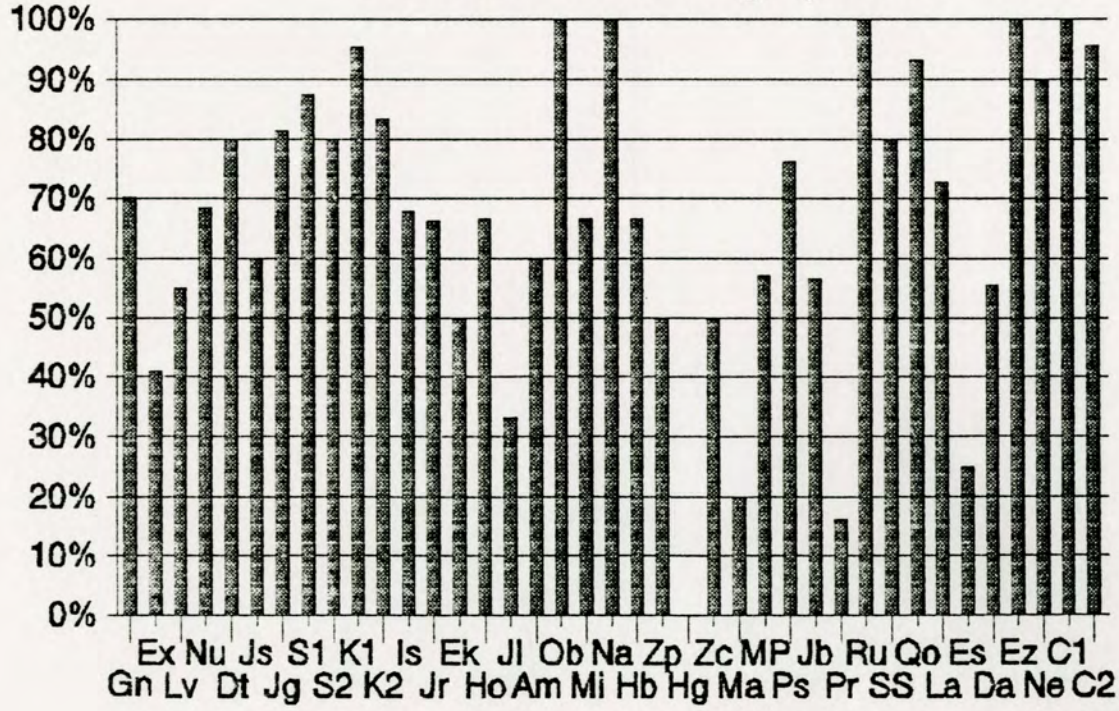


Chart 4.2.3

'en: Usual Rendering by Book



Chapter Five: hinneh

hinneh[1] is both the most frequent of the words studied in this dissertation[2] and the most frequently studied.[3]

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[1]On the etymology of hinneh, C. J. Labuschagne says that "hinneh is nothing but an extended form of hen, which seems to have won greater popularity than the original form". He adds that

> "they are etymologically related with other original deictic forms in Hebrew, such as the definite article, the interrogative particle, and with the conjunction 'im, and with Ugaritic hn and hm, Phoenician hn and 'm, Canaanite annu, and Arabic 'inna and 'in" ("The Particles hen and hinneh" OTS 18 (1973):1-14):3).

Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS AND STRUCTURES, also says that "no legitimate doubt can be raised as to the etymological relationship between [hen and hinneh] and the corresponding Arabic 'inna, ..." (137).

Brockelmann adds he' to the cognates of hinneh (SYNTAX, §4). For further on the etymology of hen and hinneh cf. the lexica, ad loc.

Schenkel argues on the basis of a syntagmatic analysis of the clauses in which some [Egyptian] particles occur that they developed from full verbs to semi-verb/imperatives to particles, or from full nouns to semi-nouns to particles ("Semiverb", 32-34). This is not unlike the Hebrew lexica which tend to posit development of hinneh (and other forms, e.g. yesh, 'ên, `ôd) from substantive to particle. This reasoning, however, assumes the historical and functional priority of verbs and nouns ("full words"--see the Introduction, above), and obscures or ignores the importance (and indispensability) of particles in discourse.

[2]1063xx--the lexica and concordances disagree. Only 46 words of the biblical vocabulary (approximately 10,000) occur more frequently.

In light of this concentration of effort it is surprising that there is not more agreement on its function in H.[4]

FUNCTION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

There are two main views of the function of hinneh: that it is syntagmatic (i.e., as a syntactically significant element of the clause), and that it is supra-syntagmatic

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[3]Cf., i.a., Luis Alonso-Schokel, "Nota Estilistica Sobre la Particula hinneh" BIB 37 (1956):74-80; Andersen, THE SENTENCE (94f, 115); Joshua Blau, "Adverbia als psychologisch und grammatische Subjekt/Praedikate im Bibelhebraeische" VT 9 (1959):130-37; _____, AN ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTION IN HEBREW AND ARAMAIC: SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN FRONTAL POSITION SEPARATED FROM THE REST OF THE SENTENCE. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES, VI 1 (Jerusalem: Central Press, 1977):5-11; P. Humbert, "Die Herausforderungsformel hinnenî eleka"; _____, "La formule hébraique en hinnenî suivi d'un participe". OPUSCULES D'UN HéBRäISANT, (Neuchatel, 1958):44-53; 54-59; Simcha Kogut, "On the Meaning and Syntactical Status of hinneh in Biblical Hebrew" STUDIES IN BIBLE, SCRIPTA HIEROSOLYMITANA, edited by Sara Japhet, 31 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986):133-54; C. J. Labuschagne, "The Particles hen and hinneh"; Burke O. Long, "Reports of Visions Among the Prophets" JBL 95 (1976):353-65; Dennis J. McCarthy, "The Uses of w^{e}hinneh in Biblical Hebrew" BIB 61 (1980):330-42; Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS AND STRUCTURES (137f). K. Oberhuber "Zur Syntax des Richterbuches", VT 3 (1953):§§5-20. Cf. also the lexica, especially the bibliography in KBL^{3}.

[4]hinneh is indeed an example of a "Pesky Little Particle", a problem "widespread in linguistic analysis":

> Most languages have particles whose use seems to be related to gluing the parts of discourses together but which are never easy to pin down.

Joseph Grimes, THE THREAD OF DISCOURSE, JANUA LINGUARUM SERIES MINOR, 207 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975):93.

(i.e., it is outside that syntax, and does not affect or relate to it).

hinneh as Supra-syntagmatic

The view that hinneh is primarily supra-syntagmatic embraces three more specific explanations. hinneh has traditionally[5] been interpreted as a deictic or demonstrative interjection of surprise,[6] excitement, or exclamation[7] translated "Behold!", "See!", or the like:

> ... the primary function of [hen and hinneh] lies in indicating that the speaker or the writer wants to draw the special attention of the hearer or reader respectively to a fact or object which can be said to be important, new, unexpected, etc.[8]

There is still general agreement that its main function

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[5]That this tradition is being discarded may be seen by comparing nearly any new grammar with those of even the past generation, or any modern translation of H with older versions. [Comparison of modern translations also reveals little or no agreement on how to represent hinneh either in general or in particular passages.]

[6]Cf. Andersen: "As a kind of exclamation, hinneh ... is clause-initial and, when it is not primarily the predicator in a declarative clause, is grammatically attached to the following text in only a loose way" (SENTENCE (115)).

[7]"... on emploie pour renforcer l'affirmation l'adverbe démonstratif hinneh (hen) voici ..." (Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (502; §164a)).

[8]Muraoka, EMPHATIC WORDS AND STRUCTURES (138).

is deictic, although few if any would say today that this is its only function.[9]

This function is conceded in passing by others, who go on to argue for less common functions of hinneh, e.g., Labuschagne, who says:

> [hen and hinneh] are first and foremost demonstrative particles. This does not mean, hoever, that these particles have always retained their original and primary function as deictic interjections ...[10]

Long, analyzing the reports of prophetic visions or oracles, labels w^{e}hinneh the "transition" from the "Announcement of the Vision" to the "Vision Sequence".[11] This is closely related to its demonstrative or deictic function, since:

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[9]Cf., i.al., Brockelmann, SYNTAX: "Diese Interjektionen dienen dann weiter nur dzu, die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine Person oder Sache zu lenken ..." (§4); Blau, GRAMMAR, calls hinneh [one of several words which may be used as] a "presentative" (§103), a term used also by Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION (§40.2a).

[10]Labuschagne, "hen and hinneh" (1). He goes on to argue that hinneh became the equivalent of a conjunction, with temporal, conditional, and concessive functions (cf., e.g., Lambdin's approach, below).
McCarthy concedes this "ordinary deictic use and the use with verbs of perception", denies emphatically that w^{e}hinneh ever "declines to the level of a mere connective", then goes on to list six other functions, which are the actual focus of his article ("Uses of w^{e}hinneh", 330f).
Cf. Joüon, GRAMMAIRE: "Pour attirer l'attention on emploie l'adverbe hinneh voici, ..." (§105d).

[11]Long, "Reports" (355). Andersen foreshadows this: "the abundant use of w^{e}hinneh clauses is thus a feature of dream reports in classical Hebrew" (SENTENCE, 95), but does not further study this use.

> Often, hinneh denotes a shift in scenes in the midst of a longer vision-sequence, . . . the particle probably conveys the sense of immediacy in the perception.[12]

This "transitional" use is in turn not far removed from Adele Berlin's description of its discourse function[13] as "one of the clearest indicators of point of view".[14] w^{e}hinneh puts the reader in the eyes of the narrator, and so indicates the shift in the narrative.[15] Andersen refers to this as "suprise", although it more frequently entails a shift of attention rather than emotional surprise:

> ... that something comes into the view of one of the participants, is prominent in the commonest idiom in which a w^{e}hinneh clause is used--wayyar' w^{e}hinneh..., and he he looked, and behold ... It is this feature of the unexpected that we

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[12]Long, "Reports" (356).

[13]Wolfgang Schneider calls hinneh one of several "macrosyntactic signs" in H--discourse devices that "bind together the sentences constituting a larger span of text". [w^{e}]hinneh can be either an "introductory or transitional signal[s] in dialogue" (GRAMMATIK DES BIBLISCHES HEBRÄISCH (Munich: Claudius, 1974):261); cited in Waltke and O'Connor, BIBLICAL HEBREW SYNTAX (634; §381e).

[14]Adele Berlin, POETICS AND INTERPRETATION OF BIBLICAL NARRATIVE; BIBLE AND LITERATURE SERIES, 9 (Sheffield, Almond, 1983; reprinted 1987):91-95 (cf. 62f).

[15]Although I would not say that hinneh and w^{e}hinneh function as different "words", there is a general uniformity to the contexts of w^{e}hinneh that is somewhat distinct from those of hinneh.

describe as "surprise" in such clauses.[16]

The third supra-syntagmatic explanation of hinneh limits its function to introducing content-clauses as a synonym of r^{e}'eh[17] and kî (when kî introduces the content of direct or indirect discourse):[18]

> wayyar' ya`^{a}qôb 'et-p^{e}nê laban w^{e}hinneh 'ênnenû lamô kit^{e}môl shilshom Gn 31.2
> Jacob noticed Laban's attitude--that he was no longer [pleased with] him as previously.
>
> wayyo'mer lahen ro'eh 'anokî 'et-p^{e}nê '^{a}bîken kî 'ênennû 'elay kit^{e}môl shilshom Gn 31.5
> He said to them, "I have noticed your father's attitude--that he is no longer [pleased with] me as previously."

Although these, especially that posited by Berlin, appear to be genuine functions of hinneh, it is difficult to justify limiting it to the rôle of inter-clausal connector, or to say, as does Kogut, that "hinneh is not to be regarded as part of [the sentence

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[16]Andersen, SENTENCE (94).

[17]Kogut, "Meaning and Function": "... the meaning of the imperative of the verb ra'ah was absorbed by hinneh when it introduces direct speech" (152). Cf. the discussion of r^{e}'eh as a synonym of hinneh (below).

[18]She posits the development of this function from hinneh's use in increasingly shortened formulae, beginning with wayyar' 'et `ênayw wayyere' w^{e}hinneh ... and ending with simply w^{e}hinneh.

In comparing Lv 13.32 and 51 Kogut further notes that "w^{e}hinneh is paralleled by kî". Since "one of the functions of kî is to introduce content clauses" she concludes that "... this is also the [sic] function of hinneh" (Kogut, "Meaning and Function" (147f)).

or clause]",[19] since to say that hinneh has discourse function does not necessarily entail denying it a syntagmatic rôle.

hinneh as Syntagmatic

The other primary characterization is that of hinneh as syntagmatic. This approach explains many of its occurrences as logical or connective. That is, hinneh "introduces a fact upon which a following statement or command is based";[20] [w^{e}]hinneh may function as a bridge between a verb [or context] of perception and the following clause of the content of that perception. They may both also function as logical connectors.[21]

This does not mean, however, that hinneh has one or two specific logical or connective meanings,[22] since it does not specify the nature of the inter-clausal

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[19]Kogut's identification of hinneh as a supra-syntagmatic element probably does not reflect Wolfgang Schneider's description of hinneh as a "macrosyntactic sign" (above).

Since Kogut rejects any function for hinneh other than to introduce content clauses (as a mere synonym of r^{e}'eh or kî), she appears to deny it any larger (macrosyntactic or discourse) rôle.

[20]Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (169; §135).

[21]Cf. Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION (§40.2a).

[22]The attempts to specify further the usage of hinneh yields diminishing returns, since the uses "discovered"--though real--are almost inevitably confined to a small number of occurrences.

relationship,[23] but it at least directs the reader to search out the connection to which it refers. Labuschagne argues for this function of hinneh, although he overstates the case for development of hinneh into a full conjunction:[24]

> Like the particles kî and 'im ... these particles were subjected to syntactic influences causing them to develop in the direction of full-grown conjunctions . . . both hen and hinneh came to be used to connect clauses and sentences in such a way that they served as conjunctions.[25]

Another (nearly adverbial) aspect of this syntagmatic use, especially when hinneh occurs in participial clauses, is suggested by Joüon:

> Le futur exprimé par le participe est ordinairement un futur prochain.

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[23]"... the deictic particle hinneh may conceal the logically subordinate relationship of the clauses which [it introduces]" (Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION (§38.1h)). Cf. Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (168; §135).

[24]Joshua Blau argues that [w^{e}]hinneh separates the adverbial--the "psychological subject"--from the rest of the sentence (Blau, AN ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTION (5-11; §1.4)), but it is difficult to understand in what sense the adverbials that he lists should be identified as the subjects of their clauses. Even if this is a proper explanation of this use of [w^{e}]hinneh, it is limited to only a few occurrences.

[25]Labuschagne, "hen and hinneh" (1). McCarthy, "Uses of w^{e}hinneh", denies emphatically that w^{e}hinneh ever "declines to the level of a mere connective" (330f), but his suggested functions often resemble those listed by Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (§135).

> La nuance de proximité est souvent accentuée par un hinneh ...[26]

This function seems especially prominent in announcements of divine intent to or through the prophets.[27]

The final aspect of its function is that hinneh, like the other words in this study, is a predicator of existence. Andersen implies that this is hinneh's major function:

> hinneh predicates present and local existence. . . . hinnenî means I'm here! rather than Look at me!.[28]

This is stated even more forcefully by Lambdin:[29]

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[26]Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (332; §119n). Cf. Lambdin, who says that "hinneh may also be used to add this same nuance [of immediacy] to sentences with adverbial, adjectival, or participial predicates" (Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (169; §135)).

[27]Cf. Long, "Reports" (above).

[28]Andersen, SENTENCE (94).

[29]This role, however, is explicitly and absolutely rejected by Kogut (even in one-member sentences) since, according to her interpretation of hinneh it is extra-clausal (above):

> One-member sentences often convey the existence of something, ... and always inherent in such statements of existence is a designation of place. These semantic components--existence and place--are present in one-member sentences whether hinneh precedes them or not. . . . Thus, it is not the word hinneh, which precedes these sentences, that expresses the fact of existence and place. On the contrary, it is the semantic components of existence and place inherent in one-member

> The clearest and most basic use of hinneh is as a predicator of existence. It differs from yesh in that it emphasizes the immediacy, the here-and-now-ness, of the situation.[30]

Thus these two functions--supra-syntagmatic and syntagmatic co-exist within the same form. Without evidence more certain than we have we cannot know in which direction, if either, the function of hinneh developed.

> sentences that came to influence our understanding of hinneh.

Kogut, "Meaning and Status" (142).

[30]Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (§135). As noted above, however, yesh often connotes the same "here-and-now-ness" (cf. Joüon on hinneh in participial clauses (above)).

hinneh WITH PRONOMINALS

hinneh occurs with both suffixed[31] and independent pronominal subjects.[32] Independent pronouns precede or follow hinneh, and even occur when hinneh also has a suffix.[33] Although Lambdin says that in its function as a predicator of existence "inflected forms are

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[31]"The explanation of these suffixes as verbal suffixes, ... is questionable" (GKC, §100o). This does not disagree in essence with Bauer-Leander, HISTORISCHE GRAMMATIK:

> "hinn^{e}nî = arab. 'innanî, in Proto-Semitic n was inserted in order to avoid the hiatus between the particle, *hinna or *'inna and the suffix, i.e., the particle took the object suffix -nî" (§83.2),

since morphology (the "object suffix") does not determine function.

[32]I have found at least 68 passages in which hinneh is followed immediately by an independent pronoun, pace Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION, who say that hinneh precedes a personal pronoun only when it also has a pronominal suffix (§16.3.5b).

"Sometimes, ... the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple hinneh takes the place of the subject and copula (as Gn 18.9 hinneh ba'ohel "behold she is in the tent"), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to hinneh with the suffix, as in the frequent use of hinnenî, hinnennî "here am I", in answer to an address" (GKC, §147b).

"Le sujet est souvent omis après l'adverbe démonstratif hinneh, qui montre suffisamment le sujet" (Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (§146h).

The syntagms with personal pronouns include: w^{e}+[pronoun] hinneh+suffix [participle] (Gn 6.17; 9.9; Ex 14.17; Jr 26.14); w^{e}+[pronoun] hinneh (Jr 40.10); hinneh+suffix [pronoun] (Ek 34.11, 20); hinneh+suffix [participle] [pronoun] (C1 11.25).

[33]"The subject of hinneh as predicator can be a free-form pronoun or noun, and in either case a concordant subject pronoun suffix is optional, not obligatory ..." (Andersen, SENTENCE, 94).

common",[34] the inflected forms are most common when hinneh is used in participial clauses[35]--the suffix indicates the person, gender, and number of the subject of the participle.[36]

The occurrence of independent pronouns with hinneh also sets it off from the other predicators of existence (above).[37]

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[34]Lambdin, INTRODUCTION (168; §135).

[35]"Le pronom sujet est parfois omis dans une proposition participiale, notamment après hinneh ..." (Joüon, GRAMMAIRE (466; §154c)).

P. Humbert ("La formule hébraique en hinnenî suivi d'un participe", OPUSCULES D'UN HéBRäISANT (Neuchatel, 1958):54-59)) notes that this combination (125xx) usually precedes a hiphil or [transitive] qal participle, that "dans 85 passages sur 125 la formule introduit nettement une menace" (56; emphasis original), and that it "sert essentiellement à introduire des actes dont Dieu est l'auteur, ..., actes dont la particule hinneh souligne en général l'imminence." He adds that "la formule est employée essentiellement dans des oracles rendus par la divinité qui annonce ainsi son intervention soudaine, imminente et active" (57).

Cf. id., "Die Herausforderungsformel hinnenî eleka" ZAW (1933):101-8; reprinted in id. (44-53). for a discussion of the special uses of this formula.

[36]It is difficult to reconcile this with the statement that "... attached to a verb, 'et, or hinneh, [pronominal suffixes] are in the accusative function" (Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION (§16.4c)).

Cf. Gesenius: "The demonstrative particle hen, hinneh en, ecce may be used either absolutely (as a kind of interjection, ...) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, ... or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix" (GRAMMAR (469; §147b, cf. §100o)).

[37]Cf. Humbert, "La formule", who says that hin^{e}nî '^{a}nî or 'anokî followed by a participle is "une simple variante de la tournure en hin^{e}nî, variante destinée sans doute à faire ressortir au moyen du pronom isolé 'anokî ou '^{a}nî la personne même du sujet" (59).

SUMMARY

Unfortunately, we cannot determine the diachronic development of hinneh's function in H, although we can say with certainty that hinneh functions in all three of these ways throughout the biblical books, and even that its function as a predicator of existence may be anterior to the others.

Without further evidence, however, its development from a predicator of existence to a connective to a presentative (or vice versa)[38] cannot be proved and must remain the subject of further study.[39]

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[38]"Other [interjections], however, originally expressed independent ideas, and become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e.g. ... hinneh behold! (prop. here) ..." (Gesenius, GRAMMAR (307; §105b)).

[39]The approach suggested by Grimes that we note the syntactical and discourse cotext of hinneh may prove the most useful in the long run (THREAD OF DISCOURSE (93)).

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

USUAL RENDERING

hinneh is usually represented by idou (797xx = 84%).[40] No other rendering represents even 2% of its occurrences.[41] Seventeen passages contain renderings common to only two books;[42] there are twenty-nine unique renderings.[43] hinneh is not represented in G in 90 passages (9%).[44]

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[40]idou is 2s second aorist imperative of horaw.

[41]Each of the following renderings occurs in at least three books: ei/ean (18xx = 1.8%), idou [e] (16xx = 1.6%), [e] (12xx = 1.2%), hoti (11xx = 1.1%), hode (10xx = 9.9%), houtos/ekeinos [e] (7xx = .7%), nun, idou de, and tí [e] (each 5xx = .5%), idou houtos (3xx = .3%), and ginomai (4xx = .4%).

[42]alla (Is 5.7b; Jb 3.7), de (Is 5.7a; Jb 5.17; 32.19), exw (Gn 8.11; Is 62.11c), horaw (Gn 24.63; 26.8; 37.29; 40.6; Ex 2.13), hwde (Jg 19.9b; S1 20.21b; 20.22), pareimi (Is 52.6; Ps 139.8).

[43]Twenty-four renderings occur only once. Five renderings represent fourteen occurrences of hinneh--these are limited to Gn; I therefore classify them as unique: epeide (Gn 18.31; 19.19), euthus (Gn 15.4; 24.45; 38.29), hode [e] (Gn 25.24; 38.27), hwsper (Gn 37.9b; 41.18, 22), oiomai (Gn 37.7a; 40.16; 41.1; 41.17).

[44]In twenty-four texts all or part of the verse (vs. one word) is lacking in G; in sixty-six passages hinneh is not represented.

Taking into account the various demonstrative and emphatic particles used in G to represent hinneh, it is clear that the translators viewed deixis as hinneh's primary function.[45] The source of idou as a rendering of hinneh is unclear,[46] although its meaning is not.

It is, however, clear that once idou was established as the normative rendering of hinneh, it was used fairly consistently throughout G--so consistently, in fact, that in only three books it represents hinneh in fewer than one-half of its occurrences.[47]

RENDERINGS OF HINNEH IN G

hinneh occurs 119xx in Genesis, where it is represented by idou (66xx),[48] [e] (5xx), horaw and oiomai (4xx each), tì [e], hwsper, and euthus (3xx each), as well as

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[45]The overall frequency of these renderings is approximately 85%.

[46]idou did not occur as a particle before G (which, regardless of its syntactical function, it must be considered in and after G). E.g., Denniston does not mention it in his study of the particles of Classical Greek (J. D. Denniston, THE GREEK PARTICLES (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934; second edition, 1978)).

[47]SS (4/9xx = 44%), Hb (1/4xx = 25%), Hg (0/1xx).

[48]This does not include four occurrences in which idou appears with other forms: idou [e] (2xx), idou hwsper and idou houtos (once each).
This figure does include one occurrence of ide (Gn 27.6).

by ten other forms which once[49] or twice[50] each. It is lacking in G 14xx.[51]

The deictic function of hinneh, clearly seen in Gn 12.19, where Pharaoh upbraids Abram for his lie concerning Sarai, is reflected in the G plus (enantion sou):[52]

> w^{e}`attah hinneh 'isht^{e}ka qax walek Gn 12.19
> kai nun idou he gune sou enantion sou; labwn apotrexe.

Although idou represents hinneh in Gn 42.22 the sentence has been arranged so that idou is fronted, rather than following its proleptic subject:

> w^{e}gam-damô hinneh nidrash Gn 42.22
> kai idou to haima autou ekzeteitai.

idou again represents hinneh in Gn 42.28, where an

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[49]Renderings that occur once in Gn: exw, houtos [e], and the conjunctions nun, ara ge, and men.

[50]Renderings used twice in Gn: hode [e], hode, epeide, and hoti.

[51]11xx due to translation technique (Gn 12.11; 15.3; 18.10; 24.30; 27.36; 28.13; 37.7b, c, 15; 41.3; 41.23); 3xx because either the clause or verse in which it occurs are minuses in G (Gn 31.51a, b; 50.5).

[52]Although enantion sou may represent l^{e}phaneka which became a minus in H due to homoioarchton.

In Gn enantion (76xx) usually represents either liph^{e}nê (33xx) or b^{e}`ênê (29xx), although it also represents l$^{e}$`ênê (4xx), neged (3xx), l^{e}- (2xx), and (once each) 'et-p^{e}nê, p^{e}nê, and b^{e}'oznê. Twice it appears to be a G plus.

original pronoun (hû') may have fallen out by homoioarchton:[53]

> w^{e}gam hinneh b^{e}'amtaxtî Gn 42.28
> kai idou touto en tw marsippw mou.

ide occurs as a variant of idou in Rebekkah's instructions in Jacob:

> hinneh shama`tî 'et-'abîka m$^{e}$dabber 'el-`esaw
> 'axîka Gn 27.6
> ide egw ekousa tou patros sou lalountos pros
> Esau ton adelphon sou

idou [e] represents hinneh in Gn 47.1, where Joseph reports to Pharaoh that his family has arrived:

> 'abî w^{e}'axay ... ba'û me'erets k^{e}na'an
> w^{e}hinnam b^{e}'erets goshen Gn 47.1
> ho pater mou kai hoi adelphoi mou ... elthon
> ek ges Xanaan, kai idou eisin en ge Gesem.

houtos [e], connoting the deictic function hinneh, represents its second occurrence in Gn 20.16, and contrasts with idou in the first clause:[54]

> ûl^{e}sarah 'amar hinneh natattî 'eleph keseph
> l^{e}'axîk hinneh hû'-lak k^{e}sût `ênayim Gn 20.16
> te de Sarra eipen Idou dedwka xilia didraxma
> tw adelphw sou; tauta estai soi eis timen tou
> proswpou sou

In two parallel passages, Gn 25.24 and 38.27, tede

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[53]Although it is not unreasonable that idou touto represents hinneh or, conversely, that touto reflects the preceding gam.

