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A Study of the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute and Its Translation in the LXX of the Pentateuch

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SENIOR THESIS APPROVAL

This Honors thesis entitled

**“A Study of the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute and Its Translation
in the LXX of the Pentateuch”**

written by

Taylor Bascue

and submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for completion of
the Carl Goodson Honors Program
meets the criteria for acceptance
and has been approved by the undersigned readers.

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Translation and textual criticism are two closely related fields. When translating from the original language of the Biblical text there are places variant readings occur between manuscripts. In these places the textual variant may have an impact on how those passages are translated. The translator must interact with these textual variants in order to make a decision as to which reading seems original. One area in which these two fields overlap is in the study of the Septuagint (LXX). This ancient translation is useful for textual criticism in that it provides a text that pre-dates some of the earliest manuscripts that were available for study, until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947.¹ However, even with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the LXX is still useful for textual criticism due to the fact that recent studies on translation techniques have shown that the translations that seemed to point to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*² are actually just a free translation by the translators.³ Translation techniques are any regularly used method to translate a lexeme or syntactic construction. An example of this would be the use of the Greek word *κύριος* to translate the Hebrew Divine Name *יהוה*. The reason for studying these translation techniques is that by understanding them it becomes easier to distinguish what is a legitimate variant reading.

In regards to the field of translation, the LXX is a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The translation process of the LXX most likely began sometime around the Third Century B.C., however, this date is somewhat debated. It is also likely that those translators who produced this massive work began with the Pentateuch and from there a multitude of translators worked to complete the rest of the Old Testament over a long period of time. Problems arise, however,

¹ Paul D. Wegner, *A Student's Guide to Textual Criticism of the Bible: Its History, Methods, and Results*, (Downers Grove, IN: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 89.

² The *Vorlage* is the text that the other manuscripts are copies of. In the case of the LXX it is the text that was used in the translation process.

³ Wegner, 93.

because the LXX does not always provide a literal translation from the Hebrew into the Greek. In many instances a literal translation from the Hebrew to the Greek would most likely be confusing and made up of poor grammatical constructions. This is similar to how a literal translation from Hebrew to English would be confusing to English readers. The field of translating is a difficult one at times. Jerome, the man who translated the Latin Vulgate is quoted as saying of translation

“Translation... is a difficult, almost impossible art, to master. Languages vary so in their order of words, in their individual metaphors, and in their native idioms. The translator is thus faced with a choice between a literal, word-for-word rendering (which is certain to sound absurd and so be a travesty of the original) and something much freer (in which case he is liable to be accused of being unfaithful).”⁴

Adding to the difficulty of deciphering these translations is the fact that even among the manuscripts of the LXX there are text critical issues. By studying the LXX and the possible translation techniques that might have been used to move from Hebrew to Greek an opportunity arises that allows for an attempt to recreate the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. This is useful in that it helps to see where possible variants may be between the *Vorlage* of the LXX and the Masoretic Text (MT).

In studying the translation techniques of the LXX, one must narrow the focus. This is because the total number of possible translation techniques is not known. In order to discover these different translation techniques, as well as to be certain of their existence, individual lexemes or syntactic constructions must be studied to find patterns that support or deny the proposed translation technique. The focus for this study was on the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute (IA). The reasoning behind this choice was that the IA can be found in different kinds of

⁴ Ernst Würthwein *Text of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 92-93, as cited in Wegner, 95-96.

construction that would be translated differently. There has also been some study done on this verbal form by Emanuel Tov. His study, however, focused on what he called the “Infinitive Absolute Construction,” which is more commonly referred to by Hebrew scholars as the paronomastic construction.⁵ In focusing on this construction, Tov did not examine the remaining usages that do not occur in a paronomastic construction. This study examined a part of his findings in the Pentateuch, as well as the uses of the IA that were not considered “Infinitive Absolute Constructions.” In order to go deeper in this study it was first necessary to understand what the IA in Biblical Hebrew (BH) is, what it does, and how it is used in certain constructions. It was then necessary to look at examples of how the LXX translated the various instances of the IA. Once the LXX constructions were analyzed a comparison was attempted and a conclusion was attempted to be drawn. The comparison that was attempted regarded what verbal or nominal forms were used to translate the IA depending on the use of the IA in individual passages.

BH has two categories of non-finite verbs. These categories are infinitives, which designate the *action* or *situation* of a verb, and participles, which refer to the *actor* of a verb. Within the category of infinitives, there are two distinct forms, the infinitive construct and the IA.⁶ The IA differs in form from the infinitive construct in that it cannot be combined with other grammatical or lexical morphemes, meaning that the IA cannot be governed by a preposition or take a pronominal suffix.⁷ The IA in BH has a wide variety of functions. These functions include; 1) acting as a noun in nominative (subject), accusative (object), and genitival (possessor

⁵ Emanuel Tov, “Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the Septuagint—Their Nature and Distribution,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Vol. 72* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1999), 247.

⁶ Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 580.