[54]This may reflect, at least in this verse, the respective verbal and non-verbal nature of these clauses.

(ho + de) [e] corresponds to hinneh--a rendering semantically identical to houtos with [e]:[55]

> wayyiml^{e}'û yameyha laledet w^{e}hinneh tômim b^{e}biTnaH Gn 25.24
> kai eplerwthesan hai hemerai tou tekein auten, kai tede en diduma en te koilia autes.
>
> wayhî b^{e}`et lidtaH w^{e}hinneh t^{e}'ômîm b^{e}biTnaH Gn 38.27
> egeneto de henika etikten, kai tede en diduma en te gastri autes.

hode also represents hinneh in its final occurrence in Gn (50.18), where Joseph's brothers, fearing for their lives now that their father is dead, tell Joseph:

> wayyel^{e}kû gam-'exayw wayyipp^{e}lû l^{e}phanayw wayyo'm^{e}rû hinnennû lka la`^{a}badîm Gn 50.18
> kai elthontes pros auton eipan hoide hemeis soi oidetai.

[e] represents hinneh 5xx in Gn. Gn 40.9, where w^{e}hinneh points (somewhat awkwardly)[56] to the main theme of the chief cupbearer's dream, is a sterling example of the predicatory function of hinneh:

> wayyo'mer lô bax^{a}lômî w^{e}hinneh-gephen l^{e}phanay Gn 40.9
> kai eipen En tw hupnw mou en ampelos enantion mou;[57]

In Gn 6.12 hinneh is followed by a participle; the

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[55]Cf. tode alone in Gn 43.21 (below).

[56]I.e., without an introductory formula.

[57]The same function and rendering occurs in Gn 41.7, where Pharaoh awakes to find that what he had seen was [only?] a dream:

> wayyîqats par`oh w^{e}hinneh x^{a}lôm Gn 41.7
> egerthe de Pharaw, kai en enupnion.

combination is represented by [e], corresponding to hinneh, and a (predicate) adjectival participle:

> wayyar' 'elohîm 'et-ha'arets wehinneh nishxatah — Gn 6.12
> kai eiden kurios ho theos ten gen, kai en katephtharmene

The syntax of Gn 42.35 is somewhat unusual, 'îsh being used to represent the distribution of the sacks among Joseph's brothers; again [e] represents hinneh, but here it appears that idou would much better have represented the force and function of hinneh:[58]

> wayhî hem merîqîm saqqêhem wehinneh-'îsh tserôr-kaspô besaqqô — Gn 42.35
> egeneto de en tw katakenoun autous tous sakkous autwn kai en hekastou ho desmos tou arguiou en tw sakkw autwn;

In Gn 19.8 [e] (with a dative pronoun) corresponds to hinneh (followed by le-), a not infrequent rendering of this idiom of possession:

> hinneh-na' lî shtê banôt ... — Gn 19.8
> eisin de moi duo thugateres, ...

wehinneh is represented by horaw in several passages, the first when Isaac looks up from his walk in the field:

> wehinneh gemallîm ba'îm — Gn 24.63
> eiden kamelous erxomenas

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[58]When the brothers report this incident to their father, using nearly the same words (with slightly different syntax), hinneh is rendered by tode:

> wehinneh keseph-'îsh bephî 'amtaxtô — Gn 43.21
> kai tode to argurion hekastou en tw marsippw autou

In Gn 26.8 the first clause is participially subordinated to the hinneh-clause; hinneh, represented by eiden, is treated as the leading verb:

> wayyashqeph 'abîmelek melek pelishtîm be`ad haxallôn wayyar' wehinneh yitsxaq metsaxeq 'et ribqah 'ishtô Gn 26.8
> parakupsas de Abimelex ho basileus Gerarwn dia tes thuridos eiden ton Isaak paizonta meta hRebekkas tes gunaikos autou.

The translator again used horaw for hinneh in Gn 40.6, where both the hinneh-clause and its participial predicate appear as independent clauses--the participle being rendered by [e] with a [predicate] adjectival participle:

> wayyabo' 'alêhem yôseph babboqer wayyar' 'otam wehinneh zo`aphîm Gn 40.6
> eiselthen de pros autous Iwseph to prwi, kai eiden autous, kai esan tetaragmenoi.

In a rendering that is similar, although highly paraphrastic, wehinneh 'ên is represented by oux horaw:

> wayyashab re'ûben 'el-habbôr wehinneh 'ên-yôseph babbôr Gn 37.29
> anestrepsen de Rouben epi ton lakkon kai oux hora ton Iwseph en tw lakkw

In Gn 8.11 the translator rendered hinneh idiomatically with kai exw, reflecting the essence of H:

> wehinneh `aleh Taraph bephîha Gn 8.11
> kai eixen phullon elaias karphos en tw stomati autes

In another idiomatic rendering the translator used hoti for hinneh to introduce indirect (8.13) or direct (48.1) "discourse":

wayyar' w^{e}hinneh xar^{e}bû p^{e}nê ha'^{a}damah Gn 8.13
kai eiden hoti ecelipen to hudwr apo proswpou tes ges.[59]

wayyo'mer l^{e}yôseph hinneh 'abîka xoleh Gn 48.1
kai aneggele tw Iwseph hoti ho pater sou enoxleitai.[60]

euthus represents hinneh (3xx) to emphasize the immediate consecution of two events. In Gn 15.4 the translator emphasizes YHWH's immediate correction (and implicit rebuke) of Abram's statement:

w^{e}hinneh d^{e}bar-YHWH 'êlayw le'mor Gn 15.4
kai euthus phwne theou egeneto pros auton legwn[61]

The same reasoning probably underlies the use of euthus for hinneh in Gn 24.45, where Abraham's servant, recounting his meeting with Rebekah, highlights the

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[59]Although the meaning is the same, G uses to hudwr as the subject, rather than p^{e}nê ha'^{a}damah. H: "He looked and the face of the ground was dried up"; G: "He saw that the water had left the face of the earth."
ekleipw represents xareb only here (twice) and Is 19.5 (referring to a drought in Egypt that will even dry up the Nile).

[60]In the next verse, however, hinneh in the same syntagm appears as idou:
wayyagged l^{e}ya`^{a}qob wayyo'mer hinneh binka yôseph ba' 'eleyka Gn 48.2
apeggele de tw Iakwb legontes Idou ho huios sou Iwseph erxetai pros se.
This sequence points to an idiomatic translation style far removed from a concordantial approach based on a philosophy of exact correspondence.

[61]egeneto may also reflect the predicative function of hinneh, although its location seems to stress the "movement" of the Word of YHWH from God to Abram, rather than its presence.

immediacy of her entrance before he could finish praying:[62]

> 'anî Terem 'akalleh ledabber 'el-libbî
> wehinneh ribqah yotse't ... Gn 24.45
> kai egeneto pro tou suntelesai me lalounta en
> te dianoia euthus hRebekka eceporeueto ...

nun represents hinneh[63] in Gn 18.27 and epeide in 18.31, although the clauses are identical in H. epeide, at least, captures the nuance of "Since ...":[64]

> hinneh-na' hô'altî ledabber 'el-'adonay
> Gn 18.27
> Nun ercamen lalesai pros ton kurion,
> Epeide exw lalesai pros ton kurion, Gn 18.31

In Gn 22.7 the translator represented Abraham's response to Isaac with tì estin,[65] perhaps to distinguish Abraham's response to God from that to his son:

> wayyo'mer yitsxaq 'el-'abraham 'abîw wayyo'mer
> 'abî wayyo'mer hinnennî benî wayyo'mer hinneh
> ha'esh weha`etsîm ... Gn 22.7 (twice)
> eipen de Isaak pros Abraam ton patera autou
> eipas Pater. ho de eipen Tì estin, teknon;
> legwn Idou to pur kai ta cula ...

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[62]Cf. also the birth of Perez (Gn 38.29), seen by the midwife as usurping his brother's position as first-born, where euthus renders hinneh.

[63]hinneh-na'.

[64]As it does also in Gn 19.19:
> hinneh-na' matsa' `abdeka xen be'êneyka
> Gn 19.19
> epeide heuren ho pais sou eleos enantion sou

[65]Rather than by idou egw, as in the preceding and following occurrences of hinneh (22.1, 11).

This explanation cannot apply, however, to Jacob's responses to either the angel (Gn 31.11) or to God (Gn 46.2), which may imply that the translator saw tì [e][66] as a normal answer to a summons.

wa'omar hinnenî — Gn 31.11
egw de eipa Tì estin?

wayyo'mer hinnenî — Gn 46.2
ho de eipen Tì estin?

In Gn 26.9, when Abimelek confronts Isaac with his discovery that he is married to Rebekkah, the translator represented 'ak hinneh[67] by interrogative ara ge,[68] so that Abimelek's charge ("She is actually your wife!") becomes a [rhetorical] question ("Is she actually your wife?"):[69]

wayyo'mer 'ak hinneh 'isht^{e}ka hiw' — Gn 26.9
kai eipen autw ara ge gune sou estin

idou represents hinneh's first occurrence and hwsper the second in Gn 37.9, Joseph's account of his second dream:

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[66]Note that estin is not inflected to reflect the [person of the] speaker.

[67]'ak (159xx) occurs with hinneh only here.

[68]It would be arbitrary to assign a particular correspondence between the elements of G and H.

[69]'ak in Gn (14xx) is rendered by adverbial monon (4xx), and once each by alla, hws, gar, eti, plen, epeide, hoti, and ara (this text); two occurrences are minuses in G.

hinneh xalamtî x^{a}lôm `ôd w$^{e}$hinneh hashshemesh w$^{e}$hayyare$^{a}$x w$^{e}$'axad `asar kôkabîm mishtax^{a}wîm lî Gn 37.9
Idou enupniasamen enupnion heteron, hwsper ho helios kai he selene kai hendeka asteres prosekunoun me.

Here hwsper must mean "in which..." or "namely (that) ...", since its usual sense "[just] as"[70] does not seem to fit this context.

hwsper appears again, but this time following idou, in Gn 41.2, the account of the substance of Pharaoh's first dream:[71]

w^{e}hinneh min-hay'or `olot sheba` parôt y^{e}phôt mar'eh ... Gn 41.2
kai idou hwsper ek tou potamou anebainon hepta boes kalai tw eidei ...

Here too it is difficult to explain the nuance of hwsper, since "[just] as" does not seem to fit the context.

men corresponds to hinneh in Gn 38.23, where Jacob calls off the hunt for Tamar, whom he supposed a prostitute. This is balanced nicely by the use of de for the conjunction in the second clause:

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[70]"Just as" being a term of comparison, not of sequence (or overlap).

[71]w^{e}hinneh occurs three times in this narration of Pharaoh's first dream (Gn 41.1-3), where it is rendered by [1] ... oiomai ... [2] kai idou hwsper ... [3] de ... Its third occurrence is not represented, probably because the translator wanted to avoid repeating it, which he has already done to some extent by his first two renderings.

> hinneh whalaxtî hagg^{e}dî hazzeh w^{e}'attah lo' m^{e}tsa'taH Gn 38.23
> egw men apestalka ton eriphon touton, su de oux heurekas.

w^{e}hinneh occurs three times in Gn 37.7 when Joseph recounts his first dream to his brothers. None of these occurrences are represented by idou, the first being rendered by oiomai, and its second and third occurrences by kai and de, respectively:[72]

> w^{e}hinneh '^{a}naxnû m^{e}'all^{e}mîm '^{a}lummîm b^{e}tôk hassadeh w^{e}hinneh qamah '^{a}lummatî w^{e}gam-nitstsabah w^{e}hinneh t^{e}subbeynah '^{a}lummotêkem wattishtax^{a}weyna la'^{a}lummatî Gn 37.7 (3xx)
> wmen hemas desmeuein dragmata en mesw tw pediw, kai aneste to emon dragma kai wrthwthe, peristraphenta de ta dragmata humwn prosekunesan to emon dragma.

Did the translator consider the dream striking enough to stand without emphasis? He considered at least its first occurrence introductory to the content of the dream, representing it with oiomai "I think, ween",[73] which should probably be understood as an equivalent of horaw (above).[74]

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[72] w^{e}gam (between the second and third occurrences of w^{e}hinneh) is also not represented.

[73] Cf. Longacre, JOSEPH (210), where this first clause is seen as the setting of the dream to follow.

[74] Cf. Gn 37.9, Joseph's second dream, where the first occurrence of hinneh is rendered by idou but the second by hwsper (above).

oiomai appears again when the chief baker recounts his dream to Joseph (40.16):[75]

> 'ap-'^{a}nî bax^{a}lômî w^{e}hinneh wh^{e}loshah sallê xorî `al-ro'shî — Gn 40.16
> Kagw eidon enupnion, kai wmen tria kana xondritwn airein epi tes kephales mou;

It is difficult to explain the difference between this rendering and the use of [e] in the preceding dream narrative (40.9) apart from some stylistic consideration (i.e., desire for variation) on the part of the translator.

This is probably due to a tendency to introduce dreams with oiomai, even though the translator does not do this consistently,[76] since oiomai appears in both the next occurrence of hinneh (Gn 41.1; when Pharaoh's dreams begin), and again when Pharaoh begins to recount his dreams to Joseph for his interpretation (41.17):[77]

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[75]With rather awkward bax^{a}lômî w^{e}hinneh (cf. Gn 40.9, above).

[76]Cf. Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gn 28.13), where hinneh is not represented (below).

[77]The inconsistency between the renderings of the occurrences of hinneh in the narration and recitation of Pharaoh's dreams is striking. hinneh occurs 10xx in five parallel passages in Gn 41.1-23; only its first parallel occurrences, however, are rendered identically:

Dream	Recitation
41.1 oiomai	oiomai 41.17
41.2 idou hwsper	hwsper 41.18
41.3 ---	kai idou 41.19
41.5 idou	hwsper 41.22
41.6 idou	--- 41.23

ûphar`oh xolem w$^{e}$hinneh `omed `al-hay'or Gn 41.1
Pharaw eiden enupnion. weto hestanai epi tou potamou,

bax^{a}lômî hin^{e}nî `omed `al s^{e}phat hay'or Gn 41.17
En tw hupnw mou wmen hestanai para to xeilos tou potamou,

In Gn 12.11 hinneh appears not to be represented, although its force may be reflected in the independent pronoun following the verb:

hinneh-na' yada`tî kî 'ishshah y^{e}phat-mar'eh 'att Gn 12.11
ginwskw egw hoti gune euproswpos ei[78]

Again in Gn 15.3 hinneh is not represented, although its prefixed conjunction is part of G:

w^{e}hinneh ben-bêtî yôresh 'otî Gn 15.3
ho de oikogenes mou kleronomesei me[79]

hinneh is also not represented in Gn 18.10, probably because Sarah (rather than ben) has been made the subject of the sentence by using the future of exw:

w^{e}hinneh-ben l^{e}sarah 'ishteka Gn 18.10
kai hecei huion Sarra he gune sou

In Gn 24.30 (w^{e})hinneh is not represented because the two clauses are united using a genitive absolute to

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In two other occurrences in Gn 41 hinneh is rendered by [e] (41.7) and idou (41.29).

[78]Final [e] represents the independent pronoun rather than hinneh.

[79]Here, as frequently, the participle following hinneh is rendered by a finite verb.

render the participle following hinneh. This syntax makes the representation of hinneh superfluous:

> wayyabo' 'el-ha'îsh w^{e}hinneh `omed `al-hagg^{e}mallîm `al-ha`ayin Gn 24.30
> kai elthen pros ton anthrwpon hestekotos autou epi twn kamelwn epi tes peges,

hinneh is a minus in Esau's description of Jacob's trickery (Gn 27.36), perhaps because its force is entailed in the following `attah (nun)--what would idou or any other particle add?:

> 'et-b^{e}koratî laqax w^{e}hinneh `attah laqax birkatî Gn 27.36
> ta te prwtotokia mou eilephen, kai nun eilephen ten eulogian mou.

In Gn 28.13, Jacob's dream of the ladder, hinneh is also a G minus:

> w^{e}hinneh YHWH nitstsab `alayw Gn 28.13
> ho de kurios epesterikto ep autes[80]

By rendering the H participle with a participle[81] in G, the translator made hinneh, the predicator of the participle in H, superfluous:

> wayyimtsa'ehû 'îsh w^{e}hinneh to`eh bassadeh Gn 37.15
> kai heuren auton anthrwpos planwmenon en tw pediw;

The translator, therefore, was fairly free in

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[80] episterizw (only here in Gn) occurs 12xx in G, rendering [forms of] seven different verbal roots. This is the only passage in which it represents any form of natsab. Did the translator perhaps read nitstsab as ya`ats (rendered by episterizw only in Ps 31.8 (32.8))?

[81] A participle of "concommitant circumstance".

representing hinneh, using idou in only 62.9% of its occurrences.

In Exodus (41xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (25xx), hode, hoti, and [e] (each 2xx), and once each by horaw, horaw oun, tì [e], ginomai, and palin. It is a minus in G (4xx; 2.6; 14.10; 16.10; 31.6); one verse in which it occurs is lacking in G (32.9).

The element of perception implicit in hinneh is made explicit by horaw in 2.13, where the main clause in H is subordinated to the [now] verbal hinneh-clause:

> ecelthwn de te hemera te deutera hora duo andras Ebraious diaplektizomenous Ex 2.13
> wayyetse' bayyôm hashshenî w^{e}hinneh sh^{e}nê-'^{a}nashîm `ibrîm nitstsîm

It is, however, difficult to discern why hinneh is rendered by horaw in Moses' declaration of intent to Pharaoh, especially since no perception was [yet] involved:

> hinneh 'anokî horeg 'et-binka b^{e}koreka Ex 4.23
> hora oun egw apoktenw ton huion sou ton prwtotokon[82]

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[82]The plus oun is easier to understand, this being the ultimate conclusion to which events could come to pass.

A nearly identical statement, the same syntagm, is rendered with idou, however, three chapters later:

> w^{e}'im ma'en 'attah l^{e}shalle^{a}x hinneh 'anokî nogeph 'et-kol-g^{e}bûlka ... Ex 7.27
> ei de me boulei su ecaposteilai, idou egw tuptw panta ta horia sou tois batraxois.

Ex 10.4 (= 16.4) is also identical syntactically, differing only lexically with regard to the participle/verb.

hode[83] represents hinneh in Ex 8.25, but this does not seem a felicitous use of this rendering, which is demonstrative:

> wayyo'mer mosheh hinneh 'anokî yôtse' me`immak Ex 8.25
> eipen de Mwuses hode egw eceleusomai apo sou

hode also renders hinneh in Ex 17.6, where hinneh is followed by a participle, but its pronominal subject is suffixed, not independent (as in 8.25):

> hin^{e}nî `omed l$^{e}$phaneyka sham `al-hatstsûr b^{e}xoreb Ex 17.6
> hode egw hesteka pro tou se ekei epi tes petras en Xwreb

hoti renders hinneh in Ex 3.2, where the angel of YHWH appeared to Moses in the burning, yet unconsumed, bush. This represents hinneh's function in introducing indirect discourse:

> wayyar' w^{e}hinneh hass^{e}neh bo`er ba'esh Ex 3.2
> kai hora hoti ho batos kaietai puri

hoti also occurs in Ex 9.7 when the translator subordinated the entire clause, including the governing verb, to the hardening of Pharaoh's heart:

> wayyishlax par`oh w$^{e}$hinneh lo'-met mimmiqneh yisra'el `ad-'exad wayyikbad leb par`oh Ex 9.7
> idwn de Pharaw hoti ouk eteleutesen apo pantwn twn ktenwn twn huiwn Israel ouden, ebarunthe he kardia Pharaw[84]

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[83] 4xx in Gn (above).

[84] The G plusses appear to be a formalization and dramatization of Israel's freedom from the plague: "... all the herds of the sons of Israel".

tì [e], which also occurs in Gn,[85] appears in Moses' response to YHWH's summons in Ex 3.4:

> wayyo'mer mosheh mosheh wayyo'mer hinnenî Ex 3.4
> ekalesen auton kurios ek tou batou legwn Mwuse, Mwuse. ho de eipen Tì estin?

[e] in an analytic tense with a perfect participle represents hinneh, perhaps because the element of surprise is not present (for the reader) since the previous verse narrated the change in Moses' appearance:

> wayyar' 'ah^{a}ron w^{e}kol-b^{e}nê yisra'el 'et-mosheh w^{e}hinneh qaran `ôr panayw Ex 34.30
> kai eiden Aarwn kai pantes hoi presbuteroi Israel ton Mwusen kai en dedocasmene he opsis tou xrwmatos tou proswpou autou[86]

In the next (and final) occurrence of hinneh it is also rendered by [e] in an analytic tense with a perfect participle:

> wayyar' mosheh 'et-kol-hamm^{e}la'kah w^{e}hinneh `asû 'otaH Ex 39.43 (39.23)
> kai eiden Mwuses panta ta erga, kai esan pepoiekotes auta

hinneh precedes a verb only elsewhere in Ex 7.16, where it is rendered by idou with a verb. Do these passages (Ex 34.30; 39.43) betray the hand of another translator in the latter portion of Ex?

The resultative function of hinneh is represented by the aorist of ginomai in Ex 4.6:

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[85]Gn 22.7; 31.11; 46.2. Its use is confined to these two books.

[86]In Ex qaran (3xx) is only rendered by the perfect of docazw.

wayyôtsi'aH w^{e}hinneh yadô m^{e}tsora`at kashshaleg Ex 4.6
kai ecenegken ten xeira autou ek tou kolpou autou, kai egenethe he xeir autou hwsei xiwn.

In the following verse, which parallels 4.6, hinneh is uniquely rendered by palin, Moses, having again plunged his hand into the bosom of his garment,

wayyôtsi'aH mexêqô w^{e}hinneh-shabah kib^{e}sarô Ex 4.7
kai ecenegken auten ek tou kolpou autou, kai palin apekateste eis ten xroan tes sarkos autou

In Ex 2.6 hinneh is a minus in G, perhaps by parablepsis:[87]

wattiphtax wattir'ehû 'et-hayyeled w^{e}hinneh-na`ar bokeh Ex 2.6
anoicasa de hora paidion klaion en te thibei

hinneh is also lacking in Ex 14.10 where, as in Ex 9.7, the "main clause" is subordinated to the following verb:

wayyis^{e}'û b^{e}nê-yisra'el 'et-`ênêhem w$^{e}$hinneh mitsrayim nose$^{a}$` 'ax^{a}rêhem wayyîr^{e}'û m^{e}'od Ex 14.10
kai anablepsantes hoi huioi Israel tois ophthalmois horwsin, kai hoi Aiguptioi estratopedeusan opisw autwn, kai ephobethesan sphodra

In Ex 16.10 hinneh is a minus in G, but here the participial hinneh-clause has been rendered paratactically, without either being subordinated to the other:

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[87]Probably due to d/r: 'et-hayyeled ... na`ar.
In Ex paidion represents yeled (9xx) or ben (3xx), never na`ar (4xx in Ex), which is rendered instead by neaniskos (10.9; 24.5) and neos (33.11).

wayyiphnû 'el-hammidbar w^{e}hinneh k^{e}bôd YHWH nir'ah be`anan Ex 16.10
kai epestraphesan eis ten eremon, kai he doca kuriou wphthe en nephele

hinneh is a G minus in Ex 31.6. An original idou could have been lost due to homoioarchton (egw ... edwka), although it is just as likely that the different order (the pronoun preceding rather than following hinneh) caused it to be overlooked:

wa'^{a}nî hinneh natattî 'ittô 'et 'oh^{o}lî'ab ben-'^{a}xîsamak Ex 31.6
kai egw edwka auton kai ton Eliab ton tou Axisamax[88]

The translator was fairly consistent in representing hinneh (69%), although it is striking that in its first eleven occurrences in Ex hinneh is rendered in seven different ways: by idou (4xx: Ex 1.9; 3.9, 13; 4.14), horaw (2.13; with oun 4.23), hoti (3.2), tì [e] (3.4), ginomai (4.6), palin (4.7), and is lacking once (2.6). Between 4.23 and 34.30 hinneh, where occurs 28xx, only idou (21xx), hode (2xx), and hoti (once) render it (four of five minuses also occur in this section).

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[88]The translator read 'ittô as 'otô.

In Leviticus (26xx)[89] hinneh is rendered by idou (20xx), hode (2xx), and once each by [e] and ei. Two occurrences are not represented.[90]

Its first seventeen occurrences in Lv 13 are all rendered by idou, but its first occurrence in Lv and its final eight are not at all consistently rendered.[91]

In its first occurrence (Lv 10.16) hinneh is rendered by hode, which represents well its force:[92]

w^{e}hinneh soraph — Lv 10.16
kai hode enepepuristo;

hode also occurs in Lv 13.55 which is, however, more difficult to explain, since it was consistently rendered by idou twenty times in the same chapter:

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[89]20xx in Lv 13; 5xx in Lv 14.

[90]Lv 13.53; 14.37 (the latter due to haplography, below).

[91]Note the pattern of its renderings throughout Lv:

10.16	hode
13.5-43	idou (20xx!)
13.53	---
13.55	hode
13.56	[e]
14.3	idou
14.37	--- (homoioarchton)
14.39	idou
14.44	ei
14.48	idou

This variety is all the more striking in that the syntagms in which it occurs in chapters 13 and 14 are virtually identical.

[92]This is its only occurrence in Lv not preceded by a sight-formula.

> w^{e}ra'ah hakkohen 'ax^{a}rê hukkabbes 'et-hannega` w$^{e}$hinneh lo' haphak hannega` 'et-`ênô Lv 13.55
> kai opsetai ho hiereus meta to pluthenai ten aphen, kai hede me metebalen ten opsin he aphe,

Its preceding occurrence, Lv 13.53, is not represented in G, possibly in order to avoid an exactly duplicate text (below):

> w^{e}'im yir'eh hakkohen w^{e}hinneh lo'-pasah hannega` babbeged ... Lv 13.53
> ean de ide ho hiereus, kai me diaxeetai he aphe en tw himatiw, ...

In Lv 14.37 hinneh, along with the following hannega` is also a minus due to homoioarchton:

> w^{e}ra'ah 'et-hannega` w$^{e}$hinneh hannega` b^{e}qîrot habbayit Lv 14.37
> kai opsetai ten aphen en tois toixois tes oikias,

Parallel passages account for half (3) of the passages in Lv in which idou does not represent hinneh.[93] Could this represent an attempt by the translator to avoid exactly duplicate passages? This does not seem, however, to fit his use of idou in chapter 13.