⁷ Christo H.J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 158.

or source) relationships, 2) acting as an adverb, modifying a finite verb, and 3) substituting for a verb (both finite and non-finite).⁸

1. Paronomastic IAs

The most common use of the IA is in the paronomastic construction. A paronomastic construction is an instance where the IA may precede or follow a finite verb of the same root, and often of the same stem. According to Webster, about 55% of the time the IA occurs with a finite verb of the same root.⁹ Waltke and O'Connor note that when the IA is used paronomastically, it shares the same stem as the finite verb, and often the root as well.¹⁰ An example of this occurs in Gen. 2:17 where there is a *Qal* IA followed by a *Qal* imperfect.

וּמַעַץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב נָלַע לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכַלְתָּ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת:

There are, however, instances where the IA and the finite verb do not share the same stem, such as when the *Qal* IA is bracketed with the *Niphal* (Exod. 19:13),

לֹא-תִגַּע בּוֹ לְךָ בְּיַד-סִקּוּל יִסָּקַל אוֹ-יִנְרַה יִנְרַה אִם-בִּהְמַה אִם-אִישׁ לֹא יִחַגַּהּ בְּמִשְׁחֵהּ הַיּוֹלֵל הַמָּה נִצְלוּ בָהֶרָ:

with the *Piel* (2 Sam. 20:18),

וַתֹּאמֶר לְאָמֵר דַּבֵּר וַיִּדְבְּרוּ בְּרֵאשִׁיטָה לְאָמֵר שְׂאֵל יִשְׂאֵלְנוּ בְּאָבֵל וְגוֹ הַתַּמּוּ:

Hiphil (Gen 46:4),

אֲנֹכִי אֶרְדָּ עִמָּךְ מִצְרַיִמָה וְאֲנֹכִי אֶעֱלֶה גַם-עִלְיָהּ וַיּוֹסֶף לְשֵׁית יָדוֹ עַל-עֵינָיו:

⁸ Brian L. Webster, *The Cambridge Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 282; IBHS, 581.

⁹ Webster, 282.

¹⁰ IBHS, 584.

and *Hithpael* (Isa. 24:19).¹¹

רָצָה הַתְּרַעְצָה הָאֲרִיזָה לְפָנֶיךָ הַתְּפִירָה אֲרִיזָה מִוֶּט הַתְּמוּשָׁה אֲרִיזָה:

In either case, whether the words share the same stem or not, these constructions use the infinitive as an internal accusative, which is a nominal use of the IA. In BH an accusative noun is said to modify the verb, acting as either an object (indicating the direction of the action) or specifying other aspects of the verbal action.¹² An internal accusative is an accusative used as the object of the verb that functions adverbially.¹³ Thus the paronomastic use of the IA intensifies the finite verb, causing this usage to be called the intensifying infinitive.¹⁴ When this construction is used, the author/speaker expresses his conviction of the truth of what he said regarding the action. Thus, when this construction has been used, listeners are not able to claim that the speaker was unclear regarding their statement.¹⁵ The paronomastic construction helps to clarify and emphasize the speaker's perspective or mood. Paronomastic constructions are usually translated into English with glosses such as *surely*, *certainly*, *definitely*, *indeed*, *clearly*, or *in fact*.¹⁶

2. IAs as Adverbial Complement

Another nominal use of the IA in BH is as an adverbial complement. Adverbial complements are nouns used in the place of an adverb to denote time, place, condition, manner, and specification, thus detailing a feature of the verbal action.¹⁷ When the IA is used in this way

¹¹ BHRG, 158.

¹² *Ibid.*, 161.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 584.

¹⁵ BHRG, 158.

¹⁶ Webster, 282.

¹⁷ IBHS, 169.

it describes the attendant circumstance of the situation represented by the finite verb. This is most commonly found where there is a non-paronomastic IA paired with a finite verb without the use of a *vav* conjunction. It is also possible for an IA to be paired with another IA that follows the finite verb and the two of them together act as adverbial complements, such as in Gen. 8:5.¹⁸

והמים היו **הקלוד וחסור** עד התחדש העשירי בעשירי באחד לחדש נראו ראשי ההרים:

The adverbial infinitive may also be bracketed by a paronomastic pairing. These pairings will almost always come after the main verb that they are modifying. These two IAs will be connected to each other with a *vav* conjunction. According to Webster, the most common word in these pairings is הלך.¹⁹ Other words of motion such as שוב and השכם are also commonly used in these pairings. This kind of construction often indicates repetition or continuance (Gen. 8:7).²⁰

וישלח את־הערב ויצא **יצוא ושוב** עד־יבֹשֶׁת המים מעל הארץ:

The uses of this construction may also indicate a simultaneous action (Jud. 14:9).²¹

9 ויִרְבְּהוּ אֱלֹהֵי־כַפְּזָיו **וַיִּלְחֶד הַקְּלוּד וְאֶמְלַח** וַיִּלְחֶד אֶל־אֲבָיו וְאֶל־אִמּוֹ וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם וַיֵּאכְלוּ וְלֹא־הִגִּיד לָהֶם כִּי מִגִּוְעֵת הָאֲרֶזְהָ רַגְזָה הַדְּבָשׁ:

3. Other Nominal Uses

Other nominal uses of the IA include the following: as the subject of a verbal clause (2 Sam. 1:4; Job 6:25), subject or predicate of a verbless clause (Prov. 25:27; Isa. 32:17), object of a preposition (2 Kgs. 13:17), or the genitive in a construct phrase (Isa. 14:23). Joüon notes that the previously stated uses are rather rare of the IA and are more common uses of the Infinitive

¹⁸ BHRG, 160; IBHS., 588-89.

¹⁹ Webster, 284.

²⁰ IBHS, 589.

²¹ Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: Revised English Edition* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), 395.

Construct.²² The IA can also be used as a direct object (Isa. 1:17), the adverbial accusative of state (Mic. 6:8), adverbial accusative of specification (Isa. 59:12-13), or in a double accusative construction (Lam. 3:45). These differ from the other nominal uses because the previous constructions were in the accusative case, but describe the attendant circumstances of the main verb.²³ Typically these nominal uses are found when the IA is used on its own or as part of a list. According to Webster, approximately 33% of these instances have the IA acting as a noun.²⁴ Often when the IA is acting as a noun, it will be translated into English with a gerund.²⁵

4. IA as Adverb

Outside of the nominal uses, the IA may also take the place of an adverb or adjective. Of the instances where the IA occurs individually or in a list, approximately 20% act as adverbs or adjectives. These uses are usually words such as הַרְבֵּה and הַיָּטִב.²⁶ The two previous words, as well as others in the *Hiphil* stem, are usually considered as adverbs. Other words that are IAs used as adverbs include הַרְחֵק, הַשְׁכֵּם, and מִהֵר.²⁷ Examples of this use in the Old Testament include Deut. 9:21, 13:15; 1 Sam. 26:21; and Josh. 3:16.

Deut. 9:21

21 וְאַתֶּם טַעַתְתֶּם אֶת־הַעֲגֹל לְמַחְתֵּי וְאַשְׁרֵף אֹתוֹ בְּאֵשׁ וְאַצַּת אֹתוֹ כְּחֹן הַיָּטִב עַד אֲשֶׁר־יָקֵץ לַעֲבֹד וְאַשְׁלֹף אֹת־עֵקְרוֹ אֶל־הַבְּחַל הַיָּבֵד מִן־הָהָר:

²² Joüon, 391.

²³ IBHS, 591-92.

²⁴ Webster, 285.

²⁵ Ibid., 286.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ IBHS, 592. Note that מִהֵר is a Piel IA and not a Hifil.

5. Verbal Uses of the IA

Since the IA is a kind of verbal noun, it has the ability to be used in places where one would expect a verb. When an IA stands alone or in a list it is possible to translate it as an imperative or jussive in about 18% of these occurrences.²⁸ When the IA is used in the place of an imperative or jussive, it will be asyndetic (without the *vav* conjunction) and at the beginning of its clause. This use of the IA is predominantly used to express divine commands, legislative commands, or legislative jussives.²⁹ The IA may also be used in place of a cohortative, jussive, perfective, and non-perfective verb, as well as in proverbial statements. The manner in which the IA is used can be determined in part by the use of the *vav* conjunction. An infinitive without *vav* has no formal or clear connection with the preceding statement.³⁰ Occurrences of an IA used as a finite verb without *vav* usually occur in direct speech.³¹ An IA *with a vav* may also be used in the place of a finite verb. Webster notes that there are 110 instances of the IA with *vav* outside of those IAs that have been paired with other words to modify the main verb. Of those instances, 35 are paronomastic, leaving 75 instances where there is no main verb linked to the IA. Because of this the infinitive then becomes the verb and the context supplies the subject and other verbal information.³² A. Rubinstein notes 45 instances where the IA with *vav* follows a finite verb and continues the preceding verb in a similar way to *vav-consecutive* forms.³³ According to Waltke and O'Connor, the IA with *vav* functioning as a verb is similar to its use as an adverbial complement, because in both cases the IA qualifies a leading verb. The distinction is determined

²⁸ Webster, 285.

²⁹ IBHS, 593.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 594.

³¹ BHRG, 161.

³² Webster, 286-87.

³³ Arie Rubinstein, "A Finite Verb Continued by an Infinitive Absolute in Biblical Hebrew," *Vetus Testamentum* 2, no. 4 (October 1952): 363-64.

by the presence, or absence, of the *vav* conjunction. They write “Without *waw* the infinitive is adverbial, qualifying the same situation as the verb; with *waw* the infinitive is used as a finite verb and represents a situation subordinate to the leading verb.”³⁴