The translator of Leviticus was thus relatively consistent in rendering hinneh (83.3%), the other

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[93] hinneh occurs in four pairs of clauses that are not merely parallel, but identical. In only one of these, however, is it rendered in the same way:

13.6	idou	[e]	13.56
13.32	idou	idou	13.34
13.53	---	idou	14.48
14.39	idou	ei	14.44

renderings occurring primarily in parallel passages, apparently for the sake of variety.

In Numbers (28xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (18xx), hode (3xx), nun (2xx), and idou hode, ede, and [e] (once each). It is not represented in two passages.[94]

When Balak describes Israel to Balaam, idou represents hinneh (Nu 22.11, which parallels Nu 22.5):

> hinneh `am yatsa' mimmitsrayim hinneh kissah 'et-`ên ha'arets Nu 22.5
> idou laos eceleluthen ec Aiguptou, kai idou katekalupsen ten opsin tes ges[95]
>
> hinneh ha'am hayyotse' mimmitsrayim waykas 'et-`ên ha'arets Nu 22.11
> idou laos eceleluthen ec Aiguptou, kai idou kekaluphen ten opsin tes ges

hinneh occurs once in 22.11, but twice in 22.5. idou, however, occurs twice in 22.11, under the influence of 22.5.

idou with hode renders hinnenû[96] in Nu 14.40, where

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[94]Nu 18.6; 32.23.

[95]On the G plus kai, cf. also Nu 22.32.

[96]A personal pronoun renders the (3ms) pronominal suffix on hinneh. In Nu 24.14 the pronominal suffix is a minus in G:

> w^{e}`attah hinn$^{e}$nî hôlek l$^{e}$`ammî Nu 24.14
> kai nun idou apotrexw eis ton topon mou

The use of topos for `am here is problematic, since topos represents maqôm (18/20xx in Nu; except here and 19.3, where topos is a G plus, perhaps due to the influence of Nu 19.9).

`am is usually rendered by laos (76/78xx in Nu); four other occurrences of laos do not have clear equivalents.

the people "repent" of their rebellion and determine to invade the land on their own:

> le'mor hinnennû w^{e}`alînû 'el-hammaqôm Nu 14.40
> legontes idou hoide hemeis anabesometha eis ton topon,

hode alone renders hinneh, again[97] as nearly equivalent to houtos which, however, the translator of Nu did not use for hinneh:

> wayyiphnû 'el-'ohel mô`ed w$^{e}$hinneh kissahû he`anan Nu 17.7 (16.42)
> kai hwrmesan epi ten skenen tou marturiou, kai tende ekalupsen auten he nephele
>
> wayyashab 'elayw w^{e}hinneh nitstsab `al-`olatô Nu 23.6
> kai apestraphe pros auton, kai hode epheistekei epi twn holokautwmatwn autou[98]

The simple predicatory function of hinneh is represented by [e] in Nu 32.1:

> wayyir'û 'et-'erets ya`zer w'et-'erets gil`ad
> w^{e}hinneh hammaqôm m^{e}qôm miqneh Nu 32.1
> kai eidon ten xwran Iazer kai ten xwran Galaad, kai en ho topos topos ktenesin

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It thus seems that the translator either had a different Vorlage, or was being unusually free--perhaps, in cryptic allusion to Balaam's fate (Nu 31.8; Js 13.22), using "place" as a euphemism for "grave".

[97] 3xx (Nu 17.7; 23.6 12); cf. on Gn (above).

[98] 23.17, which is parallel, but has a pronominal suffix on hinneh, uses the same rendering:

> wayyabo' 'elayw w^{e}hinnô nitstsab `al-`olatô Nu 23.17
> kai apestraphe pros auton, kai hode epheistekei epi tes holokautwsews autou

The sacrifice is plural in G in 23.6, but singular here. I have no explanation for this, especially in light of the context which specifies seven altars and sacrifices in each case.

That the plague halted immediately becomes explicit in Nu 17.12 in G through the use of ede:

> wayyarats 'el-tôk haqqahal w^{e}hinneh hexel hannegeph ba`am Nu 17.12 (16.47)
> kai edramen eis ten sunagwgen; kai ede enerkto he thrausis en tw law

nun indicates the same thrust (of the immediate present) in Nu 20.16; the personal pronoun following hinneh is rendered by [e]:

> w^{e}hinneh '^{a}naxnû b^{e}qadesh `îr q^{e}tseh g^{e}bûleka Nu 20.16
> kai nun esmen en Kades, polei ek merous twn horiwn sou

In Nu 24.11, however, nun represents hinneh in a conclusive or adversative sense "however":[99]

> 'amartî kabbed '^{a}kabbedka w^{e}hinneh m^{e}na`^{a}ka YHWH mikkabôd Nu 24.11
> eipa Timesw se, kai nun esteresen se kurios tes doces

hinneh is a minus in G at Nu 18.6, whereas in three other occurrences of the same syntagm in Nu--hinneh preceded or followed by a pronoun with a verb--it is rendered by idou:[100]

> wa'^{a}nî hinneh laqaxtî 'et-'^{a}xêhem halwiyyim mittôk b^{e}nê-yisra'el Nu 18.6
> kai egw eilepha tous adelphous humwn tous Leuitas ek mesous huiwn Israel

hinneh is also lacking in Nu 32.23, its final occurrence in the book:

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[99]Indeed, the translation of this clause could have been much more explicit through the use of nun de or alla nun (as reads MS 126).

[100]Cf. Nu 3.12; 18.8 (only two vv. later); 22.32.

w^{e}'im-lo' ta`^{a}sûn ken hinneh x^{a}Ta'tem l^{e}YHWH
Nu 32.23
ean de me poiesete houtws, hamartesesthe enanti kuriou

hinneh here is conclusive ("If you do not do this, then you will have sinned against YHWH"). If the translator did not recognize its function, he may simply have omitted it.

The translator of Numbers was thus somewhat consistent in representing hinneh (69%), although, like the translator of Gn, he used a variety of conjunctions to represent its function, sometimes quite idiomatically, although there were several passages in which it would have been appropriate to render it thus where he simply used idou.

In Deuteronomy (10xx) hinneh is represented by idou (7xx) and once each by idou [e], hoti, and nun.[101]

idou [e] occurs for hinneh in Dt 1.10 (its first occurrence in Dt), where hinneh is conclusive "so that":

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[101]Although the translator of Dt represented hinneh as idou with some consistency, his translation is not concordantial. In two passages, identical in H, kai idou for w^{e}hinneh is the only consistent parallel:

w^{e}hinneh '^{e}met nacôn haddabar Dt 13.15
kai idou alethes saphws ho logos

w^{e}hinneh '^{e}met nacôn haddabar Dt 17.4
kai idou alethws gegonen to hrema

YHWH 'elohêkem hirbah 'etkem wehinnekem hayyôm kekôkbê hashshamayim larob Dt 1.10
kurios ho theos humwn eplethunen humas, kai idou este semeron hwsei ta astra tou ouranou tw plethei

nun represents [we]hinneh in Dt 22.17, perhaps because the accuser's "wanton" words had already been spoken; they were not present, although their effects certainly lingered:

wehinneh-hû' sam `alîlot debarîm Dt 22.17
autos nun epitithesin aute prophasistikous logous

In Dt 9.16, where wehinneh introduces what is seen, it is rendered by hoti, which also introduces indirect discourse in G:

wa'ere' wehinneh xaTa'tem leYHWH 'elohêkem Dt 9.16
kai idwn hoti hemartete enanti kuriou tou theou humwn[102]

The translator of Deuteronomy, although not literal, was somewhat consistent in representing hinneh (70%).

hinneh occurs 15xx in Joshua, where it is rendered by idou (7xx), and once each by houtos [e] and houtos. It is lacking in six passages.[103]

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[102]In 9.13, however, where wehinneh also follows ra'ah, it is rendered as kai idou (the nature of the clauses, verbal (9.16) versus non-verbal (9.13) may have affected his choice.

[103]Js 2.2; 5.13; 8.20; 9.12; 14.10a; 23.14.

In Js 7.22 Achan's loot is discovered in his tent. Here houtos [e] represents hinneh:

> w^{e}hinneh T^{e}mûnah b^{e}'oh^{o}lô Js 7.22
> kai tauta en egkekrummena eis ten skenen,[104]

The use of idou auta to describe the same items (7.21) is the climax of the passage; the translator may have used tauta in 7.22 to reflect hinneh in order to leave the stress on Achan's confession. He may, however, have seen tauta as an adequate rendering of hinneh because of verse 21 and its use of auta.

houtos alone represents hinneh (9.13) when the Gibeonites are presenting their worn-out wine-skins to Joshua and the elders, probably because of the preceding houtoi:

> w^{e}'elleh no'dôt hayyayin '^{a}sher mille'nû
> x^{a}dashîm w^{e}hinneh hitbaqqa`û Js 9.13
> kai houtoi hoi askoi tou oinou, hous eplesamen
> kainous, kai houtoi errwgasin;[105]

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[104]In Js 7.21 Achan's confession, more verbose than this narrative description of the discovery, but nonetheless parallel, hinnam is rendered by idou:

> w^{e}hinnam T^{e}mûnîm ba'arets b^{e}tôk ha'oh^{o}lî
> w^{e}hakkeseph taxteyha Js 7.21
> kai idou auta egkekruptai en te ge en te skene
> mou, kai to argurion kekruptai hupokatw autwn.

[105]In a parallel occurrence in the preceding verse (9.12), hinneh is not represented:

> zeh laxmenû xam hitsTayyadnû 'otô mibbattênû
> b^{e}yôm tse'tenû laleket '^{a}lêkem w^{e}`attah hinneh
> yabesh w^{e}hayah niqqudîm Js 9.12
> houtoi hoi artoi, thermous ephwdiasthemen
> autous en te hemera, he ecelthomen
> parageneshthai pros humas, nun de eceranthesan
> kai gegonasin bebrwmenoi

This is not because he wanted to avoid a construction such as kai nun idou (for w^{e}`attah hinneh), since he

In Js 5.13 Joshua met the commander of YHWH's army. Here the use of an adverbial participle with eiden renders any representation of hinneh superfluous, although it may have been the translator's view that the presence of a verb of seeing rendered idou superfluous:[106]

> wayyissa' `ênayw wayyar' w$^{e}$hinneh-'îsh `omed l^{e}negdô Js 5.13
> kai anablepsas tois ophthalmois eiden anthrwpon hestekota enantion autou,[107]

Again in Js 8.20 hinneh is not represented due to the preceding verb:

> wayyiphnû 'anshê ha`ay 'ax$^{a}$rêhem wayyir'û w$^{e}$hinneh `alah `^{a}shan ha'îr hashshamaymah Js 8.20
> kai periblepsantes hoi katoikoi Gai eis ta opisw autwn kai ethewroun kapnon anabainonta ek tes polews eis ton ouranon;

In Js 2.2, however, the reason for the minus of hinneh is unclear:

> wayye'amar l^{e}melek y^{e}rîxô le'mor hinneh '^{a}nashîm ba'û hennah hallaylah mibb^{e}nê yisra'el Js 2.2
> kai apeggele tw basilei Ierixw legontes Eispeporeuntai hwde andres twn huiwn Israel

hinneh occurs twice in Js 14.10, but only its second occurrence is represented in G, perhaps due to

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uses this twice (9.25; 10.14b).

[106]It is unlikely, due to the evidence of other passages (below), that w^{e}hinneh is lacking due to homoioarchton.

[107]Note the relatively infrequent use of a G participle to render a participle with hinneh (but cf. Js 8.20).

the verbal and non-verbal nature of the respective clauses:

> w^{e}`attah hinneh hex$^{e}$yah YHWH 'ôtî ka'$^{a}$sher dibber ... w$^{e}$`attah hinneh 'anokî hayyôm ben-xamesh ûsh^{e}mônîm shanah Js 14.10 (2xx)
> kai nun diethrepsen me kurios, hon tropon eipen, ... kai nun idou egw semeron ogdoekonta kai pente etwn;

Joshua predicates the need for Israel to renew the covenant with YHWH on his impending death (Js 23.14). Here, too, hinneh is not represented in G, although the conjunction prefixed to it appears as de:

> w^{e}hinneh 'anokî hôlek hayyôm b^{e}derek kol-ha'arets Js 23.14
> egw de apotrexw ten hodon katha kai pantes hoi epi tes ges

The translator of Joshua used idou with relative consistency when he represented hinneh (77%). He tended nearly as strongly, however, to leave it unrepresented (40%) due to contextual consderations (or other considerations no longer clear).

When representing hinneh the A and B texts of Judges (44xx) are nearly identical: idou (40xx)[108] and, once each, idou [e], hode,[109] and hwde (19.9b). hinneh is not represented once.[110]

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[108] B once has ide (19.24).

[109] B has idou (9.31b).

[110] B has idou de (21.19).

When Samson investigates the carcass of the lion in Jg 14.8 idou ... [e] appears to represent hinneh,[111] despite the separation between them, with [e] representing the predication posited by hinneh:

> w^{e}hinneh `^{a}dat d^{e}bôrîm big^{e}wiyyat ha'aryeh
> ûd^{e}bash Jg 14.8
> kai idou sustrophe melisswn en tw stomati tou
> leontos kai meli en.

hode represents the second occurrence of hinneh in Jg 9.31:[112]

> hinneh ga`al ben-`ebed w^{e}'exayw ba'îm sh^{e}kemah
> w^{e}hinnam tsarîm 'et-ha`îr `aleyka
> Jg 9.31 (2xx)
> idou Gaal huios Abed kai hoi adelphoi autou
> paragegonasin eis Sikima, kai hoide
> poliorkousin ten polin epi se

The clause containing the second occurrence of hinneh in Jg 19.9 is a minus in G due to homoioarchton:

> wayyo'mer lô xot^{e}nô '^{a}bî hanna`^{a}rah hinneh na'
> raphah hayyôm la`^{a}rob lînû-na' hinneh x^{a}nôt
> hayyôm lîn poh wyîTab l^{e}babeka Jg 19.9 (2xx)
> kai eipen autw ho gambros autou ho pater tes
> neanidos Idou de eis hesperan kekliken he
> hemera; kataluson hwde eti semeron kai
> agathunthetw he kardia sou.

The penultimate occurrence of hinneh in Jg (21.19) is a minus in G.[113] Its function here is clearly that of predication "There is a feast ..."

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[111] idou (without [e]) in Judges B.

[112] Jg B has idou.

[113] Jg B: idou de.

wayyo'm^{e}rû hinneh xag-YHWH b^{e}shilô miyyamîm yamîmah Jg 21.19
kai eipan heorte tw kuriw en Selw aph' hemerwn eis hemeras

The translator of Judges A was thus quite consistent in rendering hinneh (93%).[114]

In 1 Samuel (82xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (68xx),[115] hwde (2xx), and once each by idou [e] (20.12) and hoti (24.2). It is a minus in G 7xx.[116]

In S1 14.26 hinneh is represented by idou, although G has melliswn for ya`ar. It occurs again, this time as a G plus, in the following clause (kai idou ouk en for w^{e}'ên):[117]

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[114]The renderings in which the two texts differ:

Text	Jg A	Jg B
19.24	idou	ide
9.31b	hode	idou
21.19	---	idou de

Jg B is thus statistically just consistent in rendering hinneh as Jg A (93%), although both share two of the other renderings: idou [e] (14.8) and hwde (19.9b). Jg B, in fact, uses only one rendering not found in A (ide; 19.24, above).

[115]This does not include three passages in which is appears to be rendered by idou de [with eta, not epsilon] (2xx) and idou houtos (once).

[116]Due apparently to scribal error or choice (5xx) or because the verse in which it occurs is lacking in G (2xx).

[117]Cf. idou ouk [e] for 'ên also in S1 21.10 (below).

wayyabo' ha`am 'el-hayya`ar w^{e}hinneh helek d^{e}bash w^{e}'ên-massîg yadô 'el-pîw kî yare' ha`am 'et-hashsh$^{e}$bu`ah S1 14.26
kai eiselthen ho laos eis ton melisswna, kai idou eporeueto lalwn, kai idou ouk en epistrephwn ten xeira autou eis to stoma autou, hoti ephobethe ho laos ton horkon kuriou.

The conjunction is not represented in S1 16.11, Jesse's description of David:

`ôd sha'ar haqqaTan w$^{e}$hinneh ro`eh batstso'n S1 16.11
eti ho mikros idou poimainei en tw poimniw.

idou [e] represents hinneh when Jonathan declares to David his intent to discover what, if any, plans Saul has against him:

w^{e}hinneh-Tôb 'el-dawid S1 20.12
kai idou agathon e peri Dauid

The subjunctive of [e] indicates that Jonathan's statement is conditional.

hoti renders hinneh in S1 24.2, where it introduces a direct quotation:

wayyaggidû lô le'mor hinneh dawid b^{e}midbar `ên gedî S1 24.2
kai apeggele autw legontwn hoti Dauid en te eremw Eggaddi.

The translator probably used hwde to represent hinneh in S1 20.21 and 22 because, influenced by the context, he read it as hennah:[118]

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[118]Its first occurrence in this verse (w^{e}hinneh) is rendered as kai idou (these are the only occurrences of hwde in S1).

'im-'amor 'omar lanna`ar hinneh haxitstsîm
mimm^{e}ka wahennah S1 20.21
ean eipw legwn tw paidariw hwde he sxiza apo
sou kai hwde

w^{e}'im-koh 'omar la`elem hinneh haxitstsîm
mimm^{e}ka wahal^{e}'ah S1 20.22
ean tade eipw tw neaniskw hode he sxiza apo
sou kai epekeina

hinneh is not represented in S1 13.10, the participial hinneh-clause being treated paratactically:[119]

wayhî k^{e}kallotô l^{e}ha`$^{a}$lôt ha`olah w^{e}hinneh
sh^{e}mû'el ba' S1 13.10
kai egeneto hws sunetelesen anapherwn ten
holokautwsin, kai Samouel paraginetai

hinneh is also a G minus in S1 14.33, perhaps due to homoioarchton with the following word:

wayyaggîdû l^{e}sha'ûl le'mor hinneh ha`am
xoTi'ym l^{e}YHWH S1 14.33
kai apeggele tw Saoul legontes hemarteken ho
laos tw kuriw

It is also lacking in S1 26.21, again probably due to homoioarchton, but this time with the preceding word:

... taxat '^{a}sher yaq^{e}rah naphshî b^{e}`êneyka
hayyôm hazzeh hinneh hiskaltî ... S1 26.21
... anth' hwn entimos psuxe mou en ophthalmois
sou en te semeron; memataiwmai ...

I have no explanation, however, for its omission in S1 15.12:

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[119]The usual rendering of a participle following hinneh is a finite verb in G, so that in itself is not surprising here. What is surprising, however, is the omission of hinneh, especially since it is difficult to see what would have led to its insertion in H if it had not already been present.

ba'-sha'ûl hakkarmelah w^{e}hinneh matstsîb lô yad S1 15.12
hekei Saoul eis Karmelon kai anestaken autw xeira

The first occurrence of idou in S1 21.10 represents hinneh, but fronted to the discussion of Goliath's sword:

wayyo'mer hakkohen xereb golyat happ^{e}lishtî '^{a}sher-hikkîta b^{e}`emeq ha'elah hinneh-hî' lûTah bassimlah 'ax^{a}rê ha'ephôd ... wayyo'mer dawid 'ên kamôha t^{e}nennah lî S1 21.10
kai eipen ho hiereus Idou he hromphaia Goliath tou allophulou, hon epatacas en te koiladi Ela, kai aute eneilemene en himatiw; ... kai eipen Dauid Idou ouk estin hwsper aute, dos moi auten[120]

In S1 24.5 hinneh 'anokî is a minus in G, probably because the following participle (noten) is rendered as an infinitive in indirect discourse:[121]

hinneh hayyôm '^{a}sher-'amar YHWH 'eleyka hinneh 'anokî noten 'et-'oyibka b^{e}yadeka S1 24.5
idou he hemera haute, hen eipen kurios pros se paradounai ton exthron sou eis tas xeiras sou

Three of the last five occurrences of hinneh in S1 are problematic. In S1 28.9 and 21 idou de[122], which usually reflects hinneh-na', corresponds to hinneh.

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[120]This second occurrence of idou appears to reflect 'ên, as in S1 14.26 (above).

[121]Although it could have dropped out of either H or G due to homoioarchton, its omission is probably due to syntactical requirements of G (i.e., having decided to represent the participle as an infinitive, it would be far better G to leave hinneh 'anokî unrepresented).

[122]With eta, not epsilon.

watto'mer ha'îshah 'elayw hinneh 'attah tada`ta 'et '$^{a}$sher-`asah sha'ûl S1 28.9
kai eipen he gune pros auton Idou de su oidas hosa epoiesen Saoul,

watto'mer 'elayw hinneh sham^{e}`ah shiphxatka b^{e}qôleka S1 28.21
kai eipen pros auton Idou de ekousen he doule sou tes phwnes sou

In both passages the noun or pronoun is the subject of the verb. hinneh occurs in this syntagm only five other times in S1; in each of those passages it is rendered by idou.[123]

Also, in S1 30.16 idou houtos appears to represent hinneh:

wayyoridehû w^{e}hinneh n^{e}Tushîm `al-p^{e}nê kol-ha'arets S1 30.16
kai kategagen auton ekei, kai idou houtoi diakexumenoi epi proswpon pases tes ges

ekei as a G plus, however, may indicate a tendency to specificity which could account for houtoi.

The translator of 1 Samuel rendered hinneh rather consistently (90%); the evidence is not beyond suggesting that it was translated by more than one

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[123]S1 8.5; 10.2; 12.13b; 18.22; 24.11.

hand.[124]

In 2 Samuel (47xx)[125] hinneh is rendered by idou (46xx) and hoti (once).

The rendering of hinneh is unclear in S2 17.9: gar ... nun may reflect `attah, or idou gar may represent hinneh? If the latter, gar may be a plus added to make the inference explicit:

hinneh `attah hû'-nexba' b^{e}'axat happ^{e}xatîm
S2 17.9
idou gar autos nun kekruptai en heni twn bounwn

On the other hand, gar may reflect [w^{e}]hinneh, rather than H as it now stands.

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[124]The pattern shows a definite breakdown in consistency in the latter third of the book (20.12 - 30.26), which entails 37.8% of its occurrences:

1 Samuel	Rendering	Occ	%
2.31-20.5	idou	46	93.9%
	---	3	
	v < G	2	
20.12-30.26	idou	22	71%
	hwde	2	
	idou de[eta]	2	
	idou [e]	1	
	idou houtos	1	
	hoti	1	
	---	2	

I made 20.5 the "breaking point" because of the use in rapid succession of idou [e], hwde, and hoti (the eleven occurrences beginning with 20.12 are rendered by idou (7xx), other renderings (4xx)).

[125]Including S2 4.6, where I restore hinneh for hennah.

The occurrence of idou as a rendering of h^{a}lo' (15.35) is probably due to the parallel in the following verse:[126]

> wah^{a}lô' `imm$^{e}$ka sham tsadôq w$^{e}$'ebyatar hakkoh$^{a}$nîm ... [36] hinneh-sham `immam sh^{e}nê b^{e}nêhem '^{a}xîma`ats l^{e}tsadôq wîhônatan l^{e}'ebyatar S2 15.35f
> kai idou meta sou ekei Sadwk kai Abiathar hoi hiereis ... [36] idou ekei met' autwn duo huioi autwn, Aximaas huios tw Sadwk kai Iwnathan huois tw Abiathar

In S2 4.10 hoti signals that David's quotation of the Amalekite is probably indirect rather than direct, a regular function of hinneh (above), although infrequent in S2:

> kî hammagîd lî le'mor hinneh-met sha'ûl S2 4.10
> hoti ho apaggeilas moi hoti tethneken Saoul

In S2 15.26, David sent the priests, Levites, and the ark back to Jerusalem, implying that if YHWH wanted to restore him, he could do so without the presence of the ark, and that:

> w^{e}'im koh yo'mar lo' xaphatstî bak hin^{e}nî ya^{a}s`eh lî ka'$^{a}$sher Tôb b$^{e}$`ênayw S2 15.26
> kai ean eipe houtws Ouk etheleka en soi, idou egw eimi, poieitw moi kata to agathon en ophthalmois autou

This rendering of hin^{e}nî may intentionally strengthen

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[126]See under "Was idou Added for Emphasis?" (below).

David's statement for added force at the climax of this incident.[127]

The translator of 2 Samuel was thus quite consistent in representing hinneh by idou (98%), deviating from it only once, in a usage uncommon in S2.[128]

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[127]It is difficult to determine whether [e] represents the pronominal suffix or hinneh.

Cf. the Amalekite's response to Saul, where the same construction is rendered by idou egw (S2 1.7). In its other occurrence in S2 (12.11) hinnenî precedes a participle; it is rendered by idou egw with a verb.

In S2 24.17 hinneh 'anokî xaTa'tî is rendered as idou egw eimi kakopoiesa; the following clause shows clearly that egw eimi represents the pronoun:

> wayyo'mer hinneh 'anokî xaTa'tî w^{e}'anokî he`$^{e}$wêtî w$^{e}$'elleh hatstso'n meh `asû — S2 24.17
> idou egw eimi edikesa, kai egw eimi ho poimen ekakopoiesa, kai houtoi ta probata ti epoiesan?

The second clause also shows the extreme literalism of this rendering--it follows H to the point of ill-formedness in Greek (the plus of ho poimen probably anticipates the figure of the nation as tso'n/probata).

There are two other occurrences of hinneh with a pronominal suffix in S2 (5.1; 16.8). Both are in non-verbal syntagms, and both are rendered non-verbally:

> hin^{e}nû `atsm^{e}ka ûb^{e}sarka '^{a}naxnû — S2 5.1
> Idou osta sou kai sarkes sou hemeis
>
> w^{e}hinn^{e}ka b^{e}ra`ateka kî 'îsh damîm 'attah — S2 16.8
> kai idou su en te kakia sou, hoti aner haimatwn su

[128]The difference in translation style between S1 and S2 is more real than apparent (the percentages of the usual rendering are fairly close--91% vs. 97%, respectively). The variety of renderings, however, makes the difference more striking, S1 using idou, hoti, hwde, and idou with de, houtos, and [e], but S2 only idou and hoti (once).