The IA in BH is also able to be used in place of non-finite verbs. These verbal nouns are able to take the place of participles as well as infinitive constructs. When the IA takes the place of a participle, its function is similar to that of an adverbial-accusative. The IA appears to be used as a participle more clearly in a verbless clause (Ezek. 1:14) or in a mixture of infinitives and participles (Esth. 8:8; Jer. 7:18). How an IA is used as an infinitive construct can be determined by the presence or absence of a *vav* conjunction. An IA without *vav* may demonstrate the infinitive construct’s use as a verbal complement (Isa. 42:24). With a *vav* conjunction the IA will have the same use as a preceding infinitive construct (Exod. 32:6; 1 Sam. 22:13).³⁵ According to van der Merwe et al., the use of the IA as an infinitive construct is rare.³⁶ Webster notes that in many cases containing rare constructions there may be a text critical issue to consider.³⁷

LXX Translations of the IA

Emanuel Tov has done a large amount of work in identifying how IA constructions in the Hebrew Old Testament have been translated into the LXX. In his essay *Renderings of Combinations of the Infinitive Absolute and Finite Verbs in the Septuagint—Their Nature and Distribution*, he has outlined some of the most common ways the LXX translators attempted to render the IA when it has been paired with a finite verb. Tov used the work of Henry St. John

³⁴ IBHS, 596.

³⁵ Ibid., 597.

³⁶ BHRG, 162.

³⁷ Webster, 288.

Thackeray in his study on the translation of the IA into the LXX. Both Tov and Thackeray agree that an exact equivalent in the Greek is rare.³⁸ The two examples of exact equivalents are Josh. 17:13 and Jer. 44(51):25. It appears as though what Tov defines as an exact equivalent is when the BH text has a paronomastic IA and the LXX uses an infinitive with a finite verb from the same root. The closest rendering outside of the two previous examples is the use of an adverb or an adjective in the LXX to reflect the idea in the Hebrew of the IA as strengthening the finite verb in these paronomastic constructions. These constructions are rare in the LXX. More common constructions in the LXX for the IA construction include a finite verb with a noun in either the dative or accusative (less frequent) cases, or to use a finite verb with participle.³⁹ Typically a cognate noun or participle is used, but occasionally a supplementary or synonymous root will be used. According to Tov, the use of the finite plus cognate noun or participle is the common construction used to translate a paronomastic IA, in order to show the close relationship between the two words. In Greek the constructions using a cognate noun in the dative case may be able to be translated with the glosses “utterly,” “fervently,” or “earnestly.”⁴⁰ There are also instances where the paronomastic IA is rendered by a single finite verb.⁴¹ While Tov focused only on the paronomastic use of the IA this work will attempt to look at all possible constructions of the IA in the Pentateuch. Tov’s work included the entirety of the OT, whereas this work studies the IA uses in the Pentateuch. The reason for restricting the research to the Pentateuch is to make the study more manageable and because the Pentateuch is considered to be

³⁸ Tov, 247; and Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* Vol. 1 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 47.

³⁹ Tov makes no mention to what the cases of the participles were in his paper, however it appears as though the participles are commonly in the nominative case.

⁴⁰ Andreas J. Köstenberger, Benjamin L. Merkle, and Robert L. Plummer, *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek* (Nashville, Tennessee: B&H Academic, 2016), 135.

⁴¹ Tov, 248-49, 51.

a complete unit from an early period of BH, thus making it its own corpus of evidence from which to study the use of the IA from the point of view of linguistic usage.

LXX Translation of the IA in the Pentateuch

As stated earlier, the IA in BH has many different functions and common constructions that help to determine the function of the IA in the passage. The most common construction including the IA is the construction that Tov discusses in his essay, the paronomastic IA. This construction occurs approximately 55% of the time an IA is used; however, in the Pentateuch the paronomastic construction (Section 1a.) accounts for nearly 78% of the uses of the IA. The other 22% is made up of IAs that have been paired with words in non-paronomastic constructions (Section 1b) (2%), Piel and Hifil IAs used as adverbs (Section 1d) (5%), and IAs that stand alone or in pairs in the place of finite and non-finite verbs (Section 1e) (15%).

1a. Paronomastic

Tov's study of the "Infinitive Absolute construction" (paronomastic) seems to be consistent throughout the Pentateuch. There are some instances of the IA that he does not label in his work, possibly due to errors in the software that he used at the time of his study. The most common construction in the LXX to translate the paronomastic IA construction is the dative cognate noun and the finite verb. Tov notes that there are at least 84 uses of this construction in the Pentateuch of the LXX.⁴² It appears as though the majority of these uses are translations of the phrase מֵיָמֵינוּ יִקְרָא or instances where there is an IA and an imperfect. The next most common construction of the paronomastic IA is a finite verb and a participle. Tov marks at least 31 instances of this construction. Similar to the dative and finite verb construction, this construction

⁴² Ibid., 253.

seems most often to be the result of an IA with an imperfect. The construction in the BH of the Pentateuch that seems to be the most common is the IA and the imperfect, so the fact that it appears to be the most common source of the most common translations is not surprising.⁴³

2a. Pairings of IAs

Most of the pairings of IAs in the BH of the Pentateuch use הִלֵּךְ or some other verb of motion. The most common translation of this construction uses a participle of the verb πορευομαι for הִלֵּךְ and then the other IA is either not translated or a finite verb is used. The number of paired IAs in the Pentateuch is small, since it only accounts for approximately 2% of all of the IAs in the Pentateuch. The small number of uses makes it difficult to draw an accurate conclusion about whether or not this would be a common translation technique for this construction.⁴⁴ Examples of this construction include:

Gen 8:3

וַיִּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ וַיִּלָּקְחוּ מִן הַיָּם וַיִּשְׂמוּ עַל הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁמַטוּ הַיָּם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ

καὶ ἐνεδίδου τὸ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἐνεδίδου καὶ ἠλαττινοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ μετὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας.