In 1 Kings (55xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (45xx) and, once each, by idou houtos (21.18), ekeinos [e] (3.21a), ei (8.27), and erxomai (18.7). Four verses in which it occurrs are lacking in G (14.2, 5, 10, 19);[129] it is a G minus twice (1.51b; 20.31).

idou renders hinneh in K1 20.39 (21.39), but the participle which follows it is not represented in G, perhaps to simplify the story, since both sar and the conjunction on the following verb are minuses:

> `abd^{e}ka yatsa' b^{e}qereb-hammilxamah w^{e}hinneh-'îsh sar wayyabe' 'elay 'îsh K1 20.39 (21.39)
> ho doulos sou ecelthen epi ten stratian tou polemou, kai idou aner eisegagen pros me andra

In another unusual rendering, idou represents hinneh but, whereas noun clauses in H are usually rendered as such in G, this is represented verbally, perhaps because the translator read dibb^{e}rû for dibrê:

> hinneh-na' dibrê hann^{e}bî'îm peh-'exad Tôb 'el-hammelek K1 22.13
> idou de lalousin pantes hoi prophetai en stomati heni kala peri tou basilews

In K1 1.25 idou [e] appears to represent hinneh, but eisin[130] represents the pronominal suffix used with hinneh, not, technically, hinneh (or an aspect thereof):

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[129] K1 14.1-20 is lacking in G (below).

[130] eisin forms an analytic tense with the following participle.

wayyiqra' l^{e}kol-b^{e}nê hammelek ... w^{e}hinnam
'ok^{e}lîm w^{e}shotîm l^{e}phanayw K1 1.25
kai ekalesen pantas tous huious tou basilews
... kai idou eisin esthiontes kai pinontes
enwpion autou

An excellent example of the predicate function of hinneh (K1 21.18) is rendered by idou houtos, when YHWH tells Elijah where to find Ahab "He is in the vineyard of Naboth, ...":

hinneh b^{e}kerem nabôt '^{a}sher-yarad sham
l^{e}rishtô K1 21.18 (20.18)
idou houtos en ampelwni Nabouthai, hoti
katabebeken ekei kleronomesai auton.

In Solomon's prayer of dedication hinneh occurs in a sentence which the translator interpreted as a simple condition, and so used ei for hinneh:[131]

hinneh hashshamayim ûsh^{e}mê hashshamayim lo'
y^{e}kalk^{e}lûka ... K1 8.27
ei ho ouranos kai ho ouranos tou ouranou ouk
arkesousin soi, ...

erxomai for hinneh is probably due to the following infintive (K1 18.7), where Elijah meets Obadiah, Ahab's servant:

wayhî `obadyahû badderek w^{e}hinneh 'eliyyahû
liqra'tô K1 18.7
kai en Abdiou en tw hodw monos, kai elthen
Eliou eis sunantesin autou monos[132]

hinneh occurs twice in K1 1.51. Its second

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[131]On "simple" condition, cf. on 'ayyeh (above).

[132]Note the repeated insistence on their solitude (monos), laying the ground for Obadiah's protest that he will be killed when the king comes to "find" Elijah gone.

occurrence is a G minus,[133] probably to tie the two clauses more closely together, or because the translator felt the second superfluous given the presence of the first:

> wayyuggad lish^{e}lomoh le'mor hinneh '^{a}doniyyahû yare' 'et-hammelek sh^{e}lomoh w^{e}hinneh 'axaz b^{e}qarnôt hammizbe^{a}x K1 1.51 (2xx)
> kai aneggele tw Salwmwn legontes Idou Adwnias ephobethe ton basilea Salwmwn kai katexei twn keratwn tou thusiasteriou

In K1 3.21, where hinneh also occurs twice, its first occurrence is represented in G by ekeinos [e],[134] probably to distantiate the other woman's son from the woman testifying:

> wa'aqum babboqer l^{e}hênîq 'et-b^{e}nî w^{e}hinneh-met wa'etbônen 'elayw babboqer w^{e}hinneh lo'-hayah b^{e}nî '^{a}sher yaladtî K1 3.21
> kai anesten to prwi thelasai ton huion mou, kai ekeinos en tethnekws; kai idou katenoesa auton prwi, kai idou ouk en ho huios mou, hon etekon[135]

G differs from H in K1 20.31 (21.31), where the speech is made by the king of Aram rather than by his servants, and several words in addition to hinneh-na' are lacking in G:

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[133]Its first occurrence is represented by idou.

[134]The second is rendered by idou.

[135]Although the second occurrence of idou (a G plus) may appear a simple case of haplography in H, note that the conjunction on the verb in H appears in G as well, suggesting instead a deliberate interpolation.

wayyo'm^{e}rû 'elayw `$^{a}$badayw hinneh-na' shama`nû kî malkê bêt yisra'el kî-malkê xesed hem
K1 20.31 (21.31)
kai eipen tois paisin autou Oida hoti basileis Israel basileis eleous eisin

Four occurrences of hinneh in K1 14.1-20 are minuses in G (this passage is lacking in G).[136]

The translator of 1 Kings was thus fairly consistent in rendering hinneh by idou (92%), using no other rendering more than once, although he did not as consistently reproduce the syntagms in which it occurs.

In 2 Kings (54xx) hinneh is represented by idou (42xx), idou [e] (7xx), idou de[137] (2xx), and nun (once; 7.6). It is a G minus twice (6.30; 7.13b).

hinneh is apparently rendered by idou de[138] in K2 4.25, where Elijah tells Gehazi that the Shunamitess is coming:

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[136]K1 14.2, 5, 10, 19. Although the substance of a similar story and oracle in G (K1 12.24g-n) is parallel, there is no reflection of these hinneh-clauses (idou occurs in K1 12.24g-n, but not in passages that parallel these occurrences of hinneh):

H	Relation to G
14.2	content reflected in 12.24h
14.5	no parallel in G
14.10	content reflected in 12.24m, but not the hinneh-clause
14.19	no parallel in G

[137]eta, not epsilon.

[138]eta, not epsilon.

hinneh hashshûnammît hallaz K2 4.25
idou de he Swmanitis ekeine

idou de usually represents hinneh-na',[139] which normally precedes verbal forms;[140] there is no indication of such here.

This same rendering appears in K2 5.11. Naaman was angered at Elisha's refusal to see him:

wayyo'mer hinneh 'amartî 'elay yetse' yatsô' w^{e}`amad ... K2 5.11
kai eipen Idou de elegon hoti eceleusetai pros me kai stesetai ...

This translator apparently equated hinneh and hinneh-na', as well as idou and idou de.

In K2 6.20 idou [e] represents hinneh:

wayyiphqax YHWH 'et-`ênêhem w^{e}hinneh b^{e}tôk shomrôn K2 6.20
kai dienoicen kurios tous ophthalmous autwn, kai eidon, kai idou esan en mesw Samareias.

There is no clear reason for this rendering, especially since hinneh followed by a prepositional phrase is rendered by idou with a prepositional phrase without further predication only a few verses earlier.[141]

In a repeated statement idou [e] represents hinneh

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[139]Cf. K2 2.16; 4.9 (= 5.15).

[140]In K2 2.18 it precedes yesh (here not represented in G; see on yesh, above); in K2 6.1 its clause is non-verbal: hinneh-na' hammaqôm '^{a}sher ....

[141]Cf. K2 6.13:
wayyuggad-lô le'mor hinneh b^{e}dotan K2 6.13
kai aneggeilan autw legontes Idou en Dwthaim

with pronominal suffix, although [e] is again part of an analytic tense:

> w^{e}yether dibrê z^{e}karyah hinnam k^{e}tûbîm `al-sepher dibrê hayyamîm l^{e}malkê yisra'el
> K2 15.11[142]
> kai ta loipa twn logwn Zaxariou idou estin gegrammena epi bibliw logwn twn hemerwn tois basileusin Israel.

idou represents hinneh in K2 10.9, a verbal clause rendered with a periphrastic participle (analytic tense); egw eimi reflects the pronoun-verb combination, not hinneh:

> hinneh '^{a}nî qashartî `al-'^{a}donî wa'ehr^{e}gehû
> K2 10.9
> idou egw eimi sunestraphen epi ton kurion mou kai apekteina auton;

nun renders hinneh in K2 7.6, perhaps better to convey the urgency of the Arameans' response:

> hinneh sakar-`alênû melek yisra'el 'et-malkê haxittîm ...
> K2 7.6
> nun emisthwsato eph' hemas basileus Israel tous basileas twn Xettaiwn ...

hinneh is lacking in K2 6.30, again for no apparent reason, although the syntax of G now represents ton sakkon as the object of eiden, rather than the subject of the [in?]direct discourse:[143]

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[142]This = 15.15, 26, 31. Note also the interesting variation in this formula between hinnam k^{e}tûbîm and h^{a}lô'-hem k^{e}tûbîm (e.g., K2 15.21). For further on this see ??.

[143]It is difficult to explain its addition in H, however; it was more likely omitted from G.

wayyar' ha`am w$^{e}$hinneh hassaq `al-b^{e}sarô mibbayit K2 6.30
kai eiden ho laos ton sakkon epi tes sarkos autou eswthen

K2 7.13 is problematic. Burney's reconstruction,[144] while possible textually and contextually, has no support, but the text hardly makes sense as it stands. The first occurrence of hinneh is represented by idou [e], the second is a minus in G:

hinnam k^{e}kol-h^{a}môn yisra'el '^{a}sher nish'^{a}rû-baH hinnam k^{e}kol-h^{a}môn yisra'el '^{a}sher-tammû w^{e}nishl^{e}xû w^{e}nir'eh K2 7.13
idou eisin pros pan to plethos Israel to ekleipon; kai aposteloumen ekei kai opsometha

The translator of 2 Kings was thus fairly consistent in rendering hinneh by idou (81%), although he tended to represent hinneh with a pronominal suffix and participle as idou [e] rather than the usual idou with a finite verb.

In Isaiah (75xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (53xx)[145] and idou [e] (2xx), as well as once each by alla (5.7b), de (5.7a), hoti (48.7), pareimi (52.6), heuriskw (37.36), ginomai (59.9), exw (62.11c), [e] (17.14), and

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[144]C. F. Burney, NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS (Oxford: University Press, 1903):292.

[145]This does not include idou de[eta] (22.17) or idou pareimi (58.9).

autos (22.13). Eleven occurrences are not represented.[146]

In Is 10.33 idou gar appears to correspond to hinneh, but gar is more likely a plus to specify the subordination of this verse to the preceding:[147]

> hinneh ha'adôn YHWH ts^{e}ba'ôt m^{e}sa`eph pu'rah
> b^{e}ma`^{a}ratsah Is 10.33
> idou gar ho despotes kurios sabawth
> suntarassei tous endocous meta isxuos

In Is 20.6 hinneh-koh corresponds to idou; hemeis [e] represents the subjective genitive pronouon (mabbaTenû), since the translator interpreted mabbaTenû as a participle and rendered the phrase with an analytic tense of the verb:

> w^{e}'amar yosheb ha'î hazzeh bayyôm hahû'
> hinneh-koh mabbaTenû '^{a}sher-nasnû sham
> l^{e}`ezrah Is 20.6
> kai erousin hoi katoikountes en te nesw taute
> idou hemeis emen pepoithotes tou phugein eis
> autous eis boetheian,

idou again renders hinneh in Is 36.6, the verb in H here being rendered by an analytic tense, a virtual reversal of the usual syntagmatic pattern:[148]

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[146]Two clauses or verses are lacking in G (38.17; 49.12b); in nine passages hinneh is a G minus (29.8 3xx); 37.11; 38.8; 41.27 (2xx); 65.1b, 17).

[147]Cf. Is 13.9; 62.11 (first occurrence; further on this verse below).

[148]The usual rendering of hinneh with participle being idou with a finite verb.

hinneh baTaxta `al-mish`enet haqqaneh haratsûts hazzeh `al-mitsrayim — Is 36.6
idou pepoithws ei epi ten hrabdon ten kalaminen ten tethlasmenen tauten, ep' Aigupton

In Is 47.14 hinneh is represented by idou, but hayah following hinneh by pantes. This "heightening" or intensification is reflected in the multiple negatives of the following line:

hinneh hayû k^{e}qash 'esh s^{e}raphatam lo'-yatstsîlû 'et-naphsham miyyad lehabah — Is 41.14
idou pantes hws phrugana epi puri katakaesontai kai ou me ecelwntai ten psuxen autwn ek phlogos

idou [e] represents hinneh with pronominal suffix in Is 6.8, Isaiah's dramatic statement of his willingness to follow the call of YHWH:

wa'omar hin^{e}nî sh^{e}laxenî — Is 6.8
kai eipa Idou eimi egw; aposteilon me.

hinneh occurs twice in a row in Is 65.1. The first occurrence is rendered by hinneh [e], the second is a G minus due to homoioarchton:[149]

'amartî hinnenî hinnenî 'el-gôy lo'-qora' bish^{e}mî — Is 65.1 (2xx)
eipa Idou eimi, tw ethnei hoi ouk ekalesan to onoma mou

The use of idou de[150] in Is 22.17 resembles that seen in K2 (above):

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[149]Or to the translator's interpretation of this as a dittography in his Vorlage.

[150]eta, not epsilon.

hinneh YHWH m^{e}TalTelka TalTelah gaber Is 22.17
idou de kurios sabawth ekbalei kai ektripsei
andra

In Is 17.14 [e] represents hinneh, probably to parallel [e] (ouk estai for 'ênennû) in the following clause:

l^{e}`et `ereb w^{e}hinneh ballahah b^{e}Terem boqer
'ênennû Is 17.1
pros hesperan estai penthos, prin e prwi kai
ouk estai.

pareimi[151] represents hinnenî in Is 52.6, and idou pareimi in Is 58.9, perhaps as an emphatic statement of YHWH's presence:

laken yeda` `ammî sh^{e}mî laken bayyôm hahû' kî-
'^{a}nî-hû' ham^{e}dabber hinnenî Is 52.6
dia touto gnwsetai ho laos mou to onoma mou en
te hemera ekeine, hoti egw eimi autos ho
lalwn; pareimi

'az tiqra' w^{e}YHWH ya`$^{a}$neh t$^{e}$shawwa` w^{e}yo'mar
hinnenî Is 58.9
tote boese, kai ho theos eisakousetai sou; eti
lalountos sou erei Idou pareimi.

ginomai corresponds to hinneh in Is 59.9, mainly through the translator's paraphrase of the text:

n^{e}qawweh la'ôr w^{e}hinneh xoshek lin^{e}gohôt
ba'^{a}phelôt n^{e}hallek Is 59.9
hupomeinantwn autwn phws egeneto autois
skotos, meinantes augen en awria
periepatesan[152]

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[151]Also in Ps 139.8.

[152]H: "We hoped for light, but there is only darkness, for brightness, [but] we walk in gloom"; vs. G: "As they waited, light turned to darkness for them, while waiting for dawn, they walked in sleep [confusion]".

exw corresponds to the third occurrence of hinneh in Is 62.11. The clause has been subordinated to the preceding by means of an adverbial participle (attendant circumstance). Each of the previous occurrences of hinneh in this verse, both rendered by idou,[153] begins an independent clause, versus the subordinated translation of this occurrence.

> hinneh YHWH hishmî^{a}` 'el-q$^{e}$tseh ha'arets 'imrû l$^{e}$bat-tsiyyôn hinneh yish`ek ba' hinneh s^{e}karô 'ittô ûph^{ê}`ullatô l^{e}phanayw Is 62.11 (3xx)
> idou gar kurios epoiesen akouston hews esxatou tes ges Eipate te thugatri Siwn Idou soi ho swter paraginetai exwn ton heautou misthon kai to ergon pro proswpou autou

In Is 37.36[154] hinneh is rendered by heuriskw, a contextually appropriate rendering:

> wayyashkîmû babboqer w^{e}hinneh kullam p^{e}garîm metîm Is 37.36
> kai ecanastantes to prwi heuron panta ta swmata nekra.

A misread text (`asû for sasôn) in Is 22.13 led to its rendering as the subject (autoi):[155]

> w^{e}hinneh sasôn w^{e}simxah harog baqar w^{e}shaxoT tso'n Is 22.13
> autoi de epoiesanto euphrosunen kai agalliama sphazontes mosxous kai thuontes probata

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[153]On the first, see on Is 10.33 (above).

[154]Parallel to K2 19.35.

[155]The translator may have read w^{e}hemmah `asû for w^{e}hinneh sasôn.

hinneh occurs twice in Is 5.7; its first occurrence is a minus in G,[156] the second represented by alla:

> wayqaw l^{e}mishpaT w^{e}hinneh mispax lits^{e}daqah w^{e}hinneh ts^{e}`aqah Is 5.7 (2xx)
> emeina tou poiesai krisin, epoiese de anomian kai ou dikaiosunen alla kraugen

The rendering of hinneh in Is 48.7 is unclear--hoti, nai, or both:

> `attah nibr$^{e}$'û w$^{e}$lo' me'az w$^{e}$liphnê-yôm w$^{e}$lo' sh$^{e}$ma`tem pen-to'mar hinneh y^{e}da`tîn Is 48.7
> nun ginetai kai ou palai, kai ou proterais hemerais ekousas auta; me eipes hoti Nai, ginwskw auta.

The translator of G captured the flavor of H in Is 29.8 (hinneh 3xx). Although it is difficult to align the texts, hinneh does not seem to be represented in this verse:[157]

> w^{e}hayah ka'^{a}sher yax^{a}lom hara`eb w$^{e}$hinneh 'ôkel w$^{e}$heqîts w$^{e}$rêqah naphshô w$^{e}$ka'$^{a}$sher yax$^{a}$lom hatstsame' w$^{e}$hinneh shoteh w$^{e}$heqîts w$^{e}$hinneh `ayeph w^{e}naphshô shôqeqah Is 29.8 (3xx)
> kai esontai hws hoi en hupnw peinwntes kai esthiontes, kai ecanastantwn mataion autwn to enupnion kai hon tropon enupniazetai ho dipswn hws pinwn kai ecanastas eti dipsa he de psuxe autou eis kenon elpisen

In Is 37.11 hinneh is not represented because the translator cast the statement as a [negative] rhetorical question:

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[156] de represents the conjunction, which itself makes the clause adversative.

[157] Its first two occurrences are parallel to, and probably represented by kai and hws, respectively; the third has no parallel--the clause in which it occurs is a G minus, probably by homoioarchton.

hinneh 'attah shama`ta 'asher `asû malkê 'ashshûr lekol-ha'aratsôt lehaxarîmam Is 37.11
e ouk ekousas ha epoiesan basileis Assuriwn pasan ten gen hws apwlesan?

In Is 38.8 hinneh is not represented, the sentence being continued directly from the previous verse:

ya`aseh YHWH 'et-haddabar hazzeh 'asher dibber
[8] hinenî meshîb 'et-tsel hamma`alôt 'asher
yaredah ... Is 38.8
hoti ho theos poiesei to hrema touto; ten skian twn anabathmwn, hous katebe ho helios ...

A unique double occurrence of hinneh, the second with a pronominal suffix, is a minus in G, perhaps because it is unique:

ri'shôn letsiyyôn hinneh hinnam welîrûshalaim
mebasser 'etten Is 41.27
arxen Siwn dwsw kai Ierousalem parakalesw eis hodon

In Is 49.12 the second occurrence of hinneh is not represented, probably under the influence of the following clause which, although parallel, lacks the introductory wehinneh:

hinneh-'elleh meraxôq yabo'û wehinneh-'elleh
mitstsaphôn ûmiyyam we'elleh me'erets sînîm
Is 49.12 (2xx)
idou houtoi porrwthen erxontai, houtoi apo borra kai houtoi apo thalasses, alloi de ek ges Perswn.

hinneh is not represented in Is 65.17 due to the paraphrase of this clause (which contrasts with the consistent rendering of the rest of the verse):[158]

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[158]This is especially perplexing in light of the next occurrence of hinneh (Is 65.18), where hinneh in the same syntagm (albeit with a different object) is

kî-hin^{e}nî bôre' shamayim x^{a}dashîm wa'arets
x^{a}dashah w^{e}lo' tizzakarnah hari'shonôt w^{e}lo'
ta`$^{a}$leynah `al-leb Is 65.17
estai gar ho ouranos kainos kai he ge kaine,
kai ou me mnesthwsi twn proterwn, oud' ou me
epelthe autwn epi ten kardian

The translator of Isaiah was fairly consistent in representing hinneh (82%), although he also used verbs,[159] a pronoun,[160] and various conjunctions.[161]

hinneh in Jeremiah (135xx) is rendered by idou (113xx) and hoti (2xx), as well as once each by idou hekw (4.16), [e] (4.24), and ei (7.8). It is twice rendered by a strengthening cognate form (32.28 = 34.2); it is a minus in G fifteen times.[162]

hinneh is represented by idou in Jr 3.22, but the translator felt that 'atanû implied to come in a particular way (i.e., as slaves):[163]

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rendered with idou:
kî hin^{e}nî bôre' 'et-y^{e}rûshalaim gîlah Is 65.18
hoti idou egw poiw Ierousalem agalliama

[159]Once each: pareimi (52.6), heuriskw (37.36), ginomai (59.9), exw (62.11c), and [e] (17.14).

[160]Once: autos (22.13).

[161]hoti/nai (48.7), de (5.7a), and alla (5.7b).

[162]The verse or clause in which it occurs is lacking five times (27.16; 29.17; 30.10; 33.14; 48.40); ten occurrences are not represented, although G and H are otherwise parallel (8.8; 24.1; 25.29; 32.17, 24b, 27; 49.12, 15, 35; 50.12).

[163]Did he read 'atanû as a verb meaning "to be (or become) [a] slave"? If so, this is the only such correspondence in G. Or did the translator think 'atan

hin^{e}nû 'atanû lak kî 'attah YHWH '^{e}lohênû
Jr 3.22
idou douloi hemeis esometha soi hoti kurios ho theos hemwn ei

The difficulty of interpreting the absolute use of hinneh in Jr 4.22 was felt by the translator, who translated hinneh with idou hekasin, probably on the basis of the parallelism with erxontai (rendering ba'îm) in the following line:

hazkîrû laggôyim hinneh hashmî`û `al-y^{e}rûshalaim nots^{e}rîm ba'îm me'erets hammerxaq
Jr 4.22
anamnesate ethne idou hekasin; anaggeilate en Ierousalem Sustrophai erxontai ek ges makrothen

hinneh occurs four times in four consecutive and parallel verses (4.23-26). Three of these are translated by idou, but the second is represented by [e], probably in order to reflect its participial predicate, rendered in G by an analytic tense:

ra'îtî 'et-ha'arets w^{e}hinneh-tohû wabohû ...
ra'îtî heharîm w^{e}hinneh ro`^{a}shîm ...
ra'îtî w^{e}hinneh 'ên ha'adam ...
ra'îtî w^{e}hinneh hakkarmel hammidbar ...
Jr 4.23-6 (4xx)
epeblepsa epi ten gen, kai idou outhen, ...
eidon ta ore, kai en tremonta, ...
epeblepsa, kai idou ouk en anthrwpos, ...
eidon, kai idou ho Karmelos eremos, ...[164]

---

related to 'atôn "she-ass" and render it euphemistically (i.e., "We come as slaves [= beasts of burden]")?

[164]The variation between epeblepsa and eidon is merely stylistic; note the A-B-A-B pattern.
Note also the careful use of foreshortening in the introductory formula, from the rather complete syntax using the object marker (23), to an object (definite!)

The pronominal suffix was rendered with [e] (Jr 44.2), hinneh with idou:

> w^{e}hinnam xarbah hayyôm hazzeh w^{e}'ên bahem yôsheb Jr 44.2 (51.2)
> kai idou eisin eremoi apo enoikwn[165]

The statement in which hinneh occurs is rendered as a condition, so that the translator used ei (de) for hinneh:

> hinneh 'attem bôT^{e}xîm lakem `al-dibrê hashshaqer l^{e}biltî hô'îl Jr 7.8
> ei de humeis pepoithate epi logois pseudesin, hothen ouk wphelethesesthe

hinneh (with preceding 'aken) is a G minus in Jr 8.8, probably because the translator was not sure how to render the combination:[166]

> 'êkah to'm^{e}rû x^{a}kamîm '^{a}naxnû w^{e}tôrat YHWH 'ittanû 'aken hinneh lashsheqer `asah `eT sheqer soph^{e}rîm Jr 8.8
> pws ereite hoti Sophoi esmen hemeis, kai nomos kuriou estin meth' hemwn? eis maten egenethe sxoinos pseudes grammateusin.

hinneh as a conjunction is represented by hoti in Jr 30.32 (37.23), although it is rendered by idou in the same clause some seven chapters earlier (23.19)

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without the marker, to no object (25f).

[165]On privative apo for 'ên, see on 'ên (above).

[166]'aken (5xx in Jr) is otherwise rendered by plen (3.20, 23b), ara ge (4.10), and, apparently, by a participle of [e] (3.23a).

hinneh sa`$^{a}$rat YHWH xemah yats$^{e}$'ah sa`ar
mitgôrer Jr 30.23 (37.23; = 23.19)
hoti orge kuriou ecelthen theumwdes, ecelthen
orge strephoumene,
idou seismos para kuriou kai orge ekporeuetai
eis susseismon (Jr 23.19)

In both Jr 32.28 (39.28) and 34.2 (41.2) hinneh with a pronominal suffix precedes noten. Both occurrences of hinneh are rendered by cognates of [para]didwmi, the first by a passive participle, the second by a noun. Both passages are translated so to emphasize the prophetic announcement:[167]

laken koh 'amar YHWH hin^{e}nî noten 'et-ha`îr
hazzo't b^{e}yad hakkasdîm ûb^{e}yad
n^{e}bûkadre'tstsar melek-babel ûl^{e}kadaH
Jr 32.28 (39.28)
dia touto houtws eipen kurios ho theos Israel
Dotheisa paradothesetai he polis haute eis
xeiras basilews Babulwnos, kai lempsetai auten

koh 'amar YHWH hin^{e}nî noten 'et-ha`îr hazzo't
b^{e}yad melek-babel ûs^{e}raphaH ba'esh
Jr 34.2 (41.2)
houtws eipen kurios Paradosei paradothesetai
he polis haute eis xeiras basilews Babulwnos,
kai sullempsetai auten kai kausei auten en
puri.

In Jr 24.1 w^{e}hinneh is not represented because the translator rendered the subject introduced by w^{e}hinneh as the direct object of the verb:

hir'anî YHWH w^{e}hinneh sh^{e}nê dûda'ê t^{e}'enîm
mû`adîm liphnê hêkal YHWH Jr 24.1
edecen moi kurios duo kalathous sukwn
keimenous kata proswpon naou kuriou

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[167]These renderings may reflect hinneh noten or hinnaton tinnaten, as suggested by, e.g., BHS.

hinneh is also lacking in Jr 25.29 (32.16), where the need for its demonstrative force is obviated by the relative clause:

> kî hinneh ba`îr 'asher niqra'-shemî `aleyha 'anokî mexel lehara` Jr 25.29 (32.16)
> hoti en polei, en he wnomasthe to onoma mou ep' auten, egw arxomai kakwsai

In Jr 32.17 YHWH hinneh may be a G minus due to parablepsis ('ahaH 'adonay ... 'attah):

> 'ahaH 'adonay YHWH hinneh 'attah `asîta 'et-hashshamayim we'et-ha'arets Jr 32.17 (39.17)
> W kurie, su epoiesen ton ouranon kai ten gen

This may also explain why its second occurrence in Jr 32.24 (39.24) is lacking:

> wa'asher dibbarta hayah wehinneka to'eh [25] we'attah 'amarta 'elay ... Jr 32.24 (39.24)
> hws elalesas, houtws egeneto. [25] kai su legeis pros me ...

In Jr 32.27 (39.27) hinneh is again a G minus:

> [26] wayhî debar-YHWH 'el-yirmeyahû le'mor
> [27] hinneh 'anî YHWH 'elohê kol-basar Jr 32.26f (39.26f)
> [26] kai egeneto logos kuriou pros me legwn
> [27] Egw kurios ho theos pases sarkos

hinneh is lacking in G of Jr 49.12; the combination hinneh 'asher 'ên being rendered hois ouk en:

> kî-koh 'amar YHWH hinneh 'asher 'ên mishpaTam lishtôt hakkôs shatô yishtû Jr 49.12 (30.6)
> hoti tade eipen kurios Hois ouk en nomos piein to poterion, epion

In Jr 49.15 (30.9), a verse nearly identical to Ob

2, hinneh and the preceding conjunction kî are not represented in G:[168]

kî-hinneh qaTon n^{e}tattîka baggôyim
Jr 49.15 (30.9)
mikron edwka se en ethnesin

Neither hinneh nor its pronominal suffix are explicitly represented in Jr 49.35 (25.15), although the G verb takes its person and number from the suffix:

koh 'amar YHWH ts^{e}ba'ôt hin^{e}nî shober 'et-qeshet `êlam
Jr 49.35 (25.15)
take lege kurios Suntribetw to tocon Ailam

The second half of Jr 50.12 is barely reflected in G; hinneh is lacking:

bôshah 'imm^{e}kem m^{e}'od xaphrah yôladt^{e}kem
hinneh 'ax^{a}rît gôyim midbar tsiyyah wa`^{a}rabah
Jr 50.12 (27.12)
esxunthe he meter humwn sphodra, meter ep' agatha esxate ethnwn eremos[169]

The translator of Jeremiah was quite consistent in rendering hinneh by means of idou (94%), using only five other renderings--none more than twice.

In Ezekiel (113xx) hinneh is represented by idou (88xx), ean or ei (4xx), and houtos [e] (2xx), as well as nine

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[168]In Ob 2, its only occurrence in that book, hinneh is rendered by idou (below).

[169]Only one form in G eremos represents three synonyms in H (midbar, tsiyyah, wa`^{a}rabah).

other renderings (once each).[170] It is lacking in G eleven times.[171]

hinneh is rendered by idou [e] in Ek 8.4, possibly under the influence of the adverb:

> w^{e}hinneh-sham k^{e}bôd '^{e}lohê yisra'el kammar'eh
> '^{a}sher ra'îtî babbiq`ah Ek 8.4
> kai idou ekei en doca kuriou theou Israel kata
> ten horasin, hen eidon en tw pediw

hinneh l^{e}- is treated like the idiomatic hayah l^{e}- "to become" in an excellent example of hinneh's predicate function:

> w^{e}hinn^{e}ka lahem k^{e}shîr '^{a}gabîm y^{e}pheh qôl
> ûmeTib naggen Ek 33.32
> kai gine autois hws phwne psalteriou
> heduphwnou euarmostou

Ezekiel's statements in Ek 4.14 and 16.27 are translated as explicit conditions by rendering hinneh with either ei or ean:[172]

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[170] idou [e] (8.4), ginomai (33.32), oude (15.5), plen (16.49), hotan (17.12); hoti (23.39), hama (23.40), and me (28.3).

[171] The verse or part of thereof in which it occurs is lacking five times (7.5, 6, 10b; 8.7; 43.12); hinneh is not represented six times (13.10; 15.4; 18.18; 25.7; 37.2b, 11).

[172] Cf. also:

> w^{e}hinneh hôlîd ben wayyar' 'et-kol-xaTTo't
> 'abîw '^{a}sher `asah Ek 18.14
> ean de gennese huion, kai ide pasas tas
> hamartias tou patros autou, has epoiese,

> w^{e}hinneh hikkêtî kappî 'el-bits`ek '^{a}sher
> `asît Ek 22.13
> ean de epacw xeira mou pros xeira mou eph'
> hois suntetelesai

wa'omar 'ᵃhaH 'ᵃdonay YHWH hinneh naphshî lo' mᵉTumma'ah Ek 4.14
kai eipa Medamws, kurie thee tou Israel; ei he psuxe mou ou memiantai en akatharsia

wᵉhinneh naTîtî yadî `alayik Ek 16.27
ean de ekteinw ten xeira mou epi se

The translator also used hotan to make a statement explicitly, though indefinitely, conditional:

'ᵉmor hinneh ba' melek-babel yᵉrûshalaim Ek 17.12
eipon hotan elthe basileus Babulwnos epi Ierousalem

oude represents hinneh in Ek 15.5, to show that YHWH expects a positive answer to his rhetorical question:

hinneh bihyôtô tamîm lo' ye`aseh limᵉla'kah 'aph kî-'esh 'ᵃkalathû wayyexar wᵉna`ᵃsah `ôd limᵉla'kah Ek 15.5
oude eti autou ontos holoklerou ouk estai eis ergasian me hoti ean kai auto analwse eis telos, ei estai eti eis ergasian pur

In Ek 28.3 me shows that he expects a negative answer:

hinneh xakam 'attah middani'el Ek 28.3
me sophwteros ei su tou Daniel?

In Ek 13.10 autos, as the subject of the following verb, renders the pronominal suffix on hinneh, which itself is not represented:

wᵉhû' boneh xayits wᵉhinnam Taxîm 'otô taphel Ek 13.10
kai houtos oikodomei toixon, kai autoi aleiphousin auton, peseitai[173]

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[173]The translator read tippol for taphel.

Another pronoun, the demonstrative houtos, with [e] represents hinneh in Ek 16.44, probably because the clauses are divided so that kol/panta is a predicate nominative rather than an adjective, and the participle is a finite verb. houtos thus becomes the subject of esti:

> hinneh kol-hammoshel `alayik yimshol le'mor k^{e}'immah bittaH Ek 16.44
> tauta esti panta, hosa eipan kata sou en parabole legontes Kathws he meter, [45] kai he thugater.

houtos [e] again represents hinneh in order to distinguish the various parts of the temple as they are being described:

> w^{e}hinneh `al-p^{e}nê hahêkal me'ah 'ammah Ek 42.8
> kai hautai eisin antiproswpoi tautais; to pan pexwn hekaton

hoti represents hinneh in Ek 23.39 when this clause is presented as the head of YHWH's list of the sins of Oholiab and Oholibah:

> w^{e}hinneh koh `asû b^{e}tôk bêtî Ek 23.39
> kai hoti houtws epoioun en mesw tou oikou mou

plen represents hinneh in Ek 16.49, an interesting rendering which focusses the passage on the charge:[174]

> hinneh-zeh hayah `^{a}wôn s^{e}dom '^{a}xôtek Ek 16.49
> plen touto to anomema Sodomwn tes adelphes sou

hama for hinneh in Ek 23.40 and the G plus (euthus) emphasize the immediacy of her feverish preparations for the arrival of the men sent for:

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[174]It is interesting that hayah here is a G minus.

w^{e}'aph kî tishlaxnah la'^{a}nashîm ba'îm mimerxaq
'^{a}sher mal'ak shalû^{a}x '^{a}lêhem w^{e}hinneh ba'û
la'^{a}sher raxatst kaxalt `ênayik w$^{e}$`adît `edî
Ek 23.40

kai hoti tois andrasin tois erxomenois
makrothen, hois aggelous ecapestellon pros
autous, kai hama tw erxesthai autous euthus
elouou kai estibizou tous ophthalmous sou kai
ekosmou kosmw

In Ek 15.4 the function of hinneh seems to be subsumed by the compound preposition that represents l^{e}- so that it is a minus in G:

hinneh la'esh nittan l^{e}'oklah 'et sh^{e}nê
katharsin autes analiskei to pur, kai ekleipei
eis telos; lim^{e}la'kah Ek 15.4-5
parec puri dedotai eis analwsin, ten kat'
eniauton katharsin autes analiskei to pur, kai
ekleipei eis telos; me xresimon estai eis
ergasian;

hinneh is also lacking in G in Ek 18.18--its clause is presented as the simple outcome of the forementioned choices:

w^{e}hinneh-met ba`^{a}wônô Ek 18.18
kai apothaneitai en te adikia autou

In Ek 25.7 hin^{e}nî is lacking; the greater surprise is that the pronominal suffix is not reflected in G--this is so contrary to the gneral tendency that we might reasonably conclude that hinênî was lacking in the translator's Vorlage:

laken hin^{e}nî naTîtî 'et-yadî `aleyka Ek 25.7
dia touto ektenw ten xeira mou epi se

hinneh occurs twice in Ek 37.2. The first time it is represented by idou, the second is a G minus, perhaps

because the translator felt that its distribution was sufficiently implied:

> w^{e}hinneh tabbôt m^{e}'od `al-p$^{e}$nê habbiq`ah
> w^{e}hinneh y^{e}beshôt m^{e}'od Ek 37.2 (2xx)
> kai idou polla sphodra epi proswpou tou
> pediou, cera sphodra.

Further along in this vision of the valley of dry bones hinneh is not directly represented, although its force is felt in the subject pronoun (a G plus):[175]

> ha`^{a}tsamôt ha'elleh kol-bêt yisra'el hemmah
> hinneh 'omrîm yab^{e}shû `atsmôtênû ... Ek 37.11
> ta osta tauta pas oikos Israel esti, kai autoi
> legousi Cera gegone ta osta hemwn, ...

The translator of Ezekiel was fairly consistent in his rendering of hinneh (86%), but used ten other renderings, most of which were particles, based on his sensitivity to the context.

In the Minor Prophets[176] hinneh (62xx) is represented by idou (55xx), houtos [e] (2xx),[177] and once each by ean (Hb 2.4), [e] (Hb 2.19), ginomai (Hg 1.9), and dia touto (Zc 9.4).[178]

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[175]It may be lacking by parablepsis due to the sequence hemmah hinneh.

[176]hinneh does not occur in Jn.

[177]Hb 2.13; Ma 1.13.

[178]Its first occurrence (of two) in Zc 3.9 is not represented.

hinneh in the Minor Prophets									
Bk	Occ	Rep	1	3	5	9	10	13	15	%
Ho	3	3	3							100%
Jl	3	3	3							100%
Am	15	15	15							100%
Ob	1	1	1							100%
Jo	--									--
Mi	2	2	2							100%
Na	4	4	4							100%
Hb	4	4	1	1		1				25%
Zp	1	1	1							100%
Hg	1	1				1				0%
Zc	22	21	20					1	1	95%
Ma	6	6	5				1			83%
Ttl	62	61	55	1	1	1	2	1	1	90%
% (MP)			90%	2%	2%	2%	4%	2%	2%	
% (G)			84%	2%	1%	<1%	<1%	2%	2%	

KEY TO RENDERINGS[179]		
1 idou	7 nun	13 Shared (2 bks)
2 idou [e]	8 idou houtos	14 Unique
3 ei/ean	9 ginomai	15 < G (clause, verse)
4 hode	10 houtos/ekeinos [e]	16 --- (hinneh not rep'd)
5 [e]	11 idou de[eta]	
6 hoti	12 tí [e]	

hinneh is always represented by idou in Hosea and Joel (3xx each), Amos (15xx), Obadiah (once), Micah (2xx), and Nahum (4xx). The first half of MP are thus consistent (100%);[180] it is with Hb that the other renderings begin.

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[179]Renderings not used in MP are listed here for the sake of comparison.

[180]Except for Jn, in which hinneh does not occur.

Although hinneh is always rendered by idou in Amos (15xx), in one passage a conjunction is prefixed, probably to specify the nature of the relationship between this verse and the preceding:

> hinneh 'anokî me`îq taxtêkem Am 2.13
> dia touto idou egw kuliw hupokatw humwn

In four occurrences in Habakkuk hinneh is rendered in four ways: by idou (1.6), ean (2.4), houtos [e] (2.13), and [e] (2.19). This is in part due to difficult or ambiguous texts (2.4, 13):

> hinneh `upp^{e}lah lo'-yash^{e}rah naphshô bô Hb 2.4
> ean huposteiletai,[181] ouk eudokei he psuxe mou
> en autw[182]

The translator may have seen this as parallel to the latter portion of the preceding verse, which is also conditional, or may simply have tried to make sense of his admittedly difficult[183] text.

In Hb 2.13 the translator again paraphrased his text, and used tauta [e] to represent the predicate function of hinneh:

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[181] hupostellw (5xx) represents four different forms or syntagms in H one time each. In Ex 23.21 the parallel is uncertain.

[182] H: Since he is puffed up his soul will not delight in him"; G: "If he draws back [out of fear], my soul will not delight in him."

[183] Variously divided and emended by commentators. Cf., e.g., Ralph L. Smith, MICAH-MALACHI in WBC, 32 (Waco, TX: Word, 1984):105.

h^{a}lo' hinneh me'et YHWH ts^{e}ba'ôt Hb 2.13
ou tauta esti para kuriou pantokratoros?

In Hb 2.19 G again has touto [e], but here touto represents the pronoun hû' following hinneh; hinneh itself is represented, if at all, by [e]:

hinneh-hû' taphus zahab wakeseph Hb 2.19
touto de estin elasma xrusiou kai arguriou

The difference between Hb and the preceding books of MP is striking (25% vs. 100%).

In Zephaniah (once; 3.19) it is rendered by idou.

In Haggai (once; 1.9) hinneh is rendered by ginomai, perhaps because the translator misread it as hayah:[184]

panoh 'el-harbeh w^{e}hinneh lim^{e}`aT Hg 1.9
epeblepsate eis polla, kai egeneto oliga[185]

In Zechariah (22xx) hinneh is represented by idou (20xx) and dia touto (once; 9.4). Its first occurrence (of two) in Zc 3.9 is lacking in G.

In Zc 9.4 dia touto represents hinneh in order to specify the relation between the two verses:

hinneh '^{a}donay yôrishennaH Zc 9.4
dia touto kurios kleronomesei auten

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[184] ginomai parallels hinneh in three other passages (Ex 4.6; Is 59.9; Ek 33.32).

[185] If the translator understood w^{e}hinneh l- as an idiom equivalent to hayah l- ("become"), he would most likely have rendered it by ginomai, which carries the same force.

The first occurrence of hinneh in Zc 3.9 is not represented, probably because the two clauses are combined in G:

> kî hinneh ha'eben 'asher natattî liphenê yehôshua` `al-'eben 'axat hinenî mephatteax pittuxaH ne'um YHWH tseba'ôt... Zc 3.9 (twice)
> dioti ho lithos, hon edwka pro proswpou Iesou, epi ton lithon ton hena hepta ophthalmoi eisin; idou egw orussw bothron, legei kurios pantokratwr ...

In Malachi (6xx) hinneh is represented by idou (5xx) and houtos (once; 1.13):

> wa'amartem hinneh mattela'ah[186] Ma 1.13
> kai eipate tauta ek kakopatheias[187] esti

As in other passages[188] the demonstrative pronoun with [e] parallels hinneh.

The wide variation between the books of MP noted with, e.g., `ôd (above) is again seen with hinneh, which is rendered consistently in the majority,[189] but not in Zc (95%), Ma (83%), Hb (25%), or Hg (0%), again calling into question the assumption that MP represents a translation unit.

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[186]Read mah tella'ah "What a nuisance".

[187]Only here in G.

[188]Cf. on Hb 2.13 (above).

[189]hinneh is represented only by idou in Am (15xx), Na (4xx), Ho and Jl (3xx each), Mi (2xx), and Zp and Ob (once each).

In Psalms (28xx) hinneh is rendered by idou in every case but one. The exception is also its only occurrence with a suffix in Ps (139.8), where hinneh is represented by pareimi in a rendering which parallels that of the personal pronoun in the preceding line:

> 'im-'essaq shamayim sham 'attah w^{e}'atstsî`ah
> sh^{e}'ôl hinneka Ps 139.8
> ean anabw eis ton ouranon, su ei ekei; ean
> katabw eis ton haden, parei.[190]

Psalms is thus quite consistent when representing hinneh, rendering it as idou (96%) except where it occurs with a pronominal suffix.

In Job (17xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (8xx) and de (2xx), and once each by alla (3.7), ecaiphnes (1.19), ei gar (4.3), and tí [e] (38.35). It is not represented twice;[191] one verse in which it occurs is lacking in G (32.12).

The usual rendering occurs in Jb 2.6, although its clause is paraphrased heavily:

> hinnô b^{e}yadeka Jb 2.6
> idou paradidwmi soi auton

hinneh[192] is also represented by idou in Jb 13.18, despite the heavily paraphrased remainder of the verse:

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[190]It is also consistent with the pattern of renderings of the predicators of existence with suffixes in general (cf. on 'ayyeh, et al., above).

[191]Jb 9.19; 33.7.

[192]Actually hinneh-na'.

hinneh-na' `araktî mishpaT yada`tî kî-'^{a}nî 'etsdaq Jb 13.18
idou egw eggus eimi tou krimatos mou, oida egw hoti dikaios anaphanoumai.[193]

In Jb 4.3 hinneh is represented by ei gar, probably because the translator misread hinneh as hen, or becuase he wanted to make the protasis of the condition explicit:

hinneh yissarta rabbîm Jb 4.3
ei gar su enouthetesas pollous

alla corresponds to hinneh in Jb 3.7. hinneh here seems to emphasize that the night already cursed in verse 6 is further cursed here ([6] hallaylah hahû' ... [7] hinneh hallaylah hahû' ...):

hinneh hallaylah hahû' y^{e}hî galmûd Jb 3.7
alla he nuc ekeine eie odune

The last two occurrences of hinneh[194] occur in consecutive verses (40.15f), where they are both rendered by idou. 40.15, however, prefixes alla to idou, perhaps reflecting a lost waw, or to reflect the change of subject:[195]

hinneh-na' b^{e}hemôt '^{a}sher-`asîtî `immak Jb 40.15
alla de idou theria para soi;

Another conjunction, de, corresponds to hinneh in

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[193]G may have read qarabtî for `araqtî. Cf. Dhorme, JOB, 188.

[194]Both hinneh-na'.

[195]To b^{e}hemôt (G: theria).

Jb 5.17 and 32.19. Although it may reflect the existence of hinneh, it does not represent its function:

> hinneh 'ashrê 'enôsh yôkixennû 'elôaH Jb 5.17
> makarios de anthrwpos, hon elegcen ho kurios
>
> hinneh-biTnî keyayin lo'-yippatax Jb 32.19
> he de gaster mou hwsper askos gleukous zewn dedemenos

In YHWH's scathing (and rhetorical) interrogation of Job he asks about Job's ability to command the lightning so that it (they) responds as a servant to its master (hinnenû). In G the lightning responds to Job's attempted commands by asking "What is this [that commands us]?":

> hattesshallax beraqîm weyelekû weyo'merû leka hinnenû Jb 38.35
> aposteleis de keraunous kai poreusontai? erousin de soi Tí estin?[196]

In Jb 1.19, as a messenger describes the loss of Job's flocks and herds, another comes to tell of the death of his children, who had been feasting in the house of their elder brother:

> wehinneh rûax gedôlah ba'ah me`eber hammidbar Jb 1.19
> ecaiphnes pneuma mega epelthen ek tes eremou

ecaiphnes "suddenly, unexpectedly" is an excellent idiomatic rendering of wehinneh in this verse.

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[196]H: Do you send the lightnings so that they go and so that they say, "Here we are"? vs. G: "Do you send lightnings and they go? Will they [not rather] say [of] you "What's this?"
tí [e] occurs elsewhere only in Gn (4xx) and Ex (once).

Jb 9.19, in which hinneh is preceded by the adjective, has been paraphrased heavily; it is unclear which Greek form, if any, parallels hinneh. It does not seem to be represented:

> 'im-l^{e}ko^{a}x 'amîts hinneh w^{e}'im-l^{e}mishpaT mî yô`îdenî Jb 9.19
> hoti men gar isxui kratei tis oun krimati autou antistesetai

In Jb 33.7 hinneh is also a minus in G. Perhaps the need to front the negative adverb made it superfluous:

> hinneh 'ematî lo' t^{e}ba'^{a}teka Jb 33.7
> oux ho phobos mou se strobesei

The translator of Job was thus not consistent in rendering hinneh (57%),this variety resulting in part from his use of various conjunctions to represent hinneh.

In Proverbs (3xx) hinneh is represented once each by idou (1.23) and ean (24.31). It is not represented in Pr 7.10.

Pr 24.31 is heavily paraphrased,[197] although the imagery of G reflects that of H:

> w^{e}hinneh `alah kullô qimm^{e}sonîm Pr 24.31
> ean aphes auton, xerswthesetai[198]

---

[197]H: "All of it had come up thorns"; G: "If he lets it, it will become barren."

[198]xersoumai occurs 3xx (Pr 24.31; Na 1.10; Jr 2.31) in G. In none of these passages does it clearly reflect a form in H.

In Pr 7.10, however, hinneh is a minus in G by haplography probably due to parablepsis (w^{e}ha'ishshah for w^{e}hinneh 'ishshah):

w^{e}hinneh 'ishshah liqra'tô Pr 7.10
he de gune sunanta autw[199]

Ruth (5xx) and Qoheleth (6xx) are consistent, using only idou to represent hinneh.

In Esther (3xx) hinneh is represented by idou (2xx) and by ei (8.7).

In Es 7.9, where the predicatory function of hinneh seems clear, the translator rendered the subordinate relative clause as the main clause, although the sense of H is preserved, and hinneh is represented by idou:[200]

gam hinneh-ha`ets '$^{a}$sher-`asah haman
l^{e}mord^{o}kay Es 7.9
Idou kai culon hetoimasen Aman Mardoxaiw

ei corresponds to hinneh in Es 8.7, where the translator has syntactically paraphrased the king's declaration as a conditional question,[201] and expanded

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[199]H: "And there was a woman [coming out] to meet him"; G: "The woman met him."

[200]H: "There is the gallows which Haman made for Mordecai"; G: "See! Haman has even prepared a gallows for Mordecai".

[201]What does hinneh add to this sentence, which could be translated in two ways: hinneh bêt-haman natattî l^{e}'ester "Here is the house of Haman [which] I have given to Esther" or "Here is the house of Haman. I have given [it] to Esther" (Es 8.7). The translator has

bêt into panta ta huparxonta for greater emphasis or clarity:

> hinneh bêt-haman natattî l^{e}'ester — Es 8.7
> ei panta ta huparxonta Aman edwka kai exarisamen soi

The translator was fairly consistent, representing hinneh by idou (2/3xx = 67%).

hinneh occurs 10xx in Daniel, where it is rendered only by idou (9xx). It is not represented in 8.3, where the translator's approach to his text may have led him not to represent hinneh:[202]

> wa'essa' `ênay wa'er'eh w$^{e}$hinneh 'ayil 'exad `omed liphnê ha'ubal w^{e}lô qarnayim — Dn 8.3
> G: anablepsas eidon krion hena megan hestwta apenanti tes pules, kai eixe kerata

---

paraphrased Artaxerxes' declaration, adding the question of further reward ti eti epizeteis? "[If I have given you ...] what more do you want?"

[202]The idiomatic nature of G is readily apparent when it is contrasted with the rather literal Th: kai era tous ophthalmous mou kai eidon kai idou krios heis hestekws pro tou Oubal, kai autw kerata (Dn 8.3).

In Dn 10.5, however, their renderings of the introductory idiom coincide:

> wa'essa' `ênay wa'er'eh w^{e}hinneh 'îsh-'exad labûsh baddîm — Dn 10.5
> kai era tous ophthalmous mou kai eidon kai idou anthrwpos [Th: aner] heis endedumenos bussina [Th: baddin]

The rendering of hinneh is reversed, however, in Dn 10.20, where it is represented with idou in G, but is a minus in Th:

> w^{e}hinneh sar-yawan — Dn 10.20
> G: kai idou strategos hellenwn eiseporeueto.
> Th: kai ho arxwn twn hellenwn erxeto.

The translator of Daniel was thus consistent in representing hinneh (100%).

hinneh occurs once in Ezra where it is rendered by idou (9.15).

In Nehemiah (3xx) hinneh is rendered once each by idou (6.12) and idou [e] (9.36a). The verse in which it occurs is lacking in G (9.36b (vv 36b-37a < G)).

In 1 Chronicles (8xx) hinneh is represnted by idou (5xx). In its other three occurrences it is not represented in G.

In C1 9.1 hinneh is not represented and the pronominal suffix is rendered with a demonstrative rather than a personal pronoun:[203]

> w^{e}kol-yisra'el hityaxsû w^{e}hinnam k^{e}tûbîm `al-sepher malkê yisra'el C1 9.1
> kai pas Israel, ho sulloxismos autwn, kai houtoi katagegrammenoi en bibliw twn basilewn Israel

hinneh is also a minus in G at C1 11.25, where the pronoun (not the suffix) is again rendered by houtos:

> min-hashshlôshîm hinnô nikbad hû' C1 11.25
> huper tous triakonta endocos houtos

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[203]Cf., e.g., houtos [e] (Hb 2.13; Ma 1.13) and dia touto (Zc 9.4).

In a familiar verse, C1 29.29, hinneh is not represented in G, since eisin merely functions as part of the analytic tense:

> w^{e}dibrê dawîd hammelek hari'shonîm w^{e}ha'^{a}xronîm [sic BHS] hinnam k^{e}tûbîm `al-dibrê sh^{e}mû'el haro'eh ... C1 29.29
> hoi de loipoi[204] logoi tou basilews Dauid hoi proteroi kai hoi husteroi gegrammenoi eisin en logois Samouel tou blepontos ...

The translator of 1 Chronicles thus represents hinneh consistently by idou (100%), but did not represent it at all in three of its eight occurrences.

In 2 Chronicles (40xx) hinneh is rendered by idou (36xx), idou [e] (2xx), and by ei (once; 6.18). Its second occurrence in 16.11 is not represented.

In C2 6.18 hinneh is represented by ei, which makes the sentence conditional rather than absolute, but is a reasonable interpretation of the passage in H:

> hinneh shamayim ûsh^{e}mê hashshamayim lo' y^{e}kalk^{e}lûka C2 6.18
> ei ho ouranos kai ho ouranos tou ouranou ouk arkesousin soi,

The translator of C2 used idou to represent the first occurrence of hinneh in C2 16.11, but combined the two clauses and so did not represent its second occurrence as superfluous:

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[204] hoi de loipoi reflects the standard formula in Chronicles closing the description of a king's reign (w^{e}yether dibrê ...).

w^{e}hinneh dibrê 'asa' hari'shônîm w^{e}ha'ax^{a}rônîm hinnam k^{e}tûbîm `al-sepher hamm^{e}lakîm lîhûdah w^{e}yisra'el C2 16.11 (twice)
Kai idou hoi logoi Asa hoi prwtoi kai hoi esxatoi gegrammenoi en bibliw basilewn Iouda kai Israel.