Gen 8:7

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַדָּבָר וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת הַדָּבָר וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת הַדָּבָר וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת הַדָּבָר

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν κόρακα τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ κεκόπακεν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐξεληθὼν οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

3a. IAs as Adverbs

In the Hebrew OT, IAs used as adverbs lack the *vav* conjunction. Of the constructions that use IAs that function regularly as adverbs none of them have a *vav* conjunction in front of

⁴³ See appendix 1b (a-l).

⁴⁴ For examples of this construction see appendix 2b (a-c).

the infinitive.⁴⁵ In the Pentateuch two IAs are regularly used as adverbs. The more common word is the Piel IA מהר. This word comes from the root מהר, which when used with another verb has a strong adverbial force. It is often translated as “hasten” or “quickly” in English.⁴⁶ In passages where this word is used, it is found immediately following the verb that it modifies. This word is usually translated with some form of the word ταχῶς. This Greek word is an adverb that is commonly used to refer to a short period of time and seems to have a similar semantic range to that of מהר.⁴⁷ An example of this may be found in Exodus 32:8.

סרו ממהר מודתנך אשר צויתם עשו להם אגל מסכה וישתחוו-לו וינבחו-לו וינאמרו אלה אלהינו אשר העלונה מארץ מצרים:

παρέβησαν ταχῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἣς ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς μόσχον καὶ προσκεκυνήκασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τεθύκασιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν Οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ σου, Ἰσραηλ, οἵτινες ἀνεβίβασάν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

There are two instances in the LXX where this word is not translated.

The second word used regularly as an adverb is היטב. This word is a Hifil IA and is commonly translated in the LXX as σφόδρα, but can also be translated as ακριβως. The word היטב comes from the root יטב. In the adverbial sense it carries the meaning of to do something well, or to thoroughly do something.⁴⁸ The Greek word σφόδρα has the meaning of doing something to a high extent and may be translated “exceedingly,” “greatly,” or “violently.”⁴⁹ The Greek word ακριβως has a meaning that pertains to a strict conformity to a rule or norm, with special attention to detail and completeness. It may be translated as “accurately,” “strictly,” or

⁴⁵ For examples of the IA as an adverb see appendix 3b (a-g).

⁴⁶ Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles Augustus Briggs, *Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 554-55.

⁴⁷ Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1:643.

⁴⁸ BDB, 405-6.

⁴⁹ Louw and Nida, 1:686.

“diligently.”⁵⁰ Similar to מְקַר, this word follows closely after the verb that it is modifying.

Examples of this are:

Deut 13:15

וַדַּרְשׁוּ וַחֲקֹרְוּ וְשִׁאלוּ וְהִגַּדְתֶּם הַמִּטְבֵּב וְהִגַּדְתֶּם חֲמָסָה וְנִכְוֹן הַדָּבָר וְנִעְשֶׂתָהּ הַתּוֹעֵבָה הַזֹּאת בְּקִרְבְּךָ:

καὶ ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἐραυνήσεις σφοδρά, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀληθῆς σαφῶς ὁ λόγος, γεγένηται τὸ βδέλυγμα τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν,

Deut 19:18

וְדָרְשׁוּ הַשֹּׁפְטִים הַמִּטְבֵּב וְהִגַּדְתֶּם עַד-שִׁקָּר הַשָּׂדֵד שִׁקָּר עִגָה בְּאִמְתּוֹ:

καὶ ἐξετάσωσιν οἱ κριταὶ ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἰδοὺ μάρτυς ἄδικος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἄδικα, ἀντίστη κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ,

The fact that these IAs functioning as adverbs have been translated as adverbs helps to point towards the translators of the LXX understanding how these IAs were functioning. It also seems as though the word מְקַר is consistently translated with a form of the same word regardless of construction, except for in those instances where it was not translated in the LXX.⁵¹

4a. IAs Individually or in Lists

For instances of the IA used on its own or in a list, it would appear as though the common means of translating these constructions is in line with how the IA is being used in the Hebrew.⁵² When the IA has a *vav* conjunction, begins a clause, and either takes a direct object or has an implied object, then the IA usually continues the preceding verb. The LXX translators seemed to understand this in the same way and often translated these constructions as finite verbs, since the

⁵⁰ Louw and Nida, 1:643.

⁵¹ It is important to note that there are textual variants for the two instances where the IA מְקַר was not found in the translation of the LXX. These variants may be found in *Codex Alexandrinus*. In these variants the word מְקַר is translated in the same way as the other instances.