In C2 18.12 idou represents hinneh, but the non-verbal clause is made verbal--perhaps the translator [mis]read dibrê as dabb^{e}rû:

hinneh dibrê hann^{e}bi'îm peh-'exad Tôb 'el-hammelek C2 18.12
idou elalesan hoi prophetoi en stomati hen agatha peri tou basilews

In C2 20.24 hinneh is also translated by idou, but here the participle, normally represented by a finite verb, remains a participle:

w^{e}hinnam p^{e}garîm nophlîm 'artsah w^{e}'ên p^{e}lêTah
C2 20.24
kai idou pantes nekroi peptwkotes epi tes ges,
ouk en swzomenos.

hinneh is rendered by idou in C2 33.18, but the elision of the last two words of the clause is difficult to explain, especially given the syntactical requirement of a genitive for a patently construct form:

hinnam `al-dibrê malkê yisra'el [19]
ût^{e}phillahtô ... C2 33.18
idou epi logwn [19] proseuxes autou, ...

The translator of 2 Chronicles was thus quite consistent, regularly using idou to represent hinneh (92%).

RENDERINGS OF hinneh WITH AFFIXES

hinneh occurs with the conjunction w^e- (364xx), with pronominal suffixes (226xx), and with both together (20xx).[205] It is not used with any other prefix or preposition. These combinations did not affect the translators' renderings of hinneh.[206]

With pronominal suffixes,[207] the consistency of its rendering (85%) is essentially the same as that for all occurrences of hinneh (83.2%), although the range of renderings is much smaller.[208] Two renderings, tí [e][209] and pareimi,[210] represent hinneh with a suffix, but not hinneh alone.

hinneh with a pronominal suffix in non-verbal syntagms is rendered less consistently by idou (67.1%)

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[205]These 20 occurrences are not included in the previous totals for use with the conjunction and pronominal suffixes, but are included the figures given in the charts (below)..

[206]This sets it off from the other predicators of existence (above).

[207]hinneh also occurs with independent pronouns (87xx), of which 77 are rendered by independent pronouns in G (92%).

[208]5 of 12 common renderings, 1 of 6 shared, and 2 of 28 unique renderings represent hinneh with a pronominal suffix.

[209]Only in Gn 22.7a; 31.11; 46.2; Ex 3.4; Jb 38.35.

[210]A "shared" rendering (limited to Is 52.6; Ps 139.8).

than its occurences in verbal (77.8%) or participial (85.2%) syntagms.

hinneh with pronominal suffixes apparently did not present the same difficulty to the translators as did the other words investigated (above). The exceptions to this general rule are Ps and SS. The translator of SS (9xx) rendered hinneh without a suffix by idou (4xx), but hinneh with a suffix by idou [e] (5xx).[211] hinneh only occurs once with a suffix in Ps (of 28xx), but this is its only occcurrence in Ps not rendered by idou.[212]

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[211]It might appear that this is because hinneh with a suffix occurs only in non-verbal syntagms in SS, but one of its occurrences without a suffix is also non-verbal (SS 3.7), and is rendered by idou. SS therefore is the book which distinguishes most strikingly between the two forms.

[212]The translator used pareimi, a rendering shared only with Is 52.6 (where hinneh also has a suffix).

Renderings of hinneh with Pronominal Suffixes												
Bk	Occ	1	2	4	9	12	13	14	15	16		All
Gn	18	10	2	1		3	1	1			55.6%	62.9%
Ex	8	6		1		1					75%	69.4%
Nu	4	2		1				1			50%	69.2%
Dt	2	1	1								50%	70%
Js	2	2									100%	63.6%
Jg	3	2		1							66.7%	93%
S1	11	11									100%	90.6%
S2	5	5									100%	97.8%
K1	12	10								2	100%	91.8%
K2	13	7	5							1	53.9%	80.8%
Is	16	8	2				1	1		4	66.7%	82.8%
Jr	68	62						2	2	2	96.9%	94.2%
Ek	39	36			1					2	97.3%	86.3%
Ho	1	1									100%	100%
Jl	2	2									100%	100%
Am	2	2									100%	100%
Mi	1	1									100%	100%
Na	2	2									100%	100%
Hb	1	1									100%	25%
Zp	1	1									100%	100%
Zc	5	5									100%	95.2%
Ma	2	2									100%	83.3%
MP	17	17									100%	90.2%
Ps	1						1				0%	96.4%
Jb	2	1				1					50%	57.1%
SS	5		5								0%	44.4%
Dn	1	1									100%	100%
Ez	1	1									100%	100%
C1	3									3	---	100%
C2	19	16	2							1	88.9%	92.3%
TL	250	198	17	4	1	5	3	5	2	15	85%	83.2%
Sfx	(%)	85	7	2	<1	2	1	2				

KEY TO RENDERINGS of hinneh		
1 idou	7 nun	13 Shared (2 bks)
2 idou [e]	8 idou houtos	14 Unique
3 ei/ean	9 ginomai	15 < G (clause, verse)
4 hode	10 houtos/ekeinos [e]	16 --- (hinneh not rep'd)
5 [e]	11 idou de[eta]	
6 hoti	12 tí [e]	

Pronominal suffixes with hinneh are fairly consistently rendered by an independent pronoun in G (77%).[213] When suffixed hinneh occurs in a participial clause (136xx), the participle is usually represented by a finite verb,[214] and the preferred rendering of the suffix is an independent pronoun (84%). The suffix is also represented by the person/number inflection of either the verb which renders the participle or of [e] (when hinneh with suffix is rendered by idou [e]; both 11%). Once it is represented by ekeinos (K1 3.21).

In non-verbal clauses (71xx) the independent

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[213]Twelve books consistently use [only] an independent pronoun; most of these, however, have only one or two suffixed occurrences of hinneh: Zc and S2 (5xx each), Jo, Am, Na, and Ma (2xx each), and Ho, Mi, Hb, Zp, Dn, and Ez (once each).

Five others (with the majority of occurrences, 129/236xx = 55%) are fairly consistent: Ek (38xx; 97%), Jr (68xx!; 95%), S1 (11xx) and K1 (10xx; both 90%), and Ex (8xx; 88%).

Six books are somewhat consistent, but only Gn and K2 have enough occurrences for this distinction to be significant: Jg and C1 (both 3xx; both 67%), Gn (18xx; 59%), and K2 (12xx; 55%), and Nu (4xx), Dt and Js (2xx each). The latter three all use an independent pronoun in 50% of the occurrences.

The least consistent group of books, including three in which the pronominal suffix is never rendered by an independent pronoun includes Is (12xx; 33%), C2 (19xx; 10%), and SS (5xx), Jb (2xx), and Ps (once). The latter three never use an independent pronoun.

[214]The participle is rendered by a finite verb in 79% of these passages (vs. 83% of all occurrences). This is not surprising, given the difference in function between participles in G and H, especially in these clauses, where it is primarily verbal, not adjectival.

pronoun is again the preferred rendering, although it is not nearly as frequent (65%).

When hinneh with a suffix occurs in a verbal clause (29xx) the person and number of the suffix tend also to be indicated by an independent pronoun (76%).

Rendering of Suffix by Type of Clause							
Cl	Occ	PN	V	[e]	Othr	---	PN (%)
Ptc	136	106	12	7	1	10	84%
N-Vb	71	44	6	18		3	65%
Vbl	29	22	7				76%
All	236	172	25	25	1	13	77%
%		77	11	11	.5	6	

With the conjunction (w^{e}hinneh; 364xx, represented 336xx),[215] hinneh is represented by idou (259xx = 77%), which is slightly lower than, but does not vary significantly from, the renderings of all the biblical occurrences of hinneh (83.2%). This is doubtless because these passages represent such a large percentage of the whole (364/1063xx = 34.2%) and because their distribution is approximately the same as hinneh generally. Thus w^{e}hinneh did not pose any particular complication for the translators who, with the exception

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[215]On the rendering of w^{e}hinneh see Johannessohn, "Das biblische kai idou".

of the translator of Gn,[216] rendered it fairly consistently by idou with a conjunction (usually kai, occasionally de).

[216]Although idou is the most frequent rendering in Gn (24/49xx = 50%), the translator tended to translate w^{e}hinneh with infrequent renderings:

Rendering	This Rendering in Gn	w^{e}hinneh	This Rendering in G
[e]	5	4	12
horaw	4	4	5 (also Ex)
euthus	4	3	4 (only Gn)
oiomai	4	3	4 (only Gn)
hwsper	3	3	3 (only Gn)
hode [e]	2	2	2 (only Gn)
hoti	2	1	11
hode	2	1	10
idou hwsper	1	1	1 (only Gn)
exw	1	1	2 (also Is)

It is not represented 11xx (of 14xx in Gn), once because its clause is a G minus.

Renderings of w^ehinneh																
Bk	Occ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	13	14	15	16	%	All
Gn	50	24			1	4	1					5	12	1	10	60%	63%
Ex	15	4				2	2			1		1	1	1	3	25%	69%
Lv	26	20		1	2	1									2	83%	83%
Nu	13	7			2	1		2					1			54%	69%
Dt	6	3	1				1	1								50%	70%
Js	5										2				3	0%	64%
Jg	23	21	1		1											91%	93%
S1	26	20	1						1			1		1	2	87%	91%
S2	19	19														100%	98%
K1	23	20									1		1		1	91%	92%
K2	19	17	1												1	94%	81%
Is	14	4				1				1		2	2	1	3	40%	83%
Jr	14	12				1									1	92%	94%
Ek	50	38	1	3			1			1	1		1	2	2	83%	86%
Am	5	5														100%	100%
Hg	1									1						0%	0%
Zc	11	11														100%	95%
MP	17	16								1						94%	90%
Ps	1	1														100%	96%
Jb	2												1	1		0%	57%
Pr	2			1											1	0%	50%
Ru	3	3														100%	100%
Qo	4	4														100%	100%
Dn	8	7													1	100%	100%
Ne	1	1														100%	50%
C1	3	2													1	100%	100%
C2	21	19	2													91%	92%
TL	364	259	7	5	6	0	5	3	1	4	4	9	19	7	31	80%	84%
w^e+	(%)	77	2	2	2	3	2	1	<1	1	1	3	6	2	9		
G	(%)	84	2	2	1	1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	2	4	2	6		

In addition to asking about the effect of affixes on the representation of hinneh in G, I also asked whether or not the syntagm in which hinneh occurs affected its translation. It does not appear, however,

In addition to asking about the effect of affixes on the representation of hinneh in G, I also asked whether or not the syntagm in which hinneh occurs affected its translation. It does not appear, however, that the syntagms within which hinneh occurs was significant:

Renderings of w^ehinneh by Type of Clause

Cl	Oc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	13	14	15	16	%
V	77	51		5	3	2*	3	1			1	1	2		8	73%
P	156	111			2	2	2*	1	1		1	4	9	1	21	72%
N	139	100	7		1	6		1		4	2	4	7	6	3	74%
T	372	262	7	5	6	10	5	3	1	4	4	9	18	7	32	73%
w^e+	%	73	2	1	2	3	1	<1	<1	1	1	3	5			
G	%	84	2	2	2	1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	2	4			

Renderings of hinneh + Suffix by Type of Clause

Clause	Occ	1	2	4	9	12	13	14	15	16	%
Verbal	9	7		1						1	88%
Ptcpl	162	138	4	2			1	3	2	11	93%
Non-vrbl	83	53	13	1	1	5	2	2		3	67%
Total	254	198	17	4	1	5	3	5	2	15	79%
+sfx	(%)	79	7	2	-	2	1	2			
G	(%)	84	2	1	<	<1	2	4			

KEY TO RENDERINGS of hinneh		
1 idou	7 nun	13 Shared (2 bks)
2 idou [e]	8 idou houtos	14 Unique
3 ei/ean	9 ginomai	15 < G (clause, verse)
4 hode	10 houtos/ekeinos [e]	16 --- (hinneh not represented)
5 [e]	11 idou de[eta]	
6 hoti	12 tí [e]	

* These renderings are limited to Ex.

SYNONYMS OF hinneh IN G

Did the translators of G render hen (98xx) and r^{e}'eh (139xx) as though either was a synonym of hinneh (and thus by idou), or did they view and render them as different words with different functions?[1]

hen[2]

hen, which is distributed quite unevenly in H,[3] does

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[1]See the background to this discussion under 'ayyeh (above).

[2]Cf., inter alia, Waltke & O'Connor, INTRODUCTION: "... the two particles do not differ in their use" (#40.2.1a); their statement is based on that of Labuschagne, "hen and hinneh", whom they cite.
Cf. discussions of hen among the literature cited on hinneh (above).

[3]Three books contain 70% of its occurrences: Jb (32xx) is the only book in which it occurs more frequently than hinneh; Is (25xx; 22xx in Is 40-66); and Gn (12xx).

function as a predicator of existence, although relatively infrequently. Cf., e.g.:[4]

> wayyo'mer YHWH hen `am 'exad w^{e}saphah 'axat l^{e}kullam ... Gn 11.6
> YHWH said, "They are all one people and speak one language ..."
>
> hen-tawî shadday ya`^{a}nenî Jb 31.35
> Here is my mark! Let Shaddai answer me!

hen occurs with a participle only once, but even here the participle does not have the predicate function that so dominates the syntagms of hinneh:

> hen kull^{e}kem qod^{e}xê 'esh m^{e}'azz^{e}rê zîqôt Is 50.11
> All of you who kindle a fire--who gird yourselves with firebrands

Renderings of hen									
Bk	Occ	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8	%
Gn	12	4	4				2	2	40%
Is	25	10	2	1	2	3	4	3	46%
Jb	32	3	10	3	1	3	3	5 4	10%
TOT	69	17	16	4	3	6	9	5 9	28%
%		28%	27%	7%	5%	10%	15%	8% 15%	
All Occurrences of hen									
TOT	98	26	25	7	4	7	13	5 10	31%
%		31%	30%	8%	5%	8%	16%	6% 12%	
hinneh		84%	29%	--	1%				

[4]Cf. Joüon, who, however overstates the difference between the two: "hen voici, particule qu'on emploie notamment pour attirer l'attention, est parfois employé avec la valeur de si, . . . Par contre hinneh ne semble pas avoir jamais la valeur propre de si" (GRAMMAIRE, 516; §167l).

Key to Renderings of hen			
1 idou	3 gar	5 Shared	7 < G
2 ei/ean	4 hoti	6 Unique	8 ---

The translators of G did not interpret hen as a synonym of hinneh.[5] This is clear given the various renderings which they used to represent it.[6]

The three books in which hen primarily occurs use idou and ei/ean equally to represent hen (above).

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[5]Only Nu and Dt use idou to represent most of the occurrences of hen (both 3/4xx = 75%). No other book uses idou in more than half (actually 46%) of its occurrences.

[6]Three renderings (8 occurrences) are shared between two books: de (Is 49.21; Jb 33.10; 40.4), which was also shared by [limited to] Is and Jb for hinneh; idou de [eta] (Is 33.7; Jb 27.12), which also renders hinneh (5xx; S1, K2, Is); and idou gar (Is 51.7, 8; Is 32.1).

Twelve renderings (13 occurrences) are unique:

Unique Renderings of hen vis à vis hinneh		
hen		hinneh
epeide	Gn 15.3	Unique: Gn (2xx)
[e]	Gn 27.11	#5 (12xx)
idou nun	Ex 5.5	---
idou [e]	Ex 6.30	#2 (16xx, but not Ex)
ean gar	Ex 8.22	---
kai	Is 23.13; 44.11	---
me	Is 59.1	Unique: Ek
kai nun	Is 64.8	---
epei	Ps 78.20	---
hwste	Jb 21.27	---
hwsper	Jb 24.5	Unique: Gn (3xx)
pws	Jb 33.12	---

The conclusion that the translators did not interpret hen as a synonym of hinneh is not obviated by the shared and unique renderings of the two, although if hen occurred more frequently it might need modification.

r^e'eh[7]

r^e'eh is partially synonymous with hinneh[8]--their functions overlap. r^e'eh is usually followed by a verb,[9] although it occurs absolutely as well as in participial and non-verbal clauses.

Another question with regard to the identification of r^e'eh with hinneh is the extent to which r^e'eh is used of sight. The passages in which r^e'eh is followed by an object that is either a physical entity or observable action is confined to those passages in which its function does not parallel that of hinneh--the minority its occurrences. The probability is greater, therefore, that r^e'eh (2ms) "borrowed" the deictic

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[7]2ms occurs 82xx in H; the other imperatives occur an additional 58xx in qal.

[8]This despite Simcha Kogut's assertion that "hinneh (without a conjunctive waw) must be seen as having "absorbed" the imperative of the verb of seeing r^e'eh ("Behold!"), ..." ("Meaning and Syntactical Status", 150).

Cf. also Waltke & O'Connor, who include r^e'eh in their list of "presentative exclamations" (INTRODUCTION, #40.2.1a, fn 4); BDB "hen ... (nearly = hinneh)" (907); Joüon, in his brief discussion of interjections: "On emploie souvent aussi l'impératif r^e'eh vois! voici!, ... même en s'adressant à plusieurs personnes (donc = voici!) (GRAMMAIRE, §105d).

[9]The verb that most frequently follows r^e'eh is natan (11/82xx).

function of the far more frequent hinneh than vice versa.[10]

r^{e}'eh usually functions as the simple 2ms qal imperative of ra'ah (51xx). In this function it is fairly consistently represented by ide (43/48xx = 90%).[11]

When it functions like hinneh,[12] however, r^{e}'eh is rendered by idou (18xx), horaw (9xx), and by ide de [eta] and epiblepw (once each).[13]

Although idou most frequently represents this latter use, the use of horaw for this function and its preponderance when rendering the "normal" use of the

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[10]This does not solve the question of the origin of hinneh, which is Kogut's concern. It merely demonstrates how unlikely is their synonymity.

[11]This differs from the representation of hinneh, rendered by ide once (Gn 27.6). hen is also rendered by blepw (C2 10.16), ginwskw (Ex 33.13), idou (S1 24.12), and huperphainw (Jb 40.12). In this function it is not represented 3xx (all Jb).

This compares favorably with the renderings of the other qal imperatives of ra'ah (although these themselves may occasionally function as equivalents of hinneh): ide/idete (50xx = 91%); blepete (3xx = 5%); idou (2xx = 4%).

[12]It is followed by natan (above) only in this function.

[13]In K1 12.16 it was read as ra`ah "shepherd, tend" and rendered by nun boskw. Three of these occurrences are minuses because part or all of the verse in which r^{e}'eh occurs is lacking in G (Gn 31.50; S1 24.12; Jr 40.4).

imperative show that the translators[14] did not intepret r^{e}'eh as a synonym of hinneh.[15]

Renderings of r^{e}'eh					
r^{e}'eh	horaw	idou	Unique	< G	%
TOT 58	50	3	2	3	91%
%	91%	5%	4%		

Renderings of r^{e}'eh Compared to Other Imvs of ra'ah				
Form	horaw	blepw	idou	Other
r^{e}'eh	68%		25%	7%
Other Im'ves	91%	5%	4%	--

It is evident that the translators regarded r^{e}'eh primarily as a form of ra'ah rather than an equivalent of hinneh, even though they used idou in a not insignificant number of occurrences (25%). They did distinguish this from the other imperatives of ra'ah, however, since they did not use idou for (even) the 2fs forms of the imperative.

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[14]This conclusion does not contradict Bauer-Leander: "Umgekehrt können Imperative aus dem Verband mit ihrem Paradigma heraustreten und zu Interjektionen werden. Das is im Hebr. mit folgenden der Fall: . . . rê'eh". They add "[which is] auch als Anrede an mehrere" (HISTORISCHE GRAMMATIK, §83.IV).

[15]idou represents only one-quarter of the occurrences of r^{e}'eh; ide represents two-thirds.

idou IN G

Given the presence of idou where its parallel in H cannot be established with certainty,[16] it is reasonable to ask whether or not the translators of G at times simply inserted idou for emphasis.[17]

In the other occurrences forms other than hinneh are rendered by or (at least) correspond to idou: h^{a}lo' (41xx), ra'ah (22xx), zeh (5xx), `attah (4xx), raq (3xx), a personal pronoun (3xx), and '^{a}bal, xazah, koh, kî, he'/ha', and 'anna' (once each).

This rendering is most frequent in K1 and K2, where idou normally represents h^{a}lo' in the regnal summaries: "Are they not written in the books of ..."[18] (Dt is the

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[16]Of 120 occurrences of idou marked with dash or dagger in H-R, 37 have no observable correspondence between idou and a form in H (see the next note).

[17]Cf. the background of this question--asked of pou--under ayyeh (above).

[18]This regnal formula occurs in K1-2 and C1-2 (48xx). In K1, C1, and C2 both rhetorical h^{a}lo' and positive hinnam were rendered by idou (K1 and C1, 100%; C2, 92%). This probably means that the translators of those books saw idou as the most appropriate representation of the concept, regardless of the actual formula in H. In K2, however, idou (11xx: hinnam (4xx), h^{a}lo' (7xx)) and ouxi (11xx: h^{a}lo'--only in K2) are equally frequent.

The rhetorical (but non-regnal) formula in Es 10.2 is rendered with idou:

h^{a}lo'-hem k^{e}tûbîm ... Es 10.2
idou gegraptai ...

as is hinnam in C2 35.25 (referring to Jeremiah's letter).

Although C2 quite consistently uses idou to

only other book in which idou represents a form other than hinneh more than ten times--as often as hinneh itself occurs in Dt!).

In nearly one quarter of these passages idou seems to have been added under the influence of another idou (usually representing hinneh) in the immediate context, often in the same verse (11xx). In Gn 17.20 the first idou was added to parallel the second but also to set off YHWH's declaration of hearing from the specific actions to be taken on Ishmael's behalf:[19]

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represent either formula in H, in two passages G "reverses" H:

h^{a}lo'-hem k^{e}tûbîm ...	C2 9.29
idou gegrammenoi ...	
hinnam k^{e}tûbîm ...	C2 36.8
ouk idou tauta gegrammena ...	

[19]Nu 22.11 can also be explained in this way: idou makes Israel's actions parallel.

In S1 (2xx) idou parallels preceding occurrences of hinneh rendered by idou in the same verse (S1 12.2; 14.26).

In Ek (4xx) idou also parallels preceding occurrences of hinneh rendered by idou, but not in the same verse. These plusses can probably better be explained as arising out of a desire to introduce items in parallel fashion (40.20 (under the influence of 40.24; cf. BHS), 44; 42.1; Ek 43.6 (cf. 43.2, 5)--note that here an object (phwne) is also added to maintain or strengthen the parallelism. This also applies to Jb 1.14 (cf. 1.6, 12,19).

Es 6.4 is a more difficult text, but idou was added in G (o') for consistency with the following verse.

> ûl^{e}yishma`e'l sh$^{e}$ma`tîka hinneh beraktî 'otô w^{e}hiphrêtî 'otô w^{e}hirbêtî 'otô bim^{e}'od m^{e}'od Gn 17.20
> peri de Ismael idou epekousa sou; idou eulogesa auton kai aucanw auton kai plethunw auton sphodra;

Is 41.28 also illustrates this:

> w^{e}'ere' w^{e}'ên 'îsh ûme'elleh w^{e}'ên yô`ets Is 41.28
> apo gar twn ethnwn idou outheis, kai apo twn eidwlwn autwn ouk en ho anaggellwn

Another example, more complicated, but still clear, is K1 3.21. The first occurrence of hinneh was rendered by ekeinos, and the second by idou, which was probably also added to the second clause to make the two parallel:

> w^{e}hinneh met wa'etbônen 'elayw babboqer
> w^{e}hinneh lo' hayah b^{e}nî ... K1 3.21a
> kai ekeinos tethnekws; kai idou katenoesa auton prwi, kai idou ouk en ho huios mou ...

idou was also used as an emphatic plus in G (26xx):[20]

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[20]In addition to the examples cited, cf. Gn 31.44; Ex 17.9; S1 17.10; Is 26.1; 44.22; 49.6; 66.9 (ouk idou represents 'im); Jr 4.10 (cf. 4.13, 16, where hinneh > idou); 11.10; Ek 22.18; 34.3; Jb 30.26 (a very difficult verse, given its confusion with 30.27); Dn 9.21 (where it points out the content of Daniel's dream); 10.8; C1 29.3; C2 25.18.

In K1 13.4 idou points out the withering of Jeroboam's hand when he stretched it out against the man of God; it also marks the coming of the bears who avenged the slight given Elisha (K2 2.24).

Twice in Is idou is a plus following ra'ah, which may account for its insertion, given its general use with verbs of perception (Is 49.18; 60.4).

Given the nature of Jg B as generally conforming more closely to H than Jg A, it is interesting that three of four occurrences of idou as a G plus in Jg occur only in Jg B (1.24; 8.5; 16.13).

haggal hazzeh `ed bênî ûbênka hayyôm Gn 31.48
idou ho bounos kai he stele, hen estesa ana meson emou kai sou,

w^{e}ha'arets yihyeh liph^{e}nêkem Gn 34.10
kai he ge idou plateia enantion humwn

erets mitsrayim l^{e}phaneyka hî' Gn 47.6
idou he ge Aiguptou enantion sou estin

wayyo'mer hakkohen xereb golyat happ^{e}lishtî
'^{a}sher-hikkîta b^{e}`emeq ha'elah hinneh-hî'
lûTah bassimlah 'ax^{a}rê ha'ephôd 'im-'otaH
tiqqax-l^{e}ka qax kî 'ên 'axeret zûlataH bazeh
wayyo'mer dawid 'ên kamôha t^{e}nennah lî
S1 21.10
kai eipen ho hiereus Idou he hromphaia Goliath tou allophulou, hon epatacas en te koiladi Ela, kai aute eneilemene en himatiw; ei tauten lempse seautw, labe, hoti ouk estin hetera parec tautes entautha. kai eipen Dauid Idou ouk estin hwsper aute, dos moi auten.[21]

Although various forms in H can be aligned with idou in several passages, it is unclear whether idou represents the form in H or the translator misread H.[22]

It does not seem that the translators of G arbitrarily added idou, since in some of the passages in which it cannot be aligned with a form in H idou appears to have been added under the influence of a nearby hinneh. On the other hand, it was apparently added at appropriate points because of its emphatic function.

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[21]Did hinneh in the middle of the verse (hinneh-hî'lûTah bassimlah 'ax^{a}rê ha'ephôd) influence the translator in the other two clauses? If so, why did he not render this occurrence of hinneh?

[22]In Jg 18.22 should we restore w^{e}hinneh mîcah before w^{e}ha'^{a}nashîm (omitted by homoioarchton)? Did the translator read ken as hen (K1 20.40 (21.40))? Was wayhî read as w^{e}hinneh (K1 6.5; Ek 1.25)?

SUMMARY

hinneh occurs 1036xx in H,[23] ranging from Jr (135xx) to four books in which it occurs just once.[24] It is rendered primarily by idou (84%).

Six renderings are limited to two books ("shared" renderings).[25] Twenty-nine renderings (representing thirty-seven occurrences) are unique.[26] The frequency of idou, the usual rendering, covers the spectrum from 100% (twelve books) to 25% (Hb; 4xx) and 0% (Hg; once).[27]

Twelve books consistently render hinneh into G using idou (100%): Am (15xx),[28] Dn (10xx),[29] C1 (8xx),[30]

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[23]It does not occur in Jn or La.

[24]Ob, Zp, Hg, Ez.

[25]alla (Is 5.7b; Jb 3.7), de (Is 5.7a; Jb 5.17; 32.19), exw (Gn 8.11; Is 62.11c), horaw (Gn 24.63; 26.8; 37.29; 40.6; Ex 2.13), hwde (hinneh was read as hennah; Jg 19.9b; S1 20.21b, 22), pareimi (both are suffixed: Is 52.6; Ps 139.8 (not by coincidence the only suffixed occurrence of hinneh in Ps).

[26]9 (32%) of these occur in Gn. 24 occur only once; 6 are limited to Gn, they occur more than once: epeide (Gn 18.31; 19.19), euthus (Gn 15.4; 24.45; 38.29), hode [e] (Gn 25.24; 38.27), hwsper (Gn 37.9b; 41.18, 22), oiomai (Gn 37.7a; 40.16; 41.1; 41.17).

[27]Hb, Hg and SS (44%) are the only books in which idou represents fewer than one-half of the occurrences of hinneh.

[28]Am is the only book in which hinneh occurs more than ten times and is rendered by idou alone.

Qo (6xx), Ru (5xx), Na (4xx), Ho and Jl (3xx each), Mi (2xx), and Ob, Zp, and Ez (once each). Only one never uses idou: Hg (once).[31]

Four books are highly consistent in rendering hinneh, each using only one rendering in addition to idou:[32] S2 (97.9%),[33] Zc (95.2%),[34] Ps (96.4%),[35] and Ma (83.3%).[36]

In the Pentateuch Gn (62.9%),[37] Ex (69.4%), Nu

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[29]hinneh is not represented once.

[30]Although it is not represented (3xx).

[31]Cf. on 'ên (above), where Hg was also the only book of MP never to use the usual rendering.

[32]hinneh occurs three times in both Pr and Ne. Only two occurrences in each book are represented, one by idou and the other by ean (Pr 24.31) and idou [e] (Ne 9.36a).

[33]hoti represents hinneh in S2 5.10 (hoti also renders hinneh in Gn, Ex, and Jr (2xx each), and Dt, S1, Is, and Ek (once each)).

[34]dia touto (Zc 9.4) is a unique rendering.

[35]pareimi occurs in Ps 139.8. This shared rendering occurs elsewhere only in Is 52.6.

[36]houtos [e] occurs in Ma 1.13 (this rendering also occurs in Ek (2xx) and Gn, Js, K1, and Hb (once each)).

[37]Gn is the only book in which hinneh is translated more than thirty-nine times and in which it is rendered by idou less than 80% of the time. It also contains the largest number of unique and shared renderings, including five renderings that occur nowhere else in G, although they occur several times in Gn (above).

Those books with more occurrences (and the consistency with which they represent hinneh) are Jg (43xx; 93%), S1 (75xx; 90.6%), S2 (26xx; 97.8%), K1

(69.2%), and Dt (70%)[38] are consistent relative to each other, both in overall percentage and in other renderings used.[39] Lv, however, renders hinneh far more consistently than the other members of the Pentateuch (83.3%),[40] probably due to its occurrence in what is very nearly a fixed [cultic] formula.

The variation among the various books of MP noted for the other words (above) appears also with hinneh.[41]

(49xx; 91.8%), K2 (52xx; 80.8%), Is (64xx; 82.8%), Jr (120; 94.2%), Ek (102; 86.3%), and C2 (39xx; 92.3%) [cf. MP (61xx; 90.2%)].

The relative inconsistency of Gn is thus all the more striking (given the relatively high frequency of occurrence of hinneh), and shows that the translator of Gn, while not entirely going his own way, nonetheless was far less bound than others in his translation.

This also shows how statistics can be misleading, since it might seem that Is is more "consistent" than Gn. Nothing could be further from the truth. Is is highly idiosyncratic, but its idiosyncracy lies largely in interpretative and paraphrastic renderings of entire syntagms, not (in this case at least) of a single word.

[38]hinneh occurs, however, only ten times in Dt, so this number should not be pressed in comparison with the other three.

[39]Although this latter number fluctuates according to the occurrences of hinneh.

Js (63.6%) and Jb (57.1%) also belong to this "strata" of consistency, although the total occurrences and occurrences rendered are significantly lower than for Gn, Ex, and Nu.

Es (66.7%) uses only one other rendering (ei; Es 8.7), but its total occurrences (3xx) again make its characterisation by inclusion within a group unhelpful.

[40]83.3% may not seem especially high when compared to, e.g., Am (100%), but it is significantly higher than Gn, Ex, Nu, and Dt.

[41]See the excursus "Is MP a Translation Unit?" in the Conclusion (below)1

The consistency with which idou represents hinneh ranges from those seven books which are absolutely consistent (100%)[42] to Hg, which does not use idou (once; 0%).[43] Hb (4xx; 25%) also stands somewhat apart, using three other renderings, only one of which occurs elsewhere in MP.[44]

Although the translators did not have "trouble" deciding how to represent hinneh, their understanding of its function was quite different from that evidenced by modern grammars and lexica. To them it appeared a fixed form, essentially apart from its syntagmatic context;[45] to us it appears an integral and essential part of its syntactical and discourse contexts.[46]

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[42]Am (15xx), Na (4xx), Ho and Jl (3xx), Mi (2xx), Ob and Zp (once each).

[43]ginomai represents hinneh (Hg 1.9), a rendering also found in Ex, Is, Ek (once each). Hg again stands alone among MP in rejecting totally the usual rendering (cf. 'ên which was rendered by ou [e] 0/5xx).

[44]houtos [e] (Hb 2.13; Ma 1.13). The other renderings used in Hb (ean and [e]) occur elsewhere in G, but not in MP.

[45]But cf. Kogut, "Meaning and Syntactical Status" (above).

[46]See the discussion of its "Function in H" (above).

TABLES AND CHARTS

Chart 5.1 Occurrences of hinneh			
Book	Words	hinneh	
Gn	20613	119	0.577%
Ex	16713	41	0.245%
Lv	11950	26	0.218%
Nu	16408	28	0.171%
Dt	14294	10	0.070%
Js	10151	15	0.148%
Jg	9886	44	0.445%
S1	13264	82	0.618%
S2	11040	46	0.417%
K1	13140	55	0.419%
K2	12284	54	0.440%
Is	16943	75	0.443%
Jr	21836	135	0.618%
Ek	18730	113	0.603%
Ho	2381	3	0.126%
Jl	957	3	0.313%
Am	2042	15	0.735%
Ob	299	1	0.334%
Jn	688	0	0.000%
Mi	1396	2	0.143%
Na	558	4	0.717%
Hb	671	4	0.596%
Zp	767	1	0.130%
Hg	600	1	0.167%
Zc	3128	22	0.703%
Ma	876	6	0.685%
MP	14363	62	0.432%
Ps	19587	28	0.143%
Jb	8351	17	0.204%
Pr	6915	3	0.043%
Ru	1296	5	0.386%
SS	1250	9	0.720%
Qo	2987	6	0.201%
La	1542	0	0.000%
Es	3045	3	0.099%
Da	5919	10	0.169%
Ez	3754	1	0.027%
Ne	5312	3	0.056%
C1	10746	8	0.074%
C2	13315	40	0.300%
TTL	05634	1038	0.340%

Chart 5.1.1

hinneh: Occurrences

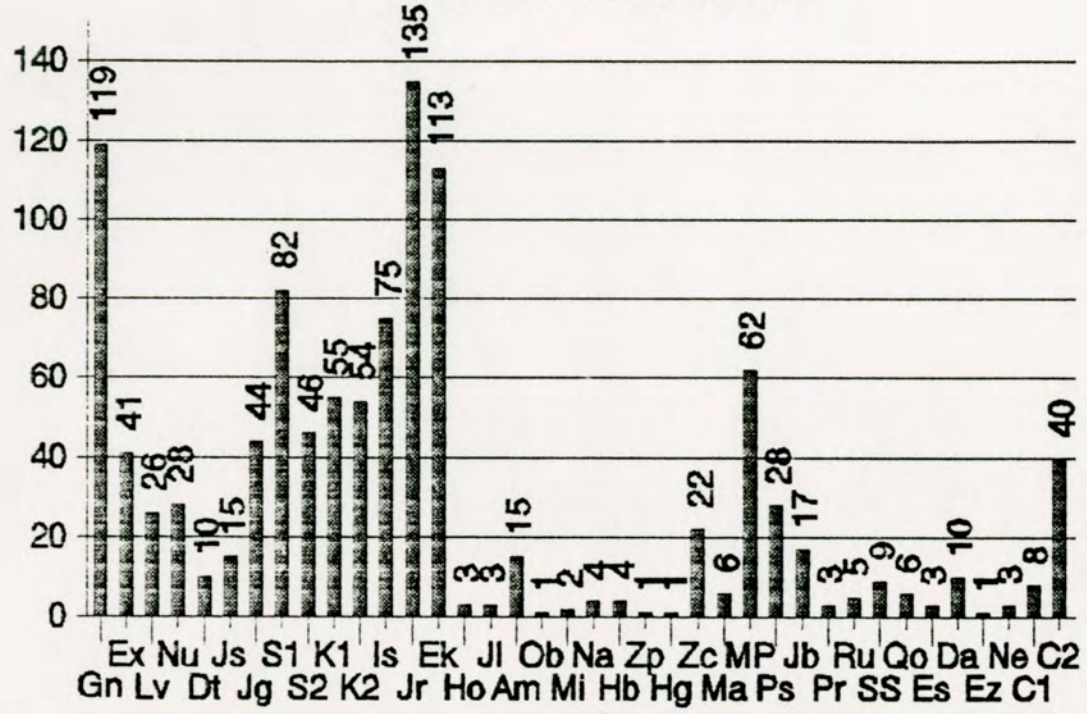


Chart 5.1.2

hinneh: Frequency

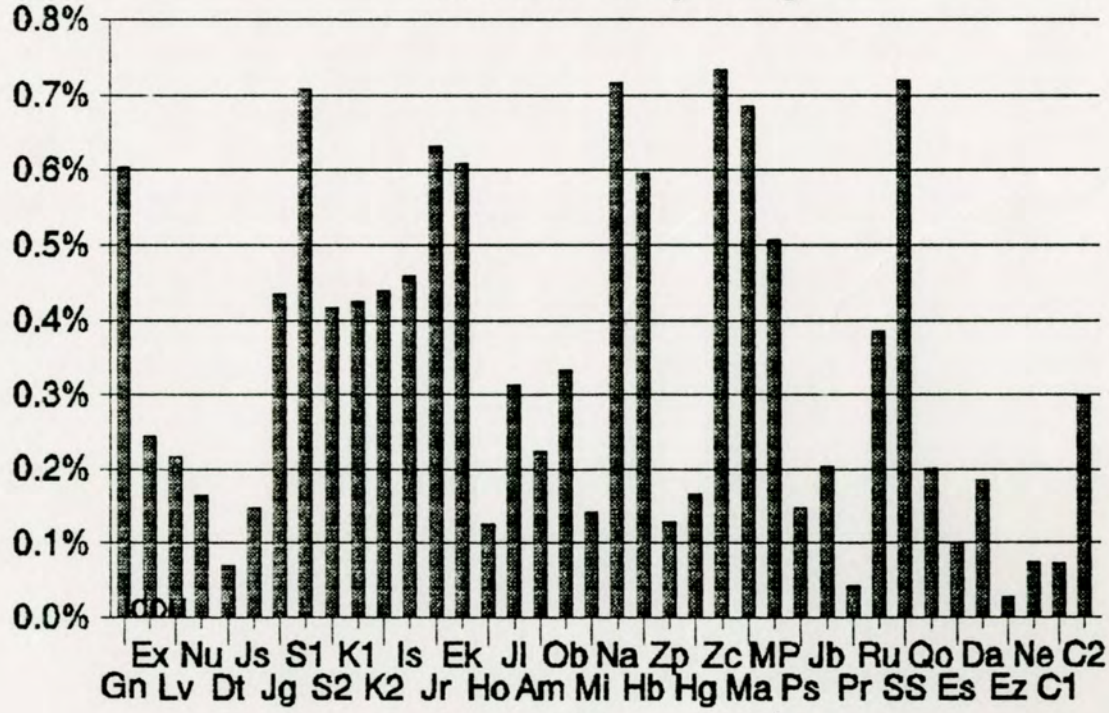


Chart 5.2 Renderings of hinneh

Bk	Occ	Rep'd	1	2	3	4	5	6	13	14	15	16	Other	(%)
Gn	119	105	66	2		2	5	2	5	17	3	11	39	62.9%
Ex	41	36	25			2	2	2	1	2	1	4	11	69.4%
Lv	26	24	20		1	2	1					2	4	83.3%
Nu	28	26	18			3	1			2		2	8	69.2%
Dt	10	10	7	1				1					3	70.0%
Js	15	9	7							1		6	2	77.8%
Jg	44	43	40	1		1			1			1	3	93.0%
S1	82	75	68	1				1	2		2	5	7	90.7%
S2	46	46	45					1					1	97.8%
K1	55	49	45		1					1	4	2	4	91.8%
K2	54	52	42		7							2	10	80.8%
Is	75	66	53	2			1	1	4	3	2	9	13	80.3%
Jr	135	120	113		1		1	2		3	5	10	7	94.2%
Ek	113	102	88	1	4			1		5	5	6	14	86.3%
Ho	3	3	3											100.0%
Jl	3	3	3											100.0%
Am	15	15	15											100.0%
Ob	1	1	1											100.0%
Mi	2	2	2											100.0%
Na	4	4	4											100.0%
Hb	4	4	1		1		1						3	25.0%
Zp	1	1	1											100.0%
Hg	1	1											1	0.0%
Zc	22	21	20							1		1	1	95.2%
Ma	6	6	5										1	83.3%
MP	62	61	55		1		1			1		1	6	90.2%
Ps	28	28	27						1				1	96.4%
Jb	17	13	8						3	1	1	2	5	61.5%
Pr	3	2	1		1							1	1	50.0%
Ru	5	5	5											100.0%
SS	9	9	4	5									5	44.4%
Qo	6	6	6											100.0%
Es	3	3	2		1								1	66.7%
Da	10	9	9									1		100.0%
Ez	1	1	1											100.0%
Ne	3	2	1	1							1		1	50.0%
C1	8	5	5											100.0%
C2	40	39	36	2	1							1	3	92.3%
TTL	1038	946	797	16	18	10	12	11	17	36	24	66	149	84.2%
Percent		91.1%	84.2%	1.7%	1.9%	1.1%	1.3%	1.2%	1.8%	3.8%	2.3%	6.4%	15.8%	

KEY: RENDERINGS of hinneh[47]		
1 idou 2 idou [e] 3 ei/ean 4 hode 5 [e] 6 hoti	7 nun 8 idou houtos 9 ginomai 10 houtos/ekeinos [e] 11 idou de[eta] 12 tí [e]	13 Shared (2 bks) 14 Unique 15 < G (clause, verse) 16 --- (hinneh not represented)

[47]For the sake of space renderings #7-12 are not included in the main table. Each of these represents less than one percent of the occurrences of hinneh, but they all occur in three or more books (and so are not "shared"). They are, however, included in the column marked "Total Other", and in this table:

			Renderings						idou	these
Bk	Occ	Rep	7	8	9	10	11	12	(%)	words
Gn	119	105	1	1		1		3	63%	5%
Ex	41	36			1			1	69%	6%
Nu	28	26	2						69%	8%
Dt	10	10	1						70%	10%
Js	15	9				1			78%	11%
S1	82	75		1			2		91%	4%
K1	55	49		1		1			92%	4%
K2	54	52	1				2		81%	6%
Is	75	64			1		1		80%	3%
Ek	113	102			1	2			86%	3%
Hb	4	4				1			25%	25%
Hg	1	1			1				0%	100%
Ma	6	6				1			83%	17%
MP	62	61			1	2			90%	5%
Jb	17	14						1	62%	7%
TOT	671	603	5	3	4	7	5	5	72%	5%
Percent			.5%	.3%	.4%	.7%	.5%	.5%		

Key	
7 nun 8 idou houtos 9 ginomai	10 houtos/ekeinos [e] 11 idou de [eta] 12 tí [e]

Chart 5.2.1

hinneh: Summary of Renderings

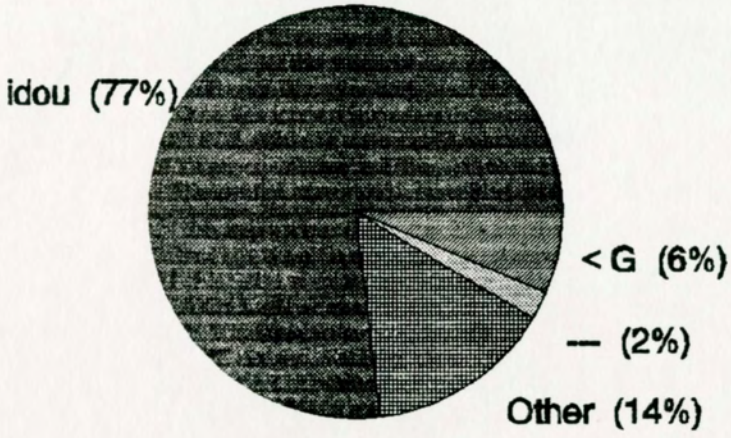


Chart 5.2.2

hinneh: idou & Other Renderings

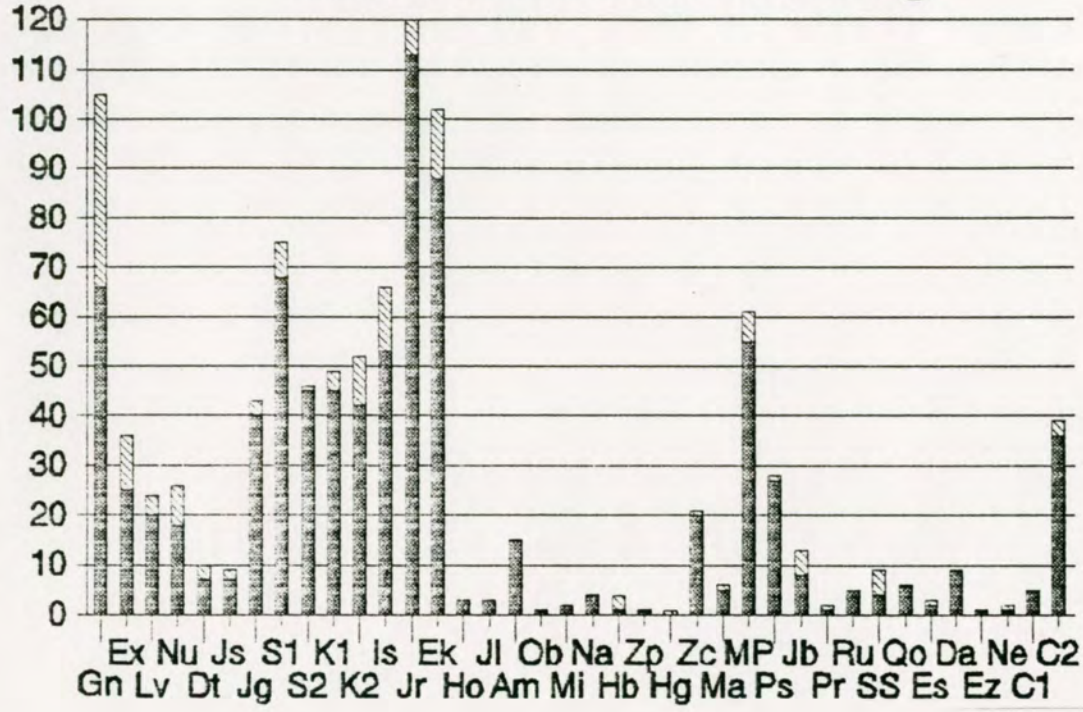
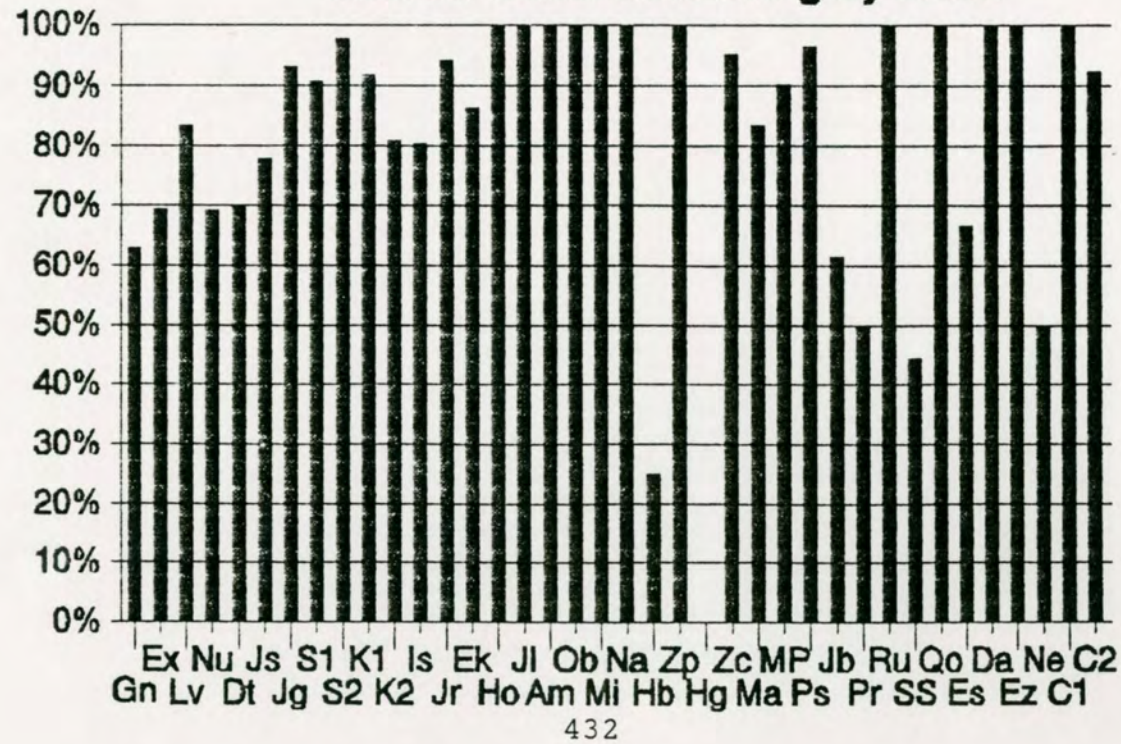


Chart 5.2.3

hinneh: Usual Rendering by Book



CONCLUSION

This dissertation examines the predicators of existence--both their function in H and the means by which the translators of the Septuagint represented them in Greek.

This conclusion addresses their identity in this light, the translation technique of the various books of G, and two implications of this study, viz., the identity of MP as a translation unit and the study of the translation of synonyms.

THE PREDICATORS OF EXISTENCE

The major factor in choosing these words (and no others) to study was their potential identity as a form-class in H.[1] The prerequisite for a group of words to be identified as a form-class--their intersubstitutability--is the degree to which they can be substituted each in the syntagms of the other members of the group.[2]

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[1]See also the "Introduction" (above). I had also wondered whether or not the translators of G rendered them as though functionally related.

[2]See the Introduction (above). Since there are no native speakers on whom to test such substitutions, such a conclusion can be reached only by comparing the syntagms within which they occur and deciding whether or not they can be "exchanged". [Even if there were native speakers, there is little reason to think that they would have the ability to explain or even to express

The distribution of 'ayyeh, yesh, `ôd, 'ên, and hinneh overlaps syntagmatically. 'ayyeh occurs only in non-verbal clauses and yesh is very nearly limited to them. 'ên occurs with participles as well as in non-verbal clauses.[3] hinneh occurs primarily in verbal clauses, but also quite often in both non-verbal and participial clauses. `ôd also occurs primarily in verbal clauses, but only secondarily in non-verbal or participial clauses.[4]

Occurrence by Type of Syntagm				
	Non-Verbal	Verbal	Participial	Other
'ayyeh	100%			
yesh	99%			<1%
'ên	82%		13%	4%
hinneh	33%	43%	24%	1%
`ôd	21%	64%	7%	8%

Despite this distribution these words should be considered syntagmatic[5] synonyms. All five predicate

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distinctions which are primarily emic rather than etic.]
Cf. M. O'Connor, "Writing Systems and Native Speaker Analyses", SBLSP 1986, edited by K. H. Richards (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986):536-43.

[3]It should not go unnoticed, however, that whereas 'ayyeh and 'ên often have definite subjects, those used with yesh are primarily indefinite.

[4]`ôd and hinneh obviously do not function as predicators of existence in verbal clauses.

[5]This is the meaning of intersubstitutability in the sense in which it is used here; they are obviously not semantically synonymous.

existence (locative, negative, continued) of their subjects[6]--existence that is contemporaneous to the speaker or narrative situation. They also use suffixes to indicate their pronominal subjects.[7] Thus far, they may be considered mutually inter-substitutable, and distinct in H.

On the other hand, their distribution reveals that they are completely inter-substitutable only in non-verbal syntagms;[8] their use suggests that predication of existence is more central to the function of 'ayyeh, yesh, and 'ên than to that of hinneh, and that `ôd,

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[6]For specific explanations and examples, see "Function in Hebrew" in chapters 1-5 (above).

[7]Although to widely varying degrees:

Use with Pronominals						
	'yyh	yesh	`ôd	'ên	hnnh	TOTAL
Total	52	138	489	789	1036	2525
Suffix	9	9	39	103	249	409
Suffix	17%	7%	8%	13%	24%	16%
Pronoun	---	---	.06%	.89%	6.6%	

Their occurrence with suffixed pronominal subjects cannot be the factor that determines their identity as a form-class, however, since pronominal suffixes can indicate the subjects of both infinitives absolute and participles (with [subjective] suffixes, a different specie of "subject"). The latter cases, however, are not predications of existence, but of the action or state indicated by the [fientive or stative] verb.