⁵² Examples of this may be found in the appendix.

IA is being used in the place of a finite verb. The other instances where the IA is functioning in the place of a finite verb are also translated as finite verbs in the LXX. Constructions where the IA is asyndetic, begins the clause, is in direct speech, and is part of a command are often translated as imperatives in the Greek, but Thackeray notes that a common construction in the place of an imperative was to use a future indicative.⁵³ The use of the future indicative in place of an imperative occurs at least three times.⁵⁴ There are at least three instances of the IA being used in place of a non-finite verb (Exodus 32:6; Num. 6:5, 23).⁵⁵ In Exodus 32:6 the IA follows an infinitive construct and is thus functioning as an infinitive construct. The LXX translates this as an infinitive.

Exod 32:6

וַיִּשְׁפְּזוּ יָמֵיהֶם מִמְּחֻרָת וַיַּעֲלֵי עֵלָה וַיִּגְשׂוּ שְׂלֵמִים וַיִּשָּׁבּוּ בַּעַזְזָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּקְמוּ לְצַדִּיק:

καὶ ὀρθρίσας τῆ ἐπαύριον ἀνεβίβασεν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ προσήνεγκεν θυσίαν σωτηρίου, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίζειν.

In the passages in Numbers the IA is being used in place of a participle and the LXX uses participles to translate them. It would appear as though the LXX translators understood that if an IA is functioning in the place of other verbs, then they should translate the IA as a verb that is similar to how the IA functions in the text.

Conclusion

The IA is one of the most versatile verbal forms in BH. This “verbal noun” can function as a noun, adverb, finite verb, or other non-finite verbs. The constructions containing these verbal forms determines how they are functioning and how they should be translated. In the LXX

⁵³ Thackeray, 194.

⁵⁴ In appendix under IAs Independently or in Lists.

translation of the Pentateuch, the most common use of the IA is paronomastic. According to Tov, the use of the paronomastic IA in Hebrew may be translated several different ways. The most common of these ways is with a finite verb with a dative cognate noun or a participle. This is not an exact translation, but rather it shows the unique relationship between the IA and the main verb that it modifies. There are IAs that have been used in place of adverbs so often that they have essentially become adverbs. These IAs are regularly translated as adverbs. IAs that function in the place of finite and non-finite verbs usually occur on their own or in lists that contain *vav* consecutive forms. If the IA has the *vav*-conjunction, then it usually continues the preceding verbs and is often translated in a manner similar to the preceding verbs, either finite or non-finite. Instances where the IA is asyndetic, begins the clause, takes a direct object, and occurs in direct speech or commands are usually translated as volitional forms, but they may also take the form of a future indicative in the LXX. This knowledge is useful in understanding how the LXX translators made decisions regarding this verbal form and helps the critic decide whether an unexpected translation in the LXX represents a variant reading in the *Vorlage*.

The constructions that may provide the most confusion when attempting to recreate the original text of the Hebrew OT based on the LXX would be the paronomastic construction. In the Pentateuch there were multiple ways this construction was translated, however, if the LXX has a finite verb bracketed by a dative cognate noun or participle there is a large degree of certainty that this was originally a paronomastic IA. The constructions other than the paronomastic seem to be handled consistently throughout the Pentateuch, which increases confidence that, in regards to the IA in these constructions, the text critical issues are not a matter of mistranslation, but rather an issue of transmission errors.

Appendix

1b. Paronomastic⁵⁶

a. Gen 2:16

וַיִּצְוֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל-הָאָדָם לֵאמֹר מִכָּל-עֵץ גַּן-עֵדֶן יִאָכֵל

καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ λέγων Ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη,

Qal IA and Qal impf.

Finite Verb (future, middle, indicative) with a noun in the dative (non-cognate)

b. Gen 2:17

וְעֵץ-חַיֵּה הָאֵלֶּיךָ לֹא תֹאכְלֶנָּה כִּי-יָמוּתְךָ וְאַתָּה תָּמוּת

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκεις καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν, οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἥ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε.

Qal IA and Qal impf.

Finite verb (future, middle, indicative) with a noun in the dative (cognate)

c. Gen 3:16

וְלָאִשָּׁה לֵאמֹר אֵינִי אֱלֹהִים וְאַתְּ תִּשְׂרֹפִי כִּי-עָשִׂיתְךָ אֶת-אֲשֶׁר-צִוִּיתִי לֵאמֹר מִכָּל-עֵץ גַּן-עֵדֶן יִאָכֵל

καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπεν Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμὸν σου, ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει.

Hifil IA + Hifil impf.

Finite (Future active indicative) +Participle

d. Gen 8:7

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הַקַּיִץ וְהַחֹטֶף וַיִּשְׁפְּטוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν κόρακα τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ κεκόπακεν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἐξελθὼν οὐχ ὑπέστρεψεν ἕως τοῦ ξηρανθῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

Qal pret. + Qal IA

Paronomastic construction as a participle only (Aorist, active)

⁵⁶ The paronomastic IA examples are all from Genesis, because constructions that are very similar can be found in each of the other books. Genesis provides examples of all of the constructions that Tov notes in his essay; therefore it is unnecessary to give examples from all of the books in the Pentateuch. All Hebrew texts are from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and all Greek texts are from *Septuaginta*.

e. Gen 18:10

וַיֹּאמֶר שׁוּב אִלַי כְּעַת הַזֶּה וְהַנְהַרְבּוּ לְשִׁבְתָּהּ וְשָׂתְנָה שְׂמֵעַתָּה מִמֶּה לֵּךְ וְהוּא אֶתְרָיו:

εἶπεν δέ **Επαναστρέφων ἦξω** πρὸς σέ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει υἴὸν Σαρρα ἢ γυνή σου. Σαρρα δὲ ἠκούσεν πρὸς τῆ θύρα τῆς σκηνῆς, οὐσα ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ.

Qal IA + Qal impf.

Finite verb (future, active, indicative) + participle of different verb (Present, active)

f. Gen 19:9

וַיֹּאמְרוּ וְשִׁבְתְּהָ לָאָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָאֵתְךָ בְּאֵלֵינוּ עָשָׂה נָרַע לָךְ מִקֵּם וַיִּצְרְוּ בְּאִישׁ בְּלוֹט מֵאָדָּם וַיִּשְׁוּ לְשָׂבָד הַגִּלְתִּי:

εἶπαν δὲ Ἀπόστα ἐκεῖ. εἰς ἦλθες παροικεῖν, μὴ καὶ **κρίσιν κρίνεις**; νῦν οὖν σὲ κακώσομεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνους. καὶ παρεβιάζοντο τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Λωτ σφόδρα καὶ ἠγγισαν συντριψαί τὴν θύραν.

Qal pret. + Qal IA

Non-finite (present, active infinitive) + accusative noun

g. Gen 20:7

וְעַתָּה הֲשִׁב אֶשְׁת־הָאִישׁ כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַדְךָ וְנִחַיָּה וְאִם־יִצְיִיב עָלַי בִּי־מִוֶּתֶתְמוֹת אֶתְךָ וְכָל־שָׂרְרֵךְ:

νῦν δὲ ἀπόδος τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶν καὶ προσεύξεται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ζήση, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποδίδως, γινώθι ὅτι **ἀποθανῆ** σὺ καὶ πάντα τὰ σά.

Qal IA + Qal impf.

Finite verb only (future, middle, indicative)

h. Gen 26:11

וַיִּצְוּ אַבְרָהָם וְאֶת־כְּלֵי־הָעַם לֵאמֹר הִנֵּנִי בְּאִישׁ הַגֵּר וּבְאִשׁ הַגֵּר וּבְאִשׁ הַגֵּר מִוֶּתֶתְמוֹת יִמְתֵּן:

συνέταξεν δὲ Ἀβιμελεχ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ λέγων Πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ **θανάτου ἔνοχος ἔσται**.

Qal IA + Hophal impf.

Three words used for IA genitive noun, adjective, finite verb (future, middle, indicative) (Tov labels IAC as finite verb only)

i. Gen 26:13

ויגדל האיש ויגלה הלידה ויגדל עד כי יגדל מאד:

και ὑψώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος και προβαίνων μείζων ἐγένετο, ἕως οὗ μέγας ἐγένετο σφόδρα,

Qal pret. + Qal IA (hlk)

Present, active participle + Adj. + finite verb (impf., middle, indicative)

j. Gen 28:22

והאבן הזאת אשר שיתת לי מאבן יתנה בית אלתיים וכל אשר תשור לי עשר אשורתי לך:

και ὁ λίθος οὗτος, ὃν ἔστησα στήλην, ἔσται μοι οἶκος θεοῦ, και πάντων, ὧν ἐάν μοι δῶς, δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά σοι.

Piel IA + Piel impf.

Adjective (accusative) + finite verb (future, active, indicative).

k. Gen 32:13

ואתה אמרת הישב איתי עמך ושיתי את ירדך בקהל הים לא יסור מך:

σὺ δὲ εἶπας Καλῶς εἶ σε ποιήσω και θήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης, ἢ οὐκ ἀριθμηθήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους.

Hifil IA + Hifil impf.

Finite Verb (Future, active, indicative) + Adverb

l. Gen 37:33

ויפירה ויאמר בתנת בני תנה רעה אכלתהו טרף טרף יוסף:

και ἐπέγνω αὐτόν και εἶπεν Χιτών τοῦ υἱοῦ μου ἔστιν, θηρίον πονηρόν κατέφαγεν αὐτόν, θηρίον ἤρπασεν τὸν Ἰωσηφ.

Qal IA + Pual pf.