[8]Syntactically, 'ayyeh, 'ên, hinneh, and yesh normally front their clause, but this is rarely true for `ôd.

which occurs primarily in verbal clauses predicates existence relatively infrequently. The intersubstitutability of the class, therefore, is limited to non-verbal clauses--the only syntagm common to the members of the group.

A further clue that this distinction is correct comes from their representation in G. Each word has a usual rendering. A fundamental difference, however, between the primary renderings of 'ayyeh, yesh, and 'ên and those of `ôd and hinneh reflects the functional division within the group (the presence or lack of [e] in the usual rendering):

Renderings				
	with [e]		without [e]	
'ayyeh	pou [e]	74.5%	pou	20%
yesh	[e]	77.1%		
'ên	ou [e]	72.5%	ou	14.8%
`ôd	eti [e]	5%	eti	76.1%
hinneh	idou [e]	1.7%	idou	84.2%

The usual rendering of 'ayyeh, yesh, and 'ên (in which the predicate function predominates) includes [e].[9] The usual rendering of `ôd and hinneh, on the other hand, lacks [e]; the corresponding rendering with

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[9]The locative (pou) or negative (ou/me) needed to convey their semantic content are also part of this usual rendering.

This is the average of their renderings throughout G--the consistency with which they are rendered in individual units of G varies considerably.

[e] occurs in both cases, but infrequently. This reflects their general distribution in non-verbal clauses, which is in turn an aspect of their function.

Of special interest is the occurrence of the members of this group with pronominal suffixes. In discussing their translation (above) I noted that their occurrences with pronominal suffixes have been rendered less consistently than their occurrences without suffixes. In the cases of yesh, `ôd, and 'ên this difference is significant. I suggested that this was perhaps due to the translators' uncertainty regarding how best to render this construction,[10] or, at least, to their recognition of the morphological (not functional) difference of these forms:

Renderings with Suffixes						
Frequency of Suffixed Forms						
	'yyh	ysh	`ôd	'ên	hnnh	TOTAL
Occ	52	138	489	789	1036	2525
w/Sfxs	9	9	39	103	249	409
Sfxs %	17%	7%	8%	13%	24%	16%
Frequency of the Usual Rendering						
All G	75%	77%	76%	73%	84%	
w/Sfxs	67%	11%	46%	42%	77%	

[10]It is also not un-related to their occurrence with participles. See the discussion of the renderings of each word with affixes (above).

The evidence of G thus corroborates the results of the studies of the grammar and syntax of H. It does not establish it, since the translators (or a translator) may well have misunderstood and so misrepresented their function. When, however, the lines of evidence from the two coincide--as they do here--it seems reasonable to conclude that the translators understood what they were rendering and that their renderings were choices consciously based on their knowledge of both H and G, which reflects favorably upon ours also.

THE PREDICATORS OF EXISTENCE IN G

Given the limitation of this dissertation to only one aspect of the matrix that contributes to developing a typology of translation style--consistency of rendering--these remarks concerning the various units of G are necessarily limited to that aspect as well.[11]

Another question, however, contributes tangentially to this discussion: the effect of the distribution or frequency of a word in H upon the consistency of its representation in G.

It seems reasonable to assume that the more frequently a given word occurs, the more ready (and

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[11]Cf. the Introduction (above); Tov, TCU (54-60); Barr, TYPOLOGY.

obvious) an equivalent for it would be.[12] Rare or unusual words might likewise tend to be rendered inconsistently, because they did not occur frequently enough to have developed a "stereotyped" representation.[13] On the other hand, the more frequent a word and the greater the variety of its contexts,[14] the lower its consistency of rendering, if a translator chose to indicate that diversity.

A comparison of the frequency[15] of a given word in a unit to the consistency[16] with which that word is rendered in the same unit should at least begin to answer whether or not the frequency with which the translator encountered a particular word affected his consistency.[17]

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[12]Cf. Tov's discussion of stereotyping in TCU (54f, especially the example of b^{e}rît/diatheke (55, n32)).

[13]Tov, ibid. This concept is probably more critical for full words (nouns and verbs) than for function words (on this distinction see the Introduction).

[14]This is not necessarily the case, however, as demonstrated by, e.g., 'ên (above).

[15]"Frequency" represents the degree to which a word occurs, expressed as a percentage of the total number of words in a book.

[16]Cf. Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents (337-59).

[17]This type of study would ideally need to be done for every vocabulary item in H that occurs frequently enough to have a "usual" [majority] rendering (for statistical validity, at least 10-15 times).

When the frequency of these words in a given book is compared with the consistency of their representation, however, there is no apparent correlation between frequency and consistency.[18]

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[18] I here compare only the consistency and frequency of hinneh (as the most frequent, and therefore most accurate statistically) for reasons of space. The data for the other words reveals nothing with regard to the existence of a pattern.

hinneh: Frequency & Consistency by Frequency				
Bk	hnnh	Rep	Usual	Freq'y
Zc	22	21	95.2%	0.735%
SS	9	9	44.4%	0.720%
Na	4	4	100.0%	0.717%
S1	82	75	90.7%	0.709%
Ma	6	6	83.3%	0.685%
Jr	135	120	94.2%	0.632%
Ek	113	102	86.3%	0.609%
Gn	119	105	62.9%	0.606%
Hb	4	4	25.0%	0.596%
MP	56	32	57.1%	0.508%
Is	75	66	80.3%	0.460%
K2	54	52	80.8%	0.440%
Jg	44	43	93.0%	0.435%
K1	55	49	91.8%	0.426%
S2	46	46	97.8%	0.417%
Ru	5	5	100.0%	0.386%
Ob	1	1	100.0%*	0.334%
Jl	3	3	100.0%	0.313%
C2	40	39	92.3%	0.300%
Ex	41	36	69.4%	0.245%
Am	15	15	100.0%	0.224%
Lv	26	24	83.3%	0.218%
Jb	17	13	61.5%	0.204%
Qo	6	6	100.0%	0.201%
Da	10	9	100.0%	0.186%
Hg	1	1	0.0%*	0.167%
Nu	28	26	69.2%	0.165%
Ps	28	28	96.4%	0.148%
Js	15	9	77.8%	0.148%
Mi	2	2	100.0%	0.143%
Zp	1	1	100.0%*	0.130%
Ho	3	3	100.0%	0.126%
Es	3	3	66.7%	0.099%
Ne	3	2	50.0%	0.075%
C1	8	5	100.0%	0.074%
Dt	10	10	70.0%	0.070%
Pr	3	2	50.0%	0.043%
Ez	1	1	100.0%*	0.027%
Average:			87.3%	

* = one occurrence in book

hinneh: Frequency & Consistency by Consistency				
Bk	hnnh	Rep	Usual	Freq'y
Na	4	4	100.0%	0.717%
Ru	5	5	100.0%	0.386%
Ob	1	1	100.0%*	0.334%
Jl	3	3	100.0%	0.313%
Am	15	15	100.0%	0.224%
Qo	6	6	100.0%	0.201%
Da	10	9	100.0%	0.186%
Mi	2	2	100.0%	0.143%
Zp	1	1	100.0%*	0.130%
Ho	3	3	100.0%	0.126%
C1	8	5	100.0%	0.074%
Ez	1	1	100.0%*	0.027%
S2	46	46	97.8%	0.417%
Ps	28	28	96.4%	0.148%
Zc	22	21	95.2%	0.735%
Jr	135	120	94.2%	0.632%
Jg	44	43	93.0%	0.435%
C2	40	39	92.3%	0.300%
K1	55	49	91.8%	0.426%
S1	82	75	90.7%	0.709%
Ek	113	102	86.3%	0.609%
Ma	6	6	83.3%	0.685%
Lv	26	24	83.3%	0.218%
K2	54	52	80.8%	0.440%
Is	75	66	80.3%	0.460%
Js	15	9	77.8%	0.148%
Dt	10	10	70.0%	0.070%
Ex	41	36	69.4%	0.245%
Nu	28	26	69.2%	0.165%
Es	3	3	66.7%	0.099%
Gn	119	105	62.9%	0.606%
Jb	17	13	61.5%	0.204%
MP	56	32	57.1%	0.508%
Ne	3	2	50.0%	0.075%
Pr	3	2	50.0%	0.043%
SS	9	9	44.4%	0.720%
Hb	4	4	25.0%	0.596%
Hg	1	1	0.0%*	0.167%
Average:			87.3%	

When G is listed by frequency rather than consistency, there is still no apparent pattern, which demonstrates conclusively that for these words (at least) there is no positive or negative correlation between frequency and consistency, and that the consistency with which a particular unit renders H has more to do with the nature of that unit than with either the use or frequency of the words being examined. We should therefore beware assuming, expecting, or imputing consistency of rendering on the basis of a word's frequency either in G or in a particular unit.[19]

When we compare the renderings of the predicators of existence in G several books stand out as consistent and several as inconsistent. The majority, however, lie along the continuum between these extremes.

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[19]Another question, however, involves the intra-segmental relationship between consistency and frequency. When the books of G are arranged along the "literal-free continuum" according to a typology of translation technique, some which render one or even two words with absolute consistency (100%) are nonetheless characterized as "relatively consistent" or even "relatively inconsistent" because the words which were rendered consistently occurred too few times to offset the occurrences--and inconsistent renderings--of the other words. If these renderings themselves correspond to the frequency of the words' occurrence, they may reveal a tendency or pattern within that unit's general typology.

An examination of one-third of G (Gn - Ek; Qo, C2) shows that there is no correlation between the frequency of these words and the consistency of their rendering within the confines of a unit.

Six books are either completely or highly consistent in representing the predicators of existence by the usual rendering:[20] Ob, Ru, and C1 (all 100%); Qo (94.4%), K1 (90.4%), and C2 (91.1%).

Four books are inconsistent, representing the predicators of existence by the usual rendering in fewer than half of their occurrences: Es (46.7%), Mi (42.9%), Pr (33.3%), and Hg (25%).

Between these extremes are two other groups. Eleven books may be called relatively consistent; they range from 89.7% (S2) to 81.1% (Ps): S2, S1, Na, Ez, Jr, K2, Zc, JgA, Dn, Ne, Dt, Ps. The largest group (seventeen) ranges from 75.8% (Ek) to 50% (Hb, Zp, Jn), and may be called relatively inconsistent: Ek, Is, Lv, Am, Js, Nu, Gn, MP, Ho, Ex, La, Ma, Jb, Jl, SS, Hb, Zp, Jn.

This does not demonstrate the literal or free nature of any of these units since, as noted above, consistency of rendering is too narrow a basis for such a judgment. It is instructive, however, to compare these conclusions with those of others who have made similar assays of the comparative analysis of

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[20]Note that this relates to consistency vis à vis the usual rendering for G; on the question of internal consistency apart from G, see below. [All lists are in descending order of consistency.]

translation technique.[21] I here therefore compare the results of several recent studies of various aspects of translation technique in order to grope toward a typology of the translation technique of the various units.[22]

Each book of G can be assigned a category along the continuum from "consistent" to "inconsistent" on the basis of this dissertation.[23]

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[21]Cf. (chronologically) Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Infinitive"; _____, "Der Gebrauch des Verbes 'EXEIN"; _____, "Renderings of the Hebrew Comparative Expressions; Sollamo, RENDERINGS OF HEBREW SEMIPREPOSITIONS; Aejmelaus, PARATAXIS; Tov & Wright, "Computer-assisted Study"; Wright, "Statistical Analysis"; _____, "Quantitative Representation".

Note that few of these treat all of G, as I have (Tov & Wright, e.g., confine their investigation to Nu, Dt, Jg A, S1, S2, K2, Ez, Ne, Jb 1-5, Ps 30-65, Pr, Qo, SS, Jr, La, Ek, MP, Ben Sira).

For further references, see Emanuel Tov, A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL STUDIES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE SEPTUAGINT AND ITS REVISIONS (Jerusalem: Academon, 1979); revised and enlarged edition, 1982 (especially 8-22, 28-33).

[22]MP are listed both collectively and individually.

[23]The arbitrariness of setting absolute boundaries (i.e., 90-100% = "consistent"; 75-90% = "relatively consistent", etc.) quickly becomes apparent when books are assigned separate designations because their consistency differs by a fraction of a percent. In a statistical study, however, demarcations are necessarily arbitrary and may differ somewhat between studies.

Various Classifications of Translation Units									
Bk	Krft	Tov	T&W	S-S	Sol	Wrgt	Ptnm	Aver	Classified
Qo	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	Literal
JgB	1	1					1	1	
K2			1	1	1		2	1.3	
C1	2	1					1	1.3	
C2	2	1					1	1.3	
Ez	2	1	1	1			2	1.4	Relatively
Ne	2	1	1	1			2	1.4	Literal
S2			2	1	1		2	1.5	
Ru	2	1	2	1	2		1	1.5	
JgA	2		2	1	1		2	1.6	
Jr	2		2	1	1		2	1.6	
SS	2	1	1	1	1		4	1.7	
Ps	2	1	3	3	2		2	2.2	"Mixed"
Ek			3	3	1	1	3	2.2	
La		1	3	3	1		4	2.4	
Js	2						3	2.5	
S1			3	3	2		2	2.5	
MP	2		3	3	2		3	2.6	
Gn	3						3	3	Relatively
Ex	3						3	3	Free
Lv	3						3	3	
Dt			4	5	4		2	3.6	
Dn		5					2	3.7	
Nu			4	5	4	4	3	3.8	
Is	4	5					3	4	Free
Es		5					4	4.5	
Jb	5	5	5	5	5		4	4.8	
Pr	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4.9	

It is helpful to see how the results of my study compare to those of others.[24] It is striking, given the

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[24]The columns refer to the following works, respectively:

Robert A. Kraft, "Septuagint", IDBS: "The following tentative classifications ... may provide some impression ..." (813). He analyzes the books in to the following categories: (A) Relatively more focus on parent text (1 mechanical, relatively wooden/stilted); (B) Relatively more focus on producing acceptable Greek

uni-dimensional approach of this dissertation, that its results agree in large measure with the others cited.

Jg B and Qo are labelled "literal" or "slavish". My designations of Gn, Ex, Lv, Es, and Pr are also in general agreement with the others listed here.

The greatest disagreement concerns the nature of SS, Dt, Dn, Nu, and Is. SS appears to be much more free

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(2 relatively stilted; 3 more idiomatic Greek); (C) Free translation less concerned with the parent language/text (4 non-paraphrastic free renderings; 5 free paraphrase) (813f).

In a brief comment Tov lists only two categories: (1) Literal; (5) Free, even paraphrastic (TCU, 63).

Tov & Wright "Computer-Assisted Study" classify books into five categories: (1) Literal; (2) Relatively Literal; (3) Inconsistent; (4) Relatively Free; (5) Free (182f).

Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Infinitiv": (1) Literal; (3) Tending toward free; (5) Free (177f, 186, 189).

Sollamo, RENDERINGS OF SEMI-PREPOSITIONS: (1) Most slavish; (2) Relatively literal; (4) Relatively free; (5) Free (284-86).

Wright, "Consistency", only discusses Ek (417).

This dissertation: (1) consistent (90% - 100%); (2) highly consistent (80% - 89%); (3) relatively consistent (50% - 79%); (4) relatively inconsistent (10% - 49%); (5)

This chart may appear misleading because these studies are based upon different sorts of data (consistency, word order, etc.), and because the legitimacy of assigning numerical values to the conclusions of other scholars in order to compare them to my own is questionable, especially since they might be unwilling to present a conclusion [usually carefully and tentatively stated] by assigning it a number.

This could be done by using the actual statistics from each study (in, e.g, Tov & Wright), so that every element was represented by a percentage; the comparison and averaging of these might affect the final column--it would certainly increase its apparent validity. Such a study would, in fact, be necessary either to accurately represent a single unit or to compare more than one units.

in this study than in the others, but Dt, Dn, Nu, and Is more literal,[25] perhaps because of the variable introduced by comparing unlike studies, or because they rendered certain words more consistently than others.

It is clear, however, that despite the relatively limited frame of reference of this study, its results are in general accord with the analyses of others. This in turn partially vindicates the general practice of assigning particular books to points along the continuum of translation technique on the basis of a limited study, whatever aspect of the translational matrix that study might address.

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[25]This demonstrates the need for continued examination of the various aspects of translation technique, especially those which, because they can be described quantitatively, allow direct and relatively unbiased comparison of units.

EXCURSUS A: IS MP A TRANSLATION UNIT?

A recent study compared Joel and Nahum in G in order to address the perennial question of "The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint".[26]

A comparison of the frequency (use and the non-use) of the usual rendering in MP for each word studied reveals little consistency within this alleged unit.

'ayyeh in MP						
Bk	Occ	pou [e]	pou	Unq	--	Usual
Ma	3	3				100%
Jl	1	1				100%
Zc	1	1				100%
Na	2	1		1		50%
Ho	3		3			0%
Mi	1		1			0%
TTL	11	6	4	1	0	55%
MP	(%)	55	36	9	0	
All	(%)	75	20	2	4	

Ma (3xx), Jl and Zc (once each) use only pou [e]; Ho (3xx) and Mi (once) never use it. The usual rendering of G is the usual rendering of MP as well,

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[26]C. Robert Harrison Jr., "The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint", BIOSCS 21 (1988):55-72 (cf. his introduction to the history of the discussion (56-8) and the literature cited (72)).

He analyzed four aspects of their translation: (1) lexical flexibility (the subject of this dissertation); (2) plusses in G; (3) word usage; (4) quality of translation (errors in translation due to some type of scribal misunderstanding).

although much less frequently (MP: 55%; G: 75%). The variation between (especially) between Ho and Ma is striking.

yesh in MP			
Bk Occ	huparxw	Unique	[e]
Jn 1		1	0%
Mi 2		2	0%
Ma 1	1		0%
TTL 4	1	1	0%
MP (%)	25%	75%	0%
All (%)	4%	<1%	82%

Mi (2xx), Jn, and Ma (once each) never use [e] (the usual rendering of yesh in G.[27] Not only is MP thus set apart from G as a whole,[28] it is also divided from within, using three different renderings and misreading yesh once (Mi 2.1; above).

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[27]These are the only occurrences of yesh in MP.

[28]Only one other book (Es; one occurrence of yesh) does not represent yesh by [e].

`ôd in MP						
Bk	Occ	eti[29]	ouketi	Other	--	eti
Hg	2	2				100%
Jn	1	1				100%
Hb	1	1				100%
Ma	1	1				100%
Zc	15	11	3		1	80%
Na	4	3	1			75%
Ho	10	7	2	1		70%
Zp	3	1	2			33%
Jl	3	1	2			33%
Am	7	1	4	2		14%
Mi	4		2	1	1	0%
TTL	51	29	16	4[30]	2	59.2%
MP (%)		59%	33%	8%		
All (%)		76%	2%	22%		

Hg (2xx), Hb, Jn, Ma (once each) use only eti; Zp (3xx), Jl (3xx), and Am (7xx) use eti in fewer than 50% of its occurrences. Mi (4xx) never uses eti. Note again the range in consistency, although the variety of rendering is quite a bit smaller (these two renderings account for 92% of all occurrences in MP but only 78% in G).[31]

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[29]This includes eti huparxw (Am 6.10), above.

[30]The "other" renderings in Ho (once) and Am (2xx) are unique; that in Mi (once) is hews (1% of G).

[31]Which includes MP! Cf. the "other" renderings.

'ên in MP								
Bk	Occ	1	2	3	6	8	9	12	(%)
Na	7	7							100%
Ob	1	1							100%
Ho	15	10		2	2	1			67%
Mi	6	4	2						67%
Hb	3	2	1						67%
Am	5	3			1		1		60%
Zc	4	2	1		1				50%
Zp	3	1		1				1	50%
Jl	3	1	1			1			33%
Ma	6	1		4				1	17%
Hg	5		1	4					0%
TTL	58	32	6	11	4	2	1	2	57%
MP	(%)	57	11	18	7	4	2	4	
All	(%)	73	4	15	2	2	2	2	

KEY[32]	
1 ou [e]	7 ou heuriskw
2 ou huparxw	8 a- privative
3 ou	9 Shared (2 bks)
4 oudeis [e]	10 Unique
5 oudeis	11 < G
6 ou exw	12 --- ('ên not rep'd)

Na (7xx) and Ob (once) only use ou [e]; Jl (3xx) and Ma (6xx) use ou [e] fewer than 50% of the time; Hg (5xx) never uses ou [e]. The usual rendering of G is also most frequent in MP, but it represents a far smaller majority of the occurrences of 'ên (MP: 57% vs.

[32]Renderings which were not used are listed in the key for the sake of completeness and comparison.

G: 73%)--the difference is comparable to that noted for `ôd (above).[33] The greater frequency of huparxw is also striking, given its frequency in representing yesh.[34]

hinneh in MP								
Bk	Occ	1	3	5	9	10	13	15	%
Am	15	15							100%
Na	4	4							100%
Ho	3	3							100%
Jl	3	3							100%
Mi	2	2							100%
Ob	1	1							100%
Zp	1	1							100%
Zc	22	20					1	1	95%
Ma	6	5				1			83%
Hb	4	1	1	1		1			25%
Hg	1				1				0%
Ttl	62	55	1	1	1	2	1	1	90%
MP	(%)	90	2	2	2	4	2	2	
All	(%)	84	2	1	<1	<1	2	2	

KEY		
1 idou	7 nun	13 Shared (2 bks)
2 idou [e]	8 idou houtos	14 Unique
3 ei/ean	9 ginomai	15 < G (clause, verse)
4 hode	10 houtos/ekeinos [e]	16 --- (hinneh not rep'd)
5 [e]	11 idou de[eta]	
6 hoti	12 tí [e]	

[33]Cf. Harrison, "Unity", who notes other examples of "lexical flexibility" (67, esp. n17).

[34]huparxw represents 25% of the occurrencs of yesh in MP (vs. 4% for G), but the low occurrence of yesh in MP (4xx) makes this relatively insignificant.

Am (15xx), Na (4xx), Jl, Ho (3xx each), Mi (2xx), Ob, Zp (once each) use only idou; Hb (4xx) uses idou once (25%); Hg (once) does not use idou. The frequency of the renderings of hinneh in MP reflect those of G more closely than those of any of the other words, which probably reflects the general consistency of its rendering (although yesh, which is rendered nearly as consistently (yesh: 81%; hinneh: 84%), is never represented by its usual rendering in MP).

Comparison of MP[35]
According to Average Consistency

Bk	hinneh	yesh	`od	'ayyeh	'en	Average
Ob	100.0%				100.0%	100.0%
Na	100.0%		75.0%	50.0%	100.0%	88.2%
Zc	95.2%		78.6%	100.0%	50.0%	85.0%
Am	100.0%		14.3%		60.0%	70.4%
MP	90.2%	0.0%	59.2%	54.5%	57.1%	67.4%
Ho	100.0%		70.0%	0.0%	66.7%	64.5%
Ma	83.3%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	20.0%	62.5%
Jl	100.0%		33.3%	100.0%	33.3%	60.0%
Jn		0.0%	100.0%			50.0%
Hb	25.0%		100.0%		66.7%	50.0%
Zp	100.0%		33.3%		50.0%	50.0%
Mi	100.0%			0.0%	66.7%	42.9%
Hg	0.0%		100.0%		0.0%	25.0%
G	84.2%	81.2%	76.6%	75.9%	69.0%	76.7%

[35]A "blank" means that the word does not occur in that book; 0.0% means that the word is never represented by the usual rendering.

This diversity in consistency of rendering makes it difficult to assume or impute the unity of the translation of MP, although it does not disprove that theory. The question is not, of course, the occurrence of the usual rendering in MP--this is merely a convenient way to express it, since the work in this dissertation was done on that basis--but the consistency within MP of the rendering of each word, i.e., determining the usual rendering for MP and each book's conformity to it (or lack thereof).[36]

It seems best to conclude, with Harrison, that

> ... the uncritical assumption of translational unity within the collection which comprises the minor prophets must be rejected. . . . at the very least, it becomes apparent that the question of the unity of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint is still open.[37]

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[36]The question of their unity can only be answered [and even then only provisionally] when the translation of each of the Twelve is analyzed as a unit using, e.g., Tov's criteria of literalness, and the results of those analyses compared. Even this might prove statistically meaningless in the sense that differences between the individual books are statistically insignificant, once the whole is considered.

[37]Harrison, "Unity" (71f).

This study also demonstrates the benefit of investigating the translation technique of alleged synonyms.[38]

Most of the alleged synonyms investigated were not rendered in the same way as the main word being studied. This could be either because they so differ in function[39] that they are not synonyms, despite our interpretation of them as such, or because the translators did not represent them as synonyms. The translators could have represented them differently despite recognizing them as synonyms,[40] or because they did not so recognize them.

When, however, as great a difference in representation as exists between, e.g., 'ayyeh and 'ay/'ê appears, it should give the lexicologist of H

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[38]Allegations of synonymity may be drawn from lexica, grammars, and works on syntax, as well as from observation of the text.

[39]I am still using "function" to represent the word's location in the semantic and syntactical matrix of H.

[40]Cf. Aquila's largely etymological approach.

pause concerning their identity,[41] and cause him to investigate their function more fully.[42]

This seems to benefit the lexicon of H, but not that of H only. It also helps the lexicologist of G, since the study of the meaning of the renderings (the lexicon of G) cannot be based merely on a comparative study of the inner- and extra-biblical Greek lexicon,[43] but must also consider that which the translators were trying to represent.[44] This bi-directional consideration is therefore of prime importance for a

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[41]On the other hand, the renderings of, e.g., hen and hinneh, should not cause us to assume their non-synonymity, but at least to re-examine our assumptions concerning their function.

[42]Thus avoiding, e.g., the erroneous statement of BDB that 'êphoh occurs primarily in verbal clauses (under 'ayyeh, above).

It should also encourage the lexicographer of G to pursue renderings of alleged synonyms in H, since all definition is both positive (what the word denotes and connotes) and negative (what delineates the word from other words--especially those with which it is allegedly synonymous). This complements Tov's insistence that

> "LXX lexicology must concentrate on the intentions of the translators, mainly by an analysis of the translation technique employed" (Emanuel Tov, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words", RB 83 (1976):532).

[43]Except, of course, for those books originally composed in G.

[44]Cf., e.g., the constant stress on "... from the translator's viewpoint" in Tov, TCU (54-60).

future lexicon of G.[45]

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[45]Cf. the canon of lexical semantics which says that meaning is ascribed both positively (what a word signifies) and negatively (what it does not, or what distinguishes it from other words, especially its putative synonyms).

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