Finite (aorist, active, indicative) + different noun in the accusative

d. Deut 27:8

וְכָתוּבָה עַל-לִבְיָדֵי הַבְּרִיָּה וְעַל-לִבְיָדֵי הַבְּרִיָּה וְעַל-לִבְיָדֵי הַבְּרִיָּה

καὶ γράψεις ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων πάντα τὸν νόμον τοῦτον σαφῶς σφόδρα.

e. Gen 21:16

וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח

ἀπελθοῦσα δὲ ἐκάθητο ἀπέναντι αὐτοῦ μακρόθεν ὥσει τόξου βολήν, εἶπεν γάρ Οὐ μὴ ἴδω τὸν Θάνατον τοῦ παιδίου μου. καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι αὐτοῦ, ἀναβοήσαν δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἔκλαυσεν.

f. Exod 33:7

וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח

Καὶ λαβὼν Μωυσῆς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἔπηξεν ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἐκλήθη σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου, καὶ ἐγένετο πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν κύριον ἐξεπορεύετο εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

g. Exod 30:36

וְעָשִׂיתָ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ

καὶ συγκόψεις ἐκ τούτων λεπτὸν καὶ θήσεις ἀπέναντι τῶν μαρτυρίων ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, ὅθεν γνωσθήσομαί σοι ἐκεῖθεν, ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἔσται ὑμῖν.

4b, IAs Independently or in Lists

a. Gen 41:43

וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח

καὶ ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ δεύτερον τῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ κῆρυξ, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὅλης γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

b. Exod 8:11

וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח וַיִּזְכַּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אַבְרָהָם כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּח

ιδῶν δὲ Φαραὼ ὅτι γέγονεν ἀνάψυξις, ἐβαρύνθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν, καθάπερ ἐλάλησεν κύριος.

c. Lev 25:14

וְיָרְדוּ מִמֶּנִּי מִמְּצָרַי וְהָיָה לְךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֵי הָאָדָם וְלֹא יִשְׁפָּטוּ לְפָנֶיךָ וְלֹא יִשְׁפָּטוּ לְפָנֶיךָ

ἐὰν δὲ ἀποδῶ πρᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου ἐάν και κτήση παρὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, μὴ θλιβέτω ἄνθρωπος τὸν πλησίον,

d. Num 20:26

וְעָלָה אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַשָּׂרָף וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו

καὶ ἐκδυσον Ααρων τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδυσον Ελεαζαρ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ααρων προστεθεις ἀποθανέτω ἐκεῖ.

e. Deut 14:21

וְלֹא יִשְׂאֹף אִישׁ אֶת־עֵינָיו בְּאֵימָתוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׂאֹף אִישׁ אֶת־עֵינָיו בְּאֵימָתוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׂאֹף אִישׁ אֶת־עֵינָיו בְּאֵימָתוֹ

πάν θνησιμαῖον οὐ φάγεσθε, τῷ παροίκῳ τῷ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσίν σου δοθήσεται, καὶ φάγεται, ἢ ἀποδώσει τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ, ὅτι λαὸς ἅγιος εἶ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου. — οὐχ ἐψησεις ἄρνα ἐν γάλακτι μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

aa. Gen 17:10

וְעָלָה אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַשָּׂרָף וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו

καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διατηρήσεις, ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου μετὰ σὲ εἰς τὰς γενεάς αὐτῶν, περιτιμηθήσεται ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν,

bb. Exod 13:3

וְעָלָה אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַשָּׂרָף וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו

Εἶπεν δὲ Μωυσῆς πρὸς τὸν λαόν Μνημονεύετε τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ἣ ἐξήλθατε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας, ἐν γὰρ χειρὶ κραταιᾷ ἐξήγαγεν ὑμᾶς κύριος ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ οὐ βρωθήσεται ζύμη.

cc. Lev 2:6

וְעָלָה אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַשָּׂרָף וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו

καὶ διαθρύψεις αὐτὰ κλάσματα καὶ ἐπιχεεῖς ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔλαιον, θυσία ἐστὶν κυρίῳ. —

dd. Num 4:2

וְעָלָה אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַשָּׂרָף וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו וְהָיָה אֵלָיו

Λαβὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν υἱῶν Κααθ ἐκ μέσου υἱῶν Λευι κατὰ δήμους αὐτῶν κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν αὐτῶν

ee. Deut 5:12

וְיָמַשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַג מִשְׁבֻּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת

φύλαξαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων ἀγιάζειν αὐτήν, ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

ff. Num 6:5

וְיָמַשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַג מִשְׁבֻּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת

πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ ξυρὸν οὐκ ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι, ὅσας ἠύξατο κυρίῳ, ἅγιος ἔσται τρέφων κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς.

gg. Num 6:23

וְיָמַשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחַג מִשְׁבֻּעַת שַׁבָּתוֹת

Λάλησον Ααρων καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ λέγων Οὕτως εὐλογήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες αὐτοῖς (καὶ ἐπιθήσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ κύριος εὐλογήσω αὐτούς)

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